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COMMUNITY AND COAL:  
AN INVESTIGATION  
OF THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE DIALECT OF  
THE RHONDDA VALLEYS, MID GLAMORGAN

by

CERI GEORGE

Submitted in candidature for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

---

Department of English Language and Literature,  
University College, Swansea.

MARCH 1990

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my independent investigation, except where I have indicated indebtedness to other sources.

It has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

Signed

Supervisor .

Dated .....

19. iii. 90.

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**VOLUME I**

## SUMMARY

The aim of this Investigation was to examine the English spoken by the people of the Rhondda Valleys, Mid Glamorgan, who grew up and worked in the valleys while coal was still central to their lives. The Investigation was conducted under the auspices of the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects. However, unlike most of the previous studies conducted for the Survey, which investigated conservative rural populations, the subject of the present Investigation was an industrial population which was the result of intensive migration during the last century. The Investigation seeks to outline the various elements that went into the formation of the present-day Rhondda community, to describe the English spoken by the generations who were born in the Rhondda as a result of that migration, while it was still a thriving coal-mining community, and to discuss how the balance of the English and Welsh languages used by their families and in the community, affected their own English.

The thesis is divided into three sections. The first section introduces the locality, giving its history and discussing why it was chosen as a subject for investigation. The method of investigation is then discussed and set in the context of previous dialect studies. The section concludes with a chapter introducing the informants themselves. The second section examines the language of the community in general, with four chapters describing the vowels, consonants, grammar and lexis recorded during the Investigation. The third section deals specifically with the occupational language of coal-mining, and consists of one chapter which introduces the processes and conditions of work underground and one which gives a lexis of the specific vocabulary used by the coal-miners. The thesis ends with a chapter which offers some tentative conclusions about the formation and nature of Rhondda English.

## PREFACE

The work for this thesis was begun in October 1980 when I became a postgraduate student in the Department of English Language and Literature, University College of Swansea. I had received some training in the techniques of dialect investigation as an undergraduate, and had made a brief study of the English of the Upper Rhondda Fawr which was submitted in a dissertation as part of the examination for the degree Baccalaureus in Artibus. My undergraduate studies convinced me of what a fruitful area for research the Rhondda would prove to be, and it was as a post-graduate student that I was given the privilege of being able to make a further, more extensive investigation of the Rhondda Valleys as a whole. The Investigation was conducted as part of the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects, under its Director, Mr David Parry, who had given me my original training in dialect investigation and who now became my Supervisor of Studies.

Fieldwork in the Rhondda was carried out between October 1980 and May 1983. My initial thanks must go to all the people of the Rhondda who were so open and generous in allowing me into their homes and giving me such willing co-operation. They provided me with the fascinating and valuable material which forms the basis of this thesis. My especial thanks must go to Mrs Margaret Roberts of Tonypandy, Mrs Nellie Williams of Tylorstown and Mr Alwyn Williams of Ynyshir, who gave me so much help in finding suitable and willing informants. I also owe a deep debt

of gratitude to my parents-in-law, Mrs Blodwen George and Mr Bill George, who so freely gave time, information and moral support, and who allowed their home to become the base for my investigations. Without them, this work would definitely have been the poorer.

At the end of the three years granted to me by the Department of Education and Science, I entered employment and work on the thesis temporarily ceased. It commenced again in April 1988. I shall be forever grateful to my mother, Mrs Mary Davies, for giving me the motivation and the wherewithal to begin work once again. Without her great commitment of time and effort looking after my son, and her constant refusal to be daunted by the task ahead, I would never have completed the work. My very great thanks must also go to my father, Mr Gordon Davies, for his belief in me, his encouragement and his financial support, and, not least, to my husband, Mr Phillip George, who had to live with me during all this time and never failed in his patience, understanding and his own commitment of time and energy to help me complete the work.

During the final stages of the preparation of this thesis I have been greatly helped by a number of people. Ms Glenda James translated some Welsh for me, and Mrs Lis Roberts advised me on Welsh grammar and usage, for which I am very grateful. I am also indebted to my typist, Mrs Dorothy Walker, and to Mrs Joyce Suthers, who worked so very hard to enable me to complete and produce the bound thesis and showed such patience and care.

Throughout the long course of the conduct of this

Investigation and the completion of the finished thesis, I have been helped and encouraged by my Supervisor, Mr David Parry. I am very grateful to him for the great flexibility that he has allowed me in conducting the Investigation, for his willingness to welcome me back to complete the thesis, and his great patience, valuable comments and conscientiousness during the actual writing of the thesis.

Finally, if there is anything worthy of merit in this thesis, it is dedicated to my friend, Dr Anne McGill, whose great enthusiasm first encouraged in me an interest in dialect study, and whose insight, intellectual acuity and humour were so sadly missed during the completion of this work.

## LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The phonetic symbols employed in this thesis are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

The symbols [b d f g h k m n p s t v w z] have approximately the same values as in conventional English spelling. The values of the other symbols are approximately as follows:

[ɑ] as in French patte

[æ] midway between [a] and [ɛ]

[ɑ̃] as in French pâ

[dʒ] as in John

[ð] as in then

[e] as in French thé

[ə] as in another

[ɛ] as in French père

[i] as in French si

[ɪ] as in bit

[j] as in yet

[l] as in live

[ɿ] as in ill ("dark", "thick" or velarized [l])

[>\*

as in Welsh llan (voiceless alveolar fricative)

[ŋ] as in sing

[œ] as in French eau

[ø] as in French peur

[ɒ] as in box

[ɔ] as in German Sonne

[r] as in Welsh parod (linguo-alveolar roll)  
 [d] as in run  
 [ʃ] as in ship  
 [tʃ] as in chair  
 [θ] as in thin  
 [ʊ] as in French tout  
 [ə] as in put  
 [ʌ] as in cup  
 [x] as in Scottish loch  
 [y] as in French tu  
 [ʒ] as in measure  
 [ʍ] voiceless bilabial fricative

- : indicates that the preceding sound is long,  
e.g. [i:], [b:]
- indicates that the preceding sound is half-long,  
e.g. [i̇]
- ' indicates that the syllable following has the main  
stress in the word, e.g. ['fa:ðə] 'father',  
[rɪ'lɪsl] 'release'
- " over a vowel indicates centralisation, e.g. [ø̇]
- over a vowel indicates retraction, e.g. [ā]
- . below a vowel indicates a closer quality, e.g. [ɔ̄]
- . below a vowel indicates a more open quality, e.g. [ɔ̄̄]
- below a vowel indicates a devoicing, e.g. [d̄]
- ՞ superior indicates strong aspiration of the preceding  
sound, e.g. [p՞]
- superior indicates schwa-colouring, e.g. [o:•]
- [ ] enclose phonetic symbols
- / / enclose phonemic symbols

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

### LIST OF GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective/adjectival
adv.	adverb/adverbial
AN	Anglo Norman
app.	apparently
b.	born
C	consonant
C	century
c.	<u>circa</u> , around
CG	Ceri George
<u>CGSP</u>	Children's Games in Street and Playground by Iona and Peter Opie (see bibliography)
Ch. / Chs	Chapter/s
CMQ	The "Coal-Mining Questionnaire", used during the course of the Investigation
colloq.	colloquial
conj.	conjunction
def. art.	definite article
D. of I.	Date of Interview
dial.	dialect/al
<u>DSUL</u>	Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English, ed. Eric Partridge (see bibliography)
Ed. / ed.	Editor, edition
<u>EDD</u>	The <u>English Dialect Dictionary</u> by Joseph Wright (see bibliography)
e. g.	for example (L. <u>exempli gratia</u> )

<u>EPD</u>	<u>English Pronouncing Dictionary</u> by Daniel Jones (see bibliography)
esp.	especially
etc.	and the rest (L. <u>et cetera</u> )
excl.	exclamation
f.	father
F.	French
fig/s	figure/s
gen.	generic
ger.	gerund/gerundial
GM	General Material
<u>GPC</u>	<u>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</u> (see bibliography)
GQ	The "General Questionnaire", used during the course of the Investigation
Gr.	Greek
<u>HMCE</u>	<u>A History of Modern Colloquial English</u> by H. C. Wyld (see bibliography)
Ibid.	in the same place (L. <u>ibidem</u> )
ind. art.	indefinite article
int.	interjection
L.	Latin
<u>LGW</u>	<u>The Linguistic Geography of Wales</u> by A. R. Thomas (see bibliography)
lit.	literally
<u>LLS</u>	<u>The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren</u> by Iona and Peter Opie
m.	mother
(M) Du.	(Middle) Dutch
ME	Middle English

Med.	Medieval
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
N.	North
N. C. B.	National Coal Board
NPQ	<u>A New Phonological Questionnaire for Anglo-Welsh Dialects</u> , (see bibliography)
nr	near
N. U. M.	National Union of Mineworkers
obso1.	obsolete
<u>ODEE</u>	<u>The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology</u> , (see bibliography)
<u>OED</u>	<u>The Oxford English Dictionary</u> , (see bibliography)
OF.	Old French
ON.	Old Norse
op. cit.	in the work quoted (L. <u>opere citato</u> )
orig.	originally
p. / pp.	page/pages
pa. ppl.	past participle
pa. t.	past tense
perh.	perhaps
phr.	phrase
pl.	plural
poss.	possibly
prep.	preposition
prob. )	probably
pr. ppl.	present participle
Q/s	Questionnaire/s

<u>Questionnaire</u>	<u>A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England</u> (see bibliography)
Rh E	Rhondda English
RP	Received Pronunciation
S.	South
<u>SAWD</u>	<u>Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects</u> (see bibliography)
sec.	section
<u>SED</u>	<u>Survey of English Dialects</u> (see bibliography)
SEW	South East Wales
Skr.	Sanskrit
sl.	slang
Sp.	Spanish
SWW	South West Wales
usu.	usually
v	vowel
v.	versus/verb (from context)
vol./s	volume/s
v. tr.	transitive verb
<u>YGM</u>	<u>Y Geiriadur Mawr</u> (see bibliography)
yrs.	years

## ABBREVIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF COUNTIES

### I. WALES

D/Cdg	Dyfed:	Cardiganshire	MGmg	Mid Glamorgan
D/Cth	Dyfed:	Carmarthenshire	P/Bre	Powys: Breconshire
D/Pem	Dyfed:	Pembrokeshire	P/Rdn	Powys: Radnorshire
Gw	Gwent		SGmg	South Glamorgan
			WGmg	West Glamorgan

### II. ENGLAND

(i) The following are the abbreviations of county names used in SED except that "O" used therein to denote Oxfordshire has been changed throughout the present work to "Ox." References to English counties quoted from other sources than SED employ the same abbreviated form as are shown below.

Bd	Bedfordshire	Man	Isle of Man
Bk	Buckinghamshire	Mon	Monmouthshire
Brk	Berkshire	Mx	Middlesex
C	Cambridgeshire	MxL	Middlesex and London
Ch	Cheshire	Nb	Northumberland
Co	Cornwall	Nf	Norfolk
Cu	Cumberland	Nt	Nottinghamshire
D	Devon	Nth	Northamptonshire
Db	Derbyshire	Ox	Oxfordshire
Do	Dorset	R	Rutland
Du	Durham	Sa	Salop (Shropshire)
Ess	Essex	Sf	Suffolk
Gl	Gloucestershire	So	Somerset
Ha	Hampshire	Sr	Surrey
He	Herefordshire	St	Staffordshire
Hrt	Hertfordshire	Sx	Sussex
Hu	Huntingdonshire	W	Wiltshire
K	Kent	Wa	Warwickshire
L	Lincolnshire	We	Westmorland
La	Lancashire	Wo	Worcestershire
Lei	Leicester	Y	Yorkshire

Prefixes in lower case such as "n" = north, "sw" = south-west and the like are often employed with the above abbreviations in quotations from EDD. Hence nLa = north Lancashire, swL = south-west Lincolnshire, and so on.

(ii) The following, also, are used from time to time in lists of localities quoted from EDD:

eAn	east Anglia
IOM	Isle of Man
Lakel.	Lakeland
Midl.	Midlands
nCy.	North Country (i.e. Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire (except the south-west and south of that county) and north Lancashire).
sCy.	South Country (i.e. Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Berkshire).
wCy.	West Country

#### CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

- / alternating with
- ~ varying with
- is realised as
- # morpheme or word boundary
- Ø zero
- > develops into, developed into
- < develops from, developed from
- \* (before a word) hypothetical or reconstructed form
- (in tables of vowel forms) indicates that no form is recorded for the informant concerned

**PART I:**

**INTRODUCTION**

## CHAPTER 1

### A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE INVESTIGATION

The aims of the investigation are twofold. The first is to describe the characteristics of the English spoken in the Rhondda Valleys by members of the generations who were brought up and worked in the area while the production of coal was still an important factor in its life. The second is to record the more specific occupational language associated with traditional coal-mining in that area.

The decision to conduct the investigation was the result of an awareness that there was much valuable and interesting material in the industrial valleys of South Wales that had not previously been recorded using the traditional criteria and methods of the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects (hereafter SAWD). Traditional dialect research has always taken as its paradigm the rural, agricultural community. In Introduction to The Survey of English Dialects (hereafter SED) we read:

The kind of dialect chosen for study was that normally spoken...in rural communities, and in particular by those who were, or had been, employed in farming, for it is amongst the rural populations that the traditional types of vernacular English are best preserved today.

This premise had been accepted by SAWD, along with the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England,<sup>2</sup> which, although "Modified for Use in Welsh Localities", was still primarily designed for use in rural localities. Thus David Parry describes the criteria for choice of localities in his 'Introduction' to Volume 1 of SAWD:

Ideally (since the questions posed to the informants are predominantly about agricultural matters) only rural localities would be investigated; each place would be so isolated that any external linguistic influences, other than those of radio and television, would have only minimal significance. A population figure of 500 to 1000 would suggest a place large enough to have an established local dialect but small enough to prevent the development of important linguistic sub-divisions.<sup>2</sup>

However, the demographic nature of South-East Wales makes it difficult for these criteria to be strictly applied. The valleys draining into the ports of Cardiff, Newport and Swansea have large populations, built originally around the heavy industries of steel-working and coal mining. This problem was recognised by SAWD, and David Parry goes on to write:

Turning to realities, however, it immediately became clear that any attempt to adhere to such ideal conditions for the present Inquiry would have left large gaps in the network of investigated localities! And so the fieldworkers have often found it necessary to include localities ...with more than the optimal number of inhabitants...and localities where little, if any, farming takes place. (1.1)

In such localities "some of the questions in the Questionnaire have perforce had to be left unanswered" (1.1). The industrial localities were still relatively few in number, and, although some interesting mining material was included from Llanhilleth, generally, where agricultural questions could not be answered, a gap was left. However, the experience of the majority of people in South Wales has been urban, industrial or post-industrial, and the industrial areas have made a major economic, social and even literary contribution to Welsh life. It is very important that this experience should be

adequately reflected, but it is clear that this cannot be done while adhering to the traditional criterium or using the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire.

Rural localities are ideal for dialect research because of their discreteness, conservatism and continuity. In contrast, the complicating factors found in the industrial localities are legion: the population is very much larger and more mobile, and was generally migrant in the nineteenth century; boundaries between the communities are less clear-cut; and the linguistic influences are varied. In order to be able to take these factors fully into account, it was clear that it would be necessary to make a more detailed study of a geographical area that was greater than any individual locality, yet more compact than the spread of localities usually required by SAWD. Therefore, I decided to concentrate the investigation on one particular area.

There were many reasons for choosing the Rhondda as the subject of the investigation. The Rhondda has become archetypal in the minds of many people when they think of the coal-mining communities of South Wales. Because of its political, literary and musical associations, it has achieved a prominence disproportionate to its geographical size. However, although it is often seen as typical of the South Wales Valleys, it is in some ways unique. No other area in Britain experienced such intense growth over such a short period of time as the Rhondda experienced in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1851 the area had a population of less than 1000 and was predominantly rural. By 1924 there was a total population of 169,000

with 67 per cent of the male population involved directly in the coal industry. The remainder of the working population serviced this community. Unlike many of the other valleys, where there was also substantial steel-working and allied industries, in the Rhondda coal was the single, dominant industry.

In 1987, the Rhondda's last remaining colliery was closed. In the space of 150 years it established itself as one of the greatest coal producing areas of the world and then outlived its own history. It is a coal-mining community now only in tradition and memory. Although the Rhondda will survive as a geographical and linguistic area and, it is to be hoped, thrive in other ways, the Rhondda as a coal-mining community is disappearing fast and there was a similar urgency to record there to that which obtained in rural areas, especially with regard to the occupational dialect of traditional coal-mining. Therefore, the Rhondda presented itself as a fascinating and highly appropriate subject for investigation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Harold Orton, Introduction to SED (Leeds, 1962), 1.2. Subsequent references to this edition will appear within the text, where their context is clear.
2. Eugene Dieth and Harold Orton, A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England (Leeds, 1952), Modified for Use in Welsh Localities by Anne Chesters, Clive Upton and David Parry (Swansea, 1968). From this point, this questionnaire will be referred to as the Questionnaire.
3. David Parry, SAWD Vol. 1 (Swansea, 1977), 1.1. Subsequent references to this edition will appear within the text, where their context is clear.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE RHONDDA: ITS HISTORY AND PEOPLE<sup>1</sup>

The geographical centre of the coalfield, and the part which can be taken as an image of the whole, was the long, twisting Rhondda valleys in which a series of villages or townships, gathered around their steam-coal collieries, merged, almost indistinguishably, the one into the other. There were, in the coalfield, older settlements like the iron towns of Merthyr and Aberdare, whose coal-villages had a definite urban centre to look towards, whilst to the south, despite the railways that sliced through the fields to take coal to the ports, the Vale of Glamorgan remained rural and undisturbed. West of Swansea, the Anthracite coalfield was still in its infancy, its drift mines closed in summer, its colliers divided in allegiance between countryside and mine. In terms of population and productivity of coal the Rhondda outstripped them all and acted as the great magnet of labour.<sup>2</sup>

In the passage quoted above, David Smith describes the Rhondda of the 1900s, vividly setting it in the context of the coalfield as a whole. These were the Rhondda valleys in their heyday: crowded with people, houses and collieries, pulsating with life. Yet only a century earlier than the time David Smith was writing about, another writer, Benjamin Heath Malkin, told quite a different story. He observed on his travels in 1803:

Hereabouts, and for some miles to come, there is a degree of luxuriance in the valley, infinitely beyond what my entrance on this district led me to expect. The contrast of the meadows, rich and verdant, with mountains the most wild and romantic surrounding them on every side, is in the highest degree picturesque.<sup>3</sup>

At the time of writing, Malkin would not even have known the area he was describing as the Rhondda. It was only given that designation in 1879, after it had begun to undergo the metamorphosis wrought by the discovery of steam-coal that transformed it from the secluded, pastoral area he described into the teeming industrial one described by David Smith.

Until 1879, the area now known as the Rhondda lay across the boundaries of three parishes: Ystradyfodwg (in which the majority of the present Borough lay), Llantrisant and Llanwynno. The area was sparsely populated. The parish of Ystradyfodwg records only 542 inhabitants in 1801. However, it was a population that was solidly Welsh. Prof. Ceri Lewis cites the testimony of another contemporary traveller, John George Wood, who observed that "the Rhondda Vawr and the Rhondda Vechan... take their origin in the wildest region of Glamorganshire, where the English language is scarce ever heard; and a person ignorant of the dialect of the natives would find it very difficult to make his wants known to them..."<sup>4</sup> Ceri Lewis goes on to explain that:

The indigenous population of pre-industrial Rhondda spoke a distinctive Welsh dialect often called "tafodiath gwyr y Gloran" ("the Gloran dialect"). They spoke a language whose vocabulary was uncommonly rich and varied and which possessed a great wealth of natural idioms and colourful expressions.<sup>5</sup>

There was some small measure of mining activity in the southern area of the region at this time, but it was only to get coal for personal and domestic use. The first written evidence for this appears in the Vestry books for the Parish of Ystradyfodwg in the late

17th and early 18th centuries. Later, a certain Jeremiah Homfray leased the mineral rights of part of Hafod Fawr Farm from Dr Richard Griffiths and worked the Hafod Level from 1809 until his bankruptcy in 1813.

It was Walter Coffin (1785-1867) who opened the first levels on a proper business basis and sank the first pits. In 1812 he sank a pit at Dinas - Dinas Lower Colliery - and discovered the Rhondda No.3 seam of bituminous coal. The coal became known as "Coffin's celebrated coal" and gained a reputation for its excellence. Until the 1840s, however, Coffin's mining activity remained exceptional. There was a small cluster of levels in the same area, but they never employed more than about thirty men and boys. The work attracted a few specialised sinkers from Llansamlet and a small number of miners of Penderyn, Cwmgwrach and the neighbouring areas of Llantrisant and Llanharan. The 1841 census still gives a population of only 748 for Ystradyfodwg.

During the 1840s a number of factors led to increased exploitation of the bituminous levels in the lower Rhondda. The Taff Vale Railway was extended into the area, the West Bute Dock was opened in Cardiff and improved mining techniques were developed. These factors, combined with a great increase in demand for bituminous coal, led to an acceleration in investigations and workings. In 1844, George Insole and his son James arrived at Porth and opened up a number of collieries and a level at Cymmer. By this time, Walter Coffin was employing around three hundred men and a hundred boys, and the Insoles provided yet more work. Immigration, however, was still

at a relatively low level, consisting mainly of poor agricultural workers from the Vale of Glamorgan and small groups of miners from the western valleys of Monmouthshire and the Merthyr area.

In 1845 a few other collieries were opened in the Lower Rhondda, but for all this activity the area affected remained very limited. As late as 1847, C. F. Cliffe was able to talk about the "glorious hills...the emerald greenness of meadows most refreshing...[and] the air aromatic with wild flowers and mountain plants" - that the adventurous traveller would find beyond Dinas.

The event that marked the most major change in the life of the Rhondda was the discovery of a seam of steam coal. On October 16th, 1851, spurred on by the incentive of a £500 reward from the Taff Vale Railway to anyone who would sink a pit 120 yards below the river bed at the upper end of the Rhondda, the Trustees of the Bute Estate began sinking at Cwm-Saebren Farm in the upper Rhondda Fawr. Eventually they reached the famous Four-feet Seam of steam coal at a depth of 125 yards. The Taff Vale Railway was opened as far as Gelligaled, and on 21st December, 1855, the first trainload of 38 wagons of Rhondda steam coal was sent on its way to Cardiff.

At first, the exploitation of this newly discovered seam of coal still remained slow. David Davis struck the Four-feet Seam at a depth of 278 yards in Blaenllechau in the Rhondda Fach, and the Taff Vale Railway extended from Ynyshir to Ferndale, but by 1864 there were still only three undertakings in the Rhondda Fawr and one in Ferndale. The total output of coal from the Rhondda was less than half a million

tons, 70 per cent of which was still bituminous. Steam coal from the Four-feet Seam had been extensively worked in the neighbouring Aberdare Valley since 1837, and was still being worked there much more advantageously. A number of things changed in the years that followed to lead to the great acceleration in workings and immigration into the area: the demand for steam coal increased greatly, principally for steamships, but also for industrial installations and railways in France, Italy, Spain and the Balkans. Later, also from as far away as Brazil and Argentina. As a result of the increased demand, the prices rose from 8s. 9d a ton to 29s. a ton in 1874. The Aberdare seams could no longer satisfy the market and the increasing price made further explorations in the Rhondda Valleys both cost-effective and desirable.

By the early 1870s, it became possible to determine the exact nature of the Rhondda coalfield. At the same time there were marked technical advances in mining methods, with the improvement of explosives and mechanical apparatus, and the rail connections and docks facilities were also improved. Many large companies moved into the Rhondda from other parts of the coalfield to begin workings, and firms already established there greatly increased their explorations and output.

As the work increased, so did the need for labour. The population of Ystradyfodwg had risen to only 951 by 1851, but had increased to 16,914 by 1871. The vast majority of the immigrants at this time were still from within Wales: poorly paid agricultural workers from the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan and Montgomeryshire, and skilled miners from the Aberdare and Merthyr

valleys within Glamorgan, and the valleys of Monmouthshire. All were attracted by the comparatively high wages, estimated by some to have been 15 to 25 per cent higher than wages in the neighbouring mining areas. In the late 1860s, a fairly large group of workers came from Llandinam, Caersws and Llandidloes in mid-Wales, to work for David Davis, founder of the Ocean Coal Company, in Ton Pentre, Treorchy and Cwmparc. They were all virtually monoglot Welsh-speakers and strengthened, rather than challenged, the position of vernacular Welsh.

It was those Welsh-speakers who gave the fast-growing communities their identity. They did not bring the language in isolation, but accompanied by a cultural superstructure centred on the non-conformist chapel. The chapels were more than just a place to go on Sundays, they were a whole way of life: generating the eisteddfodau and, later, "penny readings", stimulating interest in choral music and cherishing and nurturing the Welsh language. According to E.D. Lewis:

The main generating centre of religious, democratic and cultural life in the evolving pattern of the Rhondda's local communities in the period 1860 to 1914 was unquestionably the Welsh Non-Conformist Chapel... The Chapels did much to preserve and re-vitalise the Welsh language, when so many powerful forces of the period were arraigned [sic] against its continued survival.'

Throughout the early years of the valleys' expansion, Welsh remained the dominant language: the language of home, chapel, street, shop and even colliery. The early rules and regulations of the pits, and the agreements and contracts between miners and coal-owners were all written in Welsh and English. It is interesting that the majority

of the coal-owners were themselves Welsh and often Welsh-speaking, unlike the Iron-masters of neighbouring Merthyr. Between 1870 and 1884 a total of 24 new pits were opened in the Rhondda. According to E. D. Lewis, "the entrepreneurs responsible were nearly all of Welsh origin."<sup>8</sup>

In 1896, The Report of the Welsh Land Commission was able to assert:

It might have been expected that in the Rhondda Valley, which is practically entirely given up to the coal industry, a cosmopolitan population might have been found. That is not the case; speaking broadly, the characteristics of Welsh life, its Non-conformist development, the habitual use of the Welsh language, and the prevalence of a Welsh type of character, are as marked as in the rural districts of Wales.<sup>9</sup>

However, by the time the Welsh Land Commission was confidently proclaiming the predominance of Welsh in the Rhondda, the tide had already begun to turn for the language. We have already noted E. D. Lewis's comment that "so many powerful forces of the period were arraigned against its survival." One of the first of these "powerful forces" to take effect was the educational policy.

As early as 1847, a Commission of Inquiry had reported in the notorious "Blue Books":

The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects.<sup>10</sup>

It was an attitude that found support from as eminent an educationalist as Matthew Arnold in his General Report on Elementary

Schools in 1852. Closer to home it was even supported by the Welsh-speaking coal-owner David Davies, who is reported in Y Geninen to have said:

Os ydych am barhav i fwyta bara tywyll a  
gorwedd ar wely gellt, gwaeddwch chwi eich  
gorau, "Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraig": ond os  
ydych chwi yn chwennych bwyta bara gwyn a chig  
eidon rhostr, mae yn rhaid i chwi ddysgu  
Seasneg.

(If you wish to continue to eat black bread and  
to lie in straw beds carry on shouting, "Long  
life to the Welsh language": but if you wish to  
eat white bread and roast beef you must learn  
English.)'

This attitude to the Welsh language resulted in an educational policy that was overtly anti-Welsh. The most infamous manifestation of this was the "Welsh Not", whereby children were punished if they were heard speaking Welsh at school. The policy changed in 1893, when Welsh became an official subject for study in Rhondda schools, but the attitude persisted. Subsequently it emerged at a second level, so that there was a belief in certain Rhondda families that a knowledge of Welsh was not compatible with a good education, and there was a conscious decision not to pass it on to the following generation.

Welsh might have continued to be the predominant language, despite the short period of adverse educational policy, if other forces had not also been at work. In 1891, the census, recording the population of the newly-established Borough of Rhondda for the first time, gave a total of 88,351. Not only did this figure represent a huge increase in the number of immigrants, but it also marked a shift in the nature of migration. Improved transport facilities meant that

migrant workers were now arriving from further afield, from England, especially the south-western counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall. There was a slump in the coal trade during the period 1892 to 1897, leading to a slight reduction in the flow of immigration, but it resumed at a high level at the turn of the century and continued without serious interruption until the early 1920s.

In the beginning, the Welsh speakers were so strongly established that the English immigrants were absorbed into their community. Many of the English would have had to learn Welsh in order to be able to live and work effectively. At a very practical level, farm-workers would have needed to learn mining techniques from the established colliers, who were predominantly Welsh-speaking. David Smith is sceptical about the thoroughness with which they adopted the Welsh language, although he still notes this process of absorption at work in the early 1900s:

A cosmopolitan society was created, still predominantly Welsh-speaking, but one in which the "foreigner" was absorbed more by the traditional cultural apparatus of Welsh life than by learning the language itself.<sup>12</sup>

The important role played by the chapels in sustaining "the traditional apparatus of Welsh life", as well as the Welsh language itself, has already been mentioned above. Very soon, however, the powerful position of the chapels was to be challenged. In his essay, "Language and Community in 19th Century Wales", Ieuan Gwynedd Jones sees the fate of the Welsh language as inextricably bound up with the fate of religion:

Maybe 1904-05 was the last attempt by ordinary Welsh men to make of religion what it had once been - popular, non-clerical, unlearned, unsophisticated, enthusiastic, organic in the community and Welsh in language. The Revival failed in these objects, the first sign of failure, perhaps, being Evan Roberts' instinctive feeling that to try to give the Revival an English dress or to take it outside Wales would be to betray the newly gathered faithful.

Inevitably the next movement would be in the direction of socialism, and by the years just before the War, from 1911 onwards, socialism and the new miners' union were becoming the new religion. The language of socialism was English...the language and the religion which had grown together would decline together.<sup>13</sup>

The reason for this shift in the base of power and influence from religion to politics, and the way in which it happened, are complicated. Ieuan Gwynedd Jones goes on to suggest that it was a "symbolic gesture of rejection and of affirmation", implying that the choice was absolute, and that it was made by a population which remained constant. However, religion and politics were by no means mutually exclusive: certain chapels were in agreement with the aspirations of the unions and developed a theology that was almost a prototype for present-day liberation theology, with its concern for social justice. They provided an alternative to the establishment chapels, where the local coal-owner or manager was often the most important member of the congregation. Moreover, in the Rhondda, the population did not remain constant. More and more workers continued to arrive from England, bringing with them new expectations and ideas.

Despite the arrival in the early 1900s of a substantial number of workers from the depressed areas of North Wales - lead miners from

Anglesey and slate quarrymen from Bethesda, Ffestiniog and Dinorwig - the balance between Welsh and English began to tip in favour of English. A comparison of the census figures for 1901 and 1911 shows a startling turnabout:

YEAR	Population 2 yrs and over	Speaking English Only	Speaking Welsh Only	Speaking English and Welsh	No Statement
1901	103,740	36,754	11,841	54,906	174
1911	139,335	60,056	6,100	70,696	2,335

The Welsh-speaking community reached saturation point, and could no longer absorb the "foreigners". The more committed Welsh-speakers realised that their language and culture were threatened, and their discontent became the theme for a number of Rhondda tribannau. Ceri Lewis records a version of one that he first heard from his grandmother, Mrs Catherine Williams, who died in September 1940 at the age of 80:

Dylifa bechgyn ffolion  
I'r cwm a hyd yn gyson,  
O Wlad yr Haf hwy ddônt yn scryd,  
Fel ynfyd haid o ladron.

(Foolish boys flock continuously into the valley. From Somerset they come in hordes, like an idiot band of thieves).<sup>14</sup>

As the original Welsh immigrants had brought their non-conformity with their language, so these English immigrants brought, according to Kenneth Morgan, "new attitudes and new values." Of the South Wales Coalfield as a whole, he writes:

...after the turn of the century, many young immigrant miners, mostly from England,

rebellious against the constraints of Lib-Labism, Mabonism, the chapels, and Welsh community life, entered the coalfield with powerful effect.<sup>15</sup>

The immigrants were drawn to the valleys as coal output reached its peak, but were then faced with a decline that was almost as rapid as its growth. It was this downturn in the fortunes of the coal industry that acted as the final catalyst, forcing a new relationship between miners and coal owners and a re-ordering of religious and political allegiances.

In 1913, the production of saleable coal reached an amazing 9,610,705 tons. At this time, the Rhondda supplied half of the total amount of coal supplied to the British Navy. The First World War helped to maintain the demand for coal and in 1917, although at a slightly lower level, output still reached eight and half million tons. However, 1921 saw the beginning of a decline that has continued, with only a slight upturn during 1924 and the Second World War, until the present day.

Many factors affected the slump - the Versailles reparations policy, restoration of the gold standard, development of hydro-electric power in overseas markets - but the major cause of the decline was the conversion of the Merchant and Royal Navies from coal to oil. The decline in demand led to a decline in wages, which were fixed to the selling price of coal by a Sliding Scale system, and to a deterioration in working conditions. The mining population became increasingly politically active in response.

These factors affected the whole of the coal industry, but the Rhondda became what E D Lewis describes as "the storm-centre of the South Wales coalfield." A key factor in the disputes which arose was the question of wages. The most famous of these disputes was that of the Cambrian Combine Pits in 1910, that led to the "Tonypandy Riots" and spread to other valleys. A similar dispute in 1912 was partially successful in that it led to the Minimum Wages Act. When the pamphlet, The Miners' Next Step,<sup>16</sup> which called for reforms in the South Wales Miners' Federation, was published in the same year, it was published in English and was never translated into Welsh. The men who wrote it had been intimately involved in the mid-Rhondda disturbances of 1910-11.

The population continued to grow even after coal output had started to decline. In 1924 it reached its peak of 169,000. At this time it is estimated that there was a density of population of a staggering 20,000 people per square mile built upon. Welsh and English were vying with each other side by side, with English eventually emerging the stronger. An interesting testimony was recorded by Hywel Francis for the South Wales Coalfield History Project (1972-74). He quotes it in his essay, "The Secret World of the South Wales Miner". The testimony is that of Ben "Sunshine" Davies, whose recalls the impact of Rhondda life upon him in 1919:

Well I think it was around the end of August or September we decided to leave Cardigan for Ferndale. I was at present serving on a farm on the cliffs of Newquay, a farm called Pendrynn farm. I can well recall it was the beginning of the corn harvest and I had difficulty in extracting myself from my service with the farm but by a lot of arguments I did manage to get myself free to travel with my mother and

brothers to Ferndale with a view of starting underground as there was a demand for miners immediately after the war... I started... at the age of sixteen... I went as a butty to a Bristol chap by the name of George Cheetham, and he was very, very deep Bristol brogue with him and I was very Welshy, didn't speak much English in Cardigan although I could understand, but to express myself after was a bit difficult and especially with this person from Bristol. But as time wore on we became more acquainted with our discourse and we were able to communicate very well... I found it very strange the first day that I went down (underground)... I was astonished to hear such a lot of mixed arguments and people trying to explain things - some in Welsh, others in English, and we were boys then, sitting all together and listening attentively.<sup>17</sup>

Here is personal evidence of how the balance between the two languages worked at this stage. There is a reversal of the earlier pattern, with the Welsh-speaking immigrant learning mining skills from the more established and experienced English-speaker. However, it is also important to note how the two languages were living together, creating an exciting dynamic force. Although apologists for the Welsh language, such as Ceri Lewis, view the decline in the use of Welsh with regret, the time was not one of decline for language in general. Even monoglot speakers would have been familiar with the other language, and the experience of both languages was drawn upon to produce a rich mixture of speech. The combination of a densely packed population, adverse working conditions, a fervent, if declining, religious spirit, and a vibrant brand of popular socialism, which found a focus in a few outstanding leaders, gave rise to a society characterised by lively debate and inventive use of language. Out of their decreasing wages, the miners paid to build Institutes, which

provided a forum for discussion and debate and an alternative venue for musical and dramatical activities. The work of the chapels was not totally eclipsed - both chapels and Institutes remained important institutions for some time to come - but it was supplemented, and greater scope provided for expression in the English language.

It is very easy to idealise this period in the Rhondda's history - to forget the poorly built houses and the overcrowding, the high mortality rate and the sheer poverty that existed. Not everyone belonged to a choir, read Marx and Aristotle in the reading room of the local Institute or was a stalwart of their local chapel. But having said this, some account must be taken of the tremendous achievements of the community. The Miners' Institutes were built, and the well-stocked libraries used. Ordinary people, without a proper musical education, were able to perform works such as Brahms' Requiem and Bach's Oratorios, thanks to the introduction of Sol Fa. The sporting tradition was strong, with the Rhondda producing a number of world-class boxers. There was also a great deal of humour, and it is no coincidence that the most famous writer to have come from the Rhondda, Gwyn Thomas, should be best known for his humorous anecdotes, his pungent wit and his autobiographical writings that keep you on a knife-edge between laughter and tears.

The inheritance of this period is still very much in evidence, but the last sixty years have seen a draining of the population that has paralleled the decline in the coal industry. David Smith describes the effect of the contraction of coal-working on the coalfield as a whole:

In South Wales in 1920 there were 265,000 miners employed, but by 1933 the number had shrunk to 138,560, with a consequent drop in the wages bill from 65 to 14 million pounds. The result was to send poverty spiralling through South Wales.<sup>18</sup>

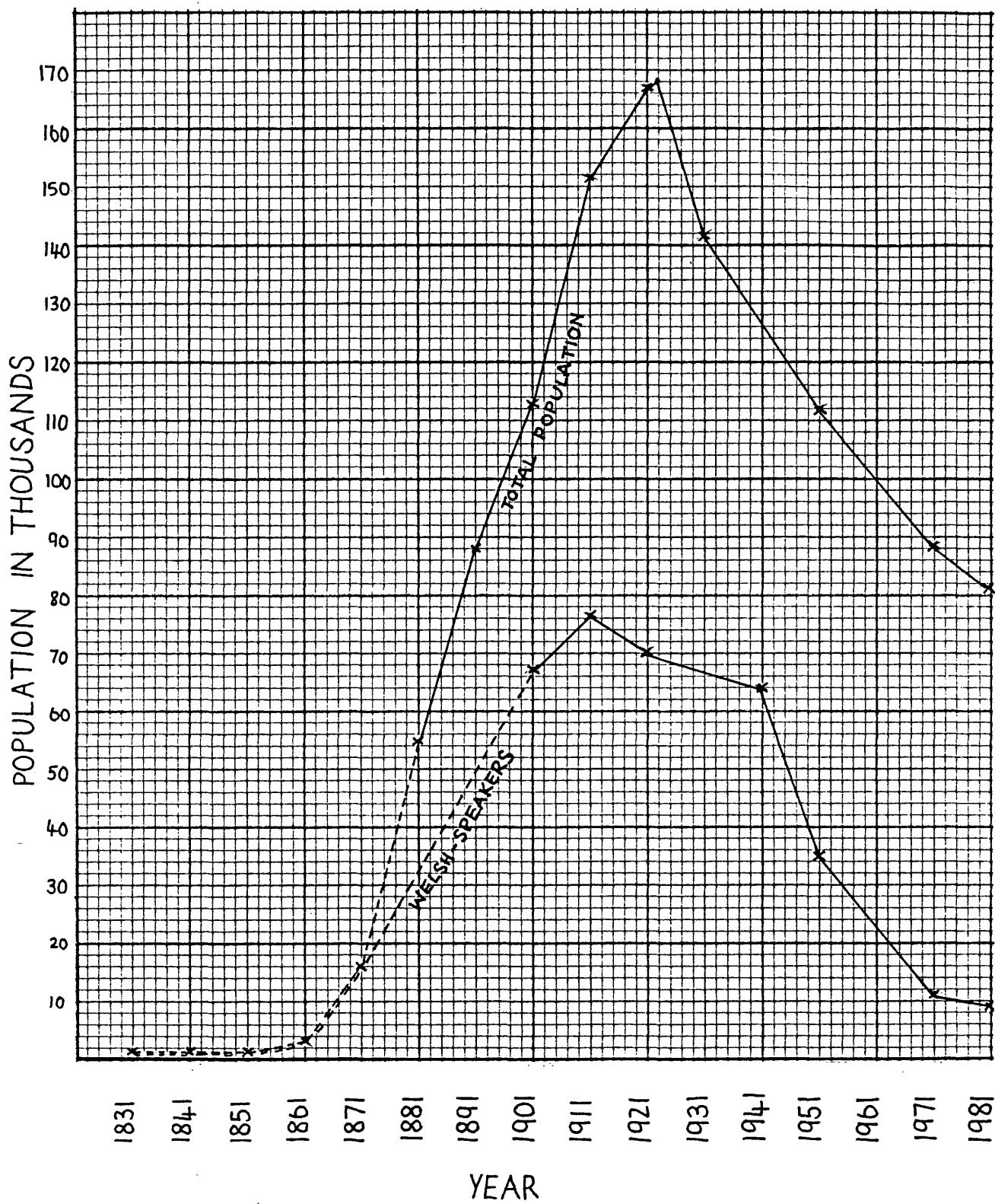
Worsening conditions in the pits led to a seven-month-long strike in 1926, and that same year also saw the beginning of the migration from the Rhondda. Increasing unemployment in the valley meant that men were once again moving in search of work. Many went in the direction of Swindon, Slough and Cowley, which were developing their industries. A high premium was also set on education as a way out of the dangerous work of the collieries and the unemployment that was for many the only option.

By the time the coal industry was nationalised in 1947, there were only twelve pits left in the Rhondda. As the number reduced further, the government stepped in to try to provide alternative employment. By 1955, twenty-five factories had been set up with its assistance, producing consumer products that ranged from clothes to bicycles. According to Kenneth Morgan, "The entire employment structure of the Rhondda, historically dependent almost uniquely on the mining of coal, had been totally revolutionised."<sup>19</sup>

Even these incentives, however, were not great enough to stop the population ebbing away. At the 1981 census the total had dropped to 81,268 once again. Out of a population of 78,349 over the age of three, only 7,369 were able to speak Welsh, that is, less than 10 per cent, and of that number almost half were aged 65 and over.<sup>20</sup> (Pro-

Welsh campaigners will be pleased to note that a substantial number of Welsh speakers were also recorded in the school-age generation - the fruit of a positive educational policy!)

The Rhondda of the present day is proud of its recent history. Its cultural and political inheritance is very important: it still boasts its prize-winning brass bands, male-voice choirs and amateur dramatic and operatic societies; it is still one of the safest Labour seats in Britain and the last remaining colliery, at Maerdy, played an important role in 1985, during the miners' strike before it, too, was closed down just two years later. However, for the majority of the present working generation, the coal-mining that gave the valleys their identity is only a memory. The chapels are mainly the preserve of the over-60s. As the congregations have declined, so has the condition of the buildings and many of them are now being physically removed from the towns, as the collieries and tips were before them. Of course, such change is not necessarily a bad thing. There is much discussion about the future of the Rhondda, and the ways in which it can respond to contemporary needs. But as some of the inanimate witnesses to Rhondda's heyday are disappearing, so are its living witnesses, and with them the personal evidence of a unique history. This Investigation has sought to capture and record one aspect of that history: the language spoken by the children of the immigrant families, who grew up, lived and worked while the Rhondda took on the identity that has made it famous.



\*-----\* Estimate: accurate figures not available

Fig. 2.1 GRAPH TO SHOW TOTAL POPULATION OF THE RHONDDA AGAINST NUMBERS OF WELSH-SPEAKERS  
(Based on Census figures)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. I am indebted for much of this chapter to the book, Rhondda Past and Future, (ed. K. S. Hopkins, Ferndale, 1974), and especially to the essays by E. D. Lewis and Ceri Lewis contained in it.
2. D. Smith, "Leaders and Led", Rhondda Past and Future, p. 39.
3. B. H. Malkin, The Scenaries, Antiquities and Biography, of South Wales from material collected during two excursions in the year 1803, vol. 1 of 2 vols. (London, 1807), p. 287. Quoted by C. Lewis, op.cit., p. 179.
4. J. G. Wood, The Principal Rivers of Wales, Part 1 of 2 parts (London, 1813), p. 62. Quoted by C. Lewis, op.cit., p. 180.
5. C. Lewis, "The Welsh Language", op.cit., p. 180.
6. C. F. Cliffe, The Book of South Wales, (London, 1847), p. 122. Quoted by E. D. Lewis, op.cit., p. 27.
7. E. D. Lewis, "Population Changes and Social Life", op.cit. pp. 120 and 121.
8. E. D. Lewis, "The Coal Industry", op.cit., p. 31.
9. The Report of the Welsh Land Commission, (1896), p. 176. Quoted by C. Lewis, op.cit., p. 208.
10. From Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, (3 vols., London, 1847), and quoted by C. Lewis, op.cit., p. 212. During the course of the reaction in Wales to these reports, they became known as "Brad y Llyfrau Gleision" ("The Treachery of the Blue Books").
11. Quoted originally in Y Geninen, I (1883), p. 19, and subsequently by Ieuan Gwynedd Jones in "Language and Community in Nineteenth Century Wales", A People and a Proletariat, (ed. David Smith, London, 1980), p. 62.
12. D. Smith, "Leaders and Led", op.cit., p. 39.
13. I. G. Jones, "Language and Community in Nineteenth Century Wales", op.cit., pp. 68-69.
14. Quoted by C. Lewis, "The Welsh Language", op.cit., p. 205.
15. K. O. Morgan, Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980, (Oxford, 1981), p. 148.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2 Continued

16. The Miners' Next Step, (Tonypandy, 1912).
17. H. Francis, "The Secret World of the South Wales Miner", A People and a Proletariat, p. 174.
18. D. Smith, "Leaders and Led", op.cit., p. 50.
19. K. O. Morgan, op.cit., p. 312.
20. These figures are from the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys and are published in Census 1981: Welsh Language in Wales, (London, 1983), pp. 18-19 and 40-41.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

The present investigation was conducted as part of SAWD. As such, it owes a great debt to the survey for providing, firstly, a sound base from which certain departures could be made, and secondly, an overall context in which the results could be analysed and take their place as part of a broader Anglo-Welsh framework. I also owe a personal debt to the Director of SAWD, David Parry, for introducing me to the theory and practice of Dialectology, and for giving me the tools - including a knowledge of phonetics - with which to carry out the investigation. I gratefully acknowledge the tradition to which this investigation belongs, but I am even more grateful for having been given the freedom to deviate in some measure from it. This section will outline the accepted methodology of SED and SAWD, and discuss the aspects that were felt to be inappropriate for the present investigation. It will describe the methodology that was adopted, setting it in the context of relevant thinking from other investigations. The exposition will fall into two main parts:

(i) selection of localities and informants, and (ii) collection of data.

#### (i) Selection of localities and informants

The explicit aim of SED, as discussed by Harold Orton in his Introduction, is to record "the traditional types of vernacular English." The motivation for the survey arose from a historical

interest in the language and its development, which meant that those conducting the survey were most interested to find older, conservative forms, as unaffected as possible by the influence of Standard English and regularised speech-forms, or even other dialect forms which were alien to a given locality. It was these "genuine" forms that held the greatest interest for philologists.

This basic rationale governed both the kinds of localities and the kinds of informants that were chosen for the study:

The kind of dialect chosen for study was that normally spoken by elderly speakers of sixty years of age or over belonging to the same social class in rural communities, and in particular by those who were, or had formerly been, employed in farming, for it is among the rural populations that the traditional types of vernacular English are best preserved today.  
(1.2)'

Later, in section 1.5, Orton discusses the sex of the informants: "They were mostly men: in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently and more genuinely than women." (1.2)

SAWD makes no explicit statement about preference for either sex. However, in his "Introduction", David Parry generally accepts the basic premises of SED in his choice of localities:

The selection of the localities at which Anglo-Welsh Dialect investigation is carried out is determined by their geographical position (both isolatively and relatively to each other), their population figures, and the predominant local occupation. Ideally (since the questions posed to the informants are predominantly about agricultural matters) only rural localities would be investigated; each place would be so isolated that any external linguistic influences, other than those of radio and television, would have only minimal significance. (1.1)

and in his choice of informants:

The informants interviewed in the various localities are nearly always aged sixty or above, have spent all or nearly all of their lives in the place where they were interviewed, have generally attended local schools until aged no more than thirteen or fourteen, are free from speech-defects, and (wherever possible) have been employed in farming or are the close relations or associates of people so employed. (1.1)

The only additional criteria arise from the bi-lingual nature of some communities:

In bi-lingual areas... fieldworkers generally select informants for whom English is the language of everyday affairs if such people are available, and interview speakers whose first language is Welsh only when it is clear that such people are typical, in this respect, of their generation and class in the locality concerned. (1.1)

The ideal size for a locality was a population of 500 to 1000. The number of informants chosen to represent this population varied, but was usually determined by how many were needed to complete the

Questionnaire:

Occasionally only one informant is interviewed in a locality; generally, however, three or four are required since it is only rarely that any one person has time to answer all 1300 (or thereabouts) of the separate items contained in the Questionnaire. (1.1)

SED also found that more than one informant was needed in order to complete the field-recording, "But this did not prove to be disadvantageous, since strong efforts were made consistently to find the right kind of source from those who could justifiably be regarded as genuine representatives of the locality." (1.7)

The decision about who were "genuine representatives of the locality" was made using the criteria quoted above. SED and SAWD actually had to make judgements about representativeness at three different levels: firstly, they had to choose which individual localities would be representative of the wider language communities of England and Wales; secondly, they had to make judgements about which individual informants would represent their localities, and thirdly, they had to decide what kind of speech would be recorded to represent the informant's general competency. This last point will be discussed in section (ii) of this chapter. The first two points, however, are central to the issue currently under discussion.

My decision to investigate the Rhondda, an industrial locality, was based on the belief that, as yet, SAWD had not been fully representative of the language communities of South Wales. It has already been noted<sup>2</sup> that David Parry was aware that, if the criteria for choice of localities had been strictly applied in South Wales, the geographical network of localities would not have been tight enough: "any attempt to adhere to such ideal conditions for the present Inquiry would have left large gaps in the network of investigated localities!" (1.1). For this reason, fieldworkers actually visited localities that were both larger and smaller than the optimal size and localities, "where little, if any, farming takes place."

Given the demographic nature of South Wales, with its sprawling industrial communities, the Survey was actually remarkably successful in identifying localities which fitted its criteria. Although a larger number do not fit the criteria precisely, only three

are singled out for special comment on the problem posed by their industrial nature: Blaenavon (Gw5), Llanhilleth (Gw6) and Miskin (M Gmg 11). In Blaenavon, despite the fact that it is described as "a fairly heavily industrialised locality", "the fieldworker did succeed in obtaining responses to a large number of questions dealing with agricultural matters." (1.10). However, while the fieldworker at Llanhilleth "was able to make a useful investigation of the language of the coal-mining industry", at both Llanhilleth and Miskin, "many of the items in the Questionnaire dealing with agricultural matters were left unanswered." (1.10). Apart from the one examination of coal-mining language, the industrial localities were investigated using a questionnaire specifically designed for use in rural localities,<sup>3</sup> and where informants were not able to answer specialised questions, a gap was left. Thus, even where industrial localities were visited, they were still investigated on the same basis as the rural localities.

It was my contention that the industrial communities should be represented on their own terms. This position arose from a close association with the industrial valleys of South Wales, an awareness that they had much valuable and interesting material to offer<sup>4</sup> and a belief that the important role they had played in Welsh life should be reflected in any investigation of the language of Wales. The size of the industrial populations, and the complexity of the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that gave them their character, are such that it was necessary for the present investigation to make a detailed study of one particular area. The Rhondda was chosen as representative of the kinds of complexities that occur in the industrial areas

of South Wales, and because it is believed by many to be the epitome of the coal-mining valley (see Ch. 1). However, it was not chosen to be representative of the speech of the South Wales valleys as a whole. Each valley has a different history of industrialisation, migration and settlement and, as a result, has its own distinguishing speech characteristics. It is to be hoped that this present investigation will be the first of a number of similar investigations to expand the work previously carried out by SAWD.

The next important decision concerned the method of selecting informants. As we have shown above, the initial impetus for SED and SAWD came from an interest in the historical development of the English language, and the fieldworkers were most interested to find older forms of speech, which were characteristic of a given locality and as unaffected as possible by standardised forms - what might be called "genuine" dialect. The method used to select the informants was a form of purposive sampling. It was established that the population to be investigated was "speakers of 'the traditional types of vernacular English'". The criteria were then established which would be most likely to identify such speakers: they were to be aged over 65, male, involved in the conservative occupation of farming, not very highly educated and resident in the locality for all of their lives. Informants were chosen by fieldworkers seeking out people who conformed to the majority - if not all - of the criteria. The present investigation was conducted under the aegis of SAWD, but could not share some of its basic premises. The nature of the migration into the Rhondda (see Ch. 2) meant that it would be futile to search for

some hypothetical "genuine" dialect, unaffected by population shifts and linguistic influences from other areas. Practically all the present-day inhabitants of the Rhondda were the result of migration after 1850. No conclusions could be drawn about the historical development of English in the Rhondda prior to that date, and no one individual could be said to be more representative than another of a conservative variety of speech that was characteristic of the area itself. The traditional criteria for informant selection, designed to identify speakers of "genuine" dialect, would have to be reassessed in order to recognise and accommodate the complexity of the Rhondda's linguistic history.

The aim of the investigation was to describe the characteristics of the English spoken by members of the generations who were brought up and worked in the Rhondda while the production of coal was still central to the life of the valleys. It was also the aim of the investigation to record the specialised language connected with traditional coal-mining. I decided to adapt the method of purposive sampling, used by SED and SAWD, for the purposes of the investigation and, with the above aims determining the specific population that would form the subject of study, the following criteria for informant-selection were established:

(a) The coal-mining industry was to be as central to the Rhondda investigation as agriculture had been to SED and SAWD, and association with the coal-mining industry was an important, though not absolute, criterion. Informants who were to respond to the occupational questionnaire (see section (ii) of this chapter) had, of

necessity, to have been directly involved in the coal industry. With regard to the other informants, however, the dominance of the coal industry in the Rhondda until the 1950s was such that simply living there would have entailed some degree of awareness of it, and no further stipulation was made.

(b) The criterion of residence was as important as for the traditional surveys, to ensure that the speech of the individual informant was indeed representative of the speech generated in the Rhondda. All the informants were to have lived in the Rhondda since they were born or before they were able to talk, and have spent no substantial period of time living elsewhere.

(c) The criterion of no formal education past the age of around fourteen was also retained, to minimise the degree of influence from standardised forms. However, one qualification must be made at this point with regard to religious and political involvement. Both the chapels and the unions traditionally played an educational role in the community, encouraging literacy, articulacy and cultural awareness, (see Ch. 2). Education, including self-education, was seen both — as a way to improve the quality of life of the individual, and as an "escape route" from the coal industry. This respect for education might be manifested in a greater awareness and use of standard forms. The chapels and the unions have played so important a role in the life of the Rhondda that people involved with them could not be excluded — indeed, such people are vital to a complete picture of the Rhondda. It would also be impossible to quantify the degree of their "education" beyond noting when formal education ended. However, I did

also ensure that a significant number of informants had no overt political or religious involvement.

(d) With regard to age, the change in the coal industry from the traditional "stall and heading" system to mechanised mining meant that informants who could offer the required information were generally aged over 60. The rapid decline in the coal industry post-1950 also meant that the generations who were central to the study were older. It did not constitute one of the aims of the investigation to examine the speech of school children or young adults. However, having said this, it was appropriate for the speech of some comparatively young informants (by traditional standards) to be included in the study, to provide a full cross-section of the population under investigation (i.e. members of the generations who lived and worked in the Rhondda while coal was still central to its life). For this reason, although there was a bias towards the older age groups, representatives were included from each generation, from those in their 30s to those in their 90s.

(e) As the investigation was not confined to the search for a "genuine" dialect, but simply aimed to describe the characteristics of the speech found at a certain stage in the Rhondda's history, it was not significant to make maleness a criterion. Indeed, although all the informants who responded to the Coal-Mining Questionnaire were necessarily male, the language of the house and housework also constituted a major part of the inquiry and, for this reason, women

formed the majority of the informants who responded to the General Questionnaire.

(f) Although it was important for all the informants to be fluent in, and regularly use, the English language, it was also important that the admixture of Welsh and English languages and places of family origin that characterised the Rhondda should be reflected in the sample of informants, so they were chosen from a variety of family backgrounds. The recorded material will be described in the context of the Rhondda's history of migration and the individual informant's specific family history and place of origin. For this reason, detailed information about the family's background and use of Welsh or English was asked of each informant and is set out in Chapter 4.

Informants were selected with the help of local contacts, who suggested people who fitted many or all of the criteria listed above. Attention was also paid to ensure a geographical spread of localities. Although the Rhondda covers an area of only some fifty square miles, it has a much larger population than a rural area of the same size. The Borough is divided into townships, but these merge into one another to form an almost unbroken line of settlement from Porth, at the bottom of the valleys, to Blaenrhondda at the top of the Rhondda Fawr, and Maerdy at the top of the Rhondda Fach. The density of population in comparison with a rural area called for a more concentrated selection of localities, and informants were eventually drawn from twelve localities throughout the Rhondda. Their geographical spread, (see Fig 3.1), was important so that the whole of the area might be represented in the investigation. However, I did not

expect to identify major language differences that were characteristically regional within the Rhondda itself. This was because the particular part of the Rhondda in which an informant lived was only one of a number of factors which might influence his or her speech, and the method of purposive sampling adopted was not appropriate to determine the significance of the regional factor against the other variables, (see the discussion of sampling methods below, and Ch. 11). In addition, my experience of the Rhondda had not led me to think that the differences that would occur would be specifically regional in character. My aim was to describe, with reference to the variables, the phonological, grammatical and lexical features of the speech of the informants, and to draw out from these the common features which might be said to be characteristic of the Rhondda as a whole. Likewise, the aim of the investigation of the language of coal-mining was to describe the vocabulary characteristic of the Rhondda and to show its distribution within the South Wales Coalfield and in relation to other British coalfields. Again, I did not postulate regional variation within the Rhondda itself, and this aspect of the investigation focused on one particular part of the Rhondda - the top of the Rhondda Fawr, where the first steam coal pits were sunk - with some additional, mainly corroborative material from Wattstown in the Rhondda Fach and Penygraig, near Porth.

I was aware, when making the decision to adapt the method of purposive sampling used by SED and SAWD, that certain dialectologists and socio-linguists, who were interested in urban localities and were looking for new ways to recognise and discuss the influence of non-

linguistic variables on the speech of localities, had taken issue with this method of informant selection. Their criticisms challenged two aspects of the traditional approach: they felt that traditional studies relied too heavily on the subjective judgement of the fieldworker; and they felt that the choice of informant was too narrow, and that any investigation which claimed to describe the speech of a given locality should address itself to the entire population, not just one section of it. In their critical overview of dialectological method, Chambers and Trudgill link the need for a new approach to the move away from a historical approach to the study of dialect:

The usual procedure in traditional dialectology was to select NORMs [i.e. "non-mobile, older, rural males"]...because it was felt that this method would produce examples of the "most genuine" dialect...With the movement away from diachronic studies, however, the way was now clear for the recognition of the fact that the "most genuine" dialect did not necessarily mean the most "typical". If what one wanted was not the most old-fashioned varieties available, but rather an accurate picture of all the linguistic varieties spoken in a particular area, other methods of informant-selection would have to be used.<sup>5</sup>

The method they advocate is random sampling, whereby "Individuals are selected at random from the total population in such a way that all members of the community have an equal chance of selection, in order that speakers investigated should be REPRESENTATIVE of the entire population."<sup>6</sup> In fact, proponents of this method often claim that it is the only way in which a sample of informants can be said to be truly representative of the population from which they are selected. They have adopted their methodology from that of sociology,

and central to their work is the examination of language differences governed by the non-linguistic parameters of sex, social class, age, etc. They support their statements about language differences with evidence of statistical significance for which a random sample is vitally important.

It might be felt that, because random sampling is not the method that was chosen for the Rhondda investigation, it is not relevant to the present discussion. However, I feel that a brief consideration of some studies involving random sampling is warranted because they represent an interesting alternative method of tackling more complex situations than the traditional studies confronted, and, also, because the ways in which they found it necessary to qualify strict sociological method shed interesting light on the value of subjective judgements in dialect study. Ultimately, it will be seen that the restrictions placed by such studies on the kind of linguistic information that could be gathered, were not appropriate for the Rhondda investigation.

As we have already noted, the population chosen for investigation by traditional dialectologists was not the total of inhabitants of a given geographical locality, but the speakers of the traditional varieties of English characteristic of the area. Urban dialectologists and socio-linguists who advocate random sampling claim to take the total of inhabitants as their population for investigation. However, Suzanne Romaine in her article, "A Critical Overview of the Methodology of Urban British Socio-linguistics",<sup>7</sup> points to some very

interesting qualifications that were made to the procedure in certain studies.

William Labov based his New York study<sup>9</sup> on a sample of 988 households previously selected as part of a social science survey. However, he only interviewed 122 of the original sample because not only had people moved, died or refused to be interviewed, but he also further limited the sample by applying criteria of residence. Informants had to have been born in New York, or to have been resident since the age of eight. Moreover, all the informants came from one particular area of the city, Lower East Side. He claimed that all the main ethnic groups and social classes were represented there, and that his sample exemplified the "complexity of the city as a whole with all its variabilities and inconsistencies."<sup>10</sup> Peter Trudgill in his study of Norwich<sup>11</sup> took his sample of 50 adults from the Electoral Register. Informants were chosen by random selection from four wards and one suburb, and ten children from two local grammar schools were added to the adult sample. Trudgill claims that this sample constitutes a "genuine representative of the city as a whole."<sup>12</sup> However, the wards and suburb were selected non-randomly, using social, geographical and housing criteria. The assessment of the "status" characteristics of each locality were made subjectively. Macaulay, in his study of Glasgow speech,<sup>13</sup> provides another variation in the approach to random sampling. His aim in sampling was to obtain a cross-section of the population of Glasgow, distributed according to age, sex, social class and religion. He used seventeen schools, which had been chosen as representative by the Education

Department, as the starting point for his survey. The Head of each school supplied names of children who fitted his criteria of age, sex, etc. and the informants were chosen from this population by random sampling.

A number of general conclusions can be drawn from the studies outlined above. First of all, where random sampling has been used, it has still been found important that, to a greater or lesser extent, there should also be an element of judgment or purposive sampling. External criteria were brought to bear that affected the choice of the population from which the random sample was taken. Two main areas emerge in which these criteria help to determine the sample: the informant must be a long-standing resident of the locality to be studied, and the sample must reflect a cross-section of the population and feature representatives of all the main groupings. The first may be determined by objective criteria, but the second is often determined by, or tested against, a subjective knowledge of the locality on the part of the investigator or some other helper. This leads to the second point. Although the value of a subjective knowledge of the community has, theoretically, been subordinated to an objective methodology, a subjective knowledge has, in practice, been of great importance in informing the studies. Labov and Trudgill both knew the communities they were investigating intimately, and judged their samples against what they subjectively knew about the range and nature of the population within those communities.

J.C. Wells discusses another aspect of the way in which a thorough knowledge of the community was of vital importance to Labov:

Rather than study all the many varied characteristics of an informant's accent, Labov restricted his investigation to a small number of linguistic variables. For the main part of his New York study he chose five such variables, knowing (as a native New Yorker) that they were likely to be those of greatest interest.

....Concentrating on a small number of variables in this way enables the investigator to keep the research project within bounds while going deeply enough to reveal significant patterns of correlation between the linguistic variables and the non-linguistic parameters (socio-linguistic class, contextual style, age, sex, etc.). But only an investigator with a good hunch about what is likely to turn out as an important variable will be able to select suitable variables for investigation from the hundreds potentially available. There is no substitute for being a native of the locality under investigation, or at least having advice from one who is.<sup>13</sup>

Once again, a knowledge of the community reveals itself as of crucial importance. However, in this instance, the reason for its importance signals a major difference from traditional studies in the nature and use of the material to be investigated. The number of linguistic variables that may be studied is, of necessity, strictly limited in an investigation which seeks to correlate them with a great number of non-linguistic variables. Further to this, Chambers and Trudgill remark that, "Urban dialect surveys...[have been] much more concerned with phonology and grammar than lexis."<sup>14</sup> Conversely, an investigation which seeks to describe the recorded speech of a purposive sample may only be able to draw tentative conclusions about the relationship of that sample population to the total population, but its account of the language of that sample may be much fuller.

The work carried out by urban dialectologists and socio-linguists is very interesting and revealing about social differences within communities. However, it was not the kind of treatment that I wished to adopt for the Rhondda investigation. While recognising the limitations of the traditional criteria for informant selection, it was my conclusion that random sampling was not the only way to make the sample more representative within an industrial or urban context, and that a subjective element within the sampling procedure was not only not necessarily a weakness, but was, in some cases, a positive strength.

Kurath's investigations for the compilation of A Linguistic Atlas of New England<sup>15</sup> provided a notable and long-standing precedent for widening the criteria for informant selection. Established before either SED or SAWD, the survey was more all-embracing with regard to education and age. Kurath categorised three types of informants according to the degree of their education and social contacts, from little formal education and restricted social contacts, through to superior, usually university education, and extensive social contacts. These categories were cut across by two types, categorised according to age, namely aged, or regarded as old-fashioned; and middle-aged or regarded as more modern. Informants for SED and SAWD are, in the vast majority of cases, "aged" with "little formal education." Although in Kurath's survey they still constitute the majority, a substantial number also come from each of the other categories, thus providing a wider cross-section from the localities investigated. As in the other

studies, Kurath made life-long residence of the locality a sine qua non. It would thus appear both possible and legitimate to adjust the criteria for informant selection in respect of the aims of the investigation and the nature of the population as long as the bases for the choices are clearly stated.

With regard to the place of subjectivity and a knowledge of the community to be investigated, it has already been seen that these find an important place, even in studies where objective method is highly valued. Now, in other studies, it is once again being argued that a subjective knowledge is vital and there has been a reaction to the impersonal approach of random sampling. J.C. Wells describes it thus:

Disagreement with this view has come latterly mainly from investigators who set great store by the establishment of really close links between the fieldworker and the community whose speech is under study. Only a fieldworker really integrated into a group of family or friends, they would claim, is in a position to witness genuine face-to-face casual speech, undistorted by the interview situation.<sup>16</sup>

He illustrates the position with a quotation from the German,

S. Bertz:

Ebenso ist der kontakt mit informanten über eine repräsentative Stichprobe und ohne jegliche persönlichen Beziehungen eine außerst spezielle soziale situation, von der zu erwarten ist, daß sie das sprachliche Verhalten des Informanten beeinflußt. Er wird kaum umhin können, sich als Test person zu fühlen und entsprechend zu reagieren.

(In the same way, contact with informants through a representative random sample and without any personal relationship is an extremely exceptional social situation, of which it is to be expected that it would

influence the linguistic behaviour of the informant. He will scarcely be able to help feeling like an experimental subject and reacting accordingly.)<sup>17</sup>

The importance of a relaxed and friendly relationship between fieldworker and informant, which, it is argued, can best be achieved through personal introduction but is difficult in the context of direct contact with a name off a list, leads us to the question of how the data is collected. This forms the subject of the next section of this discussion.

(ii) Collection of Data

The use of a questionnaire has long been established in dialect research as the best method of eliciting specific linguistic features and establishing a common core of linguistic data.

Early dialectologists based their studies on the use of a postal questionnaire. Georg Wenker produced the first linguistic atlas, Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs,<sup>18</sup> using data collected from a questionnaire that he sent to over 50,000 schoolmasters throughout Germany. In England, Joseph Wright produced his notable works, The English Dialect Dictionary<sup>19</sup> and The English Dialect Grammar,<sup>20</sup> using material collected in a similar fashion, that is, from responses to questionnaires sent to correspondents who were not themselves native dialect speakers.

