STUDIES IN THE PHONOLOGY OF COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH

K.R. Lodge

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Studies in the Phonology of Colloquial English

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To Jackie

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INTRODUCTION

This book has two main aims: one, to try to determine how best to account for both the differences and the similarities of phonological variation in British English within the general framework of native speaker competence; two, to establish a relatively small set of phonological processes to relate different styles of speech within one variety. To these ends I have investigated the speech of a small number of informants from disparate parts of Britain, varying in age and sex. This apparently haphazard choice of informants was determined by two considerations: geographical distance, to ensure that the speech would show up significant differences, and my ability to record informants in as natural a situation as possible, given the constraints of recording on tape. To make this most likely, I arranged recording sessions either with people who knew me well, or involved a good friend of my informant. The technique in the recording sessions was one of inducing natural conversation rather than using a question-and-answer interview structure.

Since I wanted to examine variation in English colloquial speech, the accents chosen were ones which, at least *prima facie*, were not in close contact with one another, and were drawn from different social backgrounds, both urban and rural. Since too my main interest is phonological, rather than sociolinguistic, I have not tried to give comprehensive pictures of the social stratification at each of my chosen localities (as is the case, for example, in Trudgill's study of Norwich, 1974). Nor is it my intention to present representative sketches of all possible varieties of English (as in the case of Wells, 1982). The spread of informants is simply to ensure variability in speech. Although I wish to stress the phonological aims of this book, I shall nonetheless

consider certain problems of variety from a social point of view later in the Introduction.

The decision to investigate natural colloquial language also has two concerns underlying it. If linguists are attempting to establish a model of native speaker competence which is concerned with the regular patterns of speech, then it is only reasonable to test hypotheses on all regular patternings in all types of speech. The emphasis has for a long time been on word- and/or morpheme-based patterns (as exemplified by the pregenerative structuralists, e.g. Hockett, 1958, and Trager and Smith, 1951, and by the dominant TG approach of Chomsky and Halle, 1968), and even those interested in different tempi tend to use one- or two-word examples (e.g. Stampe, 1979). More thorough investigation of what Dressler (1975) calls "allegro rules" is necessary to add to the battery of word-based data already available. This book is a contribution to the presentation and discussion of conversation-based data in the expansion of the model of native speaker competence. It is for this reason, too, that I have presented extracts from my recorded material in fairly narrow transcription, so that any claims I make can be checked by the reader directly (given that my transcription is a reliable representation of the speech).

The second consideration follows from the first: do the phonological processes which are well described in the word-based analyses also occur in continuous conversation? Indeed, to put the question in a more extreme form, are word-boundaries relevant in rapid colloquial speech, where they quite clearly undergo considerable alteration (see, for example, Zwicky's brief discussion of Welsh, 1972)? We need to discover whether or not the phonological processes discernible in rapid speech are fundamentally different from those of slow, careful speech. The main difference may be that in slow speech any processes that occur are for the most part obligatory, whereas in rapid speech they are optional. For example, in all varieties of English *pleasure*, which, we will assume, has an underlying /-zj-/, undergoes a "palatalization" process so that it is pronounced with a medial [ʒ]. On the other hand, *as you* in rapid speech can be pronounced either [əz jə] or [əʒə], although the latter is more likely. This means that we shall have to differentiate between instances where a rule is applied obligatorily and instances where the same rule is applied optionally. This is a topic to which I shall return in the final chapter.

THE TERM "PHONOLOGY"

As can be seen from what has already been said, my general approach to phonology is "generative", that is to say, I am concerned with capturing (part of) the tacit knowledge of the various informants I have recorded with regard to their phonological systems. The knowledge of each idealized speaker/hearer is not necessarily represented by something that resembles formal standard spoken English. I shall discuss the details of the phonological component in the last chapter, when I try to formulate the processes in rule form, but some general considerations can usefully be dealt with here.

For the basic element of phonological description, I shall use the segment without entering into any discussion of other possible alternatives (e.g. the undoubted syntagmatic or "prosodic" nature of certain features of speech, as discussed by Lyons, 1962; Palmer, 1970; Hyman, 1975: 233-38; Goldsmith, 1976a & b; Libermann and Prince, 1977, and others); nor shall I pursue here the notion that segments can be hierarchically modelled, as proposed by dependency phonology (see Anderson and Jones, 1977; Anderson and Ewen, 1980; Ewen, 1980; Lodge, 1981; Anderson, ms). However, in the final chapter I shall consider certain phenomena which suggest that some form of non-linear approach to phonology is appropriate. Throughout the book I shall work with the notion of phonetically based phonological processes as a basic feature of phonological systems (cf. Stampe, 1979). I shall discuss the most common of these in British English in the next section.

Since my main interest is in the phonetically motivated processes, I shall not be concerned with the phonological aspects of morphological alternations of the *serene - serenity* or *electric - electricity* type (cf. Chomsky and Halle, 1968; Fudge, 1969b). However, since this is an important theoretical issue, a brief discussion of it is in order here. In the model proposed in SPE the lexical entries are all morphemes with a single specification of features from which all alternant surface realizations are derived by rules. (These lexical entries are also fully specified in terms of features at the systematic phonemic level, a point I shall return to in the final chapter.) A considerable amount of the argument in favour of this approach revolves round the Latinate vocabulary of English (*serene - serenity*, etc.), but words which enter into other alternations, such as *take - took*, and those which have no alternations, e.g. *fade*, are treated in the same way. Thus, *sane*, *take* and *fade* all have underlying /æ/ as their vowel in the lexical entries. There are two claims made by this approach which need particular

mention: one, that these vowel alternations are part of a native English speaker's competence, and two, they should be handled by phonological process rules. The first claim is difficult to prove or disprove in relation to all speakers of English. It is no doubt true that educated people, who come into contact with Latinate vocabulary a great deal, would consider these alternations to be a productive part of their linguistic system. If they came across a Latinate word previously unknown to them, or were given a made-up one, e.g. *oblatile*, they would be able to provide the appropriate alternant(s), e.g. *oblatility*, in this case with the alternation [aɪ] - [ɪ], as in *divine - divinity*. However, it is much more difficult to make claims of this sort for less sophisticated speakers of English, who may well come across such items of vocabulary only rarely. For them such words do not form a substantial part of their lexicon, and may have been learnt piecemeal([1]).

The second claim has been argued about since SPE, and is related to the problem of abstractness of phonological representations. Tiersma (1983) gives a number of arguments against a solely morpheme-based model of the lexicon. Although he uses rather more straightforward material from Frisian, in that it can be more easily demonstrated that the alternations in question are non-productive and becoming fossilized, his arguments can be applied to the Latinate vocabulary of English. One argument he puts forward is that each member of the alternating pairs is distinctive elsewhere in the lexicon (1983: 71). This certainly applies to the English forms too: *fade/fed*, *reed/red*, *fine/fin*. However, since the biuniqueness condition is demonstrably unhelpful in making phonological statements (cf. Hyman, 1975: 68-69 and 90-91), this argument can only be used against identifying all occurrences of an alternating pair with the same underlying element, whether there are any alternations or not. That is to say, the [ɪ] in the stressed syllable of *divinity* can be derived from /aɪ/ because of the alternation involved, but the [ɪ] of *fin* is a distinct unit, /ɪ/. If the /aɪ/ of *fine* is associated with that of *divinity*, there is still no loss of distinction between the alternating and the non-alternating types, because *fine* does not occur in contexts where trisyllabic laxing can take place. As far as English is concerned, the arguments against the SPE treatment of such forms must be psychological, rather than phonetic and distributional. Since this is outside the scope of this book, I shall not pursue it further, but an investigation of how children cope

with the acquisition of such alternations and tests of the sort outlined in footnote 1 would help to provide an answer ([2]). In terms of the interests and aims of this particular book, it is quite clear that the accents of English under discussion need all the underlying elements involved in the Latinate alternations ([3]) , and that they are related morphologically in certain instances. Exactly how this should be incorporated into the grammar can be left for separate investigation.

In the phonological discussions I have avoided both the extreme positions of, on the one hand, abstractness (cf. Fudge, 1967, 1969a & 1969b; Trudgill, 1974), where the underlying elements have no phonetic values, and, on the other hand, concreteness (cf. Hooper, 1976), where abstraction of any kind from the surface data is severely restricted. (See Dresher, 1981, for discussion; see also Kiparsky, 1968.)

THE PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

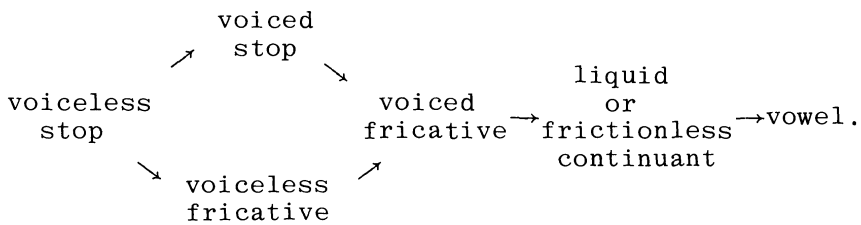
I am assuming that English is subject to a number of widespread phonological processes. Many of these have been recurrent throughout its history and some have been continuing for a century or more. (It may share them with other languages, too, but that is not the concern of the present book; on linguistic processes in general, see Aitchison, 1981; on phonological processes, both synchronic and diachronic, see especially, Stampe, 1979, and Anderson and Ewen, 1980.) However, these processes are not distributed uniformly throughout the different accents of English, and I hope to show how the different distribution of the processes helps to distinguish between the different accents. For example, intervocalic voicing of voiceless stops is a widespread feature of English phonology: it is a recurrent feature of the Peasmarsh accent (see Chapter 3), but it is not found at all in the speech of the Stockport informants (see Chapter 1). Phonological processes are not obligatory but are normal, especially in the type of English under consideration, colloquial conversation. A process relates two or more alternant forms (which may occur in different styles, e.g. colloquial versus formal); if there is no alternation, then no process applies, as far as the synchronic system is concerned. For example, in colloquial RP consonantal harmony and cluster simplification apply to nasal + alveolar stop + C sequences as in *sand-castle*. These forms are related to the careful, formal style of pronunciation, giving three possible pronunciations:

[sandkɑsl], [saŋgkɑsl] and [saŋkɑsl]. On the other hand, with a word such as *handkerchief* no such alternant pronunciations exist: [haŋkətʃijf] is the only one possible. In this case the process does not apply, even though from a diachronic point of view it did at some earlier period. Consequently, for this word there is no underlying form: */handkətʃijf/. The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the /t/ in, on the one hand, the variant pronunciations of *last news* with and without a [t], and, on the other, words such as *listen* and *glisten* with no alternative pronunciations.

I shall give a general description of the most common processes here, and give further details in the individual chapters, where I shall also introduce a few minor ones as necessary. In the final chapter I shall give formalized versions of the rules involved.

(i) *Lenition*

The general nature of lenition is discussed by Hyman (1975: 164-69), Hooper (1976), Foley (1970), and Anderson and Jones (1977), all from somewhat different points of view. Anderson and Ewen (1980: 28) present the following schema, which I have adapted here by using traditional articulatory categories:



The direction of lenition is from left to right; a sound undergoing lenition will not necessarily go through the whole process; that is, a voiceless stop may become a voiced stop and go no further, as in Peasmarsh [bɑdm̩] *bottom* (line 18), or a sound further along the chain, not itself a product of lenition, may be subject to the next step of the process, as when a liquid becomes a vowel in Shepherd's Bush [stɑɪö] *style* (line 5). Voiceless stops may become voiced stops, as in the Peasmarsh example above, or they may become voiceless fricatives, as in Stockport [peɪɸo] *people* (line 13). The usual environment for lenition to take place is intervocalically.

(ii) *Harmony*

This is a more general term than the usual one, "assimilation". Certain features of two or more segments, either consonantal or vocalic, harmonize, i.e. are the same in each segment. This can apply to both contiguous and non-contiguous segments (see Stampe, 1979: 76, and Lodge, 1983, for a discussion of this phenomenon with reference to child language as well). Vowel harmony is well exemplified by Turkish (Lyons, 1962, and Hyman, 1975: 182), but does not occur in the varieties of English presented here. Consonantal harmony, of which there are several types in British English, is usually called assimilation and not given the same phonological status as vowel harmony (cf. Gimson's discussion of English, 1962: 270-73), or it is applied to child language (cf. Vihman, 1978). (There are also suggestions that vowels in VCV structures harmonize generally; see Hardcastle, 1981: 55-56.) However, there is no reason to assume that any of these types of harmony are not basically the same phenomenon from a phonetic point of view. They can all come under the general heading of ease of articulation and seem to serve the same purpose. Whether segments intervene between the two harmonized segments or not, does not make any difference. In fact, Stampe (1979: 76) claims that there is no such thing as non-contiguous harmony, since the features in question continue through the intervening segments as well (cf. also Lodge, 1983, for a discussion of retroflexion in one instance of *somebody* as pronounced by a 3¾-year-old Stockport boy).

The features that harmonize may be manner of articulation, place of articulation, voice, tongue height; in fact, any feature can harmonize. The most common instances of harmony in English are those of place, e.g.

[tɛm mene?] *ten-minute* Stockport (18)

[kˈɑ:mp bɪ] *can't be* Shepherd's Bush (27)

[əm bæk] *and back* Peasmarsh (52),

the most widespread applying to the underlying alveolars and dentals, even in RP (cf. Gimson, loc. cit.). The syllabic alveolar nasal harmonizes, sometimes to the preceding consonant, sometimes to the following one, e.g.

[ʊɛk̟ʔn̪] *reckon* Stockport (17)

[ɐplekˈɛeʃn̪ fɑm] *application form* Stockport (9).

The so-called velars, /k/ and /g/, harmonize with the following vowel, giving a range of realizations from palatal to velar, and even uvular for some speakers before [ɔ:]-type vowels. I have not indicated this in the transcriptions, as it applies to all the accents under consideration (and probably all accents of English). The labials can also harmonize, but the range is only bilabial to labiodental. This is most common in the one Stockport informant, Y, e.g.

[geβ me] *give me* (9).

Another common harmony of place in English is what we might call palatalization, that is the change of /t d s z/ to a palato-alveolar in front of /j/, e.g.

[ɔ:wɪʒ jʊus] *always used* Shepherd's Bush (1)

[pɹæpʃ jʊud] *perhaps you'd* Peasmarsh (53).

This is a process which has been going on for some considerable time in all types of English; some words have finished the process, as witnessed by those words with only one pronunciation with a palatal articulation, e.g. *nature, sugar*; others show fluctuation between two possible pronunciations, e.g. *issue* with [-sj-] or [-ʃ-]. (Note that a few words have avoided the process by dropping the palatal articulation; these words have alternative pronunciations with a non-harmonized alveolar followed by the palatal, or with no palatal at all, e.g. *suit* with [sj-] or [s-].) For the purposes of this book I am particularly interested in those cases where there are environmentally conditioned variants, in particular across word-boundaries.

Harmony of manner is less frequent, but applies most commonly to /ð/. In some speakers it applies to other sounds as well. E.g.

[ɑn̪ n̪ə] *on the* Stockport (26)

[wɛɬ lɪ] *Well the* Shepherd's Bush (7)

[ɪn̪ n̪æʔ] *in that* Peasmarsh (34)

[ə̃j̃ jə] *and you're* Stockport (25) (+ place harmony)

[dʒɑβ ðɛ̃] *job then* Stockport (6)

[dɛʊ ʊof] *dead rough* Stockport (62) (+ place harmony)

In the case of /ð/ the harmony is left-to-right, rather than the more usual right-to-left.

Voice harmony is, of course, well known in English morphology, as in the formation of noun plurals, the 3rd person singular of the general tense and the past

tense, and in this all the accents under discussion are alike. Otherwise, it is only sporadic, as in

[pɛɪvmən^{d}] *pavement* Shepherd's Bush (28).

(It is also found in West Yorkshire speakers, as in [bratfəd] *Bradford*, cf. Hughes and Trudgill, 1979: 58; Wells, 1982: 367.) We may note here that one of the alternative first stages of lenition could be interpreted as voice harmony, that is between two voiced sounds the voicing continues through what would otherwise be a voiceless stop, as in

[bəd ɪts] *but it's* Peasmarsh (18)

[bɑdm̩] *bottom* Peasmarsh (13)

[dæɷn də] *down to* Peasmarsh (16).

(iii) *Consonant cluster simplification (CCS)*
In many contexts three (or more) consonants in series are reduced in number. The deleted consonants are usually stops (oral and nasal), though other sounds are also sometimes involved, details of which I shall give in the individual chapters. Consider the following examples:

[ʔtʃɛendʒ w̃e̞] *changed my* Stockport (31)

[kɛɱ ŋe] *kept my* Stockport (57) (+ labiodental harmony)

[mʌɷs weɪkes lekɬ] *most weakest little* Stockport(62)

[fæɷn nɛm] *found them* Stockport (75)

[spoːs ʔ beɪ] *supposed to be* Stockport (85)

[sɛɸ̞ ʔaʔ] *except that* Stockport (2)

[dʒɔs stɑk] *just stock* Stockport (21)

[dʒɔs ʊaeʔ] *just right* Stockport (23)

[seɪm tə] *seemed to* Stockport (48)

[dʒʌs kɷdn̩ʔ] *just couldn't* Shepherd's Bush (4)

[sɪim tə] *seemed to* Shepherd's Bush (8)

[ən n̪æʔs] *and that's* Shepherd's Bush (15)

[lɷʔ sʌmθɪŋʔ] *looked something* Shepherd's Bush (48)

[paɷnz daɷn] *pounds down* Shepherd's Bush (51)

[nɛks wɪik] *next week* Shepherd's Bush (55)

[fɐɹs wɐɹɬd] *First World* Peasmarsh (25)

[dʒɵs lɛf tə] *just left to* Peasmarsh (38)

[ʌʊɬ mæ:n] *old man* Peasmarsh (40)

[spɛʃɬess] *specialists* Stockport (77)

[fɹɛnz̥] *friends* Edinburgh (91).

All the above are examples of /t/ and /d/ in the context: C___+C, where + = morpheme boundary, and the first consonant has the same voice feature as /t/ or /d/ (ˢ). This means that /t/ after voiced sounds is not deleted. /k/ is also deleted under the same conditions, e.g. [a:st] *asked* Coventry (69). (/p/ may do, as well, but there are no examples in the recorded material, cf. Lodge, 1981: 35.)

The nasal /n/ is treated differently according to the following sound and from locality to locality. For example, in Stockport it is either deleted completely or the alveolar contact is deleted leaving nasality in the preceding vowel phase, when the following sound is /t/ ([ʔ]), e.g.

[wɑʔ] *want* (54)

[wʌ̃ʔ] *won't* (61) x 2.

On the other hand, with /d/ following, /n/ is not deleted, but the /d/ is, in accordance with the above examples, e.g.

[fæʊn nɛm] *found them* (75).

In Shepherd's Bush and Peasmarsh, however, /t/ is often deleted after /n/, when a vowel follows, e.g.

[dɪdn ʌndəstæ:mb] *didn't understand* Shepherd's Bush (39)

[ka•n ɪivɰ] *can't even* Peasmarsh (11).

Details of such differences from locality to locality will be given in the separate chapters. (For a detailed discussion of CCS in Stockport within a dependency framework, see Lodge, 1981.)

There is a special case of deletion of /d/, /v/ and /z/ in the auxiliary verb forms, such as *wouldn't, haven't, doesn't* (cf. Petyt, 1978), which applies to a large number of English accents, and is specific to this class of verb. I do not intend to deal with this in detail here, but clearly the conditions for the deletion are not those of CCS.

(iv) *Unstressed vowel deletion (UVD)*

Another widespread feature of colloquial English is the deletion of unstressed vowels, either completely or by reduction to a glide. The commonest examples of this, which applies to RP as well, are the so-called weak forms of the auxiliary verbs, such as

I've, he's, we're. I shall not be concerned with such forms in the individual localities, as they occur in all of them. However, it is worth noting that Zwicky (1972: 610-11) relates some of the auxiliary contractions to a syntactic constraint, distinguishing between "dependent" and "independent" auxiliaries. The former, including *will, are* and *am,* cannot contract unless they are in close syntactic relation with the preceding word. Although this is not the place to consider this in detail, in many accents *will* is independent rather than dependent, e.g.

> There's a man lives next door'll mend your fridge for you

is perfectly normal in Stockport. (See Lodge, 1979, for a discussion of similar constructions in Stockport.) The contracted negative /n̩t/ is also discussed by Zwicky (1972: 612-13) and he suggests that it enters the phonological component in that form. (Hasegawa, 1979: 136-37 suggests that such contractions should be handled in the lexicon.)

The details of other types of UVD, which are phonological processes, are locally varied and will be given in each chapter. One of the commonest forms of this process is the deletion of the first [ə] in syllable sequences (regardless of word boundaries), whose "full" rhythmic pattern is CV́CəCV̆, where C = at least one consonant, as in *labourer* and *comfortable.* E.g.

> [ɐpʌɷɬstʊə] *upholsterer* Stockport (37)
>
> [ɹɪmɛmbɹ əm] *remember them* Peasmarsh (35)
>
> [batɹe] *battery* Stockport (79).

The resultant cluster must be a possible English one or the deletion cannot take place, e.g.

> *[hʌmblɹ ən] *humbler and.*

An example of the reduction to a glide is:

> [ðj ɐdmɪnɪstɹeʃn̩] *the administration* Edinburgh (29-30).

A different environment in which an unstressed vowel is sometimes deleted is where two consecutive vowels come at a word-boundary: V # V. In such cases only one vowel remains, e.g.

> [ʃɛe?ʃe baœ?] *shakes you about* Stockport (49).

(v) *Linking r and rhoticism*
The insertion of r between two vowels belonging to different syllables is a widespread linking device in English. The circumstances under which it is used vary considerably from one area to another, and even from one speaker to another. Even those speakers who use it widely do not always use it. The following pairs of examples are by the same informant:

[fəʊ ɛedʒez] *for ages* Y, Stockport (57)

[ɛ:dʊɛsə op] *hairdresser up* Y, Stockport (56)

[endoəɹ ɛ:ɹeəl] *indoor aerial* N, Stockport (67)

[jə ɔ:nnɹe] *your ordinary* N, Stockport (77)

[heə ən] *hair and* Shepherd's Bush (2)

[pʻɛɪpəɹ a̲] *paper I* Shepherd's Bush (3).

In accents with post-vocalic r the situation is somewhat different, since in a great many instances, e.g. the six given above, the words end in /r/ anyway. In such accents the variety of r used may be used as a link between words where there is no final /r/, e.g. *law of*, or the glottal stop may be used, e.g.

[ðə ʔæʊs] *the house* Peasmarsh (38).

(For words such as *comma* and *china* in rhotic accents, see Wells, 1982: 221-22.)

The status of /r/ is somewhat complicated in English in that its incidence varies from one accent to another. The difference between rhotic and non-rhotic accents is in the occurrence or not of /r/ before a consonant. Thus, non-rhotic accents have no alternating forms of words such as *farm*, *port*, *church* and *perplex*, so such words have no underlying /r/, as they do in rhotic accents. This reflects the inability of non-rhotic speakers to predict correctly the occurrence of word-internal, preconsonantal /r/. (On this point, see Trudgill, 1980/83: esp. 148-49.) On the other hand, word-final /r/, which is retained before vowels even in non-rhotic accents, does involve alternations, so that /r/ can be postulated in the underlying forms of such words as *car*, *door*, *fur* and *letter*. In the case of unstressed *-er* the underlying form is syllabic: /r̩/, which may lose its syllabicity by means of UVD. We need an /r/-deletion rule to account for its non-occurrence before consonants, and the following realization rules for /r̩/:

/r/ ⟶ [ə] / ____ $\begin{Bmatrix} (C) \\ (\emptyset) \end{Bmatrix}$

⟶ [əɹ] / ____ $\begin{Bmatrix} (V) \\ (r) \end{Bmatrix}$

/r/ ⟶ Ø / ____ $\begin{Bmatrix} (C) \\ (\emptyset) \end{Bmatrix}$

Then there is /r/-insertion in those cases without underlying final /r/ for those people who have forms such as [lɔɹ əv] *law of* (for numerous examples, see Wells, 1982: 223-25).

An alternative solution is not to postulate any underlying /r/ in word-final position either and simply have an /r/-insertion rule (cf. Wells, 1982: 222). However, the advantages of the former solution are (i) rhotic and non-rhotic accents have the same underlying forms in respect of final /r/, and (ii) it accounts for the fact that *soaring* has an /r/ but *sawing* does not for many speakers (cf. Wells, 1982: 225). Those who do have an r-sound in *sawing* etc. have extended the application of /r/-insertion, not differentiating between word-final and word-internal / ɔ /. There are even further extensions of /r/-insertion in some accents, e.g.

[jəɾ ɛniθiɡ̃] *you anything* Coventry (3)

[bəɻ aː?] *by heart* Norwich (32).

(Cf. [tʻəɹ ë̞i?] *to eat*, Trudgill, 1974: 162; also Wells, 1982: 227. For some speakers in Norfolk even the indefinite article has linking /r/, e.g. [əɹæp̪̈] *a apple*.) Finally, we must note another type of speaker, who has no linking /r/ at all except word-internally, as in *nearest*, and uses [ʔ] instead. For them no underlying final /r/ is necessary.

To sum up, there are basically three types of speaker with regard to underlying /r/:

(i) Those with preconsonantal /r/ (rhotic);
(ii) Those with word-final /r/ and /r/-deletion;
(iii) Those without syllable-final /r/ and /r/-insertion.

/r/-insertion applies in different degrees for (i) and (ii), but for all three types the rule has the same phonetic formulation: any vowel lower than mid, i.e. [ə] and lower, whether long or short, stressed or unstressed, allows linking /r/ to follow before

another vowel. For speakers of type (iii), /ə/ not /r/ appears in the underlying forms of *letter* etc. There are also some speakers of type (ii) who delete /r/ intervocalically, as in [veɪ] *very*, giving the same output as (iii) for words ending in /r/ before a vowel. The following derivations give alternative pronunciations of *quarter of* for (ii) and (iii).

(ii) /kwɔtr ɒv/

Stress placement ⇒ kwɔ́tr əv

/r/-realization ⇒ kwɔ́tər əv

UVD ⇒ [kwɔ́tr əv]

/r/-deletion ⇒ kwɔ́tə əv

UVD ⇒ [kwɔ́təv]

(iii) /kwɔ́tə ɒv/

Stress placement ⇒ kwɔ́tə əv

UVD ⇒ [kwɔ́təv]

[ʔ]-insertion ⇒ [kwɔ́tə ʔəv]

(The /t/ can also be realized as [ʔ].)

PANLECTAL AND POLYLECTAL GRAMMARS

One problem to which this book is intended as a contribution is how far one system underlies all varieties of a language. This assumption (often implicit) may seem attractive at first sight in that it accounts for the notion of one language: all speakers of the same language have the same basic system with the variants accounted for by fairly late, realization rules, rule order differences and the like. It seems reasonable to suppose that if speakers of the same language can understand each other, then they must have the same basic system underlying their performance. However, mutual intelligibility is not a simple yes/no question. There are different degrees of intelligibility, there is intelligibility in one way only, and furthermore mutual intelligibility cuts across generally accepted language boundaries. For example, broad dialect speakers from Devon and Durham will have considerable difficulty understanding one another, whereas similarly broad speakers from Leeds and Liverpool will have far fewer problems of communication, though there may well be some. Secondly, we must note that none of these speakers have any difficulty in understanding RP as used on the radio and television, whereas speakers of RP often have difficulty in understanding broad regional accents. Thirdly, with regard to the artificiality of language

boundaries, a Low German speaker living near the Dutch-German border has more in common linguistically with his near Dutch neighbours than with his Bavarian compatriots. Fourthly, it sometimes happens that two speakers can understand each other using different languages (cf. Dorian's study of Gaelic and English in East Sutherland, 1982), indicating that mutual intelligibility is certainly not a sufficient criterion. Chomsky (1980: 117-20) concludes that the notion of language is of little use to linguists, who, in his view, should concentrate on grammars not languages.

We must also take account of the speaker's knowledge of his/her own system. Our example of one-way intelligibility demonstrates that it is possible for a speaker of one variety to understand another without necessarily being able to reproduce it. Let us give a more specific example to clarify the point. Northern English (i.e. not Scottish) speakers do not differentiate between [ʊ] and [ʌ] in their own systems, whereas Southern speakers, and RP speakers, do, as in *put* and *putt* respectively. Nevertheless, Northerners can understand radio and television news bulletins spoken with an RP accent, and Southerners can understand not-too-broad Northerners with respect to this distinction. But, if we observe Northerners and Southerners trying to mimic their counterparts (for whatever reason), we soon see that there are two separate vowel systems. A number of Northern speakers (who were not brought up to do so) try to use the [ʊ]/[ʌ] distinction: they use an unrounded vowel, somewhere in the region of [ɐ̈] or [ɞ], for both sounds. (See below for further discussion of this from a social point of view.) Thus we hear not only [kɐ̈m] *come* and [sɐ̈n] *son, sun*, but also [pɐ̈t] *put* and [bɐ̈tʃə] *butcher*. These speakers simply do not know, in the technical, linguistic sense, the difference between these two sounds. Similarly, Southern-born actors portraying Northerners often forget to use [ʊ] for both sounds, using the occasional [ʌ] in accordance with their own system: they, for their part, do not know the lack of difference.

Misunderstandings between speakers of different regional varieties of a language are a useful source of evidence for linguists; many examples of this kind of occurrence are very enlightening from the point of view of underlying systems. If we are attempting to establish a theory of language which claims to explain how native speakers understand each other, we must also investigate how it is they often misunderstand each other as well, because even in perfect conditions

of communication misunderstandings occur. For instance, in a seminar about the language of comedy shows I mentioned the expression [tˈɹʊbɬ ə? ʔmɪɬ] (*trouble at the mill*). A student from the London area wrote this down subsequently in an essay as *trouble up mill*. In terms of her phonological system [ə?] followed by a bilabial closure could only be interpreted as *up*. Furthermore, because she was unused to the use of a glottal stop for the definite article, she was unable to detect the longer hold period of the glottal stop (during which the lips are brought together) in comparison with the hold period where no definite article occurs, as in *trouble at Manchester*. In a detailed transcription of the two utterances this difference can be indicated as follows:

[ə? ʔ pm] as in *at the mill*,

[ə?m] as in *at Manchester*.

(It should be pointed out that the use of two joined letter symbols in the first transcription gives in this visual form an impression of greater length than is, in fact, involved, but this is one of the problems of letter transcriptions.)

Trudgill (1983a) presents the results of two tests designed to ascertain the degree of predictability of syntactic forms and semantic interpretations from various English dialects. These show that, for the most part, linguistically sophisticated native speakers, even those with considerable training and experience in linguistics, fare little better than foreigners in predicting possible sentences of some varieties of English. On the basis of this kind of evidence it is difficult to see how a panlectal grammar is justifiable, and whether even a polylectal approach is appropriate.

It is worth noting how children deal with variant forms. If there are variant forms within the child's immediate circle of adult models, it will tend to waver in its usage and this may well persist in adult speech; for instance, P's use of both [bo•k] and [bʊk] for *book*, Lodge, 1983, and Y's use of both [lɪʊk] and [lʊk] for *look* in Chapter 1 below, because both had in their immediate family speakers who used the diphthongal variant and also those who used the monophthongal variant in such words. If a child is exposed to regional variants only sporadically, up to about the age of 3 or 4, it often handles them phonetically, that is to say, it imitates them; thus, a child of Southern parents, exposed to a Northern

neighbour's [a] in *bath*, will sometimes mimic the [a]-pronunciation. When it is older, however, the child will tend to handle the Northern pronunciations phonologically, that is, it will reinterpret them in terms of its own system and will no longer attempt to mimic them. (This is based on personal observation during 12 years' residence in Norfolk, and it needs much more careful and rigorous investigation.) At some stage during the acquisition process a child learns the equivalences between those alien accents to which it is exposed and its own system. This would suggest that all speakers, whatever their phonological system, learn a set of equivalences for the English "language", but only those to which they are exposed.

If we follow Trudgill (1983a: 29-30), we need to separate the native speaker competence from the speaker's ability to understand varieties other than his/her own. In other words competence is restricted to the native speaker's knowledge of the forms he/she produces normally. Of course, many such grammars overlap and this explains a speaker's ability to understand other, not-too-dissimilar varieties. Where varieties differ, a speaker will use a number of different techniques, both linguistic and pragmatic, to attempt a suitable interpretation of what he/she has heard. If a speaker is in regular contact with a different variety, then one technique of comprehension would be a set of equivalence rules. These are not performance rules, but recognition techniques. They would be of the sort Trudgill discusses (1974: 140-44) for relating the different subsystems in Norwich, e.g.

$$\left.\begin{matrix} //\,\bar{a}\,// \\ //ai// \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \quad //ai//.$$

This is the rule used by many Norwich speakers for collapsing the phonological difference between lexical items such as *name* and *nail* (see further Chapter 6, below). In the case of RP/Stockport, there would be a rule collapsing the *put/putt* distinction:

$$\left.\begin{matrix} /\,\Lambda\,/ \\ /\,u\,/ \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \quad /\,o\,/(^{5}).$$

As an example of a rule relating Stockport and RP, we can give the following:

$$\left.\begin{matrix} /\varepsilon ɪ/ \\ /e:/ \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow /ej/$$

which collapses the distinction found in older Stockport speakers between *weight* with a diphthong and *wait* with a long monophthong. We must stress that equivalence rules are learnt optionally, if the (social) need for them arises, e.g. a move to a new part of the country.

A second aspect of variety comprehension that needs further investigation is the quantification of the degree of difference between dialects (cf. Trudgill, 1983a: 30). We need to establish a method of predicting mutual intelligibility, or otherwise, of different accents. Both phonological distinctions and phonetic realization are relevant to this. In a test similar to that discussed by Trudgill (1983a), already mentioned above, which I administered to a number of language and linguistics undergraduates from various parts of the United Kingdom at the University of East Anglia ([6]), the pronunciation [bʌɬ] for *bull* was rejected by Southerners and RP-speakers as non-English, no doubt on the phonological grounds of lexical incidence, but by many speakers from the North of England it was perceived as "posh" or even "RP", presumably a misinterpretation of the RP vowel system on the basis of phonetic confusion (see also above in this section). Similarly, [stɹe:] for *straw* is likely to cause considerable difficulty of comprehension for any speaker who says [stɹɔ:] for this word because of the phonetic distance of the two vowel phases and also because of the phonetic similarity of the former to the more common pronunciations of *stray*.

As a starting-point, then, I shall not assume the same basic underlying pan-English system for all the varieties I shall investigate. The present book is intended as a contribution to determine what all English accents do have in common and what distinguishes them one from another. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that, rather than assume an idealized speaker/hearer who has a system which is represented by formal standard spoken English, it is important to use colloquial data on which to test hypotheses (cf. Lodge, 1976 and 1979; J. Milroy, 1982: 46-47). I shall not attempt to give an exhaustive account of the phonological system of each locality; rather I have selected those distinctions and processes that are necessary for the comparison of areal and social differences.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Another aspect of variety which has to be considered in attempting to establish a speaker's competence of his/her community is the historical background to the differentiation of local varieties, and the extent to which this can legitimately be said to form part of that competence. An extreme example of use of historical background in establishing a phonological system is furnished by Chomsky and Halle (1968), where details of the Great Vowel Shift are assumed to underlie the modern English vowel system, and, to quote a particular example, an underlying velar fricative is posited to account for the difference in the stressed vowels in *righteous* and *divinity* (ibid.: 234). If we consider change on a smaller scale, we find instances of competing and obsolescent forms, which have to be considered when establishing the phonological systems of a community. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this aspect of accent varieties. Around Manchester there are three forms of the word *father* in respect of the stressed vowel: [fáðə], [fɛ́eðə] (or an alternative with a monophthong, [fé:ðə], depending on the quality of the vowel in words such as *gate* and *name*), and [fɐ́:ðə], the first two being considered old-fashioned by most speakers in the Stockport area. The first one, with its short vowel, is the modern reflex of the oblique forms in Middle English, e.g. genitive *fadres*, which has been regularized to the subject form as well. The second pronunciation is from the Middle English nominative, *fader*. In this case the short *a* was lengthened at a later period because it was in an open syllable, that is, *fa-der*; this then changed its quality, monophthongal or diphthongal, along with other words of this type, e.g. *name, gate*. The third pronunciation is a borrowing from the standard pronunciation, perhaps via the church. Although all three forms are known to Stockport speakers, as obsolescent forms, the first two would normally only be used facetiously (cf. Lodge, 1973: 86, footnote). On the other hand, in parts of Lancashire their status is different, all three being current in different groups of the community: the first two are used by many speakers over 50 years old and some younger ones in rural areas, the exact distribution of each being unknown to me, and the borrowed form is, in general, used by those under the age of 50. Sporadic use of the older forms by younger speakers would seem to be an indication of regional awareness, as opposed to facetiousness in the case of Stockport. Interpretation of any form by local speakers will

help to determine its status in the system. In the case of the first two forms in Stockport, they are like fossils, learnt piecemeal, and can be represented as a listing in the grammar (even though they are the historically more "correct" forms). The same would apply to similar forms such as [kɔɪl] for *coal* (possibly a loan-pronunciation from Yorkshire rather than a relic), and [ɹɪi?] and [nɪi?] for *right* and *night* (cf. Lodge, 1973: 86), which are reflexes of the retention of the velar fricative referred to above in such words longer in the North of England than in the South, so that development along with words of the *fine*-type did not take place. (The /ɔɷ/-diphthong referred to in Lodge, 1973: 84, is even more of a rarity in Stockport; I have only ever heard it used regularly by one speaker, Y's father (see Chapter 1), in one word only: *Shaw* [ʃɔɷ] *Heath*, a district of Stockport.)

