

# Leeds Studies in English

## Article:

J. D. A. Widdowson, 'The Dialect of Filey (Yorkshire, East Riding): The Vowels of Stressed Syllables', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 2 (1968), 81-95

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## **THE DIALECT OF FILEY (YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING): THE VOWELS OF STRESSED SYLLABLES**

By J. D. A. WIDDOWSON

There is evidence of considerable variation at the phonetic level in the dialect of Filey. This phenomenon, though undoubtedly recognized, has not been demonstrated in detail, to my knowledge, for any specific locality, and research into the living speech of Filey suggests that it may be a fruitful ground for further study. The fact that Filey may be designated a dialectal relic area makes it especially prone to those pressures which may bring about a considerable modification or even a breakdown of its traditional phonemic system. Such pressures, based chiefly on a variety of Northern regional pronunciation, have had and are having a considerable influence on the local speech.

In order to elicit the range of phonetic variants, informal tape-recordings were made of some 25 principal native informants in Filey between 1960 and 1964. These recordings were supplemented by impressionistic transcriptions of a much smaller number of individual words and phrases from casual utterance. Since the process of change is still continuing, it was felt that the use of the more formal questionnaire technique would tend to make speakers more self-conscious and deliberate in their speech and thus precondition their responses to a greater extent than during informal conversation. Attention was therefore concentrated on the recording of free conversation under the most informal conditions possible. Individual words were then selected for analysis from the transcription of the speech continuum. As the average age of the informants was 65 the conclusions naturally reflect the traditional and conservative local usage, but the wide range of phonetic variation indicates the presence of the encroaching Northern Regional Standard and of other sounds intermediate between the two systems. The principal phonetic variants in the vowel sounds of syllables under strongest stress are presented in the following tabulated analysis.

1. The Filey dialect has the following vowel sounds in stressed positions:



3. [ɪ] is the close front lax unround vowel, somewhat lower, more centralized and less tense than dialectal [i], but somewhat tenser than the vowel in RS "bit" "wit" etc. It is found in [ˈbʌʃlɪnz] beestings; [dʌs] dress; [ˈflʊðə] flither; [ˈkɪtlɪn] kitten; [stɪtʃ] stretch; [ˈθɪml] thimble.
4. [ɨ] is the close front-central lax unround vowel, lower, less tense and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɪ]. It normally occurs in unstressed syllables but is included here because it is sometimes found in stressed positions in such words as [ˈdɨɡɪn] digging; [fɨl] fill; [ˈnɨvə] never; [pɨn] pin; [ˈpɨmɹɔʊz] primrose; [ˈfɨlɪn] shilling.
5. [e] is the half-close front lax unround vowel, lower and considerably tenser than the vowel in RS "bit" "wit" etc., but slightly lower, less tense and considerably more centralized than cardinal 2. It occurs in [dek] deck; [ˈlɛtʔn] reckon; [ɹɛst] rest; [ʃɹɛmp] shrimp; [vɛks] vex; [ˈwɛntə] winter.
6. [ø] is the half-close front lax round vowel, lower than the vowel in RS "bit" "wit" etc., but lower, less tense and more centralized than cardinal 2. It is the rounded equivalent of dialectal [e] and is extremely rare. Examples are [ølp] help; [twølv] twelve.
7. [ɛ] is the half-open front lax unround vowel, slightly raised from and more centralized than cardinal 3. It is found in [blɛɡ] bleg, sea bream; [ˈklɛmɪ] clemmy, small stone; [ˈsɛɡɪ] seggy, sycamore; [stɛɡ] steg, gander; [ɔpˈskɛld] upskelled, overturned; [ɹɛk] wreck.
8. [œ] is the half-open front lax round vowel, slightly raised from and more centralized than cardinal 3. It occurs very seldom and is the rounded equivalent of dialectal [ɛ] as in [ˈvœlvʊtʔ] velvet.
9. [æ] is the raised open front lax unround vowel, pronounced approximately midway between dialectal [ɛ] and [a], the tongue being lowered and retracted through approximately equal stages. In the Filey dialect this sound has a similar position of articulation (between half-open and open) to that of English vowel 4 as described by Jones,<sup>1</sup> but also seems to be rather more raised and centralized. A slight degree of tension often appears to occur in the articulation of this sound and this feature distinguishes it from the characteristic slack articulation of dialectal [ɛ] and [a]. It is found in [æsk] ask; [ˈkæʔl] cattle; [dæʃ] dash; [jæns] once; [ˈpæɪtʔ] parrot; [ˈvæntʃəd] ventured.
10. [a] is the open front lax unround vowel, somewhat raised from and considerably more centralized than cardinal 4. It occurs in the following words: [jal] ale; [kaf] chaff; [dag] dag, rag to protect the hand; [ˈgaləsɪz] gallows, braces; [ˈɹadɪdʊ] raddy-doo; [stɹɑŋ] strong.

<sup>1</sup> D. Jones, *Outline of English Phonetics*, (9th ed., Heffer, Cambridge, 1960), p. 72. Hereafter cited in text as Jones, followed by the page number.