The Linguistic Survey of France, which was instigated by Jules Gilliéron in 1896, was the first survey to use a trained fieldworker,

Edmond Edmont. The seemingly inexhaustible Edmont cycled all over France and recorded interviews with 700 informants during the course of his travels. He used a questionnaire devised by Gilliéron which was continually revised, but which consisted of a core of some 1500 specific linguistic items. Edmont used a consistent phonetic notation to record the responses, which were then returned to Gilliéron, who used them to produce his Atlas Linguistique de la France.<sup>21</sup>

Although Gilliéron's survey constituted a methodological advance on the postal surveys, in that Edmont made a more or less successful attempt to record responses from the "native dialect speakers" themselves, it still retained a major feature in common with the postal surveys: the questionnaire was designed to elicit responses by using a direct method. Thus, the standard form would be given, and the informant would be asked to supply the corresponding regional variant. It was left to two former students of Gilliéron, Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud, to introduce the innovation of the indirect question into their survey of the Italian dialects of Southern Switzerland.<sup>22</sup> Instead of asking, for example, "What is your word for 'cup'?", their fieldworkers would ask, "What is this?", holding up a cup. It was a very simple but crucial change, and all surveys conducted since have used a similar indirect method of eliciting responses.

The Survey of English Dialects was the first British survey to carry out its work subject to strict fieldwork principles. It was conducted using a questionnaire<sup>23</sup> of carefully constructed indirect questions, designed to elicit some 1300 linguistic items. In addition to this it employed vigorous criteria to ascertain the credentials of

informants as native dialect-speakers<sup>24</sup> and its many fieldworkers were all trained to use the International Phonetic Alphabet to record the responses of informants. The same fieldwork principles and Questionnaire were adopted and adapted for use by SAWD. Certain changes were made to the Questionnaire - a number of notions were omitted, the phrasing of certain questions was altered and a number of new questions of particular relevance to Wales were added<sup>25</sup> - but, substantially, it and the way it was used, remained the same, and David Parry generously acknowledges the "techniques that the Anglo-Welsh investigators have been thankful to borrow from their English counterparts."<sup>26</sup>

The Questionnaire was designed to elicit responses of phonological, lexical, syntactical and morphological interest. However, the questions were not grouped under their linguistic categories but semantically, under topics of general interest to the informant. In this way, his attention was focused on the subject-matter rather than the linguistic form he was using. The Questionnaire was designed for use in rural localities, and the first four books consequently comprised questions which related to farming and nature. The final five books related to more general topics, namely the house and house-keeping; the human body; numbers, time and weather; the family and social activities; and actions and states. There were two main kinds of questions (although each had a number of sub-types): the "naming" question, (e.g. "What do you call the place where you keep the animals that give you milk?") and the "completing" question, (e.g. "At school, the class is taken by the...TEACHER.") Wherever possible, use of the

key-word was avoided by the fieldworker so that no standard form was suggested to the informant.

Both SED and SAWD stress the importance of a relaxed atmosphere in which to conduct the interview:

Naturally, the fieldworkers quickly tried to gain the confidence of their informants and to place the newly-formed acquaintance on a friendly footing. Moreover, they endeavoured to make the recordings in the home of their "instructors". Part of their technique was to establish as speedily as they could the "master-pupil" relationship, the informant being the "master", the fieldworker the "pupil".<sup>27</sup>

It was in a relaxed atmosphere that "incidental material" might arise, "that is, significant items occurring in the informant's conversation that, although not specifically asked for in the Questionnaire, do appear to the fieldworker to have some bearing on the linguistic matters under investigation."<sup>28</sup> Both SED and SAWD affirm the great value of "incidental material":

Relatively unconditioned by the somewhat artificial circumstances of the interview, this incidental material is particularly valuable for confirming, supplementing, amplifying and even contradicting the evidences of the responses themselves.<sup>29</sup>

However, very few of the questions in the Questionnaire were "talking" questions; the majority were closed questions, designed to elicit only a single word or short phrase. The reasons for this were logistical. Firstly, such a method was the most economical to obtain a complete corpus of data about the grammatical and phonological structure of a particular dialect. Secondly, for a great part of both

surveys, fieldworkers were transcribing linguistic features as they occurred, and so for clarity and ease of transcription, short responses were preferable. Of course, neither Questionnaire nor fieldworkers would deter more voluble speakers, and valuable information of the kind discussed above was obtained in this way. But the difficulties of extracting and transcribing interesting features from a flow of speech, on the spot, were considerable, and so directed answers were more helpful. As sound-recording became easier, recordings were made, but these were used, in the main, to corroborate transcriptions and to ensure consistency between fieldworkers.

It had been my privilege to carry out an investigation for SAWD in the Upper Rhondda prior to the present investigation.<sup>30</sup> The investigation had been carried out according to the established methodology of SAWD. As had been done at Llanhilleth, I had used Books V to IX of the Questionnaire, supplemented by an occupational questionnaire based on that used by Peter Wright in his investigations of the language of coal-mining.<sup>31</sup> During the course of the investigation, through recorded interviews and informal discussions with contacts in the Rhondda, two things became clear. Firstly, it was evident that there was interesting lexical material to be recorded in the area that would be unlikely to arise naturally as "incidental material" during the course of an interview using the Questionnaire. Secondly, the grammatical forms and, to a lesser extent, the phonetic realisations of certain responses obtained with the Questionnaire, appeared to be more standardised than the forms that characterised the more casual speech of the informants. When planning the present

investigation, I decided that my approach should address these two problem areas.

My initial investigation had, in fact, satisfied the basic criteria of SAWD in the locality of the Rhondda, so I was fortunate to have the skeleton framework of a language system on which to build. Although the Questionnaire had proved helpful in providing this foundation, I decided not to use it during the present investigation for two reasons which were directly linked to the two areas needing further consideration that I had already identified. In the first place, I wished to direct the interviews specifically towards the vocabulary that I thought was present in the Rhondda, but which had not yet manifested itself during recorded interviews. I did not feel that the Questionnaire, with its rural bias, would be appropriate for further use in industrial Rhondda.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, and possibly more radically, I wished to explore the possibility of using a freer interviewing technique.

The question of how to ensure that the tokens of speech recorded from an informant are, in fact, representative of the way he or she speaks habitually, was a matter of some concern to me. It was a problem that had been highlighted by the observation that when, in the context of the Questionnaire, informants were more conscious of what they were saying, they were more likely to be influenced by the standard form. Of course, most people move from one register of speech to another, from formal to informal, quite naturally in the course of everyday life. However, it is often felt that the way people speak when they are most relaxed and subject to the least

number of formal constraints provides the best data for linguistic and dialect research. In their discussion of interviewing techniques, Chambers and Trudgill remark:

It is well known that more casual styles increase the occurrences of regional accent and homelier vocabulary. To elicit casual speech, however, requires a close rapport being established in the interview, especially by encouraging the informant to speak at length on matters that affect him intimately...

By contrast, the use of questions, however indirect, designed to elicit particular responses maintains a level of formality.<sup>33</sup>

It was my aim in the investigation to reduce the level of formality and, thereby, to increase the likelihood of "occurrences of regional accents and homelier vocabulary." Although certain questions would be directed towards specific words or phrases, the form of the interview would be more discursive and conversational, with the aim of encouraging more casual and extended speech than had normally been possible within the constraints of the Dieth-Orton Questionnaire.

Interviews with the informants were structured through the use of three "questionnaires". Two of these, however, the "General Questionnaire" (hereafter GQ) and the "Coal-Mining Questionnaire" (hereafter CMQ), were not questionnaires with a strict question-answer format. They were intended, rather, to provide a framework for conversation, and to encourage informants to talk freely about specified subjects. The third, the "New Phonological Questionnaire"<sup>34</sup> (hereafter NPQ), was more traditional in approach. Each of the three questionnaires could be completed during a single session with an informant and every interview was recorded onto a cassette-tape.

Interesting features were then extracted and transcribed by me into ordinary orthography and phonetic script, after the interview had taken place. No transcription was attempted during the interview itself. Details of informants and which questionnaire/s each answered appear in Chapter 4. The texts of the three questionnaires are reproduced in Appendix A, but notes about each are given below.

(a) The General Questionnaire

The GQ was designed to open up conversation on a number of topics that would be immediately familiar to the informants. Its aim was to encourage them to talk in a relaxed but engaged manner. They were not being asked for specialised information as such, but to talk as naturally as possible about aspects of their everyday life, such as home and family. Therefore, it seemed more helpful to approach the subjects by encouraging reminiscence about "how things used to be", emphasising through a conversational tone the familiarity and ordinariness of the world they were describing than to adopt the "master-pupil" model, with its overtones of special knowledge. The first section of the GQ was about "Family Background", and was used to obtain information about family origin and use of language, as well as to provide material of linguistic interest. The other three sections were on "Childhood", "The Home" and "The Town and its Characters".

During the course of the conversation, specific questions were introduced as naturally as possible. These questions were directed particularly towards interesting lexical items that I had been told were present in the Rhondda. Each notion was introduced in the first

instance by an indirect question, but if this failed to elicit the expected answer, it often proved fruitful to discuss these items explicitly. In this way, a number of levels of usage emerged which proved interesting when linked to the complicated pattern of family origin and language.

The lexical item gwt, /gwt/ serves to illustrate the point. During the fourth section, "The Town", conversation might be guided towards attendance at the cinema. At this point, the question might be asked, "If you were queuing to go into the pictures and someone tried to push in in front, what would you say to them?" If this immediately elicits the response, "Get back in the gwt," then it is clear that the word "gwt" is part of the informant's active vocabulary. However, if the standard word "queue" or "back of the queue" is used, then the informant might be asked whether gwt is, in fact, known. A number of responses are possible at this point, each telling its own story about the informant's relationship with the Welsh language. Someone brought up to speak Welsh as a first language might answer that gwt was only used when speaking Welsh and that when speaking English, the English word was used. Another informant might indicate that the word was in his or her active vocabulary at one time ("Oh yes, I'd forgotten. We used to say that."), or is completely unknown. Different replies might be given by different informants living within the same township. Responses such as these were common, and informants often showed genuine delight at being reminded of a word that they remembered but used no longer. I am convinced that such reports are reliable and provide fascinating and important

evidence about the use of Welsh in English speech and about changing usage.

In a small number of cases, where one word might possess a number of meanings, informants were asked to explain the meaning which they ascribed to a certain word (e.g. "tidy" or "cokum"). The flexibility of the approach also allowed for notions that arose unexpectedly during the course of the investigation to be checked with other informants. No questions were designed to elicit specific grammatical forms, but many non-standard forms manifested themselves during the course of the conversations.

(b) The Coal-Mining Questionnaire

The primary purpose of the CMQ was to elicit the lexical items associated with traditional coal-mining in the Rhondda Valleys. Because the informants were being asked to impart specialised information about a skill which they possessed and I did not, the "master-pupil" model was more appropriate and helpful than it had been with the GQ. However, as with the GQ, the informant was invited to enter into extended conversation about specified topics. Each informant was asked to explain and describe the various aspects of life underground and on "top pit", e.g. the layout of the pit, cutting the coal, safety and ventilation, shot-firing, washing and grading the coal. Where the collier had a special expertise (e.g. firing or horses) he might talk at greater length about this particular aspect of his work.

A fuller account of the business of coal-mining will be given in Part III. However, some discussion about the development of the CMQ is pertinent here. The CMQ was developed out of the work I did during the initial survey, using Peter Wright's questionnaire. It soon became apparent that Wright's questionnaire was too brief for a detailed exploration of the varied and complicated work of the colliery. It was also compiled on the question-answer model of the Deith-Orton Questionnaire. Although Wright possibly employed greater flexibility in the actual conduct of the investigation, all the given questions are closed "naming" questions. I identified a number of different aspects of colliery work during my initial inquiries and used the questionnaire developed during my initial inquiry (and reproduced in the Appendix of my dissertation) as the starting point for my new investigations. It was not used as a set format, but as a guide to conversation about the different aspects of work, and was soon itself expanded as I learnt more about life underground. I made myself familiar with the areas to be discussed, so that I would be able to respond in an informed manner to the descriptions given by the informants and only asked closed questions to clarify or pin-point specific notions as they arose in the discussion. Questions in the CMQ were used as reminders, and their order followed the flow of conversation.

Although the primary purpose of this CMQ was lexical, it was also hoped that grammatical and phonological points would arise during the course of the conversation. Indeed, explanations of the processes undertaken in coal-mining gave much scope for the occurrence of

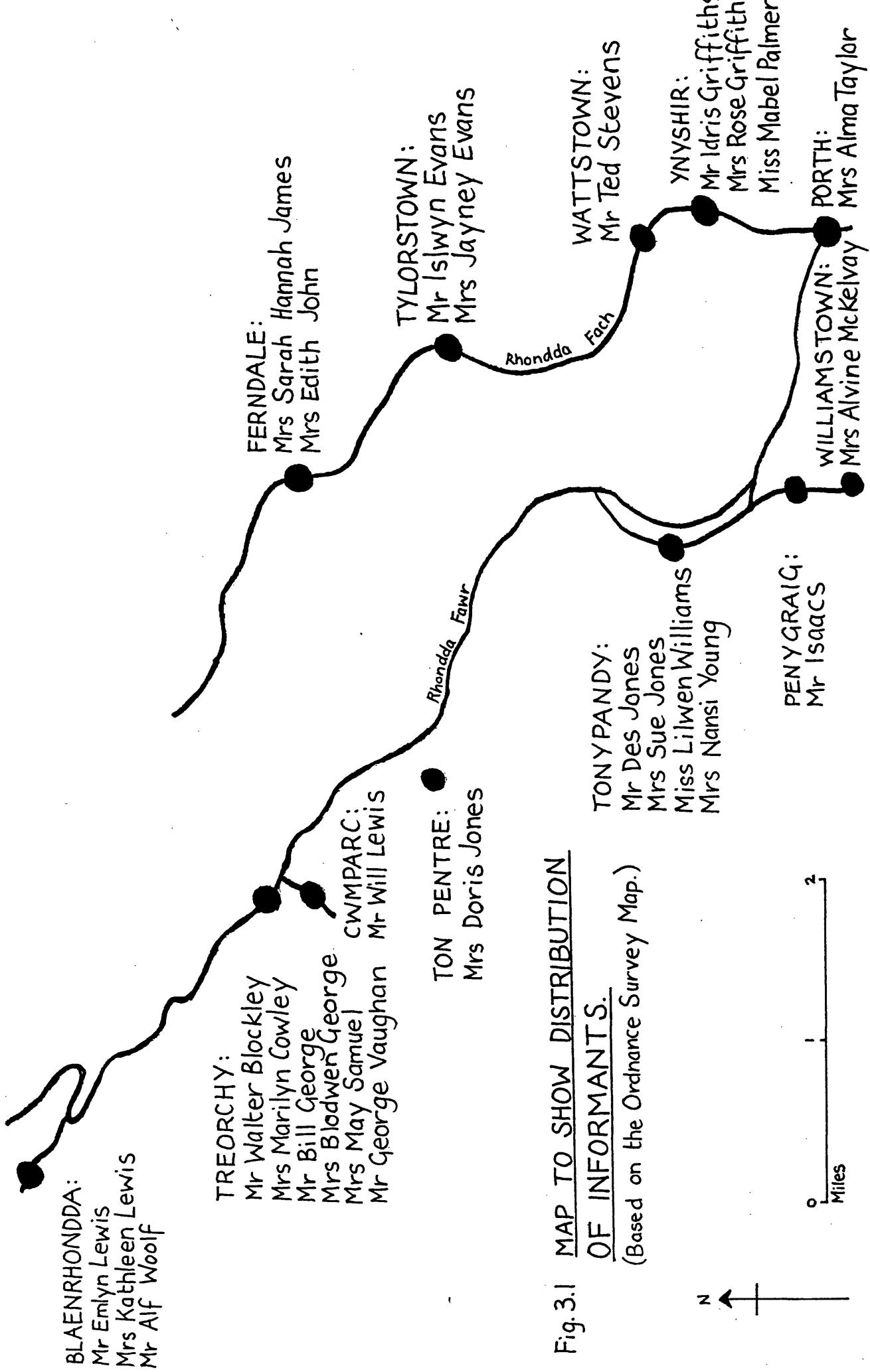
prepositions and verb forms; and because the focus of attention was the process being described and not the language that was being used, the Questionnaire did prove fruitful in this way. In order that the points which arose might be discussed in the light of family origins and use of Welsh, brief questions of the kind asked in Section 1 of the GQ were also asked of informants who responded to this CMQ.

(c) The New Phonological Questionnaire for Anglo-Welsh Dialects

The NPQ was designed by David Parry for use by SAWD in non-rural localities. It was compiled according to the Deith-Orton model, with set questions designed to elicit a single word or short phrase. There were only three open questions, which related to games played as a child, comics and the meaning of "kitchen". These were omitted if the subject had already been covered with a particular informant in the GQ. Apart from these three, all the questions were either "completing" questions or "naming" questions.

The primary purpose of the NPQ was to elicit words that could be used to form minimal pairs to identify a phonological system for the dialect under investigation. To this end, the majority of responses were of phonological interest, but a smaller number of questions were designed to prompt responses of grammatical or lexical significance. The questions were grouped semantically under headings of general interest. There were eighteen sections, covering topics such as games, old sayings, babies, motoring, school and the weather. The NPQ was not designed to explore areas requiring specialised knowledge, and for this reason could be used in an industrial or a rural

context. For this reason, also, I did not find it helpful to adopt the "master-pupil" model while conducting the interviews. The majority of the responses were ordinary, standard words, so there could be no pretence that the informant was imparting information that I did not possess. Indeed, it was often obvious that a particular response was required and this might have led too easily to role-reversal. Instead, I encouraged the informant to think of the NPQ as something of a game. It was always used in conjunction with one of the other Questionnaires, in the majority of cases the GQ, and usually took second place. In this way a good relationship could be established during the first questionnaire, before the NPQ was used.



NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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1. See Ch. 1, note 1.
2. See Ch. 1.
3. For further discussion of the Questionnaire see section (ii) of this chapter.
4. This awareness had arisen in part from my own undergraduate investigation in the Upper Rhondda, for further discussion of which see section (ii) of this chapter.
5. J. K. Chambers and P. Trudgill, Dialectology (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 56-57.
6. *Ibid*, p. 57.
7. S. Romaine, "A Critical Overview of the Methodology of Urban British Socio-linguistics", English Worldwide: A Journal of Varieties of English (ed. Manfred Görlach, Heidelberg, 1980, 1: 2).
8. See also W. Labov, The Social Stratification of English in New York City, (Washington, 1966).
9. Quoted in Romaine, op.cit.
10. See also P. Trudgill, The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich, (Cambridge, 1974).
11. Quoted in Romaine, op.cit.
12. See also R. K. S. Macaulay, Language, Social Class and Education: a Glasgow Study, (Edinburgh, 1977).
13. J. C. Wells, Accents of English 1: An Introduction, (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 37-38.
14. J. K. Chambers and P. Trudgill, op.cit., p. 58.
15. H. Kurath, M. Hanley, B. Bloch and A. S. Lowman, Jr., A Linguistic Atlas of New England, 3 Vols. (Brown University Press, 1939-43).
16. J. C. Wells, op.cit., pp. 38-39.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 Continued

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17. S. Bertz, "Der Dubliner Stadtdialekt. Eine synchronische Beschreibung der Struktur und Variabilität des heutigen Dubliner Englischen. I. Phonologie", (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Fribourg i Br, 1975), p. 24. Quoted by Wells, op.cit., p. 39.
18. G. Wenker, Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs. Two hand-produced copies were deposited in Marburg and Berlin in 1881.
19. J. Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary, 6 Vols. (Oxford, 1898-1905).
20. J. Wright, The English Dialect Grammar, (Oxford, 1905).
21. J. Gilliéron, Atlas Linguistique de la France, 13 Vols. (Champion, 1902-10).
22. K. Jaberg and J. Jud, Sprach-und Sachatlas des Italiens Und der Südschweiz, (Zofinger, 1928-40).
23. The Dieth-Orton Questionnaire.
24. See section (i) of this chapter.
25. Details of the changes are given in A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England. Modified for Use in Welsh Localities, by Anne Chesters, Clive Upton and David Parry, (Swansea, 1968), pp. (i)-(iii) and SAWD, Vol. I, pp. 277-280.
26. SAWD, Vol. I, 1.1, p. 3.
27. Introduction to SED, pp. 16-17. Also quoted SAWD, Vol. I, 1.1, p. 3.
28. SAWD, Vol. I, 1.1, p. 3.
29. Introduction to SED, p. 18. Also quoted SAWD, Vol. I, 1.1, p. 3.
30. My findings were recorded in a dissertation, "The Dialect of the Upper Rhondda Valley, Mid Glamorgan", submitted as part of the examination for the degree Baccalaureus in Artibus, U.C. Swansea, 1980.
31. The text of the questionnaire is to be found in Wright's chapter, "Coal-mining Language: A Recent Investigation", Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles, (ed. M.F. Wakelin, London, 1972), pp. 35-38.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 Continued

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32. See also the discussion on rural v. industrial in section (i) of this chapter.
33. J. K. Chambers and P. Trudgill, op.cit., pp. 27-28.
34. D. Parry, A New Phonological Questionnaire for Anglo-Welsh Dialects, (Swansea, 1980).

## CHAPTER 4

### THE INFORMANTS

Informants are discussed below in alphabetical order by surname. Details of their family and language backgrounds are given, and I have also included some of the informants' own comments about their families where I feel this sheds light on the general and linguistic history of the Rhondda. The informants' testimonies were fascinating in the witness they bore to the mixing of Welsh and English in the Rhondda, and to the way in which the English language ultimately came to predominate.

Two of the informants, Mr Bill George and Mrs Blodwen George, are related to me by marriage. I have decided to include them as informants because they fit all the criteria perfectly. Indeed, they were most helpful in supplying background information and in consciously and subconsciously making me aware of the presence of certain linguistic characteristics which were subsequently included in the investigation. This is particularly true of the invaluable help that Mr George gave me with regard to the examination of coal-mining language. However, I am aware that it might be thought that their status as informants is prejudiced by the familial relationship, and so I would ask that this factor be borne in mind in any reading of their evidence.

MR WALTER BLOCKLEY (Wa B)      TREORCHY

b. Treorchy, 1902. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: f. Berriew, Montgomeryshire. m. Caersws, Montgomeryshire. He was brought up to speak Welsh, but now does not use it in everyday speech.

Mr Blockley is a local preacher for an English Baptist Church, and this seemed to be reflected in the fact that he had a very deliberate style of delivery.

D. of I.: FEB. 1981    Q: CMQ

MRS MARILYN COWLEY (Ma C)      TREORCHY

b. Blaencwm, 1941. Left school at 15 yrs.

Family background: m. Cymmer. f. Blaencwm.

"My father's mother and father were very Welshy. My mother's mother never brought my mother up. It was her aunt who lived in Birmingham, but they were very, very Welshy... They went away to live, see. I've got a very Welshy aunt living in Blaenrhondda, so my mother was sort of reared up with her as well. So my mother spoke an awful lot of Welsh, but she never spoke Welsh to us children."

A very lively and broad dialect speaker.

D. of I.: NOV. 1980    Qs: GQ and NPQ

MR ISLWYN EVANS (Is E)      TYLORSTOWN

b. Blaencwm, 1941. Left school at 15 yrs.

Family background: m. Ram, nr Lampeter, Cardiganshire. f. Llannon, Cardiganshire.

CG - What language were you brought up in?

Is E - Welsh. When we went to school we had very little English, at five years of age...[I speak] English now, see. Well, I haven't spoken Welsh...not since I been married.

Ja E - Only when he meets his family.

Is E - Family, yes. But now we're not to speak Welsh.

Ja E - No, you don't lapse into Welsh as you used to.

Is E - No, no. When I was with my sister, we always spoke Welsh in one period, but now...we don't. The only one that speaks Welsh to me now is my eldest brother, Idwal...but I'm pretty awkward in Welsh now.

A slightly shy but very helpful informant. Mr Evans is the husband of Mrs Jayney Evans. He never worked in the pits but was a life-long employee of the Co-operative Society, or Co-op, until his retirement.

D. of I.: NOV. 1980    Qs: GQ and NPQ

MRS JAYNEY EVANS (Ja E)      TYLORSTOWN

b. Tylorstown, 1919. Left school at 16 yrs.

Family background: m. Cardiff. f. Tregaron, Cardiganshire.

"My father was Welsh, but my mother was English you see, so actually we spoke no Welsh at all - only the little bits I learnt at school."

A very lively informant. Mrs Evans is the wife of Mr Islwyn Evans, and they were interviewed together.

D. of I.: NOV. 1980      Q: CQ

MR BILL GEORGE (B1 G)      TREORCHY

b. Cwmparc, 1920. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Bicester, Oxfordshire. f. Caernarfon, N. Wales.

"My father spoke Welsh, but we had to speak English because my mother was English... I've got a little, little bit [of Welsh]."

Mr George is the husband of Mrs Blodwen George. He was brought up as an active member of the Church in Wales, but is now Secretary of an English Baptist Chapel.

D. of I.: MAY 1981      Qs: NPQ and CMQ

MRS BLODWEN GEORGE (B1 G)      TREORCHY

b. Treorchy, 1925. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Morriston. f. Haverfordwest/Carmarthen.

"My mother was taught Welsh at home. My father wasn't. My father's parents spoke all English at home. My father learnt the language underground, working with a man from North Wales who had very, very good Welsh and Dad asked him to teach him how to speak Welsh. And my father had much better Welsh, more correct Welsh than my mother. My mother never spoke [Welsh] at home with us. She would talk Welsh if a neighbour came in. She always spoke English to us.

.....

"[They spoke Welsh] quite a lot to the older members, but then the second half of the family they spoke English to... I think it became less fashionable at one point to speak Welsh."

Mrs George has a fairly good understanding of Welsh, but does not feel confident enough to speak it. Mrs George is the wife of Mr Bill George and is also a deacon in their chapel. They were interviewed separately.

D. of I.: NOV. 1980      Qs: CQ and NPQ

MR IDRIS GRIFFITHS (Id G)    YNYSHIR

b. Wattstown, 1918. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Hirwaun, Glamorgan. f. Dinas, Glamorgan.

"[My mother's family] were small farmers actually, keeping sheep. But anyway, after the [Industrial] Revolution, the land was taken off them. He had to look for another job. That's my grandfather now, my mother's father. And the job he had then was pit-sinking, because in 1870, 1880, through to 1890, most of the pits were sunk in the Rhondda... So he came to Wattstown, which was a National Colliery at that time, and helped in pit-sinking... My mother used to travel back and fore on horse-back from Hirwaun to Wattstown, to visit her father... or whatever time had had off would go back to Hirwaun of course. And she related to me that the Rhondda then was full of trees, a beautiful valley... she stated that a squirrel could go from tree to tree, from Pontypridd, right up to the top of the valley... And anyway, they settled in Wattstown after the pit was sunk...

...

"My father was born in Dinas, in this coffee-shop. The coffee-shop was a last resort coming from Pontypridd and Cardiff way. Well then they turned the horse and trap, had a cup of coffee and then go back down.

...

"My mother and father spoke Welsh. My eldest sister and brother spoke Welsh. I could understand Welsh at that time. It was all Welsh spoken underground when I started work at fourteen. Mostly older people were speaking Welsh."

Mr Griffiths now speaks no Welsh, although he retains some knowledge of it. Mr Griffiths is the husband of Mrs Rose Griffiths, and there were interviewed together. Both were politically involved, and at times Mr Griffiths had a rather formal style of speaking, as though he were used to speaking in public. Hence he uses such words as "related" and "stated" in place of the more usual "told" and "said" in the stories above. However, his speech still retains significant dialect features.

D. of I.: SEPT. 1981    Q: GQ

MRS ROSE GRIFFITHS (Ro G)       YNYSHIR

b. Ynyshir, 1920. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Cardiff. f. Tredegar, Gwent.

"My father [spoke Welsh] yes. Fluently. He tried to speak to me, to teach me A,B,C,D. But unless you get taught in the schools - My mother was English, you see. She was born in Cardiff. She came from England, get me? I tell people that. Cardiff. Cardiff the capital of Wales. Anyhow, more English people there than there is in... We were Church, you know. My mother was Church... and there was no way we spoke Welsh with anyone... sometimes I feel ashamed that I don't speak Welsh."

A very forceful speaker and a great story-teller, so much so that it was often difficult to follow the Questionnaire. However, some worthwhile material emerged despite or, probably, because of this. Like her husband Mr Idris Griffiths, Mrs Griffiths is actively involved in politics, and I think that it is this involvement that has led to the phrase 'no way' (see Ch. 8), which she uses regularly throughout the interview.

D. of I.: SEPT. 1981      Q: GQ

MR ISAACS (Mr I)      PENYGRAIG

b. Tonypandy, 1891. Left school at 13 yrs.

Family background: m. and f. Morriston, W.Glam. Both his parents spoke Welsh and he said that they would speak to him in Welsh, but that he would reply in English.

The interview with Mr Isaacs was recorded during my undergraduate investigation in the Rhondda. At this time Mr Isaacs was a very vigorous and articulate informant. Although he did not speak Welsh, he could understand it, and his English speech showed a marked Welsh influence.

D. of I.: 1979      Q: CMQ

MRS SARAH HANNAH JAMES (Sa J)      FERNDALE

b. Ferndale, 1893. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Penderyn, nr Hirwaun. f. St. Clears, Carmarthenshire.

"I never spoke a word of English until I went to school; and then when I was being brought up, if I was to talk in English, my

mother'd answer me in Welsh. Yes, every word of Welsh at home, I was brought up on...I don't speak much Welsh now. I can speak Welsh. As it is, you know, my sister next to me, when she started school, she started speaking English, and then we went more and more to speaking English all the time. Well now, the children know English, but we don't converse much in English. In Welsh rather, not English. They've gone to, more to the English as the years go by."

Mrs James was a great character with a wonderful laugh: a very good and lively informant.

D. of I.: FEB. 1981      Qs: GQ and NPQ

MRS EDITH JOHN (Ed J)      FERNDALE

b. Ferndale, 1889. Left school at 12 yrs.

Family background: m. and f. from Ystradgynlais, Swansea Valley and Llanelli, Carmarthenshire, although it is unclear which parent is from which place, or whether she is, in fact, talking of her grand-parents, with whom she lived for part of her childhood.

C G - Did your parents speak Welsh?

Ed J - Yes, very Welsh... I spoke Welsh to my parents.

C G - But you speak English now?

Ed J - Well yes, because everybody's English now, aren't they? Around here. Very little Welsh. I speak Welsh to my minister...

C G - So you do speak some Welsh?

Ed J - Oh yes. I speak quite a lot of Welsh like that. When I'm able to then, isn't it... I didn't have a lot of Welsh friends. I mean, not speaking Welsh friends. Welsh mind, but we've got into the habit of speaking English.

A rather tentative and at times slightly confused informant. However, she was very willing, and interesting material did emerge.

D. of I.: FEB. 1981      Q: GQ

MR DES JONES (De J)      TONYPANDY

b. Treherbert, 1948. Left school at 15 yrs.

Family background: m. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. f. Treherbert. When asked if mother spoke Welsh, his wife replied, "No, she got a job to speak English. She's a Geordie." Father also spoke no Welsh and Mr Jones was brought up in English.

A very good informant, one who might be said to be typical of a younger generation of Rhondda speakers. Mr Jones is the husband of Mrs Sue Jones, and they were interviewed together.

D. of I.: MAY 1983.      Q: GQ

MRS DORIS JONES (Do J)      TON PENTRE

b. Ton Pentre, 1901. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. and f. Ton Pentre. Both sides of the family originally from Monmouthshire, and Mrs Jones's husband was also from New Tredegar, Monmouthshire. None of them spoke Welsh.

"I was very, very, very slow in learning Welsh. If I had seventeen out of a hundred when I got up to the secondary school I was lucky."

A very willing and helpful informant.

D. of I.: MAY 1981      Q: GQ

MRS SUE JONES (Su J)      TONYPANDY

b. Tonypandy area, 1950. Left school at 15 yrs.

Family background: m. Trebannog. f. Williamstown. Mother's grandfather from North Wales was the only member of the family known to have spoken Welsh. Father's family was originally from Bristol. No-one in the family ever spoke Welsh to her and she has never spoken Welsh. Immediate family was not involved in coal-mining either. Her father worked for Royal Worcester Ceramics in Tonyrefail.

A very lively and broad informant. Like her husband, Mr Des Jones, she might be said to be typical of a younger generation of Rhondda speakers. During the course of the interview there were also some interesting contributions from Mr and Mrs Jones's children who were then aged 8 and 10 years.

D. of I.: MAY 1983.    Qs: GQ and NPQ

MR EMLYN LEWIS (Em L)      BLAENRHONDDA

b. Blaencwm, 1909. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Clingwyn, nr Blaenrhondda. f. Blaenrhondda. During the course of the interview there was a very short but revealing exchange:

CG - Do you speak Welsh?

Em L - I do speak a bit of it you know.

Ka L - His mother and father is Welsh.

Em L - Baptist.

First of all, Mr Lewis's wife identifies his parents as being Welsh in a way that she and her husband, who were merely born in Wales, are not. Obviously, this is because she identifies Welshness

with the ability to speak the language, and not with place of birth. Secondly, Mr Lewis confirms their Welshness by supplying the information that they were Baptists, pointing to the strong connection between the Welsh language and the non-conformist denominations.

A very enthusiastic and broad informant, with a lively turn of phrase.

D. of I.: MAY 1981. Q: CMQ

MRS KATHLEEN LEWIS (Ka L) BLAENRHONDDA

b. Blaenrhondda, 1913.

Family background: m. ? f. Blaenrhondda

"I'm not Welsh... Don't understand it... I've lived here all my life."

Although not originally interviewed as an informant, Mrs Lewis made a number of very lively and natural contributions to the interview with her husband, Mr Emlyn Lewis. These contributions were particularly valuable because of the spontaneous manner in which they arose.

D. of I.: MAY 1981

MR WILL LEWIS (Wi L) CWMPARC

b. Cwmparc, 1921. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. and f. Merthyr

Wi L - My father worked in the [Cyfarthfa] steelworks and he came from Merthyr down to... Pentre.

CG - Did your parents speak Welsh?

Wi L - Oh aye. They did. I didn't. Oh you know, I can follow some Welsh. I've worked with all kinds of Welshy men...[but I can't speak it.]

A very helpful informant. During the interview, Mr Lewis was joined by a friend and ex-colleague, who had worked in the washery. The main focus of my investigation had been work underground, and Mr Lewis's friend prompted further details about a process about which I had little information.

D. of I.: FEB. 1981    Q: CMQ

MRS ALVINE McKELVAY (Al M)       WILLIAMSTOWN

b. Pen-Rhiw-Fer, nr Williamstown, 1921. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. and f. Aberdare.

"My father spoke Welsh fluently, my mother pidgin Welsh... But the thing that...we were always annoyed about was, my father never spoke Welsh to us... It was all Welsh at home, you know, in Aberdare... I lived with them for a while and I spoke Welsh - I had to speak Welsh, but I've forgotten it all now, you know."

MISS MABEL PALMER (Ma P)       YNYSHIR

b. Ynyshir, 1909. Left school at 16 yrs.

Family background: m. Dudley, West Midlands, but came to Pontypridd when only six weeks old. f. Ynyshir. Family originally from Devon.

"My father could speak [Welsh]... His mother was a Devonian, see, but yes, he could speak some Welsh...only when he was out with men who spoke Welsh to him. No. I don't speak Welsh at all, although all my friends are Welsh, mind. [Can you understand Welsh?] No. A word or two here and there. No, I don't speak it or not really understand. My friend's father used to tell me, 'No need for you not to

know.' He said he couldn't speak English when he came down south. But there you are, I wish I could speak it. I think it's very nice."

A very helpful informant, but one who, I had the impression, was always conscious of being "correct". Miss Palmer was also very conscious that certain words or phrases would have been used more by Welsh-speakers.

D. of I.: SEPT. 1981    Qs: GQ and NPQ

MRS MAY SAMUEL (Ma S)      TREORCHY

b. Treorchy, 1912.

Family background: m. and f. Pontrhydyfendigaid, Cardiganshire.

"My father was a shepherd in one of the farms in Pontrhydyfendigaid and he came down here to work in the mines... The pits were in full swing then. I was born here after they came here to live.

.....

"I didn't have a word of English when I went to school, which made it very awkward. I was lucky in the sense there was one of the teachers there who came to our chapel and could speak Welsh and she sort of, she taught me one year, and she'd ask in English, isn't it, and she'd look at me, and if she saw me looking a bit dumb like she'd repeat it to me in Welsh for me to know what it was. It wasn't long before I came into it and I was speaking English fluently. And I had to do all the shopping for my mother, go with her when she was shopping, because she couldn't speak English.

.....

"[My husband] was Welsh too. He was born in the Rhondda. He

was one of the old 'glorens' they used to call them. The original Welsh families of the Rhondda... I consider myself more of a Cardiganshire person, even although I was brought up in the Rhondda... We spoke English, funnily enough. We met - we were introduced in English and we'd been going together for a while...until I realised then that he could speak Welsh. Whereas possibly, if we'd started speaking in Welsh, we'd be speaking Welsh. But we spoke all English until the day he died.

.....

"Lots of the Welsh people went to speak English to each other and spoke English to their children. But my mother couldn't speak English. She understood it and she could more or less make herself understood - but Welsh preferably. Now, the latter years now, when only my one brother was left, and my husband when he was alive: my husband and I speaking English to one another, my brother and I Welsh. I just couldn't speak English to my brother. It just didn't come out. Whatever I wanted to say...it would just come out in Welsh. I couldn't say it. Unless we had English visitors, and we'd speak in English to one another then, and I felt I was talking to a foreigner, you know, a strange person, simply because I was talking [English] to him."

A most articulate informant. I have quoted from Mrs Samuel's account at length because I feel it is very revealing about the importance of the place of family origin and fascinating in its description of the way in which Welsh and English worked within the family. Possibly more than any other informant, Mrs Samuel has retained her identity as a Welsh-speaker. Although she speaks English

"down the road", shopping and meeting people on the street, she is also actively involved in a Welsh-speaking chapel. Her children were brought up to speak Welsh and have subsequently encouraged their own children to speak Welsh, and so the importance of the language was confirmed within the immediate family.

D. of I.: NOV. 1980      Qs: GQ and NPQ

MR TED STEVENS (Te S)      WATTSTOWN

b. Wattstown, 1901. Left school at 13 yrs.

Family background: m. Wattstown. f. West Athrey, Somerset.

"My mother's... father was overman in the Standard Colliery, the next colliery [to Wattstown] d'you see. I mean my mother was going up to Treorchy then... to her granny. And then she met my father that came from West Athrey in Somerset as a young man. And they married and came down here to live. [They spoke English?] Oh, my Dad did. My mother could speak Welsh, what she had learned in Treorchy, see. But she wouldn't speak Welsh in the house for my father was English. And my father could understand Welsh better than me, because when he came up to Treorchy it was all Welsh, you see. And he could understand a lot, but couldn't speak it."

The children of the family never spoke Welsh.

A most helpful and broad informant, with a very good memory. Mr Stevens never married, but lived with his sister who was present at the interview.

D. of I.: SEPT. 1981      Q: CMQ

MRS ALMA TAYLOR (Al T) PORTH

b. Porth, 1922. Left school at 16 yrs.

Family background: m. and f. from Atworth, nr Bath.

"My father worked on a farm when he was there [i.e Atworth], but he left Wiltshire and came to the Valleys to work in the mines because farming, there was just nothing in it. So he worked in the mines..."

"I was brought up in a thoroughly English home... I did learn [Welsh] at school, yes, but never excelled in it. I suppose it's a disadvantage to be brought up in an English home when you're in a class with Welsh children. [Was there much Welsh in the classroom?] No, but I think they understood it more than I would have.

.....

"Every August we used to go up for the full month of August [to Atworth]. It was wonderful. Get away from the valley, go to this lovely little village and spend the full month there with them. Great. The first thing I did when I got to my grandfather's house - it seems ridiculous now, but when you're a child it's little things that count - I used to run upstairs and then...look out through the landing window at the fields, watch the cows. That's all, but to me that was lovely."

An informant who was very conscious of being English, and who also set great store by "doing things properly". Indeed, she made an overt connection between these two themes during the interview. Mrs Taylor's speech tended towards the standard forms, but was interesting for the dialect forms which did emerge nonetheless.

MR GEORGE VAUGHAN (Ge V)      TREORCHY

b. Treorchy, 1914. Left school at 14 yrs, but some later training with the N.C.B. and N.U.M.

Family background: b. Ammanford, Carmarthenshire. f. Brecon.

Although Mr Vaughan's father spoke English, he was brought up by his mother to speak Welsh. His mother died when he was 13 years of age, and so he spoke less Welsh at home, but continued to speak Welsh at work and now moves easily between the two languages.

A great story-teller and local character. He was very active politically and during the Second World War was chairman of the local lodge of the N.U.M., which was the biggest in South Wales.

D. of I.: NOV. 1980      Qs: CMQ and part of GQ

MISS LILWEN WILLIAMS (Li W)      TONYPANDY

b. Trellaw, c. 1923. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Trellaw, family originally from N.Wales.

f. Pentre. Both parents spoke Welsh but did not speak Welsh to her:

"I went to Welsh chapel till I was about eight and...of course, I said I wasn't going any more because I couldn't understand it like, see. So I left off going to Welsh chapel - I'm sorry sometimes now, like, isn't it... Mind you, when I go around these Welsh chapels speaking and they sing in Welsh...I can pick the Welsh words up, like, see."

A very helpful and fairly broad informant.

D. of I.: MAY 1983      Qs: GQ and NPQ

MR ALF WOOLF (Al W)      BLAENRHONDDA

b. Blaenrhondda, 1922. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Symond's Yat. f. Forest-of-Dean.

Al W - They came, came to the valleys well, when...the mining, mining industry started...

C G - They didn't speak Welsh?

Al W - No, English they were... My father could speak Welsh. He learnt Welsh while he was here.

C G - Can you speak Welsh?

Al W - No. He never spoke Welsh in the house. He only spoke Welsh outside. He learnt Welsh his-self. He picked it up then.

An articulate, fairly broad and very helpful informant.

D. of I.: MAY 1981.    Q: CMQ

MRS NANSI YOUNG (Na Y)      PENYGRAIG

b. Trealaŵ, 1923. Left school at 14 yrs.

Family background: m. Aberdare, but family from Trealaŵ.

f. Pennsylvania, USA. Family originally Welsh and returned to Wales when he was 10 years of age.

"My father when he came from America, of course, didn't know any Welsh. So when he was courting my mother, my grandmother didn't like him because he was a foreigner. So he was determined to win over my grandmother, so he learnt to speak Welsh himself. So, of course, he was the best son-in-law in the world then to my grandmother, because she was typically Welsh, you know. So my parents both spoke Welsh, but they didn't speak Welsh to the children, to us, so I didn't speak [Welsh]."

Mrs Young understands a little Welsh, but "not a lot". She wondered if the reason Welsh was not used in their home was because her father was a Welsh-learner.

A very willing informant, but one whose speech tended towards standard forms. However, some interesting material did emerge.

D. of I.: MAY 1983.      Q: GQ

**PART II:**  
**COMMUNITY**

## CHAPTER 5

### PHONOLOGY : VOWELS & DIPHTHONGS

5.1 The phonological material presented in this chapter was obtained in two ways: firstly, from the recording of general, informal speech during the course of the GQ, NPQ and CMQ; secondly, from replies to specific questions designed to elicit responses of phonological interest in the NPQ. The primary purpose of the NPQ was to provide a series of 'minimal pairs' and 'sets' which would show evidence of significant phonological contrasts within the sound-system of Rhondda English (hereafter Rh E). 'Minimal pairs' are pairs of words distinct in meaning, but which differ phonologically in only one sound, e.g. toy v boy, sick v seek. Likewise, a 'minimal set' is a group of words differentiated by each having only one sound different from all others, e.g. cart, caught, cat, coat. Thus, through the identification of a contrastive distribution of certain sounds, we may identify phonemes and begin to determine which allophones belong to the same phoneme.

The system of minimal pairs provides us with a starting-point for an internal description of the sound-system of Rh E. However, during any examination of a dialect it is interesting to have an external reference point, to show in what ways it retains historical forms as part of its system, or in what ways it differs from a contemporary standard form. As we have seen (Ch. 3), traditional dialect studies have been designed to trace the relationship between English/Anglo-Welsh dialects and the historical forms of standard

English, taking as their reference point Middle English. (Hence, in presentation of its phonological material, SAWD uses the formula "ME x is represented by SEW/SWW [Q]"). Because of the recent and complicated genesis of Rhondda English, I decided that it would be more appropriate to take a contemporary reference point for the present investigation - RP was the obvious choice. (However, this is not to say that reference to the historical development of the language will not be appropriate in the discussion of Rh E). For clarity, the material will be presented under the 'keywords' of the 'standard lexical sets', as defined and described by J.C. Wells in Accents of English 1 : An Introduction, (pp. 117-168). In fact, Wells describes two reference accents, RP and General American, but for the purposes of this discussion, reference will only be made to RP.

The idea of standard lexical sets is based on the principle that "the use of one vowel or another in particular words (lexical items) can be illustrated by tabulating their occurrence in the set of keywords." Each keyword "stands for a large number of words which behave the same way in respect of the incidence of vowels in different accents." (Ibid, pp. 119-120). The keywords, with their RP vowels and some of the words which belong to each set, are as follow:

KIT        i        ship, rib, dim, milk, slither, myth, pretty, build,  
women, busy.

DRESS      e        step, ebb, hem, shelf, effort, threat, bread, ready, any,  
friend.

TRAP	æ	<u>tap</u> , <u>cab</u> , <u>ham</u> , <u>scalp</u> , <u>arrow</u> , <u>plaid</u> .
LOT	ɔ	<u>stop</u> , <u>odd</u> , <u>doll</u> , <u>profit</u> , <u>honest</u> , <u>swan</u> , <u>wasp</u> , <u>knowledge</u> .
STRUT	ʌ	<u>cup</u> , <u>rub</u> , <u>pulse</u> , <u>butter</u> , <u>done</u> , <u>tongue</u> , <u>touch</u> , <u>blood</u> .
FOOT	ʊ	<u>put</u> , <u>full</u> , <u>butcher</u> , <u>good</u> , <u>wool</u> , <u>woman</u> , <u>could</u> .
BATH	ɑ:	<u>path</u> , <u>brass</u> , <u>grasp</u> , <u>ask</u> , <u>after</u> , <u>basket</u> , <u>fasten</u> , <u>laugh</u> , <u>dance</u> , <u>aunt</u> , <u>example</u> , <u>calf</u> , <u>shan't</u> .
CLOTH	ɒ	<u>off</u> , <u>soft</u> , <u>trough</u> , <u>often</u> , <u>moth</u> , <u>long</u> , <u>wash</u> , <u>borrow</u> , <u>quarrel</u> .
NURSE	ɜ:	<u>church</u> , <u>turn</u> , <u>burnt</u> , <u>shirt</u> , <u>term</u> , <u>person</u> , <u>early</u> , <u>work</u> , <u>journey</u> .
FLEECE	i:	<u>teeth</u> , <u>feel</u> , <u>piece</u> , <u>field</u> , <u>key</u> , <u>meat</u> , <u>tea</u> , <u>deceive</u> , <u>quay</u> , <u>police</u> .
FACE	eɪ	<u>cake</u> , <u>age</u> , <u>bathe</u> , <u>April</u> , <u>bacon</u> , <u>wait</u> , <u>day</u> , <u>they</u> , <u>weigh</u> , <u>great</u> .
PALM	ə:	<u>calm</u> , <u>father</u> , <u>ah</u> , <u>salaam</u> , <u>cantata</u> , <u>almond</u> , <u>drama</u> .
THOUGHT	ɔ:	<u>taught</u> , <u>daughter</u> , <u>bought</u> , <u>cause</u> , <u>crawl</u> , <u>jaw</u> , <u>walk</u> , <u>all</u> , <u>hall</u> , <u>fault</u> .
GOAT	əʊ	<u>oak</u> , <u>rope</u> , <u>both</u> , <u>home</u> , <u>toe</u> , <u>brooch</u> , <u>bowl</u> , <u>old</u> , <u>roll</u> , <u>dough</u> .

GOOSE	u:	<u>tooth</u> , <u>spoon</u> , <u>lose</u> , <u>who</u> , <u>you</u> , <u>through</u> , <u>huge</u> , <u>blue</u> , <u>music</u> , <u>knew</u> , <u>fruit</u> , <u>beautiful</u> .
PRICE	aɪ	<u>like</u> , <u>rise</u> , <u>fire</u> , <u>pint</u> , <u>choir</u> , <u>try</u> , <u>height</u> , <u>fight</u> .
CHOICE	ɔɪ	<u>boy</u> , <u>noise</u> , <u>oil</u> , <u>groin</u> .
MOUTH	əʊ	<u>out</u> , <u>house</u> , <u>mouth</u> , <u>flour</u> , <u>flower</u> , <u>cow</u> , <u>bough</u> .
NEAR	ɪə	<u>deer</u> , <u>here</u> , <u>weir</u> , <u>ear</u> , <u>fierce</u> , <u>beard</u> , <u>serious</u> , <u>idea</u> , <u>real</u> .
SQUARE	eə	<u>care</u> , <u>air</u> , <u>pear</u> , <u>their</u> , <u>there</u> , <u>area</u> , <u>dairy</u> , <u>aerial</u> .
START	ɑ:	<u>far</u> , <u>bark</u> , <u>large</u> , <u>farm</u> , <u>heart</u> , <u>sergeant</u> , <u>sari</u> .
NORTH	ɔ:	<u>for</u> , <u>war</u> , <u>short</u> , <u>horse</u> , <u>chord</u> , <u>born</u> , <u>fortunate</u> , <u>order</u> , <u>forward</u> , <u>quarter</u> , <u>warn</u> .
FORCE	ɔ:	<u>before</u> , <u>more</u> , <u>floor</u> , <u>four</u> , <u>port</u> , <u>sword</u> , <u>borne</u> , <u>coarse</u> , <u>course</u> , <u>choral</u> , <u>glorious</u> .
CURE	ʊə	<u>moor</u> , <u>poor</u> , <u>assure</u> , <u>pure</u> , <u>sure</u> , <u>gourmet</u> , <u>tourist</u> , <u>rural</u> , <u>curious</u> .
happy	i	<u>city</u> , <u>busy</u> , <u>sorry</u> , <u>taxis</u> , <u>coffee</u> , <u>valley</u> .
letter	ə	<u>paper</u> , <u>offer</u> , <u>centre</u> , <u>liar</u> , <u>major</u> , <u>flavour</u> , <u>figure</u> .
commA	ə	<u>quota</u> , <u>sofa</u> , <u>drama</u> , <u>opera</u> .

Wells goes on to describe the criteria for choice of the keywords:

The keywords have been chosen in such a way that clarity is maximised: whatever accent of English they are spoken in, they can hardly be mistaken for other words... As far as possible the keywords have been chosen so as to end in a voiceless alveolar or dental consonant: a voiceless consonant minimizes the likelihood of diphthongal glides obscuring a basic vowel quality, while coronality (alveolar or dental place) minimizes the possible allophonic effect of the place of a following consonant. An exception here is TRAP for the /ə/ correspondence, where no items in /-t, -s, -θ/ are altogether suitable; another one is PALM. (Ibid, p. 123).

The process of phonemicization arising out of the identification of minimal pairs allows us to describe a vowel system for Rh E which may be compared with that of RP. The use of lexical sets enables other material, which does not fall into minimal pairs or sets, to be considered, and also facilitates the discussion of the incidence and phontactic distribution of sounds in the Rh E vowel system, compared with that of RP.

5.2 The phonemes of the two vowel systems are set out below (figs. (i) and (ii)), with the exception of /θ/ which, in both accents, occurs only in unstressed syllables. They are divided into 'checked' and 'free' vowels: "Distributionally, [checked vowels] stand apart in that - unlike the long vowels and diphthongs - they are subject to the phonotactic constraint that they do not occur in a stressed monosyllable with no final consonant." (Ibid, p. 119).

(i) The Vowel System of RP

i	ə	i:		u:	ɪə	ʊə
e	ʌ	eɪ	ɔɪ	θə	ɛə	ɜː
ə	ɒ		aɪ	aə		ɑː

(ii) The Vowel System of Rh E

i	ə	i:		ɪu	u:	ɪʌ	ʊə
e	ʌ	eɪ	ɔɪ	di		ə:	
ə	ɒ				Au		a:

The vowel phonemes of Rh E have the following allophones:

Phoneme      Allophones (+ raised, lowered, centralised and retracted variants)

i	i, Y:
ʌ	ʌ
ɒ	ɒ, ɔ, ɔ̄ *
ə	ə
ε	ε
a	a, ā *, ɑ, ɑ̄ *, ɑ̄: *
i:	i, ī, i:
e	ē *, ē: *, ē: *, ε:, ε:θ, ε:ə
eɪ	εɪ, ε̄ i, εi:, ei, ē: i, (e, ē, ē:) *
ɔɪ	ʌɪ, ɔ̄ i, ɔi:, oi, ɔ̄ i
u	u, ū, u:

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophones</u>
ɪu	ɪu, iu, ɪu
ɔ:	o, ō, o: ou, ɔ̄*, ɔ:, ɔu
ʌu	ʌu, au, əu
iʌ	iʌ, iə, iə:, iə̄
uə	uə, oə, o:ə, oʌ
ə:	ə̄, ə:, ɸ̄, ɸ:, ə̄:, ə̄̄
a:	ā*, a:, ā*, a:*

In the above account it is accepted that the same allophone can, on certain occasions, belong to more than one phoneme (see those asterisked above). The distribution of the Rh E allophones will be discussed further under the lexical sets below.

5.3 A full description of each keyword and its corresponding lexical set is given by Wells (*Ibid*, pp. 127-168). An extract from the appropriate description is quoted under each keyword listed below, giving a description of the RP realisation and its relationship to ME, before the Rhondda material is presented and discussed. In certain cases, where the Rhondda form differs significantly from the RP form, SAWD and SED are cited to provide evidence about the geographical distribution of the Rhondda form.

#### 5.4 KIT

The standard lexical set KIT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in the ...standard accent(s) RP..., has the stressed vowel /ɪ/... Phonetically it is a relatively

short, lax, fairly front and fairly close unrounded vocoid [ɪ], centralised from and somewhat closer than cardinal 2...

The KIT vowel has the traditional name 'short I'. It derives in most cases from the short /i/ of Middle English, and is most commonly spelt i or, less commonly, y. Where /i/ occurs in unstressed syllables it is spelt in a wide variety of ways. (Ibid, p. 127).

The KIT vowel in Rh E is very similar in its articulation to the RP KIT vowel. It is represented by [ɪ] in in, bitch, sick from the minimal pairs and pick, pits, big from the general material. The only exception is as follows:

big

Ge V [Y:]

## 5.5 DRESS

The standard lexical set DRESS is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP has the stressed vowel /e/... Phonetically it is a relatively short, lax, front mid unrounded vocoid: [ɛ] in RP...

The DRESS vowel has the traditional name 'short E'. It derives in most cases from the short /e/ of Middle English, and is most commonly spelt e. Another origin, applying in several very common words, is Middle English long /ɛ:/ via a shortening process; this is reflected in the spelling ea. (Ibid, p. 128)

The DRESS vowel in Rh E is somewhat opener than the RP DRESS vowel. It is represented by [ɛ] in edge, bell, L, ten from the minimal pairs, and yes, Welsh, head, helper from the general material. The only exceptions are as follows:

	<u>edge</u>	<u>head</u>
B1 G	[ɛ]	
Mr I		[ɛ]

## 5.6 TRAP

The standard lexical set TRAP is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP has the stressed vowel /æ/... Phonetically, /æ/ is a front nearly open unrounded vocoid, [æ], approximately halfway between cardinals 3 and 4. It occurs in checked syllables only...

The TRAP vowel has the traditional name 'short A'. It derives in almost all cases from Middle English short /a/, and is nearly always spelt a. (Ibid, p. 129)

The TRAP vowel in Rh E is more fully open than the RP TRAP vowel, and is closer to cardinal 4, varying towards a centralised cardinal 5. Although in the minimal pair am/arm a contrast was made in the length of the vowel /a/ v [a:], thus identifying two separate phonemes, /a/ and /a:/, there was a tendency among some speakers to produce a slightly longer version of the TRAP vowel, especially when this was a centralised cardinal 5. As all the informants who responded to the NPQ made a distinction of length in the minimal pair am/arm it was

necessary to retain the two separate phonemes. However, as some of these same informants produced a long TRAP vowel in certain words, it seemed appropriate to assign the allophones [ə·], [ɑ·] and [ɑ:] to both phonemes.

The Rh E TRAP vowel is represented by [a] in add, am, cat, from the minimal pairs, and bad, that, slag, man, can, catch, from the general material, except as follows:

	<u>add</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>cat</u>	<u>bad</u>	<u>that</u>	<u>slag</u>	<u>man</u>	<u>can</u>	<u>catch</u>
Ma P [ā]	[ā]			-	-	-	-	-	-
Bi G		[ä]	[ɑ·]	[ɑ:]	-	-	-	-	-
Ma S [ä]	[ä]			-	-	-	-	-	-
Al M [ɑ·]	[ä]	[ä]		-	-	-	-	-	-
Bl G [ä]	[ä]			-	-	-	-	-	-
Li W [ä]		[ä]			[ɑ·]	-	-	-	-
De J	-	-	-	-	[ä]	[ä]	-	-	-
Na Y	-	-	-	-	[ɑ:]	-	-	-	-
Em L	-	-	-	-	-	-	[ɑ:]	-	-
Wi L	-	-	-	-	[ä]	-	-	-	-
Ka L	-	-	-	[a·]	[ɑ:]	-	-	[ä]	
Te S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[ε]

SAWD records lengthened forms of [a] in man at D/Pem 8/10; P/Rdn1, P/Bre 4, Gw 2/6/9/12, M Gmg 10-11, W Gmg 6-7, S Gmg 18.

There are two other variants listed above that are worthy of further comment: the [ä] in can of Ka L and the [ε] in catch of Te S. The [ä] in can was recorded, in this instance, as unstressed. However,

I have also heard it in situations where can is stressed. SAWD records [ɛ] to represent ME a/o only where present-day orthography has o, (i.e. in tongs, along and belong).

SAWD records [ɛ] in catch at D/Pem 7 and M Gmg 10, and notes that it presumably represents the vowel of ME kecchen. Forms containing [ɛ] and variants are recorded by SED at Y22; Ch 2-4/6, Db 1-2/4-7, Sa 1-11, St 1-9/11, He 1-6, Wo 1/3-7, Wa 1/5/7, Mon 1-3/5-6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-3/6; C1-2, Nf 13, Sf 2-4, Bk 3/5, Bd 2-3, Hrt 1-2; W 9, Brk 1, Sr 2-5, K 1-6, D 8-11, Ha 1-2/6-7, Sx 1-6.

### 5.7 LOT

The standard lexical set LOT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form has the stressed vowel /ɒ/ in RP... This comprises a large majority of cases of RP /ɒ/, the remainder being allocated to CLOTH...

Phonetically, RP /ɒ/ is typically a back, nearly open, weakly rounded vocoid, [ɒ], somewhat less open than secondary cardinal 5;... The RP vowel is relatively short, and restricted to checked syllables...

The LOT vowel has the traditional name 'short O'. It derives in most cases from Middle English /ɔ/. Other, less common, sources include Middle English /a/ in the environment of a preceding /w/, as quality. The vowel is usually spelt o, and less commonly a. (Ibid, p. 130)

The Rh E LOT vowel is similar in its articulation to that of RP, although sometimes varying from the secondary cardinal 5 to a cardinal 6: [ə~ɔ]. Rh E LOT is represented by [ɔ] in odd, on, hot, from the minimal pairs, and wasps, top from the general material, except as follows:

	<u>odd</u>	<u>on</u>	<u>wasps</u>
Is E		[ə]	
Ma P		[ɔ]	
Sa J		[ā]	
Ma S		[ɔ]	
Al M	[ɔ̄]	[ā̄]	
Ma C		[ɔ]	
Bl G	[ɔ̄]	[ɔ̄]	

Although /a/ and variants are quite widely recorded in the environment of a preceding /k)w/ by SED; in Rh E, as in the rest of SWW and SEW, it may be due to the influence of Welsh spelling conventions, according to which a = [a] in all positions of the word. SAWD records the following unrounded vowels, with variants, in wasps:

[a] D/Cdg 1, D/Pem 1/3-4/6/9, D/Cth 1-2/5-6/8-9/11-12;  
 P/Bre 5-7, Gw 1-2/5-7/9-11/13, W Gmg 2-4/6/8, M Gmg 9/10-12/14/16-17, S Gmg 19/21.

[ə] D/Pem 5.

[æ] P/Rdn 2/5.

SED records [a] and [æ], with variants, in wasps as follows:

[a] Nb 1-9, Cu 1-5, Du 1-6, We 1-4, La 1-14, Y 1-34, Man 1-2;  
 Ch 1-6, Db 1-7, Sa 1-3/5-11, St 2-4, He 7, Wo 1, Wa 2,  
 Mon 4; Nt 1-4, L 1-13, Lei 1-3/5-6/9-10, R 1-2, Nth 1;  
 So 5/8-11, Co 2/7, D 1, Do 4, Ha 4.

[æ] He 1-6, Wo 4/6, Mon 1-2, Gl 2-3; So 3-4, Sr 5, K 3/7.

### 5.8 STRUT

The standard lexical set STRUT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /ʌ/.... Phonetically, /ʌ/ is a relatively short, half-open or slightly opener, centralised-back or central, unrounded vocoid. Distributionally it is restricted to checked syllables...

The STRUT vowel has the traditional name 'short U'. It derives mostly from Middle English short /u/, though also sometimes from a shortened /o:/,... The vowel is usually spelt u or ə, less commonly ou or oo. (Ibid, pp. 131-132)

The Rh E STRUT vowel is similar in its articulation to that of RP, although generally slightly more centralised and raised. It is usually realised as [ʌ], and is found thus in us, sun, ton from the minimal pairs and just, lunch, lumps from the general material except as follows:

	<u>sun</u>	<u>ton</u>	<u>just</u>
Ma C	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	
Bl G		[ɛ]	
Te S		[ɛ]	

SAWD records [a] in one at D/Pem 2, which is closer to cardinal 4 than the Rhondda vowel [ɛ] found in sun and ton from Ma C. SED records [a] and variants in one [wan] and the like at Man 1; So 5/8-9, Co 1, D 1-11. However, it would appear that the Rh E [ɛ] simply represents a laxer, lower version of the usual [ɛ].

## 5.9 FOOT

The standard lexical set FOOT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in Rp... has the stressed vowel /ə/... Phonetically /ə/ is a relatively short, lax, fairly back and fairly close vocoid [ə], usually weakly rounded. Distributionally, it is restricted, as a stressed vowel, to checked syllables... Although the set comprises a rather small number of words, several of them are of very frequent occurrence.

The FOOT vowel has no traditional name, though expressions such as 'short oo' are sometimes used. It derives from the same Middle English sources as STRUT, namely short /u/ and shortened /o:/,... Much as STRUT, it is usually spelt u or oo, less commonly o or ou. (Ibid, pp. 132-133)

The Rh E FOOT vowel is similar in articulation to that of RP. It is represented by [ə] in bull and soot from the minimal pairs, and should, hook, took and foot from the general material. The only exception is as follows:

soot

Ma P [ʊ]

SAWD records [u:] and variants (including the shortened forms [u] and [u:]) from D/Cdg 1-2/5, D/Pem 2-3/9, D/Cth 1/4/9; P/Rdn 1, P/Bre 2/6-7, Gw 2/11, M Gmg 14/16, S Gmg 17/19. The same are recorded by SED at Du 4, La 4/6-7, Y 2/17, Man 1-2; Ch 2; L 7-8, Ess 9; So 6-7/10, W 8-9, Brk 5, K 1/6, Co 3-4, Ha 6, Sx 6.

From the minimal pair tooth/teeth it is clear that tooth belongs to the FOOT set in Rh E rather than the GOOSE set as in RP. All the informants who responded to the NPQ pronounced the vowel in tooth, [ə].

SAWD records [ə] and variants in tooth at D/Cdg 1-5, D/Pem 1-3/7-10, D/Cth 1-5/7-12; P/Rdn 1/3/5, P/Bre 1-7, Gw 1-13, W Gmg 1-2/4-8, M Gmg 9-16, S Gmg 17-21. Hence it is the prevailing form in SWW and SEW. SED records the same at Nb 1/3, Du 1-2/4; Sa 5/8, St 7/11, He 1-6, Wo 1-6, Wa 5-7, Mon 1-7, Gl 2-7, Ox 1/4; Lei 10, Nth 5, C 1, Nf 6/11/13, Sf 1-5, Bk 1/5, Hrt 2-3, Ess 1/3/5/9/13; So 2/8, W 1-4, Brk 1-2, Ha 1-2/5.

The FOOT vowel was also found in room, which is assigned to the GOOSE set in RP. However, it varied with [u:] and so its use was not consistent enough to be able to assign it to the FOOT set.

## 5. 10 BATH

The standard lexical set BATH is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel... /ɑ:/ in RP. That is to say, BATH words belong phonetically with ...PALM and START in RP. For a description of the phonetic quality of the BATH vowel, see under...START [5.24 below]...

The terms 'flat A' and 'broad A' are sometimes used, particularly in the United States, to refer to the TRAP and PALM vowels respectively, or to their use in the BATH words... We shall extend this convenient terminology by referring to flat-BATH accents (with BATH = TRAP) and broad-BATH accents (with BATH = PALM). It must be noted, though, that in this context the term 'broad' has a quite different connotation from the one we give it in such expressions as 'a broad accent' (= far from standard...)

...

The broad-BATH pronunciation, and with it the need to recognise a standard lexical set BATH, derives from the eighteenth-century TRAP-BATH split... which involved a phonetic split in the /æ/ derived from Middle English /a/ or /au/. This led the BATH words to be pronounced with a long vowel, ultimately in RP the present /ɑ:/. (*Ibid*, pp. 133-134).

There is a great deal of variation in the Rh E BATH vowel, both with regard to backness and length. In his discussion of the accents of Wales in The Accents of English 2 : The British Isles (pp. 377-393), Wells notes a socio-linguistic variation between long and short [a].

Indeed, in Rh E, the BATH vowel varies from a long back vowel close to cardinal 5 and the RP-type BATH vowel, modified through a short cardinal 5 (usually centralised), [ə], or a long front vowel closer to cardinal 4, [ɛ], to the flat-BATH [a]. Although the investigation did not provide evidence which could be conclusively analysed in socio-linguistic terms, it appears that the broad-BATH vowel tends to be used when the speaker is more conscious of speaking 'properly'. Hence, for a number of informants, their pronunciation of bath was different in their response to NPQ from their use in the slightly more informal speech of the GQ:

	NPQ	GQ
Ma P	[ə:]	[a]
Ma S	[ə]	[a]
Al M	[ɛ:]	[ā]

There is a great deal of evidence from the general material that the favoured Rh E form is a short or fairly short front vowel, close to cardinal 4 and the Rh E TRAP vowel. (Although it must also be noted that both Rh E PALM and Rh E START, while long, tend to be closer to cardinal 4 than their RP counterparts - see 5.15 and 5.24 below).

