

**Title:**

Coldhurst, Greater Manchester

**Shelfmark:**

C1190/04/02

**Recording date:**

23.03.2005

**Speakers:**

Begum, Shelina, b. 1979 Rochdale; female; journalist (father b. London, taxi driver and former mill worker; mother b. Bangladesh, housewife)

Buckley, Philip James, b. 1947; male; retired police officer (father b. Dublin, cotton weaver; mother b. Oldham, cotton worker)

Khan, Muzahid, b. 1969 Bangladesh; male (father b. Bangladesh, welfare worker; mother b. Bangladesh, housewife)

Khan, Tahmena, b. 1969 St Helens, Lancashire; female (father b. Bangladesh, restaurant owner; mother b. Bangladesh, housewife)

All four interviewees are friends and Bengali speakers.

## ELICITED LEXIS

- see English Dialect Dictionary (1898-1905)
- △ see New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (2006)
- ◇ see Green's Dictionary of Slang (2010)
- ◆ see Urban Dictionary (online)
- △ no previous source (with this sense) identified

<b>pleased</b>	<i>chuffed; cushy</i> (means 'happy' in Bengali, means 'easy' in English in e.g. " <i>cushy number</i> "); <i>made-up; excited; buzzing; happy</i>
<b>tired</b>	<i>shattered; knackered</i> (" <i>bad slang</i> " censured by mother in past, common now); <i>sleepy; goosed<sup>◆</sup>; zilched<sup>◇</sup>; puffed; tired</i>
<b>unwell</b>	<i>ill; a bit off; not feeling very well; rough; poorly</i> (old-fashioned); <i>sick</i>
<b>hot</b>	<i>hot; boiling</i>
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>garam</i> (Bengali for 'hot')
<b>cold</b>	<i>shivering; freezing; cold</i>
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>thāndā</i> (Bengali for 'cold')
<b>annoyed</b>	<i>angry</i> (" <i>angry and anxious</i> "); <i>well annoyed; pissed off</i> (most common, avoided in presence of own children); <i>angry; rant, tant<sup>△</sup></i> (thought to be abbreviation of " <i>tantrum</i> ", used to younger speakers); <i>vexed</i> (used to older speakers)

<sup>1</sup> Transliteration of lexical items based on *Digital Dictionaries of South Asia* (<http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/>).

<b>throw</b>	<i>throw; lob; cob</i> (old-fashioned, rare); <i>chuck</i> (“ <i>chuck it over here</i> ”), <i>lob it</i> (common in Liverpool)
<b>play truant</b>	<i>skipping</i> (“ <i>skipping class</i> ”); <i>wagging it; skiving; skive; peg off</i> <sup>Δ</sup> (“ <i>peg off school</i> ”, old); <i>sagging it</i> (used in Liverpool, “ <i>they’ve got sagitis</i> ” used of persistent truant)
<b>sleep</b>	(not discussed)
<b>play a game</b>	(not discussed)
<b>hit hard</b>	<i>smack; wallop; punch; whack; lamp</i> (“ <i>I lamped him</i> ” commonly used locally)
<b>clothes</b>	<i>clothes; wedding gear</i> (“ <i>wedding gear</i> ”)
<b>trousers</b>	<i>kecks</i> (common in Liverpool); <i>bottoms; trousers</i> (“ <i>posh</i> ”); <i>pants</i>
<b>child’s shoe</b>	<i>pumps; sneakers</i> (used when at primary school, considered “ <i>American</i> ”); <i>gym shoes; plimsolls</i> (used by cousins in London and considered “ <i>weird/posh</i> ”); <i>trainers</i>
<b>mother</b>	<i>mam</i> (used as child in past); <i>mum</i> (considered “ <i>posh</i> ” as child, used now in preference to “ <i>mam</i> ”); <i>mummy</i> (suggested by interviewer, not used); <i>ma</i> (abbreviation of Bengali “ <i>amma</i> ”)
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>amma</i> (Bengali for ‘mother’)
<b>gmother</b>	<i>gran; grandma; nan</i> (not used in Oldham)
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>dadi; be-be, nani</i> <sup>♦</sup> (used to distinguish between paternal/maternal grandmother)
<b>m partner</b>	<i>husband; boyfriend; other half; mate; business partner; fella</i> (old-fashioned)
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>jāmāi</i> (Bengali for ‘husband’ used with older relatives); <i>bandhu</i> (Bengali for ‘friend’)
<b>friend</b>	<i>friend; mate; girlfriends; friends; mates; pal</i>
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>bandhus</i> (Bengali for ‘friend’ used frequently with friends)
<b>gfather</b>	<i>grandad; grandpa</i> (“ <i>posh</i> ”), <i>paps</i> <sup>◊</sup> , <i>papa, pop</i> (“ <i>American</i> ”); <i>grandfather</i> (“ <i>posh</i> ”)
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>dada, nana</i> (used to distinguish between paternal/maternal grandfather)
<b>forgot name</b>	<i>thingy; um; what</i> (“ <i>do you know what?</i> ”, “ <i>do you know such a body what?</i> ”) <i>who; what’s-it-called</i> <sup>◊</sup> ; <i>thingymajig</i> <sup>♦</sup> (heard used)
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>kitā</i> (Bengali for ‘what’)
<b>kit of tools</b>	<i>tool-kit; spanners</i> <sup>◊</sup> (“ <i>get me those Birmingham spanners</i> ” <sup>2</sup> thought to be rhyming slang for ‘hammers’); <i>tools; tool-box</i>
<b>trendy</b>	<i>TP</i> <sup>♦</sup> (thought to be abbreviation of “ <i>typical person</i> ”, “ <i>tep</i> <sup>♦</sup> or <i>teppy</i> <sup>◊</sup> or <i>TP</i> ” used as “ <i>Asian slang</i> ” insult to/of “ <i>very traditional Asian</i> ”); <i>chav</i> (modern, learnt from ‘The Sun’ <sup>3</sup> , not heard locally); <i>coconut</i> <sup>◊</sup> (i.e. “ <i>brown on the outside white on the inside</i> ”, used of westernised Asian); <i>scrote; scally</i> (common in Liverpool)
<b>f partner</b>	<i>other half; wife; boo; colleague; friend; bird</i> (heard used on TV, offensive, rarely heard locally); <i>darling, love</i> (considered appropriate when used by father/other female as term of endearment, considered “ <i>patronising/pervy</i> ” when used by male as form of address)
<b>baby</b>	<i>baby; kid; young’un</i> <sup>Δ</sup> (of ‘toddler’); <i>baba</i> <sup>♦</sup> ; <i>babby</i> <sup>◊</sup>
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>bāchā</i> (Bengali for ‘baby’)
<b>rain heavily</b>	<i>chucking it down; showering; pissing it down</i> (not used in presence of own parents/colleagues); <i>throwing it down; raining cats and dogs; pissing down</i> (not used in presence of own children)
<b>toilet</b>	<i>lavatory</i> (“ <i>posh</i> ”, used outside home); <i>toilet</i> (used at home); <i>washroom, men’s room</i> (used outside home); <i>ladies; bathroom; loo; lav; bog</i> (“ <i>slangish</i> ”); <i>shithouse</i> (heard, not used)
<b>walkway</b>	<i>alley; entry</i> (heard used); <i>ginnel; back</i> <sup>◊</sup> , <i>backings</i> <sup>◊</sup> (thought to be used in Manchester)

<sup>2</sup> *Green’s Dictionary of Slang* (2010) records ‘Birmingham screwdriver’ for ‘hammer’.

<sup>3</sup> UK national daily tabloid newspaper first published in 1964.

<b>long seat</b>	<i>sofa</i> (used now in preference to “ <i>settee</i> ”, frequently pronounced “ <i>sofa</i> ” [sufi:] by Bengali speakers); <i>settee</i> (used in past, used now by mother, frequently pronounced “ <i>settee</i> ” [siti:] by Bengali speakers)
<b>run water</b>	<i>stream; brook</i> (heard used); ? <i>riveret</i> <sup>4</sup>
<b>main room</b>	<i>front room; sitting room; living room; lounge</i> (considered “ <i>posh</i> ” when younger, used now)
<b>rain lightly</b>	<i>spitting; drizzling; drizzle</i>
<b>rich</b>	<i>got lots of money; loaded; well off; wealthy; rolling in it</i>
<b>left-handed</b>	<i>lefty</i> (also used of Labour <sup>5</sup> voter); <i>left-handed</i>
<b>unattractive</b>	<i>ugly; not all that</i> <sup>6</sup> ; <i>scrag</i> <sup>6</sup> (of female, “ <i>slangish</i> ”); <i>rough; dog-rough</i> <sup>6</sup> ; <i>dog</i> (used as teenager at school, not used now); <i>awful; horrible</i> ; “ <i>she’s got a nice personality</i> ” <sup>7</sup> (used as euphem)
<b>lack money</b>	<i>skint; broke</i>
<b>drunk</b>	<i>wasted; plastered</i> (heard used); <i>stoned; pissed</i> (extremely common, disliked, censured by mother in past); <i>drunken; sloshed; legless; mashed</i> (used with friends)
<b>pregnant</b>	<i>expecting</i> ; “ <i>she’s due soon</i> ”; <i>in the family way; up the tub</i> <sup>6</sup> ; <i>preggers</i> (used as teenager in past, not used now); <i>pregnant; preggy</i> (used when younger)
<b>attractive</b>	<i>gorgeous; pretty</i> (also used of clothes); <i>beautiful; fit</i> (of young female); <i>smart</i> (of car)
also supplied <sup>1</sup>	<i>sundar</i> (Bengali for ‘beautiful’)
<b>insane</b>	<i>loony; mental; mad; lost his marbles; crackers; Cadburys</i> <sup>6</sup> (i.e. “ <i>Cadbury’s Fruit and Nut fruit and nutcase</i> ” <sup>6</sup> ); <i>psycho; crazy; a nutter</i> (“ <i>he or she is a right nutter</i> ”)
also supplied	<i>pagal</i> <sup>7</sup> (Bengali for ‘mad’)
<b>moody</b>	(not discussed)

