CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS AND DIALECTOLOGY

THIRD YEAR

FACULTY OF ARTS

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

2024/2025

Variation in English

DOI: 10.4324/9780203784440-1

When foreign learners of English first come to the British Isles,[1] they are usually surprised, and often dismayed, to discover how little they understand of the English they hear. For one thing, people seem to speak faster than expected. Also, the English that most British or Irish people speak seems to be different in many ways from the English the visitor has learned. While it is probably differences of pronunciation that will immediately strike them, learners may also notice differences of grammar and vocabulary.

[1] The terminology relating to the territories that are the focus of this book is complex and often confusing even to people who live in this part of the world. 'British Isles' refers to the archipelago that includes Great Britain, Ireland and their neighbouring islands, of which there are several thousand. The term is not popular in the Republic of Ireland, however, because of the implication that Ireland is still under British control or ownership. 'Great Britain' is, strictly speaking, a geographical term referring only to the principal island of the United Kingdom, i.e. mainland England, Scotland and Wales. 'Britain' is a shortened form of this name. 'United Kingdom' (UK) is the political term for the state that is composed of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. 'Ireland' will be used to refer to the Republic of Ireland, although occasionally the entire island of Ireland is meant (i.e. the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland together. 'Southern Ireland' is occasionally used to refer to the Republic of

Ireland, as is the Irish name ‘Eire’, but the latter term will not be used in this book). ‘England’ is used as a synonym for Great Britain or the UK by many people in this country and abroad, but this usage is objectionable to people in the UK’s other constituent countries. In this book England will be used to refer only to England proper, i.e. the constituent country of the UK that occupies around half of its land area but accounts for some 85 per cent of its population. See the map on the inside front cover of this book.

Their reactions to this experience will vary. They may conclude that most of the English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish people that they hear do not – or even cannot – speak English correctly. In this they would find that many native speakers agree with them. They might even be told that, since learners of English as a foreign or second language have usually studied English in a formal way, they should know better than would native speakers what is ‘correct’.

We can deal in two ways with the suggestion that native speakers cannot speak their own language correctly. Firstly, for learners visiting the British Isles the question of correctness is largely irrelevant. Their aim is to understand what they hear, regardless of whether it is ‘correct’ or not. The description and analysis of variation provided in this book, together with the accompanying recordings, are attempts to help them to do this. This information should also help them to decide which features of what they hear they can safely integrate into their own speech. The second thing we can do is to try to show that the notion of correctness is not really useful or appropriate when describing the language of native speakers. We will not do this immediately, but will raise the issue later in the book, when examples of what might be considered ‘incorrect’ English are discussed.

Another reaction on the part of learners who fail to understand what is being said may be to think that perhaps what they learned in their own country was not 'real' English. Fortunately, this is increasingly unlikely to be the case. Although the English they have learned is real enough, it will tend to be limited to a single variety of the language, a variety chosen to serve as a model for their own speech. It will usually be the speech variety of a particular group of native speakers as that variety is spoken, slowly and carefully, in relatively formal situations. Given limitations of time, of teachers' knowledge, and of students' aspirations and attitudes, this restriction is entirely reasonable, at least as far as speaking is concerned. Though learners may sound a little odd at times, they will usually be able to make themselves understood. But such a restriction as far as listening comprehension is concerned is less easily justified. While native speakers may be able to decode the learners' messages, they may lack the ability or the inclination to encode their own messages in a form more comprehensible to learners. In many cases, of course, native speakers will simply not be aware of such difficulties. Even when they are, a common strategy is to repeat what has just been said, only louder, or to revert to 'foreigner talk' ('me come, you go – OK?'), usually making understanding even more difficult. It seems to us, then, that exposure to a number of varieties of English, and help in understanding them, can play an important and practically useful part in the study of English as a foreign language.

Even when learners with comprehension problems recognise that English, like their own language – indeed, like every living

natural language – is subject to variation, that variation can be so complex and at times so subtle that it is usually a long time before they begin to see much order in it. And native speakers, even those who teach the language, are often hard put to explain the things that puzzle learners. For this reason, we will attempt now to give some idea of the principal ways in which British and Irish English speech varies and, just as importantly, the non-linguistic (social, geographical) factors which condition that variation. It is hoped by doing this to provide a framework within which to set the features of social and regional variation, which will be our main concern in the remainder of the book.

Variation in Pronunciation

Received Pronunciation

We should first make clear the way we are going to use two important terms, **dialect** and **accent**. A dialect, in the strict sense of the word, is a language variety distinguished from other varieties by differences of grammar and vocabulary. Standard (British) English is therefore a dialect of English, just as the other standard dialects of the language (Standard Scottish English, American English, etc.) are, and all the non-standard dialects of the language too. Accent, on the other hand, refers just to variations in pronunciation. Many people, including a lot of linguists, do not draw a sharp distinction between the meanings of the two terms, however. It is quite common, particularly in North American texts on linguistics, for the term ‘dialect’ to be used to refer to a

characteristic combination of phonetic features (i.e. what we are calling an accent). We will be careful not to mix the terms in this way in this book. The reason for making this distinction will become clear as the chapter progresses.

Whenever British rather than, say, American English is taught to overseas or foreign learners, the accent presented as a model for the learner will most typically be **Received Pronunciation**, abbreviated to RP. 'Received' here is to be understood in its nineteenth-century sense of 'accepted in the most polite circles of society'. The label RP has acquired a rather dated – even negative – flavour in contemporary British society, and many linguists, in recognition of the changes to the phonetic properties of RP and its social status over recent decades, prefer the less evaluative term **Standard Southern British English** (SSBE).

These changes notwithstanding, RP has – at least in England – remained the accent of those at the upper reaches of the social scale, as measured by education, income and profession, or title. It has traditionally been the accent of those educated at public schools, which in the UK are private (i.e. selective and fee-paying) and beyond the financial means of most parents, and it is largely through these schools, and state schools aspiring to emulate them, that the accent has been perpetuated. RP, unlike prestige accents in other countries, is not the accent of any particular region, except historically: its origins were in the speech of London and the surrounding area. It has often been contended that it is, at least in principle, impossible to tell from his or her pronunciation alone where an RP speaker comes from (though see Trudgill 2002). As

suggested above, RP has greatest currency and enjoys the highest prestige in England, and is evaluated somewhat differently in the other countries of the UK and in Ireland. In Scotland it is considered very much an 'English' accent, for instance, and its speakers are not necessarily always accorded greater respect than are speakers of other accents, while in northern England RP is viewed as a 'southern' accent even if the RP speaker comes from the local area. For further discussion of the varying prestige of RP, see Milroy 2001; Mugglestone 2003; Fabricius 2002, 2006, 2007; Coupland and Bishop 2007.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century it was estimated that only about 3 to 5 per cent of the population of England spoke RP (see Trudgill 2002: 171–2). It is difficult to say whether this proportion has stayed the same or declined – it seems unlikely that it has increased since then – but in any case because the accent is undergoing change (see below) it is not straightforward to decide who is and is not an RP speaker in the first place. Since RP is clearly a minority accent, why, then, is it by and large the only British accent explicitly taught to foreign learners? Its relatively high prestige has already been mentioned. No doubt learners want to learn, and teachers to teach, what has long been perceived to be the 'best', most 'correct' accent. Among a substantial proportion of British people, because they tend to associate the accent with the high social status, wealth and power of its speakers, RP is usually considered the best, the most beautiful, even the 'clearest' accent. Oddly, and misguidedly, many people believe it to be the accent that is closest to the standard written form of English, as though

the connection between spelling and pronunciation were somehow more direct for RP than for other accents. There are other reasons, however, for learning RP. If we were asked to point to a readily available example of RP, we would probably suggest the speech of some BBC newsreaders or television celebrities. Because of its use on radio and television, within Britain RP has become probably the most widely understood of all accents. This in turn means that the learner who succeeds in speaking it, other things being equal, has the best chance of being understood wherever he or she goes in the British Isles. Another good reason for learning RP is that it is by far the most thoroughly described of British accents. This is the case, at least in part, because descriptions of it were made in response to the needs of foreign learners and their teachers. We describe the sounds of RP in Chapter 3.

Language Change

Learners who have been presented with RP as a model should not think, when they come to Britain, that speech they hear which is in some way different from that model is necessarily something other than RP. First, accents, like all components of living languages, change with time. In RP, for example, there has for perhaps as much as a century been a tendency, through a process known as **smoothing**, for certain triphthongs (vowels with three distinct qualities) and diphthongs (two qualities) to become monophthongs (so-called 'pure' vowels with a single quality). Thus the word *tyre*, which was once most commonly pronounced [t^{h}aɪə] (with a triphthong), came to be pronounced [t^{h}ɑə] (with a diphthong), and

is now increasingly reduced to [tʰɑː] (with a monophthong, such that it is homophonous with – has the same pronunciation as – the word *tar*). This smoothing to [ɑː] can also be observed in the traditional RP triphthong /aʊə/, as in *tower* or *hour*. Thus Major-General Patrick Cordingley, commenting on BBC radio during the 2003 Iraq conflict, talked repeatedly of 'Allied [fɑːpʰɑː]' (*firepower*); see further Hannisdal (2006).

Smoothing of these vowels appears to be most common among younger RP speakers, but there is of course not a perfect correlation between age and pronunciation. Some RP speakers, including younger ones, will regard the distinguishing features of the 'advanced' – most current – variety of the accent (see p. 42) as affected or pretentious, and will not alter their own speech, at least not until the adoption of these features becomes more general with the passage of time. Other RP speakers will be only too ready to integrate them into their own speech. We might see some speakers, accordingly, as 'early adopters', and others as 'conservative' or 'laggards' (Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2010). For this reason, it would be misleading to say there is only one, fixed form of the accent, since at any stage the accent will be a mixture of traditional and innovative features (see further Trudgill 2002; Harrington 2007). The precise form of RP taught will differ from country to country, even from classroom to classroom. What learners of advanced RP should bear in mind is that this form of pronunciation does sound affected to most British people, even in England, and that, if the learner acquires it successfully, he or she may still be thought to sound affected even though listeners may be aware that

they are listening to a foreigner. For many people with regional accents, all RP speech, however conservative, sounds affected, and it is probably true to say that the supposed affectation is perceived most strongly in places where the differences between RP and the regional accent of the listener are most marked.

This long-standing association of RP with affectation, social snobbery, arrogance, aloofness and so on is increasingly out of keeping with the kind of image many of the accent's younger speakers would wish to project of themselves. This trend has not gone unnoticed by the media. Since the first edition of this book was published, ever larger quantities of column space and air time have been devoted to what has been termed the 'dumbing down' of the spoken and written English used by young British people. Specifically, the influence of non-standard, 'ethnic' and non-native accents and dialects of English, along with a perceived deterioration in standards in other modes of behaviour (dress, manners, literacy, community-mindedness, respect for elders, etc.), has been blamed for a rise of 'sloppiness' in pronunciation and disregard for 'proper grammar'. Many media pundits have become so convinced of the decline of RP and Standard English that the emergence of a new replacement variety first dubbed 'Estuary English' by Rosewarne (1984) has been accepted almost universally, in spite of the fact that the existence and separate identity of this 'new' variety are argued for on the basis of rather little reliable linguistic evidence (see Trudgill 2002: 177–9; but also Przedlacka 2002; Altendorf 2003).

The usual definition of Estuary English is that it is a compromise between or amalgam of RP and working-class London speech ('Cockney'), and is thus a 'neutral' variety which simultaneously provides the opportunity for lower-class speakers to appear higher status than they are, and for middle- and upper-class speakers to appear lower status than they are, in keeping with the social levelling claimed to have been a key characteristic of life in the United Kingdom in recent decades. The use of supposedly 'Estuary' forms by people from privileged or affluent backgrounds, however, is not without its pitfalls, if we can judge by the adverse reactions in the British press to the use of such forms by politicians such as Ed Miliband and the former Prime Minister Tony Blair, or certain members of the royal family. A particularly salient, widely discussed and often heavily stigmatised 'Estuary' form is glottal stop [ʔ] as a pronunciation of /t/ in certain contexts; this is discussed further on pp. 43–44 and p. 55.

Another example of a feature becoming established in modern RP which probably has its origins in a non-standard accent is the [w]-like labio-dental approximant [ʋ] (as a pronunciation of /ɹ/) that has spread fairly fast into a large number of varieties of British English. While RP speakers of any age can be heard to produce words like *road*, *brown*, *very* and so on using this pronunciation of /ɹ/, it is much more usual to hear it used by young RP speakers than by older ones. If it is noticed at all, it is certainly regarded as a much less idiosyncratic or 'disordered' feature of an individual RP speaker than was the case even a generation ago, and is a good deal less stigmatised as a result. In most parts of England, it would be

true to say that the use of [ʊ] is no longer regarded by schoolteachers and speech therapists as defective – a 'speech impediment' – as it once was, except perhaps where it occurred in upper-class speech, in which it seems to have been tolerated as a foppish affectation. As the stigma of [ʊ] recedes, then, so its adoption is all the more likely by a new generation of speakers. It is possible that the labio-dental pronunciation, which is common in infantile speech, owes its current spread to the relaxation of the stigma of childishness associated with it (see Foulkes and Docherty 2000). That is, children no longer learn to stop using the 'childish' [ʊ] pronunciation when they reach adolescence and adulthood, because the social pressure to switch to a more adult pronunciation has been removed.

Another example of a change which is still at a relatively early stage in its progress is the phenomenon known variously as the **high-rising tone**, the **high rise terminal** (HRT), **Australian Question Intonation** (AQI) or 'uptalk' (see Cruttenden 1995, 1997; Bauer 2002; Warren 2005). This phenomenon is often defined as the use, in statements, of the rising intonation pattern normally associated with questions (in RP, at any rate; other accents of British English, such as those of Glasgow or Belfast, have quite different statement and question intonation patterns from those used in RP, as we shall see in Chapter 5). For this reason, some commentators – usually opinionated but underinformed journalists rather than linguists – interpret high-rising tone as an indication of uncertainty and lack of confidence on the part of the young people who use it. These commentators tend to attribute its

appearance to the influence, either through face-to-face interaction or passively through television viewing, of Australian and New Zealand English, both of which share this property. The interesting suggestion has also been raised that the pattern entered British English because for several decades it has been common for young British school leavers or gap-year students to travel independently overseas on the 'backpacking trail', often for extended periods. While on their travels they are likely – even if they did not actually visit Australia or New Zealand – to encounter large numbers of independent travellers from the southern hemisphere, and may spend time in areas in which they must frequently interact with local people whose command of English is not always very good. It is commonly observed that in the latter situation native English speakers have a tendency to raise the pitch of their voice towards the end of utterances more frequently than they would when talking to other native speakers, as a means of checking that their utterances are being understood. In these circumstances, then, the use of high-rising tone may have come to act as a badge of 'well-travelled' or 'worldly' status. In tandem with its association with the appealing stereotype of Australians and New Zealanders as relaxed, friendly, open, sporty, fun-loving (etc.), it might therefore be unsurprising that the feature would be imported into British accents, later to spread among children, adolescents and young adults with no direct experience of independent foreign travel or contact with people from the southern hemisphere.

The true origin of the feature is, however, almost certainly more complex than this, not least because high-rising tone patterns are

not altogether like the question intonation patterns used by the same speakers. The claim that the use of HRT patterns indicates 'uncertainty' is also probably untenable, given that such patterns may be used when giving information about which the speaker cannot have any doubt (e.g. when telling someone his or her name and address). And, of course, any similarity to southern hemisphere intonation patterns may be nothing more than coincidence. Patterns of this sort have been used in American English for a considerable length of time, for instance, and American varieties may equally well be the source of HRT in British English, if it is a contact-based phenomenon at all. For further discussion, see Foulkes and Docherty (2005) or for a more technical treatment of these phenomena, Fletcher *et al*. (2005).

Stylistic Variation

As we have seen, then, there are differences of pronunciation among RP speakers ('interspeaker variation'). There is, in addition, variation in the pronunciation of individual RP speakers ('intraspeaker' variation). It is perhaps trivial, but is nonetheless true, that studies in instrumental phonetics have shown that a person cannot produce even a single speech sound in exactly the same way twice in succession. And it is obvious that people with food in their mouths, with heavy colds, or who have just drunk eight pints of beer will not speak in quite the same way as in other circumstances. But what is more significant for us are the changes in pronunciation made, consciously or unconsciously, by speakers according to their perception of the situation in which they find

themselves, especially how formal or informal they feel it to be. Their judgement of formality will depend on a number of factors, such as the relative status of the people they are talking to, how well they know each other, what they are talking about, to what purpose and in what place. Some idea of the range of formality can be given by listing just a few of the terms for occasions on which words are uttered – proclamation, lecture, consultation, conversation, chat. In what speakers see as a very formal situation they will tend to articulate more slowly and carefully. Individual sounds will be given, as it were, their 'full' value; fewer will be omitted (or **elided**, to use the technical term; **elision** is extremely common in all varieties of spoken English). In a very informal situation, on the other hand, speakers will be more likely to speak quickly and less carefully, and some sounds will either have their values changed or be elided altogether. Thus, say, for an RP speaker the word *are* may be pronounced [ɑː] in deliberate speech, but (when **destressed**) will become [ə] in more casual speech, this process being known as **vowel weakening**. In the phrase /ðat pleɪt/ *that plate* the final consonant of the first word will often become [p] through **assimilation** (becoming more similar) to the first consonant of the second, such that the phrase is pronounced [ðap¬ pʰleɪt], where the [¬] symbol indicates that the first [p] is unreleased. Similarly, /ɪk'spɛkt səʊ/ *expect so* may be pronounced ['spɛk səʊ] through elision of certain sounds. We refer to intraspeaker variation conditioned by speakers' perceptions of the situation in which they are speaking as **stylistic variation**.

It should not be thought that a more casual style of pronunciation is in any sense incorrect, however. It is really not a matter of correctness, but of appropriateness to the situation. It would be odd, even ridiculous, for a BBC radio presenter to use the same style of pronunciation when telling his girlfriend how desirable she is, as when describing for his listeners a royal procession. It is just possible, nevertheless, that there are radio commentators who *would* do this, for it is not only situational factors which determine style of pronunciation, but also the speaker's personality. Some people are very sensitive to what they regard as the demands of a situation on their speech style, while others appear indifferent, speaking with little change of pronunciation in the widest range of situations. Some of those who always speak carefully and with great deliberation maintain that to do anything else is 'slovenly' or 'sloppy', and leads to loss of clarity and to possible misunderstanding. In this claim they forget how much of language is redundant: there is usually far more information packed into an utterance than we need in order to understand it. The small loss in information resulting from modifications in pronunciation of the kind exemplified above rarely causes confusion: ['spɛk səʊ] can only be *expect so*. Even where linguistically there is ambiguity, the situation will normally disambiguate what is meant. If we are asked if we would like some [mɪns], for example, we can infer without too much difficulty from the proffered rattling bag that the offer is of mints and not mince (i.e. minced meat). And if we were not sure, in an informal situation it would be perfectly natural to ask which was intended.

As we said earlier, whatever learners think about this kind of thing, their task is essentially to understand what is said. Unfortunately, it is a task they are not always well prepared for. Language teachers, like all of us, want to be understood, and are inclined to speak slowly and with deliberation, a tendency in which they are not discouraged either by their students or by the often quite formal atmosphere of the classroom. Learners may be familiar with such processes as vowel weakening, assimilation and elision, but they usually have little idea of the degree to which these occur in ordinary conversational English. Even the recorded conversations of native speakers marketed commercially can sound stiff, stilted and unnatural. In response to this, there are many recordings available these days which sound more naturalistic and spontaneous, including those on the website accompanying this book (also Foulkes and Docherty 1999, and numerous recordings available for download from the internet, such as those provided on the BBC Voices and British Library websites; see *Further reading* at the back of the book).

Unconditioned Variation

Within RP there are differences of pronunciation which cannot be explained in terms either of change over time or of speech style. An example of such a variable form is the pronunciation of *economic* as /ɪːkə'nɒmɪk/ or /ɛkə'nɒmɪk/. Speakers will have an individual preference for one over the other, and – at least until it is demonstrated that there is some reason for this preference – the best we can say is that some people, perhaps a majority, use this

pronunciation, and other people use the other pronunciation (for further examples and statistics gathered using pronunciation preference polls, see Wells 2003, 2006a). This kind of variation is known as **free variation**.

Regional Variation

As we have seen, only a very small percentage of the population of England speaks RP, meaning that in the British Isles as a whole the proportion of RP speakers is very small indeed. The rest of the islands' native English-speaking inhabitants instead have some form of regional accent. Much of Chapters 4 and 5 is concerned with regional accents, and we shall do no more here than make some general observations.

Regional accents are sometimes spoken of as, for instance, 'northern' or 'southern' English, 'Irish' or 'Welsh'. But of course this is not to say that there is, for example, just one Irish or just one north of England accent. It means only that speakers in one of those areas – say, Wales – have enough pronunciation features in common with each other which are not shared with speakers of other areas for us to say of someone we hear speaking, 'He's from Wales.' And just as 'northern accent' is no more than a convenient label for a group of more local accents, a label like 'Yorkshire accent' is simply a label for a group of accents which is more local still. Almost no matter how small an area we look at, we will find differences between the pronunciation there and an area adjoining it. At the same time, unless there is some considerable obstacle to communication between the two areas, such as a mountain range, a

large river estuary or a stretch of sea or ocean, those differences will be so slight that we would be unhappy about drawing a line between them and saying that on one side of the line the accent is X and on the other it is Y. In Britain, from the south-west of England to the north of Scotland, we by and large do not have a succession of distinct accents but an **accent continuum**, a gradual changing of pronunciation, with some areas where discontinuities are more abrupt (in particular the border between England and Scotland, which Aitken (1992) describes as the zone featuring the greatest concentration of dialect differences anywhere in the English-speaking world; see Watt *et al*. 2010). In order to describe regional variation, it is convenient at times to speak of accents as if they were entities to be found within certain defined limits, and from here on this is what we will do.

Speakers of RP tend to be found at the top of the social scale, and their speech gives no clue to their regional origin. People at the bottom of the social scale speak with the most obvious, the 'broadest', regional accents. Between these two extremes, in general (and there are always individual exceptions) the higher a person is on the social scale, the less regionally marked will be his or her accent, and the less it is likely to differ from RP. This relationship between class and accent can be represented diagrammatically in the form of a triangle, as in Figure 1.1.

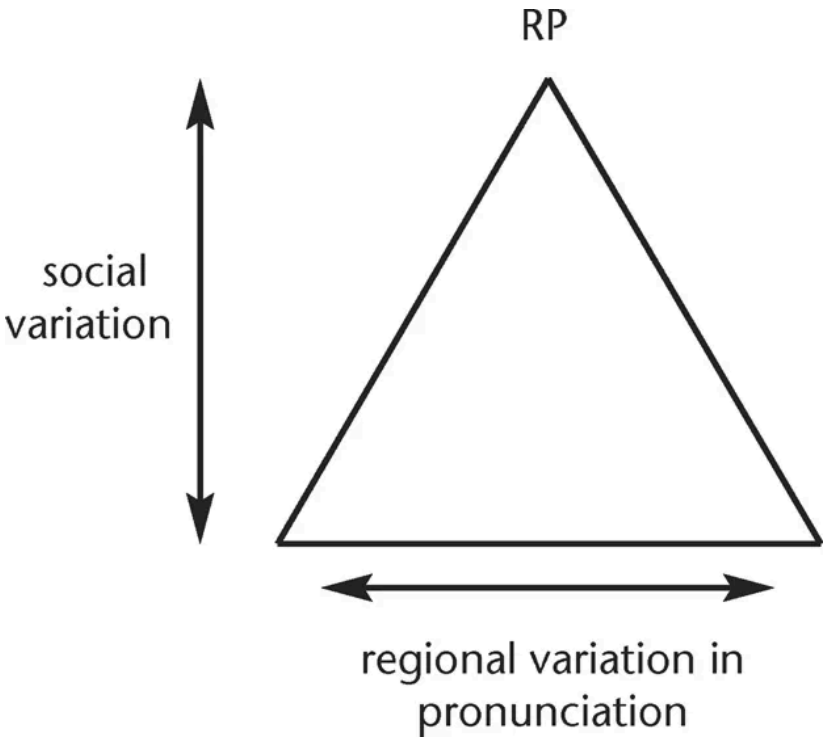


Figure 1.1 The triangle (or pyramid) model of the relationship between status and accent

This relationship between accent and the social scale can be illustrated with figures for 'H-dropping' (for example, where *hat* is pronounced /at/instead of /hat/) in the Bradford area of West Yorkshire (Petyt 1985; see also Beal 2008, and Chapter 5 of this book), as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 H-dropping in Bradford, West Yorkshire (from Petyt 1977)

	% H-dropping
Upper middle class	12
Lower middle class	28
Upper working class	67
Middle working class	89
Lower working class	93

Not all people stay in one social position throughout their lives. At least in England, and possibly in other parts of the UK, there has been a tendency for those climbing the social scale – or aspiring to – to modify their accent in the direction of RP, thereby helping to maintain the relationship between class and accent. In the case of speakers with Bradford accents, this would involve starting to pronounce /h/ at the start of words like *hat*, *happen* and *horrible* more often than they did before. They might also try to introduce the vowel /ʌ/, which is absent from northern English accents but which in RP distinguishes *putt* /pʌt/ from *put* /pʊt/ (this distinction is in fact found in practically all accents of English beyond England). But to do this successfully is not easy. It means dividing all those words which in the north of England contain the vowel /ʊ/, like *put*, *bush*, *pudding*, *cup*, *bus*, *shut* and so on, into two groups according to their pronunciation in RP. What often happens is that some words which have /ʊ/ in RP as well as in the

regional accent are wrongly classified, and so the northern English would-be RP speaker pronounces *cushion* as ['kʌʃn̩], such that it rhymes with (RP) *percussion* /pə'kʌʃn̩/ or *Russian* /'ɹʌʃn̩/. This kind of misassignation of certain pronunciations is referred to as **hypercorrection** (see p. 60).

Today there is, however, not the same pressure on those seeking social mobility to modify their speech in the direction of RP as there once was. Newsreaders and announcers with non-RP accents are now commonplace on the BBC, until recent decades a bastion of the most elevated and conservative form of RP. (It should be mentioned, just the same, that the introduction of non-standard accents on stations such as BBC Radio 4 has not met with universal approval; for instance, the audience reaction when the voice of Jamaican continuity announcer Neil Nunes was first heard on Radio 4 was a mixture of approbation and outraged hostility.) In other spheres of public life, such as politics, academia or the civil service, there is no longer any expectation that RP accents will be used to the exclusion of virtually any others. It is really only in the highest echelons of British society – the English public schools and elite universities, among the aristocracy and in the officer classes of the military – that earlier attitudes towards RP seem to prevail. Among the general public, RP is still highly valued in the sense that it is equated with being ‘well-spoken’ or ‘articulate’, and is perceived widely as a signal of general intelligence and competence, but it is no longer considered essential for certain occupations. We can gain an appreciation for how attitudes have changed when we examine the results of three similar experiments

carried out over the course of around 30 years. In the original experiment, which was carried out by Howard Giles and his colleagues in South Wales in the 1970s, a university lecturer, who was introduced as such, gave the same talk, word for word, to two matched groups of schoolchildren aged 16 to 18 years (Giles *et al.* 1975). The only difference between the two talks was the accent used. The lecturer addressed one group in RP, the other in a Birmingham accent. When the schoolchildren were then asked to evaluate the lecturer according to a number of criteria, those who had heard him speak RP gave him a significantly higher rating for intelligence than the group who had heard him use a Birmingham accent.

More recently, the results of a replication study of Giles (1970) carried out by Sarah Wood (reported in Stockwell 2002) show that RP was still judged by a panel of young female students to be a sign of higher-than-average intelligence, but also that an RP accent did not indicate higher social status than did west London and Norwich accents. RP was also judged 'less pleasing' than these accents.

In a study published in 2007, Coupland and Bishop (2007) report the results of a large online survey undertaken as part of the BBC's *Voices* initiative. It set out to quantify participants' subjective evaluations of 34 varieties of English, including standard accents ('Standard English', 'Queen's English', American English, etc.), and a wide range of non-standard ones from within the UK and from various other parts of the world. Some were non-native accents of English (French, German, Spanish, etc.). It should be noted that the participants, of which there were more than 5,000,

were self-selected, and that the results of the survey might therefore reflect the biases and prejudices of individuals who were more willing than most to spend time completing a survey on attitudes towards accents of English. Coupland and Bishop express disappointment that the 'familiar conservative tendencies in the general rankings of the accents' are evident in their data, with non-standard urban British accents scoring low on the social attractiveness and prestige scales. Birmingham English comes last on both scales by an appreciable margin, indicating that unusually negative attitudes towards the accent are still held by many people. What is described in the poll as 'a standard accent of English' is regarded highly, but somewhat less so by younger respondents than by older ones. Younger respondents were also less negative about stigmatised non-standard accents than were older ones. 'Queen's English' received mixed reviews for social attractiveness, and on this criterion it in fact scored substantially lower than some of the consistently higher-rated varieties (Irish, Scottish and New Zealand) and respondents' own accents. It is not self-evidently true that respondents necessarily equated 'Queen's English' with RP: they might have been thinking of the way Queen Elizabeth II herself speaks. 'Queen's English' is a commonly used synonym for RP, however, so it seems reasonable to assume that many respondents had RP in mind when they were assigning their ratings.

The implications are, therefore, that despite its continuing association with intelligence and competence, an RP accent no longer has the 'statusfulness' or 'attractiveness' that it did a

generation ago. The once widely held view that achieving success in certain careers and walks of life depends quite heavily upon the cultivation of an RP accent has rapidly come to seem old-fashioned, and if trends continue there may come a time when the elevation of RP above all other British accents is viewed as little more than a puzzling or amusing historical curiosity. It is telling that in August 2011 a programme entitled 'RP – RIP?' (RIP standing for *Requiescat in Pace*, or *Rest in Peace*) was broadcast on BBC Radio 4. The shelf-life of Received Pronunciation may turn out to be much shorter than anyone could have predicted even 30 years ago.

Grammatical and Lexical Variation

Standard English

The term accent, as we have seen, refers to varieties of pronunciation. The term **dialect**, on the other hand (at least as we shall use it here), refers to varieties distinguished from each other by differences of grammar (**morphology** and **syntax**) and vocabulary (**lexis**). With British English, though not with all other languages, the separation of accent from dialect is not only logically possible, but is almost required by the relationship that holds between them. The accent taught to most foreign learners of British English is RP. The dialect used as a model is known as 'Standard English', which is the dialect of educated people throughout the British Isles. It is the dialect normally used in writing, for teaching in schools and universities, and the one most often heard on British radio and television. Unlike RP, Standard English is *not* restricted

to the speech of a particular social group. While it would be odd to hear an RP speaker consistently using a non-standard dialect of English, most users of Standard English have regional accents. What social variation there is within Standard English appears to be limited to a rather small number of words. The choice of the word *serviette* rather than (table) *napkin*, for example, has been said to indicate inferior social standing (Ross 1954).

Another way in which Standard English differs from RP is that it exhibits significant regional variation. Subsumed under Standard English (or Standard British English) are Standard English English (in England and Wales), Standard Scottish English and Standard Irish English. In Scotland and Ireland there are regional features which, because they are to be found regularly even in formal writing, are considered 'standard'. In Standard Scottish English, for example, we can – at least among older speakers – find *They hadn't a good time* rather than the Standard English English *They didn't have a good time*, and forms such as *furth of* and *outwith*, both of which are equivalent to *outside* or *beyond*. It is of course almost always the Standard English English forms which are taught to foreign students, even in Scotland. Variation between these standard dialects is in fact quite limited, and should cause learners few problems.

Language Change

The grammar of a dialect changes with time, but very slowly. Grammatical forms and structures, members of tightly knit, closed

systems, resist alteration, and it is not always easy to identify ongoing grammatical development.

One interesting example of grammatical variation which may represent the beginning of a change in the language is the apparently increasing use of the **present perfect** construction in conjunction with expressions of definite past time reference. We may hear utterances such as *And Roberts has played for us last season* (implying that he did so without any kind of break). Most native speakers, it must be admitted, would find this odd. They would claim that the speaker had made a mistake. But sentences like this are heard more and more often. The captain of a cricket team who said *And Roberts has played for us last season* had been asked about the present strength of his side. His answer combined an indication of the current relevance of Roberts' having played with the information that it was in the previous season that he had played. In this way he said in one sentence what can normally only be said in two:

Roberts has played for us. He played last season.

It is not at all certain that the use of this grammatical device will continue to increase. For the time being it will be regarded as a mistake, or at any rate rather odd-sounding. But if eventually it becomes generally accepted (just as previously 'incorrect' sentences like *The house is being built next spring* are now accepted as good English), then it will be yet another subtlety for foreign learners to master, in an area which is already difficult enough.

Lexical change is more rapid than grammatical change. It is easier to see the variation that sometimes accompanies it. In some

cases a new lexical item enters the language and displaces one already there. In this way the word *radio* took the place of *wireless*, the latter of which (in the sense of *radio*) is now heard exclusively in the speech of the elderly. Among younger people, the meaning of *wireless* now exclusively denotes a cable-free means of accessing the internet.

In other cases, an established lexical item begins to change its meaning, or take on a second meaning. The word *aggravate*, for instance, which not long ago exclusively meant 'make worse' (as in the phrases *Don't aggravate the situation* or *aggravated burglary*), is now probably more often used to mean something like 'irritate', as in *Hearing her talk about her latest foreign holiday is really aggravating*. There are some people – the kind who write tetchy letters to newspaper editors – who argue that since *aggravate* is derived from the Latin *aggravare*, which has the meaning 'make worse' or 'make heavier', then that must be the true meaning of *aggravate* in English. But if this argument were applied generally, it would suggest that the real meaning of *nice*, since it is derived from the Latin *nescius*, is 'ignorant'.

There are other people who argue that giving a second meaning to *aggravate* could lead to misunderstanding. This is hardly likely, as in its first sense the verb requires an abstract object, while in its second sense it requires an animate object. At present, many educated people continue to avoid using *aggravate* to mean 'irritate', at least in their written English. Foreign learners, while recognising the possibility of a second meaning for *aggravate* (and

for other words like *chronic, flaunt, infer* or *literally* that are also changing), should probably do the same.

Stylistic Variation

The choice of grammatical structure and vocabulary will vary with the situation in which people are speaking. On a very formal occasion someone might say *the man to whom I wrote*, while less formally they might say *the bloke I wrote to*. One phrase is not more correct than the other, even if *bloke* might strike the reader as less formal than *man*. And despite the protestations of pedants, there is no reason, except custom and personal preference, why **prepositions** like *to* (and *from*, *into*, *above, up*, etc.) should not end sentences. Nor is there anything grammatically wrong with inserting an **adverb** such as *pointlessly* between the two parts of a **verb infinitive** like *to criticise* to create the phrase *to pointlessly criticise*. Objections to such so-called **split infinitives** in English originate in the pronouncement that since one cannot split verb infinitives in Latin in this way, the process should not be allowed to occur in English. It seems obvious to most of us, though, that what happened to be the case in Latin is not necessarily the case in English, and there is little sense in trying to transfer grammatical rules from a dead Romance language into a living Germanic one. Defenders of grammatical correctness in English predict that the decline in the teaching of 'rules' like 'Don't end sentences with prepositions' and 'Avoid splitting infinitives' will inevitably lead to some kind of linguistic free-for-all, where speakers will be able to flout the rules as they please, and pepper their speech with slang

and swear words with impunity. The sales of books by self-appointed English usage experts such as John Humphrys and Lynne Truss bear witness to the British public's appetite for being told what they should and should not say or write (or rather, what other people should and should not say or write). But again, it should be remembered that swear words, slang and the like are not intrinsically wrong *in themselves*. As with the features of pronunciation discussed earlier, it is a matter not of correctness but of appropriateness to the situation.

When even highly educated people are chatting together with friends, their speech is very different in style from textbook conversation. This can be demonstrated very convincingly by recording a conversation and then transcribing it as precisely as possible, as we have done in later sections of this book. It is always surprising how much 'noise' there is in the spoken language people produce when their utterances are unplanned (in the sense of them improvising what they are saying, rather than repeating something memorised, or reading from a script). This is true even of speakers we think of as particularly fluent and articulate. It is quite normal for speakers to begin a sentence, then change their mind; they hesitate, then start again, differently; they use pause fillers like *er* and *um* with surprising frequency; they muddle one grammatical structure with another, and transpose words out of their normal order. They omit various words, forget others, replacing them with *thingy* or *wotsit*, and if necessary they will invent words (known as **nonce words**) just for the occasion. In a relaxed atmosphere they do not feel constrained to speak carefully or to plan what they are

going to say. And in such casual speech situations speakers' utterances will overlap with each other a good deal. This makes understanding difficult for learners, of course. But once account is taken of their difficulties and people begin to speak more slowly and carefully, inevitably the atmosphere changes somewhat.

Regional Variation

Standard English, as we have said, is a dialect. Besides this, there are many regional dialects in Britain, which differ from Standard English in various ways. There are grammatical differences. So, in East Anglia the third person singular present tense is not marked with a final *–s*. We find *he go*, *he eat* alongside Standard English *he goes*, *he eats*. There are differences, too, of vocabulary. What is known as a *clothes horse* in Standard English and southern English dialects is called a *maiden* in northern English dialects.

Not everybody speaks the dialect of the area they belong to. There is a relationship between social class and dialect similar to the one between social class and accent. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the less regionally marked his or her language is likely to be. This can be exemplified with the figures from a survey carried out in Norwich, in the East Anglian county of Norfolk (see the Norwich map on page 84). The number of third person singular present tense verb forms without *–s* was counted and then expressed as a percentage of all third person singular present tense verb forms. The results for various social groups were as shown in Table 1.2 (Trudgill 1974).

Table 1.2 Third person singular present tense verb forms without -s in Norwich (Trudgill 1974)

	% forms without -s
Upper middle class	0
Lower middle class	29
Upper working class	75
Middle working class	81
Lower working class	97

Until not so very long ago, teachers in British schools made great efforts to eradicate features of local dialect from the speech and, more particularly, the writing of their pupils. Teachers were inclined to think of these regional features as mistakes in Standard English. They were, however, not very successful in their efforts. Today, fortunately, teachers and educational policymakers are a good deal more tolerant of regional and social variation in the language used by schoolchildren. It is true, nonetheless, that the longer children stay at school, and the higher their level of educational attainment, the less regionally marked, grammatically and lexically, their speech is likely to be. But as length of stay and success at school themselves correlate highly with social class, this may not be very significant. It is true, however, that some people do modify their speech quite considerably as their educational development progresses. In many cases they can be regarded as

having two dialects, speaking Standard English in certain company and their local dialect (often with a more marked regional accent than they normally use) in other company. In this way they make a claim to belong to more than one social group. Many young British people report that staying in education as far as university level has an additional standardising effect on their English, such that while their English may be perceived by university acquaintances as regionally distinct, it may be seen as somehow 'diluted' or 'posh' by their friends and family back home. An interesting study of linguistic accommodation among university students in an American English context has been carried out by Bigham (2010), but to our knowledge no systematic investigations of this phenomenon have yet been conducted in the United Kingdom or Ireland.

Correctness

We have mentioned the idea of correctness on a number of occasions already in this chapter. We want here just to summarise briefly what we have said. Three types of thing are often said to be incorrect.

The first type is elements which are new to the language. Resistance to these by many speakers seems inevitable, but almost as inevitable, as long as these elements prove useful, is their eventual acceptance into the language. The learner needs to recognise these and understand them. It is interesting to note that resistance seems weakest to change in pronunciation. There are

linguistic reasons for this but, in the case of the RP accent, the fact that innovation is introduced by the social elite must play a part.

The second type is features of informal speech. This, we have argued, is a matter of style, not correctness. It is like wearing clothes. Most people reading this book will see nothing wrong in wearing a bikini, but such an outfit would seem a little out of place in an office (no more out of place, however, than a business suit would be for lying on the beach). In the same way, there are words one would not normally use when giving a presentation at a conference which would be perfectly acceptable in bed, and vice versa.

The third type is features of regional speech. We have said little about correctness in relation to these, because we think that once they are recognised for what they are, and not thought debased or deviant forms of the prestige dialect or accent, the irrelevance of the notion of correctness will be obvious.

Summary

At present, the most prestigious British dialect is Standard English; the most prestigious accent is RP. It is with these that overseas learners are generally most familiar, assuming they are learning British English rather than American or Australian English, say. What they are not usually so familiar with, however, is the degree of variation to be found within Standard English and RP. This variation, part of it stylistic, part of it attributable to changes in the language, is not the subject matter of this book, although we have included suggestions for further reading towards the end.

Nevertheless, it is important that learners should be aware of the existence and effects of stylistic variation and variation over time, and not mistake it for the social and regional variation with which we are principally concerned.

Standard English is the dialect used by educated people throughout the British Isles. Nevertheless, most people in Britain and Ireland (including many who would generally be regarded as speakers of Standard English) have at least some regional dialect forms in their speech. In general, the higher people are on the social scale, the fewer of these regional forms their speech will exhibit. The main ways in which regional dialects differ from Standard English are outlined in the next chapter.

RP, lastly, is not the accent of any region. It is spoken by a very small percentage of the British population, those at the top of the social scale. Everyone else has a regional accent of some sort. The lower a person is on the social scale, the more obvious their regional accent will tend to be to listeners. Differences between RP and regional accents are discussed in Chapter 4.

Dialect Variation

DOI: 10.4324/9780203784440-2

Variation within Standard English

The Standard English dialect itself is subject to a certain amount of variation. Some of this is regional: educated people in different parts of Britain do vary to a certain extent in the way in which they speak, and even write, English. (These differences normally involve features which are also found in the regional non-standard dialects.) And some of it is to do with age: as we saw in Chapter 1, all languages and dialects change, and Standard English is no exception.

1. **Speakers of Standard English in the south of England tend to use contracted negatives of the type**:

   I haven't got it
   She won't go
   Doesn't he like it?

   The further north one goes, the more likely one is to hear the alternative type:

   I've not got it
   She'll not go
   Does he not like it?

   This is particularly true of Derbyshire, Lancashire, Cumbria and Scotland. In Scotland, forms of this type are used particularly frequently. Elsewhere, it is more a matter of tendencies than of absolute rules. Southern English speakers use the northern-type contraction in *I'm not*, since *I amn't* does not occur in Standard English, although it does in other dialects, such as those spoken in Scotland. Southern English

speakers also quite frequently use the *you're not ~ we're not ~ they're not* forms alongside the more typically southern-type forms with *aren't*. Part of the reason for this may lie in the stigmatised non-standard usage of this form with the first person singular, *I aren't*.

2. **In most grammatical descriptions of Standard English it is stated that the indirect object precedes the direct object**:

    She gave the man a book

    She gave him it

    She gave him the book

    If the preposition *to* is employed, however, then of course the direct object can precede the indirect object:

    She gave a book to the man

    She gave it to him

    She gave a book to him

    She gave it to the man

    In the south of England, the forms with *to* seem to be the most common, particularly where the direct object is a **pronoun** like *him*, *her*, *it*, *them* and so on. However, in the educated speech of people from the north of England, other structures are also possible, as demonstrated in the following:

    a. *She gave it him* is very common indeed, and is also quite acceptable to many southern speakers.

    b. *She gave it the man* is also very common in the north of England, but is not found in the south.

c. *She gave the book him* is not so common, but it can nonetheless be heard in the north of England, particularly if there is contrastive stress on *him*.

d. *She gave a book the man* is not especially common, but it does occur in northern varieties, particularly again if *man* is contrastively stressed.

3. **There are regional differences in which participle forms are used after verbs such as need and want**:

Southern England	*I want it washed*
	It needs washing
Parts of midland	*I want it washing*
and northern England	*It needs washing*
Scotland	*I want it washed*
	It needs washed

4. **There are a number of regional and age-group differences in the use of the verbs must and have to. These can be demonstrated with reference to** Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Must and have to in southern English English

		(a) positive	(b) negative modal	(c) negative main verb
nonepistemic	(1)	he must do it he has to do it he's got to do it	he doesn't have to do it he hasn't got to do it	he mustn't do it
epistemic	(2)	he must be in		he can't be in
nonepistemic	(3)	he had to do it he'd got to do it	he didn't have to do it he hadn't got to do it	

		(a) positive	(b) negative modal	(c) negative main verb
epistemic	(4)	he must have been in		he couldn't have been in he can't have been in
	(5)	he'll have to do it	he won't have to do it	

The forms in the **negative modal** column have the meaning 'he is not compelled to do it (but he can if he likes)', while the forms in the negative main verb column have the meaning 'he is compelled not to do it'. The **epistemic** uses (rows 2 and 4) are those where inferences are being drawn: 'it is certain that he is in (because I can hear his radio)' and so on. It can be seen that in Standard English in the south of England (the variety most often described in grammar books) only *must* appears in (c) and only *have to* or *have got to* in (b). It will also be seen that 3(c) and 5(c) are blank, because there is no way of saying 'he must not do it' in the past or future: one has to use

constructions such as ‘he wasn’t allowed to do it’ or ‘he won’t be allowed to do it’. In the north of England, however, these gaps are filled. At 1(c), in these areas, it is possible to have *he hasn’t to do it* (and, for some speakers, *he’s not got to do it* or *he hasn’t got to do it* – which are therefore ambiguous in a way they are not in the south of England) with the additional meaning *he mustn’t do it*. Similarly, with the past, 3(c), educated northern English can have *he hadn’t to do it*, as well as *he didn’t have to do it* and *he hadn’t got to do it* or *he’d not got to do it*, which are again ambiguous. And for the future, 5(c), northern speakers have *he’ll not have to do it* or *he won’t have to do it* (which are ambiguous) and even *he’ll haven’t to do it*. At 2(c) and 4(c) the usual northern forms are *he mustn’t be in* and *he mustn’t have been in*. And for many younger speakers in both the north and the south, probably as the result of North American influence, *have to* and *have got to* have also acquired epistemic use, particularly in positive, present tense usage. Thus *he must be the greatest player in the world* can now also be *he’s got to be the greatest player in the world* or *he has to be the greatest player in the world*.

5. **It is possible to divide English verbs into two main classes according (among other criteria) to whether or not they employ auxiliary do in negatives and interrogatives**:

He walked	*He didn't walk*	*Did he walk*?
He laughed	*She didn't laugh*	*Did she laugh*?
She can leave	*She can't leave*	*Can she leave*?
He will go	*He won't go*	*Will he go*?

Verbs of the second type (without *do*) come into the category of modals and auxiliaries.

a. The verbs *ought to* and *used to* are often described in English grammars as coming into this second category, and indeed are employed in this way by some older speakers:

He ought not to go	*Ought he to go*?
They used not to go	*Used they to go*?

With younger speakers, however – and this is particularly true of the **interrogative** form, especially with *used to* – these verbs are being reclassified in the first category:

He didn't ought to go	*Did he ought to go*?
They didn't use to go	*Did they use to go*?

b. There is considerable regional and age-related variation concerning the verb *to have*. This variation concerns the

extent to which *have* is treated as an auxiliary verb or as a **full** verb in different varieties of English.

In examining this variation, it is necessary to distinguish between **stative** meanings of the verb *to have* and **dynamic** meanings. With stative meanings, we are dealing with some kind of stable quality or state of affairs, where *to have* means something like 'to be in possession of'. With dynamic meanings, we are dealing with some kind of activity or temporary state of affairs, where the verb means something like 'to consume', 'to take' and so on. Thus, *I have some coffee in the cupboard* involves stative meaning, whereas *I have coffee with my breakfast* is dynamic. In English English, until relatively recently, the verb *to have* required ***do*-support** – that is, it was treated like a full verb – in the case of dynamic meanings only. Thus:

Does she have coffee with her breakfast? No, she doesn't

They didn't have a good time last night

With stative meanings, on the other hand, it was treated as an auxiliary and did not require *do*-support. Thus:

Have they any money? No, they haven't

They hadn't any coffee in the cupboard

In American English, on the other hand, *do*-support is required in both cases, so the verb *to have* is treated as a main verb regardless of whether it has dynamic or stative meanings. Thus:

Does she have coffee with her breakfast? No, she doesn't

They didn't have a good time last night

Do they have any money? No, they don't

They didn't have any coffee in the cupboard

In Scottish English and to a certain extent in the north of England as well as in many parts of Ireland, we find the opposite situation – there is no distinction between dynamic and stative meanings, the verb *to have* being treated as an auxiliary in all cases. Thus, in addition to saying:

Have they any money? No, they haven't

They hadn't any coffee in the cupboard

in Scottish English one can say:

Has she coffee with her breakfast? No, she hasn't

They hadn't a good time last night

though this is probably used more rarely by younger Scottish people than it is by people of their grandparents' generation. This difference in the status of *have* is also demonstrated by different possibilities of phonological contraction (only auxiliary *have* can be contracted). Thus:

US English	*I have no money*	*I had a good time*
English English	*I've no money*	*I had a good time*
Scottish English	*I've no money*	*I'd a good time*

In both American and British English, it is also very usual with stative meanings in more informal styles to use the *have got* construction, for example:

Have they got any money? No, they haven't

They hadn't got any coffee in the cupboard

There is also the further complication that the American-style lack of grammatical distinction between stative and dynamic meanings has had an influence on the English of England, particularly among younger southern speakers. This means that in southern England English we now have the possibility, with stative meanings, of using three different types of construction:

Have you got any money? (informal)
Have you any money? (formal, older)
Do you have any money? (newer)

6. **It is well known that certain verb-particle constructions in English have alternative forms as follows**:

(a) *He turned out the light*	*Put on your coat!*	*She took off her shoes*
(b) *He turned the light out*	*Put your coat on!*	*She took her shoes off*

There is, however, regional variation with respect to this usage in Britain. All speakers will accept both (a) and (b) as normal English, but speakers in the south of England are more likely to employ the (b) forms in their own speech, whereas Scottish speakers very frequently use forms of type (a).

7. **Like** *Like* is becoming increasingly frequent in the speech of younger British and Irish people, regardless of whether they speak standard or non-standard dialects. *Like* fulfils several

functions: it can function as a **pause filler**, as in *Are you, like, coming to the cinema tonight*? as well as an **intensifier**, serving to draw attention to a following piece of information:

> *It was like the funniest film I've ever seen*.

It can also function, with the verb *be*, as a means of directly reporting speech (equivalent to *said*, etc.) or a person's (unverbalised) emotional status, as in:

> *They were like, 'I hate this place' but she's like, just shut up both of you*.

This last function of *like* is termed **quotative (be) like** (see Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), and it is thought to have been imported fairly recently into British English from North America. Note that several of the speakers on the website recordings use *like* frequently for all three functions, and they are not necessarily the younger ones (e.g. the London and Aberdeen speakers; see Chapter 5, pp. 82–83; 133–136). The quotative system in contemporary English is highly complex, and new forms are being adopted with amazing rapidity. Cheshire *et al*. (2011) give an account of a new quotative *this is + speaker* in the speech of young Londoners, for example:

> *This is them 'What area are you from, what part?'*
> *This is me 'I'm from Hackney'*

Lexical Features

We shall be dealing further with variation in vocabulary in individual sections. It is worth noting here, however, that some

features, such as the lack of distinction between *teach* and *learn*, and between *borrow* and *lend*, are found in nearly all non-standard dialects:

> *They don't learn you nothing at school* (= *They don't teach you anything at school*)
> *Can I lend your bike*? (= *Can I borrow your bike*?)

Features of Colloquial Style

At some points it is difficult to distinguish between features of colloquial style and those of non-standard dialect. The following are a few of these.

a. *us* can function as the first person singular object pronoun:
   Give us a kiss!
b. **pronoun apposition** – a personal pronoun immediately following its antecedent noun:
   My dad he told me not to
c. **indefinite this** – *this* can function as an indefinite article, particularly in narratives:
   There's this house, see, and there's this man with a gun

Non-Standard Grammatical Forms

In this book we cannot provide a comprehensive list of all the grammatical differences to be found between non-standard British dialects and Standard English; readers are recommended to look at Milroy and Milroy (1993) and Kortmann and Upton (2008) for

further information on the topic. We can, however, describe some of the forms most common in varieties, and point out the types of differences to be looked for in each area, and will do so, briefly, in this chapter. Further examples, together with instances of lexical variation, will be cited in the individual sections of Chapter 5.

Multiple Negation

There are a number of grammatical forms which differ from those in Standard English and which can be found in most parts of the British Isles. This is because, in these cases, it is in fact the standard dialect which has diverged from the other varieties, not the other way round. A good example of this is the grammatical construction well known throughout the English-speaking world as ‘the double negative’. If we take a sentence in Standard English such as:

I had some dinner

we can note that there are two different ways of making this sentence negative. We can either negate the verb:

I didn’t have any dinner

or we can negate the word *some*, by changing it to *no*:

I had no dinner

These sentences do have different stylistic connotations, the latter being more formal, but they mean approximately the same thing.

The main point is that in Standard English one can perform one or other of these operations, but not both. In most other English dialects, however, one can do both these things at once. The result is **multiple negation**:

I didn't have no dinner

(Linguists prefer the terms multiple negation or **negative concord** to the more common term 'double negative', since the construction is not limited to two negatives. It is possible to have three or more, as in *she couldn't get none nowhere*.)

It is safe to say that constructions of the type *I didn't have no dinner* are employed by the majority of English speakers, both in the British Isles and worldwide. At one time this construction was found in the standard dialect, too, and it has parallels in many other languages (such as the *ne … pas* construction in French). It is, however, considered to be 'wrong' by many people in the English-speaking world. This is largely because it is, like most non-standard grammatical forms, most typical of working-class speech, and for that reason tends to have low prestige. People who believe it to be 'wrong', 'ugly', 'clumsy' or 'illogical' are, we can say, probably making what is ultimately a social rather than a linguistic judgement. It would be interesting to know whether these people would still look on multiple negation so disapprovingly if it were pointed out to them that both Chaucer and Shakespeare used these constructions in their writing.

There is, in addition, considerable regional variation in the type of constructions in which multiple negation is permitted. The

following sorts of construction occur in some non-standard dialects but not in others:

> *We haven't got only one* (= Standard English *We've only got one*)
> *He went out without no shoes on*

Other Aspects of Negation in Non-Standard Dialects

Unlike multiple negation, the form *ain't* is not found throughout Britain in various forms, but it is nevertheless extremely common. It is variously pronounced /eɪnt/, /ɛnt/, or /ɪnt/, and has two main functions. First, it corresponds to the negative forms of the present tense of *be* in Standard English, i.e. *aren't*, *isn't* and *am not*:

I ain't coming *He/she/it ain't there* *You/we/they ain't going*

Second, it functions as the negative present tense of auxiliary *have*, corresponding to Standard English *haven't* and *hasn't*:

I ain't done it *He ain't got one*

Note, however, that it does not usually function as the negative present form of the full verb *have*:

**I ain't a clue* (= *I haven't a clue*)

(In linguistics an asterisk preceding a form indicates an unacceptable or unattested construction.)

The form *aren't* also occurs more widely in non-standard dialects than in Standard English. In Standard English, of course, it occurs as the negation of *are*, as in *we aren't*, *you aren't*, *they aren't*. It also occurs in the first person singular with the interrogative *aren't I*? But in some non-standard dialects the form *I aren't*, equivalent to Standard English *I'm not*, also occurs, while *I amn't* occurs in parts of the West Midlands and in Scotland. *I amnae* is also common in non-standard Scottish English (see p. 34). These forms are good illustrations of the inadvisability of arguing for the use of Standard English grammar on grounds that it is more 'logical', systematic or consistent than non-standard grammar. After all, if the correct interrogative equivalents of *she is* and *you are* are *isn't she* and *aren't you* respectively, logically speaking we ought also to say *amn't I*. Yet *amn't* is considered 'wrong', 'ungrammatical', even 'impossible', by many people, including people who use the construction themselves. It should be clear that the habit of equating grammatical correctness with standardness is a matter of social convention, however much we are told that the relationship between these two traits is direct, uncomplicated and self-evidently true. Claims about the superior grammaticality of Standard English are based not on logic or grammatical consistency – arguments of this type can be knocked down easily without looking very hard for counterexamples – but are the product of uncritical acceptance of

the subjective, biased and often prejudiced opinions of former generations of commentators.

Past Tense of Irregular Verbs

Regular verbs in English have identical forms for the past tense and for the past participle, as used in the formation of perfect verb forms:

Present	Past	Present perfect
I work	*I worked*	*I have worked*
I love	*I loved*	*I have loved*

Many **irregular** verbs, on the other hand, have in Standard English distinct forms for the past tense and past participle:

Present	Past	Present perfect
I see	*I saw*	*I have seen*
I go	*I went*	*I have gone*
I come	*I came*	*I have come*
I write	*I wrote*	*I have written*

In many non-standard dialects, however, there is a strong tendency to bring the irregular verbs into line with the regular ones, the

distinction being signalled only by the presence or absence of *have*. There is considerable regional variation here, but in some cases we find the original past participle used also as the past tense form_

Present	Past	Present perfect
I see	*I seen*	*I have seen*
I come	*I come*	*I have come*
I write	*I wrote*	*I have wrote*

(In the case of *come*, as with *hit*, *put*, *cut* and so on in Standard English, all three forms are identical.) In other cases, **levelling** has taken place in the other direction:

Present	Past	Present perfect
I see	*I saw*	*I have saw*
I go	*I went*	*I have went*

And in others, the present tense form may be generalised:

Present	Past	Present perfect
I see	*I see*	*I have seen*
I give	*I give*	*I have given*

We can also note common forms such as:

Present	Past	Present perfect
I write	*I writ /ɹɪt/*	*I have writ*

and the continuation of the historical tendency (known as **analogical levelling**) to make irregular verbs regular:

Present	Past	Present perfect
I draw	*I drawed*	*I have drawed*

The verb *do* is also involved in social dialect variation of this type, and in a rather interesting way. As is well known to learners of English as a foreign language, *do* has two functions. It can act as a full verb, as in:

He's doing maths at school *I did lots of work*

and it can also act as an auxiliary verb, and is used as such in interrogation, negation, emphasis and 'code' (Palmer 1988):

Did you go? *You went, did you*? *We didn't go*
I did like it *We went and so did they*

In Standard English, the forms of the full verb and of the auxiliary are identical:

He does maths, does he? *You did lots of work, didn't you*?