The Rh E BATH vowel is represented by [a] except as follows:

	<u>bath(s)</u>	<u>grass</u>	<u>brass</u>	<u>glass(es)</u>	<u>laughed</u>	<u draught<="" u=""></u>	<u>half</u>
Is E	[ə:]	[ä]	[ə]	-	-	-	-
Ma P	[ə:]	[ə:]	-	-	-	-	-
Sa J		[ä]	-	-	-	-	-
Bi G	[ɛ:]	[ə:]	[ə:]	-	-	-	-

	<u>bath(s)</u>	<u>grass</u>	<u>brass</u>	<u>glass(es)</u>	<u>laughed</u>	<u draught<="" u=""></u>	<u>half</u>
Ma S	[ə]	[ə]	-	[ā]	[ə]	-	-
Al M	[ɛ:]/[ā]	[ə:]	[a:]	[ā]	-	-	-
Ma C	[ə]/[ā]	[ä:]	-	-	-	-	-
Bl G	[ə:]	[ə:]	-	-	-	-	-
Li W	[ə:]	-	-	-	-	-	-
Su J	[a:]	[ä:]	-	-	-	-	-
De J	[a:]	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ro G	[ɛ]	[ā]	-	-	-	-	-
Id G	-	-	-	[ɛ]	-	-	-
Al T	-	-	[ɛ]	-	-	-	-
Ed J	[ā]	-	-	-	-	-	-
Do J	[ɛ]n/[ə:]v	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ge V	-	-	-	[ɛ]	-	[ə]	-
Em L	[ā]	-	[ā]	-	-	-	-
Al W	[ə:]/[ā]	-	[ā]	-	-	-	-
Wa B	[ā]	-	-	[ā]	-	-	[ə]
Ka L	[ə]	-	[ɛ]	-	-	-	-

SAWD records [a] and variants in grass at D/Cdg 1-5, D/Pem 1-6/8/10, D/Cth 1-8/10-12; P/Bre 1-3/5/7, Gw 2/7-8/11, W Gmg 1-2/5/8, M Gmg 12-14, S Gmg 19-21 and [a:]/[a:] and variants at D/Pem 7/9; P/Rdn 1-4, P/Bre 4/6, Gw 1/3-5/9-10/12-13, W Gmg 3-4/6-7, M Gmg 9-11/15-17, S Gmg 18.

SED records [a] and variants in grass at Nb 2-5/7-8, Cu 1-5, Du 2-5, La 5/13-14, Y 1-4/6/8-10/14/16-20/22/24-28/32; Ch 2, Sa 5, St 1-2/4-5/7-11, Wo 1, Wa 1-2/7; L1/13, Lei 1-6/9-10, R 1-2.

## 5.11 CLOTH

The standard lexical set CLOTH is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel .../ɒ/ in current mainstream RP. That is to say, CLOTH words belong phonetically... with LOT in RP. For a description of the phonetic quality of the CLOTH vowel, see under ...LOT [5.7 above]...

The CLOTH set falls into three subsets. In the first [off, trough, cross, soft, often], a more conservative kind of RP agrees with Gen Am in using the vowel of THOUGHT, /ɔ:/, rather than the /ɒ/ of LOT... The second and third subsets of CLOTH [moss, long, offer, wash and orange, borrow, sorry] appear never to have had /ɔ:/ in RP or its forerunner. The distinction between these two subsets is based on phonetic environment: in [the third subset] the following consonant is intersyllabic /r/.

...There seems to be no reason to object to an extension of the flat/broad terminology used for discussing BATH: one could speak of flat-CLOTH accents (using the LOT vowel in CLOTH) and broad-CLOTH accents (using the vowel of THOUGHT).

The broad-CLOTH pronunciation reflects the seventeenth-century Pre-Fricative Lengthening [see Ibid, pp. 203-206]. The flat-CLOTH pronunciation retains or restores the historically short LOT vowel, Middle English /ɔ/. (Ibid, p. 136)

In the terms discussed above, Rh E is a flat-CLOTH accent, having a CLOTH vowel very similar to that of LOT, with (as in Rh E LOT) a tendency to modify from [ɒ] to a vowel closer to cardinal 6. The only relatively consistent exception to this is the word trough. The Rh E CLOTH vowel is represented by [ɒ] in moss from the minimal pairs, and trough and often from the general material, with the following exceptions:

	<u>moss</u>	<u>trough</u>
Is E		[ʌu]
Ma P		[ɔ]
Bi G		[ɔ̄]
Ma S		[ʌu]
Al M		[ɔ̄u]
Bl G		[ʌ̄]
Li W		[ʌu]
Al W		[ʌ̄u:]

Where there is a diphthong there is no following consonant. For those informants who use a diphthong, trough appears to belong to their MOUTH set, along with bough and plough, rather than their CLOTH set.

SAWD records a final diphthong in trough (i.e. [oə/ou/əə/əu] and variants) at D/Pem 6-7, D/Cth 7/11/12; P/Rdn 1/3-4/5 [o:̄], P/Bre 3/4/6, Gw 1/3-5/7/9, W Gmg 1/5-6/8, M Gmg 10 [o:̄]/12-17, S Gmg 18-21. Also final [o:̄] at P/Bre 1-2, M Gmg 11, [ʌu] with a following [f] at P/Bre 7 and [ʌ̄] with a following [f] at D/Pem 3; W Gmg 4.

SED records [tʃou] and variants at Wa 6, Mon 4-5, Ox 6; Bk 5; So 3/6, W 1/3-5, Brk 3-4, K 6, Ha 6; and [tʃo:] and variants at He 2/4, Mon 2-3/6; So 2/7-9/12-13, W 2/6-9, Co 2, D 1/4-9, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3.

### 5.12 NURSE

The standard lexical set NURSE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /ə:/ in RP... Phonetically, it is a relatively long unrounded mid central vocoid, [ə:]...

The NURSE vowel has no traditional name, having been in the language for only a few centuries. There are three common Middle English sources for it: short /i/, /ɛ/, and /u/, all only when followed by a final or preconsonantal /r/. This is the reason for the variedness of our spellings for this vowel: ir and yr, generally speaking, reflect the first, er and ear the second, and ur or or (the latter after w, wh) the third... From these Middle English origins the NURSE vowel reached its present quality through the developments described in [Ibid, pp. 199-203]: the NURSE Merger, R Coalescence, and (for RP and other non-rhotic accents only) R Dropping. (Ibid, pp. 137-138)

Although there were a number of instances of non-prevocalic [r] recorded in the Rhondda corpus (see Chapter 6), none were recorded in the lexical set NURSE, and Rh E might generally be said to be non-rhotic. The Rh E NURSE vowel is long like its RP counterpart, but is usually articulated further forward and is more rounded. Long schwa

was sometimes heard but the more common realisations were either a long centralised secondary cardinal 2, [ø:], or the broader (i.e. = farther from standard) and characteristically South Welsh raised centralised secondary cardinal 3, [œ:].

The Rh E NURSE vowel was realised as [ø:] except as follows:

	<u>burn</u>	<u>birch</u>	<u>work</u>	<u>fir</u>	<u>purr</u>	<u>year/s</u>
Ma P	[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø:]			[ø:]
Sa J		[ø:]		[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø:ə]
Bi G		[ə:]				[ø:]
Ma S	[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø:]
Al M				[ø:ə]		[ø:]
Li W	[ø:]	[ø:]	[ø]			[ø:]
Ed J			[ə:]			
Wi L			[ø:]			[ø:]

A number of words join the NURSE set which, in RP, are found in the lexical set NEAR (see 5.22 below). Hear, here and ear are all pronounced on the same principle as year above, and are, in fact, often homophonous. When the initial h is dropped, as is reasonably common in Rh E (see Chapter 6), hear, here, ear and year may all be pronounced [jø:] or [jø:].

SAWD records [æ:] and variants in work, hear and year at the following localities (superscript r denotes those localities in which r-colouring or full articulation of the r takes place in combination with [æ:]):

work D/Cdg 1/4-5<sup>r</sup>, D/Pem 5-6/7<sup>r</sup>/9<sup>r</sup>, D/Cth 4/10; P/Rdn 1<sup>r</sup>/3<sup>r</sup>/5<sup>r</sup>,  
 P/Bre 2<sup>r</sup>/3/4<sup>r</sup>/5, Gw 1<sup>r</sup>/2-3/4<sup>r</sup>/5-8/10-12/13<sup>r</sup>, W Gmg 2-3/7-8,  
 M Gmg 9-17, S Gmg 18-21.

hear D/Cdg 3-4, D/Pem 1/4/6/10, D/Cth 2/12; P/Rdn 2<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>/5<sup>r</sup>,  
 P/Bre 2-3/4<sup>r</sup>6, Gw 1-3/4<sup>r</sup>/5-7/10-12/13<sup>r</sup>, W Gmg 2-5, M Gmg 9-  
 10/12-17, S Gmg 18-21.

year D/Cdg 1/3-4/5<sup>r</sup>, D/Pem 1<sup>r</sup>/6/10, D/Cth 10/12; P/Rdn 1/3<sup>r</sup>/5<sup>r</sup>,  
 P/Bre 2-3/4<sup>r</sup>/5-6, Gw 1<sup>r</sup>/2-3/4<sup>r</sup>/5-9/11-12, W Gmg 2/3<sup>r</sup>/6<sup>r</sup>, M Gmg  
 9/11-17, S Gmg 18-21.

SAWD records [ɸ] in year, only at P/Bre 1, [ɸ:] in here at  
 D/Cth 12 and [ɸ:] in work at D/Cth 12.

SED records [æ:] and variants in the following:

work Mon 3-5/7, G1 4.

hear Mon 3-5/7.

year Mon 3-5.

### 5.13 FLEECE

The standard lexical set FLEECE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /i:/... Phonetically, /i:/ is a relatively long close front vocoid, often with some degree of diphthongization of the [i:] type, particularly in free syllables. Distributionally, this vowel occurs in both checked and free syllables.

The FLEECE vowel has the traditional name 'long E'. It derives in most cases via the Great Vowel Shift [see Ibid, pp. 184-188] from Middle English /e:/ or /ɛ:/, the distinction between the reflexes of which was lost by the FLEECE Merger [Ibid, pp. 194-196]. These two origins correspond to [two sub-categories: i) teeth, green, tree, field, key, ii) meat, team, deceive, quay] respectively. Various French borrowings in Middle English had /ɛ:/, and are included in [the second]. Other words with this vowel have entered the language more recently; this is the case with the words in [a third sub-category iii) police, visa, trio, ski]. Typical spellings associated with these three sub-categories are ee, ea, and i (or ie) respectively. Words in which a vowel historically identical with that of FLEECE occurs before historical /r/ are dealt with in [5.22 below], as the standard lexical set NEAR. (Ibid, p. 140)

The Rh E FLEECE vowel is very similar in its articulation to that of the RP FLEECE vowel, although it possibly has more variation in its length. The Rh E FLEECE vowel varies from a relatively short [i], through [i:] to [i:1]. The longest variety tends to be used most consistently where there is no following consonant, but other than this the length of the vowel varies at random. The only other difference between Rh E FLEECE and RP FLEECE is that members of the set in which the vowel occurs before a following /l/, such as field, wheel, tend to be closer in their articulation to those of the lexical



set NEAR (as those in which the vowel occurs before historical /r/ - see above and 5.22 below).

The Rh E FLEECE vowel is realised as [i(:)] except as follows:

	<u>eat</u>	<u>neat</u>	<u>key</u>	<u>tea</u>	<u>field</u>	<u>wheel</u>
Sa J		[ɿ:]				
B1 G		[ɿ:]	[ɿ:]	[ɿ:]	[iə]	
A1 T						[i:ə]
Ed J					[iʃə]	

SAWD does not record responses to either field or wheel, however it does record cheese [i:ə] at D/Cth 12 and teeth [i:jə] at D/Cth 12 and [ɿ:ə] at P/Bre 2.

#### 5.14 FACE

The standard lexical set FACE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /eɪ/... Phonetically, /eɪ/ is a front narrow closing diphthong or, less commonly, a front half-close monophthong; in either case it is unrounded... In RP the monophthongal variant arises chiefly through Smoothing [see Ibid, pp. 238-242], thus ['pleɪŋ] playing. The qualitative difference between the starting point of FACE and DRESS may be lost in RP. Distributionally, FACE occurs in both checked and free position...

The FACE vowel has the traditional name 'long A'. It derives in most vases via the Great Vowel Shift [Ibid, pp. 184-188] from Middle English /a:/ or, in consequence of the FACE Merger [Ibid, pp. 192-194], from /ɛi~əi/. These two origins correspond to [two subcategories: i) cake, age, bacon, etc., ii) wait, day, whey, eight, etc.]. The words in [the third subcategory] had /ɛ:/. Typical spellings associated with these three subcategories are i) a, aCe, ii) ai, ay, ei, ey, aig(h), eig(h), and iii) ea. Words in which a vowel historically identical with that of FACE occurs before historical /r/ are dealt with in [5.23 below], as the standard lexical set SQUARE. (Ibid, pp. 141-142)

The Rh E FACE vowel has two realisations, a front closing diphthong and a front half-close monophthong, similar to the two realisations of the RP FACE vowel. The quality of the diphthong is slightly different from that of its RP counterpart in that it is generally wider, often starting around cardinal 3 or a lowered cardinal 2 and ending around cardinal 1: [ɛɪ] or [ɿɪ]. The monophthong is closer in quality to the RP monophthong: [e:]. However, both differ substantially in their distribution. Rh E is not subject to the same process of Smoothing that gives rise to the RP monophthong, so in Rh E [e:] is not restricted to the environment - V. Rh E [e:] varies with [ɛɪ]/[ɿɪ] in pre-consonantal position. This variation is not totally random, but is conditioned by an awareness that the diphthong is more 'correct', and thus it has a tendency to be used in more formal speech. Although the material in the Rhondda corpus does not lend itself to statistical

analysis of the incidence of particular forms in different levels of speech, it was clear that the monophthong was used more consistently in the general material than the formal setting of the NPQ, and at least two of the informants used a different form in the one from the other:

	NPQ	GQ
Ma S	<u>came</u>	[eɪ]
		[e]
Ma C	<u>came</u>	[eɪ]
		[e:]

One of the informants, Ma P, who is particularly aware of coming from an English rather than a Welsh background, explicitly comments on the difference between the two forms, ascribing the use of the monophthong to Welsh-ness and even giving it a geographical distribution:

Now when we were taught our alphabet we were taught to say A [eɪ], B, C. The other valley, [i.e. Rhondda Fawr] says A [e:]... I know they're more Welshy up in Treorchy, that way, than we are here...

This account is more fascinating in its perceptions than it is correct in its analysis, save that the influence of Welsh is probably an important factor in the pronunciation of the Rh E FACE vowels, as the use of the monophthong may be due to the sound-substitution of Welsh æ for RP [eɪ]. In Volume 2 of Accents of English, Wells also gives an interesting account of the use of the monophthong in the English-language speech of Wales, again linking it to Welsh-ness v. English-ness: "In the more anglicized places such as Cardiff and Newport the norm is diphthongal, so that a monophthongal realisation [fe:s, go:t] is associated with particularly old-fashioned speech.

Further away from the English influence it is the monophthongs which are still the norm." (Op. cit. p. 382). It might be said that the Rhondda is "Further away from the English influence" than the relatively more cosmopolitan Cardiff and Newport. Certainly, the long monophthong was used by all informants, from the youngest, Su J and De J, through to the oldest, Mr I. It was also used by informants from both Rhondda Fawr and Rhondda Fach. In fact, although Ma P is very conscious of her English background and of speaking 'properly', and uses a high proportion of diphthongs in her own speech, she does also use [e:], e.g. April ['e: prɛl] and place [ple:s]. Therefore, within the Rhondda corpus, it appears that the controlling factor in the use of the monophthong, if not in its origin, tends to be formality and an awareness of the standard form v. informality and broadness (i.e. = remoteness from standard) of speech, rather than closeness to Welsh in an individual speaker.

The other important factor influencing the use of the diphthong/monophthong, is its position within a word. The monophthong was never used in word-final position, even if a consonant followed in another word. It is governed by the word-boundary rather than the phonological environment. Thus we may make the following statement about Rh E:

— C(-)#/ɛi/~/e:/ but — #/[ɛi]

The material of the Rhondda corpus did not provide evidence for a phonetic distinction of /ɛi/ from /e:/ in medial position (as in pain v pane) as discussed by Wells in Vol. 2 of Accents of English, p. 384, with the possible exception of there's/theirs [ðe:z]/[ðɛiʃəz].

(These both actually belong to the RP SQUARE set, but there is an argument for including their(s) in the Rh E FACE set - see the discussion of there's/theirs in 5.23 below). However, there is plenty of evidence for such a phonemic distinction in final position: hare/hay [he:] / [hei], where/way [we:] / [wei], there/they [ðe:] / [ðei]. The consistent pronunciation of [ei] in the FACE vowel in final position provides many examples of contrast with words from the SQUARE set with a final vowel, so [e:] and [ei] must be assigned to different phonemes. The Rh E SQUARE vowel, while similar in quality to the Rh E FACE monophthong, is used consistently and in all positions. It does not vary with [ei]. This leaves us with a problem with regard to the allocation of allophones to phonemes. Sometimes [ei] v [e:] indicates a difference in meaning, at other times it does not, the two being interchangeable. Therefore [e], [e:], [e:] appear with brackets as allophones of the /ei/ phoneme, and without in the /e:/ phoneme to which they primarily belong.

In initial and medial position, the Rh E FACE vowel is realised as [e:] in ache, age, came, gate from the minimal pairs and baby, name(s), place, face from the general material except as follows:

	<u>ache</u>	<u>age</u>	<u>came</u>	<u>gate</u>	<u>baby</u>	<u>name(s)</u>	<u>place</u>	<u>face</u>
Is E	[e: <sup>1</sup> ]			[ei]	-	-	-	-
Ma P	[ei]	[ei]	[ei]	[e: <sup>1</sup> ]	-	-	-	-
Sa J	[ei]	-	[e: <sup>1</sup> ]	-	-	-	-	-
Bi G	[ei]	[ei]	[ei]	[ei]	-	-	-	[e]
Ma S	[ei]	[ei]	[ei]/[e]	[ei]	[e:]	-	-	-

	<u>ache</u>	<u>age</u>	<u>came</u>	<u>gate</u>	<u>baby</u>	<u>name(s)</u>	<u>place</u>	<u>face</u>
Al M		[ɛ̄ i]			-	-	-	-
Ma C			[ɛi]/[e:]		-	-	-	-
Bl G	[ɛ̄:]	[ɛ̄:]	[ɛi]	[ɛ̄:]	-	-	-	-
Li W		[ē:]	[ē]		-	-	-	-
Su J			[ē]	[ē]	-		-	-
Al T	-	-		-	[ɛi]	-	-	-
Na Y	-	[ēi]	[ē]	-	-	[ɛi]	-	-
Mr I	-	[ē:]	-	[ē:]	-	-	-	-
Wi L	-	-		-	-	[ē]		

In final position, the Rh E FACE vowel is realised as [ɛi] in hay, whey, way from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>hay</u>	<u>whey</u>	<u>way</u>
Is E		[ɛi]	[ɛi:]
Ma P	[ɛi:]	[ɛi:]	[ɛi:]
Sa J	[ɛi]	[ɛi:]	
Bi G		[ɛi]	[ēi]
Ma S	[ēi]		[ēi]
Al M	-	[ē i]	
Ma C	[ɛi:]	[ɛi:]	[ēi]
Bl G	[ɛ̄i]	[ēi]	[ēi]
Li W		[ɛi:]	
Su J		[ɛi:]	
Em L	[ɛi:]	-	-
Wi L	[ɛi:]	-	-

SAWD records [e:] and variants in gate at D/Cdg 1-5, D/Cth 1-8/10/12; P/Rdn 3, P/Bre 2/6-7, Gw 7/10/12, W Gmg 2-7, M Gmg 9-11/13/16, S Gmg 17-18/20-21.

SED records [e:] and variants in gate at Nb 1, We 4, La 5/8-14, Y 17/21-22/26/29-34; Ch 1-4/6, Db 1-5, Sa 1-3/5/7-11, St 5, He 7, Wo 2/5, Mon 2-3/5, Gl 1; Nt 1-4, L 10; W 2, Brk 1, Co 5-6, D 9, Ha 1-2/5.

#### 5.15 PALM

The standard lexical set PALM is defined as comprising those words whose citation form has the stressed vowel /ɑ:/ in RP... PALM words thus belong phonetically with START (and BATH) in RP... For a description of the quality of the PALM vowel [in RP] see under START [5.24 below]... In all cases it is a fully open unrounded vocoid. It occurs in both checked and free syllables.

The membership of this lexical set is unusual and difficult to circumscribe. No more than a handful of really common everyday words belong to it unambiguously, e.g. father. Most of the PALM words are recent borrowings from foreign languages in which the foreign [a]-type vowel is rendered as the PALM vowel, e.g. sonata, rajab ...

Insofar as it occurs in native English words, the PALM vowel derives from Middle English /au/ or /a/ with

lengthening. This lengthening is essentially the same as that in BATH words [see 5.10 above]. (*Ibid*, pp. 142-143)

The Rh E PALM vowel does indeed belong phonetically with START but only with qualifications with BATH [see 5.10 above]. The limited membership of the set means that very few examples from the set were found within the Rhondda corpus, the main representative being father. From father we can describe the Rh E PALM vowel as being a long unrounded vocoid, usually a centralised version of either cardinal 4 or cardinal 5: [ɛ:] or [ə:]. However, the only other member of the group found in the Rhondda corpus, cantata, does throw some doubt on how far we can generalise for the whole set from father. Although not many examples exist, the stressed vowel in cantata does tend to be slightly shorter, and closer to TRAP than to START.

The Rh E PALM vowel is realised as follows:

	<u>father</u>	<u>cantata</u>
Is E	[ɛ:]	-
Ma P	[ə:]	[a]
Sa J	-	[ɑ:]
Sa J's daughter	-	[a]
Li W	[ɛ:]	-
Ro G	[ɛ:]	-
Id G	[ɛ:]	-
Al W	[ə:]	-
Mr I	[a:]	-

Te S	[ə:]	-
Wi L	[ə:]	-

## 5.16 THOUGHT

The standard lexical set THOUGHT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /ɔ:/ ... This constitutes only a subset of words with /ɔ:/; other words with RP /ɔ:/ belong to NORTH [5.25] or FORCE [5.26]... In present-day mainstream RP, /ɔ:/ is a back closely-rounded mid vocoid, lying therefore between cardinals 6 and 7 (though old-fashioned RP has an opener quality... This vowel occurs in both checked and free syllables...)

The THOUGHT vowel has various origins. Among them are Middle English /au/ and /ɔu/ followed by a velar fricative... and /au/ alone. The spellings ough, ough and au/aw/al correspond to those different possibilities. (Ibid, pp. 144-145)

The Rh E THOUGHT vowel is similar in quality to that of RP, but with a tendency to be slightly more closed and closer to cardinal 7. The Rh E THOUGHT vowel is realised as [ɔ:] in all, caught, walk, paw from the minimal pairs and stall, brought from the general material, except as follows:

	<u>all</u>	<u>caught</u>	<u>walk</u>	<u>paw</u>	<u>stall</u>	<u>brought</u>
Is E	[ɔ:]		[ɔ:]		-	-
Ma P	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]		[ɔ:]	-	-

	<u>all</u>	<u>caught</u>	<u>walk</u>	<u>paw</u>	<u>stall</u>	<u>brought</u>
Sa J	[ɔ:]	[o:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	-	-
Bi G	[ɔ:]	[o:]	[ɔ:]		-	-
Ma S	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]		[ɔ:]	-	-
Al M	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]		-	-	-
Ma C	[ɔ:]		[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	-	-
Bl G	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	-	-
Li W	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]			
Su J				[ɔ:]	-	-
Al T	-	-	-	-	-	[o:]
Te S	-	-	-	-	[ɔ:]	-

### 5.17 GOAT

The standard lexical set GOAT is defined as comprising those words whose citation form has the stressed vowel /əʊ/ in RP... RP /əʊ/ is now typically a diphthong with a mid central unrounded starting-point (similar to the quality of RP /ɛ:/) moving towards a somewhat closer and backer lightly rounded second element [ə]. Distributionally, this vowel occurs in both checked and free syllables...

The GOAT vowel has the traditional name 'long O'. It derives in most cases via the Great Vowel Shift [see Ibid, pp. 184-188] from Middle English /ɔ:/, or, in consequence of the GOAT Merger [Ibid, pp. 192-194] from /u/. These two origins correspond to two subcategories: (i) oak, both, bone, toe, don't (ii) bow, throw, although, dough respectively.

Typical spellings associated with [(i)] are o, oCe, oa, [(ii)] ow, o before l. Words in which a vowel historically identical with that of GOAT occurs before historical /r/ are dealt with in [5.27] below.

This vowel is particularly variable both regionally and socially, and may be found with a variety of monophthongal and diphthongal qualities... The use of a monophthong reflects the absence of Long Mid Diphthonging [Ibid, pp. 210-211], and is generally northern pronunciation both in England and in the United States, as well as characterizing the Celtic countries and the West Indies - being thus a kind of mirror image of FACE. (Ibid, p. 146)

There is a great deal of variation in the realisation of the Rh E GOAT words. As with FACE there is a diphthong which corresponds to the RP diphthong and also a long monophthong which can be found in initial, medial and, unlike the FACE monophthong, final position (cf [e:] in FACE, 5.14 above). The Rh E diphthong is different in quality from its RP counterpart. The starting-point is further back, usually between cardinals 6 and 7, closing to a back rounded second element close to cardinal 8, thus it is often realised as [ɔu] or [qu]. The monophthong is a fairly long rounded close back vocoid around cardinal 7 and similar in quality to the Rh E THOUGHT vowel. As with FACE, use of the monophthong appears to be governed by the informality and broadness of the speech, so that Ma S responds with [bɔ:uθ] for both in the NPQ, but uses [bɔ:θ] in her general speech. The probable source of [ɔ:] in Rh E GOAT words is sound-substitution of Welsh ə for RP [əʊ]. Again,

Wells makes the connection between use of the diphthong and anglicisation (see 5.14 above). One possible exception to this variation between monophthong and diphthong is the subset of words with underlying orthographic ow. Bow n., own and throw were, with only one exception, pronounced with a diphthong rather than a monophthong, even by speakers who used a high proportion of monophthongs in other words from the GOAT set. However, the evidence is not conclusive on this point.

In certain specific words, notably comb and whole, the monophthong is raised further to around cardinal 8. While [u:] in comb and whole varies with [o:] and [ɔu], its use is quite characteristic of the Rhondda, representing once again a broader and less formal pronunciation, so that Ma P pronounces whole [hould] in her response to NPQ, but [hu:l] in her general speech. I have never heard [u:] as a realisation of the GOAT vowel in any other members of the set in the Rhondda and in the speech of, for example, Em L there is a distinction made between hole [o:] and whole [u:].

The only other exception worthy of note is the fairly consistent use of the short monophthong [ə] as a realisation of the GOAT vowel in stressed don't. It also appears in stressed only.

Rh E GOAT vowel is realised as [o:] in oak, own, both, goat, bow, toe from the minimal pairs, and in coal, no from the general material, except as follows:

	<u>oak</u>	<u>own</u>	<u>both</u>	<u>goat</u>	<u>bow</u>	<u>toe</u>	<u>coal</u>	<u>no</u>
Is E		[öu]		[ø:]	[öu]	-	-	-
Ma P		[ɔu]	[ø:]		[öu]		-	-
Sa J		[ɔ̃u]	[o]		[ɔu]	-	-	-
Bi G		[öu]	[o]	[o·]	[öu] [ou]	[ø:]	-	-
Ma S	[ø:]	[ɔ̃u]	[ɔu]	[ɔ̃u]	[ɔu] [ou]	[ø:]	[ø:]	
Al M	[ö:]	[ɔu]			[ɔu]		-	-
Ma C		[ou]			[ɔu]		[ø:]	
Bl G		[ou]			[ɔu] [ø:ə]		-	
Li W	[o·]	[ɔ̃u]	[o]	[o·]	[o·]		-	
Su J		[ɔu]	[o]		[ɔu]		-	
Al T	-	-	-	-	-	-	[ou]	[ɔu]

SAWD records [o:] and variants in the following:

oak at D/Cgd 2/4-5, D/Pem 1, D/Cth 2-5/7-8/11-12; P/Rdn 1-2,  
P/Bre 1-3/5-7, Gw 1-2/5-7/12, W Gmg 2-3/7, M Gmg 10-13/17,  
S Gmg 18-21;

coal at D/Cdg 1-5, D/Pem 1, D/Cth 1-10/12; P/Rdn 1-2/5,  
P/Bre 1-3/5-7, Gw 2/5-7/10/12-13, W Gmg 6-7, M Gmg 10-11,  
13-14/16-17, S Gmg 18-21.

SED records [o:] and variants in

oak at La 4/10-14, Y 23-28/34; Ch 1/3-4/6, Db 1-2/4, Sa 1-11,  
He 1, Wo 4-5, Mon 2-6, Gl 5-7, Ox 1/4-5; Nt 2-3; So 5-6/8-  
10/12, W 2/5/7/9, Brk 1-2, Co 2-6, D 1-9/11, Do 4-5, Ha 1-3/5.

coal at La 10-14, Man 2; Ch 1/3-6, Db 1-3/5, Sa 1-11, He 1-7,  
 Wo 4-5, Mon 2-3/5-6, Gl 5-7, Ox 4; Nt 2/4, Bk 5; So 4/7-11/13,  
 W 2/7-9, Brk 1-2, Co 2-7, D 1/5-6/8-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-6.

SAWD records [u:] and variants in the following:

comb at D/Cdg 2, D/Pem 1/3, D/Cth 1-8; P/Rdn 1/5, P/Bre 2-3/5/7,  
 W Gmg 6/7, M Gmg 10-11.

whole at D/Cth 1.

SAWD also records [y] in go, open v. at D/Pem 9 and [u:] in  
coal-house D/Pem 6; doe D/Pem 10; go D/Pem 10; holes D/Pem 9; load  
 D/Pem 5; rope D/Pem 9-10; toad D/Pem 8.

SED records [u:] and variants in the following:

comb at Ch 2, Db 3, Sa 4/11, Gl 4/7; W 1/3, Brk 1-2, Co 1-2,  
 D 1-2/4-8/11, Ha 1/3, Sx 6.

whole Sa 5, Mon 4; So 1, W 8, Co 1-2, D 1/3-11, Do 2/4-5, Ha 1/3/6.

As a member of the GOAT set, Rh E go is pronounced [go:]~[gɔu]. In the creation of the present participle going, the suffix -ing begins with /i/, another vowel. In RP this might lead to Smoothing (Ibid, pp.238-242) but Rh E shows itself very resistant to Smoothing (cf PRICE, MOUTH and NEAR, 5.19, 5.21 and 5.22 respectively). The usual tendency is to insert /w/ or /j/, depending on the phonetic environment, to form two distinct syllables. This is indeed what happens in Rh E going. However, there is a further point of interest here in that the expected consonant for insertion between /o:/ or /ɔu/ and /i/

would be /w/, as in the MOUTH set. But while some informants do insert /w/, others insert /j/ leading to what I believe is a pronunciation that is very characteristic of the Rhondda.

Going is realised as follows:

Is E	[gɔwɪn]
Ma P	[goɪn]/[gojɪn]
Sa J	[gɔwɪn]
Bi G	[gojɪn]
Ma S	[gɔwɪn]/[gojɪn]
Al M	[gojɪn]
Ma C	[gojɪn]
Bl G	[gɔɪn]/[gojɪn]
Li W	[gojɛn]
Su J	[gɔuwɪn]

#### 5.18 GOOSE

The standard lexical set GOOSE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /u:/... Phonetically, /u:/ is a relatively long close back vocoid, often with some degree of diphthongization of the [əʊ] type, particularly in free position. It is often somewhat centralized from fully back. Distributionally, this vowel occurs in both checked and free position...

This vowel is frequently preceded by a palatal semi-vowel /j/ (or as it may conveniently be called, a yod). When this is the case the sequence /ju:/ has the traditional name

'long U'. Where the GOOSE vowel is not preceded by yod, it has no traditional name, though expressions such as 'long oo' are sometimes used. It derives in most cases via the Great Vowel Shift from Middle English /o:/ or, after Early Yod Dropping, from /iu/ or /ən/; where no Yod Dropping occurred these Middle English diphthongs correspond to current /ju:/. Words exemplifying the GOOSE vowel with historically no preceding yod are [(i) tooth, choose, who, you, through], words which had or still have a preceding yod are [(ii) truth, huge, few, juice, blue, beautiful]. For a discussion of the circumstances under which the yod was lost or alternatively retained, see under Early Yod Dropping [Ibid, pp. 206-208] and Later Yod Dropping [Ibid, pp. 247-248].

...

The usual spellings for this vowel are oo (i) and ue, ȝe, u, eu, ew (ii). Words in which a vowel historically identical with that of GOOSE occurs before historical /r/ are dealt with in [5.27] below, as the standard lexical set CURE. (Ibid, pp. 147-148)

There are three main types of realisation of the Rh E GOOSE vowel. One represents a difference between Rh E and RP in the lexical incidence of members of the sets. In Rh E, tooth is assigned to the FOOT set, and has already been discussed in 5.9 above. The remaining two types are more central to our discussion of the GOOSE set.

The Rh E GOOSE set has a monophthong similar in quality to that of RP GOOSE. It is a close back vocoid which varies in length from [u] to [u:]. The longer forms tend to be used more in word-final position, although this is by no means categorical. The final type of realisation of the Rh E GOOSE vowel is a diminuendo diphthong which has its starting-point in a fairly close front vocoid, somewhat centralised from cardinal 1 or 2, [i:] or [ɪ], and has as its second element a close back vocoid similar to the monophthong, [u]. There is some correspondence between these two realisations and the two sub-categories of GOOSE noted by Wells above. The monophthongal realisation is the norm for those words with orthographic oo, oe, u: goose, hoof, soon, shoe, two, and the diphthong for those with orthographic ew, uCe, ui: threw, ewe, blew, huge, suit. However, this correspondence is not total, and there are a number of words from one category which have the realisation of the other. For instance, you falls into subcategory (i) but is often found with the diphthong, while blue belongs to subcategory (ii) yet is found with the monophthong. It must also be noted that those words which fall roughly into subcategory (ii) and are often pronounced with the diphthong [iu] may also be pronounced with the monophthong. However, those words which fall roughly into subcategory (i) are only realised with the monophthong and never with the diphthong. Thus one may formulate the following rule:

ew, uCe, ui → /iu/ ~ /u:/, but oo, oe, u → /u:/

Despite this variation between the use of [iu] and [u:] in subcategory (ii), there is evidence of a contrastive distribution

which suggests that they should be assigned to two separate phonemes, /iu/ and /u:/ . The evidence arises primarily from the two minimal pairs, through v. threw and blue v. blew. With the sole exception of Li W, who responded with [θru:] for threw, all the informants who responded to the NPQ used a monophthong, /u:/ , for the first of each pair, and a diphthong, /iu/, for the second. This use of [iu] in words which have historical yod may be due to the sound-substitution of Welsh iw for RP [u: ]. Wells notes that "The sequence /ju:/ is foreign to the sound system of Welsh, whereas /iu/ (or /iw/ )...is not " (Op.Cit., Vol.2, p.386). Of course, you, which was an exception of diphthongal realisation in subcategory (i), presents the same /ju:/ sequence.

The Rh E GOOSE vowel is realised as [u:] in goose, hoof, soon, shoe, two, through, blue, from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>goose</u>	<u>hoof</u>	<u>soon</u>	<u>shoe</u>	<u>two</u>	<u>through</u>	<u>blue</u>
Is E	[u]						
Ma P	[u]	[u]					
Sa J	[u]	[u]					
Bi G	[u]	[u]	[y]	[u:]			
Ma S	[u]	[u]					
Ma C	[əu]	[u]			[u]		
Bl G	[u]				-		
Li W	[u]	[u]					
Su J	[u]	[u]	[u]			[y:]	

The Rh E GOOSE vowel is realised as [iu] in juice, threw, ewe, you, blew from the minimal pairs and huge, except as follows:

	<u>juice</u>	<u>threw</u>	<u>ewe</u>	<u>you</u>	<u>blew</u>	<u>huge</u>
Is E	[u]		[u:]	[u:]		[~u:]
Ma P	[u]		[ju:]	[əu]/[ju]	[iu:]	-
Sa J	[u]		[u:]	[ə]	[ju]	-
Bi G	[~u]		[u:]	[u:]	[iu:]	-
Ma S	[u]		[u:]	[u:]		-
Al M	[~u]		[~u]	[u]	[iu:]	-
Ma C	[u]		[iu:]	[u:]		-
Bl G	[u]		[u:]	[y:]		-
Li W		[u:]		-		-
Su J		[~u]		[~u:]		-
Ka L	-	-	-	[əu:]	-	-

SAWD records [iu(:)], [iu(:)], [iə] and variants in ewe at D/Pem 6/8, D/Cth 6; P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 5/7-8/10-12, W Gmg 1-2/8, M Gmg 9-11/16, S Gmg 17-21.

SED records similar diphthongs in ewe at Y 6/32-33; Ch 4, Db 5/7, Sa 3/6, Mon 4-5; L 14, Nth 1, Hu 1, C 1-2, Nf 2/7-9/11, Sf 1/4-5, Hrt 1, Ess 1/11/14; K 7.

SAWD also records similar diphthongs in blue at D/Pem 3/6/8, C/Cth 5; Gw 6/8/12, W Gmg 4/6/8, S Gmg 18-21, pointing to the fact that the blue/blew apposition does not apply in all South Walian dialects.

## 5.19 PRICE

The standard lexical set PRICE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /aɪ/. Phonetically it is a wide diphthong with a starting-point which is open, unrounded, and most usually centralized-front, [āɪ], though front and central variants, [aɪ~ətɪ] are also common within the standard accents. The diphthong glide is in the direction of [ɪ]. Distributionally, this vowel occurs in both checked and free position...

The PRICE vowel has the traditional name 'long I'. It derives in almost all cases from Middle English /i:/ via the Great Vowel Shift [Ibid, pp. 184-188]. The usual spellings are iCe, ie, i and y. This vowel enters into morphological alternations with KIT, as decide-decision, write-written.

...

The PRICE vowel is particularly subject to Smoothing [Ibid, pp. 238-242] e.g. in words such as science, fire. (Ibid, pp. 149-150)

The Rh E PRICE vowel is a diphthong. Like the RP diphthong, its starting-point is usually fairly open and unrounded, but is more mid-central. At its closest to the RP diphthong it is a raised, centralised version of [a], but in its broadest form (ie = furthest away from standard) it is a raised, centralised [ʌ], almost identical with the STRUT vowel, with, also, a somewhat laxer variant, [ə]. The

diphthong glide finishes closer than the RP, around cardinal 1. In final position, this second element is sometimes fairly long.

The starting-point for the diphthong and its variety, is very similar to the Rh E MOUTH diphthong (see 5.21 below). David Parry in SAWD, Vol. I, suggests that the realisation of the PRICE vowel as [əi]/[ʌɪ] with variants, "may result from the sound-substitution of Welsh ei (= [əi]), the diphthong appearing in present-day Welsh in English loan words that contain reflexes of ME ī." He cites Parry-Williams, The English Element in Welsh, pp. 149-151, in support of this. (2.38). Wells links the PRICE and MOUTH words and comments that Welsh has both /əi, əu/ and /ai, au/ but that /əi, əu/ is favoured as the equivalent in Welsh English for RP PRICE-MOUTH: "The explanation presumably lies in the fact that English PRICE and MOUTH had still not acquired fully open starting-points in RP (etc.) at the crucial period when Welsh English pronunciation was becoming fixed" (Op.Cit. Vol 2, pp. 383-384).

Rh E MOUTH also has a close second element like PRICE, though in the case of MOUTH it is back rather than front. Wells again links PRICE and MOUTH when he describes a particular quality of the Welsh English diphthongs:

The final element tends always to be close, and is noticeably resistant to Smoothing; if anything, a [j] or [w] respectively tends to be inserted between these diphthongs and a following vowel, thus iron ['əiən~əiʃən], power ['pəuə~pəuweɪ], etc. (Ibid, p. 382)

This process is very evident in the Rhondda corpus, particularly given the sequence ir(V). The vowel which follows [j] tends to return to the starting-point of the diphthong, though sometimes slightly more back: [ö] rather than [ɛ].

The only other interesting realisation worthy of note is that of choir. Here the starting-point for the diphthong is closer to the LOT vowel, and is often linked with a dropping of the preceding [w] in the combination [kw]. Thus choir is realised in the following ways:

Al M [kɔ' ijɛ̃]

Do J [kwɔijɛ̃]

Wi L [kɔijə]

It is my experience that the form [kɔijɛ̃] is characteristic of a fairly broad variety of Rhondda speech.

The Rh E PRICE vowel is realised as [ɛi] in eyes, sight, high, why from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>eyes</u>	<u>sight</u>	<u>high</u>	<u>why</u>
Is E	[ɛi:]		[ɛi:]	[ɛi]
Ma P	[ɛi:]	[ɛi]	[ɛi:]	[ɛi:]
Sa J	[ɛi]	[ɛi]	[ɛi]	[ɛi]
Bi G				
Ms S	[ɛi]	[ɛi]	[ɛi:]	[ɛi]
Al M				
Ma C	[ɛi]	[ɛi]	[ɛi:]	[ɛi]
Bl G			[ɛi:]	[ɛi:]

	<u>eyes</u>	<u>sight</u>	<u>high</u>	<u>high</u>
--	-------------	--------------	-------------	-------------

Li W

Su J

Ro G

Mr I

- - [ i: ]

- - -

The Rh E PRICE vowel is realised as [äijÄ] in iron, tyres, fire (from the minimal pairs), except as follows:

	<u>iron</u>	<u>tyres</u>	<u>fire</u>
Is E	[äijÄ]	[äijÄ]	[äijÄ]
Ma P	[əijə]	[əijə]	[äijə]
Sa J	[ÄijÄ]	[äijə]	[äijə]
Bi G			
Ma S	[äijə]	[äijə]	[äijə]
Al M		[ÄijÄ]	
Ma C	[äijɔ]	[Äijɔ]	[äijɔ]
B1 G			
Li W	[Äijə]	[Äijə]	[Äijə]
Su J			
Al T	-	-	[Äijə]
Ed J	-	-	[Äijə]
Ge V	[äijə]	-	-
Ro G	-	-	[əijə]

SAWD records a similar form with medial [j] as follows:

fire D/Cdg 1-2/4-5, D/Pem 1-6/8/10, D/Cth 9/12; P/Rdn 1, P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 3/5/8/10-12, W Gmg 1-3/5-8, M Gmg 9/11-13/15-17, S Gmg 19-20

iron D/Cdg 1-2/4, D/Pem 2-6/8, D/Cth 5/9; P/Bre 2-3/5-7, Gw 1/4-8/10-12, W Gmg 1-4/7-8, M Gmg 9/11/16-17, S Gmg 19-21.

SED records [əi(j)ə] and variants as follows:

fire He 3-6, Wo 2/4-5, Mon 2-4/6; Gl 1-4; W 3-2, Brk 1-2, K 6, Do 2/4-5, Sx 2/4-6.

iron He 3-6, Wo 2, Mon 1-7; Gl 1-4; Brk 1.

## 5.20 CHOICE

The standard lexical set CHOICE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /ɔɪ/.

...Phonetically, it is a wide diphthong with a starting-point which is back, rounded, and approximately half-open, gliding towards a closer and fronter unrounded second element, [i].

Distributionally this vowel occurs in both checked and free position...

The CHOICE vowel has no traditional name. It derives in most cases from Middle English /ɔɪ/ or /ui/. All these words are believed to be ultimately loan words, mainly from Old French. A few words with Middle English /i:/ also became CHOICE words... The usual spellings for all these categories are oi, oy. (Op. Cit. pp. 150-151)

The Rh E CHOICE vowel is very similar to its RP counterpart. The main difference is that the diphthongal glide tends to end somewhat closer and fronter, around cardinal 1, and it may also start closer around cardinal 2, though the usual starting-point is lower than this, thus [ɔɪ] or [øɪ].

The Rh E CHOICE vowel is realised as [ɔɪ] in oil, boil, voice, boy, toy from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>oil</u>	<u>boil</u>	<u>voice</u>	<u>boy</u>	<u>toy</u>
Is E		[ɔɪ]			[ɔɪ:]
Ma P					[ɔɪ:]
Sa J				[øɪ]	[ɔɪ:]
Bi G			[øɪ]	[øɪ]	
Ma S					
Al M					
Ma C					
Bl G	[øɪ]	[ɔɪ]			[øɪ]
Li W					
Su J					

## 5.21 MOUTH

The standard lexical set MOUTH is defined as comprising those words whose citation form in RP... has the stressed vowel /æθ/... Phonetically it is a wide diphthong with a starting-point which is open, unrounded, and most usually central, about half way between cardinals [a] and [ɑ]; though centralized-front and centralized-back variants, [ɑ-ə~æθə],

are also common within the accents. The diphthong glide is in the direction of [ə], though so close and back a point is not always achieved. Distributionally, this vowel occurs in both checked and free position. There are, nevertheless, phono-tactic constraints on the consonants it may precede: it does not occur before labials or velars (if we disregard names, as Cowper, and traditional-dialect words, as gowk)...

The MOUTH vowel has no traditional name. It derives in almost all cases from Middle English /u:/ via the Great Vowel Shift [Ibid, pp. 184-188]. The usual spellings are ou and ow.

...

The MOUTH vowel is particularly subject to Smoothing [Ibid, pp. 238-242], eg in words such as power, hour. (Ibid, pp. 151-152)

As has already been noted, Rh E MOUTH has many qualities in common with Rh E PRICE, and for a discussion of the starting-point of the diphthong see 5.19 above. The second element is closer and backer than that of RP MOUTH, around cardinal 8. Thus the main realisations of the Rh E MOUTH vowel are [ʌʊ], [əʊ] and [œʊ]. Like PRICE, Rh E MOUTH is also very resistant to Smoothing. Therefore, in words with orthographic our or ower, the normal pronunciation is disyllabic: [ʌʊwʌ] or a variant. The combinations of the first and final elements are very similar to those of Rh E PRICE.

The Rh E MOUTH vowel is realised as [ɛu] in owl, out, down, house, bough, cow from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>owl</u>	<u>out</u>	<u>down</u>	<u>house</u>	<u>bough</u>	<u>cow</u>
Is E						
Ma P	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[ɛu̯]	[əu̯]	-	[əu̯]
Sa J	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[əu̯]
Bi G						
Ma S	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[ɛu̯]	[əu̯]	[əu̯]	[ɛu̯]
Al M					-	
Ma C	[ɛu̯]	[ɛu̯]	[ɛu̯]			[ɛu̯]
Bl G	[ɛu̯]					
Li W					-	
Su J						

The Rh E MOUTH vowel is realised as [ɛuwɛ] in hours, showers, flour from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>hours</u>	<u>showers</u>	<u>flour</u>
Is E			
Ma P	[ɛuwɛ]	[ɛuwɛ]	[əuwɛ]
Sa J	[ɛuwɛ]	[ɛuwɛ]	[əuwɛ]
Bi G		[ɛuwɛ]	
Ma S	[əuwɛ]	[əuwɛ]	[əuwɛ]
Ma C	[ɛuwɛ]	[ɛuwɛ]	[ɛuwɛ]
Bl G			
Li W		[ɛuwɛ]	

hours      showers      flour

Su J                    [ʌuwə]

Ro G    [ʌuwə]        -        -

SAWD records similar combinations with medial [w] as follows:

hour    D/Cdg 1-2/4, D/Pem 2-4/7-8/10, D/Cth 12; P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 5/7-8/10-11, W Gmg 1-2/5/8, M Gmg 9/12-13/16-17, S Gmg 19-20.

flour    D/Cdg 1-2/5, D/Pem 2-4/6-8/10, D/Cth 9-10/12; P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 5/7-8/10/13, W Gmg 1-5/8, M Gmg 9/12-13/15-17, S Gmg 19-20.

## 5.22 NEAR

The standard lexical set NEAR is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /ɪə/ in RP (with or without a following intersyllabic /r/)...

Phonetically, RP /ɪə/ is a centering diphthong with a starting-point that is unrounded and fairly close and front, [i], moving towards a mid central [ə] quality. RP /ɪə/ is most commonly found in free position...or in tautosyllabic /r/..., it is rare in syllables checked by other consonants... except where the consonant is an inflectional /d/ or /z/, as in cheer#ed /tʃiəd/ or cheer#s. Other inflectional endings yield many further instances of the NEAR vowel before tautosyllabic /r/, as cheer#ing /'tʃiəriŋ/, near#er.

The NEAR vowel has no traditional name...Some dictionaries treat it as a 'long E', or as a sequence of 'long E' plus

schwa, which reflects not only historical fact but also synchronic morphological alternations such as severe-severity, RP /sɪ'vɪə, sɪ'verətɪ/, compare serene-serenity. Its origin is indeed most usually Middle English /e:/ or /ɛ:/, identical with that of FLEECE, but in the environment of a following /r/ (now lost in RP except prevocalically)... Corresponding spellings are used for NEAR: eer, ere, erV, ier, eir, ear.  
 (Ibid, p. 153)

The Rh E NEAR vowel is sometimes a diphthong similar to that of RP NEAR, but often it is a sequence of VjV, Rh E adopting inter-vocalic [j] in a process similar to the formation of disyllabic PRICE words. The vowels on either side of [j] are the same as the two elements of the diphthong, although sometimes the first element is lengthened. The initial element is a close, front, unrounded vowel, closer to cardinal i than its RP counterpart. The second element is usually a mid central more open vowel, similar in quality to the final element in disyllabic PRICE and MOUTH words (see 5.19 and 5.21 above) or the final unstressed element of letter words (see 5.27 below): [ɛ], [θ], [ɔ].

There are a number of exceptions to the description above which indicate a difference in lexical incidence between the Rh E NEAR set and the RP NEAR set. Hear, here, ear constitutes a group which is often homophonous, and which has a long monophthong following [(h)j], which is identical with that of the NURSE set. There were no exceptions recorded and so I have assigned the group to the NURSE set and discussed them in 5.12 above. The remaining exception is rear v. which is again pronounced with a long monophthong following initial

[r], which is closer in quality to the SQUARE vowel. There were no exceptions recorded, and so I have assigned this word to the Rh E SQUARE set (see 5.23 below).

The Rh E NEAR vowel in Ian, shears, dear from the minimal pairs and real from the general material was realised as follows:

	<u>Ian</u>	<u>shears</u>	<u>dear</u>	<u>real</u>
Is E	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	-
Ma P	[ijɛ̃]	[iə:]	[ijə]	-
Sa J	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	-
Bi G	[ijɛ̃]	[iɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	-
Ma S	[ijə]	[iə]	[i:jə]	[iə]
Al M	[i:jɛ̃]	[i:jɛ̃]	[i:jɛ̃]	-
Ma C	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	[i:ɛ̃]
Bl G	[iɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	[i:jɛ̃]	[i:jə]
Li W	[ijə]	[iə]	[ijə]	-
Su J	[ijɛ̃]	[ijɛ̃]	[iɛ̃]	-
Ro G	-	-	-	[i:ɛ̃]
Id G	-	-	-	[iə]
Ge V	-	-	-	[ijɛ̃]
Al W	-	-	-	[ijɛ̃]

SAWD records similar combinations with medial [j] only for hear and ears, as follows:

hear D/Pem 2-4, D/Cth 9; W Gmg 6/8, M Gmg 11.

ears D/Pem 2-3/7-8, D/Cth 1/7/9; W Gmg 4-5/8, M Gmg 12.

## 5.23 SQUARE

The standard lexical set SQUARE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /ɛə/ in RP (with or without following intersyllabic /r/)...

Phonetically, RP /ɛə/ is a centering diphthong with a starting-point which is front, unrounded, and approximately half-open (ranging in fact from the phonemic norm of /e/ in DRESS to that of /æ/ in TRAP), moving towards a mid central quality, thus [ɛə]... RP /ɛə/ is most commonly found in free position, ... or before tautosyllabic /r/...; it is extremely rare in syllables checked by other consonants... except where the consonant is an inflectional /d/ or /z/, as in share#d /ʃeəd/ or share#s /ʃeəz/. Other inflectional endings yield many further instances of the SQUARE vowel before tautosyllabic /r/, as shar#ing /'ʃeəriŋ/, fair#er /'ʃeərə/.

The SQUARE vowel has no traditional name. Some dictionaries treat it as a 'long A', or as a sequence of 'long A' plus schwa; this does in fact reflect not only historical fact but also synchronic morphological alternations though few (in number), thus compare-comparison, RP /kəm'peθ, kəm'pærɪspn/, parallel with sane-sanity. Its origin is indeed most commonly Middle English /a:/ or /ai/, like FACE in the environment of a following /r/ (now lost in RP except prevocalically)... Other SQUARE words had Middle English /ɛ:/ in the same environment. Corresponding spellings are used for SQUARE: are, arv, air, ear plus occasional further possibilities. (Ibid, pp. 155-156)

The Rh E SQUARE vowel is a long front monophthong ranging between cardinals 2 and 3, usually either a lowered version of the former or a raised version of the latter. Sometimes there is some schwa-colouring, but it does not take the form of a true diphthong as does the RP SQUARE vowel.

There is a slight difference in the lexical inventories of the RP and Rh E SQUARE sets. The Rh E set gains rear v. from the RP NEAR set, which is pronounced in the Rhondda on the same principle as the verb tear or pear, all three having Middle English ēr. Another interesting difference is the opposition within Rh E of there('s) and their(s), pronounced [ðe:(z)] and ['ðeɪj̩(z)] respectively. The diphthong in the latter is closer to Rh E FACE diphthong than the SQUARE monophthong, though the norm is disyllabic on the same principle as Rh E PRICE words with orthographic -ir. This pronunciation is also possibly influenced by the underlying idea that theirs is the possessive of they. Rh E their is in fact sometimes pronounced [ðeɪl], but its variation with ['ðeɪj̩] indicates that it is merely a shortened form of the latter and not a grammatical use of they as a possessive pronoun. The pronunciation ['ðeɪj̩] might also indicate they're but would not be an acceptable pronunciation of they on its own.

The minimal pair there's/theirs realised in Rh E as follows:

	<u>there's</u>	<u>theirs</u>
Is E	-	[eɪj̩]
Ma P	-	[eɪjə]

	<u>there's</u>	<u>theirs</u>
Sa J	[e:]	[εijö]
Bi G	[e]	[εijɛ]
Ma S	-	[εiə]
Al M	[ɛ:]	[εijɛ]
Ma C	[ɛ:]	[εijö]
Bl G	[ɛ:]	[εijɛ]
Li W	-	[εijə]
Su J	[ɛ:]	[εijɛ]

Other Rh E SQUARE vowels from the minimal pairs, aired, pears, tears v., dare, hair, and rear v. from the general material are realised as follows:

	<u>aired</u>	<u>pears</u>	<u>tears</u>	<u>dare</u>	<u>hair</u>	<u>rear</u>
Is E	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[e:]	-
Ma P	[ɛ:ɔ]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[e:]	[ɛ:]	-
Sa J	[ɛ:ɔ]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ]	[ɛ:]
Bi G	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	-
Ma S	[ɛ:]	-	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]
Al M	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:ɔ]	[ɛ:]
Ma C	[e:ɔ]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[e:ɔ]	[ɛ:]	[e:]
Bl G	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]
Li W	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[e]	-
Su J	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	-
Te S	-	-	-	-	-	[ɛ:]
Wi L	-	-	-	-	-	[ɛ:]

SAWD records [ɛ:] in rear at D/Cdg 2 and [ɛ:r] at D/Cth 7.

## 5.24 START

The standard lexical set START is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /ɑ:/ in RP (with or without a following intersyllabic /r/)... Although this covers many instances of RP /ɑ:/, others belong in BATH [5.10] or PALM [5.15]...

Phonetically, the /ɑ:/ of RP START-BATH-PALM is a fully open unrounded vowel lying between back and central, [ɑ:t:...]... RP /ɑ:/ is common in free position... and checked by a consonant other than /r/; it is rare in the environment of a following /r/... except where a morpheme beginning with a vowel follows an item [such as star /stɑ:/] eg. starring /'stɑ:rɪŋ/, starry /'stɑ:ri/...

The START vowel has no traditional name... Its origin is usually Middle English /ar/, via Pre-R Lengthening [Ibid, pp. 199-203] and, in the case of RP and other non-rhotic accents, R-Dropping [Ibid, pp. 218-222]. The usual spelling is accordingly ar, ær.

The most important phonetic variation with START concerns the degree of advancement of the vowel. (Ibid, pp. 157-158).

The Rh E START vowel is very similar to that found in Rh E PALM and, to a certain extent, to that found in Rh E BATH, though without such a well-established short version. The START vowel is a long monophthong, similar in quality to the RP START vowel in that it is fully open and unrounded, but tends to be more advanced, often realised as a

centralised cardinal 4. Wells notes that /a:/ is characteristic of Welsh English, but comments that "In many places the quality of /a:/ is socially sensitive, with a front [a:] being stigmatized as compared with a central to back RP-style [ət:] " (Op.Cit. Vol.2, p.381). In Rh E both more front and more back varieties were used by most speakers, but there was a distinct tendency for a higher proportion of front vowels to be used by the broader (ie = further from standard speakers, and in less formal speech. For instance, Ma C pronounces cart [ka:t] in response to the NPQ, but [kä:t] in her general speech.

The Rh E START vowel was realised as [ä:] in ark, arm, cart,  
darn, heart, car from the minimal pairs and hard, yard from the  
general material except as follows:

	<u>ark</u>	<u>arm</u>	<u>cart</u>	<u>darn</u>	<u>heart</u>	<u>car</u>	<u>hard</u>	<u>yard</u>
Mr I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[a:]
Te S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[ā:]

The only other exception worthy of note is that Te S, while consistently pronouncing other START words with a centralised or retracted [a:], pronounces far [f ā:], possibly influenced by the comparative further.

SAWD records [a:] and variants in the following:

arm D/Cdg 2-5, P/Pem 1-2/4-5/7-8/10, D/Cth 1-3/5-9/12; P/Rdn 1-2/4-5/7, P/Bre 1-7, Gw 1-13, W Gmg 1-2/6-7, M Gmg 9-12/14-16, S Gmg 17-21.

darning D/Cdg 1-5, D/Pem 2-5/8-9, D/Cth 2/4-5/7/10/12; P/Rdn 1-2/4-5, P/Bre 1-6, Gw 2-10/12-13, W Gmg 2/6-7, M Gmg 9-16, S Gmg 18-21.

SED records the same as follows:

arm Cu 3-6, We 1-3, Y 7/9/14-15/17/19/21-23/27/32-34; Ch 1-6, Db 2-7, Sa 1-11, St 1-10, He 1-3/5-6, Wo 1-3/6, Wa 1-7, Mon 1-7, Gl 1-7, Ox 5-6; Nt 1-4, L 5/10/13-15, Lei 1-20, R 1-2, Nth 1-5, Ha 1-2, C 2, Sf 1-4, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2, Ess 1-6/8-10/13-14; So 1-3/5-13, W 1-6/8-9, Co 1-2/4-7, D 1-7/10, Do 1-5, Ha 1-6.

darning Nb 1-9, Cu 1-6, Du 1-3/5, We 1-4, La 2/5-6/9-10, Y 2-5/8-17/19-25/27-28/31-34; Ch 1-6, Db 1-7, Sa 1-7/10-11, St 1-6/9-

10, He 1-2/5-7, Wo 2/4-5, Wa 1-5/7, Mon 2-7, Gl 1-7, Ox 2-3/5-6; Nt 1-4, L 1-15, Lei 1-10, R 1-2, Nth 1-5, Hu 1-2, C 2, Sf 1-3/5, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2, Ess 1-6/8-10/13-14; So 1-14, W 1-9, Co 1-2/4-7, D 1/10, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-6.

## 5.25 NORTH

The standard lexical set NORTH is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /ɔ:/ in RP... This covers only a minority of words with RP /ɔ:/; others belong in THOUGHT [5.16] or FORCE [5.26] perhaps also in CURE [5.27] or CLOTH [5.11].

The phonetic quality of the NORTH vowel has been treated under THOUGHT above [5.16]. Distributionally, there are very few NORTH words in which the /ɔ:/ is word-final or pre-vocalic ... usually a consonant follows...

The NORTH vowel has no traditional name. Historically it usually derives from Middle English short /ɔ/ plus /r/ via Pre-Lengthening [Ibid, pp. 199-203]. Prevocalically, this sequence remained short in RP, giving contemporary /ɒ/...

The usual spellings are or, and ar where the preceding sound is /w/. The or spelling is ambiguous as between NORTH and FORCE... (Ibid, p. 159).

The Rh E NORTH vowel is phonetically identical with that of Rh E THOUGHT and Rh E FORCE. However, it bears little resemblance to Rh E CURE (with the possible exception of the realisation of moor when it does not

have schwa-colouring or a following /r/) or Rh E CLOTH, which is consistently shorter.

The number of words from the NORTH set recorded in the Rhondda corpus is very small, and to all intents and purposes, the Rh E NORTH and FORCE sets have merged (see 5.26 below). The Rh E NORTH vowel is realised in horse, fork, born as follows:

	<u>horse</u>	<u>fork</u>	<u>born</u>
Is E	[ɔ:]	-	-
Ma P	[ɔ:]	-	-
Bi G	[o:]	-	-
Ma S	[ɔ:]	-	-
Al M	[o:]	-	-
Ma C	[ɔ:]	[o:]	-
Bl G	[ɔ:]	-	-
Li W	[o:]	-	-
Su J	[o:]	-	-
Ro G	-	-	[ɔ:]
Id G	[ɔ:]	-	-
Te S	[ɔ:]	-	-
Wa B	[ɔ:]	-	-
Wi L	[ɔ:]	-	-
Ka L	[ɔ:]	-	-

#### 5.26 FORCE

The standard lexical set FORCE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /ɔ:/ in

current mainstream RP... in both standard accents the FORCE words, historically distinct from NORTH words, have now become or are now in the process of becoming merged with them. In RP this process is generally complete; some older speakers, though, may retain /ɔə/, distinct from /ɔ:/, in some of the FORCE words...

The set FORCE covers only a minority of words with RP /ɔ:/; others belong in THOUGHT [5.16] or NORTH [5.25], perhaps also in CURE [5.27] or CLOTH [5.11]...

The phonetic quality of the FORCE vowel has been treated under THOUGHT for RP... Distributionally, FORCE occurs readily in word-final position... preconsonantly... and prevocalically...

The FORCE vowel has no traditional name, except insofar as it remains an instance of 'long O'. Historically it usually derives from Middle English long /ɔ:/, the same vowel as GOAT, via the Great Vowel Shift [Ibid, pp. 184-188], in the environment of a following /r/, now lost in RP and other non-rhotic accents except prevocalically. Less commonly it derives from Middle English /o:/ or /u:/, also before /r/. The usual spellings are or, ore, oar, and sometimes oor, our. The spelling or, as noted in [5.25] above, is ambiguous as between NORTH and FORCE. (Ibid, pp. 160-161)

The Rh E FORCE vowel is phonetically identical with that of Rh E THOUGHT or Rh E NORTH, and is described under Rh E THOUGHT (5.16 above). Like Rh E NORTH, it is not phonetically similar to Rh E CURE (witness the

minimal pair pour/poor) or CLOTH. However, the FORCE vowel's common historical roots with the GOAT vowel are possibly reflected in the similarity between the Rh E FORCE vowel and the monophthongal realisation of the Rh E GOAT vowel in initial and medial positions (see 5.17 above). As already discussed in 5.25, the merger between the FORCE and NORTH sets is practically complete and there was schwa-colouring in the pronunciation of only one of the informants, Ma P.

The Rh E FORCE vowel is realised as [ɔ:] in oars, door; four, floor, pour, shore and more from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>oars</u>	<u>door</u>	<u>four</u>	<u>floor</u>	<u>pour</u>	<u>shore</u>	<u>more</u>
Is E		[ɔ:]			[ɔ:]		-
Ma P	[ɔ:•]	[ɔ:•]	[ɔ:•]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:•]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:•]
Sa J		[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ]
Bi G		[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
Ma S	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]		[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
Ma C		[ɔ:]	[ɔ]		[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	
Bl G	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]	
Li W				[ɔ:]	[ɔ]	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]
Su J	[ɔ:]	[ɔ:]			[ɔ:]	[ɔ]	[ɔ:]
Ed J	-	-	-	-	-	-	[ɔ:r]

### 5.27 CURE

The standard lexical set CURE is defined as comprising those words whose citation form contains the stressed vowel /əə/ in conservative RP... The qualification 'conservative' RP is necessary in view of the fact that traditional /əə/ is now

increasingly being replaced by /ɔ:/ in RP [Ibid, pp. 234-237, CURE-FORCE Merger]. A phonetically identical [əə] also arises in RP from the sequence /u:ə/ through the process of Smoothing, eg fewer [Ibid, pp. 238-242] [fjəə]; thus only a proportion of words containing the RP diphthong [əə] belong to the set CURE...

Phonetically, RP /əə/ is a centring diphthong with a starting-point that is weakly rounded, somewhat close and back, [ə], moving towards a mid-central [ə] quality. In the varieties of RP where, as is now usual, there is no contrastive /ɔ:/, the starting-point may alternatively be rather opener, namely about mid [ɔ+]...

Distributionally, the /əə/ of CURE most commonly occurs in free position... or before a vowel... it is rare preconsonantly.

Like GOOSE, the CURE vowel is frequently preceded by a yod, /j/...

The CURE vowel has no traditional name... When preceded by yod, it can be interpreted as 'long U'. Its origin is the same as that of GOOSE in the environment of a following /r/ (now lost in RP except prevocalically), namely in most cases Middle English /o:/, /iu/ or /eu/. Common spellings are oor, ure, urV, eur. (Ibid, pp. 162-163)

The Rh E CURE vowel has a number of realisations. It does have a diphthong that is similar in kind to that of the RP CURE diphthong, although it is slightly different in quality, starting more close and front, around cardinal 2, [o], or even cardinal 1, [u]. It moves towards a mid central quality, [ə] or [ɛ]. However, sometimes the first element is lengthened and emphasised, so that in moor the final element is either dropped altogether (so that it is homophonous with the FORCE words more), [o:], replaced by /r/, [o:r], or becomes little more than schwa-colouring at the end of the monophthong, [o:a]. The moor/more minimal pair is interesting here, because none of the informants who responded to the NPQ pronounced a final /r/ in more, (although there is one example from Ed J in the general material), while four out of ten pronounced in it moor. A further three gave moor schwa-colouring, whereas only one gave it to more. Thus six out of ten distinguished in their pronunciation between moor and more. (A seventh, Bl G, did not complete the pair). However, another minimal pair, pour/poor establishes more conclusively the distinction between FORCE and CURE in Rh E and illustrates the final and most common realisation of the Rh E CURE vowel.

As we have noted in the PRICE, MOUTH and NEAR sets (see 5.19, 5.21 and 5.22 respectively) Rh E is highly resistant to Smoothing. Rather, the opposite process takes place, whereby /w/ or /j/ are inserted between the two elements of a diphthong, or a diphthong and a following vowel, to create two distinct syllables. Once again we see this process at work in Rh E CURE, the two elements of the diphthong /u/ and /ɛ/ forming two syllables, separated by /w/ (as in the MOUTH

set). Thus in the minimal pair pour/poor we have the opposition [po:] (see 5.26 above) v. [puwɔ̄]. This disyllabic pronunciation of the CURE words is very common in the Rhondda corpus and might be said to be highly characteristic of Rh E.

One further variation of this is found in your, which is usually pronounced [juwɔ̄], but in which the final element is sometimes dropped (usually in unstressed position) to give the realisation [ju], (cf. the pronunciation of their as [ðei] in 5.23 above).