11. [ɛ] is the open central lax unround vowel. It is pronounced approximately midway between cardinals 4 and 5, but the centre of the tongue is raised to a position between half-open and open, though with no apparent tension. Dialectal [ɛ] naturally occurs in unstressed syllables but is also found in stressed positions as indicated by the following examples: [lɛd] lad; [ˈmɛni] many; [pɛl] pal; [ɪˈmɛmbə] remember; [stɛnd] stand; [ˈlɛɪ] very.

12. [ɑ] is the open back lax unround vowel, somewhat raised and considerably advanced from cardinal 5. It occurs in [brɑs] brass, money; [ˈflɑgstiən] flagstone; [lɑmp] lamp; [ˈmɑkɪl] mackerel; [ɔvəˈkɑp] overcap; [ˈwɑgənɪ] wagoner.

13. [ɔ] is the open back lax round vowel, considerably raised and somewhat advanced from the cardinal 5 position. Its rounded quality is normally due to the influence of neighbouring labial consonants as is apparent from these examples: [ɔˈfɔd] afford; [əˈmɔŋ] among; [ˈbɔskɪt] basket; [fɔkt] fact; [ˈɔnɪstli] honestly; [lɔf] laugh.

14. [ɔ] is the half-open back lax round vowel, lowered from and considerably more centralized than cardinal 6. It is much closer than the vowel in RS "fog" "cot" etc., and occurs in [brɔk] brock, cuckoo-spit; [klɔd] clod, penny; [fɔnd] fond, foolish; [fɔˈwɔdn̩] forwoden, infested; [lɔp] lop, flea; [pɔs] purse.

15. [ʌ] is the half-open back-central lax unround vowel. This sound has a similar articulation position to that of English vowel 10 as described by Jones, 86, but somewhat raised and centralized. As an apparent borrowing from RS, it is used occasionally in stressed syllables by the more educated and less conservative speakers, replacing the more normal dialectal [ɔ] in such words as [brʌst] burst; [ˈkʌntɪ] country; [kʌd] curd; [ˈʌniən] onion; [ˈsʌmbɔdi] somebody; [ˈʌŋkɪ] uncle. However, it is also the unrounded equivalent of dialectal [ɔ], considerably raised and centralized, as in [ˈflʌɪn] foreign; [ʃʌp] shop; [tʌp] top.

16. [o] is the half-close back lax round vowel, lowered from and considerably more centralized than cardinal 7. It occurs in [ˈboðəɪ] bother; [ˈfɔtɪn] footing; [ˈɔndəd] hundred; [nok] knock; [lɔk?] look; [ˈwɔndə] wonder.

17. [ɔ] is the half-close back lax unround vowel, lowered from and considerably more centralized than cardinal 7. It is the unrounded equivalent of dialectal [o]. Examples are [kɔp] cup; [frɔnt] front; [fɔl] full; [pɔl] pull; [pɔp] pup; [stɔd] stood.

18. [ɔ] is the close back lax round vowel, somewhat closer than cardinal 7, but very much lower, more centralized and less rounded than cardinal 8. Dialectal [ɔ] appears in [ˈbɔlstən] bull-stone, sharpening-

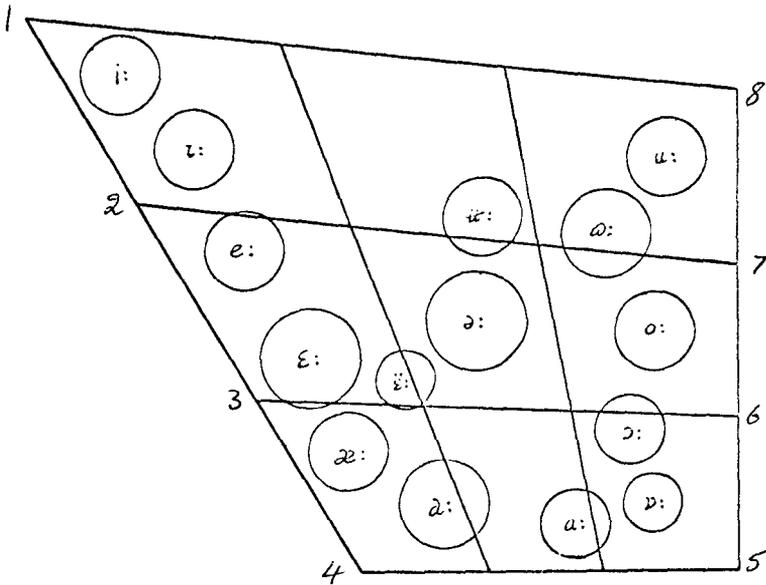
stone; [ˈklɒmpəz] clumpers, clogs; [ˈkɒdʊ] cuddy, hedgesparrow; [ˈkɒvɪnz] cuvvins, periwinkles; [ˈfɒzək] fuzzock, fool; [mɒs] muss, concoction.