## SPONTANEOUS LEXIS

**Bangla** = Bengali language (0:09:10 *’cause, isn’t it, sometimes we say in England some people have a cushy cushy nu... uh a cu... ’cushy job’ uh a cu... ’cushy number’ and ’cushy’ in Bangla uh means uh ’happy’*)

**bobby** = policeman (0:01:31 *for the last last fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali area*)

**eff** = euphemism for word ‘fuck’ (0:46:22 *(two fingers in England means, you know, the swear) ’eff off’ (’F’ ’F’ swear-word) yeah (but in in Bangladesh the equivalent is the thumbs up)*)

**F-word** = euphemism for word ‘fuck’ (0:54:14 *(what about when you’re out with your girl friends?) it’s mainly might the F-word might crop up now and then*)

**gie**<sup>6</sup> = to give (0:25:08 *my mother if I said certain words, you know, like um ’knackered’ or other words, you know, she’d, you know, she’d just um gie me a crack*)

**proper** = really, completely (0:07:39 *it was, like, proper, like, ’East is East’<sup>7</sup> and he was shouting at his kids and that’s the only word I could hear*)

**tickled pink**<sup>6</sup> = very pleased, delighted (0:39:34 *and there was a little girl and she was calling her her grandad ’grandfather’ and I just thought that was so posh, you know, going, “grandfather grandfather” and I just thought that was I was just, like, tickled pink I thought it was so funny ’cause it just seemed like such a mouthful*)

<sup>4</sup> Poss. performance error for ‘rivulet’.

<sup>5</sup> British centre-left political party founded in 1900.

<sup>6</sup> Reference, presumably, to 1970s UK TV advertising campaign for Cadbury’s ‘Fruit and Nut’ chocolate bar, which featured presenter Frank Muir singing ‘Everyone’s a fruit and nutcase’ to melody from Tchaikovsky’s ‘Nutcracker Suite’.

<sup>7</sup> 1999 British comedy film set in mixed-ethnicity community in Salford.

**right** = real, complete, utter (0:30:44 *uh 'crazy' um and 'nutter' depending on how you feel at the time or, "he or she is a right nutter"*)

**well** = very, really (0:05:21 *I just say 'well annoyed' and um 'pissed off' but not when the kids are around*)

## PHONOLOGY

### KIT [ɪ]

(0:05:21 *I just say 'well annoyed' and um 'pissed off' [pɪst ɒf] but not when the kids [kɪdz] are around; 0:08:27 so that's really quite interesting [ɪntɪəstɪŋ] because I a lot of five-year-olds and eight-year-olds do use pretty [pɪdi] much swear-words all the time; 0:39:34 and there was a little [lɪʔl] girl and she was calling her her grandad 'grandfather' and I just thought that was so posh, you know, going, "grandfather grandfather" and I just thought that was I was just, like, tickled pink [tɪkʔd pɪŋk] I thought it was so funny 'cause it just seemed like such a mouthful*)

<em-, en-, ex-> (0:00:53 *she's my wife and uh she works in the uh Community Empowerment Network*<sup>8</sup> [kəmju:nəti ɛmpa:mən? nɛʔwə:k] *so has a l... uh a lot of a lot of work to do with community groups; 0:04:35 (same 'cold' 'freezing' 'thāndā') yeah, I'd u... I'd use 'cold' 'freezing' and then obviously in a Bengali environment [ɪŋvɑ:ɛrəmən?] 'thāndā'; 0:14:40 'cause I remember when I was at school 'pegging off' I was like, "what?", you know, and then somebody explained [ɪksplɛ:nd] to me what 'pegging off' means; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' um more often but listening to these words they do bring back memories of when you were younger and you you would use the word 'preggy' 'preggers' um 'expecting' [ɛkspektɪŋ] but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, mate; 0:28:48 I'd be totally embarrassed [ɛmbaɪəst] uh, Gill*)

### DRESS [ɛ]

(0:14:48 *uh 'wagging it' or 'sagging it' and I never [nɛvə] used to play truant I was really good and used to get [gɛʔ] hundred per cent [pəsenʔ] attendance [ətɛndəns] so, yeah, [jɛ:] I was brilliant; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' [pɪɛgnənt] um more often but listening to these words they do bring back memories [mɛmərɪz] of when you were younger and you you would use the word 'preggy' [pɪɛgi] 'preggers' [pɪɛgɜz] um 'expecting' [ɛkspektɪŋ] but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, mate; 0:50:25 I don't know I think I've probably heard some posh person saying it or I've just invented [ɪnvɛntɪd] one word now*)

**American, very** (0:10:27 *perhaps I was brought up strictly but uh, you know, it's just that I I I don't swear apart from when I'm very [vɔɪɪ] very [vɔɪɪ] angry; 0:20:28 I thought 'sneakers' was more of an American [əmɛɪkən] word I don't hear that here I don't hear that here very often; 0:39:14 oh well uh again it's, isn't it, yeah, they know the word 'grandpa' um that's maybe um an American [əmɛɪkən] uh type word or or maybe somebody's a bit posh; 0:48:37 me and my wife now call it our 'lounge' but uh, you know, when I was at home uh I'd've thought 'lounge' was very [vɔɪɪ] posh*)

**Bengali** (0:01:31 *for the last last fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali [bɛŋgɑ:tɪ] area; 0:02:43 yeah, um when we're talking um particularly in the circle that I operate in um we usually switch in and out of Bengali [bɛŋgɔ:li] and English so the same word could be used twice in a conversation so we could say, "I'm hot" and "garam" at the same time; 0:03:11 quite quite a lot of my spare time is involved with uh Bengali [bɛŋgɑ:tɪ] people so I would say the same as M... as Muz here; 0:04:35 (same*

<sup>8</sup> Community empowerment networks (CENs) are UK networks established by central government to involve local community, voluntary and third sector organisations in regeneration initiatives.

'cold' 'freezing' 'thāndā') yeah, I'd u... I'd use 'cold' 'freezing' and then obviously in a Bengali [bɛŋgɔ:li] environment 'thāndā'; 0:29:59 I've got um 'loony' 'mental' 'mad' 'lost his marbles' and um 'pagal' which means 'mad' in Bengali [bɛŋga:li])

**TRAP-BATH** [a]

(0:01:31 for the last [†ast] last [†ast] fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali area; 0:09:10 'cause, isn't it, sometimes we say in England some people have a cushy cushy nu... uh a cu... 'cushy job' uh a cu... 'cushy number' and 'cushy' in Bangla [baŋgɫa] uh means uh 'happy' [hapɪ]; 0:14:09 I've got um 'skipping' like 'skipping class' [klas] or 'wagging [wagɪŋ] it' or 'skiving'; 0:25:08 my mother if I said certain words, you know, like um 'knackered' [nakəd] or other words, you know, she'd, you know, she'd just um give me a crack [kɹak])

**LOT-CLOTH** [ɒ]

(0:01:31 for the last last fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby [bɒbɪ] in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali area; 0:04:51 when I'm with my English colleagues [kɒli:gz] I'd either use the most appropriate u... word um either 'cold' or 'freezing'; 0:05:21 I just say 'well annoyed' and um 'pissed off' [pɪst ɒf] but not [nɒʔ] when the kids are around; 0:07:08 the very few English words that they will use one will be 'pissed off', [pɪst ɒf] won't it? (will it?) yeah, it's crossed [kɒst] over; 0:32:36 'young one' to me would be a 'toddler' [tɒdɫə] not [nɒʔ] a 'baby'; 0:50:25 I don't know I think I've probably [pɒbəli] heard some posh [pɒʃ] person saying it or I've just invented one word now)

<-body> (0:15:54 yeah, 'lamp' again I think uh that's an old um an old uh, you know, Oldham saying um to 'lamp' somebody [sʌmbədɪ]; 0:16:25 I mean I've heard it in school many times when if you say, "oh I lamped him one or such a body [sʌtʃəbədɪ] 'lamped' such a body" [sʌtʃəbədɪ])

**STRUT** [ʊ > ʌ]

(0:09:10 'cause, isn't it, sometimes [sʌmtæmz] we say in England some [sʌm] people have a cushy cushy nu... uh a cu... 'cushy job' uh a cu... 'cushy number' [nʌmbə] and 'cushy' in Bangla uh means uh 'happy'; 0:18:51 the first impression of a posh person is of course the way they speak and the w... the um the manner in which they speak and the w... and the um um and the way they use their words is slightly different to, you know, perhaps people like us [ʊz]; 0:21:05 I mean I've got 'pumps' [pʌmps] but I know we had cousins [kʌzənz] in London [lʌndən] and they used to call them 'plimsolls' (that's it) and I'm like and I used to think, "that's so weird" I used to think that's quite a posh word for 'pumps' [pʌmps]; 0:30:44 uh 'crazy' um and 'nutter' [nʌtə] depending on how you feel at the time or, "he or she is a right nutter" [nʌtə]; 0:32:36 'young one' [jʌŋgən] to me would be a 'toddler' not a 'baby'; 0:33:59 if your uncle [ʊŋklɫ] got married your your dad's brother [brʌðə] got married you'd call his wife something [sʌmθɪŋ] you wouldn't just, you know, that would be a different word so every single relative has a different name)