In most non-standard dialects, however, the full verb and the auxiliary are distinguished in the past tense, as the full verb has been subjected to the levelling process described above, while the auxiliary has not. That is, the past tense form of the full verb is *done*, and that of the auxiliary *did*:

You done lots of work, didn't you? *I done it last night*
A: *Did you*? **B**: *Yes, I did*

These non-standard dialects therefore have a grammatical distinction that is not found in the standard dialect. This example is one of many that demonstrate that non-standard dialects are not grammatically deficient or incomplete relative to Standard English, as many people think: the grammars of non-standard varieties are just different from that of Standard English, and are equally complex.

'Never' as Past Tense Negative

In non-standard dialects in most parts of the British Isles the word *never*, in contrast to Standard English, can refer to a single occasion, and functions in the same way as the form *didn't*. Thus *I never done it* means *I did not do it* with reference to a single, particular occasion (for example, if a child is trying to deny having broken a window by kicking a football through it). Forms of this type are particularly common in the speech of children, but are well attested in adult speech too:

> *I never went to the shops today after all*
> **A**: *You done it!* **B**: *I never!*

Present Tense Verb Forms

The present tense form of the verb in Standard English is somewhat anomalous with regard to other dialects of the language in that the third person singular form is distinguished from the other forms by the presence of *-s*:

I want
you want
we want but *he ~ she ~ it wants*
they want

In a number of non-standard dialects, this anomaly is not found. In East Anglia, as in some American and Caribbean varieties, this verb paradigm is completely regular as a result of the absence of the third singular *-s*. In these dialects, forms such as the following are usual:

She like him *It go very fast* *He want it* *He don't like it*

The individual form *don't*, in fact, is very common indeed throughout the English-speaking world in the third person singular.

In other parts of Britain, including parts of the north of England and especially the south-west and South Wales, the regularity is of the opposite kind, with *-s* occurring with all persons of the verb:

I likes it *We goes home* *You throws it*

In parts of the west of England this leads to the complete distinction of the full verb *do* and auxiliary *do*:

	Present	Past	Past participle
Full verb:	*dos* /duːz/	*done*	*done*
Auxiliary:	*do*	*did*	–

Thus:

He dos it every day, do he?	*He done it last night, did he*?

In other dialects, including many in Scotland and Northern Ireland, the forms with *-s* in the first and second persons and in the third person plural are a sign of the **historic present**, where the present tense is used to make the narration of past events more vivid:

> *I go home every day at four o'clock*

but

> *I goes down this street and I sees this man hiding behind a tree*

Relative Pronouns

In Standard English, *who* is used as a **relative pronoun** referring to human nouns, *which* is used for non-human nouns, and *that* is used for nouns of both types. The relative pronoun is also

frequently omitted in **restrictive relative clauses** where it refers to the object of a verb:

Human	*That was the man who did it*	*That was the man who I found*
	That was the man that did it	*That was the man that I found*
		That was the man I found
Non-human	*That was the brick which did it*	*That was the brick which I found*
	That was the brick that did it	*That was the brick that I found*
		That was the brick I found

These forms are also found in non-standard dialects, but a number of additional forms also occur, including omission (or **ellipsis**) of pronouns referring to the subject:

That was the man what done it
That was the man which done it
That was the man as done it
That was the man at done it
That was the man done it

The form with *what* is particularly common. **Possessive relatives** (like *whose* in Standard English) may also differ from Standard English:

> *That's the man what his son done it* (= *That's the man whose son did it*)
> *This is the man that's son did it* (= *This is the man whose son did it*)

Personal Pronouns

A number of interesting regional and social differences concerning the personal pronouns can be noted. These include the use in north-eastern England and in Scotland of *us* as a first person singular object pronoun, as in *He deliberately tripped us as I was walking down the corridor*. This phenomenon is also commonly found in the colloquial speech of many other parts of Britain, but in these places it is confined to a limited number of locutions, such as *Do us a favour* and *Give us a kiss*.

The **reflexive** pronouns in Standard English are formed by suffixing *-self* or *-selves* to

a. the possessive pronoun:

my	*myself*
your	*yourself / yourselves*
our	*ourselves*

b. the object pronoun:

him	*himself*
it	*itself*
them	*themselves*

The form *herself* could be regarded as being based on either the possessive or the object pronoun. Note also that because *they*, *their* and *them* are now very frequently used in the third person singular (as in the 'gender-neutral' *If they are a student on my course, tell them to get their essay in immediately*), the form *themself* can now be heard and read more and more often, as in *Every student should give themself a break from their studies*, or the American newspaper headline *Vandal should turn themselves in*. Similarly, *ourself* is fairly common: its use might strike some contemporary readers or listeners as a sign of ignorance or inability to think logically, but in earlier forms of the language it was originally used interchangeably with *ourselves*. It can be found in Dickens, for instance.

Many non-standard dialects have regularised the reflexive pronoun system so that, for instance, all forms are based on the possessives:

myself
herself
yourself
itsself

hisself
ourselves
theirselves

Scottish speakers may use -*sel*(*s*), for example Glasgow [wʌɾˈsɛoz] ‘ourselves’ (note the vocalised /l/; see pages 42 and 45). In parts of northern England, notably Yorkshire, the suffix -*sen* is used where Standard English has *self*, so that the equivalent of ‘himself’ is *hissen* /ɪˈsɛn/ (note the /h/-dropping; see pages 45 and 66–67).

Comparatives and Superlatives

Standard English permits comparison through either the addition of *more*:

She’s more beautiful than you

or through the addition of -*er*:

He’s nicer

Many non-standard dialects permit both **comparative** forms simultaneously:

She’s more rougher than he is

The same is also true with **superlatives**. Since Shakespeare wrote *The most unkindest cut of all* this form has been lost in Standard English, but it survives in many other dialects:

He’s the most roughest bloke I’ve ever met

In many non-standard dialects, the comparative and superlative suffixes can be attached to adjectives which do not allow this in Standard English:

You ought to be carefuller in future
She's the beautifullest woman I know

Demonstratives

Corresponding to the Standard English system of

this	*these*
that	*those*

a number of social and regional variants occur. Most commonly, Standard English *those* corresponds to *them* in non-standard dialects, but particularly in Scottish dialects *they* (sometimes spelled *thae*) can also be heard.

Look at them animals!
Look at they animals!

In north-east Scotland, for example in Aberdeen, the demonstrative *that* occurs even with plural nouns:

Look at that animals!

The forms *yon* and *thon* are also used in Scotland (see under Traditional dialects (Sections 20–24 in Chapter 5)).

Adverbs

In Standard English, there are many pairs of formally related adjectives and adverbs:

He was a slow runner	*He ran slowly*
She was a very clever speaker	*She spoke very cleverly*

In most non-standard dialects, these forms are not distinct:

He ran slow	*She spoke very clever*	*They done it very nice* cf. *He'll do it very good*

In the case of some adverbs, forms without *-ly* are also found in colloquial Standard English:

> *Come quick!*

although some speakers might not accept this as Standard English.

Unmarked Plurality

A very widespread feature indeed in many non-standard dialects involves nouns of measurement following numerals not being marked for plurality:

a hundred pound *thirteen mile* *five foot* *sixteen year*

The use of *foot* in plural contexts like those above is not unheard of in colloquial Standard English.

Prepositions of Place

Prepositions exhibit a large degree of variation in their usage in British dialects. This is particularly true of prepositions of place, and we can do no more here than cite a very few examples of cases where non-standard dialects can differ from Standard English:

He went up the park (= *He went to the park*)
We walked down the shops (= *We walked to the shops*)
I got off of the bus (= *I got off the bus*)
It was at London (= *It was in London*)

Note that *at* was formerly frequently used in Standard English when describing locations in large towns or cities, as in for example *My parents learned to dance at Oxford* (= *in Oxford* in contemporary Standard English). In modern Standard English, the use of *at* with proper names of this sort often implies more specific meanings: *at Oxford* in the above example would probably be understood to mean *at the University of Oxford* by most British people today. In other cases, such as *You need to change at Oxford* or *He was arrested on his arrival at Manchester*, a particular location within the town or city is meant (in these examples,

Oxford's railway or bus station and Manchester Airport, respectively).

Traditional Dialects

In most of this book, we deal chiefly with those accents and dialects of English in the British Isles which foreign visitors are most likely to come into contact with. In this section, however, we deal briefly with certain grammatical features associated in particular with what are often referred to as 'traditional dialects'.

Traditional dialects are those conservative dialects of English which are, for the most part, spoken in relatively isolated rural areas by certain older speakers and which differ considerably from Standard English, and indeed from one another. Traditional dialects are what most British people think of when they hear the term 'dialect' used in a non-technical way. They correspond to those varieties which are known as *patois* in the French-speaking world and *Mundart* in German-speaking areas.

Grammatical features which are typical of certain traditional dialects include the following:

a. In most Scottish dialects, negation is not formed with *not*, but with *no* or with its more typically Scottish forms *nae* /ne/ or *na* /na/. Thus we find forms in Scottish English such as:

He's no coming	*I've nae got it*
I cannae go	*We do na have one*

b. In large areas of the north of England, including urban areas of Yorkshire, as well as in many areas of the rural south-west of England, the older distinction still survives (though it is now rare) between the informal singular second person pronouns *thou*, *thee*, *thine* and formal and/or plural *you ~ yours*. In the north of England, the usual subject and object form of this pronoun is *tha*, while in the south-west it tends to be *thee*. The system operates very much as in modern French, with friends and family being referred to as *tha* and people who one does not know so well being called *you*. It is also sometimes the case that distinct verb forms associated with second person singular still survive; for example, *tha cast* 'you can'.
c. In large areas of the south-west of England, including Devon and Somerset, a system of personal pronouns exists in which the form of the pronoun is not, for the most part, determined by subject versus object function, but by weak or strong **stress** position. For example:

strong	**weak**
you	*ee*
he	*er* (subject), *'n* (object)
she	*er*
we	*us*
they	*'m*

Thus: *You wouldn't do that, would ee*?
He wouldn't do that, would er?
No, give 'n to he
She wouldn't do that, would er?
No, give 'n to she
We wouldn't do that, would us?
No, give 'n to we
They wouldn't do that, would 'm?
No, give 'm to they

d. In many traditional dialects of the south-west of England, the gender system operates in a manner unlike that existing in Standard English, in that **mass** nouns such as water and bread are usually referred to as *it*, while **count** nouns such as *hammer* and *tree* are referred to as *he*, *er* or *'n*. Thus one would say:

Pass me the bread. It's on the table
but *Pass me the loaf. He's on the table*

e. In areas of the north of England and in Scotland, a three-way distinction in the system of demonstratives, rather than the two-way system associated with Standard English, can be found (see for example McRae 2000).

Singular	Plural (northern England)	Plural (Scotland)
this	*these*	*thir*
that	*them*	*they ~ thae*
yon	*yon*	*yon ~ thon*

As mentioned on page 33, some traditional dialects in northern Scotland do not use *thir* and *they ~ thae* in plural contexts, but instead use the singular form, as in:

This plates is too small My nephew drew that pictures

f. Forms of the verb *to be*, particularly those in the present tense, show much greater variation in traditional dialects than in more modern forms of speech. For example, in the north-east of England, *is* is generalised to all persons – for example, *I is*. In parts of the West Midlands, *am* may be generalised to all persons, as in *you am*, while in areas of south-western England, *be* may be generalised to all persons of the verb – that is, *you be*, *he be*, *they be* and so on.

g. In Aberdeen, as in north-eastern Scotland generally, **tags** such as *is*(*n't*) *it*, *do*(*n't*) *they* and so forth have a tendency to agree in **polarity** (positive vs. negative) with the statement they attach to. So while in Standard English the usual way to elicit the listener's agreement with a positive statement is to add a negative tag, as in:

It's a fine day, isn't it?

speakers from north-eastern Scotland are very frequently heard to use a **same-polarity tag**, as in:

It's a fine day, is it?

While the positive tag *is it*? may of course be used in this context in Standard English, its use in that dialect serves to indicate that the speaker does not know whether it is in fact a fine day (for instance, while discussing the weather with an Australian relative by telephone), or it is used when he/she is (often sarcastically or aggressively) contradicting another's assertion that it is a fine day when the evidence is to the contrary.

Received Pronunciation

DOI: 10.4324/9780203784440-3

In this chapter we begin by presenting a framework for the description of the sounds of English. We then outline the principal ways in which RP varies, before going on to look in detail at the sounds of RP. We do not discuss stress, rhythm or intonation in any detail in connection with this accent, or with the others described in later chapters, as they are beyond the scope of this book (see Brazil 1997, Cruttenden 2001, Tench 1996, or Wells 1982, 2006b for information on these topics).

A Framework for Description

Consonants and Vowels

We must begin by making a distinction between **consonants** and **vowels**. Because our interest is in pronunciation, this distinction is based on the spoken, not the written, language: what we will refer to as vowels are therefore *not* the letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*. Letters, it must be remembered, are marks on paper or patterns of light and dark on computer screens. Speech sounds – which exist in the domain of acoustics and hearing, and are produced by various movements of the speech organs – are therefore clearly very different things from the visual symbols we use to represent them, and we should be careful not to talk about symbols and sounds as though they were at all similar.

The first criterion for assigning sounds to the vowel category is that their production does not involve **closure**, such that the airflow from the lungs to the outside air is cut off (as in the initial and final sounds of the words *pat* and *bag*), or narrowing of the **vocal tract** to the extent that audible friction is created (as in the initial and final sounds of *fizz* and *sash*).

The second criterion is that they should typically occur in the middle of a **syllable**, rather than at its margins. The middle portion of a syllable is called its **nucleus**. All other sounds, including those that meet the first criterion but not the second (the first sounds of the words *run, lend, young, wing*), are, not surprisingly, categorised as consonants.

Describing Consonants

Consonants are described in terms of the presence or absence of **voicing** (vibration of the **vocal folds**, also known as the **vocal cords**), **place of articulation**, and **manner of articulation**. Thus the initial sound in the word *vat* is said to be a voiced labiodental fricative: the vocal folds vibrate, and the sound is created by friction of the air as it passes through a narrow gap between lip (*labio-*) and teeth (*dental*). By contrast, the initial sound in the word *fat* is a voiceless labiodental fricative, the difference between it and the first sound in *vat* being that in the first sound of *fat* there is no vibration of the vocal folds. The initial sound of *sat*, by contrast, is termed a voiceless alveolar fricative. In this sound the friction is created as air rushes through the narrow gap between the tongue and the **alveolar ridge** (see Figure 3.1).

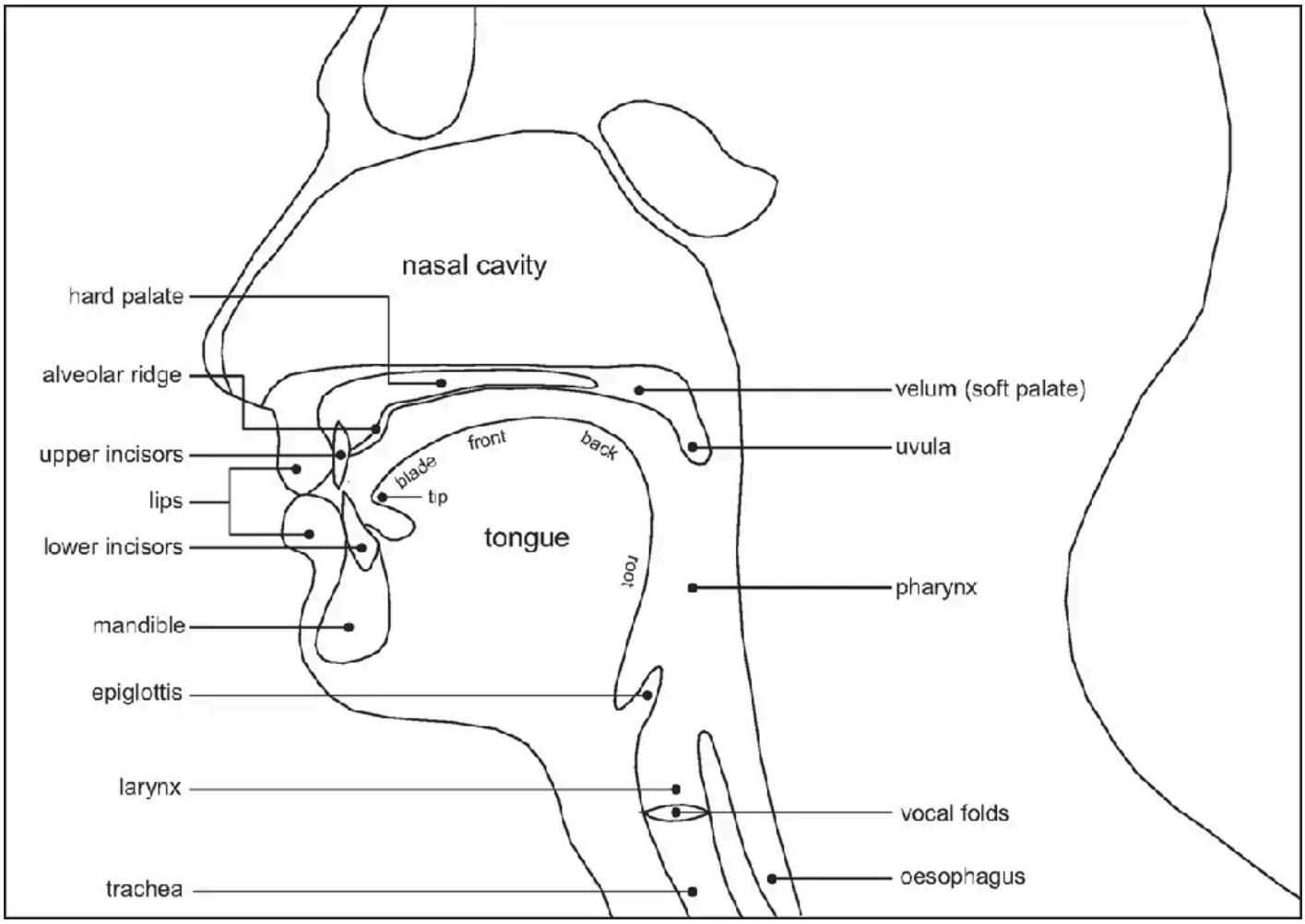


Figure 3.1 Schematised mid-sagittal section of the human head, showing the organs of speech

We can check whether or not a sound is voiced by putting our fingers in our ears while saying the sound. The vibrations created by the vocal folds for voiced sounds are much more readily heard this way. Alternatively, we can put thumb and forefinger on either side of the prominence at the front of the **thyroid cartilage** of the **larynx** (that is, the Adam's apple). If any voicing is present in the sound, we can feel vibration through our fingertips. If we want to check the place of articulation of a consonant, we can often get a sense of where in the mouth the sound is being produced by uttering the sound on the in-breath (i.e. while breathing in instead

of out). The point at which the vocal tract is narrowest – most constricted – will feel somewhat colder than other parts of the mouth, because the air rushing inwards towards the lungs has to travel faster to squeeze through the narrow gap.

All of the consonants referred to in this book are to be found in the current chart of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols on page xiv, which shows for each of them their place and manner of articulation, and whether or not they are voiced.

Describing Vowels

Vowels are customarily described in terms of: (a) the part of the tongue which is raised towards the roof of the mouth in producing it, and how far it is raised; and (b) how spread or rounded the lips are. Much of this information can be captured through the use of **vowel quadrilateral** charts, which we will be using throughout the remainder of the book. These charts are based on the Cardinal Vowel System devised by Daniel Jones early in the twentieth century. This system of 16 vowel sounds relates to the sounds produced when the highest part of the tongue (relative to the floor) is in eight different positions – there are four at the front of the mouth, and four at the back – with the lips either **rounded** or **unrounded**.

The vowel quadrilateral can also be found on the IPA chart on page xiv. It shows the position of the 16 cardinal vowels, as well as a number of **central** vowels. The chart is a schematic representation of the mouth, with **close** referring to a position of the tongue as close to the **hard palate** as possible without friction occurring,

and with **open** referring to a position of the tongue at the bottom of the mouth, with a marked degree of jaw opening. A feeling can be developed for the relationship between symbols at various positions in the vowel chart and the sounds they represent by listening to speakers reading the word list (page xi) on the website, while identifying the position of the vowels on the relevant vowel chart.

Phonemes and Allophones

The initial sounds of the words *fan* and *van* are clearly different. As we saw above, the first is voiceless and the second voiced. But not only are the two sounds different from each other, they also make a difference of meaning. A *fan* is, after all, not the same thing as a *van*.

In RP (but not in every accent of English), the initial sound of the word *leaf* is not the same as the final sound of the word *feel*. The first *l* sound is said to be **clear**, and the second (which involves the back of the tongue being drawn towards the **velum** or soft palate) is referred to as **dark**. In this case, however, the difference does *not* affect meaning. If we began the word *leaf* with a dark *l* rather than a clear *l*, the word would not change in meaning. Whether we used a dark *l* or a clear *l*, we would be understood to be referring to a leaf.

All four consonants referred to in the previous two paragraphs can be represented by phonetic symbols. In order to represent sounds phonetically, we place the symbols between square brackets. We have [f] and [v], [l] (clear) and [ɫ] (dark). Dark [ɫ] is

often also represented by [lˠ] – the small superscripted symbol meaning ‘velarised’ – that is, produced with the body of the tongue raised and retracted towards the **velum** or **soft palate** – but the same sound is meant.

Although there are four physically different sounds, two of them – [l] and [ɫ] – are not **contrastive**: they do not have the capacity to change words’ meanings in English. For this reason they may be considered as different realisations of a single linguistic unit. Such a unit is referred to as a **phoneme**, and its different realisations as **allophones**.

Phonemes are represented between slant brackets. Thus we can say that the phoneme /l/ has two allophones, [l] and [ɫ]. This allows us to give two possible transcriptions of, for instance, the word *feel*. A **phonemic** transcription would be /fiːl/, while a more detailed, *phonetic* transcription would be [fiːɫ]. The usefulness of the distinction between phonemes and allophones will become apparent below.

Variability in RP

Even though we speak of RP as a single accent, there is nevertheless significant variability within it. In this section we will begin by identifying the forms that variability takes and then go on to discuss the factors that account for variability.

Forms of Variability

There are three main forms of variability in RP: **systemic**, **realisational** and **lexical**. We speak of **systemic** or **inventory**

variability when different speakers have different sets (or 'systems') of phonemes. In RP this now applies only to vowel phonemes. Some older speakers of RP have one more vowel phoneme than others. Such speakers distinguish between pairs of words like *paw* and *pore*, pronouncing them /pɔː/ and /pɔə/ respectively. Most other RP speakers do not have the vowel /ɔə/, and pronounce both words /pɔː/.

Realisational variability refers to the way in which a single phoneme may have different phonetic realisations. For example, all RP speakers have a phoneme /əʊ/ (as in *boat*), which contrasts with /eɪ/ (*bait*), /aʊ/ (*bout*) and /aɪ/ (*bite*). Older speakers may pronounce the vowel as [oʊ], with a back first element, although this is now a very old-fashioned pronunciation. The vowel phoneme of most RP speakers starts from a more central point, giving [bəʊt].

In the context of pronunciation, **lexical** variability refers to the use of different series of phonemes for the same word. We have already noted one example in Chapter 1, the pronunciation of *economic* as /iːkəˈnɒmɪk/ or /ɛkəˈnɒmɪk/, both of which are found among RP speakers. Another example is the different pronunciation of the word *off*, which may be /ɒf/ (rhyming with *cough*, and by far the most usual pronunciation) or the now archaic /ɔːf/ (rhyming with *wharf*, and usually associated with older, upper-class speakers).

All of the variability referred to above relates to individual words and to differences of pronunciation between people. In continuous speech there is further variability, some of which depends on the

speed and formality of speech as much as it does on differences between people. This variability includes a number of processes: H-dropping (e.g. /ˈstɒp ɪm/ for *stop him*); R-insertion (e.g. /vəˈnɪləɹ aɪs ˈkriːm/ for *vanilla ice-cream*); elision, as in the example in Chapter 1 of /ˈspɛk səʊ/ for *expect so*; and assimilation, as in our earlier example /ðap ˈpleɪt/ *that plate*. We describe conditions for H-dropping and R-insertion in the sections on the /h/ and /ɹ/ phonemes (pages 45, 47).

Factors Accounting for Variability

There are several factors which help to account for variability within RP. The first of these is the age of the speaker. Like any living accent, RP is constantly changing, and so there will be differences between the pronunciation of younger and older speakers. As we noted above, older speakers may have one more vowel phoneme in their system than do most other speakers of the accent. Younger speakers typically use more glottal stops (see pages 43–44) than their elders, and use monophthongs where diphthongs have been traditional (see pages 5, 51–54).

A second factor is social class. Members of the upper classes have features which distinguish them from the majority of RP speakers. In identifying this social stratum, Wells (1982) refers to dowager duchesses, certain army officers, Noël Coward-type sophisticates, and popular images of elderly Oxbridge dons and ‘jolly-hockey-sticks’ schoolmistresses. Such speakers are likely to have, for example, a particularly open final vowel in words like *university*, something close to Cardinal Vowel 3, [ɛ]. Such pronunciations

appear to be receding, however, and there is evidence that members of the British royal family, including the Queen, no longer use 'upper-class' RP features of this sort (see Harrington *et al.* 2000).

A third factor is the age at which a person began to acquire an RP accent. Those who acquire it after childhood are likely to avoid normal features of faster RP speech, such as the dropping of unaccented /h/ in pronouns.

Other personal factors include the particular school attended; the speaker's profession or role; personality (a fastidious person may avoid something they consider vulgar, such as use of glottal stops for /t/ in certain environments); attitudes to language and to other speakers of RP; the frequency with which a speaker uses a word (less frequently used words being less likely to participate in a general change of pronunciation – for example, for some speakers at least, *heir* is less likely to be monophthongised than *air*); and even what a person has been told, perhaps by a teacher, is the 'correct' pronunciation of a word.

Other authors have concentrated on some of these factors in identifying subvarieties of RP. For Gimson (1988) there were three main types: *conservative RP*, spoken by the older generation and certain professional and social groups; *general RP*, the least marked variety; and *advanced RP*, spoken by younger members of exclusive social groups. Cruttenden's (2001) revision of Gimson's book uses the labels *General*, *Refined* and *Regional RP*. Cruttenden's *Refined RP* is equivalent to Gimson's *conservative RP*, while his apparently contradictory *Regional RP* refers to 'the

type of speech which is basically RP except for the presence of a few regional characteristics which go unnoticed even by other speakers of RP' (Cruttenden 2001: 80). These, he argues, include features like the use of /l/-vocalisation, whereby a word-final /l/ is realised as a vowel such as [ʊ] to give, for example, [bɔʊ] for *ball*, although in modern RP it would be difficult to maintain that /l/-vocalisation can any longer be described as a regional feature.

Wells (1982) also proposes three significant varieties: *u-RP* (uppercrust RP), spoken by the group identified as upper class above; *mainstream RP*, equivalent to Gimson's *general RP*; and *adoptive RP*, spoken by those who acquire the accent after childhood. In the following section, for each sound we begin by describing mainstream RP and then identify and comment on any significant variants.

The Individual Sounds of RP

Consonants

In this section, we describe the consonants in sets based on their manner of articulation.

Plosives

Plosives involve three stages: first, a closure in some part of the vocal tract, then the compression of air as it builds up behind the obstruction, and finally the release of that compressed air in the form of an explosion as the blockage is removed (hence the name 'plosive'). There are six plosive phonemes in RP:

	bilabial	alveolar	velar
voiceless	/p/	/t/	/k/
voiced	/b/	/d/	/g/

The voiceless plosives /p t k/ are usually marked by **aspiration**, an interval of voicelessness and accompanying friction noise between the plosive release and the onset of the following sound. We transcribe these aspirated plosives phonetically as [pʰ tʰ kʰ]. There is no aspiration, however, when the plosive follows /s/ initially in a syllable, as in [spɪn] *spin*. Aspiration may also be absent from these plosives at the end of a word, particularly in informal speech. According to Wells (1982), stressed word-initial /p t k/ often have surprisingly little aspiration in the speech of upper-class speakers. The duration of vowels (particularly long vowels) before /p t k/ is shorter than when they occur before /b d g/. Thus, for example, the vowel /iː/ in *bead* is of somewhat greater duration than when it occurs in *beat*. This is known as the 'Voicing Effect' (Chen 1970) or 'pre-fortis clipping', where *fortis* ('strong') implies that the sound is produced using a high degree of articulatory effort and muscular tension as compared with the softer, less effortful *lenis* ('weak') consonants.

The place of articulation of the alveolar plosives /t d/ is strongly influenced by that of a following consonant. Before /θ/ (in *eighth*, for example) /t/ will be a dental [t̪]; before /ɹ/ (in *dry*, for example) /d/ will be a post-alveolar [d̠].

The place of articulation of the velar plosives /k ɡ/ depends on the quality of the accompanying vowel. With /iː/, as in *leak*, the /k/ may be realised as a palatal [c]; with /ɑː/, as in *lark*, the closure will be significantly further back.

Where two plosives occur together, either within a word or on either side of a word boundary (as in *act* or *bad boy*), the first plosive is not released. When a plosive occurs before a nasal consonant (as in *could not*), the release is nasal: that is, the oral release is achieved by lowering the velum to allow the pressurised air to escape through the nasal cavity, rather than out of the mouth. When a plosive occurs before /l/ (e.g. *bottle* /ˈbɒtl̩/), the release is lateral, that is the air escapes as a result of the lowering of one or both sides of the tongue.

The glottal stop [ʔ] is a form of plosive in which the closure is made by bringing the vocal folds together, as when holding one's breath (the **glottis** is not a speech organ, but the space between the vocal folds). Some readers may be surprised to learn that the glottal stop has long been a feature of RP, though it does not have phonemic status and goes largely unnoticed in the accent. It is used by some speakers to reinforce /p t k tʃ/ in a range of syllable-final environments. In such cases the glottal stop precedes the consonant, as in, for example, *six* [sɪʔks], this process being referred to as **glottalisation**. The glottal stop may also mark a syllable boundary when the following syllable begins with a vowel, or stand in place of a **linking** or **intrusive** /ɹ/ (see below).

The glottal stop is frequently used as a realisation of word- or morpheme-final /p t k/ when followed by a consonant. Thus

[ˈskɒʔlənd] for *Scotland*, [ˈgaʔwɪk] for *Gatwick*, [geʔ ˈdaʊn] for *get down*. The realisation of /p/ and /k/ as [ʔ] is usually restricted to cases when the following consonant has the same place of articulation as that being realised as [ʔ], as in, for example, [baʔ gɑːdn̩] for *back garden*. The realisation of a consonant as a glottal stop is known as **glottalling**.

More recently there has been an extension of the use of the glottal stop as a realisation of /t/ in RP, whereby speakers may be heard using a glottal stop in word-final position, either before a pause or even pre-vocalically (before a vowel), as in, for example, [ðaʔ] for *that* and [kwaɪʔ ˈɔːfl̩] *quite awful*. It is at least possible that the increased use of the glottal stop in RP is in part attributable to the influence of popular London speech (see Wells 1984; Tollfree 1999; Fabricius 2002). Careful speakers and speakers of adoptive RP tend to avoid glottalling, but all the same it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/ glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon.

Fricatives

Fricatives involve the speaker making a narrow gap between one articulator and another, causing friction as the air passing through it becomes turbulent. We can liken the turbulent airflow that produces fricative noise to the turbulence that occurs when smoothly flowing water is forced to flow through a narrow defile such as a canyon. There are nine fricative phonemes in RP.

	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	glottal
voiceless	/f/	/θ/	/s/	/ʃ/	/h/
voiced	/v/	/ð/	/z/	/ʒ/	

The voiced fricatives /v ð z ʒ/ are in fact only partially voiced (or may be not voiced at all) when they occur word-finally, as in *of*, *breathe*, *dogs* and *rouge*. They may nonetheless still be distinct from their voiceless counterparts by the greater duration of the vowel which precedes them, as we saw was the case for the plosives. For instance, the vowel /iː/ will have greater duration in *freeze* than in *fleece*, by virtue of the Voicing Effect.

The palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ occurs only word-medially (as in *measure*), except in French loan words such as *genre* and *prestige*, and in proper names from languages other than French, such as *Zhivago* or *Zsa Zsa*. It is interesting to track the nativisation of /ʒ/ to /dʒ/ in loan words borrowed in English at different times. The consonant at the end of many French loans containing /ʒ/, such as *marriage* or *carnage*, has stabilised on /dʒ/, and the stress pattern on these words has also shifted to the penultimate syllable (it is on the final syllable in the French originals). There are borrowings which still preserve /ʒ/, for example *rouge, luge, beige, mirage, camouflage, espionage* or *sabotage*, though note that the primary stress in the last three of these forms falls on the first rather than the last syllable. Other *–age* forms are variable (e.g. *corsage*,

garage). [ˈgaɪɑːʒ] and [ˈgaɪɪdʒ] for *garage* are both commonly heard, though the former is the conservative pronunciation and is considered the more 'correct' one by many RP speakers (Wells 1999). There is a tendency among some speakers to gallicise foreign words and names containing /dʒ/ on the mistaken assumption that it is appropriate – perhaps more 'learned' – to use /ʒ/ instead. Thus, during the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games it was common to hear BBC newsreaders and commentators pronouncing the name of the host city as [beɪˈʒɪŋ] in spite of explicit instructions from the BBC's Pronunciation Unit to call it [beɪˈdʒɪŋ].

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs only in syllable-initial positions immediately preceding a vowel. The phonetic realisation of /h/ depends on the quality of the vowel it precedes, since the sound is produced through the voiceless expulsion of air from the lungs with the mouth and tongue already in position for the following vowel. The sound of /h/ in *heat* is quite different from that in *heart*, for example. We could, therefore, think of /h/ as being a kind of voiceless vowel as well as a fricative, as Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) have suggested. As noted above, /h/ is usually dropped when it occurs in unstressed pronouns (*he*, *him*, *her*, *his*) and auxiliaries (*has*, *have*, *had*), thus [ˈstɒpɪm] *stop him*. Careful speakers and speakers of adoptive RP are less likely to drop /h/, probably having been influenced by the stigma attached to more general /h/-dropping in other accents (see below).

Affricates

An affricate is a plosive with a sufficiently slow release for friction to occur during the release phase. In our analysis there are just two affricate phonemes: the palato-alveolar /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, which are voiceless and voiced respectively. Despite the fact that these sounds are composed of a distinct sequence of consonantal articulations and they are represented using two symbols rather than one, we analyse them as single units, since they function as such in English. No native English speaker would argue that the word *church* begins with the same sound as the word *table*, nor would he or she maintain that *church* ends with the same sound as does the word *fish*. Interestingly, the affricates also move as a unit when participating in the phenomenon known as **spoonerism**, whereby the speaker unintentionally swaps the initial sounds of two adjacent words. [bɜːtʃ tʃɛlz] is a plausible spoonerism for *church bells*, but *[bʃɜːtʃ tɛlz] is not.

Nasals

Nasal consonants involve a closure somewhere within the mouth forward of the uvular place of articulation, but the velum is also lowered so that air can escape via the nasal cavity through the nostrils. There are three nasal phonemes in RP: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, and velar /ŋ/. They are normally all voiced, though there may be partial devoicing when they follow a voiceless consonant. All three nasals, but most commonly /n/, may be **syllabic**. Thus *button* may be /ˈbʌt  /.

The bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar nasal /n/ are normally realised as the labiodental [ɱ] where they precede /f/ or /v/. Thus, *comfort* will be [ˈkʰʌɱfət] and *invoice* [ˈɪɱvɔɪs]. Before /θ/ and /ð/, as in *tenth* or *none there*, /n/ may be dental [n̪]; before /ɹ/, as in *unready*, it may be postalveolar [n̠]. It is a stereotype of a certain type of upper-class RP that /ɪn/ (rather than the usual /ɪŋ/) for the verbal ending *–ing* is used, thus /ˈfɪʃɪn/ for *fishing*, though these days it can be heard probably only in jest. The velar nasal does not occur word-initially in native English words, though some speakers may make a point of attempting to pronounce proper names from Polynesian or African languages (like *Ngaio, Ngorongoro, Nkrumah* or *Nkomo*, all of which start with /ŋ/ in their source languages) using /ŋ/ in initial position.

Lateral /l/

Laterals involve the continuous escape of air around one or both sides of an obstruction formed by the tongue in the midline of the oral cavity. There is only one lateral phoneme in RP, which is normally voiced and which has three allophones. Two of these have been referred to above: clear [l], which is found before vowels (and /j/ in some very conservative pronunciations of words like *lewd* and *lure*); and dark [ɫ], which is found after a vowel, before a consonant, and syllabically, for example [ˈbɒtɫ] for *bottle*. The third allophone is voiceless [l̥], which is most noticeable after aspirated /p/ and /k/, as in *plate* and *clap*.

Some RP speakers use a vowel in place of dark [ɫ] in certain environments, as in /ˈteɪbʊ/ *table* or /ˈbjuːtɪfʊ/. This process, as we

saw above, is known as /l/-vocalisation. The actual quality of the vowel that substitutes for /l/ can be quite variable, but most are back, fairly close and usually rounded. The apparent increase in the vocalisation of /l/ in RP may be coming about under the influence of popular London speech, where it is to be found more frequently and in a wider range of environments, as discussed in Chapter 5 (see also Przedlacka 2002). Since RP is far from alone among worldwide accents of English in its adoption of /l/-vocalisation, however, we should treat this hypothesis with some caution (see Johnson and Britain 2007).

Post-alveolar Approximant /ɹ/

The phoneme /ɹ/ occurs only before a vowel in RP. RP is thus a **non-rhotic** accent, and in this sense contrasts with **rhotic** accents such as those of Scotland, Ireland or North America, in which /ɹ/ may also occur after vowels within the syllable, as in /kɑːɹt/ *cart*. /ɹ/ in RP has a number of allophones. The most common is a voiced post-alveolar frictionless approximant [ɹ]. Following /d/ it is a fricative, [ɹ̠]. Following stressed /p t k/ it is typically devoiced, [ɹ̥]. In very conservative RP spoken by some elderly people, the alveolar tap [ɾ] (known in North America as the alveolar flap) may occur **intervocalically** (between vowels) when the first vowel is stressed, as in *very*, or following a dental fricative, as in *three*. This variant is realised by the tip of the tongue tapping briefly against the alveolar ridge. In RP, but not in other accents, [ɾ] has upper-class connotations: it may be heard, for instance, in recordings of Noël Coward, and in the speech of the frequently

lampooned art critic Brian Sewell, who was once described by the British *Independent* newspaper as 'the poshest man in the world' and by John Humphrys as 'the only man I have ever met who makes the Queen sound common' (Humphrys 2005: 17). The tap is now rare in contemporary RP, even in emphatic pronunciations of relevant words.

When words which ended in /ɹ/ in earlier historical periods (as indicated by the spelling) are followed by a vowel-initial word, a **linking** /ɹ/ is normally introduced. Thus we have /fɑː/ *far*, but /ˈfɑːɹ əˈweɪ/ *far away*.

Even when there is no historical /ɹ/, if a word ends with a non-high vowel (viz. /ə ɔː ɑː/) and precedes a word beginning with a vowel, again /ɹ/ may be inserted, thus /aɪ ˈsɔːɹ ɪt/ *I saw it*, /ˈmɑːɹ ənd ˈpɑː/ *Ma and Pa* or /ˈkanədəɹ ɔː ˈmɛksɪkəʊ/ *Canada or Mexico*. Although in cases like these the /ɹ/ is referred to as **intrusive**, the phenomenon is very much a part of RP. Careful speakers and speakers of adoptive RP may, however, avoid it, possibly (as noted above) inserting a glottal stop between the words instead. Some speakers may even try to avoid the use of linking /ɹ/. Though still stigmatised by some, there is a very common tendency, as in many non-RP accents, for intrusive /ɹ/ to occur within words before a suffix, for example /ˈdɹɔːɹɪŋ/ for *drawing*, or in coinings such as /ˌkafkəˈɹɛsk/ *Kafkaesque* or /daɪˌanəɹaɪˈzeɪʃn̩/ *Dianaization*.

Semi-Vowels

There are two semi-vowel phonemes in English: the approximants /w/ and /j/. As noted earlier, though semi-vowels are vowel-like,

they are treated as consonants because they function more like consonants, in the sense that they occupy syllable margins rather than acting as syllable nuclei.

The labial-velar semi-vowel /w/ is articulated with the tongue in a back close-mid position and with lip-rounding. It is normally voiced, but following /t/ (as in *twice*) or /k/ (as in *quick*) it is completely devoiced [ʍ].

Consonants immediately preceding /w/ typically show anticipatory lip-rounding. Some RP speakers omit /w/ in some words that begin /kw/ for other speakers, thus /ˈkɔːtə/ *quarter*. The palatal semi-vowel /j/ is articulated with the tongue in a front close-mid to close position. There may be lip-rounding in anticipation of a following rounded vowel. /j/ is normally voiced, but after accented /p t k h/ (as in *pewter*, *tutor*, *cuter*, *huge*) there is complete devoicing, such that /j/ is realised as a palatal fricative [ç].

There is some lexical variation relating to the presence or absence of /j/ after /s/ and /l/ in such words as *suit* and *lute*, although these days pronunciations like /sjuːt/ are rare and old-fashioned. *Lute* and *loot* are now homophonous for most RP speakers.

There is a strong tendency for /j/ to **coalesce** with preceding alveolar plosives to form affricates, particularly in informal speech. By this process the sequence /tj/ (as in e.g. *tune*) becomes [tʃ] and /dj/ (as in *dune*) becomes [dʒ]. The pronunciation of *dune* would thus be indistinguishable from that of *June*. This coalescence – known as **yod-coalescence** – occurs when a word ending in /t/ or

/d/ precedes *you* or *your*, for example [wɒtʃʊˈniːd] *what you need*, [ˈwʊdʒʊ] *would you*, or [ˈgɒtʃə] *got you* (also sometimes written *gotcha*).

Within words, yod-coalescence is found most often where the second syllable involved is unstressed, for example *soldier* [ˈsəʊldʒə]. Some careful speakers may try to avoid yod-coalescence in their speech, although younger RP speakers may consider this habit an affectation.

Vowels

Monophthongs

In our analysis of RP there are 12 **monophthongs** (sometimes called 'pure' vowels, because their quality does not change over the course of the vowel; compare **diphthongs**, below). Typical monophthong realisations are shown in Figure 3.2. We shall treat each of them in turn.

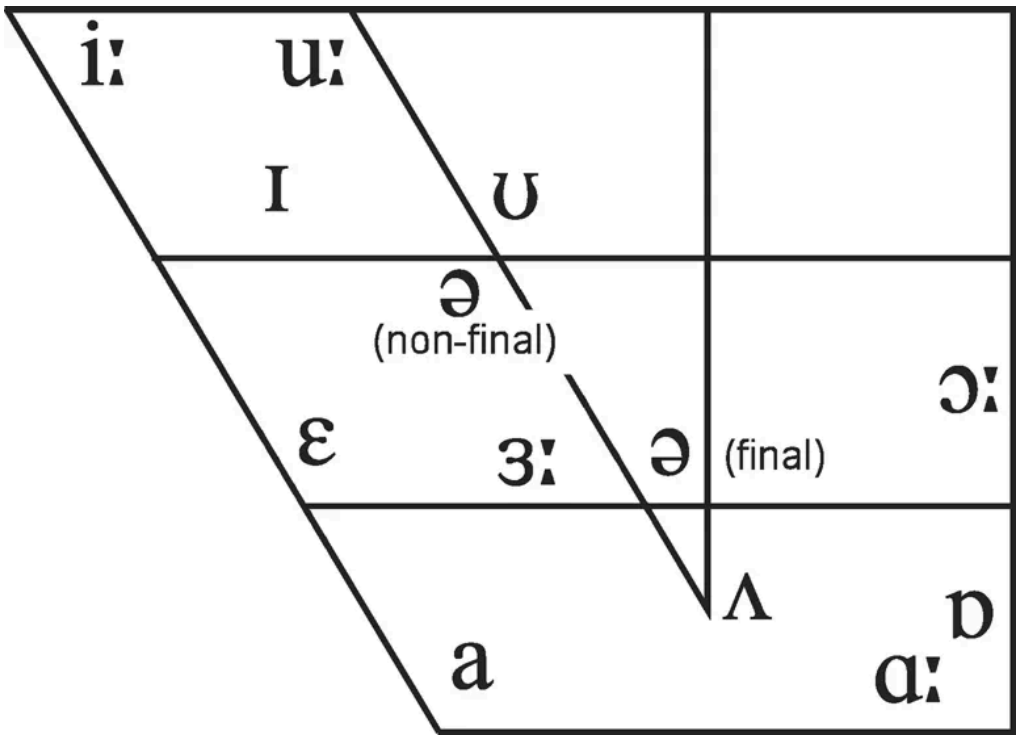


Figure 3.2 Typical realisations of RP monophthongs

/iː/, **as in *bee***

- The lips are spread.
- The vowel usually involves a **glide** (a transition in quality) from the position indicated for /ɪ/ in Figure 3.2 to that for /iː/. Pronunciation of this vowel without a glide is perceived as affected.
- There has been in recent decades a tendency for the final vowel in words like *city* and *very* to be rather closer and fronter than the 'traditional' /ɪ/, thus /ˈsɪti/ rather than the older /ˈsɪtɪ/. This habit, known as 'happY-tensing' (Wells 1982; Fabricius 2002), is considered an irritating affectation by some commentators (e.g. Norman 1999, who identifies it as one of a list of features he says define 'Slop English'). The plurals and possessive forms of nouns of the lexical set containing *city*, *happy*, *very*, and so on, however, are more likely to contain /ɪ/, thus /ˈsɪtɪz/ for *cities* or *city's*. Older upper-class speakers may have a strikingly open final vowel in words like *city* [ˈsɪtɛ].

/ɪ/, **as in *pit***

- The lips are loosely spread.
- Older speakers tend to have a closer vowel than younger ones do. The difference between words like *peat* and *pit* for these older speakers is therefore somewhat smaller than is the case for younger speakers, who may use a vowel that is markedly more open and centralised, [ɪ̈].

- There is a tendency for traditional /ɪ/ to be replaced by /ə/ in some unstressed syllables. In general, younger people are more likely to have /ə/, and high-status speakers are more likely to have /ɪ/. Environments for this lexical variability are: the first vowel of the endings *-ity* (e.g. *possibility*), *-itive* (e.g. *positive*), *-ily* (e.g. *happily*), *-ate* (e.g. *fortunate*), *-ible* (e.g. *visible*), *-em* (e.g. *problem*); other unstressed syllables *-ess* (e.g. *hopeless*), *-ace* (e.g. *furnace*), *-age* (e.g. *manage*), *-et* (e.g. *bracelet*), *be-* (e.g. *believe*). The ratio of /ɪ/ to /ə/, which varies not only between the different environments listed above but also within them, is too complex to report here.

/ɛ/, **as in *pet***

- The lips are loosely spread and slightly wider apart than for /ɪ/.
- An /ɛ/, which is close to Cardinal Vowel 2, [e], may sometimes be heard amongst older upper-class speakers and those who would use them as models. By the late 1980s, Gimson (1988) had labelled this realisation as ‘over-refined’ while one which forms a glide towards [ə] is perceived as affected; such perceptions continue today.
- Note that the monophthongisation of /ɛə/ to [ɛː] in contemporary RP (see section on diphthongs below) means that pairs of words such as *bed* and *bared*, *fez* and *fairs/fares*, or *Ken* and *cairn*, are distinguished solely by the length of the vowel rather than by vowel quality.

/a/, **as in *pat***

- The lips are neutrally open.
- Older and more conservative speakers continue to realise /a/ as the closer, fronter vowel [æ], which in some cases may cause listeners to confuse it with /ɛ/ (e.g. *man* and *men* may sound very similar). In contemporary RP as spoken by younger speakers the vowel has lowered and retracted somewhat to a quality close to Cardinal Vowel 4. This tendency to lowering is true also for /ɪ/ and /ɛ/, the changes to all three being part of one process known as a **chain shift** (see Docherty and Watt 2001; Gordon 2002). As with /ɛ/, a closer realisation of /a/ – around Cardinal Vowel 3 [ɛ], or with a glide towards [ə] – may be perceived by some as refined, but is more likely to be seen as affected or at least old-fashioned by most British people.
- There is lexical variability involving /a/ and /ɑː/, both being used in the following words, amongst others: *plastic*, *plasticine*, *photograph*, *elastic*, *transfer*.

/ʌ/, as in *putt*

- The lips are neutrally open.
- Older speakers may realise /ʌ/ as a rather more retracted vowel than that indicated in Figure 3.2.

/ɑː/, as in *bard*

- The lips are neutrally open.
- Upper-class speakers may have a more retracted realisation, close to Cardinal Vowel 5 [ɑ].

- Note the lexical variability between /ɑː/ and /a/ referred to above.

/ɒ/, **as in *pot***

- There is slight open lip-rounding.
- Among some upper-class and very conservative speakers, lexical variability between /ɒ/ and /ɔː/ is found in words where the vowel precedes /f s θ/, as in *off*, *cross*, *across*, *soft*, *cloth*. These pronunciations are now very rare among RP speakers as a whole, and are generally considered affected.
- In words which have <*al*> or <*au*> in the spelling there is also variation between /ɒ/ and /ɔː/, for example *salt*, *fault*, *Austria*, though again this is now rather uncommon except among more conservative RP speakers.

/ɔː/, **as in *board***

- There is medium lip-rounding.
- The great majority of RP speakers use this vowel in words that once were pronounced with [ɔə] (e.g. *court*, *four*, *door*). They therefore make no distinction between, for example, *caught* and *court* /kɔːt/ or *pour/pore* and *paw* /pɔː/. Some older speakers maintain the distinction, and so have an extra vowel phoneme /ɔə/. This represents a clear case of systemic variability.
- It is increasingly common for RP speakers also to use /ɔː/ in at least some words in which /ʊə/ has been traditional, for example, *cure*, *tour*, *poor*, *sure*. This can be seen as a case of

lexical variability, but the fact that there are so many speakers for whom almost every potential /ʊə/ word is pronounced with /ɔː/ strongly suggests that /ʊə/ has all but lost its phonemic status. Word frequency appears to have a role in the choice of the traditional / ʊə/ over /ɔː/: words such as *dour* and *lure* are on balance more likely to be pronounced with /ʊə/ than are common words like *poor* and *sure*. *Poor* is thus for many speakers another member of the set of homophones containing *paw*, *pour* and *pore*.

/ʊ/, **as in *put***

- The lip position for this vowel ranges from close lip-rounding to a neutral lip position.
- There is lexical variability between /ʊ/ and /uː/ in a number of words, including *room* (an individual speaker may have /uː/ in *room* but /ʊ/ in *bathroom*), *groom*, *broom* and *tooth*.
- For many younger RP speakers the vowel has fronted and unrounded to a quality close to [ə]. Some have taken this process so far that /ʊ/ can quite easily be mistaken for /ɪ/: thus *foot* and *fit* can sound very similar (see Torgersen 2002; Fabricius 2007).

/uː/, **as in *boot***

- The lips may be closely rounded, but this aspect of the vowel has become quite variable.
- This vowel is rarely any longer fully back or rounded, as per the traditional RP vowel, which was close to cardinal vowel 8 [u]

(Upton 2008; Harrington *et al*. 2008). In contemporary RP, however, the vowel has fronted to a quality which may be considerably more advanced than [ʉ], and may be markedly diphthongal. The latter sort of pronunciation tends to be characterised by a centralised, often only slightly rounded, onset, as in, for example, *suit* [sʊ̟ʉt].

/ɜː/, **as in *bird***

- There is no lip-rounding.
- This vowel varies between open-mid and close-mid.
- Some younger RP speakers, particularly female ones, produce this vowel with a relatively open quality, approaching [ɐː].

/ə/, **as in *father***

- There is no lip-rounding.
- Referred to as **schwa**, this vowel is never stressed (except in emphatic pronunciations of words like *the* or *a*).
- In final position, as in *carer*, /ə/ is usually more open than elsewhere (in *regret*, for example).

Diphthongs

There are eight diphthongs in our analysis of RP. Three of these are **centring**, that is, having schwa /ə/ as the second element. The other five diphthongs are **closing**, with the first element in each being more open than the second.

Centring Diphthongs

See Figure 3.3 for typical realisations.

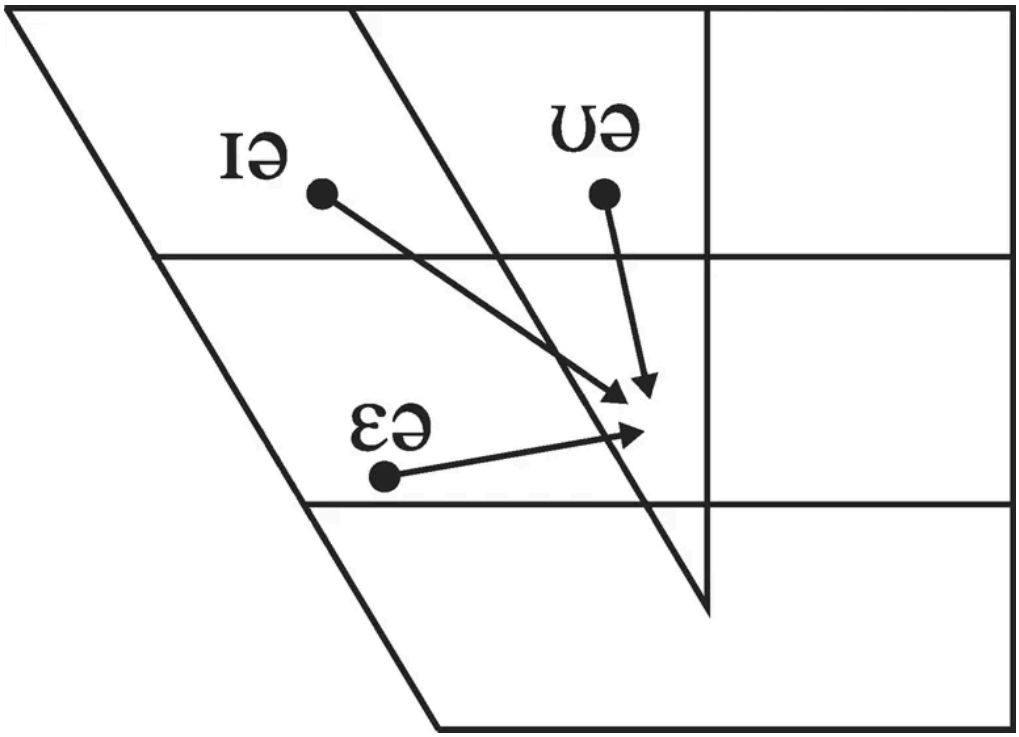


Figure 3.3 Typical realisations of RP centring diphthongs

/ɪə/, **as in *beer***

- There is no lip-rounding.
- Associated with upper-class RP (but often perceived as affected) is a second element which is more open than [ə].
- Much more frequent than this, however, is a tendency to monophthongise this vowel by omitting the glide, so that words like *beer* are often heard as [bɪ̞ː], especially when they occur in compounds such as *beer garden*. This smoothing process also applies to /ɛə/ (see below) and /ɔə/, as noted earlier (and see below).

/ɛə/, **as in *bear***

- There is no lip-rounding.
- As discussed under Monophthongs above (page 49), there is variability between [ɛə] and [ɛː], with the monophthong being

favoured by younger speakers, and [ɛə] being perhaps more common in less frequently occurring words in their speech. Thus for an individual speaker, *air* may most often be [ɛː] and *heir* [ɛə].

/ʊə/, **as in *poor***

- There is some initial lip-rounding.
- As noted above, many speakers have /ɔː/ in words that were traditionally pronounced with /ʊə/.

Closing Diphthongs

See Figure 3.4 for typical realisations.

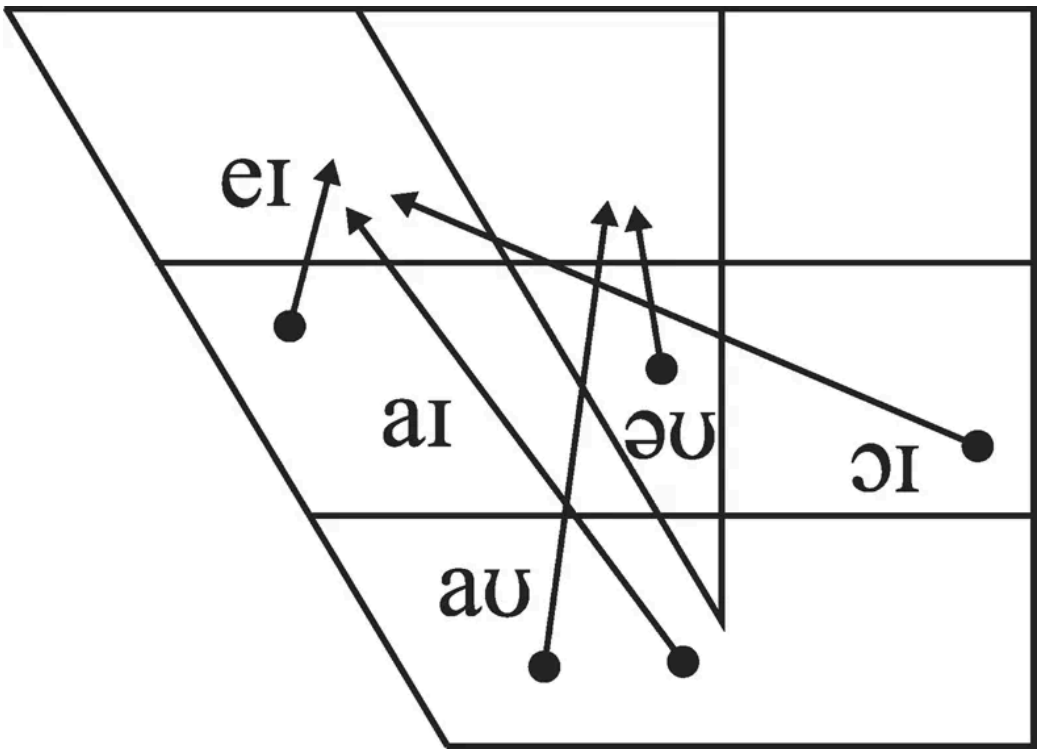


Figure 3.4 Typical realisations of RP closing diphthongs

/eɪ/, **as in *bay***

- The lips are spread.