To make decisions on historical matters of this sort with regard to establishing the present system of a locality, we must have regard to whether such alternatives are known (in the technical sense) as regular forms, facetious forms, "odd" forms, and so on. We can even see cases of change in progress. For example, the /ɛɪ/-/e:/ distinction mentioned above (p.18) and discussed in Lodge (1973) is not known by a large number of speakers in the Stockport area, namely those who have a diphthong in *name*, *gate* and *wait* anyway, and this can apply to members of the same family: thus, of the six members of Y's and N's family (see Chapter 1; Lodge, 1966, 1978 and 1983), three, including N, used the distinction, three, including Y, did not. A similar case is furnished by Norwich speakers: older members of certain groups have a distinction between the vowels of *gate* with /ɛ:/ and *day* with /æɪ/, whereas the majority of young speakers do not have the distinction and do not know how to apply it. (This calls into question the exact interpretation of diasystem by Trudgill, 1974: 134-5, as a system common to all members of the speech community. Cf. also his own comments on this in Trudgill, 1983a: 11-12.)

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL GROUPS

As a final consideration I now want to look at some of the social aspects of phonological variation. Since variant forms can occur within one locality and even in one and the same speaker's utterances, it is generally assumed that this variation has some kind of social significance of a group-membership kind, whereby a speaker indicates which group of people he/

she wishes to be associated with. This kind of variation is obviously different from the stylistic variation which is determined by application or otherwise of allegro rules, etc., though there may be some overlap. For example, the incidence of [ʔ] in Stockport can be used as an indication of group membership (see further on this below), whereas the deletion of unstressed vowels is a feature of fast speech in all speakers in Stockport. On the other hand, the fast-speech feature of place of articulation harmony may be applied differentially by different groups, for example, teenagers use it more than speakers who are over sixty years old ([7]).

Much research in this area has concentrated on relating sets of linguistic variants to given social groups (e.g. Labov, 1980; Trudgill, 1974; Trudgill and Foxcroft, 1978). These groups are intuitive/traditional or based on some official set of categories (those of the Registrar General in Britain). However, it is becoming more and more evident that these categories are too gross to be of much practical value to the linguist and much finer distinctions are made by some researchers (e.g. Milroy and Milroy, 1978; Milroy, 1980; Cheshire, 1982). In what has come to be called correlational linguistics, sophisticated statistical techniques are employed to present the data in quantified terms([8]), relating patterns of variation sometimes to predetermined socio-economic groups, sometimes to smaller social groups.

As far as British English is concerned, it is the smaller social unit which seems to be the most fruitful area of research (cf. Milroy's comments, 1980: 13-14). Variety in many British contexts groups people together in a way which cuts across any socio-economic groups. It may well be that in other English-speaking countries the grosser class unit is sufficient to cope with discernible variation (though note McEntegart and Le Page's caveat about assuming knowledge of stratification of a foreign community, 1982: 123), but in the area where I have most experience, Stockport, terms like "middle class" and "working class" are very difficult to apply. It is important to stress that from the point of view of evaluation by other speakers, we have to deal with relative classifications. For example, many Southern British speakers classify Northerners as working class, even if their accent has only a few regional features. On the other hand, within the Stockport area there are many subtle differences, which only local speakers are aware of. For instance, to many speakers in Stockport the pronunciation [a:f] for *half*, rather than [af],

in times of the clock, e.g. *half past three*, would be considered "snobbish, posh". This is a question of social status rather than of social class.

What I would like to propose is that there are a number of social groups within a geographical area, which are determined by a number of linguistic features. In other words, linguistic variation is not seen as a reflection of some *a priori* system of social classification, but rather as one of the factors which go towards dividing people up into social groups. (Cf. Cheshire's, 1982, discussion of non-standard features of Reading English.) I can exemplify this by using the distribution of the glottal stop in Stockport ([ʔ]). This shows the following characteristics:

A: occurrence in word-final position as a variant of [t] or [k], and in glottally reinforced variants of [p̚ʔ], [t̚ʔ] and [k̚ʔ];

B: glottally reinforced variants of [p̚ʔ], [t̚ʔ] and [k̚ʔ], and as a variant of [t] in syllable-final position before consonants;

C: as A, plus occurrence in intervocalic position within a word, and use as the definite article;

D: as B, plus occurrence as the definite article.

These regularly occurring groups of linguistic variants equate in general with the following groups of people:

A = teenage girls;

B = women of 50 and older;

C = teenage boys;

D = men of 50 and older.

Some speakers show considerable variation in use, others are more consistent. Association with different groups in different contexts on the level of interpersonal encounters can be explained in terms of accommodation (see, for example, Giles and Powesland, 1975: esp. 154-81). When two speakers shift their accents slightly, each in the direction of the other, their accents converge; when two speakers emphasize the differences between their accents, they diverge. (For a discussion of the social reasons for this, see Giles and Powesland, ibid.) In the Stockport example, speakers will choose particular forms depending on which group they want

to be identified with. In certain cases the forms chosen by a speaker will produce an evaluation by other speakers. For example, at home a teenage girl may conform to type A, but out with her peers in the evening, she may well use forms of type C. Members of other groups, for example her parents, will tend to react adversely to certain forms not associated with her "normal" group, e.g. the use of the glottal stop as the definite article, and classify her as "common" or a "tomboy".

In the same way we can interpret the use of forms such as [kæm] *come* and [bætʃə] *butcher*, mentioned above, as an attempt on the part of the speaker to associate with a group considered by them to be worthy of emulation - RP-speakers. On the other hand, other groups, for example, members of a Stockport working-men's club, will not be impressed by such pronunciations and will interpret them as low-valued. As a mark of their solidarity in contrast to the aspirations implicit in the RP-emulation, they will use the local forms with /o/, which they value more highly, and on occasion use "broader" forms such as [nɪi?] rather than [nä:?] for *night* (cf. Lodge, 1973: 86). In addition to this we may note that as people change their social role, they operate with different systems of evaluation depending on the circumstances; thus a speaker who regularly emulates RP may also use indigenous /o/-forms ([10]) regularly, when talking to close relatives of their own sex, as a mark of solidarity.

We are, therefore, concerned with classification into social groups by fellow-members of a community via the linguistic forms used, as well as by the linguist-observer. The members of a community are on the whole not conscious of the linguistic indices that they use to classify other speakers (though there is, of course, a certain amount of *ad hoc* conscious knowledge of linguistic differences); it is the linguist's task to identify them. Although much work has been done on individual indices, more investigation of the interrelationships of sets of indices is necessary, if we are to progress beyond a piecemeal appreciation of their role.

Although in this book I shall not be going into detail with regard to the indices of the various social groupings within each locality, leaving that for the future, I am assuming that the phonological differences that I discuss in each chapter form at least part of the total set of indices differentiating British English accents, that is, some of the ways whereby an Englishman can recognize a Scotsman, some-

one from Oldham can recognize someone from Stockport, and a chartered accountant can recognize a road-mender.

NOTES

[1]. In a very simple test I asked a number of unsophisticated English speakers to make a noun from *opaque*, by asking them to fill in the missing word in the second of the two following sentences, keeping the meaning the same: *Look at that glass - it's opaque. Look at the ..... of that glass.* In most cases there was no immediate response, but when a word was offered, it was invariably *opaqueness*, avoiding the Latinate alternation altogether. For a more thorough test and discussion, see Cutler (1980).

[2]. It is quite likely that alternations of the *school - scholar, join - junction* type, as discussed by Ladefoged (1982: 82) should be treated in terms of relational rules (cf. Tiersma, 1983: 73-76) rather than process rules, as a reflection of their fossilized nature.

[3]. /ʌ/ is an exception (see below), but this has nothing to do with morphological alternations.

[4]. The matching of the voice feature in the preceding context of CCS obviates the necessity of proposing a dependency degree of 3 for the deleted stops (cf. Lodge, 1981). The environments are treated differently by Guy (1980) and Neu (1980) and the rule is treated polylectally. The hierarchy of constraining environments is difficult to test on the material presented here, but I would not consider it valid for British English. Guy's notion of articulatory complexity of the cluster (1980: 9) deserves further investigation, but his morphological conditioning, referred to *passim*, does not seem to hold in the data recorded from my informants.

[5]. In Trudgill's example he uses the double slant lines to indicate units of the diasystemic phonological inventory. I am not concerned here with the notion of diasystem, so I simply use single slants.

[6]. For details, see Lodge (in preparation).

[7]. For a statistical treatment of one such phonological feature, t/d-deletion, see Guy (1980).

[8]. A full list of such works would be very large, but see, for example, Sankoff (1978), Trudgill (1978), Labov (1980), Romaine (1982), and the references therein. For a critique of such methods, see McEntegart and Le Page (1982).

[9]. For further details of Stockport speech, see Lodge (1966; female, aged 68), Lodge (1973) and (1978;

female, aged 16), as well as Chapter 1 of the present book. In addition I have drawn on my personal observations over many years.

[10]. We must note that although the terms *hypercorrection* and *hyperdialectalism* are used to describe certain forms (e.g. Trudgill, 1983a: 12), there is no justification for establishing "true" dialects from which certain accents deviate. (Cf. Petyt's comments on this, 1980: 27-28.) Thus, the accent with [ɐ̈] rather than [ɔ] is merely a realizational variant belonging to those accents without the [ʌ]/[ɒ] distinction.

GENERAL CONVENTIONS

The format of each chapter (except the final one) follows the same pattern. First, a general description of the phonetic features of the informant(s) including vowel diagrams, followed by the transcription of the recording of the informant(s). The extracts have been chosen to exemplify all the characteristic features of the speaker's accent occurring in the recording. Finally, each phonological process displayed by the informant(s) is discussed in detail.

The transcription follows the conventions of the IPA with the following exceptions: (i) stress is marked with an acute accent over the vowel of the syllable in question (in order to avoid making decisions about syllable boundaries); (ii) labiodental stops are written [π] and [ψ] for voiceless and voiced respectively; (iii) glottally reinforced sounds are written with the glottal stop symbol immediately above the other symbol: [t͡ʔ], [k͡ʔ]; (iv) the retroflex approximant is represented by [ɻ̲]; (v) affrication is marked with a following ['] ; (vi) creaky voice is shown by a subscript tilde: [a̰]; if there is no symbol above the tilde this indicates an indistinct vocoid transition. The following points should also be noted: I have marked unreleased stops with [˺] before other oral stops and before a pause; otherwise they are released slightly or into the following sounds; I have not always marked aspiration of the voiceless stops: these are sometimes described in the general remarks of the locality and only particularly noticeable aspiration is marked in the transcription; where [ʔ] is written between two homorganic stops (nasal or oral), the supraglottal closure is assumed to continue throughout the sequence, thus [nʔn] is written rather than [n͡n]. It is assumed that all unstressed vowels are centralized in comp-

arison with their stressed counterparts. Partially nasalized long vowel phases have the tilde over the second part of the symbolization only, eg. [ʌõ], [aː̃].

The layout of the transcription indicates breath groups: | in the phonetic transcription, / in the orthography, and a new block (separated from the previous one by its orthographic version) indicates that another speaker has been speaking or that a considerable extract has been omitted. Hesitations and trailing off are indicated by dots. The orthographic version is not punctuated in any standard way; it is only a guide to the transcription. In citations in the text I have omitted irrelevant diacritics, in particular, stress marks.

Since I am not concerned in this book with the exact phonological interpretation of the vowel systems of the different localities, I shall simply use the most common phonetic form to represent them, as appropriate (see especially Chapter 7). In each locality I have given vowel diagrams for the most commonly occurring articulations of each informant. Where there are no instances of a known vowel, this has been noted. The dots indicating the positions of the vowels on the diagrams are a typographical convenience and represent an idealization of the variation within the vowel space. For RP vowels in examples I have used a simplified broad transcription.

I have used two abbreviations for book titles throughout:

SED = Orton, H. et al. Survey of English Dialects, Volumes I - IV.

SPE = Chomsky, A. N. and Halle, M. The Sound Pattern of English.

Map showing the localities

E = Edinburgh
C = Coventry
SB = Shepherd's Bush
S = Stockport
N = Norwich
P = Peasmarsh

Chapter One

STOCKPORT, GREATER MANCHESTER
(until 1974, in Cheshire)

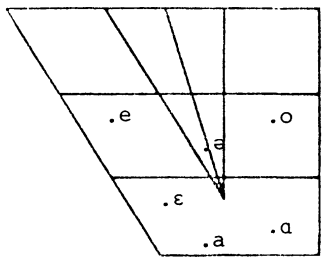
The two informants from Stockport represent two different generations of the same family. Speaker Y is 16 years old and attends a comprehensive school in Stockport. She is the grand-daughter of speaker N, who is 77 years old. Although the grandfather lived in China for two years as a very small child, he has lived and worked in Stockport for the rest of his life. Speaker Y has lived all her life in Stockport too; although most of her friends are likewise local teenagers, she has several friends in Liverpool. (Speaker N's wife is the informant for Lodge, 1966.)

(i) *General*
(For a detailed description of the phonetic characteristics of speaker Y see Lodge, 1978: 56-61.)
Closures in the oral cavity tend to be more weakly articulated by Y than by N. This means that stops and fricatives can be found in different utterances of the same word, e.g. [pɛpɵz] and [pɛɸɵz] for *Pepper's*. It also means that many of the stop releases are slow giving an affricated sound, e.g. [lɛtˢə] and [lɛᵗsə] for *letter*. Note that this explains the creaky voice following occurrences of the glottal stop, e.g. [gɑʔ̰ə̰] *got a*. Speaker N, on the other hand, does not have this feature. The normal lip position for both speakers is neutral. Such rounding as does occur is effected by parting the lips in the centre only so that the sides are kept together. The one exception is [ø:], where the lips protrude slightly. There is in speaker Y a predisposition to use labio-dental articulations. This is particularly noticeable with her r-sound:[ʋ]. A labio-dental closure is also often used as the position of rest, e.g. [dom̥] *done* at the end of a whole utterance. It must be stressed that this tendency to use labio-dental articulations is not caused

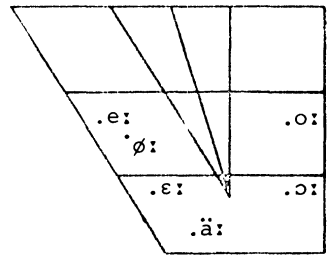
by a protrusion of the top teeth or some similar physical characteristic. It is a widespread feature of speakers from various parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, particularly common amongst teenagers and younger children.

(ii) *Vowel diagrams*

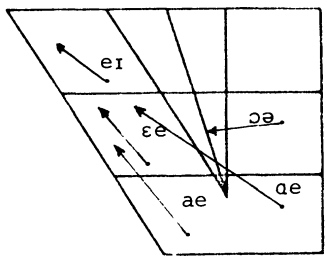
Speaker Y:



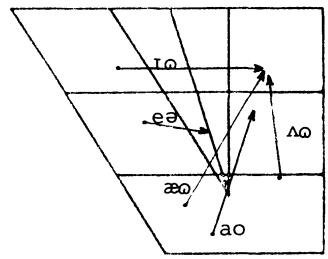
short monophthongs



long monophthongs

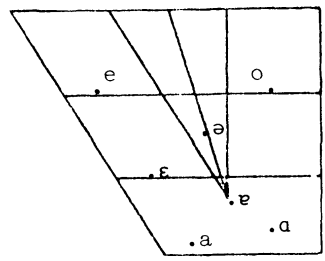


front closing diphthongs and [ɔə]

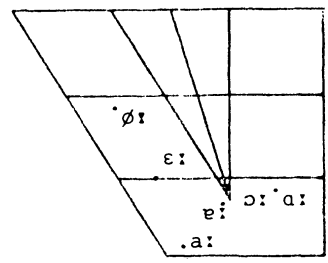


back closing diphthongs and [eə]

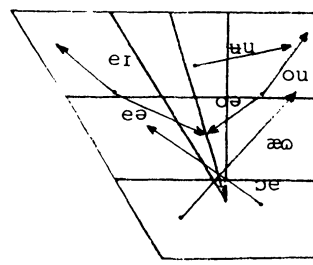
Speaker N:



short monophthongs



long monophthongs



diphthongs

(There are no examples of [ɛe] in the extract.)

Neutral lip positions are indicated by using the IPA symbol for unrounded vowels; [eː ɛː aː] are produced with lips spread rather than neutral by speaker Y. Note that [ɐː] and [aː] are produced with the same tongue height and retraction but are differentiated by the lip position, neutral versus spread respectively.

(iii) *The transcription of speaker Y*

1 ɐ gɑ́ʔ gʋɛ́eɰ ʋɑ́n en ɛ́ŋgleʃ lɛ́ʔ so m t'ɛ̋eken ɛ́e lɛvɨ̩ nɛ́çʃ ɟéə

I got grade one in English Lit., so I'm taking A-level next year.

2 sɛɸ̓ ʔá̰ʔ wɑn

Except that one.

3 aé ɛ́et' eʔ

I hate it.

4 ɐ̰ ʋéəɨe ʋɑ́z gʌ́ɷeŋ t' ɪɷ

I really was going to ...

5 ɐ wɛ́ɱʔ fəʊ ént'əvjɪ́ɷz boʔ ðe sɛ́z ɐ wɒ́ŋʔ gód enof | so ɐ

6 θɑ·ʔ ʋáeʔ je kʻən stéʔ je dʒɑ́β ðɛ̃

I went for interviews but they says I wasn't good enough / so I thought right, you can stick your job then.

7 ɐ wɛ́ɱʔ fə | kədɛ́ʔ kɑ́ːs kɑs ɐ wɒ́n̩ʔ ʌ́ɷɨd enof t'ə gʌ́ɷ t'ə

8 nǿːsen | boʔ ʃe sɛ́z ɐ ɛŋʔ gɑ́ʔ enof ʌ́ɷ lɛvɨ̩z ɐ wɒ́nʔ dɪ́ɷen

9 enof so ʃe woʈ̪ʔ geβ me n· ɐplekʻɛ́eʃɳ fɑ́m

I went for / cadet course 'cos I wasn't old enough to go to nursing / but she says I ain't got enough O-levels I wasn't doing enough so she wouldn't give me an application form.

10 ɐ gɑ́ʔ ə̰ dʒɑ́b en ə sɪ́ɷpm̥mḗːkeʔ ẽ stɑʔpɔəʔ ʔs dʒost ʌ́ɷpm̩d̥ |

11 je ɛndʒɑ́e jesɛ̃ɨ

I got a job in a supermarket in Stockport that's just opened / You enjoy yourself.

12 no nɑʔ ɑ́ːɨ lə t'ɑ́ːm ðɛ t'ɛek eʔ en t'ǿ̃z laeʔ je nʌ́ɷ t'ə

13 ʋeléɪ̥v péɪɸo wɛn nɛe gʌ́ɷ f· ðɛː bʋɛ́ek ʈ̪̰ stóf laeʔ ð̰a̰ʔ | eʔs

14 ɑ: ʋáeʔ je áv ə láf we ðəm á: jə no·

No, not all the time they take it in turns like you know to relieve people when they go for their break and stuff like that. / It's all right, you have a laugh with them all you know.

15 θɹéɪ pɛ́:z en ðə̃ bén | ð dósbemmén ɐd ə pɛ́:ɹ éɪtʃ ən éɪ

16 néʔt ə pɛ́:

Three pairs in the bin / The dustbinmen had a pair each and he nicked a pair.

17 á·ᴮ doũʔ ʋɛ́ʔkɲ so·

I don't reckon so.

18 ef ðe sɛ́e jɐ̥v t'ém meneʔ t'eɪ bʊɛ́ek ɐv é:f ən áoə

If they say you have a ten-minute tea break, I have half an hour.

19 ʌ́ɷvət'á:m ən stóf laeʔ ʔáʔ so ɐ góvə n̥ ə sónde sómt'á:mz̥

Overtime and stuff like that, so I go over on a Sunday sometimes.

20 ðe gɛ́ʔ sɛ́vn̥t'e fáeβ pɛ́ns ən ǽɷə | sɛ́vɲ páoɱψ féfte

They get 75 pence an hour / seven pound fifty.

21 ðe dóːʔ stɛe ʌ́ɷpn̥ ðə̃ dʒos stɑ́k oɸ̀ ʃɛ́ɬvz̥

They don't stay open they just stock up shelves.

22 ɐ gáʔ t'ʌ́ɷɬd ɑf t'ʌ́ɷɬd ɐg gɛ́ʔ ðə sák̀ kɑs ɐg gɑ́ʔ ʔtéɬ dʒámd

I got told off told I'd get the sack 'cos I'd got the till jammed.

23 eʔs dʒós ʋaeʔ ɑ́pəzepˀ bʊéteʃ̥ ʌ́ɷm stóəz̥

It's just right opposite British Home Stores.

24 jɛ́: eʔs zə kɬáseks nǽɷ ᵏgɑtˀ t'íɷ bég sénəməz zɛ́:

25 ɬá:kˀ je ʋá:ʔ op ðɛ́: ə̃j̃ jə líɷkeũ ʋá:ʔ dǽɷn ɐt' eʔ

Yeah it's the Classics now, it's got two big cinemas there. / It's like you're right up there and you're looking right down at it.

26 e? kaʃ$^{e}_{\circ}$ tʃwén:^{d}e fa:β péns aⁿ nə βós

It costs you twenty-five pence on the bus.

27 féfteɪm péns | téʊəψö ént$^{?}$ e? | ?e?s ó:fɬ á: gɛ? əwɛ we fó:

28 ðʌɷ | pʊesénd aɱ óndə se?stéɪn | sʌɷ ɐkɧ gé?$^{\sim}$ əwé$^{\sim}$e weð e?

29 je nə | je gɛ́? soɱ ʊáe? dé:t'e ɬó?s ɑf ðə kəndóktəz zʌ́ɷ |

30 ðɛɾ á:ɬ | dɛ́d jóɳ

Fifteen pence / Terrible, isn't it? / It's awful I get away with four though / Pretend I'm under sixteen / so I can get away with it you know / You get some right dirty looks off the conductors though. / They're all / dead young.

31 ?tʃéendʒ ɯ̃ẹ ma·end$_{\circ}$ | máend^{3} jíɷ we máe ɛ: ðɛd$^{\urcorner}_{\circ}$ tʃó? me æɷ? |

32 ef je gɛ́? je é: ko? lae?$^{\sim}$ ðá? β̃ ná? komen éə

I changed my mind / Mind you with my hair they'd chuck me out / If you get your hair cut like that I'm not coming here.

33 ɐ lóv aven ə móg ə tʃéken síɷp$^{\urcorner}_{?}$ befáʊ ɐ ɣó t'ə bɛd wɛn ɐw̃

34 wátʃeⁿ nə t'éle

I love having a mug of chicken soup before I go to bed when I'm watching the telly.

35 ez ə wóg$^{\urcorner}_{\circ}$ ko? məʃéɪnest' | wǿ:?çs op áfət'ən | e ast'ə k'ó?

36 á:ɬ péɪsez ə wód je nʌ́ɷ ʏaek' ə̃ mɛ́ek θéɳz$_{\circ}$

He's a wood-cut machinist / works up Offerton / He has to cut all pieces of wood you know like and make things.

37 e ɛ́e?s e? e lá·e??^{t} ðə wán e ádb$^{\urcorner}$ befá:ʊ e wz n ɐpʌ́ɷɬstʊə

He hates it, he liked the one he had before, he was an upholsterer.

38 e sɛ́ⁿ ðə fɛ́ɬə ðɛ́: t'ʌ́ɷɬm me t'$_{\circ}$ə gʌ́ɷ daonsté:z wev$_{\circ}$ som st'ó$_{\circ}$ɸ

39 wée?ɧ fə | t'$_{\circ}$ə be dón e sɛz ɐ θá:t'$^{?}$ e?$_{\sim}$ b$^{\urcorner}$be sóm sɛt'$^{\iota}$éɪz

40 waɱ$^{?}_{\pi}$ ʊeɪk'óvʊen ə sómθen

He said the fellow there told me to go downstairs we've some stuff waiting for / to be done he says I thought it'd be some settees want recovering or something.

41 job$^{\urcorner}$ bɛ́?ə léɪv ðá·? ɧ gɛ?$_{\sim}$ nóðə wán

You'd better leave that and get another one.

42 me mɛ́eʔ wɛ́nde ʃéɪj beŋ góen ǽœʔ weð ə láð fə ... | á·β beŋ
43 góen ǽœʔ we ew̃ t'ɪ́ɷ n̩ ɐ́:f jéəz ɑn sát'əde so we ɑ́ went˺ t'ə
44 bláʔpɪɷɫ se sɛ́ɫəbɾɛeʔ | wɑ́ɫ̃ lɐd wəz̥ sék'ɑ́n eʔ ə̃ fel təʊ̃ψ
45 ʋáond̥ tə ez gɪ́ɤ fʋɛ́nd e sɛz ez e ɑ́:ʋ ʋɑ́:ʔ

My mate Wendy she's been going out with a lad for ... / I've been going out with him two and a half years on Saturday, so we all went to Blackpool to celebrate. / One lad was sick on it and Phil turned round to his girl-friend he says, Is he all right?

46 ɑ́: lóvd eʔ | ðə bég˺ dépə wɑw̃ʔ wǿ̸:k'en no

I loved it / The Big Dipper wasn't working, though.

47 ɐ θɑ́·ʔ weəz góen t'ə go ɑ́f əʔ ðə̥ k'ɑ́:nə kəz eʔ dʒǿ̸:ʔt' ən
48 eʔ séɪm t'ə t'ép óp

I thought we was going to go off at the corner 'cos it jerked and it seemed to tip up.

49 we wɛ́ə̃ʔ ɑn̺ n̺aʔ n̩ eʔ ʋát'ɨz ɑ: ɫə t'ɑ́:m | ʃɛ́eʔʃe bǽœʔ

We went on that and it rattles all the time / shakes you about.

50 ðɛ mɛ́eʔ je

They make you.

51 ʃe̥ mɑ́:ʔ ə gɑt' én jɛʔ | ʔ depɛ́nnz ef ʃez̥ pást əʋ ɛ́ŋɫəʃ |
52 ef ʃe dó̥ʒ ʃe be ɛ́ebə t'ə béɪ | ə | nǿ̸:s

She might have got in yet / It depends if she's passed her English. / If she does, she'll be able to be / a / nurse.

53 sómθel̃ laeʔ ðɑ́ʔ | ʃe domʔ bɑ́ðə

Something like that / She doesn't bother.

54 ɐ wɑʔ ə dɑ́·g̊ | ðjos t'ɐv lʌ́ɷdz̥

I want a dog / They used to have loads.

55 ɐ k'óʔ ðes péʔtʃʋ áəʔ ʔə pɛ́epə n̺ n̺és gɪ́əɫ ʃe̥ ad lóvle hɛ́: |
56 t'óx eʔ t'ə ðe ɛ́:dʋɛsə op ðə ʋʌ́ɷd

I cut this picture out of the paper and this girl she had lovely hair / Took it to the hairdresser up the road.

57 ɐ k'ɛ́π m̥e ɛ́ψ̥˺ kóvəd ɔ́π fəʊ ɛ́edʒez̥ | laɐk ə nóʔt'ə

I kept my head covered up for ages / Like a nutter.

58 jɪɷ ɬok ɑ́:fɬ̩ so ɐ k'ót' eʔ t'ə méek eʔ lɪ́ɷʔ bɛ́t'ə k'oz eʔ

59 ɬóʔs ə mɛ́s wae eʔ wɵz̥ guʌ́ɷen ɑ́oʔ so e sɛz jɪ́ɷ ɬɪ́ɷʔ t'ɛ́ɹəbɬ̩

60 | stʃə́:pe̟b mán

You look awful so I cut it to make it look better because it looked a mess while it was growing out so he says you look terrible / Stupid man!

61 ʔʃáoʔs | e wʌ́ɷ̃ʔ éʔ me e wʌ́ɷ̃ʔ ǿ̸:ʔ ɛ́nebade em

He shouts / He won't hit me he won't hurt anybody him.

62 jeð θéŋk o éɪz̥ | dɛʊ ʊóf boʔ eɪ éznʔ̩ ez zə mʌɷs wéɪkes lékɬ̩

63 θéŋ̊g

You'd think, oh he's / dead rough but he isn't he's the most weakest little thing.

(iv) *The transcription of speaker N*

64 dáɷn t̆ˀ sɛ́llə | n̩ ənoðə wan em peɪtəz bɛ́d'ɹoum | ðáʔ wũ we

65 ád ətˀ˺ bókstən ɹó:d̥ | ðáʔ wan op em péɪtəz bɛ́dɹoum wǿ̸:k

66 ɔ:ɹáeʔ| eɪ fédɬ̩z əbǽɷʔ | tʻé:ks θɛ́:ɹeəɬ | jə séɪ ɐ wǿ̸:k oɸ

67 ən éndoəɹ ɛ́:ɹeəɬ ən eʔs vɛ́ɹe kɹétecl̩ wɛ́: jə gɛ́ʔ ðe ɛ́:ɹeəɬ |

68 gɛt et en ə pɹɑ́pə spɑ́ʔ fɒɹ em tə ġɛ́t ə god˺ péktʃə n̩aʔ | goz

69 m̩ póɬz eʔ dǽɷn əm póʔs eʔ sómwɛ:ɹ ɛ́ɬs | e kʻǟ:ŋʔ gɛɹ ə gób˺

70 péktʃə

Down the cellar / and another one in Peter's bedroom / That one we had at Buxton Road / That one up in Peter's bedroom works alright / He fiddles about / takes the aerial / You see I work up an indoor aerial and it's very critical where you get the aerial / get it in a proper spot for him to get a good picture and that / Goes and pulls it down and puts it somewhere else / He can't get a good picture.

71 nɛ́ks dóə bəʔ wɑ́n ʃez̥ póʔ θɹéɪ pɛ́:ɹ əv̥ pó:ɬəɹɔed˺ ɟlásez en

72 nə bén ən ə pɛ́:ɹ ə njʉ́u ʃʉ́uz bjʉutefɬ̩ pɛ́:ɹ ə ʃʉ́uz | ən ə

73 pɛ́:ɹ ə njʉ́u sláˀks | en ˀ dósben

Next door but one she's put three pair of polaroid glasses in the bin and a pair of new shoes, beautiful pair of shoes / and a pair of new slacks / in the dustbin.

74 ᵊdó:nˀ θéŋk ɐv ɛ́və bɔ́:t ɛne

I don't think I've ever bought any.

75 wɫ láˀ pɛ́:ɹ opstɛ́:z ɐ fǽɷn ném ɑn | sǽɷθse béɪtʃ | pɛ́:ɹ ə
76 wá̈:ˀ ɹémd wónz ze á: jə no: | ɐ gɑ́t ə pɛ́:ɹ ə ðɛ́m əz góz
77 ensá̈:d jə ɔ́:nn̩ɹe glasez̥ | á̈: spɛ́ʃɫess sé: | jə ʃónn̩ˀ wɛ́:ɹ
78 əm

Well that pair upstairs I found them on / Southsea beach / Pair of white-rimmed ones they are you know / I got a pair of them as goes inside your ordinary glasses / Eye specialists say / you shouldn't wear them.

79 wø̸:ks ɑf ˀ ká̈: bát'ɹe | ɑɹ etɫ̩ wø̸:k ɑf ˀ mé:nz | eɪ móks
80 əbǽɷˀ we ðáˀ

Works off the car battery / or it'll work off the mains / He mucks about with that.

81 eɪ dóz ez ɔ́:lez móken əbæɷˀ bɛ́nden ˀθɛ́:ɹeəɫ

He does, he's always mucking about bending the aerial.

82 jə nó: wət ə wəz lésnen tʉ́u ɔ́:ɫ θɹʉ́u | tʃəkɑ́fskez̥ féfθ

You know what I was listening to all through? / Tchaikovsky's Fifth.

83 ɐ wəz zɛ́:ɹ ɑm me ó:ŋ kwá̈:ˀ lä:ˀk | ˀsnɑ́ˀ bäd mjʉ́uzeˀk˺

I was there on my own quiet like / It's not bad music.

84 az e ʃó:n jə ˀ benɑ́ˀkəɫəz e gɑ́ˀ æɷt ə̥ tɛ́sko:

Has he shown you the binoculars he got out of Tesco?

85 nɑˀ spó:s ˀ beɪ

Not supposed to be.

86 ä dó:nˀ no wɑ́ˀ jə bɔ́:ˀ ðɛ́m θéŋ fɑ ðɛ nó: gód˺

I don't know what you bought them things for, they're no good.

87 ə tʃéɪp˺ pɛ́:ɹ ə benɑ́kjəɬəz

A cheap pair of binoculars.

88 sótʃ əz zá? wɑ́nted˺ pɑ́enten æʊt˺ tə ðá? blɔ́:k˺ t'oðə ná:t o

89 əz ɑ̈́:gu̯en əbæʊ? bɹéteʃ kɑ̈́:z ən sǿ:ves | et éznt˺ bɹéteʃ

90 kɑ̈́:z əz fɔ́:lz dɑ́on | sə mótʃ | fɑ́ɹen kɑ̈́:z dóz et˺

Such as that wanted pointing out to that bloke the other night, who was arguing about British cars and service / It isn't British cars as falls down / so much / foreign cars does it.

91 ə dɛ́lekət ə: enst'ɹɔ́kʃəm bú̯uk ɑn ...

A delicate er instruction book on ...

92 jə gɛ́t sɔ́: məne stjú̯udnts ɑn fɑ́ɹen lɛ́ŋgwəʒez dɔ́ː? jə | ə

93 koəs fɹɛ́nʃ ö be ðə fǿ:s wɑ́n

You get so many students on foreign languages, don't you? / Of course French'll be the first one.

(v) *Phonological discussion*
Inventory and distinction characteristics of the Stockport system are negative ones in comparison to several of the other accents presented in this book. The most important features are: no /o/-/ʌ/ distinction, no /h/, no post-vocalic [r] before another consonant, no /n/-/ŋ/ distinction. [ŋ] without a following [g] occurs before another consonant as a product of CCS (cf. Lodge, 1966 and 1981, and below for further discussion; see also Knowles, 1978: 85). Informant N has a vocalic distinction which Y does not: /e:/-/ɛe/([1]), as in *wait/weight* respectively. (This is not in the recorded material, but see Lodge, 1973.) The phonetic realization of /ae/ varies somewhat for both informants. N has a long monophthong, [ä:] *eye* (77), which has the retracted tongue position of some realizations of /a:/, e.g. [k'ä:ŋ?] *can't* (69), or he has a diphthong [ae], as in [ɔ:ɹae?] *alright* (66); Y has similar realizations, e.g. [t'a:m] *time* (12), [ʋae?] *right* (6), but the former is kept phonetically distinct from /ɐ:/ in terms of lip position (see (ii) above). Short vowels other than /ə/ and /e/ occur in unstressed syllables.

/r/ is realized as [ɹ] by N, but mostly as [ʊ] by Y, though [ɹ] is used as a link sometimes and occurs after /θ/, e.g. [pɛ:ɹ eɪtʃ] *pair each* (15) and [θɹeɪ] *three* (15). There is one example of a flap as a link: [ðɛɾ ɑ:ɬ] *they're all* (30).

The distribution and occurrence of [ʔ] is of particular interest. (For some discussion, see the Introduction.) For Y it is the realization of /t/ in word-final position, before tautosyllabic obstruents and in syllable-final position before all non-syllabic consonants, e.g. [gɑʔ] *got* (8), [eʔs] *it's* (13), [eʔ lɪɷʔ] *it look* (58). Before syllabic /l/, however, we find [t]: compare [ʊatˈɬz] *rattles* (40) and [wɛeʔɬ̩] *waiting* (39). Occasionally, Y uses intervocalic [ʔ] within a word, e.g. [bɛʔə] *better* (41). She also uses it as the realization of /k/ in word-final position, utterance-finally and before consonants, especially in *like*, e.g. (12), and before /t/ within a word, e.g. [neʔt] *nicked* (16). Glottal reinforcement is likewise widespread in her speech. (Her habits in this respect are in line with those of group A, as described in the Introduction.)