ONE (0:07:08 the very few English words that they will use one [wʌn] will be 'pissed off', won't it? (will it?) yeah, it's crossed over; 0:15:24 I mean one [wʌn] of the ones [wʌnz] that we'll go on to later like 'trousers' we used to say 'kecks' and I don't know if there's anybody used that?; 0:32:36 'young one' [jʌŋgən] to me would be a 'toddler' not a 'baby'; 0:50:25 I don't know I think I've probably heard some posh person saying it or I've just invented one [wʌn] word now)

**FOOT** [ʊ]

(0:09:10 'cause, isn't it, sometimes we say in England some people have a cushy [kʊʃɪ] cushy [kʊʃɪ] nu... uh a cu... 'cushy [kʊʃɪ] job' uh a cu... 'cushy [kʊʃɪ] number' and 'cushy' [kʊʃɪ] in Bangla uh means uh 'happy'; 0:14:48 uh 'wagging it' or 'sagging it' and I never used to play truant I was really good [gʊd] and used to get hundred per cent attendance so, yeah, I was brilliant; 0:26:01 I've just got 'expecting' or

if somebody is obviously looks [lʊks] pregnant, like, she's 'due' soon or that's it ('in the family way' 'up the tub'))

**NURSE** [ə:]

(0:36:12 a lot of girls [gə:tɪz] will find it offensive now to be called somebody's 'bird' [bɜ:d]; 0:41:10 to a certain [sə:tən] group of people that is probably the norm but again, you know, to a lot of people that's, like, that is so 'teppy'; 0:42:47 let's just say uh when when I was working [wə:kɪŋ] certain [sə:tɪn] people, you know, used to think of certain [sə:tɪn] young people uh who dressed in a certain [sə:tɪn] way is it just saying, "oh uh he's a scrote"; 0:50:25 I don't know I think I've probably heard [hə:d] some posh person [pə:sən] saying it or I've just invented one word [wə:d] now; 0:52:31 I move now in different circles [sə:kɪz] than I did when I was younger)

**first** (0:18:51 the first [fɜ:st] impression of a posh person is of course the way they speak and the w... the um the manner in which they speak and the w... and the um um and the way they use their words is slightly different to, you know, perhaps people like us; 0:45:54 so, you know, when I fir... when I first [fɜ:st] started out uh I thought people who di... who didn't look you in the eye were telling lies or or they were guilty)

**FLEECE** [i:]

(0:01:26 I'm called Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force [pli:z fɔ:s] until um about twelve months ago uh I retired; 0:04:51 when I'm with my English colleagues [kɒli:gz] I'd either use the most appropriate u... word um either 'cold' or 'freezing' [fri:zɪŋ]; 0:19:22 I'm sure there's people [pi:pɪ] in, you know, particularly in the areas where the house prices are quite high that's where they speak [spi:k] um posh; 0:20:28 I thought 'sneakers' [sni:kəz] was more of an American word I don't hear that here I don't hear that here very often)

**been, me** (0:00:44 uh Shelina works as a reporter so she does cover a lot of stories in the area and Tahmena is related to me [mi] she's my wife; 0:03:58 uh I've been [bi:n] to night school uh I've been [bi:n] to university, you know, uh so in fact, you know, uh most of my time is i... involved with Ben... Bengali people more so than white people)

**FACE** [eɪ ~ ɛɪ]<sup>9</sup>

(0:00:44 uh Shelina works as a reporter so she does cover a lot of stories in the area and Tahmena is related [ɪleɪtɪd] to me she's my wife; 0:01:47 my name's [neɪmz] Shelina um I work for Asian [eɪʃən] News a loc... local reporter for the paper [peɪpə]; 0:03:11 quite quite a lot of my spare time is involved with uh Bengali people so I would say [seɪ] the same [seɪm] as M... as Muz here; 0:3:39 for fourteen years of my life uh five days [deɪz] a week uh eight [eɪt] hours a day [deɪ] I've been involved with Bengali people so um, you know, you just pick pick up words; 0:07:32 I've just bought a new house and I went in the other day [deɪ] and I haven't met my neighbours [neɪbəz] but the only word I could hear through the walls was 'bloody bastard'; 0:30:11 yeah, 'crackers' or somebody's 'Cadbury's' ('Cadbury's?') yeah, so, you know, um 'Cadbury's' meaning Cadbury's Fruit and Nut 'fruit and nutcase'<sup>6</sup> [nʊtkɛ:s]; 0:30:44 uh 'crazy' [kɹeɪzi] um and 'nutter' depending on how you feel at the time or, "he or she is a right nutter"; 0:37:00 and I hate [heɪt] it and I don't like the word 'darling' either; 0:54:09 I only swear when I'm in the car driving and I get road rage [ɹɔ:d ɹeɪdʒ] otherwise I don't swear)

**ain't** (0:19:09 (we're common people) speak for yourself I ain't [eɪnʔ] common)

**always** (0:12:00 but for 'unwell' I always [ɔ:wəz] u... understate it and but 'feeling a bit off' or 'feeling a bit ill' or 'not feeling very well'; 0:16:58 well as kids the way you speak with your friends isn't always [ɔ:tʰweɪz] the same how that, you know, how you'd speak with your parents, is

<sup>9</sup> One speaker (Tahmena) consistently uses [eɪ]; the other speakers vary between [eɪ ~ ɛɪ].

*it, 'cause, like, if you do use a lot of slang and that you'd clean it up when you talk to your parents, wouldn't you really?)*

**PALM** [aɪ ~ ɑɪ]

(0:06:58 *my mother and father [fa:ðə] wouldn't say it and uh I don't use it; 0:28:39 I can't [ka:n?] remember what he uh what he uses; 0:34:56 I've got 'other half' [ʊðə ha:f] I've got that for 'male partner' and 'female partner' I use 'other half' [ʊðə ha:f] a lot)*

**aunt, grandma, grandpa** (0:33:09 *again that's a word from outside but uh um just uh 'gr...' 'grandma' [ɡɹɑnma]; 0:33:39 I mean we have, like, every single rela... uh rel (yeah) relative of yours has a different kind of name, like, even, like, cousins or aunties [anti:z] and uncles; 0:39:14 oh well uh again it's, isn't it, yeah, they know the word 'grandpa' [ɡɹɑmpɑ] um that's maybe um an American uh type word or or maybe somebody's a bit posh)*

**THOUGHT** [ɔɪ > ɑɪ]

(0:01:26 *I'm called [ka:tɪd] Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force until um about twelve months ago uh I retired; 0:07:35 the only word I could hear through the walls [wa:tɪz] was 'bloody bastard' it was, like, proper, like, 'East is East'<sup>7</sup> and he was shouting at his kids and that's the only word I could hear; 0:10:27 perhaps I was brought [brɔ:t] up strictly but uh, you know, it's just that I I I don't swear apart from when I'm very very angry; 0:39:34 and there was a little girl and she was calling [kɔ:lɪŋ] her her grandad 'grandfather' and I just thought that was so posh, you know, going, "grandfather grandfather" and I just thought [θɔ:t] that was I was just, like, tickled pink I thought [θɔ:t] it was so funny 'cause it just seemed like such a mouthful)*

**Bengali** (0:01:31 *for the last last fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali [bɛŋɡɑ:tɪ] area; 0:02:43 yeah, um when we're talking um particularly in the circle that I operate in um we usually switch in and out of Bengali [bɛŋɡɔ:li] and English so the same word could be used twice in a conversation so we could say, "I'm hot" and "garam" at the same time; 0:03:11 quite quite a lot of my spare time is involved with uh Bengali [bɛŋɡɑ:tɪ] people so I would say the same as M... as Muz here; 0:04:35 (same 'cold' 'freezing' 'thāndā') yeah, I'd u... I'd use 'cold' 'freezing' and then obviously in a Bengali [bɛŋɡɔ:li] environment 'thāndā'; 0:29:59 I've got um 'loony' 'mental' [mentəʃ] 'mad' 'lost his marbles' and um 'pagal' which means 'mad' in Bengali [bɛŋɡɑ:li])*

**GOAT** [ɔɪ > əʊ ~ ɔʊ]<sup>10</sup>

(0:04:51 *when I'm with my English colleagues I'd either use the most [mɔ:st] appropriate [əpɔ:piət] u... word um either 'cold' or 'freezing'; 0:05:16 I'd probably feel I'm more 'anxious' than 'annoyed' but then that goes [ɡɔ:z] with anger as well; 0:13:52 (I've got 'chuck' 'chuck' but, yeah, but that's is it Liverpool do do we use that round here?) we just say 'throw' [tɹɔʊ]; 0:22:19 um as a teenager at school we used to say 'dog' "she's a dog" or "he's going [ɡəʊɪŋ] out with a dog" and that's really horrible but obviously as you grow [ɡɹəʊ] older you you realise that it's not really acceptable to to use language like that; 0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) (uh 'w...' 'wealthy') um I've got 'wealthy' but um if I was using it um it'll be 'loaded' [lɔ:dɪd]; 0:41:32 sounds cruel but when I was um in primary school and if there was a girl wearing very traditional Asian clothes [klɔ:z] and oiled slick black hair we would call her 'teppy'; 0:48:37 me and my wife now call it our 'lounge' but uh, you know, when I was at home [ɔ:m] uh I'd've thought 'lounge' was very posh; 0:54:09 I only [ɔ:nɪ] swear when I'm in the car driving and I get road rage [ɔ:rd ɹeɪdʒ] otherwise I don't [dɔ:nʃ] swear)*

**only** (0:43:19 *(what about a 'kit of tools' then?) I've only [ʊnɪ] got 'tool-kit'; 0:54:09 I only [ɔ:nɪ] swear when I'm in the car driving and I get road rage otherwise I don't swear)*

<sup>10</sup> One speaker (Tahmena) consistently uses [əʊ]; Phil consistently uses [ɔɪ]; the other two speakers vary between [ɔɪ ~ ɔʊ].