The Rh E CURE vowel in sure, poor, moor, yours from the minimal pairs and your from the general material is realised as follows:

	<u>sure</u>	<u>poor</u>	<u>moor</u>	<u>yours</u>	<u>your</u>
Is E	[uwɔ̄]	[o:ə]	[o:r]	[oɔ̄]/[oə]	[o]
Ma P	[u:wə]	[uwə]	[o:ə]	[uwə]	-
Sa J	[u:wɔ̄]	[uwɔ̄]	[o:ə]	[u:wɔ̄]	-
Bi G	[ō]	[uwɔ̄]	[o:]	[uwɔ̄]	-
Ma S	[uə]/[uwə]	[u:wə]	[o:r]	[uwɔ̄]	[uə]/[uwə]/[u]
Al M	[uwɔ̄]	[uwɔ̄]/[u:r]	[o:r]	[uwɔ̄]	[y]
Ma C	[uwɔ̄]	[uwɔ̄]	[o:ə]	[uwɔ̄]	[u]
Bl G	[uwɔ̄]	[u:wɔ̄]	-	[uwɔ̄]	-
Li W	[uwə]	[øə]	[o:]	[uwɔ̄]	-
Su J	[uwɔ̄]	[uwɔ̄]	[o:r]	[uwɔ̄]	-
Ro G	-	-	-	-	[u:wɔ̄]
Al T	-	[uə]	-	-	-
Do J	[uwɔ̄]	-	-	-	-
Em L	[y:-ə]	-	-	-	-

	<u>sure</u>	<u>poor</u>	<u>moor</u>	<u>yours</u>	<u>your</u>
Mr I	-	[uw̪]	-	-	-
Te S	[uw̪]	-	-	-	-

SAWD records intervocalic /w/ in sure at D/Cdg 2, D/Cth 12, P/Bre 5, Gw 7, W Gmg 1/3, M Gmg 13, and the combination [u(:-)θ/ʌ] and variants at D/Cdg 3-5, D/Pem 8, D/Cth 2-6/9/11; P/Rdn 1-2/4-6, P/Bre 1/3-4/6-7, Gw 1-2/4-6/8-13, W Gmg 2-3/6-7, M Gmg 9-10/14-17, S Gmg 18-21.

SAWD records [ør] in poor (followed by a word beginning with a consonant) from incidental material at D/Cth 5.

#### 5.28 Weak Vowels

This final section in the discussion of the vowels of Rh E deals with unstressed syllables, both final and initial. Wells discusses three groups of unstressed final vowels as exemplified by happY, lettER and commA. He points out that while these are not really standard lexical sets as we have discussed them above, "They do, though, have indexical and diagnostic value in distinguishing accents." (Ibid, p. 165). Wells's third category, commA, has very few members exemplified in the Rhondda corpus. Practically the only words used with final orthographic a are gymanfa and cantata, and these were indistinguishable in their final sound from the words which come under the category lettER, so commA will not be discussed separately here. However, a note will be made of the pronunciation of a number of words which do not fit into the first two categories, and also of a number

of words which exemplify the pronunciation of unstressed initial syllables.

(i) happy

The set happy... [includes] words with orthographic -y, ie, and -i (the latter being loanwords from other languages)... and also words with orthographic -ee, -ey, -ea. This latter group used once to have the FACE vowel, although now they have the ordinary happy vowel.

...

Most RP, and conservative varieties of Gen Am, have [ɪ] for happy... Many accents show fair leeway in the realisation of happy, since the opposition between FLEECE and KIT is in effect suspended in weak syllables. (Ibid, pp. 165-166)

The Rh E words belonging to this set show a fairly consistent use of final [i], which varies in length to [i:]. Such a consistent use of final [i] Wells notes as being "found in much of the south of England as well as in the peripheral north (Liverpool, Newcastle, Hull, Birmingham)." (Ibid, p. 166)

The Rh E happy vowel is realised as [i] in coffee, belly, berry, filly, heavy, hobby except as follows:

	<u>coffee</u>	<u>belly</u>	<u>berry</u>	<u>filly</u>	<u>heavy</u>	<u>hobby</u>
--	---------------	--------------	--------------	--------------	--------------	--------------

Is E	[i·]
------	------

Ma P	[i:]
------	------

Sa J	[i·]
------	------

Bi G	[i:]	[½]	[i]
------	------	-----	-----

	<u>coffee</u>	<u>belly</u>	<u>berry</u>	<u>filly</u>	<u>heavy</u>	<u>hobby</u>
Al M		[i:]				
Su J		[i:]				

(ii) letter

All [members of the set letter] include orthographic final r or re. They are regularly pronounced...with plain /ə/ in non-rhotic accents (except when subject to linking /r/ before a word or suffix beginning with a vowel).

The Rh E letter vowel varies in the same way that the final element in disyllabic PRICE and MOUTH words does, (see 5.19 and 5.21 above).

Sometimes it is realised with an RP-like [ə] but at other times the quality is more open, lower and more back [ɛ] or [ɔ]. Probably the lexical set to which it is closest in quality is STRUT.

The Rh E letter vowel is realised as [ɛ] in sugar, cucumber, finger, letter, singer, younger, except as follows:

	<u>sugar</u>	<u>cucumber</u>	<u>finger</u>	<u>letter</u>	<u>singer</u>	<u>younger</u>
Ma P	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
Sa J	[ɔ]	[ə]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]		[ɔ]
Ma S	[ə]					
Al M			[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	
Ma C	[ɔ]		[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	
Li W	[ə]		[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	
Su J			[ɔ]		[ɔ]	

(iii) A similar variety of vowels was used preconsonantly in the final syllable of words ending in orthographic -ion. The only consistent exception to this was bacon, which often had a syllabic final [n] with no preceding vowel.

The Rh E final syllable in words ending -ion was realised as [ʌn] in election, union, vision, bacon and London, except as follows:

	<u>election</u>	<u>union</u>	<u>vision</u>	<u>bacon</u>	<u>London</u>
Is E				[ŋ]	
Ma P	[ən]	[ən]	[ən]	[ŋ]	[ən]
Sa J		[ɔ̄n]		[ŋ]	
Bi G				[ŋ]	
Ma S				[ŋ]	
Al M	[ɔ̄n]		[ɔ̄n]	[ŋ]	
Ma C	[ɔ̄n]	[ɔ̄n]		[ɔ̄n]	[ɔ̄n]
Bl G				[ŋ]	
Li W	[ən]	[ən]	[ən]	[ŋ]	
Su J	[ɔ̄n]		[ən]	[ŋ]	

(iv) The Rh E vowel in the final syllable of words ending in -ing was realised as [ɪ] (as in KIT) in kidding, nothing, nudging, washing, watching, skipping except as follows:

<u>kidding</u> <u>nothing</u> <u>nudging</u> <u>washing</u> <u>watching</u> <u>skipping</u>			
Sa J		[ɪ]	-
Al M	[+]		-

kidding nothing nudging washing watching skipping

Li W	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
Su J	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]

- (v) The Rh E words postman, villain, parents and coloured all have a pre-consonantal vowel in the final syllable, identical to that in the letter words. It is realised as [ɛ] except as follows:

	<u>postman</u>	<u>villain</u>	<u>parents</u>	<u>coloured</u>
Ma P	[ə]			
Sa J		[ɔ̄]		
Ma S			[ɛ]	
Ma C	[ɔ̄]	[ɔ̄]	[ɔ̄]	[ɔ̄]
Li W	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	

- (vi) The final (pre-consonantal) vowels in the words mountain, forehead, waistcoat, acorn and yellow are realised as follows:

	<u>mountain</u>	<u>forehead</u>	<u>waistcoat</u>	<u>acorn</u>	<u>yellow</u>
Is E	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ɔ̄]	[o:]
Ma P	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o]	-	[o]
Sa J	[ɛ:]	[ɪ]	[o]	[ɔ̄:]	[o]
Bi G	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[ø]	[ɔ̄]	[ø]
Ma S	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ɔ̄:]	[ø]
Al M	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o:]	-	[ø]
Ma C	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ɔ̄]	[ø]
Bl G	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ɔ̄:]	[ø:]

	<u>mountain</u>	<u>forehead</u>	<u>waistcoat</u>	<u>acorn</u>	<u>yellow</u>
Li W	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[ə]	[ɔ:]	[o]
Su J	[ɪ]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ɔ]	[o]

The vowel of waistcoat and yellow is similar to the monophthongal realisation of Rh E GOAT. RP would use the GOAT diphthong.

(vii) The following are example of some unstressed initial syllables:

agree has a vowel similar to that of letter. It is realised as [ʌ] except by Ma P, Ma S and Li W, who all use [ə].

election has a vowel similar to that of happy. It is realised as [i] except by Ma S [ɪ], Al M [ɪ], Bl G [ɪ] and Li W who uses no initial vowel.

idea has a vowel similar in quality to the Rh E PRICE diphthong. It is realised as [aɪ] by Sa J, Bi G, Al M, Ma C, Li W and Su J, [äɪ] by Is E, Ma S, Ma C, and [əɪ] by Ma P.

composer generally has a vowel similar to that of letter. It is realised as [ʌ] by Is E, Bi G, Al M, Bl G, Su J and [ə] by Ma P, Ma S, Li W. However, two of the informants seek to give the o its full value, and their realisations are closer to the LOT vowel. It is realised as [ɔ] by Sa J and Ma C.

engaged has an initial vowel similar in quality to that of KIT.

It is realised as [ɪ] by all the informants who responded to the NPQ except Li W who again had no initial pre-consonantal vowel.

It is worth noting that in those words whose initial vowel is similar to that of lettER, none are realised by [ɔ]. This leads one to the conclusion that this particular realisation is not an option in initial position.

## CHAPTER 6

### PHONOLOGY: CONSONANTS

6.1 The material contained in the following description has been obtained in two ways: firstly, from responses to questions in the NPQ, designed to be of special phonological interest; secondly, from the more informal speech recorded in response to the GQ and CMQ, where the main focus of attention was the subject under discussion rather than a particular word or phrase. As in the case of the vowels, the questions of the NPQ were designed to elicit a series of minimal pairs and sets which would enable the identification of a consonant sound-system for Rh E. The consonants were identified in initial and final positions in the minimal pairs, e.g. cow/bough and rich/ridge. A further series of questions elicited responses giving the consonants in medial position between vowels, e.g. later, supper, watching, finger, although these did not constitute minimal pairs. The general material (GM) gathered was used to confirm and, in the case of Rh E, augment the consonant-system identified in this way (/x/ and /θ/ did not emerge from the minimal pairs) and also to provide evidence about how that system is used in more natural, everyday speech.

The consonant-system of Rh E is as follows:

	<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophones</u>
PLOSIVES	p	p, p <sup>h</sup> , p̚, p:
	b	b, b̚, b̚̚, b:
	t	t, t <sup>h</sup> , t̚, t̚̚, t:, ?
	d	d, d̚, d̚̚, d̚̚̚, d:, ?
	k	k, k <sup>h</sup> , k̚, k̚̚, k̚̚̚
	g	g, g̚, g̚̚, g̚̚̚

	Phoneme	Allophones
NASALS	m	m, m̚, m:
	n	n, n̚, n:
	ŋ	ŋ, ŋ̚, ŋ:
FRICATIVES	f	f, f̚, f:
	v	v, v̚, v:
	θ	θ, θ̚, θ:
	ð	ð, ð̚, ð̚, ð:
	s	s, s̚, s:
	z	z, z̚, z̚, z:
	ʃ	ʃ, ʃ̚, ʃ̚:
	ʒ	ʒ, ʒ̚, ʒ̚, ʒ̚:
	x	x, x̚:
	*	*
	h	h
AFFRICATES	tʃ	tʃ, tʃ̚, tʃ̚:
	dʒ	dʒ, dʒ̚, dʒ̚:, dʒ̚, dʒ̚:
SEMI VOWELS	w	w, w̚, ʍ
	j	j, j̚:
LIQUIDS	l	l, l̚, l̚:, ɿ, ɿ:
	r	r, ɻ, r̚, r̚:, hr

6.2 The consonant-system outlined above has been identified from the internal evidence of the Rhondda corpus, using the minimal pairs as the basis. However, as with the vowel-system, it is helpful also to have an external point of reference with which to compare the consonants of Rh E and their distribution. Although there is no description of the consonants similar to that given of the vowels of

the lexical sets used to analyse the vowel-system, RP may still be usefully used as a point of comparison. The resulting description will, however, be more synchronic than the descriptions of the consonant-systems given in SED and SAWD, which take ME as their reference point.

Material from the Rhondda corpus will be presented using the formula "RP/A/ is represented by Rh E [B]..." first in initial position, then in medial position and finally in final position. The work used to identify and define RP usage is the fourteenth edition (1977) of the English Pronouncing Dictionary (EPD) by Daniel Jones and revised by A.C. Gimson. Where certain interesting forms are found in Rh E, comparable forms from SAWD and SED are cited to provide evidence of distribution, where such evidence is available. Distributional material will be presented in the same way as in Chapter 5.

### PLOSIVES

#### 6.3 RP/p/

(I) RP/p/ is represented by Rh E [p] in initial position in pour, paw, pears, purr from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>pour</u>	<u>purr</u>
Bi G		[pʰ]
Al M	[pʰ]	
Bl G	[pʰ]	
Li W	[pʰ]	[pʰ]

Rh E [p<sup>h</sup>] in initial position is also recorded in the GM in the following: (a)pprenticeship from Ma S; pantry from Al M; particular from Ge V; peace from Mr I; person from Ma C; pit from Id G, Te S; potato from Te S.

SAWD records many examples of initial [p<sup>h</sup>], including in pears at D/Cdg 4, D/Pem 7; P/Bre 2-3/5-7, W Gmg 2, M Gmg 9-11, S Gmg 17-18/21; in potatoes at D/Cdg 5, D/Cth 12; P/Bre 3, M Gmg 16, S Gmg 20; in pantry at P/Bre 5-7, W Gmg 2, M Gmg 10/14, S Gmg 18-19; in person at M Gmg 16, S Gmg 19.

SED records this [p<sup>h</sup>] in pigs, pound and put at Mon 4.

SAWD notes that "In Welsh 'the voiceless plosives [p, t, k] are followed by distinct 'aspiration' ' (Stephen Jones, sec. 11)" (SAWD I, p. 100).

(II) RP/p/ is represented by Rh E [p] in medial position in copy, shepherd, supper from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>copy</u>	<u>shepherd</u>	<u>supper</u>
Ma P		[p·]	
Sa J			[p·]
Ma S	[p <sup>h</sup> ]	[p:]	[p:]
Al M	[p·]	[p·]	
Ma C		[p <sup>h</sup> ]	
Bl G	[p:]	[p:]	[p:]
Su J		[p·]	[p·]

Rh E [p·]/[p:] in medial position are also recorded in the GM in the following: skipping from Ed J; sleepers from Te S; typical from Ge V.

Rh E [pʰ] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in the following: impact from Ge V; sprags from Al W.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [p:] which include in shepherd at D/Cdg 2, D/Cth 3; P/Bre 5, W Gmg 2, S Gmg 20.

SED records [pp] in apples at La 11, Db 4; Mon 4.

SAWD again cites Stephen Jones that "In Welsh [p] is always lengthened (or doubled) when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones sec. 78)." (SAWD I, p. 100).

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [pʰ] which include in shepherd at D/Pem 7; P/Bre 7, W Gmg 6. M Gmg 10/17.

SED records this [pʰ] in spade and in turnips at Mon 4. (Compare section 6.3 I).

(III) RP/p/ is represented by Rh E [p] in final position, in cap, up, warp from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>cap</u>	<u>up</u>
Is E	[pʰ]	
Ma P	[p·]	
Li W		[p·]

Rh E [pʰ] in final position is recorded in the GM in hoop from Ed J, in top from Ma S, Ed J.

SAWD records a number of examples of final [pʰ] which include in top at M Gmg 13; in warp at W Gmg 1-2.

SED records this [pʰ] in sheep at Mon 4; in whip at Mon 4, Gl 4. (Compare section 6.3 I).

6. 4      RP/b/

(I)      RP/b/ is represented by Rh E [b] in initial position in bake, birch, bitch, bough, boy, burn from the minimal pairs.

(II)     RP/b/ is represented by Rh E [b] in medial position in cabin, hobby, rubber from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>cabin</u>	<u>hobby</u>	<u>rubber</u>
Ma P		[b·]	
Sa J		[b·]	
Ma S		[b:]	
Al M	[b·]	[b·]	
Ma C			[b:]
Bl G		[b:]	[b·]
Li W	[b]		

Rh E [b·] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in W from Ma P.

GM also records medial /b/ realised as zero in somebody from Ma P.

SAWD records a few examples of medial [b:], including in rubber at W Gmg 3, and says that "This [b:] probably arises from the analogy of doubled or lengthened consonants in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant" (SAWD II, p. 101). This [b:] is apparently unrecorded by SED.

(III) RP/b/ is represented by Rh E [b] in final position in bib, tub from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

tub

Ma P [b̥]

(Compare section 6.4 II).

#### 6.5 RP/t/

(I) RP/t/ is represented by Rh E [t] in initial position in take, tea, tears v., tie, toe, ton, town, toy, two from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

tie      ton

Bi G [tʰ]

Al M [tʰ]

Bl G [tʰ]

Rh E [tʰ] in initial position is also recorded in the GM in tea from Sa J; in team from Mr I; in typical from Ge V.

SAWD records a number of examples of initial [tʰ], including in the following:

take at D/Cdg 1/3-5; P/Bre 3/6, W Gmg 2, M Gmg 10-11/13/16,  
S Gmg 17/19-21.

tea at D/Cdg 3; P/Bre 7, W Gmg 7, M Gmg 16, S Gmg 18/20.

tie at D/Pem 9.

two at D/Cdg 2, D/Cth 10; P/Bre 5-7, W Gmg 2/7, M Gmg 9-  
11/14, S Gmg 17-21.

SED records this [tʰ] in tea, two at Mon 4.

Again, SAWD cites Stephen Jones, who records that in Welsh,  
"the voiceless plosives [p, t, k] are followed by distinct  
'aspiration'." (Jones, sec. 11, SAWD I, p. 102).

(II) RP/t/ is represented by Rh E [t] in medial position in later,  
letter from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>later</u>	<u>letter</u>
Is E		[t:]
Ma P		[t·]
Sa J		[t·]
Ma S	[t:]	[t:]
Al M		[t·]
Ma C		[t:]
Bl G		[t:]
Su J	[t·]	[t·]

Rh E [t̪]/[t:] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in beautiful from Ka L, Ge V; in naughty from Ma S; in party from Sa J; in thirty from Ma S. In these examples, the RP long vowel before the /t/ is realised as a short vowel in Rh E, the quality of length being transferred to the consonant, thus ['b̪ut:fəl]/['biut:fəl], ['nɒt:i], ['pæt:i] and ['θɒt:i] respectively.

GM also affords the following realisations of Rh E medial /t:/:

[t̪] in forty from Em L, in particular from Ge V.

[d] in beautiful from Ma C.

[d̪] in beautiful from Id G, Ge V, in bottom from Em L, in little from Do J, Id G, Bi G.

[r] in bottom from Wi L, in getting from Em L, Bi G, in whatever from Ma C.

[?] in buttons from Is E, Ja E, in football from De J.

zero in getting from Do J, in its from Ma P, Ed J, Wi L, Li W, in mostly from Al M, in parents from Ro G, Bl G, in posts from Em L, in that's from Id G, Su J.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [t:], including, for instance, in butter at D/Cth 5/11-12; P/Bre 7, M Gmg 13/16, S Gmg 18.

SED records [tt] in butter at La 13; Ch 2, Db 4. However, despite a few English examples, SAWD says that "This [t:] is presumably due to the analogy of the regular doubling (or lengthening)

of Welsh medial t when following a stressed vowel and when not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones sec. 78)." (SAWD I, p. 105)

SAWD records medial [d] in daughter at W Gmg 5, in forty at W Gmg 7, in twenty at Gw 11. SED records [d] in forty at So 6, Co 5, D 2, Sx 4.

SAWD notes with regard to this pronunciation:

Wyld, HMCE [A History of Modern Colloquial English] p. 312, gives examples of spellings suggesting the voicing of ME medial t to d that include hondynge 'hunting' in St. Editha<sup>(2)</sup> 447 (1420); y-graundyd 'granted' (ibid. 809); peyn-dynge 'painting' (ibid. 1780) and several others. And Parry-Williams [The English Element in Welsh] (p. 233) notes the following English loan words in Welsh: adargop 'atter cop'; gardas 'garters'; gwaldas 'welts'; Lesedr 'Leicester'. (SAWD I, p. 104)

Wells, in Accents of English 2, quotes a study by I. Mees<sup>(2)</sup> which shows that "In the environment 'V—V, Cardiff /t/ is often voiced or tapped, thus ['maral matter]" (p. 388). This would appear to be comparable to Rh E [r].

Wells also notes an "absence of glottalized allophones" in "typically Welsh accents" (ibid.), but notes Cardiff and Newport, more anglicized areas, to be exceptions in this regard. Taking his examples from Mees, he says that "In these cities one can find Glottaling of /t/ before syllabic [l] thus ['lɪ?l]. One does indeed find relatively few examples of Glottaling in the Rh corpus - the

greatest number of examples occur in place of /t/ in final position - and these tend to be from those speakers with less Welsh. However, there is also one example (cited above) from the speech of the Welsh-speaker Is E.

(III) RP/t/ is represented by Rh E [t] in final position in cart, cat, heart, out, sight from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>cart</u>	<u>cat</u>	<u>heart</u>
Bi G	[tʰ]		[tʰ]
Al M		[tʰ]	
Bl G		[tʰ]	

Rh E [tʰ] in final position is recorded in the GM in cart from Ro G; in impact from Ge V; in out from Ma P, Ed J; in packed from Ed J; in start from Ma S.

GM also affords the following realisations of /t/ in final position:

[t:] in that from Ro G.

[d] in caught from Ma S; in cricket from Li W; in get from Li W, in got from Al W; in it from Al M, Ge V; in put from Al M; in that from Te S.

[r] in bit(#V) from Do J; in get(#V) from Al M, Ka L; in got(#V) from Ma C, De J, Su J, Wi L, Bi G; in got (to) from Em L, Ka L, De J, Su J; in that(#V) from Ka L; in what(#V) from Ka L.

[J] in got (a) from Ro G; in what(#V) from Te S.

[?] in about from Bi G; in cat from De J; in got from Id G,  
in it from Al M, Te S, Bi G; in night from Bi G; in that  
from Te S; in went from Te S

zero in: almost from Ro G.

best from Al M, Te S.

can't from Su J.

collect from De J.

couldn't from Na Y, Do J, Wa B, Li W.

didn't from Ka L, Na Y, Al T, Ro G, Wi L, Ge V, Bi G

different from Al M, Id G.

doesn't from Te S, De J.

don't from Al M, Ka L, Ma P, Na Y, Do J, Ed J, Ma C,  
Is E, Ja E, Sa J, Li W, Su J.

dust from Al W.

eldest from Id G, Te S, Li W.

first from Al M, Em L, Ed J, Id G, Ma C, Is E, Li W.

got from Al M, Ma S, Li W.

haven't from Ka L, Ma S, Li W, De J.

isn't from Do J, De J, Su J, Ma C, Id G.

it from Ma C, De J, Su J.

just from Te S.

last from Id G, Al W.

left from Te S.

next from Wi L.

shouldn't from Al M.

that from Ka L, Na Y, Ma C, Mr I, Li W, De J.

wasn't from Em L, Ma P, Na Y, Al W, Ma C, Wa B,  
Wi L, Is E, Su J.

went from De J.

what from Li W, Su J.

won't from Al W, Te S.

wouldn't from Ro G, Te S, Li W.

SAWD records a number of examples of final [tʰ], including in  
cat at D/Cdg 2, D/Pem 7; in sight at Gw 5, M Gmg 11/14, S Gmg 20; in  
cart at M Gmg 10, S Gmg 19-20.

SED records this [tʰ] in heat, hot at Mon 4. (Compare  
sec. 6.5 I).

SAWD records a number of examples of ME final t represented by zero, including in first at D/Cth 10; last at D/Cth 5.

SED records final zero in first at Man 1-2; Sa 4, St 9, Wa 4, Mon 5, G1 1/3; L 2-5/8/12-14, Lei 1/6, Nth 1-3/5, C 1, Bk 4, Hrt 3, Ess 3/5/8/10/13; So 1/3/5/7-10/12-13, W 5-6/8-9, K 1/5-6, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 3-4, Ha 1-3/5-7.

SAWD notes with regard to this omission of final /t/:

Wyld, HMGCE pp. 303-4, lists examples of spellings that suggest loss of final t, especially after another consonant, in English from 1389 (Norfolk Guilds) onwards, adding that "this seems to have been a common practice among all classes far into the 18th century." In Welsh, too, "final t is often dropped in colloquial speech in such words as Batis 'Baptist', Methodis 'Methodist'." (Parry-Williams, p. 251). (SAWD II, p. 104).

Wells (*op.cit.* p. 388) notes the "absence of 'overlapping' in adjacent plosives" as a characteristic of "typically Welsh accents". He maintains that in such accents each element within a consonant cluster is given its full weight, and he links this characteristic with the "absence of glottalized allophones". As we have already seen (6.5 II), the Rh E of certain speakers has characteristics in common with the more anglicized regions of Cardiff and Newport, the presence of glottalization being one such feature. Although among the Welsh-speakers there was a noticeable degree of aspiration of plosives, (one example of a characteristic pronunciation would be that of [im:pʰaktʰ] impact from Ge V), there was also a marked tendency to simplify consonant clusters. It was especially noticeable among those from an

English-speaking background, but by no means exclusively so. Wells cites Mees's study of the speech of Cardiff schoolchildren in asserting that "processes of assimilation and elision appear to be commoner and more varied there [i.e. Cardiff] than in RP" (op. cit. p. 391). Among others, he gives the following examples of assimilation: ['wodn] wasn't, ['wɔsə] what's the; and of elision: [bə wi:] but we, [t wəs] it was. The RH corpus provides similar examples of assimilation: [ɪd-ɪ] it'll, [ay-n] haven't, [wəd-n] wouldn't; and of elision: [dɪ-n] didn't, [dʌ-n] doesn't, ['ɪnɪ] isn't it, [ɪs] its, [jus A] used to. In all the examples given above of final /t/ represented by zero, where there is the orthographic ending -Cn't, the combination -n't is represented by syllabic [n]. Don't was consistently pronounced [dən]. It is also worth noting that in the speech of a number of informants got a and got to were both pronounced [gɔr A], (see 6.5 II).

#### 6.6      RP/d/

(I)      RP/d/ is represented by Rh E [d] in initial position in dad, dare, darn, door, down from the minimal pairs.

The only exceptions to Rh E [d] in initial position are [t] in dither from Sa J, and the elision of /d/ in do in the phrase what do you ['wotju] from Do J.

SAWD records ME initial d represented by [t] in difficult at D.Cdg 5, and cites Parry-Williams (sec. 78) who "gives several examples of English loan-words in Welsh where provection of d to t has taken place" (SAWD II, p. 104).

With reference to the second example, compare the descriptions of assimilation and elision in 6.5 III above and 6.6 II below.

(II) RP/d/ is represented by Rh E [d] in medial position in idea, kidding, ready from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>kidding</u>	<u>ready</u>
Ma P	[d̪]	[d̪]
Ma S	[d̪:]	[d̪:]
Al M	[d̪]	[d̪]
Bl G	[d̪:]	[d̪:]

GM also affords the following realisations of medial /d/:

[d̪] in afterwards from Su J; in children from Ge V; in couldn't from Su J, Na Y, Do J; in cupboards from Al T; in didn't from Ge V, in secondary from Al W; in wouldn't from Li W, Te S.

[d̪] in grandfather from Ed J.

[?] in didn't from Ro G.

zero in children from Bl G, Ma S, Na Y, Mr I; in didn't from Su J, Al M, Na Y, Wi L; in ends from Ro G, Wi L; in fields from Ed J; in friends from Ma S; in grandfather from Ma P, Do J, Sa J, Ro G.

SAWD records a few examples of medial [d̪:], including, for example, in saddle at P/Bre 6, W Gmg 3. SED also records [dd] in saddle at La 13, Db 1. However, despite this English example SAWD

presumes that in Welsh localities, [d:] generally arises "by analogy with regular lengthening (or doubling) of certain Welsh medial consonants following stressed vowels and not followed by another consonant" (SAWD II, pp. 104-5).

SAWD records a few examples of ME medial d represented by zero including in friends at D/Pem 2-3/6-8/10, D/Cth 1-8/11. SAWD also records that "Wyld, HMCE, pp. 301-302, notes spellings suggestive of the loss of medial d before s in English colloquial speech from the Life of St. Editha (1420) onwards" (SAWD I, p. 108). It is worth noting that in the Rh E consonant clusters where /d/ is realised as zero, the preceding consonant is usually lengthened, thus ['tʃɪl:ən] children, [ɛn:z] ends, [fren:z] friends, ['gran:fəðə] grandfather.

See also the description of assimilation and elision in 6.6.  
III below.

Excrecent [d] is found in medial position in funeral ['fj+undrəl] from Li W. I have also heard this /d/ in funeral at Risca, Gwent.

(III) RP/d/ is represented as Rh E [d] in final position in add, lad, lead n., shade from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>add</u>	<u>lad</u>	<u>lead</u>
Ma P	[d̚]	[d̚]	[d̚]
Bi G		[d:]	
Al M			[d̚]

	<u>add</u>	<u>lad</u>	<u>lead</u>
--	------------	------------	-------------

Ma C	[d̪:]	
------	-------	--

Li W	[d̪:]	
------	-------	--

Rh E [d̪:] in final position is also recorded in the GM in head from Wi L.

GM also affords the following realisations of final /d̪/:

[d̪] in bread from Ma S; in dad from Li W; in had from Su J;  
in hold n. from Ma S; in would from Sa J.

[t] in had (to) from Li W, Ma C, Al M, Ma S, Te S, Sa J; in  
hold n. from Sa J; in swathed from Ge V.

zero in and from Su J, Id G; in could from Al M; in good from  
Do J, in listened from Ge V; in old from Is E, Al M; in  
round from Is E; in tinned (stuff) from Al M.

SAWD records a number of examples of ME final d unvoiced to [t], including in catch (hold) at D/Cth 12; P/Rdn 5. Another example is in second adj. at D/Pem 5/9; M Gmg 16. S Gmg 17/19, which SED also records at Nb 4-5/8, Cu 1, Du 4, We 3, La 8, Y 25/33, Man 1-2; Ch 1/5, Db 1/6, Sa 1/4-6/8-10, He 4-6, Wo 5, Wa 7, Mon 2/6, Gl 1/3/5-7, Ox 1; Lei 10, Hu 1-2, C 1, Nf 2/4/13, Sf 3/5, Bd 2, Ess 1/11/14, MxL 1-2; So 1-2/4/6/8/10-11, W 2/4-6, Co 1-3/6-7, D 1/3-4/6-7, Do 1/3-5.

Wyld, HMCE p.313, has a few examples of spelling suggesting the unvoicing of final d to t. And Parry-Williams (p.242) cites examples of loan-words in Welsh where the same thing has happened in the combinations ld, nd and rd. (SAWD II, p. 107)

SAWD records a number of examples of ME final d represented by zero, including in round adj. at D/Pem 2, D/Cth 1-2/5-7/11; Gw 13, W Gmg 7. SAWD also records zero in, for example, pound at D/Pem 2, D/Cth 2-3/5-8/11-12; W Gmg 2, M Gmg 10/16, and SED records (among others) the same at Cu 1-2, La 5-6, Man 1-2; Ch 6, Db 5, Sa 2/5/7/-8/10-11, He 2/5-6, Wo 4-5, Wa 1/4, Mon 1-3/5, Gl 1/6, Ox 6; Lai 1-2/6-10, R 2, Nth 3, Nf 11, Bk 1-2, Bd 2-3, Ess 3/7/13, W 1-2/4-9, Brk 1-2, Sr 1-3, K 1/4/6, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-7, Sx 3-4/6.

Wyld, HMCE p. 303, lists examples of spellings suggesting loss of final d from 1389 (Norfolk Guilds) onwards that include... poun... (Lady Wentworth 55...). (SAWD II, p. 106)

The features recorded above may also be explained in terms of assimilation and elision, as noted by Mees in Cardiff, and discussed by Wells. It is the process of elision that is apparent in [dɪn] didn't, ['tʃɪl.dən] children, ['lɪs-n] listened and [tɪn: stɛf] tinned stuff. As with the realisation of /d/ as zero in medial position, so in final position where /d/ is realised as zero, the preceding consonant is often lengthened, thus [ɔʊl:] old, [ʌʌn:] round, [tɪn:] tinned. Wells also notes one particular optional rule of assimilation, identified by Mees, whereby "any obstruent becomes fortis before a following fortis consonant" (op.cit., p. 391). It is possibly this rule at work which leads to the devoicing of [d] in ['tʃɪldrən] children, ['kæbɒdʒ] cupboards, ['sekʌndʒɪl] secondary. In swathed the /d/ is completely unvoiced to [t] following the fortis [θ], thus [swəθt] as opposed to RP [sweɪðd] (see also 6.14 II). However, this rule of assimilation is particularly apparent in the sequence had to, which is regularly realised as [hat tu].

6.7 RP/k/

(I) RP/k/ is represented by Rh E [k] in initial position in car, cat, calf, cart, coat, cow, key from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>car</u>	<u>cat</u>	<u>calf</u>	<u>cart</u>	<u>coat</u>	<u>cow</u>	<u>key</u>
Is E		[kʰ]					
Ma P	[kʰ]						
Sa J			[kʰ]				
Bi G	[kʰ]		[kʰ]	[kʰ]			
Ma S	[kʰ]				[kʰ]		[kʰ]
Al M	[kʰ]	[kʰ]	[kʰ]		[kʰ]	[kʰ]	[kʰ]
Ma C		[kʰ]		[kʰ]			
Bl G		[kʰ]				[kʰ]	
Li W						[kʰ]	

Rh E [kʰ] in initial position is also recorded in the GM in the following: cars from Ge V; cart from Ro G; cat from Ka L; clay from Bl G; coaches from Ma S; collapse from Wi L; crack from Ma C; cracking from Te S; kicking from Ed J.

SAWD records a number of examples of initial [kʰ] including in the following:

cow at D/Cdg 1-2/4-5, D/Cth 12; P/Bre 2-7, W Gmg 7,  
M Gmg 11/13/16, S Gmg 17-21.

calf at D/Cdg 1/4-5, D/Cth 12; W Gmg 7, M Gmg 10-11/14.

cart at D/Cdg 1/4-5; M Gmg 10.

cat at D/Pem 1, M Gmg 14.

coat at D/Cdg 3-4.

In Welsh, "the voiceless plosives [p, t, k] are followed by distinct 'aspiration'." (Stephen Jones, sec. 11).

(II) Rp/k/ is represented by Rh E [k] in medial position in acorn, bacon, hockey from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>acorn</u>	<u>hockey</u>
Sa J		[kʰ]
B1 G		[k̚]
Ma S		[kʰ]
Al M		[kʰ]
Ma C	[k: ]	
B1 G		[k: ]
Su J		[k̚]

Rh E [kʰ] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in kicking from Ed J, in stomachs from Em L, in packed from Ed J. Rh E [k̚]/[k: ] in medial position are also recorded in the GM in accent from Ma S, in electric from Te S, in particular from De J.

GM also affords the following realisations of medial /k/:

[k:ʰ] in cricket from Li W, in hecking from Al M.

zero in pictures from Al M, Te S.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [kʰ] including in acorns at D/Cdg 1, in bacon at M Gmg 11.

SED records [kʰ] in ducks and second at Mon 4.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [k:] for example, in second at D/Cdg 2; S Gmg 18. This [k:] is apparently unrecorded by SED and SAWD notes that "In Welsh, [k] is always lengthened (or doubled) when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones, sec. 78)." (SAWD I, p. 113).

Rh E medial [k:] is presumably by analogy with this lengthening of Welsh [k], although it must be noted that in ['ak:sənt] accent, ['lek'tɪk] electric and [pʌ'tɪk'læ] particular, lengthened /k/ is followed by another consonant. Perhaps in Rh E this is one way, along with aspiration, of giving weight to each consonant within a cluster, although a contrary process is also at work when length in one consonant often indicates the absence of another member of the cluster, thus [pɪt·ʃʌz]/[pɪtʃ:ʌz] pictures (from Al M and Te S respectively) - see also 6.4 III and 6.6 III. The [pʰakʰtʰ] packed from Ed J is a perfect example of a Welsh-speaker aspirating each consonant in a cluster. Throughout the Rh corpus there is a tension between the elision and assimilation characteristic of more anglicized areas and the aspiration and consonant-lengthening identified with the Welsh language.

(III) RP/k/ is represented by Rh E [k] in final position in ache, ark, sick, walk from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>ache</u>	<u>ark</u>	<u>sick</u>
Is E		[kʰ]	
Ma P	[kʰ]	[kʰ]	[kʰ]
Sa J			[kʰ]
Bi G	[kʰ]		[kʰ]
Ma S	[k:ʰ]	[kʰ]	
Al M		[kʰ]	[kʰ]
Ma C			[kʰ]
Bl G	[kʰ]	[kʰ]	[kʰ]
Li W	[kʰ]		
Su J		[kʰ]	

Rh E [kʰ] in final position is recorded in the GM in back from Ma P, Wa B; in brick from Is E; in coke from De J; in crack from Ma C, in stick from Ma C; in think from Ma S.

Rh E [k:ʰ] in final position is recorded in the GM in back from Ro G; in hook from Sa J.

GM also affords the following realisations of final /k/:

[k:] in seek from Sa J; in work from Ma S.

[x] in stomach from Ma P.

SAWD records many examples of final [kʰ], including in back at D/Cdg 3/5, D/Pem 7; in hook at D/Cdg 1-2, D/Pem 7, D/Cth 10; Gw 7; in sick at D/Cdg 3/5, D/Pem 7; in stick at D/Pem 5/7; in work at D/Cdg 4-5; P/Bre 3/6-7, Gw 11, M Gmg 13, S Gmg 18/20-21.

SED records this [kʰ] at Mon 4 in break, oak, week and work.

SAWD records [x] for ME k in medial position in poker at W Gmg 7. However, Rh E [x] in stomach is possibly by analogy with the Welsh pronunciation [x] for orthographic ch.

6.8      RP/g/

(I)      RP/g/ is represented by Rh E [g] in initial position in go, goat, from the minimal pairs.

(II)     RP/g/ is represented by Rh E [g] in medial position in finger, sugar, younger from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>finger</u>	<u>sugar</u>	<u>younger</u>
Is E			[Ø]
Bi G		[g]	
Ma S		[g:]	
Al M		[g:]	
Bl G		[g:]	
Li W	[g]		
Su J	[g]		

Rh E [g] in medial position is recorded in the GM in single from Bl G.

Rh E [g:] in medial position is recorded in the GM in bigger from Sa J.

Rh E zero in medial position is recorded in the GM in English from Ma S, Ma P, Sa J, Su J, Ed J, Al T, Al W, Mr I, Te S, Bi G, Is E; in younger from De J.

(Where /g/ is represented by zero in the combination [ŋ], the preceding [ŋ] is usually lengthened, thus ['ɪŋ:lɪʃ] English, ['jʌŋ:ʌ] younger).

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [g:], including in sugar at D/Pem 1, D/Cth 1; M Gmg 13, S Gmg 17. This [g:] is apparently not recorded by SED. SAWD suggests that it "is no doubt due to the analogy of the regular lengthening, or doubling, of certain medial consonants in Welsh after stressed vowels and when not followed by another consonant." (SAWD II, p. 111).

(III) RP/g/ is represented by Rh E [g] in final position in dog, leg, from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>dog</u>	<u>leg</u>
Ma P	[g·]	[g]
Sa J	[g:]	
Li W		[g·]

#### NASALS

6.8 RP/m/

(I) RP/m/ is represented by Rh E [m] in initial position in make, mouse from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

#### mouse

Ma C [m:]

(II) RP/m/ is represented by Rh E [m] in medial position in comics, summer from the NPQ, except as follows:

summer

Ma S [m:]

Li W [m:]

Rh E [m:]/[m] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in hymns from Wi L; in impact from Ge V; in lamp from Wa B; in memory from De J; in somebody from Ma P.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [m:], including in summer at D/Cdg 1, and suggests that it "is no doubt due to the regular lengthening of [m] in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones, sec. 78)" (SAWD II, p. 96). It must be noted that Rh E [m:] is also found with a following consonant in [im:z] hymns, [im:pʰaktʰ] impact, [lam:p] lamp, ['mem:dil] memory and ['sʌm:dil] somebody. Compare the discussion in 6.7 II above.

(III) RP/m/ is represented by Rh E [m] in final position in am, arm, lamb, room, team from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>am</u>	<u>lamb</u>	<u>team</u>
Is E		[m:]	
Ma P	[m:]	[m:]	
Sa J	[m:]	[m:]	[m:]
Bi G	[m:]		
Ma S		[m:]	
Al M		[m:]	
Ma C		[m:]	
Li W	[m:]	[m:]	[m:]

Rh E [m̩]/[m:] in final position is also recorded in the GM in from from Ma S; in home from Id G.

6.9 RP/n/

(I) RP/n/ is represented by Rh E [n̩] in initial position in no, none, nose from the minimal pairs.

(II) RP/n/ is represented by Rh E [n̩] in medial position in dinner, money, runner from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>dinner</u>	<u>money</u>	<u>runner</u>
Is E	[n̩]		
Ma P	[n̩]		[n̩]
Ma S	[n̩]		[n̩]
Al M	[n̩]	[n̩]	
Bl G	[n̩]	[n̩]	

Rh E [n̩]/[n:] in medial position is recorded in the GM in apprenticeship from Ma S; in centre from Ma C; in china from Ma S; in dividend from Ro G; in ends from Wi L; in entrepreneur from Id G; in eventually from Ma S; in fender from Sa J; in flannin from Mr I; in grandfather from Ma P, Do J, Sa J; in granny from Te S; in hands from Ma C; in mingy from Al W; in only from Bl G; in pantry from Ed J, De J; in penny from Ma C.

GM also affords the following realisations of /n/ in medial position:

[ŋ̩] in pancakes from Ja E.

[ŋ̩] in sandwiches from Sa J.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [n:] including in dinner at D/Cdg 4, D/Cth 12; money at M Gmg 11, S Gmg 18; runner at D/Pem 1; S Gmg 18. This [n:] is apparently unrecorded by SED, and SAWD presumes that it arises "by analogy with medial [n:] in Welsh, which is phonemically distinct from [n], cf. canu ['kanɪ] 'singing' and cannu ['kanɪ:ɪ] 'bleaching' (Stephen Jones sec. 78)" (SAWD II, p. 97).

Rh E [ŋ:] in pancakes is presumably due to the velar influence of the following [k], and EDP gives ['pæŋkeɪk] as a less common variant of the RP standard ['pænkeɪk].

(II) RP/n/ is represented by Rh E [n] in final position in bone, burn, churn, fine, June, ton, urn from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>bone</u>	<u>ton</u>
Ma P	[n̪]	
Sa J	[n:]	
Al M	[n̪]	
Li W	[n̪]	[n̪]

Rh E [n̪]/[n:] in final position is also recorded in the GM in again from Ma C, Sa J, Ge V, Ma S; in none from Ma P; in on from Ed J; in round from Is E.

GM also affords the following realisations of final /n/:  
 [ŋ] in can (#[g]) from Al W; in didn't (#[g]) from Ro G; in pin (#[g]) from Al W; in won('t) (#[k]) from Te S.

This [ŋ] is presumably due to the velar influence of the following [k]/[g] (cf. pancakes, 6.9 II).

SAWD records final [ŋ] in bacon at P/Rdn 1, Gw 7-8/11; spoken at Gw 5/7-8; taken at Gw 10, thicken at Gw 5, and ascribes it to the velar influence of the preceding [k].

SED records final [ŋ] in bacon at La 5, Y 26; Wo 5, Mon 4; Lei 5-7/10, R 1, Ess 2; So 1-3/5/7-9/11-13; W 1-9, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-6.

#### 6.10 RP/ŋ/

(I) RP/ŋ/ is represented by Rh E [ŋ] in medial position in finger, singer, younger from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>finger</u>	<u>singer</u>	<u>younger</u>
Is E	[ŋ:]	[ŋ:]	
Ma P	[ŋ']	[ŋ']	[ŋ']
Sa J	[ŋ']		[ŋ:]
Bi G		[ŋ']	[ŋ']
Ma S		[ŋ:]	[ŋ:]
Al M	[ŋ']		[ŋ']
Ma C		[ŋ:]	
Bl G		[ŋ:]	[ŋ:]
Su J	[ŋ:]	[ŋ']	[ŋ']

Rh E [ŋ']/[ŋ:] in medial position are recorded in the G M in bank from Ge V; in blankets from Ro G; in drunkard from Su J; in singing from Wi L; in single from Bl G; in sinking from Al W; in

think from Ma S; in uncle from Is E; in younger from De J; in English from Sa J, Su J, De J, Ma S, Ed J, Al T, Mr I, Te S, Bi G, Is E.

GM also affords the realisation of medial /ŋ/ as [n] in length from Bi G.

SAWD records a few examples of ME medial [ŋ] represented by [n] including, for example, in tinker at D/Pem 8, D/Cth 9 and in finger at P/Rdn 6. SED records this [n] in finger at So 1, Brk 3, K 3.

The lengthening of medial /ŋ/ is apparently unrecorded by SAWD and SED. Between vowels, it occurs presumably by analogy with the regular lengthening of certain consonants in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant. However, in the case of Rh E, [ŋ:] / [ŋ̚:] is also regularly pre-consonantal, note especially [θɪŋ:kʰ] think and [bəŋ:k] bank. Even in English where RP/g/ is usually represented by Rh E zero, [ŋ:] is still followed by /l/. (See also 6.5 II above).

(II) RP/ŋ/ is represented by Rh E [ŋ] in final position in sing, tongue, from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>sing</u>	<u>tongue</u>
Is E		[ŋ:]
Ma P	[ŋ:]	[ŋ̚:]
Sa J	[ŋ:]	[ŋ:]
Bi G		[ŋ̚:]

sing      tongue

Al M      [ŋ̪̫]

Li W      [ŋ̪̫]

Rh E [ŋ̪̫] in final position is recorded in the GM in hung from Al M; in long from Li W, Ed J.

GM also afforded a great deal of evidence about the Rh E pronunciation of the ending —ing. It appears that in more self-conscious, formal speech the ending was pronounced [ɪŋ], while the usual pronunciation in more casual speech was [ɪn]. This [ɪn] was recorded in, for example, getting from Em L, Bi G, going from Id G, Al M, morning from Al M, singing from Mr I, Na Y, Wi L, something from Id G.

SAWD records the final element in the final combination —ing as [n] generally in all dialects of SWW, and the many examples from SEW include morning at P/Rdn 1-6, P/Bre 2-4/6, Gw 1/3-6/8-13, W Gmg 1-8, M Gmg 10-17, S Gmg 18-21.

SED records final [n] in morning at Nb 1-9, Cu 1-6, Du 1-6, We 1-4, La 1-14, Y 1-34, Man 1-2; Ch 1-6, Db 1-7, Sa 1-11, St 1-7/9-10, He 1-7, Wo 1-7, Wa 1-7, Mon 1-6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-6; Nt 1-4, L 1-10, R 1-2, Nth 1-5, Hu 1-2, Nf 1/3-4/6-7/9-13, Sf 1-5, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2, Ess 1-15, MxL 1-2; So 1-13, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 1-5, K 1-7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-7, Sx 1-6.

Wyld HMCE pp. 289-190, cites examples of the spelling of the ancestor of Modern English final [ɪŋ] with

-yn; his earliest citation is from Norfolk Guilds (1389) but he adds: "It is probable that a special search would reveal far more numerous and earlier forms of the -n spellings than those I have noted." In Welsh, too, we find -n for -ng in English loanwords such as dwbin, pwdin, fferin 'fairing'. (Parry-Williams, p. 248). (SAWD I, p. 97)

### FRICATIVES

#### 6. 11 RP/f/

(I) RP/f/ is represented by Rh E [f] in initial position in far, four, fur from the minimal pairs.

(II) RP/f/ is represented by Rh E [f] in medial position in coffee from the NPQ, except as follows:

#### coffee

Ma P	[f·]
Sa J	[f:]
Ma S	[f:]
Al M	[f·]
Ma C	[f:]
Bl G	[f:]

Rh E [f·]/[f:] in medial position is recorded in the GM in after from Ma S; in afterwards from Ge V; in different from Al M; in draught from Ge V, in laughed/laughing from Ma S.

This [f:] in medial position is apparently unrecorded by SAWD. Between vowels, it is presumably by analogy with the lengthening of certain medial consonants in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant. However, in the case of Rh E, it also occurs pre-consonantly. In [draf:t] draught and [laf:t]/['la:f:ɪŋ] laughed/laughing, RP long BATH vowel (see 5.10 above) is shortened and the length transferred to the /f/ (cf. bathing, 6.13 II).

(III) RP/f/ is represented by Rh E [f] in final position in calf, half from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

<u>calf</u>	
Ma P	[f·]
Al M	[v]

Rh E [f·]/[f:] in final position is also recorded in the GM in enough from Al M; in off from Al W, Wi L; in rough from Te S.

GM also affords the realisation of final /f/ as zero in half(past) from Wa B; in myself from Al M. In [a:] half, the /f/ is elided with the following [p]. In [mʌi'sel·] myself, the final /l/ is slightly lengthened, possibly to compensate for the missing /f/.

SAWD records final [v] in calf (animal) at D/Pem 9; P/Rdn 1/2(+[f])/3(+[f])/4-6, P/Bre 6, Gw 7, M Gmg 9. Also in calf (of legs) at Gw 3.

SED records [v] in calf at La 9-10/13, Y 21/29-30;

Sa 1/3/8/10, He 2-6, Wo 4-5, Mon 1/3/6, Gl 3-4/6-7; L 8, Lei 3-4, Nf 2-4/6/8-10/12-13, Sf 2-3/5; So 5-6/8-9/13, Brk 5, Co 2-5, D 2/5-11, Do 1-2/5, Sx 6.

6. 12      RP/v/

(I)      RP/v/ is represented by Rh E [v] in initial position in vote, voice from the minimal pairs.

(II)     RP/v/ is represented by Rh E [v] in medial position in heavy from the NPQ, except as follows:

heavy

Ma P        [v̥]

Ma S        [v̥:]

Ma C        [v̥:]

Li W        [v̥]

Rh E [v̥] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in haven't from Na Y, Li W, De J; in ovens from Al M, Em L.

SAWD records medial [v̥:] in ivy at S Gmg 20; in overcoat at S Gmg 19 and in shovel at S Gmg 19. This [v̥:] is apparently unrecorded by SED.

(III)     RP/v/ is represented by Rh E [v] in final position in five, shave from the minimal pairs.

GM affords the following realisations of final /v/:

[f] in have(to) from Al T, Te S, Li W, Al M

[f:] in have(to) from Ma P.

zero in of from Id G, De J; in you've from Ka L.

/v/ was also generally realised as zero in the formation I've + pa.ppl., although this is possibly a grammatical, rather than a phonological point, the Rh E form being 1 + pa.ppl. (See Chapter 7).

SAWD records final [f] in twelve at W Gmg, and SED records the same at Nb 7; So 6. However, the reason for this pronunciation is probably historical - Wyld HMCE p.313, lists the spelling twelffe from the Life of St. Editha (1420) - whereas Rh E [f]/[f:] in have to is more likely to be the result of the Cardiff rule discussed by Wells (op.cit. p.391) that "any obstruent becomes fortis before a following fortis consonant."

#### 6.13 RP/θ/

(I) RP/θ/ is represented by Rh E [θ] in initial position in thigh from the minimal pairs.

GM also affords the following realisations of initial /θ/:

[θ̬] in three from Ed J.

[θ̫] in think from Ma S.

(II) RP/θ/ is represented by Rh E [θ] in medial position in nothing from the NPQ, except as follows:

nothing

Ma S            [θ:]

Rh E [θ:] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in bathing from Ka L; in nothing from Bl G.

GM also affords the realisation of medial /θ/ as zero in something from Id G.

SAWD records medial [θ:] in nothing at D/Cdg 2/4; W Gmg 2, M Gmg 10-11, and says that it "is probably due to the analogy of medial [θ:] that appears in Welsh words such as tithau ['tɪθ:aɪ] 'thee, thou'" (SAWD II, p. 114).

In Rh E ['bæθ:ɪŋ] bathing, the long RP BATH vowel (see 5.10 above) is shortened and the length transferred to the following consonant (cf. draught, laughed and laughing, 6.11 II, and bath, hearth, 6.13 III).

(III) RP/θ/ is represented by Rh E [θ] in final position in both, earth, teeth from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

<u>earth</u>	<u>teeth</u>
Ma P	[θ·]
Bl G	[θ·]

Rh E [θ·]/[θ:] in final position is recorded in the GM in bath from Em L, Ma P, Ma C; in hearth from Ma S. In each case the long RP BATH vowel is realised as a Rh E short vowel (cf. bathing, 6.13 II and draught, laughed and laughing, 6.11 II).

Exrescent final [θ] appears in height ['(h)ʌɪtθ] from  
Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Wa B, Te S, Mr I.

SAWD records the same at D/Pem 10, D/Cth 8/11.

SED records the same at Ch 6, Bd 5-7, Sa 2/4-5/7-10, St 5-11, He 1-7, Wo 1-7, Wa 1-7, Mon 1-4/7, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-2/4-6; L 6/14, Lei 1-2/4/8-10, Nth 1-2/4-5, Hu 1-2, C 1-2, Nf 3/6/9-10/12-13, Sf 3/5, Bk 1-4, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2, Ess 1-5/7-8/10-15, MxL 1-2; So 1-5/7-9/11-13, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 1-5, K 1-2/4-7, Co 2-7, D 2-5/7-8, Do 2-5, Ha 1-3/5/7, Sx 1-6.

#### 6.14      RP/θ/

(I)      RP/θ/ is represented by Rh E /θ/ in initial position in  
those, there's, that from the minimal pairs.

GM affords the following realisations of initial /θ/:

[θ]    in that from Te S, Na Y; in them from De J; in  
they from Li W;

zero in than from Em L, Te S; in that('s) from Al W, Te S,  
Li W, Em L; in the (in the phrase What's-the-name)  
from Wi L, Is E; in them from Al M, Do J, Al T, Id G,  
Mr I, Te S, Wi L, Bi G, Is E, Li W.

Wells, in discussing Mees's study of Cardiff school-children<sup>(2)</sup>, notes the phrase [ɔ:llat] all that and comments that "The elision of initial /θ/ in the, this, then, etc., is particularly frequent" (op.cit., p.391).

(II) RP/θ/ is represented by Rh E [ð] in medial position in leather from the NPQ, except as follows:

leather

Ma P	[ð·]
Al M	[ð·]
Bl G	[ð:]

Rh E [ð:] in medial position is recorded in the GM in brothers and eisteddfod from Ma S.

GM also affords the following realisations of medial /θ/:

[θ] in swathed from Ge V.

[ð] in clothes from Al T.

zero in clothes from Al M, Ro G, Ja E, Ma C, Te S.

SAWD records a few examples of medial [ð:], including in brother at D/Cdg 1, and says that it is "due, no doubt, to the analogy of the regular lengthening, or doubling, of certain medial consonants in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant." (SAWD II, p. 115).

The pronunciation [swəθt] swathed from Ge V is presumably based on swath n., RP [swəθ], rather than swathe v., RP [swetθ]. The pronunciation of [klo:z] clothes represents another example of elision in Rh E.

(III) RP/θ/ is represented by Rh E [ð] in final position in bathe, scythe from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

scythe

Ma P	[θ]
Bi G	[θ]
Ma C	[θ]

SAWD records final [θ] in scythe at M Gmg 14.

6. 15      RP/s/

(I)      RP/s/ is represented by Rh E [s] in initial position in sight, soon, seek from the minimal pairs.

GM affords only one alternative realisation of initial /s/, that of [s:] in start from Ma S.

(II)      GM affords the following non-RP realisations of medial /s/: [s:] in listening from Al M.

[s:] in ask from Ma S; in saucepans from Ja E; in vestry from Sa J; in yeast from Do J.

[z] in decision from Ge V.

zero in apprenticeship from Ma S.

SAWD records a few examples of medial [s:] including, for example, in Mrs at D/Cdg 4-5; W Gmg 3, and says that it "arises, presumably, by analogy with regular lengthening of intervocalic s in Welsh (Stephen Jones, sec. 78)" (SAWD II, p. 117). A number of examples of Rh E [s:] are followed by a consonant, but may still have been influenced by the Welsh convention.

SAWD records medial [z] in braces at D/Cth 1, laces at D/Cdg 2; mistletoe at D/Pem 7 and wash-basin at D/Pem 9.

(III) RP/s/ is represented by Rh E [s] in final position in ice, juice, us from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>ice</u>	<u>juice</u>	<u>us</u>
Is E		[s:]	[s:]
Ma P	[s:]		[s:]
Sa J			[s:]
Bi G			[s:]
Ma S			[s:]
Al M	[s:]		[s:]
Ma C			[s:]
Li W	[s:]		[s:]

Rh E [s·]/[s:] in final position is recorded in the GM in best from Te S; in brass from Al T, Al W, Ja E, Sa J; in geese from Na Y; in glass from Al M, Id G; in grass from Ro G; in house from Is E, Li W; in mice from Sa J; in worse from Wa B.

In brass, glass, grass, RP long BATH vowel (see 5.10) is realised as Rh E short [a] and the quality of length is transferred to the following /s/ (cf. 6.11 II, 6.12 II and III). The RP long NURSE vowel in worse is subject to the same shortening, thus [was:] worse. This final [s:] is apparently unrecorded by SAWD or SED.

GM also affords the realisation of final /s/ as [dʒ] in refuse n. This pronunciation is possibly the result of a confusion with refuge.

6.16     RP/z/

(I)     RP/z/ is represented by Rh E [z] in initial position in zed, zoo from the minimal pairs.

GM affords only one alternative realisation of initial /z/, that of [z:] in zinc from Ro G.

(II)    RP/z/ is represented by Rh E [z] in medial position in miser, fizzy from the NPQ, except as follows:

fizzy

Bi G	[z']
Ma S	[z:]
Ma C	[z:]
Su J	[z']

Rh E [z:] in medial position is recorded in the GM in dozen from Ma S; in using from Ed J.

GM also affords the following realisations of medial /z/:

[z] in hasn't from Su J; in wasn't from Na Y.

zero in doesn't from Te S, De J; in isn't (it) from Id G, Is E, De J, Su J, Ma C; in wasn't from Al M, Ka L,

Em L, Ma P, Na Y, Al W, Te S, Wi L, Li W, De J, Su J,  
Ma C.

In words ending in the combination -sn't, both the /s/ and the /t/ are often omitted, leaving the stress to fall on the (often syllabic) /n/, thus [də-n̩] doesn't, [ɪn-n̩] isn't it, [wɔ-n̩] wasn't, (see also 6.5 III).

SAWD records medial [z:] only in dizzy at M Gmg 13.

(III) RP/z/ is represented by Rh E [z] in final position in eyes from the minimal pairs.

GM affords the following realisations of final /z/:

[z] in afterwards from Su J; in levels from Al W.

[s] in Mrs and Jones from Ed J.

zero in she's from De J.

SAWD records final [s] in cheese at W Gmg 3 and in nose at D/Cdg 2-3, D/Cth 1/3/8; W Gmg 3. SED records the same in cheese at Nb 2/7, Ma 2; Ess 3, and in nose at Nb 1, Man 1-2; Nth 2; Brk 1. However, in Welsh localities, this [s] is probably due to the fact that there is no /z/ in Welsh. Orthographic s is pronounced [s] in all positions.

#### 6.17 RP/ʃ/

(I) RP/ʃ/ is represented by Rh E [ʃ] in initial position in shore, shy, shoe from the minimal pairs.

(II) RP/ʃ/ is represented by Rh E [ʃ] in medial position in washing from the NPQ, except as follows:

washing

Is E	[ʃ:]
Ma P	[ʃ·]
Sa J	[ʃ:]
Al M	[ʃ·]
Ma C	[ʃ:]
Bl G	[ʃ:]

Rh E [ʃ·]/[ʃ:] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in ashes from Ma P, Ed J; in ash-pan from Al M, Sa J; in special from Al M; in washing from Ed J.

SAWD records a few examples of medial [ʃ:] from SWW, including in ashes at D/Cdg 5.

(III) RP/ʃ/ is represented by Rh E [ʃ] in final position in ash, cash from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>ash</u>	<u>cash</u>
Is E	[ʃ:]	
Ma P	[ʃ·]	[ʃ·]
Sa J	[ʃ:]	
Ma S	[ʃ:]	[ʃ:]
Al M	[ʃ·]	
Li W		[ʃ·]
Su J	[ʃ·]	[ʃ·]

Rh E [ʃ·]/[ʃ:] in final position is recorded in the GM in  
ash from De J; in posh from Sa J; in push from Bl G; in wash from  
Ro G; in Welsh from Ed J, Li W.

6.18     RP/z/

(I)     RP/z/ is represented by Rh E [z] in medial position in  
vision from the NPQ, except as follows:

vision

Ma P	[z·]
Ma S	[z:]
Li W	[z̬]

GM also affords the realisation of medial /z/ as [z] in  
usually from Te S.

(II)    RP/z/ is represented by Rh E [z] in final position in rouge  
from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

rouge

Is E	[dʒ]
Sa J	[dʒ]
Al M	[dʒ]
Li W	[dʒ]
Su J	[dʒ]

6.19     Rh E /x/

(I)     Rh E [x] is recorded in initial position as a reflex of ✓

RP/h/ in hard from Al W; in hundred from Ge V; in whole from Ge V.

Rh E [x:] is recorded in hard from Ge V.

This pronunciation usually reflects a particularly stressed use of the word (see also 6.20 II).

(II) Rh E [x] is recorded in medial position in the following Welsh loan-words used in Rh E: bychan from Mr I, crachach from Do J, Ma C, Is E, Ja E, Sa J, Ge V, llechwan from Ma S, Ed J, Shwni Bobochre from Sa J.

(III) Rh E [x] is recorded in final position as a realisation of RP/k/ in stomach from Ma P (see also 6.7 III).

Despite its appearance in the standard English words noted above in I and III, Rh E /x/ must generally be regarded as a loan-phoneme. It is used most consistently in Rh E in words of Welsh origin, following the Welsh pronunciation of [x] for orthographic ch.

#### 6.20 Rh E /\*/

Rh E /\*/ is recorded in initial, medial and final positions in the following Welsh loan-words and place names used in Rh E:

(i) Llanon from Is E; Llanelli from Ed J; llechwan from Ms S, Ed J; Llwynypia from Na Y.

(ii)      Gelli from Te S, Wi L, Bi G; Gorllwyn from Al W;  
Llanelli from Ed J.

(iii)     twll from Ma P, Ma S, Is E, Ja E.

Rh E /θ/ is used exclusively in words of Welsh origin, following the Welsh pronunciation of [θ] for orthographic ll, and must, therefore, be regarded as a loan-phoneme. Wells notes the occurrence of /x/, /θ/ and /r/ (transcribed in 6.27 as [hr]) in Anglo-Welsh dialects but says, "More commonly, though, non-Welsh speakers replace these by English-type consonants" (op. cit., p. 389). It was noticeable in the Rhondda that even those who were not Welsh-speakers, such as Ja E, Bi G, Ma P, pronounced [θ] where it occurred, and there were no instances of the English substitutes listed by Wells (e.g. /lə'neθli:/ Llanelli). The same was also true for Rh E /x/ (see 6.19).

#### 6.21      RP/h/

(I)      RP/h/ is represented by Rh E [h] in initial position in half, hair, hay, head, hear, heart, high, house, except as follows:

	<u>hear</u>	<u>high</u>	<u>house</u>
Al M	∅		
Li W	∅	∅	∅

#### SAWD comments:

ME and Modern English initial and medial h are represented variously by SWW [SEW] [h] and SWW [SEW] zero under conditions too irregular to codify, such as the register of speech employed, sentence-stress,

and the extent of the speaker's education. (SAWD II, p. 118 [SAWD I, p. 122]).

With regard to the Rh corpus, it was very noticeable that a far greater proportion of zero realisations for RP/h/ in initial and medial positions occurred in the GM than in the NPQ. Thus register of speech is obviously a very important factor. It was also noticeable that examples of zero realisations were recorded from all speakers, though again, with higher proportions among the 'broader' and less educated speakers. Having made these general observations, the same must hold true for the Rh investigation as for SAWD. Wells provides an interesting discussion of "H-dropping" in Volume I of Accents of English (pp. 253-256). During this discussion he comments that "H dropping does appear to be the single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England."

(II) The stressing of initial /h/ leads to the following realisations in GM:

[h:] in hard from Wa B.

[x] in hard from Al W; in hundred from Ge V; in whole from Ge V.

[x:] in hard from Ge V.

(See also 6.19 I above).

(III) Exrescent initial [h] was found in the speech of only one informant, Em L, in [hɪz] is and [h>iil lamps] oil-lamps.

SAWD notes "Under similarly undefinable conditions [to those quoted above in 6.21 II], an excrescent [h] often appears initially in SWW [SEW] pronunciations of words that in RP have initial vowels." (op. cit., pp. 118 and 122).

### AFFRICATES

#### 6.22 RP/tʃ/

(I) RP/tʃ/ is represented by Rh E [tʃ] in initial position in church, churn, from the minimal pairs.

GM also affords the realisation of initial /tʃ/ as [ʃ] in (Welsh) Chapel from Li W.

SAWD records initial [ʃ] in chaff at D/Pem 3-4, in cheese at D/Cth 2 and in chimney at D/Cth 2. SAWD explains that "Welsh has no [tʃ], this sound being commonly represented in English borrowings by si- that some speakers pronounce [sj] and others [ʃ]." (SAWD II, p. 98). However, in the Rh E example it is more likely that initial /tʃ/ becomes [ʃ] under the influence of the preceding [ʃ] in Welsh - another example of assimilation.

(II) RP/tʃ/ is represented by Rh E [tʃ] in medial position in watching from the NPQ, except as follows:

#### watching

Bi G	[tʃ·]
Ma S	[tʃ:]

watching

Ma C [tʃ:]

Bi G [tʃ:]

Rh E [tʃ·]/[tʃ:] in medial position are recorded in the GM in coaches from Ma S; in hitcher from Al W; in pictures from Te S.

SAWD records medial [tʃ:] in butcher at D.Cdg 5, and  
comments:

Welsh has no [tʃ], but the presence of [tʃ:] here is perhaps due to the analogy of the regular doubling or lengthening of certain medial consonants in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant. (SAWD II, pp. 98-99).

(II) RP/tʃ/ is represented by Rh E [tʃ] in final position in bitch, birch, catch, church, rich, from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

bitch

Bi G [tʃ:]

Li W [tʃ·]

GM also affords the following realisation of final /tʃ/: [ʃ] in each from Ma S; in inch from Is E; in pinch from Al M, Te S, Wa B.

EPD gives the /t/ element in /tʃ/ as optional in inch, pinch. However, in each Rh E [ʃ] is probably as a result of the lack of [tʃ] in Welsh.

6.23 RP/dʒ/

(I) RP/dʒ/ is represented by Rh E [dʒ] in initial position in jar, jaw, June, Joyce from the minimal pairs.

(II) RP/dʒ/ is represented by Rh E [dʒ] in medial position in nudging from the NPQ, except as follows:

nudging

Ma S [dʒ:]

Al M [dʒ̚]

This [dʒ:] is apparently unrecorded by SAWD or SED, but it is presumably due to the analogy of the regular lengthening, or doubling, of certain medial consonants in Welsh when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant.

(III) RP/dʒ/ is represented by Rh E [dʒ] in final position in age, ridge from the minimal pairs.