19. [ɜ̃] is the close back-central lax unround vowel, very slightly raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɔ]. It is normally found in unstressed syllables but sometimes occurs in stressed positions in such words as [lʌmp] lump; [nʌt] nut; [pʌt] put; [ˈsʌmtɑ:mz] sometimes; [sʌtʃ] such.

20. [ə] is the half-open central lax unround vowel. This is the typical vowel sound of unstressed syllables but is also found very occasionally in stressed positions, as in [ænd] end; [ˈhəzbænd] husband; [lɛs] less; [ˈməbi] maybe; [ræn] ran; [ˈwɛððəɪ] whether.

**Long Vowels**

21. [i:] is the close front tense unround vowel. Under strongest stress or when final it is often pronounced with very marked tension, and the tongue may be raised so close to the front palate and the teeth-ridge that at its most extreme this sound approaches the articulation position



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of cardinal 1. When dialectal [i:] occurs finally in a word, this raising may even produce such a degree of constriction that very slight friction can occur. In a very narrow phonetic transcription the extremely close final position is indicated by the symbols [i<sup>h</sup>], [i<sup>h</sup>] and [i:<sup>h</sup>]. The following words contain dialectal [i:]: [di:<sup>h</sup>] die; [l'gri:du] greedy; [l'dʒi:zəs] Jesus, sixpence; [skwi:z] squeeze; [sti:] sty, ladder; [l'wi:ləɪ] wheeler, wheelwright.

22. [ɪ:] is the close front lax unround vowel, somewhat lower, more centralized and less tense than dialectal [i:]. It occurs in [bɪ:ɪd] breed; [l'ku:lbo:t] keel-boat; [l'nɪ:dl] needle; [spt:ɪd] speed; [stɪ:p] steep; [tu:tʃ] teach.

23. [e:] is the half-close front lax unround vowel, slightly lower, less tense and more centralized than cardinal 2. It is found in [brɛ:k] break; [kle:] clay; [e:tʃ] each; [le:k] lake, play; [l'pe:ʃotəɪ] peashooter; [prɛ:tʃ] preach.

24. [ɛ:] is the half-open front lax unround vowel, very slightly raised from and more centralized than cardinal 3. It is found in the following words: [l'glɛ:zɪ] glazy, oilskin coat; [l'mɛ:stəɪ] master; [ɔki'pɛ:ʃən] occupation; [pɛ:] pay; [l'ɪɛ:drɔ:] radio; [sɛ:m] saim, lard.

25. [æ:] is the raised open front lax unround vowel, pronounced approximately midway between dialectal [ɛ:] and [a:], but somewhat raised from and more centralized than English vowel 4 as described by Jones, 72. Words containing dialectal [æ:] are [l'gæ:dɪŋ] garden; [l'æ:nus] harness; [l'pæ:tʃ'nəɪ] partner; [l'ʃæ:pəɪ] sharper, more quickly; [stæ:tʃ] start; [jæ:n] yarn.

26. [ɑ:] is the open front lax unround vowel, somewhat raised from and considerably more centralized than cardinal 4. It occurs in [l'ga:θaŋ] garthangle, gaff; [sa:k] sark; [l'ska:ɪə] scarer, sea-anemone; [l'sta:ndl] starndill, starling; [l'wa:ftʃ] warfish, razor-fish; [wa:k] work.

27. [ɑ:] is the open back lax unround vowel, slightly raised and somewhat advanced from the cardinal 5 position. Examples include [l'ba:ndəɪ] binder; [l'bɪɑ:dzmɛ:d] bridesmaid; [l'kla:təd] clarted, smeared with dirt; [fɑ:v] five; [tɑ:d] tide; [l'vɑ:lɪt] violet.

28. [ɔ:] is the open back lax round vowel, considerably raised and somewhat advanced from the cardinal 5 position. It is found in [l'ɔ:f] awful; [blɔ:] blow; [dɔ:n] drawn; [l'nɔ:ts] notice; [l'tɔ:lə] trawler; [wɔ:k] walk.

29. [ɔ:] is the half-open back lax round vowel, very slightly lowered from and somewhat more centralized than cardinal 6. Dialectal [ɔ:] appears in [fɔ:f] faugh, fallow; [l'mɔ:pɪ] mopy, foolish; [skɔ:p] scalp; [skɔ:t] scrawt, scratch; [vɔ:g] vogue; [jɔ:l] yawl.

30. [o:] is the half-close back lax round vowel, somewhat lower and more centralized than cardinal 7. It occurs in the following: [ə'gɔ:] ago; [kɔ:t] coat; ['pɔ:kʌn] poking; [rɔ:d] road; [sko:tʃ] scout, guillemot; [so:k] soak.

31. [ɔ:] is the lowered close back lax round vowel, somewhat closer than cardinal 7, but very much lower, more centralized and less rounded than cardinal 8. Dialectal [ɔ:] is seen in these words: ['bɔ:kʌ] bookie; [fɔ:d] food; ['gɔ:mʌn] grooming; [mɔ:θ] mouth; [rɔ:nd] round; [ʃɔ:] shoe.