N, on the other hand, uses it only as a realization of syllable-final /t/ before consonants, whether word-final or not, and in glottal reinforcement. The major difference between the two speakers is use of [ʔ] for the definite article. Y uses it only sporadically: [ʔtel] *the till* (22) (cf. also [ʔ~las] *the last* from Lodge, 1978: 67, line 119). However, in both instances the preceding sound is [ʔ], so that they could be interpreted as a conditioned variant of /ð/, cf. [lae ʔ ʔa̰ʔ] *like that* (19), with the subsequent operation of UVD, cf. [ð dosbemmen] *the dustbinmen* (15). N, on the other hand, uses it regularly, though not exclusively, with alternant forms depending on the environment. *The* has the variant forms of most accents: [ðə] + C, [ðe] + V, with consonantal harmony applying to the initial consonant as described in Lodge (1981). The distribution of the other forms is as follows:

[t]	[ʔ]/[t̰]	[θ]
[tˈoðə] (88)	[daɷn t̰ sɛllə] (64)	[θ ɛ:ɹeəɬ] (66)
	[en ʔ dosben] (73)	[ʔθ ɛ:ɹeəɬ] (81)
	[ɑf ʔ kä:] (79)	
	[ɑf ʔ me:nz] (79)	
	[jə ʔ benɑk̰əɬəz] (84)	

Thus, we have the exceptional form with [tˈ] only in *the other* (though a form [θ oðə], not recorded here,

is also used in Stockport, cf. SED III: 1065); before consonants we have [ʔ] with a simultaneous alveolar closure between alveolar sounds; before vowels [θ], though following continuants and vowels the form is [ʔθ]. (There are no recorded examples of the latter in the material I am using; an example would be: [fə ʔθ ɛ:ɹeəɬ] *for the aerial*.)

The question as to what the underlying form is is somewhat complex. If /t/ is chosen, since it is the phonological element to which most occurrences of [ʔ] are related, we have its regular realization, mostly without oral closure, in syllable-final position, the vowel of the article being deleted first by UVD. In this case we have the derivation as in (*1*).

(*1*) /ɑf tV me:nz/(²)

Stress placement	⇒	ɑf tə mé:nz
UVD	⇒	ɑf t mé:nz
/t/-realization	⇒	[ɑf ʔ mé:nz]

(I have left the intermediate stages of the derivation without brackets to indicate that their exact phonological status is undetermined. For some discussion of intermediate status, specifically related to SPE, see Fudge, 1967.) The prevocalic instances involve the addition of [θ] and, after obstruents, the deletion of [t]. We thus have the derivations (*2*) and (*3*).

(*2*) /te:ks tV ɛ:ɹeəl/

Stress placement	⇒	té:ks tə é:ɹeəl
UVD	⇒	té:ks t é:ɹeəl
θ-insertion	⇒	té:ks tθ é:ɹeəl
CCS	⇒	[te:ks θ é:ɹeəɬ]

(*3*) /-en tV ɛ:ɹeəl/

Stress placement	⇒	-en tə é:ɹeəl
UDV	⇒	-en t é:ɹeəl
θ-insertion	⇒	-en tθ é:ɹeəl
/t/-realization	⇒	[-en ʔθ é:ɹeəɬ]

CCS does not apply to /t/ after nasals (cf. Lodge, 1981: 34).

The main problem with this solution is the unmotivated θ-insertion rule; it is *ad hoc* to this particular lexical item. Furthermore, there is no

obvious relationship between these forms and the forms with initial /ð/. An alternative solution would be to posit an underlying /θV/ for the article. This would indicate more clearly the relationship with /ðV/([3]), giving speakers the option of a "voiced" or a "voiceless" article, depending on certain social considerations. (The factors determining this choice are unclear to me, but include sex of the speaker, sex of the hearer(s), and their perceived social status.) The rules involved would then be:

(*1'*) /ɑf θV me:nz/

Stress placement	⇒	ɑf θə mé:nz
UVD	⇒	ɑf θ mé:nz
t-insertion	⇒	ɑf tθ mé:nz
CCS	⇒	ɑf t mé:nz
/t/-realization	⇒	[ɑf ʔ mé:nz]

(*2'*) /te:ks θV ɛ:ɹeəl/

Stress placement	⇒	té:ks θə ɛ́:ɹeəl
UVD	⇒	[té:ks θ ɛ́:ɹeəɬ]

(*3'*) /-en θV ɛ:ɹeəl/

Stress placement	⇒	-en θə ɛ́:ɹeəl
UVD	⇒	-en θ ɛ́:ɹeəl
t-insertion	⇒	-en tθ ɛ́:ɹeəl
/t/-realization	⇒	[-en ʔθ ɛ́:ɹeəɬ]

This is preferable to the analysis as /tV/ because of the clearer representation of the relationship with /ðV/ and the avoidance of the *ad hoc* rule of θ-insertion. The t-insertion rule, on the other hand, represents part of a general insertion phenomenon, stop epenthesis, which has operated at various times throughout the history of English (eg. the /b/ in *thimble*, /d/ in *thunder*, etc. cf. Strang, 1970: 166, and Anderson and Jones, 1977: 130). In (*1'*) the rule deleting θ can either be seen as an extension of CCS (which applies elsewhere, too, e.g. in words such as *fifths*, *sixths* and *months*), or as a simplification of an otherwise impossible syllable-initial cluster θ + obstruent.

In either solution the one remaining problem is absolute initial [ʔ] before consonants (no examples recorded), as in [ʔ bos ez komen] *The bus is coming*.

This cannot be accounted for by the rules given so far, but since the available material is insufficient to give a proper analysis, I shall leave this unanswered here, though I shall return to this problem in the last chapter([4]).

There is a constraint on the occurrence of [ʔ] for both informants: a sequence ʔV̆ʔ, where V̆ = unstressed vowel, either [ə] or [e], is ruled out, except in absolute initial sequences with an added glottal onset, as in [ʔeʔs] (27). Thus, we find [énn̆ eʔ] *isn't it?* (27), but not *[énʔ eʔ]([5]).

I shall now turn to the phonological processes, which are more widespread in Y's than in N's speech.

(a) *Lenition.* The most common lenition in Stockport is stop → fricative (cf. Lodge, 1981: 20-22):

[peɪɸo] *people* (13)

[n̪ə βos] *the bus* (26)

[pʊesɛnd] *pretend* (28)

[ɐ ɣo] *I go* (33)

[tox eʔ] *took it* (56)

[oɸ ən] *up an* (66-67).

The other lenition process, which occurs quite often, is the vocalization or even deletion of /l/, e.g.

[nʌɷ ɤaek] *know like* (36)

[gɪɤ fʊɛnd] *girl friend* (45)

[wae eʔ] *while it* (59).

There are no examples of this in N's speech.

(b) *Harmony.* Consonantal harmony is widespread in Y's speech, less so in N's (see Lodge, 1981, for a detailed discussion of this process in Stockport). It is the alveolar series, /t d n s z/, in particular, which harmonize in preconsonantal position to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g.

[tɛm mene ʔ] *ten-minute* (18)

[fefteɪm pɛns] *fifteen pence* (27)

[soŋ ʊae ʔ] *some right* (29)

[ɑn̪ n̪ə] *on the* (26)

[jobˁ bɛʔə] *you'd better* (41)

[sɛd̪ ðə] *said the* (38)

[woɡˁ koʔ] *wood-cut* (35)

[o:ŋ kwä:ʔ] *own quiet* (83)

[gobˀ pektʃə] *good picture* (69-70).

Note that in N's case harmony is not so consistently applied as by Y: [godˀ pektʃə] also occurs in line (68). In the case of /t/ the realizations are found both with and without supraglottal closure:

[ɑpəzeʔpˀ bʊeteʃ] *opposite British* (23)

[kədɛʔ kɑ:s] *cadet course* (7).

In the case of /-nd/ and /-nt/ the harmony applies to both segments, e.g.

[paoŋψ fefte] *pound fifty* (20)

[domʔ bɑðə] *doesn't bother* (53)

[wɛŋʔ fə] *went for* (5) and (7)

[woɧʔ geβ] *wouldn't give* (9).

(In the case of /-nt/ the supraglottal closure is held throughout the glottal one.)

Syllabic /n/ often harmonizes with the preceding consonant, e.g.

[ʌɷpmd] *opened* (10)

[bʊɛk̚ʔ ɧ] *break and* (13).

Palatalization of /t d s z/ occurs before /j/. /s/ is most consistently palatalized; there are exceptions for /d/ and /z/, e.g.

[ʃɛeʔʃe] *shakes you* (49)

[maend^{3} jɪɷ] *mind you* (31)

[dɛd joŋ] *dead young* (30)

[sɛz jɪɷ] *says you* (59).

Some examples involve CCS (see next section) as well as harmony, e.g.

[nɛçʃ jeə] *next year* (1)

[kɑʃ$^{e}_{o}$] *costs you* (26).

Word-initial [ʃ] also produces harmony in the appropriate preceding consonant (for details, see Lodge, 1981: 27-28), e.g.

[do$^{o}_{ʒ}$ ʃe] *does she* (52).

With /t/, which is realized mostly as [ʔ] in word-final position, no harmony can take place, e.g.

[gɛʔ je] *get your* (32).

Occasionally harmony occurs within a word, e.g.

[stʃəːpe̞b] *stupid* (60).

N has two palatal articulations, which may be interpreted as instances of harmony, not found in Y's speech,

[kɹetecl̩] *critical* (67)

[poːɬəɹɔedˠ ɟlasez] *polaroid glasses* (71).

He also uses a velar articulation, as in:

[ɔːnn̩ɹe glasez] *ordinary glasses* (77).

From these examples it is difficult to see exactly what the conditioning environment is, though it is probably the place of articulation of the preceding sound (bearing in mind that the final vowel of *ordinary* is centralized because it is unstressed, whereas the unstressed vowel in *critical* is not centralized, perhaps under the influence of the stressed [e]). We may note further that a number of speakers in the Stockport area have such articulations for /kl/ and /gl/ and that the exact point of contact on the roof of the mouth for /l/-realizations and the posture of the rest of the tongue varies quite a lot depending on the surrounding sounds (cf. Lodge, 1978: 61).

Another kind of place harmony is to be found only in Y's speech, as can be seen from the alternation of bilabial and labiodental articulations, e.g.

[geβ me] *give me* (9)

[faːβ pɛns] *five pence* (20) and (26)

[stoɸ wɛeʔɧ] *stuff waiting* (38-39)

[aˑβ beŋ] *I've been* (42).

In addition Y also displays a tendency to harmonize consonants to a labiodental place of articulation even when there are intervening vowels, e.g.

[gʊɛeѱ ʊɑn] *grade one* (1)

[tɛʊəѱo] *terrible* (27)

[ʊeəɬe ʊɑz] *really was* (4).

In the last example there is also an intervening lingual consonant, but this does not affect the labiodental posture. (For a discussion of this in relation to child language, see Lodge, 1983, and cf. Stampe's comments on non-contiguous harmony, 1979: 76.) A particularly striking example of labiodental

harmony is:

[ɐ kɛπ ɱe ɛψ kovəd oπ fəu ɛedʒez]

I kept my head covered up for ages (57).

This could be seen as a "left-over" from the acquisition period.

The dentals /θ/ and /ð/ harmonize with alveolar fricatives both before and after them (cf. Lodge, 1981: 29). There are no examples of /θ/ in the texts in this position, only of /ð/, e.g.

[eʔs zə] *it's the* (24)

[senəməz zɛ:] *cinemas there* (24)

[əz zaʔ] *as that* (88).

We shall consider /ð/ further below.

The other main type of harmony, that of manner (in addition to place harmony in most cases), is only found in Y's speech, e.g.

[wɑw̃ʔ wø:ken] *wasn't working* (46)

[lɪɷkeʊ̃ ʊa:ʔ] *looking right* (25)

[doʊ̃ʔ ʊɛk̂ɧ] *don't reckon* (17)

[wɑɬ̃ lɐd] *one lad* (44)

[ə̃j̃ jə] *and you're* (25).

Although the sound most commonly affected is /n/, we also find manner harmony with /m l ð/ and occasionally the oral stops, too, e.g.

[ɑn̪ n̪ə] *on the* (26)

[ɐw̃ wɑtʃen] *I'm watching* (33-34)

[ɑ:ʊ ʊa:ʔ] *all right* (45)

[ɑ:ɬ lə] *all the* (12)

[laeʔ ʔa̪ʔ] *like that* (19)

[lað fə] *lad for* (42)

[nɛçʃ] *next* (1)

[dʒɑβ ðɛ̃] *job then* (6)

[dɛʊ ʊof] *dead rough* (62).

With the exception of /ð/→[ʔ]'and [n̪], these examples of manner harmony follow the direction of lenition, that is, stops become fricatives or frictionless continuants, but not the other way round.

In one instance /d/ has harmonized as to place and nasality, giving: [tʌɷɬm me] *told me* (38).

Harmony of nasality only also occurs but is not common:

[ʌʊpn̩ ðe] *open they* (21)

[depɛnnz] *depends* (51).

There is also an example of vocalization of syllabic /l/:

[peɪɸo wɛn] *people when* (13),

which could also be the explanation for the vocalization of initial /l/ in *know like*, given above under lenition.

(c) *CCS*. Consonantal cluster simplification applies to both speakers. There are several examples from Stockport given in the Introduction and I shall not repeat them here. They affect /t/ and /d/ interconsonantally. Some of the examples also involve harmony, and we find both unsimplified and simplified clusters with harmony. Consider the following:

/paond fefte/

Place Harmony ⇒ [-ŋψ f-]

/seɪmd tə/

CCS ⇒ [-m tə]

/and pots/

Place Harmony ⇒ -mb p-

CCS ⇒ [-m p-].

The situation is somewhat different for /n/ before /t/: it is the /n/ that is deleted whether there are consonants following /t/ or not, e.g. [wɑˀ ə] *want a* (54). However, it is common for the nasality to remain, as in [wʌ̃ˀ øːˀ] *won't hurt* (61), [doːˀ jə] *don't you* (92). Nasal harmony followed by /n/-deletion (cf. Hyman's discussion of French, 1975: 130-31) will only account for the forms with nasalized vowels; the non-nasal forms would require a further nasality-deletion rule, optional before /t/. On the other hand, if the rules can apply in either order, the non-nasalized forms would be accounted for by /n/-deletion alone.

In the sequence /ng/ the /n/ behaves differently in the unstressed endings /-eng/ and /-θeng/ from elsewhere, including stressed /θeng/. Thus, we find [komen] *coming* (32), [somθen] *something* (40), [θeŋg̊]

thing (63) and [θeŋz] *things* (36). In the last two examples the nasal is velar, i.e. it has harmonized with the following /g/, deleted by CCS in *things*. In the first two examples, though, we have an alveolar nasal. Furthermore, this unstressed *-ing* ending shows the place harmonies displayed by /n/, e.g.

[wɑtʃeɲ̟ n̟ə] (34)

[wɛe?n̪̊ fə] (39)

[somθeɪ̃ lae?] (53).

We thus need to distinguish the *-(th)ing* endings from the other occurrences of /-ng/. In the latter case the /n/ is subject to velar harmony, then CCS applies to delete the /g/, when there is a following consonant, e.g.

/θengz/

Place Harmony ⇒ θeŋgz

CCS ⇒ [θeŋz] (36).

In absolute final position, where CCS does not apply, the /g/ sometimes is deleted, but not always; thus, [θeŋg̊] (63), but [joŋ] (30). There is also fluctuation within a word; compare [eŋɬəʃ] (51) with [eŋgleʃ] (1). This example seems to indicate a fluctuation in syllable structure; CCS only applies to a stop articulation in the coda of a syllable, so the former example must have the boundary after the /g/, whereas the latter one has it before the /g/.

With the unstressed endings there are two possibilities. They may behave exactly like stressed /-eng/, e.g.

/-eng t-/

Place Harmony ⇒ -eŋg t-

CCS ⇒ [-eŋ t-] (4).

Otherwise /g/ is deleted before any harmony takes place, e.g.

/-eng l-/

/g/-deletion ⇒ -en l-

Manner Harmony ⇒ [-eɪ̃ l-] (53).

This is not CCS, because the same deletion takes place before a vowel, e.g. [goen aœ?] *going out* (42) ([6]).

Finally, we may note that there are more complex derivations, as follows:

/-eng ʊ-/

/g/-deletion	⇒	-en ʊ-
Place Harmony	⇒	-eŋ ʊ-
Manner Harmony	⇒	[-eṽ ʊ-] (25)

/-ɛkst j-/

CCS	⇒	-ɛks j-
Place Harmony	⇒	-ɛkʃ j-
Manner Harmony	⇒	[-ɛçʃ j-] (1).

There are two late, optional rules, which can apply after CCS and Harmony, as exemplified by the following instance:

/-sts j-/

CCS	⇒	-ss j-
Place Harmony	⇒	-ʃʃ j-
Geminate Simplif.	⇒	-ʃ j-
/j/-deletion	⇒	[-ʃ$^{e}_{\circ}$] (26).

Palatal harmony applies to all identical preceding alveolars (cf. Lodge, 1981: 37). Geminate Simplification and /j/-deletion are characteristic of rapid speech. The former applies to all such sound sequences, e.g. [ɑ: ɬə] *all the* (49), though it is optional as demonstrated by [spɛʃɬess se:] *specialists say* (77). The latter rule applies after [ʃ] and [ʒ] across a word- or syllable-boundary, when the word with initial /j/ is unstressed, cf. also [ʃɛe?ʃe] *shakes you* (49).

(d) *UVD*. The circumstances under which this rule applies are difficult to determine in any general way. It is optional and not applied regularly. The commonest occurrence is loss of initial unstressed vowels, especially in absolute initial position or after vowels, e.g.

[so m] *so I'm* (1)

[sɛɸ̆] *except* (2)

[govə] *go over* (19)

[?tʃɛendʒ] *I changed* (31)

[ʃɛe?ʃe baœ?] *shakes you about* (49)

[?depɛnnz] *it depends* (51)

[ʔʃaoʔs] *He shouts* (61)

[goz] *He goes* (68)

[ʔs] *It's* (83).

A preceding glottal stop also appears to bring about the loss of an unstressed vowel, e.g.

[stɑʔpɔəʔ ʔs] *Stockport that's* (10)

[eʔ~b] *it would* (39)

[aəʔ ʔə] *out of the* (55)

[spoːs ʔ beɪ] *supposed to be* (85).

See also above for the treatment of the glottal stop as the definite article, where UVD is involved.

The unstressed auxiliary verbs, *an, and* and *not* in particular can lose their syllabicity when the surrounding sounds are vowels or semi-vowels (/j/ and /w/), e.g. [ewznəp-] (37), with two syllables rather than four, and [wɒnʔ] *wasn't* (8) alongside [wɒn] (7).

The other main instances of UVD are those discussed in the Introduction, where CV́CəCə is reduced to CV́CCə, where C = at least one consonant, and the final vowel may also be [e], e.g.

[əpʌʊɬstʊə] *upholsterer* (37)

[bat'ɹe] *battery* (79).

(e) *Linking r.* Both informants use linking r extensively, but not on every occasion where it might apply, e.g.

[ðɛː ə̃j̃] *there and* (25)

[jə ɔːnnɹe] *your ordinary* (77).

Y uses [ʊ], [ɹ] and [ɾ] as links, the former being the most common. The link only occurs after [ə], [ɐː] (or [äː]), [øː] and [ɔː] (or [ɑː])([7]).

NOTES

[1]. For one possible interpretation of the Stockport diphthongs, see Lodge (1973).

[2]. The precise nature of the underlying vowel phase of the article is not important here; V represents some kind of full vowel.

[3]. On the history of the definite article, see, for example, Strang (1970). The historical relationship would also be captured in this analysis. The [θ]~[ð] (Strang, ibid.: 181) alternations could perhaps also be incorporated by means of realization rules operating on one underlying dental fricative

(cf. Fudge, 1969b: 271), but I shall not pursue this further here.

[4]. For a considerable amount of raw data, presented without any analysis, the reader is referred to the SED. In Stockport, before vowels [θ] is used in absolute initial position; before most consonants [ʔ] is used, though in the case of frictionless continuants, both can occur.

[5]. It is worth noting that this is a right-to-left constraint and is evidence for "advance planning" of articulatory moves in speech (cf. Hardcastle, 1981 and refs.). There is a similar constraint in Norwich (Trudgill, 1974: 174-75).

[6]. The /g/-deletion is *ad hoc* to these forms only, unlike in some of the other accents presented in this book. Historically the participle ending in /n/ has a different origin from that ending in /ng/ (cf. Strang, 1970: 238). It would be possible, therefore, to have two alternative participial forms, one with /-n/, the other with /-ng/, avoiding the need for a separate /g/-deletion rule. The unstressed *-thing* ending would also have to be given these alternative forms, even though they are historically not justified in this case. This could be seen as an analogical spread from the participles.

[7]. It is possible that there are circumstances where a link would never be used, but there is no evidence of this in the extracts. In *Shaw Heath*, for example, I have never heard a link used. This may be explained by the fact that in older forms of Stockport speech the first word would have had a back closing diphthong (cf. the Introduction, above), which would not allow a link anyway.

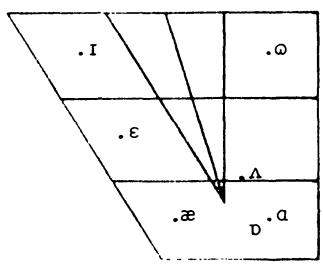
Chapter Two

SHEPHERD'S BUSH, LONDON, W12

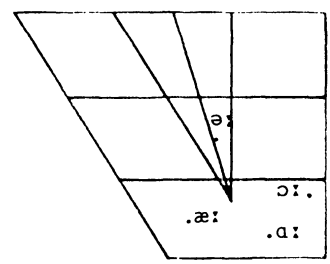
There is one informant, C, aged 60. She was born in Shepherd's Bush, moved to Northolt in 1938, and to Norfolk in 1970. There has been no noticeable adoption of any Norfolk pronunciations. A comparison with Cockney pronunciation shows up a number of differences (see, for example, Wells, 1982: 301-34).

(i) *General*
Most stops have a complete closure, though there is a tendency to produce flaps in intervocalic position. In the release phase only [t] is ever affricated. A slight amount of creaky voice is sometimes to be heard in the vicinity of a glottal stop. The lips are rounded by slight protrusion of the lips with a corresponding drawing in at the sides. Non-rounded lip positions are either spread or neutral, depending on the stress of the syllable in question.

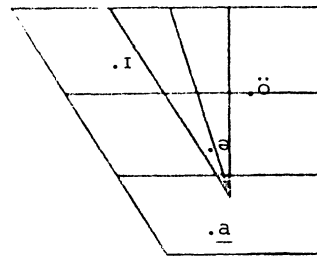
(ii) *Vowel diagrams*



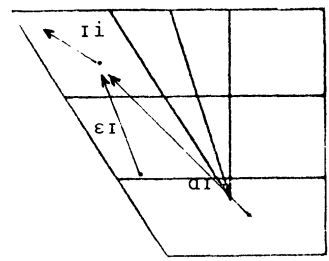
short stressed



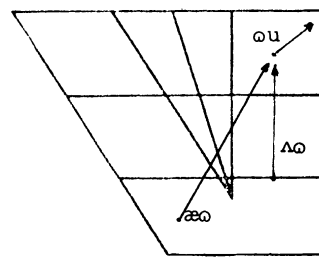
long stressed



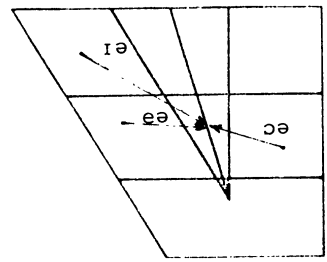
unstressed



front closing diphthongs
(No examples of [ɔɪ].)



back closing diphthongs



centring diphthongs

Unstressed vowels have neutral lip position, except for [ö] and [ɷ] which have no lip protrusion but drawn-in sides.

(iii) *The transcription*

1 ɑɪ ó:wɪʒ jɷ́us tʻæv mάɪn ᴵʔjɷ́us tə fɔ́:ö ðǽʔ wɛ́ɪ | ðǽʔs ɔ́:ö

2 kʌ́mɪŋ bǽk næɷ ʃʌ́ɷdə lɛ́n̥θ heə ən ɪʔ sɛ́d jə nʌ́ɷ nɪ́idˀ tə hæv |

3 a θɪŋk av stɪ́ö gɑ́ʔ ðə pʻɛ́ɪpəɹ a wəz gʌ́ɷnə bɹɪ́ŋ ɪʔ ɹɑ́ɷn:

4 bət ɑɪ dʒʌs kɷ́dnʔ pɷ́ʔ ma hǽ:nd ɒn ɪʔ | ɪʔs mɔ́:ɹ ə lɛ́s ðə

5 stɑ́ɪö wɒʔ ðɛɪ jɷ́us tʻæv | dʒʌs ðɪ ɛ́:ndˀ tɛ́:nd ʌ́p ə bɪtˀ

I always used to have mine - it used to fall that way / that's all coming back now shoulder-length hair and it said you no need to have / I think I've still got the paper I was going to bring it round but I just couldn't put my hand on it / it's more or less the style what they used to have / Just the end turned up a bit.

6 wɛl a dʌ́ɷ̃ʔ θɪ̃ʔ mɑ́ɪ̃z vɛɹɪi mɑ́:vɬəs ɪz ɪʔ ɹɪ́iᵊɬɪi ɑɪ dənʌ́ɷ

Well, I don't think mine's very marvellous is it really? I don't know.

7 wɛɬ lɪ ʌ́ðə wɪ́ik ɑɪ dʒʌs kɷ́dnˀ dɷu ə θɪ́ŋ wɪ́ð ɪd̥ ɪʔ sɪind

8 ʔæbsəlɷ́uʔtlɪi hʌ́ɷplɪs | bəʔ sætədɛɪ ɪʔ sɪ́im tə dʒəs gʌ́ɷ

9 ʔɪ́izəɬɪ əʒ jɷu wɒ́ntəd ë̤t

Well, the other week I just couldn't do a thing with it, it

seemed absolutely hopeless / but Saturday it seemed to just go easily as you wanted it.

10 jə gɛ́ʔ sʌm ɪ́nɛkspɹí^{ə}ɹɪənsst wʌ́nz a səp'ʌ́ʊz

You get some inexperienced ones I suppose.

11 a θɪ̃ʔ ðɛɪ dʒʌ́s gʌ́ʊ tʊ ə ʃʊ́p^{ʔ} dʌ́ʊ̃ʔ ðɛɪ | ðǽʔs wɒt ɑɪ θɪ́ŋk

12 əbaʊ́p^{ʔ} mɑɪ sʌ́nz wʌ́ɪf | bɪkɒ ʃɪz gɒʔ nʌ́ʊ sətɪ́fɪkɪts əɹ

13 ɛ́nɪθɪŋʔ fə hɛ́ədɹɛsɪŋ əɹ ɛ́nɪθɪŋ aṵ̃ ʃɔ́:^{ə} ðǽʔs wɒʔ ʃɪ́i mʌ́st

14 əv dʌ́n

I think they just go to a shop, don't they? / That's what I think about my son's wife / because she's got no certificates or anything for hairdressing or anything I'm sure that's what she must have done.

15 nʌ́:ʊ a səpʌ́ʊ | ðɛ θɪ́ŋk ʌʊɛl ɪʔs ə pɛ́:m ən ɪʔs tʌ́ɪdɪ əɲ ɲǽʔs

16 ɪ́tʔ

No, I suppose / they think, oh well it's a perm and it's tidy and that's it.

17 bʌ̰ʔ ðɛ wɔ́z əm ə tɔ́:k sʌm wʌ́ɪɬ əgʌʊ əbʌ́ʊ̰ʔ ðɪ́iz pɪ́ipɬ hævɪŋ

18 t'ʊu gʌ́ʊ | jə nʌ́ʊ ɬ lɪiz hɛ́ədɹɛsɪŋ pɪ́ipɬ st'ɑ́:tɪŋ ʌ́ɸ ʔ hʌ́ʊm

19 ən ɔ́:ɬ lɪ́s bɪ́zɪs

But there was m a talk some while ago about these people having to go / you know all these hairdressing people starting up at home and all this business.

20 kʊz jʊv gʊ́ʔ nʌʊ klɛ́ɪm ɒɲ ɲəm ǽv jʊu ɒɹ ɛ́nɪθɪŋ ɪf sʌ́mθɪŋ

21 hǽpm̀nd ɪf ðɛɪ gɛ́ɪv jʊu ə pɛ́:m ən ɪʔ ɹʊ́ɯɪndʒə hɛ́ə wɛ wʊ́ʔ

22 kʊdʒʊ dʊ́u | jʊ wʊ́n ǽv ə lɛ́g̊ tə stǽ:nd ɒn wʊ̋dʒö ɹɪ́:əɬɪ |

23 ðǽ:ʔs sə tɹʌ́bö̰

Cos you've got no claim on them, have you, or anything if something happened if they gave you a perm and it ruined your hair, well what could you do? / You wouldn't have a leg to stand on, would you, really? / That's the trouble.

24 sʌ́m pɪ́ipɬ ðɛɪ wö wʊ́ɲʔ ɲɪ́s dʌ́n | ɹɪ́ilɪ ɪʔs sɛɹ ʌ́ʊ̃ ɹɪ́sk ḛ̈n

25 eʔ ɪf ðɛɪ ǽv vɹiz θɪŋz dʌ́n

Some people they, well, want this done / really it's their own risk, isn't it, if they have these things done?

26 dɑ́:k̚ˀ pɪ́iɸö gʌɷɪŋ blɒ́nd

Dark people going blond.

27 jɛ́:ᵊs sɛɪ kʻɑ́:mp̚ˀ bɪ bɒ́ðəd ɑ̟ səpʌ́ɷz̥

Yes, they can't be bothered I suppose.

28 ɪˀ lɷ́ˀks əz ɪf ʃɪz ǽd̪ ðə pɛ́ɪnˀpɒt ɒ́n ɪˀ ɔ́: lə tɑ́ɪm ən a̱

29 wʌ́ndə wɒˀɛ́vəɹ ɪˀs gʌ́ɷnə dɷ́u tə hə̢: skɪ́n lɛɪt'ɹ ɒ́n kɪ́ip̚

30 pɷ́tɪŋ ɔ́: læˀ stʌ́f ɒn | ɪts ɹɪdɪ́kjɷləs ɹɪ́ilɪi ɑɪ θɪ́ŋkˀ məsɛ́öf

It looks as if she's had the paint-pot on it all the time and I wonder whatever it's going to do to her skin later on keep putting all that stuff on / It's ridiculous really I think myself.

31 dʒö mɛ́mbə sǽtədɛɪ wɛw̃ wɪ wə kʻʌ́mɪŋ ʌp ðə ɹʌ́ɷd ɪn̪ n̪ə kʻɑ́: ən

32 ɑɪ sɛ́d ɑɪ θɔ́:t ɪˀ wəz ðʌ́ɷz̥: pɪ́ipö fɹəm ɪ́isbɔ:n

Do you remember Saturday when we were coming up the road in the car and I said I thought it was those people from Eastbourne?

33 ɪˀ wɒ̣́z zɛ́m jö nʌɷ

It was them you know.

34 ɑ̟ sɛd ðǽˀ lɷ́ˀtˀ lɑ́ɪkˀ | ðɪ́iz̪ tɷ́u wɔ́:kɪw̃ wɛ ðə lɛ́ɪdɪi wəz ɒ̋ ðə

35 pɛ́ɪvmənᵈ ən̪ n̪ə hʌ́zbənd lɷ́kˀ lɑɪkˀ ɪn | ɑɪ hæˀn̩t sɪ́in əm fɔ

36 s:ɪ́kʃ jɪ́iəz̥ | nʌ́ɷ kɔ́:s ɪd ɪ́zn̩t

I said that looked like / these two walking, well, the lady was on the pavement and the husband looked like him / I hadn't seen them for six years / No, course it isn't.

37 ɛ́nɪwɛɪ wɪ fɑ́ɷn̪ n̪ɪs nʌ́ɷt wɛw̃ wɪ gɒɾ ɪ́n

Anyway we found this note when we got in.

38 ɪˀʃ jɔ́:ᵊ hɑ́ɷs ɪ̯́zn̩ ɪˀ

It's your house, isn't it?

39 ɑ̟ dɪdn̩ ʌndəstǽ:mb wɑ́ɪ ʃɪ sɛ́d̥ ʃɪ kɷdn:ˀ lɛ́t ə: lɷ́k æt ɪtˀ |

40 sə bɪ́ˀ sɪ́lɪi ɹɪ́ᵊlɪi | wö ðæˀs dɑ́:fp bɪkəz ɪˀs nɒ́ˀ dəzn̩ˀ

41 bɪlɒ́ŋ tə ðɪ ɛ́ɪdʒən: ɪˀs ə́: haɷs

I didn't understand why she said she couldn't let her look at it / It's bit silly really / Well, that's daft, because it's not doesn't belong to the agent, it's her house.

42 ʃɪ wɒ̃́nˀtəd mɪi tə sɛ́n̪n̪ n̪ɪs tɛ́lɪgɹæ̀:m tə ðəm | waɪ ɑɪ ʃb

43 wɛ́ɪsˀt̚ mʌ́nɪi ɒn tɛ́lɪgɹæ̀:mz ən θɪŋz laɪˀ ðǽ:t

She wanted me to send this telegram to them / Why I should waste money on telegrams and things like that.

44 kö́s zə lɛ́təz̥ əd̚ bɪiŋ kɹɒ́sɪŋ ɪn̪ n̪ə pʌ́ɷst

'Cos the letters had been crossing in the post.

45 ɑ̟ wəz dʒə́s:t jə nʌɷ dɷ́uɪŋ͡nə mɪ́iɫ ən̪ fʌ́ɷw̃ wɛ́nˀ nɛ́ks dɔ́ə n̪

46 n̪ɛɪ kɛ́ɪm əz̃ sɛ́d ɔ ɪts fə jɷ́u

I was just you know doing the meal and [the] phone went next door and they came and said, Oh, it's for you.

47 dɪd vɪ́k hæv ə | sɒ́f twɪ́id hǽt ɒn ɔ sʌ́mθɪŋˀ laɪˀ lǽ:ˀ | wɒ

48 lɷ́kɪŋ aɷˀ ðə kɑ̋: ɑɪ sɛ ɪˀ lɷ́ˀ sʌ́mθɪŋˀ laɪˀ lǽ:ˀ | ʃɪ sɛd wɫ

49 ɑ́ɪ hæd ə bɹǽɷn pɪ́nɪfɔə dɹɛs

Did Vic have a / soft tweed hat on or something like that? / Well, looking out of the car, I said, it looked something like that. / She said, Well, I had a brown pinafore dress.

50 sʌɷ ʃɪi sɛ wɪi kˀɷ́ŋˀ gɛˀ nɪi ɑ́:nsə fɹəm n̪ɪs háɷs

So she said, We couldn't get any answer from this house.

51 ɛ́nɪwɛɪ ʃɪ sɛd wɪi pɷπ fɪ́ftɪi pa̋ɷnz daɷn ɒn̪ n̪ə lɑ́:s bʌ́ŋgəlʌɷ

52 ðəˀs tə bɪ bɪ́ɫˀ lɛ̨́ə

Anyway she said, We put fifty pounds down on the last bungalow that's to be built there.

53 ɪˀs tɪ̋pɪkɫ ɒv əm ðeɹ ɔ́: lə sɛ́ɪm | nʌɷ dɪ́fɹn̥ˀ fəɹ ɛ́nɪwʌn

54 ɛ́ö ɫs

It's typical of them, they're all the same / No different for anyone else.

55 sǽtədɛɪ hɪi ɹʌ́ŋ | djɷu mɑ́ɪnd ɪf ɑɪ stɛ́ɪ nɛks wɪ́ik

Saturday he rung / Do you mind if I stay next week?

56 mʌs bɪi dɪ́fɪkö̚ˀ ɹɪ́ilɪi mʌ́sn̩ ɪˀ

Must be difficult really, mustn't it?

57 wǫ̈ lɛɪ dʌ́ɷ̃ˀ wɒ̃́ˀ mɪi tə lɪ́iv jɛ́t əwaɪɫ | θɪ́ŋ̊k ðɛ̣v bɪn lɪ́vɪn

58 ɪɾ ʌ́p ə bɪt̊ ðɪs lɑ́:st wɪ́ik̚ | wɛ́nt tɷ ə k'ʌ́pl əv dɑ́:z̃sɪz jɷ

59 nʌ́ɷ

Well, they don't want me to leave yet awhile. / Think they've been living it up a bit this last week. / Went to a couple of dances, you know.

60 ðɪ́s wɪik hɪiz gɒ́t̚ tə gʌ́ɷ tə skɒ́ˀlənd | sʌ́θɪŋ̊k tə dɷ́u wɪ ðə

61 fə̹́:m

This week he's got to go to Scotland / something to do with the firm.

62 a̠ dʌɷn wɒ́nə wʌ́ɹɪ jɷu | mɛ́ɪkɪn ə bɪ́g̚ dʒɒ́b

I don't want to worry you / making a big job.