SEMI-VOWELS6.24 RP/w/

(I) RP/w/ is represented by Rh E [w] in initial position in one, way, week, whey, why, Wye from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

why

Is E [w̚]

Ma S [w̚]

why

Li W [w]

Rh E [w] in initial position is recorded in the GM in where from Ma P; in which from Ma S; in whip from Ma S, Al T; in whites from Sa J; in why from Ro G.

GM also affords the realisation of initial /w/ as zero in was from Al M, Ma P, Te S, Bi G, Ma C; in woman from Ge V, Mr I; in would from Em L, Al W, Ge V, Is E, Sa J.

EPD gives [hw] (transcribed here as [w]) as a less common pronunciation of the standard RP form [w] in many words beginning with orthographic wh, such as those noted above, and A C Gimson comments in the Introduction:

The pronunciation with /hw/ in the case of many words having 'wh' in the spelling, e.g. 'which, white, when', etc., must be regarded as increasingly rare among RP speakers. It is, however, retained as a variant because it may still be heard from some speakers, especially in more formal styles of speech (sec. 3.15).

SAWD records a number of examples of initial [w], including in where at D/Cdg 1, D/Cth 5-6; in whip at D/Cdg 1/3-4, D/Cth 6; in white at M Gmg 9.

[w] has been given as an allophone of /w/ in the inventory of Rh E phonemes given in 6.1. Wells notes that "There are fricative allophones of /l, r, j, w/ in most accents, but these are

not to be considered members of the system of fricative phonemes"  
(op. cit., Vol. I, p. 180).

SAWD records a number of examples of ME Initial w represented by zero, including in woman at D/Cth 6-9; P/Rdn 2/4-5, P/Bre 2/4, Gw 4-5/9-10, W Gmg 7, M Gmg 10, S Gmg 17/19; in would (stressed) at D/Cth 10; P/Rdn 5, P/Bre 6, Gw 8/12.

SED records this zero in woman at Nb 1, Y 4, Sa 2/5/7-8/10-11, He 1-2/4-6, Wo 2-7, Wa 2/5/7, Mon 1-3/6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-5, Bk 1-3, Bd 1; So 1-13, W 4-6/8-9. Brk 2/4, Sr 5, D 5/7, Do 2-5, Ha 2-3/5-6, Sx 3-4.

SAWD refers to a discussion of the loss of ME initial w before rounded vowels in English in Wyld HMCE p. 296, but also draws attention to the fact that "Initial [w] is foreign to Welsh as a radical (i.e. unmutated) form" and quotes Parry-Williams on English loan-words in Welsh:

In the later borrowings... w (consonantal) still remains initially. It was lost in some of the older forms when the vowel that came after it was rounded. This is seen in English words in wood-, a form which Welshmen still find difficult to pronounce, the tendency being to leave out the w before a vocalic u-sound, as also in woman and other words (Parry-Williams, p. 228, SAWD II, p. 93).

(II) Exrescent [w] is found in initial position, after h-dropping, in whole [wu:l] from Mr I.

SAWD records excrescent [w] in oak at D/Cth 11 and in oate

at D/Cth 3/11, and records a full [w] in hole v. after loss of ME h, giving the form [wəl].

SED records a full [w] in oats at G 17; So 4/11/13, W 1/8-9, Brk 4, Sr 2, D 10, Do 1-5, Ha 6.

Wyld HMCE p.307, gives a list of forms showing the development of w- initially before ME q, which includes wuts 'oats'.

(III) Excrecent [w] is found medially in certain words containing either the CURE vowel, for example, ['ʃuwʌ] sure, ['puwʌ] poor, ['juwʌl] your, or the MOUTH vowel, for example, ['ʌuwɔz] hours, ['flʌuwʌl] flour/flower, ['ʃʌuwʌl] shower (see 5.27 and 5.21 respectively for a discussion and details of distribution).

#### 6.25 RP/j/

(I) RP/j/ is represented by Rh E [j] in initial position in ewe, yarn, year, you from the minimal pairs, and in yeast from the NPQ, except as follows:

<u>ewe   yeast</u>		
Ma P	0	0
Bi G		0
Ma C	0	0
Li W		0

Rh E zero in initial position is recorded in the GM in union from Al W, Ge V; in united from Sa J; in university from Ma S; in used from Ma S, Al W, Wa B, Wi L; in using from Ge V,

B1 G, Ed J; in usually from Te S, Ma P; in yeast from Do J, Ro G; in you've from Ka L, Id G, Mr I, Te S, Wa B, Wi L.

GM also affords the following realisations of initial /j/:

[tʃ] in (aren't) you [ə: ntʃju:] from Ma P; in (what do) you ['wɔtʃu:] from Do J.

[ʒ] in (do) you [dʒu:] from Ed J.

Where /j/ is represented by zero, the following vowel is usually [i:] or [ɛ:] in words of the GOOSE lexical set (see also 5.18 above).

SAWD records a number of examples of ME initial j represented by zero, including in used to be at D/Cth 5 and in yeast at D/Cdg 2, D/Cth 5/7-9/11; P/Rdn 1-4, P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 3-4/6-8/10/12-13, W Gmg 1-2/4-5/8, M Gmg 9/12-13/15-17, S Gmg 18-21.

EDG sec. 248 records the same in yeast from s, n, w Y, n, s L, s Ox, Sx, Do.

The realisations [tʃ] and [ʒ] are further examples of assimilation, the /j/ being affected by the final consonant of the preceding word. In the case of [tʃ], the [t] element belongs orthographically to aren't/what, but phonetically the sound is a single affricate [tʃ] rather than a plosive [t] plus fricative [ʃ].

(II) Excrecent initial [j] is recorded in ear(s) [jæ:(z)] from the NPQ from Is E, Ma P, Bi G, Al M, Ma C, Bl G, Li W, Su J. It is also recorded medially in the forms [ijæ:] from Sa J and [ijɛ:] from Ma S.

SAWD records ears with initial [j] at D/Cdg 4, D/Pem 1, D/Cth 3/6/8/11-12; P/Rdn 2/4, P/Bre 1-3/5-7, Gw 1-6/8-9/11-13, W Gmg 2-3, M Gmg 9-10/11 (+ form with initial vowel)/13/14 (+ form with initial vowel)/15-17, S Gmg 18-21.

SAWD suggests that initial [j] "apparently represents a ME initial ȝ in southerly dialects of south-western ME that had changed the initial vowel of ME ȳres to the rising diphthong ȝȳ (cf. Wright, Elementary English Grammar sec. 117). Wyld HMCE p. 308, quotes a spelling of ear with initial y from Mrs Isham, Verney Memoirs iv 118 (of 1665). See also SED article VI. 4. 1." (SAWD II, p. 95).

EDG (Index) records ear with initial j from se La, s La, s Ox, Sx, Co, w So, s So, nw D, e D.

Excrecent [j] is also recorded initially in heard after h-dropping (thus [jθ:d]) from Ka L, Na Y, Su J, Wa B, Li W. It is heard both post-vocally and post-consonantly, so is not the result of a glide from one vowel to another (as in e.g. [fʌijə] fire). Presumably this pronunciation arises by analogy with that of hear, hearing. In my experience it is a pronunciation that is quite characteristic of the Rhondda, although it also appears alongside [θ:d].

(III) GM affords the following examples of medial /j/ represented by zero:

in     beautiful from Ka L, Mr I, Wi L, Ge V, Li W, Ma C.

deputies from Id G, Al W.

huge from Ma C (and initially after h-dropping from Id G, Ka L).

meticulous from Al T.

particular from Ge V, Al T, Bl G, De J.

popular from Is E.

regular from Is E, Ka L.

ridiculous from Al T.

stew from Ro G.

Tuesday from Ma S.

In the cases of [me'tɪk-l-ɪs] meticulous, [pə'tɪk-lə] particular, ['pop-lə] popular, ['ʃeg-l-ɪ] regular, and [ɪ'dɪk-lɪs] ridiculous, the following vowel is also represented by zero.

(IV) Exrescent [j] is recorded in medial position in the GM in bilingual [bɔi'lin:gjuəl] from Ma S. It is also recorded in certain words from the PRICE lexical set, for example, ['fɛɪjɪ] fire, ['ɛɪjɪn] iron, ['tɛɪjɪl] tyre; from the NEAR lexical set, for example, ['dɪjɪ] dear, ['iŋɪn] Ian, ['ʃɪjɪz] shears and in [ðɛɪjɪz] theirs from the SQUARE lexical set (see also 5.19, 5.22 and 5.23 respectively for a discussion and distributions).

#### LIQUIDS

6.26 RP/l/

(I) RP/l/ is represented by Rh E [l] in initial position in lad, lead n. from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

lad

Sa J [ɿ]

Bi G [ɿ]

Dark /l/ in initial position is apparently unrecorded by  
SAWD.

(II) RP/l/ is represented by Rh E [l] in medial position in  
belly, colour, filly from the NPQ, except as follows:

	<u>belly</u>	<u>colour</u>	<u>filly</u>
Is E			[l:]
Ma P		[l·]	[l·]
Sa J	[l:]		
Bi G		[l·]	
Ma S	[l:]	[l:]	
Al M	[l·]		
Ma C	[l:]		
Bl G	[l:]		[l:]
Li W			[l·]
Su J	[l·]		

Rh E [l·]/[l:] in medial position is also recorded in the  
 GM in colliery from Ma C; in elbow from Wi L; in eldest from Te S;  
 in follow from Wi L; in haulier from Wi L, Ma S; in valley from  
 Ma S.

SAWD records a number of examples of medial [l:], including  
 in belly at W Gmg 3, S Gmg 18; in filly at D/Cth 12; S Gmg 18, and

comments that it "arises, presumably, by analogy with Welsh [l:] in such words as talach ['tal:ax] 'taller'" (SAWD II, p. 126).

GM also affords the following realisations of medial /l/:

[ɿ] in bladder from Al M; in clay from Bl G; in glass from Al M; in practically ['præk'tɪkɬɪ] from Al W; in regular [ɹeg-ɻ-ɻɪ] from Is E (see note on RP pronunciation 6.26 III).

[ɿ:] in oil-cloth from Sa J.

zero in all right from Al W; in called from Al M.

SAWD records medial /l/ represented by zero in colt [kəut] at P/Rdn 5 and in only at P/Rdn 4/6.

SED records this zero in colt at Nb 1/3-5/7-9, Cu 1-5, Du 2-6, We 1-4, La 1-14, Y 1-7/9/11/13/15-17/24/31/33-34; Ch 3-6, Db 1/3-7, Sa 2/5/7-11, St 3/5-7/9, He 3-6, Wo 1-6, Mon 2, Gl 1/3-4; Nt 1/3-4, L 1-7/9-11/14, Lei 1-3/5-6/9, K 2, Sf 2-3; Sr 2/4, Sx 1/3-6.

(III) RP/l/ is represented by Rh E [l] in final position in doll, owl from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>doll</u>	<u>owl</u>
Is E	[ɿ]	
Ma P	[ɿ:]	[ɿ̩:]
Bi G	[ɿ:]	
Ma S	[ɿ:]	
Al M	[ɿ:]	
Ma C	[ɿ]	

doll      owl

B1 G	[ɿ]
Li W	[l:]      [l̪:]
Su J	[ɿ]

Rh E [ɿ:] in final position is also recorded in the GM in  
ill from Ma P.

Rh E [l:] in final position is also recorded in the GM in  
oil from Ed J, in old [ɔul:] from Is E.

GM affords the following realisations of final /l/  
represented by syllabic [ɿ]: in chapel from Li W; in it'll from  
B1 G; in kettle from Al T; in oil from Wa B; in little from Ge V,  
Bi G; in table from Ed J; in uncle from Al M; in wheel from Do J.

SAWD records a few examples of final [l:] including, for  
example, in dull at D/Cth 12; W Gmg 7; in wool at M Gmg 10.

SED records this [l:] in wool at Nf 5-6. However, SAWD  
comments that in Welsh localities it "presumably arises by analogy  
with Welsh final [l:] in words such as tal [tal:] 'tall'" (SAWD I,  
p. 134).

A C Gimson writes of RP in his Introduction to EPD:

The phoneme /l/ must be understood to have the  
following important allophones... a 'clear' /l/ (with  
a front vowel resonance) before a vowel or /j/, e.g.  
in 'leaf, million'; a 'dark' /l/ (with a back vowel  
resonance) finally, before a consonant and as a

syllabic sound, e.g. in 'feel, help, middle'.  
(sec. 3.11).

This description of the complementary distribution of 'clear' and 'dark' /l/ in RP is very similar to that of Rh E, although in bladder, clay, glass, slag and practically [l] is also found pre-vocallyically, and in doll, oil, old, owl there are instances of clear /l/ in final position. However, Wells writes, "Only in Cardiff and parts of the anglicized south-east does /l/ have complementary distributed clear and dark allophones, as in RP. In other parts of the south, e.g. Merthyr, Rhondda, Neath, /l/ tends to be relatively clear in all positions." (op.cit. Vol. 2, p. 390). The important factor identified here is that of anglicization. Stephen Jones describes /l/ in Welsh as having "a resonance somewhere between the dark variety...and the clear variety (sec. 20). It is this relatively clear /l/ that Wells (and SAWD) note in the less anglicized varieties of Welsh English. However, in this investigation, the Rhondda appears to have a dark /l/ more in common with "Cardiff and parts of the anglicized south-east" alongside the lengthened [l] which shows a stronger Welsh influence. Perhaps this reflects the current state of tension in Rh E between the traditional Welsh influence and the process of anglicization.

#### 6.27      RP/r/

(I)      RP/r/ is represented by Rh E rolled [r] in red, Reece, Rhys, rich, right from the minimal pairs, except as follows:

	<u>red</u>	<u>Reece</u>	<u>Rhys</u>	<u>rich</u>	<u>right</u>
Is E			[hr]		
Ma P			[hr]	[ʌ]	
Sa J			[hr]		
Bi G	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]
Al M			[hr]		
Ma C			[hr]		
Bl G	[ʌ]			[ʌ]	[ʌ]
Li W	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]
Su J	[ʌ]		[hr]		

The Rh corpus provides numerous examples both of [r] and of [ʌ] in initial positions. Rh E [r] tends to be used more by those who are Welsh-speakers, or close to the Welsh language.

Rh E [hr] is recorded in the GM in Rhondda from Ma S, Ro G.

GM also provides the following realisations of initial /r/:

[r̠] in rope from Wa B.

[r̠:] in race from Te S; in rats from Ge V; in right from Ma S; in rub from Sa J.

SAWD notes that "ME r is very widely represented by SWW rolled [r], a clear case of sound-substitution from Welsh" (SAWD II, p. 119), and also records numerous examples of rolled [r] in initial position in SEW, commenting that "Welsh has only rolled [r] (Stephen Jones, sec. 23)" (SAWD I, p. 124). Among the many other

examples, SAWD records [r] in red at D/Cdg 1-4, D/Cth 1-8/10-11; P/Bre 3/5/7, Gw 2/10, W Gmg 1-3/6, M Gmg 12/16.

SED records this [r] in red at Cu 1/3, Man 1-2; Ha 3.

Lengthened [r:] is recorded by SAWD only in medial position, and is apparently unrecorded by SED.

Rh E [hr] reflects the Welsh pronunciation of orthographic rh. In EPD, the RP form of Rhys is given as [ri:s], but [hrɪ:s] is also given as the Welsh pronunciation. Wells describes this [hr] as a "voiceless alveolar roll" which he transcribes as /r/ and comments that "non-Welsh speakers replace [this /r/] by English-type consonants", e.g. "Welsh /r/ is replaced by English /r/, as Rhyl /rɪl/" (op.cit. Vol. 2, p. 389). In Rh E both Welsh-speakers and non-Welsh speakers made the distinction between orthographic r in Reece and rh in Rhys, although four did give the alternatives [r] or [ɹ], and this proportion would perhaps be higher in more informal speech. Although the distinction [r] v [hr] was made in the minimal pair Reece v Rhys, [hr] has been given as an allophone of /r/ because the distinction pointed to an orthographic rather than a semantic difference.

(II) RP/r/ is represented by Rh E [r] in medial position in berry, parents from the NPQ, except as follows:

berry

Ma S        [r:]

Bl G        [r:]

Rh E [r·]/[r:] in medial position is also recorded in the GM in Hirwaun from Ro G; in majority from Ma S; in prove from Ma S.

GM also records medial [ɹ]/[r] pre-consonantly in the following:

[ɹ] in hurly (burly) ['hʌli 'bɔ:g:lɪ] from Em L.

[r] in Hirwaun from Sa J; in Merthyr from Sa J, Wi L; in parlour from Ed J; in (Shwni) Daugorns from Ge V; in thirty from Mr I.

GM also records the following realisations of medial /r/:

zero in children from Su J.

excrescent [ɹ] in sawing ['sɔ:ɹɪŋ] from Te S. (See quote from Gimson below).

SAWD records numerous examples of rolled [r] in medial position, including pre-consonantly, for instance in forty at D/Cdg 3/5, D/Pem 5, D/Cth 3-4/9; P/Bre 7. SED also records rolled [r] in forty at Cu 1, but it is probable that pre-consonantal [r] in Welsh localities is by analogy with Welsh r being pronounced [r] in all positions.

SAWD records examples of medial [r:] in carrots at D/Cdg 5; in furrow at D/Cth 12; W Gmg 3; in porridge at D/Cdg 3; W Gmg 3; in quarry at W Gmg 3, and comments that "This [r:], apparently unrecorded by SED, probably arises through sound-substitution of Welsh [r:] that occurs in forms such as torraist ['tɔ:r:aist] 'you (2sg.) broke'" (SAWD I, p. 127).

(III) A C Gimson writes in his Introduction to EPD:

Many words ending in /-ə, -ɪə, -eə, -əə, -ɔə, -ɑ:, -ɔ:/, with an 'r' in the spelling, usually have a link with /r/ when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, particularly within a close-knit sense-group, e.g. 'father and mother, here and there, pair of, poor old, far off, pour out'... By analogy, it is common for an /r/ link to be used when there is no 'r' in the spelling - an 'intrusive' /r/, e.g. in connected speech, 'China/r/ and Japan'; within a word, 'draw/r/ing' (sec. 3.13).

This description also holds true for Rh E (including sawing ['sɔ:vn] above), but /r/ is also found finally with no following word, or with a following word which begins with a consonant. Final and pre-consonantal [r] is recorded in the following: haulier from Ma S; moor from Is E, Ma S, Su J, Al M; never from Su J; our from Sa J; parlour from Ed J; their from Ka L, Sa J; tour from Wa B; were from Id G; whoever from Ma S; Ynyshir from Ma P, Is E; your from Is E.

SAWD records numerous examples of final [r] including, for example, in butcher at D/Cdg 2/3-5, D/Pem 1/3, D/Cth 1/3/9/11; W Gmg 3, M Gmg 9; in mare at D.Cdg 2-3/5, D/Pem 1, D/Cth 3/9-11; P/Bre 7, W Gmg 2, M Gmg 9; and final [ɹ] in butcher at D/Cth 4/12.

SED records this [r] in butcher at Cu 1-2 and [ɹ] in mare at Cu 4, We 1/4, La 4/8/10-12/14, Y 2-5/7/9/13/15/17; He 7, Wa 1; L 1/4/7-9, Nth 5.

The examples of Rh E [r] which are both post-vocalic and pre-consonantal, raise the question of whether Rh E is a rhotic accent. Wells identifies three areas or groups within which rhotic accents are found in Wales:

- (i) in the old English-speaking areas of southern-most Dyfed (Pembroke, Tenby, Narberth) and the Gower peninsula;
- (ii) along the English border in easternmost Gwent and Powys, contiguous with the rhotic local accents of Gloucester, Hereford and Salop; and
- (iii) to some extent in the second-language English of those who have Welsh as their first language. (op.cit. Vol.2, p.378).

It seems to me that the instances of Rh E [r] noted above are the result of the influence of Welsh, rather than local-English rhoticism. A few of the informants who produced pre-consonantal [r] are non-Welsh speakers, but it is more likely that they have been influenced by the pronunciation of the local Welsh speakers who provided the majority of instances. (Moreover, Rh E records no instances of other indicators such as initial fricative voicing - [v] in farmer or [z] in seven - which might, for example, point to a West of England connection such as is found on Gower; also the quality of the /r/ is a full rolled [r] rather than r-colouring.) However, in conclusion, it must be said that while the speech of certain informants, particularly Welsh-speakers such as Ma S, Is E, Ge V, shows rhotic elements, Rh E generally is not rhotic.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Life of St Editha [c. 1420] (= Chronicon Vibdunense, sive De vita et Miraculis Sanctae Edithae Regis Edgari Filiae), ed. C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1883.
2. I. Mees, Language and Social Class of Cardiff, thesis for the University of Leiden, 1977.

## CHAPTER 7

### MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

7.1 This chapter deals with material recorded in the Rhondda which is of morphological or syntactical interest. The material which forms the basis of the discussion below is gathered from three sources:

- (a) responses to questions in the NPQ designated 'of special morphological or syntactical importance'; <sup>(1)</sup>
- (b) general responses to the GQ and the CMQ and incidental material from the NPQ;
- (c) responses to the original SAWD Questionnaire and incidental material recorded during the course of the undergraduate investigation carried out by me in the Upper Rhondda. <sup>(2)</sup>

The material gathered during the course of my undergraduate investigation provided a reasonably comprehensive outline of the grammatical forms of Rh E. However, one of the observations from that investigation, which informed the conduct of the present investigation, was that a greater number of non-standard forms tended to arise incidentally rather than in response to the specific grammatical questions of the Questionnaire. Thus it was the purpose of GQ and the CMQ to elicit more extended speech which was directed towards specific topics, but which was also as relaxed

and informal as possible. Such speech did indeed reveal a greater proportion of non-standard forms than responses to the NPQ. All of the specific examples of non-standard grammar discussed below are drawn from the present investigation and are identified by the informants' initials.

7.2 The items of grammar discussed in this chapter are as follows:

A. NOUNS 7.4 The Formation of the Plural.

7.5 Use of the Definite Article with Nouns.

7.6 Use of the Indefinite Article with  
Nouns.

B. ADJECTIVES 7.7 Some Comparative Forms.

7.8 General.

C. PRONOUNS 7.9 Personal Pronouns.

7.10 Possessive Pronouns.

7.11 Reflexive Pronouns.

7.12 Interrogative Pronouns.

7.13 Demonstrative Pronouns.

7.14 Relative Pronouns.

D. VERBS 7.15 Present Tense Habitual.

7.16 Present Tense Habitual: Anomalous Verbs.

7.17 Present Tense: Some general points.

7.18 Past Tense Habitual: Non-inflected  
forms.

7.19 Past Tense Habitual: Anomalous Verbs.

	7.20 Past Tense: Other non-standard forms of the Past Tense and Participles.
	7.21 Some General Syntactical Points.
E. ADVERBS	7.22
F. PREPOSITIONS	7.23 ON
	7.24 AT
	7.25 OF
	7.26 WITH
	7.27 TO
G. CONJUNCTIONS	7.28 THAN WHAT
	7.29 FOR TO

7.3 Where non-standard forms are discussed, comparable forms recorded by SAWD and SED will be noted where possible. Distributions will be given as in chapters 5, 6 and 8.

#### A. NOUNS

##### 7.4 Formation of the Plural

- (i) The suffix /s/ is added to a singular form ending in a voiceless consonant other than /s, ʃ, tʃ/. Examples include [kat/kats] cat/cats, [wasp/wasps] wasp/wasps [kʌp/kʌps] cup/cups.
- (ii) The suffix /z/ or /z/ is added to a singular form ending in a vowel or a voiced consonant other than /z, ʒ, dʒ/. Examples include [pi:/pi:z] pea/peas, [a:m/

a: mz] arm/arms, [dram/dramz] dram/drams, [ɛg/ɛgz] egg/eggz, [tʌb/tʌbz] tub/tubs, [kʌu/kʌuz] cow/cows.

The only non-standard exceptions to this rule were [dog:/dogs:] dog/dogs from Ma S and [məils] miles from Li W.

SAWD records numerous examples of non-standard suffix /s/ including that in cows at D/Cdg 2, D/Cth 3.

SED records this /s/ in cows at Nb 7, Y 5, Man 1-2.

However, as for the other Welsh localities noted by SAWD, Rh E [s:] is "most probably due to the non-occurrence of [z] in Welsh" (SAWD II, p. 137).

- (iii) The suffix /ɪz/ is added to a singular form ending in /s, ſ, tʃ, z, ʒ, dʒ/. Examples include [branʃ/branʃɪz] branch/branches, [ɪndʒ/ɪndʒɪz] hinge/hinges, [ɔ:s/ɔ:sɪz] horse/horses.

The only non-standard exception to this rule was [dzon:sɪs] Joneses from Ma S.

SAWD records four examples of this suffix /ɪs/: in laces at D/Cdg 3; in noses at D/Cdg 3; in ounces at D/Cdg 4; in rushes at D/Cdg 2 and concludes that "this [ɪs] is probably due to the non-occurrence of [z] in Welsh" (SAWD II, p. 138).

- (iv) The final voiceless fricative of the singular form is voiced and the suffix /ɪz/ is added. Examples include

[hʌʊs/hʌuzɪz] house/houses, [ka:f/ka:vz] calf/calves,  
 [ʃɪf/ʃi:vz] sheaf/sheaves, [ruf/ru:vz] roof/rooves.

The only non-standard exceptions to this rule were

[ka:v/ka:yz] calf/calves from Al M and the plural  
 [hufs] hoofs from Wi L.

SAWD records the singular form calf with final [v] at  
 P/Rdn 1-2/44-6, P/Bre 4, Gw 7-8. M Gmg 9.

SED records the same at La 9-10/13, Y 21/29-30; Sa 3/  
 8/10, He 2-7, Wo 4-5, Mon 1/3/6, Gl 3-4/6-7; L 8, Lei  
 3-4/7, Nf 2-4/6/8-10/12-13, Sf 2-3/5, Ess 11; So 5-6/  
 8-9/13, Co 2-5, D 2/5-7/9-11, Do 1-2/5, Sx 6.

SAWD records a couple of examples of the final fricative remaining voiceless and [s] suffixed, including that in sheafs at D/Cth 6/9; P/Rdn 3-5, W Gmg 7-8.

SED records the same at Nb 1-2, Cu 1, La 9, Y 17-18/20;  
 Ch 3-6, Sa 1-2/4-11, St 1/8/11, He 1-4/6-7, Wo 1-2/4/6,  
 Mon 1-3/6, Gl 2/4; L 2/10, Nth 2, Sf 2, Bd 3, Hrt 2;  
 Sr 4, Sx 6. However, SAWD concludes that in Welsh localities, this [s], once again, "is most probably due to the non-occurrence of [z] in Welsh" (SAWD II, p. 137).

(v) The plural form remains the same as the singular form.

Examples include the standard [ʃi:p] sheep, but also [<sup>tʃ</sup>ɪkɪn] chicken in the sentence, We used to keep chicken from Li W and [kʌɪnd] kind as in the sentences,

I've worked with all kind of Welshy men from Wi L, and I don't remember whether there were other kind from Sa J. The singular form is also regularly maintained for measurements of length, weight, money, etc. following a cardinal number. The following examples were recorded:

foot from Is E, Ma P, Sa J, Bi G, Ma S, Al M, Ma C, Bl G, Su J, Wi L, Mr I, Al W, Em L;

inch from Is E;

pound from Bl G, Gw V, Id G, Ma S, Ka L;

ton from Te S, Al W;

hundredweight from Ma S;

year from Sa J, Em L;

shilling from Mr I.

However, the following were also recorded following cardinal numbers:

feet from Li W, Al W, Te S;

hundredweights from Wi L;

pounds from Al W.

The plural form miles was used consistently following a cardinal number in responses to the NPQ and in the

general material in the speech of Is E and Ro G. There were no exceptions recorded.

SAWD records an identical singular and plural form following a cardinal number in the following:

ounce at D/Cth 11;

ton at D/Cth 3;

year at D/Pem 9, D/Cth 11; P/Rdn 4-5, P/Bre 7, Gw 3-4/  
6/9/12, W Gmg 6-7, M Gmg 12/15, S Gmg 21.

SED records a similar use of year at Nb 1-9, Cu 1-6, Du 1-6, We 1-4, La 1-14, Y 1-4/6-34; Ch 1-6, Db 1-6, Sa 1/3-4/6-11, St 1-2/5-11, He 1-4/6-7, Wo 1-2/4, Wa 2/4/6-7, Mon 1, Gl 3-7, Ox 2-5; Nt 1-4, L 1-15, Lei 1-2/5-6/9-10, R 1-2, Nth 1-5, Hu 1-2, C 1-2, Nf 1/3-13, Sf 3-5, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1, Ess 1/5/9-13/15, MxL 1; So 1-5/7-8/10-12, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 1/3-4, K 1-7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-6, Sx 4-6.

EDG (sec. 382) records a similar use of ounce from Somerset.

- (vi) The plural is formed by a mutation of the vowel(s) of the singular form. Examples include [gus/gɪsl] goose/ geese, [mæn/mɛn] man/men, [mʌʊs/mʌɪsl] mouse/mice, ['wəmən/'wɪmən] woman/women. Also [fət/fɪtl] foot/feet, but see also 7.4(v).

(vii) The plural is formed by a mutation of the vowel of the singular form, with the addition of a suffix, as in [tʃild/'tʃil(d)ən] child/children.

(viii) The compound plural form [kʌps ə ti:z] cups of teas was recorded from Id G.

#### 7.5 Use of the Definite Article with Nouns

- (i) Before a following consonant, the Definite Article usually takes the form [ðʌ] or [ðə]. However, it also occurs in the following forms:  
 [ði] as in the lodge from Wi L, the pit-head baths from Is E, the hearth from Ja E;  
 [ð] as in the latter end from Wi L.

SAWD records a number of examples of the Definite Article in the forms [ði], [ði] or [ði:] from SWW.

- (ii) Before a following vowel, the Definite Article usually takes the form [ði]. However, the Rh corpus also records the following forms:  
 [ðə]/[ðʌ] as in the air from Em L, the horse [ðʌ:s] from Te S, Em L;  
 [ð] as in the air, the heading ['ðeɪŋɪŋ] and the height [ðeɪtθ] from Te S, the handle [ðeɪndl] from Wi L, the only from Em L, the other from Wi L.

SAWD records a few examples of [ðə] before a following vowel, including the horse [ðəɔ:s] at D/Cdg 2.

SAWD also records a number of examples of [ð] before a following vowel, including the other at D/Pem 7.

SED records this [ð] in the other at Nb 1/3, Du 1, Man 1-2; Ch 3-4/6, St 1/7/10, He 7, Wo 7, Wa 2, Ox 4/6; Nt 4, L 5-6/8-14, Lei 1-6/8-10, R 1-2, Nth 3/5, C 2, Nf 2-4/7/9-10, Sf 4, Ess 4/7/11-12; W 3, Brk 1-4, Sr 5, K 1/3, Co 3/5-7, D 6, Ha 1/3/7.

(iii) The Definite Article is also used in the following phrases:

by the bus (= Standard English 'by bus') from Ro G.

the both of them from Mr I.

SAWD records the both at D/Pem 5/7, D/Cth 5/8 and the both of us at D/Cth 11.

SED records the both at Ch 4, Mon 5; So 1/3, W 8, Co 5, D 2-4/6-7, Do 4, Ha 2-3.

(iv) The Definite Article is omitted in the phrases but biggest part and all time from Te S.

## 7.6

### Use of the Indefinite Article with Nouns

(i) Before a following consonant, the Indefinite Article

usually takes the form [ʌ] or [ə]. The only exception to this is [ən hed:lamp] an head-lamp from Wa B.

- (ii) Before a following vowel, the Indefinite Article usually takes the form [ʌn] or [ən]. However, it also occurs in the following forms:

[ʌ]/[ə] as in a accident from Ka L; a apple from Li W, Al M; a ash-tip from Li W; a engine from Bi G, Em L; a heading [ʌ'ed'in] from Te S; a heap [ʌip:] from Em L; a hole [ʌo:l] from Te S, Em L; a horse [ʌ:sl] from Wi L, Te S, Al W, Em L; a inlet from Te S; a iron from Ge V, Al W; a oil-lamp from Al W; a S-shape [ʌ'se:sʃep] from Wi L.  
 [ʌ] as in a outlet [ʌ 'ʌtlʌt] from Te S.

SAWD records the Indefinite Article in the form [ə] before vowels in a holiday [ə 'holide:] at D/Cdg 4 and a headache [ə 'ede:k] at D/Cth 12.

- (iii) The Indefinite Article precedes tongs and bellows in the speech of Ma P and tongs in the speech of Al M.

SAWD records the Indefinite Article before tongs at D/Cdg 1, D/Pem 2-6, D/Cth 4-7; P/Rdn 2, P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 1/4/6/8-13, M Gmg 9.

SED records the same at Mon 5; Nf 6; K 6.

SAWD also records the Indefinite Article before bellows at D/Cdg 1.

- (iv) Toothache was never preceded by the Article (Definite or Indefinite) in response to question Q15 of the NPQ, ("If you saw someone sitting like this with their hand over their jaw, you might say: Have you...got TOOTHACHE †").

Headache was preceded by the Indefinite Article in responses to question Q19 of the NPQ, ("If there is a pain in your head, you say: I've got...At HEADACHE") by Ma P, Sa J, Bi G, Al M, Ma C, Bl G, Su J. However, no Article was used by Is E, Ma S or Li W.

- (v) The Indefinite Article was used in the following phrases:

He made a poetry of all the nicknames (Wi L).  
We had a poultry [i.e. a chicken or turkey] (Sa J)  
We had a lovely woods (Ma C).

- (vi) The Indefinite Article was omitted in the following phrases:

We spent awful lot of time there (Ma C).  
We used to sell terrific amount of...poultry food (Is E).  
We used to have hooter going (Ka L).  
She used to give me couple of bob (Al M).  
If your parents only know quarter what you did (Ro G).

## B. ADJECTIVES

### 7.7 Some Comparative Forms

- (i) The Rh corpus provides the following examples of the comparative formed from more + the positive form:

A bit more posh (Sa J).

This feels more good than the other one (Ma C).

- (ii) The Rh corpus provides the following examples of the comparative formed from more + the comparative form:

more freer (Ma C).

more keener (Wi L).

- (iii) The Rh corpus provides the following examples of the superlative form being used in a comparative construction:

most often than not (Te S).

dust is worst (Ka L).

SAWD records worst as a comparative form at P/Rdn 1/5, P/Bre 3/5, Gw 6/12, M Gmg 9-11, S Gmg 19-21.

SED records the same at Mon 5.

- (iv) The Rh corpus provides the following example of a comparative form being used as a superlative:

I was the elder of the four (Do J).

- (v) The Rh corpus provides a number of examples of the more archaic latter being used in place of later:

in (the) latter years (Sa J, Ma S, Ge V).

latter going off [i.e. more recently] (Te S).

7.8

### General

- (i) The Adjective enough is followed by of in the phrase enough of air from Bl G.  
SAWD records enough and (at W Gmg 6-7) [ə'nəʊ] followed by of and a plural noun in the sentence The sow hasn't enough of teats to go round at D/Pem 4/6; P/Rdn 3/5, P/Bre 6, Gw 1-3/7-8/10-11/14, W Gmg 13/15-17, S Gmg 19-21.  
SED records the same at Nb 1 and Y 1.

It is probable that the use of enough of in Welsh localities is influenced by the Welsh construction digon o 'enough of'.

- (ii) The Demonstrative Adjectives this here, these here, them and that are recorded as follows:
- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <u>this here:</u>  | <u>this here stone</u> ... from Do J;  |
| <u>these here:</u> | <u>these here group meetings</u> from Do J;  |
| <u>them:</u>       | <u>in them days</u> from Ma C, Wa B, Al W;<br><u>them boys</u> from Em L; <u>them clinics</u> from Wa B; <u>them people</u> from Em L; <u>them places</u> from Wa B; <u>them roads</u> from Te S; <u>them stacks</u> from Em L; <u>them terms</u> from Mr I; <u>at them times</u> from Te S. |

that:           we'd rise that ashes from Sa J.

- (iii) The adverbial form warmly is used adjectivally, and the adjectival form near is used adverbially, in the sentence The feelings of the people these days are not near as warmly from Wa B.
- (iv) The Adjective much (rather than the Standard English many) is used before a plural noun in the sentence I didn't see much beetles from Wa B.

### C. PRONOUNS

#### 7.9 Personal Pronouns

##### (i) Nominative

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| singular | 1. <u>I</u> [ʌɪ, əi, aɪ]                       |
|          | 2. <u>you</u> [ju, jø, u]                      |
|          | 3. (m) <u>he</u> [hi, i:], <u>him</u> [ɪm]     |
|          | (f) <u>she</u> [ʃi]                            |
|          | (n) <u>it</u> [ɪt, ɪl, he [i], <u>she</u> [ʃi] |

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| plural | 1. <u>we</u> [wi]                        |
|        | 2. <u>you</u> [ju]                       |
|        | 3. <u>they</u> [ðeɪl], <u>them</u> [ðem] |

The non-standard forms noted above were used in the following contexts:

Not only him but other people did it as well (Ro G).

So him and the manager here then, he said... (Te S).

She [i.e. the pit-carriage] would be suspended (Ge V).

...where the dram would go afore he'd reach the bottom (Te S).

Them were the people that were responsible (Te S).

(ii) Objective

singular 1. me [mi]

2. you [ju, u]

3. (m) him [(h)i:m]

(f) her [(h)ə:r]

(n) it [i, it], him [(h)i:m],  
her [(h)ə:r]

plural 1. us [ʌs]

2. you [ju]

3. them [ðem, ðʌm, ʌm], it [it]

The non-standard forms noted above were used in the following contexts:

They put him [i.e. the sprag] into the wheels (Al W).

If you hold him [i.e. a piece of hot coal] (Al M).

The winder would let her [i.e. the pit-carriage] down (Ge V).

Gobs we used to call it (Al W).

SAWD records that "him objective can refer to inanimate objects at P/Rdn 4" (SAWD I, p. 159).

The use of he/she and him/her for inanimate objects possibly reflects the fact that, in Welsh, all nouns are either masculine or feminine. There is no neuter.

## 7. 10 Possessive Pronouns

### (i) Conjunctive

- singular 1. my [m̩i, m̩i, mai]  
 2. your [jo, jə, jɔ, 'juwɔ],  
you [ju]

3. (m) his [(h)ɪz]  
 (f) her [(h)ə], their [ðə]  
 (n) its [ɪts, ɪs]

- plural 1. our [ɔ̄uwa], ōur, ɔ̄u  
 2. your [jo, jɔ, 'juwɔ]  
 3. their [ðeijɔ, 'ðeijə], they [ðei]

The non-standard forms noted above were used in the following contexts:

All you clothes (Al W).

Pull you water out of the bath (Ma C).

One [girl] going behind with a hanky in their hand (Ja E).

On they knees (Is E).

They turn (Li W).

The Rh corpus also records the following periphrastic construction: We'd just jump on the backs of them (= 'on their backs') from Id G.

It is possible that the forms [ju:l you] and [ðeɪl they], noted above, actually represent a shortened version of the pronunciations ['juwʌl] and ['ðeɪjəl] respectively, rather than a use of the personal form you as such. Compare the pronunciation [hʌl] as an alternative to [hʌwʌl] for our.

### (ii) Disjunctive

singular 1. mine [mʌɪn, main]

2. yours ['juwʌz]

3. (m) his [(h)i:z]

(f) hers [(h)ə:z]

plural 1. ours ['ʌuwʌz]

2. yours ['juwʌz]

3. theirs [ðeɪjəz]

### 7.11

### Reflexive Pronouns

singular 1. myself [mʌɪ-/mæi-/mə'self]

2. yourself [jʌ-/jə-/jo-/jə'self]

youself [ju'self]

3. (m) himself [(h)i:m'self],

his-self [(h)i:z'self, i:s:elf]

(f) herself [(h)ə:z'elf]

- plural      1.      ourselves [ʌu'selvz]  
               3.      themselves [ðəm-/ðm'selvz],  
                   theyselves [ðei'selvz],  
                   themself [ðm'self]

The non-standard forms noted above were used in the following contexts:

Then you had to put it in youself (Li W).

He had to do that his-self (Te S).

He used to term his-self a rider (Al W).

He'd hit his-self (Em L).

Didn't bother to shake theyselves (Li W).

Two or three boys would line themself... (Id G).

Again, it is possible that the forms [ju'self] and [ðei'selvz] represent alternative pronunciations of yourself [juwɔ:lself] and themselves [ðeɪjɔ:lsvz], rather than youself and themselves as such.

Parry<sup>(3)</sup> suggests that his-self and themselves may possibly be translations of ei hun, ei hunian, although he points out that such forms are also common in English dialects.

## 7.12

### Interrogative Pronouns

The following are recorded in the Rh corpus:

- (i)      what? [wɒt, wə, Mɒt]
- (ii)     who? [h]u: ]
- (iii)    whose? [h]u: z]

7.13

Demonstrative Pronounssingular (i) this [ðɪs](ii) that [ðat, ðət]plural (i) these [ði:z](ii) those [ðo:z], them [ðem], that [ðat]

The non-standard forms noted above were used in the following contexts:

Put all the whites into the bucket and boil all them up (Ma C).

My mother used to save all them (Li W).

Them were the old tools (Wa B).

Them are smaller than the ordinary dram (Em L).

That was the days (Mr I).

That was your tools (Em L).

SAWD records them (= 'those') in Them are dogs and "similar sentences" at D.Cdg 4, D/Cth 8.

7.14

Relative Pronouns(i) Nominative

The following are recorded in the Rh corpus when the antecedent is masculine or feminine:

who [h]u:]what [wɒt]that [ðat, ðət]which [wɪtʃ]

zero

The following are recorded in the Rh corpus when the antecedent is neuter:

<u>that</u> [ðat, (ð)ət]	which [wɪtʃ, Mɪtʃ]
<u>what</u> [wɒt]	zero

Examples of the use of the relative pronoun listed above include the following

Some men who had horses (Bi G)

They'd have all the men out what were round here  
(Te S)

The person that was chasing... (Is E)

He was the one that was driving the roads (Bi G)

The man that'd be signalling (Ge V)

The man now that's filling the coal (Te S)

The woman that was looking after us (Do J)

The one that was 'in'... (Ma S)

Two daughters which... (Ma S)

They've seen people can't walk (Ka L)

That was the hall...that my father started (Sa J)

A curling box which... (Wa B)

A window which you could open (Do J)

The transfer from the Parc and Dare what came  
(Wi L)

Muck drams what was holding muck (Em L)

There's lots of churches have done away with it  
(Na Y)

SAWD records the following relative pronouns with masculine antecedents:

what at D/Pem 9; Gw 3/7, M Gmg 16.

which at D/Pem 2.

SED records what with a masculine antecedent at Y 2-3/  
6/10-11/13-14/16/18-20/25-28/33; Ch 2, St 10, Gl 1,  
Ox 6; L 5/8/14, Lei 6, Nth 5, Nf 1-2/6/10/13, Sf 3-5,  
Bd 3, Ess 1/4-5/7/11-13/15, MxL 1-2; So 11/13, W 1/8,  
Brk 5, Sr 2, K 1-3/5-7, Sx 5-6.

SAWD records what with a neuter antecedent at D/Cth 11.

(ii) Objective

The following are recorded in the Rh corpus when the  
antecedent is masculine or feminine:

whom [h]u:m      what [wot]

The following is recorded in the Rh corpus when the  
antecedent is neuter:

what [wot]

Examples of the uses of the relative pronouns listed  
above include the following:

My great-grandmother whom I don't know (Ro G).

There was man here whom they called the winder  
(Wa B).

That man what I had a job off (Mr I).

Them are smaller than the ordinary dram what the  
collier was using (Em L).

My mother could speak Welsh what she had learned  
in Treorchy (Te S).

I took this [i.e. a roll of flannel] what I had on  
my shoulder (Mr I).

(iii) Possessive

The relative pronoun whose [hu:z] is recorded in the Rh corpus.

D. VERBS7.15 Present Tense Habitual

Rh E has three ways of forming the present tense habitual:

- (i) By inflexion of a verb stem. Often Rh E follows the standard pattern: 1 + 2 sg. and 1, 2 + 3 pl. = the verb-stem; 3 sg. is formed by the phonetically conditioned addition of /s/, /z/ or /iz/, (cf. the formation of the plural, 7.4). Examples of non-standard inflexion will be discussed under the anomalous verbs treated separately below.
- (ii) Peripherastically, in the form subject plus unstressed do [du, də] plus verb-stem. Examples of this construction include the following:

I do go through the district (Wi L).

She do say to me (Ma C).

I do say words and no-one else have heard of them (Ma C).

I do try to tell them (Ma C).

We didn't have what they do have now (Li W).

If my boys do drink (Mr I).

It do douse the flame (Al W).

Some do call them 'dogs' (Al W).

I do sleep in them (Do J).

When it do boil (Em L).

SAWD records a number of examples of the periphrastic form with do [də] plus infinitive, including the following:

You do watch at D/Pem 4.

We do call it... at D/Pem 9.

They do keep hens at P/Bre 7, M Gmg 10-11.

They do go to chapel/church at Gw 9/12-13.

SED also records the following:

They do keep hens at Mon 4-5; So 4, W 9, Co 4/7,  
Do 1-4.

They do go to chapel/church at Mon 4; So 4, W 5/8,  
Co 4/6-7, Do 3-5.

EDG (sec. 435) says "The periphrastic form I do love etc. for I love etc. is in general use in the south-western dialects."

(iii) Periphrastically, consisting in the subject, plus form of the verb BE plus the present participle. Examples of this construction include the following:

I'm saying a fib now (Ma S). ?

It's the only one I'm thinking of (Ja E).

It be hitching into that shaft (Em L).

SAWD records a number of examples of this continuous form of the present tense habitual, including she is wearing the trousers at D/Cth 3-4; P/Rdn 1-2/4, P/Bre 7. Other examples are restricted to SWW. SAWD comments: "These forms are presumably modelled on the Welsh construction: Y plus BOD 'be' plus (subject) plus YN plus verb-noun that is used to express the Present Tense Habitual" (SAWD II, p. 148). Compare also the non-inflected forms of the Past Tense Habitual, 7.18 below.

#### 7.16 Present Tense Habitual: Anomalous Verbs

##### (i) BE

(a) The verb BE has the following inflexions in the present tense:

- singular 1. am [əm] stressed [əm/m] unstressed  
 2. are [ɑ:] stressed [jə/jo/'juwɪ] (you are)  
     unstressed  
 3. is [iz] stressed [iz/z] unstressed,  
be [bi]

- plural 1. are [ɑ:] stressed [ə/ʌ] unstressed  
 2. are [ɑ:] stressed [ə/ʌ] unstressed  
 3. are [ɑ:] stressed [ə/ʌ] unstressed,  
is [iz/z]

Examples of the non-standard forms noted above include the following:

It be hitching into that shaft (Em L)

His mother and father is Welsh (Ka L).

Cogs is timber (Em L).

My mother and father is from Merthyr (Wi L).

There's hundreds of men (Wi L).

There's lots of churches have done away with it  
(Na Y).

They know how many men is going down the pit  
(Al W).

It's only the sides of the timber road is packed  
(Al W).

The Rh corpus also provides the example of the verb BE as an auxiliary, omitted in the sentence Where you working? (Wa B). Compare the omission of the auxiliary verb HAVE in 7.16(iii).

SAWD records the lsg. I be in response to the question "I drink water when... I AM THIRSTY" at P/Rdn 5, W Gmg 7.

SED records the same at Wo 5/7, Wa 4, Mon 1-2/5, Gl 1-6, Ox 1-3/5-6; Bk 1-5; So 2/6-8/10-13, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 5, Co 1-2, D 1-9/11, Do 2-5, Ha 1-3/5-7, Sx 1-6.

It must be noted that the example it be hitching into that shaft is the only one of this form recorded in the Rh corpus. There were numerous examples of 3 pl. is.

(b) The verb BE is also found in the general confirmatory phrase isn't it ['iznɪ(t)/'ɪnɪ]. This is found particularly in the speech of Al M, Su J, Ma C, Em L,

Is E, Ed J, Wa B, Mr I. It probably arises as a result of the influence of the Welsh generalised confirmatory interrogative ydy fe? 'is it?' or the confirmatory negative onfe? 'isn't it?'

(c) There is is used in the phrase There's a coner (= "What a coner (moaner) she is") from Al M, reflecting the use of the Welsh dyna 'there is' + adjective.

SAWD records a similar use of There is in SWW, but followed by an adjective, thus equalling Standard English How + adj. in exclamations, e.g. There's nice it was! at D/Cth 3.

(ii) DO

(a) The verb DO has the following inflexions in the present tense:

singular 1. do [du:] stressed (du, də) unstressed

2. do " "

3. does [dʌz], do [du]

plural 1. do [du:] stressed (du, də) unstressed

2. do " "

3. do " "

The Rh corpus provides the following example of 3 sg.

do: Do he [the horse] pull or do the dram shove him?  
(Wi L).

The Rh corpus also provides the following examples of 3 sg. do in the negative form:

My brain don't [dən] function as it used to  
(Do J).

It don't [dənt] look clean (Ka L).

SAWD records 3 sg. he do in response to the question "You don't care for things like that but HE...DO" at D/Cdg 2, D/Pem 7-9, D/Cth 12; P/Rdn 3-4, P/Bre 3-4, Gw 1/4/6-7/9-13, W Gmg 6, M Gmg 10-11, S Gmg 18-21.

SED records the same at Db 7, Sa 10, He 1-7, Wo 4/6-7, Mon 1-6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-6; C 1, Nf 1-2/4-6/9-10/12-13, Sf 1-5, Bk 6, Bd 2, Ess 1-2/5/7/10/12, MxL 1-2; So 1-13, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 1-5, K 7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-7, Sx 1/3.

SAWD records 3 sg. negative he don't in response to the question "I do care for things like that but HE...DOESN'T" at D/Pem 7-10, D/Cth 12; P/Rdn 2-4, Gw 1/4-7/9-10/12-13, W Gmg 6-7, M Gmg 10-11/15-16, S Gmg 17-21.

SED records the same at La 3, Man 2; St 8-11, He 1-7, Wo 1-7, Wa 1-7, Mon 1-6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-6; L 10/13-15, Lei 2-10, R 1-2, Nth 1-5, Hu 1-2, C 1-2, Nf 1-2/4-6/9-13, Sf 1-5, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2, Ess 1-12/14-15, MxL 1-2; So 1-13, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 1-5, K 1-7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-7, Sx 1-6.

(b) The verb DO is also found in the general confirmatory tag d'you see? [dzu'si:/dju'si:] from Ed J and Ge V. This probably reflects the use of the Welsh generalised confirmatory interrogative ti'n gweld? 'Do you see?'

(iii) HAVE

(a) The verb HAVE has the following inflexions in the present tense:

singular 1. have [(h)av] stressed [(h)əv, v] unstressed

2. have " "

3. has [(h)az] stressed [(h)əz, z] unstressed,  
have [(h)əv, v] unstressed

plural 1. have [(h)av] stressed [(h)əv, v] unstressed

2. have " "

3. have " "

haves [æ:vz]

Examples of the non-standard forms noted above include the following:

When the coal have caught (Ma C)

No-one else have heard of them (Ma C)

Real coal have got a shine on it (Li W)

Now there've come the modern days (Wa B)

It's mining that have finished (Al W)

Neil have found them just the same (Do J)

This have finished now (Em L)

There've been a fall (Ka L).

I suppose a lot of people haves names (Ka L).

The Rh corpus also provides the following examples of non-standard negative forms:

It haven't altered (Na Y).

The coal haven't burnt right out (Ma C).

She haven't had a voice now eight years now coming this month (Ka L).

She've never had arthritis since (Ka L).

We ain't [ein] got no money (Id G).

SAWD records he haven't in its auxiliary use in the phrase he haven't seen it at P/Bre 4, Gw 1-10/12, W Gmg 1/5-6, M Gmg 10/16, S Gmg 19-20.

SED records the same at Man 2, He 2/4/6, Mon 2-6, Gl 1-2, Ox 4; Nf 3-4/6/11, Ess 15; Co 4-5/7, D 9-10.

(b) The verb HAVE is indeed used most often as an auxiliary verb. The concept of 'to have' or 'to have to' is usually expressed through the use of HAVE as an auxiliary plus pa. ppl. of GET, thus you've got or you've got to. However, in these constructions, as in other constructions where HAVE is used as an auxiliary with the pa. ppl., the HAVE element is frequently omitted. The numerous examples include the following:

I got one (Su J).

I been living here nineteen years (Ma C).

I never heard of that (Li W).

I never seen a sight like it (Ge V).

I got a feeling (Ro G)

If I got anything big to wash (Ma P).

I seen him come home... (Al M)

You got to go [ju gɔr u gol] (Daughter of Su & De J)

You got to land [ju gɔr Å land] (Ditto)

You got your stone here (Ja E)

You got to be careful (Al W)

You only got that (Do J)

Not like you got today (Ka L)

You better keep her home (Al M)

She still got one (De J)

There got to be a man-hole... (Al W)

That got to be in good condition (Em L)

This coal we got now (Te S)

We got to get rid of this cat (Ka L)

Today they got a conveyor (Wi L)

EDG (sec. 4.41) notes that "in those dialects of England which have preserved the old strong past participles, the auxiliary have is generally omitted in affirmative sentences when the subject is a personal pronoun immediately followed by the verb, as we done it, I seen him, they been and taken it."

## (iv) GO

The verb GO has the following inflexions in the present tense:

- singular 1. go [gəu, go]  
 2. go "  
 3. goes [gəuz, go:z], go [go]

- plural 1. go [gəu, go]  
 2. go "  
 3. go " , goes [go:z]

Examples of the non-standard forms noted above include the following:

The pin go down (Al W)

If ten men goes down (Al W)

The empties goes out (Wi L)

SAWD does not record zero-inflexion of 3 sg. of GO, but it does record the following examples:

She want the bull at D/Pem 7;

At four o'clock, school finish at D/Pem 7,  
D/Cth 2-3;

The man that look after the cows at D/Cdg 1.

EDG (sec. 435) records this zero-inflexion especially from the south midland, eastern and southern dialects of England.

SAWD records a number of 3 pl. forms with /s/ or /z/ including They goes to church at D/Cth 9.

SED records the same at La 6, Y 11/18; He 2-3, Wo 6-7, Mon 5, Gl 1/5, Ox 1; B 3; So 7, W 3, Brk 1/3-5, Sr 4, Ha 2/6-7, Sx 2-3/5.

7.17 Present Tense: Some general points

- (i) The present tense is used with since in the following examples:

I haven't done that since I'm here (Do J)

I haven't heard that for years - not since I'm a kid (Ma P)

I've got no-one here now since I've buried my brother (Ma S)

SAWD records the construction since she's married (= 'during the time that she's been married) at D/Cth 5 and comments that "the use of the present is corresponds to Welsh usage in expressions containing ERS in which the action is still continuing" (SAWD II, p. 162).

- (ii) In a number of instances, leave is used in the sense of let:

[We used to] go up to the quarry and leave ourselves go down (Ge V)

Leave them [i.e. the drams] down and leave the scotches off and they'd run out [of the pit carriage] (Al W)

They had... the wheels on top leaving the cages down (Te S)

It is possible that this arises from the influence of Welsh gadael v. which can mean both let v. and leave v.

7.18

Past Tense Habitual: Non-inflected forms

Rh corpus has a number of ways of constructing the past tense which imply that the action might still be continuing:

- (i) (Subject) plus past tense of BE plus present participle (corresponding to Standard English (subject) plus USED TO plus verb-stem). The following are examples of this construction:

I was having eight and six a week (Bl G)

I was always wanting my mother to... (Li W)

I worked in a low seam and I was to be dragging a curling box (Wa B)

It was by the hundredweight...that you was getting paid (Bi G)

You was catching cold all the time (Te S)

The more money you was earning... (Al W)

Thirty shillings a week my mother was having  
(Al M)

It was always baking our own bread then, too  
(Do J)

The haulier was bringing the coal from the stalls  
(Wi L).

That was going in the gob with us (Te S)

We weren't having anything for that (Te S)

We was having... (Mr I)

We were having the coal cheap (Ed J)

They were only having (Na Y)

Were they having them in your days? (Sa J's daughter)

They were bringing the load, now (Sa J)

They were carrying coal from there (Is E)

They were having the bigger ones like that...and they were using them as bompers (Ge V)

They was paying... (Mr I)

We had two sisters that were helping in the house  
(Id G)

Hopscotch they were calling it (Ed J)

Only them people was using tea (Em L)

SAWD records a number of similar constructions in 'incidental material' at D/Cdg 4, D/Cth 3/11-12, and says, "These are no doubt modelled on the Welsh construction Y plus BOD in past tense plus (subject) plus YN plus verb-noun that is used to express the Past Tense Habitual" (SAWD II, p. 149).

- (ii) (Subject) plus would be [wəd/əd/d bi:] plus present participle (also corresponding to Standard English (subject) plus USED TO plus verb-stem). The following are examples of this construction:

You'd be going in (Is E)

It used to be at one time you'd be getting these spontaneous walk-outs (Ge V)

He'd be going home after the men would be gone home (Wa B)

It'd be going from you laying on his back (Te S)

You used to pull it and it'd be a-knocking up the top (Em L)

When that would be going down, there'd be a dram of coal coming up (Em L)

While they'd be working that coal off (Em L)

Where they'd be putting... (Mr I)

The leaves would be coming on to the trees (De J)

- (iii) (Subject) plus would [wəd/əd/d] plus verb-stem (corresponding to Standard English (subject) plus Past Tense, still with sense of action continuing). The following are examples of this construction:

If you'd hear the journey coming (Te S).

She used to go off in North Walian when she'd start speaking (Li W)

When the haulier would come to a trip (Wi L)

If it would blow down it would sort of draw it all out (Bl G)

When the coal would come on the ground (Mr I)

Just the one thing we'd have (Sa J)

Where they'd fire the top down, you had to put safety up (Bi G)

After the bride and groom would come back (Ma P)

- (iv) (Subject) plus would be [wəd/əd/d bi:] plus past participle (corresponding to Standard English (subject) plus Past Tense, with the sense of the action having been completed). The following are examples of this construction:

When it would be done one side (Sa J)

When they would be boiled (Sa J)

He'd be going on after the men would be gone home (Em L)

This last sentence highlights the difference in meaning between would be plus pr.ppl. and would be plus pa.ppl.

7.19

### Past Tense Habitual: Anomalous Verbs

(i) BE

The verb BE has the following inflexions in the past tense:

singular 1. was [wɒz] stressed [wz] unstressed

2. were [wɛ:] " [wə] "

was [wɒz] " [wz] "

3. was [wɒz] " [wz] "

plural 1. were [wɛ:] " [wə] "

2. were [wɛ:] " [wə] "

was [wɒz] " [wz] "

3. were [wɛ:] " [wə] "

was [wɒz] " [wz] "

The numerous examples of the use of the non-standard forms include the following:

You was in the same district (Wi L)

When you was going to school (Li W)

You was responsible (Bi G)

If you was in a heading (Te S)

If you was nearly caught (Al M)

When we was little (Li W)

We was never paid (Mr I)

When we was in school (Id G)

When we was living in Ynysywen (Do J).

There was only about three of us (Ma S)

Times was bad (Em L)

Gwlies was by the side of the house (Na Y).

Gorgeous woods they was (Ma C)

They was passages called headings (Wa B)

They was looking well (Al W).

The Rh corpus also provides the following examples of non-standard negative forms:

You wasn't having nothing (Te S)

We wasn't allowed... (Wi L)

Their mothers wasn't very particular (Li W)

If they wasn't able to provide... (Wa B)

They wasn't paying for small coal (Al W)

Other people that wasn't very nice (Do J)

There wasn't many of those about (Al M)

SAWD records the following forms of the verb BE in the Past Tense as an unstressed auxiliary verb:

2 sg. you was at D/Pem 7/9, D/Cth 4.

1 pl. we was at D/Cth 8, D/Pem 9; P/Rdn 5-6, Gw 1/3-4/6-10/12.

3 pl. they was at D/Cth 2, D/Pem 9-10; P/Rdn 3-5, Gw 1/6-9/12-13.

SED records we was/us was at Du 4, La 10/13, Y 19; Ch 4, Sa 3, St 4/7-9, He 2-3, Wo 5, Wa 1/3/5-7,

Mon 4-5, G1 1/3/5-7, Ox 1-3/5-6; Nt 3-4, L 1-10/12/14, Lei 1-3/7-8, Nf 13, Sf 1-3, Bk 3/5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-3, Ess 2-5/9-11/13/15; So 5-9/12, W 1-4/6, Brk 1-2/4-5, Sr 1-2/4, K 2-7, Co 1-3/5-7, D 1-5/7-9/11, Do 3-5, Ha 1-3/6-7, Sx 1-6.

SED records they was/them was at La 10/13, Y 19; Ch 4, St 4/7/10, He 2-4/6, Wo 2/5/7, Wa 3/5-7, Mon 4-5, G1 1/3/5-7, Ox 1-3/5-6; Nt 3, L 3/5-10/12-14, Lei 1-4/7-8, Nf 2, Sf 1-3/5, Bk 3-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-3, Ess 3-5/7/9/15, MxL 2; So 1/5-9/12, Brk 1-2/4-5, Sr 2/4, K 1/3-7, Co 1-3/5-7, D 1-5/8-11, Do 3-4, Ha 2-3/6-7, Sx 1/3-6.

SAWD records wasn't you? as a Past Tense Confirmatory Interrogative at D/Pem 2, D/Cth 12.

SED records wasn't thou/you? in the same context at Nb 2/5/7/9, Cu 1-5, Du 1-2/4-6, We 1-4, La 1-6/10/14, Y 1/3/5/7-10/12/22/25-27/30; Ch 1/5-6, Db 3-4/6, Sa 3/5, St 1/3, He 3-7, Wo 3/6-7, Wa 3-4/7, Mon 1-6, G1 1-7, Ox 1-2; Nt 1/4, L 1-5/7-8/10-11/13, R 1-2, Sf 1, Hrt 3, Ess 4/11/14; So 1/5-6/8-10/13, W 3-4, Brk 1-2/4-5, Sr 1, K 1-4/6-7, Co 1-4/7, D 1-5/7/9-11, Do 2-4, Ha 1-3/6-7.

SAWD records wasn't they? as a Past Tense Confirmatory Interrogative at D/Pem 2, D/Cth 2.

SED records wasn't them/they? in the same context at  
 We 3, La 1/3/5/10, Y 5/7/22/25/30; Sa 3, St 10,  
 He 4/6, Wo 7, Wa 4/7, Mon 2-6, Gl 2-3/5-7, Ox 1-2;  
 Nt 1/4, L 2-8/13, R 1-2, Nth 3-4, Bk 3, Hrt 3, Ess  
 4/11; So 5-6/8-10, W 3/7, Brk 1-5, Sr 1, K 1-4/6-7,  
 Co 1-7, D 1-4/7-11, Do 2-5, Ha 1-3/7.

## (ii) DO

(a) The verb DO has the following inflexions in the Past Tense:

singular 1. did [dɪd], done [dən]

2. did " , done "

3. did " , done "

plural 1. did " , done "

2. did "

3. did " , done "

The Rh corpus provides the following examples of the non-standard forms noted above:

I done stall work, I done conveyor work (Wi L)

That's what I done (Te S)

You done away with all that (Te S)

He done a lot with horses (Ma C)

We done very well (Ma C)

They done... (Mr I)

They done it for years (Al W)

My father's parents done an awful lot of cooking  
 (Ma C)

SAWD records the Past Tense of DO in the forms 1 sg.

I done it at D/Pem 7, D/Cth 11 and 3 sg. he done it at D/Cth 8/12.

(b) The form never + pa. ppl. or pa. t. is often used in place of the standard DID NOT + verb-stem. Among the numerous examples of this are the following:

never + pa. ppl.: I never seen rats (Al W)

She never done nothing like that  
(Ma C)

We never done anything (Ja E)

never + pa. t.: I never spoke a word of English  
(Sa J)

He never spoke Welsh in the house  
(Al W)

She never went back (De J)

My mother's mother never brought my  
mother up (Ma C)

We never saw poultry only on  
Christmas time (Sa J)

SAWD records I never done it in response to the question, "Your wife suddenly says to you: This vase is broken. You at once say: Well, I can truthfully say I...DID NOT DO IT" at P/Rdn 4, P/Bre 6, Gw 3/6-7/13, W Gmg 7, S Gmg 18.

SED records the same at Mon 4, G1 3/6, Ox 3/5; Lei 10, Nf 2/5, Sf 4, Bk 1, Ess 6-7; So 1-2/10, W 3, K 4/6, Do 3, Ha 3.

(c) The Past Participle takes the form did [dɪd] in the sentence He'd give...a mechanical report: the defects and what he had did [wot i·ä'dɪd] from Ge V.

7.20

Past Tense: Other non-standard forms of the Past Tense and Participles

(i) RUN

The Past Tense 3 sg. of RUN is run [jʌn] (corresponding to Standard English ran) in the following examples:

He run away (Is E).

If he run back (Ge V).

SAWD records the same at D/Cth 5.

(ii) COME

(a) The Past Tense 1 + 3 sg. and 3 pl. of COME is come [kʌm] (corresponding to Standard English came) in the following examples:

When I come of age (Te S).

The handle come down (Wi L).

When my father come back (Na Y).

When he come from work (Li W).

If there was any anything that come about (Ge V).

She come up from Cardiff (Ro G).

A little boy come up... (Ma P).

It come down in a feed bag (Em L).

That's how the family come together (Id G).

They come down (Ed J).

They come under the Hearths and Mines Scheme (Ro G).

The eight hours come in (Mr I).

When the bells come in (Te S).

When these ranges come out (Sa J).

SAWD records the Past Tense 3 sg. of COME as come at D/Pem 7-8; P/Rdn 2-3/5, P/Bre 4/6, Gw 1-4/6-7/9/12-13, W Gmg 1/4/7, M Gmg 16, S Gmg 17-18.

SED records this at Nb 1-4/6-9, Cu 1-6, Du 1-6, We 1-4, La 1-14, Y 1-7/9-22/24-34, Man 1-2; Ch 1-6, Db 1-7, Sa 1-2/5-9/11, St 1-11, He 1-7, Wo 1-7, Wa 1-7, Mon 1-4/6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-6; Nt 1-2/4, L 2-9/11/13-15, Lei 2-7/9-10, R 1-2, Nth 1-5, Hu 1-2, C 1-2, Nf 1-7/9-13, Sf 1-5, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2, Ess 1/3-7/10-15, MxL 1-2; So 1-13, W 1-9, Brk 1-5, Sr 1-5, K 2-7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-2/4-5, Ha 1-7, Sx 1-6.

(b) COME is used in the sense of BECOME in the following:

As we come a little better off (Sa J).

The brass came very fashionable then (Sa J).

There came in Law (= it became law) (Is E).

When it came daylight (Mr I).

It come to a fairly sizeable town (Id G).

(iii) SEE

(a) The Past Tense 1 sg. and 3 pl. of SEE is seen [si:n/sin] (corresponding to Standard English saw) in the following examples:

I seen miners ... (Te S).

I seen a fellow nasty to a horse, but I seen that horse turn on him (Em L)

If they seen that ... (Em L).

SAWD records the Past Tense 1 sg. and 3 sg. as seen at D/Pem 4/7/9, D/Cth 1/3/5-6/8; P/Rdn 4, P/Bre 6-7, Gw 4/6-8/11-13, W Gmg 3/5-6/8, M Gmg 16, S Gmg 18-21.