- The diphthong's starting point varies between close-mid (old-fashioned) and open-mid.

/aɪ/, **as in *buy***

- The lips are somewhat spread for the second element.
- As with /eɪ/, there is variation in the openness of the first element, but individual speakers will keep the first elements of /eɪ/ and /aɪ/ far enough apart to maintain a distinction.

/ɔɪ/, **as in *boy***

- The lips are rounded for the first element.

/əʊ/, **as in *boat***

- The lips are somewhat rounded for the second element.
- The first element is usually [ə], though it is increasingly common to hear a quality somewhat fronter than this. For some young RP speakers there is only a small distance between the vowels of *post* and *paste*. Older speakers may retain [o] as the first element, as do some younger speakers when the vowel precedes [l], as in *bowl*.

/aʊ/, **as in *bout***

- The lips may be somewhat rounded for the second element.
- Some upper-class speakers, including members of the British royal family, have a fronted second element [ɨ], which may cause listeners to confuse the vowel with /aɪ/. Thus one

person's *house* may appear to rhyme with another speaker's *mice*.

Closing Diphthongs Followed by Schwa /ə/

All five closing diphthongs may be followed by /ə/ within a word, either as an integral part of the word (e.g. *hire* /haɪə/), or as a suffix, (e.g. *higher* /haɪə/). Such three-element vowels, unsurprisingly, are known as **triphthongs**, although it may be argued that the morpheme boundary in words like *higher* renders them **disyllabic** (having two syllables), which would mean that the /aɪə/ in *higher* is not a triphthong, as per *hire*, but a sequence of a diphthong and a monophthong. However, for our purposes we will treat them as triphthongs.

While all three vowel elements may be maintained in careful or slow speech, in faster speech the second element is usually omitted through smoothing. Some younger speakers carry it further by removing the third element as well, such that triphthongal phonemes are realised as long monophthongs. For these speakers, *tyre*, *tower* and *tar* are homophones. Monophthongisation of this kind seems to be less likely when the schwa represents a suffix. Thus *fire* may more readily become [fɑː] than *flyer* will become [flɑə]. The monophthongised forms are, as we saw for /ɛə/, common in compounds, for example *fire brigade* [ˈfɑː bɹɪgeɪd], *Tower Bridge* [tɑː ˈbɹɪdʒ], *layer cake* [ˈlɛː keɪk].

Word	'Full' form	Smoothed forms	
tyre	/taɪə/	[taə]	[tɑː]
tower	/taʊə/	[tɑə]	[tɑː]
layer	/leɪə/	[leə]	[lɛː]
slower	/sləʊə/	[slə:]	

Note that for [aə] and [ɑə], the notional difference in the first element of the reduced forms of words like *tyre* and *tower* is so small that the two words (and others like them) have become homophones for many speakers. This reduction of two distinctive sounds into one is referred to as **neutralisation**.

[eə] may be neutralised with respect to /ɛə/, so that *layer* and *lair*, for example, may be homophones. Both may be further reduced to [ɛː] (see above), though there is resistance to monophthongisation where the schwa represents a suffix. Thus *layer*, as in *layer cake*, is more likely to be realised as [lɛː] than is *layer*, as in *bricklayer*.

[əː]: The reduced form of /əʊə/ may be realised as [əː], neutralising the contrast with /ɜː/. Thus *slower* and *slur* may be homophones.

The Recordings

The reader of the word list was relatively young at the time of recording and therefore has (WL 15) *bear* /bɛː/ and (WL 42) *poor* /pɔː/. There are three other speakers: two men aged about 40, and

a woman of about 30. All have been to public (i.e. private) school. The first and third speakers would generally be regarded as mainstream RP speakers. The second speaker, however, may be regarded as a marginal RP speaker, since there are features of his speech which might cause other RP speakers to think of him as a near-RP speaker from the south-east of England.

Differences Between the Speakers

There is no apparent systemic variability between the speakers, but some lexical variability is evident between them_

a. Speaker 1 has /i/ and /ɪ/ variably as the final vowel in words like *city* [compare *unfriendly* (l. 6) with *seedy* (l. 14)]. In this he is more conservative than the other two speakers, who have /i/ throughout.
b. In the word *if*, Speaker 1 (l. 3) has /v/ rather than the more common /f/ (Speaker 3, l. 33).
c. Speaker 1 has /a/ as the first vowel in *contrasted* (l. 33). This would usually be an indication of a north of England background, which the speaker does not have. It may be related to carefulness of speech.

Realisational Variability

a. Speaker 2 realises /aɪ/ with a more retracted initial element than the others.
b. While all three speakers have a fronted realisation of /uː/ (unlike more conservative speakers), Speaker 3 also exhibits

very little lip-rounding, at least some of the time.

c. Speaker 2 exhibits more glottalisation than the others. This feature, and his realisation of /aɪ/ (see under Diphthongs above), will contribute to some RP speakers possibly considering him to be a near-RP speaker.
d. Speaker 1 releases plosives in environments in which most speakers would not (e.g. *tacked down*, l. 34). This feature is a marker of careful speech.
e. Speaker 1 has a noticeably open and back realisation of final /ə/ (e.g. *gear*, l. 29).
f. Speaker 3 has a more fronted first element in /əʊ/. It is also worth noting the occasional presence of 'creaky voice', a common feature of RP, in the speech of Speaker 3 (e.g. *very thick*, l. 19).

Speaker 1

The first speaker talks about the advantages and disadvantages of living in Milton Keynes, where he lives and works. We use 'er' and 'erm' to indicate the filled pauses [ɜː] and [ɜːm], which this speaker and Speaker 2 use frequently.

> The advantages are that you don't need a car, there's quite good shopping, it's been landscaped absolutely superbly, with beautiful roads, and if you live in any of the houses, you don't know the roads are there, just because of the way they've built them. Erm, it's new, 5 and it's clean, erm… Some of the disadvantages are that the people are horrible and unfriendly, erm… They're brusque and ill-educated *nouveau riche*, erm… thugs, basically… rich, thick thugs…

erm… who make life really miserable… erm… on things like the roads, with a lot of bellyaching and V-signs and insults… erm… There's 10 quite a lot of unemployment. Certainly, five years ago it had the highest suicide rate of any city in Britain. I don't know whether that's still true, erm. And it's now old enough for bits of it to be falling apart. And the bits that are falling apart are doing so in a horrible and really seedy, ugly way. So there's a lot of, er, depressed and unhappy and 15 very poor people there as well. So you've got, erm… it's a kind of reflection of the nation. You've got… er… rich with no worries at all, and deeply poor and ground down.

[The speaker goes on to talk about being burgled twice.]

The first time, I got home, I got off my bike, and everything, and was actually undoing the front door, and looked at the window, thought, 20 God, I'm sure I didn't leave… the venetian blind was all crooked and bent… I can't have left it like that, and I'd actually got the door unlocked before I even realised what it was that had occurred, and I went in and there was very little mess, and gradually I noticed what was missing – the video recorder immediately, but 25 during the course of the evening I kept finding more things that were no longer there. Erm… there were only four things altogether, I think a video, er, Sony Walkman, erm, and a couple of other things which I can't remember. But the second occasion was much worse. Er… there was a hell of a mess, erm, with upturned gear, er, all the 30 cupboards opened and the stuff pulled out, erm, even in the kitchen where the stuff is very boring… erm… and everything that had any value at all seemed to me to have been taken. And very carefully, which contrasted with the mess. The hi-fi had all its cabling neatly tacked down, running around the skirting boards. It'd 35 been pulled up incredibly neatly,

so that not only did they take the gear but also all the cabling as well. Er… and so far… erm… the dealings with the insurance company have been fraught with sort of misunderstanding and, erm, lack of progress.

Note :

A V-sign (l. 9) is a rude gesture made with the index and middle fingers, with the palm of the hand facing inwards.

Speaker 2

The second speaker describes a car accident in which he was involved.

Erm… I'll tell you a s… a story about something that… that happened a couple of years ago. Erm… I was driving in… driving in to work one day… and, er, it was a… a fairly normal day… th … the road was a little bit wet. Erm, other than that there was good 5 visibility… and I was coming… er… in along one of the… one of the access roads to the, er, university, when, er, a car, a Ford Capri, came towards me, and… erm… I realised that this car was about to hit me… erm… so I… I braked quite hard and er… erm… stopped. The car hit me quite hard on the… on the right-hand side… 10 and… erm… my immediate reaction was to make sure that, er, the, er… the driver of the other car realised that he… that he was in the… in the wrong. So I rolled down my window and said to him… erm… What… what the heck do you think you're doing? You've… you've, er, made a mess of my car. And the… the driver, who was a 15 young man, apologised and said yes… erm… his… his his brakes, erm, locked and he… and he skidded on… on the wet surface. Erm, anyway, it, er, subsequently transpired that this … this young man in fact worked for a… a… a company that repairs cars … erm… it…

he'd… he'd come to the university to collect it… er, 20 the reason was that, erm, the car was going in to have its brakes fixed … erm… so it wasn't surprising perhaps that the brakes locked. It subsequently transpired that the… the easiest way of, er, transporting my car, which was… which couldn't be driven away, was for this young man to phone his… his own company and get the… the erm … 25 lorry out that erm… to get the salvage lorry out. So this… this happened. The salvage lorry came round, and the erm… er… my car was then taken off to the garage, and, erm… I then thought about it, and talked to my insurance company. Er… they said yes, it was all right for them to do the repair… erm… and which they 30 subsequently did. I… I reckoned that it'd be quite a good idea to get them to do the repair since… since they made the… made the mess in the first place, I was quite likely to have quite a good repair done. And so it was. And, erm… and in fact I then decided to use the same company to service my car… and the er… the man in the, erm… 35 the… the owner of the… of the garage said: Well, this isn't the usual way we get customers.

Speaker 3

The third speaker is a 30-year-old woman. She describes a visit to the Amazon which she made some years previously.

Erm… in the days before husbands and children, erm, I did quite a lot of travelling, and erm… one of the th… places I went to was to the Amazon. And, erm, I hadn't really… it's when I… I… I knew my husband and, erm… then but… just as a friend really. And so 5 we, erm, decided that we, or *he* decided that we would go to Brazil and, er, I'd been travelling anyway… came back for Christmas, two days to wash my rucksack, and off we went to Rio. And, erm, I hadn't

given it any thought at all. And the next thing I knew we went up to, er, Manaus, which is a free port up on the Amazon, where we met 10 some chap who'd got a boat, erm, which was rather like the *African Queen*. Erm… and I felt like Katharine Hepburn. And we then, erm, went in this boat up the Amazon and then off up one of the tributaries, erm, where we then came across this little South American tribe, some Indians, erm, who lent us a canoe. So we then left most of 15 our luggage behind and just took a rucksack with a cu… with a T-shirt and a toothbrush and a bag of rice and a rifle. And then 20 we had a hammock and a mosquito net, which didn't bode well. And off we went, erm, then w… on foot. Erm, it was very wet and, er, oh, we just … we… and the vegetation was very thick and we… you had to… we had a guide and a cook and a… and another boy… and, erm… so we went off in our… in our canoes and then… left those in the side, in some reeds somewhere, and then walked, erm… we walked for four days into the jungle. Erm… the mosquitoes were appalling, the rain was appalling… erm, and we were hungry, and i… in four 25 days it was just very interesting that you could feel yourself reverting back to nature…

[Interviewer asks if speaker had been in danger at any time.]

Well if… yes. I mean there… when we first got into the i… o… actually sort of out of the canoe and into the jungle… erm, our guide had er [toe?]… had bare feet and he… d… I mean he didn't speak 30 any, any English at all, but erm… suddenly you could see that he just leapt and… and you c… see the whites of his eyes, and he'd trodden on a deadly poisonous snake, something called a *surucucu*. And he'd've been dead in thirty seconds if it'd bitten him… erm, and without him – I mean, he was our guide – and without him we would never have 35 got out again… erm, so that

was quite dangerous, and... I mean who knows what sort of... animals were... or... or reptiles were around at night, and all spiders or whatever.

[Interviewer asks if speaker had seen other forest animals.]

Monkeys, yeah, yeah, and turtles and... but you know, the vegetation was so... I mean, it was so thick that... I mean... you 40 couldn't see... I don't know, te... er... ten feet in front of you... and so we we literally had machetes and we we were cutting our way through the... through the undergrowth... but the flora and fauna were s... I mean it was just beautiful... erm... yeah, it was a very ... it was a... an incredible experience really, because it's very 45 unusual in your lives that you're... or... in this civilisation that we live in... er, that... that you ever go without and that you actually are concerned for your... for your welfare, or and... that you wonder where your next meal's going to come from.

Regional Accent Variation

DOI: 10.4324/9780203784440-4

As we have already seen, the accent of British English which has been most fully described, and which is usually taught to foreign learners, is the accent known as RP.

In this chapter we first give a brief outline of the main regional differences to be found in accents of British English other than RP, and then compare them with RP. We do not, however, attempt to

give a detailed account of all the regional and social differences in pronunciation to be found in British Isles English. In particular, we do not attempt at all to describe accents associated with traditional dialects, spoken by older people in rural areas (for these, see Wakelin 1977 and Kortmann and Upton 2008). We concentrate instead on urban and other regional accents of the sort most widely heard around Britain and Ireland, and which are most likely to be encountered by visitors from overseas. More detailed discussion of phonological features can be found in Chapter 5. Intonation is also dealt with briefly in cases where it deviates markedly from the general RP-like pattern.

Regional Accent Differences

The vowel /ʌ/

(a) One of the best-known differences between English accents is one of phoneme inventory – that is, the presence or absence of particular phonemes (see page 40). Typically, the vowel /ʌ/ does not occur in the accents of the north and midlands of England, and in some accents of the Republic of Ireland. In these accents, /ʊ/ is to be found in those words that elsewhere have /ʌ/. The vowel /ʌ/ is relatively recent in the history of English, having developed by **phonemic split** from the older vowel /ʊ/. Accents of northern England and the Republic of Ireland have not taken part in this development. The result is that pairs of words such as *put~putt* or *could~cud*, which are distinguished in Welsh, Scottish and southern English accents, are not distinguished in the north and

midlands of England, where pairs like *blood* and *good* or *mud* and *hood* are perfect rhymes. (There are a few common words, though, which have /ʌ/ in the south of England but which have /ʊ/ in much of the north of England. These include *one* and *none*, both of which rhyme with *gone* rather than *gun* in these areas, and *tongue*, which rhymes with *song* rather than *sung*.)

Many northern English speakers, perhaps under the influence of RP, have a 'fudged' vowel which is between /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ in quality in words such as *but* (and sometimes in words such as *put* as well). Generally, this vowel is around [ə]. This is particularly true of younger, middle-class speakers in areas of the southern midlands. Some speakers too, of course, hypercorrect (see Chapter 1), such that *butcher* might be pronounced [ˈbʌtʃə].

We can also note that many (particularly older) northern English speakers who lack /ʌ/ have /uː/ rather than /ʊ/ in words such as *hook*, *book*, *look*, *took* and *cook*. They therefore distinguish pairs such as *book* and *buck*, which in the south are distinguished respectively as /bʊk/ and /bʌk/, as /buːk/ and /bʊk/. All English English accents (i.e. those of England) have shortened the original long /uː/ in <-*oo*-> words to /ʊ/ in items such as *good* and *hood*, and all seem to have retained /uː/ in words such as *mood* and *food*. But in other cases there is variation: RP speakers may have either /uː/ or /ʊ/ in *room* and *broom*, eastern accents have /ʊ/ rather than /uː/ in *roof* and *hoof*, while western accents, as well as those from parts of Wales, may have /ʊ/ rather than /uː/ in *tooth*, and so on.

(b) In descriptions of RP it is usual to consider /ʌ/ and /ə/ as distinct vowels, as in *butter* /ˈbʌtə/. This also holds good for accents of the south-east of England, Ireland and Scotland. However, speakers from many parts of Wales, western England and the midlands (as well as some northern speakers – see above) have vowels that are identical in both cases: *butter* [ˈbətə], *another* [əˈnəðə] (see Table 4.1). We might wish to add /ə/ to the inventory of stressable monophthongs for this set of accents, but given that one of the conventional defining properties of /ə/ in English is that it occurs only in unstressed syllables it might be best to view [ə] in stressed syllables as a realisation of /ʌ/ that is neutralised with respect to unstressed [ə].

Table 4.1 /ʌ/, /v/ and /ə/

	but	**put**
RP	/?/	/?/
Northern England	/?/	/?/
Western England; modified northern I	/?/	/?/
Modified northern II	/?/	/?/
Hypercorrect northern	/?/	/?/

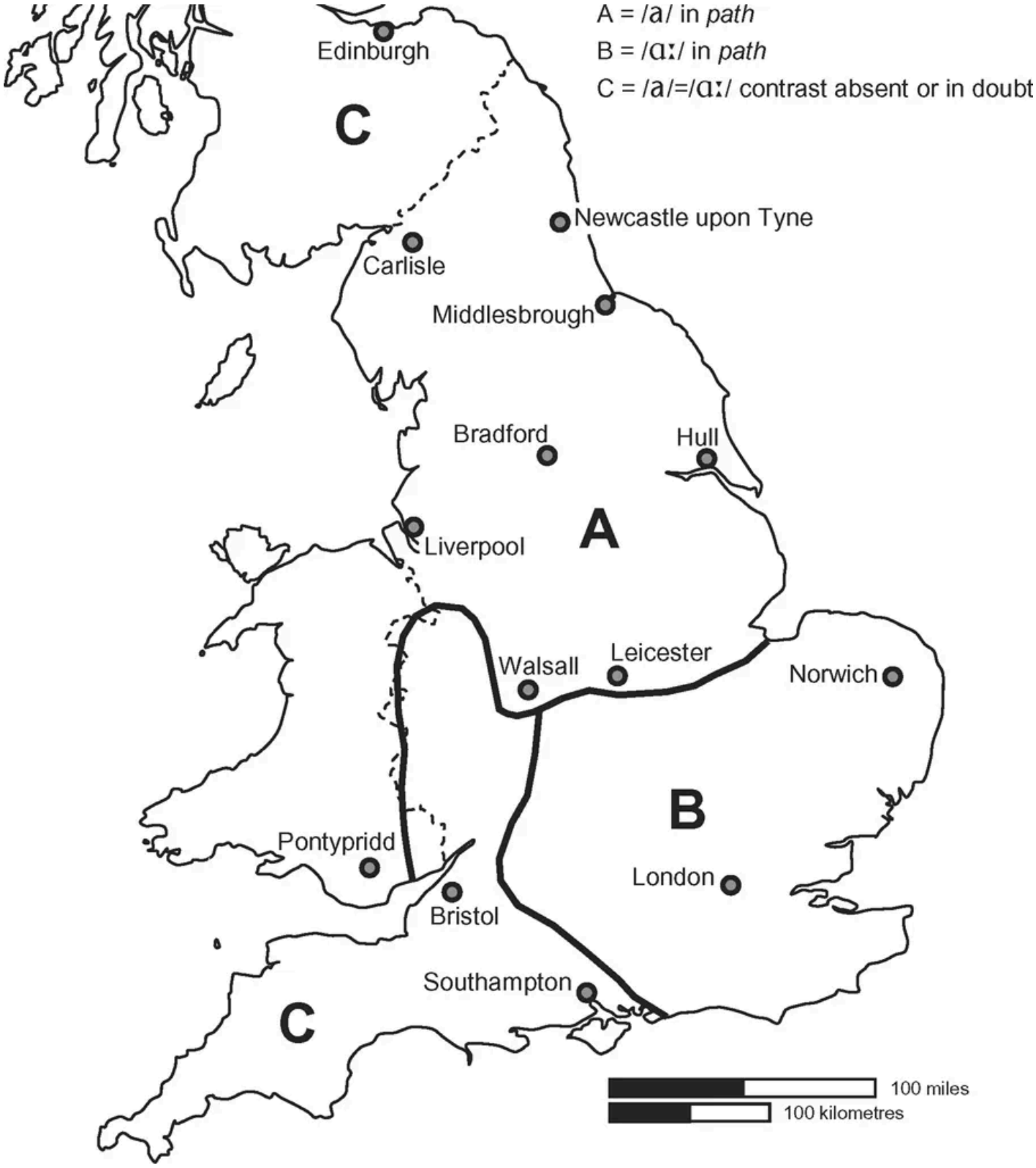
/a/ and /a/

Another very well-known feature which distinguishes northern from southern English English accents concerns the vowels /a/ and

/ɑ/. In discussing this feature we have to isolate a number of different classes of words:

(1)	*pat*, *bad*, *cap*, *can*, *gas*, *land*	RP /pat/, etc.
(2)	*path*, *laugh*, *grass*	RP /pɑːθ/, etc.
(3)	*dance*, *grant*, *demand*	RP /dɑːns/, etc.
(4)	*part*, *bar*, *cart*	RP /pɑːt/, etc.
(5)	*half*, *palm*, *banana*, *can't*	RP /hɑːf/, etc.

RP has /a/ in set (1), and /ɑː/ in all other sets. This incidence of vowels in the different sets is also found in all south-eastern English and in many southern Irish accents. In the midlands and north of England, on the other hand, words in sets (2) and (3) have the vowel /a/ rather than /ɑː/, although they do have /ɑː/ in the classes of (4) and (5). Thus, whereas southerners say /gɹɑːs/ *grass* and /gɹɑːnt/ *grant*, northerners say /gɹas/ and /gɹant/ (see Map 4.1).


A = /a/ in *path*
B = /ɑː/ in *path*
C = /a/=/ɑː/ contrast absent or in doubt
Edinburgh
C
Newcastle upon Tyne
Carlisle
Middlesbrough
Bradford
Hull
A
Liverpool
Walsall
Leicester
Norwich
B
Pontypridd
London
Bristol
Southampton
C
100 miles
100 kilometres

Map 4.1 Distribution of /a/ and /ɑː/ in British English

This difference between the north and south of England is due to the fact that the original short vowel /a/ was lengthened in the south of England before the voiceless fricatives /f θ s/, and before certain consonant clusters containing an initial /n/ or /m/. The first change affected most words in southern English accents, though there are numerous exceptions, such as *daffodil*, *gaff*, *Jaffa*, *raffle*, *Catherine*, *maths* (but *afterm*[ɑː]*th*), *ass*, *crass*, *gas*, *hassle*, *lass*, *mass*, *chassis* and *tassel*, which have /a/ in RP and southern accents. There are also some words which vary: some southerners have /a/ in *graph*, *photograph* and *alas*, while others have /ɑː/. Note the pronunciation of the word *contrasted* in the recording of RP speaker 1 in Chapter 3: /ɑː/ is the expected vowel for this word in RP, but the speaker used /a/.

The second change, that involving clusters containing an initial /n/ or /m/, is rather more complex, and less complete. We can note the following phonological contexts, and typical southern English pronunciations:

	/ɑː/		/a/
– nt	*plant*	but	*pant*
– ns	*dance*	but	*romance*
– nʃ*	*branch*	but	*mansion*
– nd	*demand*	but	*band*
– mp	*example*	but	*camp*

*Many speakers have [tʃ] rather than [ʃ] here (the former is more likely in *branch* than in *mansion*). Words such as *transport*, *plastic* can have either /a/ or /ɑː/.

Some Welsh and Irish accents, like many Australian accents, have undergone the first change (/ɑː/ before /f θ s/) but not the second: they have /gɹɑːs/ *grass* but /dans/ *dance*.

This discussion of the incidence of /a/ and /ɑː/ in words like *grass* and *dance* is not relevant to Scottish and northern Irish accents (except for some RP-influenced accents – that used by middle-class Edinburgh speakers, for example). These accents do not have the /a/~/ɑː/ contrast, having a single open vowel not only in sets (1), (2) and (3) but also in sets (4) and (5). Pairs such as *palm ~ Pam* and *calm ~ cam* are therefore homophones. The symbol for the open vowel is conventionally /a/, but its pronunciation in these varieties may be [æ], [a], [ɐ] or [ɑ]; such variation is licensed by the fact that there is no second open vowel for it to contrast with.

The homophony of pairs like *palm* and *Pam* noted above is also true of those accents most typical of the south-west of England (see Map 4.1). RP speakers in this area do, of course, have the /a/~/ɑː/ contrast, as do many other middle-class speakers whose accents resemble RP. But speakers with more strongly regional south-western accents do not have the contrast, or at most have a contrast that is variable or doubtful. It is certain that southwestern accented speakers have /a/ (often pronounced with a half-long [aˑ]) in words of classes (1), (2) and (3) (for class (4), see below). The doubt lies in what these speakers do with words of set (5). Typically, it seems, words such as *father*, *half* and *can't* have /a/. Words such as *palm* and *calm* often retain the /l/, and generally have /ɑ/, as in /pɑlm/. Words that were borrowed into English more recently – *banana*, *gala* or *tomato*, for example, which have /ɑː/ in south-eastern and northern English accents and /a/ in Northern Ireland and Scotland – most typically have /a/ but *may* have /ɑː/, and are even pronounced [təˈmɑːɹtəʊ], and so on by some speakers from western England.

/ɪ/ and /i/

Another major north/south differentiating feature involves the final vowel of words like *city*, *money* or *coffee* (as well as unstressed forms of *me*, *he*, *we*). In most parts of northern England these items have /ɪ/, as in /ˈsɪtɪ/ *city*. In the south of England, on the other hand, these words have /i/, as in /ˈsɪti/; as we saw in the preceding chapter, this has been called 'happY-tensing' (page 48). The dividing line between north and south is in this case a good

deal further north than in the case of the previous two features, with only Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire and areas to the north being involved – except that, again, Liverpool in this case patterns with the southern rather than the northern accents. Tyneside and Humberside also have /i/ rather than /ɪ/. The quality of the /ɪ/ vowel in parts of northern England may actually be markedly more open than the close value suggested by [ɪ], with pronunciations as open as [ɛ] being heard in Lancashire, for example.

Scottish accents typically have the same vowel in this final position as they have in words such as *gate* or *face*, so that for example *racy* is [ˈɾese]. In north-east Scotland, the final vowel in words like *racy*, *city*, *seedy*, *jetty* and so on may 'harmonise' with the preceding stem vowel, such that it is predictable which of two subforms [e] and [i] will occur depending on how close the stem vowel is, and what consonant intervenes; some consonants 'block' the harmony, while others are 'transparent' (Paster 2004).

Accents of the Republic of Ireland typically have /i/.

/ɹ/

All English accents permit /ɹ/ where it occurs *before* a vowel, as in *rat*, *trap* or *carry*. They vary, however, in whether they permit the pronunciation of /ɹ/ *after* a vowel (**post-vocalic** /ɹ/), as in words such as *bar*, *bark*, *firm* or *butter*. RP does not have post-vocalic /ɹ/, so for these words has /bɑː/, /bɑːk/, /fɜːm/ and /ˈbʌtə/. Scottish and Irish accents (like most North American accents) typically do, by contrast, have /ɹ/ in this position. These /ɹ/-pronouncing

accents are known as **rhotic** accents (or, especially by Americans, as 'r-ful' accents); those which do not permit post-vocalic /ɹ/ are called **non-rhotic** (or 'r-less') accents. Beyond the UK, non-rhotic accents can be found in many parts of the world, including Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, West Africa, the southern United States, New York City, parts of New England and the Caribbean. Within England and Wales the position of post-vocalic /ɹ/ in regional accents is quite complex, but we can generalise and say that /ɹ/-ful pronunciations are being lost – post-vocalic /ɹ/, in other words, is dying out – and that one is more likely to hear post-vocalic /ɹ/ in the speech of older, working-class rural speakers than from younger middle-class urban speakers. It is also receding in urban Scotland, where the speech of young working-class people in Glasgow and Edinburgh is **derhotacising**. Map 4.2 shows those areas where post-vocalic /ɹ/ still occurs in the British Isles.


A = post-vocalic /ɹ/ present
B = post-vocalic /ɹ/ absent
Aberdeen
A
Edinburgh
Newcastle upon Tyne
Carlisle
Middlesbrough
Belfast
Bradford
Hull
Manchester
A
Liverpool
Galway
Dublin
A
Walsall
Leicester
Norwich
B
Pontypridd
A
London
Bristol
Southampton
100 miles
100 kilometres

Map 4.2 Post-vocalic /ɹ/ in the UK and Ireland

This difference between English accents is due to a linguistic change involving the loss of post-vocalic /ɹ/, which began some centuries ago in the south-east of England, and has since spread to other regions. This loss of /ɹ/ has also had a further consequence (see also page 47). The consonant /ɹ/ was lost in these accents before a following consonant, as in *cart*, but was retained before a following vowel, as in *carry*. This meant that whether or not the /ɹ/ was pronounced in words like *car* depended on whether it was followed by a word beginning with a vowel or a word beginning with a consonant (or by a pause). Thus we have

	car alarm	with /ɹ/	/ˈkɑːɹəˈlɑːm/
but	*car keys*	without /ɹ/	/ˈkɑːˈkiːz/

The /ɹ/ in the pronunciation of *car alarm* is known as 'linking /ɹ/', as we saw in the previous chapter. Originally, we can assume, what happened was that speakers deleted (or failed to pronounce) the /ɹ/ before a following consonant. Subsequently, however, this pattern has for most speakers been restructured, analogically, so that it is now interpreted in such a way that /ɹ/ is inserted before a following vowel. This means that analogous to:

soar /sɔː/	*soar up* /sɔːɹ ʌp/

we now also have:

draw /dɹɔː/	*draw up* /dɹɔːɹ ʌp/

It will be recalled that an /ɹ/ which occurs in the latter position – that is in cases where there is no <r> in the spelling (which of course reflects the original pronunciation) – is known as 'intrusive /ɹ/'. Because there is no <r> in the spelling, intrusive /ɹ/ has often been frowned upon in the past by schoolteachers and others as 'incorrect'. However, it is now quite normal in non-rhotic accents of English in the UK, and in RP it is usual for speakers to say:

idea [ɹ] *of*	*Shah* [ɹ] *of Iran*	*Hannah* [ɹ] *is*
draw [ɹ] *it*	*china* [ɹ] *ornament*	*pizza* [ɹ] *and chips*

We can say that where one of the vowels /ɑː ɔː ɜː ɪə ɛə ə/ occurs before another vowel, an /ɹ/ is automatically inserted. This process is so automatic that speakers are usually unaware that they do it, even if they consider the habit an unattractive or 'careless' speech trait. Generally, too, we can say that the tendency is now so widespread that if speakers with a south-eastern-type English accent fail to use intrusive /ɹ/, especially after /ə/ or /ɪə/, it may be an indication that they are not native speakers. Some more conservative RP speakers carefully avoid the use of intrusive /ɹ/ *within* words, and will not say *drawing* /ˈdɹɔːɹɪŋ/, as many non-RP

speakers do (but might all the same use /ɹ/ in, say, *banana-y* ('tasting like banana'), it being difficult to see how else it might be pronounced). The stigma attached to intrusive /ɹ/ has receded to the point where many younger RP speakers appear to have no objection to it whatsoever, and express surprise when informed that some people consider it incorrect or ugly (see also page 47, and Foulkes 1998 for further discussion).

Accents such as Scottish accents which have preserved post-vocalic /ɹ/ hardly ever, of course, exhibit intrusive /ɹ/ (the analogical process does not apply), and Scottish speakers often observe, for example, that 'English people say *India* /ˈɪndɪəɹ/'. English people, in fact, do not normally say /ˈɪndɪəɹ/ if the word is uttered on its own, but they *do* pronounce the word this way if it is a phrase such as /ˈɪndɪəɹ ən pɑːkɪˈstɑːn/ *India and Pakistan*. Scottish speakers may occasionally be heard to use intrusive /ɹ/ in phrases like *idea of*, but it is rare. It will be interesting to see whether the frequency of intrusive /ɹ/ goes up as urban Scottish English derhotacises.

Loss of post-vocalic /ɹ/ in RP and many other accents also means that many words, such as *butter*, *better* or *hammer*, end in -/ə/ (rather than -/əɹ/). When new words such as *America*, *china*, *banana* or *algebra* were adopted into English, there was in these accents therefore no problem. They fitted into the same pattern and were pronounced with final /ə/ (plus intrusive /ɹ/, of course, if the next word began with a vowel). However, in accents where post-vocalic /ɹ/ was preserved there were no words that ended in -/ə/, other than proper names such as *Hannah* or *Noah*. The

problem therefore arose of how to incorporate these new words into the sound structures of these particular varieties. In many Scottish accents the solution seems to have been to end words such as these with /a/ (the vowel of *hat*) or /ʌ/ (as in *hut*), as in for example /ˈtʃaɪna/ *china or* /əˈmɛɹɪkʌ/ *America*. In accents in the west of England, on the other hand, another solution was sometimes adopted and the new words assimilated to the pattern of *butter*. We therefore find, in cities such as Southampton, pronunciations such as /bəˈnɑːnəɹ/ *banana*, /vəˈnɪləɹ/ *vanilla*, /ˈmɒltəɹ/ *Malta* (perhaps by analogy with *Gibraltar*); this is not the same phenomenon as intrusive /ɹ/, because in these accents the /ɹ/ occurs even where there is a following consonant. In Bristol, the solution was to assimilate them to the pattern of *bottle* and *apple* /ˈapəl/. This is the so-called 'Bristol /l/' (see page 87), as in *America* /əˈmɛɹɪkəl/, *Eva* /ˈiːvəl/, and so on. A similar, but wholly independent, phenomenon is also reported for southeast Pennsylvania English (Gick 2002), so it could be argued that there is something phonetically natural about the insertion of the so-called 'liquid' consonants /l/ and /ɹ/ after word-final /ə/ in English.

Note that the actual pronunciation of /ɹ/ also varies quite widely. In Scotland, Wales and northern England a frequent pronunciation is the alveolar tap [ɾ]; in the south-west of England, in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland a retroflex approximant [ɻ] is used; and in south-eastern England the usual form is the alveolar approximant [ɹ] that is also usual in RP. The alveolar trill [r] is stereotypical of Scottish English, and although it is used in many

accents around Scotland, it now has a somewhat old-fashioned and/or rural flavour, and is in any case not particularly common even in accents that feature it (see pages 128, 132, 162). Other variants include the uvular fricative [ʁ] in rural north-east England, and the labio-dental [ʋ] which is now very common among younger speakers in England, principally in the south but increasingly in other areas of the country. See also Chapter 5.

/uː/ and /ʊ/

We have already noted that Scottish and Northern Irish accents have no distinction between /a/ and /ɑː/. The same is also true, for the most part, of the similar pairs of vowels /ʊ/ and /uː/, and /ɒ/ and /ɔː/. Thus Scottish speakers make no distinction between pairs of words such as the following:

Pam ~ palm
pull ~ pool
cot ~ caught

/h/

Unlike RP, most urban regional accents of England and Wales do not have /h/, or are at least variable in its usage. For speakers of these accents, therefore, pairs like *art* and *heart*, or *arm* and *harm*, are pronounced the same way. The loss of /h/ is a change that has been ongoing for centuries – there is evidence that it began perhaps as early as the sixteenth century – and it has been the target of disapproving criticism for much of that time (Mugglestone

1995; Beal 1999). /h/ is retained in accents of the north-east of England such as that of Newcastle, although it disappears quickly as one travels southwards from there: /h/-dropping is reported for Sunderland, and is virtually categorical in Middlesbrough and other parts of the Teesside conurbation. Scottish and Irish accents do not feature /h/-dropping.

An unexpected trend in contemporary London speech and in southeastern England more generally concerns the restoration of /h/ in appropriate contexts. Cheshire *et al.* (2008) found that young people in Hackney, in north London, used /h/ in words like *heart* and *harm* very much more frequently than did people of their grandparents' generation: overall, the young speakers dropped only one /h/ in every nine cases where the /h/ was potentially pronounceable, while the elderly speakers dropped /h/ nearly two thirds of the time.

[ʔ]

RP speakers may use the glottal stop (see pages 43–44) word-initially before vowels, as in [ʔant] *ant*, or before certain consonants or consonant clusters, for example [ˈfɪʔnəs] *fitness*, [ˈaʔləs] *atlas*, [baʔtʃ] *batch*, [sɪʔks] *six*, [ˈsɪmʔpli] *simply* (Brown 1990; Fabricius 2002; Altendorf 2003). In most British regional accents, however, the glottal stop is more widely used, particularly as an allophone of word-medial and word-final /t/. It is most common in the speech of younger urban working-class speakers, and is now found in almost all regions of the UK, with the particular exception of many parts of Wales and northern Scotland.

It occurs much more frequently in some phonological contexts than others:

most frequent	word-final pre-consonantal	*that man*
↓	before a syllabic nasal	*button*
	word-final pre-vocalic	*that apple*
	before syllabic [l̩]	*bottle*
least frequent	word-internal pre-vocalic	*better*

As was noted in Chapter 1, it appears that many younger RP speakers are also adopting [ʔ] in some of the above contexts, despite (or perhaps because of) the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and 'sloppiness' that is often attached to the form. The fact that prominent public figures such as the former Prime Minister Tony Blair and certain younger members of the British royal family can be heard to use glottal stops in pre-consonantal, pre-nasal and even word-final pre-vocalic positions suggests that this stigma is receding, however.

In some areas, especially the north-east of England, East Anglia, Northern Ireland and north-eastern Scotland, the glottal stop may also be pronounced simultaneously with the voiceless stops /p t k/ in certain positions, most strikingly when between vowels:

flipper [ˈflɪp͡ʔpʔˆ
ə(ɹ)] *city* [ˈsɪt͡ʔi]
flicker [ˈflɪk͡ʔə(ɹ)]

/ŋ/

a. Most non-RP speakers of English, particularly when using informal styles, do not have /ŋ/ in the suffix -*ing*. In forms of this type they have /n/ instead:

   singing /ˈsɪŋɪn/

   walking /ˈwɔːkɪn/

b. This pronunciation has also been stereotypically associated (see also pages 45–46) with older members of the aristocracy, who have often been caricatured as being particularly interested in *huntin', shootin' and fishin'*. It should be noted that although this habit is popularly termed 'dropping [g]', it is a process of simple substitution of /ŋ/ for /n/, as nothing is dropped or omitted as such. It is also important to remember that the phenomenon applies only to /ŋ/ where it occurs in the -*ing* suffix and analogous words like *ceiling*, or in words containing the morpheme -*thing* (*nothing*, *anything*, etc.). /ŋ/ in words like *sing* (or *sang*, *singer*, *finger*) is never replaced by /n/ in any accent.

c. In an area of western central England which includes Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, words which elsewhere have /ŋ/ and are spelled with <*ng*> are pronounced with [ŋg], a sequence which has been labelled the 'velar nasal plus':

singer	[ˈsɪŋgə] (rhymes with [ˈfɪŋgə] *finger* and [ˈlɪŋgə] *linger*)
thing	[θɪŋg]

d. A similar pronunciation can be heard in the *-thing* class words in London working-class speech, where [k] rather than [g] follows [ŋ]: for example, [ˈnʌfɪŋk] *nothing*. Words ending in *-ing* (*running*, etc.) are, however, not affected: the final nasal is either [ŋ] or [n].

/j/-Dropping

At an earlier stage in the history of English, words like *rude* and *rule* were, it is thought, pronounced /ɹjuːd/ and /ɹjuːl/. In modern English, however, the /j/, where it occurred after /ɹ/, has been lost through a process known as **yod-dropping**, and the words are now pronounced /ɹuːd/ and /ɹuːl/. The same thing is true of earlier /juː/ after /l/: the name *Luke*, for instance, which formerly had /j/, is today pronounced /luːk/ (except that some – particularly Scottish – accents still preserve /j/ in words like *illumine* and *allude*). /j/ has also been substantially lost after /s/: *suitable* still contains /j/ for many RP speakers, and some older, very conservative RP speakers may retain /j/ in *suit*, but pronunciations like *super* /ˈsjuːpə/ have long been considered amusingly old-fashioned. Impersonators lampooning the hyper-conservative RP speech of the art critic Brian Sewell (pages 46–47) take full advantage of the comic potential of these affected-sounding pronunciations, one of which conveniently occurs in Sewell's own

surname. In RP and many other English accents, though, this simplification of initial /ɹjuː/, /ljuː/, and /sjuː/ sequences through the process of yod-dropping is as far as the process has gone, and /j/ can still occur before /uː/ after most other consonants.

In certain regional accents, however, the change has progressed a good deal further. In parts of the north of England, for example, /j/ has been lost after /θ/, so that *enthuse* may be /ɛnˈθuːz/. In London, /j/ is very often absent after /n/, so *news* may be /nuːz/ rather than the RP-type /njuːz/. Additionally, as in a number of North American accents, /j/ can also, at least in northern areas of London, be lost after /t/ and /d/, giving *tune* /tuːn/ and *duke* /duːk/ rather than /tjuːn/ and /djuːk/, as in RP.

In a large area of eastern England, /j/ has been lost before /uː/ before *all* consonants. The area in question covers Norfolk and parts of Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and includes the cities of Norwich, Ipswich, Cambridge and Peterborough. In this area, pronunciations such as *pew* /puː/, *beauty* /ˈbuːti/, *view* /vuː/, *few* /fuː/, *queue* /kuː/, *music* /ˈmuːzɪk/ and *human* /ˈhuːmən/ are quite usual.

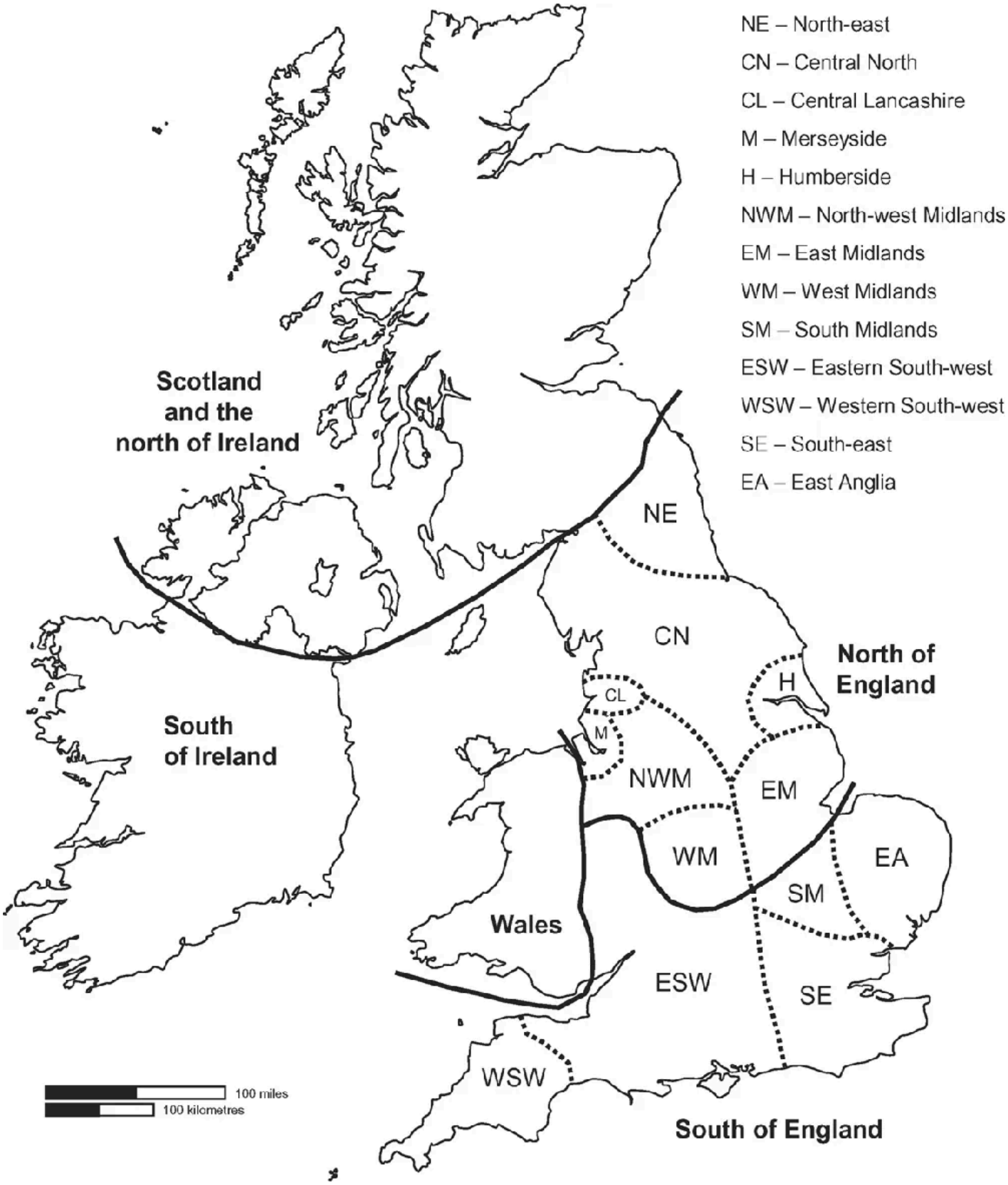
Long Mid Diphthonging

Accents in the south-eastern and southern-central part of England have undergone a process known as **long mid diphthonging** (see Wells 1982). This means that the vowels of *bait* and *boat* have a diphthongal character. Indeed, many analyses of English phonology assume that these vowels are intrinsically diphthongal

and so should be grouped with those of *bite* and *bout*. There is a great deal of variety in how the vowels may be realised, and it can quite reasonably be said that these two vowels are the most variable vowels in English. Diphthongs may range from [æi] in *bait* and [ʌʉ] in *boat* in London and the south, through [ɛi] and [ɔu], to [ei] and [ou] in the north of the affected area. That is, the more southerly the accent, the 'wider' the diphthong (where 'wide' means that the start and end points of the vowel are widely separated from each other in vowel space). In local accents elsewhere in the British Isles – the far south-west of England, the far north of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland – these vowels have retained the older, monophthongal pronunciations, such as [beːt] and [boːt]. Again, there is variation within the set of monophthongal forms, whereby (for example) the vowels are markedly more open in West Yorkshire ([ɛː] and [ɔː] being typical values) than they are in Scotland. In certain parts of northern England the vowels, especially that of *boat*, may be centralised towards the middle of the vowel space. In some places, for example in cities like Hull or Newcastle-upon-Tyne, it can be hard to distinguish between words like *joke* and *jerk*, and in Middlesbrough the *bait* vowel may be quite [ə]-like, so that *wake* and *work* sound similar. The fact that in the latter accent the vowel in words of the *work* set is often fronted to a quality approaching [ɛ] contributes further to this similarity.

Regional Accent Classification

To summarise the contents of this chapter, we can point out that the way in which most of the features we have been discussing are regionally distributed makes it possible to construct a classification of the major accent types to be found within the British Isles. This is illustrated in Map 4.3, which shows accents of English divided into their main divisions and subdivisions, although note must be taken of the fact that the drawing of regional linguistic boundaries is a notoriously difficult and somewhat arbitrary task, and cases could certainly be made for different classifications from those we have used here. Note also that the political frontiers between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and between England and Wales, do not coincide exactly with accent classification boundaries, though that between Scotland and England corresponds closely with a large number of linguistic discontinuities or **isoglosses** (Llamas 2010).


NE – North-east
CN – Central North
CL – Central Lancashire
M – Merseyside
H – Humberside
NWM – North-west Midlands
EM – East Midlands
WM – West Midlands
SM – South Midlands
ESW – Eastern South-west
WSW – Western South-west
SE – South-east
EA – East Anglia
Scotland and the north of Ireland
South of Ireland
North of England
Wales
South of England
NE
CN
CL
M
H
NWM
EM
WM
EA
SM
ESW
SE
WSW
100 miles
100 kilometres

Map 4.3 Accent groups of the British Isles

Map 4.3 shows a division of English accents into five major groups in the British Isles: the south of England; the north of England; Wales; the south of Ireland; and Scotland and the north of Ireland. To help clarify the geographical positions of the subdivisions of the north of England and south of England groups, note the position of urban areas as follows:

North-east:	Newcastle, Sunderland, Durham, Middlesbrough
Central north:	Lancaster, York, Bradford, Leeds
Central Lancashire:	Blackburn, Burnley, Accrington
Merseyside:	Liverpool, Birkenhead
Humberside:	Scunthorpe, Hull, Grimsby
North-west Midlands:	Manchester, Derby, Stoke-on-Trent, Chester
East Midlands:	Nottingham, Leicester, Grantham
West Midlands:	Walsall, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Coventry
South Midlands:	Bedford, Northampton, Milton Keynes
East south-west:	Bristol, Gloucester, Southampton
West south-west:	Plymouth, Exeter
South-east:	London, Brighton, Dover, Reading
East Anglia:	Norwich, Ipswich

The five south of England areas (the western south-west, the eastern southwest, the south-east, the south Midlands, and East Anglia) are distinguished by having the vowel /ʌ/ in words like *putt* and *cud*. Within the southern area, the two south-western areas are distinguished by having /ɹ/ in *bar* and *bark*, and by lacking the distinction between /a/ and /ɑː/ (see above). They are distinguished from each other by the absence of long mid diphthonging in the western south-west. East Anglia has preserved initial /h/, and both East Anglia and the south Midlands have categorical /j/-dropping.

Accents in the north of England are distinguished by lacking the vowel /ʌ/ in *putt*, having /ʊ/ in both *putt* and *put*. As can be seen from the map, the north of England area is divided up into nine sub-areas. These are characterised by the following features:

a. /h/ is preserved in the north-east (but not Teesside)
b. Words such as *singer* are pronounced with /ŋg/ in central Lancashire, Merseyside, the north-west Midlands and the West Midlands
c. Postvocalic /ɹ/ is preserved in a small area of central Lancashire
d. Words like *money* have final /i/ in the north-east, Humberside, Merseyside and West Midlands areas
e. Long mid diphthonging in *bait* and *boat* occurs in Merseyside, the North-west Midlands, the East Midlands and the West Midlands (just as it does in the south of England), although it has been spreading into other areas of England in recent decades

f. /j/-dropping is found in the East Midlands

Ireland and Scotland lack long mid diphthonging; they preserve /h/ and nonprevocalic /ɹ/; and, like the south of England, they have /ʌ/ in *putt*. The north of Ireland and Scotland also lack the distinctions between /ʊ/ and /uː/, /a/ and /ɑː/, and /ɒ/ and /ɔː/.

Wales is distinguished by lacking /h/, postvocalic /ɹ/, and long mid diphthonging (though this can be heard in urban south Wales). Welsh accents also have /i/ in *money*, /ʌ/ in *putt*, and /a/ in *path* (though see Chapter 5).

For the summary of these facts, see Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Key phonological characteristics of accents of English in the Br

	/ʌ/ in *mud*	/ɑː/ in *path*	/ɑː/ in *palm*	/i/ in *hazy*	/ɹ/ in *bar*	/ʊ/ in *pull*	/h/ in *harm*	/g/ in *sing*
Scotland & N. Ireland	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
S. Ireland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
North-east	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
Central north	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
Central Lancs.	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
Merseyside	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
Humberside	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
NW. Midlands	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
E. Midlands	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
W. Midlands	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+
S. Midlands	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
E. South-west	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
W. South-west	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

	/ʌ/ in *mud*	/ɑː/ in *path*	/ɑː/ in *palm*	/i/ in *hazy*	/ɹ/ in *bar*	/ʊ/ in *pull*	/h/ in *harm*	/g/ in *sing*
South-east	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
East Anglia	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Wales	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-

British Isles Accents and Dialects

DOI: 10.4324/9780203784440-5

In this chapter we look in greater detail at the speech of 23 different areas of the British Isles. These correspond to the recordings of conversations on the companion website (http://www.routledge.com/cw/hughes/). The speakers have quite distinct accents, and have been chosen to provide a sample of regional variation which is linguistically and geographically representative. The towns and cities that the first set of speakers come from are:

> **London** (two varieties: the first, traditional working-class London English, is known colloquially as ‘Cockney’; the second is London English that has been influenced by West Indian English and Caribbean creoles)

Norwich (East Anglia)
Bristol (the west of England)
Southampton (the south of England)
Pontypridd (south Wales)
Walsall (West Midlands)
Leicester (East Midlands)
Bradford (West Yorkshire)
Hull (East Yorkshire)
Liverpool (Merseyside)
Manchester (north-west Midlands)
Middlesbrough (north-east England)
Carlisle (north-west England)
Edinburgh (central Scotland)
Aberdeen (north-east Scotland)
Belfast (Northern Ireland)
Dublin (eastern Republic of Ireland)
Galway (western Republic of Ireland)

We also investigate the English of five areas where traditional dialects are spoken. The speakers come from the mainly rural county of **Devon** in south-west England, from rural **Lancashire** in north-west England, from **Northumberland** in the far north of England, from the **Lowlands of Scotland** (that area lying between and around Glasgow and Edinburgh, but also extending up the east coast of Scotland to Fife, Angus and Aberdeenshire), and from the **Shetland Islands** in the far northern extremity of the British Isles. The locations of these areas are shown on the map on the inside front cover.

We treat each area in turn, indicating first the principal distinguishing features of the particular accent, and making reference where possible to examples of them in the recording (identified by line number in the transcript, e.g. l. 10). This is followed by an orthographic transcription of the relevant recording, and notes on interesting grammatical and lexical features which appear in the recording.

We should point out here that the recordings were not made by actors or in a studio. For the most part they are of people talking with friends in their own homes. In order to obtain 'natural' speech, we wanted the speakers to feel comfortable and relaxed, and to speak as they usually would in friendly conversation. We think that in general we have achieved this. Some of the recordings date back to well before the publication of the first edition of this book in 1979, however, and the conditions in which the recordings were made mean that there is sometimes considerable background noise, and there are occasions when speakers get excited, are interrupted, turn away from the microphone, or rattle a teacup in its saucer, and for this reason it is not always absolutely clear what has been said. Some recordings have been electronically filtered so as to reduce the levels of background noise, but there are limits to how much noise can be removed without affecting the intelligibility of the speaker's voice, or otherwise creating distracting changes in the sound quality.

The recordings for each of the first 19 areas begin with the reading of a word list designed to bring out the principal differences between British Isles accents. For comparison, the very

first recording on the website is of an RP speaker reading the list. The list, together with the RP pronunciation of it, is given on page xi (and is referred to subsequently as WL, with the number identifying the word. WL 5, for example, is the word *putt*).

In the following sections we will repeatedly want to talk about the qualities of different vowels. In working-class London speech ('Cockney'), for example, although the vowel /ʌ/, as in *cup*, is to be found in the same set of words as it is in RP, its realisation – that is, the actual sound made – is consistently different from the equivalent RP vowel. To show these differences (which, of course, can be heard in the website recordings) we make use of vowel charts of the kind introduced in Chapter 3.

1 London (‘Cockney')

Map 5.1 London

1.1 The traditional working-class London accent informally termed ‘Cockney’ is, of course, a southern accent.

a. /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ are both present and distinguish between, for example, *put* and *putt* (WL 4, 5; see pages 59–60). /ʌ/ is realised as [$^{a}_{+}$] (Figure 5.1, a clear example being *blood*, l. 10).

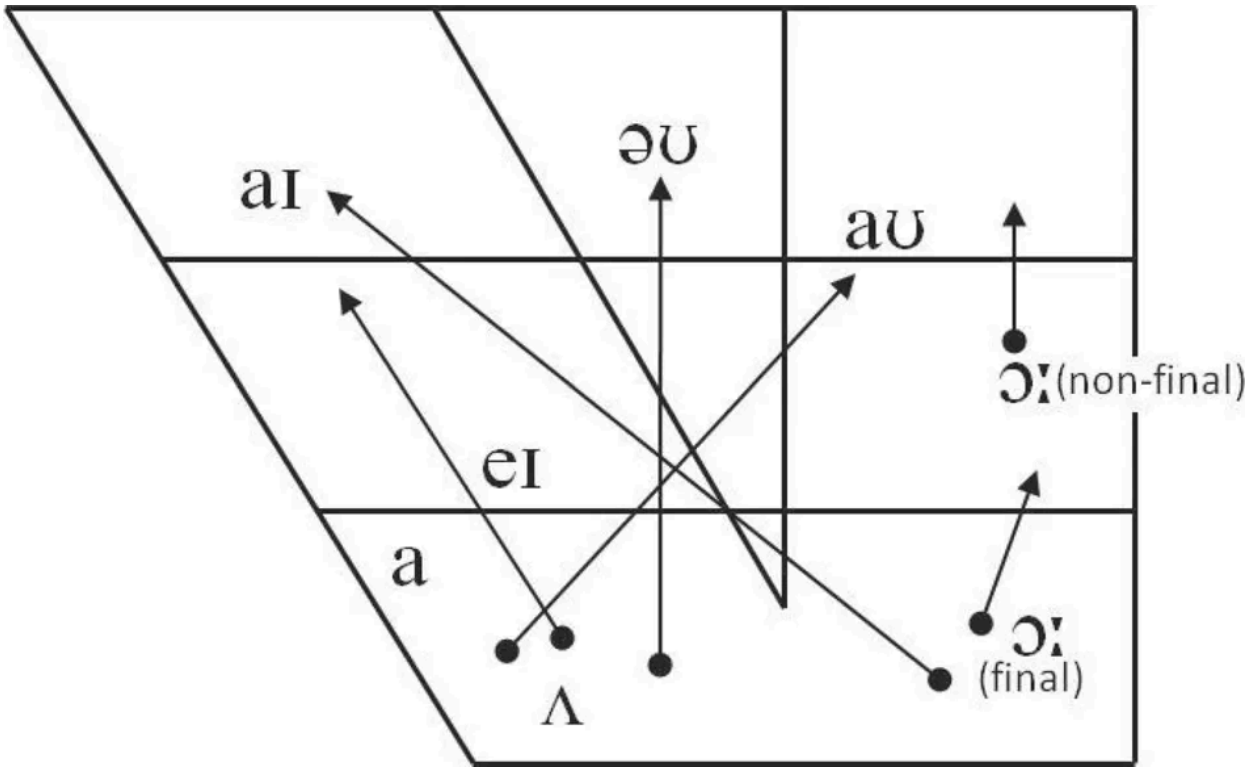


Figure 5.1 Phonetic qualities of certain London vowels

b. /a/ and /ɑː/ are distributed as in RP (WL 21–6; see pages 60–62). /a/ is realised as [ɛ̝], or as a diphthong, [ɛi] (Figure 5.1; WL 21; *bag*, l. 35).

c. Unlike RP, the final vowel of *city*, etc., is /i/ and not /ɪ/ (WL 19, 20).