(iv) *Phonological discussion*

The most important characteristics of C's speech are: the /ɷ/-/ʌ/ distinction, no syllable-final /r/, consistent use of /h/, unstressed, word-final /ɪi/. [ŋ] occurs without a following [g] more than in Stockport; see below for details. The commonest processes are harmony and CCS.

(a) *Lenition*. The bilabials appear to be those sounds that are particularly subject to lenition, e.g.

[ʌɸ] *up* (18)

[pɪiɸö] *people* (26)

[a̠ũ̜] *I'm* (13).

In the last example, the lenition has gone from stop to vocoid. There is also frequent vocalization of /l/ in word-final or pre-consonantal position, e.g.

[stɪö] *still* (3)

[pɪiɸö] *people* (26)

[pɪipö] *people* (32)

[məsɛöf] *myself* (30).

There are, however, exceptions to this, e.g.

[waɪɫ] *while* (17)

[pɪipɬ] *people* (17).

The other frequent type of lenition is intervocalic voicing of /t/

[ɪd ɪʔ] *it it* (7) (with partial voicing only)

[ɪd ɪznt] *it isn't* (36).

There is also a tendency to flap such consonants, e.g.

[gɒɾ ɪn] *got in* (37).

(b) *Harmony*. The alveolars /t d n/ harmonize their place of articulation to a following consonant, e.g.

[əbaʊp mɑɪ] *about my* (12)

[kʻɑ:mp bɪ] *can't be* (27)

[ʌndəstæ:mb wɑɪ] *understand why* (39)

[dɑ:fp bɪkəz] *daft because* (40)

[ʃb wɛɪsʔt] *should waste* (42-43)

[pʊʔ fɪftɪi] *put fifty* (51)

[dɪfɹɸʔ fəɹ] *different for* (53)

[əbaʊt̪ ðɪiz] *about these* (17).

Although place harmony is usual, there are examples where it does not occur, e.g.

[pɛɪnʔpɒt] *paint-pot* (28).

In the case of syllabic nasals there are dual articulations, as in

[hæpm͡nd] *happened* (21).

There are also a number of examples of manner harmony, with place harmony as well, as appropriate, e.g.

[ʌʊ̃ ɹɪsk] *own risk* (24)

[wɛ̃ʊ̃ wɪ] *when we* (31) and (37)

[əz̃ sɛd] *and said* (46).

There is a left-to-right nasal harmony of [nd]-sequences, whether /nd/ originally, or derived from /nt/ by voicing (lenition), e.g.

[ɹaʊn:] *round* (3)

[ɛɪdʒən:] *agent* (41).

The derivation of the latter form is thus:

/ɛɪdʒənt/

Voicing ⇒ ɛɪdʒənd

Nasal harmony ⇒ [ɛɪdʒən:].

This harmony does not always take place, as can be seen from a form such as [pɛɪvmənd] *pavement* (35). There is one context where the harmony affects two following segments: /nd ð/, as in:

/sɛnd ðɪs/

Nasal harmony ⇒ sɛnn ð̃ɪs

ð harmony ⇒ sɛnn n̪ɪs

Place harmony ⇒ [sɛn̪n̪ n̪ɪs] (42).

In rapid speech Geminate Simplification takes place; this is particularly common with the negative ending of auxiliary verbs, e.g.

[wɑn̩] *wouldn't* (22)

[ɪzn̩] *isn't* (38).

The disappearance of the final /t/ is not caused by CCS, because such cases may be followed by either a consonant or a vowel. (The above examples are both followed by a vowel.)

/m/ harmonizes occasionally to a following consonant, as in [sɪind] *seemed* (7). This may be further subject to CCS with nasality left on the preceding vowel (see below), e.g. [sʌ̃θɪŋ̊k̊] *something* (60). Nasalization of the preceding vowel occurs occasionally before /n/, e.g. [wɒ̃nʔtəd] *wanted* (42).

Palatal harmony is common:

[ɔ:wɪʒ jɷus] *always used* (1)

[ɹɷuɪndʒə] *ruined your* (21)

[s:ɪikʃ jɪiəz] *six years* (36)

[ɪʔʃ jɔ:ᵊ] *it's your* (38),

though there are instances where it has not applied, e.g.

[djɷu] *do you* (55).

/ð/-harmony is likewise widespread. (There are no examples of /θ/-harmony.)

[wɛɬ lɪ] *well the* (7)

[ən̪ n̪æʔs] *and that's* (15)

[ðæ̰:ʔs sə] *that's the* (23)

[æv vɪiz] *have these* (25)

[wɒn̪ʔ n̪ɪs] *want this* (24)

[kös zə] *'cos the* (44)

[bɪɬʔ lɐ̨ə] *built there* (52).

A common example of this harmony operating at a greater distance, over three segments, is [lɑɪʔ læːʔ] *like that* (47) and (48). We may note that /l/-vocalization must take place after /ð/-harmony, e.g.

/wɛl ðɛɪ/

/ð/-harmony ⇒ wɛɬ lɛɪ

/l/-vocalization ⇒ [wɛ̝̈ lɛɪ] (57).

(UVD also operates on *well* in this case.) Geminate Simplification also applies in some instances after /ð/-harmony, e.g. [ɔː læʔ] *all that* (30).

One particular example, which is rather unusual, has quite a complex derivation:

/ænd ðɪi fʌʊn/

Stress placement	⇒	ənd ðə fʌ́ʊn
Place harmony	⇒	ən̪n̪ ðə fʌ́ʊn
CCS	⇒	ən̪ ðə fʌ́ʊn
/ð/-harmony	⇒	ən̪ n̪ə fʌ́ʊn
UVD	⇒	ən̪ n̪ fʌ́ʊn
Geminate simplification	⇒	[ən̪ fʌʊ̃] (45).

(Place and manner harmony have applied to the final nasal in this instance.) The fact that it is unusual is no doubt reflected by the number of processes that have operated. Furthermore, there may well be some kind of constraint on the number and/or type of rules that can apply in any one derivation. In this case the original /n/ of *and* has not harmonized again to the following /f/, as it would do if there were no definite article, as in, for example, *and phone him.* Harmony has operated twice in this derivation; perhaps a third occurrence is ruled out.

(c) *CCS.* CCS operates, as in most accents, on /t/ and /d/:

[dʒʌs kʊdn̩ʔ] *just couldn't* (4)

[sɪim tə] *seemed to* (8)

[lʊʔ sʌmθɪŋʔ] *looked something* (48)

[kɷŋʔ] *couldn't* (50)

[paɷnz] *pounds* (51).

The oral closure of /n/ is deleted with nasality on the preceding vowel, e.g.

[maĩz vɛɹɪi] *mine's very* (6)

[dʌɷ̃ʔ θĩʔ] *don't think* (6)

[ɷ̃ ðə] *on the* (34).

Thus, with *don't* in particular, we find either [dʌɷ̃ʔ] or a derivation with Voicing, Nasal Harmony and Geminate Simplification (see above), giving [dʌɷn], as in [dʌɷn wɒnə] *don't want to* (62). There are no examples of /n/-deletion in such words (cf. Stockport above), that is forms such as *[dʌɷʔ] do not occur (but cf. Wells, 1982: 318, who gives the form [dᶻʌʔnʌːᵘ], *don't know*, though this may be untypical).

The sequence /ng/ is always realized as [ŋ] at a morpheme boundary, as in standard English (cf. Chomsky and Halle, 1968: 85). This means a /g/-deletion rule operating on this environment after place harmony of /n/ has occurred. Alternatively, it would be possible to treat such forms in the same way as the [nd]⇒[n] forms, which also only occur at morpheme boundaries, e.g. [dʌɷn] *don't* (62), but not *[wʌnə] *wonder*. These forms involve left-to-right Voicing, left-to-right Nasal Harmony and Geminate Simplification, which could apply to words like *sing* too:

		/kɑːnt/	/sɪng/
Voicing	⇒	kɑːnd	——
Alveolar Harmony	⇒	———	sɪŋg
L-to-R N Harmony	⇒	kɑːnn	sɪŋŋ
Geminate Simplif.	⇒	[kɑːn]	[sɪŋ].

(At some stage in the history of English this process eliminated the final /b/ from words such as *lamb*.)

The present participle ending has both the /-ɪng/ and the /-ɪn/ suffix. It is perhaps significant that only the former occurs at the beginning of the conversation, whereas the latter appears also later on, e.g. [lɪvɪn] *living* (57), [mɛɪkɪn] *making* (62). This may indicate that the informant is conscious of being recorded to start with, but settles down after a few minutes. The words ending in unstressed *-thing*, e.g. *something*, have either [-ɪŋʔ] or [-ɪŋ]. The former seems to occur when the following sound has a contoid articulation, e.g.

[sʌmθɪŋʔ lɑɪʔ] (47) and (48)

[sə̃θɪŋ̰k tə] (60) (with velar closure as well),

but [ɛnɪθɪŋ ɪf sʌmθɪŋ hæpm̥̀nd] (20-21).

(Wells, 1982: 317, suggests that the form underlying *something*, and, presumably, all the other words ending in unstressed *-thing*, ends in /-θɪŋk/. Whilst this may be the case for some broader London speech-types, in C's speech the [ʔ] with or without a simultaneous velar closure is epenthetic rather than underlying.)

(d) *UVD*. There are a number of examples of UVD which are commonly found in most varieties of colloquial spoken English, e.g.

[lɛɪt'ɹɒn] *later on* (29)

[sə] *It's a* (40)

[aʊʔ ðə] *out of the* (48)

[ʃb] *should* (42).

[ən fʌʊw̃] is discussed above. [dʒö mɛmbə] *Do you remember* (31) is also common in spoken English: the vowel of *do*, as an unstressed auxiliary verb, is deleted, and so is the first vowel of *remember*. In the latter case /r/-deletion operates as well, giving the following derivation:

/dʊu jʊu rɪmɛmb̥r/

Stress placement	⇒	dʊ jʊ rɪmɛ́mbə
UVD (x 2)	⇒	dʒörmɛ́mbə
/r/-deletion	⇒	[dʒö mɛ́mbə].

(I have omitted details irrelevant to the present discussion, e.g. Palatal Harmony.)

(e) *Linking r*. Linking r is used in most cases intervocalically, but not always, e.g.

[pʻɛɪpəɹ a̲] *paper I* (3)

[mɔ:ɹ ə] *more or* (4)

[sɛɹ ʌʊ̃ɹ̃] *their own* (24)

[heə ən] *hair and* (2).

There are no examples of "intrusive" r.

(f) *Vowel lengthening*. The open vowels /æ/ and /ɛ/ lengthen before a nasal consonant in a final stressed syllable; /n/ may be followed by /d/, e.g.

[hæːnd] *hand* (4)

[ɛːnd] *end* (5)

[stæːnd] *stand* (22)

[ʌndəstæːmb] *understand* (39).

This applies even when the stress is secondary rather than main, e.g. [tɛlɪgɹæːm] *telegram* (42) (and in the plural (43)). /ɛ/ does not always lengthen, e.g. [sɛn̪n̪] *send* (42), and the other vowels never do, e.g. [blɒnd] *blond* (26), [dʌn] *done* (24). Stressed *that* also tends to have a lengthened vowel phase, e.g. [ðæːʔt̚] (43).

Chapter Three

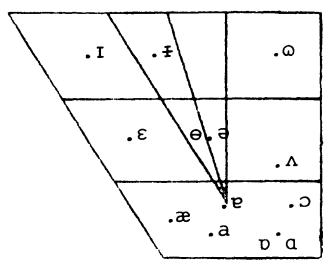
PEASMARSH, SUSSEX

There are two informants, both women. Informant W, aged 87, lived in Peasmarsh all her life; informant B, aged 64, was born at nearby Sellindge but moved to Peasmarsh in her teens and has lived there ever since.

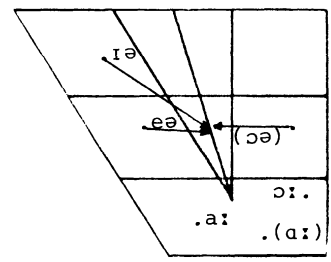
(i) *General*
Both speakers have a relatively tense musculature. The voiceless stops are only weakly aspirated initially, /t/ more than the other two. /r/ is post-alveolar and following consonants, which are alveolar elsewhere, have a tendency to be post-alveolar too (see below under Harmony).

Lip-rounding is produced without protrusion and is most apparent in [ɔ:], [ɵ] and [ɷ]. In the other vocoid articulations lip-position varies from spread to neutral. Speaker B sometimes has slight lip-rounding in the initial phase of the diphthong in *time* [ʈɪ].

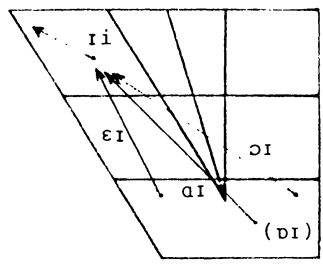
(ii) *Vowel diagrams*
I have put both speakers on the same diagrams, as they are for the most part the same. B regularly has three different articulations, which I have bracketed on the diagrams.



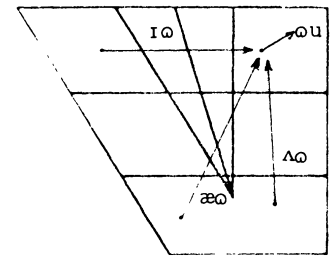
short monophthongs



long monophthongs and centralizing diphthongs



front closing diphthongs



back closing diphthongs

(iii) *The transcription of speaker W*

1 ʔɛ́ɪwɔɹdn̩ ǽɷs ɪʔ weɪ̯̥ kɔ́:ɬd | jɨ́ɹz əgʌɷ | bʌt ɑɪ θɪ́ŋg̊ ɪʔs

2 kɔ́:ɬd̥ sʌ́mθɪŋ̥ ɛ́ɬs næɷ

Hawarden House it was called / years ago / but I think it's called something else now.

3 ðɪ ʌ́ɷɬd fǽʃnn̩ nɛɪm weɪ̯̥ ɛ́ɪwɔɹdn̩ | ðætˀ kʊ́tɪdʒ

The old-fashioned name was Hawarden / that cottage.

4 ʃɪi njɪ́ɷ wɛn ɪʔ weɪ̯̥ gɷ́ɪnə ɹɛ́ɪn | wɛ́n̲ ʃɪ weɪ̯ dɷ́ʊɪŋ kɔ́ɹsɪts |

5 ɐn̲ ʃɪ jɪ́ɷstˈə lɛ́ɪ əɹ kɔ́ɹsɪts dǽɷn pɷ́d̥ əɹ ǽ·nᵈz ɑ̈n̩ ðə tɛ́ɪbɬ

6 n̩ gʌ́ɷ ɔ·f tə slɪ́ip

She knew when it was going to rain / when she was doing corsets / and she used to lay her corsets down put her hands on the table and go off to sleep.

7 wɛ́n̲ ʃɪ weɪ̯ mǽɹɪd ʃɪ weɪ̯ weɹkɪŋ fə mɪ́stəɹ fɪ́ɬməɹ | ðə

8 glʌ́vɹɪ | glʌ́vz̥ ən lɛ́gɪnz̥ ən spǽts əz ðɛɪ jɪ́ɷstə kɔ́:ɬ ɬəm

When she was married she was working for Mister Filmer / the glovery / Gloves and leggings and spats as they used to call them.

9 ðɛɪ stáɹtɪd ɪm wɑ̈ɪʔtnɑ̈ɪts | ðə mɪ́dɬ̩ ǽɷs əv ðʌ́ɷs θɹɨ́i

They started in Whiteknights / the middle house of those 3.

10 ʃɪi dɪdn̩ wə́ɹˀk fəɹ énibaɾɪ

She didn't work for anybody.

11 ɐ spöo̊z ɪˀ̥ wɒ̰·z̥ | ɑɪ ka·n íivn̩ ɹɪmémbɹ̩ ɹ̩ dɷ́uɪŋ əm | ʌ́ɷnɪ
12 ðəˀt ʃɪi dídˈ dɷu əm

I suppose it was / I can't even remember her doing them / only that she did do them.

13 ɹɑ́ɪt ʌp ˀ ðə tɑ́p əv ðə stɹɨ́it˺

Right up at the top of the street.

14 mɑɪ fá·ðəɹ ɪz̥ níəɹɪs ðə fénᵗs | mɑɪ mʌ́ðəɹ ən ɑɪ əɹ ət̪ ðə
15 gɛɪt

My father is nearest the fence / My mother and I are at the gate.

16 ʌ́ɷnɪ dʒʌ́st ə péɪvmɨnˀ nǽɹöɷ péɪvmɨnˀ bɪtwíin̪ n̪ë hǽɷs ən̪ n̪ë
17 | féns

Only just a pavement narrow pavement between the house and the fence.

18 dǽɷn ɛgzɔ́ᵚɫ | bɑ́dm̩ əv ðə híɫ | ən θɹíi pʻɫíismən ɑ̈n͡m pɔ̰́ɪnt˺
19 díutɪ | ən mɑɪ vá·ðəɹ sɛd ə | ɪˀ wɵz əβǽɷˀ mídnɑɪtˈ | sʌ́ɷ
20 ɑ́ɪ æd tˈə gʌ́ɷ wíð ɪm ë~ɛ́ɫp˺ pʻɷ́ʃ ðə g̊ɑɹt | dʒʌ́ss ə tˈɷ́u
21 wíiɫd tɹʌ́k lɑɪk | kö̥ɹs z̥ə kˈɑ́fɪm wɵz̥ kʌ́vəɹd ʌ́·pʻ | əʒ jɷ́uʒɷ
22 | wém wɪi gɑ́t˺ dǽɷn də ðə bɑ́ɾm̩ əv égzʌ̥ɷɫ ˀíɫ̰ ðɛ wəɹ θɹíi
23 pʻɫíismən ɑ̈n͡m pɔ̰́ɪnt˺ díutʻɪ | ænd mɑɪ v̥á·ðəɹ sɛ́d˺ tˈɷ əm ɪts
24 ɔ́: ɹɑ́ɪˀ wɪiv gɑ́d̥ ə lǽ·ntəɹn bəd ɪts bǽk ʌp ðə ɹʌ́ɷd

Down Eggshole / bottom of the hill / and three policemen on point duty / and my father said er / it was about midnight / so I had to go with him er help push the cart / Just a two-wheeled truck, like / 'Course the coffin was covered up / as usual / When we got down to the bottom of Eggshole Hill, there were three policemen on point duty / and my father said to them it's all right, we've got a lantern but it's back up the road.

25 ˀǽd tɷ ɪn̪ n̪ə féəɹs wə́ɹɫd wɔ́ɹ kəz ɔ́:ɫ ɪz mén wə kɔ́:ɫd ʌ́·p |
26 ðɛn ɑɪ ǽd˺ tə bɪ bɔ́ɪ | gɹɑ́ɪn̪n̪ n̪ə wɑ́ɪˀ léd n̩d ðə ɹéd léd fə

27 ðə pɛɪn? | míks ʌp ðə pʰátɪi ən sʌtʃ laɪk̚ | sˑg̊ɹɑ́ɪnd ɪt ʌ́p

28 ə̀t̚ ðǽtˀ tɑ́ɪm ə dɛɪ kəz ɪ? jɷ́us? kˈʌ́m ɪn ə bígˀ kʰɛ́g | ɪ́n̪ n̪ðə

29 pɛ́ɪnt | jɷ adˀ tə gɹɑ́ɪnd ɪd ʌ́p kəz ɪt̚p wəz lɑ́ɪk̚:ˀ klɑ́ggˀ

30 təgɛ́ðəɹ jə sɪ́i

Had to in the First World War 'cos all his men were called up / Then I had to be boy / Grind the white lead and the red lead for the paint / mix up the putty and such like / Used to grind it up at that time of day 'cos it used to come in a big keg / In the paint / you had to grind it up 'cos it was like clogged together, you see.

31 jɷu adˀ tʰə míks ɪt ʃəsɛ́ɬf

You had to mix it yourself.

32 ɪ́i wəz bɔ́ɹn̲ ðɛ ɪɲ ə sɛ́ɪm ɹɷum ɑ́ɪ wəz bɔ́ɹn̲ ɪn

He was born there in the same room I was born in.

33 ðə fɛ́ɹs lɑɾ ə bǽʃfəɹdz̲ lívd ɪn: | wɛ̈ɹ mɑɪ gɹǽŋvəɹ lívv̥ |

34 ɪn̪ n̪ǽ? kɔ́ɹn̲ɪ æɷs

The first lot of Bashfords lived in / where my granfer (= grandfather) lived / in that corner house.

35 jɷ́u k̚ɳ̊ ɹɪmɛ́mbɹ əm ðɛ́əɹ

You can remember them there.

36 wɒ́z ɪ? ʔmɑ́ɪd ə bín

Was it? It might have been.

37 ðɛɪ dɑ́ɪd ɔ́ːf

They died off.

38 əŋ̊ ðə ʔǽɷs wəz̲ dʒəs lɛ́f tə ɹɷ́ʊɪnz̲

And the house was just left to ruins.

39 ɬi lívd əd ə sɔ́ɹd̲ əv ə gɛ́ɪtˈ | ə lɪdɬ bʌ́ŋgɬʌ́ɷ ɔɬ ɑn ɪz ʌ́ɷn

40 | fɪ́ɬθɪi dɛ́ɹtˈɪi ʌɷɬ mǽːn

He lived at a sort of a gate / a little bungalow all on his own / filthy dirty old man.

41 ɪ jɷ́us tə wə́ɹç f ɛ́nɪbɒdɪ əd ɪmpʻlə̰ɪ ɻm | bət nʌ́ɷbᵊdɪ ɑ́ɹdlɪ

42 wɷ́d: ɪmpʻlə̰ɪ ɻm

He used to work for anybody who'd employ him / but nobody hardly would employ him.

43 ɪt͡p wɷ́d̚ bɨi

It would be.

44 wɛ̣ᵊ maɪ sístɹɪnlɔ́: lívv ðæd ǽɷs ɪz̥ dǽɷn tə ðə gɹǽɷn

Where my sister-in-law lived, that house is down to the ground.

45 wɪ ad ən ɔ́ɹgənɪss fɹəm ɹɑ́ɪ | ən əɹ fɹɛ́nn | ən̪ ðɛ́n ʃɪi wəz̥

46 tʻɷk ɪ́ɫ wɪð ə nə́ɹvəs bɹɛ́ɪkd̚æɷn

We had an organist from Rye / and her friend / and then she was took ill with a nervous breakdown.

47 ðə víkəɹ | wʌ́ndəɹz if jɷu kɷd ɛ́ɫp ǽɷʔ wɪð ðə | fə́ɹs lɑ́ɪn

48 əv ɛ́vɹɪ ɪ́m

The vicar / wonders if you could help out with the / first line of every hymn.

49 ɑɪv nɛ́vəɹ tʌ́tʃt ə ɔ́ɹgən ɪn mɪ lɑ́ɪf | ɑɪ dʌnɷ ʔɛ́nɪθɪn əbæɷd

50 ən ɔ́ɹgən | ən ɑɪ dʌ́ɷnʔ θɪ́ŋk ʔǽt nʌ́ɷz̥ ɛ́nɪθɪŋ əbæɷʔ mɻ́i

I've never touched a organ in my life / I don't know anything about an organ / and I don't think that knows anything about me.

51 ɪi sɛd w jɷ́u tɔ́:g ɪd ʌ́ɷvə wɪð ǽɹɪi wɛn ɪi kʌ́mz̥ ɪn tə lʌ́ntʃ

He said, Well, you talk it over with Harry when he comes in to lunch.

52 ɪi stɑ́ɹtɪd ɔ:f bǽk̚ tʻə wə́ɹk | əm bǽk ɪi kʌ́m | ɪi sɛ́d wɛ́ɫ |

53 pɹǽpʃ jɷud̚ gɛt θɹɷ́u ðǽ·t̚ | sʌɷ ɔ́:f ʌp ðə víkəɹz̥ ɑɪ wɛ́nʔ | ɪi

54 wəz̥ | ʌ́p̚ tɑ́ps kəz̥ ɑɪd̚ gɔ́:n ʌp ʔ síi ɪm | ən ɑɪ ǽt ʔ gɷ ...

55 ʔɔɫ θɹɷu ðɪi ɪ́mz̥ ɑn ə blɷ́umɪn πɪǽnʌɷ

He started off back to work / and back he come / He said, Well / perhaps you'd get through that / So off up the vicar's I went / He was / up tops 'cos I'd gone up to see him / and I had to go ... all through the hymns on a blooming piano.

(iv) *The transcription of speaker B*

56 ʃɪi æd ə ʃɒ́ˀk˺ dɪ́dn̩ ʃɪ́i

She had a shock, didn't she?

57 ɪˀ jɷ́us ˀ bɪ̧ ɹɪ́ilɪ wʌ́ndəfɫ̩ dɷ́u ɹɪ́ilɪi | ənd ɛ́vɹɪwɛɹ dʒɔ́ɪnd

58 ɪ́:n | ɔ́:ɫ ðə vɪ́lɪdʒɪz̥ | jɷ́us tʻ æv ɔ́:ɫ dɹɛ́s kɑ́ɹts

It used to be really wonderful do, really / and everywhere joined in / all the villages / used to have all dressed carts.

59 wɪ jɷ́us tə gʌ́ɷ ɹǽɷn̪n̪ ðə dɪ́fɹən ǽɷzɪz̥

We used to go round the different houses.

60 wɪ́i jɷus tə bɪ sɪ́ŋɪŋ wʌ́n ɛ́nn əð̃ ðə bǽ:nn wəz̥ plɛ̧́ɪɪn̪ ðɪi

61 ʌ́ðəɹ ɛ́nd ʒɷ nʌɷ

We used to be singing one end and the band was playing the other end, you know.

62 wɪ jɷus tə stɑ́:t' ɔ́:f | wʌ́n ǽɷs wɷd ə ɛ́nt'ət'ɛ̧́ɪn əs |

63 wɪ jɷus t æv ɹʌ́m pʌ́ntʃ ən ... ɔ́: sɔ·ts ə lɪɫ̩ snǽks ɪn̪ ðɛ́əɹ

We used to start off / one house would er entertain us / We used to have rum punch and ... all sorts of little snacks in there.

64 wɪ ɔ́:ɫ wɛnt ɪndɔ̣́əz əv kɔ̣́əs z̩̃ sǽˀ n̩ n̪ə dɹɔ́:ɪŋ ɹɷumz ən dɪ́d

65 ɛəɹ sɪ́ŋɪn | ən tɑ́ɪm wɪ gɑtʻ hʌ́ɷm wɪi wəz̥ vɛ́ɹɪ mɛ́ɹɪi jɷ nʌ́ɷ

We all went indoors, of course, and sat in the drawing rooms and did our singing / and time we got home, we was very merry, you know.

66 wɪ jɷus tə sɪ́ŋ ɔ́:ɫ lə wɛɪ hʌ́ɷm bəˀt nɑ́ˀ kǽɹəɫz

We used to sing all the way home, but not carols.

67 wɪ jɷus t ǽv mʌ́ɷst ɪndʒɔ́ɪəbö tɒ̣́ɪm

We used to have (a) most enjoyable time.

68 wɒ́n̩t ʃɷu ɪn̪ n̪ə tʻɪ́im

Wasn't you in the team?

69 ðæts ɔ́:° dɒ̣́ɪd ǽɷˀt nɑ́ɷ

That's all died out now.

70 lʌ́ndənəɹz̨ bɒ̣́ɪ ə ... ǽv və kɑ́dɪdʒɪz̥ fə wíikɛ́nd

Londoners buy er ... have the cottages for (a) week-end.

71 ðɛn̪ n̪æʔ míinz̥ zə píipɫ̩ ɵuv | gɑ́d ə gʌ́ɷ ɪntə ðə kǽɷnsɫ̩ ɑ́ɷzɪz̥

Then that means the people who've (?) / got to go into the council houses.

72 sɛ́vəm pǽɷŋ̍ψ fəɹ s̠ɹíi bɛ́dɹɷum

Seven pound for three bedroom ...

73 ðɛ̈́ vɛ́ɹɪi nɑ́ɪs | kɵs z̥əz̥ nɑ́ʔ mɛnɪi vɑ̥́ɹm kɑ́tɪdʒɪz̥ nǽɷ ɪz zə

They're very nice. / 'Course there's not many farm cottages now, is there?

74 kɵs zʌ́ɷz̥ kɑ́tɪdʒɪz̥ dǽɷn̪ ðə bɒ́dəm ðe̜əɹ wɒʔ wə́:ɹ vɑ̥́ɹm kɑ́tɪdʒʃ

75 bɪn sʌ́ɷɫd ǽvn̪ n̪ɛ́ɪ

'Course those cottages down the bottom there what were farm cottages (have) been sold, haven't they?

76 ðɛɪ tɷ́ʔ ðə θǽtʃ ɑ́v̥ əm pɷ́ʔ ðə slɛ́ɪtʼ ɑn dídn̪ ðɛɪ

They took the thatch off and put the slate on, didn't they?

77 ɪf jɷ gɤ́ɷ tə síi əɹ hə́:ɹ hǽÿs ɪz ən ʌ́ɷɫd θǽtʃt hɑ́ɷs

If you go to see her, her house is an old thatched house.

78 ʃɪ jɷ́ust˺ tə lív ət ðə tɑ́p ə ðə stɹíit

She used to live at the top of the street.

79 skɷ́uɫ lɛ́ɪn wəz dɹɛ́dfö wɛw̃ wɪ wɛ́nt | ʔ wz ɔ́:° pɒ́thʌɷ:z | ɪ̰ʔ

80 wz ʌ́ɷnlɪ wɛn̪ n̪ə wɔ́: kɛ́ɪm ðəʔ ðɛɪ mɛ́ɪd ðə ɹʌ́ɷd ʌp

School Lane was dreadful when we went. / It was all pot-holes. / It was only when the war came that they made the road up.

81 ðɛ́n ðɛɪ dɪsɒ́ɪdɪd tə mɛ́ɪk ðə ɹʌ́ɷd ʌp wɪ ðɪ ɑ́:ɹmɪi

Then they decided to make the road up with the Army.

82 kɔs wɪ jǿus t æv ə fɔ́ɹdʒ íəɹ ə gǿd mɛnɪ jíəɹz̥ ən næ̋ɷ ɪˀs

83 klʌ́ɷz dá·ɷn | wɪtʃ wəz̥ ɹá:ðəɹ ə ʃǽ·ɪm ɑɪ θí:ŋk

'Course we used to have a forge here a good many years and now it's closed down / which was rather a shame, I think.

84 ðɪi ə sɒ́ɪkɫ̩ ʃɒ́ˀp jɷus ə βɪ ɑn̪ n̪ɪ ʌ́ðə saɪd ðə ɹə́ɷd

The er cycle shop used to be on the other side (of) the road.

85 və́ɹɪ ʌɷɫd místə vá:ɹlë lív ðëɹ | ðə vá:ðəɹ əv ɔ́: ðʌɷz̥

Very old Mr Farley lived there / the father of all those.

86 ɑ̰̈ ʃt θíŋˀk sʌɷ jɛ́:

I should think so, yes.

87 ðə wəz ʌ́ɷnlɪ bʌ́s wɛnˀ twɑ̈ɪs ə wíik

There was only (a) bus went twice a week.

88 wɛ́nzdɪ̣ má:ɹkɪtˀ dɛ́ɪ ǽnd ɑ́n: ə sǽtədɛ̹ɪ

Wednesday market day and on er Saturday.

89 ðɛɪ wz wʌ́ndəfö | bət ɪf ðə dɹɒ́ɪvəɹ wɒ́nɪd ˀ pɒp ín n æv ɪz̥

90 tʻíi jö jɷus tʻæv də wɛ́ɪˀ fə hím jɷ síi

They was wonderful / But if the driver wanted to pop in and have his tea, you used to have to wait for him, you see.

91 ɑ:ftə ð̥ fə́ɹs̠ wə́ɹl̠ wɔ́:ᵊɹ | ᵊwəz̥ nʌ́ɷ tɹá:z̃spɔ·ˀ wɒˀsʌɷɛ́vʌ

After the First World War / there was no transport whatsoever.

92 i mɑɪd ə gɑd ə bɑ́ɪˀk sɑ́ɪkɫ̩

You might have got a bike, cycle.

93 ɪˀ wəz ə və́ɹɪi pɔ́:ɹ ʌɷɫ plɛ̹ɪs wɛw̃ wɪi fə́ɹs̠ kɛ̹ɪm hɪ́ʌ

It was a very poor old place when we first came here.

94 ðə wəz nʌ́ɷ wɔ́:təɹ ïn̪ n̪æˀ hǽɷs ɑ̈ɹ ɛ́nɪθɪŋ | wɪ ǽdˀ d̥ə fɒ́ɪnd ə

95 spɹíŋ ǽɷtʻ ɪn̪ ðə wɷ́dˀ d̥ə gɛd ɛɷ wɔ́:tᵊɹ

There was no water in that house or anything / We had to find a spring out in the wood to get our water.

96 ɔ:ɬ ɛəɹ klʌ́b mɛ́mbəz̲

All our club members.

97 wɒ́ʒ jɷu ðéəɹ

Was you there?

98 ɐ̈v dʌ́n sʌm θíŋz ɪm mɪ tp̣ɪm | ɐ̈v lɷ́kt á:ftəɹ ə pǽɹət̚?

I've done some things in my time / I've looked after a parrot.

99 ən ɪʔ wɒ́zn̩ ɪn ə kɛ́ɪdʒ

And it wasn't in a cage.

100 ɪf ə jɷu wɒ́·ntɪdˀ d̥ə gɛ́d ɪd ɔ́·f ðe flɔ́:ᵊɹ ... jɷu ǽd ə pɷtˀ

101 də kɛ́ɪdʒ dǽɷn fɔɹ ɪtˀ d̥ə klɑ́ɪm ɑn

If you wanted to get it off the floor ... you had to put the cage down for it to climb on.

(v) *Phonological discussion*
Both speakers have the /ɷ/-/ʌ/ distinction, sporadic use of /h/, unstressed word-final /ɪi/ (though not in all instances), and syllable-final /r/, though there are instances of its disappearance in B's speech (see below). [ŋ] occurs without a following [g].

(a) *Lenition*. The voiceless stops and fricatives, which are otherwise fortis, are given lenis articulations, either voiced or voiceless, usually between voiced sounds, e.g.

[maɪd ə] *might have* (36) and (92)

[maɪ va·ðəɹ] *my father* (19)

[tɔ:g ɪd ʌɷvə] *talk it over* (51)

[æd d̥ə] *had to* (94).

Although there are certain common occurrences of lenition, as in *got to* and *had to*, it does not always occur: for example, B says [kɑdɪdʒɪz] for *cottages* (70), but also says it twice, (73) ånd (74), with [t]. In the case of /t/, speaker W sometimes uses a flap, as in [lɑɾ ə] *lot of* (33). Speaker B has one instance of lenition after a voiceless sound: [ɪt d̥ə] *it*

to (101).

On one occasion each speaker applies lenition to /b/ intervocalically producing a fricative:

[əβæɷʔ] *about* (19)

[ə βɪ] *to be* (84).

This appears to be a sporadic feature of rapid speech.

Speaker B deletes /t/ in a few instances:

[lɪɬ̩] *little* (63)

[jɷus ə] *used to* (84)

[æd ə] *had to* (100).

From the data in the recordings it is difficult to see what the derivation of these forms might be (other than an *ad hoc* /t/-deletion rule, which is unsatisfactory, if some other rule(s) can be invoked), though they occur in rapid articulations and are not the same as the major processes under consideration in this book. It is just possible that Geminate Simplification can be triggered by matching place features only in B's system rather than by a matched set of features: thus, in each case above we have two segments with alveolar contact, one of which is deleted. In each case it is the underlying /t/ that is deleted regardless of the order of the two segments. If such an explanation is justified, then we are dealing with an adaptation of an existing rule to remove the /t/.

/l/ is frequently vocalized and sometimes deleted in post-vocalic and post-consonantal syllabic positions:

[jɷuʒɷ] *usual* (21)

[ɔ: ɹɑɪʔ] *all right* (24)

[ɔ:] *all* (63) and (85)

[dɹɛdfö] *dreadful* (79)

[pɒthʌɷ:z] *pot-holes* (79).

One interesting lenition feature is /r/-deletion. In post-vocalic position we find a number of slightly different articulations which plot stages in the disappearance of /r/; for example:

[jɪəɹz̠] (82) retracted frictionless continuant with retracted following consonant

[mɛmbəz̠] (96) retracted consonant only

[ɑ:ɹmɪi] (81) slight continuant

[kɔ̣əs] (64) vocalization with non-retracted consonant

[hɪʌ] (93) altered vowel quality

[stɑ:t] (62))
[ʌðə] (84)) deletion.
[ɛɷ] (95))

All the above examples are from B; speaker W only has three instances and these are in unstressed syllables:

[ʃəsɛɬf] (31)

[wɛ̣^{ə}] (44)

[ʌɷvə] (51).