SED records this at Nb 4, Cu 1, Du 1, Y 8/21/29-30/33,  
 Man 1-2; St 7/11, He 1-7, Wo 3-7, Wa 2-4/6-7, Mon 1-  
 4/6, Gl 1-2/4; Nt 3-4, L 1/3, Lei 7/9, R 1, Nth 2-5,  
 C 2, Nf 6/8/10-11, Sf 4, Bk 1, Bd 1-2, Ess 2/7/12/15,  
 MxL 2; So 1/11-12, W 3/6/8-9, Brk 1-3/5, K 3-5/7,  
 Co 3-7, D 11, Ha 2/5-7, Sx 2/4-5.

(b) The Past Participle of SEE is saw (corresponding to Standard English seen) in the phrase If she'd saw a rat from Ge V.

SAWD records saw as a Past Participle at D/Pem 8.

(iv) LIE 'recline'

The Present Participle of LIE is laying ['leɪŋ] (corresponding to Standard English lying) in the sentence It [the seam] would be going from you laying on his back from Mr I.

(v) GROW

The Past Tense 1 pl. of GROW is growed [gɹuːd] (corresponding to Standard English grew) in the phrase When we growed up from Te S.

SAWD records growed as the Past Tense 3 pl. at D/Pem 6/8.

SED records the same at Nb 1/6, Cu 6, La 3/5/1-13, Y 4/16/20/28; Ch 1/4-6, Db 5/7, Sa 1-11, St 1-4/6/9, He 1-6, Wo 1-2/4-7, Wa 2/4-5, Mon 1/4-6, Gl 1-3/5-6,

Ox 2-3/5, L 8-9/14-15, Lei 1-10, R 1-2, Nth 1/3-4,  
Hu 1-2, C 1-2, Nf 3/5/10, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 1-2,  
Ess 1/4-5/12, MxL 1; So 2/5-6/8-13, W 2/4-9, Brk 1-  
2/4-5, Sr 2/5, K 1/3-7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-  
2/5/7, Sx 1/4-6.

(vi) WORK

The Present Participle is used instead of the  
Preposition plus Noun at work in the phrase My father  
not being working from Ro G.

(vii) REAR

The Past Participle is used in place of the infinitive  
in the sentence I should have been born the first so  
that I could have helped reared [ʌe:d] all the children  
from Bl G.

(viii) RISE

Forms of the verb RISE are used transitively so that  
they correspond to Standard English RAISE in the  
following examples:

You'd just rise the mat up (Do J)

He couldn't rise his head (Em L)

One site was rising water and the other site was  
rising coal (Em L).

It would be hard work for him to rise his feet up  
over the [sleepers] (Te S).

It [i.e. the fender] was risen a little bit (Sa J)

They've risen his disability pension (Ka L)

These forms probably arise as a result of the influence of Welsh codi which means both rise v. and raise v.

- (ix) The Rh corpus provides the following examples of the Present Participle with prefixed a- [ə, ʌ]:

They was a-willing (Mr I).

We're not a-willing (Bl G).

You used to pull it and it'd be a-knocking up the top (Em L).

SAWD records a few examples of Past Participles with prefixed a- at D/Pem 4/6/8-9.

EDG (sec. 438) records this prefixed a- from Wa, Wo, D/Pem, Gl, Ox, Brk, Sr, Ha, swCy.

#### 7.21 Some General Syntactical Points

- (i) The Rh corpus records many examples of a noun or phrase given special emphasis by being placed at the beginning of a sentence. Examples include the following:

Meat mostly we store (Na Y)

'Cuddle' I do say (Li W)

Bus, normally, we go (Ja E)

Lucky for me now that I've got television, isn't it (Ma S)

Take cocoa underground he used to (Wi L)

Just the one thing we'd have (Sa J)

In Welsh we call them (Is E)

Bigger they were (Te S)

Terrible weight it was (Al W)

Skipping I used to play (Ro G)

About three I was going to school (Ed J)

Quite excited over that we used to get (Do J).

Girl I was, isn't it (Al M)

Often in the sentence above the order is Object/Adjective-Subject-Verb, rather than the Standard English Subject-Verb-Object/Adjective. Sometimes, however, an impersonal expression of the Verb is followed by the Subject, as in the following sentences:

Now there've come the modern days (Wa B)

There's come nice parks here (Wa B)

It was out of the question carpets (Ge V)

SAWD records a number of examples of sentences where a noun or phrase is given special emphasis by being placed at the beginning of the sentence. The localities where such sentences are recorded are D/Cdg 2, D/Cth 1/3/5-7. SAWD notes a connection here with Welsh sentence-structure (SAWD II, p. 155).

(ii) The Rh corpus provides many examples of the use of double negatives. The following are just some of the examples:

I don't want none of your nicknames (Wi L)

We weren't deprived of nothing (Ma C)

They haven't got no respect for nobody (Li W)

It wouldn't have made no difference (Is E).

Never seen nothing like it (Ge V).

I couldn't do nothing with underground (Wa B).

You wasn't having nothing (Te S).

We didn't think no more of it (Te S).

I didn't say nothing (Mr I).

They couldn't go nowhere else (Al W).

Never seen no rats for myself (Al W).

[They] didn't give no reason (Ro G).

My mother didn't know nothing about it (Id G).

Nothing no more than prepare for Christmas (Ed J)

The horse wasn't carrying nothing (Em L).

Don't you never go again (Ka L).

No conveniences we didn't have (Al M).

SAWD records double negatives "in such sentences as I  
didn't never do nothing with the milk and I haven't  
seen none this year, both at D/Pem 9". (SAWD II, p. 155)

The use of the double negative in Welsh localities possibly reflects the Welsh construction of a negative sentence, where two negative elements are needed.

These strengthen the meaning rather than cancel each other out. For example, the correct Welsh negative of the sentence Roeddw i'n gallu 'I could do something' is Doeddwn i ddim yn gallu, literally 'I couldn't do nothing'.

### E. ADVERBS

7.21 (i) The Rh corpus provides many examples of the adverbial form being represented by the adjectival form; the following are just some of the examples:

It was done automatic (Em L)

She's awful tidy (Al M)

It's awful childish (Li W)

They were awful hard times (Wa B)

It would cake up beautiful (Li W)

We were having the coal cheap (Ed J)

Push that in gentle (Wi L)

The shops we knew around us local (Na Y)

She managed lovely (Ma C)

They'd burn lovely (Li W)

Opened service lovely (Ge V)

Didn't get in now quick enough (Wi L)

The tea would get cold quick in it (Sa J)

They were there regular (Al W)

Attending hospital regular (Ka L)

They were one of the few things...that you could buy quite reasonable (Ro G)

They weren't looked after tidy (Te S)

It wasn't a door you could pull open and shut tidy (Ma C)

They're scotched, scotched tight (Al W)

Bread and butter was cut very thin (Al T)

EDG notes that in all the dialects it is common to use the adjectival form for the adverbial.

- (ii) The compound adverbs by here [bʌi/bə'jɛ:] and by there [bə'de:] were characteristic ways of indicating place in the Rhondda. They were recorded in the speech of Su J, Wi L, Ma C, Li W, Sa J, Ge V, Te S, Mr I, Al W, Ro G, Do J, Em L, Ka L. One informant, Do J, notices herself saying 'by there' and comments, "and we should only say 'there', shouldn't we?"

#### F. PREPOSITIONS

7.23 ON

- (i) The preposition on is used in the sentences There's a bit more gafael on that (Ma C) and There's more hoult on it (Sa J). Both of these sentences reflect the Welsh construction mwy o afael ar hyny/arno 'more gafael on that/on it'.
- (ii) The phrase on (a) Christmas time (= Standard English 'at Christmas time') was recorded from Sa J, Te S, Ro G, Ma P. This use of on probably reflects the use of Welsh ar in the construction ar adeg y'Dolig 'on Christmas time'. Welsh ar literally means 'on', but it is also used in situations where the Standard English translation would be 'at'. There is no separate Welsh word for 'at'.

- (iii) The preposition on is used in the sentences They've got different names on them today (Id G) and It's a Welsh name on it (Do J).

SAWD records similar sentences using the construction (the) name on (something) at D/Cdg 2/4, D/Pem 9, D/Cth 4-6/11, and points to the Welsh construction yr enw ar... which means literally 'the name on'.

- (iv) The preposition on is used in the sentence He'd a terrible cough on him from Ge V. This construction reflects the Welsh, 'Roedd peswch ofnadwy ar no', where ar no may be translated 'on him'.

7.24

## AT

The Standard English combination 'at home' is rendered simply as home, with no preposition in the following sentences:

I was the one that was home (Li W)

Mam stayed home (Bl G)

They used to bath home here (Is E)

We were four girls home at the time (Ro G)

She'll soon want to stay home (Ed J)

I was home six months (Ma P)

You better keep her home (Al M)

This use of home without a preposition probably reflects the Welsh use of adref 'home' which also needs

no preposition.

7.25 OF

- (i) The preposition of is used in place of the Standard English about in the sentence You weren't so concerned of the fuel you were using from Bl G. This possibly reflects the fact that the Welsh preposition am renders both about and of.
- (ii) The preposition of is used in the following phrases which would have no of in Standard English:
 

There was roads off of it and ... turning off of it (Te S)

... perhaps eight hundred or more of yards (Wa B)
- (iii) The preposition of is not used in the following phrases, where it would be used in Standard English:
 

If your parents only knew quarter what you did (Ro G)

I remember screaming on top my voice (Ro G)

... a little bit extra income (Id G)
- (iv) The use of of in the phrase enough of air from Bl G is discussed in 7.8(i).

7.26 WITH

The preposition with is found in the sentence That [i.e. waste material] was going in the 'gob' with us from Te S, which would be rendered in Standard English

as "We used to put that in the 'gob'." The Rh E parallels the Welsh construction Roedd hyny'n mynd yn y 'gob' gyda ni. SAWD notes the Welsh expression of possession: "HAVE in Welsh is expressed by BOD 'be' followed by GYDA 'with', plus noun or pronoun that denotes the possessor." This is seen directly in the sentence There's no horns with the sheep round this way at D/Cth 5, but SAWD also notes the following sentences which contain WITH "with an implication of 'possession' of certain circumstances" (SAWD II, p. 160):

They're cracking with you (referring to chapped hands) D/Cth 1

It was warm with the cow-shed always D/Cth 3

There's a lot of work about the wheat with you  
D/Cth 5

They'll go rot with you D/Cth 6

- (ii) The preposition with is found in the following description of a 'Sioni Bobochre' from Sa J: That would be a man who'd say with you, and then he'd go to the other side and he'd say with them. In Welsh, dweud 'to say' is followed by gyda 'with'.

7.27

TO

To is found in the question Where's he to? from Al M, which would be rendered simply as Where is he? in Standard English.

### G. CONJUNCTIONS

- 7.28 Comparative forms of adjectives are followed by the compound conjunctions than what [ðən wot] and as what [əz wot] in the speech of certain speakers. Examples from such speakers include the following:

They used to think more of horses than what they used to think of men (Bi G).

They went back for worse than what they came out (Wa B).

It's far, far easier than what it was then (Al M)

The language underground is different, in a way, than what it is on top-pit (Wi L)

Girls used to play with a ball more than what boys did (Id G)

My memory is not as good as what it used to be (Ge V)

The same system was in the main road in Treorchy as what was underground (Te S)

- 7.29 The Rh corpus provides a number of examples of the use of the compound conjunction for to 'in order to', including the following:

My mother used to love if my father had me for to go up the market (Bl G)

... for to turn the wind the other way (Mr I)

We used to take that full of fish and chips, down to the hotel, for to feed the police (Id G)

... and fill it with water, you know, for to keep them boiling (Do J)

Bucket on the fire for to bath (Ka L)

We used to go down afterwards for the pig's bladder, for to play football (Al M)

SAWD records for to in the sentence I went to town for  
to see the doctor at D/Pem 3-10, D/Cth 9; P/Bre 4/6,  
W Gmg 6.

SED records the same at Nb 1/7, Du 3, We 1, La 12-13,  
Y 2-4/9-11/15/17-18/20/24-25/27-28/32-33; Man 1;  
Ch 2, Db 1, St 3/9; L 1; So 4, W 9, K 4/7, Co 5, D 5-  
6/11, Do 1/3-5, Ha 1/3/6-7, Sx 1-3/5-6.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Questions designed to elicit such material are indicated by t or † in the text of the NPQ which is to be found in Appendix I.
2. See also the discussion of this investigation in Chapter 3 II and Note 30 to Chapter 3 of this thesis.
3. D. R. Parry, "Anglo-Welsh Dialects in South East Wales" in Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles, ed. Martyn Wakelin, London, 1972, p. 151.

## CHAPTER 8

### LEXIS

This section deals with interesting words and phrases of general interest, recorded during the interviews with Rhondda informants. The majority of items occurred during recording of the GQ, while the remainder arose during recordings of the NPQ and CMQ. Interesting lexical items directly connected with the occupation of coal-mining are discussed in Chapter 10. The words listed here relate to the life of the wider community, and are arranged in alphabetical order under the following headings: A. The Home, (i) Members of the Family, (ii) Rooms, Buildings and Areas around the House, (iii) Food and Drink, (iv) Clothing, etc., (v) General Housework; B. The Community, (i) Social Activities, (ii) Characters and Characteristics; C. Childhood Games and Language; D. General. In the majority of cases words were chosen for inclusion in this section if they were not included (in their Rhondda sense) in the OED, or were designated therein slang, colloquial, obsolete or dialectal. However, in a very few cases, words were included which did not conform to these criteria, if it was felt they would complete the pattern of Rhondda use (e.g. names for the different members of the family and rooms in the house).

All the words are singular nouns unless otherwise stated. Each word is given in adapted ordinary orthography and then in broad phonetic transcription. Below each word is given its meaning in the Rhondda. A list of the informants who used or positively identified

the word as a part of their vocabulary is then given, followed by, in certain cases, an additional list of those informants who recognised a particular word but said that they would not use it themselves and/or of those for whom the word was unfamiliar. Informants are only listed in this way if they made a definite response to a particular word, even if the response was negative. A further note may then be made about the use of the word in the Rhondda, and the informants' own comments may be drawn on to give evidence of, for example, the changing use or the falling into disuse of a word. The perceptions of the informants about whether a particular word might be used by one section of the population more than another (usually Welsh-speaking v. non-Welsh speaking) can also provide an interesting, if not necessarily accurate, perspective on its use.

Below this information about each word or phrase's use in the Rhondda, information is given about its wider use, where this is available. First its distribution within the Anglo-Welsh dialects as recorded by SAWD is given, then its distribution within the English dialects as recorded by SED and/or EDD. Distributions for SAWD and SED give county-abbreviations following by locality-numbers, (e.g. D/Pem 1, Du 3). Distributions from EDD give only county-abbreviations, adapted from their original forms to conform to those of SAWD and SED, (e.g. D/Pem, Du). Distribution of words in the dialects of Welsh is quoted from LGW.

Where all these sources have failed to reveal a particular word, the popular books Talk Tidy and More Talk Tidy by John Edwards have been consulted. These books are a completely non-academic and

often amusing account of the English of the South Wales Valleys, termed 'Wenglish' by Edwards. They are not very accurate in that they do not attempt to pin-point the use of the words they deal with more accurately than 'the South Wales Valleys', which covers the whole area from Gwent to West Glamorgan, nor do they attempt an etymology unless there is an obvious Welsh connection. However, they are useful in that they do provide corroborative evidence of the existence and use of certain words. Notes about the occurrence of certain games and childhood language are included from Iona and Peter Opie's works, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren and Children's Games in Street and Playground.

Finally, brief etymological notes are given where such information is available and of particular interest. Etymological material for English words is taken from OED or ODEE unless otherwise stated. A direct quotation from either of these volumes is indicated by double inverted commas. If the word is an adoption or an adaptation of a Welsh word, its Welsh meaning is given from Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru and/or Y Geiriadur Mawr. If a Welsh word occurs in Rhondda English in the same sense and form in which it appears in GPC and/or YGM, this is indicated by underlining of the orthographic form.

## A. THE HOME

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### (i) Members of the Family

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#### BOPA ['bɒpə]

Aunty. Also with wider application as term of respect for an older lady who might be the lady next door or even the lady

who keeps the local shop. (Also even wider application as term of disrespect for a fussy man. See 8B(ii) below).

Al M, Do J, Ma C, Sa J, Bl G, Na Y, Is E.

Remembered but not used: Li W, Ja E, Se J, Ma P, Al T, Ed J, Ma S.

NOTE: Interestingly, two of the first-language Welsh-speakers, Ma S and Ed J, remark on bopa as the Rhondda word for 'aunty', as distinct from the 'correct' Welsh word, modryb, but both say they they always used aunty, even when speaking Welsh. On the other hand, two of the informants from strong English backgrounds, Al T and Ma P, comment that they would not use bopa because it was a 'typically Welsh word'. Al T goes on to say, 'in fact, we thought it was terrible to call anybody bopa.' None of the informants used bopa consistently in the place of 'aunty'. It was usually reserved for one or two particular people.

Welsh bopa aunt.

DAD/DADDY/DADDA [dad/'dadi/'dadə]

Father, familiar forms. 'Dad' is often used by older children and adults, 'Daddy' by younger children.

[dad] Al M, Do J, Ma S, Is E, Ma C, Na Y, Ma P, Al T, Su J.

['dadi] Su J, Ed J, Sa J.

['dadə] Ja E.

Gr. táta. Skr. tatás. Welsh tad, etc. perh. of infantile origin.

DITAFFRE [dite'fre:]

Grandfather, familiar form. (cf. MAMFFRE).

Al M.

No record of this word found elsewhere. Poss. corruption of Welsh tad dad + form of either obsol. bre high or fry above, aloft.

GRAN, GRANNY, GRANDMA [gran/'grani/'gramə]

Grandmother, familiar form.

[gran] Al M, Ma C, Ma P, Li W, Bl G, Al T.

['grani] Ma P, Li W.

['gramə] Do J.

L. grandis full-grown, abundant, grown-up. OF. grant great.

ODEE: "The use of F. grand to denote the second degree removed in ascent of relationship... was adopted, grandpère, grandmère being represented by GRANDFATHER, GRANDMOTHER, 16th C."

GRANDPA, GRANDSHER ['grampə/'granʃə]

Grandfather, familiar form.

['grampə] Do J, Al T, Ja E.

['granʃə] Ma P, Su J.

EDD records GRANDSHER Scot., GRANSER, GRANSIRY, GRENCHER  
Orkneys.

OED gives GRANDPA/PA " a colloq. substitute for GRANDFATHER"  
also GRANDSHER as a dial. form of GRANDSIRE.

(For etymology of GRAND-, see GRAN above).

MAM, MAMMA, MAMMY, MUM [mam/'mamə/'mami/mʌm]

Mother, familiar forms. 'Mamma' and 'Mammy' tend to be used  
more by younger children.

[mam] Al M, Sa J, Ro G, Ed J, Te S, Su J, Ma P, Ma S, Is E,  
Na Y, De J, Al T.

['mamə] Ro G, Ja E.

['mami] Al M, Su J, Ro G.

[mʌm] Do J, Ma C.

OED gives MAM (colloq.) "Not recorded before 16th C... It is  
improbable that the word is adopted from the Welsh Mam (:-  
Protoceltic \* mammā); it seems rather to have originated  
independently from a sound instinctively made by young  
children."

MAMFFRE [mam'fre:]

Grandmother, familiar form. (cf. DITAFFRE).

Al M.

No record found elsewhere. Poss. Mam + form of Welsh bre or fry (see DITAFFRE above).

MAM-GU [mam'gi/mʌŋ'gi]

Grandmother, familiar form.

[mam'gi:] Is E, Ma S.

[mʌŋ'gi:] Ed J, Sa J.

SAWD records MAMGU at M Gmg 12.

LGW records "North of a line drawn from the Dyfi estuary to the source of the Wye the regional words for 'grandmother', 'grandfather', are respectively nain, taid; south of this line the forms are respectively mamgu, ta(d)cu."

MISSIS ['misiz]

Wife, as in 'the missis'.

Ge V.

EDD records as a variant of MISTRESS, as a familiar term for a wife, from Sf. Nth. Y. Ch. No. Wa. Sr. Do. D. La. Wo. He. Brk. Hu. Nf. Ess. Sr. Sx. So.

NAN ['nanə]

Grandmother, familiar form.

Ro G, De J, Su J, Ja E.

OED records NANA/NANNA "Forms of address used by a child to a grandmother."

OAH ['ouwə]

Uncle.

Sa J.

No record found elsewhere. Poss. restricted to one family.

POP [pɒp]

Grandfather, familiar form.

Ma C, De J.

NOTE: Both the informants who recorded POP were originally from the Blaencwm/Blaenrhondda area.

OED records POP as an abbreviation of POPPA father (chiefly US) and hence in extended colloq. use, an elderly man.

TAD-CU [dat'ki:/dʌ'ki:]

Grandfather, familiar form.

[dat'ki:] Is E, Ma S.

[dʌ'ki:] Ed J, Sa J.

Welsh tad-cu grandfather. See note on MAM-GU above.

## (ii) Rooms, Buildings and Areas Around the Home

## BACK-/KITCHEN [bak/'kitʃɪn]

The most frequently used room in the house: the place where the eating and cooking took place. In early years the cooking was done over an open fire and later range. As electricity and gas took over, this function often moved to a scullery or small room built on to the back kitchen.

[bak'kitʃɪn] Ro G, Id G, Ed J, Sa J, Bl G, Ka L, Ma S,  
Al T, Ma P.

['kitʃɪn] Al M, Do J, Ma C, Ja E, De J, Ma P, Na Y.

SAWD records BACK KITCHEN 'a scullery' at P/Rdn 1-2/4,  
P/Bre 1, Gw: Newport, M Gmg 12.

## BAILEY ['beili]

1. The back yard or paved area immediately outside the back door of a house.
2. The common area shared by a row of houses not opening out on to a street. (It is not clear whether the area is actually in front of or behind the houses.)
  1. Ro G.
  2. Li W.

SAWD records BAILEY in sense 1. at Gw 6. Also in the sense 'a passage between the front door and gate of a house' at S Gmg 19/21/Cardiff; also 'a homestead' at W Gmg 3 and 'a farmyard' at D/Cth: Llandovery.

ME bail(l)y 'an enclosed court'. Welsh beilli, adoption of Eng. BAILEY, ME adoption of OF bail, baille 'an enclosed court'.

COAL-CWTSH ['ko:l kətʃ/kətʃ]

Place where the coal is kept (cf. CWTSH-GLÖ)

['ko:l kətʃ] Al M, Ma P, Do J, Ja E, Li W.

[ - kətʃ] Ma C, Bl G, De J, Ed J.

Coal-house/shed Na Y, Ma S, Al T.

NOTE: Ma P comments that she would now use 'coal cot' rather than 'coal cwtsh': "Years ago we'd say coal cwtsh, see. But you see, I don't know why it's changing like. Whether it's because there's more English spoken now than Welsh."

SAWD records CWTSH (GLÖ) at D/Cth 6/10/12; Gw 9/12.

COTE (CHICKENS'/PIGS'/COAL) [kot̪]

Place where chickens, pigs, etc. are kept.

CHICKENS: Al M, Is E, Li W.

PIGS: Al M.

COAL: Ma P.

SAWD records PIGS' COTE at D/Pem 3/7/9, D/Cth 7; P/Rdn 5-6, P/Bre 3-4/6, Gw 3/7/9-11, W Gmg 3.

SED records PIG-COTE at La 8-14, Y 17-18/33; Ch 1/3; Db 1-3/5; St 2, He 6, Gl 3, Nt 2, Ess 7; and PIGS' COTE at He 1-5/7; Wo 4; Mon 1-3, Gl 1.

OE cote. Combination as in dove cot(e) or, sheep-cote from 14th C, pig(s) cote from 17th C.

CWTSH-DAN-STAER [kɔtʃ dan'staer]

Small room under the stairs where the working clothes and odd bits and pieces were stored. (cf. CWTSH-UNDER-THE-STAIRS).

Is E, Ja E, Ed J.

SAWD records CWTSH (-DAN STAER) at D/Pem 1-3/5, D/Cth 1-4/6-11; P/Bre 1/5-7, Gw 1/3/6/9-10/13, M Gmg 12-15, S Gmg 17.

LGW records CWTSH DAN STA(E)R at 84-85/87-94/97/100-108/110-116/118-125/127-130/132-134/135. 1/137-140/142/145/147/151-154/156-158/161-174/176-180/182, hence it is prevailing in the south.

SAWD also records CWTSH 'a small room where you store odds-and-ends' at D/Pem 5, D/Cth 3/12; R/Rdn 2/4-6, P/Bre 5-7, Gw 1-3/6/9-10/12, W Gmg 2, M Gmg 15, S Gmg 17.

A Welshing of Eng. COUCH n. (formed on F coucher) + Welsh dan under + Welsh staer stair.

## CWTSH GÊR [kutʃ'ge:r]

Place where the chickens were kept.

Is E.

cwtsh (see CWTSH-DAN-STAER above) + Welsh gêr tackle,  
tools(?)

## CWTSH GLÔ [kotʃ'glo:]

Place where the coal was kept (cf. COAL CWTSH).

Sa J.

SAWD records CWTSH GLÔ at D/Cth 6/10/12; Gw 9/12.

cwtsh (see CWTSH-DAN-STAER above) + Welsh glô coal.

## CWTSH-UNDER(-THE)-STAIRS/CWTSH [kotʃ'ʌndə ðə ste:z/kotʃ]

Small room under the stairs where working clothes and odds-and-ends are kept (cf. CWTSH-DAN-STAER).

CWTSH-UNDER-THE-STAIRS Al M, Ma C, Sa J, Ro G, Ma P, Ma S.

CWTSH-UNDER-STAIRS De J, Bl G.

CWTSH Ma P, Na Y, Su J, Al T.

For distribution etc. see CWTSH-DAN-STAER above.

## DUB/S [dʌb/z] s/pl.

Lavatory - short for W.C. (cf. LOO and TY-BACH)

Al M, Do J, Ro G, Id G, Ma P.

NOTE: An informal word associated often with childhood, and now possibly passing out of use: "In school it was the dubs, but at home it was W.C." Ro G; "I used the word the other day and the person was in fits. She said, 'I haven't heard that,' she said, 'for years. Not since I'm a kid.'" Ma P.

The only record of this word found elsewhere is in More Talk Tidy.

#### FRONT-KITCHEN [frʌnt 'kɪtʃən]

The best room of the house, kept for special occasions (cf. FRONT ROOM and PARLOUR).

Li W, Ma P.

No record of this particular combination found elsewhere, but see also MIDDLE-KITCHEN and BACK-KITCHEN.

#### FRONT-ROOM [frʌnt'rum]

The best room of the house, kept for special occasions (cf. FRONT-KITCHEN and PARLOUR).

Al M, Na Y, Ma S, Al T, Ma P, Su J, Ja E, Bl G.

NOTE: Ma P comments that parlour was the word she used to use, but "I'd say the front room now", while the younger Su J comments that for her it has always been the front room, never the Parlour. Interestingly, Ed J says that she would

use parlour when speaking English, but room front when speaking Welsh, a reversal of the expected use.

### GREEN [gri:n]

In houses set back from the pavement, the area in front of the house between house and pavement - not necessarily grass: "Right outside my mother's house was a green...and it was a concrete green." (Ma C).

Ma C, Bl G, Is E.

OED records only in original sense "a piece of grassy land used for some particular purpose."

### GWLI ['gɔli]

1. Lane running along the back of a row of houses.

2. Narrow passage running down side of a house.

1. Al M, Do J, Ma C, Li W, Ma S, Ed J, Sa J, Al T, Ja E,  
Is E, Bl G, De J.

2. Na Y, Su J.

NOTE: Second sense appears to be very localised, possibly to Tonypandy area. In the household of Se J and De J it was commented on that De J used it in a different sense because he came originally from Treherbert. Again it appears to be a word that is disappearing from use. Sa J comments, "A back lane we'd call it now. Gully we used to call it then." Ma P

is the only informant who responded to the question and who denies using goli at all. She comments, "Perhaps, the Welsh children would say goli," although it is obvious that the word had a much wider currency among both Welsh and English speakers.

OED records GULLY in the senses of "A channel or ravine worn in the earth by the action of water", "a furrow, groove" and "a deep gutter, drain or sink". Prob. an alteration of GULLET, or a phonetic adoption of its original, F. goulet.

GPC records goli, gyli "borrowed from English GULLY. Gully, narrow passage (dial.)"

#### LEAN-ON/-TO [li:n ɔn/tu]

Small room, usually with a sloping roof, built on to the back of a house (cf. SLOPE and SHANTY).

[li:n ɔn] Ma C.

[li:n tu] Al T.

Presumably takes its name from the fact that it looks as if it is leaning against the house, rather than integral to its structure. ME Lénen, OE hleonian, hlinian.

#### LOO [lu:]

Lavatory, W.C. (cf. DUB/S and TY-BACH).

Su J.

OED gives as one of a number of "recent euphemisms" for W.C. However, Partridge (DSUE) goes into much greater detail over possible etymologies. Dated from late 19th-20th C. Early eds. wonder if "suggested by Waterloo Station in London, itself named after the battle. In F. colloquialism le water is elliptical for 'water-closet'; and the loo part of Waterloo suggests F. l'eau, water. "However, later eds. also suggest "The bordalou, much used in 18th C by ladies travelling or in other privy difficulties on drawn-out social occasions. Portable in a muff..." or might it simply be an anglicised lieu, 'the place'.

#### MIDDLE-KITCHEN ['mɪdɪ 'kɪtʃɪn]

In a house with three downstairs rooms, the room between the front room and the back kitchen (cf. MIDDLE-ROOM).

Ro G, Id G, Sa J.

NOTE: Again, a room that was not used very much, "You didn't come in the front-parlour or the middle-kitchen years ago." Poss. the use of 'kitchen' rather than 'room' reflects translation of the Welsh cegin ganol (see also BACK KITCHEN and FRONT KITCHEN).

#### MIDDLE-ROOM ['mɪdɪ rum]

The room between the front-room and the back-kitchen (cf. MIDDLE-KITCHEN).

Na Y, Ma S, Ja E, Bl G, Ed J, Ma C.

## PARLOUR ['pa:lr̩]

The best room of the house, kept for special occasions (cf. FRONT-KITCHEN and FRONT-ROOM).

Do J, Ma C, Bl G, De J, Ma P, Ed J, Sa J, Ro G, Id G.

NOTE: The 'special occasions' for which this room was reserved were varied. De J says that it was "where I did my courting", and Ro G says that it was "where people were 'laid out'" - presumably such activities did not take place at the same time! Ma P comments that 'parlour' was the old word and that she would now use 'front room'. Perh. the use of the word 'parlour' reflects the Welsh parlwr. Ed J says that she would use room front when speaking Welsh, but gives [parlor] as an alternative pronunciation when speaking English.

OED records PARLOUR "the living-room of the family distinct from the kitchen, or as the 'best room' distinct from the ordinary living room." An adoption of Anglo-Norman parlur, OF. parleor, parleur.

## PASSAGE ['pasidʒ]

The corridor leading from the front door of the house to the back, off which the downstairs rooms and stairs open.

Al M, Ma P, Id G, Do J, Ma C, Bl G, Na Y, Ja E.

OED records in sense of "lobby or hall". (O)F. passage.

## PINE-END ['pʌɪn ənd]

The gable-end of a house or row of houses.

Al M, Ma P, Is E, Sa J, Bl G, Li W, Su J, Ma C, Ge V.

SAWD records PINE-END at D/Cdg 1/4, D/Pem 1-4/6-10, D/Cth 3-6/8-9/12; P/Rdn 2/4-5, P/Bre 1/3-4/6-7, Gw 3/5-7/9/11-12 also Newport, W Gmg 1-7, M Gmg 9-10/12/16, S Gmg 17-21.

SED records at Mon 1-3/5-7, Gl 3-4/6 also ? So 2-3 (where the responses could also be interpreted as POINT/POINTING END).

EDD records from D/Cth, D/Pem, Gl, W, So.

## SHANTY ['ʃæntɪ]

Small room built on to the back of the house to house cooker and sink (cf. LEAN-ON/-TO and SLOPE).

Ma C.

OED gives SHANTY in sense of "a small, mean, roughly constructed dwelling; a cabin, a hut. (Chiefly US and Canada)." Prob. corruptly adapted from F. chantier.

## SLOPE [sloup]

Small room with a sloping roof, built on to the back of a house (cf. LEAN-ON/-TO and SHANTY).

Ed J.

Takes name from inclination of roof. OED records SLOPE "an inclined surface of the nature of a bank, esp. one artificially constructed."

## TY-BACH [ti'ba:χ]

Old-fashioned water-closet at the bottom of the garden (cf. DUB/S and LOO).

Do J, Al T.

NOTE: Reported, but only as being used by other people, not by Do J and Al T themselves. Al T says "Ty-bach, the typically Welsh person used to say." I didn't record anybody who claimed to have used the name themselves.

SAWD records TY-BACH at D/Cdg 1/4, D/Pem 4, D/Cth 1/3-6/8/10-12; M Gmg 15.

SED records the evidently cognate THYEVEG at Man 1-2.

A euphemism: Welsh ty bach = lit. 'little house'.

(iii) Food and Drink

## BAKESTONE ['beksto:n]

Flat, heavy, iron plate used on top of the fire for cooking cakes and tarts. Griddle (cf. LLECHWAN).

Al M, Do J, Ma P, Ma C, Ja E, Na Y, Ed J, Sa J, Li W, De J, Su J, Al T.

SAWD records BAKESTONE at D/Cdg 4, D/Pem 5, D/Cth 6; Gw: Newport.

SED records BAKESTONE at Ch 2-3, Db 1-4, Sa 6/11, St 2-4/9,

He 3/5-6, Mon 1-3/5-6, Gl 1-3/6; and BACK-STONE at La 3/8, Y  
6-7/12-15; So 2.

Formed on BAKE (OE bacan) and STONE (OE stān); compound  
recorded by OED from 16th C.

BAKESTONES/BAKESTONE CAKES pl. ['be·ksto·nz/'bekston keiks]

Cakes made on the 'bakestone' or griddle. Not clear whether  
an alternative name for Welsh Cake, or referring to a larger  
variety of cake (cf. WELSH CAKES).

['be·ksto·nz] Ro J.

['bekston keiks] Do J.

EDD records BACKSTONE-CAKE from w Y.

BARA BRITH ['bare 'bri:ð]

Currant bread.

Al M.

Welsh bara brith currant bread. Lit. bara bread + brith  
speckled, motley.

BOUGHTEN ppl. adj. ['bo:tən]

(Cake) bought from a shop, rather than home-made.

B1 G.

EDD records BOUGHTEN from Wo, He, Gl, Ox, Brk, Ha, W, So, D,  
Co. America.

## BREAD-PAN ['bred pan]

Earthenware dish for storing or making bread.

Ro G, Li W, Ma P.

SAWD records BREAD-PAN at Sa 11, He 6, Wo 3-4/6-7, Wa 1/3-7, Mon 1-3/5-7, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-6; Lei 3-7, R 2, Nth 2/4-5, Bk 1-5, Bd 1-3, Hrt 2-3, Ess 1-2/4/8-9/11/14, Mx L 1; So 1-8/10-13, W 2-9, Brk 1-3/5, Sr 1-3, K 6, Co 1/3/7, D 1-6/8-9/11, Do 1-3/5, Ha 1-6, Sx 2-3/5.

OE panne 'a broad, shallow vessel', compound bread-pan recorded from 1857.

## BREW v. [br(i)u]

To pour boiling water onto the leaves in a tea-pot (cf. WET v.)

Ed J, Is E, Al T, Sa J, Bl G.

Meaning transferred from original "To make (ale, beer, and the like) by infusion, boiling and fermentation."

OE brēowan.

## CHICKLINGS pl. ['tʃɪklɪnz]

The smaller intestine of (usu.) the pig.

Al M

Form of CHITTERLING.

EDD gives CHITTERLINGS with variants a wide distribution.

Closest forms phonetically to CHICKLINGS are CHITLIN(G)S w Y, L, Nth, He, e An, So; CHITTLINS Wo and CHIDLIN(G)S Ox, Brk, C, K, W.

Primary form and derivations are doubtful. The German kutteln chawdrons, MHG kutel agrees in sense but has only a remote relation phonetically, coming nearest to the form chidling.

#### CWLFF [kʌlf]

Very thick slice of bread, "about six inches thick"! (Al M).  
(cf. DOOR-STEP).

Al M.

SAWD records 'CULF' the thin piece cut off from the loaf with a bread-knife' at W Gmg 6, and CULF 'a thick slice of bread, a door-step' at D/Pem 5; W Gmg 8, S Gmg 21.

EDD records 'a hunch of bread or meat' from D/Pem.

Welsh cwlff hunk, lump.

#### DOOR-STEP ['do: step]

A very thick slice of bread (cf. CWLFF).

Al T.

OED records as slang from 1885.

GIBBONS pl. ['dʒibʌnz/'ʃibʌnz]

Spring-onions.

['dʒibʌnz] Al M, Bl G, Ma C, Ma P, Is E, Su J, De J, Sa J,

Li W

['ʃibʌnz] Ma S.

SAWD records [dʒɪbənz]~[ʃɪbənz] at P/Rdn 4/6, P/Bre 3-4, M

Gmg 10-12/14-16, S Gmg 18-21, Gw 1-13 also Newport.

SED records GIBBONS at He 4-6, Mon 1-3/5-7.

EDD records CHIBBOLE "a young onion with the stalk attached"  
from Wa, Wo, Gl, Ox, IOW, W, Do, So, D, Co.

Welsh sibwn; ME chibolle adoption of OF (Picard) chibole.

GREEN [gri:n]

A green vegetable.

Wi L.

OED records as colloq.

LLECHWAN ['ɬɛxwan]

Flat, heavy, iron plate used for cooking cakes on top of the  
fire. Griddle. (cf. BAKESTONE).

Ed J, Ma S.

LGW records a distribution for LLECHWAN in the higher regions  
of the industrial valleys and the rural area around the

source of the Usk: 107-8/125/127/166-8/173/176/178-180/182.

Welsh Llechfaen bakestone.

MASH v. [maʃ]

To infuse, (of tea when boiling water has been poured on the leaves). (cf. SOAK, STAND and STEEP).

De J.

EDD gives MASH from the North Country, Cu, We, Y, La, Ch, Db, Nt, L, Lei, Wa, Sa, Ox, e An, Nf, Sf.

OE\* màscan MASH v. 'to infuse (malt)' from 14th C.

POTCH gen. [potʃ]

Swede and potato mashed together.

Na Y.

SAWD records POTCH in sense 'mashed potatoes and butter' at D/Cth 5.

Poss. formed on Welsh ponsio to bungle, to muddle (compare also POTCH v. D above).

RINGWORTH gen. ['riŋwəθ]

Goodness, body, as in the phrase "there's ringworth in this gravy" (Ma C.).

Ma C.

NOTE: Ed J uses ['rɪŋwed̪] in the sense of 'nourishment' when speaking Welsh but not English.

Welsh rhinwedd virtue.

SHYNKYN/BARA SIENCYN gen. ['ʃɪŋkɪn/'baɾə 'ʃɛŋkɪn]

Bread and butter soaked in tea (cf. SOP).

['ʃɪŋkɪn] Al M.

['baɾə 'ʃɛŋkɪn] Ma P.

Welsh bara bread + Welsh form of Jenkins, i.e. 'Jenkins' bread'.

SOAK v. [souk]

To infuse, after boiling water has been poured on the leaves in the tea-pot (cf. MASH, STAND and STEEP).

Ma P.

SAWD records SOAK at D/Cdg. 1.

SED records SOAK at So 3/8-9, W 4-5, Co 2/4, D 6/8-11,  
Do 2/3.

OE socian

SOP gen. [sɒp]

Bread in milk or, less frequently, in tea (cf. SHYNKYN).

Al M, Al T, Ma P, Li W, Na Y.

EDD records SOP 'bread soaked in various kinds of liquid' from Cu, Y, La, Nf.

OE sopp, sop. In ME prob. reinforced by the synonymous OF sope, soupe.

STAND v. [stand]

To infuse, after boiling water has been poured on leaves in a tea-pot (cf. MASH, SOAK and STEEP).

Bi G, Al M, Ma C, Su J, Na Y, Is E.

OED records STAND v. "of (a pot of) tea: to be left to draw".

OE standan

STEEP v. [stip]

To infuse, after boiling water has been poured on the leaves in the tea-pot (cf. MASH, SOAK and STAND).

Bi G, Ma S, Bl G.

SAWD records STEEP at D/Pem 7/10, D/Cth 5/9; P/Bre 2, W Gmg 3-4/6-8, M Gmg 12, S Gmg 17.

SED records STEEP at La 9, Y 6; Wa 3, Mon 7; Nth 1, Bk 1, MxL 1, W 8, Co 7.

Represents formally OE \*stēpan, \*stīepan

STEW v. [stiū]

To leave tea to infuse or stand for too long.

Su J.

OED records STEW in the sense "to 'stand' on the leaves" but not with the sense of leaving for too long.

OF estuver (mod. étuver)

TEISEN LAP gen. ['ti:ʃən 'lap]

Cake.

Bl G.

Welsh teisen cake + llap, lap soft and wet.

WELSH CAKES pl. ['welʃ ke:ks]

Small, round cakes containing usu. dried fruit and spices, which are baked on the bakestone (cf. BAKESTONES).

Al M, Li W, Ed J, Ro G, Su J, Bl G, Na Y, Do J, Ma S, Ma C, Ma P, Ja E, Sa J.

OED records WELSH CAKE "a kind of individual spicy cake made in Wales with currants and ginger."

WET v. [wet]

Pour boiling water onto the tea-leaves in the tea-pot (cf. BREW).

Na Y, Ja E, Ma P.

EDD records WET from Y, Ox, Nf, K.

From OE wēt, wēt.

(iv) Clothing, etc.CARTHEN ['kʌrθən]

Blanket, usually a heavy woollen one.

Do J.

SAWD records CARTHERYN at P/Rdn 1/6, P/Bre 3.

LGW gives a distribution of gw(r)thban blanket centered mainly on the North of Wales down to North Powys, with only two southern exceptions: Skewen and Cwmparc.

Welsh carthen a sheet of coarse cloth, blanket; and gwrthban blanket.

DROVERS gen. ['dro:vəz]

Knickers, drawers - made of Welsh flannel, reaching down to the knee and tied with tape.

Sa J.

The only other record of this word found is in More Talk Tidy, where it is listed with the definition "Old Wenglish word for 'drawers'."

FLANNIN gen. ['flan:in]

Flannel.

Mr I.

EDD records flannen in general dial. use in Scot., Irel. and Eng.

OED records FLAN(N)EN, FLANNIN as dial. forms of FLANNEL.

Although ultimately rejected by OED, the etymology given raises some interesting possibilities in a Welsh locality:

App. first recorded in Eng. whence the continental forms were prob. adopted... As flannel was already in 16th C a well-known production of Wales, a Welsh origin for the word seems antecedently likely. Some scholars have conjectured that the form flannen is the original and is a corruption of Welsh gwanen 'a flannel' formed on gwlan wool. Plausible, but involves some difficulties: the Welsh word is not originally a name for the material, but means literally an article or piece of material made of wool; and the assumed change of flannen into flannel is perh. less explicable than would be the contrary change, which might be ascribed to the analogy of linen, woollen.

#### GAFael ['gavəl]

Substance. Used either of the body in good, thick material or the flavour of good, rich gravy as in the phrase, "A bit more gafael on that." (Ma C). (cf. RINGWORTH and HOLT).

Do J, Ma C, Ed J.

Only when speaking Welsh: Sa J.

Welsh gafael substance.

## GRAIN [greɪn]

Cleanness and lustre. Used to describe things that look good after they have been washed well, as in the phrase, There's "a bit of grain on those." (Ro G).

Ro G.

The only other record found of this word is in Talk Tidy.

Poss. orig. from the English GRAIN "the texture of any substance" from OF grain, grein a grain, seed, or OF grain(n)e seeds collectively, seed, but obviously influenced by Welsh graen. Its primary meaning is 'grain' but it also has a secondary meaning of 'lustre, gloss, condition'.

## GUERNSEY/GANSEY ['gø:nzi]/['ga:nzi]

General name for a jumper or sweater, not necessarily of one particular style.

['gø:nzi] Ma P

['ga:nzi] Do J.

SAWD records GANSEY 'a thick jersey' at D/Pem 7-8.

EDD from Shetland Isles, Y, Sf.

OED records GUERNSEY "a thick knitted vest or shirt formed on the name of one of the Channel Islands."

## HOLT [hɔlt]

Body, thickness. Used primarily of material, as in the phrase, "There's more holt on it." (Sa J).

Ed J, Sa J.

NOTE: Sa J gives HOLT as her English equivalent of GAFAEL, which she uses only when speaking Welsh.

Formed on HOLD "The action of holding" presumably with the added idea that there is more (material) to hold.

OE haldan (healdan).

## RAGLAN ['ræglən]

(Waterproof) coat. Name does not necessarily depend on the style of the coat.

Do J, Ma P, Daughter of Sa J.

Name depended on style: Ed J, Na Y, Sa J.

NOTE: The use of the word RAGLAN for a raincoat, rather than a coat with a particular cut of sleeves, appears to be a rather short-lived fashion. Ma P says she would no longer use it in this way, while there was an interesting exchange between Sa J and her daughter:

Sa J - We started putting 'raglan' when the raglan sleeve came out first. We thought that they were very posh.

Daught.- I remember saying raglan for a mac, for a raincoat, but probably not in your days then.

OED records RAGLAN only in the sense of a particular style, i.e. without shoulder seams, the sleeve going right up to the neck.

SLAPS pl. [slaps]

Scruffy old shoes or slippers.

Al M, Do J, Ma C, Ed J, Na Y, Al T, Ma P, Sa J.

Heard but not used: De J, Su J, Li W.

NOTE: There were a number of remarks to the effect that the word is not used so much nowadays. When asked if he remembered slaps, De J replied, "No, we're only young." Obviously it was a word he associated with an older generation.

SAWD records SLAPS 'old shoes for working in' at D/Cth 12.

EDD records SLAP v. 'to walk about a house with dirty shoes and dripping clothes' from Ox.

OED records SLOPS n. pl. "some kind of footwear" from 15th C.

## (v) General Housework

BANK UP v + prep [bank'ʌp]

To build up the fire with small coal so that it would continue to burn slowly for a long time.

Al M, Ma S, Do J, Al T.

EDD records in this sense from Ox and D.

BOSH [boʃ]

China sink (cf. WASH-UP)

Su J.

SAWD records BOSH a sink used for (a) washing dishes at P/Bre 5-7, Gw 1-3/5-8/10 also Newport, M Gmg 9/12/16; (b) oneself at P/Bre 7, Gw 1-3/6/8/12 also Newport, M Gmg 16, S Gmg 19.

Presumably BOSH 'a trough in which bloomery tools (or, in copper-smelting, hot ingots) are cooled; recorded by OED from 1887, with transferred meaning; origin obscure.

CAKE gen. [kek]

Damp small coal that has burned into one lump.

Li W.

EDD records CAKE v. 'to dry, harden, calcine; to unite in a mass' from Irel. and Ox, and more specifically with regard to coal from Y and Nb.

Prob. from ON kaka CAKE v. 'to form into a cake' recorded from 17th C.

CLINKER gen. ['klinkər]

Coal containing a high proportion of metal, which does not burn well in consequence.

Al M, Ma P, Na Y.

EDD records CLINKER 'a hard metallic cinder; furnace slag, refuse coal' from Nb, La, Ch, Nt, L, Lei, Nth, Wa, Sa, Gl, Ox, K, Sx, Sr, Ha, D, Co.

Early modern Dutch klinckaerd (now klinker), formed on klinken sound, ring, so called because the brick (coal etc.) rings when struck.

CYRYDYRABON gen. [, kʌrʌdʌ'rəbon]

Blue sand-stone, used for cleaning stone steps, etc.

Ka L.

From Welsh cryydol corrosive.

## JACK [dzak]

Bottle used to store oil for lamps (cf. JACK, Ch. 10).

Sa J.

EDD records JACK 'a drinking vessel; a large copper can' from Scot, Sa, Nth, Sf, Ha, Co; also 'a liquid measure of a quarter or half of a pint' from Y, Db, L.

ODEE records JACK 'a leathern vessel for liquor' from 16th C. Adoption of (O)F jaque, of much disputed origin, perhaps immediate adoption of Sp., Portuguese jaco (whence also Italian giaco), of Arab origin.

## RIBBLINGS ['ribblinz]

Small pieces of half burned-out coal, used with small coal to bank up the fire.

Al M, Do J, Ma P, Sa J, Bl G.

SAWD records RIBBLINGS 'a mixture of ash, coal-dust and small coal used to keep a fire in' at W Gmg 3.

## SLAG gen. [slag]

Lumps of stone found mixed with coal. It does not, of course, burn.

Al M, Ka L, De J, Al T.

EDD records SLAG 'a thin band or bed of coal mixed with lime and iron pyrites' from Nb, Du, and from the same areas, 'vitreous matter which collects on the sides of and bars of furnaces and boiler fires'.

Adoption of MLG slagge.

STONE [*stoun*]

The marble slab found in a pantry, used for keeping things cool.

Na Y, Do J, Ma C, Ma P, Ro G.

OED records STONE "a piece of stone of a definite form and size (usually artificially shaped) used for some special purpose."

OE stān.

TIDY ['taidi]

A rail around the fireplace on which clothes are hung to dry.

Al T.

OED records TIDY n. in general sense "a name for various articles intended to keep persons or things tidy or neat" (from 19th C.) but not in this particular sense.

From ME tidi.

## TRIPPET ['trɪpət]

Trivet.

Ma P, Ed J, Bl G, Do J.

SAWD records TRIPPET 'a stand, with a handle, on which the kettle is placed to keep warm by the fire' at P/Bre 6, Gw 4/6, S Gmg 19.

EDD records from D/Pem, Gl, So, Co.

Phonetic variant of TRIVET. Late ME trevet, adoption of L. triped-, tripēs, formed on tri TRI + pēs FOOT, after Gr. tripous TRIPOD.

## TUNDISH ['tʌndiʃ]

Domestic funnel.

Al M.

SAWD records TUNDISH at D/Cdg 4, D/Pem 2/4-6, D/Cth 1/3-4/7/9-11; P/Rdn 3-5, P/Bre 1-4/6-7, Gw 1-12, W Gmg 1-2/8, W Gmg 11/13-14/16, S Gmg 17-21.

SED records TUNDISH at La 5/10-13; Ch 1-3, Db 1/3-7, Sa 1/3/5-11, St 1-6/8-11, He 2-7, Wo 1-7, Wa 1-2/4-7, Mon 1-3/5-7, Gl 1-7, Ox 1, Nt 2/4, Lei 1-8/10; So 2-3.

OE tunne 'a cask' + OE disc 'a dish'; compound recorded from 14th C.

## WASH-UP ['wɔʃʌp]

Old-fashioned china sink (cf. BOSH)

Al M, Is E, Sa J, Al T, Ma C, Ed J, Ma S.

OED records WASH-UP in sense of "a washing-up place, a scullery" as ? dial.

## WELSH CARPETS pl. [wɛlʃ'kɑ:pɪts]

Old newspapers used as a floor covering.

Ro G.

OED records WELSH CARPETS in the sense of "a pattern produced on the brick floor by staining the brick squares in figures with dock-leaf juice" (Household Words, 2nd September 1854). Thus, although the two versions are quite different in a practical sense, both retain the idea of a poor alternative for the richer original.

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B. THE COMMUNITY

(i) Social Activities

## BIG SEAT [bɪg sit]

Special seat in chapel, in front of the pulpit, where the deacons would sit.

Do J, Ed J, Ma S, Al T, Bl G, Na Y.

Translation of Welsh sêt fawr (lit. big seat) the deacons' seat.

GODS gen. [gɒdz]

Highest range of seats in the cinema.

Al M.

Partridge (DSUE) records GODS "Those occupying the gallery at a theatre: from c. 1750." He quotes Farmer and Henley, Slang and its Analogues, 7 vols. 1890-1904: "Said to have been first used by Garrick because they were seated on high, and close to the sky-painted ceiling."

GWT [gɒt]

Queue, or sometimes more specifically 'the back of the queue'. Often used in the phrases: 'Don't cheat the gwt' or 'Get back in the gwt'.

Ma P, Ja E, Al M, Sa J.

Known but not used: Do J, Al T.

Not known: Su J, De J, Ed J.

NOTE: A word that appears to have passed out of use.

The two youngest informants, Su J and De J, had no knowledge of it at all, while other informants who did know it and had used it had to be reminded of it.

Ja E is typical: "I'm forgetting all these words. We don't use it now see... I've heard [gwt] in the cinema

when we used to go Saturday afternoon or Saturday morning Penny Rush. 'In the gwt' somebody would say, wouldn't they, if you walked towards the front. 'Back in the gwt.' " Another interesting conversation took place between Sa J and her daughter over the exact meaning of gwt:

Sa J - Cheating the queue.

Daught. - I remember another word for that. Don't you remember? Cheating the gwt.

Sa J - Well, the gwt is the end, you see. Tell them to go back to the gwt. Cheating the queue... Once the door would open, you see, the people would rush and we'd say 'Oh, they were cheating the queue'... Perhaps we'd tell them to go back to the gwt.

Mutated form of Welsh cwt which in GPC is given two meanings: 1. tail, anything resembling a tail. 2. queue of people "ar lafar yn y Deu" ('in the speech of the South').

#### GYMANFA [gʌ'man:fə]

Singing festival held in the (usu. Welsh) non-conformist chapels, often at Easter.

Ma S, Ja E, Sa J, Na Y.

Mutated and shortened form of Welsh cymanfa ganu.

Cymanfa on its own means 'assembly, congregation, meeting (specifically non-conformist)'. In combination with ganu it means 'meeting or festival of singing'.

HOW BE? interrogative [ʌu'bi:]

Greeting, 'How are you?' (cf. SHOMAI)

De J, Su J.

HWYL [hɔɪl]

Fervour, esp. religious. Heightened state during preaching. "Something with 'go' in it." (Ma S).

Ma S.

Welsh hwyl ecstasy, unction, gusto, zest; "characteristic cadence formerly much in vogue in the perorations of the Welsh pulpit." (GPC)

PENNY READINGS [peni 'ri:dɪnz]

Type of mini-eisteddfod organised by the non-conformist chapels. Everybody would pay a penny to go in and then entertain each other by taking turns to sing or recite. The winner of the evening would take home a small purse of money.

Al M, Do J, Al T.

RISE (A TICKET/FARE) v. tr. [rʌɪz]

Buy a ticket.

Li W, Na Y.

Translation of Welsh codi'r ticed. Codi has a principal meaning of RISE v. + yr ticed the ticket.

RISE (of a funeral party) v. intr. [rʌɪz]

To depart from the home of the bereaved or deceased before the interment.

Li W, Na Y, Al T.

OED records as Welsh dial.

RODNEY/'S ['rodni/z]

The last train up the valley at night. The one on which the drunks and disreputable people would travel (see RODNEY B(ii) below).

Do J, Ma P, Li W, Ja E, Bl G, Ma S, Sa J's daughter.

SAWD records RODNEY (1) a drunken or rumbustious fellow, at Gw: Newport and (2) the last bus or train at night that is often crowded with revellers, also at Gw: Newport.

## SHOMAI? Interrogative [ʃə'mai:]

A greeting: 'How are you?' (cf. HOW BE?)

Al M, Is E, Bi G, Ge V, Wi L.

NOTE: Appears to have been used more by men than women.

However, seems to be falling out of use with both women  
and men now:

CG: How would you greet a friend on the street?

Is E: Today, probably How-d'you-do business, but my  
time, Shomai...

CG: To people who spoke Welsh or English?

Is E: Yes, it wouldn't have made no difference.

CG: Would it have been used more by men?

Is E: Yes, and a Welsh background.

I have also heard Bi G use it as an interjection, with  
the import, 'Well, would you believe it?'

Formed on Welsh sut mae? how be? LGW notes that sut is  
usually pronounced [ʃut] in the South, as opposed to  
[sɪt, sɪt] in the North. Hence [ʃut] at 77/85/88-  
95/97/100-162/164-170/172/174/176-177/179-180/182.

Interestingly, [sɪt] is the recorded form at locality  
173, i.e. Cwmparc.

(ii) Characters and Characteristics

ALL AT SIXES AND SEVENS adj. phr. [ə:l ət 'siksɪz ən 'sevnz]

Confused. In a muddle.

Ma P.

Morris Dictionary of Word and Phrase Origins records that the phrase "originated in a dice game so ancient that it is reported by Chaucer in the Canterbury Tales... It was possible to attempt to roll for a six and a seven. This was known to be a very hard point to make and was attempted only by headstrong or careless players. So the present-day meaning of at sixes and sevens - 'all disorder and confusion' - may have come from the fact that only a confused or disorganised person would roll for this point."

BACH [ba:χ]

Little (one) - term of endearment.

Mr I, Wi L, Bl G.

Welsh bach 1. small 2. dear.

OED reports "a term of endearment common in Wales and the border counties."

BOPA [bopə]

Fussy or inadequate man. "The foreman...in work with us. We call him 'Bopa'. I don't know why...he's that type of figure. You know, thick!" (De J).

De J.

Metaphorical use of Welsh bopa aunt (cf. BOPA A(i) above).

BRAWD [braud]

Friend. Brother. Usually used in addressing someone.

Ge V.

NOTE: Ge V gives a very good account of how he uses the word: "I was chairman of the biggest lodge in the South Wales coalfield, during the war years...Three thousand two hundred financial members of the Lodge. And in all there were over four thousand working in the Parc and Dare pits...Now I knew so many men, and so many knew me that - and of course I'm getting on now and my memory's not as good as what it used to be...So chaps come on to me and say 'Hello George. How are things going?' you see. And I'd say, 'Shomai Brawd'. Now brawd, brother, was a great - I could fall back on brawd see, brother. It's close, d'you see. And you'd say, 'Who the hell is

this man by here now? Tom, George, Will, Jack or -' but  
brawd would cover it see."  
Welsh brawd brother.

BROUGHT UP UNDER TUBS adv. phr. [brɔ:t Ap'ʌndʌ tʌbz]

Not very refined. Not very well brought up. As in  
the phrase, "People must think we're brought up under  
tubs." Ja E).

Ja E.

The only other record of this phrase found is in Talk  
Tidy.

to be a BUGGER FOR ['bʌgə fə]

To have a passion for, to like very much.

Em L.

OED records BUGGER only in sense "In low language a  
coarse term of abuse or insult; often, however, simply =  
'chap', 'customer', 'fellow'."  
(O)F bougre (archaic) sodomite, (colloq.) 'chap'.

BUMS pl. [bʌmz]

Sheriff's officers or bailiffs. Debt-collectors.

Ro G.

SAWD records BUM BAILIFF at P/Bre 5.

EDD records BUM BAILEY from Ireland, Y, La, Ch, St, Db, Nt, Lei, Wa, Wo, He, Sx, W, So.

ODEE records BUM BAILIFF from 17th C.

BUSHED adj. [bəʃt]

Very tired, exhausted (cf. DONE-UP and SLAMMED-OUT)

De J.

SAWD records BUSHED at Gw 12.

OED records BUSHED 'tired, exhausted' from North America.

BUTT [bʌt̬]

Friend. Usually used when addressing someone, as in the phrase 'Come on now, butt.' Slightly rougher and more jocular than BRAWD.

Is E.

NOTE: Although Ja E also says she knows BUTT, it does appear to be a word that is more part of a male vocabulary, based on the workplace.

Shortened form of BUTTY. For distribution and etymology see Ch. 10.

## BYCHAN ['bʌxən]

Term of affection: little one, friend (cf. BACH and  
BRAWD)

Mr I

Welsh bychan adj. small, little, minute.

## CACK-HANDED adj. [kak'hændɪd]

Clumsy.

Bl G.

SAWD records CAG(GY)-HANDED at Pr/Rdn 1, Gw 9-10/12 and  
 KECK-HANDED/-FISTED aT P/Rdn 4, Gw 9.

SED records CAGGY-HANDED/-FISTED at Sa 5/8-11, St 4-5/7-  
 11, Wo 1-5, Wa 1-2, Mon 5 and KECK-HANDED/-FISTED at  
 He 2/5/7, Mon 1-2; Ess 12; Do 5.

OE cacc +-y adj. suffix.

## CHRISTY ['kristɪ]

Intractable person, Tartar; as in the phrase, 'She was a  
 proper Christy' (Ka L).

Ka L.

No record of this word found elsewhere.

CLEC inf. /CARRY CLECS inf.+n. pl. [klɛk/'kari klɛks]

To tell tales.

Al M, Do J, Ma C, Ma P, Sa J, Na Y, Al T, Ge V, Li W.

SAWD records CLEC 'to chat and spread tales, to gossip' at D/Cth 12; W Gmg: Morriston, and, in the same sense, CARRY CLAPS at D/Cth 12; W Gmg: Morriston.

Welsh clec n. gossip, clec(i)an v. to gossip.

CLECKER ['klɛkər]

Someone who tells tales or 'carries clecs'.

Do J.

See CLEC above, cf. also Welsh clecyn a tell-tale.

COKUM adj. ['koʊkʌm]

1. Half-soaked, easy-going (cf. DIDORETH)
2. Crafty, sly.

1. Ma P, Li W, Na Y, Al T.      2. Su J.      Both Al M.

NOTE: It seemed to be fairly well-known that there were two possible meanings for this word. Ma P, of Rhondda Fach, assigns each to a particular valley: "Now the lady next door tells me we used the word cokum for somebody, oh, a bit slow and... sort of don't-care. But up the other valley it means a sly person." However, this neat

distribution was not borne out by the present investigation. Al M uses the word in both the above senses, and not only about people, but also about doing things, as in the phrase "a cokum way of getting around it."

Talk Tidy by John Edwards records KOKUM 'crafty, cunning'.

CONER/-IN/-EN ['ko:nʌ/-ɪn/-ən]

A person who complains a lot. CONER is used for either sex, while CONIN is used specifically for a male and CONEN for a woman.

['ko:nʌ] Al M

['ko:nɪn/-ən] Ed J, Sa J.

Heard but not used: Do J. Not known at all: Ro G, Id G, Ma P, Li W, Na Y, Al T.

NOTE: Appears to have a fairly limited use, possibly to people with more Welsh in their backgrounds, though Al M is familiar with an anglicised form (with its -ER ending). Ed J and Sa J use the word in a more sophisticated way, with Welsh endings denoting male and female. However, the actual forms they use cannot be found in YMG.

Formed on Welsh conach, conan to grumble, to mutter. LGW records conach, conan as one of two receding forms which have a localised distribution which is confined to the

east of the Tywi. The form is glossed at locality 151, Penygroes, as being less 'acceptable' than achwyn.

CRACHACH/CRACH gen. {'kraxax/kra: x}

The 'posh' people or professional, more prosperous people.

{'kraxax} Do J, Is E, Sa J, Ge V, Ja E.

[kra: x] Ma S.

Both: Bl G. Heard but not used: Ma C, Ma P, Al T.

NOTE: Appears generally to be used by the informants with more Welsh in their backgrounds. Although the dictionary definition of crachach is 'snobs', Ma S claims that the word was used in a slightly different way, depending on social status or profession rather than a personal quality: "In Welsh it was a lovely word, crach, because you could be a crach, be nice as well as not so nice. Whereas a snob is a snob, isn't it... They could be crach snobbish or crach nice."

Welsh crach, crachach snobs.

CRONIES pl. {'kro:niz}

Friends, mates (male or female).

Bl G.

EDD records CRONE applied to ewes or women, but not to men.

OED records CRONIE, CRONY Obsol. Apparently a variant of (or? error for) CRONE, "A withered old woman" and "rarely applied to a worn-out old man."

DAB [dab]

Person, soul. Usually used in a phrase connoting pity, such as "Poor dab" (or envy: "Lucky dab").

Al M, Mr I.

EDD records DAB in the sense of "an insignificant person, a chit; also used playfully for a child" from Y, D; and as "an untidy, thriftless woman" from Ch, Sa, D.

Recorded in Rhondda sense in Talk Tidy.

Of unknown origin.

DIDORETH adj. [di'(d)o:reθ]

HALF-SOAKED (cf. COKUM 1.)

Na Y, Al T.

Recorded in Talk Tidy, where it is given the following, rather amusing gloss:

A Welsh word for which the dictionary offers only the quite inadequate 'feckless' as a meaning. It remains the worst thing that may be said about any

local housewife since it means, "there's no shape  
on 'er round the 'ouse...there's no grain on 'er  
washing - and 'er 'usband, pooer dab, do afto shift  
for 'imself!!!"

Welsh didoreth shiftless, lazy, fickle.

DITHER n. /DITHERED adj. ['dɪðə]/['dɪðəd]

State of confusion, turmoil, as in the phrase "I'm all of  
a dither" (Sa J); confused, muddled.

['dɪðə] Sa J, Na Y, Bl G.

['dɪðəd] Li W.

EDD records DITHER v. in sense of 'to tremble or shake'  
in general dial. use.

OED records as colloq. or dial. ODEE records DITHER from  
dial. didder (14th C.) "originally and still northern, of  
symbolic origin."

DONE-UP ppl. adj. [dʌn'ʌp]

Exhausted, worn-out.

Ma P, Em L.

EDD records DONE UP from Y, Nt, Li, Ox.

DO pa. ppl. + UP prep.

DULL adj. [dʌl]

Silly, foolish. Also used in phrase "Dull as a sledge"  
(Ge V) (cf. TWP).

Ma C, Ma P, Ka L, Ge V.

SAWD records DULLNESS n. in the same sense from D/Pem 8.

EDD records DULL adj. 'foolish, silly' from sD/Pem.

Jones, "Coal-Mining Terms" (see Ch. 10 and bibliography)  
records the phrase 'y sledi fel wyt ti', i.e. "You're  
like a sledge!" from the Rhondda.

cf. Welsh dwli to date. Also Welsh dwl dull, stupid,  
foolish, silly.

EWN adj. [ɛun]

Forward, over-familiar (cf. FIT)

Ed J (usu. when speaking Welsh).

Known but not used personally: Do J, Ma P, Al M.

NOTE: A rather elusive word. It was reported on a  
number of occasions, but always as used by (usu. Welsh-  
speaking) friends. The only person I found who actually  
used it was Ed J, who associated it more with her Welsh  
speech than her English.

GPC records ewn as formed from eon (ewn<eon, cf. heol>hewl). Welsh eofn, eon, forward, shameless, presumptuous.

FAGGED OUT adv. phr. ['fagd ʌt]

Very tired, exhausted (cf. DONE-UP and SLAMMED OUT)

Li W.

OED records FAGGED "wearied out, excessively fatigued" from 1780. "FAG v. + -ed [of obscure etymology; the common view that it is a corruption of FLAG v. would satisfactorily account for the sense.]

FIT adj. [fɪt]

Forward, pushy, cheeky (cf. EWN)

Do J, Ma C, Bl G, Na Y, Sa J, Ma P, Is E, Ja E, Li W,  
Su J, Ed J, Al T.

NOTE: Ja E tells the following story about a friend who she regards (affectionately) as fit: "I said to Islwyn, 'Well, if you want to go for a day and you want to get on the [extremely crowded] train, take Nancy with you. She'll get you a seat.' Because when we got on... Nancy was there with a bag on each seat ready for us. So that's being fit, you see."

SAWD records FIT 'cheeky, impudent' from D/Cth 12, also Llandovery.

IN THE PICKIES adj.phr. [ɪn ðə 'pɪkɪz]

In trouble. Lit. 'in the stinging nettles'.

Bl G.

Recorded in More Talk Tidy.

PICKIES is a local word for stinging nettles, pres. from the stinging or 'picking' sensation they cause.

JOKING adj. ['dзokɪŋ]

Imitation, toy, unreal: 'a joking one'.

Al M, Li W, Su J, Ma C.