1.2 /h/ is almost invariably absent. When it is present, it is likely to be in a stressed position (*happened*, l. 26).

1.3 The glottal stop, [ʔ], is extremely common in London speech. As well as in the environments in which it occurs in RP (pages 43–44), it is also found:

a. accompanying /p/ between vowels (*paper*, l. 2)

b. representing /t/ between vowels and before a pause (WL 1–6 etc.; *butterfly*, l. 18; *wet*, l. 3).

1.4

a. The contrast between /θ/ and /f/ is variably lost through the process known as **(th)-fronting**, which collapses the

distinction between labio-dental and dental fricatives (see page 44):

initially	*thin*	/fɪn/
medially	*Cathy*	/'kafi/
finally	*both*	/bəʊf/

b. Similarly, the contrast between /ð/ and /v/ is also often lost:

medially	*together*	/tə'gɛvə/ (1. 20)
finally	*bathe*	/beɪv/

Initially, /d/ or zero is more likely to be heard for /ð/:

For example	*the* (l. 4) is /d/
	they (l. 11) is /eɪ/

1.5

a. When /ɔː/ is final it is realised much as the vowel of *pore* in some RP speech; when /ɔː/ is non-final, its realisation is much closer, at [oː] (Figure 5.1; cf. WL 45, 48).
b. As a result of this difference, a distinction (which is absent in RP) is made in the speech of London and of areas to the south of the city between pairs of words like:
    1. *paws* [pɔəz] and *pause* [poːz] (WL 48, 49)

2. *bored* [bɔəd] and *board* [boːd]

c. The distinction is made on the basis of the presence or absence of a **morpheme boundary** (i.e. whether there's an inflectional ending on the word). Where, for example, plural (*two saws*), third person singular (*she saws the wood*), or genitive *–s (the saw's blade)* is added to a word-final /ɔː/, [ɔə] is still found, rather than [ɔː].

1.6

a. When /l/ occurs finally after a vowel, e.g. *Paul* (WL 30), *well* (l. 18); before a consonant in the same syllable, for example *milk*; or as a syllable in itself, for example *table*, it is realised as a vowel. Thus: [poʊ, wɛʊ, mɪʊk, 'tæɪbʊ] (note that the quality of this vowel can vary somewhat – [ɤ] and [o] are also possible). When the preceding vowel is /ɔː/, there may be complete loss of /l/. Thus *Paul's* may be [poːz], that is identical with *pause*. This phenomenon is called **/l/ vocalisation**, and although it is a long-standing feature of London English it is found in other British accents too, including those spoken in the 'Home Counties' – the counties adjoining London – and much further afield, as for example in Glasgow (Stuart-Smith *et al*. 2007). The feature appears to be spreading fairly rapidly into urban varieties around the country, as documented by Johnson and Britain (2007), as long as it is already possible in the affected accent to have the 'dark' allophone of /l/ in syllable-final position (see page 46).

b. The vowels which represent /l/ can alter the quality of the vowels preceding them in such a way as to make homophones of pairs like:

pool	*pull*	(WL 28, 27)
doll	*dole*	(cf. *doll, pole*, WL 31, 29)
peal	*pill*	

This tendency also appears to be spreading.

1.7 Certain diphthongs are markedly different from RP in their realisations (compare Figure 5.1 with Figures 3.3 and 3.4).

a. /eɪ/ is [æɪ] (WL 40; *paper*, l. 2)

b. /əʊ/ is [ʌɐ̯] (WL 12; *soaked*, l. 9)

c. /aɪ/ is [ɑɪ] (WL 9; *inside*, l. 3)

d. /aʊ/ may be [æə] (*surrounded*, l. 52), and may trigger intrusive /ɹ/ insertion (see page 47), as in *how* [ɹ] *about* or *now* (l. 55).

1.8 *-ing* is /ɪn/:

a. *laying*, (l. 51) (see page 68)

b. In *nothing*, *something*, and so on, *-ing* may be pronounced [ɪŋk] (*anything*, l. 5; see page 68)

1.9 Initial /p t k/ are heavily aspirated, and more so than in RP. In the case of /t/, there is affrication (the tongue tip/blade leave the alveolar ridge slowly, so that a short [s] is produced before the vowel begins). Thus *tea*, l. 5, is [tsɪi].

1.10 The labio-dental approximant [ʋ] can also be heard in the recording (e.g. *reading*, l. 2, *radiators*, l. 6). This pronunciation has been a feature of London English for some time (see Foulkes and Docherty 2000) but has in recent decades spread widely throughout England, and there are signs it is spreading beyond into Wales and Scotland. It can be heard in some of the other recordings on the website.

The Recording

The speaker is a working man of about 50 who has lived all his life in London. His accent is quite strong, though certain features, such as the use of /f/ for /θ/, are not so obvious. He is talking about his time in hospital just before his release after an operation.

The reader of the word list is younger, and her accent is not as strong as that of the older male speaker. Notice the variability in the realisation of final /t/, which is sometimes [ʔ] and sometimes [t].

I came back to the bed, like, after breakfast. I was just like laying on it a bit and reading the…the paper. And I don't know, I thought suddenly I feel wet in my pyjamas. And I looked inside, and put my hand in. I…it is wet. Well, how…how the dickens? I ain't spilt any 5 tea or anything down there. So I thought well, I know, I'll go out in the ablution place, like, there…they've got some little radiators, all little individual places got a little radiator, put my pyjamas on there to dry, I just thought it was some water. Of course, when I got out there the dressing that was on me, that was soaked in a…yeah, like a…a 10 watery blood. So, of course I went and saw the sister, and

er…they put another dressing on it. They put another dressing on it…it wasn't…wasn't long before that was soaked and all, Fred. Wasn't long before that was soaked. So of course I went and had another one done. So I said to the…the nurse, I said…guessed to what it was, 15 it was like where they…they'd taken the tubes out, and I said to her, 'Have they opened up?' She said, 'No, there's nothing, like o…a…actually open, it's seeping.' It was seeping through, yeah. Well…I said, well, I said, 'If you put s…some, like, little butterfly stitches over that first of all…out of…er…er…plaster, like, you know 20…hold that together first of all, then put a dressing and a big plaster on it,' so she done that. But it still didn't…yeah, it still seeps through. And of course I'm going to get worried, and when…when she done it, like, the third time…took it off, I'm laying there, I could see it, it was running away from me like tears. But yeah…but anyway… 25 yeah…well, that's what I said. And of course, what…what had happened, also, that was the Saturday, wasn't it? Yeah, I, er…had my pyjamas. I'd…I'd just changed my pyjamas. So I said to Rene, I phoned Rene there, and I said, 'Could you bring me another one of my old pairs of pyjamas?' I said, cos, I said, some stain had come 30 through it, you know, how…round the waistband and that. So she brought me in a new pair of 'jamas in the afternoon. I went and changed them and…and that. But blimey, before she went home, they were worse than the other pair, weren't they? It'd come through and it had soaked right through and down the leg, and the other pair 35 had dried off a bit in the bag so I thought, well, I'll have to keep them, so…I did get it done again and, er…I changed into pyjamas. Well, of course when it come to the Sunday, I'm going home Sunday, made arrangements for…she's going to pick me up about ten. So of course I had to see the…the sister, and, er…she said, 'I'd like the doctor 40 to see that.'

Well, time's going on, so I phoned Rene in the morning and said, 'Don't pick me up at ten, make it nearer twelve,' sort of thing...it'd give me a chance. And, er, anyway, it was...was a long while before this doctor come up. It was only, like, the young one, see, weekend one. But anyway, the sister, she was getting a bit worried. 45 She said, 'He don't seem to be coming.' So she had a look, and she said, well, if it was my decision she wouldn't let me home. And, er...yeah, I more or less pleaded with her. I said 'Well, they're coming here in a little while.' I said, 'If you'd've told me before,' I said, 'I would have made arrangements and cancelled it.' Anyway, she 50 was still worried, so she went and she found this young doctor. He come along...still laying there, you know, on my bed, sort of thing, surrounded...Eventually he comes ten to twelve, and he has a look and...he's, like, with the nurse there, he wasn't with the sister. But anyway he said, er...'Well,' he said, 'it don't seem to 55 be weeping now.' He said, 'I don't think it'll weep any more,' he said, erm...he said, 'Well, I'm going to let you go home,' and he said, er, he said, 'they'll have to be dressed twice a day,' he said. And, er, he said, 'Twice a day,' he said, 'while it's...comes away a bit wet,' he said, 'and once a day', he said, 'when it's dry,' sort of 60 thing.

Notes

1. The past tense of **come** is variably *came*, e.g. l. 1, and *come* e.g. l. 37, 44, 51 (see page 28).
2. The past tense of the full verb **do** is *done* (l. 21, 22; see page 29).
3. First person singular, negative, of the auxiliary *have* is *ain't* (l. 4; see page 26).

4. Third person singular, negative, of the auxiliary *do* is *don't* (l. 45; see pages 29–30).
5. The use of *lay* for standard English *lie* (l. 1) is not restricted to any region, and Standard English speakers often seem to have to concentrate hard to produce the appropriate form.
6. Items like *and all* (meaning, *as well*) (l. 13), *like* (throughout), *and that* (l. 32) are also not restricted to any particular region, and are best regarded simply as features of colloquial speech.
7. Exclamations like *how the dickens* (l. 4) and *blimey* (l. 32) are colloquial, found in a number of regions of Britain, but are now used more by older people than younger ones.
8. *cos* (l. 29) represents /k?z/, a colloquial form of *because*.

2 London West Indian

London is one of the world's most ethnically diverse cities, and has a large black population. Immigrants from the Caribbean – in particular Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana – came to Britain in sizeable numbers in the decades following the Second World War, many of them settling in London. Over 10 per cent of the population of some London boroughs (Lewisham, Lambeth, Brent and Hackney, for example) are of black Caribbean ancestry. The English spoken by people of West Indian descent in Britain has been influenced by the varieties of English and English-based creoles of the Caribbean region, in particular Jamaican Creole, by virtue of the much larger numbers of immigrant Jamaicans versus people from other parts of the Caribbean (e.g. Sebba 1993). In London, features of West

Indian English have been mixed with traditional working-class London English ('Cockney'; see the preceding section), producing a recognisable London West Indian **ethnolect**, some properties of which are discussed below (see Wells 1973). It should be noted that the variety is not used exclusively by speakers of Caribbean descent, in that children of other ethnicities growing up in areas of the city which have large West Indian communities are exposed to the ethnolect on a daily basis, and are likely to develop at least some active competence in speaking it (Rampton 1995, 2010). There is evidence that earlier London West Indian has coalesced with other types of mixed youth language in London, to form what some observers have called 'Multicultural London English', which has emerged in the multilingual and multiethnic environment of the East End since the 1980s (Cheshire *et al*. 2011).

2.1 As with the previous entry, /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ are present, distinguishing *put* and *putt*. Unexpectedly, the speaker does not contrast *put* and *putt* in her reading of the wordlist (WL 4, 5) but this is without doubt a simple reading error. /ʌ/ is realised as [ʌ] (*touch*, l. 1; *buff*, l. 2) throughout the sample of her spontaneous speech.

2.2 /a/ and /ɑː/ are qualitatively distinct and distributed as in RP (WL 21–26; see pages 60–62). /a/ is realised as [a] (WL 21; *gassed*, l. 5, *Hackney*, l. 7). / ɑː/ is [ɑː] (WL 17, 22–26; *classroom*, l. 9).

2.3 The final vowel of *city*, and so on, is /i/ and not /ɪ/ (WL 19, 20). For the speaker in the London West Indian recording it is tenser and more monophthongal than for the working-class

London speaker in sample 1 (e.g. *ready*, l. 21), and it can be quite long (e.g. *Hackney*, l. 7). It is in fact longer than the stressed vowel in both *city* and *seedy* in the wordlist reading (WL 19, 20).

2.4 /h/ is present in relevant words much of the time (WL 21, 24; *haven't heard*, l. 6; *Hackney*, l. 7, 30, 31; *hugged*, l. 16). It is dropped in the phrase *come here* (l. 14–15), but is pronounced emphatically as the uvular fricative [χ] in *whole* (l. 48).

2.5 The glottal stop, [ʔ], is extremely common as a realisation of /t/ in London West Indian-accented speech in intervocalic (e.g. *out of*, l. 1; *hated*, l. 40; *forty*, l. 51) and syllable-final positions (e.g. *get through*, l. 18; *went into*, l. 22; *settled*, l. 23). It also occurs as a realisation of /k/ (e.g. *like bigger*, l. 33, *actually* ['aʔtʃəli], l. 40). It also serves to separate vowels in hiatus contexts (adjacent vowels occupying separate syllables), for example *maybe I*, l. 3; *the only*, l. 8; *they're all*, l. 20; *to instil*, l. 43.

2.6 /k/ is sometimes produced with a conspicuously backer place of articulation than is typical for British English. Adjacent to a back vowel such as /ɑː/, it can be [q], as in *card* [qˠɑːd] (l. 35); *can't* (l. 39); see Cheshire *et al*. 2008). It is occasionally also realised as an ejective stop [k′] (*like*, l. 26). The latter phenomenon is not unique to the variety, however. It is quite commonly heard on /k/-final items in wordlist readings in different accents of British English (Ogden 2009).

2.7 As in working-class London English, the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are frequently realised as [f] and [v] respectively

(e.g. *something*, l. 10; *nothing*, l. 26; *thought*, l. 28; *breathing*, l. 55; *with*, l. 45). /ð/ may alternatively be realised as [d], as in *there's* (l.5), *they're* (l. 20), or *this* (l. 40). The parallel realisation of /θ/ as [t] is stereotyped in West Indian English, but no examples are found in the website recording. /t/ is noticeably dental ([t̪]) rather than alveolar in several /t/-final words in the wordlist reading (e.g. *pit*, WL 1; *meat*, WL 51; *mate*, WL 52).

2.8 In common with other non-standard varieties, the *-ing* suffix may be either [ɪŋ] or [ɪn], but in *–thing* forms the pronunciation [ɪŋk] is common (e.g. *something*, l. 56).

2.9 /l/ is frequently vocalised in coda positions (*control*, l. 28; *instil*, l. 43), but may be a more standard dark [ɫ] (e.g. *handle*, l. 45). The speaker produces an oddly exaggerated clear [l] in the /l/-final items in the wordlist (WL 27–31), perhaps because she associates the form with clearer, more precise articulation of the sort appropriate when reading isolated words aloud.

2.10 In spite of the fact that some of the varieties of West Indian English that have influenced London West Indian English (notably Barbadian) are rhotic, London West Indian English is fully non-rhotic. In preand intervocalic positions /ɹ/ is generally [ɹ], but for many speakers is labiodental [ʋ] (as in *ridiculous*, l. 40). In linking /ɹ/ sites a rhotic consonant is frequently avoided; as in other contexts where heterosyllabic vowels are adjacent, [ʔ] is often used instead (*for ages*, l. 6; *Year Eight*, l. 51; *hear anyone*, l. 59). [ɹ] is also possible in linking /ɹ/ contexts, however (e.g. *unaware of*, l. 4).

2.11 The /əʊ/ vowel has a fronted offglide: [əʉ] is found in WL 12, 38, 39 and in *know* (l. 24).

2.12 Note that the speaker misreads the word *bear* (WL 15). The expected form is [ɛː] or [ɛᵊ] (cf. *fair*, WL 37).

The Recording

The speaker is a woman in her late twenties whose accent is not particularly strong, but whose phonology is clearly different from that of the London speaker in the previous sample. She talks with friends about her experiences as a drama teacher in London schools.

> What do we say if someone's attractive? Oh my gosh, I'm out of touch. Oh my God! It's like, we say that person is… I think we still use 'buff'. Or maybe I still use 'buff'. **[companion: No, you still use 'buff']** There must be a new word that I'm just unaware of. Like, if someone's talking 5 rubbish, we say, 'Oh, they… they're gassed up.' There's some words I haven't heard for ages. And there's some words, like, they've changed. I need to go back to Hackney! **[companion: No, mate]** Those kids were stressful, man. That was the only time that I ever cried. I got so stressed I just left the classroom, yeah? I said, 'One minute, I need to get 10 something.' Cos I knew I was going to cry, yeah? And I thought, 'There's no way…' So I thought, 'OK, I need to get out of here.' I breezed outside, and I saw my… my tea… my PE teacher friend, and I was like [draws deep breath] and he was like, 'What's wrong?', and I was like [sobs]. And he was like, 'Come here, come here, come here, 15 come here, come here,' and like he pulled me in some corner, and he hugged me, and I was like, 'The Year Ten class,

they're just stressing me!' He's like, 'OK, don't worry, don't worry, don't worry, like, we'll get through it, we'll get through it.' And I was like [sighs]. And like he proper… he's like, 'Don't worry, I'll go and check on the class. Sort 20 yourself out, I'll go and make sure that they're… they're all right, and then come back when you're ready, come back when you're ready.' I was like, 'OK, cool.' So he went into my drama class and just kind of settled the kids down, and I went to the toilet and was like, 'Right. They cannot know that I've been crying. They *cannot* know that I've 25 been crying.' So like, 'Miss, where have you been?' I was like, 'I went to the toilet.' Like, nothing! Because I'm thinking, you know you have to a proper like… they would never know that I was actually crying, because I was actually crying, because I thought, 'I cannot control these… animals!' Cos that's what they were behaving like. They were 30 actually the worst kind of kids. I can't work in Hackney. I've seen jobs going in Hackney, I think, 'No, no. South London, OK. East London, no.' [laughs] No.

[describes when she announced she was leaving the school she had been working in]

The girls were crying, like these tough girls, yeah, who were like bigger than me, half of them, who, like, were so difficult to teach, when I left 35 they came to the office and they were crying. Some huge card with 'Miss Brown blah blah blah.' I was like, 'You made my life hell! In fact I didn't even think you cared.' They were like, 'Miss,' like, 'you're the only one who cares about us, blah blah blah blah,' like, you know, 'you can't leave, duh duh duh.' And they were crying. I was like… I could 40/> not believe it. 'This is like… this is ridiculous! You actually hated me! That's what I thought. When I leave, you're crying?' Like, 'I don't get that. If you like a teacher,

surely you would behave.' And although I managed to instil some discipline in them for the time that I was there, it was only one Year Ten class that was actually the really terrible class. 45 The other classes I managed to get a handle on. They got upset with me. Like, I would do with my Year Eights, yeah, I had one class that… which… were just wild. So to train them up, I was just like, 'Right. If you're… if anyone acts up, it's a whole class detention after school. One hour. You'll practise lining up outside my room in silence, come 50 into my classroom in silence, and sit in a circle.' **[companion: yeah, sit down]** I did that for forty-five minutes with my Year Eight class one time, right? This is how I think… you know how you have to get sick like that? **[companion: yeah, you have to get properly into that]** I said, 'If I hear anyone breathe, you're going back outside.' And it was 55 literally, 'I heard someone breathing.' **[companion: out!]** 'Out! Everybody out!' But I tell you something: after that week, yeah? The following week? Good behaviour. They line up outside my classroom in silence, they come in, I'm like, 'Is someone…' And when I get to my door, if I hear anyone talking, 'Is someone talking? Do we need another 60 hour detention for the whole class for us to practise again how to line up outside my classroom, how to get into my… ?' And you have to do it, otherwise you will not get the respect from the kids.

Notes

1. The speaker makes very frequent use of *like* for a variety of functions. In particular, she uses it as a quotative in the *be like* construction, as an alternative to *say* (l. 36, 37; see page 24).
2. *Get sick* (l. 52) in this context means to behave obsessively or irrationally.

3 Norwich

3.1 The speech of Norwich in particular, and East Anglia in general, is southern.

a. /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ are both present (WL 4, 5)

b. /a/ and /ɑː/ are distributed as in RP (WL 21–26)

c. The final vowel of *city*, and so on, is /i/ (WL 19, 20).

Norwich English differs from the accents of London and the Home Counties (see page 77) in that it lacks /l/ vocalisation. Instead, [ɬ], with the back of the tongue raised towards the soft palate, is used (WL 27–31).

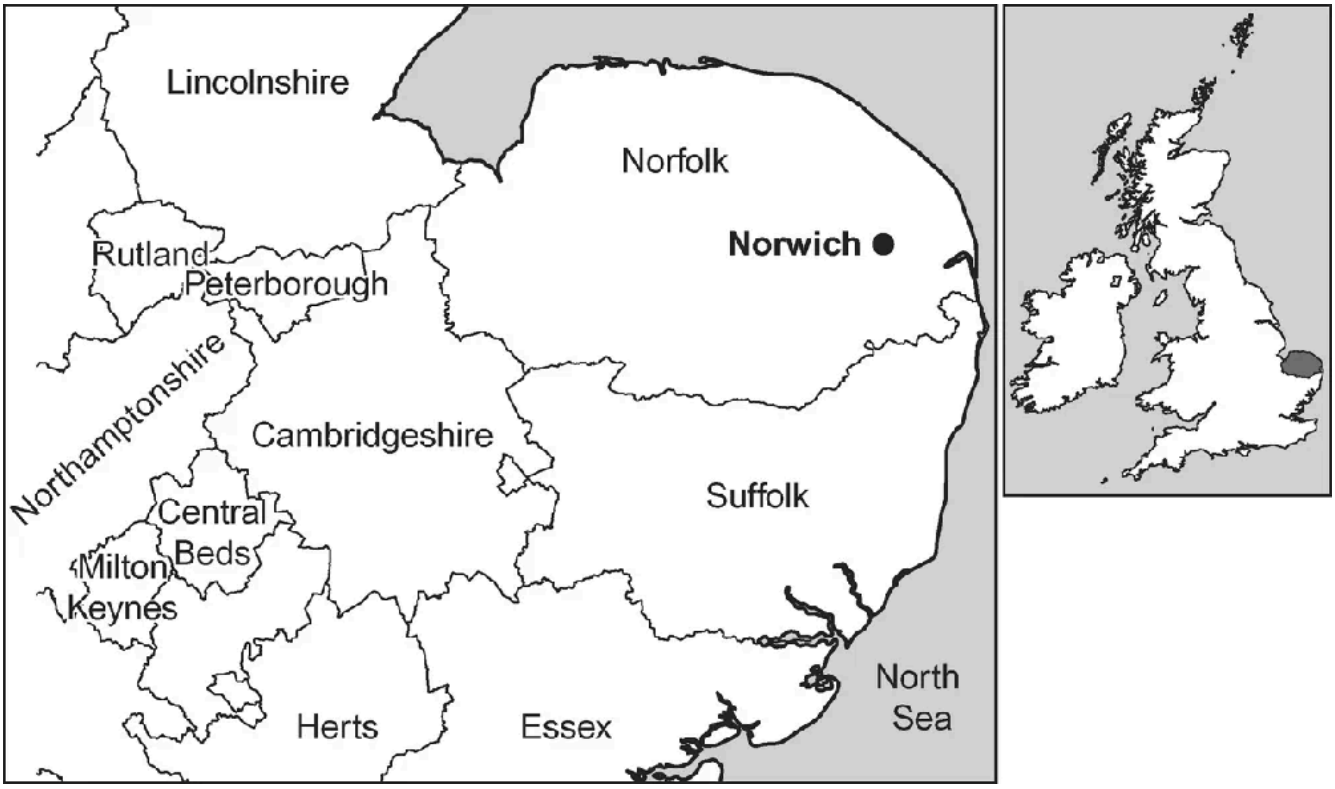
3.2 In Norfolk and neighbouring areas (see pages 68–69) /j/ is variably lost after all consonants (*humorous*, l. 1).

3.3 An older English distinction, lost in RP, is maintained. Thus words which are homophones in RP are quite distinct in Norwich:

/uː/	/əʊ/
moan	*mown*
sole	*soul*
nose	*knows* (WL 38, 39)

3.4 For some speakers, words like *moon* and *boot* have the same vowel (/uː/) as *moan* and *boat*, such pairs being homophonous (WL 11, 12).

3.5 The distinction between /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ found in traditional RP is not present, and so, for example, both *beer* and *bear* are pronounced /bɛː/ (WL 14, 15; *hear*, l. 19, 20; *here*, l. 16).



Map 5.2 Norwich

3.6 While /h/ has been preserved in rural East Anglia, it has been partly lost in Norwich. Thus in the recording it is generally present in stressed words, for example *humorous* (l. 1) and *husband* (l. 22), but is sometimes missing in unstressed words. Note (l. 26–27) that, within a second, *he* is produced first with /h/ and then without.

3.7 Certain words which have /əʊ/ in RP may have /ʊ/, for example *home* (l. 27) and *suppose* (l. 40).

3.8 Words like *room* and *broom*, and (as in other eastern accents – see page 60) *roof* and *hoof*, have /ʊ/ rather than /uː/.
3.9 Stressed vowels are long, while unstressed vowels are much reduced, giving a distinctive rhythm to East Anglian speech. Associated with the reduction of unstressed vowels is the loss of consonants such as the loss of /v/ in *side of it* (l. 15).
3.10 *off* is /ɔːf/ (l. 23).
3.11 The glottal stop [ʔ] variably represents /t/ between vowels, and also accompanies /p t k/, particularly between vowels, for example *bottom* (l. 18), *dirty* (l. 23), *city* (WL 19).
3.12 *-ing* is /ən/.
3.13 The speaker uses [ʊ] in *right* (l. 11, 40), though for her this is clearly a sporadic feature.

The Recording

The speaker is a woman about 50 years old who has lived in Norwich all her life. Her accent is quite strong. She recalls how she first met her husband.

The reader of the wordlist is a younger woman whose accent is less marked than the other Norwich speaker.

> I've got something humorous happened to me, one thing I'll never forget. We…well the…this is the…this is when I first met my husband…cos I generally…you know, my daughter always laugh about that. We went and had a drink, erm, one night. I don't know if 5 you know the Blue Room near the, erm…Well, we went in there one night to have a drink. There was, erm, two girl friends and me – this was before I'd married, see – and, well this was the night,

see, when I met my husband. And, erm, you know, they was like buy…the fellows was buying us drinks and that, see, and, er, my friend and her 10 sister, oh, she say, well, we don't want to go with them, she said, let's give them the slip. Right. Well, we ran up, er, Prince of Wales Road, and opposite the…well, that's…that was the Regent then, that's the ABC now. There's a fruiterers, Empire Fruit Stores, I don't know if it's still there, is it? Well, there was this here fruits…er, fruitstore and 15 that, and they had a passageway at the side of it, see. Well, my friends said to me, oh, they said, Flo, we'll get in here and give them the slip. I went to go in first, thought that was a long passage and that wasn't. They had 40 steps and I fell right to the bottom. Yeah. And there was me, see, and we…and we could hear…you know, they could 20 hear these here fellows come run…running up behind, see, so my friends said, oh quick, Flo have fell down a lot of stairs. Well, the one what's my husband, he said, let her lay there, he said. We've been treating you all night, they said, and you do us the dirty and run off! And they let me lay there. Well, any rate my friends, they managed to 25 stumble up. I had two big bumps on my head, I had a black eye, and course, erm, the…erm…see, my husband-to-be then, he…well, he let me lay there. Well, when I got home, see, my father said to me, the first thing, whatever you done? I said I got knocked down by a bike. That was the first thing that come into my head. Yeah. And I… 30 I gen…generally tell my daughter about that. I said…she say that's what you get, Mum, she say, for making a fellow, she said, letting a fellow, she said, buy you the drink and then, she said, run away from. I say yeah, but that, you know, that's sort of like, er…well then he come round the next night to see how I was, and that's how we got 3535acquainted. He said, that'll teach you. He said that'll teach you, he say, er…taking drinks off anyone, he said and try, he

said, you thought, he said, you were going to slip off, he said, erm… he said, did you know there was any steps? And I said, no I didn't. I thought that was a long passage, see, and there was just, there was 40 steps 40 that go right down, I suppose, to…and lead into a door at the back of this here fruit shop.

Notes

1. The third person singular, present tense is not marked by *-s*. Thus: *laugh* (l. 3), *say* (l. 10, 30, 31; see page 29).
2. The absence of *-s* applies also to auxiliary *have* (l. 21).
3. Introduction of a relative clause by *what* (l. 22; see pages 30–31).
4. *lay* (l. 22): Standard English *lie* (as in the London recording).
5. *that* is used where standard English would have *it* (l. 17).
6. Note intrusive /ɹ/ in *by a bike* [bəɹə 'bɑɪʔk] (l. 28–29; see pages 64–65).

4 Bristol

4.1 The speech of Bristol, and the south-west generally, makes a distinction between pairs like *put* and *putt* (WL 4, 5). The vowel of *putt*, however, is [ə], and it seems that, unlike in RP, there are not two distinct phonemes /ə/ and /ʌ/ (see page 60).
4.2 There is no /a/ ~ /ɑː/ contrast (WL 21–6). /a/ is realised as [a] (Figure 5.2 and Map 4.1).

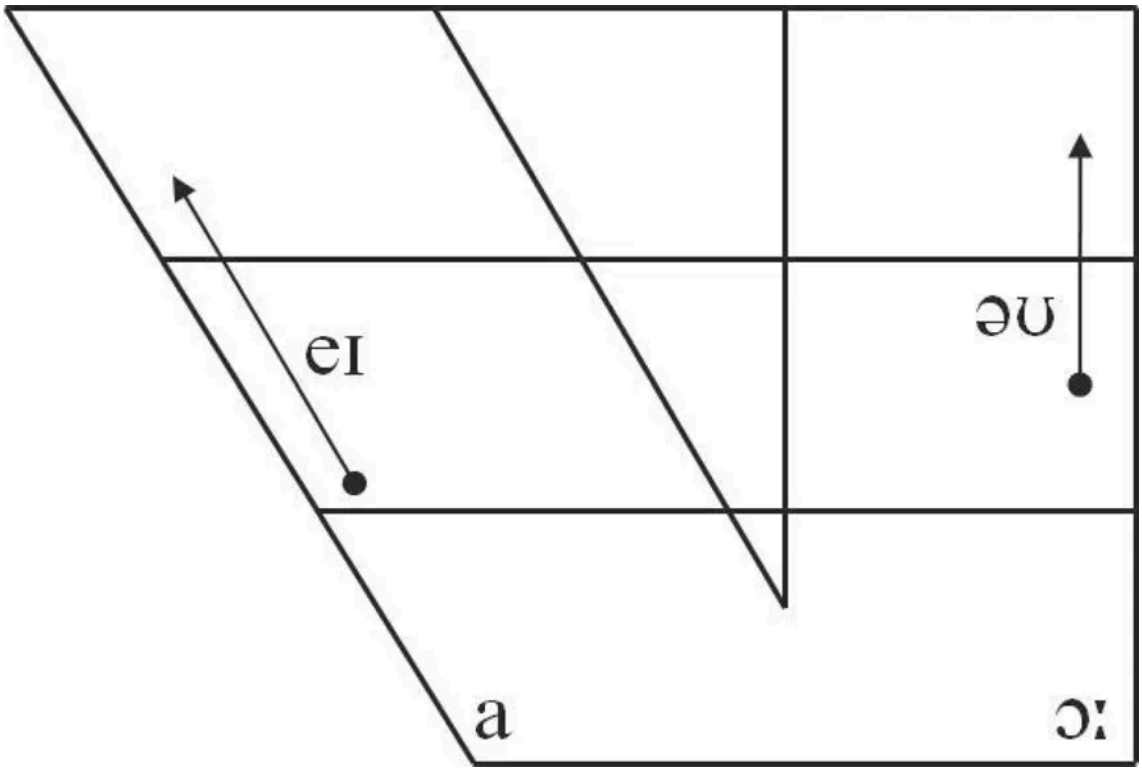
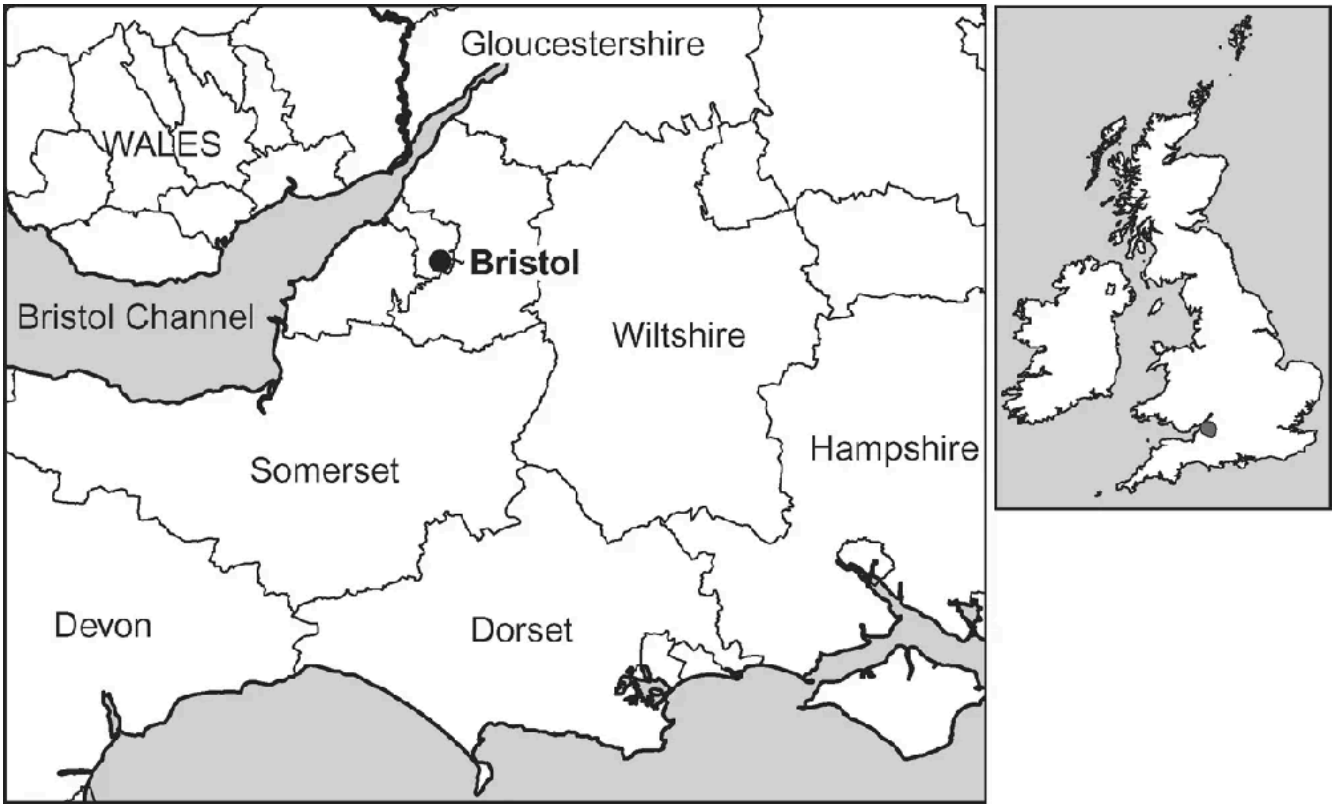


Figure 5.2 Phonetic qualities of certain Bristol vowels

4.3 There is post-vocalic /ɹ/ (see page 63 and Map 4.2). /ɹ/ is quite retroflex in quality (see page 66): that is, it is articulated with the tip of the tongue bending backwards towards the hard palate (WL 14–18, 34–37, 42–44; note contrast with 45) and may justifiably be symbolised [ɻ]. Note that since this accent is rhotic, the equivalents of the RP diphthongs /ɪə/, /ɛə/, and /ʊə/ are /ɪɹ/ (WL 14), /ɛɹ/ (WL 15), and /uɹ/ (WL 42) respectively. See also Section 4.13, below.



Map 5.3 Bristol

4.4 A feature of speech known as 'Bristol /l/', which is confined to the immediate area of Bristol, is the presence of /l/ following word-final /ə/. Thus *America* may be /ə'mɛrɪkəl/ and *Eva* /'iːvəl/. In such cases *Eva* and *evil* are homophones. Bristol /l/ is not common, however, is generally stigmatised, and cannot be heard on our recording (see page 66). Note that although this 'intrusive' /l/ is an unusual phenomenon, it is not unique to Bristol: Gick (2002) reports a similar but apparently unconnected feature in the English of southern Pennsylvania.

4.5 Notice that dark [ɬ] (see page 46) is very dark (heavily palatalised): that is, the raising of the back of the tongue to soft palate is very marked.

4.6 There is a tendency in Bristol, though it is probably less common than in London, for the contrast between /θ/ and /f/

to be lost through (th)-fronting. Again, however, there is no example of this in our recording.

4.7 The glottal stop [ʔ] may represent [t] before a pause, for example *Pete* [pʰiːʔ] (l. 16), but note that in l. 11, *Pete* is [pʰiːt]).

4.8 The diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are rather wide, at [ɛɪ] and [ɔu] (Figure 5.2 and WL 8, 40, 41 and 29, 38, 39).

4.9 -*ing* is /ɪn/.

4.10 As in London speech, in words like *anything*, *something*, -*ing* may be /ɪŋk/ (l. 3, *something*).

4.11

a. By comparison with RP, short vowels are often of longer duration. Thus: *job* [dʒɑˑb] (l. 26), *mad* [maˑd] (l. 11) and *bucket* ['bəˑkɪˑʔ] (l. 40).
b. In certain words a 'fuller' vowel is used in an unstressed syllable than is the case for the equivalent in RP, for example /'gʊdnɛs/ (l. 26) as opposed to RP /'gʊdnəs/ or /'gʊdnɪs/.
c. Similarly, a vowel followed by a consonant is found where in RP there is a syllabic consonant, for example ['bəʔə$\overset{n}{\underset{|}{}}$] as opposed to ['bʌt$\overset{n}{\underset{|}{}}$] *button*.

4.12 /h/ is variably absent. Thus in l. 3 it is present four times in succession (*He'd had his fixed*, *he said*), but is absent on the next occasion (l. 4), where *had* is [ad].

4.13 /ɹ/ is [ʋ] in *every* (l. 2).

The Recording

The speaker is a housewife, about 30 years old. Though she quite clearly comes from the Bristol area, her accent is less broad than most on the website. As mentioned above, local features of pronunciation seem to become more frequent when she becomes excited.

> You know our overflow…well, a fortnight ago, next door neighbour said to us – mind, his overflows every day –…could Pete do something about it. He'd had his fixed, he said. So Pete came in and went up and had a look. It's…it's the…erm…you know, the 5 5immersion heater system. I think it's where the ball thing doesn't close up properly, so the water drips out the overflow. Pete came up and had a go at it, and ever since then, two days apart from yesterday, is the only time ours has dripped out at all. Every day of the week theirs has dripped out. So yesterday afternoon Pete comes 10 home from fishing. I'm sure he waited for Pete, because he knows Pete won't say anything, see, cos I was mad. And, er, Pete comes in, and I heard all these doors going, and I went out and the hot water tap was on. So I said who's turned the hot water tap on? Pete said, he's just asked me again, can I do something about our 15 overflow. So I said well, you did tell him that his hasn't stopped since, he said. No, says Pete. And this morning I come down, and blow me if this isn't…isn't overflowing again, this one. I mean, would you have the cheek to tell a neighbour to mend something when your own wasn't fixed? Well, it's our water that's making his wall damp. Not his 20 own water, mind, that flows out every day of the week. Just mine that's done three times in a fortnight. **[comment from companion]** Oh, no, that was the guttering.

Us, thinking we were being good, cleaned ours out regularly, but all we really did, see, it built up, the water then stayed in ours because it didn't go over the top of the dirt. 25/>25That is...that's been perfectly all right, even with the heavy weather, thank goodness. Point is, really, it's quite a simple job to fix it. Pete's Dad said really all you need is a new washer. Well, if he can just take the arm off, replace the washer and put it back, that's good, but if anything goes wrong I've then got to let the fire out, because I can't 30 have the fire going if the water can't be replaced. And so what is really a simple job, knowing us, could take all day. So I'd rather it dripped out there a bit longer. He reckoned he had somebody in, but, I mean, if I had somebody in I would expect the job done properly. I mean, fair enough, Pete's just bent our arm. Well, he said it's the new 35 washer, but course it was doing a new washer down at the church that Pete's dad chopped all his hand the other week and had to have a week off work. And it's thinking of things like that that can happen to people who don't usually have calamities that makes me a bit worried about letting Pete do ours. It was this morning...I went out this 40 morning to fill my coal bucket, it wa...well, I don't...I don't feel I should complain, because mine does drip out now and then, but knowing his does it every day...I mean, it's a bit off isn't it, Jill?

Notes

1. Notice the infrequency of fillers like *kind of* and *like*.
2. *drips out the overflow* (l. 6) cf. Standard English, *out of the overflow* (see pages 33–34).
3. *course* (l. 35) = *of course*.

5 Southampton

Southampton sits at the boundary between the south-east and the southwest of England, and the variety of English spoken there shares features with the accents of both the south-eastern and the south-western dialect areas. Virtually no published research on the variety exists, although Wallace (2007) has carried out a detailed study of the distribution of selected lexical, grammatical and phonological features in Southampton English. In her discussion of the links between linguistic behaviour and local identity in the city, she says, "The majority of those interviewed do not believe the area to be in either the East or the West, and informants appear to resent the attempts of others outside the area to assign the Southampton area to one of these regions. [...] inhabitants' sense of identity appears to be borne [sic] out of not wishing to be labelled as south-eastern or as south-western, but rather to be acknowledged as Southern. The mixture of south-eastern and south-western forms in the Southampton area accent is used to express this Southernness" (Wallace 2007: 297–8). Variables which function to index these identity choices are listed below.

5.1 Southampton English is traditionally rhotic, and for this reason we group it with the East south-west accents (those of Bristol and Gloucester, for instance; see also Altendorf and Watt 2008). The pronunciation of /ɹ/ in the variety is generally [ɹ] but may also be markedly retroflex [ɻ] (see page 66). However, the speaker in the wordlist recording uses non-rhotic pronunciations of *beer*, *bear*, *bird* and so on (WL 14, 15, 16),

and in this he is fairly typical of a Southampton speaker of his age. Rhoticity is commoner among male and older speakers than female and younger ones, but in Wallace's sample rhotic pronunciations account for less than half of candidate forms (*third*, *farm*, etc.) even in the speech of the older group (59 years or over). Rhoticity is all but absent among speakers under the age of 30, which – if urban Southampton speech is representative of Hampshire English more generally, which is open to question – would push the boundary between the rhotic and non-rhotic areas of southern England further to the west. The female speaker in the sample of spontaneous speech is fully non-rhotic, though there is arguably the suggestion of a post-vocalic /ɹ/ in her pronunciation of *board* (l. 46).

5.2 /l/ is frequently vocalised (WL 27–31). The feature appears to have been present in Southampton for some time: Wallace (2007: 218) notes that it is attested in *Survey of English Dialects* records for Hampshire, meaning that it has been present in the area for several generations. It is apparently on the increase, as in other parts of the UK.

5.3 The qualities of vowels preceding /l/ may be neutralised. In the wordlist reading, the vowel in *pull* (WL 27) is to all intents and purposes identical to those in *pool* (WL 28) and *Paul* (WL 30), while the vowels of *pole* (WL 29) and *doll* (WL 31) do not differ in any auditorily obvious way (cf. London English; see pages 76–77).

5.4 The glottal stop [ʔ] as a realisation of /t/ is very common (WL 1–6, 11– 13, etc.; *sit on*, l. 15, 21). The female speaker also

inserts [ʔ] between *I* and *am* in *I am now* (l. 1) rather than using the glide /j/, perhaps because *I* in this case is realised as [a]. The glottal stop occurs as a realisation of /k/ in *like* on several occasions (e.g. l. 9).

5.5 /h/ is present in both the wordlist (*hat*, WL 21) and spontaneous speech samples. In this respect the speech of the two young people in the recordings differs from the traditional speech of Southampton, and from that of southern England in general.

5.6 /ŋ/ is variably [ŋ] and [n] (e.g. *sailing*, l. 2; *going*, l. 22; *depending*, l. 23; *sailing*, l. 26). On two occasions [ŋg] can be heard in *dinghy* (ll. 12, 29) but the speaker also uses [ŋ] in the same word (l. 13).

5.7 Some (th)-fronting can be heard in the spontaneous sample (e.g. *with*, l. 8; *both*, l. 40).

5.8 As we saw for the London West Indian English speaker (see Section 2 of this chapter), word-final /k/ is sometimes realised as an ejective [k′]. The speaker in the spontaneous speech sample uses it from time to time in the discourse marker *like* (e.g. l. 3).

5.9 /ɑː/ is realised with a front vowel ([a̟ː] in *dance*, *daft* and *half* (WL 22, 23, 24), but unlike in northern England the vowel is long, as in North American or Australian English (see also the entry on Welsh English, below). The vowel has a backer quality, [ɑ̟ː], in *bard* (WL 17), *father* (WL 25) and *farther* (WL 26), in the first and last cases probably because it is adjacent to

/ɪ/, although in the case of the (non-rhotic) wordlist reader this is not overtly pronounced.

5.10 The /ʌ/ vowel is distinct from /ʊ/. Both speakers in the recordings have fairly open vowels [ɐ̟] in *putt* (e.g. WL 5), while /ʊ/ in *put* (e.g. WL 4) is schwa-like in quality (cf. Bristol English; see the preceding section).

5.11 /uː/ may be fronted and diphthongised to [ʊ̟ʉ] (e.g. *boot*, WL 11).

5.12 The second element of /əʊ/ may also be fronted, giving [ʌʉ] in e.g. *boat* (WL 12).

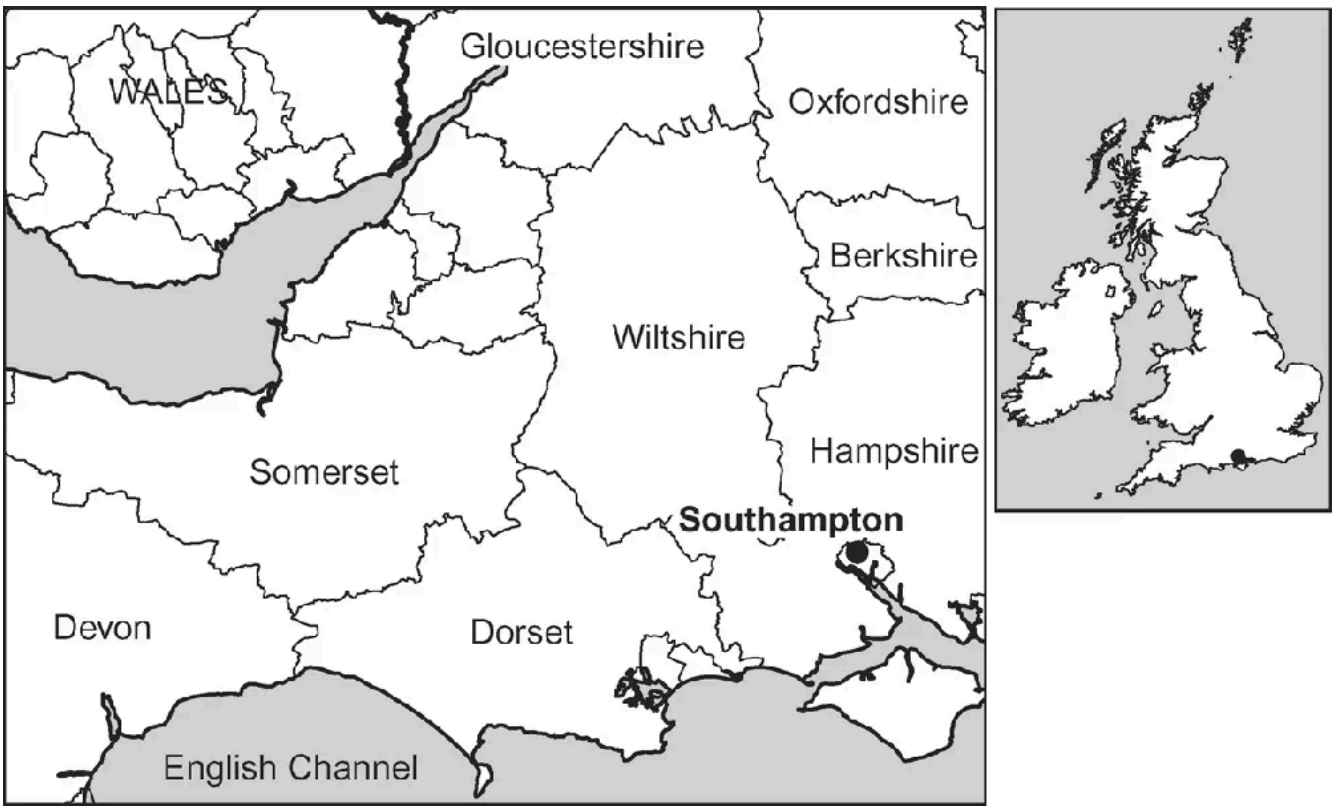
5.13 /eɪ/ is a wider diphthong than in RP, at [ɛɪ] (WL 8, 40, 41, 52).

5.14 For the female speaker, /ɜː/ in words such as *person* (l. 8, 19, 20) and *turn* (l. 24) has a quality that is more open ([ɐ̟ː]) than that found in traditional RP. It is [ɜː] for the wordlist reader (WL 34–36).

5.15 The centring diphthongs /ɪə/ (*beer*, WL 14) and /ɛə/ (*fair*, WL 37) are smoothed to [ɪː] and [ɛː], respectively. In the wordlist reading the vowel of *poor* (WL 42) – [ʊː] – lacks all but the slightest offglide, but it is nonetheless distinct from *pour*, *pore* and *paw*, which are homophones at [ɔː].

5.16 The diphthong /aɪ/ (WL 9, 46, 47) may be [ɒɪ] in Southampton (Wallace 2007: 19), another feature that justifies Southampton English's inclusion among the dialects of the south-west zone. The wordlist speaker uses an unrounded [ɑɪ], however, keeping *buy* (WL 9) and *boy* (WL 10) clearly distinct from one another.

5.17 The female speaker in the spontaneous speech recording uses a great deal of creaky voice towards the end of breath groups or turns. Good examples can be heard in *out in that* (l. 4) and *Isle of Wight or something* (l. 4–5). This habit is far from localised to Southampton: it is characteristic of the spoken English of young people, in particular young middle-class women, in the UK and beyond.



Map 5.4 Southampton

The Recording

The wordlist speaker is a young man in his early twenties, while the female speaker whose speech is transcribed below is in her mid-teens.

Well, I used to be more than I am now, like, I… er, I'm not really… I used to be into sailing, erm, and have done courses, but now I'm more, like, into power boats, cos that's what my dad does. And we've got one, so sometimes we go out in that, erm, to like the Isle of Wight or 5 something, erm, or he's got, like… cos it's not his company, the… the company that like sort of he works for, erm, they have like RIBs, obviously, like what they teach on, and sometimes, erm, cos my dad's friends with the… you know, all the people he works for, the person who owns it, like, lets him take the RIB out for the day, and he… he 10 takes us, like, all out, erm, and usually some friends, over to, like, the Isle of Wight or something, which is really fun. [**Interviewer: What's a RIB?]** A RIB is like, erm… I don't know, do you know like a dinghy? You know a little dinghy? But it's, like, from there to… that wall to that wall, like a really big version, and it's got like… the ring around it is 15massive, and it's like really strong so, like, you can sit on it and stuff and it doesn't… doesn't pop, like, very easily. And it's really fast and it's really good.

[asked about her sailing experience]

Er, well, you sit on one side of the boat, and then you hold onto… well, one pers… you got to really have two people. One person holds onto, 20 like, the rope, and then the other person controls, erm, the rudder, which is… you move it so you know which direction to go, and then, erm, as you're just going along you sort of just hold onto the rope so the wind… and you pull it if it needs to go tighter, depending on the wind, or whatever. Erm, and then when you turn you both have to switch sides 2525so that the sail is the other way. The other person obviously has to switch ov… the weight is more equal, but that's for the smaller sailing boats and for the big… You…

you can get massive ones, obviously, where you can sort of... you steer them like that, but then you still have a sail. So... I've only been on... like... like a dinghy, which is like a small 30 one, erm, and that's usually just sort of two, three of us. Erm, and also, erm, the school gave us, like, a free, like, two-day course down at the marine college in Warsash, so not far from where I live. And, erm, some of my f... me and my friends put our name down for it, so there was like a group of us, just a small group, and me and two of my friends, 35 like, got, like, chosen to do it. And, erm, it was really fun, and... erm, but I was really like, this was the first time I had done that sort of thing, and so, erm, I was really just going for it and not caring if I capsized, cos I... I don't really care about that sort of thing, but my friends kept getting, like, scared, cos they were more, like, careful. So I ended up 40 having to do both of them by myself, and... oh, it was all right, cos you get to wear... you wear a wetsuit, so to begin with it... it get... it's cold, but then it warms up because it's, like, insulated, so... Yeah, just a little bit, but that's sort of like... we do it purp... I did it on purpose, cos it's just sort of fun. And then you kind of... you swim round, and then 45 stand on the... there's like a... I can't remember what it's called. Er, a board, that goes through the middle, erm, and you just kind of stand on it, and it sort of brings the boat back up and you just get back in.

[asked if her family also sails]

They go on our boat when, erm, we go out on it, but my brother does Sea Scouts as well. It's, er, a group of like... it's usually... it used to be 50 boys, but now it's like... they let girls in as well, and, erm, it's just... it's like a sailing club and you go out, and you go out once a week, and you do... you can do, like, things off the water, you go on like hikes and stuff for like Duke... is it like Duke of

Edinburgh, or something? Yeah. Erm, and you can go out on like the power boats, or sailing, or 55it's just sort of like a... if you're into that sort of thing, it's like a club for that.

Notes

1. *RIB* (l. 9) = rigid inflatable boat (or rigid-hulled inflatable boat).
2. *Duke of Edinburgh* (l. 53) = the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme is a youth charity that gives young British people the opportunity to develop life and leadership skills, often via challenging outdoor activities.
3. *Like* occurs very frequently indeed in this talker's speech, but she is unlikely to be unusual among her peer group in this respect.

6 South Wales (Pontypridd)

6.1 In South Wales the distribution of /a/ and /ɑː/ is generally as in the north of England (see pages 60–63 and Map 4.1). The contrast between the vowels, however, is usually one of length only. Thus *cat* [kʰat] and *cart* [kʰaːt] (WL 21, 26).

6.2

a. There is no post-vocalic /ɹ/, except in the speech of some native speakers of Welsh (Map 4.2).
b. /ɹ/ is normally an alveolar tap [ɾ] (see pages 46, 66). That is, the tip of the tongue makes a rapid tap against the alveolar ridge (e.g. *tramline*, *right*, l. 2).

6.3 As in Bristol, there is no /ʌ/ ~ /ə/ contrast. Words like *putt* (WL 5) have /ə/, contrasting with /ʊ/ in *put* (WL 4).

6.4 Words like *city* and *seedy* have /i/ as the final vowel (WL 19, 20).

6.5 /l/ is clear in all environments (WL 27–31).

6.6 In words like *tune*, *few* and *used*, we find the diphthong /ɪu/ rather than /juː/ (*used*, l. 1). This diphthong is preserved even after /ɹ/ and /l/. Most speakers therefore make a distinction between pairs such as *blew* /blɪu/ and *blue* /bluː/ or *threw* and *through*. *Blew* and *blue* are contrasted in the short exchange at the end of the wordlist (see pages 68–69 and Figure 5.3).