32. [u:] is the close back lax round vowel, somewhat lowered and centralized from the cardinal 8 position. Slightly under-rounded, this sound nevertheless has much more pronounced lip-rounding than dialectal [ɔ:]. The following words contain dialectal [u:]: [ku:l] cowl, swelling; [lɒb'sku:s] lobscouse; ['lu:zʌ] lousy; [mu:s] mouse; ['ru:ʃnɪz] rooshens, people; [spu:t] spout.

33. [ʊ:] is the close back-central lax unround vowel, somewhat raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɔ:]. Its rare occurrence is illustrated in the following examples: [rʊ:nd] round; [su:n] soon.

34. [ə:] is the half-open central lax unround vowel found in ['ɜ:lʌ] early; [ə:d] heard; ['mɜ:tʃənt] merchant; ['mɜ:mɛɪd] mermaid; [rɪ'sɜ:tʃ] research; [wɜ:d] word.

35. [ɛ:] is the half-open front-central lax unround vowel, somewhat raised from and considerably more centralized than cardinal 3 but somewhat lowered from and more centralized than dialectal [ɛ:]. It occurs in [bɛ:θ] birth; ['sɛ:klɜ] circular; [kɒn'sɛ:n] concern; [kɛ:b] kerb; [pɛ:l] pearl; [tɛ:n] turn.

### Diphthongs

36. [iɪ] The first element has the same position of articulation as that of dialectal [i] and is typically half-long. It is pronounced with considerable tension and bears the greater stress. The second element is similar to dialectal [ɪ], but somewhat lower and more centralized. This diphthong is found in the following words: [kiɪk] cake; [iɪl] heel; [riɪl] real; [riɪk] reek; ['siɪzn] season; [siɪn] soon.

37. [iə] The first element is a sound lowered and somewhat centralized from cardinal 1. Normally it is half-long, bears the greater stress and is pronounced with considerable tension. The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The diphthong occurs in [biəf] bough; [kiəv] cave, clean fishing-lines; [fliə] floor; ['giəsgɒb] goosegob, gooseberry; [miə] mare; [sniəd] snood.

38. [ɪ] The first element is the close front lax unround vowel, slightly lowered and centralized from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. The second element consists of a sound somewhat lowered and centralized from cardinal ɪ. Examples of this diphthong include [ə'gɪ] agree; [ɪt] eat; [nɪt] night; [sɪ] sea; [tɪ] tea; [wɪk] weak.
39. [ɪ̃] The first element has a position of articulation approximately midway between dialectal [i] and [ɪ]. It is pronounced with considerable tension though it is normally less tense than dialectal [i]. The greater stress falls on this element which is typically half-long. It is followed by a slightly lowered and more centralized version of dialectal [ɪ̃]. The following words contain this diphthong: [tʃɪ̃p] cheap; [klɪ̃z] clothes; [fɪ̃ld] field; ['pɪ̃tʃə] preacher; ['skɪ̃nɪŋ] skaning.
40. [ɪɔ] The first element is similar to dialectal [ɪ], somewhat raised and fronted, though still markedly lower and more centralized than dialectal [i]. The second element is the longer and bears the greater stress. It is the lowered close back slack round vowel. The diphthong is found in [dɪɔ] due; [fɪɔ] few; [fɪɔmz] fumes; [nɪɔz] news; [plɪɔ] plough; [tʉɔzdi] Tuesday.
41. [ɪu] The first element is the same as that of dialectal [ɪɔ] above (§40). The second element is a close back lax round vowel, somewhat lowered and centralized from the cardinal 8 position. Examples of this diphthong are [dɪuk] duke; [fɪud] feud; [nɪut] newt; [pɪu] pew; [pɪɔ'duʉs] produce, supply; [sɪut] suit.
42. [ɪə] The first element is a sound approximately midway between dialectal [i] and [ɪ]. It is normally half-long and bears the greater stress. Though pronounced with considerable tension it is less tense than dialectal [i]. The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The diphthong appears in [fɪəs] face; [fɪəl] fool; [lɪəm] lame; [stɪən] stone; [tɪəf] tough; [ɪəl] whole.
43. [ɪ̃i] A sound somewhat lower and more centralized than dialectal [i] forms the first element of this diphthong. Its position is approximately that of dialectal [i], slightly lower, more centralized and less tense than cardinal ɪ. Examples of its occurrence are [ə'slɪ̃p] asleep; [bĩtʃ] beach; [bĩi] bee; [klĩn] clean; [ɪ̃ɪsɪ:t] eyesight; [tɪ̃i] tree.
44. [ɪ̃ɪ] The first element is a sound lower and more centralized than dialectal [ɪ̃]. It is followed by the close front lax unround vowel, somewhat raised and fronted from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. This element is longer and carries greater stress. The diphthong is found in [lɪ̃ɪtɪd] lighted; ['pɪ̃kək] peacock; ['pɪ̃pl] people; ['sɪ̃kɪət?] secret; [ʃɪ̃p] sheep; [spɪ̃tʃ] speech.
45. [ɪɔ̃] This diphthong differs from dialectal [ɪɔ] above only in the articulation position of its first element which in this case is slightly

lowered from and more centralized than dialectal [ɨ̄]. The rare instances of [īo] are seen in [fīo] few; [nīo] knew; [mīo] mule.