Despite its deletion by B, both speakers have an underlying /r/ in post-vocalic position. In younger speakers, however, there is evidence to suggest that in some cases it has disappeared, the accent of these speakers being non-rhotic.

(b) *Devoicing*. The feature of final devoicing of voiced stops and fricatives in prepausal position and before voiceless sounds, which is widespread in most accents of English, occurs in the speech of both speakers even before voiced sounds, in word-final position and after /s/. All the examples in B's speech are of the verbal and plural s-endings. For example:

[wəz̥] *was* (1), (3) and (4)

[kɔ:ɬd̥] *called* (2)

[bæʃfəɹdz̥̥] *Bashfords* (33)

[z̥ə] *the* (21)

[g̊ɹɑɪnd] *grind* (27)

[wəz̥] *was* (60) and (83)

[z̥əz̥] *there's* (73).

It is interesting to note that this goes in the opposite direction, as it were, from lenition, which is widespread in these speakers. It also appears to be restricted to the s-endings in B's speech in comparison to W's.

(c) *Harmony*. The alveolars /t d n/ display place harmony with a following consonant:

[k'ɑfɪm wəz] *coffin was* (21)

[əṯ ðə] *at the* (14)

[gɹæŋ̊vəɹ] *grandfather* (33)

[sɛvəm pæɑŋψ fəɹ] *seven pound for* (72).

Sometimes the alveolar and the following place articulation are virtually simultaneous in W's speech, e.g.

[ändm̂ pɒɪnt] *on point* (18) and (23)

[ɪʔtp̂ wəz] *it was* (29).

A syllabic /n/ will in some cases harmonize with the preceding consonant:

[ɪivŋ̍] *even* (11)

[kʔŋ̍] *can* (35).

Place and manner harmony occur occasionally: [wɛ̃ wɪ] (79) and (93).

Since /r/ is a post-alveolar frictionless continuant, it produces harmony in following alveolar consonants, e.g.

[bɔɹn̪] *born* (32)

[kɔɹn̪ɹ] *corner* (34)

[dəɹt̪ˈɪi] *dirty* (40)

[fəɹs̪ wəɹl̪] *First World* (91).

This harmony does not always occur, e.g.

[staɹtɪd] *started* (52)

[kɑɹts] *carts* (58).

/r/ also appears to have an influence on adjacent front vowels, making them more centralized, e.g.

[jɘɹz] *years* (1)

[θɹɘi] *three* (9)

[vɛ̈ɹɪ] *very* (65).

This, too, does not always take place, e.g. [θɹɪi] (18) and (22). In B's speech the commonest word to show /r/-vowel harmony is *very*, which regularly has [ə] as its first vowel, even when it is stressed, as in lines (85) and (93).

The left-to-right nasal harmony displayed by informant C in the previous chapter is found in both speakers here, with and without Geminate Simplification. For example:

[fæʃnn] *fashioned* (3)

[gɹɑɪn̪n̪] *grind* (26)

[gɹæɷn] *ground* (44)

[fɹɛnn] *friend* (45)

[ka·n] *can't* (11)

[ɹæɷn̪n̪] *round* (59)

[ɛnn] *end* (60)

[bæ:nn] *band* (60)

[dɪfɹən] *different* (59)

[wɒnɪd] *wanted* (89)

[wɒzn̩] *wasn't* (99).

There are exceptions to this process, e.g. [g̊ɹɑɪnd] (27), [ɛnd] (61). In B's speech it would appear from the data that /nt/ reduces to [n] but /nd/ does not, which suggests a different state of affairs from the one discussed in the previous chapter, where both reduce. In B's case /nd/ has the left-to-right harmony, whereas /nt/ does not. The latter seems to be another instance of the modified GS rule mentioned above, which removes a /t/ adjacent to any other alveolar consonant. In W's case the resultant [nn] from /nd/ is simplified by GS occasionally; /nt/ is subject to the modified GS rule, as in B's speech. The difference between these two informants and informant C is that there are no instances here of /nt/→[nd] (cf. previous chapter).

In W's speech in some instances /d/ and /t/ are subject to this left-to-right harmony, e.g.

[dʒʌss] *just* (20)

[klɑgg] *clogged* (29)

[lɪvv̥] *lived* (33) and (44, without devoicing)

[ɔɹgənɪss] *organist* (45).

We can see from the above that it involves both place and manner harmony.

ð-harmony, which involves both left-to-right harmony and manner harmony, is common in both speakers, e.g.

[kɔ:ɬ ɬəm] *call them* (8)

[köɹs z̥ə] *course the* (21)

[ɪn̪ n̪ə] *in the* (25)

[gɹɑɪn̪n̪ n̪ə] *grind the* (26)

[θɪŋ̊k ʔæt̚] *think that* (50)

[ɔ:ɬ lə] *all the* (66)

[æv və] *have the* (70)

[kɵs z̥ə̥z] *course there's* (73)

[wɛn̪ n̪ə] *when the* (80)

[pɷt də] *put the* (100-01).

θ-harmony has only one instance:

[fəɹ s̪ɹɪi] *for three* (72).

This is caused by the surrounding [r]-articulations and is not the same as in the instances discussed in Lodge (1981: 29).

In B's speech manner harmony applies to /n/ occasionally, e.g.

[əð̃ ðə] *and the* (60)

[z̃ sæʔ] *and sat* (64)

[tɹɑ:z̃spɔ·ʔ] *transport* (91).

W has only one example of manner harmony which is probably just a sporadic occurrence: [wəɹç f] (41).

Voice harmony, which is not very widespread in English accents, (cf. Introduction, p. 9), appears in B's speech in [ʃt θɪŋ̊k] *should think* (86) and probably in [ð fəɹs̬] *the first* (91).

Finally, we find palatal harmony in both speakers, e.g.

[əʒ jɷuʒɷ] *as usual* (21)

[ɪt ʃəsɛɬf] *it yourself* (31)

[pɹæpʃ jɷudˀ] *perhaps you'd* (41)

[ɛnd ʒɷ] *end you* (48)

[wɒnt ʃɷu] *wasn't you* (56)

[wɒʒ jɷu] *was you* (85).

(d) *CCS*. CCS applies to /t/ and /d/:

[nɪəɹɪs ðə] *nearest the* (14)

[dʒəs lɛf tə] *just left to* (38)

[ʌɷɬ mæ:n] *old man* (40)

[dɹɛs kɑɹts] *dressed carts* (58)

[klʌɷz da·ɷn] *closed down* (83)

[lɪv ðëɹ] *lived there* (85)

[fəɹs̬ wəɹl̪ wɔ:ᵊɹ] *First World War* (91).

There are no examples where /n/ is deleted in /-nt/ sequences; it would appear not to apply to these two

speakers. [ŋ] can be treated as /ng/, as in Shepherd's Bush; there are the usual two forms of the present participle, in [-ɪŋ] and [-ɪn], the latter subject to harmony in the appropriate contexts. The difference can be accounted for in the order of application of the rules, e.g.

/-ɪng w-/

Alveolar harmony ⇒ -ɪŋg w-

/g/-deletion ⇒ -ɪŋ w-

as in [sɪŋɪŋ wʌn] (60);

/-ɪng ð-/

/g/-deletion ⇒ -ɪn ð-

Alveolar harmony ⇒ -ɪn̪ ð-

as in [plɛɪɪn̪ ðɪi] (60).

(e) *UVD.* In B's speech, when there are two unstressed vowels together and one of them is [ə], the [ə] is deleted, e.g.

[jʊus tæv] *used to have* (58),(63), (67) and (82)

[ʌʊnlɪ bʌs] *only a bus* (87).

She also deletes [ə] following /w/, as in [wz] *was* (79), (80) and (89) (cf. Stockport above). In phonetic terms both [w] and [ə] are vocoid articulations and in rapid speech can easily be run together. The tongue position for the resultant articulation is roughly that of [ö], the lip-rounding being retained, but it is not a syllable nucleus, so that it can be suitably transcribed as [w]. (Where there is a preceding [ʔ], as at (79) and (80), that, too, has lip-rounding.)

[f ɛnɪbɒdɪ] (41) is W's only example of [ə]-deletion before a vowel, and here it is only possible because of a previous /r/-deletion. This may also be an explanation of B's [fə wɪikɛnd] (70).

The most common deletion of [ə] is following [ʔ]; this occurs in both speakers, e.g.

[ʌp ʔ sɪi] *up to see* (54)

[æt ʔ gʊ] *had to go* (54)

[jʊus ʔ bɻ] *used to be* (57)

[wɒnɪd ʔ pɒp] *wanted to pop* (89).

In one instance the [ə] precedes [ʔ]: [ʌp ʔ] *up at* (13).

(f) *Vowel lengthening*. Vowels in stressed syllables in lento speech are lengthened in most English accents, and there are some examples of this in the data under consideration here, e.g. [ʌ·p] (21) and (25), [θɪ:ŋk] (83), [da·ʊn] (83), [ʃæ·ɪm] (83). On the other hand, there is lengthening of low vowels before /n/, as in [læ·ntəɹn] (24), [gɔ:n] (54), [bæ:nn] (60). The lengthened vowel before voiceless fricatives, as in RP *father, class* and so on, is still apparent in *off* (6), (37), (52), (53), (62) and (100).

Chapter Four

EDINBURGH

There are two male informants: G, aged 50, who was born in Harburn, about 16 miles from Edinburgh, and moved to the city to start work, and H, aged 19, who was born and educated in Edinburgh, but moved out to Penicuik at the age of 5. As a child, G used a broad Scots dialect (cf. Wells, 1982: 393-99) quite different from his present accent. (I have added an excerpt from a poem, which he recited for me in his childhood dialect, at the end of his conversational transcription, but I shall not be concerned with it in the phonological discussion.)

(i) *General*

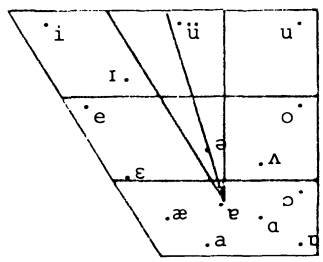
Both speakers use a relatively tense tongue in their articulations; as a consequence there is very little affrication of stops and the voiceless ones are not often aspirated. The apical contact, except for /θ/ and /ð/, which are dental, is normally post-alveolar. The vowel articulations have a tendency to be fairly centralized, even in stressed syllables. /l/ has either a central or back vowel colouring in all positions (cf. Wells, 1982: 411). /r/ has a wide range of articulations: trill, flap and frictionless continuant. It is usually apico-post-alveolar and, in certain contexts, voiceless. It is occasionally retroflex: in line (85) speaker H uses considerable retroflexion, giving an Ulster quality to that stretch of speech. It should also be noted that where I have written [ɾ] before another post-alveolar sound with a complete oral closure on the median line: [t d n l], we are not always dealing with a flap, since there may be no on-off movement of the tongue. In such cases we have a very short [d]-articulation. Such pairs as *curl* and *cuddle* may, in fact, be pronounced the same (though the latter may also undergo /l/-vocalization).

Lip-rounding is normally produced with protrusion; [ɒ] is sometimes produced without lip-rounding, i.e. [ɑ]. Both [e] and [ɛ] are used where other accents have a short /e/ sound, e.g. G's [edɪnbɾʌʰ] and H's [ɛdɨnbʌɾʌʰ]. The close variety is the same as the equivalent of what is a diphthong in many other accents, e.g. [eti] *eighty*. Most of the vowels are found in unstressed as well as stressed syllables. Speaker G has a range of [u] to [ü] realizations for /u/, the former more common, except after /j/. [ɑ] both long and short is used by G in certain instances where RP has /ɑ/. (See also Wells' comments, 1982: 403.)

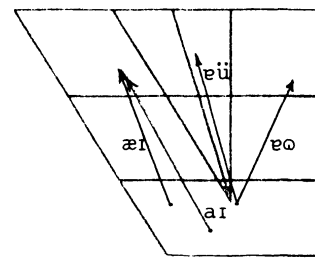
Final stops are often released, even before another stop consonant; wherever the stop symbol is left without a diacritic, that stop is released, albeit weakly.

(ii) *Vowel diagrams*

Speaker G:

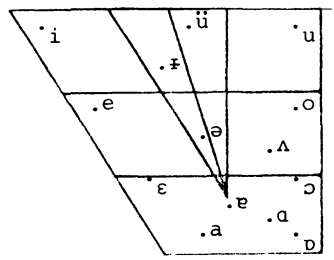


monophthongs

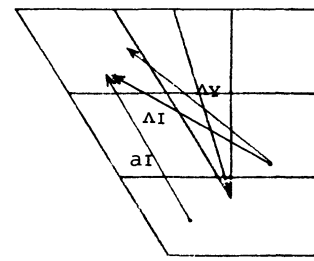


diphthongs

Speaker H:



monophthongs



diphthongs

[u] is not common in H's speech, occurring only in [ɛkskɬuzɨv] (64); the front closing diphthong is sometimes [ɐ̟ɪ].

(iii) *The transcription of speaker G*

1 nɔ́ʔ nɛ́ɷədez | no no onɬë ðǽʔt wəz ðə wé wë spók ət hóm |

2 nɒ́t əʔ skúö | ʔ wəz wíð ðǽt æksɛ̃nt ɪf jë hɐd spókən ɪn énë

3 ʌðəɾ æksɛnt əz ə tʃɛ́ɷd | jëd əv bin ɬá:ft ɐɷt əv kóət | əz

4 pʻüt'ʻɪŋ ɔn éɪz ən gɾésëz

Not nowadays / No no only that was the way we spoke at home / not at school. / It was with that accent, if you had spoken in any other accent as a child / you'd have been laughed out of court / as putting on airs and graces.

5 ða? wəz wɛ́ʔst kɔ́ɬdəɾ ë? wz áktʃəɬë ʔɛ́ütsɐɪd wɛ́st kɔ́ɬdəɾ ə

6 há:mɬët kɔɬd há:ɾbʌɾn | féməs nɛ́ɷədez fɪ ə gɔ́ɬf kɔ́ɾs

That was West Calder, it was actually outside West Calder, a hamlet called Harburn / famous nowadays for a golf course.

7 e: síkst'ʻin ɔ t'ʻe twɛ́ntë mæɪɬz

Eh sixteen or to twenty miles.

8 o jés ɪndíd | a dón? no kwæɪt'ʻ | ʍɛ́ðəɾ wɪð ðë ínɾodz əv |

9 háɪəɾ ɛdʒükéʃn n ʍótnɔt ɪts méd enë dífɪəns | bəʔt ðəz stíɬ

10 kwaɪt ə səbstá:nʃəö əmɛ́ont əv e | ðá:t á:ksɛnt əɾɛ́ɷnd

Oh yes indeed / I don't know quite / whether with the inroads of / higher education and whatnot it's made any difference / but there's still quite a substantial amount of that accent around.

11 ət skúö | o ɪf énëθɪŋ mebi əʔt skú wë spók słæɪʔɬë pɔ́ʃʌ ðən

12 wʌn tɛ́ndz të dü əz wʌ́n gɛts ódəɾ

At school / oh if anything maybe at school we spoke slightly posher than one tends to do as one gets older.

13 o ðəɪ ə sévɾəɬ | eʔ ɪɛ́ndʒëz fɪəm ðə véɾë hæɪɬë ɐfɛ́ktëd

14 mɔ́ɪnɪŋsæɪdʻ tü əv koɾθ ðə nó tɾés ɑv áfɛktéʃn ət ɔ́ö ɪn ðə

15 püəɪ hɛ́ɷzɪŋ skímz

Oh, there are several / It ranges from the very highly affected Morningside to, of course, the no trace of affectation at all in the poor housing schemes.

16 kwæɪt ə fjǘ: ənd e sʌ́m ɪá:pɪdɬe^{h} | get ə véɾë bá:d

17 ɹɛpjütéʃn fɑ́·ɾ em | ə ɾʌ́f tǽɪp ténənts | nóbdë éɬs ɬ gó

18 ðéə˞ so ðë | ët éndz ʌ́pˈ wɪð ʔé·vəbəe biŋ əv ðə sem tǽɪp

19 mɔɹ ə lés

Quite a few and some rapidly / get a very bad reputation for um / er rough type tenants / nobody else'll go there so they / it ends up with everybody being of the same type more or less.

20 wʌn wüd ɔ́:ɬwez ɹéçəgnǽɪz ə glɑ́:zgo ʌ́ksɛnt jés

One would always recognize a Glasgow accent, yes.

21 spókən | ʌ́p tü ðə tǽɪm əf: | kíŋ dʒémz ðə ë síksθ ən fʌ́:st

22 | ʍen hí went dɐ́ün tü íŋgɬənd hi íntɹədjüst ə ɬɑ́t əv |

23 íŋgɬəʃ kɑ́ɾɪktəɾístɪks | ɐm nɔ́t ən ékspɛɾt ən nǽt bət ðǽts

24 mæɪ ʌndəɾstándɪŋ əv ɪt

Spoken / up to the time of King James the eh sixth and first. / When he went down to England, he introduced a lot of / English characteristics / I'm not an expert on that, but that's my understanding of it.

25 ɐ hád ə ɾʌ́stɪk ʌ́pbɾɪŋɪŋ | ɐ wɔ́zn? bɾɔt ʌ́p ət hóm jü si

I had a rustic upbringing / I wasn't brought up at home, you see.

26 dɪdn? wʌ́ɾk ɑn ə fɑ́ɾm bʌt e ɬívd ɪn ʍɔ́t wəz ə fɔ́mʌɾ

27 fɑ́ɹmhɐ́üs

Didn't work on a farm but eh lived in what was a former farmhouse.

28 nɔt̪ ðət ɐm əwéɾ ɔv nó | wéɬ ɪnɬɑ́·nd

Not that I'm aware of, no. / Well inland.

29 am ə sívɬ sɛ́ɹvənt ənd | am kɔnsɛ́ɹnd wɪð ðe | ðj

30 ɐdmínɪstɹéʃn əv ægɾɪkʌ́ltʃəɾəɬ ɬɛ́dʒɪsɬéʃn

I'm a civil servant and / I'm concerned with the / the administration of agricultural legislation.

31 ðəɹ ɪz ɬé·s dʒʌ́stɪfɪkéʃn | ə mɑ́·hkədɬɪ dífɹənt ɬǽɪn

There is less justification / A markedly different line.

32 æɪ hǽf tə gó tu ɬʌ́ndən | pɹínsɪpəlɪ tü kɔnfɛ́·ɹ wɪð kóɬigz̥

33 ɪn ɬʌ́ndən | ó̜ɹ tú e ətɛ́nd əpɔ́n mæɪ mínɪstəɹ ɪf ðəz̥ ə

34 pʌ́ɬɪmɛ́nt'ɹɪ dɪbɛ́t

I have to go to London / principally to confer with colleagues in London / or to eh attend upon my minister, if there's a parliamentary debate.

35 ðe ɔ́:ɬwɪz̥ kʌm ʌ́p ət̻ ðə wikɛ́·nd

They always come up at the week-end.

36 sɔ́ ə tʌ́ɹo pʌ́k ɪn̻ ðëɹ wíndo ən hɐd nɛ́vʌ sín wʌn bɪfóɹ

Saw a tarot pack in their window and had never seen one before.

37 nǽɪntin éti wɪɬ bí mæɪ ɹɪtǽɪɹmənt dɛ́ked

1980 will be my retirement decade.

38 kípɪŋ kédʒ bʌ́ɹdz̥ | kédʒ bʌ́dz̥ əv ɔ́ɬ tǽɪps

Keeping cage birds / cage birds of all types.

39 ði ónɬi bɹídɪŋ ðət̚ tűk plés wəz̥ pjűɹɬɪ bæɪ ǽksɪdənt

The only breeding that took place was purely by accident.

40 ən é·g fɹəm ən á:fɹɪkən sílvəɹ bíɬ | ðe hɐd ɬɔ́·ts əv̥ ʃɒ́ts

41 bɬ ónɬɪ wʌ́n səksés | ðə bʌ́dz v veɹɪ ʃɔ́·t̚ ɬǽɪf ɪt səɹvǽɪvd

42 ɪts pɛ́ɹənts baɪ ónɬɪ ə vɛ́ɹɪ veɹ ʃɔ́ᵊt̚ tǽɪm

An egg from an African silverbill. / They had lots of shots but only one success / The birds have a very short life, it survived its parents by only a very very short time.

43 ǽɪ wüd əv̥ θɔ́t ʌnjű́ʒɬ

I would have thought unusual.

44 ɔɬðo ɐv hʌ́d̻ ðɪ ɔ́·d | bʌ́ɹd ɪn témpɹəɹɬe jü no ɪf ɪt wʌɹ̥ ʔíɬ

45 əɹ̥ sʌ́mθɪŋ əɹ índʒʌɹd̥

Although I've had the odd / bird in temporarily, you know, if it were ill or something or injured.

46 ə pídʒən | ə̥ wəz̥ ə stʌ́ɹɬɪŋ əz̥ wɛ́ɬ

A pidgeon / There was a starling as well.

47 ənɬé·s sʌ́mbədɪ wɔ́nts ðəm ən téks səm wɪðɪn ə féɾɬɪ ʃɔ́·tˈ

48 tæɪm | ðe pút ðəm dɛ́ɷn ɐ θíŋk | koz ʌ́ðəwaɪz ðe wüd gét fáɪ

49 tü bíg ə nʌ́mbʌ

Unless somebody wants them and takes them within a fairly short time / they put them down, I think / 'cos otherwise they would get far too big a number.

50 bɐɷ̊t nǽɪntin fɔ́ɪtɪ næɪn

About 1949.

51 ónɬɪ kém tü édɪnbɾʌʰ | tü stáɾ̊t wʌ́ɾkˈ

Only came to Edinburgh / to start work.

52 pɾǽɪvɪt skú:z mʌ́ɪtʃənt kʌ́mpənɪ skú:z

Private schools, merchant company schools.

53 wʌn dʌ́znt sɪ́i enɪ mɑ́·kt pɾógɾes fɪəm ðə ɪɪzʌ́ɬts

One doesn't see any marked progress from the results.

Appendix
Three stanzas of a poem in G's Scots dialect:

ə gɾétˈmʌkɬ bótˈje mʌn bɨ́ɬd	A great muckle boat ye mun build,
ən ɑɾkˈðə̊t kən flótˈhíç ən dɾá·ɪ	An ark that can float heich an' dry,
wɬ rúm ɬntˈfəɾ ɔ́ jʌɾ en fókˈ	Wi' room in't for a' yer ain folk
ən há·ntoɬ o ká·toɬ fɔrbá·ɪ	An' (a) hantle o' cattle forby.
so nóa· roxt háɾd̥ əʔ̬ ðə dʒóp	So Noah wrocht hard at the job,
ən sɛ́ɾtʃt të ðë ʔɛ́ɾθs fɑ́ɾðɬsp bɔ́ɾdʌɾz̥	An' searched to the Earth's farthest borders,
ən gɛ́ðəɾd̥ ðə bísts ɐn̥ ðə bʌ́ɾdz̥	An' gethered the beasts an' the birds,
ən téɬd̥ ðəm tü stá·n baɪ fəɾ ɔ́ɾdʌɾz̥	An' telled them to stand by for orders.

ɔ ðɨ́s wʌzne dɨ́n ɔn̪ ðə kwét'	A' this wasna done on the quate,
ən níbʌɾz̥ wüd ʍaɪɬz̥ gɛðər rǘn	An' neebours would whiles gether roun';
ðɛn nóa wüd dɾáp ðəm ə hɨ́nt	Then Noah would drap them a hint
laɪk'ðə wɛ̣́ðəɾ ɨz gɔ̥́n tə bɾek dǘn	Like: "The weather is gaun to break doun".

(iv) *The transcription of speaker H*

54 ðəɾ ɨz ə çjǘ·dʒ kɔ́mpleks ë ʃɔ́pɨn sɛ́ntʌɾ̥ˀ | ɨˀs bin ɔɬ bɨ́ɬˀ
55 ʌ́p ɨn̪ n̪ə sɛ́nˀʌɾ ə ðə sɨ́ˀɨ | dʒʌst ɹísəntɬɨ | mɛ́ni píɸö
56 dónˀ ɬʌ́ɪk ɨˀ

There is a huge complex eh shopping centre / it's been all built up in the centre of the city / just recently. / Many people don't like it.

57 ən ɨˀ wəz ðɨ óɬd ë ˀístʌɾn skɔ́ˀɨʃ bʌ́s stéʃn̩ | ən̪ n̪áˀ wəz
58 ɔ́·ɬ ribɨ́ɬˀ

And it was the old Eastern Scottish bus station / and that was all rebuilt.

59 ɐ ɬɨ́v əbʌ́ÿˀ θɾí mʌɪɬz ʌ́ÿˀsʌɪd̪ ðə sɨ́ˀɨ ɑn̪ ðə sʌ́ÿθ sʌɪd | ɑn̪
60 ðə ɾód tə píbɬ̩z pénɨk'ük' | ɨˀs ə | kʌ́ÿnsɬ̩ hʌ́ÿzɨn ɨstéˀ

I live about three miles outside the city on the south side / on the road to Peebles, Penicuik. / It's a / council housing estate.

61 əpɑ́ɹˀˌfəm ðə fʌ́ɹs θɾi mʌ́n̪θs

Apart from the first three months.

62 á·v bɨn gɔ́n fɹ̥əm ðə tʌ́ÿn ðáˀ ɬɛ́n̪θ ə tʌ́ɪm

I've been gone from the town that length of time.

63 ɨ́nsáed̪ ðə sɨ́ˀɨ

Inside the city.

64 ɔɬ ðə ɾítɨ | ɛkskɬúzɨv̥ hʌ́ÿz̥ɨz̥ | ðə ɾéts əɾ tǘ háɪ | fəɾ ə·
65 pípɬ̩ tə áˀtʃəɬɨ ɬɨ́v̥ ðéɾ̥ | so ðeɾ nʌ́ɷ tʌ́ɹnɨn ɨntɵ ɔ́fɨsɨz̥ |

66 ɬɒ̝ʔs əv bɨ́znɨsɨ̝z tʃɑ́ɹʔəd əkʌ́ÿnʔənts | tɾ̥ɑ́vɬ̝ bɨ́znɨsɨ̝z

All the really / exclusive houses / the rates are too high / for er people to actually live there / so they're now turning into offices / lots of businesses, chartered accountants / travel businesses.

67 ɐ wʌ́ɾ̥k əɲ d̪ë kʌ́ÿnte bʌ́sɨ̝z | ʔɨkwɨ́vəɬən ə kʌ́ɷnʔe bʌ́sɨ̝z

68 hiəɹ | əz fɑ́ɹ əz gɑ́ɬəʃíɬz ə gɬɑ́sgo ən nɔɾ̥θ əz fɑ́ɹ əz pɛɾ̥θ |

69 ɐ wʌ́ɾ̥k ɑ̈ɲ ðɛ̣m | wɨ̝ð̞ ðɑ́·ʔ kʌ́mpne dʒɯ̈ən ðəh | vekéʃn̩ | ən a

70 kən dʒɘ́st dɨtɛ́kt θɾ̥ü gon̩ | fáɪv mʌ́ɪɬz ʌ́ɷʔsʌ́ɪd̪ d̪ə sɨ́ʔɨ t̪ᵉ ə

71 pɬés kɔ́ɬb mʌ́sɬ̩bʌɾʌʰ | ðe ə ʔáksɛ̈nts ɹíɬe dɨ́fɾ̥ən̩ʔ

I work on the county buses / equivalent of county buses here / as far as Galashiels or Glasgow and north as far as Perth. / I work on them / with that company during the / vacation / and I can just detect through going / five miles outside the city to a place called Musselburgh / the er accent's really different.

72 pɸɛn ɐ wəz jʌ́ŋ | ɐ mɯ̈vd ʌ́ÿʔsʌ́ɪd̪ d̪ə sɨ́ʔɨ | bʌ́ʔ mʌ sɨ́stəɾ̥z |

73 ðeɾ ɔɬ ó̞ɬdɐ ðən me | wɛ́ntˈtə skɯ̈ɬ ʍɛ́ɾ ɐ wəz bɔ́ᵊn | so

74 ɨnstɛ́d əv gon̩ të ðə ɬóḳɬ̩ skɯ̈ɬ ʍɛ ðə nɯ̈ hʌ́ÿzɨn ɨsté̞ʔ wɒz̥ |

75 wi tɾ̥ɑ́vɬ̩d ɨ́n ɛvɾɨ dé̞ tə ðɨ́s skɯ̈ɬ | ʍɛɾ m ðə ɾ̥ɛ̣́st əv mɐ

76 fá·mɬe hɐd gɔ́n | mʌ bɾʌ́ðð ən ʌ́ɪ | f̲ɛn ɐ lɛ́ft pɾɑ́ɪməɾe skɯ̈ɬ

77 ɐ wɛnt tə̣ | ʔskɯ̈ɬ kɔ́ɬd sɨn̩ʔ á·nθənɨ̝z | kwʌ́ɪʔ nɪə ðə dɔ́ks

When I was young / I moved outside the city / but my sisters / they're all older than me / went to school where I was born / so instead of going to the local school where the new housing estate was / we travelled in every day to this school / where um the rest of my family had gone / my brother and I. / When I left primary school I went to / school called St. Antony's / quite near the docks.

78 ɨn θʌ́ɾdʒ̆ˈɟiəɾ̥ | wɛn á wəz̥ ɨn mɐ θʌ́ːd ɟíə ðə skɯ̈ɬ tɹanz̥fɛ́ɹd̪

79 fɹəm ðaʔ bɨ́ldɨŋ ɨn ɬíθ ə tˑᵊ ʌ bɾɨ́ɬjənʔ pɬés ət dʌ́dɨŋstn̩ |

80 ɑ̈ɲ d̪ə wé tə mʌ́sɬ̩bʌɾʌʰ | əʔ ðə bɔ́ʔmˑ ɑ́ɾ̥θəɾ̥z sí̞ʔ á̞ʔtʃəɬe ɨn

81 hól̩ɨɾüd pʌ́k | nɔʔ fɑ́ɹ fɹəm hól̩ɨɾüd pʌ́ɾ̥k ovəɾ ðɨ ʌ́ðəɾ̥ sæɪd̪

In third year / when I was in my third year, the school transferred from that building in Leith er to a brilliant place at Duddingston / on the way to Musselburgh / at the bottom of Arthur's Seat actually in Holyrood Park / not far from Holyrood Park, over the other side.

82 wi θɔ́ʔ wi wüd kíp ɔn | sɔɾʔ ə | a don no sʌ́m sɔɾʔ ə hɨ́stəɾɨ

83 ə ðáʔ ném | nʌ́ÿ ðə sɨ́ʔɨz sʌ́əvb bæɪ tṵ́ kɔmpɾɨhénsɨv káθɬɨk

84 skṵ́ɬz wʌ́n fəɾ | wɛ́st sæɪd wʌ́n fəɾ ð ís sæɪd

We thought we would keep on / sort of / I don't know, some sort of history of that name. / Now the city's served by two comprehensive Catholic schools, one for / west side, one for the east side.

85 ðəɹʂ móɹ pɾʊ́tɨstənt skṵ́ɬz ɨn édɨnbʌɾʌ | ðə pɾʊ́dɨstənt skṵ́ɬz

86 sim tə bi móɾ ɬókˌæɪzd | sɛ́ɹʔn dɨ́stɾɨks əv ðə sɨ́tɨ

There's more Protestant schools in Edinburgh / The Protestant schools seem to be more localized / certain districts of the city.

87 slá·ŋg̊ | há·ŋ əɾʌ́ÿnd n ə gɾṵ́p | ma fá·ðəɾ jüs s ɔ́wɨz bi |

88 i jüs tˈ ɔ́wɨz tɛ́ɬ me tə stʊ́p séɨŋ má· ɨnstɛd əv máɪ

Slang / hang around in a group / My father used to always be / he used to always tell me to stop saying [ma·] instead of [maɪ].

89 pípɬ tɛ́ndˀ tə | spɨ́ʔk moɾ ɬáɪk ðá·ʔ | nǽɪs tə tɔ́ʔkˀ tə·

People tend to / speak more like that / Nice to talk to.

90 mɔ́ᵊnɨnsæɪd ɨn édɨnbʌɾʌ jɛ· ðeɬ ɹɨfɛ̈ɹ të ðá·ʔ

Morningside in Edinburgh, yes, they'll refer to that.

91 wí tɛnd mi n fɹɛ́nz tɛ́ndˀ tə ɾɛ́çəγnǽɪz ɨf sʌ́mbəde fɹɔ̈m ʌ

92 pɾívɪəsɬe pɾáɪvɨʔ skṵ́ɬ kʌ́mz tə ðə ðɨs sɛ́kəndəɾe mɔ́dəɾn ɔɾ

93 kɔ́mpɾɨhénsɨv

We tend, me and friends tend to recognize if somebody from a previously private school comes to the this secondary modern or comprehensive.

94 ðeɬ tɹáɪ ən ɾɨfʌ́ɪn ðeɾ stá·ŋ kəɬɔ́ʔkwɪəɬɨzmz

They'll try and refine their slang colloquialisms.

95 ɨf jṵ́ gó fəɾ ən ɨ́nʔʌvjü fəɾ ə dʒɔ́·b | sʌ́m pɪ́ɸɬ ɐ nó

If you go for an interview for a job. / Some people I know.

(v) *Phonological discussion*

There are a number of characteristics of Edinburgh speech which are quite different from those of the other accents discussed in this book. The main ones are: few, if any, contrasts between short and long vowels; no clear [l]; use of /x/, with positional variants [ç] and [x], which occurs not only in words of Gaelic origin, e.g. *Drumsheugh*, but also in English words: both speakers have [ç] in *recognize*, even though lenition of intervocalic stops is not a feature of this accent (see below); few diphthongal articulations; consistent use of /h/; consistent use of /ʍ/, though H has [w] in *when* on one occasion (78), and the realizations [pɸ] (72) and [f̬] (76); rhoticity; no /ɷ/ element; a variety of vowel qualities in unstressed syllables. The distinction between /æɪ/ and /ʌɪ/, discussed by Wells (1982: 405-06), does not appear to be relevant to either speaker, at least with any consistency. G uses a diphthong in the region of [æɪ~aɪ], with one instance of [ɐɪ] in *outside* (5); H has both types of articulation but not exclusive to any particular context, e.g. [haɪ] (64), [ʌɪ] (76), [bæɪ] (83); [ʌÿˀsʌɪd̪] (59), [ɨnsaed̪] (63).

Another characteristic which marks off this accent from the others discussed in this book is that the major processes discussed in the Introduction apply to a far lesser extent in both speakers.

H uses [ˀ] intervocalically for /t/, whereas G does not; H also uses [ˀ] for /k/ before /t/.

(a) *Lenition*. There is little or no lenition of the type, stop → fricative, or voiceless → voiced; H has two examples of the former: [piɸö] *people* (55), [ɾɛçəɣnæɪz] *recognize* (91), and one example of the latter: [pɾɒdɨstənˀt] *Protestant* (55). The two sounds that are affected most by lenition are /l/ and /r/. G vocalizes or even deletes /l/ quite regularly, e.g. [ɔö] *all* (14), [skuö] *school* (2) and (11), [sku:z] *schools* (52) x 2, [odər] *older* (12). H, on the other hand, does not usually do so, though we must note [piɸö] (55) and [ɔwɨz] *always* (87) and (88). In the latter case we are dealing with /l/+/w/, the most likely environment for vocalization, then deletion; c.f. G's [sku wë] *school we* (11).

/r/, on the other hand, is vocalized and deleted by both speakers in post-vocalic position. The flap, with its slight closure phase, undergoes lenition first to a frictionless continuant, then to a central vowel [ə], then it is deleted, sometimes with a slight effect on the preceding vowel, e.g.

G	H	
[mʌɹtʃənt] *merchant* (52)	——	frictionless continuant
[koət] *court* (3)	[sʌəvb] *served* (83)	(slight) central vowel
[ʃɔᵊt] *short* (42)	[bɔᵊn] *born* (73)	
[bʌdz] *birds* (38)(41)	[pɑk] *park* (81)	deletion
[ʌðəwaɪz] *otherwise* (48)	[ə] *or* (68)	deletion in unstressed syllable
[pɔʃʌ] *posher* (11)	[ɨnʔʌvjü] *interview* (95)	deletion + slight change in vowel quality
[fʌːst] *first* (21)	[θʌːd] *third* (78)	deletion + lengthening of vowel.
[ʃɔˑt] *short* (47)		

We must note that some words occur both with and without any r-sound in the surface version, e.g. [bʌɹdz] (38), [θʌɾdʒ̍ɨ] (78), as well as the instances given above. It is most likely to be deleted before other post-alveolars, after the opening vowels /ʌ ɔ ɑ/, and finally in unstressed syllables. H has an example of intervocalic deletion: [dʒüən] *during* (69). There are no examples of "intrusive" linking /r/. (For a discussion of /r/ in a number of Edinburgh children, see Romaine, 1978.)

(b) *Devoicing*. As in the previous locality, we find devoicing of voiced sounds, in particular fricatives and /r/, before voiced sounds, usually in word-final position, although G also devoices initial /ð/ after a devoiced final /ð/. E.g.