<-ow> (0:36:18 I've got 'fellow' [felə] as well for, like, you know ('fellow' [felə]) yeah (that's old-fashioned as well) for, like, 'boyfriend' or, you know, "so-and-so's fellow" [felə])

**GOAL** [ɔʊ > əʊ]<sup>11</sup>

(0:04:51 when I'm with my English colleagues I'd either use the most appropriate u... word um either 'cold' [kɔʊtɔd] or 'freezing'; 0:04:35 (same 'cold' [kəʊtɔd] 'freezing' 'thāndā') yeah, I'd u... I'd use 'cold' [kɔʊtɔd] 'freezing' and then obviously in a Bengali environment 'thāndā'; 0:08:49 if they get told [tɔʊtɔd] off, you know, often enough I think so; 0:15:55 again I think uh that's an old [ɔʊtɔd] um an old [ɔʊtɔd] uh, you know, uh O... O... Oldham [ɔʊtɔdəm] saying um 'to lamp' somebody; 0:22:19 um as a teenager at school we used to say 'dog' "she's a dog" or "he's going out with a dog" and that's really horrible but obviously as you grow older [əʊtɔdə] you you realise that it's not really acceptable to to use language like that; 0:33:07 people in Oldham [ɔʊtɔdəm] as far as I know don't use 'nan')

**plimsolls** (0:21:05 I mean I've got 'pumps' but I know we had cousins in London and they used to call them 'plimsolls' [plɪmsəʊtɪz] (that's it) and I'm like and I used to think, "that's so weird" I used to think that's quite a posh word for 'pumps')

**GOOSE** [uː > ʊː]

(0:00:53 she's my wife and uh she works in the uh Community Empowerment Network<sup>8</sup> [kəmjuːnəti ɛmpaːmən? nɛʔwə:k] so has a l... uh a lot of a lot of work to do [duː] with community [kəmjuːnəti] groups [gruːps]; 0:03:58 uh I I've been to night school [naɪ? skuːt] uh I've been to university, [juːnɪvɜːsəti] you know, uh so in fact, you know, uh most of my time is i... involved with Ben... Bengali people more so than white people; 0:14:48 uh 'wagging it' or 'sagging it' and I never used [juːst] to play truant [tuːən?] I was really good and used [juːst] to get hundred per cent attendance so, yeah, I was brilliant; 0:16:25 I mean I've heard it in school [skuːt] many times when if you say, "oh I lamped him one or such a body 'lamped' such a body"; 0:28:39 I can't remember what he uh what he uses [juːzɪz]; 0:43:19 (what about a 'kit of tools' then?) I've only got 'tool-kit' [tuːtkɪt]; 0:41:32 sounds cruel [kruːt] but when I was um in primary school [skuːt] and if there was a girl wearing very traditional Asian clothes and oiled slick black hair we would call her 'teppy')

**to** (0:15:24 I mean one of the ones that we'll go on to [tə] later like 'trousers' we used to say 'kecks' and I don't know if there's anybody used that?)

**PRICE** [aɪ ~ aɪ]

(0:03:58 uh I I've been to night school [naɪ? skuːt] uh I've been to university, you know, uh so in fact, you know, uh most of my time [taɪm] is i... involved with Ben... Bengali people more so than white [waɪ?] people; 0:08:27 so that's really quite [kwæ?] interesting because I a lot of five-year-olds [faɪvjɪːrɔːtɔdz] and eight-year-olds do use pretty much swear-words all the time [taɪm]; 0:14:09 I've got um 'skipping' like [lɪk] 'skipping class' or 'wagging it' or 'skiving' [skaɪvɪŋg]; 0:19:22 I'm sure there's people in, you know, particularly in the areas where the house prices [praɪsɪz] are quite [kwæ?] high [haɪ] that's where they speak um posh; 0:30:44 uh 'crazy' um and 'nutter' depending on how you feel at the time [taɪm] or, "he or she is a right [raɪt] nutter")

**my** (0:00:44 uh Shelina works as a reporter so she does cover a lot of stories in the area and Tahmena is related to me she's my [ma] wife; 0:07:32 I've just bought a new house and I went in the other day and I haven't met my [ma] neighbours but the only word I could hear through the walls was 'bloody bastard')

<sup>11</sup> One speaker (Tahmena) consistently uses [əʊ]; the other three speakers consistently use [ɔʊ].



**retire** (0:01:26 *I'm called Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force until um about twelve months ago uh I retired* [ɹɪtaɪəɪd])

**style** (0:27:43 *if it's something else maybe a car 'smart' uh if it's a woman who's stylish, [staɪlɪʃ] you know, I would say 'beau...' beautiful*)

**CHOICE** [ɔɪ]

(0:05:21 *I just say 'well annoyed' [ənɔɪd] and um 'pissed off' but not when the kids are around; 0:17:18 'I'm going to the toilet' [tɔɪləʔ] at home sounds a lot more practical and realistic (yeah)*)

**boil, oil** (0:03:21 *so apart from that uh 'boiling' [bɔɪlɪŋ] or [...] 'garam'; 0:41:32 sounds cruel but when I was um in primary school and if there was a girl wearing very traditional Asian clothes and oiled [ɔɪld] slick black hair we would call her 'teppy'*)

**MOUTH** [aʊ > aɪ]<sup>12</sup>

(0:05:21 *I just say 'well annoyed' and um 'pissed off' but not when the kids are around [əɹaʊnd]; 0:07:39 it was, like, proper, like, 'East is East'<sup>7</sup> and he was shouting [ʃaʊtɪŋ] at his kids and that's the only word I could hear; 0:08:34 I suppose I've got young brother and sisters and they pick up swear-words at school on the playground [plɛɪŋaʊnd]; 0:19:22 I'm sure there's people in, you know, particularly in the areas where the house [haus] prices are quite high that's where they speak um posh; 0:48:37 me and my wife now [naɪ] call it our 'lounge' [tʌvndʒ] but uh, you know, when I was at home uh I'd've thought 'lounge' [tʌvndʒ] was very posh)*

**hour, our, power** (0:3:39 *for fourteen years of my life uh five days a week uh eight hours [aɪəz] a day I've been involved with Bengali people so um, you know, you just pick pick up words; 0:00:53 she's my wife and uh she works in the uh Community Empowerment Network<sup>8</sup> [kəmju:nəti ɛmpa:mən? nɛʔwə:k] so has a l... uh a lot of a lot of work to do with community groups; 0:48:37 me and my wife now call it our [aɪə] 'lounge' but uh, you know, when I was at home uh I'd've thought 'lounge' was very posh)*

**now** (0:36:12 *a lot of girls will find it offensive now [naɪ] to be called somebody's 'bird'*)

**NEAR** [ɪə > ɪɪ]

(0:3:39 *for fourteen years [jɪəz] of my life uh five days a week uh eight hours a day I've been involved with Bengali people so um, you know, you just pick pick up words; 0:19:48 if I'm going to a wedding I'll say, "I've got some wedding gear" [gɪə] or something so 'clothes' or 'gear' [gɪə]; 0:20:28 I thought 'sneakers' was more of an American word I don't hear [hɪɪ] that here [hɪə] I don't hear [hɪə] that here [hɪə] very often; 0:21:05 I mean I've got 'pumps' but I know we had cousins in London and they used to call them 'plimsolls' (that's it) and I'm like and I used to think, "that's so weird" [wɪəd] I used to think that's quite a posh word for 'pumps'; 0:36:27 we have this categorisation old words offensive words and new words and a lot of these that we're [wɪɪ] hearing [hɪɪ] that we may may not necessarily use that regularly in this modern day and age a lot of it is old-fashioned)*

**SQUARE** [ɛɪ > əɪ]<sup>13</sup>

(0:01:31 *for the last last fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby in this area [əɪɪə] uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali area [əɪɪə]; 0:03:11 quite quite a lot of my spare [spəɪ] time is involved with uh Bengali people so I would say the same as M... as Muz here; 0:08:10 I'm sure they'll grow into swearing [swɛɪɪŋ] when they're teenagers but at the moment 'cause they're only young um eight eight and five (but, yeah, they they don't know many swear-words [swɛɪwə:dz]) but they do recognise a few; 0:19:22 I'm sure there's people in, you know, particularly in the areas [ɛɪɪəz] where [wɛɪ] the house prices are quite high that's where [wɛɪ] they speak um posh; 0:41:32 sounds cruel but*

<sup>12</sup> One speaker (Phil) varies between [aʊ ~ aɪ]; the other three speakers consistently use [aʊ].