46. [ɨ̄u] A sound slightly lowered from and more centralized than dialectal [ɨ̄] forms the first element of this diphthong which is in all other respects identical with dialectal [u] above (§41). It occurs in [kɨ̄uə] cure; [ˈdīuti:] duty; [fīu] few; [ˈnīu] newly; [stīu] stew; [tɨ̄uθ] truth.

47. [eɨ̄] The first element is a sound slightly lower, less tense and more centralized than cardinal 2. It has a position of articulation slightly raised and fronted from that of dialectal [ɨ̄] and is rather more tense. Some examples of this diphthong are: [əˈsteɨ̄d] astead; [tʃeɨ̄st] chased; [peɨ̄st] paste; [pleɨ̄s] place; [teɨ̄k] take; [tɹeɨ̄d] trade.

48. [eɨ̄̄] The initial sound is slightly lower, less tense and more centralized than cardinal 2. Typically it is half-long and carries the stronger stress. The second element is similar to dialectal [ɨ̄], but is lowered and more centralized. The following words include this diphthong: [kleɨ̄nd] cleaned; [leɨ̄v] leave; [leɨ̄f] loaf; [ɹeɨ̄d] red; [ˈstɹeɨ̄ndzli] strangely; [teɨ̄tʃ] teach.

49. [eə̄] The first element is the half-close front lax unround vowel, slightly lower, more centralized and less tense than cardinal 2. Normally half-long, it also bears the greater stress. The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The following words contain dialectal [eə̄]: [deə̄f] deaf; [eə̄k] hook; [ˈpeə̄stɹu] pastry; [seə̄n] soon; [steə̄l] stool; [teə̄l] tale.

50. [eɨ̄̄] The first element is a sound slightly raised from and more centralized than cardinal 3. It is normally half-long and carries the greater stress. The second element has an articulation position similar to that of dialectal [ɨ̄], very slightly raised. This diphthong is found in [brɨ̄̄] bray, beat; [kɹɨ̄̄zd] crazed, vexed; [keɨ̄̄] key; [ˈmeɨ̄̄pəʊl] maypole; [pɹɨ̄̄s] price; [seɨ̄̄] sail.

51. [eɨ̄̄̄] This diphthong has the same initial sound as that of dialectal [eɨ̄̄] above (§50). It is followed by a somewhat lower and more centralized version of dialectal [ɨ̄] and appears in the following words: [ˈeɨ̄̄lun] ailing; [beɨ̄̄t] bait; [ˈgeɨ̄̄tʃpəʊst] gatepost; [leɨ̄̄k] lake, play; [ˈteɨ̄̄tɨ̄̄] potato; [veɨ̄̄n] vein.

52. [eə̄̄] The first element is a sound very slightly raised from and somewhat more centralized than cardinal 3. Normally half-long, it also bears the greater stress. The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. Some examples of this diphthong are as follows: [ˈbeə̄̄tʃbən] baitband; [ˈlgeə̄̄nsɨ̄̄] guernsey, pullover; [ˈmeə̄̄nbɹeə̄̄s] mainbrace; [pə̄̄t] part; [ˈɹeə̄̄zn] raisin; [skeə̄̄v] skave, ploughwheel.

53. [æɪ] The raised open front lax unround vowel pronounced approximately midway between dialectal [ɛ] and [a] forms the first element of this diphthong. Typically it is half-long and bears the greater stress. It is followed by a sound somewhat raised from and more tense than dialectal [ɪ]. The diphthong occurs in [tæɪs] entice; [kæɪ] quay; [ˈkwæɪət] quiet; [skɪæɪk] skrike; [tɪæɪp] tripe; [wæɪ] weigh.

54. [æə] The initial sound has the same position and characteristics as those of dialectal [æɪ] above (§53). The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The diphthong occurs only rarely and is found in these words: [bæə] buy; [kæət] cart; [ɪˈtæəd] retired; [wæəl] while.

55. [aɪ] The first element consists of a sound similar to dialectal [a], raised and centralized from the cardinal 4 position. It is normally half-long and carries the greater stress. The second element is identical with that of dialectal [æɪ] above (§53). Examples include [faɪ] fay, winnow; [flaɪp] flipe, brim of hat; [gɪaɪp] gripe, manure-fork; [paɪk] pike, point-end of anvil; [slaɪp] slipe, plough-blade; [taɪd] tide, measure of fish.

56. [aɪ̯] The first element is a sound identical with that of dialectal [aɪ] above (§55). It is followed by the close front-central lax unround vowel, very slightly lowered from and more centralized than dialectal [ɪ̯]. The following words contain this diphthong: [ˈbaɪldə] bilder, more sheltered; [ˈdaɪmənd] diamond; [ˈpraɪz] prize; [ɪˈplaɪd] replied; [tɪaɪ̯] try; [ˈwaɪələs] wireless.