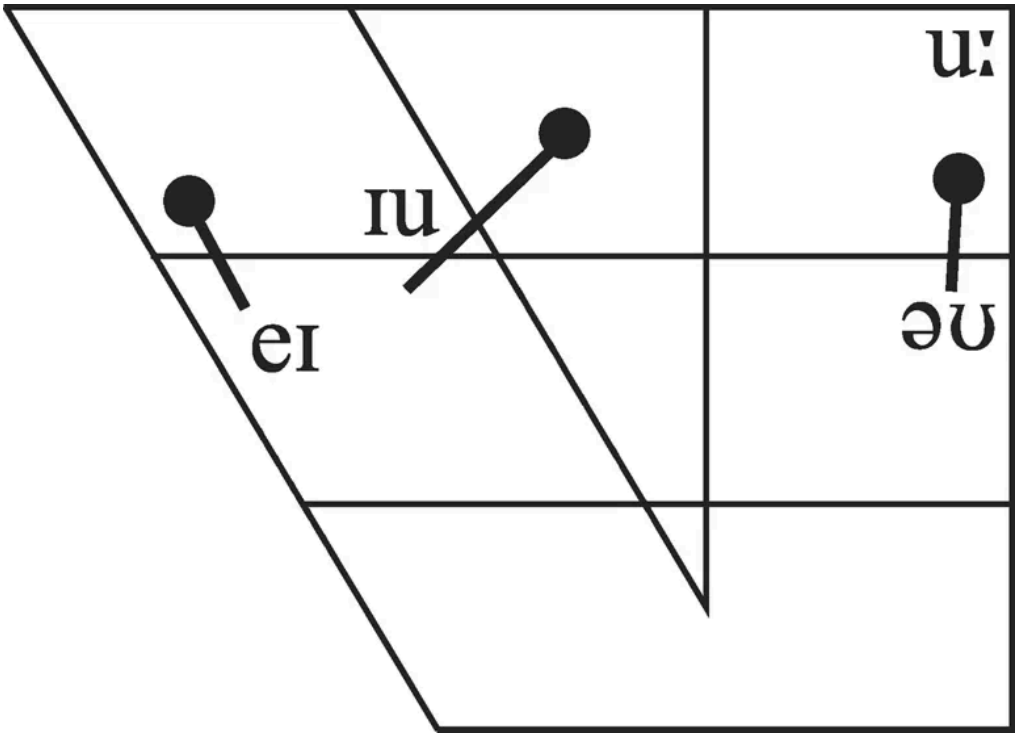
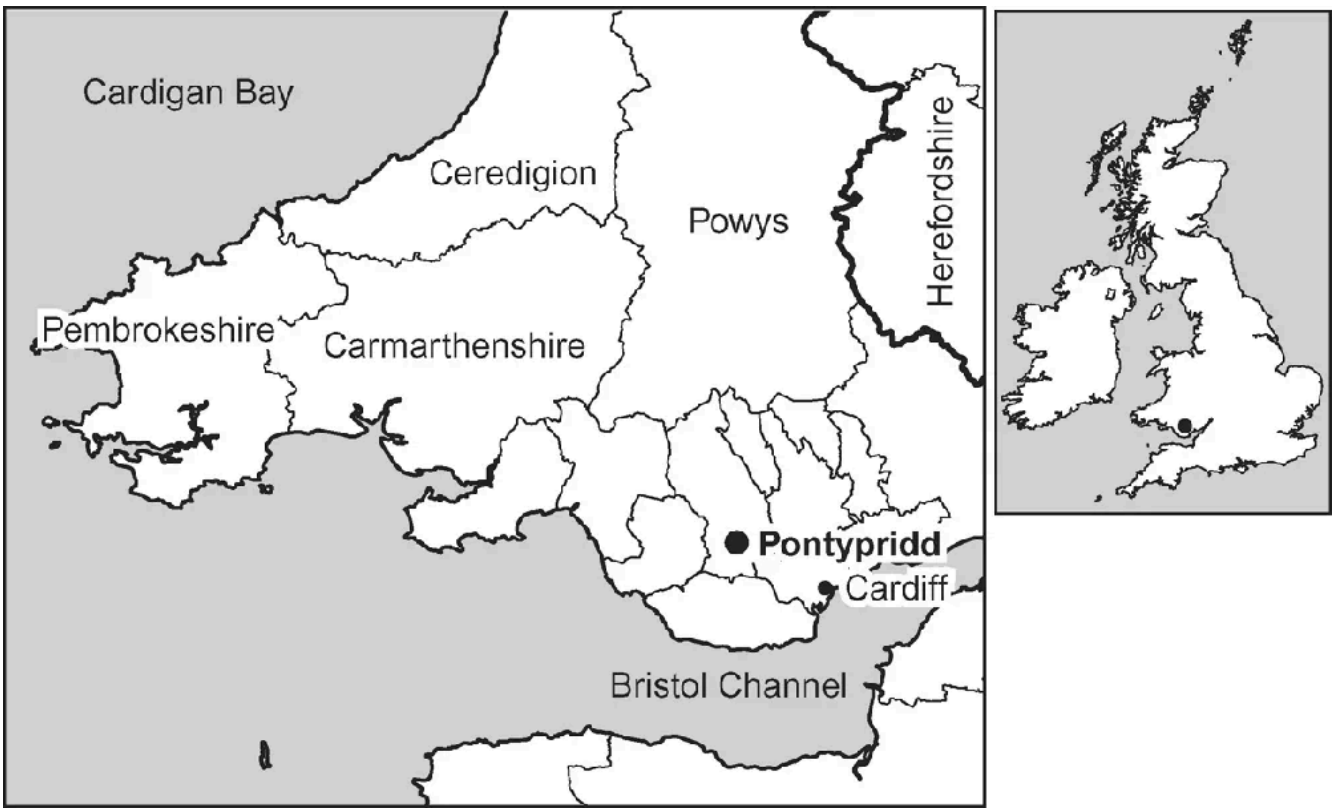


Figure 5.3 Phonetic qualities of certain South Wales vowels

6.7 Between vowels – when the first vowel is stressed – consonants may be 'geminated' (doubled). So *city* (WL 19) is

[ˈsɪtːi].

6.8 /h/ is usually absent, but may be present in stressed positions such as *him*, l. 25.



Map 5.5 South Wales

6.9

a. /eɪ/ is narrow, and may be a monophthong [eː] (Figure 5.3; WL 8, 40, 41).
b. In certain areas of Wales a distinction is made between pairs of words like *daze* /deɪz/ and *days* /dɛɪz/. /ɛɪ/ occurs where there is <*i*> or <*y*> in the spelling. The speakers in the website recordings do not make this distinction.

6.10 /əʊ/ is narrow, and may be a monophthong [oː] (WL 12, 29, 38, 39). This tendency may result in such pairs as *so* and

soar being homophones.

6.11 The vowel /ɜː/, as in *bird* (WL 16), is produced with the lips rounded, approaching [øː] in quality (Mayr 2010).

6.12 Intonation in Welsh English is very much influenced by the Welsh language. Though quite noticeable in the recording, it is less striking than in the speech of many Welsh people, including those whose first language is English. Welsh, which is spoken to a greater or lesser degree by around one-fifth of the population of Wales (about 600,000 of 3 million people), is learned as a first language normally only in the west and north-west of the country.

The Recording

The speaker is a young man from Pontypridd, whose accent, though quite obviously Welsh, is not particularly marked. He is talking about an accident that happened to someone as a child.

The wordlist reader is a young woman from Neath, near Swansea. Again, although she is clearly Welsh, her accent is not very strong.

At the end of the wordlist there is the following exchange to demonstrate the difference between *blew* and *blue*:

Q: What did the wind do yesterday?
*A: Erm…the wind blew /*blɪu*/ strongly*.
Q: All right…and what colour are your jeans?
*A: My jeans are blue /*bluː*/*.

The tramlines…ah, they used to have, erm…from the pit there used to be a tramline right to the top of the mountain…used to work on a, a pulley sort of system, I should think. I was too young to know then. They used to have about fifteen to twenty big pit drams on this 5 wire rope, and I would say it must have stretched, bottom to top, about three and a half, maybe four miles, and of course we'd winch up on it, pulled up, cos all the kids would be running up, jumping on. And, er, I would say, well, there was one boy, how old is Gerin? Must be about thirty-eight. He's…jumped on and he fell off and it 10 cut his leg clean off. But they're big metal drams, they weigh in…well, they must weigh about a ton with nothing in them. So you can imagine when they're full. And of course when they come down the journey again, they're coming down at a fair speed, cos they let them go down quite a bit and then they got the…an automatic brake, I 15 think, it slows them down. And they used to come down there. We used to jump on them on the top, and ride down. Things you do when you're young …

[asked how old the injured boy was at the time of the accident]

About ten, twelve. See, he won't…he's got a false leg but he won't wear it. When he wears it, you know, he…When he first had it he 20 used to wear it. And, er, he was qu…quite a big boy, as all Welshmen are, they're all broad. But he must be up to something like twenty-eight stone, and he's really fat. It just hangs off him. He sits and watches television, and he has two pound of apples and, er, say a pound of chocolate. His mother makes sandwiches, she makes a loaf 25 of bread, you know, just for him, for sandwiches, as a snack. Well, most of the boys who drink with him in the club, erm…were with Gerin when he done it, when he done it. They used

to…all used to ride up on the…the journey up. I should think every boy in Cil has done it.

[asked if he himself had ridden on the drams]

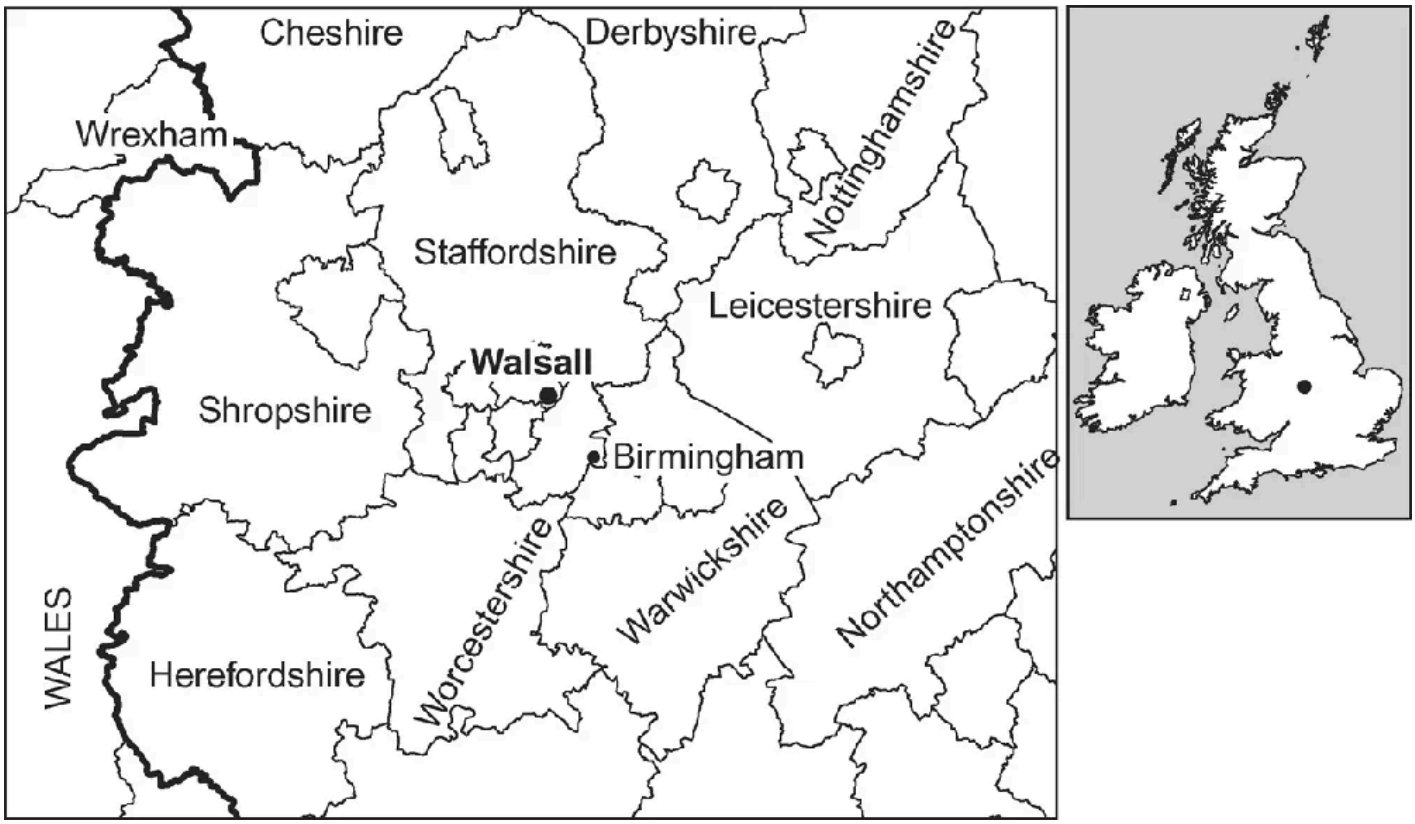
30 Oh, aye, regular. You'd always be warned – don't ride on the drams. Yeah, all right. Straight down the bottom and wait for them to come up, and you'd…you'd run up alongside them and just jump on. The most dangerous thing about that was, er, with the rope, the metal rope, which was about two inches in diameter, and it used to whip. 35 And of course you imagine a steel rope whipping. You… well, it'd cut a man clean in half. Well, you never see the dangers when you're young, do you?

Notes

1. *Two pound of apples* (l. 23): see page 33.
2. *Done* as past tense of **do** (l. 27): see page 28.
3. *Aye* = *yes* (l. 30): common in the north of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

7 West Midlands

This is the accent spoken in Birmingham, Wolverhampton and a number of other towns in that area.



Map 5.6 West Midlands

7.1 The accent of the West Midlands is northern in that:

a. /a/ is found in words such as *dance*, *daft* and so on (see pages 60–62; WL 21–26)

b. Pairs of words like *put* and *putt* are not distinct, /ʊ/ being the vowel in both (see pages 59–60; WL 4, 5).

7.2 The accent nevertheless has certain southern characteristics:

a. The final vowel of *city* and *seedy*, and so on is /i/ (see page 62; WL 19, 20; cf. Liverpool), although the vowel in West Midlands accents is frequently realised as a diphthong which may be as wide as [ɜi] (see below).

b. The diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are wide, being realised as [æɪ] and [ʌʊ] (Figure 5.4; WL 8, 40, 41 and 12, 29, 38, 39).

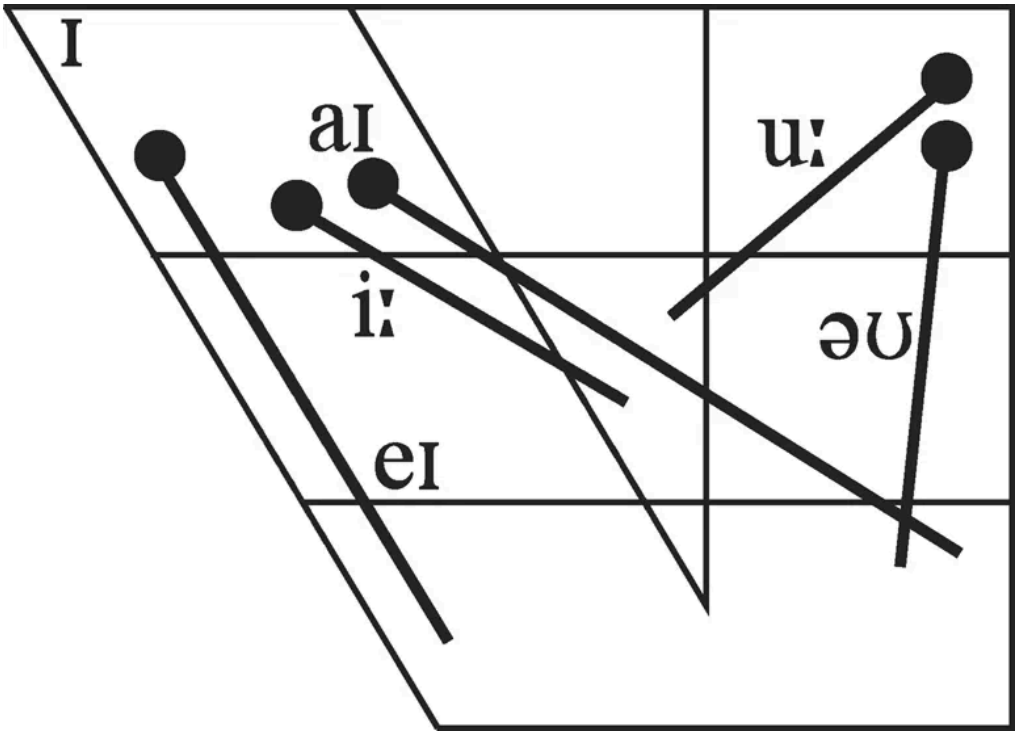


Figure 5.4 Phonetic qualities of certain West Midlands vowels

7.3 /i/ is [ɜi] (Figure 5.4; WL 19, 20). /uː/ is [ɜu] (Figure 5.4; WL 28).

7.4 /aɪ/ is [ɔi] (Figure 5.4; WL 9, 46, 47).

7.5 /ɪ/ is very close, at [i] (Figure 5.4; WL 1, 19).

7.6 /ɜː/ and /ɛə/ are **merged** as [œː], for example *bear* (WL 15) and *bird* (WL 16). The speaker attempts to make a distinction on the wordlist between *fur* (WL 36) and *fair* (WL 37). This merger is not found throughout the West Midlands.

7.7 /h/ is usually absent.

7.8 *-ing* is /ɪn/ or [ɪŋg].

7.9 Note that *one* is /wɒn/ but *won* is /wʊn/ (l. 25; see pages 59–60).

7.10 The glottal stop [ʔ] is infrequent in the speech of older speakers such as the Walsall man on the website, but is now extremely common in that of young speakers in the

Birmingham area and the West Midlands region more generally (Mathisen 1999; Asprey 2008).

The Recording

The speaker, a caretaker, is from Walsall and has a very distinctive West Midlands accent. After saying something about his evening habits, he goes on to talk about his footballing days, and then about the problems of Walsall Football Club.

> I don't go out much, not in the week, you know. I go out one night a week, and if the wife isn't bothered, I won't, you know, I don't bother. Well, the wife and the daughter generally go out together and I'll stop in, you know, with the lad. But, er, as g…the wife and the daughter 5 they've booked up a show what the women have got up or summat, eight fifty to see that man who works…impersonates a woman. What's his name? Him who impersonates the women on the television?
>
> The other night I couldn't get in…interested in it about ho… 10 homosexuals, you know. And I said to my wife, I says, er, you coming to bed? Her says, no, I'm going to see the finish of this. I says, all right then, goodnight, and I went up to bed. I mean…I'm not, you know, like that.
>
> I used to be keen. I used to be a good footballer myself. Yeah. 15 Good years and all those, you know, they was high class teams. I mean you played for the honour then, I mean, you didn't get nothing out of it.

No, no, well, er, me and the captain of Guest Keens, we had a trial for Walsall and, er, we came up the one week, and they says come the 20 next week and play again, see. Well, in the meantime we'd got an important match for the works team, cup final, and the captain says, 'Are you going to Walsall?' I said, 'No, the works team's more important to me,' see. Course we didn't go, and we had a nasty postcard off Walsall FC about it, cos we didn't turn up.

25 Well, I won the one cup for them, really, in, erm, 1948. Er, we was, er, winning one-none half time, and the second half I got three goals, and we won four…a…an they s…and they made me go and have the cup, cos they said, 'You've won this cup and you're going to have it,' and I…I…was present…presented with it, you know.

30I could have done, yes, if I'd have stuck to it, you know, but, er, well, when, you know…No, no…but I mean, you didn't get a lot then if you played professional. I mean, it was a poor wage then, years ago. But it…it was an honour to play. They didn't play for the money like they do today. Well, they've got to make it while they're fit, cos 35 you never know what's going to happen.

Well, Dave Mackay was on the wireless this morning before I come out, you know, and they was interviewing him, the reporter, and he said he…he couldn't understand it why they couldn't score at home, I mean, but win away, you know. Played for Derby, halfback, didn't 40 he? Yes, I do. I always like to see them win, and that, but, er… summat's lacking there, definitely.

Well, Walsall can if they dish the football up. Course they couldn't keep me away years ago. I used to go to every…well, I would think it's been about six or eight years, when they played Sunderland down 45 here in the cup, and Liverpool. I paid a man to do my job

here of a Saturday afternoon to go and see the two matches. And when I come back – I was away, say, two hours – I'd still got the same work to do. Nothing had been done.

Well, er, they never spent no money, but they got local talent. They 50 got a lot of local talent what come up, you know, like, out of the amateur sides. That's where they go wrong, they don't go to the proper matches, er, like Shrewsbury. Now, Chick Bates, they had him from Stourbridge for about two hundred and fifty pound fee. He's scoring two or three goals a match now. I mean, Walsall could've 55 done with a man like him.

Notes

1. There are examples of multiple negation (see pages 25–26):
   You didn't get nothing out of it (l. 16–17).
   Well they never spent no money (l. 49).
2. Past tense of **come** is *come* (l. 36, 46, 50).
3. *I says* (l. 10) is 'historic present' (see page 30).
   was is the past tense form of **be**, not only for the third person singular:
   We was winning (l. 25–26).
   they was interviewing him (l. 37).
4. *What* introduces a relative clause (see page 30):
   they got a lot of local talent what come up (l. 49–50).
5. *summat* (l. 5) = Standard English *something*.
6. *not bothered* (l. 2) = not keen.
   the lad (l. 4), i.e. his son (cf. *the wife*).
   FC (l. 24) = Football Club.

wireless (l. 36) to mean *radio* is not regional but now very old-fashioned. The default meaning of *wireless* today is the type of internet connection.

7. *postcard off Walsall FC* (l. 24) = Standard English: *postcard from Walsall FC* (see pages 33–34).
8. *you* is /jau/.
9. Dave Mackay (l. 36) is a former Scottish international footballer, and was manager of Walsall FC at time of recording.
10. *her* (l. 11) = *she*.
11. The definite article before a vowel is /ð/ e.g. *the amateur* (l. 50–51).

8 Leicester

Leicester is geographically very close to Walsall – they are only 50 miles (80 km) apart – but the dialects fall into the East Midlands and West Midlands groups respectively (see Map 4.3 on page 71).

8.1 The accent of Leicester is northern in that:

a. Words like *dance* and *daft* have /a/ (WL 22, 23; see pages 60–62).
b. There is no distinction between pairs of words like *put* and *putt*: both have /ʊ/ (WL 4, 5; see pages 59–60).

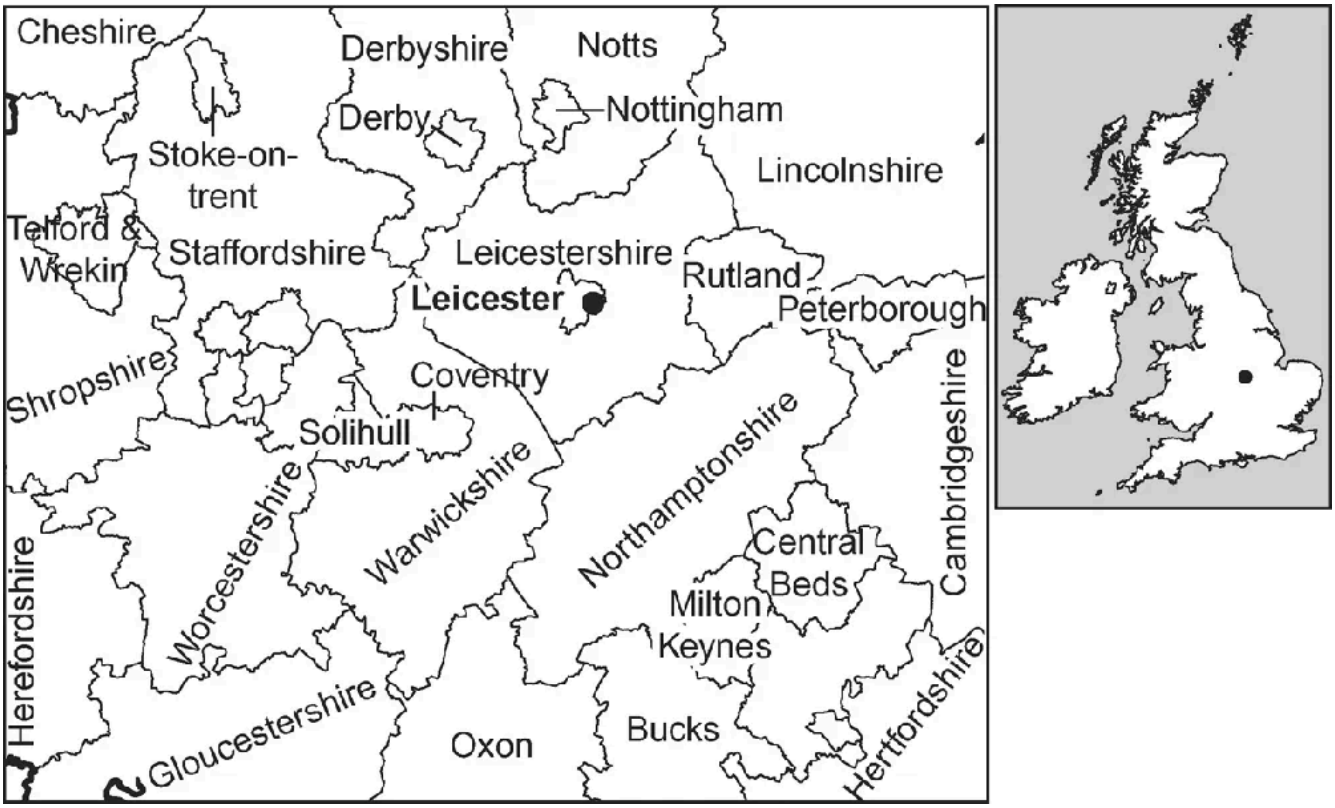
8.2 Traditionally, the accents of the East Midlands area pattern with the southern English accents, in that the final vowel in words like *city* and *seedy* is /ɪ/ rather than /i/. The speaker on the website, however, is typical of young people in southern England who now generally have /i/ in these words (WL 19, 20;

see page 62). /j/-dropping in words like *few* is also a traditional feature of East Midlands accents, though it cannot be heard in the website recordings.

8.3 /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are somewhat wider diphthongs than is the case in RP: [ɛ̝i] and [əʉ] are typical values.

8.4 The vowels /ɑː/ and the first element of /aɪ/ are quite back and often somewhat rounded at [ɑ̟ː] and [ɑi] or [ɑ̟i], as in *bard* (WL 17), *tide* and *tied* (WL 46, 47).

8.5 In words like *cases* (l. 10), the second vowel is [ə] rather than the [ɪ] that is found in RP and many other accents.



Map 5.7 Leicester

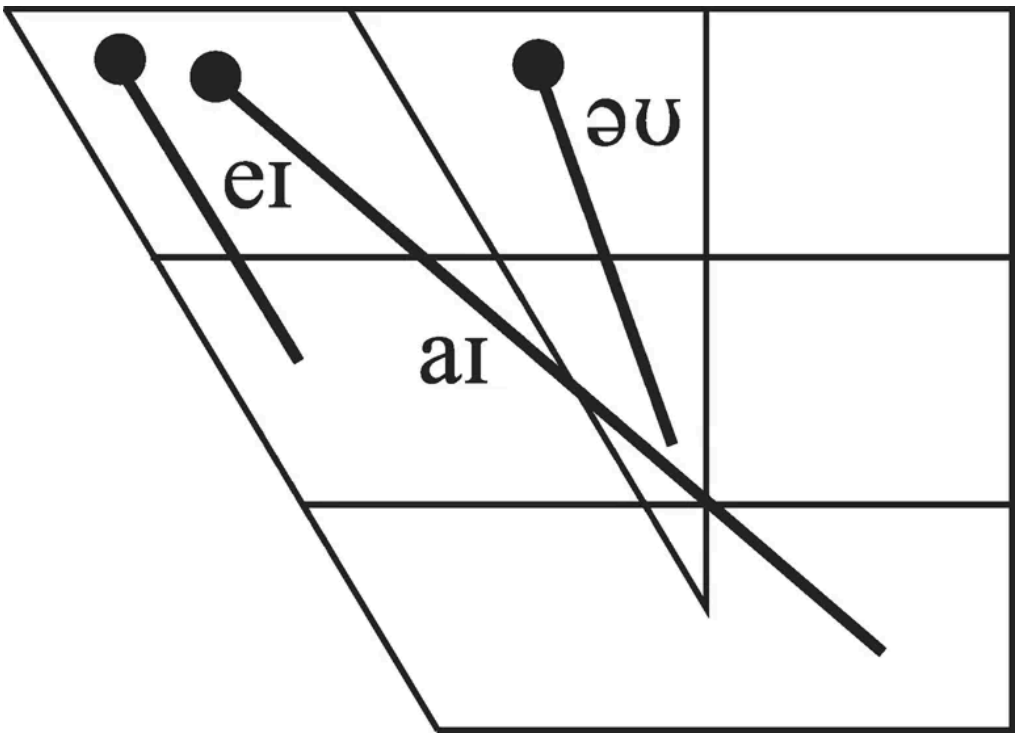


Figure 5.5 Phonetic qualities of certain Leicester vowels

8.6 As is increasingly the case for young people all over the British Isles, the speaker can be heard to use [ʔ] for /t/ in all phonological contexts (see pages 43–44). Examples are *airport* (l. 3), *what hour* (l. 3–4), *out about* (l. 4), *city* (l. 8), *bottle* (l. 17) and so on.

8.7 Glottalisation (page 43) of final /p t k/ in final position is variable: compare *pit* and *pat* (WL 1, 3) with *pet* and *bout* (WL 2, 13; see page 67).

8.8 The labio-dental [ʋ] can be heard occasionally, for example in *train* (l. 21), *drinking* (l. 27). See page 6.

8.9 /l/ is frequently vocalised by this speaker, for example *pills* (l. 17).

8.10 *-ing* is very frequently /ɪn/, as in *tiring* (l. 2), *lugging* (l. 12).

8.11 The speaker uses [ɾ] for /t/ in intervocalic position, such as in *at about* (l. 43–4). This feature, known as **/t/ flapping**

(Wells 1982: 248–249), is commonly associated with North American English and to a lesser extent Australian English, but is frequent in certain varieties of British English too. The Liverpool speaker (Section 11) can also be heard to use it, for example, and it is a normal feature in Northern Irish English. It is also reasonably common in the speech of younger RP speakers.

The Recording

The speaker is a young man in his twenties from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, a market town in north-west Leicestershire approximately 20 miles (32 km) from the city of Leicester itself, but the differences between Ashby and Leicester in terms of accent are minor, particularly for someone of the speaker's age. He talks about a recent trip to Ireland.

> You know, I went to Ireland for Ross's wedding. It was like…it was a bit tiring, but we like went there…yeah, we got there on the Thursday cos your dad took us to the airport, like, God knows what hour of the morning. Well, we ended up flying out about eight o'clock 5 I think. We got into Dublin for nine. By the time we got through the airport and everything else, cos we…like we got through the airport and we got the bus from the airport to the bus… to…to the train station in the city centre. By the time we got there we were waiting round…we'd just missed the, like…the first train to where we were 10 going. And we had, like, loads of cases, so we couldn't be bothered to sort of go out and take a walk round the city and that, cos we just thought, well, to be honest, I don't really fancy lugging my case all the way round. So we ended up…just sat in this

pub in the train station for about two hours. We had summat to eat, and then got on the train, 15 and I just passed out. That was it, good night. Cos it was about eleven o'clock, and I was on the train just going like…I felt like I'd had a…a bottle of sleeping pills or… When we got there, it was ridiculous, cos everyone was trying to phone me, and my phone was just going through to its answerphone. And so then, oh my God they've missed 20 the train. God, everyone thought…everyone was like going, where you been, where you been? On the train. It was a good holiday though. We just got…well, got leathered Thursday night, we took a hundred and fifty quid with us each, and then I had my credit card and Alex had her credit card, so like trains and, like, just…er, hotels, 25 and all of that like…we paid just under ten euros for a drink, well, for a round. The Friday was even worse, the day of the wedding. We got…started drinking at twelve, had a few drinks, went to the church, ceremony rah rah rah rah rah, went back to the hotel…cos we…me and Alex stayed in like the B and…like a B and B down 30 the road, which was actually a bit of a mistake, to be honest, because we were sort of like quite out of the way. Taxi there, taxi back. And when we came back it was like…we just went into the bar, and it was drink drink drink, went in…and we were…it was quite fortunate, because you sort of had free…you…you got a few drinks free 35 during the meal and that, but between twelve o'clock when we started, and when we finished about five next morning, it was, like, we'd clocked up…we must have spent about…between us probably about two hundred quid or something. I looked at my wallet the next day. I was like, 'I should close that and leave it well alone.' 40 We got back about…we must have got back about half-five in the morning, or something. Then we had to get…then we got a lift back to Dublin, because we thought…instead of staying down

there, cos…the trai…the train the next day was at about seven in the morning, and to get to the train station and everything else, we 45 would have missed…we would have missed the flight, basically, because there wasn't a train early enough to get back, you know. So we go…we got a lift back to Dublin the next day, well, on the Saturday, even, and we stayed in a hotel, and that was, like, that was nice.

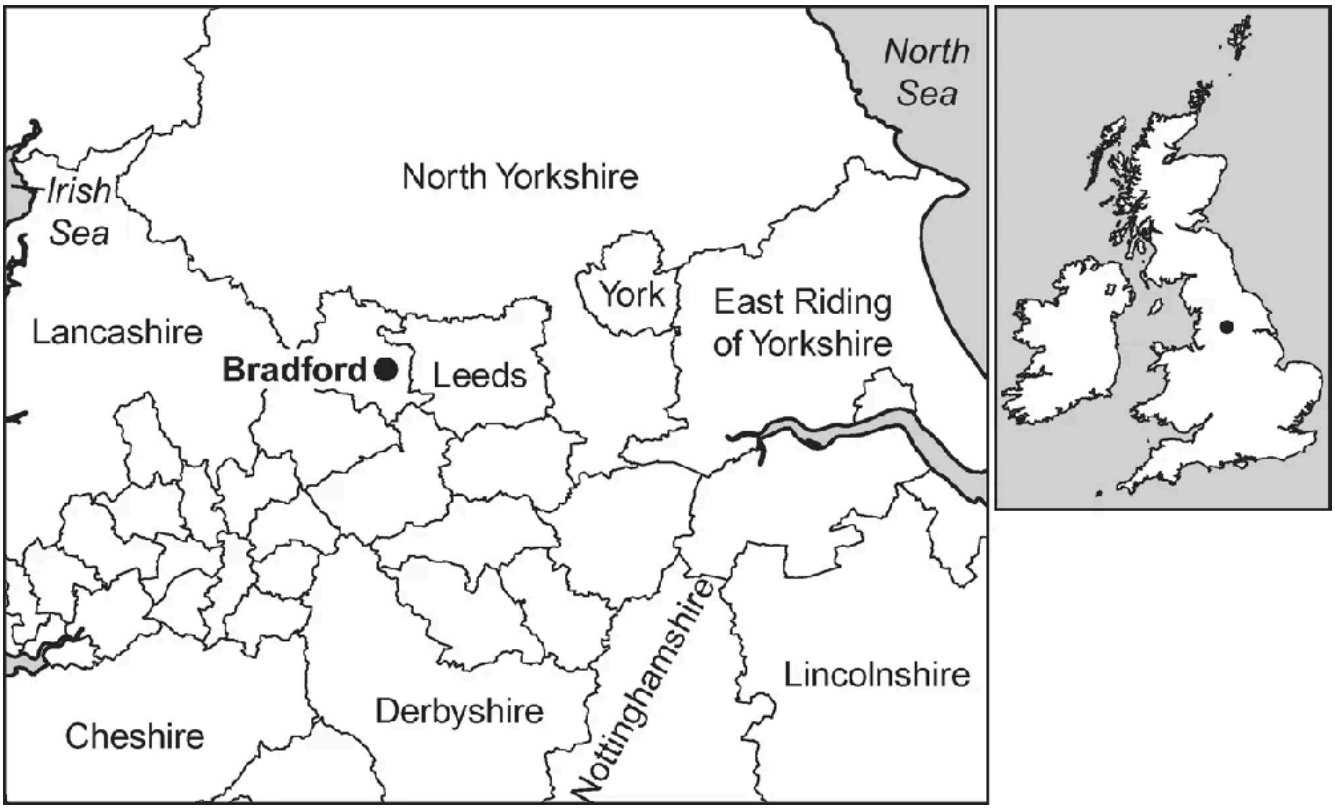
Note 1 *leathered* (l. 22) is a slang term meaning *drunk*, and is not confined to Leicester. 2 *summat* (l. 14) is /ˈsʊmət/ (cf. West Midlands, Section 7). 3 The speaker makes frequent use of *like* as a pause filler, intensifier and quotative (page 24). 4 [mi] (l. 23) = *my*. 5 *Rah rah rah rah rah* (l. 28) is being used to indicate that the language used during the wedding ceremony was of a predictable, formalised nature and that the speaker had not really listened to what was being said.

9 Bradford

9.1 The accent of Bradford, and of Yorkshire generally, is northern in that:

a. Words like *dance* and *daft* have /a/ (WL 22, 23; see pages 60–62). For some Yorkshire speakers, /a/ and /ɑː/ are differentiated only by length. For them the vowels are [a] and [aː] so *Pam* and *palm* are [pʰam] and [pʰaːm]. This, however, is not the case for the speakers on the website, whose /ɑː/ vowel is a little further back.
b. There is no distinction between pairs of words like *put* and *putt*: both have /ʊ/ (WL 4, 5; see pages 59–60).

c. The final vowel in words like *city* and *seedy* is /ɪ/ (WL 19, 20; see page 62).



Map 5.8 Bradford

9.2

a. /eɪ/ is either a narrow diphthong or more typically an open-mid monophthong [ɛː] (e.g. *plate*, WL 40; *mate*, WL 52; Figure 5.6). For some speakers, however, words which have <*eigh*> in the spelling (e.g. *weight*, WL 41) have /ɛɪ/ (cf. Middlesbrough, page 120).

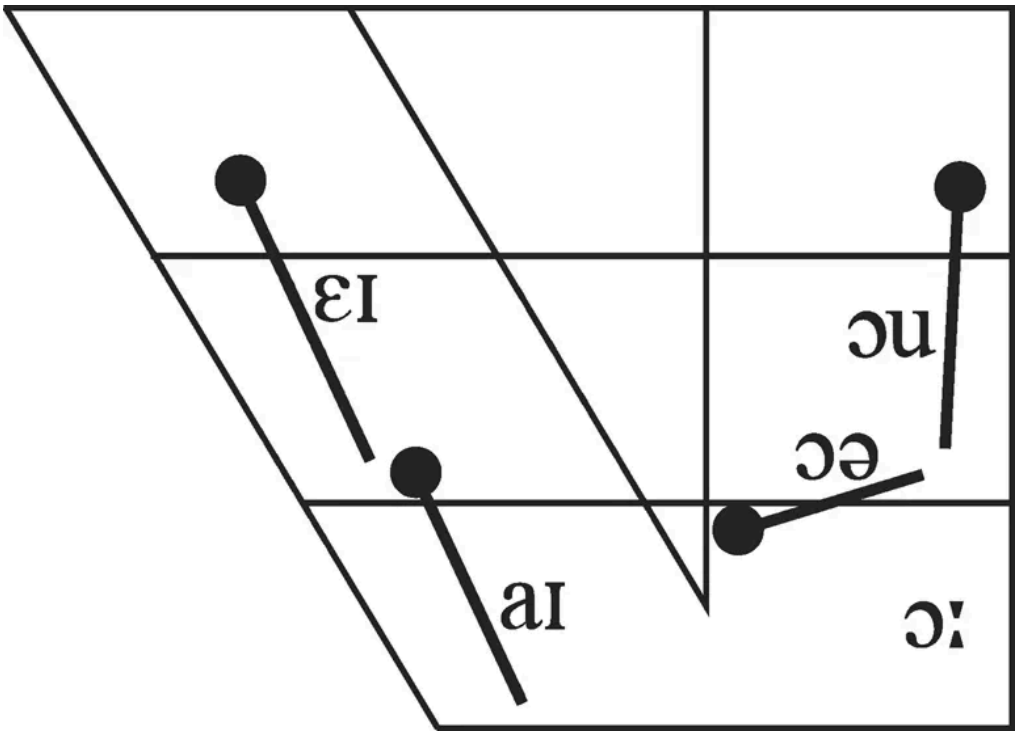


Figure 5.6 Phonetic qualities of certain Bradford vowels

b. /əʊ/ is also either a narrow diphthong, or an open-mid monophthong [ɔː] (e.g. *boat*, WL 12; *nose*, WL 38; Figure 5.6). When the latter form is used it can be difficult to tell whether one is hearing, for example, *bought* or *boat*, although /ɔː/ is often fully open and is not always strongly rounded, such that *bought* may be [bɒ̝ːt] or even [bɑːt]. Homophonic clash is avoided in these cases by virtue of the fact that /ɑː/, as in *Bart*, is – as noted above – likely to be fronted to [aː] for speakers who might use [ɑː] in *bought*. For some speakers, moreover, words which have <*ow*> or <*ou*> in the spelling (e.g. *knows*, WL 39) have /ɔu/, such that *nose* and *knows* are not homophonous. This distinction (also made in Norwich – see page 84) is being lost, as younger speakers generally use /əʊ/ for both sets of words. To complicate matters still further, the /əʊ/ vowel is frequently realised as a centralised monophthong close to

[əː] or its rounded equivalent [ɵː]. Thus, pairs like *joke* and *jerk* can sound very similar if the /ɜː/ vowel of words such as *jerk* is not itself fronted to a quality approaching [ɛː] (see further Watt and Tillotson 2001, and the entry on Hull speech below).

9.3 Pairs of words like *pore* (with <*r*> in the spelling) and *paw* (WL 44, 45) may be distinguished. Words without <*r*> have /ɔː/ – the quality of which, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, may be as open as [ɒ̝ː] – while words with <*r*> have /ɔə/ ([ö̞ ə]) (Figure 5.6). This distinction is also made by some RP speakers, though it is now rare.

9.4

a. /ɛ/ is [ɛ̞], that is it is more open than in southern accents (WL 2).
b. /uː/ is [uː], as compared with the more central realisation of this vowel in Lancashire (WL 28; see also Section 21).
c. /aɪ/ is [aɛ], but may sometimes lose its offglide and become a monophthong, such that for example *white car* might be pronounced [waˈkːʰaː] (WL 46; Figure 5.6).

9.5 In West Yorkshire (which includes Bradford) and other areas of Yorkshire, /b d ɡ/ become /p t k/ when they immediately precede a voiceless consonant (i.e. a consonant produced without vibration of the vocal folds). The devoiced /d/ – that is [d̥], which is effectively [t]) – may then be realised as [ʔ], just as is common for /t/ in comparable positions in this accent. Thus *Bradford* is [ˈbɹaʔfəd] or [ˈbɾaʔfəd] (see below), and *could swing* (l. 22) is [ˈkʰʊʔswɪŋ].

9.6 /ɹ/ is often realised as the alveolar tap [ɾ] (see pages 46, 66).
9.7 /t/ in final position may also be realised as a glottal stop [ʔ] (e.g. *that*, l. 30; see page 67).
9.8 *-ing* is /ɪn/.
9.9 /h/ is generally absent.
9.10 *make* and *take* are /mɛk/ and /tɛk/ (l. 38).

The Recording

The speaker is a man who has lived in Bradford all his life. His accent is quite marked, but note the variable presence of /h/. He talks about his school-days and events in his youth.

[asked if there were any schoolteachers he was afraid of or disliked]

Oh, aye, a Miss Ingham. Miss Ingham, when I was a kid, she…she always…to me she seemed rather vicious, you know, she'd knee you with her knee as she came round, you know, you were sat on the chair, and she'd kick her knee into your back if she thought, you know. 5 Priestley was…he was all right but…I…I think I was scared of him, really scared, you know, and when he came in – oh! – I couldn't think. 'Oh, he's coming in!' And honestly, I couldn't think when he were in sometimes, especially if he took us in mental arithmetic. Ooh, help. And when he took us in ear tests, that were as bad, nearly. He 10 used to…He'd tell you, he'd say sometimes, 'Put two fingers in your mouth!' you know, and have you putting two fingers in. 'Three!' 'Four!' 'Five!' 'Put your foot in!' Aye, you know, that sort of thing. He'd make you open your mouth that way. I mean, 'You couldn't sing with your teeth,' he said, 'like that, you

know. Aye. You've got to open your 15 mouth to sing.' And he used to open his, and he'd about two teeth in the middle, sort of thing, what...All of us kids, you know, looked and he seemed to have three or four, you know, missing or more, happen, just two good...Oh aye, he were a lad, I tell you. As I say, he used to put such a fear into me I couldn't think. I remember that quite well. 20 Aye. Oh, wasn't I glad when he went out.

Well, one of the funniest when I...was playing on a swing bridge, you know, and, er, you were seeing how far you could swing the bridge out, and then, er t'swing bridge at Seven Arches. Swinging it out, you know, and you jump and see how far you can go on it. And 25 then one of them jumped into the canal, you see. He fell in. But that didn't finish, you see. We were...thought of making, er...dry his clothes. So they made a fire, took his clothes off, you see. And they couldn't get any slow-burning stuff, it were all quick-burning stuff, you see. And then they were all running round with bracken and 30 things like that, making a big fire, and one kid...holding his shirt, you see, up to t'fire, and it caught fire. Burnt his shirt! Oh, the things like that, you know, what you did as kids. Aye. We were caught red-handed in this field, you know. 'What are you doing in here?' Well, my brother just looked and says, 'What's up with you?' he says, 'this 35 is Farmer Budd's field.' We had no idea whether it were Farmer Budd's one or not, you know, but this chap thought... He were, er, just, er, a chap that was keeping us out, you see, and... You know, our Clifford had just the presence of mind to say...make out that he knew the farmer, which we didn't.

Notes

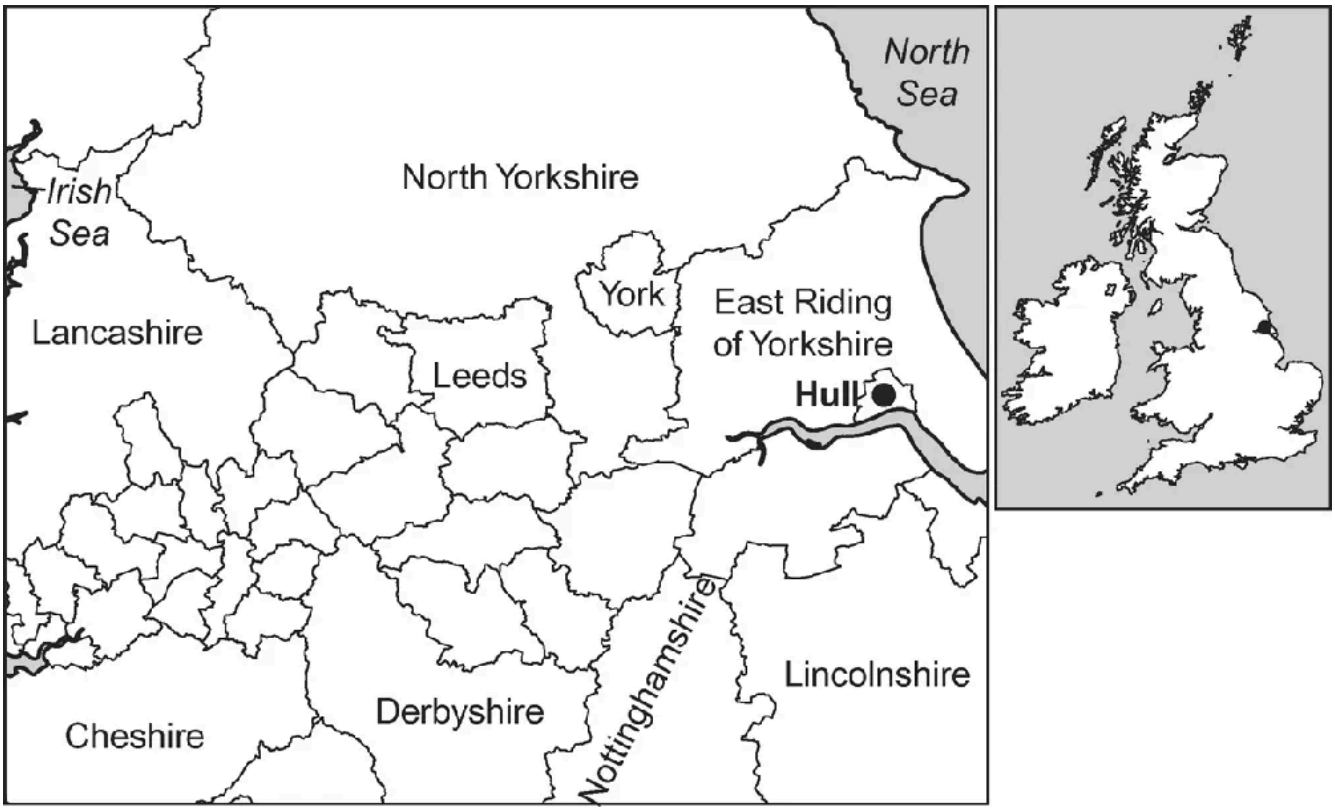
1. Past tense of **be** is *were* (l. 8) for all persons.

2. *You were sat* (l. 3) = *You were sitting*. *I was sat*, *I was stood* are widely used in parts of the north and west of England, rather than *I was sitting*, *I was standing*.
3. *he'd about* (l. 15). This is the full verb **have** (see pages 22–23).
4. *the* may be [ʔ] (e.g. *to t'fire*, l. 31). This phenomenon is known as **definite article reduction** (DAR), and is extremely common in Yorkshire dialects, to the point that it is a very well-known and stereotyped feature of these varieties, although it is present in other northern English counties too. Note that the range of phonetic forms which may exemplify DAR is quite wide; [ʔ] is just one of several variants. See further Jones (2002), Crisma (2011).
5. *always* (l. 2) is /ˈɔːləz/, a form found in other accents.
6. *kid* for *child* (l. 30) is colloquial and not restricted to any particular area.
7. *happen* (l. 17) = *perhaps*.

10 Hull

10.1 Hull – or Kingston-upon-Hull, to give the city its full designation – is the largest urban area in the Humberside dialect zone (see Map 5.9). Hull speech differs from that of Bradford, in West Yorkshire, in several ways. The tenseness and closeness of the final vowel of *city*, *seedy* and so on in Hull speech has already been noted (page 72, and Table 4.2); as well as [i] it may often be realised as a diphthong with a fairly central onset, close to [əi], as in the West Midlands (Section 7).

An example of the latter in the recording is *happy* (l. 27). Other features are listed below.



Map 5.9 Hull

10.2 The accent is typically northern in that *dance*, *daft*, *half* and so on take /a/ (WL 22, 23, 24; see pages 60–62). The speaker on the recording exemplifies the fact noted in Section 9 above that in Yorkshire English /a/ and /ɑː/ may be distinguished by duration alone, rather than by vowel quality: his *can't* (l. 10) is [kʰaːʔ], for example, and *bard* (WL 17) is [baːd]. He misreads *farther* (WL 26) as *further*, unfortunately, so direct comparison of the speaker's pronunciation of *father* (WL 25) and *farther* is not possible.

10.3 /ʌ/ is absent; *put* and *putt* (WL 4, 5) both have /ʊ/ (WL 4, 5; see pages 59–60). Note that *one* in *one-off* (l. 21) is [wɒn] rather than [wʊn] (see pages 59–60). As in other areas of the north of England, middle-class Hull speakers may use [ə] for /ʊ/ in *cup*, *bus* and so on, as a 'fudged' form somewhat closer to the RP vowel in these words (Williams and Kerswill 1999).

10.4 /eɪ/ is typically [ɛː] (e.g. *bay* (WL 8)) or can be a little closer at [e̞ː] (e.g. *mate* (WL 52)), but may be [ɛɪ] in *eight*, *eighty*, *weight* and a handful of other words (the speaker does not demonstrate this contrast in his wordlist reading of *plate* and *weight*, WL 40 and 41, however. Compare Bradford and Middlesbrough English, page 120). As in Bradford, Manchester and Lancashire English, the vowel of *make* and *take* may be short [ɛ], as per the speaker's pronunciation of *take* (l. 23).

10.5 /əʊ/ is highly variable. It is generally around [ɔ̈ː], though the fronting of the latter monophthong fully to [əː] is probably the most highly stereotyped feature of Hull English, giving rise to joke spellings on websites and newspaper columns such as *ner smurkin'* (no smoking), *Kirka-Curler* (Coca-Cola), *Pearl Tax* (poll tax) and the like. The speaker uses a vowel quality that is appreciably fronter than the fully back rounded monophthongs that are typical of Yorkshire English (*boat*, WL 12). The vowel in *joke* (l. 1) and *no* (l. 3) is [ö̞], while that in *so* (l. 7) is [ɵː].

10.6 /ɜː/ in *bird*, *fir*, *fern* and *fur* (WL 16, 34, 35, 36) is [ɛː], as in Liverpool (Section 11). Note also that, as in Liverpool as well as in other parts of northern England, there is often no

systematic difference in vowel quality in pairs of words like *fir/fur* (WL 34, 36) and *fair* (WL 37); compare also *bear* [bɛː] (WL 15) and *bird* [bɛːd] (WL 16). It seems probable that the fact that /ɜː/ is realised as [ɛː] is connected to the fronting of /əʊ/. As /əʊ/ fronted into the central area of the vowel space, the long central vowel of words like *bird* or *fur* may have been displaced forwards so as to avoid **homonymic clash**. This chain shift does not appear to have progressed further, however, so that, as noted above, the same vowel – [ɛː] – may be found in *bird* and *bared*, distinguishing these words from *bed* only by virtue of vowel duration. *Served* (l. 5) closely resembles the pronunciation of *saved* in other parts of Yorkshire. Similarly, with /əʊ/ being potentially quite open when it is not fronted, the risk of clash with /ɔː/ is avoided because of the openness of the latter vowel, which is typically [ɒː] (as in *pour*, *pore* and *paw*; WL 43–5) or a fully unrounded [ɑː] (*course*, l. 26).

10.7 /aɪ/ may be produced as a monophthong [ɐː] before voiced consonants, as in *Live* (l. 1), *surprised* (l. 39), *mine's* (l. 39), *time* (l. 40) and so on. Compare this pronunciation with that of /aɪ/ in *licence* (l. 13), which is [ɛ̝i]. The word *highlight* (l. 37) illustrates both forms side by side.

10.8 Pre-aspiration of /k/, as in for example *back* [baʰk], is a notable though not unique feature of Hull English (Williams and Kerswill 1999). There are no clear examples of this phenomenon in the recording, which is not surprising as it is a characteristic more closely associated with the speech of

women, especially younger ones, than with that of men. It also occurs on /p/ and /t/. Pre-aspiration of the voiceless plosives is present in varieties in other parts of eastern England (e.g. Teesside, Tyneside), in the Scottish Central Belt and in the Gaelic-speaking areas of north-western Scotland. /k/ is realised as [ʔ] in *look* (l. 3) and *breakdown* (l. 21), and as [x] in *exactly* and *week* (both l. 37).

10.9 /t/ is otherwise highly variable. In /t/-final wordlist items (WL 1–6) it is released with a marked degree of homorganic fricative noise ([pʰɪtˢ], etc.). It is very frequently glottalled (e.g. *that*, l. 3; *highlight*, l. 37) and (t)-flapping is also common, for example *put it* (l. 1).

10.10 The speaker exhibits a limited amount of (th)-fronting (e.g. *think*, l. 6).

10.11 /h/-dropping is common (e.g. *hisself*, l. 28; *happy*, l. 34).

10.12 Hull English is non-rhotic, although pockets of rhoticity remained in East Yorkshire until comparatively recently (Wells 1982: 368). The use of a strongly retroflex [ɻ] in *her stupid* (l. 19) probably reflects a last-second change in the speaker's choice of words (he perhaps originally intended 'her NLP course').

10.13 As elsewhere in Yorkshire, /l/ is generally quite dark in both syllable onset and coda positions (*Lambing Live*, l. 1; WL 27–31).

10.14 Words ending with the contracted *-n't* negator morpheme (*can't*, *won't*, *wouldn't*, etc.) can be further contracted in Yorkshire English through elision of final consonants. Where a

separate /n/ articulation is deleted the nasality may be retained on the preceding vowel. Thus, *isn't*, *can't* and *don't* can be [ɪnʔ], [kʰaːʔ] and [dēːʔ], for example, while *wouldn't* may be [wʊnʔ]. This phenomenon is known as **secondary contraction** (Beal 2008: 384). The Hull speaker has [w̤ʔ] for *won't* (l. 9) and [do̤ːʔ] for *don't* (l. 32), among other examples.

The Recording

The speaker is a man in his mid-fifties who has lived in Hull all his life. He was born in the western part of the city, but has lived in the eastern part for around 20 years; local people say there is a linguistic difference between the two. He talks about programmes he has recently watched on TV, and awkward situations at his workplace.

> We switched on *Lambing Live* and… as a joke I put it on because I knew it wouldn't interest Vicky at all. So I put it on and I said, 'Oh, look, little lambs! *Lambing Live*, let's watch that.' And she said, 'No, can't watch *Lambing Live*, because it's about the beauty of animals 5 being born, and being prepared for the dinner table, served up with roast potatoes and mint sauce.' So… and I think they actually said that on *Lambing Live* at the beginning. So she couldn't watch it because they've got love…lovely little faces, and all they're being prepared for is us to eat. And that's why she's a vegetarian. She won't eat them. 10 So we didn't watch it, because it's cruel and she can't see the point. So that's really it as far as *Lambing Live*'s concerned. *The Tudors*. The end of *The Tudors*. That was sad. Erm… but you don't know how much artistic licence they're taking in that programme, because there's a lot of

conversations that take place in there that you've got to 15 wonder would that have actually have happened like that in the Tudor times? Yeah, so you don't know. When I got to work this morning I had my day mapped out for me by [name deleted], and tomorrow, and Friday. But [name deleted] come in early to… before she went on her stupid NLP course. We can't 20 expect them to do this on a regular basis. They must… it must be just a one-off, a breakdown somewhere in the system. So she wanted me to go and talk to them, take photos, go through the usual procedure, what you would you do if you was a proper enforcement officer, and be very strict with them, but obviously not telling them that I can't 25 actually do anything. So it's a game of bluff. So then she cleared off to go on her course, after leaving me with all that to deal with, [name deleted] come in. I told him I couldn't go. So he wasn't very happy, and he said he'd go hisself. But then he said, 'We've had this before. When it's somebody in Hull, based in Hull, we haven't got any 30 jurisdiction. It should be left to the Hull people.' 'So that's why I'm going.' He says, 'Yeah, but I think it's come up before, and we don't have any jurisdiction.' So I reminded him that I didn't actually have any jurisdiction anyway. It was just a formality. And he sort of give in, because he obviously wasn't very happy that I wasn't going to go to 35[name deleted]. So we're saving that one till Friday afternoon. Then I can go get some fish and chips. Erm…

[interviewer: From the best fish and chip shop]

Exactly. Best one in the UK. So that's the highlight of my week, really. Oh yeah, and somebody's changed the name plates on the board downstairs. That surprised me, because mine's on the bottom, 40 middle one, and when I came down the stairs at dinner time it'd been moved to the bottom first one, and [name deleted]'s

place had been put in where mine used to be. She's obviously anticipating a future move. And I went down and had a look, and it was all nice and clean, and lovely little corner, and I thought, 'Ee, I could just come back and 45 sit in my corner. It's great.' But no, I'm right in the middle of the office now.