[wəz̥ wɪð̥ ðæt] *was with that* (2)

[ʍɛðəɾ̥ wɪð̥ ðë] *whether with the* (8)

[ɑv̥ afɛkteʃn̥] *of affectation* (14)

[hʌÿz̥ɨz̥] *houses* (64)

[ɨv̥ ðeɾ̥] *live there* (65)

[wɨð̥ ðaˑʔ] *with that* (69).

Final devoicing before a pause also applies to vowels occasionally, e.g. [edɪnbɾʌʰ] (51), [mʌsɨbʌɾʌʰ] (71), (80), and /r/ is also affected in this way, e.g. [odəɾ̥] (12), [ɟiəɾ̥] (78). Devoicing before voiceless

sounds, as in RP and most other accents, applies to /r/, within the word, too, e.g. [wʌɾk] (26), (67) and (69), and initial devoicing of /r/ occurs after voiceless stops and fricatives, e.g. [fɹəm] (13) and (62), [tɾes] (14). In one instance we find final devoicing of a vowel before a voiceless sound: [mɑ·hkədɬɪ] (31).

(c) *Harmony*. As with lenition, there is less evidence of harmony in the speech of these two informants than is the case in other accents. The place harmony of the alveolars displayed by most accents (cf. Introduction, and Lodge, 1981) is much more restricted in that it occurs most before the dentals and rarely elsewhere, except in the case of /n/ + velar (see below). For example:

[bəʈ̪ ðəz̪] *but there's* (9)

[əʈ̪ ðə] *at the* (35)

[ʌÿˀsʌɪd̪ ðə] *outside the* (59)

[ɑn̪ ðə] *on the* (59)

[mʌn̪θs] *months* (61),

but [wʌn gɛts] (12), [ðən me] (73). G has one example of /s/-harmony, giving [koɾθ ðə] *course the* (14), but he has no harmonizing to bilabial or velar articulations. H has a few examples, but they are sporadic rather than regular:

[kɔɬb mʌsɬbʌɾʌʰ] *called Musselburgh* (71)

[sʌəvb bæɪ] *served by* (83).

In one case he has a double articulation: [θʌɾd͡ʒʲ ɟiəɾ] (78), alongside non-harmonized [θʌːd ɟiə] (78). The one regular harmony of a post-alveolar to velarity is that of /n/ before /k/ and /g/ within the word, e.g. [θɪŋk] (48), [ɪŋgɬənd] (22), but we must note that it does not harmonize to bilabiality under the same conditions, as can be seen from both speakers' pronunciation of *Edinburgh*.

Manner harmony is restricted to /ð/-harmony, which is more common in H than in G, e.g.

[ən̪ n̪æʔt] *on that* (23)

[teks səm] *takes them* (47) + voice harmony

[ɟn̪ n̪ə] *in the* (55)

[ən̪ d̪ɛ̈] *on the* (67),

alongside the non-harmonized forms, one of which, *on the* (59), is given above. There are no instances of

/ð/-harmony to /l/. H has two further instances of manner harmony, which are probably slips of the tongue rather than evidence of a phonological process, because of their unusual nature: [bɾʌðð] (76), [jüs s] (87).

Palatal harmony is more in evidence than the other types, though again there are occasions where it does not take place:

[aktʃəɬë] *actually* (5)

[ɛdʒükeʃn̩] *education* (9)

[ʌnjüʒɬ̩] *unusual* (43)

[aʔtʃəɬɬ] *actually* (65) and (80, with different final vowel)

[dʒüəɲ̊] *during* (69),

but [ɬntɹədjüst] *introduced* (22)

[wəz jʌŋ] *was young* (72).

In one instance H has harmony between /l/ and a vowel: [ɬi̠ə] (79), where the vowel is retracted under the influence of the /l/-articulation.

(d) *CCS*. There are no examples of this in G's speech, but some in H's involving /t/ and /d/:

[fʌɹs θɾi] *first three* (61)

[is sæɪd] *east side* (84)

[dɬstɾɬks] *districts* (86)

[fɹɛnz̥] *friends* (91).

There is one example of /t/-deletion after /n/: [don no] (82), but there is insufficient evidence for us to decide whether /-nt/ behaves differently from any other /-Ct/ or not (cf. the other localities above).

There is a /g/-deletion rule to produce morpheme-final [ŋ], and H has the alternative [-ɬn] ending for words ending in unstressed *-ing*, whereas G has not.

(e) *UVD*. Once again, this process is not as widely applied as in other accents. Within the word unstressed syllables are sometimes deleted, sometimes retained, e.g. G's [kʌmpənɪ] (52) versus H's [kʌmpne] (69). This is not a pattern distinguishing the two speakers, because we also have G's [nobdë] (17) versus H's [sɛkəndəɾe] (92). The first of two contiguous unstressed vowels is sometimes deleted:

[bɔʔm· ɑɾ̊θəɾz̥] *bottom of Arthur's* (80)

[ð is] *the east* (84).

G has one example of reduction to a glide rather than deletion in [ðj ɐdmɪnɪstɹeʃn̩] (29-30).

(f) *Vowel lengthening.* /a/ is often lengthened, both where RP has /ɑ/ and elsewhere, especially before nasals, e.g.

[ɬa:ft] *laughed* (3)

[ha:mɬët] *hamlet* (6)

[səbsta:nʃəö] *substantial* (10)

[ða:t a:ksɛnt] *that accent* (10)

[ɹa:pɬdɬe^{h}] *rapidly* (16)

[ba:d] *bad* (16)

[a:fɹɬkən] *African* (40)

[a•v] *I've* (62)

[ða•ʔ] *that* (69), (89) and (90)

[fa•mɬe] *family* (76)

[a•nθənɬz̥] *Anthony's* (77)

[ha•ŋ] *hang* (87)

[fa•ðəɾ] *father* (87).

In the case of speaker H the vowel phase is usually shorter than that of G. These are not just the environments involved in Aitken's Law (see Aitken, 1962; Ewen, 1977; and Wells, 1982: 405-06), though these, too, produce lengthening on occasion, e.g.

[fjü:] *few* (16)

[fɑ•ɾ] *for* (17)

[kɔnfɛ•ɹ] *confer* (32).

Some of the instances of lengthening may be the effect of stress in lento speech, e.g. [ɬɔ•ts] (40) beside [ɬɑt] (22), [ɔ•d] (44), [dʒɔ•b] (95). In G's speech /e/ where it is equivalent to RP /e/ seems to be lengthened quite often, under a variety of circumstances, e.g.

[ɬe•s] *less* (31)

[wike•nd] *week-end* (35)

[e•g] *egg* (40)

[ənle•s] *unless* (47).

Lastly, loss of /r/ also produces lengthening of the

preceding vowel phase, e.g.

[fʌ:st] *first* (21)

[mɑ·hkədɬɪ] *markedly* (31)

[mɑ·kt] *marked* (53)

[θʌ:d] *third* (78).

Chapter Five

COVENTRY

There is one male informant, A, aged 68. He was born and educated in Coventry, but moved to Kenilworth at the age of 12.

(i) *General*

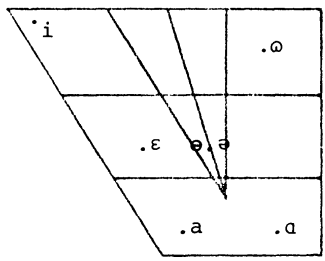
This speaker has an articulatory setting which in some respects resembles that of Liverpool speakers (cf. Knowles, 1978: 89). The pharynx walls are tightened and the faucal opening is quite narrow: there is an adenoidal quality to much of his speech (cf. Knowles, ibid.). The synchronization of velic closure throughout the continuum does not always take account of phonological segmentation. Consequently, whole stretches of speech may be slightly, or even heavily nasalized; on the other hand, nasal segments are sometimes only nasal for half their duration, and occasionally not nasal at all. The half-nasality I have indicated by means of the appropriate non-nasal letter with a tilde, e.g. [d̃].

/t d s z n/ are all post-alveolar, and the fricative pair are not grooved, making them sound very like /ʃ ʒ/. /t d n/ are usually dental before /ð/. /l/ is always velarized.

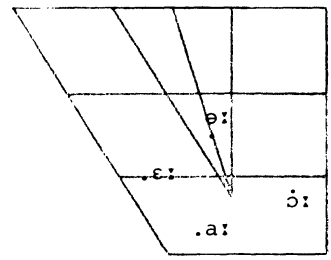
The voiceless stops are rarely aspirated, but are often slightly affricated, especially /t/.

Lip-rounding is produced by parting at the centre only (cf. Stockport, above). It is widespread, associated not only with the "rounded" vowels, but with consonants and unstressed vowels too.

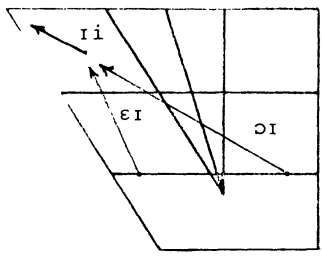
(ii) *Vowel diagrams*



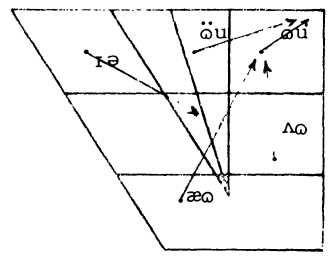
short monophthongs



long monophthongs



front closing diphthongs



back closing diphthongs and [ɪə]

(iii) *The transcription*

1 jɛ ɔɪ jǘus t'av ə kɷ́zən | wɛn iˀ wɵz̥ fə́:st ʌ́ɷpm̩ ʃɪi wɵz in̪

2 n̪ə káʃbaks

Yes, I used to have a cousin / when it was first open, she was in the cashbox.

3 gɾ́i jəɾ ɛ́niθiɡ̃ tʃɾ́ip

Give you anything cheap.

4 blʌ́ɷk̚ˀ kɷm ɹǽɷnd̚ | ʃɷ́vd ə ká:d θɹɷu ðə dɔ́:

Bloke come round / shoved a card through the door.

5 bɷd̪ ðə wɵz̥ sɷ́mbdi ɛ́ɫs kɷm ð ɷ́ðə dɛɪ ə wɷ́mən

But there was somebody else come the other day, a woman.

6 ʃi kɷ́m wɔ:ɫ ɔ́: wɔ́:n̪ˀ n̪ɛ́:

She come while I wasn't there.

7 α̈ɫ ɫəz ə fá:m ɣ̰p an̪ n̪ə ɹɔ́ɪt' fɹəm m͡n̪ɛ́: | bifɔ́: ðə bɔ́ɪpas |

8 ən ɔɪ sɾ́i ðis | kǽɷdɷŋ | dʒɷst ʌ́ɷvə ðə fɛ́ns | ən α̈d gɑ́d ə |

9 litɫ̩ sánbag wi mi | ɔ̈ pɷ́d it' ít̪̚ˀ d̪is sámbag wi gɑ́ɹ α̈m b̚ bɷz̥

Well, there's a farm up on the right from there / Before the by-pass / And I see this / cow dung / just over the fence / and I'd got a / little sand-bag with me. / I put it in this sand-bag, we got on the bus.

10 nɑ́ˀ ɫa:st ɾ́istə ʃɔ́:ɫi

Not last Easter, surely?

11 ʃi wɷn á:f

She won't half.

12 iz zá ˀ ˀə t'ɛ́ɫifʌɷm bɑ́ks | nɛks dɔ́:

Is that the telephone box / next door?

13 iˀ wɵz nɛ́ks dɔ́: tə ðáˀ wɛɹ áɫis wɵz tɛ́kin ə fʌ́ɷtu̟· insɔ́ɪd̪

14 ðat̚ˀ

It was next door to that, where Alice was taking a photo inside that.

15 ɔɪ stíɫ wɛ́:ɾ iˀ nǽɷ | naˀs əβaɷˀ | ɛ́ɪtɪin íəɹ əgɷu

I still wear it now / and that's about eighteen year ago.

16 ɑ̈ɛv ad ə bɫɷ́u ən | ðə sɛ́ɪm sɔ́:t

I've had a blue one / the same sort.

17 djə ɹɛ́kən nəz̥ tɷ́u

Do you reckon there's two?

18 ən ɪi sɛ́z ɔ́ɪ wəz zə bɫʌ́ɷk ɵz ɵd: tɷ́g id ǽɷt | tɷ́u fɷ́t əv
19 ɛ́m mənɷ́uəɹ in̪ n̪aˀt˺ tɑ́p fɫɑ́ˀt˺

And he says, I was the bloke as had took it out / two foot of hen manure in that top flat.

20 iz dʒɔ́ɪs stiɫ ɫɛ́·

Is Joyce still there?

21 mɛ́ni æɷɹ ət̪˺ d̪ɑ́ˀt˺ | fɔ́ɪvstʌɷw̃: wɛn ɔ̈́ wəz ə kíd

Many hour at that / fivestones, when I was a kid.

22 dídn̩tʃə tɛk nʌɷ fʌ́ɷtʌɷz əv ðɑ́ˀt˺

Didn't you take no photos of that?

23 iz zɑ́ˀ ˀə sɛ́ɪm wɑ́n

Is that the same one?

24 ɑ̈ bɔ́:t ɹ ə plɑ́nt əz̃ ʃi tʌ́ɷɫ mi ði ɷ́ðə wíkˀ i cɫʌ́ɷziz in:
25 nɔ́ɪt ən kɷmz ǽɷt in̪ n̪ə dɛ́ɪtɔɪm

I bought her a plant and she told me the other week, it closes in the night and comes out in the day-time.

26 ɑ́ dʌɷmˀ bɑ́ɾ̪ə tə ɹimɛ́mbə nɛ́ɪmz̥

I don't bother to remember names.

27 ɑ̈ bɔ́:t ə θɹɪ̈́i | ḭn̰ ə pɑ́t | ən ʃi tɷ́̊g ə ɫíif ɔ:f ðɑ́t

I bought her three / in a pot / and she took a leaf off that.

28 é:d ə ðə wíndə | ðɛɾ ó: ɹɔ́ɪp̚ʔ bɷt | ɵ ɬɔ́:st ə ɬát əv əm

Out of the window / They're all right but / I lost a lot of them.

29 ɑ̈b̚ pɷ́ɹ ə ɬaɾ ə kɷ́tinz ín: páts bɷt̚ d̪ɛɪ: kɷ́m tə nɷ́θiŋg̊

I'd put a lot of cuttings in pots but they come to nothing.

30 jɷu kán kíɬ əm

You can kill them.

31 ɑ̈ bɛ́ɾ iʒ ʒəɹɛ́ɪnjəmz əɹ | gɛ́ɾin ɹɛ́di nǽɷ níəli fə | pɬántin

32 ǽɷt | ɪiɬ av̥ fɬǽɷəz ɑ·n əm bifɔ́:ɾ ɪi pɷ́ts əm ǽɷt | ɪid ad

33 ɬá:ʃ ɪə

I bet his geraniums are / getting ready now nearly for / planting out. / He'll have flowers on them before he puts them out / He'd had last year.

34 sɷm píŋkiɪ wɷ́nz | bɷt íz n jɷu sɪ́i iz gá:din | i̪n ðə

35 sɷ́mətɔɪm ən iz wán píktʃə | ɪi gɹʌ́ɷz bígis pá:t ɒn it

36 izsɛ́ɵf̥

Some pinky ones / but his ... and you see his garden / in the summertime and it's one picture / He grows biggest part on it hisself.

37 é: dʒɑnz gá:din it stɹɛ́tʃiz fɹəm | fɹəm ɪ́ə ti· ðə bák̚ gɛ́ɪt

Our John's garden it stretches from / from here to the back gate.

38 ʃɪi díd̪n̩ kɷm íw̃ wán dɛɪ

She didn't come in one day.

39 əɹ ɷ́zbən jɷ́ust̚ bi ɑn̪ n̪ə kəmíti ɷp ðə cɬɷ́b jɪəz ən jɪəz əgɷ́u

Her husband used to be on the committee up the club years and years ago.

40 ðəz̥ tɷ́u sɪ́iɬinz ɑ̈ wán im tə dɷ́u wán i̪n n̪ə fɹɷ́n? bɛ́dɹɷum əw̃

41 wɑn i̪n n̪ə | míd̪ɬ̩ ɹɷum dǽɷnstɛ́:z̥

There's two ceilings I want him to do, one in the front bedroom and one in the / middle room downstairs.

42 ɑ̈ wɛ́n ɛː^{ʔ} n̩ fɹɔ́ɪdɪi | ən á:θəz bé:θdɛɪ

I went out on Friday / on Arthur's birthday.

43 ɪi ɛ́ĩ^{ʔ} bin dǽɒn wið ə | bɒɾ ɪiz vɛ́ɾi vɛɾi kwɔ́ɪət

He ain't been down with her / but he's very, very quiet.

44 əz ʌɒni θɹɪ́i ɑ̈m əm

There's only three on them.

45 jɒβ sín dʒánz ɛĩ^{ʔ} jə | wɛɬ jɒ sin wán əv əm

You've seen John's, ain't you? / Well, you seen one of them.

46 wɛɬ ɔ́:ɬ áv it^{ʔ} | a gaɾ ə fɔ́ɪn sɒ́mmɵ̃ni nǽɒ tə kɒm ən tɒ̈un it |

47 i wants tɒ́̈unin | i sɛ d̪i^{ʔ} pjánə ɾɒnə á:f wan^{ʔ} tɒ́̈unin

Well, I'll have it. / I got to find somebody now to come and tune it / it wants tuning / He said, This piano doesn't half want tuning.

48 ɑ̈ ʃá:m^{ʔ} bɑ́ðə

I shan't bother.

49 tʃɑ́piw̃ wɒ́d ən: ðá^{ʔ} | əd̪ n̪ém wɛn ɔ̈ lɛ́f skɒuɬ ɔ̈ wɛd̪^{ʔ} n̪ɛ:

50 pé:mənənt

Chopping wood and that / and then when I left school I went there permanent.

51 ən ɑ̈ wɛ́n id̪ n̪i ɑ́fis | ən ɑ̈ jɒs^{t} sə gɒ́u wi ði ɔ́:siz | ɔ̈ jɒs

52 d̪ə ɹɔ́ɪɑ̃^{ʔ} d̪ə tʃɛ́ɪnɔ:s

And I went into the office / and I used to go with the horses / I used to ride the chain-horse.

53 ðə fɹɒ́w̃^{ʔ} w̃ɒ̃n

The front one.

54 ə big fɔ́ɪə dæɒn̪ n̪ɛ́: á:^{h}tə wi wə máɹid n̩ its ɔ́:ɬ gat^{ʔ} bɛ:nt

55 ǽɒt

A big fire down there after we were married and it's all got burnt out.

56 sɛptémbə twɛd̃i fɔ́ɪv | i wə bɔ:t ɷ́p wið əm | dʒɔ́:dʒ bɔ:t ím

57 ɷp

September '25 / He were brought up with m / George brought him up.

58 mi á:nti ad ʔǽɷs | ðɛ́: ən̻ ðə dɹɔ́ɪv wɛnd ɷp ɾ́ə

My auntie had a house / there, and the drive went up here.

59 əkɹɔ́:s z̥ə ɹʌ́ɷψ fɹəm ðɛ́m | wɛɬ ɛɪ wə bʌ́ɷθ əkɹɔ́:s z̥ə ɹʌɷd

Across the road from them / Well, they were both across the road.

60 mi dá́d wəz in̻ n̻ə tə́im

My dad was in the team.

61 ðə wík̚ bifɔ́: wid̚ bin pɬɛ́ɪiŋ n̻ə ɬ́ïidʒən

The week before we'd been playing the Legion.

62 if jɷ́ k̚ŋ bïit ím | wi k̚ũ wín̻ n̻ís

If you can beat him / we can win this.

63 ɔɪ θíŋg̊ ik̚ kɔ́:s mi tén pǽɷnd

I think it cost me ten pound.

64 ðə jɷ́us tə bɪi ə ʃáft | ɹɷ́niŋ̻ θɾɷ́u | ði ǽɷziz̥

There used to be a shaft / running through the houses.

65 f ɑ̈ĩŋ gə́nə stáp mb fõĩm mĩ wɛɪ nǽɷ ɔɪ θĺ̈ŋk ɔɪ ʃɷb̚ bi ɬáss |

66 ɔ́: ɬə ɹɛ́st wə dʒé̞st | stɹɛ́ɪt æɷt ántə ðə páθ

If I'm going to stop and find my way now, I think I should be lost / All the rest were just / straight out onto the path.

67 ðə wz ʌɷni mɪi ðíə d̥ə ɬɷk á:tə mi mɷ́ðə

There was only me there to look after my mother.

68 bɷʔ d̥ə sɛ́ɪm píipɬ kɛ́p it | əz kɛ́p it | wɛ̃ mɷ́ðə wəz ə kíd

But the same people kept it / as kept it / when mother was a kid.

69 káptin á:st im də̥ gə dǽo̞n ðə ɫɔ́ɪw̃ wónz

Captain asked him to go down the line once.

70 ðə bá:θɹo̞um wəz zə fə́s dʒɑb

The bathroom was the first job.

(iv) *Phonological discussion*
This accent can be seen as sharing some characteristics with more northerly ones and some with southern ones (cf. Wells, 1982: 363); thus, there is no /ʊ/-/ʌ/ distinction, but words with the diphthong of *time* have a realization [ɔɪ] (and there may be no distinction between *buy* and *boy*, cf. Wells, ibid.). Also there is fluctuation between [a] and [a:], [ɑ] and [ɔ:] before voiceless fricatives (see below). /h/ does not occur, nor does syllable-final /r/. There is inconsistent use of final [ŋ] and [ŋg̊] (see below).

The definite article is often omitted as a result of a number of processes, as exemplified below; there is no evidence of the glottal stop realization, as found in Stockport (see Chapter 1).

(a) *Lenition.* The most common lenition applies to voiceless stops, which are either realized as lenes or completely voiced, usually in intervocalic position, but also elsewhere, e.g.

[bʊd̪ ðə] *but the* (5)

[tʊg̊ ə] *took a* (27)

[jʊs d̥ə] *used to* (51-52)

[θiŋg̊] *think* (63)

[gɑd ə] *got a* (8)

[tʊg id æʊt] *took it out* (18)

[ɛ:d ə] *out of* (28)

[wɛnd ʊp] *went up* (58).

Flaps are sometimes used, e.g. [gɛɾin] *getting* (31), [pjanə ɾʊnə] *piano doesn't* (47), and lenition to a frictionless contunuant also takes place, e.g. [gɑɹ ɑ̈m] *got on* (9). Occasionally, lenition from stop to fricative takes place, e.g. [əβaʊˀ] *about* (15). Vocalization and deletion of /l/ are not common, e.g.

[ɔ: ɹɔɪp̚ˀ] *all right* (28)

[iz̥sɛöf] *hisself* (36).

(b) *Harmony.* As in the other accents, the commonest sounds which undergo place harmony are the alveolars, e.g.

[bɷd̪ ðə] *but the* (5)

[ɑ̈m b˺ bɷz̥] *on the bus* (9)

[ɛm mənɷuəɹ] *hen manure* (19)

[n̪ɛm wɛn] *then when* (49)

[ɹʌɷɸ fɹəm] *road from* (59).

There are exceptions and variation, e.g.

[tɛn pæɷnd] *ten pound* (63)

[ən kɷmz] *and comes* (25)

[didn̩ kɷm] *didn't come* (38)

[fɹɷnˀ bɛd-] *front bed-* (40)

and [sanbag] alongside [sambag] *sandbag* (9). [ɑ̈m əm] *on them* (44) is an example of non-contiguous harmony which seems to be exceptional. There is one example of /m/ harmonizing its place of articulation: [ɑ̈ĩŋ gənə] *I'm going to* (65). In the case of [stɑp mb fɔ̃ĩm] *stop and find* (65) the syllabic masal and' following stop harmonize with the preceding consonant, not the following one.

Palatization of /t d s z/ also occurs:

[didn̩tʃə] *didn't you* (22)

[iʒ ʒəɹɛɪnjəmz] *his geraniums* (31)

[ɫa:ʃ ɪə] *last year* (33),

though there is one instance where it does not apply: [djə] (17).

/ð/ harmonizes as to manner, even to an oral stop after a stop, e.g.

[in̪ n̪ə] *in the* (1-2)

[wɔ:n̪ˀ n̪ɛ] *wasn't there* (6)

[ɑ̈ɫ ɫəz] *well, there's* (7)

[fɹəm m͡n̪ɛ̃:] *from there* (7)

[iṯ˺ˀ d̪is] *in this* (9)

[ɑ̈m b˺ bɷz̥] *on the bus* (9)

[iz zaˀ ˀə] *is that the* (12) and (23)

[əṯ˺ˀ d̪at] *at that* (21)

[bɷˀ d̪ə] *but the* (68).

In [sɛ d̪i?] *said this* (47) Geminate Simplification has been applied. In one instance we have an alveolar nasal (and no unstressed vowel) for the definite article: [in: nɔɪt] (24-25), and in another case a flap articulation is used: [bɑɾ̪ə] *bother* (26). There is also one instance of devoicing following /s/: [əkɹɔ:s zə] (59).

Manner harmony, with place harmony as appropriate, also applies to the alveolars, e.g.

[iw̃ wɑn] *in one* (38)

[fɹõw̃ʔ w̃õn] *front one* (53)

[ʔkũ wiṇ] *can win* (62).

In [əž ʃi] *and she* (24), palatal harmony has not taken place. /t/ harmonizes to a fricative after /s/ occasionally:

[jʊsᵗ sə] *used to* (51)

[ɬɑss] *lost* (65).

In [fɔɪvstʌʊw̃: wɛn] *fivestones when* (21) both /n/ and /z/ harmonize with the following /w/.

Nasalization and denasalization have already been mentioned above as a general phonetic feature of this speaker. In some instances nasality occurs as a consequence of the deletion of the stop feature of /n/, as in the case of other accents, e.g. [ɛĩʔ] *ain't* (43) and (45), but there are also instances where nasality occurs over a considerable number of segments, e.g.

[sʊmmõ̃ni] *somebody* (46)

[fɹõw̃ʔ w̃õn] *front one* (53)

[fõ̃ĩm mĩ] *find me* (65).

(c) *CCS*. This applies to /t/ and /d/, as in the other accents, in morpheme-final position followed by another consonant, e.g.

[nɛks dɔ:] *next door* (12)

[tʌʊɬ mi] *told me* (24)

[bigis pa:t] *biggest part* (35)

[fõ̃ĩm mĩ] *find me* (65).

/k/, too, is deleted in the context /s/___C, e.g. [a:st] *asked* (69). In one instance the /d/ of initial /dʒ/ is deleted: [iʒ ʒɐɹɛɪnjɐmz] (31), but this may be exceptional.

The modified version of Geminate Simplification, discussed above in Peasmarsh, in which two matched

place features trigger the deletion of the second segment containing the matched feature (which would seem to have to be alveolar), appears to operate in A's speech, as in:

[wɑn] *wouldn't* (11)

[didn̩] *didn't* (38)

[ɷzbən] *husband* (39)

[wɑn] *want* (40)

[wɛn] *went* (42) and (51).

That this is not CCS operating is demonstrated by the fact that, with the exception of the examples at (38) and (39), a vowel follows. There is one instance where the final /t/ is not deleted but voiced: [wɛnd ɷp] *went up* (58). There are no examples of left-to-right Nasal Harmony, resulting in [nn], as in Shepherd's Bush and Peasmarsh.

In other instances Geminate Simplification applies as in the other accents, e.g.

[ɔ: ɬə] *all the* (66)

[wɛ̃ mɷðə] *when mother* (68).

Final [ŋ] occurs without a following [g], but also with both nasal and oral stop articulations, even before a pause: compare [-dɷŋ] (8) with [nɷθiŋg̊] (29). /g/-deletion also applies, as in [tɷ̈unin] (49), [tʃɑpiw̃ wɷd] (49), with Manner Harmony as well in the latter example.

(d) *UVD*. Unstressed vowels are deleted when two vowels come together across word-boundaries, e.g.

[t av] *to have* (1)

[ð ɷðə] *the other* (5).

Often, when the stress pattern is $\acute{V}C_nǍC_nǍ$, where C_n may be one or more consonants, the middle vowel is deleted, as in:

[sɷ́mbdi] *somebody* (5)

[bɔ́:t ɹ ə] *bought her a* (24)

[jɷ́ustˈbi] *used to be* (39).

Even with other stress patterns, deletion occurs, e.g.

[in: nɔ́ɪt] *in the night* (24-25)

[ad ʔǽɷs] *had a house* (58)

[ðə wz ʌɷni] *there was only* (67).

Utterance-initial unstressed vowels disappear occasionally, as in: [f ɑ̈ĩŋ] *If I'm* (65).

(e) *Vowel lengthening*. Before voiceless fricatives there is fluctuation in the application of lengthening, even in the same word, e.g.

[ɔ:f] (27) [ʃaft] (64);

[ɬɔ:st] (28) [ɬɑss] (65);

[ba:θ-] (70) [paθ] (66).

Before /-nC/ there seems to be no lengthening: [pɬantin] (31).

(f) *Linking r*. Linking r is used, sometimes as a flap, even when there is no underlying /r/; sometimes it does not occur, though, e.g.

[jəɾ ɛniθiɡ̃] *you anything* (3)

[ɪəɹ əgɷu] *year ago* (15)

[ɾɷnə a:f] *doesn't half* (47).

(g) *Derivations*. To demonstrate the interaction of the processes, I give three sample derivations below, two of which show how the definite article is reduced and deleted:

/ɑn ðɪi bɷz/

Stress placement	⇒	ɑ̈n ðə bɷ́z
UVD	⇒	ɑ̈n ð bɷ́z
/ð/-harmony	⇒	ɑ̈n b bɷ́z
Place harmony	⇒	[ɑ̈m b bɷ́z̥] (9).

/wɛn mɷðr̩ + C/

Stress placement	⇒	wɛn mɷ́ðr̩ C-
/r/-realization	⇒	wɛn mɷ́ðə C-
Nasalization	⇒	wɛ̃n mɷ́ðə
Place harmony	⇒	wɛ̃m mɷ́ðə
Geminate simplif.	⇒	[wɛ̃ mɷ́ðə] (68).

/gɹʌʊz ðɪi bigist/

Stress placement = gɹʌ́ʊz ðə bígist

/ð/-harmony = gɹʌ́ʊz zə bígist

Geminate Simplif. = gɹʌ́ʊz ə bígist

UVD = [gɹʌ́ʊz bígis] (35),

where CCS removes the final /t/ of *biggest*.

Chapter Six

NORWICH

There is one informant, E, male, aged 68. He was born in Norwich and has lived there all his life.

(i) *General*

For a detailed description of the articulatory setting of many Norwich speakers, see Trudgill (1974: 185-91). E has a relatively tense musculature, occasional stretches of creaky voice, particularly in the neighbourhood of glottal stops, and sometimes his low, front vowels are nasalized slightly.

The voiceless stops are usually, but not always aspirated in syllable-initial position, and /t/ is often affricated as well. /l/ takes on the quality of the following vowel in word-initial position, so that, for example, [lɛf] *left*, [l̪ɨʔɨ̪] *little* and [ɬʊk] *look* all have slightly different qualities in the first sound.

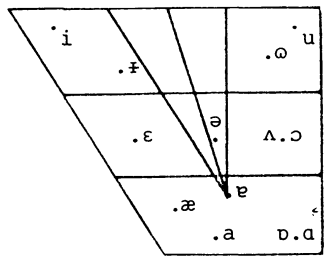
Lip-rounding is not particularly marked except in /ɔ:/. It is associated with the bilabial sounds, giving a slight rounded quality to a following back vowel, as indicated in the transcription, and /ɑɪ/ after other sounds too, such as /l/ and /r/, is sometimes realized as [ɒɪ].

Glottal reinforcement of the voiceless stops is used, even in intervocalic position. The synchronization of the two closures varies to some extent, but I have not indicated this below.

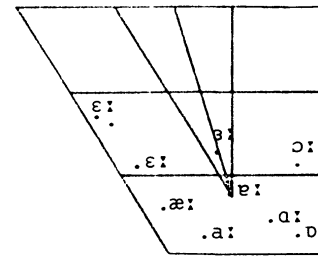
The amount of retraction of the tongue for /r/ varies, as indicated in the difference between [ɹ] and [r̠]; in one instance a retroflex tap is used: [ɽ].

The rhythm of Norwich speech is unlike that of the other accents discussed in this book. The quantity of both stressed and unstressed vowels varies considerably, and length of both monophthongs and diphthongs in stressed syllables may be considerable (cf. Wells, 1982: 341).

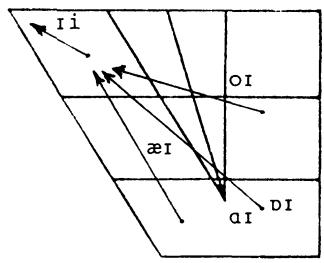
(ii) *Vowel diagrams*



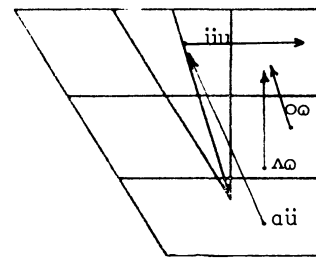
short monophthongs



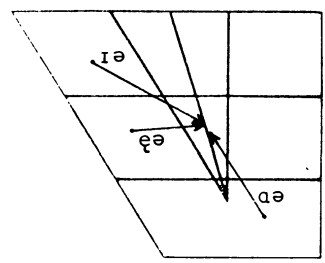
long monophthongs



front closing diphthongs



back closing diphthongs and [ɑü]



centring diphthongs

(iii) *The transcription*

1 ɬf áɪ wɛnt̚ t'ə ðə l̲ɬ̀ʔɬ̀ vɬ̀l̲ɬdʒəz áüʔsaɪd ná:ɹ̲ɬdʒ | dɹ̲ǽɪʔn̩

2 t'ǽɪvɹəm énɬwɛ: ɬaɪʔ ðǽ:ʔ | aɪ æd əbáüʔ ə θɹíi maɪɬ kʌ̃́nʔɹi

3 wɔ́:kˀ tə gɛ́tˀ tɚ́:m | ən wɔ́ns aɪ gá:ʔ ðɛ: | ðɛɪ nṹu aɪ wəz ə

4 sɬ́ʔi kɬ́d əz sunz évɹ aɪ óɷp̀ʔmz mə máüθ

If I went to the little villages outside Norwich / Drayton, Taverham, anywhere like that / I had about a three-mile country walk to get to them / And once I got there / they knew I was a city kid as soon as ever I opens my mouth.

5 ðə dɬ́fʔəns twɬn̩ ðə ná:ɹ̲ɬdʒ dɑ́əɬəkt ən̩ n̩ə nɔ́:fəkˀ dɑ́əɬəkt wəz

6 t'əɹ̲ɬ́fɬk

The difference between the Norwich dialect and the Norfolk dialect was terrific.

7 ðæɪ wɛnʔ ɬ́nʔəɹ̲ ə ʃá:pˀ tə bʊ́ɪ sʌ́fɪŋ

They went into a shop to buy something.

8 ðæɪ wəɹ̲ ǽ:pɬ

They were happy.

9 aɪ gá:ʔ ʌp̀ ə l̲ɬ̀ʔɬ̀ bɬʔ ʃá:pɬʃ ən aɪ kˈɔ́:ʔ maɪ ɛ́d ɑ·n ə bɬ́ʔ ə

10 pˈʊ́ɪp̀

I got up a little bit sharpish and I caught my head on a bit of pipe.

11 wɛ̈ ɬə bɬɷ́k̀ nɛ́ks tüu mɬ wəz ə sɬ́ʔi bɬɷk̀ˀ

Well, the bloke next to me was a city bloke.

12 ðæɪg gɬ́v əm ə pɷ́k̀ ə ðə ɬʌ́g əz sunz zæɪd ɬɷ́k̀ æ̃:ʔ ə̃m

They'd give them a poke at the lug as soon as they'd look at them.

13 ða? wəz ðə ɹʌ́fəs pˈɬɛ̤́:s ðɛ: wɛ́z

That was the roughest place there was.

14 ən̩ n̩ə bɪ́im wɒʔ wɛnʔ əkɹɔ́:st ad ðə jɷ́ɷɬdz dɹɬ́ɬd ɬn əʔ wɛ: ði

15 oɷɬ ɬó:m jüus tə fɬ́ks

And the beam what went across had the holes drilled in it where the old loom used to fix.

16 ðæɪ ɔ́:ɬwɬst ǽd ən ɬnvɛ́:ʔəd ɔ́:ʃüu ǽ:ŋɬn oɷvə ðə fɹʌ́nʔ dɔ́: fə

17 lʌ́·k

They always had an inverted horse-shoe hanging over the front door for luck.

18 tʃʌ́x əʔ oɷvə jə lɛ́f ʃʌ́ɷɬdə | ən wɔ́:kˀ kwɔ́ɪəʔli əwǽɪ wɬðɑüʔ

19 ɬɷ́kŋ biɔ́ɪnd

Chuck it over your left shoulder / and walk quietly away without looking behind.