57. [aɔ] The initial sound is somewhat raised and considerably centralized from cardinal 4. It is the longer element and bears the greater stress. Following it is the close back round vowel, somewhat raised and retracted from the position of dialectal [ɔ]. The diphthong is found in [tʃaɔ] chaw, grumble; [ˈkaɔləɪ] couler, scraper; [dʒaɔl] jowl, sea-swell; [laɔ] low, small plaice; [ˈpaɔtʃəɪ] poacher; [staɔp] stoop, doorpost.

58. [aə] The first element has the same position and characteristics as those of dialectal [aɪ] above (§55). This is followed by the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The diphthong appears in [daək] dark; [ˈfraədə] Friday; [ˈlɪətl̩] little; [maək] mark; [ˈlɪəvɪn] riving; [saəl] sile, young herring.

59. [ɛɪ] The first element is the open central lax unround vowel, pronounced approximately midway between cardinals 4 and 5. It is the longer and bears the greater stress. The second element is a sound slightly raised from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. The following words illustrate the occurrence of this diphthong: [ˈɛɪsɪn] icing; [lɛɪf] life; [nɛɪs] nice; [twɛɪs] twice; [wɛɪt] white; [wɛɪf] wife, woman.

60. [eə] This diphthong begins with an open central lax unround vowel pronounced approximately midway between cardinals 4 and 5. It is the longer element and bears the greater stress. A close back round vowel very similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ] follows it. The diphthong is heard in [kɛə] cow; [grɛənd] ground; [ɛəʔ] ought; [rɛəln] rolling; [rɛə] row, commotion, quarrel; [tɛəln] towing.

61. [aɪ] The open back lax unround vowel, raised and considerably advanced from cardinal 5, forms the first element of this diphthong. It is normally half-long and carries the greater stress. It is followed by the close front lax unround vowel, slightly raised from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. Examples include [daɪd] died; [faɪn] fine; [paɪp] pipe; [raɪd] ride; [saɪnpɒst] signpost; [waɪz] wise.

62. [aɪ̯] This diphthong has the same initial sound as that of dialectal [aɪ] above (§61). The second element is the close front-central unround vowel, very slightly lowered from the position of dialectal [ɪ̯]. It is found in the following: [ə'lɑɪv] alive; [draɪv] drive; [paɪ] pie; [praɪd] pride; [saɪld] siled, infested; [saɪz] size.

63. [ɑɔ] This diphthong has an initial sound somewhat raised and centralized from cardinal 5. This element is the longer and bears the greater stress. It is followed by a close back round vowel very similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ]. Examples include: [lɑɔðɪ] louder; [mɑɔl] mole; [lɑɔnɪ] owner; [pɑɔnd] pound; [sɑɔld] sold; [sɑɔl] soul.

64. [ɑʊ] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɑɔ] above (§63). The second element is a sound somewhat lowered and centralized from the position of cardinal 8. Words containing this diphthong are: [baʊl] bowl; [baʊ] bow-shaped strut of crabpot; [brɔʊt] brought; [brɔʊn] brown; [kaʊld] cold; [l'daʊli] dowly, gloomy.

65. [ɑɪ̯] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɑɔ] above (§63). It is followed by a close back-central unround vowel, very slightly raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɔ]. Its rare appearance is illustrated in such words as [fɑʊndɪd] founded; [rɑʊld] rolled; [tɑʊkʔ] talk.

66. [ɑə] The initial element is a sound somewhat raised and advanced from the cardinal 5 position. It is followed by the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables and occurs in [l'draɪvə] driver; [fɑɪv] five; [ɪn'saɪd] inside; [laɪn] line; [l'nɛəntɪ] ninety; [pɛənt] pint.

67. [ɔɪ] This diphthong begins with the open back lax round vowel, considerably raised from and more centralized than cardinal 5. Normally half-long, it also carries the greater stress. The second element is the close front lax unround vowel, slightly raised from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. It is found in these words: [baɪt] bite; [bɔɪl] boil; [l'haɪ] higher; [dʒɔɪnd] joined; [nɔɪz] noise.