<sup>13</sup> One speaker (Phil) consistently uses [əɪ]; the other three speakers consistently use [ɛɪ].

when I was um in primary school and if there was a girl wearing [wɛ:ɪŋ] very traditional Asian clothes and oiled slick black hair [hɛ:] we would call her 'teppy')

**START** [a: ~ ɑ:]

(0:27:43 if it's something else maybe a car [kɑ:] 'smart' [sma:t] uh if it's a woman who's stylish, you know, I would say 'beau...' beautiful'; 0:34:56 I've got 'other half' I've got that for 'male partner' [mɛɪt̪ pa:ʔnə] and 'female partner' [fi:mɛɪt̪ pa:ʔnə] I use 'other half' a lot; 0:37:00 and I hate it and I don't like the word 'darling' [da:lɪŋg] either; 0:45:54 so, you know, when I fir... when I first started [sta:tɪd] out uh I thought people who di... who didn't look you in the eye were telling lies or or they were guilty; 0:54:09 I only swear when I'm in the car [kɑ:] driving and I get road rage otherwise I don't swear)

**NORTH~FORCE** [ɔ:]

(0:00:44 uh Shelina works as a reporter [rɪpɔ:tə] so she does cover a lot of stories [stɔ:ɪz] in the area and Tahmena is related to me she's my wife; 0:01:26 I'm called Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force [pli:s fɔ:s] until um about twelve months ago uh I retired; 0:09:06 'cushy' you know is a word which the which the as far as I know that was brought back in the Second World War [wɔ:] from India; 0:27:09 (words for 'attractive'?) um 'gorgeous' [gɔ:ʤəs] I use 'gorgeous' [gɔ:ʤəs] a lot that's it really (just got 'pretty' 'beautiful'); 0:41:10 to a certain group of people that is probably the norm [nɔ:m] but again, you know, to a lot of people that's, like, that is so 'teppy')

**CURE** [ɔ: ~ ʊ ~ ʊə]

(0:08:10 I'm sure [ɔ:] they'll grow into swearing when they're teenagers but at the moment 'cause they're only young um eight eight and five (but, yeah, they they don't know many swear-words) but they do recognise a few; 0:12:24 I've got 'poorly' [pɔ:li] "I'm feeling very poorly" [pɔ:li] or even 'sick'; 0:13:19 not very often but uh I I think, you know, there's, you know, there are certain words like you say like uh 'poorly' [pʊət̪ɪ] 'cob', you know, [...] it depends where you're brought, you know, up if you're brought up in Liverpool or in uh Lancashire you'll use different words, won't you?)

**happy** [ɪ ~ i(ɪ)]

(0:01:31 for the last last fourteen years of my police service I was the local bobby [bɒbɪ] in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly [mɛɪnɪ] Bengali [bɛŋga:t̪i] area; 0:08:27 so that's really [ɪ:lɪ] quite interesting because I a lot of five-year-olds and eight-year-olds do use pretty [pɪɪdi] much swear-words all the time; 0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) uh 'w...' 'wealthy' [wɛt̪ɪ] (um I've got 'wealthy' [wɛt̪ɪ] but um if I was using it um it'll be 'loaded'); 0:27:09 (words for 'attractive'?) (um 'gorgeous' I use 'gorgeous' a lot that's it really [ɪ:lɪ]) just got 'pretty' [pɪɪt̪ɪ] 'beautiful'; 0:33:39 I mean we have, like, every single rela... uh rel (yeah) relative of yours has a different kind of name, like, even, like, cousins or aunties [anti:z] and uncles)

**letter** [ə]

(0:00:44 uh Shelina works as a reporter [rɪpɔ:tə] so she does cover a lot [kʊvər ə lɒt] of stories in the area and Tahmena is related to me she's my wife; 0:18:51 the first impression of a posh person is of course the way they speak and the w... the um the manner [manər] in which they speak and the w... and the um um and the way they use their words is slightly different to, you know, perhaps people like us; 0:30:11 yeah, 'crackers' [kɪakəz] or somebody's 'Cadbury's' ('Cadbury's?') yeah, so, you know, um 'Cadbury's' meaning Cadbury's Fruit and Nut 'fruit and nutcase'<sup>6</sup>; 0:30:44 uh 'crazy' um and 'nutter' [nʊtə] depending on how you feel at the time or, "he or she is a right nutter" [nʊtə]; 0:32:36 'young one' to me would be a 'toddler' [tɒdɫə] not a 'baby')

**comma** [ə]

(0:09:06 'cushy' you know is a word which the which the as far as I know that was brought back in the Second World War from India [ɪndiə]; 0:19:22 I'm sure there's people in, you know, particularly in the areas [ɛ:ɪəz] where the house prices are quite high that's where they speak um posh)

**Bangla** (0:09:10 'cause, isn't it, sometimes we say in England some people have a cushy cushy nu... uh a cu... 'cushy job' uh a cu... 'cushy number' and 'cushy' in Bangla [baŋgɫa] uh means uh 'happy')

### horseS [ɪ]

(0:19:22 I'm sure there's people in, you know, particularly in the areas where the house prices [pɪaɪsɪz] are quite high that's where they speak um posh; 0:28:39 I can't remember what he uh what he uses [ju:zɪz])

### startED [ɪ]

(0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) (uh 'w...' 'wealthy') um I've got 'wealthy' but um if I was using it um it'll be 'loaded' [lɔ:dɪd]; 0:45:54 so, you know, when I fir... when I first started [stɑ:tɪd] out uh I thought people who di... who didn't look you in the eye were telling lies or or they were guilty)

### mornING [ɪ]

(0:08:27 so that's really quite interesting [ɪntɪɛstɪŋ] because I a lot of five-year-olds and eight-year-olds do use pretty much swear-words all the time; 0:14:09 I've got um 'skipping' [skɪpɪŋ] like 'skipping [skɪpɪŋ] class' or 'wagging [wɑ:ŋɪŋ] it' or 'skiving' [skaɪvɪŋɪŋ]; 0:19:48 if I'm going [gəʊɪŋ] to a wedding [wɛdɪŋ] I'll say, "I've got some wedding gear" [wɛdɪŋ ɡiə] or something [sʌmθɪŋ] so 'clothes' or 'gear')

## VARIABLE RHOTICITY<sup>14</sup>

(0:01:26 I'm called Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force [pli:s fɔ:s] until um about twelve months ago uh I retired [ɪtɑɪəd]; 0:08:10 I'm sure [ʃɔ:] they'll grow into swearing [swɛ:ɪŋ] when they're teenagers but at the moment 'cause they're only young um eight eight and five (but, yeah, they they don't know many swear-words [swɛ:wə:dz]) but they do recognise a few; 0:09:06 'cushy' you know is a word [wə:d] which the which the as far [fa:] as I know that was brought back in the Second World War [wɔ:] from India; 0:13:19 not very often but uh I I think, you know, there's, you know, there are certain [sə:ʔŋ] words [wə:dz] like you say like uh 'poorly' [pʊəɫɪ] 'cob', you know, [...] it depends where [wə:] you're brought, you know, up if you're brought up in Liverpool or in uh Lancashire [tʌŋkɪʃə] you'll use different words, [wə:dz] won't you?; 0:18:51 the first [fə:st] impression of a posh person [pə:sən] is of course [kɔ:ɪs] the way they speak and the w... the um the manner [manə] in which they speak and the w... and the um um and the way they use their words [wə:dz] is slightly different to, you know, perhaps people like us; 0:21:05 I mean I've got 'pumps' but I know we had cousins in London and they used to call them 'plimsolls' (that's it) and I'm like and I used to think, "that's so weird" [wiəd] I used to think that's quite a posh word [wə:d] for 'pumps'; 0:30:11 yeah, 'crackers' [kɪækəz] or [ɔ:] somebody's 'Cadbury's' ('Cadbury's?') yeah, so, you know, um 'Cadbury's' meaning Cadbury's Fruit and Nut 'fruit and nutcase'<sup>6</sup>; 0:34:56 I've got 'other [ʊðə] half' I've got that for 'male partner' [pɑ:ʔnə] and 'female partner' [pɑ:ʔnə] I use 'other [ʊðə] half' a lot; 0:42:47 let's just say uh when when I was working [wə:kɪŋ] certain [sə:tɪŋ] people, you know, used to think of certain [sə:tɪŋ] young people uh who dressed in a certain [sə:tɪŋ] way is it just saying, "oh uh he's a scrote")

## PLOSIVES

<sup>14</sup> Shelina and Tahmena are consistently non-rhotic; Muzahid occasionally pronounces postvocalic R; Phil frequently pronounces postvocalic R.

## T

**frequent word final T-glottaling** (e.g. 0:02:26 *I wou... I normally use 'hot' [hɒʔ] um as the word um but [bəʔ] in Bengali I'd use it [ɪʔ] something called 'garam' ; 0:14:09 I've got [gʊʔ] um 'skipping' like 'skipping class' or 'wagging it' [ɪʔ] or 'skiving' ; 0:32:36 'young one' to me would be a 'toddler' not [nɒʔ] a 'baby' ; 0:34:56 I've got [gʊʔ] 'other half' I've got [gʊʔ] that [ðəʔ] for 'male partner' [mɛɪt̪ pɑːʔnə] and 'female partner' [fi:mɛɪt̪ pɑːʔnə] I use 'other half' a lot [lɒʔ] ; 0:36:12 a lot [lɒʔ] of girls will find it [ɪʔ] offensive now to be called somebody's 'bird' ; 0:41:10 to a certain group of people that [ðəʔ] is probably the norm but [bʊʔ] again, you know, to a lot [lɒʔ] of people that's, like, that [ðəʔ] is so 'teppy')*

**word medial and syllable initial T-glottaling** (0:07:44 shouting [ʃaʊʔŋ] at his kids and using that that's awful, isn't it, that's really awful, that; 0:20:26 I think when I was a little [tɪʔt̪] kid we used to call them 'sneakers' ; 0:27:09 (words for 'attractive'?) (um 'gorgeous' I use 'gorgeous' a lot that's it really) just got 'pretty' 'beautiful' [bjʊ:t̪ɪfʊt̪] ; 0:41:10 to a certain [sə:ʔən] group of people that is probably the norm but again, you know, to a lot of people that's, like, that is so 'teppy')