Notes

1. NLP (l. 19) = Neuro-Linguistic Programming, 'a model of interpersonal communication chiefly concerned with the relationship between successful patterns of behaviour and the subjective experiences (esp. patterns of thought) underlying them' (*Oxford English Dictionary* online). The field has rather little to do with neurolinguistics in the technical sense of the term.
2. *you was* (l. 23) – see page 36.

   cleared off (l. 25) = *left*.

   come in (l. 27) = *came in* (page 28).

   hisself (l. 28) = *himself* (page 32).

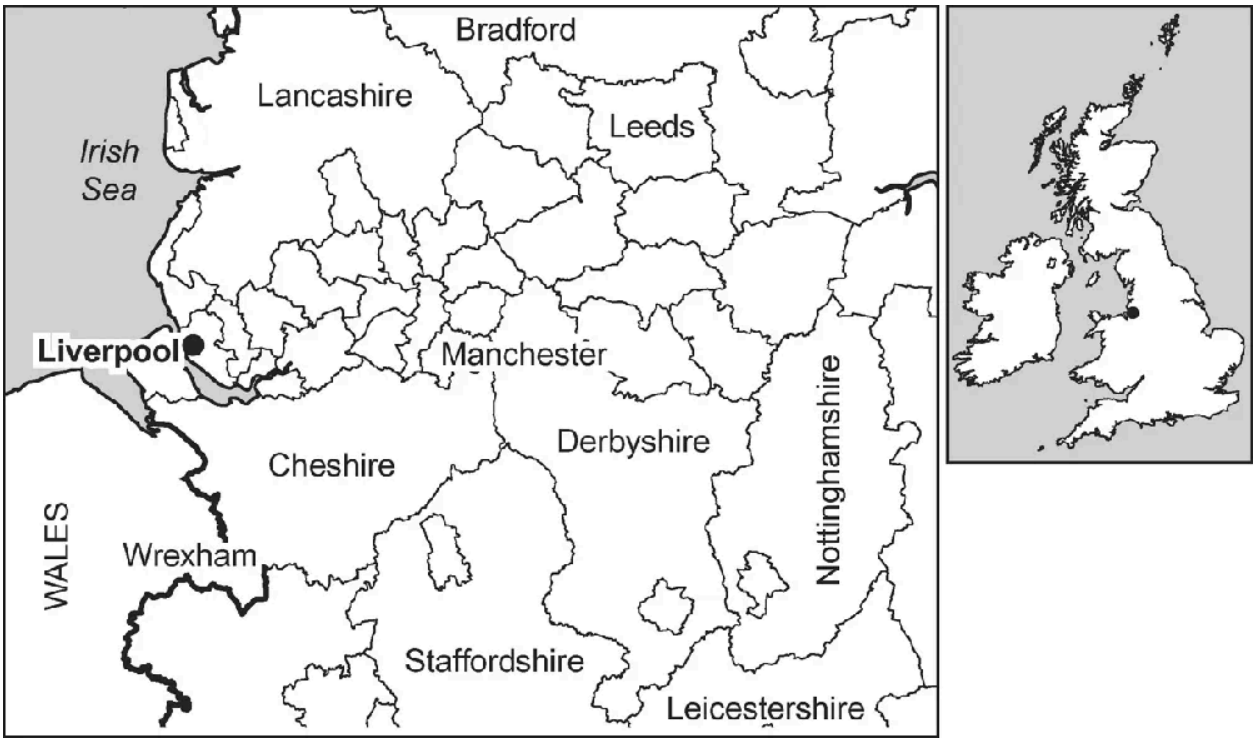
   give in (lines 33–34) = *gave in* (page 28).
3. *Ee* (l. 44) = an exclamation of surprise, or which otherwise draws the listener's attention to something the speaker is about to say. Common throughout Yorkshire (in which it is stereotyped in the phrase 'Ee by gum', a mild oath), and in north-east England.

11 Liverpool

The accent of Liverpool is limited to the city itself, to urban areas adjoining it, and to towns facing it across the River Mersey (although its influence may be detected in other neighbouring accents, including those spoken for a considerable distance along the coast of north Wales; Cremer 2007). While the accent is northern rather than southern in character, it differs in a number of ways from other northern urban varieties, including those of Lancashire, the county in which Liverpool formerly stood. Some of the differences show the influence of the large numbers of Irish people, especially from southern Ireland, who in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries settled in Liverpool in very large numbers.

11.1 The Liverpool accent is northern in that:

a. There is no contrast between pairs of words like *put* and *putt*, both being /pʊt/ (WL 4, 5). There is no /ʌ/ vowel.
b. /a/ occurs in words like *dance*, *daft* and so on, which in RP have /ɑː/ (see pages 60–62; WL 21–6).



Map 5.10 Liverpool

c. Words like *book* and *cook* have the vowel /uː/ (see page 60; there are no examples on the website). The vowel quality is generally quite fronted and diphthongal; [ɨʉ] is a pronunciation that can commonly be heard.

11.2 Unlike in other northern urban accents, but in common with Newcastle, the final vowel of words like *city* and *seedy* is /i/ (see page 62).

11.3 There is no contrast in Liverpool speech between pairs of words like *fair* (RP /fɛə/ ~ /fɛː/) and *fir* (RP /fɜː/) (WL 34–37). The most typical realisation of the vowel is [ɛː], but other forms, including [ɜː], are also heard.

11.4

a. /p t k/ are heavily aspirated or affricated (cf. London, page 77). Thus:

can't (l. 5)	[kxɑːnt]
straight (l. 11)	[stɾeɪts]
back (l. 17)	[bakx]

In final position, /p t k/ may be fully spirantised, that is realised as the homorganic fricatives [ɸ s x].

b. Related to this phenomenon is the relative infrequency of glottal stops in Liverpool speech.

c. Between vowels, the first of which is short, /t/ may be realised as [ɾ] through /t/-flapping (see page 102), e.g. l. 21, [gɒɾəˈdʒɒb] *got a job*. Alternatively, this alternation can be argued to arise from the application of the so-called **T-to-R rule**, whereby intervocalic /t/ is realised as a rhotic segment, which may be [ɾ] or [ɹ]. T-to-R cases in which /t/ is realised as [ɹ] are limited to certain lexical items such as *matter*, *what*, *but* and *get*, but [ɾ] has much more relaxed lexical constraints on its distribution (Clark and Watson 2011).

11.5 /ɹ/ is usually a tap, [ɾ] (see page 66) (e.g. *three*, l. 61; *real*, l. 4; *cigarettes*, l. 6).

11.6 /h/ is usually absent, but is sometimes present (e.g. l. 40, *him and her*).

11.7 /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are narrow diphthongs (WL 8, 40, 41 and WL 12, 38, 39) (Figure 5.7).

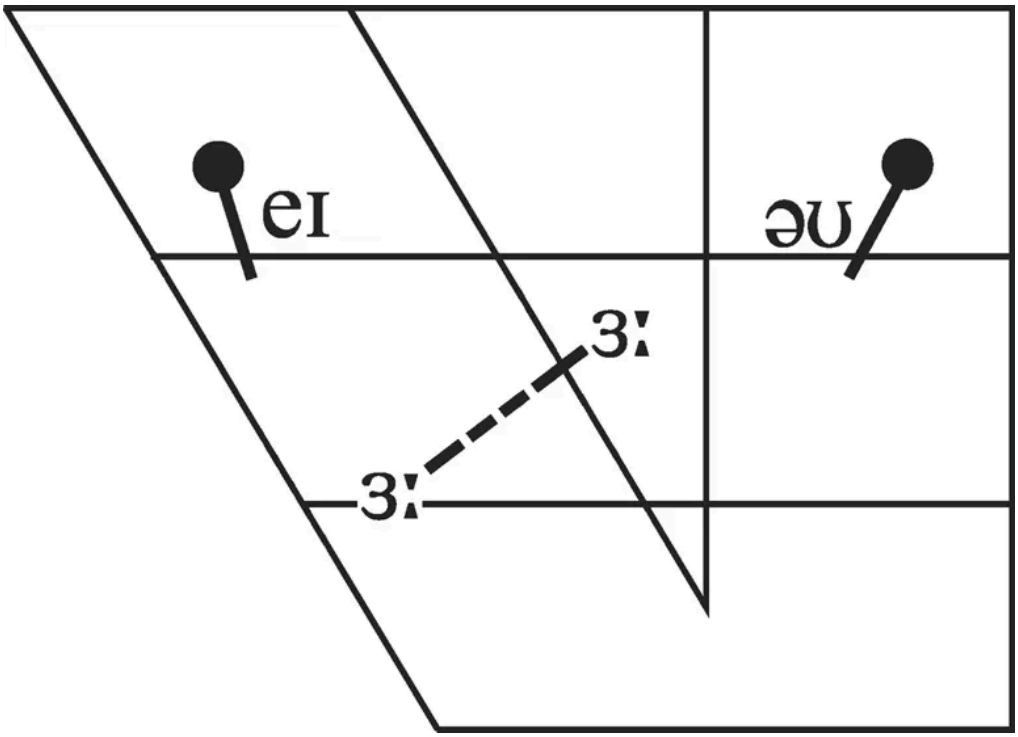


Figure 5.7 Phonetic qualities of certain Liverpool vowels

11.8 Initially, /ð/ may be [d] (e.g. l. 10, [dɛː] *there*).

11.9

a. The suffix -*ing* is /ɪn/.

b. Words like *singer* and *thing* (see page 68) have [ŋg]. A clear example, because it precedes a vowel, is *thing*, l. 18.

11.10 All the features mentioned so far have covered particular segments of speech. But there is another feature, **velarisation**, which is present throughout Liverpool speech and which gives it a distinctive quality. Velarisation is the accompaniment of other articulations by the raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate, as in the production of dark /l/.

The Recording

The speaker is a middle-aged barmaid who has lived all her life in Liverpool. She talks about pubs she knows, and people who work in

them. The wordlist reader is younger and has a less pronounced accent.

Yeah, she's gone to America for three weeks, so we all go sad…dead sad again next week. She comes over…I'll go polishing everything next week. She's a good manager, like, isn't she? But, er…she's a real Annie Walker, you know. Everything's got to be so. She's…once 5 you get to know her, she's great. But you can't drink, and you can't have a smoke. We're all walking round with four lighted cigarettes in our hand and having a drink off everyone that gives us one. Yeah, we're in charge, yeah. At least, he's, er, in charge of them all, and I'm the monitor. I'm, er…when he's not there, I'm in charge. But, er, it's 10…I tell you what, if she left I wouldn't go out there. Cos, you know, I do really like working for her. She's straight, and she trusts you, and that's imp…that's the main thing, like, isn't it, you know? She is…she's great. I don't think she's ever laughed till I went there …

Cos as I say, when you do your work you don't need, erm, a boss, do 15 you? That's what I say. You know, this…this manager's made up. He said, erm…he's never co…he'll give us the tills, then he comes back about four o'clock, and we've all locked up and gone, everything for him. He says, one thing about it, he says, 'I haven't got to stand over youse.' Only the night time, you know. Course, where it is, on a 20 night they have a lot of, er, you know, some that'll come a couple of nights, all these part-time students, and some of them, er…got a job, and going to Spain, and…they'll want a few bob extra and then they just leave it. I don't know whether they tap her till or what they do, but…he…he has to be there for them of a night time. Yeah, but 25 it is, it's, er…and it's a pub that you wouldn't be frightened to bring anybody into, isn't it? Oh no, it's

beautiful…er, yeah. True, yeah. Oh, well, you…you say…I say bye-bye in there, say ta-ra up there. Mind, she'll be round there drunk now if you went into the Winifred 30 for a drink. Th…I've never seen barmaids like them. They go round well away, shouting and everything, and…and the boss and the manageress are standing watching them. But they must be all right, kind of thing, or otherwise they wouldn't put up with it, would they, like? True, yeah. Yeah. Well, this is it. Mind you, there's been three 35 man… three managers, er, sacked from there for bad takings. So they can't be, er, all that good. And two of them is…two that's been through each…one that's, you know, er, been sacked. But then, after that there was, erm, a stout one named Jean. And John. She was, er, an Australian, I think. Yeah, and…She was here that long waiting for 40 a place that I took her in for three weeks. Him and her. And they were … she was a great person. I was made up because I didn't take no rent off her, Stan, cos I was…every halfpenny she had had gone paying for storage of furniture, and she had dogs, and…all that, so I just let her live here, like. But she used to have a caterer in there as 45 well, like Mrs. Crighton. When I come home I'd have a three-course dinner, and I couldn't leave a handkerchief down it was washed and ironed. I was made up because I didn't have to do nowt to help her. But, anyhow, he…he finished up, erm…er, a night watchman on Runcorn Bridge. That's the only place she could get a house, was 50 Runcorn. It was a shame, like, with the money she had, and she was in…born in New Zealand, and everything, and, er, staff pulled her right down. It is. She said to me, she said, 'Bridie,' she said, 'they didn't take it in handfuls, they took it in fistfuls.' And she was a really good manager t…to them, you know. You know, especially 55 Christmas, she wouldn't buy them a box of

handkerchiefs, or something like that, be a suit. Or a dress. And buy all their children.

But yet they done all that on her like, you know. Yeah. Wouldn't be Mrs. Crighton. She'd only l…find her once and that would be your lot, you're through the door.

Notes

1. There is multiple negation (see pages 25–26):
   I didn't take no rent off her (l. 41–42)
   I didn't have to do nowt to help her (l. 47)
2. Past tense of **come** = *come* (l. 45); past tense of **do** = *done* (l. 57; see page 29).
3. *youse* (/ju?z/ when stressed, and /j?z/ when not stressed) is the plural form of *you*. It is fairly common throughout non-standard varieties of British and Irish English.
4. The speaker makes a distinction between *bye-bye* and *ta-ra*, both meaning *goodbye* (l. 27). She uses the former in settings she regards as socially superior.
5. *Annie Walker* (l. 4) was a well-known character in the ITV soap *Coronation Street*. She was a pub landlady who was strict with her staff.
6. There are some perhaps unfamiliar lexical items:
   bob (l. 22) = a shilling (12 pence) in pre-decimal currency. The term continued to be used after decimalisation in 1971, and in fact the shilling piece was used for some years after this as the equivalent of five new pence.
   made up (l. 41) = very pleased.

tap (l. 23) = take money from.

well away (l. 31) = drunk.

where it is (l. 19) = the thing is.

7. *like* (l. 3), *you know* (l. 4), *kind of thing* (l. 33) are common colloquialisms in all varieties of British and Irish English.

12 Manchester

Manchester is geographically close to Liverpool – the two cities are separated by only about 30 miles (48 km) – but the accents are nonetheless markedly different from each other. Manchester English has been much less heavily influenced by Irish English than has Liverpool English, and the accent of Manchester bears much more similarity to those spoken in Lancashire and in southern Yorkshire than does Liverpool speech.

12.1 Manchester English is northern in that it lacks /ʌ/ (*put* and *putt* are homophones, both containing /ʊ/), and /a/ is found in words like *dance* and *daft*, rather than /ɑː/ as in RP and southern varieties.

12.2 As in Liverpool and elsewhere in northern England, the vowel in *cook*, *look* and so on may be /uː/ rather than /ʊ/. The speaker has /ʊ/ in *cookbook* (l. 2) and *look* (l. 32), however.

12.3 Unlike Liverpool, but in common with other parts of northern England (Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, etc.), the final vowel of words like *city*, *seedy* or *hazy* is lax, and may be markedly more open than [ɪ]; [ɛ] is a frequent pronunciation (WL 19, 20).

12.4 /h/-dropping is frequent in spontaneous speech, for example *horrible* (l. 3), *house* (l. 15), *hanging* (l. 24).

12.5 Like Liverpool, Lancashire and West Midlands varieties, /ŋ/ is usually [ŋg] (e.g. *thing*, l. 21; *along*, l. 21), but may also be [n] (e.g. *thinking*, l. 30).

12.6 /l/ is dark [ɬ] in both onset and coda positions, and in the latter context may be vocalised (e.g. *meal*, l. 2). In some cases the /l/ is extremely dark in initial position, and may be practically vocalised, e.g. *Lake* (l. 19), in which /l/ resembles [w].

12.7 /t/-glottalling in pre-consonantal and intervocalic positions is very common (*got out of*, l. 2; *butties*, l. 14; *naughty*, l. 17). There is an example in the recording of 'Yorkshire devoicing' in *told me* (l. 7), where /d/ is realised as [ʔ]. Note that secondary contraction of *-n't* forms is also apparent in the talker's speech, for example *can't* (l. 27) is [kʰaːʔ] and *couldn't* (l. 36) is [kʰʊnʔ]. Something similar can be heard in *wanted* [ˈwɒʔɪd] (l. 37).

12.8 Definite Article Reduction is attested for Manchester but is not present in the recording, with the possible exception of *at the bottom all of the* (l. 38).

12.9 The speaker exhibits a high degree of (th)-fronting (*Smith*, l. 2; *thing*, l. 19; *another*, l. 25).

12.10 Manchester English is fully de-rhotacised, and in this respect contrasts with rhotic varieties spoken in nearby parts of central Lancashire (cf. Section 21, pages 149–153). /ɹ/ may be tapped, particularly intervocalically but also in word-initial

consonant clusters. Examples of [ɾ] as a realisation of /ɹ/ in the recording are *story*, (l. 7); *encourage* (l. 17); *outdoor* (l. 20); *throw* (l. 34); and *scariest* (l. 39).

12.11 /eɪ/ (WL 8, 40, 41, 52) is a narrow diphthong [ei]. In *take* (l. 18) the vowel is short [ɛ].

12.12 In /ɔː/ items lacking a historical /ɹ/ the vowel may be as open and unrounded as [ɑː] (e.g. *Paul*, *caught*; WL 30, 33). *Paw* (WL 45) is thus not homophonous with any of *poor*, *pour*, *pore* (WL 42–44), which are homophonous with each other. Similarly, *pause* and *paws* (WL 48, 49) are homophones at [pʰɑːz].

12.13 The /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ vowels of *beer* (WL 14) and *bear*/*fair* (WL 15, 37) are smoothed to [ɪː] and [ɛː], respectively.

12.14 /uː/ is fronted and often markedly diphthongal, for example *pool* (WL 28), *shoes* (l. 14–15).

12.15 /ɑː/ is fronted to [aː] (*half*, WL 24; *father*, WL 25; *starts*, l. 26).

12.16 /ɜː/ is also fronted (WL 16, 34–36), but not to the extent found in Liverpool or Hull (see Sections 11 and 10).

12.17 The unstressed final vowel of words such as *better* or *pasta* (and analogous constructions like *passed her*), and so on, often has a more retracted and lowered quality than that of the equivalent vowel in RP. It may reach [ɒ]. This pronunciation is one of the principal stereotypes of Mancunian speech. *Summer* (l. 18) is thus [ˈsʌmʌ]. The final vowel of *father*, *farther* (WL 25, 26) is [ʌ] rather than [ɒ].

12.18 The intonation pattern of Manchester English is not characterised by the high-rising terminal pattern frequently observed in Liverpool speech, but a commonly observed property of the accents of both cities is a conspicuously nasalised voice quality. The speaker in the recording exhibits this nasalised articulatory setting.

The Recording

The speaker is a woman in her twenties from a working-class housing estate in Manchester.

I was at my friend's last night, and, erm, her boyfriend was saying how she'd made this meal that she'd got out of a Delia Smith cookbook or something, and it was horrible, like. He said it was disgusting and he was trying to figure out whether he could sneak it into the bin without 5 her seeing, or, erm, just be honest. But in the end she said, 'This is disgusting, innit?' And he said, 'Yeah, yeah, shall we throw it away?' But it reminds me of a story my dad told me that when he first started going out with my mum, erm, my m… great-gran, so my mum's grandma, erm, made him some salmon sandwiches, and, er, he said they 10 just looked disgusting, like, he saw the salmon and it looked really old. And, erm, he just really didn't want to eat it. It knocked him sick. So great-gran brought over these salmon sandwiches, and like, instead of just trying to sneak them in the bin, or… or just eat them, or anything, he hid them in his shoes. So he took off his shoes and put these butties 15 in his shoes, and then when he was leaving the house just had to sort of like stand on them. I just find the whole idea of it completely ridiculous. One thing we do with the naughty kids, erm, to

encourage team building and stuff, every summer we take, say, ten, the ten best kids from the project, to this thing in the Lake District where they do, er… it's called 20 Outward Bound, and they do like all outdoor activities with them. And I went along last year with them. And we did this thing where you had to go up this pole, it was like twenty-foot pole, like a telephone pole sort of thing, climb to the top, er, and then jump through this trapeze which is just hanging in the air, you'd… you're all, you know, you're 25 tied up so you're not going to fall, but… And then another kid goes up, and she starts crying as soon as she gets to the top, she starts crying, going, 'I can't do it! I can't… I can't do it!' Erm, and I were… I was thinking, you know, 'What's… what are you worried about? You're harnessed up, if you fall you're going to be caught. It's irrational.' 30 Anyway, then I go up, and I'm thinking, 'Right, what I'm… what I'm going to do, I'm going to just race right up to the top, and not… not look down at all, and then before I know it I'll be up at the top, and I won't be worried about it.' So I do that, go straight up, get to the top of the pole, look down and nearly throw up all over the place, because it 35 was just so scary just being up there, and being, like, 'Jesus! This is… I, erm, underestimated this!' Anyway, I couldn't stand up on top of it, I couldn't stand up, and I just wanted to get down, so I just sort of dived down. So at the bottom all of the… all the kids were laughing and applauding and that. But that's probably the scariest thing we done… 40 we did there.

Notes

1. *Innit* (l. 6) = *isn't it*. For many young British speakers *innit* is an invariant tag, which means that it is used in any context, including contexts where Standard English would demand

agreement between the main verb and that used in the corresponding tag. For example, in Standard English the tag used with main verb *have* or *have got* (e.g. *You have a new phone*) would be *have* in its negated form (i.e. *haven't you*?), or *do* (i.e. *don't you*?). However, invariant *innit* could be used not just in these contexts – e.g. *You've got a new phone, innit*? – but in fact with any main verb (*They're going to the cinema tonight, innit*? or *You ate all the pizza, innit*?). It has been suggested that the form has its origins in the British Asian community, among whose speakers the form is very common, but it has spread much more widely than this. Although invariant *innit* is directly analogous to the invariant French *n'est-ce pas*? and German *nicht wahr*?, it has drawn fire from conservative 'language mavens' as indicative of grammatical or even mental deficiency on the part of the speaker. See further Columbus (2010).

2. *knocked him sick* (l. 11) = made him feel sick.
   butties (l. 14) = sandwiches.
   throw up (l. 34) = vomited.
3. Note that the speaker amends her use of non-standard *done* to standard *did* in l. 39–40 (see page 29).

13 Middlesbrough

Middlesbrough is a nineteenth-century new town that grew very quickly from a rural hamlet to a large industrial town as a consequence of the establishment of various heavy industries (in particular, steel-making and chemicals). The demand for labour

created by these industries was met by the influx of workers from all over northern England, from Wales, and notably from Ireland. At one time during the Victorian period, Middlesbrough was second only to Liverpool among English cities in terms of the proportion of the population that was Irish-born. For much of its history Middlesbrough fell within the North Riding of Yorkshire but more recent boundary changes have meant that the town was located at the southern boundary of the North-East region. Although Middlesbrough English is grouped with Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sunderland and Durham as a north-eastern variety, it has linguistic features that reflect the town's history and, as such, it is understandable that it is often confused with Liverpool English and with Welsh English by listeners who are not familiar with it. See further Kerswill and Williams (2002); Beal *et al*. (2012).

13.1 Middlesbrough English is northern in that it lacks a separate /ʌ/ phoneme – *put* (WL 4) and *putt* (WL 5) are homophones – and because *dance* (WL 22) and *daft* (WL 23) have /a/ rather than /ɑː/. Note, however, that *half* (WL 24) has /ɑː/, as does a very limited set of words that includes *master* and its derived forms (*mastered*, *mastery*, etc.) and *plaster* and its derived forms (*plasterer*, *plastering*, etc.). This is a feature Middlesbrough English shares with other north-eastern varieties, but not with Yorkshire English. The occurrence of /ɑː/ in the *master* set is lexically idiosyncratic, rather than being determined by phonological context; *faster*, *caster*, *blaster*, *disaster* and phonologically analogous forms such as *castor*, *pastor*, *pasta*, and so on, take /a/, as they would in Yorkshire.

The use in Middlesbrough of the 'southern' vowel in *master* and *plaster* is sometimes misinterpreted by outsiders as an attempt to sound 'posh'. /ɑː/ words such as *started* (l. 3) have [aː], as in Hull and Bradford, rather than the [ɑː] or [ɒː] qualities heard in Newcastle.

13.2 /h/ is regularly dropped in spontaneous speech, though the speaker in the recording does not do so very much (e.g. *hadn't*, l. 32; *had*, l. 41).

13.3 Although Middlesbrough English is categorically non-rhotic, intrusive /ɹ/ tends to be avoided, as in Newcastle English (e.g. *drawing* is [ˈdrɔɪŋ], l.11); see page 47). Linking /ɹ/ is common, however (e.g. *particular area*, l.14; *year ago*, l. 55). The alveolar tap [ɾ] is used in onset clusters (e.g. *brown*) and intervocalically (e.g. *very*) by some older speakers. It can be heard in *threads* (l. 17). T-to-R is common, but is not present in the sample.

13.4 There is a slight distinction between clear and dark /l/ but both variants are towards the darker end of the spectrum (e.g. WL 30, 31; *left school*, l. 1; *samples*, l. 50). This contrasts with Newcastle English, in which /l/ tends to be clear in both onset and coda positions. /l/ is very rarely vocalised in Middlesbrough English.

13.5 The final vowel of *city* (WL 19) and *seedy* (WL 20) is /i/.

13.6 The voiceless plosives /p t k/ are highly variable. In intervocalic position, all three plosives are frequently realised with glottal reinforcement, as in Tyneside English, such that *paper*, *later* and *baker* are [ˈpʰɛ͡ːʔ pə̟ ˈlɛ͡ːʔ tə̟ ˈbɛ͡ːʔ kə̟]

respectively (e.g. *happy*, l. 48; *putting*, l. 15; *work as*, l. 57). All three plosives may alternatively be produced as glottal [ʔ] ([ˈpʰɛ̝̊ːʔə̥], etc.; e.g. *British*, l. 39). /t/ is regularly affricated to [tˢ] (*fitter*, l. 4; WL 3, 4, etc.) and may be fully spirantised to an [s]-like quality, as in Liverpool and Irish English (Jones and Llamas 2008). It may also be pre-aspirated, as in Hull and Tyneside. In *meat* (WL 51) it is an affricated ejective [tʼˢʼ]. Likewise, /k/ may be pre-aspirated, affricated or spirantised to [x]. The last of these variants is common in the sample (*actually*, l. 2; *expecting*, l. 47; *looking*, l. 66; *working*, l. 67).

13.7 /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ tend to be realised as the open-mid monophthongs [ɛː] and [ɔː], respectively (*bay*, WL 8; *plate*, WL 40; *boat*, WL 12; *nose*, WL 38). Both may be somewhat centralised towards schwa (*lathes*, l. 5; *although*, l. 60; *knows*, WL 39). The vowel of *eight* (and *eighty* and *eighteen*) is different from that typically found in *ate*, creating a minimal pair (*1988*, l. 49; *eighteen*, l. 53). It is therefore true to say that Middlesbrough English's vowel system features an extra phoneme found only in this extremely small set of words. Note that *weight* (WL 41) is homophonous with *wait*; the distribution of the phoneme is lexically rather than contextually determined.

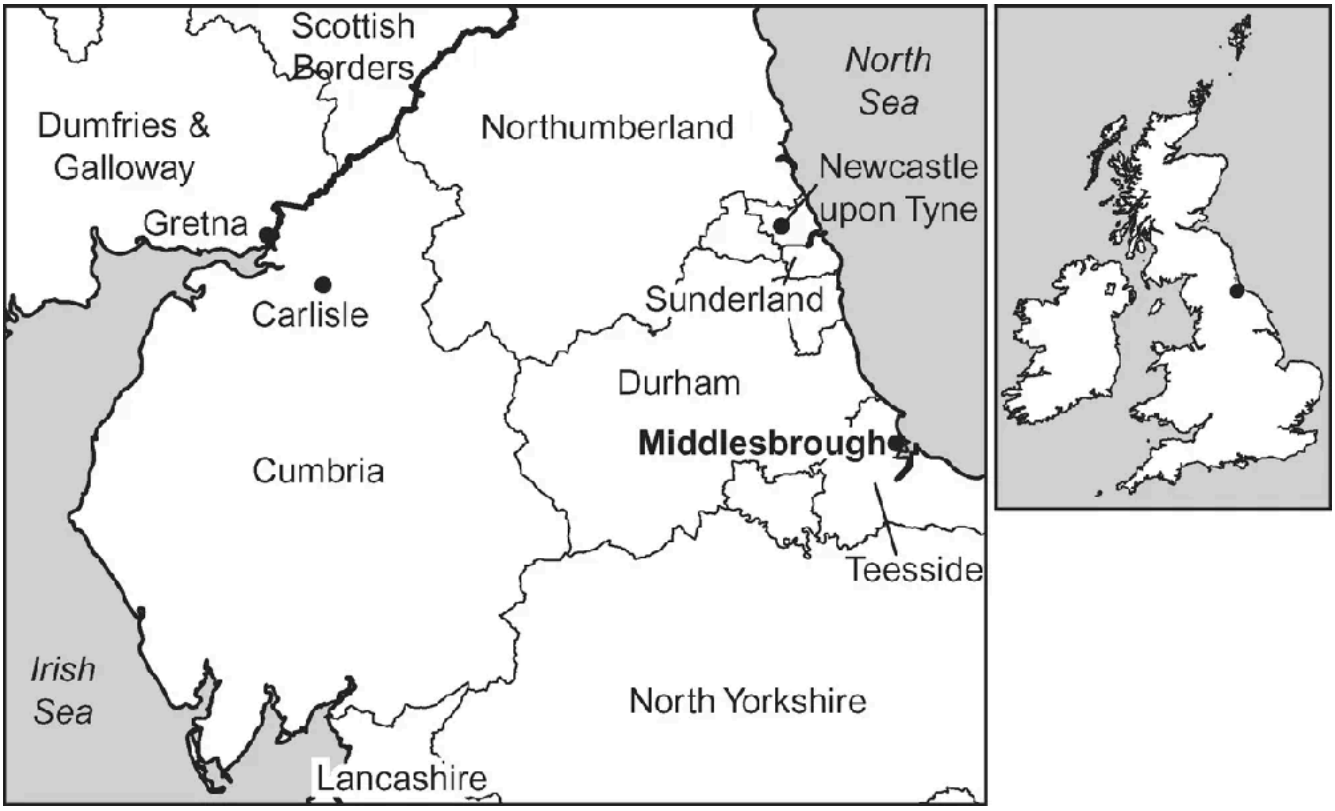
13.8 /ɜː/ may be as front as [ɛː], as in Liverpool and Hull (compare the vowels of *bear* and *bird*, WL 15, 16; *learn*, l. 9). Similarly, /ə/ in *letter*, etc. may be close to [ɛ] in quality. The vowel of *year* may be realised as anything from [ɜː] to [ɛː] (e.g. l. 7), but this is not true of other words in the /ɪə/ set, the vowel

of which varies between [iə] and [iɛ] (*beer*, WL 14). See Beal *et al.* (2012). Although /ɛə/ is smoothed to [ɛː], as in *bear* and *fair* (WL 15, 37), smoothing of /ɪə/ and /ʊə/ (and triphthongs such as that in *fire*) is not common; *poor* (WL 42) is [pʰʉʌ], for example.

13.9 /iː/ is a closing diphthong [e̝i] in *machines* (l. 5), *steel* (l. 6) and so on.

13.10 /aɪ/ is a wide diphthong [aɪ], the first element of which does not vary in height and fronting according to the following consonantal context, as in Tyneside English. It is markedly more monophthongal before nasals than in other contexts (e.g. *time*, l. 54). The vowel of the possessive pronoun *mine* (as in *It's mine*) is frequently monophthongal, while that in *mine* (as in *a coal mine*) would only be produced with a diphthong.

13.11 Prosodic factors (rhythm and intonation) may contribute to the perceived similarity of Middlesbrough and Liverpool English. As suggested by Kerswill and Williams (2002), differences between Teesside and Tyneside English with respect to typical intonation patterns may for some listeners be sufficient to override the similarity resulting from the segmental properties that Middlesbrough English and Tyneside English share. This issue awaits further research.



Map 5.11 Middlesbrough

The Recording

The speaker is a man in his mid-forties. He talks about his career in steelmaking.

> Er, when I left school I got an apprenticeship with Redpath Dorman Long, who were a big engineering company, er, actually built Transporter Bridge and, er, lots of other famous bridges and structures. Er, I started as an apprentice fitter and turner, er, doing basic metalwork and learning the 5 machinery of lathes, milling machines, and different other machines that all, erm, helped gauge and bend different types and gauges of steel. The first year was at a training centre, the TTE, in Billingham, er, where we did broad-based training. I learnt a host of different skills, er, basic fitting, basic electrics, the lathe work which I was later to go on and, er,

learn in 10 more detail, and, er, a few other different things. Electronics, and a bit of technical drawing. Er, what we used to do was, er, have a few weeks at different things, and find out where your skills were, and, er, whichever you were the strongest at, you went on to continue your... the rest of your three or four years' apprenticeship in that particular area. Mine was, er, on a lathe, 15 which is, er, putting round bar into a machine that spins round at... at fast speeds, and, er, putting a cutting tool to it, and, er, making different shaped threads, and different shaped mechanical objects all to be, er, mainly related to bridge building and engineering. And I learnt the basics of that for the first year, like I say, at the en... at the engineering, er, place in Billingham, 20 at the training centre. Er, after that first year was up, er, I actually went in to work at Redpath Dorman Long, which is, er... which was situated where Middlesbrough Football Ground is now. Unfortunately it's been, er, knocked down, quite a few years ago. But, er, that was where I was to spend the next two years of my working career, er, learning the proper job on the full-size 25 machines, and learning the sort of work I would be doing when I eventually came out of my time, gathering different skills, mainly, erm, cutting large threads on large machines, that was the basic, er, thing I used to do. Anyway, it was then my third year, and, erm, Redpath Dorman Long started getting trouble with orders, and, er, we'd... we realised that there was less and less 30 work on the shop floor, and eventually we were given, er, the sad notice that, er, the place was to close. Er, unfortunately for me I couldn't finish my apprenticeship because I hadn't gained all the necessary skills, so I'd only done three years out of the four years necessary. Erm, I couldn't really get another placement because it was sort of a dying trade, so just had to cut my 35 losses and, erm, start looking for other work. So that was

basically three years wasted, I felt. Anyway, I decided to go back to college, where I tried to get some better O-Level qualifications in maths and computers, because I thought that might be a good way to go. I was halfway through that course when a friend told me there was going to be some jobs at British Steel. And 40 he told me to apply, which I did. Erm, did a bit of homework on the actual plant where the job was for. Fortunately, I had a friend who worked at that particular plant, and, er, he give me some general knowledge on the sort of work that they did, and what might be expected of me, and I believe that helped me when I, er, came to the interview situation to, er, to get my job. 45 Erm, there was quite a few applicants for the job, and there was only a few places. I did get told there were seventeen hundred for two jobs, so I wasn't expecting anything, really, but, er, I was fortunate enough to, erm, to get one of the places, which I was quite happy about. So I started British Steel in 1988 as a casting operator, basically controlling the flow of liquid steel, 50 monitoring the temperature, taking liquid samples, sending them off to, er, to be analysed, to make sure, erm, all the quality of the steel was right for whichever particular grade we were making. And I spent a good seventeen, eighteen years doing that job, which I really enjoyed, doing shift work, er, twelve hour shifts. Quite strenuous at times, but, er, quite a lot of time off, 55 and I really enjoyed it. Unfortunately, about a year ago, again got some sad news that, erm, British Steel was going to be closed down. Er, so again I found myself in a position where I was not going to be out of work as such, but going to be losing the job that I liked. Er, fortunately for me, I managed to, erm, get another job within, er, within British Steel. It was actually on the 60 coke-making side. So although steel-making had stopped at, erm, Teesside, we were still making coke to supply other furnaces

around the world. Erm, so basically I'm just involved in working round the coke ovens now, and doing the basic operations around there. I've been doing that job for a year. And we've just been told recently that steel-making is to re-open on Teesside, <line>and, er, I've been approached to go back into my old position, a position that I… I know well, and that I'll… I know I'll relish going back to. So I'm looking forward to stopping working at the coke ovens and… and to start doing my old job again, hopefully in the very near future.

Notes

1. *Give* (l. 42) = *gave*. See page 28.
2. *Round bar* (l. 15) is a mass noun (cf. e.g. *dowelling*), so it is not the case that an indefinite article could occur here. Definite Article Reduction is not attested in Middlesbrough English either.

14 Carlisle

Carlisle, in the far north-west of England close to the Scottish border, is comparatively isolated from other urban centres on the west side of Britain such as Glasgow, Manchester and Liverpool, each of which is approximately 100 miles (160 km) away. Newcastle-upon-Tyne is much closer (60 miles/100 km), however, and it is therefore not surprising that people in Carlisle report feeling more affinity with Newcastle than they do with other cities of the 'north-west', in spite of Newcastle being on the far side of the Pennine Hills. The Pennines are modest in terms of height but until the coming of the railways they presented a genuine obstacle to

movement across this part of northern England. The similarities between the accents of Carlisle and Newcastle are frequently remarked upon, although the boundary between the traditional Cumbrian and Northumbrian dialects follows the Pennine watershed quite closely. It is therefore possible that east–west contact over recent generations has resulted in a reduction in the phonological differences between Carlisle and Newcastle English, more likely through convergence of Carlisle speech on that of Newcastle than via a two-way process. The influence of Scottish English must also be taken into consideration, especially because Carlisle changed hands between Scotland and England several times during the mediaeval period. See further Trudgill (1999); Montgomery (2007); Watt *et al*. (2010); Jansen (2011).

14.1 Carlisle is a northern English variety in that the vowel of *dance* and *daft* (WL 22, 23) and words such as *after* (l. 12), *past* (l. 20) and *last* [l. 32] is /a/ rather than /ɑː/. The latter vowel occurs in *half* (WL 24), however, as per Newcastle and Middlesbrough English. It is safe to say that for the speaker in the recording /ʌ/ is not consistently present – she uses [ʊ], or a value between [ʊ] and [ə], in *brother* (l. 11), *Mum* (l. 12), *buzzer* (l. 23) and *busloads* (l. 39) in her spontaneous speech – but [ə] in *putt* (WL 5). This is probably to do with the rather self-conscious and careful style in which she produces the wordlist (see Wells 1982: 356–357); note, for example, the high frequency of post-vocalic /ɹ/ in the wordlist reading as compared with her spontaneous productions.

14.2 Rhoticity in Carlisle English is a relic feature which has all but disappeared from the speech of people younger than the elderly woman in the recording (Llamas 2010). It is only occasionally to be heard in the spontaneous speech sample (e.g. *were quite*, l. 21), in which the speaker produces the same devoiced and spirantised variant [ɹ̥] that can be heard with some frequency in the wordlist reading (WL 34, 36, 37, 43, 44). Elsewhere she uses a fully voiced approximant [ɹ] (WL 16, 17, 26), a weakened version of this (WL 18), or a completely /ɹ/-less pronunciation (WL 14, 15, 35, 42; *starter*, l. 2; *Walter*, l. 5, etc.). Compare *father* (WL 25) with *farther* (WL 26), and note that in the latter word the speaker produces the first but not the second syllable with a post-vocalic /ɹ/. It is possible that this is a disambiguation strategy, given that two near-homophones are presented in sequence; this may also be true of *pour* and *pore* (WL 43, 44), as a means of distinguishing them from *paw* (WL 45). The alveolar tap can be heard in intervocalic positions in *Maryanna* and *our Alice* (both l. 5) and *Victoria* (l. 35). Intrusive /ɹ/ is generally avoided. Linking /ɹ/ is normally used (as in *our Alice*, l. 5) but is absent in *buzzer and* (l. 24–25).

14.3 /h/ is generally present, as in Tyneside and elsewhere in the far north of England.

14.4 /l/ is moderately clear in both onset and coda positions. In the latter contexts it is conspicuously clear in the speaker's wordlist reading (WL 27–31) and in *felt*, *guilty* (both l. 19), *until* (l. 20) and *people* (l. 25).

14.5 /t/ is frequently affricated to [tˢ] by the speaker in the recording (WL 2–4, etc.; *two-up*, l. 6; *street*, l. 15). There is sporadic use of the glottal stop [ʔ] pre-consonantally (*street*, ll. 14, 30; *Denton*, l. 27; *absolutely*, l.30).

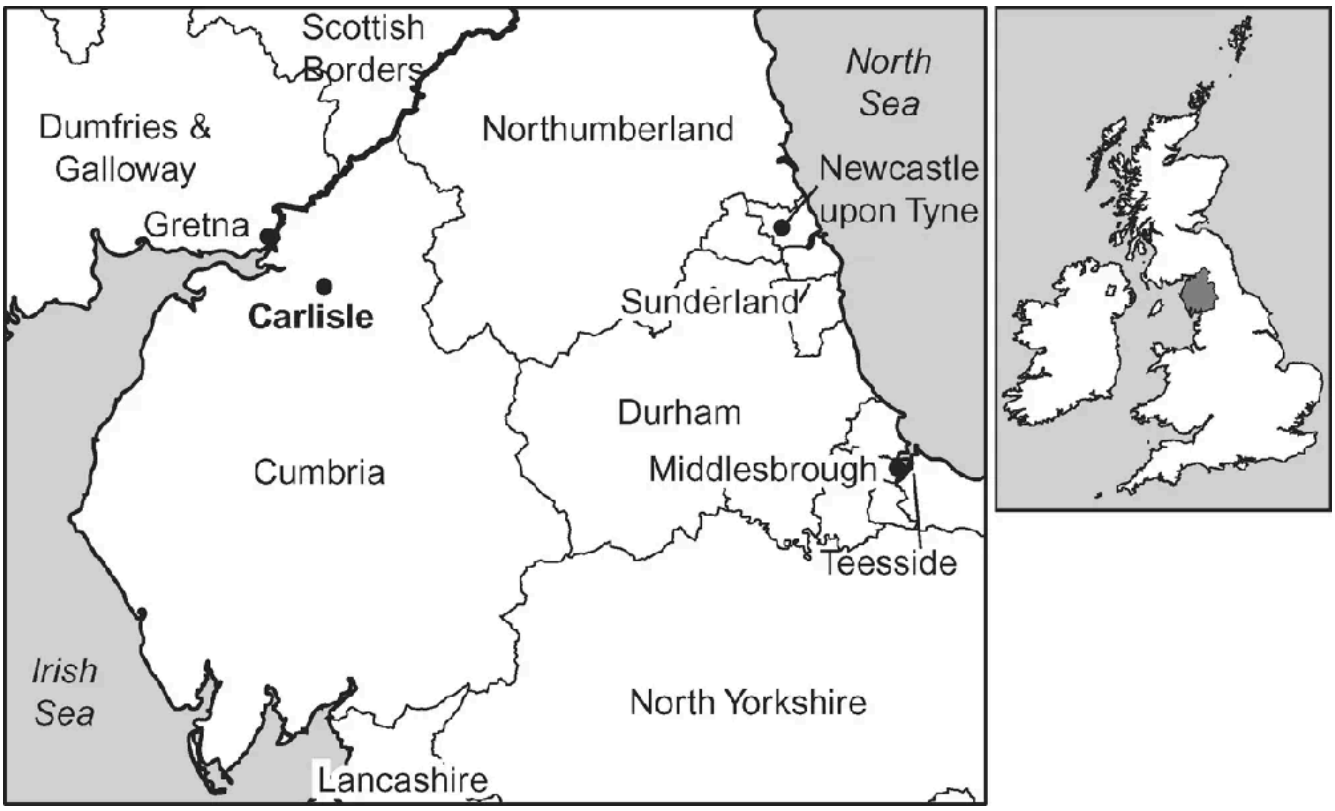
14.6 The speaker also occasionally produces /k/ as an affricate, [kˣ], e.g. *coming* (l. 16), *factory* (l. 23).

14.7 The vowel of *city* and *seedy* is /i/. It may be short and [ɪ]-like (*seedy*, WL 20) but is generally longer and tenser (*city*, WL 19), and may be diphthongal [e̞˕i] (e.g. *Willie*, l. 4).

14.8 /uː/ is fronted to a close central position, and tends to be somewhat diphthongal (*pool*, WL 28; *boost*, l. 34; see Jansen, 2012). It is lowered somewhat before /m/ in *room* (l. 11–13). /iː/ is similarly diphthongal; the vowel in *meet* and *meat* (WL 50, 51) is [ɪi].

14.9 /ʊə/ is [uə] (WL 42). Note the use of this vowel in *our* (l. 4), as is traditional in Cumbrian speech (and that of other parts of northern England). The speaker then changes her pronunciation to a more standard-like triphthong [ʁʊə] for the names listed in l. 5 (see note 2, below).

14.10 Some fronting is possible for /ɜː/ (e.g. *early*, l. 8).



Map 5.12 Carlisle

14.11 /əʊ/ is a closing diphthong, the first element of which varies between [ə] (*pole*, WL 29) and [o̞] (*boat*, WL 12; *rope*, l. 14; *hope*, l. 37), or a close-mid back monophthong [oː] (*hoping*, l. 34).

14.12 /aɪ/ is also typically a closing diphthong [aɛ] or [æe] (*kind*, l. 18; *time*, l.22), but may be more monophthongal in, for example, *while* (ll. 8, 11). *My* may be reduced to [mə] (ll. 7, 8).

The Recording

The speaker is a local woman in her eighties.

> They'd lived there for a long time. Nowadays it's people come in as starter houses and move out. But there were families that lived here, you know, for quite a lot of years. I don't know whether you'd

believe but next door to us there was our John Willie, there was our Theo, our 5 Laurie, our Walter, our Ada, our Maryanna, and our Alice. And they all lived in the, you know, two-up… **[Interviewer: Two-up two-down]**. Two-down, yes. There were my mum and dad, and then for a while my… my brother was here, but, erm, he left fairly early to go into the Fire Service and he had… er, had to live sort of in Fire 10 Service lodgings in those days before they did the Fire Service houses for them. For quite a while, Dad and my brother shared a room, and Mum and I shared a room. And then after Sid left, well, you know, they had their own room together. The… the children from around, we all played together in the street. We could have a skipping rope across 15 the street, you know, there was so little traffic. And, er, I can remember the policeman coming round on the beat. They always seemed to be such big men then, you know, huge men with big moustaches, and, er… Old Arthur was quite kind to us but we… whatever we were doing we sort of felt slightly guilty. 'Oh, here's the bobby,' you know, 'here's 20 the bobby.' We sort of stood to attention till… until the bobby went past. Yeah, they were quite… we seemed to think of them as quite kindly men, but behave yourself at the same time, you know.

Well, the buzzer used to go for the factory. We used to hear the buzzer and then the feet would go pattering past. And at lunchtimes, because 25 there were people coming from Carr's over there, and there were people coming from the other factory down there – you know, it's now Linton's Tweeds and Dixons Chimney – the factory there, the factory in Denton Holme, and they were all sort of because th… there weren't the canteens then, you know, people still came home, dashed home. How they did it… 30 This street used to be absolutely crowded, you know, go… and of course

Linton's, who are there, still do very good tweeds. They supply Chanel, and Jean Muir, and, you know. I think that the last big thing was when, er, Mr. Obama's wife had a… a coat made of Linton tweed. They were hoping that that might boost things. I don't know whether it actually did. 35 And also Victoria Beckham_ she had some, er, of the tweed delivered. And again, there were big hopes that that would fall… I don't know whether it has yet or not, but it was always a hope, you know. But they do some beautiful tweeds still. And they have exhibitions. You sometimes hear of busloads going there, you know, just to have a look 40 round.

Notes

1. *Starter houses* (l. 2) = inexpensive homes for first-time house buyers.
2. *Our John Willie* (etc.; ll. 4–5) = 'our' preceding a personal name is used throughout northern England and Scotland to indicate a close family relationship (among siblings, or where parents are referring to their own children). This was presumably useful in communities in which a relatively narrow range of first names was given to children, and in which families were generally larger than in contemporary British society, but it is still normal usage in many areas. *Our kid* is 'my younger brother', or occasionally an older one; it can also mean a younger sister in some places. *Our lass* means the speaker's wife or girlfriend, rather than a sister.
3. A *two-up* (short for 'two-up-two-down', ll. 6–7) is a very typically British style of small house, most often in a terrace of

traditional brick-built houses. As the name suggests, a two-up has two rooms upstairs and two on the ground floor.

4. *Bobby* (l. 19) = policeman. Named after Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister in the 1830s and 1840s, who helped found Britain's first police force in 1829. The term *peelers*, also meaning 'police', has the same origin.

15 Edinburgh

The vowel systems of Scottish English accents are radically different from those of English in England, and it is therefore not especially helpful to describe them in terms of differences from RP. Scottish Standard English speakers (see pages 13–14) most usually have vowel systems approximately as given below (with words in which these vowels appear).

/i/	*bee beer seedy meet meat*	/ʉ/	*pull put boot poor*		
/e/	*bay plate weight their mate*	/ɪ/	*pit bird fir city*	/o/	*pole boat board nose knows*
/ɛ/	*pet fern there*	/ʌ/	*putt fur*	/ɔ/	*cot caught paws pause paw pot Paul doll*
		/a/	*bard hat dance daft half father farther*		
/ae/	*buy*	/ʌʉ/	*bout*	/ɔe/	*boy*

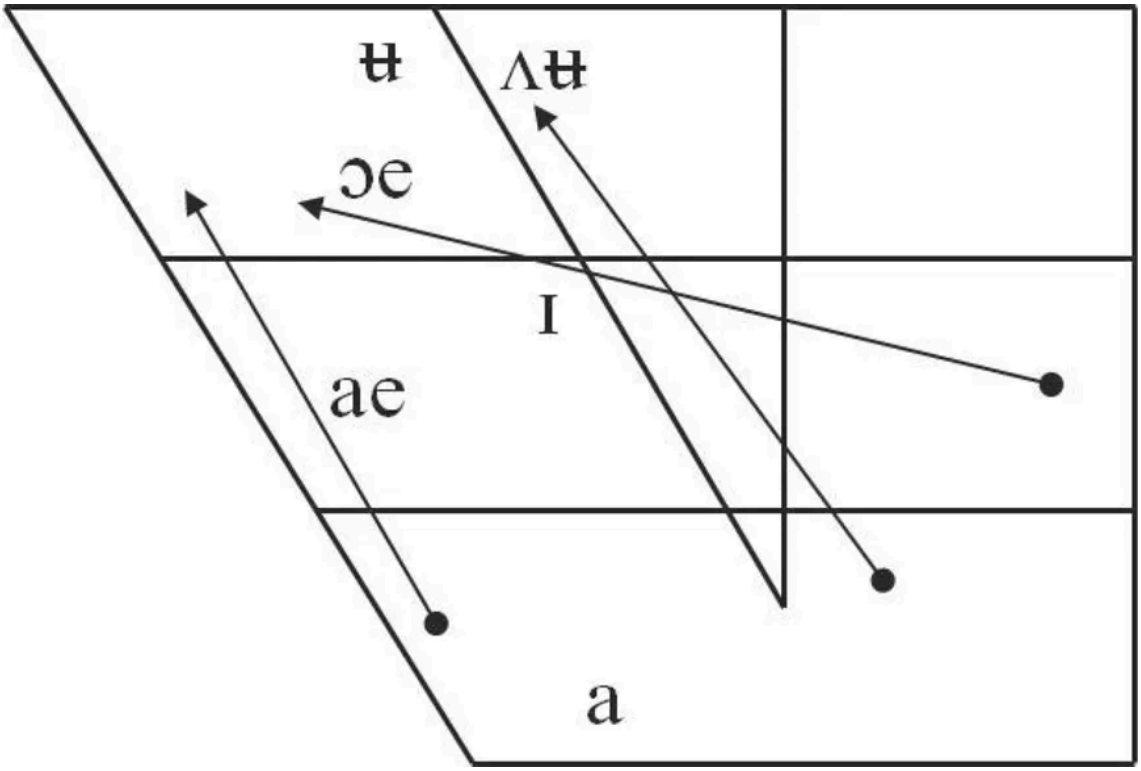


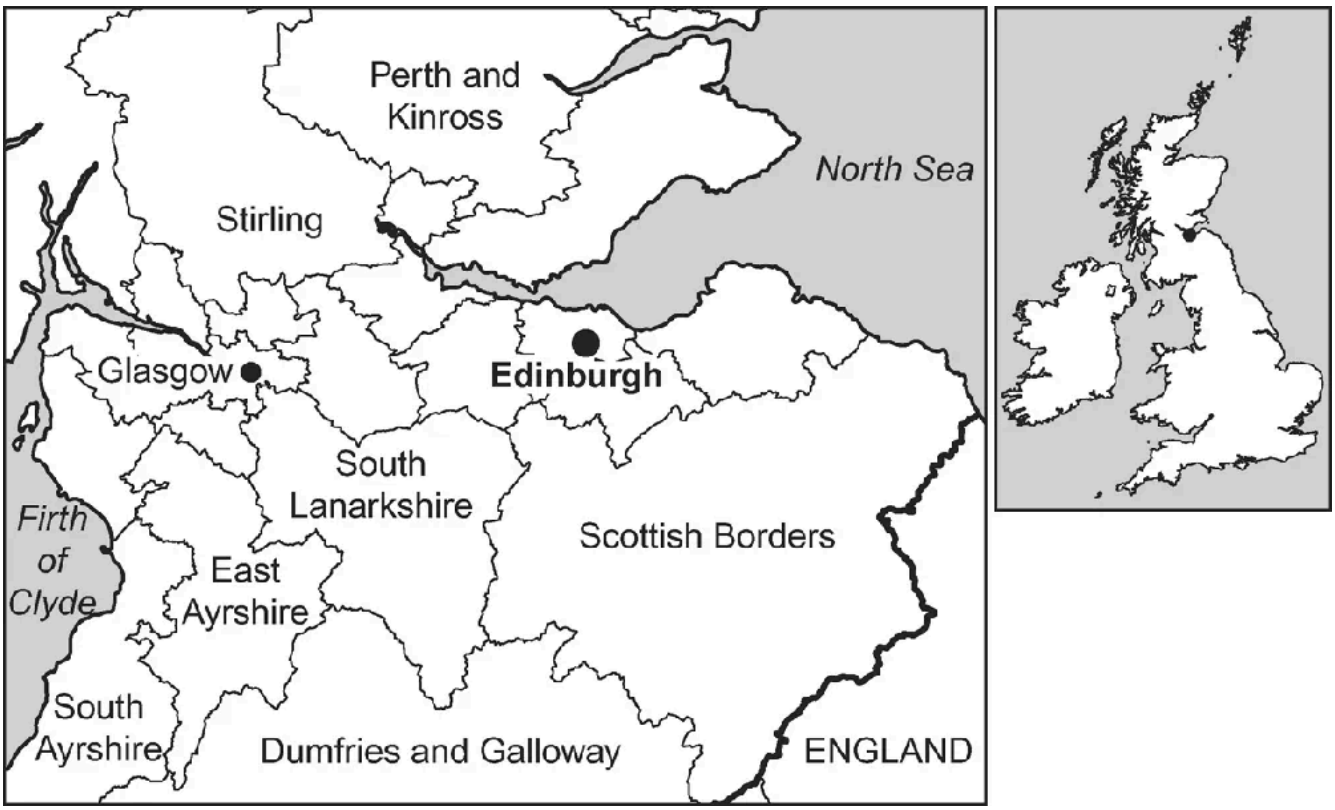
Figure 5.8 Phonetic qualities of certain Edinburgh vowels

It will be noted that:

15.1 Vowels such as RP /ɪə/ and /ɜː/ do not occur (though see 15.3, below). This is because Scottish accents are rhotic – that is, they preserve post-vocalic /ɹ/ (see pages 63–66), the loss of which in English English led to the development of these newer vowels. Pairs of words like *bee* and *beer* (WL 7, 14) thus have the same vowel, but are distinguished by the presence or absence of /ɹ/. The /ɹ/ may be realised as a tap [ɾ] (see page 66), an alveolar approximant [ɹ], a retroflex approximant [ɻ], and occasionally a trill [r], though the last of these is not as common in Scottish English as the stereotyped or 'stage' form of the accent would lead one to believe. Rhoticity is being lost in urban areas of Scotland among working-class speakers, however, such that in Glasgow one can hear *car* as [kʰaː]; a rather weak uvular approximant may also occur in final

position, thus [kʰaːɪ] (see Stuart-Smith 2003; Lawson *et al.* 2011).

15.2 Pairs of words such as *cot ~ caught* (WL 32, 33), *pull ~ pool* (WL 27, 28), and *Pam ~ palm* are not distinguished (page 66). Length is not generally a distinctive feature of Scottish vowels. Monophthongs tend to be 'pure', in the sense that there is no trace of diphthongisation, although for many middle- and upper-class speakers /e/ and /o/ may be markedly diphthongal, having values very similar to those found in RP. The wordlist reader has [ei] in *bay*, *plate* and *weight* (WL 8, 40, 41) but [e] in *mate* (WL 52), and has [o] for /o/ throughout (WL 12, 29, 38, 39).