20 mɔ́ɪnd ʒɷ́́u | ɬf jɷ́́u ɜ́:dˀ gɬá:s əbɹɛ́:kən á:ftə jüudˀ tʃʌ́kt̪ ðæʔ

21 ó ɷvə jɔ: ʃʌ́ɷɬdə | jüudˀ pɷ́ɾ əʔ θɹüu sʌ́mwʌnᵈz wɬ́ndə

Mind you / if you heard glass a-breaking after you'd chucked that over your shoulder / you'd put it through someone's window.

22 wɛ́n̪ n̪i ʌ́ɷɬ dɛ́vəɬ ɬɷ́kˀ dʌ́ün̪ n̪ə tʃɬ́mnɪ | ən sɔ́: ðæʔ pɔ́ɪnʔ ə

23 ðǽ:ʔ pʻɷ́kə pʻɷ́kən ʌ́p ɛ̃́:ʔ ə̃m̃n | ɾ́ibˀ bi dʌ́üʔ ðæʔ tʃɬ́mlɬ pʻɑ́:ʔ

24 ɬɒɪkˀ gɹɾ́iz ɬɔ́ɪʔnən | ǽ:nd̪ ði ʌ́ɷɬ fɑ́·ɹ əd stá:ʔ dɹɔ́:ɹən

When the old devil looked down the chimney / and saw that point of that poker poking up at him / he'd be out of that chimney pot like grease lightning / And the old fire would start drawing.

25 ən ɬɷ́ktˈ á:ʔəɹ əʔ | nóɷbɒ·di ɬn ði dʌ́üs əd ɛ́və wɔ́:nʔ

And looked after it / nobody in the house would ever want.

26 fɹəm ɛ́́: ʔɬ | mɑüsʌɷɬd ən̪ n̪aʔ wɷ́́nʔ ə bɹɔ́:k

From here to / Mousehold and that wouldn't have broke.

27 jü dɬn̪ʔ æv tʻʌ́ɪŋ fə nɷ́́ɷ bɹɛ́́:kfəst | ən aʒ jü wɔ́:kt əɬʌ́:ŋ ðɛ̈

28 wəʒ jɷ́́ʒəɬi ə kʻʌ́ɷɬ nɬ́pˀ ɬn̪ n̪i ɛ́: | əm bə ðə tˈʻʌ́ɪm jü gʌ́:t̪ˀ

29 ðɛ· jü won̪ʔ á:f ʌ́:ŋgɹɬ

You didn't have time for no breakfast / and as you walked along, there was usually a cold nip in the air / and by the time you got there, you weren't half hungry.

30 wɔnʃ jüudˀ tɛ́́:stɬd ɬz ɹɷ́́s tɛ́́:ʔəz | ðass sʌ́fən jüud ɹɬmémbə

31 fə ðə ɹɛ́st ə jə ɬɔ́ɪf | ðæɪ wə bɷ́́u:ʔəfɬ

Once you'd tasted his roast taters / that's something you'd remember for the rest of your life / They were beautiful.

32 ən i nʉ̈́ ə? ɔ́:ɬ ɔ́:f bəɪ̯ á:?

And he knew it all off by heart.

33 mɔ́st ə ði ʌɷɬ wíivz əd tɐ́n? ?ə ʃʉ́umɛ́:ʔkən

Most of the old weavers had turned to shoemaking.

34 ɪid sʌ́mtɐmz goɷ dáʉ̈n ?ə wɔ́:?ə lɛ́:n stǽɪð ən t'ɔ́:ʔk tᵊɪ̯ ɛ́nɬ

35 ði ʌ́ɷɬ wɛ́ɪ̯ɬmən

He'd sometimes go down to Water Lane Staithe and talk to any of the old wherrymen.

36 p'ɬ́ʔk ʌp stʌ́f ɔ:f ðə fá:ɪ̯ən bɷ́ʔts wɒ? pɷ? ɬn̩ ðɛɪ̯ ən bɪɬŋ ə?

37 ɔ́:ɬ bǽ:ʔk dáʉ̈n ?ə ná:ɪ̯ɬdʒ̊

Pick up stuff off the foreign boats what put in there and bring it all back down to Norwich.

38 ɪi wəz go ?ə sɛ́:v ʌpʔ ɔ́:ɬ ɬz mɔ́nɬ

He was going to save up all his money.

39 á:ɪ̯ɬk'áʔ bíinz wɬð ə bɬ́? ə bɛ́:çən bóəɬd ɬn wɬ́·ð əʔ | kos

40 sæɪ dɬ́ʔn̩ ɪiʔ ðə bɛ́:çən ðə sǽɪm dǽɪ | ðaʔ wz ʌɷnɬ fɬɛ́:vəɪ̯ən

Haricot beans with a bit of bacon boiled in with it / Course they didn't eat the bacon the same day / That was only flavouring.

41 ɪi ǽtˀ t'ə goɷ daʉ̈n gʌ́ɷɬdən dɔ:g lɛ́:n | ðɛ̈ wəz ən ʌ́ɷɬd ɪʉ́ənd

42 tʃɛ́ʔtʃ á:f wæɪ dáʉ̈n | ɪi wz ʌɷni baʉ̈ʔ sɛ́vən əɪ̯ ǽɪʔ | ən ɬ

43 jüs tə ʔá:pʔ əɬá:ŋ

He had to go down Golden Dog Lane. / There was an old ruined church half way down / He was only about seven or eight / and he used to hop along.

44 ðɛ̈ wəz wɔ́n stɷ́n̩ n̩ɛ́: | ə bɬ́ʔ bɬgɪ̯ ən ɔ́:ɬ ɬə ɪɛst

There was one stone there / a bit bigger than all the rest.

45 ɒɪ nɛ́vəɪ̯ ɜ́:d̩ ðǽʔ wɐd əfɔ́: | soɷ ?ɪi dɬ́dn̩ʔ bá:ðə ? á:sk

I never heard that word afore / So he didn't bother to ask.

46 ðɛm ɬóvɬɬ gʌ́ɷɬ lɛ́ʔəz̥ | ɹ̲ɔ́ɪʔ əkɹɔ́ːs ðə stɹɪ́ʲiʔ

Them lovely gold letters / Right across the street.

47 fə sʌ́fɱ̩ ʔ ɾ́iʔ | ʃɬ wəz ə ɹʌ́f ʌɷɬ gɐ́ɬ | ðæɪ ɛdˀ pʻɬɛ́ʔi ə

48 tʻɑ́ɪm

For something to eat / She was a rough old girl / They had plenty of time.

49 ʌ́ŋkɬ̩ ɜ́ːbəʔ ɔ́ːɬwəz̥ gɑʔ ʔɑ́ːnʔ ʔɑ́ːɹ̲iəʔs kɹɬ́sməs pɹɛ́zənʔ ɔːf ɜ́ː

Uncle Herbert always got Aunt Harriet's Christmas present off her.

50 ɬ gɑʔ ɹ̲ɛ́ːznz̩ ən ɬ spɹɛ́d̪ ðɪiz ɹ̲ɛ́ːznz̩ ɔ́ːɬ oɷvə ðə tʻɬ́n tɹǽɪ

He got raisins and he spread these raisins all over the tin tray.

51 soɷ ɪi ɔ́ːɬəs sʌ́ŋ ə kʻʌ́nʔɹ̲ɬ sɑ́ːŋ

So he always sung a country song.

52 ɛ́vɹ̲ɬ tʻɑɪm n̪ə kʻɐ́ʔənz̥ kʻʌm dɑ́ün ðɛ̈ wəz n̩nʌ́ðə pʻɬ́ʔktʃə jüus

53 tə kʻʌ́m əkɹ̲ɔ́ːstˀ

Every time the curtains come down, there was another picture used to come across.

54 mɑ́ün ʔ vəsʉ́uviəs ɬn əɹ̲ʌ́ʔptʃn̩ | ɛ́nɬbɑ·dɬ xədˀ gɔ́ɷ ɬn ən wʊ́ːtʃ

Mount Vesuvius in eruption / Anybody could go in and watch.

55 ʃɪi æd lɛ́gz zə sɛ̝́ːm əz ɛ́nɬwɔn ɛ́ɬs zaʔ wəz ɐ́ː ɹ̲əfɬɛ́ʔkʃən ɬn̪

56 ðə kʻǽːbnəʔ

She had legs the same as anyone else, that was her reflection in the cabinet.

57 ɬ jüsʔ ə goɷ dɑ́üʔ tə fǽɬθɔːpˀ wɷ́dz̥ | gǽðəɹ̲ ɛ́ːəðə

He used to go out to Felthorp Woods / gather heather.

58 jə dɬʔn̩ nʌɷ ɛ́ː ðɛɪdˀ bɬ́n dɬ́d ʒə

You didn't know where they'd been, did you?

59 ən əvɛ́ntʃɫɨ ðaʔ fɫɜ́: fɑ́·ɪə

And eventually that flew afire.

60 ɪi pɔ́ɪnʔə t'ə mɪ́i ɪi sǽɪ | jǘu ɨn̩ʔ gɑ́:ʔ ə ɫɒ́ɪʔ

He pointed to me, he say / You ain't got a light.

61 ðə gɹɑ́ünd stɑ́ʔt sʌ́dənɫɨ ðɛ: ən ðɛ̈ wəz ə stɨ́ip ɨ́ŋkɫɒɪn̩ n̩ɛn ə
62 ɹ̠ɔ́: ə t'ɛ́ɹ̠əst ɑ́üzəz

The ground stopped suddenly there and there was a steep incline then a row of terraced houses.

63 ən ʔɛ́vɹi ɑ́:f dǽɪ | ɨg góɷ ʔ ɹ̠ə dɨ́fɹənʔ skóɷɫ n̩ t'é:k˺ t'ǘ ə
64 θɹɪ́i dɨ́fɹəŋʔ kɫɑ́:səz

And every half-day / he'd go to a different school and take two or three different classes.

65 ɨn̩ ðə k'ɔ́:s əv ə jɛ́: jə l̠ɑ́:s t'üu jɛ̨́əz əʔ skóɷɫ jə gɑ́ʔ
66 əbɑüʔ θɹɪ́i ɔ fɔ́: dɹɔ́:ɹ̠ən lɛ́sənz ə jɛ̨́ə

In the course of a year your last two years at school you got about three or four drawing lessons a year.

67 ðæɪ ɔ́:ɫ ɛd ə t'ɑ́: wɨð ə bɛ́ɫ ɨn

They all had a tower with a bell in.

68 ɒɪ θɨ́ŋg̊ ʔaʔ wz ə k'ɨ́ɫ ɔ: k'ɜ́: düu ɹɛ̨́əɫɨ | ɨn̩ n̩ə sɔ́:mə

I think that was a kill or cure do, really / In the summer.

69 ðə t'ɹɪ́its jüus tə kɫɑ́:ʃ | ɑ:n ə θɜ́:zdɪ a:fʔnɒ́n

The treats used to clash / on a Thursday afternoon.

70 l̠ɨ́ʔɫ óɷɫz ɨn̩ n̩ə bǽ:k ə ðɨ é·ɪɫz̥ | ɪ́i jüs tə səpɫɒ́ɪ ɔ:ɫ ɫə
71 mət'ę́:ɹ̠ɨəɫz̥ | ən ɪi kɫɪ́əd̩ ðɛm ɔ́:ɫ ɑüʔ | ðə wɒ́mən ʃɹʌ́k ɑ́üʔ

Little holes in the back of the heels. / He used to supply all the materials. / And he cleared them all out. / The woman shruck out.

72 ðæɪ t'ɑ́ʔ mɬ́ ʔə ðə dʒɛ́·nə l̲ɬ́nd dǘʔpʻɛ́:ʃənʔs dɬpʻá:ʔmənʔ ɬn

73 pɒ́:dɬgəʔ

They took me to the Jenny Lind out-patients department in Pottergate.

(iv) *Phonological discussion*
This speaker's phonological system is quite different in many respects from those of the other informants. The vowel system has more distinctions, reflecting earlier stages of English. Thus the following distinctions are made, though it must be pointed out that not all speakers in Norwich necessarily make them, especially the younger generations.

(a) /æɪ/ in *staithe* versus /ɛ̝:/ in *lane*. The latter is kept distinct from /ɛ:/ in *there, here* (see (d) below).
(b) /üu/ in *through* versus /oʊ/ in *go, school, no* versus /ʌʊ/ in *shoulder*.
(c) Some reflexes of ME ē may be retained in words like *heel* with [e·ɪ] (70), as opposed to /ɪi/ in *three* (64).
(d) /ɪə/ and /ɛ:/ are kept apart, though there is some inconsistency in the realization of the former, e.g. [kɬɪə̯d] *cleared* (71), [ɛ:] *air* (28), but [jɛ:] (65) and [jɛ̝ə] (66) *year*, and [mət'ɛ̝:ɹ̲ɬəɬz] *materials* (71). *Here* (26) is pronounced with a slightly closer variety of vowel than *air* (28), making it the same as the vowel in *lane* (34). (For further comments on this distinction, see Trudgill and Foxcroft, 1978: 76-77.)
(e) /ɜ:/ has a variant /ɐ:/: compare *her* on lines (49) and (55), note also [ɬnvɐ:ʔəd] *inverted* (16). However, most words with /ɜ:/ in RP and other accents in E's speech have a short /ɐ/. There is no evidence to suggest that this is a synchronic vowel shortening process in that there are no alternant pronunciations, long : short.

The distribution of vowels in lexical items also varies more here than in the other accents. For example, /ʊ/, as in *put*, is also found in *boat, roast, poke, poker, bloke, most* and *stone* (cf. Trudgill, 1974: 72-73). Here again there is no evidence of a synchronic shortening. /a:/ occurs in *Harriet's* (49) and *clash* (69), as well as in the expected *last* and *heart*. In one instance *same*, which elsewhere has /ɛ̝:/, has the diphthong found in younger speakers in

such words: [sæɪm dæɪ] *same day* (40). This could well be influence of the more recent pronunciation and the diphthong of the following word.

The glottal stop is a frequent realization of /t/, even in initial position of an unstressed syllable, e.g. [ʔə] *to* (33), (34), (37), (38), (72). On one occasion it occurs for /ð/: [ʔaʔ] *that* (68). It also occurs at the onset of a vowel, usually stressed, as in [ʔɑːp̚] *hop* (43), [ʔaːnʔ ʔaːɹiəʔs] *Aunt Harriet's* (49) (cf. Trudgill, 1974: 182; see also below under Linking r). There are two instances of it as the realization of /k/: [ɬɑɪʔ] *like* (2), [tʻɷʔ] *took* (72), and one as the realization of /p/: [stɑʔt] *stopped* (61).

There is a distinction of /ɷ/ and /ʌ/, no /h/, no syllable-final /r/, and [ŋ] is not an underlying phonological unit. Before vowels we find unstressed final [i] as the realization of /ɨ/.

(a) *Lenition.* This process is not particularly widespread in E's speech, though there are number of examples of stop → fricative, as in:

[tʃʌx əʔ] *chuck it* (18)

[ðass] *that's* (30)

[bɐ̣ːçən] *bacon* (39) and (40)

[-bɑ·dɨ xəd] *-body could* (54).

(Note that the example on line (30) has not undergone Geminate Simplification.) Voicing of intervocalic voiceless stops is even less common in E's, though a number of Norwich speakers use it more often, e.g.

[pɒːdɨgəʔ] *Pottergate* (73).

[θɪŋg̊] *think* (68) is unusual; there is one instance of a flap: [pɷɾ əʔ] *put it* (21).

(b) *Harmony.* The alveolars /t d n/ in particular display place harmony, but in E's speech there are many examples where it does not occur, e.g.

[oɷʔpmz] *opens* (4)

[əṉ n̻ə] *and the* (5) and (14)

[sʌfŋ̍] *something* (7) and (47)

[ðæɪg gɨv] *they'd give* (12)

[ɪib bi] *he'd be* (23)

[dɨfɹəŋʔ kɬaːsəz] *different classes* (64)

[ad ðə] *had the* (14)

[ðɛɪdˀ bɨn] *they'd been* (58)

[dɑün ðɛ̈] *down there* (52)

[ɨnˀ gɑ:ˀ] *ain't got* (60).

/ð/-harmony also occurs, again with several exceptions, e.g.

[ən̰ n̰ə] *and the* (5) and (14)

[wɛ̈ ɬə] *well the* (11)

[ɔ:ɬ ɬə] *all the* (44) and (70)

[tˈɑɪm n̰ə] *time the* (52)

[lɛgz zə] *legs the* (55)

[ɨn ði] *in the* (25).

Voicing harmony occurs as well in [kos sæɪ] *course they* (39-40).

There is one instance of place harmony of /m/: [tˈɑɪŋ fə] *time for* (27). Nasalization of preceding vowels sometimes occurs: [kɐ̃nˀɹi] *country* (2), [ə̃m] *them* (12), [ə̃m͡n] *him* (23).

Palatal harmony is usual:

[mɒɪnd ʒüu] *mind you* (20)

[aʒ jü] *as you* (27)

[wəʒ jüʒəɬi] *was usually* (28)

[wɔnʃ jüud] *once you'd* (30)

[dɨd ʒə] *did you* (58).

(c) *CCS*. /t/ and /d/ are deleted in the usual circumstances, e.g.

[nɛks tüu] *next to* (11)

[ɹʌfəs pˈɬɛ̣:s] *roughest place* (13)

[lɛf ʃʌɷɬdə] *left shoulder* (18)

[ɬɷˀk dɑün] *looked down* (22)

[kˈʌɷɬ nɨpˀ] *cold nip* (28).

In one instance the / t / is retained where in most accents it is obligatory to delete it: [əɹʌˀpˀtʃn] *eruption* (54), in contrast to [ɹəfɬɛkˀʃən] *reflection* (55).

The words *always* and *across* end in [st] before a vowel, but only [s] before a consonant, e.g.

[əkɹɔ:st] (14), [ɔ:ɬwɬst] (16), [əkɹɔ:s] (46), [ɔ:ɬəs] (51). Although this is epenthetic, historically speaking (cf. Strang, 1970: 166), the [t] can be treated as underlying in Norwich, subject to CCS as appropriate.

/n/ is sometimes deleted before /t/, realized as [ʔ], with no nasality of the vowel: [pʻɬɛʔi] *plenty* (47) (cf. Trudgill, 1974: 179).

Geminate Simplification occurs sporadically, e.g. [ɔ:ʃüu] (16), [wɛ̈ ɬə] (11).

(d) *UVD.* Unstressed vowels are often deleted under the same conditions as in the other localities, e.g.

[ɑüʔ ðæʔ] *out of that* (23)

[ɛnɬ ði] *any of the* (34-35)

[ðaʔ wz ʌɷnɬ] *that was only* (40)

[ɪi wz ʌɷni bɑüʔ] *he was only about* (42)

[bɬgɹ̲ ən] *bigger than* (44).

There are also instances, less common elsewhere, such as:

[wɪivz] *weavers* (33)

[kʻæ:bnəʔ] *cabinet* (56)

[a:fʔnɷn] *afternoon* (69).

Following a glottal stop, especially before another vowel, [ə] is deleted (cf. Stockport and Peasmarsh, above), e.g.

[bɑ:ðə ʔ a:sk] *bother to ask* (45)

[sʌfɬ̩ ʔ ɪiʔ] *something to eat* (47).

In conjunction with linking r, this gives forms such as [goɷ ʔ ɹ̲ə] *go to a* (63). In [tɚ:m] *to them* (3) the linking r and the two unstressed vowels have merged into a long r-coloured vocoid. This merging of [ə] with a preceding vowel is discussed in detail by Trudgill (1974: 159-62). It applies both within and across word boundaries. There are not many instances of this in E's speech, but [flɜ: fɑ·ɪə] *flew afire* (59) is one. When word-final /r/ is realized as [ə], this too affects a preceding vowel; thus, we find the following derivation: /küur/ ⇒ küuə ⇒ [kʻɜ:] *cure* (68). In E's speech we can see that this merging does not always take place, e.g. [tʻü ə] *two or* (63).

As a final example of UVD I shall take the unstressed sequence *going to* (38), showing the interaction with other rules:

/goɷən tüu/

Stress placement	⇒	goən tə
/t/-realization	⇒	goən ʔə
/n/-deletion	⇒	goə ʔə
UVD	⇒	[go ʔə].

(e) *Linking r.* As already mentioned in the Introduction, Norwich speakers extend the application of linking r, e.g.

[tɚ:m] *to them* (3)

[ɨnʔəɹ ə] *into a* (7)

[dɹɔ:ɹən] *drawing* (24) and (66)

[bəɹ a:ʔ] *by heart* (32)

[tᵊɹ ɛnɨ] *to any* (34)

[goɷ ʔ ɹə] *go to a* (63),

as well as in the expected environments, e.g. [wəɹ æ:pɨ] *were happy* (8). Alongside these there are also a few instances of [ʔ] used as a link, e.g. [tə ʔɑ:ʔp] *to hop* (43).

(f) *Vowel lengthening.* It is necessary to differentiate those cases where vowel length is lexically determined from those where it is determined by the phonetic environment. On the one hand, words such as *last* and *off* always have a long vowel and are examples of the first type; on the other hand, *got* and *that* are found with both long and short vowel phases. In the latter category, stress plays an important role, but the following sound may also make it more likely that the vowel is lengthened. In particular the voiceless stops ([1]), the nasals and /r/ seem to influence vowel length, though it is also found before other sounds as well, e.g.

[nɑ:ɹɨdʒ] *Norwich* (5) and (37)

[ʃɑ:ʔp] *shop* (7)

[æ:ʔpɨ] *happy* (8)

[æ:ŋɨn] *hanging* (16)

[pʻɑ:ʔ] *pot* (23)

[wɒ:nʔ] *want* (25)

[bɑ:ðə] *bother* (45)

[sɑ:ŋ] *song* (51)

[kˈæːbnəʔ] *cabinet* (56)

[pɒːdɪgəʔ] *Pottergate* (73).

In one instance, [bɹɛ̝ːʔkfəst] (27), the vowel may be the reflex of what was originally a long vowel anyway, even though it was shortened in most accents. Without evidence in the form of alternative pronunciations with long and short vowel phases in this speaker, it is difficult to determine to what extent length is the result of a synchronic or a past process. More data would be needed to come to any firm conclusions regarding this somewhat complex phenomenon in Norwich speech. It may also be that there is a correlation between the last stressed syllable in a breath group and this type of lengthening, except in the case of the high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/, though again there is insufficient evidence here to come to any firm conclusions.

NOTES

([1]) It is interesting to note that this lengthening before voiceless sounds is opposite to what is found in RP and some other accents (cf. Gimson, 1962: 90-91) and to what is normally interpreted as "natural" (cf. Hyman, 1975: 172).

Chapter Seven

COMPARISON AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is a preliminary phonological statement and interpretation of the data presented in the individual localities. I hope to show the main similarities and differences between the six accents and indicate how these can be handled in terms of rules. In the final section I shall indicate those areas which, in the light of recent developments in phonological theory, need further investigation.

THE MODEL CHOSEN

First of all, it is necessary to present the model of description chosen. For the most part, I have followed Brown's (1972) scheme. Since I am not concerned with morphological alternations, Brown's simpler model (than, for example, Chomsky and Halle's) is more suited to my purposes (cf. Brown's comments, 1972: 26-28). In particular, I want to argue in favour of underlying elements specified only in terms of non-redundant features and against the systematic phonemic level. Lexical representations are concerned with the distinctive features of the language in question, the redundant ones being supplied by the redundancy rules. Thus in English /f/ differs from the other voiceless fricatives in that it is labial, just as /p/ differs from the other voiceless stops. The fact that the former is labiodental and the latter bilabial is a matter of phonetic precision, not phonological contrasts: /f/ does not contrast with any other voiceless labiodental consonant in English, nor does /p/ contrast with any other voiceless bilabial. (Contrast this with the fricatives of Ewe; Ladefoged, 1982: 144.) Furthermore, what is distinctive varies from context to context. In English a nasal before a stop will be homorganic with that stop, e.g. [limp], [lint], [liŋk], so that place of articulation

is not a distinguishing feature of the nasals in this position, since it is entirely dependent on the following stop ([1]). This has led some linguists to establish an unspecified nasal /N/ in such cases in English and other languages (cf. Fudge, 1969b; Trudgill, 1974; Brown, 1972). The fully specified systematic phonemic level may well equate to a body of knowledge based partly on the spelling system, which in English is morphophonemic in character, and also related to a certain amount of taught, conscious knowledge. That is to say, firstly, some of the underlying forms incorporate morphophonemic information, as often reflected in the spelling, which has to be learnt more or less consciously and which may not be available to all speakers to the same degree. Secondly, especially as far as learned vocabulary is concerned, knowledge of sets of related words with alternating stem vowels and/or final consonants is distributed very variously throughout the native speakers of English (cf. also Cutler's, 1980, investigations referred to in the Introduction). However, even in phonetic terms, the full specification of underlying segments may not be justified, when consideration is given to language in the context of its use. To quote Brown (1972: 46), a theory of redundancy in the phonological component of a grammar "must surely be to account, for instance, for the perception of utterances which are masked by a high degree of noise. The problem is one of identifying the minimum input necessary for interpretation of an utterance. It is a highly redundant theory of phonology which insists that a minimally redundant acoustic input must always be processed (or indeed produced) by stringing together fully specified systematic phonemes and taking no account of the word, or message, in which they appear.". Of course, the final sound of *cat* and the initial sound of *tack* have to be identified as the same, if this reflects the native speaker's knowledge satisfactorily, but the resultant /t/ does not have to be specified as:

[- vocalic]
[+ consonantal]
[- high]
[- back]
[- low]
[+ anterior]
[+ coronal]
[- voice]
[- continuant]

[- nasal]
[- strident]

(or with any equivalent set of phonetic specifications) simply because it is pronounced that way in initial position, or in some kind of standard, careful speech. It is quite conceivable that many native speakers of English never pronounce final post-vocalic /t/ as anything but [ʔ].

In addition to Brown's arguments against the systematic phonemic level (1972: 41-46), we may also wish to argue that the unspecified nature of certain features in the lexical entry forms reflects the knowledge that native speakers have as to which sounds harmonize and which do not. In the case of the alveolars, so-called, the place of articulation varies considerably, as we have already seen. We can reflect this fact by leaving /t/, /d/ and /n/ unspecified for place and having process and realization rules to supply the appropriate feature. Differentiation of place in the alveolar stops and nasal may be more of a consciously learnt aspect of the phonological system for some speakers of English, in particular, those who use harmonized forms a great deal (cf. Newton's (1970) and Ferguson's (1978) comments on Modern Greek, a language which also displays a lot of interword consonantal harmony in colloquial speech)([2]). It is interesting to note that English, in many of its accents, shows what can be interpreted as the first stage in final voiceless stop loss found in a number of other languages (eg. Thai, Mandarin, Maori). Voiceless stops harmonize with following sounds, add a glottal closure, loose the supraglottal closure, retaining only the glottal one, and finally loose the closure altogether. (See also Aitchison's discussion of this, 1981: 132-33.) Such a change can be explained by progressive feature loss in the underlying specifications (see below for further discussion). In the English accents under consideration (with the possible exception of Edinburgh, see Chapter 4 above) so far only the place feature has disappeared from the underlying specification of the "alveolars".

The underlying (i.e. occurring in lexical entries) stops and nasals in all the accents under consideration in this book have the following specifications, using Ladefoged's system of feature classification (1982: 254-66):

/p/	/t/	/k/	/b/
[-voice]	[-voice]	[-voice]	[+voice]
[stop]	[stop]	[stop]	[stop]
[labial]	[Øplace]	[velar]	[-nasal]
			[labial]

/d/	/g/	/m/	/n/
[+voice]	[+voice]	[Øvoice]	[Øvoice]
[stop]	[stop]	[stop]	[stop]
[-nasal]	[-nasal]	[+nasal]	[+nasal]
[Øplace]	[velar]	[labial]	[Øplace]

whereby Ø = unspecified, to be accounted for by a later rule. As mentioned above, in Edinburgh the informants use harmony less than in the other localities, so that it might be more appropriate for the feature [alveolar] to appear at this stage to mark the accent off as different in this respect. This would then make the harmony rule (see below) different for these informants. However, since more data would be needed before a more definite decision could be made on this point, I shall leave the underlying specifications the same for all the accents, thereby simplifying the statement of the harmony rule.

Redundancy rules, in the form of *if-then* conditions, account for the specification of [+voice] for the nasals and [-nasal] for the voiceless stops:

If [+nasal]	If [-voice]
⇓	⇓
then [+voice]	then [-nasal]

The fricatives have the following specifications:

/f/	/θ/	/s/	/ʃ/
[-voice]	[-voice]	[-voice]	[-voice]
[fric]	[fric]	[fric]	[fric]
[labial]	[dental]	[alv]	[palatal]

/v/	/ð/	/z/	/ʒ/
[+voice]	[+voice]	[+voice]	[+voice]
[fric]	[Ømanner]	[fric]	[fric]
[labial]	[dental]	[alv]	[palatal]

The phonetic detail that /f/ and /v/ are realized as labiodental by most speakers is a matter of a redundancy rule of the form:

If [fric]
[labial]
⇓
then [dental]

We may note that Y has an optional harmony rule whereby [labial] sounds in her system may be bilabial or labiodental depending on adjacent sounds, whether stop or fricative (cf. Chapter 1 above). /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ have the feature [alv] added to their specifications by redundancy rule. This gives all instances of [ʃ] and [ʒ] the same phonetic specification whether underlying or a result of palatal harmony (cf. Lodge, 1981: 27-28).

The unspecified manner feature of /ð/ reflects the widespread harmony to which this segment is subject. In all the accents under consideration the manner of articulation of /ð/ is determined by the following sounds, as exemplified in the chapters above.

The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are members of the stop series with the underlying place feature [palatal] as with /ʃ/ and /ʒ/; a redundancy rule accounts for the fricative release and the [alv] specification. Palatal harmony of /t/ and /d/ involves copying the feature [palatal] to their underlying specification with the same results (see below for details).

/l/, /w/ and /j/ can be specified as follows:

/l/	/w/	/j/
[approx]	[approx]	[approx]
[alv]	[labial]	[palatal]

The phonetic characteristics of /r/ are not the same for each locality, though the rules which apply to it may be (cf. Introduction, p. 13). Therefore, if we wish to have the rules applicable to all accents as appropriate, the specification of /r/ must be sufficiently wide to cover the diverse realizations. Since trills and approximants do not have many phonetic characteristics in common, we can resort to the pseudo-phonetic feature [liquid] (cf. Ladefoged, 1982: 86) to reflect the phonological character of /r/, and its behaviour in syllable structure along with /l/, /j/ and /w/ (cf. Lass, 1976: 18). [liquid] could then replace [approx] in the above specifications and /r/ could be given an unspecified manner feature:

/w/	/l/	/r/	/j/
[liquid]	[liquid]	[liquid]	[liquid]
[labial]	[alv]	[Ømanner]	[palatal]

The redundancy rules for /r/ would then be different for each variant, depending on the realization involved. Thus, speaker Y would have a rule:

If [liquid]
[Ømanner]
⇓
then [approx]
[labial]
[dental]

whereas B would have:

If [liquid]
[Ømanner]
⇓
then [approx]
[retracted].

Some speakers have variant realizations of /r/, e.g. G, H and E, for which variable rules may be necessary (cf. Romaine's, 1978, treatment of /r/ in Edinburgh).

We should note in connection with Ø-specifications of features that the redundancy rules have to be understood in such a way that the feature specified Ø disappears from the segment in question when the redundant features are written in. This is because within the Ladefoged system of classification the features given Ø-specifications are hyponyms of the redundant features; [place] and [manner] are not features like [labial], [+voice], and [stop], but are major class categories.

The vowels are rather more complicated than the consonants, as there is much more variety in terms of realization in the former. I shall not attempt a full analysis of them here, but there are a few aspects of the system which should be noted.

Lip-rounding, which is traditionally associated with vowels (eg. Gimson, 1962), is not a distinctive feature of the English vowel system; there are no vowel contrasts carried solely by the opposition rounded versus unrounded. It can be accounted for by the redundancy rules. In Norwich it is associated with certain consonants in some instances, so that non-high back vowels, which are elsewhere unrounded, take on lip-rounding after bilabial consonants (cf.

Chapter 6 above)([3]).

The main aspect of the vowel system I want to consider is the status of length and the interpretation of diphthongs. In RP and some other accents of English vowel length is not distinctive (cf. Ladefoged, 1982: 84, 87 and 225). It is determined by the voice characteristics of the following consonant, and in the context of an utterance the amount of stress placed on a particular syllable affects the length of the vowel. Of the accents presented here, only Edinburgh has no length distinction (cf. Lass, 1976: 31); in fact, length is much more restricted here than in RP. The other accents have contrastive length, though the matter is not straightforward in Norwich (see Chapter 6 above). The difference in the occurrence of length in part accounts for the rhythmic differences between the accents and may be a matter of variant realizations of the same underlying units. The two questions to be answered are: (i) Should the common underlying vowels be specified as long or short? (ii) Are the diphthongs a separate category?

Let us start with the second of these questions. Traditional descriptions of RP (e.g. Gimson, 1962) analyse the diphthongs as separate from the other vowel phonemes, whereas descriptions of American English by American linguists (e.g. Trager and Smith, 1951; Hockett, 1958; Chomsky and Halle, 1968) interpret them as vowel + glide; thus the vowel phase of *gate* is /eɪ/ or /ey/ respectively (ignoring the more complex SPE analysis for the moment). The vowels of *feet* and *food* are also treated differently: /i:/ and /u:/ on the one hand, and /iy/ and /uw/ on the other. Lass (1976: 3-39) has argued at length for assigning long vowels and diphthongs to the same phonological class in English, namely vowel cluster (/VV/), the difference between the two being "simply a matter of identity or nonidentity of nuclear constituents" (ibid.: 22). He dismisses the category glide in English phonology as a misinterpretation of the phonetic facts of the end point of the diphthongal movements (ibid.: 15-19), as well as demonstrating that the SPE feature of tenseness is nothing more than a convenient abstraction (ibid.: esp. 39-50)([4]). To these arguments he adds as further support that such an analysis utilizing vowel clusters helps us to give a simpler account of the historical process of diphthongization of earlier long monophthongs (and, incidentally, the less commonly discussed monophthongization of earlier diphthongs, cf. ibid.: 32) than the

SPE account does, and enables us to give phonetically disparate accents the same dichotomous distinction in the vowels: /V/ versus /VV/. If we accept Lass's arguments (and his evidence is compelling), then the accents presented here, with the exception of Edinburgh, all have the /V/ - /VV/ distinction, whether or not /VV/ represents long monophthongs or diphthongs ([5]).

Given the /V/ - /VV/ distinction, we can now answer the first question as to the nature of the common underlying vowels. Historically, all accents of English appear to have had a long - short distinction in the vowels, and this is what is still preserved in the accents described here, with altered realizations. Table 1 gives the equivalences for the Middle English long vowels.

TABLE 1

ME	S	SB	P	C	N
i:	/a:/~/ae/	/ɑɪ/	/ɑɪ/	/ɔɪ/	/ɑɪ/
e:	/eɪ/	/ɪi/	/ɪi/	/ɪi/	/ɪi/
a:	/e:/~/ɛɪ/	/ɛɪ/	/ɛɪ/	/ɛɪ/	/ɛ̝:/
u:	/æʊ/	/æʊ/	/æʊ/	/æʊ/	/ɑü/
o:	/ɪʊ/~/ou/	/ʊu/	/ʊu/	/ʊu/	/oʊ/*
ɔ:	/o:/~/ʌʊ/	/ʌʊ/	/ʌʊ/	/ʌʊ/	/üu/*

(The localities are represented by their initials.)

*The distribution of these sounds is somewhat complicated in Norwich, and involves /ʊ/ as well (cf. Trudgill, 1974: 72-73 and Trudgill and Foxcroft, 1978).

We can see from this that the /VV/ specification remains intact in each accent. If we take this as the basic form, accents such as Edinburgh will have to be subject to a shortening rule: $V_xV_x = V_x$, where x is a set of feature specifications.

The final point about the vowel system that I wish to make is the status of [ə] in the underlying representations. Where there are stress alternations, as in *photograph - photography*, [ə] is derivable from an appropriate full vowel by the stress placement rules. This would mean that in speaker Y's system the base morpheme *photograph*, for instance, would have the lexical entry form: /fʌʊtɑgraf/. On the other hand, where there are no stress alternations, as in *about*, the underlying representation will have

/ə/ as the initial vowel([6]). In Table 4 below, none of the accents under consideration has word-final /ə/ in words such as *carter, farmer,* etc., but those forms of RP without any linking r do (cf. the Introduction above, p. 14).