**T-tapping** (0:00:53 she's my wife and uh she works in the uh Community Empowerment Network<sup>8</sup> so has a l... uh a lot of [lɒrə] a lot of [lɒr əv] work to do with community groups)

**T-voicing** (0:08:27 so that's really quite interesting because I a lot [lɒd] of five-year-olds and eight-year-olds do use pretty [pɹɪdi] much swear-words all the time)

## D

**retroflex D**<sup>15</sup> (0:04:35 (same 'cold' 'freezing' 'thāndā') yeah, I'd [ad] u... I'd [ad] use 'cold' [kɒʊt̪d] 'freezing' and then obviously in a Bengali environment 'thāndā' ; 0:16:25 I mean I've heard it in school many times when if you say, "oh I lamped him one or such a body [sʊt̪fəbəd̪ɪ] 'lamped' such a body" [sʊt̪fəbəd̪ɪ] ; 0:36:27 we have this categorisation old words offensive words and new words and a lot of these that we're hearing that we may not necessarily use that regularly in this modern [mɒd̪ən] day [d̪ɛɪ] and age a lot of it is old-fashioned)

## NASALS

## NG

**frequent velar nasal plus** (e.g. 0:02:43 yeah, um when we're talking [tɔ:kɪŋg] um particularly in the circle that I operate in um we usually switch in and out of Bengali and English so the same word could be used twice in a conversation so we could say, "I'm hot" and "garam" at the same time; 0:03:21 so apart from that uh 'boiling' [bɔɪt̪ɪŋg] or [...] 'garam' ; 0:07:39 it was, like, proper, like, 'East is East'<sup>7</sup> and he was shouting [ʃaʊt̪ɪŋg] at his kids and that's the only word I could hear; 0:08:10 I'm sure they'll grow into swearing [swɛɪɪŋg] when they're teenagers but at the moment 'cause they're only young [jʊŋg] um eight eight and five (but, yeah, they they don't know many swear-words) but they do recognise a few; 0:10:56 yeah, 'knackered' seems to be quite a popular word amongst, you know, um people that I hang [hæŋg] around with; 0:14:09 I've got um 'skipping' like 'skipping class' or 'wagging [wæŋg] it' or 'skiving' [skɑɪvɪŋg]; 0:16:58 well as kids the way you speak with your friends isn't always the same how that, you know, how you'd speak with your parents, is it, 'cause, like, if you do use a lot of slang [slæŋg] and that you'd clean it up when you talk to your parents, wouldn't you really? ; 0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) (uh 'w...' 'wealthy') um I've got 'wealthy' but um if I was using [ju:zɪŋg] it um it'll be 'loaded' ; 0:32:36 'young one' [jʌŋgən] to me would be a 'toddler' not a 'baby' ; 0:37:00 and I hate it and I don't like the word 'darling' [dɑ:lɪŋg] either)

<sup>15</sup> All tokens supplied by Muzahid.

**frequent NG-fronting** (e.g. 0:14:40 *'cause I remember when I was at school 'pegging off' [pɛɡɪn ɒf] I was like, "what?", you know, and then somebody explained to me what 'pegging off' [pɛɡɪn ɒf] means; 0:14:48 uh 'wagging [wɑɡɪn] it' or 'sagging [sɑɡɪn] it' and I never used to play truant I was really good and used to get hundred per cent attendance so, yeah, I was brilliant; 0:28:42 he's going [ɡəʊɪn] red he's blushing [blʊʃɪn]; 0:33:59 if your uncle got married your your dad's brother got married you'd call his wife something [sʌmθɪŋ] you wouldn't just, you know, that would be a different word so every single relative has a different name)*

## N

**syllabic N with nasal release** (0:33:59 *if your uncle got married your your dad's brother got married you'd call his wife something it wouldn't [wʊdn̩?] just, you know, that would be a different word so every single relative has a different name)*

**syllabic N with epenthetic schwa** (0:08:49 *if they get told off, you know, often [ɒftən] enough I think so; 0:13:19 not very often [ɒftən] but uh I I think, you know, there's, you know, there are certain words like you say like uh 'poorly' 'cob', you know, [...] it depends where you're brought, you know, up if you're brought up in Liverpool or in uh Lancashire you'll use different words, won't you?; 0:17:52 no, I wouldn't [wʊdn̩?] say that but that's the I wou... I u... I would use 'trousers' but um that's that's the only other word I know for 'trousers' 'bottoms' ([...] no, I I use 'trousers' uh but I have heard of the word um 'pants' and 'kecks' but I wouldn't [wʊdn̩?] use it); 0:26:01 I certainly wouldn't [wʊdn̩?] use it all the time but amongst friends, yes; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' um more often [ɒftən] but listening to these words they do bring back memories of when you were younger and you you would use the word 'preggy' 'preggers' um 'expecting' but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, mate; 0:36:27 we have this categorisation old words offensive words and new words and a lot of these that we're hearing that we may may not necessarily use that regularly in this modern [mɒdɪn] day and age a lot of it is old-fashioned; 0:44:56 so basically um even at work, you know, m... I wouldn't [wʊdn̩?] look my director in the eye out of respect)*

## FRICATIVES

### H

**H-dropping** (0:48:37 *me and my wife now call it our 'lounge' but uh, you know, when I was at home [ɔ:m] uh I'd've thought 'lounge' was very posh; 0:50:37 ('alley') same here [iə] 'alley')*

### TH

**frequent TH-stopping**<sup>16</sup> (e.g. 0:13:52 *(I've got 'chuck' 'chuck' but, yeah, but that's is it Liverpool do do we use that round here?) we just say 'throw' [trɔʊ]; 0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) (uh 'w...' 'wealthy') um I've got 'wealthy' [wɛt̪i] but um if I was using it um it'll be 'loaded'; 0:40:52 (would you find it an insult if somebody called you something like that?) um I think [tɪŋk] so I don't think it's a very nice it doesn't sound like a nice word; 0:46:22 two fingers in England means, you know, the [d̪i] swear ('eff off') 'F' 'F' swear-word (yeah) but in in Bangladesh the equivalent is the thumbs [tʊmz] up; 0:50:25 I don't know I think [tɪŋk] I've probably heard some posh person saying it or I've just invented one word now; 0:52:51 when I'm in the house the home environment I probably say 'toilet' but when I'm in the [d̪i] office um probably won't say anything [ɛnɪt̪ɪn] at all; 0:54:09 I only swear when I'm in the [d̪ə] car driving and I get road rage otherwise I don't swear; 0:54:14 (what about when you're out with your girl friends?) it's mainly might the F-word might crop up now and then [d̪ɛn])*

<sup>16</sup> All tokens supplied by Muzahid and Shelina.

## LIQUIDS

R<sup>17</sup>

**approximant R** (0:00:44 *uh Shelina works as a reporter so she does cover a lot of stories [stɔːɹɪz] in the area [ɛːɹiə] and Tahmena is related [ɹɪleɪtɪd] to me she's my wife; 0:10:27 perhaps I was brought [brɔːt] up strictly [stɹɪktli] but uh, you know, it's just that I I I don't swear apart from when I'm very very angry [aŋgɹɪ]; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' [pɹɛgnənt] um more often but listening to these words they do bring [brɪŋ] back memories of when you were younger and you you would use the word 'preggy' [pɹɛgi] 'preggers' [pɹɛgəz] um 'expecting' but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, mate; 0:30:44 uh 'crazy' [kɹeɪzi] um and 'nutter' depending on how you feel at the time or, "he or she is a right [ɹaɪt] nutter"; 0:33:59 if your uncle got married [maɪd] your your dad's brother [brʌðə] got married [maɪd] you'd call his wife something you wouldn't just, you know, that would be a different [dɪfɹənʔ] word so every single relative [ɹelətɪv] has a different [dɪfɹənʔ] name; 0:39:14 oh well uh again it's, isn't it, yeah, they know the word 'grandpa' [grɑmpɑ] um that's maybe um an American [əməɹɪkən] uh type word or or maybe somebody's a bit posh)*

**R-tapping** (0:00:44 *uh Shelina works as a reporter [rɪpɔːtə] so she does cover a lot [kʌvə ə lɔʔ] of stories in the area and Tahmena is related to me she's my wife; 0:10:27 perhaps I was brought up strictly but uh, you know, it's just that I I I don't swear apart from when I'm very [vəri] very [vəri] angry; 0:10:56 yeah, 'knackered' seems to be quite a popular word amongst, you know, um people that I hang around [əraʊnd] with; 0:13:52 (I've got 'chuck' 'chuck' but, yeah, but that's is it Liverpool do do we use that round here?) we just say 'throw' [tɹɔʊ]; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' um more often [mɔːr ɒftən] but listening to these words they do bring back memories [meməɹɪz] of when you were younger and [jʊŋgə ənd] you you would use the word 'preggy' 'preggers' um 'expecting' but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, [jə ɛɪtʒ] mate)*

**retroflex R** (0:04:51 *when I'm with my English colleagues I'd either [aɪðə] use the most appropriate u... word um either 'cold' or 'freezing'; 0:18:51 the first impression of a posh person is of course [kɔːrs] the way they speak and the w... the um the manner [manə] in which they speak and the w... and the um um and the way they use their words is slightly different to, you know, perhaps people like us; 0:36:27 we have this categorisation old words offensive words and new words and a lot of these that we're [wɪːr] hearing [hɪːrɪŋ] that we may may not necessarily use that regularly in this modern day and age a lot of it is old-fashioned)*