68. [ɒ̩] The initial sound has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɒ] above (§67). Following it is a close front-central unround vowel, very slightly lowered from the position of dialectal [ɪ̩]. It occurs rarely, but is illustrated in such words as [ˈbɔ̩ɪndə] binder; [ˈbɔ̩ɪl] boil; [ˈpɔ̩ɪzən] poison.
69. [ɒɔ] The first element is the open back lax round vowel, considerably raised and somewhat centralized from cardinal 5. It is the longer and carries the greater stress. The second element is a close back round vowel, very similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ]. The diphthong appears in [kɾɔɔld] crawled; [ˈdɒɔtəɪ] daughter; [ˈdɒɔlfɔɔ] doleful; [ˈfɒɔldɪd] folded; [ɡɾɔɔθ] growth; [pɒɔl] pole.
70. [ɒu] The initial sound has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɒɔ] above (§69). The second element is a close back round vowel somewhat lowered and centralized from the cardinal 8 position. It occurs only rarely, as in [bɒut] bought; [bɒu] bow-shaped strut of crabpot; [tjɒu] chaw, quid of tobacco; [ˈkɒunsɪləɪ] councillor; [ɡɾɒu] grow.
71. [ɒɪ] The first element is identical with that of dialectal [ɒɔ] above (§69). It is followed by a close back-central unround vowel, very slightly raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɔ]. This diphthong is found in the following: [ɡɾɔɪld] gold; [dɒɪm] home; [dɒɪn] own; [rɒɪl] roll; [ðɒɪ] though; [tɒɪld] told.
72. [ɒə] The initial element of this diphthong has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɒu] above (§67). It is followed by the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables and is heard in [ˈblɒətə] bloater; [blɒə] blow; [kɒəl] call; [mɒəl] mole; [ˈnɒənti:n] nineteen.
73. [ɔɪ] The first element is somewhat lowered and centralized from the position of cardinal 6. It is the longer and bears the greater stress. The second element is the close front lax unround vowel, slightly raised from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. It is found in the following words: [ˈbɔɪlɪ] boily, bread and milk; [dɪˈstɔɪləɪ] destroyer; [fɔɪ] foy, salvageable wreck; [dʒɔɪs] joist; [ˈɔɪstə] oyster; [sɔɪl] soil.
74. [ɔ̩] The initial sound has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɔɪ] above (§73). The second element is a close front-central unround vowel, very slightly lowered from the position of dialectal [i]. Examples include [bɔ̩ld] boiled; [ˈbɔ̩ɪlə] boiler; [ˈdʒɔ̩ɪnəɪ] joiner; [ɔ̩ɪl] oil; [pɔ̩ɪntɪ] point; [ˈpɔ̩ɪznd] poisoned.
75. [ɔɔ] The first element is a sound slightly lowered and somewhat centralized from cardinal 6. It is the longer and carries the greater stress. The second element is a close back round vowel, very similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ]. The diphthong occurs in [ˈɔɔkəd] awkward;

[ɔəld] howled; [mɔəθ] mouth; [ˈplɔəstɪŋ] ploughstring; [skɔəp] scoop; [stɔəp] stoop, platform.

76. [ɔu] This diphthong has the same initial element as that of dialectal [ɔə] above (§75). Following it is a close back round vowel, lowered and centralized from the cardinal 8 position. It is found in [əˈgɔu] ago; [ˈbɔulə] bowler, hoop; [blɔun] blown; [tʃɔu] chew, grumble; [ˈdɔutəɪ] daughter; [ɔum] home.

77. [ɔɪ] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɔə] above (§75). The second element is a close back-central unround vowel, very slightly raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɔ]. Words containing this diphthong include [ɔɪp] hope; [nɔɪn] known; [ləɪ] low; [ˈslɔɪli] slowly; [ˈstɔɪkɪn] stoking; [θrɔɪt] throat.

78. [ɔə] This diphthong begins with a sound somewhat lowered and centralized from the cardinal 6 position. The first element is normally half-long and bears the greater stress. The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The following words contain dialectal [ɔə]: [fɔətʔ] fault; [ˈhɔəli] holy; [ˈdʒɔəkɪn] joking; [mɔændʒ] mange; [spɔən] spawn; [trɔəl] trawl.

79. [ɔə] This diphthong occurs only rarely. Its first element is the half-open back-central lax unround vowel. It is longer than the following sound and carries the greater stress. The second element is a close back round vowel, very similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ]. Examples are [brɔəŋ] brown; [klaɔt] clout; [ˈfɔəɪ] four; [ˈnɔəðəli] northerly; [rɔə] row, propel with oars; [θrɔə] through.

80. [ɔu] The initial element is the half-close back lax round vowel, somewhat lowered and centralized from cardinal 7. It is normally half-long and carries the greater stress. Following it is the close front lax unround vowel, very slightly raised from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. Examples of the rare occurrence of this diphthong are: [bɔu] boy; [buɪ] buoy; [spɔuɪ] spoil.

81. [ɔɪ] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɔu] above (§80). The second element is the close front-central unround vowel, somewhat lower and more centralized than dialectal [ɪ]. It is found only rarely. Examples are [ˈboɪlɪn] boiling; [spɔɪl] spoil.

82. [ɔə] This diphthong begins with the half-close back round vowel, considerably lowered and somewhat centralized from the position of cardinal 7. It is followed by a close back round vowel similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ]. It occurs in [ˈhɔəldɪd] holded; [ɔəp] hoop; [pɛˈtɪɔəlɪn] patrolling; [rɔəp] rope; [ˈskɔənəɪ] schooner; [smɔək] smoke.

83. [ou] The initial element has the same quality and characteristics

as those of dialectal [oɔ] above (§82). The second element is the close back round vowel, slightly lowered from the cardinal 8 position. The diphthong is heard in the following words: [blou] blow; [bou] bow-shaped strut of crabpot; [broun] brown; [kouk] cook; [kounsil] council.