COMPARISON

In the preceding section I have outlined what the accents under discussion have in common. We must now turn to a consideration of the differences between the accents and formalize the process rules which have been discussed above in the separate chapters. In order to try to establish degrees of difference, the following types of accent differentiation are assumed: (1) variation in the number of phonological contrasts, e.g. the vowels of *put* and *putt* distinguished or not; (2) variation in the incidence of the phonological units in lexical items, e.g. *book* and *pool* with the same or different vowels; (3) application of processes in different ways, e.g. *letter* with intervocalic [s] or [d]; (4) phonetic realization differences, e.g. /r/ as [ʊ] or [ɹ], and rhythmic differences related to syllable length; (5) phonotactic differences, e.g. whether or not /r/ can occur before consonants; (6) differences in articulatory setting, e.g. tense versus lax musculature. The different parts of the grammar involved in pinpointing differences in accent reflect to some extent the amount to which native speakers are consciously aware of them. For example, people are most conscious of the differences located in the underlying segments, such as lack of the /ɑ/-/ʌ/ distinction and lack of /h/. Similarly, lexical incidence and distributional differences (as in Tables 3 and 4 below) tend to be recognized, since they too involve segments and their arrangement. On the other hand, phonetic differences, which involve only one or two features, or a redundancy rule, are less likely to be consciously picked out, and processes such as harmony are very often totally ignored.

Table 2 is a comparison of the systematic differences displayed by the informants under consideration in this book, as far as the vowels are concerned. (The localities are indicated by initial.)

TABLE 2

S	SB	P	E	C	N
/ɛe/ } /e:/ }	/ɛɪ/	/ɛɪ/	/e/	/ɛɪ/	{ /æɪ/ { /ɐ:/
/o:/	/ʌʊ/	/ʌʊ/	/o/	/ʌʊ/	{ /ʌʊ/ { /oʊ/
/ʉu/	/ʊu/	/ʊu/	} /u/	/ʊu/	{ /üu/
/o/ {	/ʊ/	/ʊ/		} /ʊ/	/ʊ/
	/ʌ/	/ʌ/	/ʌ/		/ʌ/

NB: The /ɛe/:/e:/ distinction does not apply to speaker Y, who also has a diphthong /ʌʊ/ rather than /o:/, and /ɪʊ/ rather than /ʉu/. Norwich /æɪ/ is not the equivalent of Stockport /ɛe/, having a different historical origin.

The distinctions found only in one or two accents, indicated by braced pairs in Table 2, show the extent to which the underlying vowel systems differ at this fundamental level. In other respects the systems of the accents under discussion are the same, as far as the underlying units are concerned.

Table 3 gives examples of differences in lexical incidence.

TABLE 3

	S	SB	P	E	C	N
last	/a/	/ɑ:/	/a:/	/a:/	/a/~/a:/	/a:/
book	/ʉu/(N)	/ʊ/	/ʊ/	/u/	/ʊ/	/ʊ/
boat	/o:/(N)	/ʌʊ/	/ʌʊ/	/o/	/ʌʊ/	/ʊ/
cart	/a:/	/ɑ:/	/ar/	/ar/	/a:/	/a:/
serve	/ø:/	/ə:/	/er/	/ɛr/	/e:/	/ɐ:/~/ɜ:/
church	/ø:/	/ə:/	/er/	/ʌr/	/e:/	/ɐ/
more	/oə/(N) /ɔ:/(Y)	/ɔ:/	/ɔr/	/or/	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/
sort	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/	/ɔr/	/ɔr/	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/
tall	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/	/ɔ/	/ɔ:/	/ɔ:/

NB: Speaker Y often uses an unrounded form of /ɔ:/.

The consonantal systems are less varied, but we have noted that /h/ is usually not an underlying unit. /ng/ is realized differently in different accents, but this is a matter of rule variation (see below). Similarly, /r/ may occur post-vocalically before a consonant or it may be restricted from occurring in that position, as described in the Introduction (pp. 12-14); this is a matter of lexical incidence. Table 4 gives a number of underlying forms for words involving historical /r/.

TABLE 4

	S	SB	P	E	C	N
car	/ka:r/	/kɑ:r/	/kar/	/kar/	/ka:r/	/ka:r/
cart	/ka:t/	/kɑ:t/	/kart/	/kart/	/ka:t/	/ka:t/
carter	/ka:tr̩/	/kɑ:tr̩/	/kartr̩/	/kartr̩/	/ka:tr̩/	/ka:tr̩/

THE PROCESS RULES

I now want to consider the rules for handling the phonological processes discussed in the individual chapters and compare their application across the six accents. I shall start with the stops and consider harmony and glottal reinforcement. The following redundancy rules account for the harmony of /t/, /d/ and /n/, and their specification as [alveolar] elsewhere.

1. If [stop]
   [Øplace]
   ⇓
   then [αplace]/ ____ C
   [αplace]

2. If [stop]
   [Øplace]
   ⇓
   then [alv]

The rules cannot be collapsed because 1 is optional and 2 obligatory, and 2 must apply even in the context specified in 1, if the latter does not apply. The rules have to account for the fact that /d/ in *good man* can be realised as [b] or [d], whilst in *good evening* it must be [d]. (See also footnote 10 of this chapter.)

Glottal reinforcement involves a change in

phonation type (cf. Ladefoged, 1982: 258). In English the basic distinction is between those sounds that have voice and those that do not. The third possibility - simultaneous glottal stop - is a derived (i.e. not basic) articulation of the voiceless series in certain contexts. (The glottal stop is neither voiced nor voiceless because of the position of the vocal cords; it is, however, 'without voice'.) Rule 3 accounts for glottal reinforcement.

$$3.\quad [-\text{voice}] \Rightarrow [\text{glottal}] / \underset{[\overline{\text{stop}}]}{\_\_\_\_}\ \$ \quad (\text{opt.})$$

The context specifies syllable-final position. In most accents this occurs before another consonant or a pause, not before a vowel. This is because a following vowel requires syllable overlap, that is the segment in question is ambisyllabic, whether underlying or derived by concatenation in the speech chain([7]). Thus, *city* and *got a* have the following syllable structure, using a dependency notation (see Anderson, ms):

Glottal reinforcement cannot apply in cases of overlap as indicated by the environment template, where the syllable boundary follows the stop segment. However, in Norwich we do find intervocalic reinforced stops, so that only in word-initial position are they ruled out. We, therefore, need to posit a different underlying syllable structure for words like *city* for those speakers who always have glottally reinforced stops (or glottal realization of /t/, see below). This means no overlapping, and resyllabification via concatenation does not take place either, i.e.

If there are alternating forms with and without glottal reinforcement, then we need a rule of resyllabification under certain circumstances. I shall discuss this further below, when I consider variation in glottal realization of /t/. (See also footnote 8 of this chapter.)

We now have to account for the occurrence of [ʔ] only as the realization of /t/. Rule 4 has slightly different contexts for its operation as shown below. Table 5 indicates how these alternative versions of the rule are distributed in my informants' speech.

4. [-voice] ⇒ [glottal]/ ____ (C)$ (opt.)
   [∅place]   [+voice][stop]

as in *hit, went, cotton, Scotland, got a,* but not **first, *loft, *centre, *bottle, *petrol, *better, *ten.* The difference between *cotton* with [ʔ] and *bottle, petrol* with [t] is one of syllabification. In the former instance underlying /t/ must be syllable-final, whereas in the latter examples the /t/ is ambisyllabic and therefore does not fit the environment template. Intervocalic /t/ is also excluded from the environment specification in that it, too, is ambisyllabic.

4'. / ____ (C)$ C
   [+voice][stop]

The inclusion of the rightmost C excludes examples such as *got a* from glottal realization.

4''. / ____ (C)$
   [stop]

4'' allows words with a voiceless sound before /t/, e.g. *afternoon, lost* to be subject to the rule. In each case rule 4 is subject to the condition that the stress immediately following /t/ is not greater than the stress immediately preceding it (cf. Leslie, ms).

In cases where /k/ is realized as [ʔ] we need rule 5.

5. [-voice] ⇒ [glottal]/ V ____ (#)C
   [velar]   [stop]

as in *picture, took me* but not **kicker, *took it, *think*. I shall return to a consideration of glottal reinforcement and glottal realization below, when I discuss lenition and related processes.

The above rules do not allow glottal reinforcement of word-initial /t/ and /k/ or glottal realization, but we must note the following examples:

[spo:s ʔ beɪ] *supposed to be* Stockport (75)

[jɷu ʔk̍ŋ̍] *you can* Peasmarsh (26)

[ʌp ʔ sɪi] *up to see* Peasmarsh (43)

[jɷ ˀkŋ̍] *you can* Coventry (58)

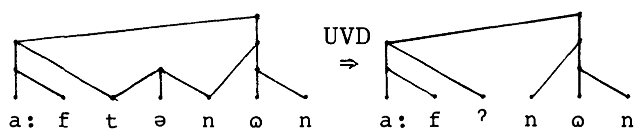
[daün ʔə] *down to* Norwich (34)

[bɑ:ðə ʔ a:sk] *bother to ask* Norwich (45).

In such cases the syllable structure has been changed by unstressed vowel reduction or deletion, so that the /t/ and /k/ take up syllable positions where they can be realized as [ʔ]. In cases such as *you can* and *down to* the initial /k/ and /t/ belong to both syllables:

If the stops retain their ambisyllabicity, they are realized as oral stops. If, however, they become the final consonants of the first syllable and become detached from the second one, they are realized as [ʔ]. The same process accounts for H's alternations of [t] and [ʔ] in words like *centre*:

In some instances the operation of UVD produces the same end of syllable positions, eg.



This is a Norwich pronunciation (line 69); I have not included the detail of /a:/. If there is no alternation between [t] and [ʔ], but the surface form is always [ʔ], then the underlying form must have a syllable-final /t/ not an ambisyllabic one([8]), as suggested above in relation to glottal reinforcement in Norwich.

This brings us to the examples involving the infinitive particle *to* (*to*-inf) and, in Stockport only, the definite article. In Norwich a form such as [jüs ʔə] (57) is accounted for by rule 4'' after the syllable structure has been altered, because

there is no reference to the voice characteristics of the preceding environment. However, this is not the case with 4 and 4', where voiceless sounds are excluded from the environment template. Therefore, *supposed to be* and *up to see* in the above examples should be excluded from glottal realization according to the rule. In those accents that allow glottal realization in such cases it is only with *to*-inf, not prepositional *to*. Thus, *supposed to be* above is well-formed, whereas

*[klo:s ʔ bɛɹe] *close to Bury*

is not. In Stockport we can add the glottal realization of *the* to these examples, as the only other morpheme involved in such environments, e.g.

[pas ʔ sɑɬt] *pass the salt*,

but not *[pasʔ ə beskeʔ] *passed a biscuit*.

In Chapter 1 I suggested a possible treatment for the glottal realization of *the*, which can be revised in the light of the preceding discussion of glottal realization. *The* and *to*-inf are exceptions and will have to be treated so. One way to do this would be to have a 'dummy' underlying preceding [+voice] in the lexical entry for these two words; thus:

/$_{[+voice]}$tV/ *to*-inf

/$_{[+voice]}$θV/ *the*

(where the exact specification of V is irrelevant). The dummy voice specification would then have to be deleted, as follows:

6. [+voice] ⇒ Ø / [-voice]____[glottal] (obl.)

This gives the following derivations:

	/pas$_{[+voice]}$θV sɑlt/	/ʌp$_{[+voice]}$tV sɪi/
Stress placement	⇒ pas$_{[+voi]}$θə sɑlt	ʌp$_{[+voi]}$tə sɪi
t-insertion	⇒ pas$_{[+voi]}$tθə sɑlt	____
UVD	⇒ pas$_{[+voi]}$tθ sɑlt	ʌp$_{[+voi]}$t sɪi
θ-deletion	⇒ pas$_{[+voi]}$t sɑlt	____
4	⇒ pas$_{[+voi]}$ʔ sɑlt	ʌp$_{[+voi]}$ʔ sɪi

6 ⇒ [pas ʔ sɑɬt] [ʌp ʔ sɪi]

Even the absolute initial instances could be accounted for in this way, if we alter the environment of rule 6 to include a pause (Ø):

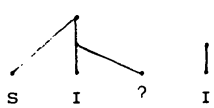
6. [+voice] ⇒ Ø / $\left\{\begin{matrix}[\text{-voice}] \\ \emptyset\end{matrix}\right\}$ ____[glottal](obl.).

Table 5 gives a comparison of rule application for the voiceless stops.

TABLE 5

S	SB	P	E	C	N
1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3
4(Y) 4'(N)	4	4'	4	4'	4''
5(Y)	5	6	5(H)		5
6(N)					

In Norwich rule 6 is unnecessary, because the context is covered by the extended template of 4'', as mentioned above. The differences in glottal realization distribution are determined by what we may refer to as the operation of Right Release (RR), that is the loss of a right subjunction by an ambisyllabic /t/, as described above. In Norwich and speaker H in Edinburgh RR is applied far more frequently than in the other informants, e.g. *city* is usually:



Y uses it very occasionally, as in [bɛʔə] (41). Speaker N occasionally uses rule 4, as in [gɑʔ] + V (84), rather than 4'. In formal terms this means that the environment template of 4' loses its rightmost C.

We can now turn to a consideration of CCS and some other instances of deletion. CCS can be given as rule 7:

7. $\begin{matrix}[\alpha\text{voice}] \\ [\text{stop}] \\ [\text{-nasal}]\end{matrix}$ ⇒ Ø / C ____ +C (opt.)
[αvoice]

where + is a morpheme boundary. This deletes a stop, mostly /t/ and /d/, in the appropriate environment. Similarly, /k/ is deleted in /-sk+/ sequences, and in those accents where /ng/ is realized as [ŋg] /g/ also deletes, as in [θeŋz], Stockport (36). The specification [-nasal] excludes /-lm/ and /-ln/ sequences from the rule(9). In Edinburgh /r/ must be excluded from the preceding context, since the /d/ in *word*, for example, does not delete before a consonant. In this respect /r/ acts differently from its fellow liquid /l/, and can even precede /l/ to produce three-consonant clusters not permitted in non-rhotic accents; words such as *world*, *words* are not subject to CCS.

/n/ is different from the non-nasal stops and must be dealt with by separate rules, even though in the individual localities I included it under CCS. In some accents a word like *want* may have any of the following pronunciations (with the appropriate vowel quality, which is irrelevant to the present point): [want], [wãnt], [wan?], [wãn?], [wa?], [wã?], though they do not all occur in all the accents under discussion here. To account for all these forms we need the optional rules 8 and 9.

8. $V \Rightarrow \overset{[+nasal]}{V} / \_\_\_ \overset{[+nasal]}{C}$ (opt.)

9. $\overset{[stop]}{[+nasal]} \Rightarrow \emptyset / V\_\_\_ ?\#$ (opt.)

These give us the following possible derivations each stage of which is a possible pronunciation:

		/want/			/want/
8	⇒	[wãnt]	4	⇒	[wan?]
4	⇒	[wãn?]	9	⇒	[wa?]
9	⇒	[wã?]			

None of the accents presented here allow 9 to apply before [t]. In Edinburgh neither speaker has rules 8 and 9, and only H has rule 6. Neither of the Peasmarsh informants has rules 8 and 9 either. In Stockport speaker Y extends the context of rule 9 to include alveolar fricatives and a pause, e.g. [ẽ st-] (10), [t'øːz] (11), [ðɛ̃] (7). In [ə̃ m-] (34), as in [wɛ̃ m-] Coventry (68), Place Harmony and Geminate Simplification have been applied (cf. p.106 above). In Shepherd's Bush too, speaker C has extended the context to both alveolar and dental fricatives, e.g. [maĩz] (5), [ṽ ðə] (28), [sə̃θɪŋk̚](48).

There are also examples in her speech of rule 9 being applied to [ʔ] = /k/, e.g. [θĩʔ] (5) and (9).

I have already discussed /g/-deletion in Chapters 1 and 2 above to account for [ŋ] without a following velar stop, but in fact it is less straightforward than just a simple deletion rule. The rules involved apply in other environments in some of the accents under discussion. First we need a rule for left-to-right voicing harmony, as in [wɛnt] ⇒ [wɛnd]:

$$10.\ [-\text{voice}] \Rightarrow [+\text{voice}] \ /\ [+\text{nasal}] \ \underset{[\text{stop}]}{\underline{\quad\quad}} \ \#$$

(This may be seen as an instance of lenition.) Then we need a rule for left-to-right nasal harmony, as in [wɛnd] ⇒ [wɛnn]:

$$11.\ [-\text{nasal}] \Rightarrow [+\text{nasal}] \ /\ [+\text{nasal}] \ \underset{\substack{[+\text{voice}]\\[\text{stop}]}}{\underline{\quad\quad}} \ \#$$

These two rules would also apply to the sequence /ng/, so we have the following derivations:

		/went/	/send/	/sɪng/
1	⇒	went	send	sɪŋg
10	⇒	wend	———	———
11	⇒	wenn	senn	sɪŋŋ

Geminate Simplification, rule 12, can now be applied to the outputs of rule 11.

$$12.\ C_i \Rightarrow \emptyset \ /\ C_i\underline{\quad\quad} \quad \text{(opt.)}$$

where i is a set of feature specifications.

12	⇒	[wen]	[sen]	[sɪŋ]

At this point we may note that some of the rules are optional in some circumstances and obligatory in others, even in the same accent([10]). For example, *went* and *send* can have any of the stages shown in the derivation above as surface forms in Shepherd's Bush, but only the output of rules 11 and 12 in Peasmarsh, which means that in the latter locality rule 11 is obligatory, if rule 10 is chosen([11]). On the other hand, /sɪng/ is subject to all three rules in all the accents except Stockport. It is true that historical changes can be handled quite satisfactorily in terms of rules spreading, retreating or

being lost altogether. In the case under discussion /-mb/ has been eliminated from English by these rules, /-ng/ not quite, because of the alternations such as *long - longer*, and /-nd/ is least affected. However, there are other considerations from a synchronic point of view. The difference between optional and obligatory application of rules in this particular case may indicate that we should postulate an underlying /ŋ/ in words like *sing* which have no morphological alternations([12]).

If we take /ng/ as the underlying form of [ŋ], we can explain the different pronunciations of *length* with final [-ŋθ] or [-n̪θ], which varies from person to person rather than locality to locality. These forms can be accounted for in terms of different ordering in the application of rules 1 and 7, giving the following derivations:

		/leng+θ/			/leng+θ/
1	⇒	leŋg+θ	7	⇒	len+θ
7	⇒	[leŋθ]	1	⇒	[len̪θ]

(I am not concerned with the removal of the morpheme boundary.)

Table 6 presents the distribution of rules 7-12 in the six localities. Where rules 10, 11 and 12 are used only in the case of [ŋ], I have put an asterisk.

TABLE 6

S	SB	P	E	C	N
7	7	7	7(H)	7	7
8	8	10	10*	8	8
9(N) 9'(Y)	9''	11	11*	9	9
12	10	12	12*	10	10*
	11			11	11*
	12			12	12

Palatal harmony of /t/ and /d/ can be accounted for by rule 1 and the redundancy rules mentioned above which add [alv] and fricative release to palatal stops. Rule 13 accounts for palatal harmony in the case of /s/ and /z/.

13. [alv] (opt.)
    [fric]
    ⇓
    [palatal] / ____ [palatal]

Some speakers block rule 13 and rule 1 from operating on /s/ and /z/, when [t] or [d] intervenes, i.e. *last chair* with CCS is [las tʃɛː] not [laʃ tʃɛː] (with different vowels as appropriate), and *Stuart* begins with [stʃ-] not [ʃtʃ-]. No speakers allow palatal harmony to apply to /t/ and /d/ before /tʃ/ or /dʒ/, thus *hot cheese* does not have [-tʃ tʃ-], and *glazed jars* does not have [-dʒ dʒ-]. After palatal harmony has occurred, the conditioning /j/ may be deleted if an unstressed vowel follows, as given in rule 14.

14. [liquid] ⇒ Ø / [palatal] ____ V̆
    [palatal]

The derivation below is that of [kaʃə̥], Stockport (26).

		/kasts jV̆/
7	⇒	-ss j-
13	⇒	-ʃʃ j-
12	⇒	-ʃ j-
14	⇒	[-ʃ]

There are cases where both rule 13 and CCS are involved and the latter is obligatory. For example, in *correction* CCS is obligatory, but not in *correct them*. It is not the intervening morpheme boundary that requires CCS, since in *lifts* and *costs*, for example, the /t/ can be retained. It is, rather, the combination of the palatal and the morpheme boundary that is crucial. We could, therefore, revise rule 7 as follows, giving one obligatory context and one optional one:

7. [αvoice] ⇒ Ø / [αvoice] ____ { [palatal]$^{+}$ (obl.) / + C (opt.) }
   [stop]
   [-nasal]

The morpheme boundary appears after the palatal consonant in the environment template to allow the rule to apply optionally to palatals derived by rule 13, as in *costs you* above (ie. *cost+s*). This means that the derivation of *correction* is as follows:

		/kərekt+jən/
1	⇒	-ktʃ+j-
14	⇒	-ktʃ+-
7	⇒	[-kʃ-]

Rule 14 is also obligatory in this context.

We must now return to /ð/, which I have dealt with under the general heading ð-harmony. /ð/ was given an unspecified manner feature above, because it is realized in a variety of ways, as we have seen in the individual chapters. In fact, we are dealing with two rules, plus rules 1 and 11. The redundancy rule 15 accounts for the contextual variants.

15. If [Ømanner] [dental]
then [αmanner] / [αmanner] [alv] ____ (opt.)
otherwise [fric]

In the case of /-n ð-/ we have the following derivation:

		/n ð/
1	⇒	n̪ ð
15	⇒	n̪ d̪
11	⇒	n̪ n̪

in which all stages are possible surface versions. The output of rule 15 is more common in Coventry than in the other localities. In the case of /-l ð-/, /-z ð-/, /-s ð-/, /-(d)ʒ ð-/ and /-(t)ʃ ð-/, there is an optional change of [dental] to [alv], as in rule 16([13]).

16. [dental] ⇒ [alv] / {[fric], [liquid], [alv]} ____ {[fric], [liquid]} (opt.)

Thus:

		/l ð/	/z ð/	/tʃ ð/
15	⇒	l l̪	z ð	tʃ ð
16	⇒	l l	z z	tʃ z

(The first instance of [l] would, of course, be velarized.)

LENITION AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

As a final section to this chapter, I would like to take up some issues which point towards a non-linear approach to phonology, to which I have already alluded above in relation to glottal realization. In so doing, I hope to pick out areas for more

detailed investigation in the future.

In the Introduction I referred to a general schema for lenition as presented by Anderson and Ewen (1980: 28) and expanded by Ewen (1980: 175). Such phenomena as lenition are used by supporters of natural process phonology to argue against the SPE feature system which does not allow "strength scales" to be captured as unitary. Within the dependency framework proposed by Anderson and Ewen (1980) and Ewen (1980), lenition is seen as a gradual increase in the dominance and preponderance of the element |V| (= "relatively periodic") as opposed to |C| (which "correlates with the presence of zeros in the acoustic record of that segment") (cf. Anderson and Ewen, 1980: 25). These are components of the categorial gesture, the part of the phonological representation concerned with consonantality, voice, continuancy and sonorance (cf. Ewen, 1980: 134). Sequences of segment change in the history of various languages, such as:

$$x \longrightarrow \gamma \longrightarrow w \longrightarrow \emptyset$$

$$p \longrightarrow b \longrightarrow \beta$$

occurring in intervocalic position, are used as evidence for the establishment of such processes as natural and universal. (Child language acquisition phenomena are also cited as supportive evidence, e.g. Stampe, 1979, but see also Aitchison's caveat, 1981: 180-83.) However, there are other paths to deletion than the one exemplified above, and I would like to mention two here, one of which is particularly relevant to my data and does not seem at first sight to be related to lenition.

Both voiceless stops and voiceless fricatives disappear in circumstances other than intervocalically([14]), e.g.

> Old Chinese γiep > Mandarin ɕiɛ;
> compare Latin *septem* with Greek *hepta* > Modern Greek [ɛfta];
> Latin *fumus* > Spanish *umo*.

We can see similar changes in English, both synchronically and diachronically, either in part or in toto. Consider glottal reinforcement in syllable-final position and the [ʔ] allophone of /t/ and /k/. Similarly, the voiceless velar fricative has disappeared from the English phoneme inventory:

ɛçtə > ɛɪçt > ɛɪht > ɛɪt

dɔxtər > dɔɷxtər > dɔɷhtər > dɔɷtər

(For a discussion of this process in more detail, see Lodge, ms.)

On the basis of this and similar evidence we can represent the deletion paths informally as follows:

p, t, k ⟶ $\overset{?}{p}$, $\overset{?}{t}$, $\overset{?}{k}$ ⟶ ʔ ⟶ Ø

f, s, θ, x ⟶ h ⟶ Ø

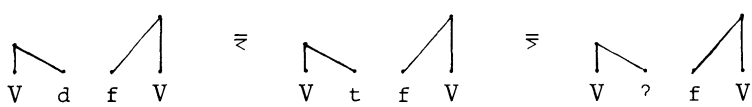
In both cases the process involves the loss of supra-glottal stricture before the segment disappears altogether. The phase before deletion is simply [stop] and [-voice], respectively (cf. Lass, 1976: 163).

If we interpret this progression in terms of the activity of the vocal cords, we can see that all three types of deletion involve this aspect of articulation. In lenition we are dealing with vibrating vocal cords, with the stops with closed vocal cords, and with the fricatives with open vocal cords. If these are isolated separately as elements in the categorial gesture: |V|, |ʔ| and |O|, respectively, in a dependency notation, then we can explain the processes involved as loss of all the other phonological features before final deletion. (See Ewen, 1980, Lodge, 1981, and Davenport and Staun, ms, for arguments relating to the constituents in the categorial gesture.) Terms like "lenition" and "weakening" are not suitable for describing all three types of deletion path, especially as glottal reinforcement appears to be a "strengthening" of articulation, so I shall suggest the more general term "progressive feature loss" to cover all three.

We should perhaps enquire why some sounds seem to be subject to apparent strengthening processes when they are in an inherently weak syllable position. The notion of relatively strong and weak positions in the syllable has been developed by a number of phonologists (eg. Hooper, 1976, Foley, 1977, Liberman and Prince, 1977, Kiparsky, 1979, Selkirk, 1980, and Ewen, 1980) as an inherent property of phonological structure at various levels. Such strength hierarchies are related to sonority, the most sonorous sound being the strongest. In metrical phonology and dependency phonology the English word *pad* would be given the following syllable structures respectively:

(cf. Kiparsky, 1979, and Anderson, ms.) In the dependency tree strength can be read off in terms of the nodes and the degrees of dependency([15]). In both representations syllable-initial position is weaker than nuclear position, but stronger than syllable-final position. In other accounts of syllable strength (eg. Hooper, 1976, and Foley, 1977) we find that syllable-initial position is characterised as strong. However, with the more subtle, relative strengths proposed by both metrical and dependency phonology, we can explain why weakening to zero is less common in initial position than in final position because the former is relatively stronger. If we accept the notion of relative strengths within the syllable, we can postulate processes which attempt to balance out the syllable values as well as reinforcing them([16]). That is why we find glottal reinforcement in English, an attempt to strengthen a weak syllable position. English is in a "strengthening phase" in this respect, in that it has glottal reinforcement in most accents, although there are signs of weakening in some accents, including those presented in this study, in that /p t k/ tend to be realized as [ʔ], the order of frequency being /t/, then /k/, then /p/ least often. Mandarin, on the other hand, has weakened the final stops to zero.

Another instance of strengthening a weak syllable position is devoicing of final voiced obstruents, complete in German and Russian, for instance, but only partial in English. We can find the alternation of strengthening and weakening in West Yorkshire voicing harmony (cf. Wells, 1982: 367, and Leslie, ms) in a word like *Bradford*, where /d/ being in syllable-final position is weaker than /f/ in the initial position of the following syllable. We can represent this informally, as follows:



where ≷ = "strengthens to", and ≷ = "weakens to".

In order to incorporate these aspects of lenition into our rules, we may wish to relate more closely rules which have so far been presented as separate. Let us take CCS and glottal reinforcement. The rules given above, 3 and 7, are quite distinct from one another. However, when we consider some of the sounds affected by them, namely /t/ and /k/, we could postulate the following progression as the deletion path related to glottal closure, as described above.

(i) Add glottal closure to all voiceless stops in context X.
(ii) Remove supraglottal closure from all glottally reinforced stops in context Y.
(iii) Remove glottal stop in context Z.

The first stage of the progression is captured by rule 3; the second and third stages by rules 4, 5 and 7. On the other hand, we can present stages (ii) and (iii) somewhat differently in rules 17 and 18.

17. [place] $\Rightarrow \emptyset$ / $\underline{\quad\quad}$ (opt.)
[glottal]
[stop]

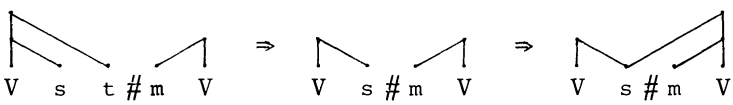
18. [glottal] $\Rightarrow \emptyset$ / $\underline{\quad\quad}$ + C (obl.)
[stop] [-voice]

If rule 17 is chosen, rule 18 must be applied, since in the accents presented here with the exception of Norwich, forms such as *[pʌʔs ʔmən] *postman* are not well-formed, whereas forms such as [sɔ:ɬʔmaɪn] *salt mine* are. This progression means that each glottal realization is generated via glottal reinforcement, and each deletion via both glottal reinforcement and glottal realization. The disadvantages of this approach are twofold: the glottal realization of /p t k/ has already been noted as being different in frequency for each of the stops, and this can only be accounted for by the optionality of rule 17; the deletion of /d/ under the same circumstances as /t/ has to be accounted for by a separate rule. It is, of course, true that in the case of /d/-deletion as determined by CCS, there is no evidence in the data presented here that we are dealing with a gradual deletion path, i.e. there are no instances of intermediate stages suggesting a path such as d $\longrightarrow$ z $\longrightarrow$ j $\longrightarrow \emptyset$. We, therefore, have to assume a "direct" deletion: d $\longrightarrow \emptyset$.

In the case of speaker Y /n/ displays the whole

range of a lenition path to deletion; the following are all realizations of /n/: [n], [n̰], [ŭ], [j̃], [w̃], [ə̃], [ʌõ], [øː], Ø, the last two phonetic realizations being nasalization of part of the preceding vowel phase. These all occur in weak syllable position and the non-nasal features are determined by the following sound(s), i.e. [n̰] occurs before /l/, [w̃] before ([ʔ])/w/, and so on([17]).

I have not gone into any detail regarding syllable structure, but have referred to the syllable throughout both informally and in the rules, e.g. rule 3. I have taken the view, supported by both metrical and dependency phonology, that the syllable is an appropriate level of phonological abstraction for the statement of certain regularities. Rule 3, for instance, would be more complicated without reference to the syllable boundary. We also have to refer to syllabification to account for the difference in the realization of /t/ in Stockport *cotton* versus *bottle*, for example. Furthermore, if we accept the notion of differential strength distributed in the syllable, some of the process rules can be formulated in terms of strength/weakness. We can explain why CCS operates in the way it does. Three consecutive weak positions reduce to two and it is the weakest position that is lost, e.g.



In the last stage there is resyllabification to produce overlap. On the other hand, in a CCV sequence the final weak C is strengthened by resyllabification making it ambisyllabic:

If such strength scales can be shown to be universal to natural languages, then considerable savings can be made in the grammars of individual languages. Their language-specific relevance is easier to demonstrate and it may well be that all the processes discussed in this study can be related to syllable structure and relative strength. That has yet to be demonstrated.

NOTES

[1]. Stampe's (1979: 32) point that where no alternation occurs [m] is different from [ŋ] in that the former is underlying but the latter is not, may be valid on psychological grounds, but he offers no support for his argument other than the spelling.

[2]. Further investigation of how children acquire their accents might give some indication as to what feature specifications are minimally necessary for the identification of utterances in that particular accent. It is quite clear, even on the basis of a small amount of evidence, that harmonized forms are learnt early, so that harmony, at least, constitutes an important part of the phonological system for the child as well as for the adult (cf. Lodge, 1983). Of course, Stampe (1979) would argue that all the child has to do is learn where to suppress such natural processes as harmony.

[3]. More investigation of lip-rounding in consonants is necessary to give a proper statement of this (cf. Brown's, 1981, discussion).

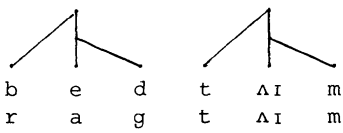
[4]. In the descriptions of the general phonetic characteristics of each accent I have used the terms *tense* and *lax* with reference to the musculature of the speech organs; these are not to be associated with the SPE features [+tense], [-tense].

[5]. Historically speaking, the modern English diphthongs come from different sources, either long vowels, as in *name*, or vowel + consonant, as in *day*. Although none of the accents presented here have this feature, several Northern accents still differentiate some instances of original long vowel and original vowel + consonant, as in *bite* with [aɪ] and *night* with [ɪi] (cf. Lodge, 1973). It may be that such a distinction should be made in the underlying segments of even RP, especially if we wish to account for the morphological alternations *right - righteous*, as opposed to *delight - delicious* (where the spelling of the noun is misleading), in the phonological component (see Lodge, ms).

[6]. I do not propose to offer any further support for such an analysis beyond the alternation criterion. However, there is some evidence from mis-spellings of unstressed vowels by both children and adults to suggest that we are not justified in assuming full vowels for all surface instances of [ə], since such an assumption is arbitrarily based on the standard orthography.

[7]. For arguments concerning syllable overlap and ambisyllabicity, see Anderson and Jones (1977: 94-112) and Ewen (1980: 180-84).

[8] In Leslie's discussion of glottal allophony (ms) he gives the rule of resyllabification as Left Capture, that is the segment in question loses its attachment to the underlying syllable to the right and is then "captured" by the syllable to the left. However, if the /t/ is made ambisyllabic in the underlying representation, the rule is one of releasing the right-hand dependency (Right Release), leaving only the left-hand one, as shown in the representations of *centre* above. In Leslie's data there are the negative items *bedtime* and *ragtime*. That these do not have glottal realization can be explained by the non-overlapping syllabification in the underlying form, ie.



because English does not have any /-dt/ or /-gt/ clusters. *Sometime* [sʌmʔʌɪm] may be exceptional, though it depends whether *prompt* is /prɒmt/ or not. *Carlton* seems to be exceptional, too, with /-rlt/ in one syllable, but we must note that like all rhotic accents Edinburgh has final three-consonant clusters including /r/, eg. *world, words* and *pearls*.

[9]. The only other occurring sequences which fit the rule are /-lb/ in *bulb*, /-ldʒ/ in *bulge* and /-ndʒ/ in *change*. I have no evidence as to whether the /b/ would be deleted or not. In the plural form deletion would seem odd, but in rapid speech in an utterance such as *The bulb's gone* it might well take place. In my own rapid speech fricativization is more likely, i.e. [ðə bʌɬβz gɒn]. There is a tendency for the [d] to be deleted from /dʒ/, while the [ʒ] is retained, but again there are no instances in my recorded material.

[10]. With more data than I have used here it might be possible to show that certain processes are obligatory in certain styles, that is, equate the operation of particular rules with particular styles of delivery, interpreted by the native speaker as "formal", "casual", "posh", "common", and so on.

[11]. There are possible differences between informants C, B and W, which would involve adjustments to these rules in each case. Cf. Chapters 2 and 3, above.

[12]. I do not intend to pursue this point further here. For much fuller discussion of /ŋ/ in English

and German, see Goyvaerts (1978: 127-28) and Dressler (1981).

[13]. θ-harmony, as in *miss things* (cf. Lodge, 1981: 29), can be accounted for by rule 16, and θ-deletion, as in *sixth*, by applying Geminate Simplification afterwards. In *months* the order of the relevant segments is reversed and the rule would have to be revised to account for this too. NB: The examples containing [z] in Lodge (1981: 29-30) are incorrectly given a dental diacritic: [z̪].

[14]. For some interesting Celtic evidence, see Ó Dochartaigh (1980). For details of the change in Chinese, see Forrest (1973: 195).

[15]. I am not concerned here with whether we should take a metrical or a dependency view of syllable structure. Although there may be advantages to a dependency framework over a metrical one in terms of non-binarity and implicit strength values and structural levels that can be read off from the notation, I shall not attempt to argue the point here. On this and other matters, see Ewen (ms).

[16]. See Foley (1977: 123-26) for a discussion of "modular depotentiation" as his explanation for weakening of the strongest phonological elements. His treatment of English in this respect seems totally inadequate in terms of the data presented in this book.

[17]. For a discussion of /l/-deletion in Cockney and its relation to /r/-deletion, see Champ (1983). The former is not so widespread in the six accents discussed here as it is in Cockney.

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INDEX

WORD INDEX

The word index contains forms which are discussed phonetically and/or phonologically in the text of the book. It does not contain references to the transcriptions, nor forms from the indented lists of examples in the various chapters. With four exceptions there are only one-word entries.