L

**clear onset L** (0:01:31 *for the last last fourteen years of my police service [pliːs səːvɪs] I was the local bobby in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly Bengali area; 0:02:43 yeah, um when we're talking um particularly [pətɪkjələli] in the circle that I operate in um we usually [juːzəli] switch in and out of Bengali [bɛŋgɔːli] and English [ɪŋlɪʃ] so the same word could be used twice in a conversation so we could say, "I'm hot" and 'garam" at the same time; 0:21:05 I mean I've got 'pumps' but I know we had cousins in London [lʌndən] and they used to call them 'plimsolls' [plɪmsɔːtʒ] (that's it) and I'm like [læk] and I used to think, "that's so weird" I used to think that's quite a posh word for 'pumps'; 0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) (uh 'w...' 'wealthy') um I've got 'wealthy' but um if I was using it um it'll be 'loaded' [lɔːdɪd]; 0:33:59 if your uncle got married your your dad's brother got married you'd call his*

<sup>17</sup> Shelina and Tahmena consistently use [ɹ]; Phil varies between [ɹ ~ r]; Muzahid varies between [ɹ ~ r > r].

wife something you wouldn't just, you know, that would be a different word so every single relative [ʃelətɪv] has a different name)

**dark onset L**<sup>18</sup> (0:01:31 for the last [†ast] last [†ast] fourteen years of my police service I was the local [†ɔ:kə†] bobby in this area uh which is as much to say is a mainly [mɛ:n†ɪ] Bengali [bɛŋgɑ:†i] area; 0:03:21 so apart from that uh 'boiling' [bɔɪ†ɪŋg] or [...] 'garam'; 0:12:55 I've got 'to lob' [†ɒb] or 'cob'; 0:16:10 yeah, it's it's to mean to 'lamp' [†amp] somebody is to punch somebody and knock them out, "I lamped [†amp†] him")

**dark coda L** (0:21:05 I mean I've got 'pumps' but I know we had cousins in London and they used to call [kɔ:†] them 'plimsolls' [plɪmsɔ†z] (that's it) and I'm like and I used to think, "that's so weird" I used to think that's quite a posh word for 'pumps'; 0:36:12 a lot of girls [gə:†z] will [wɪ†] find it offensive now to be called [kɑ:†d] somebody's 'bird'; 0:39:34 and there was a little [lɪ†] girl [gə:†] and she was calling her her grandad 'grandfather' and I just thought that was so posh, you know, going, "grandfather grandfather" and I just thought that was I was just, like, tickled pink [tɪk†d pɪŋk] I thought it was so funny 'cause it just seemed like such a mouthful [maʊθfʊ†])

**syllabic L with epenthetic schwa** (0:29:59 I've got um 'loony' 'mental' [mɛntə†] 'mad' 'lost his marbles' and um 'pagal' which means 'mad' in Bengali)

## GLIDES

### J

**yod coalescence** (0:26:01 I've just got 'expecting' or if somebody is obviously looks pregnant, like, she's 'due' [dʒu:] soon or that's it ('in the family way' 'up the tub'))

## ELISION

### prepositions

**of reduction** (0:3:39 for fourteen years of [ə] my life uh five days a week uh eight hours a day I've been involved with Bengali people so um, you know, you just pick pick up words; 0:15:24 I mean one of [ə] the ones that we'll go on to later like 'trousers' we used to say 'kecks' and I don't know if there's anybody used that?)

### negation

**secondary contraction** (0:06:58 my mother and father wouldn't [wʊn?] say it and uh I don't use it; 0:07:44 shouting at his kids and using that that's awful, isn't it, [ɪnɪ?] that's really awful, that; 0:10:47 I didn't [dɪn?] realise it was seen, like, in that context or 'knackered' I'd use it anywhere really it's just not it's it's not a slang word to me at all; 0:13:29 I suppose really, isn't it, [ɪntɪ?] it depends where you were brought up; 0:16:58 well as kids the way you speak with your friends isn't always the same how that, you know, how you'd speak with your parents, is it, 'cause, like, if you do use a lot of slang and that you'd clean it up when you talk to your parents, wouldn't you [wʊn?jə] really?; 0:39:14 oh well uh again it's, isn't it, [ɪntɪ?] yeah, they know the word 'grandpa' um that's maybe um an American uh type word or or maybe somebody's a bit posh; 0:45:54 so, you know, when I fir... when I first started out uh I thought people who di... who didn't [dɪn?] look you in the eye were telling lies or or they were guilty)

### simplification

**word final consonant cluster reduction** (0:07:08 the very few English words that they will use one will be 'pissed off', won't it? [wəʊn ɪ?] (will it?) yeah, it's crossed over; 0:07:44 shouting at his kids and using

<sup>18</sup> All tokens supplied by Phil.



*that that's awful, isn't it, [ɪnɪʔ] that's really awful, that; 0:33:48 your uh dad's sister would have a different name than your mum's sister, you know like, whereas, like, here it's, like, generic it's 'aunty', isn't it? [ɪzɪ ɪʔ]; 0:41:32 sounds cruel but when I was um in primary school and if there was a girl wearing very traditional Asian clothes [kɪɔːz] and oiled slick black hair we would call her 'teppy')*

**word medial consonant cluster reduction** (0:05:16 *I'd probably feel I'm more 'anxious' [aɪfəs] than 'annoyed' but then that goes with anger as well; 0:10:27 perhaps I was brought up strictly [stɪɪkɪ] but uh, you know, it's just that I I I don't swear apart from when I'm very very angry; 0:50:25 I don't know I think I've probably [pɪɒbəli] heard some posh person saying it or I've just invented one word now)*

**word initial syllable reduction** (0:01:26 *I'm called Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force until um about [baɪt] twelve months ago uh I retired)*

**syllable deletion** (0:01:26 *I'm called Phil Buckley uh I was in in the police force [pɪli:s fɔːs] until um about twelve months ago uh I retired; 0:10:27 perhaps [paps] I was brought up strictly but uh, you know, it's just that I I I don't swear apart from when I'm very very angry; 0:26:01 (I've just got 'expecting' or if somebody is obviously looks pregnant, like, she's 'due' soon or that's it) 'in the family way' [famɪ wɛː] 'up the tub')*

**finger**<sup>19</sup> (0:05:42 *if you're with old people you pr... I probably say 'vexed' but uh, you know, with other with uh younger [jʊŋə] people uh 'rant' 'tant'; 0:52:31 I move now in different circles than I did when I was younger [jʊŋgə]*)

**<-st> + <s>** (0:05:37 *and would you use those in different contexts? [kɒntɛksɪz]*)<sup>20</sup>

**L-deletion** (0:12:00 *but for 'unwell' I always [ɔːwɛz] u... understate it and but 'feeling a bit off' or 'feeling a bit ill' or 'not feeling very well'; 0:43:19 (what about a 'kit of tools' then?) I've only [tʊɪ] got 'tool-kit')*

**TH-deletion with them** (0:16:10 *yeah, it's it's to mean to 'lamp' somebody is to punch somebody and knock them [əm] out, "I lamped him"; 0:28:53 I'd use them [ʊm] with uh Muz and Kashif but I can't uh I can't I can't repeat them [ʊm]*)

**v-deletion** (0:25:08 *my mother if I said certain words, you know, like um 'knackered' or other words, you know, she'd, you know, she'd just um give [gɪ] me a crack; 0:48:37 me and my wife now call it our 'lounge' but uh, you know, when I was at home uh I'd've [ædə] thought 'lounge' was very posh)*

## LIAISON

**frequent linking R** (e.g. 0:00:44 *uh Shelina works as a reporter so she does cover a lot [kʊvə ə lɒʔ] of stories in the area and Tahmena is related to me she's my wife; 0:05:16 I'd probably feel I'm more 'anxious' [mɔːɪ aɪfəs] than 'annoyed' but then that goes with anger as [aɪŋgə əz] well; 0:05:21 I just say 'well annoyed' and um 'pissed off' but not when the kids are around [ə ɛɪəʊnd]; 0:06:58 my mother and [mʊðə ən] father wouldn't say it and uh I don't use it; 0:18:51 the first impression of a posh person is of course the way they speak and the w... the um the manner [manəɪ ɪn] in which they speak and the w... and the um um and the way they use their words is slightly different to, you know, perhaps people like us; 0:24:52 you're giving me a hard time here, aren't [ɪə a:nʔ] you?; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' um more often [mɔːr ɒftən] but listening to these words they do bring back memories of when you were younger and [jʊŋgə ənd] you you would use the word 'preggy' 'preggers' um 'expecting' but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, [jər ɛɪdʒ] mate)*

<sup>19</sup> Both tokens supplied by Phil.

<sup>20</sup> This is the pronunciation of the interviewer.