Recorded in Talk Tidy.

Formed on pr.ppl. JOKE v., in the sense that something is joking with you because it is pretending to be real, but isn't.

LLAU BWT adj. [lɑu 'bøt]

Left-handed.

Al M, Su J.

SAWD records LLAWCHWITH at P/Rdn 2, P/Bre 2.

Welsh llau hand + bwt of uncertain meaning.

## MOANING MINNIE ['mo:nɪn 'mɪni]

Someone who complains a lot (cf. CONER).

Na Y.

Partridge (DSUE) gives MOANING MINNIE as 'An occasional variant of Mona, the air-raid warning siren.' Perh. someone who complains a lot is thought to make as much noise as the siren, or simple adoption of alliterative combination.

## MOITHER n. /MOITHERED adj. ['mo:iðə]/['mo:iðəd]

State of confusion, panic, as in phrase "in a moither"; confused, muddled (cf. DITHER/ED).

B1 G, A1 T.

SAWD records MOITHERED at Gw 7, also Newport.

EDD records MOITHER as in general dial. use in Sc. Irel. and northern and midland counties of Eng.

OED records MOITHER from 18th C. as a variant of MOIDER v. trans. from 17th C. (dial.) "of obscure origins. Poss. related to MUDDLE v."

## to be the MORAL OF vbl. phr. [ðə 'mɔ:rl əv]

To take after, to be the image of, to resemble closely.

Ka L.

EDD records MORAL 'the exact likeness, counterpart' as in general dial. use in Sc. Irel. and Eng.

Partridge (DSUE) says that its origins are slightly obscure, perh. from the obsolete Standard English sense, a symbolical figure, but prob. by a solecism for model.

RODNEY ['rɒdnɪ]

An unruly or scruffy person (see also RODNEY B(i) above)

Al M, Ma P, Na Y, Do J, Ma S, Al T, Is E, Su J.

SAWD records RODNEY 'a drunken or rumbustious fellow' at Gw: Newport.

EDD records RODNEY at D/Cth, Y, La, Ch, St, Wa, Wo, Sa, Gl.

SAY FIBS v. + n. pl. [sei fɪbz]

To tell lies.

Ms S, Te S.

(Mis-)translation of Welsh dywedyd, dweud say, tell as 'say' rather than the more usual Eng. version 'tell' (?) + FIB colloq. "a venial or trivial falsehood; often used as a jocular euphemism for a lie" [Of obscure origin; poss. shortened from FIBLE-FABLE].

SHWNI BOBOCHR ['ʃəni bob'oxɔr]

Someone who will agree with both sides of an argument,  
just to save trouble; 'Dicky Two-sides'.

Sa J.

Recorded in Talk Tidy.

Shwni, Welsh version of 'Johnny' + Welsh pob every +  
ochr side.

SHWNI OI ['ʃəni ɔɪ]

Very scruffy person (cf. RODNEY)

Do J.

Recorded in More Talk Tidy.

Shwni, Welsh version of Johnny +? ironic use of obsolete  
oi Hail, well done!

SLAMMED-OUT adj. [slamd'ʌt]

Very tired, exhausted (cf. DONE-UP and FAGGED OUT)

Li W, Na Y, Bl G.

Poss. takes sense of SLAM "With a slam or heavy blow;  
suddenly and violently", that is 'as if one had been  
knocked out by a heavy blow.'

SLAMMED pa. ppl. of SLAM v. + prep. OUT.

SOFT adj. [soft]

Silly, daft.

B1 G.

OED records SOFT as "Yielding readily to emotions of a tender nature; easily affected or moved in this way; impressionable" but this does not convey sense that someone is behaving in a ridiculous manner or being affected in an extreme way.

TIDY adj. + adv. ['tAidi]

1. adj. Respectable, good living (of people); Well-done (of things). A general approving word used in all sorts of circumstances.
2. adj. + adv. General use in place of 'good', 'well' etc., as in the phrases "It's a tidy size (Su J) or "They weren't looked after tidy" (Te S).

1. Al M, Do J, Su J, Ma C, Bl G, Bi G, Ma S, Al T, Ja E, Te S.
2. Su J, Te S, Ma C.

SAWD records TIDY 'good-natured, respectable' at P/Rdn 2, P/Bre 4, Gw: Newport.

EDD records from sD/Pem, Gl, Ox, K, So, D, Co.

OED records TIDY as obsol. in sense "good, excellent,

satisfactory, useful, of good character or ability etc." and as colloq. in a lighter sense of "pretty good, fair (in quality); decent, of a good sort, nice."

ME tidy.

**TWLSYN** ['təlsɪn]

A comical or witty man. Used as a descriptive nickname, as in Jac Twlsyn.

- Ma S.

From Welsh dwl dull, stupid, foolish, silly + ---(s)yn,? diminutive ending denoting affection, or formed on same principle as twp stupid, twpsyn a stupid person.

**TWP** adj. /**TWPSYN** n. + adj. [təp/'təpsɪn]

1. adj. stupid or silly. 2. n. Stupid or silly person (cf. DULL).

1. Al M, Do J, Ge V, Ma P, Bl G, Ka L, Al T, Su J,  
Is E, Ja E, Sa J's daughter.
2. Bl G.

Only used when speaking Welsh: Ed J, Sa J.  
Heard, but wouldn't use: Ma C, Li W, Na Y.

NOTE: Both words used in colourful phrases such as 'twpsynfel sledge' (Bl G), another version of 'Dull as a sledge' (see DULL) and 'twp as a bicycle' (Ge V).

Twp is a fascinating word for examining how Welsh and English worked together in the Rhondda and other South-Walian communities, to produce a characteristic English-language dialect. Use of the word twp in English speech appears to be very much generationally conditioned. The oldest Welsh speakers, Ed J and Sa J, when asked what they would call someone who was a bit stupid when they were speaking English, both replied 'stupid'. Of course, they knew twp, but only as part of their Welsh speech. When they spoke English they translated. It was up to a younger generation, familiar with both Welsh and English, the generation who often 'lost' Welsh, understanding but not speaking it, to adopt the words they wanted from Welsh into their English speech. Other members of that younger generation, such as Ge V, were more used to readily moving between the two languages and took words from the one into the other. The use of the word also appears to have undergone a subtle change. From being used with rather derogatory overtones in the original Welsh, it moves into English with a more indulgent and affectionate sense. The generational point and the slight change in meaning both lie behind an interesting exchange between Sa J and her daughter:

Sa J        That [twp]'s the old way we used to say if  
              we're talking rough, you know. It isn't very  
              nice to say that because it would be belittling

the person... (She is talking here of speaking in Welsh).

Daught. Yes, but I think everybody used to say years ago, 'Oh, don't be so twp', you know. It's just that expression then.

Sa J's daughter understands but does not speak Welsh. However, twp soon became accepted in English by people without that Welsh-language background. Hence Ma P, who regularly distanced herself from things Welsh throughout the interview, immediately answered twp when asked what she would call someone a bit stupid.

SAWD records TWP in response to 1, 'A man who can never do things in the right way is quite ...' at D/Pem 1, D/Cth 12; P/Bre 3/5, W Gmg 3/7 also Swansea; and 2, 'A man who is always doing ridiculous things and behaving stupidly, you say is ...' at D/Pem 1, D/Cth 5-9/12, W Gmg: Swansea.

Welsh twp stupid.

UNCORE adj. [ʌŋ'ko:]

Scruffy, unkempt.

Li W.

EDD records UNCO in sense of 'Unknown, strange; foreign; altered so as to be scarcely recognisable' from Scot.,

the Northern Counties of England, Nb. Thought to be the same word as UNCOUTH.

#### C. CHILDHOOD GAMES AND LANGUAGE

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##### ALLEY ['ali:]

Ordinary marble, or particular marble used to fire at other marbles in the circle.

Is E, Bl G, Ge V.

Familiar diminutive of ALABASTER. Cf. the similar use of low German, Dutch albast.

##### ALLEY BOM ['ali bom]

Larger sized marble (cf. BOMPER)

Bl G.

Alley +? dim. of BOMPER.

##### BALLICATOR ['balɪke:tə]

Concrete drainage channel taking water from the tip.

Su J, De J and children.

Prob. a very localised word, thought to be used by the children of just the one street or small part of Tonypandy.

## BULL-RAG ['bul rag]

A game described as being similar to quoits. Stones are thrown into a circle with the aim of knocking a rag off a central stone or 'dab'. (see DAB).

Ge V.

## BOMPER ['bompə]

Largest size of marble (also heard used to describe anything especially large). (cf. ALLEY BOM)

Al M, Bl G, Ge V, Son of Su J + De J.

Recorded in Talk Tidy in the sense of 'big'.

## BOWS AND ARROWS [bɔuz ʌn 'aʊoz]

Game played in which one team would chalk arrows on the pavement, then another team would follow the arrows, after counting to 100, in the hope of catching the first team.

Ro G.

The Opies describe this game in a section on tracking games (CGSP pp. 180-1). They do not specify one particular part of the country, but record the game as being widely played under a variety of names which include 'Arrows', 'Arrow Chase', 'Follow the Arrows' and 'Arrow Tracking' (but not 'Bows and Arrows'.)

## BOX-RELEASE ['bɒks rɪ'leɪs]

Game played in which one gang would hunt for another gang that was hiding, poss. with element of chasing back to a base or 'box', but this is not clear.

Li W.

The Opies record this as a version of RELIEVO, with the added dimension of one team trying to release prisoners from the base or 'box'. Recorded as BOX-RELEASE from Wandsworth c. 1912 (CGSP p. 174).

## CABBAGE ['kabɪdz]

Team game of throwing a ball against a wall. Points would be given to the first to catch the ball, with the aim of finding an overall winner.

Ma S.

## CATTY AND DOG(GY) ['kati ʌn 'dɒg(i)]

A very popular game, something like cricket, and deserving of a description by one of the experts:

[It was] a game, say, five against five...comprised of a piece of wood [the staff or dog] about 18 inches long, and the 'catty' was...a small bit of wood, about 6 inches, with a point each end. And you'd tap it with this bit of stick and knock it...and each man would have

three attempts... There'd be the base, see. The man would stand by the base and he'd knock this 'catty' one blow, for about twenty or thirty yards. The men out there fielding it would catch it. If you were caught... before the 'catty' fell on the floor, you were out. But now if you weren't caught, they would throw the 'catty' to try and reach this base. Now as they threw the 'catty' back in, I could hit if if I could... Or if I failed to hit it and it fell within the distance of the staff, near the base here, you were out. But if it fell there say, then you'd count [using the length of the staff to see how far it was from the base]. That was the way you counted the runs. (Ge V).

There was some difference of opinion about whether it was a boys' game, or whether girls also played.

Al M, Ro G, Is E, Id G, Ge V, Do J, De J, Ma S.

#### CIGARETTE CARDS [sigA'ret kɑ:dz]

Game in which one cigarette card was propped against a wall and others were flicked at it until it was knocked down.

Ja E.

## CREE excl. [kri:]

Word shouted, while crossing fingers, to gain immunity during a chasing game.

Al M, Su J, Al T.

EDD records CREE from n. W.

The Opies give a very full account of truce terms in The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren, pp. 162-173. They record CREE as the "Prevailing term both sides of the Bristol Channel. Reported from Bridgwater, Burnham, Weston-Super-Mare, Bristol (cf. 'screes' in Bath), Barry Cardiff, Newport and Monmouth. The area extends north to Knighton taking in Pontypridd and Abergavenny, and east to Wootton Bassett. Occasionally, by association, 'cree' is rendered 'free'." (p. 170)

## CWGS gen. [kɒgz]

'Catch'. Game of throwing and catching a ball.

Li W.

## DAB [dab]

The base in a game of 'Catty and Dog' or the central stone in 'Bull-rag'.

Ge V, Ma S.

Recorded in Talk Tidy.

DAP v. [dap]

To bounce (cf. TAMP)

Is E.

SAWD records DAP v. at Gw 14/6/9/11-13.

SED records DAP v. at He 6, Mon 1/3/5-6, Gl 3-4/6-7,

So 1-5/8, W 2-8.

SAWD suggests that it is "Perhaps a parallel formation to DAB (ME dabben) 'to strike with a light blow' (this sense is found for DAP along with the intransitive one here recorded.)"

OED records DAP v. 'to hop, bounce, rebound' from 1851.

DAPS pl. [daps]

Soft, plimsole type of shoe.

Al T.

SAWD records DAPS at D/Cth 12; P/Bre 5, also Builth Wells, Gw: Newport, S Gmg 19-20.

Poss. link to DAP v. see above.

DARERS ['de: rʌz]

Game in which children think up daring things for each other to do.

Children of Su J and De J.

The Opies say that "No game is more revealing of the childhood community than this sport, apparently known everywhere (descriptions from forty places), which they impose upon themselves 'when we want to play something lively.' " CGSP p. 263 and descriptions of variants of the game pp. 263-267.

#### DEVIL RAPS THE WINDOW ['devil raps ðʌ 'wində]

Empty cotton reels would be pulled across the window pane to make a frightening noise and rouse the occupant of the house.

Ge V.

The Opies report this 'game' in The Lore and Language of Children (pp. 416-7). Variations with different names are reported from all over Britain, but include 'Devil on the Window' (Swansea, c. 1930) and 'Devil on the Pane' (Llanelli, c. 1914). The standard name reported is 'Window-Tapping'.

#### DICKY FIVE STONES {diki 'fʌiv stonz}

Five stones are balanced on the back of the hand, then thrown up into the air and caught in the palm of the same hand. Aim is to see if all five can be caught in one go.

De J also reports the alternative names 'five stones', 'Black Jack' and 'Five Jack'.

Al M, Su J, De J, Al T.

The Opies name this game as 'Jack Stones' and say that it is one of the games recorded by the Cheshire antiquary Randle Holme in 1688 as "used by our countrey Boys and Girls" (CGSP p. 7).

DIP n. and v. [dɪp]

Word used to start rhyme to choose would be 'on it'. ~~~

Also used as a verb in the phrase "Let's dip for it."

(Al M).

Al M.

The Opies describe dipping and the variety of rhymes associated with the process in great detail. (CGSP pp. 30-61).

DUCKING-APPLE NIGHT ['dʌkɪn 'apl ənɪt/'tʌkɪn 'apl ənɪt]

Hallowe'en. Name is taken from the characteristic game usually played on this night of ducking for apples floating in a tub of water with hands tied behind the back and poss. also blindfolded (see also MARI LWYD).

['dʌkɪn] Al M, Bl G, Ed J, Li W, Al T.

['tʌkɪn] Ma C, Ma S, Sa J.

The Opies report that "The games traditionally played on Hallowe'en are most peculiar to this night. They are in fact so much a part of the Festival that in a number of places the local name for night is derived from a game popular in the district." They go on to record that the night is known as 'Duck Apple' in Newcastle and 'Dookie-Apple Night' in Swansea, but 'Bob Apple' or 'Crab Apple Night' in Pontypool. The game of ducking for apples appears to be a very popular and widespread game.  
(LLS p. 294).

#### FOOTSIES ['fətsiz]

Move in marbles where one foot is kicked against the other to propel the marble.

Son of Su J + De J.

#### GYPSY SOAP ['dʒɪpsi so:p]

Brown clay, used by children to 'wash' with.

Ro G.

#### HECK v. [h/ɛk]

To hop, usu. in the game of (Hop)scotch. Ro G also uses in the phrase 'heck it [i.e. the scotch stone]' in the sense of 'to kick it while hopping'.

Al M, Ja E, Ro G, Bl G, Ma P, Al T.

Known but not used: Ma C, Is E, Ed J.

Not known: Do J, Sa J, Na Y, Su J.

SAWD records HECK in sense of 'a jump' at D/Cth: Red Roses, and HECKING (gerund) 'hopping' from D/Pem 5.

EDD records HECK 'to hop on one leg' from D/Pem, So, also HECK v. 'to limp, halt' from Shetland and Orkney Islands.

cf. Welsh hercian to hop, limp, stutter.

#### HOP/SCOTCH ['hop/skɒtʃ]

Game played on a set pattern of squares drawn out on the ground. A small stone is thrown into each square in turn and the player hops or hecks through all the remaining squares before retrieving. If two feet are put down at one time, or the player hops into a line she is out. Although most informants were aware of the full name 'Hopscotch', the favoured and most popular version was simply 'scotch' (especially by those who hecked!)

Al M, Ma P, A; T, Ro G, Ed J, Do J, Ma C, Ja E, Sa J,  
Li W, Na Y, Su J.

The Opies record HOPSCOTCH as one of the sports in vogue at Eton in 1766 (CGSP p. 7).

HOP v. + SCOTCH n. 'an incised line or scratch'. ODEE records scotch-hoppers from 17th C.

## I SENT A LETTER [Ai sent A 'letA]

One girl would go round the outside of a ring of girls facing inwards with their eyes closed. As she went they would sing:

I sent a letter to my love  
 And on the way I dropped it.  
 One of you have picked it up  
 And put it in your pocket.

She would drop a handkerchief behind the back of one girl and at the end of the rhyme she would go around saying, "(It) wasn't you" until she again reaches the one behind whom she dropped the handkerchief. Meanwhile, the girl tries to discover the handkerchief before she is reached and, if she does, has to race around the circle to try and reach her place again before the girl who dropped it. Whoever reaches the place last goes around once more.

Ro G, Ja E.

The Opies describe the game as DROP HANDKERCHIEF (CGSP, pp. 198-202). The words recorded here are the standard words and the tune to which it is sung, 'Yankee Doodle', one of a number of options noted by the Opies. The game and its variants are to be found throughout Britain.

## KEEP SIEZ ['kipsiz]

Term used in marbles to describe the type of game where the winner is allowed to keep any marbles won during it. (See also LENDSIEZ).

De J and son.

## KICK-THE-DAB [kɪk ðʌ 'dab]

Chasing game. The one 'on it' would hunt for the other children who were hiding. When s/he found one they both had to race back to see who could 'kick' the dab or base first.

Al M.

This appears to be a simplified and quieter version of the game TIN CAN TOMMY recorded by the Opies. In the Rhondda the players chase back to kick base, whereas in the Opies' version the players have to kick a can, creating a disturbing noise. The Opies record many variants but not the Rhondda version (see CGSP, pp. 164-8).

## KISS-CHASE ['kɪs tʃeɪsə]

Game played with boys against girls. Whoever was caught would have to submit to being kissed.

Ma C.

The Opies record KISS-CHASE as a variant of OUTS, where the teams are usually divided boys against girls. (CGSP, pp. 168-170).

## KISS, KICK AND TORTURE ['kɪs kɪk ʌn 'to:tʃə]

Chasing game similar to 'Kiss-Chase'. Whoever was caught was given two further (and poss. hardly less desirable)

options: to receive either a kick or a 'torture' thought up by the catcher.

Su J and children.

The Opies record this as a development of KISS-CHASE (CGSP, p. 170).

#### KNOCKING-IN ['nɔkɪŋ 'ɪn]

Primitive form of squash. A ball is hit against the pine-end wall of a house, which has a line drawn across it at a height of 4 feet.

Ge V.

#### LENDSIES ['lɛnzɪz]

Type of game of marbles where any marbles won during the course of the game were returned to the original owner (see also KEEPSIEZ).

De J and son.

#### MARBLE BOARD ['ma:b<sub>1</sub> bo:d<sub>2</sub>]

A piece of wood with holes in it, just big enough to allow a marble through. The board was propped up against a wall and marbles were thrown at it to see who could get the most through the holes.

Is E.

## MARI LWYD ['mari loid]

At Hallowe'en, or on a similar occasion, children would go around the doors asking for money or treats with the phrase 'Please will you help the Mari Lwyd?'

Do J, Ma C, Bl G, Sa J.

NOTE: Appears to be a much simplified version of customs associated with Mari Lwyd in Cardiganshire. Apparently most well known in the top of the Rhondda Fawer, where there are a greater number of people whose families were originally from West Wales. Sa J remembers her husband, who was also from Cardiganshire, talking of it.

## ON IT adv. phr. ['on it']

In the position of being the chaser in a chasing game.

Al M, Li W, Su J, Bl G.

According to the Opies, "The chaser as the one who is 'on it' predominates in Wales and Wessex" (CGSP, p. 23 and map p. 21).

Al M gave a version of a popular rhyme that was used to choose who was going to be 'on it':

Eeny, Meeny, Miny, Mo,  
Put the baby on the po.  
When he('s) finished, wipe his bum,  
Tell his mother what he done.

The Opies (CGSP pp. 30-61) list many such rhymes including

this version which they say has been current since the 19th C. (see also SPUDS).

ON-IT ['on it]

Simple chasing game where one person would chase all the others.

Al M, Al T.

Not recorded by the Opies. However, 'It' is recorded as "common in the West Country and relatively uncommon elsewhere, except in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire." This version prob. named by extension from the term 'on it' for the one who is the chaser.

PAPPISH/POPPISH adj. ['papɪʃ/ 'pɒpɪʃ]

Very easy.

['papɪʃ] Do J, Al T, Ma C, Bl G.

['pɒpɪʃ] Al M.

NOTE: Although PAPPISH was described by the informants as a word they did not use very much nowadays, there is hope that it will not disappear completely in that the children of Su J and De J reported currently using the form PAPSY ['papsɪ].

More Talk Tidy records PAPPISH/PAPS/PAPSY. Cf. also from SAWD PUTSY 'easy', Gw: Newport.

Related to PAP "soft or semi-liquid food for infants or invalids" in the sense that it is easy to digest?

POP ALLEY ['pop 'ali:]

Small glass ball, extracted from the neck of a special type of pop bottle, where such a ball is used as a stopper. Subsequently used for a marble (cf. ALLEY).

Al M, Ja E, Id G, Ge V.

RUN-SHEEP-RUN ['JAn [ip 'JAn]

Game played in two teams. The first team would run from base (usually a lamp-post) in advance of a second team who would subsequently run out to look for them. If a member of the first team was spotted by a member of the second, the one who spotted would shout 'run-sheep-run' and they would both have to chase back to base to see who reached there first (cf. BOX RELEASE).

Ge V.

The Opies record as a version of RELIEVO, under the name RUN-SHEEPIE-RUN from Cumnock (CGSP, p. 73).

SCOTCH-/STONE ['skotʃ]/[stoun]

The small, flat stone used for throwing in the game of (hop)scotch.

Ro G, Do J, Ma C, Ja E, Sa J.

## SHOE THE WHITE HORSE ['ʃu: ðΛ wʌit 'ho:s]

"Two or three boys would line themselves against the wall downwards, and we'd just jump on the backs of them... One boy would stand against the wall and he'd have his head here. He used to be a kind of buffer. He'd have his head against the wall and he'd have a line of three or four boys [bending down behind him]. And you'd - if you could leap over one boy onto the first boy that was against the wall - of a house actually - well then that was the game: who could leap over the most bodies... and then they... extend another one if you could do it."

(Id G)

Id G.

Version of HI JIMMY KNACKER, described by the Opies (CGSP, pp. 255-261) though, it appears, without the element of the second team all jumping on the backs of the first team at one time with the purpose of collapsing them. The Opies say of the game, it "is in fact remarkable not only for being played throughout Britain, but also for the almost royal burden of names it bears..."

The earliest account of the game, which is in School Boys' Diversions, 1820, under 'Leap Frog' is not satisfactory. But it is adequately described in the fourth ed. of The Boys' Own Book, 1829, p. 23, under 'Saddle my Nag'." 'Shoe the White Horse' is not one of the many names recorded by the Opies.

## SKIPPING pr. ppl. ['skɪpɪŋ]

Very popular game among the girls.

Do J, Su J, Sa J, Ma P, Ja E, Ed J, Ro G, Bl G, Li W.

NOTE: It is, of course, a game that spans the generations. The older informants were unable to remember the details of their skipping games. It fell to the daughter of Su J and De J to provide two rhymes which she currently uses:

1. Rhubarb, Custard, Apple Tart,  
What is the name of your sweetheart?

And then you go A, B, C, and whichever one you land on, the ones turning the rope got to pick a boy [with that initial].

2. I'm a little bubble car  
Number Forty-Eight  
I turned round the corner

and then you got to go out of the rope, and you got to go all the way round and jump back in...and then once you finished you got to land like that, so the rope goes in between your legs [on the words "And jammed on the brakes"].

Neither of these rhymes are recorded by the Opies, but versions of both are recorded by Anne McGill (A.C. Gladwell) during her investigation of the lore and language of schoolchildren in Monmouthshire (Patterns in Distribution: An Intensive Study of Dialect and Tradition,

in Rural and Industrial Monmouthshire, see bibliography).

1. A variation beginning 'Blackcurrant, Redcurrant, Strawberry tart' was recorded from Pandy; and 2. from Abergavenny, Pandy, Marshfield and Abersychan.

#### SPUDS [spʌdz]

'Dip' to choose who was to be 'on it'. Children stood in a line or circle with their hands clenched in fists held up in front of them. They were gradually eliminated, one fist at a time with the rhyme: "One potato, two potato, three potato, four, five potato, six potato, seven potato, more" ('potato' always pronounced [pʌ'te:tʌ]). The last one left with one fist was 'on it'. Sometimes also known as FISTS.

Su J.

The Opies record counting 'spuds' or 'fists' and cite the same rhyme (CGSP, pp. 54-57). They make this comment on the process:

"Not infrequently children feel that the process of dipping is fairer - which means less likely to go against them - if each player counts as two, and his hands are counted, rather than his person..."

This system increases the suspense, makes more of a game of finding out who is to be on, leaves less time for playing the chosen game, and - such love has the younger part of mankind for complicating a

ritual - is resorted to more often than ordinary dipping. 'One potato, two potato' has been in constant use throughout the 20th C; it is much employed in America; and counting fists is also standard practice in many European countries..." (pp. 54-55).

TAIWAN [tʌi'wa:n]

Type of marble.

Son of Su J and De J.

Name poss. from country of origin.

TAMP v. [tamp]

To bounce (of a ball) or to hit (e.g. in 'Catty and Dog', one stick is used to 'tamp' the other) (cf. DAP v.)

Al M, Ro G, Id G, Do J, De J, Su J, Ma P, Ma S, Sa J,  
Na Y, Al T.

NOTE: Sad to say, the younger generation, the children of De J and Su J, had never heard of TAMP but would only use BOUNCE.

SAWD records TAMP from D/Cth 11; P/Bre 5/7, Gw 3/5-7/9-10, M Gmg, 9-16, S Gmg 17-21.

SED records at Mon 2/4-5.

## TAW [tɔ:]

Favourite marble, (button, etc.)

Ge V, Do J.

The Opies quote from The Boys' Own Book, 1829, (pp. 10-11) which describes a game of 'The Conqueror', played often with conkers, more rarely with snail-shells, but in this case with marbles:

A strong marble will frequently break, or conquer, fifty or a hundred others; where this game is much played, a taw that has become the conqueror of a considerable number is very much prized...

(quoted CGSP, p. 232).

## TOUCH [tʌtʃ]

Simple chasing game. According to Is E, as soon as the chaser caught someone he would shout 'touch!' Su J also notes a variant, OFF GROUND TOUCH, where a player could only be caught if not 'off ground'.

Do J, Ja E, Is E, Su J, Bl G, Ma S.

According to the Opies, "This was the standard name in juvenile books of games in the 19th C. e.g. The Boys' Own Book, 4th ed., 1829, p. 24... The chief areas for 'Touch' in the present day are South Wales, Bristol, Somerset, Dorset, the New Forest and parts of East Anglia."

(CGSP, pp. 65-68).

## TRICKSY BARS ['triksi ba:z]

Performing hand-stands up against a wall.

Bl G.

SAWD records TRIC Y WAL 'a somersault', at D/Cth 12.

## TWO BALLS ['tu: bo:lz]

A game played by one person juggling, bouncing and throwing two balls at one time, often against a wall.

Li W, Su J.

NOTE: Ro G recalls a rhyme she used to use whilst playing ball:

Number one, eat a bun,  
Throw your leg over.  
Now you're married you must obey,  
Throw your leg over once.

('Your' was pronounced ['juwʌ] in 1.2 and [jə] in 1.4).

The ball was thrown under a cocked leg at the instruction to 'throw your leg over'.

## WHIP AND TOP [wɪp ʌn tɔp]

Game of keeping a top spinning by using a small whip.

Al M, Al T, Ma C, Ja E, Li W, Bl G, Ma S.

D. GENERAL

ACH-Y-FI int. [ax A 'vi:]

Exclamation of disgust.

Ma C, Ka L.

SAWD records at Gw: Newport, W Gmg 3.

EDD records the phrase ACH UPON YOU from D/Pem.

ANYROAD conj. ['eniro:d]

Anyway.

Ge V.

No definite record found elsewhere, but thought also to be found in Northern England. Presumably a variation based on the shared meaning of 'road' and 'way'.

AYE int. [ai:]

Affirmative response: Yes.

Al M, Te S, Al W, Em L, Li W, Is E.

OED records as "common dialectally".

BEFORETIMES adv. [bi'fo:tʌimz]

In the past, at an earlier period.

Al M.

OED records BEFORETIMES as obsol.

BEFORE (OE beforan) + TIME (OE tim) + genitival —S. ~~~

## BLACK PATS/-PADS pl. ['blak pats/-padz]

Black beetles, found underground and often brought home  
in the working-clothes.

[-pats] Ma C, Is E, Ja E, Al W, Wi L, Te S, Bi G, Mr I.

[-padz] Ka L.

SAWD records BLACK PAD ~ BLACK PAT 1. a large black fly  
or beetle at D/Cth 8/10-12; and 2. a small domestic  
beetle at D/Cth 5 (the PAT form is recorded only at  
D/Cth 5).

EDD records BLACK COCKS from wY.

## CLODGES pl. ['klodʒɪz]

Lumps of turf.

Al M, Ro G, Ma S.

EDD records CLODGE 'a lump of clay' from K, but also  
CLODGY adj. in sense of 'stiff, sticky, clinging, clayey,  
muddy' from Gl, K, D, Co.

## 1. CWTSH n.+ v. [kətʃ]

Cuddle, as in the phrases, "Come and have a cwtsh" or,  
"Come here, Mammy cwtsh you." Usually used when speaking  
to a child.

Al M, Do J, Ma C, Ma P, Is E, Na Y, De J, Su J, Ed J,  
Ma S, Ja E, Al T, Sa J.

SAWD records CWTSH 'to cuddle up' at Gw 1.

LGW records cwtcio ~ cwtsied at 62-62/70/77/79/161,  
hence it is found chiefly in the Dyfi basin.

## 2. CWTSH n. + v. [kətʃ]

To hide, as in the phrase, "Better cwtsh that now or else your father'll see it." Also (as a noun) the nickname of Wattstown, so called because "It's so tucked into the valley that you can't see it very clearly." (Id G).

Al M, Id G, Su J, Is E, Ja E, Al T, Ma P.

SAWD records CWTSH 'to hide' at Gw 9/12, also Newport.

## DEEPING pr. ppl. ['di:pɪŋ]

Inclining downwards, becoming deeper, (opposite of rising).

Te S.

Participle formed on the adj. 'deep' (OE dēop) rather than the v. 'deepen'.

## DER excl. ['dər:]

Has same force as "Well!" (cf. DUW).

Al M, Ge V, Ka L.

DERE! command ['dərə]

Come here, as in the phrase, "Dere now, cwtsh now."  
(Sa J.).

Sa J.

SAWD records DERE, DERE! as a call to cows to come in from the field at M Gmg 13.

Welsh dere come!

DIP IN v. [dɪp ɪn]

To give up, finish with.

Te S.

DUW excl. [djuː]

God! but carrying milder force than the English, and often repeated in the same phrase: "Duw, Duw".

Al M, Ge V, Ka L, Em L, Wi L, Al W, Te S.

Welsh Duw God.

## 1. GAMBO ['gambo]

Farm cart used during hay-making.

Al M, Ma S, Is E.

SAWD records GAMBO 1. 'a four-wheeled vehicle with a low flat top' aT D/Cdg 4; P/Rdn 1/5, P/Bre 3/5-7, Gw 1/10/

12, W Gmg 1-2/5-6, M Gmg 9/12-13/15; 2. a 'farmcart' at P/Rn 3/5-6, P/Bre 5-6, Gw 2, W Gmg 3, M Gmg 12. (No distinction appears to be made between the two meanings at P/Rdn 5, P/Bre 5-6, W Gmg 12); and 3. as 'a wagon with no sides' at P/Rdn 6, P/Bre 1/3, Gw 1.

SED records GAMBO 'a four-wheeled vehicle with a low flat top' at Sa 9-11, Mon 1/4, Gl 3(?)

Welsh gambo a dray. OED records as "Monmouthshire dialect" in sense 'a kind of sledge' from 1836.

## 2. GAMBO ['gambo]

Children's racing cart: "...anything that was rickety [and on wheels] was called a gambo." (Al M).

Al M.

Meaning transferred from GAMBO 1.

## GLORENS pl. ['glo:rənz]

The original inhabitants of the Rhondda.

Ma S.

Name taken from the Gloryen tribe which originally lived in the area now called the Rhondda (see also Ch.2 for early history of Rhondda).

GOT pa. ppl. [got]

Conceived, as in the phrase "[We] weren't much concerned how pigs were got." (Al M).

Al M.

EDD gives GET 'to beget' from Ayrshire, Nb, Y, Ch, L.

After ON geta. From 13th C. in sense 'to procreate'.

GRASS-ROOTS [gra:s 'ruts]

The level where ordinary people are; people working locally rather than in a national bureaucracy.

Ge V.

No record in OED, but Longman Dictionary of the English Language (Essex, 1984) gives "Society at the local level as distinguished from the centres of political leadership." Use of the phrase reflects Ge V's political involvement.

MUN vocative [mʌn]

From 'man', but never used in nominative or accusative cases. Used as a 'tag', as in "It was pitiful, mun." (Al W).

Te S, Al W, Em L.

More Talk Tidy records as 'Used in speaking to a male', however I was addressed as 'mun' during the course of the interviews!

MUSH [məʃ]

Uncomplimentary form of address. Usually used in vocative case rather than the nominative or accusative like MUN above.

Su J.

OED records MUSH "Man, chap; hence also used as a term of address." Slang. Origin uncertain, though Partridge (DSUE) connects it with the Services.

'NA FE [na've:]

'There it is', 'That's it.'

Ge V.

Welsh Dyna fe There it is.

NO WAY excl. ['nɔu 'wei]

Emphatic form of 'no', with equal emphasis on both words.

Ro G.

NOTE: Ro G puts the phrase into the mouth of her father in one of her stories, and then corrects herself: "[My father] didn't say 'no way'. It's a catchphrase we use today." 'No way' is a fairly recent innovation which

prob. reflects Ro G's continuing political involvement.  
(cf. GRASS-ROOTS with Ge V).

No record in OED, but Partridge (DSUE) records as colloq. adopted c. 1974 from U.S. "Nigel Dempster in Telegraph Sunday magazine (11/3/79) listed it among terms on their way 'out' in society, but it continues, 1983, to be a vogue phrase in other circles."

#### ON APPRO prep. + n. [on 'apro']

On credit: to have something 'on appro' was to have it on a 'buy now, pay later' scheme (cf. ON TICK).

Ro G, Id G.

Partridge (DSUE) records it as a colloq. abbreviation of 'on approval' from c. 1870. However, the Rhondda meaning has shifted slightly from this original, with its meaning that something has been received on the understanding that it can be sent back if it doesn't suit.

#### ON THE HEARTH adj. phr. of place [on ðə 'ha:θ]

At home.

Translation of Welsh aelwyd which has two meanings:

1. home, dwelling.
2. fire-place, hearth. Here the second meaning is taken to represent the first.

ON TICK prep. + n. [on 'tɪk]

On credit (cf. ON APPRO)

Ro G.

OED records as colloq. or sl. from 1642. Apparently an abbreviation of 'on the ticket'. "Chronology forbids derivation from TICK v. ('to mark off with a tick') or TICK n. ('a small dot or dash') which have sometimes been conjectured.

PHYSIC gen. ['fɪz:ɪk]

Tonic, medicine.

Ka L.

OED records PHYSIC in sense of 'medicine' as chiefly colloq.

ME fisike adoption of OF fisique 'medicine'.

PLWYF [pləi:v]

Social Security benefit.

Ma S.

Welsh plwyf parish.

1. POTCH v. [potʃ]

To mess or dabble with something.

Al M.

Recorded by Talk Tidy. Poss. linked with POACH v. (var. POTCH), recorded by EDD, 'to do any kind of work in a liquid or semi-liquid substance in a dirty, awkward manner', hence POTCHING ppl. adj. 'awkward and dirty at work', from Scot. However, more likely link to Welsh ponsio to bungle, to muddle. (cf. POTCH 'a mixture of swede and potato' A(iii) above).

2. POTCH gen. [potʃ]

Fuss, trouble, as in the sentence "rather than have all that potch, they would sell it off cheap" (Bl G).

Bl G.

Recorded by Talk Tidy. Prob. linked to POTCH 1. above.

REARED (UP) pa. ppl. (+ prep) [re:d Ap]

Brought up (of people, not animals).

Bl G, Bi G, Wi L, Ma S, Al M, Ma C.

Dial. pronunciation and [+ prep] form of REAR [ri ə] from OE rāran

SCRAMB v. [skram]

To scratch (of a cat).

Bl G, Bi G, Ma C, Su J.

SAWD records SCRAMB v. at P/Bre 6, Gw 6/9/12 also Newport, W Gmg 1-3/6, M Gmg 13/16-17, S Gmg 19-21. Also SCRAMB n. 'a scratch from the claws of a cat' at D/Cth 11.

EDD records SCRAMB v. from D.

1. SHOULD/2. —N'T pa. t. [ʃəd/ —nt]

1. was/were allowed to, as in the phrase "Nobody should touch it" (Na Y).
2. was/were not allowed, as in the phrase, "You shouldn't play on Sundays" (i.e. were not allowed to play) (Al M).

[ʃəd] Na Y, Al M.

[ʃədn't] Al M, Ka L, Ma P, Bl G, Wi L, Ma S.

OED records SHOULD as obsol. in sense of carrying more force ('were obliged to', 'must') than the usual conditional sense.

OE sceolde should.

SKREG [skrɛg]

The weakest pig in the litter.

Al M.

No record of this word found elsewhere.

Poss. variant of SCRAG "a lean person or animal (OED) or formed on Welsh sgrech, scream, in the sense 'the one that screams a lot'.

SPONDULICS gen. [spɒn'djuːlɪks]

Money, cash.

Ma P.

OED records as sl., of fanciful formation, orig. U.S.

TAMPING DOWN pr. ppl. + pre. ['tampɪŋ dʌn]

Raining very heavily.

Ma P.

Formed on TAMP v. 'to bounce' (cf. TAMP, C above) in the sense that the rain is coming down so heavily it's bouncing off the ground.

TIGHT adj. [tAɪt]

In short supply (of money).

B1 G.

EDD records TIGHT from Sc, Y, Db, Wa, So.

OED records as dial. or sl. From OE þiht 'firm, solid'.

## TOOTY/TOOPY DOWN v. + prep. ['təti/'təpi dʌn]

To squat down on one's haunches.

['təti] Al M, Ja E, Na Y, Ro G, Id G, Sa J, Do J, Ma C,  
Al T, Ma P, Bl G, Ed J.

['təpi] Li W, Su J.

NOTE: Ed J uses Welsh lawr in place of DOWN, hence ['tət laur].

SAWD records TOOTY DOWN at W Gmg 3, M Gmg 9/13-14/17,  
S Gmg 20. Also TOOPY DOWN at S Gmg 21.

## TWLL [təɿ]

A very scruffy, dirty place. A 'dump' or 'hole', as in  
the phrase, "There's a twll of a place." (Ma C).

Ma C, Ma P, Ja E, Bl G.

NOTE: Sa J says that she would use the phrase 'twll y le' when speaking Welsh, thus showing the same metaphorical use of twll hole. However, it is interesting that none of those who said they would use twll in their English speech were Welsh-speakers.

Recorded in same sense in Talk Tidy.

Metaphorical use of Welsh twll hole.

WAP IN v.+ prep. [wɒp ɪn]

Jump in, as in the sentence, 'I used to wap in [the bath] with him'. (Ma C.).

Ma C.

OED records WAP in poss. connected senses of 'to throw quickly or with violence' (dial.) and TO WAP OFF 'to pull roughly' (obsol.).

**COMMUNITY AND COAL:  
AN INVESTIGATION  
OF THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE DIALECT OF  
THE RHONDDA VALLEYS, MID GLAMORGAN**

by

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**VOLUME II**

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**PART III:**

**COAL**

## CHAPTER 9

### THE WORK AND LIFE OF THE COLLERY

Along with farming and inshore fishing, coal-mining seems to me linguistically the most interesting of our industries. But whereas the first two continue on a fairly steady course, more and more pits are closing at an ever-increasing rate. At present, mining language is still vigorous and often closely attached to particular areas, and it will be some time before its terms die out altogether from the speech of the older or even younger generation. Nevertheless, the writing is on the wall, and so, in this rapidly changing world, it would well repay the linguist to study coal-mining language while he may still do so.'

With the paragraph above, Peter Wright concludes an account of his investigation of the language of coal-mining in Great Britain. While asserting the linguistic value of coal-mining language, he voices concern for its future and draws attention to the rapid decline in the coal industry. Nowhere is this decline more obvious than in South Wales. What used to be a major coal-field has now been officially re-classified as merely a group of pits. However, the method of coal-mining associated with the language that was the subject of Wright's investigation and, subsequently, of the present investigation, had already been overtaken by mechanisation before pit closures reached their current level. The skills of the collier in building and making safe his own place, choosing the right 'mandrel'\*# for undercutting the coal, 'racing'\* the 'dram'\* and putting up posts\*, have all disappeared. In their place are machine cutters, conveyor belts and hydraulic

roof supports. Of course, this mechanisation has led to a great improvement in working conditions and safety for the miner and, for this reason, it is to be welcomed. However, from the linguist's point of view, it has meant that a whole range of kinds of work has disappeared, and with it the associated language. Present-day miners no longer learn how to dress\* the coal. Stalls\*, drams, horses and pairs of timber\* are things of the past. The older miners, who have retired from such work, are getting fewer and the urgency to record their experiences - the way they talk about their work - is highlighted by the fact that a number of informants for the investigation have died since recordings were made. It was my purpose to try to capture something of the vitality and richness of their language before it was lost for ever.

Chapter 10 will present a more detailed examination of individual words and phrases, providing definitions; etymologies and distributions where they are available. However, it is my intention in this present chapter to set those words and phrases in their functional and linguistic contexts: to present them as they are used in describing the work of the pit and to present them as units in the extended speech-patterns of the informants. The eloquence and vividness of the language used by the informants impressed me greatly. Their descriptions of the many aspects of their work were very detailed, but did not only reveal the detail of the work itself. They also revealed the way they felt about and reacted to the harsh conditions of life underground, both the natural hazards and those imposed by the mine-owners. Their

language shows the pride that they took in their skill in extracting coal in the face of gas, roof-falls, water and working-places only three feet in height; it shows their perception of how they and their work were valued by the mine-owners; and, possibly the greatest triumph over the terrible conditions, it shows the tremendous humour with which they defused potentially explosive situations - both literally and metaphorically! To quote Peter Wright again:

One feels that one is not just collecting words but learning more important matters impossible to convey without speech, because the word patterns have always to be related to the society using them. (Ibid)

In the extracts from my transcriptions of interviews with informants which follow, I hope both to explain certain mining techniques and situations, and to reflect something of the life of the pit and its language, which goes beyond an understanding of the individual word or phrase.

The stories of the informants are very similar. Along with many others of their respective generations, they started work in the pits at the age of fourteen, because, "There was only the pits, it was...they had to go to the pits. They couldn't go nowhere else." (Al W). Each one worked first as a collier-boy\*, helping a collier\*, often his father, to work his stall. Most of them eventually worked their own stalls. Some also moved on to other jobs at different stages - timber-man\*, haulier\*, fireman\*, union official - but there are large areas of common experience, and

accounts often differ only in the amount of detail given about a particular aspect of work.

The characteristic mark of the colliery above ground was the winding-gear: the two giant pit-wheels which raised and lowered the carriage deep into the ground. Around the winding-gear was a sprawl of buildings which housed the offices, lamp-room, check-weighing machinery, washery and saw-mill. In later years these would have also included the canteen and pit-head baths. Stretching out from the pit-head would have been an aerial, taking buckets of waste up to the slag-heap or tip\*. However, these outward indications of the colliery's activities were only one small part of a huge system which often stretched out for miles underground. It was here that the main activity of the colliery took place and the majority of mineworkers were employed.

The pit was entered via the main shaft, in the pit-carriage or cage\*:

You'd say 'cage' if you was a gang of boys together, but the proper name was pit-carriage. (Wi L).

There were two cages, side by side in the shaft, which were raised and lowered on the winding gear, "One would go up and one would go down - two cages, one each side." (Wa B). The haulage engine that turned the wheels of the winding gear was operated by the winder\*, who let the cages up and down in response to signals from the banksman\* and hitcher\*:

Now the banksman was the man who was letting the people down in the carriage on the bank.\* Call him the banksman because he was on the bank... He'd be responsible for fixing the gate

on the carriage and giving the signal from himself to the winder that everything was right. Then he'd press a button and then the fans - fans we used to call them, fans. They used to be kind of an automatic levers, that when the carriage would come up the pit, like, see, the fans would come out and the cage would be resting on the fans, see. Then when he'd pull his brake or press his button, the banksman, these things would come out and she'd be suspended then on the rope. Then the winder would let her down, see, let her down... On the bottom then, receiving you, was the hitcher. He's the man that'd be signalling to the banksman up on the automatic - he'd be signalling to the banksman that everything was right down below. (Ge V)

They [the hitchers] got electric signals now, but, of course, it used to be hand signals before then. Pull a wire and clang, clang, clang. Three for men like, you know... There's a code of signals for everything. (Al W)

The banksman, hitcher and winder would be working all through the shift, letting men up and down at the beginning and end of the shift and full and empty drams in between. Anything that had to go up or down the pit was transported in the carriage, including the horses. The horses lived in stables below ground for the greater part of the time, but were brought to the surface on special occasions:

I remember one day, at the end of the 1926 strike - we went on strike, you see. They rose the horses, put them in the top stable. They rose them. Now when the strike finished - I was a bugger for horses, see, I loved a horse - and under this manager, Peter Maude his name was, he asked us if we'd take the horses to the pit for them to go back down like, ready for the men when they'd start work after the strike. One of the horses, see, lifted the door, the door you know, of the carriage,

and then he fell out, halfway down. He was killed. (Em L)

It is the only horse that I ever heard fell out of the carriage, although there was a story of a man falling into the sump\*, the void at the bottom of the shaft, below the level of the pit-bottom\*, into which water drained. Mercifully, he survived, but was known thereafter as Tom the Diver.

Once safely at the pit-bottom the miner would find out where he was working:

...when you go underground they, you go to see the fireman\*. He will test your lamp, and if you didn't have a regular place, he would tell you where to go. He was in charge of where you were. You was in the same district\* all the time. He'd tell you, "Well, you go to John Jones's stall. You do the packing there."...

(Wi L)

As more and more coal was worked, roadways would be driven further and further from the pit-bottom. Each pit would have a complicated network of roadways which were divided into large areas called districts. They were worked at different levels, depending on the particular seam of coal that was being excavated. The seams had different names:

I worked in a seam called the "Red Vein". I worked in a seam called the "Bute". But it's company names, not our names...we had to call them as they were, see. The older colliers used to say, "Oh well, I'm in the four foot," or "the five foot." (Wi L)

"Four foot" here referred to the thickness of coal in the seam, which would also then dictate the height of the working-

place. This was usually just a little higher than the thickness of coal.

Work on a seam at one level would be connected to work on a seam at a different level by means of a sloping passage known as a drift\*. The roadways leading out from the main haulage road to the pit-bottom were known as headings\* and it was off these that the collier would work, building his own stall:

You see, you're getting into a new piece of coal and you used to drive the level-heading\*, they used to call it - a level-heading. Like you was going up the street, you see, and now, well let's say you're in the main road in Treorchy - you know Treorchy, don't you? - and then you'd get them roads, take turning off of it, like Duffryn Street, like Glyncoili Road, off the main road. Then you'd get the roads going up to Duffryn Street and Stuart Street, isn't it... Heading they used to call them, see. And then you'd drive that on, and about, oh, every ten yards or so, you'd turn another stall as they call, like what I started working. And that would go on for a length of, till there was sometimes ten or twelve stalls off the one heading. When that got a long way in, they'd turn another heading and cut them off, d'you see, and then do the same thing again. (Te S)

There was continuous movement of traffic along the roadways. The colliers in their stalls had to be supplied with empty trucks or drams which they would fill with coal, and the full drams had then to be returned\* to the top of the pit for the coal to be sorted and washed. The drams were taken to and from the stalls individually by the hauliers working with a horse. The haulier would take the dram to a wide part of the main haulage roadway called a parting\*, where he would shackle five or six drams

together to form a journey\*. The journeys would then be pulled to pit-bottom by a system of engines:

The haulier was bringing the coal from the stalls to the parting, then we used to call it. It was a place where the main haulage - they used to run the empties in, see. They'd bring the empties from the pit-bottom. The haulier would go down there, hitch onto empty dram and take it into the stall and bring the coal back after it's filled. And then he'd hitch them all together, about six...drams together, and then put the main haulage rope on it. (Wi L)

The hauliers worked under the Gaffer Haulier\*, who was in overall charge of the horses and men. However, under him, one of the hauliers would be in charge of deciding which haulier should service which stall and in what order:

Now the Gaffer Haulier, you may say, had sixty, seventy men working in a district - maybe a hundred men in a district. And you had, say, twelve horses or twenty horses working in that pit...so if you had twenty hauliers, you'd have a haulier for each horse... Of these twenty hauliers, see, you'd have one chosen, see. He was regarded as the senior man for the purposes of sharing the turn. Now, sharing the turn, see, he'd...parade around in the morning, to see who'd...fill his dram first, d'you see. And then he'd say, "Well, John Morgan, we'll change him first."...And he'd be responsible for telling the boys...who to change first and who to change second. (Ge V)

The horses spent most of their life underground, living in stables close to the pit-bottom. Here they were cared for by ostlers\*.

They used to go to their work about five o'clock in the morning, to groom these horses, and to give them some drink and some food. And then they'd go back to see their horses after

they'd [the hauliers] bring them in about half-past one in the afternoon. (Wa B)

However, it was the hauliers who looked after them during the day, while they were working:

- Now the hardest work, I would say, is driving ... because you was responsible to the horse, and you was responsible to get the coal out... You had to dress the horse, watch that the horse was looked after...see the horse wasn't injured in any way...

- You used to take sugar one time for your horse in work, didn't you?

- Take 'tatoes, peelings... But you be nasty with him, he'd be nasty with you too... I seen a fellow nasty to a horse, but I seen that horse turn on him with his teeth, going for him. (Em L and Ka L)

...the hauliers, they did think a lot of their horses. They weren't cruel. You'd get one, perhaps, that would be cruel to his horse, but biggest part of them was - they loved the old horses, 'cause they knew they had to work hard.... The horses would come out in the morning, they'd go in and they'd tack him and fill his feed-bag full of food. Give him a good drink on the level. And he'd come in and he'd work all day long like that. He'd have about twenty minutes whifft while we were having food, and they'd take him back to the stables. And then the afternoon shift'd be coming in and perhaps one of the horses was ill, or isn't enough horses. There the poor old horse would be going out for another shift, you see. And plenty, the hauliers used to complain. They wouldn't like their horse to do that, you see. But they had no say in it at that time. (Te S)

The horses were regarded with a great deal of genuine affection, and the informants willingly recognised their important role in the smooth running of the pit. However, more than once,

the opinion was expressed that, in the eyes of the mine-owners, the horses were more important than the men themselves:

...horses in them days were more important than men. They could have plenty of men in them days, because there was five men waiting for one man's job in them days, wasn't it? And as far as a horse was concerned, they had to buy a horse. You could have a man for nothing from the top of the pit. (Al W)

Any anger in this statement is directed to the company, not the horses.

The haulier was responsible for putting the tack on the horse, and for hitching it to the dray:

There was the collar around his neck. You couldn't put the collar straight on. You had to turn the collar upside-down, put it on his head and turn it the other way, so that the narrow end of the collar would be in the front... You had a chain on the collar and a hook, so not for the collar to be slack. You used to put the hook in one of the links of the chain and pull it tight, and then pull the link down so that it would be locked. Then you had the hames\*. The hames was leading from the top of the collar back... (Wi L)

The shaft\* now, was the thing that goes over the horse. It was built like a half-circle ...this...round, you see, on the bottom, so it was fitting the horse on his backside. (Te S)

The shaft was connected to the hames by chains or tugs\*, and fastened around the horse with straps.

Once you had the shaft on, they had a hole, see, in the shaft at the back end. It was square, hole see, like that. Then what they call the gun\*, it would fit into that, got me? ...so that's got to hitch into a dray and it'd be hitching into that shaft. (Em L)

There's always been a argument: do a horse pull underground or shove? Do he pull the dray, or

do the dram shove him and then he pulls? There used to be a horse in the Dare, and he was far better breasting the dram. That means, instead of going in the part where you put the gun on he'd go at the back end of the dram and put the collar against the dram and shove it all the way. (Wi L)

There were two methods of controlling the speed and movement of the drams. The bar-hook\* was a long piece of metal, forked at the end, that hung from the back of the dram to stop it rolling backwards:

If a horse was bringing the dram out, or something like that, they'd have then, at the back of the dram, what they call a bar-hook, in case the horse couldn't pull the dram, then it would go back on the bar-hook... It would go in between the sleepers. It would stop the dram.

(Al W)

The speed of the dram could also be controlled by a stick, about 2 feet 6 inches in length and pointed at both ends, called a sprag\*. In the cage, these might be used to prevent any movement from the dram, but in the roadways they were often used to check the speed of the dram when it was going downhill. The sprag was put through the spokes in the wheel of the dram:

If you was going downhill with a horse, you'd have to put something in the wheel because...if you're going downhill anywhere with something ...it would pick up speed... So by putting a sprag in, it would control the dram. Instead of it running toward the horse, the horse'll have to pull a bit. (Em L)

The haulier's work was much heavier and more dangerous than might at first be apparent. If the dram came off the rails the haulier would have to lift it back on, or use his body to guide the

movement of the dram on a bend. The only protective clothing he would have would be a piece of leather over his lower back:

He had a pisiyn, pisiyn tin\*. Yes, yes, yes. That was a sort of leather, leather square like ... There was two...slits in it and that would slip on his belt... That was when the dram was going off the road, he would lift, see. They'd lift it. And of course, when he was going around turns, see, he had to have his back to the gun like that and his feet, to keep the dram going on to the turn. (Te S)

Sometimes the haulier might ride on the dram, but such opportunities were limited:

If it was a safe place, well he would ride on the drams. But if not, he would either be behind the dram - that's why so many hauliers had silicosis, it was the dust from the horses' hooves and the wheels of the dram - other times, it all depends if the road is not so good, he'd walk in front to see that the rails are cleared and all that... Stones used to fall from the side and they'd land on the rail. Well that would mean that if the haulier didn't see it, it would knock the dram off the rails, so he'd have to lift the dram on. (Wi L)

Once the individual drams had been shackled together to form a journey, the rider would take over from the haulier to get the drams to the pit-bottom. The journey would be pulled by one, or even a series of stationary haulage engines:

See, a rider underground is not a haulier. A haulier is a man with a horse. The rider is the man with the main journey connected to the ropes. And running along the sides there used to be two sets of wires going to the engine house, got it? Now, the rider, he would have what they call a knocker\*. That's a piece of iron with a sharp edge on it. Now he used to connect the bottom of his knocker, see, just put it against the wire like that, and then put the saw edge on and rub, got it? And the bell in the engine house would ring once. If he does it twice, it'll ring twice... See, that

was the signal between the engine-man and the rider...one to stop, two to start, three to use the other part of the rope to pull the journey back. Two to pull her towards the pit where he was. He started the engine and the drums would go, and the rope would go around the drums.

(Wi L)

Perhaps they'd have a smaller engine a way, you know, a good while away, good length away, and that would pull it now to the big parting. And then these big engines would come in on the pit-bottom, and take twenty or thirty drams out at a time, you see. It was all from the little one to the big one. (Te S)

The rider would bring the journey to the pit-bottom. Then what we call the hitcher would take on then. He'd, he'd slack them down, you see. That's where a lot of sprags was used, see. And they'd have, they'd run them into the cage and the empties would go out the other side, get bumped and out the other side of the cage. (Te S)

The full drams were taken to the top of the pit to be weighed by the check-weigher and then sorted, as the empty drams were returned to the bottom to be sent out to be filled once again. However, it was not just coal that was transported in the journeys. At the beginning and end of the shift, the men might ride in the drams to take them some of the way from the pit-bottom to their own stall. This journey was sometimes called a man-riding journey\*, sometimes a mail\*:

I went into the four feet [seam] and we used to, that was a long way in. Then we used to sit in the journey to go the first part of it... Yes, we'd sit cross-legs in the, in the drams, you see. He'd sit on my legs, and I'd be sitting on his legs. And there'd be six of you in a dram... And sometimes...say you'd have a dram in [to fill] last thing and you'd lose the mail - they used to call it the mail, you see, "Catch the mail" - well sometimes you'd come up top of this old drift, and you'd see

the mail going off, like, and you'd have to walk about a mile out after that again. (Te S)

A journey of iron trucks, each carrying around a ton of coal, was a formidable thing to meet, travelling at speed along a roadway that was only just wide enough to take it:

On the main haulage road they used to cut in about four foot and...the height of about five feet. Manholes\* we used to call them, man-holes. Well now, on the journey that's fastened to the main rope, there used to be a lamp. It was a red lamp, see, and you'd see it coming...you would know instantly because the rope would be moving. And then there was rollers for the rope to run on, and we'd know which way the rollers was running. So we'd know, "Well, the journey's coming from that end, 'cause the roller's running that way", see...and you'd get into a man-hole to let it pass. 'Course, there's hundreds of men have been killed through knocked down with a journey. (Wi L)

We had a little boy...he was a little boy then, started with his father. And we used to run out to, wouldn't bother about the mail or anything, or try to get out before it, see. And then the big journey, the last journey of coal would be coming, or the empties coming back in, you see. And he was running out there one Saturday, he run into a journey and he couldn't get in a man-hole quick enough. They had to pick him up in pieces, aye, aye. And he wasn't the only one... (Te S)

Life underground must have been quite terrifying for a young boy going down for the first time. In the early days of coal-mining in the Rhondda, door-boys\*, who might be as young as eight, were employed to sit in the dark and open and close the brattice doors, which regulated the air flow, for drams and journeys to pass by. By the time my informants started work this practice had stopped. New regulations stipulated that a boy could

not start work before the age of fourteen. When he did start work it was usually as a collier-boy, helping the collier in his stall. The collier cut the coal, while his helper filled the waiting dram:

[My father] was the collier and I was the boy  
...It was he had the the stall and I was the boy. Now we wasn't allowed when I was a boy, to put coal in the dram with a shovel, because of the waste...we had what they term a curling box\*. It's a piece of tin, raised on three sides, and you used to shove that into the coal after your father, after your boss, would loosen the coal, and then you'd carry that back to the dram and then you'd tip it in the dram.

(Wi L)

You filled [the dram] with a box, a curling box ...scooping it in with your hands. Any muck in it, you threw it in the gob\* behind you, with a shovel. (Bi G)

It was a process that might, of itself, be fraught with danger:

...many times I know boys have been cut with pieces of roof coming down on their hands on the edge of the box, you know. Oh, loads of people have lost their fingers, in them days, loads of people, and more serious accidents than that. Many people have been killed by being caught across the boxes. (Al W)

The dram had first to be filled with coal until it was level - a process some miners called bedding\* the dram. Then the coal was built up on top of the dram:

Now racing\* up, once your dram is level with coal, you used to have lumps, lump coal\*, and you used to stick them on the sides, see, and you'd fill in the centre with the small coal\*. And you'd race, you'd build that wall up, say about two foot, or less if the height is not there, see, and that's what they call racing.

(Wi L)

The large, or lump coal was on a different scale from what the lighter of a fire would consider large:

Sometimes you had to break a lump, which would be about six foot by about eight foot in length. And then you'd break it up because you couldn't lift that into a dram. Course, it may be about four-foot-six thick. But you used to have a wedge and sledge... (Bi G)

Often the job of racing the dram would take the collier and the boy. There was real skill involved:

We'd have one each side [of the curling box] and we'd bring it back now and tip it into the dram, see. And then the dram would get level. (That was before they brought the old bombeys\* in now... bigger they were, see.) And then we used to call, when you get there we'd get the best of the lumps then, and race the dram up as they call it, to put extra tonnage on them, you see... You'd have to watch you didn't go too high, or else...the timber then, the lowest part where the dram would go before he'd reach the pit-bottom, would wipe the lot off. So you had to, and put it pretty solid, because the journey was shaking on the rails and everything else, so you had to be pretty good to get it.

And then, on a Christmas time, of course ...there'd be a competition for the heaviest dram, you see, and the best weight during a certain period... and my father won a goose one year. (Te S)

The dram had to be filled only with good coal:

If you had dirt, stones or something, in your dram of coal you wouldn't be paid for that, because you was paid on the tonnage, got me? Your drams were weighed, but they'd have men going through that coal and if there was any muck in it you wouldn't be paid for it... Suppose there was about two hundredweights of muck, they'd deduct that off your pay. (Em L)

In the early days, conditions were even more severe, and colliers would only be paid for large coal, not small:

In the Parc and Dare one time, you was never paid for small coal... The dram used to come up to the pit, go to the check-weigher\* and then - the small coal was called billy\* and the large coal, see, the lump coal was called large - you was only getting paid for lumps. And in your dram, perhaps your dram would be one ton two, or eighteen hundredweights, well out of that then they used to estimate "Oh well, you've got twelve hundredweights of billy, and you've got eight hundredweights of large. That twelve hundredweights of billy is for the company, not for you." I worked in one seam, well when you pulled the coal out it was like blacking - it was all small. Well they was only paying you a minimum wage. If you had large lumps, you'd chuck the small in the gob\*, in the waste, and you'd fill your dram all lumps. You used to get paid two-and-six for a ton of large. We were paid one time one-and-nine... (Wi L)

The miner...would know what weight was on his drams, 'cause his number was chalked on the dram, see... The check-weighman\* was always an active man in the unions and he was always up on, in the - they had two when we started. There was a billy-check\* and a large-check\*.

(Te S)

The check-weighman might be active in the union, to look out for the interests of the colliers, but it was the company that set the pay and conditions. The majority of the disputes were over payments and it was only after a great struggle that the principle of a minimum wage was accepted. At times the company even asked the miners to work longer hours for less pay. The collier would be paid by the company, depending on how much coal he had sent up in the drams. He was then responsible for buying all the tools he needed for his job:

We had to buy [the curling boxes] ourselves. All tools, all your clothes, and even pay for the powder that you was using for explosives... all that went with nationalisation, thank goodness. (Al W)

The collier was also responsible for paying his boy. The basic wage was set, but a collier might sometimes reward a hard-working boy with a little extra:

If you worked hard with your butty\*, he'd give you, say, about then sixpence perhaps, over your pay...Fourteen shillings [per week] you used to get, and then perhaps he'd give you fourteen and six - and he'd tell you to buy two penn'orth of chalk out of that to mark the drams you see. (Bi G)

It all depends how generous he was. If he was mingy, you know what I mean, mean like, you'd have nothing. If you was working with a pretty generous fellow you might have two shillings, or half-a-crown...that would be real good... Anything extra, that was trumps\*. It was just like saying that the man was coming up trumps like. (Al W)

The relationship between the collier and the boy was important, because the boy was learning all the skills of stall work while he was helping the collier:

...as time went on you learnt how to hew coal yourself. You know. And then you worked your own side. And when you worked your own side, you was responsible for safety of the side of the coal face, you know. (Bi G)

I started as a collier boy and finished as a collier. I could do any job underground, you see, 'cause a miner at them times had to do everything. There was no man laying his road, like they are now, and putting the cogs\*, and putting his timber and securing the roof. He had to do all that his-self..

And to start with you'd have, my dad would cut the coal and I'd carry it back to the dram. And later on, when I was able to - a couple of years after...they used to say, "You can look after your own side now." See, as you was getting older. And when you was, well, when I was eighteen, I had a place of my own. (Te S)

This last account gives some idea of the number of tasks the collier would do, in addition to actually cutting the coal. However, cutting the coal was the ultimate purpose of his job, and it required a great deal of skill:

You would have to muck-in what they call dressing coal, you know. You'd have to prepare the coal. You couldn't just get coal, just like that, you know. You'd have to work it and clean it. (Al W)

Now if you had what we call a [back-] slip\*... if it's facing you now, the bottom would be close to your feet and they'd be falling out like this, away from you, you see...and then you'd have some muck on the top of it, see, and we used to get that off as far as we could. That's what they'd call patching\*. Now if it was the other sort, we called that a face-slip\*, you see, and then you'd sprag that up... We're cutting under the bottom of the slip now, sprag it up with timber to stop that falling suddenly without you having control of it, see. We'd dig a hole here, put the butt of the post\* in the hole and then put that [the other end of the post] against the face and a wedge\* on top of it to tighten it, you see. And then, what we do then, we undercut\* it, you know...

To get your back-slip up you'd have to do quite the reverse to what you was doing in the face-slip. You'd have to get the top part of it. Say you had one piece of the back-slip off, well, before you could rise the other one tidy, you had to take that one right off see, so that they'd rise up. (Te S)

Slips is...coal is in waves, you know...I've known slips up to six foot in thickness. (Al W)

You had three sets [of picks]: you had a big mandrel\*, a medium and a cut-mandrel\*. A cut-mandrel was a small one, where you had to cut the coal, see, on the edge, to loosen the remainder of the coal. You was cutting in lightly on the right-hand side or the left-hand side, and if the seam was running, you'd cut through what we call the slips...And after you cut in with a cut-mandrel, you'd use the other

mandrel then, and then it would come out  
because there's nothing holding it in then.