Map 5.13 Edinburgh

15.3 For many Scottish speakers, words such as *fern*, *fur* and *fir* have different vowels. Different accents differ as to how far they preserve this distinction (WL 34, 35, 36), and in urban areas of Scotland the trend appears to be one involving the collapse of these vowel qualities towards an RP-like [ɜː], though generally the post-vocalic /ɹ/ is retained (see 15.1, above).

15.4 A distinction is made between pairs of words like *tid*ê *tied* (WL 46, 47) and *booz*ê *boos*, the second vowel in each case being longer. The basis for the distinction is that the second word in each pair has a word-final vowel plus an inflectional ending: *tie* + *d* (cf. London *pause ~ paws*, page 76). This alternation is the consequence of a complex vowel length conditioning system generally known as the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (formerly Aitken's Law; see Scobbie *et al*. 1999).

15.5 A distinction is made between pairs of words like *which* /ʍɪtʃ/ and *witch* /wɪtʃ/. /ʍ/ is effectively a voiceless [w] produced with audible friction at the lips, and is rather like the sound made when blowing out a candle.

15.6 Two accents – Edinburgh and Glasgow – are used here to exemplify the English of urban central Scotland. While there are considerable differences between Edinburgh speech and the speech of other Scottish cities (such as Aberdeen – see Section 16) the accents of Edinburgh and Glasgow are sufficiently similar to act as a good guide as to what to expect in central Scotland in general. In listening to accents of Scottish English, the following points should also be noted.

a. /ɪ/ tends to be central [Ï] or [ə]. As the symbol suggests, /ʉ/ is markedly fronted, and may reach [y].
b. [ʔ] is a frequent realisation of /t/ (see page 67; *better*, l. 9; *that*, l. 11).
c. /h/ is present.
d. *-ing* is /ɪn/.
e. While the accents of Edinburgh and Glasgow are broadly similar in terms of their segmental characteristics (i.e. the individual speech sounds used), they are markedly divergent in their intonation patterns. Edinburgh English is fairly similar to RP in terms of intonation, in that stressed syllables are signalled by a rise in pitch. Speakers from Glasgow, however, tend to mark stress on syllables using a fall in intonation (this is true also of Belfast English: see Section 17, below).

The Recording

There are two main speakers on the website. The wordlist reader is from Glasgow and was studying at an English university at the time of recording. Although her accent clearly identifies her as Scottish, it is by no means especially strong.

The second speaker is from Edinburgh, and his accent is rather stronger than that of the wordlist reader (he has, for example, glottal stops representing /t/ between vowels). He talks about a certain area of Edinburgh as it was when he was young.

They were high tenement buildings and, er, many, er, sub-let houses, you know, broken up, er, bigger houses into ... the room and kitchen was about the average house in these days, what we called the room and kitchen, with perhaps a toilet inside or outside on the landings, 5 but there was no such things as bathrooms in these days in these areas, you know?

Adam Street, which was in the centre of that area, there was some very very good houses, rather old-fashioned, but quite good houses with fairly big rooms and that, and these were sort of better-class 10 people, er, people with maybe ... s ... minor civil servants and things like that, you know, that had ... be able to afford dearer rents and that in these days, you know? But the average working-class man, the wages were very small. The rents would run from anything from about five shillings to seven shillings, which was about all they could 15 have possibly afforded in these days. It didn't ... it didn't re ... matter how many a family you had, er, if it was two rooms, well, Devil take the hindmost! [laughter] Aye, and you couldn't get out of your environment, you see, you just had to suffer it and make the b ... most of it. And they all survived, that was the great thing. [laughter] 20 No, I think they were better fed than these days, you know. The ... at least, the quality of the food was better, I think, and the meat ... No, that's correct ... it was, er ... pretty coarse meal, and all that sort of thing, and everything was much more, er, farm produce was much more naturally grown, and things like that. So that ... very big 25 families, you know, the ... the average family was n ... nothing under five children in a family ... very, very rarely. Oh, you'd have them anything up to nines. Nine in a family living in two rooms. There was no segregation, or anything like that. The only hope was that somebody would get married or something like that, you know. Th ... 30 it was some great stories in

that area, you know, it was some really … people were … they were quite, er, amusing that the, er, how they overcame their difficulties, you know. They could improvise, if … I remember a very funny thing, though I don't … I was quite young at the time, but there was a place in the Pleasance, off the Pleasance, 35 called Oakfield Court, and it was a very, very rough quarter. Everybody fought with each other in … in circulation. Er, one fought one one week or … It was just drink and a fight, you know, er, very clean fighting, that, er, when they got into a good mood, they had what they called a party called a 'surpriser'. And they … somebody 40 took the bed down in one of the houses and, er, moved the furniture out into the street and all that, and they got two or three bottles of beer and had a party, and, er, they were very lucky if it lasted to the fight started again. [laughter]

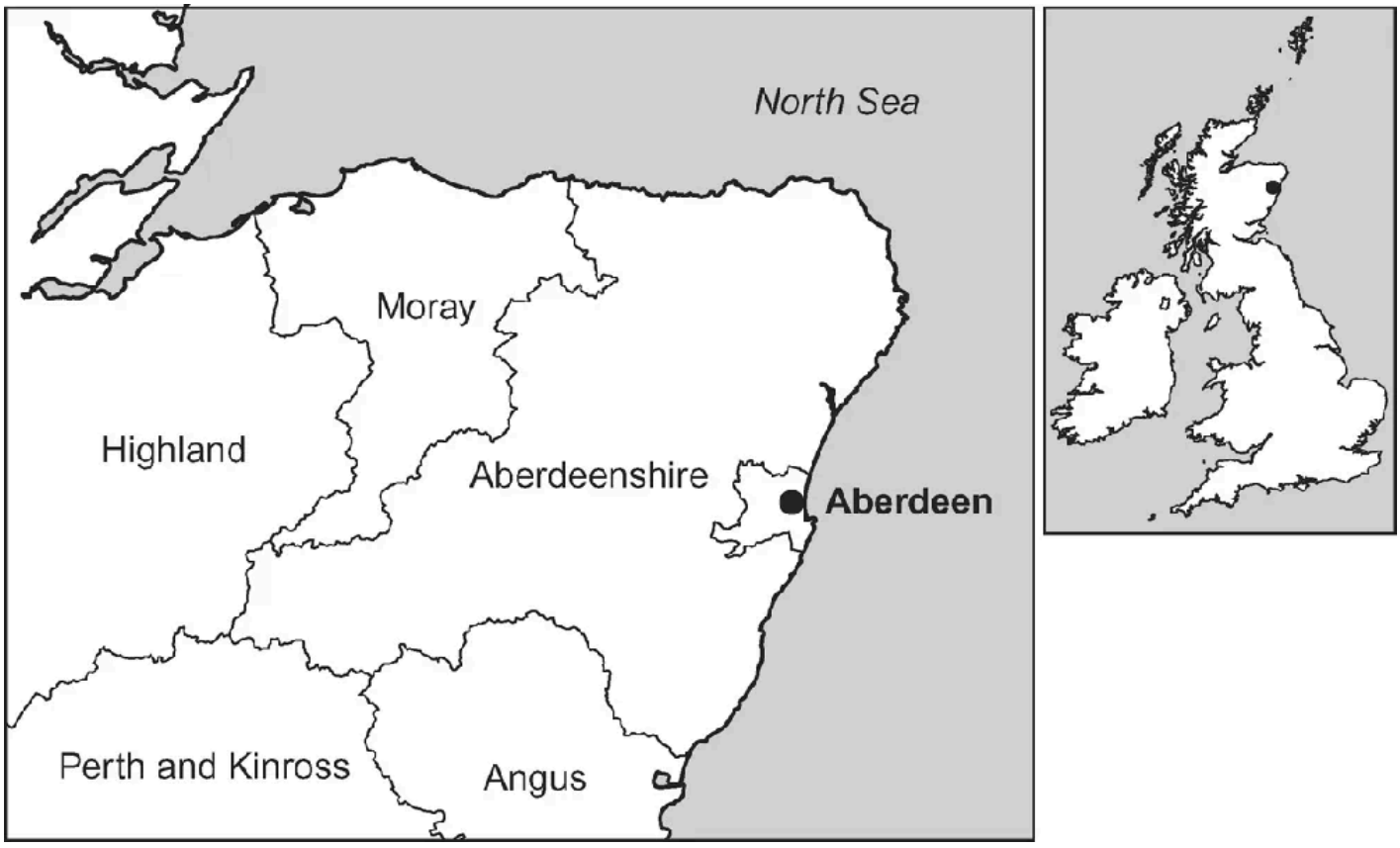
Notes

1. *with* is consistently /wɪ/. In more prestigious Scottish speech, *with* is /wɪθ/ rather than /wɪð/.
2. *this* and *these* with time reference may be found in Scottish English where *that* and *those* are used in Standard English English (l. 3).

16 Aberdeen

The English of Aberdeen is still heavily influenced by the conservative 'Doric' dialect of Scots (see Section 23, below) which is spoken throughout the northeastern part of Scotland. In Aberdeen city itself, however, the accent used by many younger speakers approaches those of the central belt cities of Edinburgh and

Glasgow. Young middle-class Aberdonians can be very hard to distinguish from their middle-class contemporaries from other parts of urban Scotland. This is not surprising given the numbers of incomers to Aberdeen from elsewhere in Scotland – and, for that matter, from elsewhere in the UK, and from North America – as a result of the sudden expansion of the city in the 1970s with the discovery of oilfields in the North Sea. As with Glasgow, the English used in Aberdeen is probably best viewed as lying towards the middle of a spectrum ranging from Scottish Standard English at one extreme to broad Doric Scots at the other, with no clear demarcation between the two (see McClure 2002). It would be difficult to sustain the argument, as some have tried to, that Aberdeen is a 'Scots-speaking city'. Towns and villages in Aberdeen's hinterland (e.g. coastal towns such as Stonehaven, Peterhead and Fraserburgh, or those in the inland area known as the Garioch, such as Inverurie) can more plausibly claim to be places where traditional Scots dialect is still spoken.



Map 5.14 Aberdeen

16.1 The accent is consistently and markedly rhotic. Variants of /ɹ/ used by the speakers on the website include [ɾ], for example in *Torry* (l. 2), *brought* (l. 2), *three* (l. 2), *horrified* (l. 5); [ɻ], as in *top-floor* (l. 7), *cards* (l.41), *beer* and *bear* (WL 14, 15), and the alveolar trill [r] in *bird* (WL 16), *fir* (WL 34), and *fur* (WL 36). Note that the wordlist speaker devoices some of these. As mentioned above, trilled [r] is not quite as common in Scottish accents as many people believe: it is generally associated with emphatic pronunciations, and its frequency in the wordlist probably stems from the fact that the reader is speaking carefully.

16.2 There is uvularisation of second /ɹ/ in *father* (WL 25). Wells (1982: 411) remarks that the use of uvular [ʁ] is

surprisingly common as a ‘personal idiosyncrasy’ in north-eastern Scotland, but that it is not sufficiently common that we can regard it as a feature of north-eastern Scottish accents *per se*. Uvular /ɹ/ is, nonetheless, said by people in Inverurie (around 15 miles/25 km west of Aberdeen) to be a feature of local speech in the town that can be heard fairly frequently.

16.3 /l/-vocalisation is common (e.g. *Paul*, WL 30).

16.4 [ʔ] is very common in casual speech among younger Aberdonians, for example *brought up* (l. 2), *better* (l. 12), *eight* (l. 14), *right* (l. 16). Glottalling of /p t k/ in intervocalic positions in words like *paper* and *butter* can sometimes be heard, giving pronunciations with qualities reminiscent of those found in Northumbrian English (see Section 22, below).

16.5 There is comparatively little aspiration on word-initial /p t k/. Examples are heard in *top* (l. 7), *people* (l. 24), *cars* (l. 38), *pit* (WL 1), *pot* (WL 6). Presumably so as to ensure contrast between the voiceless stops and the voiced ones, /b d ɡ/ are often pre-voiced (e.g. *bee*, *bay*, WL 7, 8; *doll* WL 31), as per French or Spanish (see further Watt and Yurkova 2007).

16.6 A stereotypical feature of Aberdonian speech, and north-eastern Scottish English more generally, concerns the realisation of /ʍ/ as [f] or [ɸ]. This, in combination with various differences in the vowel system, yields north-eastern Scots pronunciations such as /fuː/ for *who*, /faɪ/ for *where*, and the characteristic /fɪt/ for *what*; the phrase ‘furry boots?’ is jokingly said to be how Aberdonians say ‘where abouts?’.

Examples of the phenomenon in the main recording are *when* (l. 46) and *what* (l.58). See also Brato (2007).

16.7 Vowels which have undergone merger to /ɜː/ in RP remain contrastive in the speech of older Aberdonians: compare the vowels of *fir* /fɪɹ/, *fern* /fɛɹn/ and *fur* /fʌɹ/ (WL 34, 35, 36). These contrasts, as elsewhere in Scotland, are tending to collapse towards /ɜɹ/ in the speech of many younger Scots, however (see page 128).

16.8 /a/ is often very back: *after* (l. 2), *married* (l. 6), *flat* (l. 7), *wax* (l. 55); see Figure 5.9. The wordlist reader – uncharacteristically for this accent – has [ɑ] in *dance*, *daft* and *half* (WL 22, 23, 24), though there is no other evidence that he might have a distinction between /a/ and /ɑː/ of the sort found in English English accents.

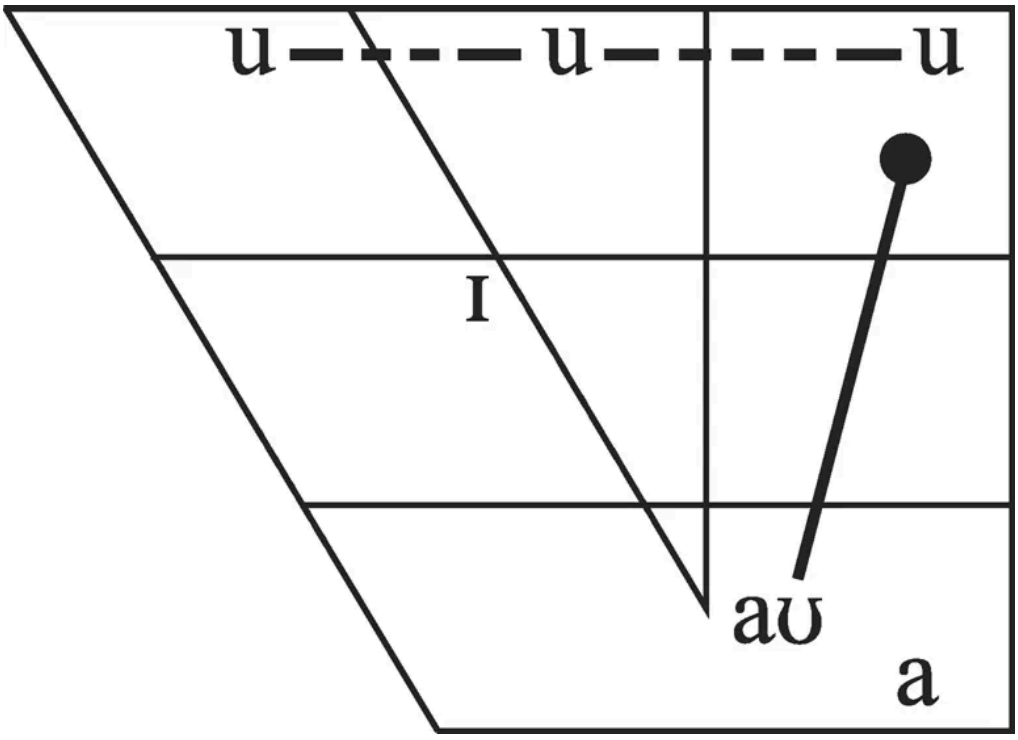


Figure 5.9 Phonetic qualities of certain Aberdeen vowels

16.9 /ʉ/ is often much further back than in Edinburgh or Glasgow English: the [u] in *pool* (WL 28), *move* (l. 8), and *through* (l. 11) approaches a quality in the region of Cardinal Vowel 8. There are other cases in which the vowel has much fronter quality at [ʉ̟] or even [y], for example *two* (l. 26).
16.10 Both elements of the diphthong /ʌʉ/ are backer than in the accents of central Scotland (*now*, l. 6; *downhill*, l. 19).
16.11 *-ing* is often /ɪn/, for example *living* (l. 2), *cutting* (l. 10).
16.12 *that* very often lacks any initial consonant, so that the phrase *that's that* may be pronounced [a̲tsa̲t]. An example of this in the recording is in the phrase *like that* (l. 4).
16.13 *all* is [a̲] (e.g. l. 4).
16.14 *houses* is /hʌʉsɪz/ (l. 26), with a medial /s/ rather than /z/.

The Recording

The accent is represented by two speakers. The main speaker is a woman in her forties, while the wordlist reader is a man of about the same age. Both have lived all their life in Aberdeen or in towns close to the city.

Well, I was born in Footdee, which is across the River Dee from Torry, where I was brought up after I was three. And … just living beside the seaside, really. Ideal childhood. Went to school there, things like that. We used to roam, climb the cliffs, all the things you 5 werena supposed to do, you would be horrified at your ain kids daeing now. Well, when I got married at nineteen, we did ha … our very first flat was a top-floor tenement flat in Torry, again. We

didna move very far. And, er, it was an old-fashioned flat, you know, the toilet was on the stairway between the two flats. And at that time they 10 were cutting back on all the grants that you could get to redevelop older properties, so when the grant fell through we decided we were better just to buy new. So we moved out to Ellon and we bought the last plot up in Ness Circle. And we're now on our third house in Ellon. We've been here for eight years now.

[asked how Aberdeen has changed in recent decades]

15 Well, like in the eighties when it was all oil office buildings and things, they were sort of throwing up skyscrapers left, right and centre, we … and filling them with office space which … half of that's vacant now. And a l … as the oil kind of tailed off a bit the shops started to go downhill, but now it's sort of reviving itself and getting its act together.

20 But it's still sort of behind the times. There's nae … not a lot of pedestrianised areas, or … you know, other big cities you can go and roam about and it's easy … easily accessible, where it's not really in our main s … main street.

[asked how Footdee has changed since her childhood]

Oh yes, it's all very trendy now. Yes, it's all foreign people that live 25 there now. [laughter] Erm … yeah, they were, erm, great thick walls, cottage-type houses, maybe two storeys at the most, mostly in rows for protection against the wind, really, more than anything. But still where … near enough the sea that the waves would hit the roof in the winter. Scary.

[asked about life in rural Aberdeenshire in winter]

Aye, well, we were once coming back from Aberdeen in the winter when the winters were really bad, and you'd no sense of where the middle of the road is or anything. And before it was all dual carriageway and everything it was quite a windy road. And I can remember struggling to get round this hill bend, and actually

discovering we were on the wrong side of the road when we we got to the top of the bend. And we'd nowhere to go. You couldn't ... couldn't just pull over left, cos the snowdrifts were so bad. So, l ... like, both sets of cars are sliding sort of sideways together. We never actually hit, but it was like slow motion, like, 'This is it!' a sort of...

[asked about leisure pursuits and her work as a childminder]

Leisure time, well, I do a lot of cross-stitch, and I like to make ... I do papercraft things, cards ... I like doing that, it's nice and relaxing. I know that Lisa's an age she can fit in with that, she quite likes all that arty kind of things as well.

I always liked young children. Nae so keen on teenagers, but ... unfortunately mine are heading that way! But, erm, before I had my own children, when you think you know all the ... the theory of it, once your own come along that goes right out the window. So I decided no, I c ... I could do this a lot better than retail, so... When ... well, Ross was six and Lisa would be nearly three, we were selling the flat to buy this house here. So everything's spick and span for this first viewing, and we would have an early tea because this gentleman was coming at seven o'clock, and we wanted everything tidied away, and ... no smelly kitchens. So we were going great guns. Kids were very quiet. I stuck my head in the living room

door to find 55 wax crayon written all over an oatmeal-coloured carpet, and my two sitting there with the wax crayons writing into the carpet. No paper in sight. So I'm saying, 'Try and be calm. Right, how are we going to do this?' 'What do you think you're doing? You've got every colour of wax crayon on that carpet!' 'No,' says my son, and produces a white 60 crayon from behind his back, telling me the white crayon doesn't work. But however, with a lot of scrubbing and an iron and a piece of brown paper, with the children plunked on the top bunk-bed meanwhile, we got it cleaned up before this chap would come. In the end, after all that fuss, he didn't buy the flat. But never mind, we got there in the end.

Notes

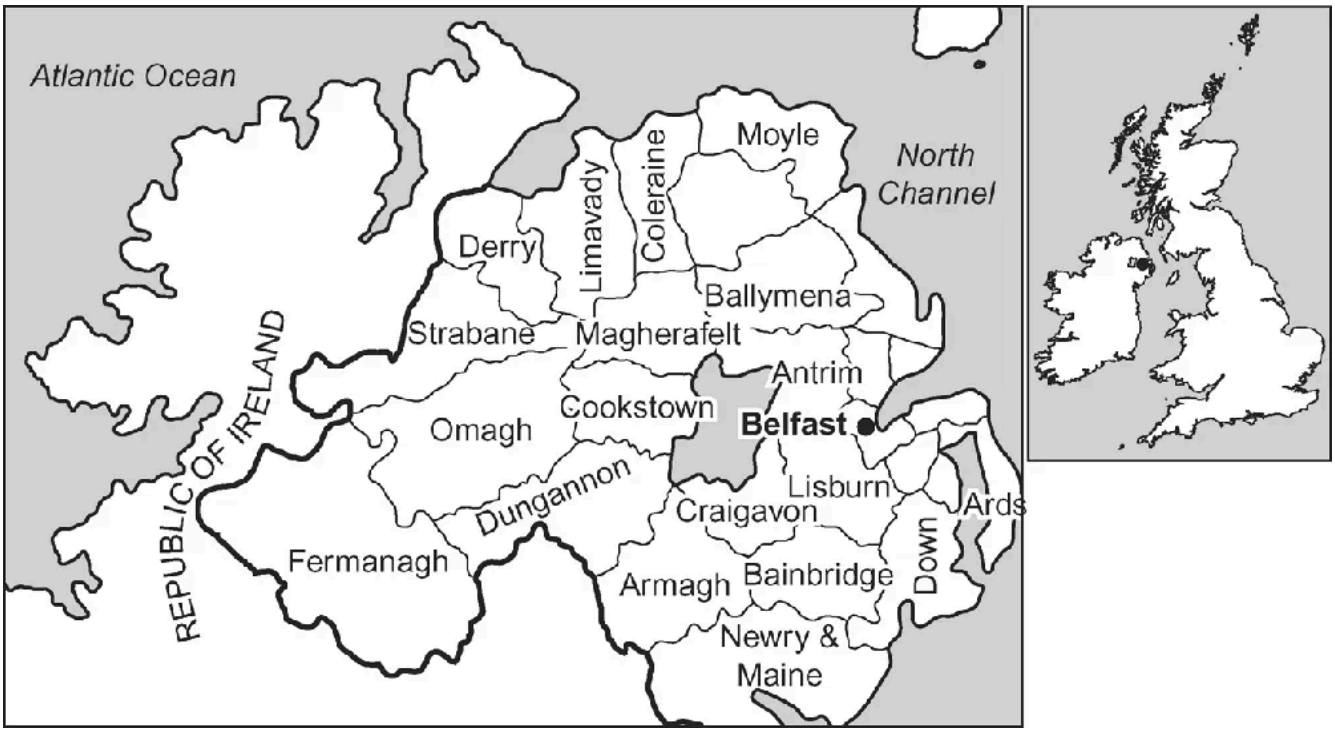
1. *ain* (l. 5) = *own*.
2. *daeing* (l. 6) = *doing*.
3. Note the speaker's use of *that* + plural noun phrase in *that arty kind of things* (l. 42–43); see page 33.

17 Belfast

In the northern part of Northern Ireland speech is quite similar to that of Scotland, which is where large numbers of settlers to Ulster came from during the 'Plantation' of the early seventeenth century. Many of these settlers would have spoken Scots, and a form of the language known as Ulster Scots – or 'Ullans', by analogy with 'Lallans', the name sometimes given to the Lowlands Scots dialect of Scotland – is still spoken in the province today. Indeed, it has official status in Northern Ireland alongside English and Irish. In the south of the province, on the other hand, the local variety

derived originally from those of the West Midlands and the south-west of England. Belfast speech combines features from both north and south.

17.1 As in Scotland, there is post-vocalic /ɹ/ (see pages 63–64). /ɹ/ is realised as a retroflex, frictionless approximant [ɻ] (see page 66). It is similar to word-initial /ɹ/ in RP, except that the tip of the tongue is pulled back somewhat further.



Map 5.15 Belfast

17.2

a. The vowel system is similar to that of Scottish accents:

/i/	*bee beer seedy meet meat*			/ʉ/	*put boot pull pool poor*
/e/	*bay bear plate weight mate*	/ɪ/	*pit fir bird city fern fur*	/o/	*boat boa pole kno nose pou pore*
/ɛ/	*pet*	/ʌ/	*putt*	/ɔː/	*Paul pau doll paus caught*
		/a/	*pat bar hat dance daft half father farther*	/ɒ/	*cot*
/aɪ/	*buy tide tied*	/aʊ/	*bout*	/ɔɪ/	*boy*

b. Vowels are short before /p t k tʃ/, and long before other consonants or when final (cf. the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, discussed on pages 127–130).

c. In Belfast speech the actual realisation of a vowel may vary considerably according to the sound which follows it. For example, /a/ in *daft* has a realisation not very different

from /ɑː/ in RP, while in *bag* it may be [ɛ] (Figure 5.10; the latter is, probably for unconnected reasons, also true in traditional Northumbrian speech. See Section 22). Since the vowel in *beg* may also be [ɛ], the two words may not always be distinguished. This raises the question of whether it would be better to consider the vowel in *bag* to be /ɛ/ rather than /a/. For various reasons we have chosen not to do this, but the reader should be aware that the analysis of vowels could have been somewhat different from the one we propose (cf. /e/ vs. /ɛ/, and /o/ vs. /ɔː/).

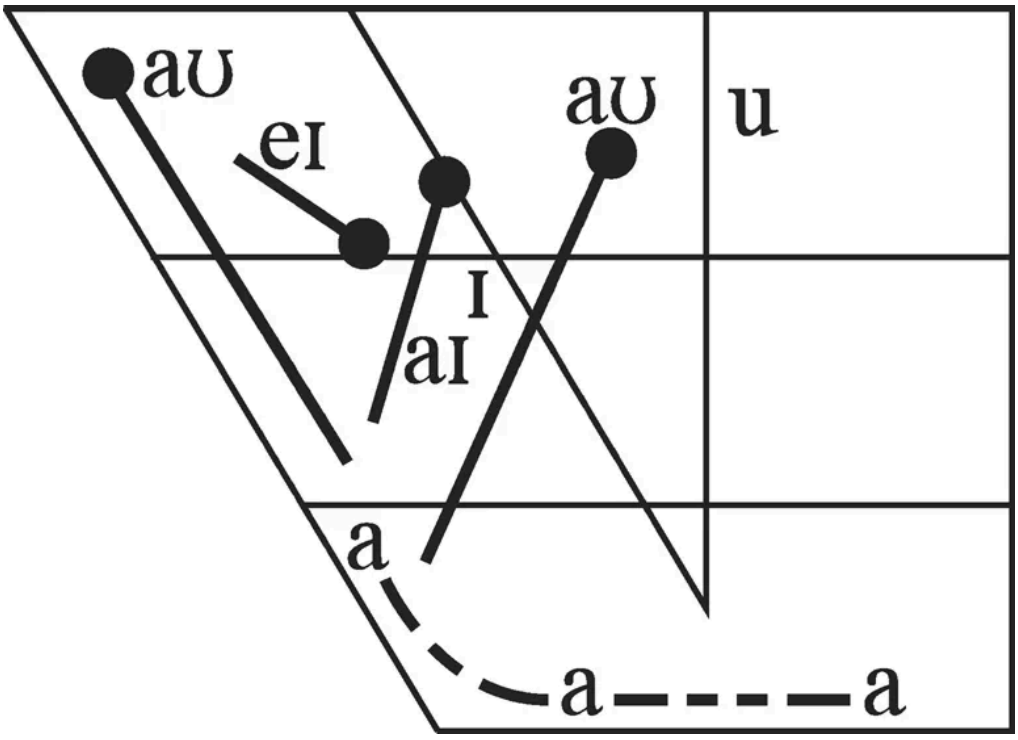


Figure 5.10 Phonetic qualities of certain Belfast vowels

17.3 The intonation of Belfast English, the speech of people from Northern Ireland generally, is (loosely) characterised by rising tones on statements, rather than falling ones, as is the case in RP. According to Rahilly (1997), this means that the typical pitch pattern of an utterance such as *It has changed out*

of all recognition now since our day, in which we can identify two particularly strongly stressed syllables (the third syllable of *recognition* and *our*), will be one involving an abrupt lowering of pitch on these stressed syllables, followed on the next syllable by a sharp rise to a substantially higher pitch. This is much the same pattern as can be found in Glasgow English. See further Grabe *et al*. (2000); McCafferty (2006); Hickey (2008).

17.4 The following notes on vowels should be read in association with Figure 5.10:

a. /e/ is normally realised as a diphthong varying between [ɛə] and [iə], but in words like *bay* (WL 8) and *say* (l. 12) the vowel is a monophthong, [ɛː]. In plural and possessive forms of these words, too, the vowel is [ɛː] (e.g. *days*, l. 40), and *days* therefore contrasts with *daze*.

b. /ɪ/ is fairly central, [ɨ]. Although *fir*, *fur*, *fern* and *fair* may sometimes have different vowels, they all tend to be pronounced with [əɻ], which is probably best analysed as /ɪɹ/.

c. /ɔː/ and /ɒ/ contrast only before /p t k/, as in *caught* and *cot* (WL 32, 33).

d. As was mentioned above, realisations of /a/ may vary considerably. Before certain consonants (e.g. /f/ and /s/ in *daft*, WL 23, and *class*, l. 14) there is a back or central realisation. Before other consonants the vowel is front, and before /g/ and /ŋ/ may be raised to [ɛ]. (There is no example on the recording with /g/ or /ŋ/, but *back*, l. 10, is [bæk].)

e. /aɪ/ is variable, but is often [ɛɪ] (WL 9, 46, 47).

f. /aʊ/ is very variable. Typical realisations are [æʉ] and [ɛi] (WL 13; *house*, l. 1; *down*, l. 5). The phonetic similarity of the /aʊ/ diphthong to /aɪ/ is probably the best-known feature of Northern Irish English among speakers of other varieties in the British Isles, and when imitating the accent the phrase *How now brown cow*, pronounced [haɪ naɪ bɹaɪn kaɪ], is often chosen.

17.5 In some rural areas of the province, /j/ may be found after /k/ and /g/ before front vowels in words like *car*, [kjaɻ]. This phenomenon is now vestigial in Belfast, and there are no examples in the recording.

17.6 Between vowels /ð/ may be lost, so *mother* may be [ˈmɔ̈ːəɻ] and *another* [əˈnɔ̈ːəɻ].

17.7 *-ing* is /ɪn/.

17.8 /h/ is present (see pages 66–67).

17.9 Certain words which have /ʊ/ in RP and other accents may have /ʌ/ in Belfast speech: for example *wood* may be pronounced [wʊd] or [wʌd].

The Recording

The main speaker is a middle-aged woman with a distinctive Belfast accent. The man who asks her questions is younger, and his accent is less broad. The woman talks about her past and about the fighting in the city during the time of the ‘Troubles’.

… born in this house … and still in it … Raymond.

– You were born in this house?

I was born in this house, yes … born …

– So then you haven't lived in any other parts of Belfast, just this part?

5 Oh aye … when I was about eight years of age my mother went down to the Ormeau Road to live, in Powerscourt Street. But then … you see my Uncle Tommy's lived here, and his wife died. And he got married again, my mother come back to my granny. Her, er, mother, and we've been there ever since again, that was in … during the … the 10 war, 1941 or something, we come back here, you know? So, counting all round, we weren't so long on the Ormeau Road, really, you know. I'd say about ten years, maybe twelve years, you know, no longer. And then, when I was about s … sixteen or so, my grandmother got me into a place called Carson's, a very high-class bakery shop. – 15 Was there any time when you yourself were sort of in danger around there … when you had any … can you remember any time when you were frightened? I wouldn't say in danger, really, Raymond. We heard shooting and all going on when we were in work, you know. Well, then they had a 20 gun battle … Belvoir … There was trouble down there really, you know. I think they had to close up for a couple of days, really, you know, until it died down. But there was a fellow, one of the terrorists, was shot on the roof, really, you know. – 25 Yeah, did you know any of the people that you knew in Inglis's who, sort of, were shot, or anything like that? Or had, er … No, only just round about that didn't work in Inglis's, really, you know. The time the Republican, er … Remember the time they had a … a bit of a feud between the two sides? Republican and the …

30 – The Provisionals?

Aye, it was the Provisionals and another … with Bernadette Devlin was over … now there was … the initials, I just can't remember, the initials, you know what I mean? Social something, you know … just forget what the initials … Well, they had a bit of a go at each other, 35 you see, and there was shooting and … I remember one time when I was in work at that time … and, erm, everybody was lying low at the time, you know, I mean they were all disappearing. And I think half of Inglis's disappeared for a few days. Even the security man disappeared! They were all went … aye … and you know, and then 40 in a few days' time when it was all over they all come trotting back again, you know? You don't know who … who was who, you know what I mean? – But were you never afraid, like, in the middle of winter going down there … an … you walked down there, didn't you? It must have been 45 dark in the early mornings or evenings coming back. It's a dangerous place to go now at night, isn't it? I mean some people wouldn't want to go there, you know.

Yes, I know, well … I never thought of danger, really, you know what I mean? It never struck me, you know?

50 – I mean, some people wouldn't walk in that area.

That's right, I know. I remember one day there was shooting all round over something, I don't know what it was. Oh, down all the streets there was shots getting fired here, there and everywhere. And I saw this yellow car sitting up Cromac Street, and a fellow over the 55 bonnet of it. I said that's very like Harry Short's, you know? Anyway, when I got up it was Harry Short, and all the shooting was going round him, and there was Harry, his car or something had went wrong and he was … says I, 'Harry, what are

you doing here?' says I, 'you could be shot!' says I, 'you're … leaning over your bonnet fixing 60 your car!'

–What did he say to that?

He laughed hearty at the idea. But he had to get a tow home by the RAC. Something went wrong where he couldn't start his car. He seemed to be … he didn't know that the shooting was going around him, he was 65 that interested in his car getting started.

Notes

1. *come* (ll. 8, 10, 40) is the past tense of **come** (see page 28). *went* (l. 39) is the past participle of **go** (see page 28).
2. *says I* (l. 58), see page 30.
3. *hearty* (l. 62), see page 33.

18 Dublin

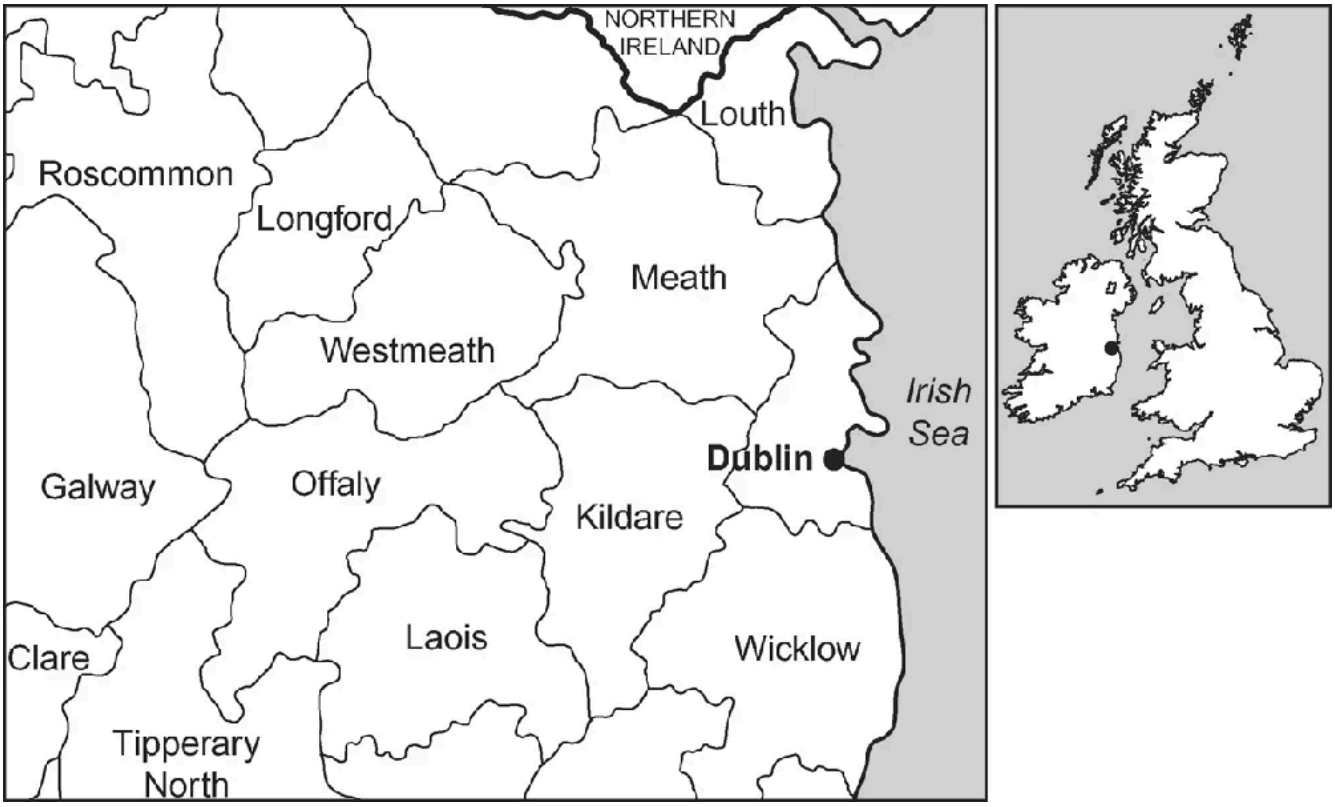
Although there are similarities between the English of the northern and southern parts of Ireland – /l/ is clear [l] in all positions throughout Ireland, for instance – the accents of Belfast and Dublin are very different. One reason for this is that there was no Scottish influence on the development of Dublin English. It is also worth noting that in the Republic of Ireland the highest prestige form of English, and the linguistic model to which many Irish people aspire, is (unsurprisingly) not a British variety but that of Dublin (see Hickey 1999, 2008).

18.1 In some respects, the English of the Republic of Ireland, except that of the far north, resembles that of Bristol and other

parts of south-west England. For instance, post-vocalic /ɹ/ (see pages 63–66) occurs, and the RP vowels /ɪə/, /ɛə/ and /ʊə/ are therefore absent.

18.2 /a/, pronounced [a], and /ɑː/, pronounced [aː], are distinct and are distributed much as in RP. Note /a/ in *matter* (l. 16) and /ɑː/ in *after* (l.1). In other parts of Ireland, however, /a/ and /ɑː/ may not be distinct, as per Northern Irish and Scottish varieties.

18.3 /ɒ/ is pronounced [ɑ], cf. *lot* (l. 14) and /ɔː/ is pronounced [ɑː].



Map 5.16 Dublin

18.4 /a/ has a back first element [ɑɪ ~ ɒɪ], but is nevertheless distinct from /ɔɪ/, for example *while* (l. 25).

18.5 /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are mostly monophthongs or narrow diphthongs. The wordlist speaker has fairly marked closing diphthongs in *bay*, *boat*, *pole*, *nose* (cf. *knows*, WL 39), *plate* and *weight* (WL 8, 12, 29, 38, 40, 41), while the main speaker has [ei] in *Bray* (l. 5).

18.6 There is a strong tendency for /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ not to be distinct in strongly local Dublin accents, for example /ʊ/ in *government* (l. 6), but /ʌ/ does occur, particularly in more educated speech (see pages 59–60).

18.7 /ɜː/ does not occur in lower-status accents. Instead, as in Scottish English (pages 128), words such as *firm* (l. 2) have /ɪɹ/, words such as *Germans* (l. 21) have /ɛɹ/ and words such as *work* (l. 2) have /ʊɹ/.

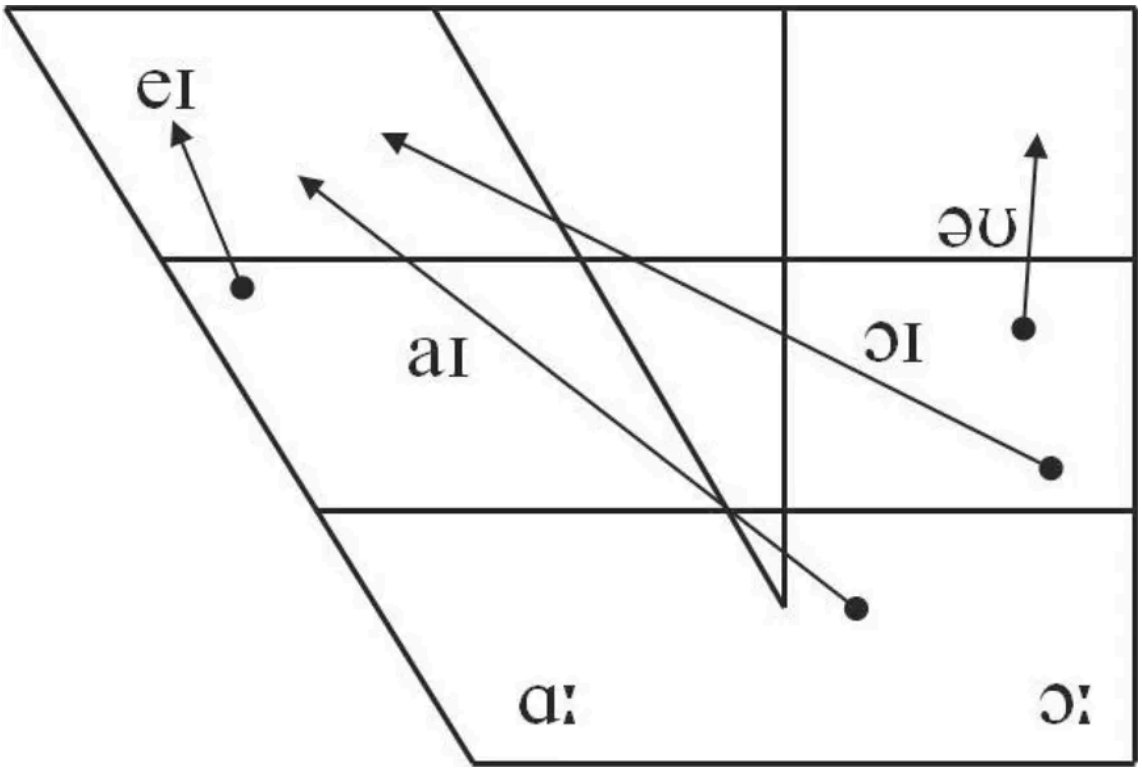


Figure 5.11 Phonetic qualities of certain Dublin vowels

18.8 Irish English has /a/ rather than /ɛ/ in *any* and *anyone* (l. 12).

18.9 /θ/ and /ð/ are often pronounced not as fricatives but as dental stops [t̪] and [d̪]. Before /ɹ/, /t/ and /d/ may also be pronounced as dental stops, so there may be no distinction /θɹ/ ~ /tɹ/, for example *true ~ through* [t̪ɹu]. Note the occurrence of dental stops on the recording in *third* (l. 7), *north* (l. 10) and elsewhere.

18.10 /h/ is normally pronounced.

18.11 /p t k/ tend to be strongly aspirated, for example *it* (l. 33).

The Recording

The main speaker on the website is a Dublin man who is talking about experiences in Canada and the USA, as well as early nineteenth-century Irish history.

> After a short while they got me into the painters' union, and I did clerical work. I was a trainee manager in Ireland for an English firm, *State Express 3335* cigarettes. My father was in the RAF and he was also in the First World's War, and I also lived in a British ex-service 5 house in Bray in County Wicklow. When I came down from Canada I was working for the Canadian government in a clerical position, I had two daughters and my wife was pregnant for the third, and the clerical job was paying $80 a week and the painting trade was paying $134 a week. So I went to night school and I had some Irish-Scotch 10 Americans, the mother from Glasgow, the father from the north of Ireland. Well, the Finnegan family taught me the greatest apprenticeship that anyone could ever got. I got a great apprenticeship off the Finnegans.

I played a lot of that Gaelic football, the Irish football, for years and I 15 was also a soccer player, and I'd been involved in many, many organisations. As a matter of fact we have a … an Easter Sunday commemoration mass here in the centre that I run on my own every year. And, er, they … the last two years now they done a video tape on it, about a twenty-five minute tribute to the leaders of 1916. That's 20 when, you know, they rose up against England at the encouragement of the Germans. So, the thing was that a lot of people in Ireland during that period, there was a lock-out in Ireland on all factories and firms. They were trying to union organise and they just locked them out. And most of the children at that time had to be sent to England to 25 fellow union members to … to feed them, and keep them, while this happened. The First World's War started in 1914, and, er, England were giving a bonus to, er, anyone that volunteered. And the biggest mistake England made was Lloyd George sending, as they called them, the Black and Tan. They were the veterans of the First World's 30 War who come back where unemployment, the economy was bad, and half of these people ended up in jail. Well, what they did, instead of letting the regular army quell that, they sent these people over in 1920, in a vigilante uniform, as they say it in Ireland.

Notes

1. *First World's War* (l. 4): more usually *First World War*.
2. *could ever got* (l. 12) = *could ever've got*.
3. *off* (l. 13) = Standard English *from*.
4. *they done* (l. 18) = Standard English *did*.
5. *Lloyd George* (l. 28): David Lloyd George was British Prime Minister from 1916 to 1922.

6. *come* (l. 30) = Standard English *came*.

19 Galway

The English of Galway is similar in most respects to that of Dublin, although it has been much less heavily influenced by the English of England, and exhibits more evidence of the effects of the influence of Irish (the Celtic language also known as Gaelic or *Gaelge*), since in western counties of Ireland Irish was widely spoken until relatively recent times.

19.1 /l/ is clear in all positions, for example in *pool* (WL 28), *Field* (l. 3).
19.2 /t/ is frequently **fricated** in syllable-final position, for example *pet*, *pat*, *put* (WL 2, 3, 4), a salient feature of Irish pronunciation that has been labelled the Hiberno-English slit /t/ (Pandeli *et al*. 1997). The speaker in the recording exhibits a very characteristic 'whistled' articulation which can be heard in *pet*, *pot* and *boat* (WL 2, 6, 12). The slit /t/ can often sound very [s]-like, but direct comparison of *hat* and *dance* (WL 21, 22) should serve to demonstrate the clear difference between the two sounds. /d/ is also subject to this process, for example *bird*, *bard*, *board* (WL 16, 17, 18).
19.3 /a/ is pronounced with a noticeably closer vowel – [$\text{æ}_{\downarrow}$] – than that used by the Dublin speaker on the website, for example in *bad* (l. 1), *flax* (l.20), *hat* (WL 21). /ɑː/ is pronounced [aː] and can be quite distinct from /a/ – cf. the vowels of *half* and *father* (WL 24, 25) – but is close to [ɛ] in

some words, for example *arch* (l. 8), *Armagh* (l. 16), *farmhouse* (l.16), *aunt* (l. 17) – see Figure 5.12.

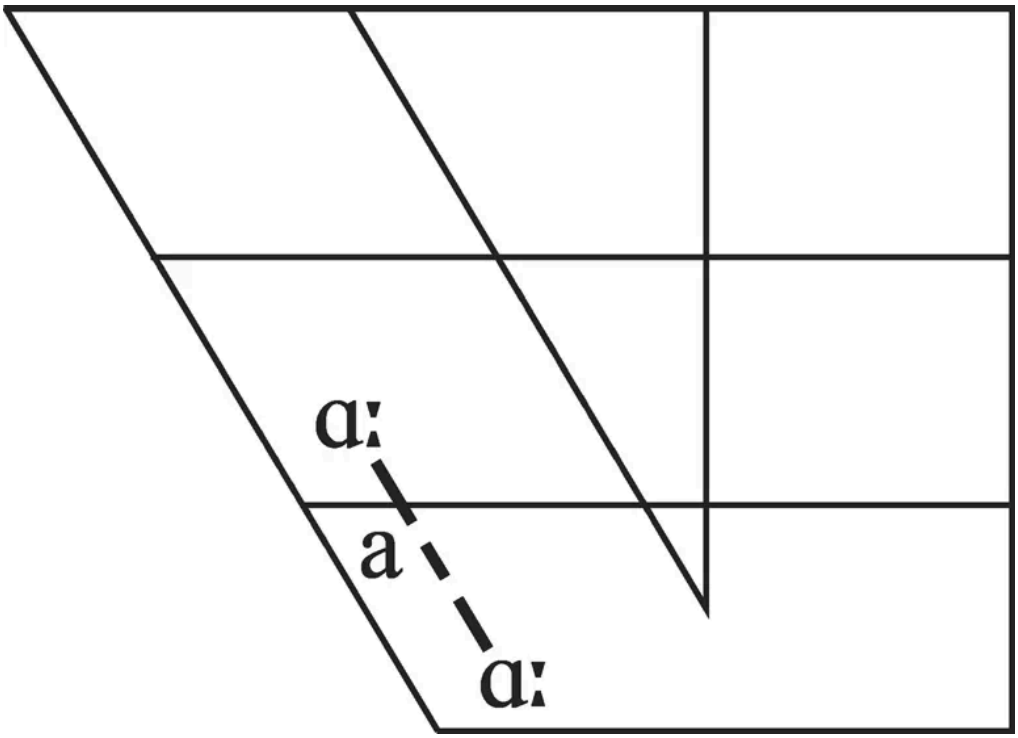
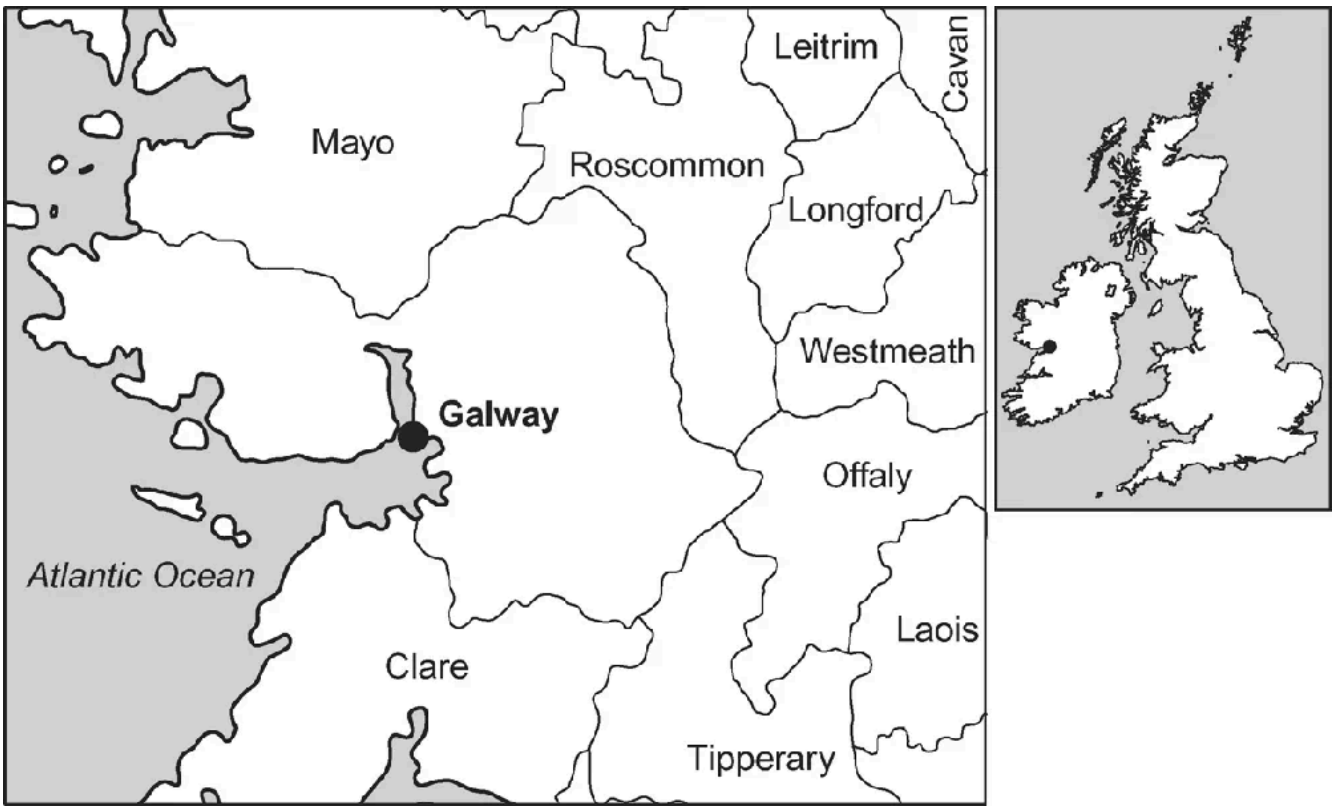


Figure 5.12 Phonetic qualities of certain Galway vowels

19.4 *Horse* is /haɪs/ (ll. 3, 5).

19.5 /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are monophthongs [e̞ː] and [æ̝ː], for example in *race* (l. 2).



Map 5.17 Galway

19.6 There is no distinction between the vowels of *put* and *putt* (WL 4, 5), as both contain /ʊ/, but the words are nonetheless distinct on the wordlist recording by virtue of the fact that the speaker uses very different realisations of /t/ (one fully fricated, the other with a stop + release sequence). Other examples are *months* (l. 12) and *dust* (l. 14), and *coming* (l. 33).

19.7 *-ing* is /ɪn/, e.g. *racing* (l. 3).

The Recording

The speaker is a man in his sixties who has lived all his life in County Galway. He recalls events in the life of his father, who had been a policeman.

But he ha … he had two bad knocks. He had a very bad knock back in 1953 or ’52. They used to race … a race meeting in Clifden, out in Woods’s Field. Pony racing, you know. There was a horse up … while everybody was at the races, anyway, there must have been 5 some kids messing around. But anyway, there was a horse being fed up there, so, er, what they did was tied a big sheet of galvanised onto the tail of the horse, and ran … it might have been tinkers, I don’t know what the hell – and then chased him off down the arch. And my father was on duty at the time. And whatever way he tried to 10 stop the horse with his coa … with his coat. The horse swung around and the sheet of galvanised caught him in the small of his back. And, jeez, he was … he was for months in hospital down here. His back was gone. But anyway, he res … resumed duty again, anyway. He got … he got an old medal for that. And no dust. All they had was 15 bills.

[talks of visiting relatives in Northern Ireland as a child]

Up in Armagh. Yeah, jeez, we loved it. Big farmhouse, you know. And then, let’s say, my aunt had another big farm up behind us. And, you know, you used to run up the fields, you know, we’d be with the cattle, and killing pigs, and what not. And then there used to be 20 thrashing – you know, cutting the the flax. Flax was a big thing at that time, back in the Fif … Forties and the Fifties and the Sixties. I must tell you a good one now, and … My … my father, even though he was a sergeant in the Guards, we … we … we went from Clifden one time, to … to, er, the North. Three of us. So the youngest, Brian, 25 stayed at home with mother. So it was a TD in Clifden, *Fine Gael* TD, he said he’d bring us to the station in … in Dublin. So anyway, the three of us are in the back of the car. Before we were leaving, anyway, my father, he made us a big box of

sandwiches, you know. And he says 'Don't eat them all now,' he says, 'because there's, er … there's two big 30 salmon in the bottom of the box to bring up to the uncles.' And, like, it was a long day going up to Dublin and then up to … up to Newry, and that time you'd stop at the … at the border, and the RIC used to come in, the Special Branch coming in and checking who you are and had you any guns, or anything like that, because there was a lot of 35 trouble up there, even that … that time. But it … we were oblivious to all that, you never … but we had the big box of sandwiches, we only ate a few of them. But as it transpired, anyway, we … we had to hand over the box of sandwiches as a … there was three bottles of poteen under the sandwiches [laughter] that he'd sent up to Peter and Patrick 40 and the boys.

[asked if life was easier for children at the time under discussion]

Ar, it was. There was always an old few bob. Even when we were in … reared back in Invern, like, you know, we'd be out in the curraghs, out fishing and everything like that, with the neigh … the neighbours and everything, and, jeez, it was a fantastic life.