84. [oɔ] This diphthong begins with the half-close back round vowel, somewhat lowered and centralized from cardinal 7. It is normally half-long and carries the greater stress. The second element is a close back-central unround vowel, somewhat raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [o]. It appears in [loʊns] allowance, snack; [ˈboʊtʃɪldəɪ] boatbuilder; [tʃoʊkt] choked; [ˈkoʊlfɪʃ] coalfish; [ˈpoʊni] pony; [roʊd] road.

85. [oə] The initial sound has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [oɔ] above (§84). It is followed by the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. The diphthong is heard in [ˈbloʊtə] bloater; [ˈboʊdɪn] boarding; [boʊt] bought; [koʊz] cause; [floʊt] float; [voʊt] vote.

86. [ʊo] The initial sound is very slightly lower but considerably more centralized and less rounded than dialectal [o]. It is followed by a close back round vowel which has a position of articulation similar to that of dialectal [o]. It occurs only rarely, and is heard in such words as [ˈbrʌʊnɪn] browning; [ʊoʊs] house; [rʌʊnd] round; [ʃʊoʊtʃ] shout; [ðʊoʊ] though; [tθrʊoʊ] through.

87. [ʊu] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ʊo] above (§86). The second element is a sound slightly lowered from the cardinal 8 position. It is of very rare occurrence, and appears in [vʌʊ] allow; [kʊʊk] cook; [ˈkʊʊnsɪlə] councillor; [dʊʊt] doubt; [ʊʊtʃ] ought.

88. [oɪ] The initial sound is somewhat raised from the position of dialectal [o]. It is normally half-long and bears the greater stress. Following it is the close front lax unround vowel, slightly raised from dialectal [ɪ]. This diphthong, which is very rare, is heard in [boɪ] buoy; [loɪ] lea, scythe; [roɪnd] ruined.

89. [oɪ̯] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [oɪ] above (§88). The second element is the close front-central lax unround vowel, very similar in quality to dialectal [ɪ̯]. This rare diphthong is found in the following words: [ˈkoɪ̯dɪrɔɪ] corduroy; [fjoɪ̯d] feud; [ˈnoɪ̯tɪsəbl̩] noticeable.

90. [oʊ] The initial element is the close back lax round vowel, somewhat more centralized and considerably less rounded than dialectal [o]. Following it is a close back round vowel, slightly lowered from the position of cardinal 8. The diphthong appears in [boʊns] bounce;

[fəʊl] foul; [ləʊd] loud; [maʊθ] mouth; [stəʊk] stook; [ˈθəʊzənd] thousand.

91. [oɪ] This diphthong begins with a close back lax round vowel which has a position of articulation very similar to that of dialectal [ɔ]. It is normally half-long and bears the greater stress. Following it is the close back-central unround vowel, slightly raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɜ]. It occurs in [ˈbɔɪdɪd] boarded; [ˈbɔɪrɪŋ] boring; [dɔɪl] dole; [ˈpɔɪlɪ] poorly; [ʃɔɪt] short; [tθɔɪn] thorn.

92. [oə] The initial element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɔu] above (§91). The second element is the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. Examples are [əˈlɪkəʊdɪŋlɪ] accordingly; [fəʊk] folk; [ˈfəʊʃə] foreshore; [ləʊn] loan, lane; [ˈrɔɪdsɑːd] roadside; [sɔɪd] sword.

93. [uɪ] A sound somewhat lowered and slightly centralized from cardinal 8 forms the first element. It is usually half-long and carries the greater stress. The second element is the close back-central unround vowel, very slightly raised from and considerably more centralized than dialectal [ɜ]. The diphthong is heard in [kɔɪl] coal; [dɔɪ] door; [flɔɪ] flour; [pɔɪ] poor; [rɔɪd] road; [sɔɪt] sort.

94. [uə] The diphthong has the same initial sound as that of dialectal [uɪ] above (§93). It is followed by the typical half-open central vowel of unstressed syllables. Words containing this diphthong include [uənd] horned; [ˈnuːzəbænd] noseband; [ˈrɪʊərəl] rural; [spuət] sport; [θruət] throat; [trɪnsˈpɔɪtɪd] transported.

95. [ɔɪ] This diphthong begins with the close front central unround vowel, somewhat lowered from and more centralized than dialectal [ɜ]. It is followed by a close back round vowel very similar in quality to dialectal [ɔ]. The following words contain the diphthong: [bɔɪz] booze; [gɔɪn] gown; [hɔɪf] hoof; [ˈmɔɪvɪŋ] moving; [saʊnd] sound; [truθ] truth.

96. [ɔu] The first element has the same quality and characteristics as those of dialectal [ɔɪ] above (§95). The second element is a sound somewhat lowered from and less rounded than cardinal 8. Examples include [kaʊnt] count; [kraʊn] crown; [ˈdraʊndɪd] drowned; [ˈɪnəʊ] enow, presently; [fruɪt] fruit; [maʊnt] mount.

97. [əɪ] This diphthong begins with the half-open central lax unround vowel. The second element is a close front lax sound, very slightly raised and fronted from the position of dialectal [ɪ]. It is of rare occurrence and is found in such words as [fəɪld] field; [ləɪv] leave; [nəɪt] night; [praɪs] price; [təɪ] tea.