**zero linking R** (0:09:06 ‘cushy’ you know is a word which the which the as far as [əz fa: əz] I know that was brought back in the Second World War from India; 0:33:07 people in Oldham as far as [əz fa: əz] I know don’t use ‘nan’; 0:33:59 if your uncle [jə ʊŋkəl] got married your your dad’s brother got married you’d call his wife something you wouldn’t just, you know, that would be a different word so every single relative has a different name)

**intrusive R** (0:49:14 (the ‘long soft seat’ in your main room then?) ‘sofa’ [səʊfə ɪ ɔ:] or ‘settee’)

## WEAK-STRONG CONTRAST

### vowel reduction

**weak definite article + vowel** (0:07:32 I’ve just bought a new house and I went in the other day and I haven’t met my neighbours but the only [ðə ɔ:nli] word word I could hear through the walls was ‘bloody bastard’; 0:07:39 it was, like, proper, like, ‘East is East’<sup>21</sup> and he was shouting at his kids and that’s the only [ðə ɔ:nli] word I could hear; 0:44:56 so basically um even at work, you know, m... I wouldn’t look my director in the eye [ɪndʒə aɪ] out of respect; 0:54:14 (what about when you’re out with your girl friends?) it’s mainly might the F-word [ðə ɛfwə:d] might crop up now and then)

### vowel strengthening

**word initial vowel strengthening** (0:45:45 it’s not because they’re being um, you know, um cheeky or uh obstructive [ɒbstɹʊktɪv] it’s because, you know, they’re brought up in a different way)

**word final vowel strengthening**<sup>21</sup> (0:25:08 my mother if I said certain [sə:tɪn] words, you know, like um ‘knackered’ or other words, you know, she’d, you know, she’d just um give me a crack; 0:33:07 people in Oldham [ɔʊtðʊm] as far as I know don’t use ‘nan’; 0:42:47 let’s just say uh when when I was working certain [sə:tɪn] people, you know, used to think of certain [sə:tɪn] young people uh who dressed in a certain [sə:tɪn] way is it just saying, “oh uh he’s a scrote”)

**vowel strengthening – other** (0:05:50 (do you think that’s a younger word ‘rant and ‘tant’?) (I’ve not heard ‘tant’ before) ‘tant’ I’ve heard of [ɒv] ‘tant’; 0:08:34 I suppose I’ve got young brother and sisters and they pick up swear-words at [æt] school on the playground; 0:10:47 I didn’t realise it was [wɒz] seen, like, in that context or ‘knackered’ I’d use it anywhere really it’s just not it’s it’s not a slang word to me at all; 0:13:19 not very often but uh I I think, you know, there’s, you know, there are certain words like you say like uh ‘poorly’ ‘cob’, you know, [...] it depends where you’re brought, you know, up if you’re brought up in Liverpool or in uh Lancashire [ˈlʌŋkɪʃə] you’ll use different words, won’t you?; 0:17:18 so I won’t be using any slang at [æt] all with my mum or my dad in English but you do speak a lot of Bangla at [a?] home; 0:17:18 “I’m going to the toilet” at [a?] home sounds a lot more practical and realistic (yeah); 0:23:27 ‘skint’ is it in the dictionary? [dɪkʃənɪɪ] (I don’t know) no, neither do I; 0:24:09 (which one would you use most?) (uh ‘w...’ ‘wealthy’) um I’ve got ‘wealthy’ but um if I was [wɒz] using it um it’ll be ‘loaded’; 0:28:53 I’d use them [ʊm] with uh Muz and Kashif but I can’t uh I can’t I can’t repeat them [ʊm]; 0:41:32 sounds cruel but when I was [wɒz] um in primary school and if there was a girl wearing very traditional Asian clothes and oiled slick black hair we would call her ‘teppy’; 0:44:56 so basically um even at [a?] work, you know, m... I wouldn’t look my director in the eye out of respect)

## LEXICALLY SPECIFIC VARIATION

**again** (0:33:09 again [əgeɪn] that’s a word from outside but uh um just uh ‘gr...’ ‘grandma’; 0:39:14 oh well uh again [əgeɪn] it’s, isn’t it, yeah, they know the word ‘grandpa’ um that’s maybe um an American

<sup>21</sup> All tokens supplied by Phil.

*uh type word or or maybe somebody's a bit posh; 0:41:10 to a certain group of people that is probably the norm but again, [əgɛn] you know, to a lot of people that's, like, that is so 'teppy')*

**Asian** (0:01:47 *my name's Shelina um I work for Asian [ɛɪʃən] News a loc... local reporter for the paper*)  
0:41:32 *sounds cruel but when I was um in primary school and if there was a girl wearing very traditional Asian [ɛɪʃən] clothes and oiled slick black hair we would call her 'teppy'; 0:42:11 have you not heard the that word before, you know, in Asian [ɛɪzən] circles 'coconut' means 'brown on the outside white on the inside')*

**because** (0:08:27 *so that's really quite interesting because [bɪkəz] I a lot of five-year-olds and eight-year-olds do use pretty much swear-words all the time; 0:45:45 it's not because [bɪkəz] they're being um, you know, um cheeky or uh obstructive it's because, [bɪkəz] you know, they're brought up in a a different way)*

**(n)either** (0:04:51 *when I'm with my English colleagues I'd either [aɪðər] use the most appropriate u... word um either [aɪðə] 'cold' or 'freezing'; 0:23:27 'skint' is it in the dictionary? (I don't know) no, neither [naɪðə] do I; 0:37:00 and I hate it and I don't like the word 'darling' either [i:ðə]*)

**often** (0:08:49 *if they get told off, you know, often [ɒftən] enough I think so; 0:13:19 not very often [ɒftən] but uh I I think, you know, there's, you know, there are certain words like you say like uh 'poorly' 'cob', you know, [...] it depends where you're brought, you know, up if you're brought up in Liverpool or in uh Lancashire you'll use different words, won't you?; 0:20:28 I thought 'sneakers' was more of an American word I don't hear that here I don't hear that here very often [ɒfən]; 0:26:43 um I use the word 'pregnant' um more often [ɒftən] but listening to these words they do bring back memories of when you were younger and you would use the word 'preggy' 'preggers' um 'expecting' but 'up the tub' you're showing your age, mate)*

## GRAMMAR

### PRONOUNS

**me in coordinate subjects** (0:48:37 *me and my wife now call it our 'lounge' but uh, you know, when I was at home uh I'd've thought 'lounge' was very posh)*

**zero relative** (0:15:24 *I mean one of the ones that we'll go on to later like 'trousers' we used to say 'kecks' and I don't know if there's anybody \_ used that?)*

### VERBS

#### past

**regularised past** (0:08:06 *if there's any swearing on TV and they look at me I'll go, "oh mum he swore" you know)*

**generalisation of simple past** (0:09:02 *yeah, I've wrote here uh, Gill, uh 'chuffed' and 'cushy')*

**invariant there is** (0:19:22 *I'm sure there's people in, you know, particularly in the areas where the house prices are quite high that's where they speak um posh)*

### NEGATION

**auxiliary contraction** (0:05:50 *(do you think that's a younger word 'rant and 'tant?') I've not heard 'tant' before)*

**ain't for negative be** (0:19:09 *(we're common people) speak for yourself I ain't common)*

**ADVERBS**

**unmarked manner adverb** (0:52:08 *uh I I was brought up quite strict*)

**DISCOURSE**

**utterance final and that** (0:16:58 *well as kids the way you speak with your friends isn't always the same how that, you know, how you'd speak with your parents, is it, 'cause, like, if you do use a lot of slang and that you'd clean it up when you talk to your parents, wouldn't you really?*)

**frequent utterance internal like** (e.g. 0:07:39 *it was, like, proper, like, 'East is East'<sup>7</sup> and he was shouting at his kids and that's the only word I could hear*; 0:10:47 *I didn't realise it was seen, like, in that context or 'knackered' I'd use it anywhere really it's just not it's it's not a slang word to me at all*; 0:15:10 *if somebody used to, like, play truant a lot we used to say they've got 'sagitis'*; 0:16:58 *well as kids the way you speak with your friends isn't always the same how that, you know, how you'd speak with your parents, is it, 'cause, like, if you do use a lot of slang and that you'd clean it up when you talk to your parents, wouldn't you really?*; 0:26:01 *I've just got 'expecting' or if somebody is obviously looks pregnant, like, she's 'due' soon or that's it ('in the family way' 'up the tub')*; 0:33:39 *I mean we have, like, every single rela... uh rel (yeah) relative of yours has a different kind of name, like, even, like, cousins or aunties and uncles*; 0:33:48 *your uh dad's sister would have a different name than your mum's sister, you know like, whereas, like, here it's, like, generic it's 'aunty', isn't it?*; 0:36:18 *I've got 'fellow' as well for, like, you know ('fellow') yeah (that's old-fashioned as well) for, like, 'boyfriend' or, you know, "so-and-so's fellow"*; 0:39:34 *and there was a little girl and she was calling her her grandad 'grandfather' and I just thought that was so posh, you know, going, "grandfather grandfather" and I just thought that was I was just, like, tickled pink I thought it was so funny 'cause it just seemed like such a mouthful*; 0:41:10 *to a certain group of people that is probably the norm but again, you know, to a lot of people that's, like, that is so 'teppy'*)

**intensifier well** (0:05:21 *I just say 'well annoyed' and um 'pissed off' but not when the kids are around*)

**quotative like** (0:14:40 *'cause I remember when I was at school 'pegging off' I was like, "what?", you know, and then somebody explained to me what 'pegging off' means*)

**quotative go** (0:08:06 *if there's any swearing on TV and they look at me I'll go, "oh mum he swore"* you know; 0:39:34 *and there was a little girl and she was calling her her grandad 'grandfather' and I just thought that was so posh, you know, going, "grandfather grandfather" and I just thought that was I was just, like, tickled pink I thought it was so funny 'cause it just seemed like such a mouthful*)

**emphatic tag** (0:07:44 *shouting at his kids and using that that's awful, isn't it, that's really awful, that*)

**code-switching** (0:02:43 *yeah, um when we're talking um particularly in the circle that I operate in um we usually switch in and out of Bengali and English so the same word could be used twice in a conversation so we could say, "I'm hot" and "garam" at the same time*)

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