Notes

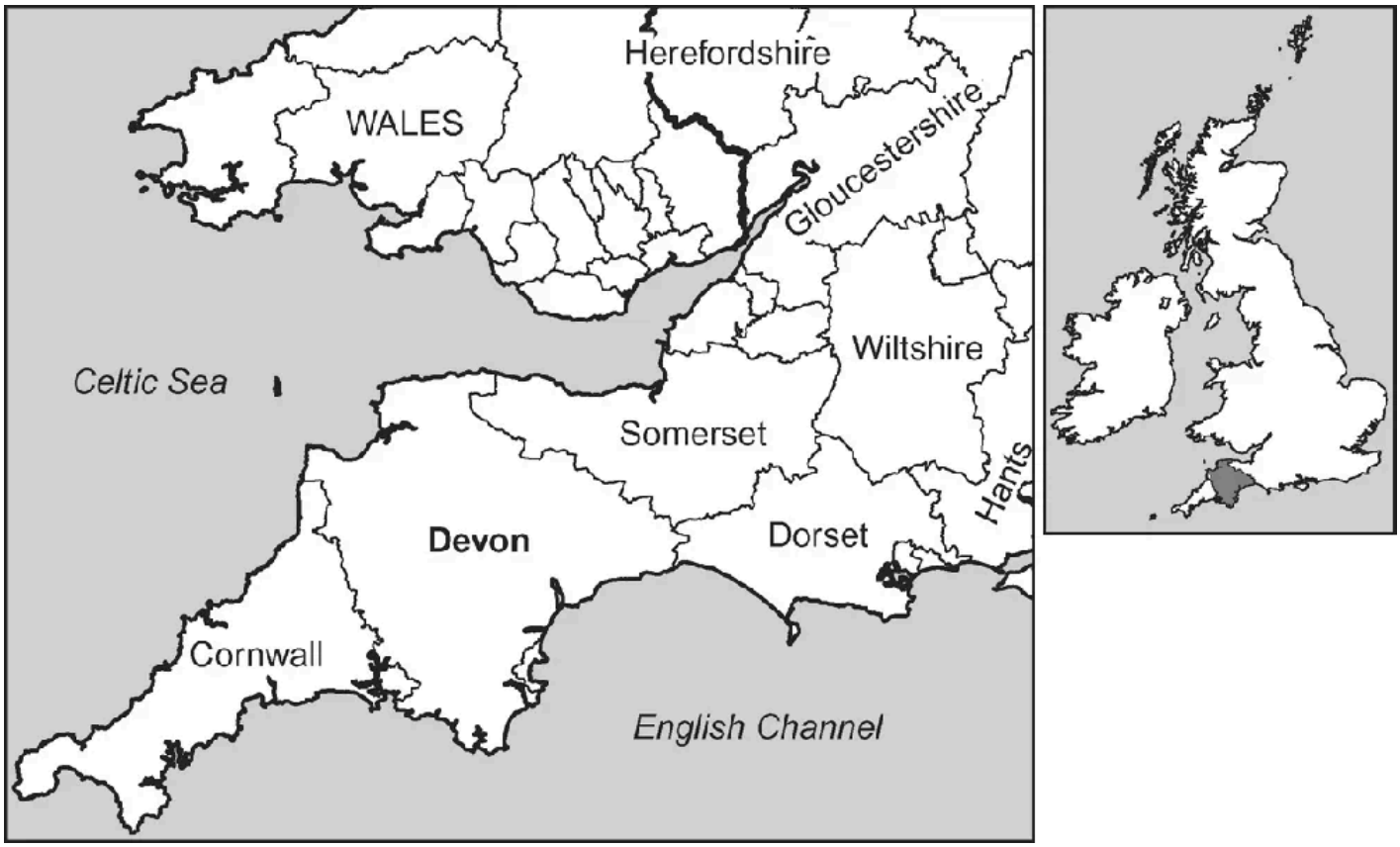
1. *bob* (l. 41) = a shilling, in pre-decimal currency. It is not confined to Ireland (it is used by the Liverpool speaker on the website, for instance).
2. *curraghs* (l. 42) or *currachs* = small boats made on a frame of wickerwork (cf. *coracle*).
3. *Fine Gael* (l. 25, Irish 'tribe of the Gaels') = Ireland's largest political party.

4. *galvanised* (l. 6) = a sheet of zinc-coated iron.
5. *jeez* (l. 16) = a mild religious oath (shortening of *Jesus*).
6. *poteen* (l. 38) (Irish *poitín*, 'little pot') = Irish whiskey, often distilled illicitly.
7. *RIC* (l. 32) = *Royal Irish Constabulary*.
8. *TD* (l. 25) stands for *Teachta Dála* (Irish 'deputy of the *Dáil*', the *Dáil* being the lower chamber of the Irish parliament), a role equivalent to that of MP (Member of Parliament) in the UK.
9. *tinkers* (l. 7) can refer to itinerant craftsmen, but here probably means Romani or travelling people more generally.

20 Devon

We conclude this section of the book with an examination of five traditional dialects of English which are very different from Standard English and RP (see page 34). Varieties of this type are perhaps less likely to be encountered by non-native learners, but they are nevertheless of considerable interest.

The first traditional dialect is that of a rural area of Devon, in the southwest of England. The accent of this area is reasonably similar to that of Bristol, but there are some very clear differences.



Map 5.18 Devon

20.1 Devon lacks long mid diphthonging, so that /eɪ/ is [eː], e.g. *face* (l. 2), and /əʊ/ is [oː] or [uː], for example *local* (l. 3).

20.2 /uː/ is a front vowel approaching [yː], for example *improve* (l. 46).

20.3 At the beginning of words, /f θ s ʃ/ may be /v ð z ʒ/, for example *zy* /zaɪ/ (l. 17), *see* /ziː/ (l. 22), *thing* /ðɪŋ/ (l. 37).

20.4 As far as grammar is concerned, the following can be noted:

a. The present tense of **be** is *be* for all persons (see page 36), for example *ponies be* (l. 28).

b. *isn't* and *wasn't* are pronounced *idden* [ɪˈdən] and *wadden* [ˈwɒdən], for example *isn't* (l. 14).

c. The pronoun system is as discussed in Chapter 2, page 35. *He* is used for count nouns, including female animals: *he's a yow* (l. 9), *he got* (l. 5). The object form of *he* is *en*, as in *when you see en* (l. 22). Object forms may be used where subject forms would be expected: *us would call em* (l. 1–2), *whadd em* [= *what do they*] (l. 36). Subject forms may be used where object forms would be expected: *from they* (l. 33).

d. *seed* = Standard English *saw* (l. 19); *tis* = *it's* (l. 29).

The Recording

The speaker on the recording is a farmer in his fifties, talking about various aspects of farming and rural life.

> Well now, there's some Scotch blackface sheep, that is. Us would call em possibly yows, or a ram, but that's Scotch blackface. That idden a local breeds. No. Now the local breeds, you see, there was the Widecombe whiteface. Now, Widecombe whiteface was a, is a curly- 5 coated sheep and he, he got, erm, he got horns, the ram carries horns, but the yow don't, and that was very much a local breed that was sold here at, er, Widecombe Fair each year. Then there's the greyface Dartmoor. Now, the greyface Dartmoor haven't got no horns, whether he's a ram, or whether he's a yow, a bigger sheep than the whiteface, 10 still big heavy curly coat, something like a Devon longwool, but this was brought in, these here Scotch sheep was brought down to, to Dartmoor … oh beggar … oh back, fifty years ago, I suppose or something as old as that. So, then, very much a breed here on the moors now. And there's a lot of fuzz there in the pictures, idden there? 15 Lot of fuzz, idden it? Eh? Yeah …

Beggar me, there idden a lot of grass there … ain't enough grass to starve a rabbit, look like it! That's a zy, yeah, now that's a zy, and the interesting thing is that that is a manufactured snead. Now all zies got a snead. Snead's the handle! Snead's the handle. And years ago you used to cut a snead if you seed 20 the right-sized, the right-shaped stick, you see, and there is a Devonshire saying is 'when is the right time to cut a shovel-stick?' And the answer is 'when you see en!' So, so, you, it's the same with a snead. He got to have a right … he got to have the right curve in it, see. No, no, generally halse, generally halse or ash, generally. Yeah, I 25 should think that's ash, but generally halse or ash. Because it tends to grow, but the right way with not too many natches in it. You don't want too many natches in it.

No, proper Dartmoor ponies be either a nice sort of dark, bit darker than chestnut, see, or black, but this here stuff, see, tis, that idden, 30 erm, that idden proper Dartmoor ponies. [indistinct] The National Park, they've got a sort of scheme going now, I believe, that with a little bit of sort of encouragement, trying to keep … keep people to sort of stop breeding from they, see, but breed from the proper Dartmoor ponies, and … and the Dartmoor ponies be hardier than 35 those ponies, see, and that's why years ago you didn't get half the trouble with these here Dartmoor – erm, whadd em call em? – erm, the Pony Protection Society, and that sort of thing, kicking up a shindig about the fact that the ponies be up a-starving on the moor, because the true Dartmoor pony, he was hardy, hardy, see? He could 40 weather the weather. And us used to get worse winters then than us do now, but he would, he would bide up on the moors. And he'd … he'd dig away the snow, see, and get at the fuzz bushes and the heather and eat grass in under the fuzz bushes and he'd live happy, happy as glory. And then, course,

when it got that the riding ponies was all 45the craze, they started breeding in this sort of stuff and trying to sort of improve em a bit. You get piebalds, cos they like … the kiddies like the piebalds, and the screwballs, and that sort of … but, no, that's ponies, yeah.

Notes

1. *yows* (l. 2) = *ewes*.
2. *fuzz* (l. 14) = *furze* (*gorse*).
3. *zy* (l. 17) = *scythe*.
4. *halse* (l. 24) = *hazel*.
5. *natch* (l. 26) = *notch*.
6. *shindig* (l. 38) = *fuss*.
7. *bide* (l. 41) = *stay*.

21 Lancashire

While the accents of Lancashire are in the main fairly similar to some already described in this book (specifically, those of Yorkshire, Manchester and Carlisle) the accent chosen for this entry differs from most others spoken in England by virtue of it being strongly rhotic. This feature is localised in the county to a small area to the north and east of Manchester, which includes towns such as Accrington and Rochdale; Wells (1970) extends this zone northward as far as Blackpool and Preston, and to the south as far as Oldham, on the outskirts of Manchester. Manchester and Liverpool English are categorically non-rhotic, and in the north-west of England post-vocalic /ɹ/ is not encountered again until one

is close to the Scottish border (see Section 14 on Carlisle English, and Barras 2010).

21.1 /ɹ/ in this variety is mostly [ɹ], but can be retroflex [ɻ] in heavily stressed syllables (WL 14–18, 25, 26, 34–37, 42–44; *were*, l. 1; *here*, l. 2; *slipper*, l. 2; *fair*, l. 3, etc.). Intrusive /ɹ/ is, contrary to the normal pattern for speakers of rhotic accents, attested for rhotic Lancashire speakers (Barras 2010), and hyperdialectally rhotic forms such as *lager* [ˈlaɹgəˠ] and *sauce* [sɔɹs] are reported to occur in Accrington by Vivian (2000, cited in Britain 2009).
21.2 /l/ is dark in all positions (e.g. *left*, l. 1; WL 27–31), and may be vocalised in syllable codas (*well* l. 1; *people*, l. 2; *wheels*, l. 18; *world*, l. 60).
21.3 /h/ is dropped in the great majority of cases (e.g. *hard*, l. 7; *happened*, l.13; *hopeless*, l. 23; it is dropped even in *hat* (WL 21) and *half* (WL 24) in the wordlist reading). Note that because /h/ is absent in the phrase *an hoist boy* (l. 33), the indefinite article used here is *an*.
21.4 /j/ is dropped after /n/ in *knew* (l. 4) and *Newchurch* (l. 13), but not in, for example, *spewed-out* (l. 19).
21.5 /t/ is frequently glottalled (*get them*, l. 7; *cotton*, l. 11; *lot of*, l. 44). It may also be flapped, for example in *what happened* (l. 13), *bad at it* (l. 33–34), *but he* (l. 41), etc.
21.6 /ŋ/ is frequently [n] (*boring*, l. 34; *fascinating*, l. 35).
21.7 Being a northern variety, Lancashire English patterns with Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, Hull and so on, in lacking an /ʌ/ phoneme distinct from /ʊ/ (WL 4, 5; *just*, l. 4), and in terms

of the lexical distribution of /a/ and /ɑː/ (WL 22, 23; *after*, l. 10). As in other northern varieties described in this book, /ɑː/ is a fully front [aː] which differs from short /a/ in length more than quality (WL 24; note that *father*, WL 25, has short /a/ rather than /ɑː/). /ɑː/ is [aː] even when it occurs before [ɹ], which tends to cause the preceding vowel to retract somewhat in some rhotic varieties. Examples are *farther* (WL 26), *cartons* (ll. 50, 51) and *hard* (l. 59).

21.8 As in Manchester, the final vowel of *city*, *seedy*, and so on, is short and lax, and varies between [ɪ] and [ɛ] (WL 19, 20; *factory*, l. 2; *valley*, l. 9; *Charlie*, l. 37; *permanently*, l. 41).

21.9 /uː/ is fronted and diphthongal [ʊ̟ʉ] (WL 11, 28); *Boot*, l. 13; *Shoe*, l. 14). *Books* (l. 43) has /ʊ/ rather than /uː/.

21.10 Vowel shortening can also be heard in /ɜː/ items such as *first* (l. 13), though this effect is offset by the presence of the post-vocalic /ɹ/. It is more noticeable in non-rhotic Lancashire English, in which *work* may be [wək], for example.

21.11 /eɪ/ is an open-mid monophthong [ɛː] (WL 8, 40; the vowel in the latter word is also somewhat centralised, perhaps because of the adjacent dark [ɫ]; *made*, l. 15; *away*, l. 25; *wage*, l. 31). *Weight* (WL 41), with the diphthong [ɛi], does not rhyme with *plate* (WL 40; ditto, *eighty* and *straight*, both l. 1). *Take* and *make* may have a short [ɛ] (*take*, l. 21). In parallel with /eɪ/, /əʊ/ is generally [ɔː] (e.g. *most*, l. 2; *sole*, l. 20; WL 38, 39). *Boat* (WL 12) is very like RP *bought*; *pole* (WL 29) is distinct from *Paul* (WL 30) in this variety in that the vowel of the latter is a more open [ɑ̟ː]. It in turn contrasts with the vowel of *doll*

(WL 31) by virtue of its length, as is also the case for *cot* and *caught* (WL 32, 33).

21.12 In /aɪ/, a short lax offglide is dominated by a long nucleus [ɐː'], particularly before voiced consonants (WL 9, 46, 47; *five*, l. 1; *right*, l. 8; *time*, l. 8).

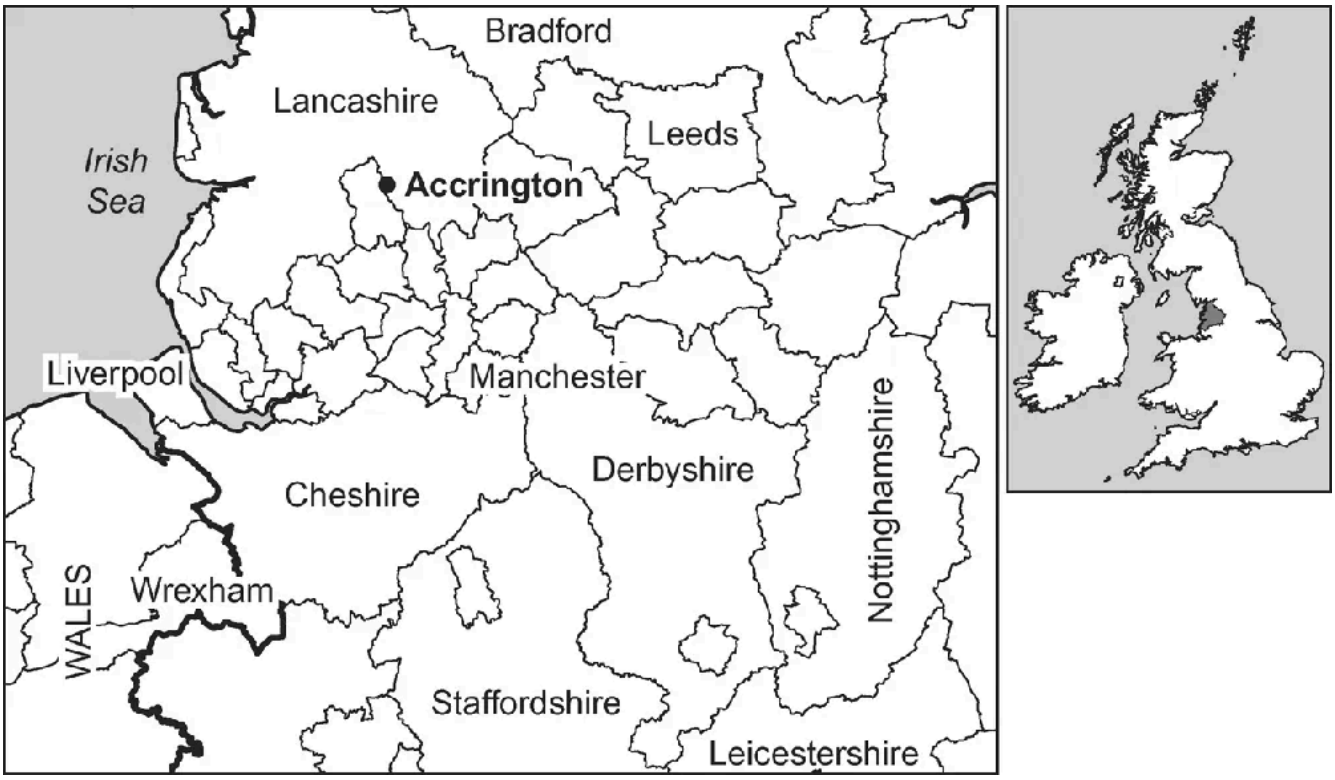
21.13 The nucleus and glide of the /aʊ/ diphthong are both fronted, [æʉ] (WL 13; *down-time*, l. 44; *nowt*, l. 45).

21.14 The vowel of unstressed *-ed* and *-es* suffixes is /ə/ rather than /ɪ/ (e.g. *Limited*, l. 14).

21.15 Secondary contraction of *-n't* forms is common, such as *couldn't* [kʰʊnʔ] (l. 4), *didn't* [dɪnʔ] (l. 5).

21.16 'Yorkshire devoicing', that is devoicing of voiced consonants preceding voiceless ones, as in Bradford (page 105), occurs sporadically in the sample, for example *need qualifications*, l. 6; *filled cartons*, l. 53. It is possible that 'the' has been elided between these words via Definite Article Reduction. See page 107).

21.17 The dentalisation of alveolar consonants in the sample of spontaneous speech is probably idiosyncratic to this particular speaker.



Map 5.19 Lancashire

The Recording

The speaker is a man in his forties from Rawtenstall, a mill town in the Rossendale valley between Accrington and Rochdale. The wordlist speaker, a different person, has the same demographic profile.

> Well, I left school when I were sixteen. It were 1985, and I went straight into the slipper factory, along with most of the other people round here. We were… people did tell us, to be fair to them, to get qualifications, but you just couldn't see the relevance to them. You knew you were 5 probably going to be working in a slipper factory, and you didn't need qualifications for that, so it didn't seem… there didn't seem much of a point, you know, working hard at school and

trying to get them. At that time there were thousands of jobs in slipper factories as… right across the valley, and there were still about a dozen big s… big mills 10 left, er, that did them. **[coughs]** For some reason after the… I think it were after the Second World War, all the cotton-weaving sheds round here converted into slipper factories. I don't know why slipper factories, but that's what happened. So… first job I got were at Newchurch Boot and Shoe Company Limited, even though they didn't make boots or 15 shoes, they only made slippers. And I were the hoist boy, and… and that meant these racks, which were about six foot by six foot by two foot, and they were shelves full of slippers, and these racks were on wheels. Er, they used to come down to me from, er, some people who'd… who'd had to cut a little bit of spewed-out rubber off the front 20 and the back of the sole, and they brought the racks down to me, and then I had to take them up in a hoist to the third floor, to the checkers, and then after they'd been checked I had to take them down to the second floor to the packers. And I were pretty hopeless at that job, and there were always a gridlock at the bottom of the hoist. There were 25 always somebody shouting for me to come and clear it away.

Er, everything in them factories were piecework, er, which meant you got paid for what you did. Er… all… everything went in dozens, so there'd be a… a dozen uppers, you know, the top half of the slippers, working its way round the factory, and everybody who did summat to 30 that dozen took a ticket off. And that ticket were their wage, and at the end of the week they handed that in, and that's what they got paid on. Er… so tickets were currency in that respect. After I'd been an hoist boy for a while, probably to get me out of the way of it, because I were bad at it, I were made into a packer. And it sounds like a really boring place 35 to be, but it were

a… a fascinating place to work. There were four old blokes used to work there, and one of them took me under his wing. Charlie. He used to… he'd w… his wife had died, and after work every day he used to go straight to the pub, and from the pub he used to go straight to the Social Club where he were on the committee, and he'd 40 stay there till one, two o'clock in the morning, go to bed and then come in the next morning. And he… he stunk of ale permanently, but he were a lovely fellow, and I think he tried to, er, to take me under his wing, and tried to educate me a bit. He used to give me a lot of books, because we had a lot of down-time sometimes in packing. When the orders were 45 a bit slow you might have nowt to do, sometimes for days on end. So we used to read books and things like that. I hadn't been much of a book reader up till then, really. Er, another funny thing in… with them packers – they were all funny characters. You weren't allowed to have a calculator, and there were really complicated formulas you had to do to 50 work out, er, you know, how many cartons had gone in, er, how many boxes had gone in cartons that'd make up an order. Er… but you just had to fill it all out in pencil on this form, and… and also the way you put, the way you filled cartons were complicated. There were about ten carton sizes and about six shoe sizes, and they all had different combinations to 55fill them up. The cartons would be about three foot by four foot by five foot, something like that, and you had to know, er, if it were a size X carton, you had to know how many sixes and sevens boxes you could get in it, and… and how they stacked, whether they went endways, widthways, so it… it were… it were hard. Er, it were a complicated 60 place to work. We sent slippers all over the world at that time, unbelievably. We used to send them to India, Iran, everywhere. In fact, we had to re-do an order once, cos a ship sank,

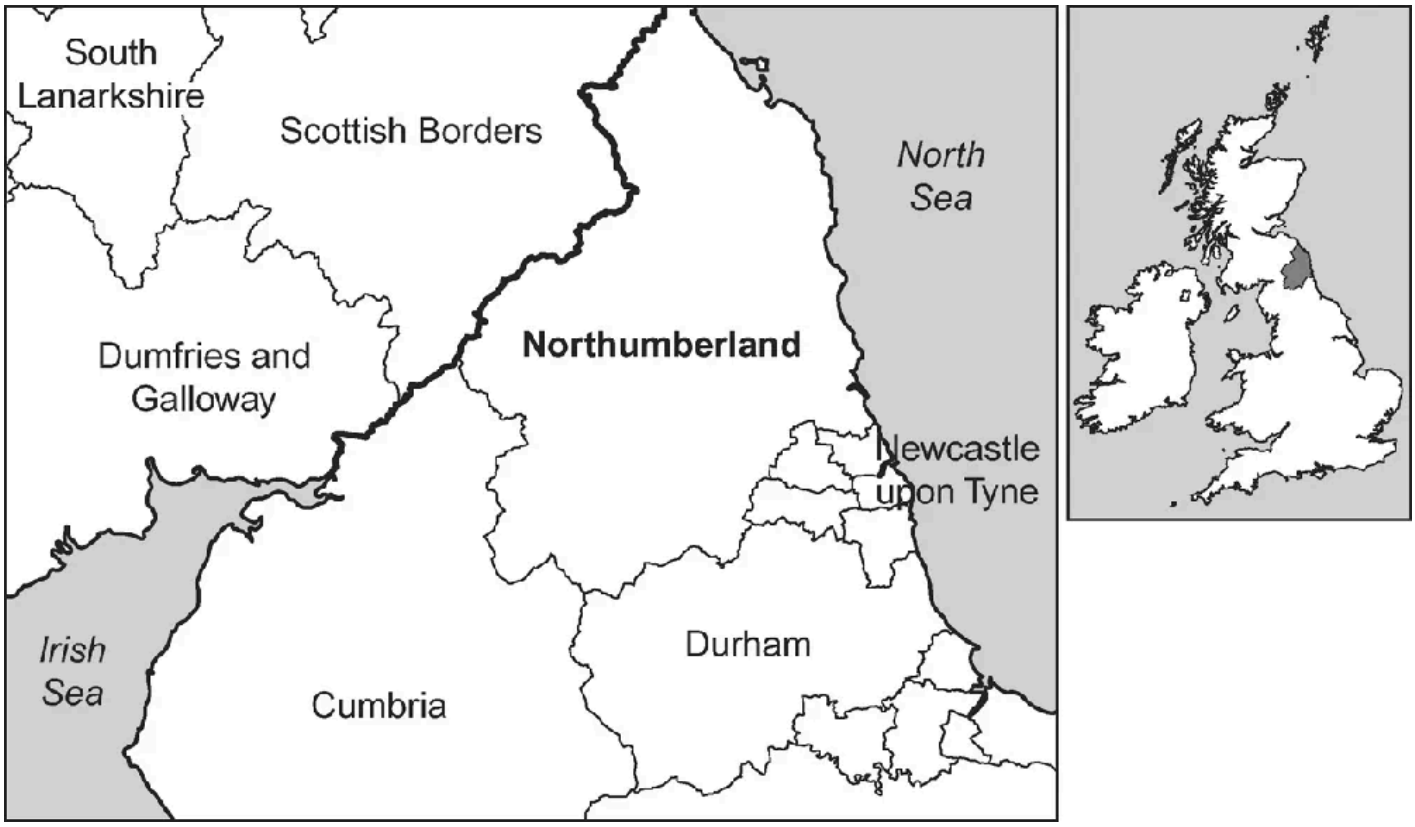
er, with the order in. We had to do it again. That's what they told us, anyway.

Notes

1. The use of *were* where Standard English has *was* is very common throughout northern England. The speaker in the recording is a very consistent *were* user; *was* does not occur even once in the above extract. See Tagliamonte (1998); Beal (2008b).
2. Definite Article Reduction (DAR), whereby the definite article 'the' is reduced to a consonant such as [t] or [?], or omitted altogether, is common throughout much of the north of England but is more frequent in this sample than in any other recording accompanying this book. See further Jones (2002), Lodge (2010).
3. *Six foot* (l. 16). As noted on page 33, this is one of a set of nouns for which even in Standard English it is not obligatory to use the plural form.
4. *Them factories* (l. 26) = those factories. See pages 32–33.
5. *Summat* (l. 29) = something.
6. *Blokes* (l. 36) = informal equivalent of 'men'.
7. *Stunk* (l. 41) = stank (see pages 27–28).
8. *Down-time* (l. 44) = idle time.
9. *Nowt* (l. 45) = nothing.

22 Northumberland

The speech of Northumberland is represented here by a traditional dialect speaker from Tyneside, the urban area which dominates this region. Northumbrian speech is similar in several respects to that of Scotland, owing both to the common ancestry of Northumbrian and Scottish dialects, and to prolonged cross-border contact between southern Scots and Northumbrians (Beal 1993, 2008a). Traditional Tyneside speech is known as ‘Geordie’, as are inhabitants of the Tyneside conurbation. The reason this nickname is applied to Tynesiders and Tyneside speech is not certain, but Geordie is a diminutive form of the name George in northern England and in Scotland, so it is probable that it has come to be attached to Tynesiders in the same way that ‘Jock’ (= Jack) is a nickname for anyone from Scotland, or ‘Paddy’ (= Patrick) for an Irish person.



Map 5.20 Northumberland

22.1

a. As in other northern English (but not Scottish) accents, pairs of words like *put* and *putt* are not distinguished, /ʊ/ occurring in both (see pages 59–60).

b. The final vowel in words like *city* and *seedy* is /i/; see page 62.

c. As has been seen, /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are wide diphthongs in the south of England, narrow diphthongs further north, and monophthongs in northern Lancashire and Yorkshire. On Tyneside they may be either close-mid monophthongs [eː] and [oː], or centring diphthongs, [ɪə] and [ʊə]. But notice that *roll* (l. 61) has [ou]. Closing diphthongs of this sort are

increasingly common among middle-class Tyneside speakers (Watt 2000, 2002).

22.2

a. Again as in other northern accents, words like *dance* and *daft* have /a/ (WL 22, 23).
b. Words like *farm* and *car* have /ɑː/. This vowel may often be slightly rounded, or even [ɒː].
c. Words which have /ɔː/ in RP are divided into two sets in traditional Tyneside speech:
    i. Those which have *-al-* in the spelling have /aː/, for example *talking* (l. 59), *all* (l. 56).
    ii. Those which do not have *-al-* in the spelling have /ɔː/, as in RP (WL 18, 33, 44, 45; *morning* (l. 18)).
d. Words which have /ɜː/ in RP have /ɔː/ in a broad Tyneside accent. Thus *first* (l. 11) and *shirt* (l. 34) are /fɔːst/ and /ʃɔːt/, and therefore homonyms of *forced* and *short*. This feature – the result of a backing process termed **burr retraction** (see 22.11, below) – is becoming less frequent in Tyneside speech, however (Watt 2002; Maguire 2008). Jokes based on the lexical distribution of these vowels include the story of the Geordie with a bad leg who, after the doctor has bandaged it and asked him if he can now walk, retorts, 'Walk? Ah can hordly waak!' (i.e. 'Work? I can hardly walk!') By comparison with RP, then, the traditional accent of Tyneside lacks one vowel, /ɜː/, but has one extra, /aː/.

22.3

a. Wordfinal *-er(s)* or *-or*(*s*) is [ɐ(z)] (*tanner*, l. 5).

b. /ɪə/ is [iɐ] (WL 14; *here* (l. 3)).

c. /ʊə/ is [uɐ] (WL 42).

22.4 /aɪ/ is usually [ɛi] (e.g. *right* (l. 48)) but before certain voiced consonants, for example /v ð z/, it is [ai]. Thus *knife* has [ɛi] but *knives* [ai]. This is very similar to the effect of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (see pages 127–130) on the /aɪ/ diphthong in Scottish English. See further Milroy (1995), Llamas *et al.* (2011).

22.5 /l/ is clear in all environments (WL 27–31).

22.6 /h/ is generally present. As mentioned on page 67, Tyneside English is the only urban variety of British English to retain /h/ consistently.

22.7 *-ing* is /ɪn/ (*shilling*, l. 2).

22.8 Between vowels, /p t k/ are usually glottalised. *City* may be transcribed [ˈsɪt͡ʔi] or [ˈsɪ̰di], where the /t/ is produced with (creaky) voicing throughout its length; *happy* (l. 30) is [ˈhap͡ʔi] (see page 68).

22.9

a. Just as in Scottish English, words which in RP have /aʊ/ may in Tyneside English have /uː/, for example *about* (l. 4), *out* (l. 7).

b.

i. *Knows* is [naːz] (see l. 33 for contrast with *nose*).

ii. *Was*, when stressed, is [waz], thus rhyming with *as*; *what* is [wat] (rhyming with *that*); *who* (l. 67) is [we].

iii. Again, as in Scottish English, *no*, *do* (l. 29) and *nobody* (l. 67) have [e].

iv. As in Scotland, Tyneside pronunciations of *wrong* and *long* may have /a/ rather than /ɒ/, for example *long* (l. 61) is /laŋ/.

v. *Father* (l. 68) is [ˈfaðɐ].

22.10 *Yourself* (l. 9) is [jəˈsɛl].

22.11 In parts of Northumberland and Durham /ɹ/ may be the uvular fricative [ʁ]. The production of the sound involves the back of the tongue and the uvula, as per French or German, rather than the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge as per [ɹ] or [ɾ]. The recorded speaker's /ɹ/ is variable. An example of uvular [ʁ] is found in *remember* (l. 4) (see page 66) or *Durham* (l. 39). This feature, known as the **Northumberland burr**, is now recessive except among older people in rural areas of Northumberland, and is now virtually never heard in urban Tyneside; Beal (2008a) claims it to be little more than a 'party trick' in contemporary speech.

The Recording

The speaker is a man of about 50 who has lived almost all of his life in and around Newcastle. He reminisces about the old days.

> I'll tell you what, I often tell it at work. You know, they'd say to you, 'Hey, Jimmy, lend us a shilling, man'. 'What?' 'Lend us a shilling.' And I'd say to them, 'Come here a minute, I'll tell you.' I says, 'I can remember when I used to shove a bairn about in a pram for a tanner 5 a week. Lot of money, a tanner then a week.' And I says,

‘I’ve been pushed for money ever since!’ So they divven’t come back. Put them out the road. Wey lad, get away, go on. ‘Aye,’ he says, ‘for a tanner. By, you can do a lot with a tanner. You can gan to the pictures, get yourself a penny fish and a haiporth of chips, by God, yeah, and 10 maybes a packet of Woodbines for tuppence, and a match in, for to get your first smoke.’ Bah! I once ge … remember getting some Cock Robins … they cock-robinned me, I’ll tell you. I was at Newburn Bridge … that’s it, you can see Newburn, it’s across there. And I was smoking away, faking, you know, instead of just going [smacks lips] 15 … swallowing down, you know, I was sick and turned dizzy. [laughter] I didn’t know what hit us with these Cock Robins. Bah, but they were good ones.

This old woman says to me one morning, ‘Sonny.’ Sonny? Why, you never said ‘sonny’ them days, you know. She says, ‘Would you like to 20 run a message for Mr. Penn and for me?’ I says, ‘Yes, I will do.’ She says, ‘Go up to the shop and get him an ounce of tobacco.’ ‘Oh,’ I says, ‘thank you very much.’ So I gans twaddling up the shop. When I gans back she give us thruppence – mind thruppence, you know, that’s about forty … forty-two year ago, you know, Reg. Thruppence then 25 was a lot of money. I was there every day knocking at the door to see if she wanted any more messages! [laughter] Aye, thruppence. ‘Wey lad, aye, I’m getting thruppence off that woman.’ ‘What for?’ ‘Wey, getting some baccy.’ Wey, lad … Thruppence? What a lot of money that was. Oh dear me, oh, we used to do such things then, y …

30 We used to do some queer things then, but we were happy, man. Aye, we were happy. Once a rag man says to me, ‘Hey, sonny!’ ‘What?’ He 35 says, ‘Your hanky’s hanging out.’ Hanky? Wey, you never had a hanky then. You used to wipe your nose like that, you

know. It was my shirt-tail hanging out of a hole in my pants! [laughter] 'Aye,' he says, 'your hanky's hanging out.' Wey, you never had a hanky then. Bah! You used to gan to school. They used to line you up at school there. 'You want a pair of shoes, I think. You want a pair of shoes.' Wey, you never seen them, you know, it was just a day out from Durham County for somebody [indistinct] road. Them were the days, 40 huh.

Then I went from there … and there's a house up there just beside those two wireless poles. I went from there to there, and then I went and got married, and I went and lived there with Florrie, and, er, I was like a bit gypsy. I was in Blaydon first, and Greenside I was, in 45 Blaydon and Greenside. That's what the doctor says. He says, 'Jimmy, you've a little bit gypsy in you,' he says, 'we divven't know where you live.' Then I shifted from there to Crawcrook and from Crawcrook to Blaydon. Aye, that's right, aye. We sold the house at Crawcrook and I went to Coventry, and when I come back I stopped with Florrie, and 50 then I got a council house into here. I've been in here about twelve year, hin. Oh, if I gan out here I gan out with a stick, George, a stick in a big box. That'd not be very long, would it? The box, about five foot ten, that the measurement of us. When I get stiff, when I gan stiff about five foot ten.

55 But you used to get summers, didn't you? Mind, you used to get the winters and all, pet. Oh, dear me, ow the winters. You couldn't stand the winters now. Youse lot couldn't stand it, could they? Course we used to get the grub, you know. There was a fell … there was a fellow at, er … when I'm talking about grub … he used to make leek 60 puddings. You've heard of leek puddings, you know? Right. But he used to make them about a yard lang, see? Put the leek in, and roll the leek up, see, just like, er, a sausage, see? And

this fellow was sitting, Japer Newton they called him, he had about four sons and a lass, like, and he was sitting at the end of the table, like, all sitting with their 65 tongues hanging out, you know, George. He was sitting at the end with a s … a big leek pudding. He says, er, 'Who wants the end?' So nobody spoke, see? So he says again, 'Who wants the end, you buggers!' Ted says, 'I'll have the end, father,' so he cut the bugger in two. [laughter] Aye, he cut it in two, a great big leek pudding about a 70 yard lang, cut it in two! Dear me.

Notes

1. *us* (l. 2) = *me* (also 1. 16).
2. *I says* (l. 3): see page 30.
3. *bairn* (l. 4) = *child*, as in Scotland.
4. *tanner* (l. 5) = six pence, in pre-decimal currency (not limited to Tyneside).
5. *I've been pushed for money* (l. 5–6) = *I've been short of money*.
6. *divven't* (l. 6) = *didn't*, *don't* or *doesn't*.
7. *wey* (l. 7, 26, etc.) = exclamation common on Tyneside (like *why* in other dialects).
8. *gan* (l. 8, 22) = *go*.
9. *haiporth* (l. 9): contraction of *halfpennyworth* (not limited to Tyneside).
10. *maybes* (l. 10): *maybe*.
11. *Woodbines* (l. 10). Formerly a common and inexpensive brand of cigarettes.
12. *for to* (l. 10) = *to* (also found in Scottish and Irish English.)
13. *Bah*! (l. 11) exclamation, not limited to Tyneside.

14. Note the two pronunciations of *sonny* (l. 18), the first being an imitation of the woman's accent, RP or something approaching it, which the speaker clearly thinks was 'posh'.
15. *Them* (l. 19) is used as demonstrative adjective.
16. *give* (l. 23) as past tense of **give** (see page 28).
17. *thruppence* (l. 23) = *three pence* (not limited to Tyneside).
18. *baccy* (l. 28): colloquial form of *tobacco*.
19. *hanky* (l. 32): colloquial form of *handkerchief*.
20. *seen* (l. 38) as past tense of **see** (see page 28).
21. *Durham County* (l. 39) = *Durham County Council*.
22. *them* (l. 39) as demonstrative pronoun (see pages 32–33).
23. *come* (l. 49) as past tense of **come** (see page 28).
24. *twelve year* (l. 50–51) (see page 33).
25. *pet* (l. 56): term of endearment much used on Tyneside. *Hin* (l. 51), short for *hinny* (possibly from honey), has a similar meaning.
26. *youse* (l. 57) = *you* (cf. Liverpool, page 115).
27. *grub* (l. 58): colloquialism for *food*.
28. *lass* (l. 63) = *girl* (used throughout Scotland and northern England).
29. *bugger* (l. 68): term of (often friendly) abuse, common in most parts of Britain, as well as a taboo word. In l. 68 *bugger* also refers to the leek pudding.

23 Lowland Scots

Of all the varieties of English spoken in the British Isles, Lowland Scots – sometimes also known as **Lallans (**from 'lowlands') – is

probably the most unlike Standard English and RP. Note that there is dispute about whether Scots should, or can, be regarded as a variety of English at all (see, for instance, Kay 1993; McClure 1997; Millar 2010). However, we take the position that because even quite a broad variety of Scots will – albeit perhaps with some effort – be intelligible to people from parts of the British Isles outside Scotland, it does not gain us anything by classifying Scots as a language separate from English. Readers might like to see how they fare listening to the sound clips given at www.ayecan.com/; according to this website, if the majority of the language used is intelligible to the listener, that means he or she can understand Scots.

Describing Scots as a dialect of English is problematic in a number of ways, however. Historically speaking, it would be more accurate to say that Scots and English are dialects of a language that is the common ancestor of both, because both derive from a West Germanic dialect that was imported to Britain from northern Germany and Denmark in the mid-fifth century. The history of Scots is just as long as the history of English in these islands, so it would not be accurate to say that Scots is a dialect of English in the sense that it is a later offshoot of English. The clarity of this situation is not helped by the fact that Scots was known as *Inglis* (= English) for several hundred years, so as to differentiate it from Gaelic (or *Irish*, or *Erse*, as it was known). The term *Scottis* took hold in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Jack 1997; Corbett *et al.* 2003), but even today many Scottish people are not

altogether sure what distinction is intended by the use of the term ‘Scots’ versus ‘Scottish English’.

In this section we confine ourselves to the urban varieties spoken in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Rural varieties, which are spoken by a much smaller number of speakers, diverge more markedly from English than urban Lowland Scots does, and they therefore present considerably greater difficulties to foreign learners who might encounter them. Native speakers of English, even from other parts of Scotland, will sometimes have trouble understanding local people in areas like Aberdeenshire if they hear the dialect in the form that locals would use among themselves.

As we have already seen, the vowel systems of all varieties of Scottish English are radically different from those of England (see Section 15). The traditional dialects spoken by urban working-class Lowland Scots speakers in our recordings, however, have the following additional features:

23.1 /ʉ/ may often occur in words which in RP have /aʊ/. *House*, for instance, may be /hʉs/ (alternatively pronounced [hys] or [høs]), and is often written as *hoose* or *hous* in Lowland Scots dialect literature. An example in the recording is *round about* (l. 36)

23.2 Instead of having *coat* /kot/ and *cot ~ caught* /kɔt/, as described in Section 15, working-class Edinburgh and Glasgow speakers may have *coat ~ cot* /kot/ and *caught* /kɔt/. That is, pairs like *socks* and *soaks*, *clock* and *cloak* may be homophones, for example *brought* (l. 33).

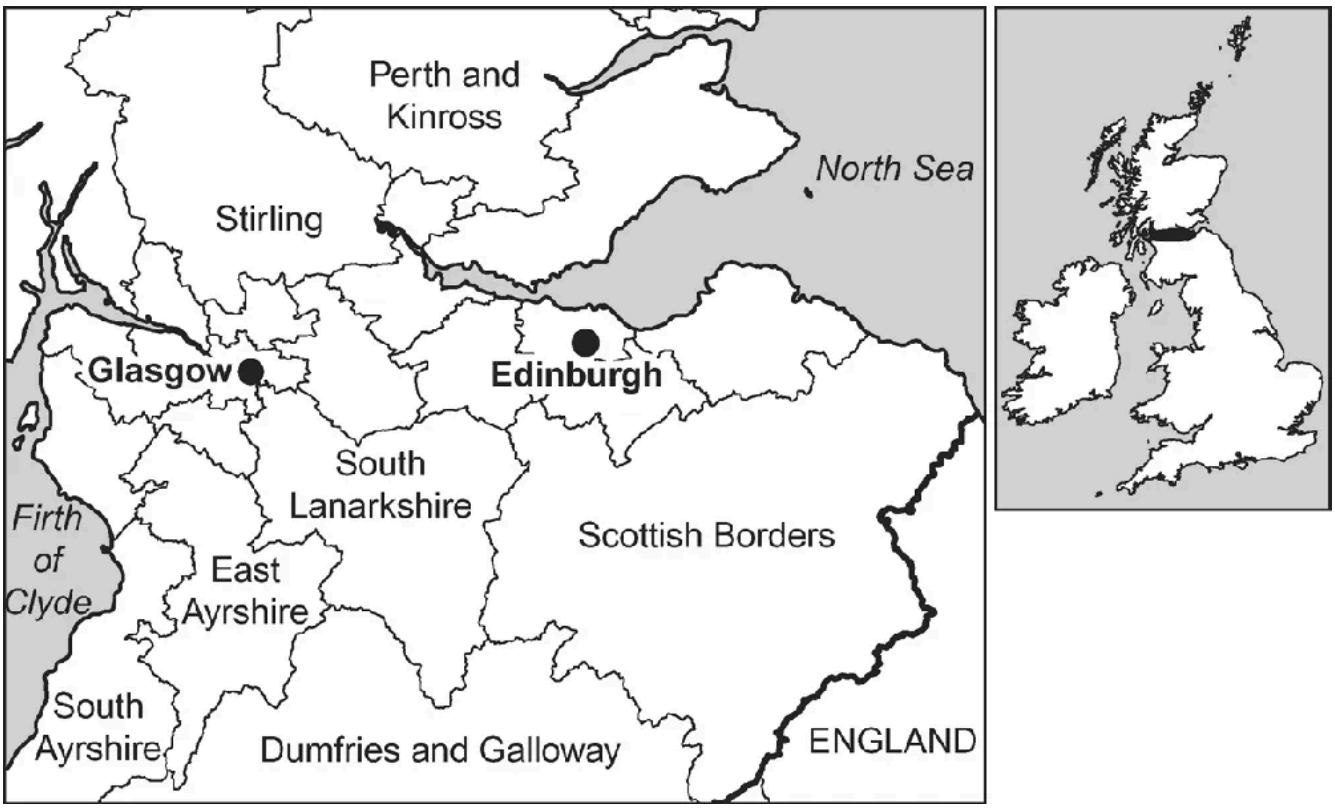
23.3 A number of words which have /əʊ/ in RP and /o/ in Standard Scottish English have /e/ in Lowland Scots. Thus *home* is /hem/, *bone* is /ben/, *stone* is /sten/ and *no* is /ne/. This is often reflected in Lowland Scots dialect writing by spellings such as *hame*, *bane*, *stane*, *nae* and so on. The same vowel also occurs in *do* /de/ and *to* /te/. Examples are *stones* /stenz/ (l. 30) and *no* /ne/ (l. 20).

23.4 Many words containing /a/ in Scottish English may instead have /ɛ/, for example /ɛrm/ *arm* or /grɛs/ *grass*. Examples on the website recording are *harm* (l. 41), *married* (l. 49).

23.5 Words such as *long* and *strong* have /a/ rather than /ɔ/ (cf. Section 22), for example *wrong* /ɹaŋ/.

23.6 In the west of Scotland, including Glasgow, words such as *land* and *hand* can have /ɔ/ rather than /a/, for example *handy* (l. 46).

23.7 Past participles of verbs typically end in /t/ where Standard English would have /d/, for example *married* (l. 49), *feared* (l. 44).



Map 5.21 Lowland Scots

The Recording

There are two speakers on the website. The first is an Edinburgh schoolboy talking about gang fighting. The second is an older Glasgow woman talking about her youth.

There are two speakers on the website. The first is an Edinburgh schoolboy talking about gang fighting. The second is an older Glasgow woman talking about her youth.

Speaker 1

Aw, it's the gangs. They just fight with knives and bottles and big sticks and bricks. Takes place over at the big railway over there. They've got a gang, they call it Young Niddrie Terror. Round here they call it Young Bingham Cumbie, and that's how it starts … they

5 start fighting. And they fight with other yins, they fight with Magdalene. That's away along the main road there. Magdalene's just down that road. And they fight with the Northfields. And they go away on buses, and go to a lot of other places to fight. **[asked how old the gang members are]** Aw … about sixteen and that. **[asked why 10 boys join the gangs]** Don't know. **[asked if gang members live in the speaker's neighbourhood]** Well, there's only one person that lives round here, in this part, and the rest are … some of them live away up the road there, and they're all round the scheme. Aw, there's one of them, like, he … he takes a lot of them on, he's right strong, 15 aye. **[asked if he knows this person's name]** Well, they … they have nicknames. I forget his name but … his nickname but … he is strong. He fights with all these others … he takes about three on at a time. Because he is big … aw, the police come rou … round just … just wh … as it starts. See all the police at night, they're going round 20 the scheme, making sure there's no fights, and all the laddies just run away when they see the police. Th … they run away and hide, till they think it's safe. **[asked if the police always catch the gang members]** Not always. They take them away down to the police station. Well, if there's any serious injuries on anybody they'll get put 25 in the children's home or that. If they're, like, old enough they'll get put there. **[asked if he knows anyone this has happened to]** No. Only one person. That was Billy. He was caught just a couple of nights or so ago. **[asked if any younger boys get involved in gang fighting]** Some of them … Some. Well, they usually … there's wee-er 30 laddies than me that goes round there and start tossing stones at the laddies round there. They usually get their … get battered fae them, if they get caught.

Speaker 2

You don't know the way I was brought up. When I think on it now, I think that it was kind of strict, because, er … it was an awful … oh, 35 a terrible lot of them living yet, and they're in the flats and they're all round about, they've been meeting me with, 'Bella, you never … got doing what we did.' And yet we were happy. We were quite happy in the house with my mother and father. And we were sitting in that room with the wee screens, keeking out at them all playing, in the 40 summer at nine o'clock. We were gone to our bed. Never done us any harm. Now, I think it's right, to be like that. And we'd to ask my father if … if we'd a boyfriend, we'd to ask my father. He would've died. I went with *him* for a year afore we got engaged. And I went for other five year … I was feared to tell my father. My mother said 45 'Belle, you need to tell your father'. I says 'You know what he is.' Cos I was handy, I was the last lassie, you know, and I done everything. She says, 'You'll need to tell him.' I says, 'No.' But Willy's mother … he was, er, the youngest, and, ach, there were years atween the one next to him, they were all married, and she was a widow, and … I 50 think they only got ten shillings then for a widow's pension. Oh, she would be awful old the now. So we just made it up that we would stay single like that the now. 'You help your mother, and I'll help mine.' That the right way? And then he got to know. But my mother saw …

Notes

1. *All* is /a/ (e.g. l. 13).
2. Niddrie, Bingham, Magdalene and Northfields are areas of Edinburgh. A *scheme* (l. 13) is a housing estate (housing scheme).
3. *yins* (l. 5) = *ones*.

right strong (l. 14) = *very strong*.

laddies (l. 20) = *boys*, *youths*.

fae (l. 31) = *from*.

4. *think on* (l. 33) = *think about*.

yet (l. 35) = *still*.

wee (l. 39) = *small* (*wee-er* (l. 29) therefore = *smaller*).

keeking (l. 39) = *peering*.

5. *we were gone to our bed* (l. 40) = *we had gone to bed*.

done (l. 46) = *did*.

we'd to (l. 42) = *we had to*.

feared (l. 44) = *frightened*.

lassie (l. 46) = *girl*.

afore, *atween* (l. 43 and 48) = *before*, *between*.

awful old the now (l. 51) = *very old now*.

24 Shetland Lslands

The phonology of the speech of the Shetlands is, like the samples in the preceding section, very far removed from that of RP. English in Shetland is heavily influenced by the insular Scots dialect of the islands, which in turn has inherited characteristics of 'Norn', a form of Scandinavian that was spoken in the Northern Isles (the Shetland and Orkney Islands) and in Caithness (the far northern tip of the Scottish mainland) while these areas were under Scandinavian rule. The speaker in the recording is from the Isle of Unst, which is the northernmost island of the archipelago and therefore the most distant from centres of outside influence, even within Shetland, and Norn persisted there much longer than

elsewhere in the Northern Isles after the islands were ceded to Scotland. According to Millar (2007: 128), a church minister sent to Unst in the late sixteenth century had first to go to Norway in order to learn the language of his parishioners. Numerous relic forms survive in the lexis of Shetland dialect – among which there are variations from island to island – and it is often remarked that the sound of Shetland speech is akin to that of Norwegian or Faroese. Shetland speech has not been influenced greatly by Scottish Gaelic, a language which was never natively spoken in the islands. See further Melchers (1991) and Barnes (2000).

24.1 The variety is categorically rhotic. /ɹ/ is typically the alveolar tap [ɾ] (e.g. *peerie*, l. 2; *grandsons*, l. 2; *three*, l. 2; *presents*, l. 4), but may be trilled [r] at times (e.g. *Germany*, l. 1; *fruit*, l. 40). Like other voiced consonants, /ɹ/ is generally devoiced in final pre-pausal position, and may also be slightly fricated (e.g. WL 14, 15, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 42–44; *were*, l. 25; *water*, l. 13; *scooter*, l. 54).

24.2 One of the most characteristic features of Shetland speech is the stopping of /θ/ and /ð/ to [t] and [d], respectively. This can be heard in *there* (l. 2), *thinks* (l. 11), *thy* (l. 13), *three* (l. 19), *another* (l. 56). The pronunciation is reflected in local orthography in forms such as *du*, *dee* (‘you’) or *dine* (‘yours’; see Melchers 2008). As in Aberdeen, /ð/ is often dropped in *that*; examples are in *CD that he’s wanting* and *book that goes with it* (both l. 9). The final dental fricative in *with* is also frequently elided (e.g. *with* [wi] in l. 9).

24.3 /l/ is mostly clear (WL 27–31; *well*, l. 1; *little*, l. 40) but may be somewhat darker in coda positions (e.g. *musical*, l. 8).
24.4 /p t k/ are typically not strongly aspirated in initial position (the voice onset time of these plosives is categorised as 'short-lag'; for example *pit*, *put* (WL 1, 4); *painting*, l. 5), and their voiced counterparts are often pre-voiced (*bee*, *bay*, *buy*, *boy*, etc.; WL 7–10; see Scobbie 2006). Heavily aspirated /t/ can by contrast be heard in final position in *pit*, *pet*, *pat* and so on (WL 1–3), and even on word-final /d/ which has been devoiced (*bird*, *bard*, *board*; WL 16–18). /t/ is glottalled in *got a lot* (l. 4), and *yet* (l. 36) is pre-aspirated [ʰt].
24.5 Devoicing of word-final voiced obstruent consonants (plosives, fricatives and affricates) is very common, as suggested by examples cited above and others such as *grandsons*, *is*, *five* (all l. 2), *tooted* (l. 53) and so on. It is not confined just to word-final positions, however; in *just* and *enjoying* (l. 7) /dʒ/ is [tʃ], for instance, and /v/ is [f] in *lovely* (l. 26), notwithstanding the voiced sounds on either side of them.
24.6 /h/ is consistently present, as it is practically everywhere else in Scotland apart from in some coastal areas of the northern mainland (Millar 2007: 61). *It* (l. 45) is [hïʔ].
24.7 The speaker has the labial-velar fricative /ʍ/ in <*wh*>-initial words (e.g. *when*, l. 3; *what*, l. 11; *which*, l. 24), in contrast to /w/. In the first of these examples, /ʍ/ is realised as [xw] – phonetically very close to the [kw] Millar cites for the northern Shetlands (2007: 62) – but it is more often a regular

[ʍ] in the sample. It is difficult to say whether the speaker has the other 'extra' Scottish fricative, /x/, but it seems likely given her generally conservative phonological profile. The sound is not present in *daughter*, as it can be in some Scottish dialects, but it can be heard in the characteristically Scottish exclamation *och* (l. 50).

24.8 The vowel system of Shetland English is not readily distinguished from that of the insular Scots variety spoken there, and major differences in the lexical distribution of phonemes make it troublesome to align either set of phonemic contrasts with that of Standard Scottish English, let alone RP. Reference to the Standard Scottish English phoneme set is used below to avoid further complication. The list of notable vowel qualities listed below is by no means exhaustive; for a properly detailed treatment, the reader should consult Johnston (1997), Millar (2007) or Melchers (2008).

24.9 /ɪ/ is a centralised [ɨ] (WL 1) or a tenser, more peripheral [i] (*city* is [ˈsiti], WL 19; the second vowel of *English*, l. 16, is also [i]). Note that, as in Aberdeen, /i/ before /k/ in some words (*week*, *speak*, etc.) may be [ɪ] (*speak*, l. 16). *Like* may also be found with [ɪ] (l. 47).

24.10 /e/ varies from an RP-like [ɛi] (*bay*, WL 8) to an open-mid value (e.g. *played*, l. 5; *page*, l. 10), the latter of which may be accompanied by a centring offglide [ɛᵊ] (*great*, l. 11). The stressed vowel in *painting* is more open still, at [æᵊ] (ll. 5, 6). *Make* (l. 30; 31) and *take* (l. 34), as in other areas of Scotland and northern England, are [mak] and [tak], while *same* (l. 17)

and *came* (l. 28) share the same open monophthong, albeit a longer one. The vowel of *plate* (WL 40) is [ɪ], but *weight* (WL 41) is [ɛi].

24.11 /ʌʉ/ (WL 13) is often [ʉː] in high-frequency words; examples are *how* (l. 8), *out* (l. 8) and *about* (l. 29).

24.12 *Tide* and *tied* (WL 46, 47) are distinct from one another, the diphthong of the first being fronter and shorter than that of the second, owing to the sensitivity of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (pages 127–130) to the presence of syllable-internal morpheme boundaries. The /ae/ diphthong is [aˑi] (WL 9).

24.13 *Meet* [mit] and *meat* [mɪt] (WL 50, 51) are distinct. The speaker also observes that *mate* (WL 52), which she pronounces [met], can also be [mɪt] (not in the recording).

24.14 /ʌ/ is either [ɒ] (e.g. *putt*, WL 5; *much*, l. 32; *money*, l. 34) or [ʊ] (*son*, l. 1; *just*, l. 7). The first vowel of *brother's* (l. 17) and *another* (l.56) is [ɪ], as per other Scottish varieties.

24.15 /o/ tends to be a back rounded monophthong varying somewhat in height around the open-mid value [ɔː] (WL 29, 38, 39; *sofa*, l. 14; *notes* l. 31; *toast*, l. 41; *open*, l. 48) but may also be a centring diphthong [ɔᵊ] (WL 12; *boat*, l. 12). *Cold* is [kault] (l. 46).

24.16 /ɔ/ is open and variably rounded, that is [ɒː] or [ɑː] (WL 6, 30, 33, 45, 48, 49; *law's*, l. 1) except before /ɹ/ (WL 18, 43, 44). *Daughter* has [oʊ] (l. 1). *Cot* is distinguished by its shorter length from *caught* (WL 32, 33). *Along* has [a] (l. 10), and *doll* is [dʌl] (WL 31).

24.17 /ʉ/ is typically [ʉ] (WL 11, 42), but is [u] before /l/ (WL 28). *Put* (WL 4) has [ə], however, and *pull* (WL 27) is [pʌl], as elsewhere in Scotland and in Northern Ireland.

24.18 <wa>-initial words such as *wanting* (l. 9) and *water* (l. 13) have [a]. This is widespread throughout traditional accents of northern Britain. *One* is either [wan] (l. 5) or [in] (l. 11). *Us* and *our* may be /w/-initial [wɒs] and [wəɾ] (e.g. *us*, l. 33).

24.19 The lexical subclasses within the RP /ɜː/ set are distinct in Shetland speech, as in other Scottish varieties (WL 16, 34–36).

24.20 In common with other Scottish accents, there is only one open vowel phoneme, /a/. However, its quality is variable between a central open monophthong [ɐ] (WL 21–23), which in *half* (WL 24) is slightly lengthened, a fronted and raised [æ] (WL 17, 26; *party*, l. 3), and [ɛ] in certain items (e.g. *glass*, l. 42; this last quality can be heard in this word throughout Scotland). *Had* (ll. 3, 4) – or *haed* – has [ɛ], and *father* (WL 25) has [ɛˈ].

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