(Wi L)

In the old days, now...you'd bore a hole first  
into the coal, then when you were in about that  
depth then they'd have two steel wedges.  
They'd put it into the hole, you know, then  
they'd have one big wedge then, bigger than the  
other two, into the middle. And then you'd be  
sledging that into the - to spread and split  
the coal. That's what they called plug and  
feathers\*. They didn't use explosives in those  
days, like...not in coal, like. They wouldn't  
dare. (Al W)

This heavy, difficult work was often made more difficult by  
the conditions in which the work was done:

[Men used to work in] this height. What they  
call two-foot-nine seam. They wouldn't kneel,  
they had to be on their stomachs...It was cruel  
work, you know. Your body was bruised from  
your ankles, from your feet up to your head,  
because you was knocking yourself because it  
was so low. (Em L)

Oh, in some places you have zincs over your  
back to stop you getting wet. And perhaps  
you'd have water up to - over your knees, you  
know. When you was pulling coal it used to wet  
all of you, you know. And you'd be shovelling  
water as well as coal... And you used to get a  
shilling a day then, or five pence as it's  
called now, for water, for working in water,  
you know. And you used to go up at two  
o'clock. You used to be up a half-hour earlier  
because you was wet, see. They used to give  
you a note for you to go up. Perhaps you'd be  
soaking wet, you know, all over like. (Bi G)

All this work was carried out by the light of a safety lamp  
- the Davy lamp\*. It wasn't until later years that the battery-  
operated hat lamps came in. Great care was taken about lighting  
and re-lighting the lamps to avoid an explosion. The lamps were  
issued from and returned to a lamp room on top-pit:

There was a man in the lamp-room - one, two, three. Mostly they were men that had been crippled or disabled by an accident. And their work was to keep the glass of that lamp clean, and the metalwork round it, and to see that the bottom was full of oil. Every morning we'd go then to the window and we'd shout our number and our lamp would be given to us. We'd have this lamp, we go then to the cage which I'm telling you. We'd go down. We'd hand that lamp to our fireman. He'd blow it [to check the flame] then he'd tell us exactly where to go, what to do. (Wa B)

When we were using oil-lamps then, well there was a machine, a lighter as they called it, and that would be in one of those man-holes. Then they'd put the lamp in and turn the handle like that, 'til a spark came. And then that would light the oil-lamp, you know. Perhaps you'd have to borrow, borrow your butty's lamp to come back to the lamp-lighter... We used to work hard sometimes going, just only going back for alight, 'cause perhaps you'd just brought it into the face, and you'd have it up and perhaps the post would collapse and then the lamp would go out again. (Bi G)

They used to light them in a safe place back four or five hundred yards from the face. The only thing I remember about it is that I had to take it back myself, and your butty cursing 'cause you was awkward for putting it out like. But that's all we had in them days was oil-lamps. When the old electric came first, Duw, it was about five or six pounds in weight. Terrible weight it was. (Al W)

Lamps were lit away from the face because of the danger of an explosion. Gas would seep from behind the coal, and the ventilation would not be as effective in the stalls as in the main headings: "The gas in the coal was so active, like, you could hear the gas working in behind the coal." (Em L)

Controlled explosions were, however, a regular occurrence - not to bring down the coal, but to "make height" in the stone roof

so that the horse would have enough room to bring the dram through to the stall. The job of actually setting off the explosion was reserved for the fireman and shot-firer, but it was the collier's job to bore the holes and prepare the shots ready for firing:

The fireman did the blowing, or the shotsman\* ... Well, now, the fireman was responsible for the detonators. He was responsible for seeing that the hole where the powder was going in was clean, see. We used to have a long, thin iron bar. A scraper\* we used to call that. It was the collier's business to see that it was shoved in, pulled out... [The powder monkey's\*] job was to get stone-dust and water, mix the water into the stone-dust and it was like dough, then, dough for making cake or bread. And then he used to cut it up and make little round balls... well that used to be called ramming\*. Well now, when the, when the fireman would come to fire the hole, you would have to leave. You were sent to a place of safety - only the fireman and the powder-monkey there. Well then, the fireman would see, now, whether you'd done your duty of scraping yours out and he'd do the same thing until he thinks it's all clear. Now when it's clear then, he used to put a bit of ramming in, then he used to put the detonator in the stick, then push that in gentle with like a brush-bone, push that into the hole quietly. Then they used to put ramming in again. Now from the detonator there was wires leading out, see. Perhaps there'd be about eight or ten yards of it, see. Then he would block that hole up tight, with the ramming... then he used to have a cable. He used to connect the cable to one end, and he had a machine for blowing, but he used to take this cable a long way back, so that he was in safety. And then they used to shout, "Fire!" when everything was right. And then he'd put the plunger down and the detonator would go. That's what they call "blowing the top". (Wi L)

I've seen us firing-opening a new hard heading\* in number four - I've seen us firing thirty holes at a time like that... You'd have numbers on these discs [on the battery] that one hole'd go off now, and another hole'd go off a couple of seconds after... You imagine now, thirty holes going off, or forty holes going off the same time. And once you turned that handle and

they didn't go off - but wouldn't you be shitting yourself? Excuse my language. Well, wouldn't you be? To go back down to where the holes were, knowing that there's powder in all that lot. I know my heart'd be beating. I seen it happening because one wire wasn't fixed up, see. (Em L)

Of course, the shot's not going off is far preferable to its going off and leading to an uncontrolled explosion. This is what might happen if there is too much gas in the area:

The explosion here was caused through [shot-firing]... The shot-firing man lived at the bottom of the street here. Of course, he would go looking for gas. He wouldn't shoot where there was gas, you see. And he said - he had this hole they wanted to be shot, and he said no, he wasn't going to shoot it. So him and the manager here then, he said,

"You want to shoot it," he said. "Well, I'm not shooting it," he said.

"Well, I'll shoot it."

"Well you wait till I get up top of the pit then," he said.

He [the manager] went down the pit and he put the shot off and that was the cause of the explosion. Aye. He got killed in it, thank God, his-self. (Te S)

One of the other main tasks of the collier was to put up timber to make his stall safe. This job might be done by a specialist timber-man or heading-man on the main headings, but the collier was responsible for his own stall. Before he could put up timber, or "blow the top", he would have to know what kind of top or roof he was working under. Each would have its own particular problems:

Then there was different tops. You had cliff tops\*, then you had quar tops\*, which was more

solid. Then you'd have a quar-stone\*, which was - which you couldn't break or, or even fire...put a shot on it. But the quar top was the safest top. The cliff top would collapse, you know, in dribs. It would dribble, see, as you call it, and then it would collapse from around the post or timber...But the quar top would squeeze down all together, you know. It wouldn't go in little bits and pieces. It would squeeze down in one. (Bi G)

We had a boy started up by here...old Joe Hicks. And as wicked as a cartload of monkeys when he was a little boy, see. The boy, now, used to hold the lamp for the man to rip [bring down top without blowing], you see. And Joe had started work and his father was ripping\*, see, Joe holding the light now, and he had a measuring-stick\*. We used to have a measuring-stick to measure the height of the - what arms and posts we want, you see. Called a measuring-stick. And his father now was - Joe holding a light for him - tapping this old top now, see. And Joe was as wicked as - he'd pick up a little bit of dust or gravel and throw up. His father'd jump back and look, see... (Te S)

Timber was used in many ways, but informants talked of three main types of timber-work. These were lid\* and post, collar and arms (or halves)\*, also known as a pair of timber\*, and cogs. Lids and posts were used in the face itself. Pairs of timber and cogs were used in the roadways and to hold the roof in the stalls as the face was driven forwards. The stall would, in fact, become a small roadway which needed to be big and safe enough to accommodate a horse and dram, at least at its entrance. (At the face, its height would still only be just a little over the depth of coal). The timber was prepared in the saw-mill on top of the pit. The collier would cut it to his exact needs underground. New timber was always used for the posts and pairs of timbers, but the cogs would usually be made with old timber. Posts were round like

small tree-trunks, and were either used whole or split in half lengthways, so that one side would be rounded and the other flat. For the lids, both sides were cut so that they were flat:

Underground, we used to call some timber posts, see. And you'd stand a post, and you'd have another piece of wood which was flattened on both sides...not ends, the top and bottom. That was called a lid. Then you was lifting your post back ready now. You'd put your lid on and you'd push it on... You'd have to use the sledge then to tighten up. That was to hold the top. (Wi L)

Your face posts? Supposing you, now, that it was flat, you'd put it up straight, you see. But now if... the road was deeping, you'd slant the post then, that slip see. The pressure at the top, if it was deeping, would be coming down like this... If the road was flat, they'd put the post up straight, and a lid on it... Well now, if, if the road was deep, deeping like that and you put the post up straight, it wouldn't be there no time. It would spring out. So you'd put it up to answer the top, see. (Te S)

If you was in the stall and you was driving your stall on, well you'd have two posts which you'd make into halves. You'd cut the ends off them until they're - not like a pencil. How can I tell you then? - like the end of a chisel, see. Then you'd get another one then, see. Say you had a nine-foot stall, or a six-foot, you'd get another post then and you'd cut a V into it to fit into this, so. And that was called a collar and the two uprights was called halves. Then you'd get other pieces of wood then, and you'd cut the ends of it into like a wedge. And you called them wedges. You put them on top of the collar and you hammer them in with a sledge. (Wi L)

You'd shape two posts, which were called arms. Then you'd notch another post... You'd have two notches for the two arms. You'd have to have a notch out of this side and a notch out of that side and then put the two arms in. And then you'd pack. You'd put a wedge over, a piece to

hold it so that it would hold steady, once you packed it, see. (Bi G)

Sometimes a collar and arms were erected for a purpose other than to hold the top:

Now sometimes in the stall, you'd have a blower\*, a blower of gas come down. A hole would fall up, then the gas would come down. Now, see, the fireman would come round then and order you now, put a pair of timber across there somewhere, see. And then he'd come and put the braddish\* on it. Now, the air could only go one way then, see. It [the brattice cloth] would be hanging loose so the horse could pull the dram and you could go through, but the air would go up over the top and drive the gas out into the main air-stream... Two arms and a collar - that would be a pair of timber...

But every stall had to put a cog in here and there as they go, you see. And that was to hold the walls and to strengthen the road for the drams. But when the heading-man was, the heading-man was doing it to make the openings to go into the face, into the stall, oh yes, you had to put your own cogs up...they'd have a cog-man, perhaps an old gent, you see, that had finished work...and he'd be more often than not sawing the old timber that was getting pulled out, into yard sticks or more, see. And you'd build a cog out of that. (Te S)

Well, a cog was on the side of the road, so that when they fired the top, it wouldn't go further than the cog. It wouldn't go up the face. And a cog consisted of pieces of timber going crossways and lengthways, so that they'd go every other, and then they'd go up to the top of the, the roof-top. And then you'd tighten that up and fill it up with muck. As you were making it you'd fill it, so that it would be solid then, when that was squeezed. The squeeze would tighten it. (Bi G)

Cogs had a very wide base, but posts had a much smaller base. Often, the pressure of the roof on the posts would drive

them downwards and the floor would be squeezed up into what was called pwcings\*. In the face this did not matter a great deal, but in the main roadways it affected the rails that were laid for the drams. If the floor came up under the rails, then they might have to be taken up, the pwcings cut away to make the floor level once more and then the rails would be re-laid. If less damage had been done, the rails might be left in place and the pwcings cut away only between the sleepers:

If the roof is not too bad and the floor is bad, only the floor is bad, we do...what we call cutting pwcings then, or cutting the bottom. Take, take a yard or so - fill it away, and make height that way... If the floor is good and the top is bad, take the top away. (Al W)

The road was pwcing up and you had to cut the pwcing down for it to be flat again. Many times they had to cut pwcings between the rails so the horse wouldn't hit his head. My horse was very clever: he'd put his head down as low as he could if it was a low top. (Wf L)

The miners and their horses were not the only ones to be hard at work underground. The pits were also alive with a variety of animals and insects. Rats and mice sometimes came down with the feed for the horses and thrived around the stables where there was plenty of food for them:

One of the most frightening...I don't think any outsider would credit this, but I can remember quite well that you'd go to the stables - the stable was situated say a mile from the pit-bottom in the two-foot-nine in the Parc - and you'd be the first getting there. You'd open the door of the stable, and I've never seen anything like it in all my life. There'd be a long stable...and say there'd be thirty horses in the stable, in their different bays, you see, and when you'd open the door and show your light in there, nothing but thousands of rats,

without any exaggeration... Obviously, after the first man has been there, the rats would scatter everywhere, out of sight. You wouldn't see no rats after. (Ge V)

Mice also strayed into the face, but the most common creatures were cockroaches, large beetles called black pats\* and a creature which was found in the timber, which was known variously as Shwni, Jacky or Johnny Daugorns or Leghorns\*:

- We took a trap down one day. Just for devilment it was...on a 'go slow' or something it was. We took a trap down...we caught sixty mice in no time.

- They were round you when you were eating your food, too, weren't they? Ach-y-fi!  
(Em L and Ka L)

Rats, mice, cockroaches, shwni leghorns. A shwni leghorn is like a beetle, but it got two long claws. Now when I was a boy it used to be fascinating: you'd catch a shwni leghorn and you'd a lump of coal...on the rail. And you'd put him over it and he'd lift it up. He'd lift about twice, three times his own weight. (Wi L)

Some things used to come in on the timber, you know. Jacky Daugorns we used to call them, Jacky two-horns. It was like a grasshopper thing it was...they bite and all. (Al W)

I had an accident and I was sent to the mountain pit... My job was to see that the water wouldn't rise. And the fireman said to me, "Oh," he said, "There's a coat over there for you to put on because it's cold here." But there was no need for me to put the coat on. The coat was moving on its own. It was full of black pats. (Wi L)

...put your tommy box\* down by your coat, see. Put your tommy box down there. Perhaps a stone would come down off the side of the old road and make a little cut in your tommy box. You open him then, he'd be full of black pats. Aye-aye. (Te S)

The tommy box was meant to protect the food inside. But then, coal-mining was not a job for the squeamish. Even the food itself could have dangerous side-effects!

...mostly bread and butter and cheese. Some men used to put pickles in. At one period, in one district in the Dare, you shouldn't take pickles down because it was attracting the gas... (Wi L)

Drink might be taken in one of a number of receptacles:

In the old days, it used to be flagons, glass flagons... They had tin jacks\* as well in them days... Only the swanks used to take a flask [for teal or anything like that, like, in them days, only the toffs. Water for us. (Al W)

Your dinner-time would be twenty minutes. And of course, if the fireman wasn't around, you'd sneak twenty-five minutes. We used to have a fireman, he was a tartar. He knew by the clock when men was going to dinner and when they should come off. (Wi L)

The collier adapted ordinary clothing for his work underground:

When a boy started work now, started work, he would - his mother and father would - moleskin trousers, then. And you had that about a week before you started work, see... You'd have singlets to wear, wear in the pit. Sometimes, if it was very warm, you know, they'd be like dragged through the river... My mother used to buy the blue flannel and old Welsh flannel... she used to make our singlets then... She'd have no sleeves in them, see, and you could push them over your head. (Te S)

Trousers were also made from a strong material called duck. Even then, if the collier was working in a low seam which involved a lot of kneeling, the knees of his trousers might be worn through within a fortnight. Knee-pads were sometimes worn, but more often

there would be just a patch on the knee for added protection.

There was a skill involved even in sewing on these patches:

My father used to come home with his trousers ripped. "Not again!" And me, dull now, sewn the patch all around, you know, isn't it. He said, "Never sew the bottom. Undo it," he said to me. I said, "Why?" "Well, any dirt get in then, it falls out from the knee."

(Ka L)

Now with a beat knee...the gravel and the dust would get in that and inside the patch, or inside his knee pad, and he wasn't taking any notice of it and he'd have inflammation in the knee. (Wi L)

There was more mystery surrounding the leather straps, called Yorks\*, that were worn just below the knee to raise the leg of the trousers:

He'd come home with his Yorks. He'd clean all his Yorks. I'd say, "What are those for?" "To go round my leg." (Ka L)

A couple of informants told me that they were worn "to keep the dust out of their eyes.!"

Knee-pads and the haulier's pisiyn tin were practically the only attempt at protective clothing in the days of stall and heading work:

There was no helmets in them days. It was all caps: caps and bowlers and God-knows-what. Anything. They had no protection in them days. They didn't have no safety boots. No safety boots, no gloves, nothing. Duw, the accidents in them days, well, it was pitiful, mun. (Al W)

Accidents, of varying degrees of seriousness, were common. Some men would have the responsibility of carrying an ambulance box

for emergency first aid. They were unpaid and received only basic training in first aid. If a man was seriously injured he would be taken home:

You see, if there was a man injured in a colliery in them days, he wasn't taken often to an hospital. He was brought home and the local doctor, perhaps he'd amputate and do an operation in the house. (Wa B)

There were also other, more gradual, dangers associated with coal-mining:

Now, see, years ago, miners used to have trouble: they were going blind. And that was all because they were taking oil-lamps into the face... There was no power. There was no light. It was a dull light. You get in contact with any old miner and he'll tell you, stagmas\* was a curse. (Em L)

The disease that is usually associated with mining is pneumoconiosis, caused by the inhalation of coal dust. However, what many miners actually suffered from was silicosis, caused by inhaling the dust from the rock they were boring through:

You know this rock on the mountain here, that's blue pennant. And that's about ninety per cent silica, that one. That's the boy to give you silicosis. But you were boring the, in them days, with a - with no water at all. What they were boring was all dust. Dust all the time. And they were breathing that until what you were breathing would fasten in the lungs, you know. Till in the end it was crippling you.

(Al W)

In the miners' everyday vocabulary, you were suffering from dust. Whether it was caused by coal or rock, the effect was debilitating. There was always the possibility of compensation, but first you had to have the diagnosis confirmed by the compensa-

tion board. The following story illustrates the stoical humour of the miner in the face of this crippling disease:

Dai [Ramsey] was a haulier. Now I was active at the time with the Miners' Federation. In fact, I was chairman of the Lodge... I was working on the coal, in the two-foot-nine, and Dai was driving. He was a haulier driving from me. And I could hear Dai coming a mile away. He'd be coughing and barking... Der, he had a terrible cough on him. And many times I've said, "Dai bach, why on earth don't you have a board? You've got a terrible cough." I eventually persuaded Dai to have a board. I said, "As long as you agree, I'll make the necessary arrangements." So I made the arrangements with the Branch Secretary. Application was made for the Board, and eventually Dai gets his pneumoconiosis Board.

So three weeks after that, which was the normal time before you'd have a reply,... Dai goes down to see Eddie Lloyd. He knocks at the door, and strangely enough Eddie had had the result of the Board that morning. (And this is absolutely true, but it typifies the character of the Rhondda people, you see, and people like Dai)... Eddie was wondering how he'd tell him the bad news, because it was true, see..." The result: total incapacity, hundred per cent."

"Hundred per cent?" [said] Dai, "More like three hundred per cent, and a bag of stone dust on top of it." (Ge V)

Miners who had had accidents or who were suffering from dust might be given 'light' jobs. This might mean working in the lamp-room or the saw-mill, although there is some scepticism about what actually constituted a light job:

The muck that was washed in the washery used to go up in buckets along an aerial [to the tip]. They'd be in a circle that come around... Light job that was. Forty buckets round in sixty minutes. The light job. You used to have a sledge to knock the slurry out of the bucket... and then, perhaps, as it was travelling up to get tipped, it might be very cold weather and it would freeze. (Bi G)

At the other end of the scale, there were the men who operated the turbine-engines:

That's the hardest job in the pit, that is: putting that switch on, back and fore. (Al W)

A famous apocryphal story is that one collier, when seeking a light job after illness, was asked how heavy a job he felt he was capable of doing. His reply was that he was able to "carry clecs"!<sup>4</sup>

Whether working on the coal, driving a horse or performing a 'light' job after accident or illness, miners' lives were physically exhausting. However, the lives of the women who supported them were also demanding. Typically, they would have the responsibility of running the house, and of seeing to the needs of the men on their return from the pit:

- Well you can imagine now what it was in our house, by here, with five or six of us coming home, and all in the clothes. Put the old dirty clothes under the table and then we'd have a wash and have our food. Then your mother after would start to clean up. Put, in the evening part, put the old wet clothes ready for the morning, and that was a routine. Then the mother was up, always the first. My mother was, anyway. Last going to bed and the first up.

- and the clothes all put around the grates
- for to be aired for you, ready to go.  
(Te S and sister)

I had a sister younger than me, but she couldn't do nothing. She was really twp. So anyway, I had to do all that. And I was getting up at five in the morning. I was up all day then, till about twelve at night, doing

work for those men: cooking, cleaning, washing.  
Washing their working clothes. (Ka L)

In addition to washing the working clothes, the women would also be responsible for making sure there was hot water for the men to wash themselves: .

There was no pit-head baths. No bathing. We had to bath in the house, in the tub. And if there was three or four boys in the same house, they was looking well there. Everybody wash their tops first, and the cleanest go first, isn't it. (Al W)

The staggering density of population that obtained in the Rhondda in the early part of the twentieth century has already been noted in demographic terms.<sup>5</sup> In the actual lives of the miners it meant that they were constantly living and working closely with each other. At home, extended families, and possibly lodgers, would live together in the terraced houses. Mr Bill George was one of fourteen children raised in a two-bedroomed house. In the pit, the men also worked in close physical proximity. Such conditions might have given rise to an uncontrollable number of angry confrontations. However, although there were, of course, arguments and great frustrations, people were remarkably supportive of each other and were united in their opposition to the harsh conditions imposed by the mine-owners.

In the trivial events of everyday life, anger and irritation might often be diffused by laughter. We have already seen how even the risk of accident or illness sometimes gave rise to humour. It was one way of coping with the ever-present danger.

But perhaps the most famous manifestation of humour is in the nicknames that were given. There were so many Williams, Johns and Davids, Evanses, Joneses and Thomases that some way had to be found to distinguish them. Everyone had a nickname. Often they were simply known by where they came from, or where they lived. During my undergraduate investigation<sup>s</sup> I discovered that one informant who was supposed to have been born and brought up in the Rhondda, was actually known as Dai Towy, because he had come from that place when he was three. Mr Will Lewis was known as Lewis Ty-top while he was working in Cwmparc, because he lived in the top house of his street. However, when he went to work in the Lewis Merthyr colliery in Porth, he was re-christened Will Cwmparc. Other nicknames might be based on a physical characteristic, the most common of these being "Bach" for someone small or "Mawr" for someone large. Someone else might simply be known by a particular interest, for instance, Des Dogs used to breed dogs and Dai Pigeon, pigeons. Nicknames might also arise from particular affectations and characteristics: Billy Ducks was a boxer who used to duck a lot when fighting, Bill Jones Cocoa used to take cocoa, rather than water or tea, underground, the man who wore white gloves to work was known as Gentleman Jim, while Dai Theology "claimed that he could give a sermon on anything." (Ge V). Often the characteristics that are potentially the most irritating give rise to the funniest nicknames, but I was assured that fun was never made at the expense of the individual concerned. Indeed, there is too much enjoyment in the way in which the names are used for them to appear malicious. Mr Will Lewis was particularly expansive about the way

in which nicknames were used and gives many examples. The following are three extracts from his account:

I'll give you a little story that happened to me down the Lewis Merthyr. When I went down there the fireman said to me, "Oh Will, I want you to go and work with two other fellows." Now, he never told me, "Go and work with Dai Davies,"...he just said to me, "Go along the main here, up a ladder and you'll see Around-the-Bend and Ifan-the-Rent." That was the two men I was supposed to work with... Now Ifan-the-Rent was the man that used to collect the rents of the company houses, and Round-the-Bend, he was a queer old fellow, he'd always, "Oh, I'm going around the bend with all this."

I worked with a man whose wife went on holidays to Italy and she brought a statue of Jesus Christ back and put it in the window...and she used to be very proud of it. And they used to call him Jesus Christ-in-Marble. They gave him the nickname, not her.

Now I'll give you another story. A fellow went to look for work and his name was Tom Jones and he went into the manager, into the manager looking for a job...

"Have you been underground?"

"Yes."

"Well what's your name?"

"Tom Jones."

"Oh Duw, Duw," he said. "We've got lots of Joneses underground," he said.

"Well look," says the fellow, "I don't want none of your nicknames. If you're going to call me anything, call me something substantious."

So he went known as Tom Substantious.

The nicknames, and the stories which accompany them, demonstrate great resourcefulness. The Rhondda miners' relationship with language is active and enthusiastic, and they readily draw on both English and Welsh to create the effect they want. Such a lively use of language is an important and characteristic ingredient in Rhondda speech.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

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1. Peter Wright, "Coal-mining language: a recent investigation", in Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles, Wakelin, M.F., ed., London 1972, p. 49.
2. Asterisked items are discussed further in Chapter 10.
3. *Ibid*, p. 48.
4. For an explanation of this term, see Chapter 8.
5. See Chapter 2.
6. The results of the investigation were presented as a dissertation, "The Dialect of the Upper Rhondda Valley, Mid Glamorgan", submitted as part of the examination for the Degree Baccalaureus in Artibus, University College of Swansea, 1980. See also the discussion in Chapter 3(ii).

## CHAPTER 10

### THE LANGUAGE OF COAL-MINING

This chapter will explain individual words and phrases, giving their etymology and distribution wherever this is possible. There is no systematic study of coal-mining language in Britain on the same scale as that for the language associated with farming. However, Peter Wright's work<sup>(1)</sup> provides a useful expansion of the limited information contained in OED and EDD, to give a British context to the results. (His investigation will be referred to as 'Wright' in the distributions given below.) It is unfortunate that, of the 81 items listed in his questionnaire, Wright publishes responses to only 53 of the questions, and access to the remainder of the responses was not available.

Within the Welsh context, further information is available from a number of sources. The most extensive material comes from an investigation carried out in the Welsh language on behalf of the Welsh Folk Museum and National Museum of Wales by Lynn Davies. In his book Geirfa'r Glöwr,<sup>(2)</sup> (referred to as G'r G in the distributions given below) he lists terms used by miners from the whole of Wales. In the introduction, he describes the period which was the focus of the investigation and his reasons for this:

Mae'r casgliad yn ymwneud yn bennaf â chyfnod arbennig yn hanes y diwydiant glo, sef o tua 1900 hyd at 1930... defnyddiai'r glöwr, hyd at ddiwedd y cyfnod hwnnw, ddulliau traddodiadol, a thermau brodorol ynghlwm wrthynt, i gyflawni ei waith. Gyda dyfodiad i peiriannau a'r mecaniiddio darfu rhan bwysig o'r dreftadaeth hon a disodlwyd llawer o'r

hen dermau gan eirfa Saesneg safonol dechnegol...  
Diau fod nifer o dermau tebyg wedi eu colli cyn y  
cyfnod dan sylw, a bod llawer o eiriau na lwyddais  
i'w cofnodi yn dal ar dafodau hen lowyr. (op.cit.  
p. xii).

[The collection deals primarily with a special period in the history of the coal industry from 1900 to 1930...the miners used traditional methods until the end of this period - with native terminology accompanying these methods. With the introduction of machinery and mechanisation, an important part of this heritage came to an end, and much of the old terminology was replaced by a standard English technical vocabulary... Doubtless, a number of similar terms were lost during this period and there must also be a number of words that can still be heard by miners that have not been recorded here.]

The investigation therefore deals with the same period in coal-mining history as the Rhondda investigation, and for very similar reasons. Davies is, of course, primarily interested in the Welsh language, but many of the words that he records, and that have been referred to in the lexis below, bear a strong phonetic resemblance to their English counterparts and are obviously the same word used in both Welsh and English speech.

Another interesting point of reference is an article entitled "Coal-Mining Terms" by Tom Jones, published in 1936.<sup>(3)</sup> Unlike Lynn Davies, he does not give a distribution for the terms he lists, but does give the information that "The centre of my research has naturally been the Rhondda. I have added a few words from literary sources and a few from West Glamorgan." Again, the terms given are those used when speaking Welsh, although in this case they are discussed in English. (The study is referred to the in the distributions below as 'Jones').

The largely English-speaking county of Gwent escaped the scrutiny of Davies and Jones, but further useful material for comparison is contained in the study of Llanhilleth (Gw 6) conducted for SAWD by Anne Gladwell, now Dr Anne McGill.<sup>(4)</sup> (This study will be referred to in the distributions below as 'SAWD: Llan'. When SAWD is underlined it indicates that the information is published in Vol. I). One further interview was also conducted by me in Risca, Gwent, during the course of the present investigation. The informant, Mr Doug Dando, was born in 1910 and is a retired collier. He spent the whole of his working life in various collieries in the Cwmcarn/Cross Keys/Risca area, which is just to the south of Llanhilleth. The study will be referred to in the distributions as 'Risca'.

The words and phrases in this section will be set out as in the general 'Lexis' (see Chapter 8) with the addition of the references listed above in the distribution. They will be discussed under the following headings: A. Ascending and Descending; B. Roadways, Seams, and Faults in the Coal; C. Cutting and Filling the Coal; D. Transporting the Coal; E. Shot-firing; F. Timber-work and Making Safe; G. Safety, Lighting, Ventilation and Drainage; H. Washing and Grading the Coal; I. General: Food, Animals, Clothing, Illness, etc.

#### A. ASCENDING AND DESCENDING

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BANK [baŋk]

Area on top of the pit, immediately around the opening of

the shaft. (See also BANKSMAN).

Ge V.

Wright records BANK at 2 and PITBANK at 5/13. At 5, he comments that PITBANK is an older alternative to PIT-TOP.

G'r G records BANC/BONC at Morg, Caerf, P.D. and Rhos.

OED records the specialised mining sense of BANK, "the surface of the ground at the pit-mouth, or top of the shaft."

ON \*banki.

#### BANKSMAN ['bæŋksm>An]

The man who loads and unloads the carriage (with drams, men, etc.) at the top of the shaft or 'bank'.

Al M, Em L, Te S, Bi G, Wa B, Ge V.

Wright records no variants, but gives BANKSMAN as the key-word.

SAWD:Llan and Risca record BANKSMAN.

G'r G records BANCWR at Caerf, BONCIWR at Rhos.

Jones records BANCWR.

EDD records BANKSMAN as 'the man employed at the surface of a coal-pit' from Nb, Du.

## BON(D) [bɒn(d)]

Carriage in which drams and men go up and down the pit.

Often it is used in addition to CAGE or CARRIAGE (see below) in a phrase such as 'first bond' or 'last bond' where it means 'journey of the carriage' rather than the actual carriage itself. Also DOUBLE BOND, a bond that is big enough to carry two drams side by side.

Journey of Carriage: Ge V, Bi G.

Carriage: Mr. I. DOUBLE BOND: Al W.

SAWD: Llan and Risca record BOND in sense of 'carriage'.

G'r G records BOND at Morg.

Jones records BON.

Cf., perhaps, EDD BOND 'the tyre of a wheel; a band or hoop of metal' from So, D.

## CAGE [ke:dʒ]

The carriage in which drams and men go up and down the pit, via the shaft. (Cf. CARRIAGE, BOND).

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Em L, Te S, Bi G.

Wright records no variants, but gives CAGE as the keyword.

G'r G records CAIJ at P.D.

Jones records CÄJ.

OED records CAGE in specific mining sense "A frame... used in hoisting in a vertical shaft." (O)F, Cage.

## CARRIAGE ['karidz]

The iron frame in which drams and men go up and down the pit, via the shaft. (Described as being the "proper name", cf. CAGE, BOND).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Ge V.

CARRIAGE recorded at Risca.

G'r G records CAREJ at Morg, Caerf.

OED records in sense of "a vehicle or means of conveyance of any kind" but not in specific mining sense.

Old Northern French cariage, formed on carier v. 'to carry'.

## CLAPPERS n. pl. ['klapHz]

Retractable fans at the top of the shaft (poss. connected with ventilation system); cf. FANS.

Em L.

No record found elsewhere.

## FANS n. pl. [fanz]

Retractable plates at the top of the shaft, on which the carriage would rest during loading and unloading. (cf.

CLAPPERS).

Ge V.

OED records in general sense of "anything spread out in the shape of a fan". OE. fann, an adoption of L. vannus.

### HITCHER ['hɪtʃə]

The man who loads and unloads the carriage at the bottom of the shaft.

Al W, Em L, Ge V, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records HITCHER at 9-10.

SAWD:Llan and Risca record HITCHER.

G'r G records H)ITSIWR CWT at Morg. (as opposed to HITSIWR  
BLĀN = 'banksman'.

Jones records HITSHWR.

OED records from the Labour Commission Glossary of 1891:

HITCHERS, "The men who put the trams of coal on the carriage at the pit bottom." Formed on HITCH v. The earliest records are from the E. Anglian areas.

### KNOCKER ['nɒkə]

An iron stick that rings a bell when it is placed against a wire and an electrical circuit is completed. The system was used to signal from the hitcher to the winder when a dram was ready to be raised.

Wi L, Em L, Mr I.

KNOCKER recorded at Risca.

G'r G records CNOCO v. 'to knock, to give the signal' at Morg. Caerf.

Jones records CNOCO in the same sense.

OED records KNOCKER in general sense of "one who or that which knocks." Formed on OE cnocian.

#### PEG BOARD ['peg bod]

Board with holes in which pegs are placed to correspond to the number of people carried in the carriage.

Al W.

Not recorded in this sense elsewhere.

#### PIT-BOTTOM [pit 'botʌm]

The area of the pit underground, immediately around the bottom of the shaft, where men and drams would be loaded and unloaded from the carriage.

Wi L, Bi G, Ge V, Te S, Mr I.

BOTTOM-PIT recorded at Risca.

OED records in specific mining sense "the bottom of the shaft in a coal-mine, or the adjacent part of the mine."

#### PIT-FRAME [pit 'fre:m]

The metal construction which holds the winding-gear and pit-wheels.

Te S.

OED records in specific mining sense of "a framework at the top of a pit or shaft, supporting the pulley."

SHAFT [ʃaft]

The deep hole into the ground which is the main entrance into the pit, and down which the carriage travels.

Wi L, Em L, Ge V, Bi G, Al W, Te S.

G'r G records SIAFFT at Morg.

OED records SHAFT in specific sense of "A vertical or slightly inclined well-like excavation made in mining, tunnelling, etc., as a means of access to underground workings."

Recorded in this sense from 15th C. Formed on MHG schacht, "prob. specific application of SHAFT 'long straight part of an object', as if the vertical channel were compared to the leg (schaft) of a boot."

TOP OF THE PIT [top A δA pit]

The part of the colliery which is above ground.

Em L, Ge V, Te S.

Wright records PIT-TOP at 3-8/10.

TOP OF THE PIT recorded at Risca.

## WINDER ['wɪndə]

The man who controls the winding-gear to raise and lower  
the carriage.

Al W, Ge V, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Em L.

Also WINDING-ENGINE MAN Em L, WINDING MAN Te S and WINDING-  
HAULAGE MAN Wa B.

WINDER recorded at Risca.

OED records WINDER "one who turns or manages a winch or  
windlass, especially at a mine." 14th C. AF had gyndour,  
gwynder in the same sense. Also recorded from 1747 in  
Hooson's Miner's Dictionary.

## WINDING-GEAR ['wɪndɪŋ 'gɪə]

The system of wheels and cables which raises and lowers the  
carriage.

Em L, Bi G.

OED records from 1875: "an English term for the winding-  
machines of mines."

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B. ROADWAYS, SEAMS AND FAULTS IN THE COAL

## BALLS OF MINE

Lumps of iron found in the coal. (cf. QUAR).

Te S.

SAWD:Llan records BALL OF MINE 'a dangerous piece in the roof that can easily fall.' Presumably the two meanings are connected, in that a lump of iron would be heavier than coal and not a part of the same mineral formation. It might therefore be liable to fall if found in the roof.

OED records MINE "mineral or ore. Now only used for iron ore."

ODEE records in this sense from 14th C. (O)F mine.

#### BARRY ['bari]

A roadway which runs along (as opposed to into) the coal-face. (cf. BARRY SYSTEM).

Mr I.

G'r G records BARI from Caerf.

#### BUTE [bjut]

The highest seam in the Parc and Dare Pits.

Wi L, Bi G.

'Bute' was the surname of one of the big coal-owning and shipping families.

#### CLIFF TOP ['klif top]

Roof made of relatively soft stone which was crumbly and liable to collapse. (cf. QUAR TOP).

Bi G.

G'r G records TOP CLIFFT at Morg. Caerf.

OED records CLIFF in the specific sense "The strata of rock lying above or between coal seams" and quotes Strachey's Strata Coal-Mining of 1719: "The CLIFF...is dark or blakish Rock, and always keeps its regular course as the Coal does, lying obliquely over it."

CROESAD [ 'krɔɪʃad ]

Crossing place, where one heading cuts across another at right-angles.

Em L.

G'r G records CROESAD from D. Morg.

Jones records HEDIN CROES/HEDINS CROESON, 'cross-headings'.

CUT PWCYNS v.+n. pl. [ kʌt 'pəkɪnz ]

To excavate the road back to its original level after it has been forced to rise by pressure from the posts on either side. (See also PWCING).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

G'r G records PWCCINS/TORRI PWCCINS from Morg. Caerf. (Welsh torri 'to cut').

Jones also records PWCCINS/TORRI PWCCINS.

For poss. etymology see PWCING.

## DISTRICT (T) ['distrɪkt(t)']

Area of pit underground, covering a particular system of roadways.

Al W, Wi L, Em L, Bi G, Wa B, Ge V, Te S.

DISTRICT recorded at Risca.

G'r G records DISTRICT at Morg. Caerf.

OED records only in general sense "a portion of territory".

Formed on Med.L. districtus '(power of) exercising justice, territory involved in this'.

## DRIFT (1) n. + v. [drift]

- n. Sloping roadway connecting two seams at different levels (cf. HARD-HEADING).
- v. To slope, as in the phrase 'drift up' or 'drift down'.

n. Al W, Bi G, Te S.      v. Te S.

Recorded as n. and v. at Risca.

G'r G records DRIFFT n. from Morg. Caerf.

Jones also records DRIFFT n.

## DRIFT (2) [drift]

A sloping roadway excavated into the side of a mountain, providing access to shallow coal-workings.

Ge V.

SAWD:Llan records DRIFTMINE 'A mine entered down a sloping passage from the side of a valley rather than down a shaft'.

EDD records DRIFT 'Mining Term: a passage or tunnel driven into the ground either to explore or reach the coal, etc.'  
n. Cy, Nb, Du, Y, D, Co.

Orig. adopted from ON drift 'snowdrift, drifting snow'.

#### FAULT [fɔlt]

A step up or down in a seam of coal.

Al W.

Wright records no variants, but gives FAULT as the keyword for 'a place where the vein is broken'.

OED records FAULT in the geological or mining sense 'A dislocation or break in continuity of the strata of vein'.

Prob. after F., originally Walloon, faille.

#### GELLI DEG ['gelli 'de:g]

Name of the deepest seam in the pit.

Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

From Welsh celli 'grove' + teg 'fair, warm'.

#### GORLLWYN ['gorlwin]

Name of a seam of coal in Fernhill Colliery, Blaenrhondda.

Al W.

From Welsh gor-, 'over' + llwyn 'grove'.

HARD-HEADING [(h)a:d '(h)edin]

Roadway driven from one seam to another through rock  
(cf. DRIFT).

Em L.

G'r G records (H)EDIN CALED from Morg, Caerf. (Welsh caled  
'hard').

Jones also records HEDIN CALAD.

Pres. so named because rock is more difficult to excavate  
than the softer coal. See also definition and etymology of  
HEADING.

HEADING ['(h)edin]

Roadway driven off the main roadway and off which, in turn,  
the stalls are driven. Nine to ten stalls are usually  
driven off one heading before it is 'turned'.

Al W, Em L, Bi G, Wa B, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records HEADING in sense 'haulage road' at 1, and  
'side road' at 1/10-12.

SAWD: Llan records as 'the third largest road in a mine' or  
'small roads leading to the stalls'. Also recorded at  
Risca.

G'r G records (H)EDIN from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records HEDIN.

OED records in specific mining sense "A horizontal passage driven through in preparation for a tunnel, for working a mine..." Formed on HEAD (OE hēafod) + -ING.

JUMP-UP/-DOWN [dʒʌmp ʌp/dʌnʌn]

A step up or down in the floor.

Al W.

Wright records JUMP UP at 7.

JUMPS recorded at Risca in the sense of 'faults'.

LEVEL ['levl]

Horizontal roadway underground (cf. LEVEL HEADING).

Al W, Bi G, Ge V.

Jones records LEFAL.

OED records LEVEL in the specific sense "A nearly horizontal 'drift', passage or gallery in a mine." ME. level, livel.

LEVEL-HEADING ['levl 'edɪŋ]

Horizontal roadway driven into new coal (cf. HARD HEADING).

Te S (Also LEVEL-HEADING MAN: the man who drives the heading).

For etymology see LEVEL and HEADING.

LEVELS n. pl. ['levlz]

Mine-workings entered horizontally from the side of the mountain.

Al W, Em L.

Wright records LEVEL in this sense at 10-11/13.

G'r G records LEFEL in this sense from Morg. Caerf.

MAIN n. + adj. [mein]

n. The chief passage underground.

adj. Used in conjunction with -ROAD, -LEVEL, -HEADING to indicate the chief one. (See also MAIN HAULAGE-WAY).

MAIN: Al W, Te S, Bi G, Em L, Wi L, Wa B.

MAIN ROAD: Wi L. MAIN HEADING: Em L, Wa B.

MAIN LEVEL: Mr I.

Wright records MAIN ROAD at 1/6, 10-12, MAIN ROADWAY at 3, MAIN GIRDER ROAD at 15.

MAIN recorded at Risca.

OED records MAIN n. in the technical sense "A main line of railway".

Partly represents OE megenn, megn MAIN 'physical strength' in compounds, partly an adoption of related ON megenn, megn 'strong, powerful', or meгин (in combinations).

#### MAIN HAULAGE-WAY [mein 'hɔ:lɪdz weɪ]

Chief passage down which journeys were pulled to and from the pit-bottom.

Wi L.

For MAIN see above + HAUL v. pull, drag + -age + WAY.

Earliest form of HAUL hall, variant of HALE 'draw, pull', adoption of (O)F haler.

#### OLD WORKINGS [ɔ:l 'wɜ:kɪŋz]

Areas of pit where all the coal has already been excavated.

Bi G, Al W.

OED records WORKING in sense "a place in which mineral is or has been worked; a mining excavation" from 1766. WORK + ing, formed on OE weorc, werc, worc, wurc (n.)

#### OUT-CORE ['aut·kɔ:]

Very thin seam of coal, not far from the surface, which is too narrow to be worked successfully.

Te S.

Poss. linked to OUT-CROP. OUT- represents OE ūt- meaning

chiefly 'outwards', 'outlying' etc. CORE 'central or innermost part'. ME core, coore, of unknown origin, or CROP v. 'come up to the surface' from 17th C. formed on OE crop(p)?

PARTING/DOUBLE PARTING ['pa:tɪn/dʌbl 'pa:tɪn]

Stretch of roadway that is twice as wide as usual so that empty drams could travel or be stored on one side, full drams on the other. The parting was the place where the haulier would pick up his empty dram to take to the collier in his stall and return the full dram so that it could be put into a journey to be pulled along the main roadway to the pit-bottom.

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

DOUBLE PARTING recorded at Risca.

G'r G records PARTIN from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records PARTIN/PARTIN DWPWL.

EDD records PARTING in the sense 'An off-take or branch road' from Nb.

OED records PARTING only in the general sense of "the place at which two or more things separate or are separated".

PWCING (pr. ppl.) ['pəkɪŋ]

Upheaving of floor due to pressure of roof on the props at either side of the roadway. (cf. CUT PWCYNS).

Wi L, Em L.

Wright records PUCKING at 10.

SAWD:Llan records POOKING.

Jones records PWCCO v. which he translates as 'to pucker'.

Poss. from PUCKERING "a drawing together or gathering of cloth, the skin, etc., into wrinkles or irregular folds", formed on base pok- of POKE, POCKET as if 'making pockets', 'forming into bag-like gatherings'.

QUAR [kwor:]

Large piece of smooth iron-stone. (cf. BALLS OF MINE).

Al W.

G'r G records CWAR from Morg.

Poss. linked to QUAR (dial.). Abbreviation of QUARRY, still current in W. Midland and S.W. dialects, 'a stone-quarry'.

QUAR TOP [kwo: top]

Roof made out of very hard rock (poss. containing iron). (cf. CLIFF TOP).

Bi G, Te S.

G'r G records TOP CWAR from Morg.

See poss. link to QUARRY above.

ROADS/ROAD WAYS n. pl. [ro:dz/'ro:d weizl]

General name for passages underground.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Ge V, Wa B, Bi G.

Wright records ROAD singly and in combination as follows:

MAIN ROAD 1/6/10-12, MAIN ROADWAY 3, MAIN GIRDER ROAD 15,  
ROADWAY 5, ROAD 7; SLIP-ROAD 7, STALL-ROAD 10-11, WIND-  
ROAD 14.

ROAD, STALL-ROAD and TRAM-ROAD recorded at Risca.

OED records in specific mining sense "any underground  
passage, way or gallery" from 1883.

ROLL [rɔ:l]

A fault in the coal-seam that is not continuous but that  
disappears and then reappears.

Al W.

Wright records ROLL in sense of 'a step in the mine floor'  
at 13.

OED records ROLL in a sense closer to that of Wright,  
quoting from Mining and Smelting Magazine I of 1862,  
"'swells', or 'rolls' and 'nips', are names given to a  
rising-up in the floor of a coal-bed, and where the roof  
and the floor both swell at once so as to reduce the thick-  
ness of the bed."

## ROOF [ruf]

The 'ceiling' of a passage underground. (cf. TOP).

Em L, Wa B, Ge V, Te S.

OED records in the specific mining sense 'The stratum lying immediately over a bed of coal; the top of a working or gallery'.

## SQUEEZE [skwi:z]

The pressure of the roof pressing down.

Em L.

OED records in the specific mining sense "a gradual coming together of the floor and roof of a gallery or working".  
SQUEEZE poss. intensive of obs. queise (15th C.), ultimate origin unknown.

## STALL [stɔ:l]

The part of the face allotted to one collier (+ boy) to work, usually around 14 yds wide. About 9 or 10 stalls are driven off one heading (see fig. 10(i)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records STALL at 5-6/11-12.

STALL recorded at Risca.

OED records STALL in this sense from 1665. Origins lie

either in German, stollen, a mining term for a gallery or tunnel or in OE steall 'standing-place for cattle'.

STALL-ROAD ['stɔ:l ro:d]

Small connecting passageway between heading and stall (see also ROAD/ROADWAYS).

Wi L, Mr I.

Wright records STALL-ROAD 'a small connecting passage' at 10-11.

TOP [tɔ:p]

The ceiling or roof of a passage underground. (cf. ROOF).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

TOP recorded at Risca.

G'r G records TOP at Morg. Caerf.

Jones also records TOP.

OED records TOP in the specific sense "the roof of a coal-mine or tunnel" from 1830. Late OE topp.

TRIP [trɪp]

A gradient in the roadway.

Bi G, Wi L.

No record found elsewhere. But poss. linked to TRIP v. 'to

tread or step lightly, make a false step', in that the gradient would affect the step.

TURN A HEADING (v. + n.) [tə:n A 'edɪn]

Drive a new heading at an angle off an existing heading.

Te S.

OED records TURN "to branch off at an angle from the main road or line" from 1535. OE tyrnan and turnian.

C. CUTTING AND FILLING THE COAL

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BACK-SLIP ['bak slɪp]

Seam of coal which lies at an angle in the face, sloping up away from the collier. (cf. FACE-SLIP and see fig. 10(ii)).

Al W, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records SLIP in sense of 'the grain in coal' (but does not specify a particular direction) at 9-11.

SAWD: Llan records SLIP 'the grain in coal, i.e. the direction in which the joints go' but again does not specify a particular direction. However, Anne Gladwell records BACKSLIP 'the bottom end of a joint of coal', which is connected with the Rh. sense in that the end of the back-slip first revealed to the collier in the face, as he pushes the face forward, is the bottom end.

BACK-SLIP recorded in Rh. sense at Risca.

G'r G records SLIP in the general sense and BACEN in the sense of BACK-SLIP from Morg, Caerf.

OED records the geological meaning for SLIP, "A slight fault or dislocation caused by the sinking of one section of the strata." Recorded in sense of 'a fault, error' from 16th C. SLIP v. probably an adoption of MLG, Dutch slippen = MHG slipfen.

#### BAR [ba:]

Long iron rod used for prising coal away from the face.

#### Te S.

G'r G records BAR from Morg, Caerf.

COAL BAR recorded at Risca.

EDD records BAR 'a crow bar' from Y, L, Gl.

(O)F barre.

#### BARRY SYSTEM ['bəri 'sistAm]

Method of extracting coal where a roadway is driven along the face for a distance of a couple of hundred yards and coal is cut right along it. More modern method than 'heading and stall', and much more suitable for machine-cutters and conveyor belts. (cf. LONG-WALL SYSTEM and see also HEADING AND STALL SYSTEM and BARRY-B above).

#### Ge V.

BARRY SYSTEM recorded at Risca.

G'r G records the phrase AR Y BARI at Caerf.

BED (THE DRAM) v. (+ n.) [bed (&A duam)]

Fill the dram with coal until it is level with the top.

The next stage would then be to 'race' the dram (see RACE).

Wi L, Em L.

G'r G records BEDO in the same sense from Morg, Caerf.

OED records BED v. only in general sense "to lay in a bed or layer."

BOY/COLLIER'S BOY [boi/'kolijAz bɔi]

The youngster who helps the collier or 'man' in the stall.

The collier cuts the coal and the boy fills the dram, but he also learns from the collier and is sometimes entrusted with his own 'side'.

BOY: Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B.

COLLIER'S BOY: Te S, Bi G.

BOY recorded at Risca.

Wright records CARTING-BOY at 9 in the same sense.

BRASS/BRASSY COAL [bras/'brasi koul]

Gold-coloured vein running through the coal or coal with a gold-coloured vein running through it.

BRASS: Al W, Em L, Bi G.

BRASSY COAL: Al W.

Wright records BRASS at 1-2/10/15, BRASSES at 4, BRASSY at 11, BRASS LUMPS at 3 and BRASSY COAL at 6.

BRASS recorded at Risca.

G'r G records GLO BRAS from Morg, Caerf. (Welsh glo 'coal').

OED records BRASS in the specific sense "A wide-spread miner's name for iron pyrites in coal".

BUTT [bʌt]

The base end of a seam.

Ge V.

OED records in general sense 'the thicker end of anything'. "First appears in 15th C. but must be much older if BUTTOCK (13th C.) be a diminutive of it. Of obscure etymology."

CHECK-NUMBER ['tʃɛk 'nʌmbə]

The number allotted to a collier to be chalked on the side of each filled dram to indicate to the check-weigher who had filled it, so that payment could be calculated accordingly.

Bi G.

Wright records that 'only a number is chalked on' to indicate who has filled a dram at 7/10.

Compare also SAWD:Llan, where RING-NUMBER is recorded.

OED records CHECK in sense "control by which accuracy, correctness or agreement of facts and their representation is secured."

#### CLOD [kłbd]

Band of earth found lying between layers of coal.

Al W, Mr I.

G'r G records CLODEN 'haen o glai a cherrig yn gymysg â'i gilydd' [layer of clay and stones mixed together] from Morg, Caerf.

OED records in general sense "the soil or dust of the ground in its lumpy character". Corresponds to (M)HG clotz.

#### COLLIER ['kɔl:jə]

The man who extracted the coal at the coal-face (cf. MAN).

Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Ge V, Te S.

Wright records COLLIER in specific sense of 'stall man', i.e. the man who works at the coal-face, at 2-3/10/14, but also in the more general sense of a man who works in the pit or colliery at 1-7/13/15.

Recorded in specific sense SAWD: Llan and Risca.

Also by G'r G at all localities and by Jones.

OED records in general sense "one who works in a coal-mine; a coal-miner". Recorded as 'coal-miner' from 16th C. ME colyer formed on col 'coal'.

#### CROSS-BAR LUMP ['kʌs: bɑ: lʌmp]

Large lump of coal that was placed across the end of the dram to provide a firm basis for 'racing'.

Te S.

G'r G records CNEPYN (CROS-)BAR from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records CNEPYN CROS-BAR (Welsh cnebyn 'lump').

OED records CROSS-BAR only in general sense "a transverse bar".

#### CURLING BOX ['kɔ: lɪn bɒks]

A tin structure, like a box but open at the top and on one side with hand holes on the two opposite sides, used by the 'boy' to scoop up the coal and put into the dram (see fig. 10(iv)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

CURLING BOX recorded at Risca.

G'r G records BOCS CWRLO from Morg, Caerf. Also CWRLO 'lump coal' from the same localities.

Jones records CWRLO BOCS.

From the evidence recorded by G'r G CURLING is possibly an anglicisation of cwrlo or 'lump coal'. Cwrlo is not recorded in YGM, so pres. a Welsh dial. term.

CUTS n. pl. [kʌts]

6" deep grooves made along the sides of a layer of coal so that it could be worked loose or prised away.

Em L.

G'r G records CWT in same sense from Morg, Caerf.

OED records CUT only in general sense "The result, effect, or product of cutting."

DIRT [dɔ:t]

Rubbish or waste material cut away from the coal (cf.

RUBBISH and MUCK).

Wi L.

Wright records DIRT 'debris' at 1/7/13-14.

DIRTY COAL 'a mixture of muck and coal' recorded at Risca.

OED records DIRT in connection with mining or quarrying as "useless material". ME drit, present metathesized form from 15th C.

DRESS v. tr. ['dres]

Prepare and clean muck away from coal ready to cut it.

Al W.

OED records DRESS v. in general sense "to make ready or prepare for any purpose." Adoption of (O)F dresser.

FACE/COAL-FACE [fe:s/'ko:l fe:s]

The end of a seam of coal, where it is being extracted.

FACE: Al W, Em L, Wa B, Te S.

COAL-FACE: Ge V, Bi G.

FACE recorded at Risca.

G'r G records FFAS from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records FFÄS.

OED records FACE in the specific sense "In any adit, tunnel or slope, the end at which work is progressing or was last done" from 1881. Adoption of (O)F face.

FACE-SLIP ['fe:sli:p]

Sloping seam of coal that is lying so that the highest point is at the face (cf. BACK-SLIP and see fig. 10(iii)).

Al W, Em L, Bi G, Te S, Mr. I.

FACE-SLIP recorded at Risca.

For Wright and SAWD see BACK-SLIP.

G'r G records SLIP (general) and FFASEN in the same sense as FACE-SLIP from Morg, Caerf.

For etymology see BACK-SLIP.

FILL COAL v. tr. + n. ['fil ko:l]

Put the hewn coal into the dram.

Al W, Wi L, Te S.

GOB [gɔb]

The area behind a collier in the stall, where coal had already been extracted as the face was driven forwards, where the rubbish or waste material was packed and stowed (cf. WASTE and see fig. 10(i)).

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Ge V, Te S.

Wright records GOB 'waste area' at 4-12/14 and GOB-HOLE at 3.

GOB recorded by SAWD:Llan and at Risca.

G'r G records COB at GCG and GOB from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records GOB.

EDD records GOB 'the worked out part of a coal-mine' from Du, Y, St, Sa, Gl.

OED records GOB (poss. an alteration of GOAF) "The empty space from which the coal has been extracted in the 'long-wall' system of mining" from 1839.

## HEADING AND STALL SYSTEM

Method of working the coal whereby individual working-places, or stalls, are driven off a roadway or heading, into the coal face (cf. BARRY SYSTEM and LONG-WALL SYSTEM and see also STALL and HEADING in B above).

Al W, Ge V.

## HOLE v. [ho:l]

Take away waste material and/or cut underneath the coal to loosen it and bring it out (cf. UNDERCUT).

Al W.

Wright records HOLE v. 'to cut underneath the coal' at 1/5-6/11, HOLE and CUT at 12-13 and HOLE and DINT at 4.

G'r G records (H)OLO v. from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records HOLO v.

OED records HOLING in specific sense "The action of undercutting a coal-seam." Formed on HOLEV. <OE holian.

## HOLLOW COAL adj.+n. ['hɔləʊ ko:l]

Coal that sounds as if it is not solid.

Al W.

Wright records HOLLOW (COAL) at 3/6/12/14.

OED records HOLLOW only in general sense of "Having a hole or cavity inside." ME holz, holu.

## IRISH EMKO [ 'Airiʃ 'emko:]

A shovel.

Al W.

Humorous use of EMKO which was a blasting-machine.

## LONG-WALL SYSTEM

Method of cutting coal along the face (cf. BARRY SYSTEM and see also HEADING AND STALL SYSTEM).

Al W.

## MAN [ma:n]

The person who actually cuts the coal in a stall. He is helped by the 'boy' (cf. COLLIER).

Al W, Em L.

## MANDREL [ 'mandrɛl ]

A kind of pick, sharpened at both ends, used in hewing the coal. It came in three sizes: big, medium and 'cut' or 'cutting' (see fig. 10(v)).

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Mr I.

MANDREL recorded at Risca (no distinction made between different kinds).

G'r G records the general MANDREL/MANDRAL from Morg, Caerf, and also MANDRAL CWT/O and MANDRAL MAWR from Morg. (Welsh mawr 'big, large'). Also MANDRAL (H)OLO from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records three kinds of MANDRAL also, -CWTO, -HOLO, -MAWR.

EDD records MAUNDREL 'A miner's pickaxe sharpened at both ends' from n. Cy, Y, St, Db, Sa. Also written MAUNDRELL Db, MAUNDRILL St and MANDREL Db, MANDRIL Wales.

OED records MANDREL, MANDRIL 'a miner's pick', and says that it is usually believed to be an alteration of F mandrin. The F word, however, has not been traced earlier than 1690 and is of obscure origin. But compare also Welsh man, maen 'stone' + dryll 'fragments' /drillio v. 'to break in pieces'.

#### MUCK [mʌk]

Rubbish or waste material (cf. DIRT and RUBBISH).

Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records MUCK 'debris' at 3-6/9/11-13/15.

MUCK recorded at Risca.

G'r G records MYC, but gives no distribution (therefore, prob. widespread).

OED records MUCK only in general sense 'unclean matter'. Prob. of Scandinavian origin (the earliest ME examples are from eastern areas) and an adoption of forms related to ON myki, mykr 'dung'.

ON THE ENDS adv. phr. [ən ði 'enz]

In the position of cutting the coal sideways-on to a slip,  
rather than facing the slip as with a back- or face-slip.

Al W.

OED records END OF COAL "the direction or section at right-  
angles to the face" from 1881.

PACK v. tr. ['pak]

Put waste material tightly into the gob, or build up the  
sides of a road with waste material to support the top.

Al W, Wi L, Bi G.

PACK v. recorded in same sense at Risca.

Wright records PACK n. 'a thick column of stones or coal to  
support the roof' at 1/3-5/11-15 and PACKING at 6-7 in the  
same sense.

SAWD:Lian records PACK N. 'a rough wall to support the roof  
of a mine and to form a passage for the circulating air.'

PACK v. an adoption of (M)Dutch, (M)LG pakken.

PATCH v. [patʃ]

To cut and clean away muck from coal.

Te S, Mr I.

Jones records PATCHES, PATCHING: "The system originally

adopted in working outcrop coal. It was in vogue mainly on the sides of the several valleys of Aberdare and Merthyr, as well as on the high lands of Dowlais, Rhymney, Hirwaun and Maesteg. It consisted mainly in clearing the soil which lay above the patch of coal they wished to work." Presumably it is this usage which has been extended to clearing the soil or muck away from coal underground.

#### PILLAR OF COAL ['pɪlər əv ko:l]

A thick column of coal that is left behind to support the roof (cf. distribution of PACK above).

Al W.

Wright records PILLAR (OF COAL) at 14.

G'r G records PILER in the specific sense of the column of coal left between stalls along a face, from Morg, Caerf.

Also PILER BACH (Welsh bach 'little') and PILER MAWR (Welsh mawr 'big').

Jones also records PILAR.

OED records in specific sense "A solid mass of coal or 'other mineral, of rectangular area and varying extent, left to support the roof of the working." ME piler(e).

#### PLACE [ple:s]

Area of face that is the responsibility of one man to work (cf. STALL). A particular stall might be someone's place, so the two words are not exclusive.

Al W, Em L, Te S.

Wright records PLACE 'miner's working-place' at 1/14, while he records STALL with the same meaning at other localities.

Adoption of (O)F place.

PULL (THE COAL) v.tr. [pəl (ðA ko:l)]

Extract coal from the face.

Em L, Wi L, Bi G,

Poss. translation of Welsh tynnu'r glo 'to pull the coal', recorded in G'r G (no distribution given).

PUNCHER ['pʌntʃə]

A hand-held automatic pick used (in later years) for breaking up coal.

Al W.

OED records only in general sense "One who or that which punches, thumps, perforates or stamps; an instrument for doing this".

RACE (THE DRAM) v. (+n.) [re:s (ðA dræm)]

To build up the coal above the level of the sides of the dram. Larger lumps were placed in a wall around the outside and smaller coal was then filled into the middle (see also BED THE DRAM).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Wa B, Te S, Mr I.

RACE recorded at SAWD:Llan and Risca.

G'r G records RASO v. from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records RHASO/RHASO DRAM.

From RISEv. /RAISEv.? or connected with F mesure rase 'level measure'.

RUBBISH gen. ['ʌbɪʃ]

Waste material (cf. DIRT and MUCK).

Wi L.

Adoption of AN rubbous.

SIDE [sʌɪd]

Part or half of the face in a stall. When the 'boy' had learnt from the collier how to cut the coal, he might be allowed to "work his own side".

Bi G, Te S.

OE side.

SPRAG n. + v. [sprag]

Small wooden prop used to support the coal when undercutting. Also used as a verb in sense to prop up using a chock or sprag (cf. also SPRAG - D below).

Te S.

Wright records SPRAG 'a small chock' at 4-6.

SPRAG v. recorded at Risca.

G'r G records SBRAG n. from Morg, Caerf, Rhos.

OED records SPRAG in specific sense "a prop used to support the coal or roof during the working of a seam" from 1841, of unknown origin.

#### STINT [stint]

The amount of work allotted to one man (used more in the BARRY or LONG-WALL SYSTEM than STALL AND HEADING).

STINT: Al W, Wi L.

SAWD:Llan records STINT 'the amount of work given to one miner'.

G'r G records STENT from Rhym, with the qualification that it is a term used specifically in BARI work.

EDD records the following meanings of STINT:

- (i) 'A measure or quantity' Cu, Y, No, L.
- (ii) 'An allotted task to be done for a fixed wage'  
Scot., Nb, We, Y, No, L, Lei, Wo, Sf, So.
- (iii) 'A limited allowance of pasturage, the right of  
pasturage' Wa, Wo, Sa.

Wright records STINT in the sense 'the miner's working place' (as an alternative to PLACE or STALL) at 7-8.

ODEE records STINT in the sense "amount allotted or fixed" from 15th C. From OE styntan (once), more fully

represented in compounds astyntan, ætstyntan, forstyntan  
'blunt, dull'; corresponding to ON. \*stynta.

UNDERCUT v. ['ʌndəkʌt]

To cut underneath the coal to loosen it so that it will come away from the face (cf. HOLING).

Te S, Ge V.

Wright records CUT in the same sense, on its own at 7/10 and with HOLE at 12-13.

OED records UNDERCUT in the specific mining sense "to undercut a seam of coal etc." from 1883.

WASTE [we:st]

Area of the stall where waste material was stowed. WASTE is described as the "proper name" for GOB (cf. GOB).

Al W, Wi L, Ge V.

Wright records WASTE in the same sense at 8/11-12.

G'r G records WAST in the sense of 'the place kept between the gob and the rib for air to travel' from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records WAST in the same sense as G'r G.

EDD records in the senses of 1. 'Old disused workings in a coal-mine' from Scot. Northern counties, Nb, Du, Cu; and 2. 'Coal-mining refuse; a cheap kind of coal' from Scot, Wa.

WASTE an adoption of ONF. wast(e), a variation of OF guast(e), gast(e) partly representing L. vāstum, n. of vāstus 'waste, desert', partly formed on waster v.

#### D. TRANSPORTING THE COAL

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##### BAR-HOOK ['baʊk]

Long metal rod hanging at the rear of a dram which would stick between the sleepers and halt the dram if it were to roll backwards (see fig. 10(vi)).

Al W, Bi G, Ge V, Te S.

BAR-HOOK recorded at Risca.

G'r G records BARWC from Morg, Caerf.

##### BLOCK [blɔ:k]

Small block of wood, attached to the rails, which can be twisted across the rail to stop drams moving backwards or forwards.

Te S.

##### BOMBEY ['bɒm:bɪ]

A large metal truck for carrying coal. It had the capacity to carry roughly 1½ tons of coal, about two and a half times that of a dram (cf. TUB).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

BOMBEY recorded at Risca.

G'r G records BOMBI from Morg.

BRAKESMAN ['bre:ksmAn]

The man who took drams from the banksman to the check-weighman; also the man who worked in the railway sidings, on top of the pit, where the wagons came to collect the coal.

Te S.

No record found elsewhere.

BREAST THE DRAM v. + n. [brest ðA duam]

(Of the horse) to push the dram from the back with the chest (rather than pull it from the front).

Wi L.

BREAST v. formed on BREAST n., OE brēost.

COFFEE-POT ['kofi pot]

Small haulage engine used underground.

Ge V.

No record of this usage found elsewhere.

DRAM [duam]

Small iron truck or wagon used for transporting coal from

the face to the surface. Also known (more officially) as a 'tram' (see fig. 10(vi)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Ge V, Bi G, Te S.

DRAM recorded in the same sense at Risca.

SAWD:Llan records TRAM [tjam].

Wright records DRAM in the same sense at 10-11 and in the sense 'a tub for debris' at 13.

G'r G records DRAM from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records DRAM.

EDD records TRAM in the senses 1. 'a strong wagon for heavy loads' from Sa. and 2. 'Mining term, a wooden carriage for coal tubs' from Nb, Du.

ODEE records TRAM: "(coalmining, north) 'frame or skeleton truck for carrying coal baskets'" from 16th C. An adoption of MLG, M Dutch trame 'balk, beam, rung of a ladder' of unknown origin; the sense-development is obscure as it is not paralleled in LG or Dutch.

DRAMAGE gen. ['dramidz]

The stock of drams, trucks, etc.

Wi L.

Formed on DRAM n. in the same was as TON - TONNAGE.

EMPTY ['em:tɪ]

An empty dram; a dram that is ready for filling.

Wi L, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

EMPTY recorded in this sense at Risca.

EMPTY n. elliptical use of EMPTY adj. "containing nothing, vacant." OE āmtig, āmet(t)ig (also 'unoccupied') formed on āmetta 'leisure'.

#### FARRIER ['farijʌ]

Man who cares for the well-being of the horses above ground; blacksmith.

Em L, Te S.

FARRIER an adoption of OF ferrier, from normal development of L ferrarius, formed on ferr-um 'iron', in Medieval L (often ferrus) 'horse-shoe'.

#### GAFFER-HAULIER ['gafAr 'ɔlijʌ]

Chief haulier, who is in charge of where the other hauliers are working (see also HAULIER).

Ge V, Bi G, Te S.

G'r G records GAFFER HALIERS from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records GAFFAR and GAFFAR HALIARS.

EDD records GAFFER 'a foreman, an overseer, head man' from Ayr, Lnk, Northern Ireland, n. Cy, Nb, Du, Cu, We, Y, La, Ch, St, Db, Nt, L, Lei, Nth, Wa, Wo, Sa.

"The analogy of the continental synonyms, F compère, commère, German gevatter, would suggest that gaffer, gammer are contractions of godfather, godmother rather than of grandfather, -mother, but the change of vowel may be due to association with these words." See below for HAULIER.

### GARRY ['garɪ]

Small plaited whip.

Te S.

G'r G records GYRI from Caerf.

Poss. related to Welsh gyrru v. 'to drive, to send'.

### GUN [gʌn]

Iron device for attaching the shaft of the horse to the dram (see fig. 10(vii)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

GUN recorded at Risca.

G'r G records DRYLL (Welsh dryll 'gun') from Morg, Caerf.

GUN not found recorded in this sense elsewhere.

### HAULIER ['hɔl(i)jʌ/(h)al(i)jʌ]

Man who drove the horse and dram. He would take the empty dram from the parting to the stall for the collier to fill and then return the full dram to the parting, to be attached to a journey for the trip to the pit-bottom.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Ge V, Te S, Mr I.

HAULIER recorded at Risca.

G'r G records (H)ALIAR, (H)ALIER from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records HALIAR.

HAULIER an adoption of OF hallier formed on hal(l)er, from 15th C.

#### HITCHING PLATE ['(h)itʃɪŋ ple:t]

Long bar of metal which runs right along the centre of the bottom of the dram and which has a hole in each end for the pin to go through when attaching the dram to the gun or to another dram in the formation of the journey.

Wi L, Ge V, Bi G, Te S.

HITCHING PLATE recorded at Risca.

HITCHING pr.ppl. of HITCH v. recorded in the sense "to catch with a hoop, loop, etc." from 17th C. The earliest records are from E. Anglian areas, + PLATE adoption of OF plate 'thin sheet of metal'.

#### HOMES n. pl. [ho:mz]

The two curved pieces of wood which attach the horse's collar to the shaft.

Wi L.

SAWD records HAMES~HAMS~HOMES at D/Cdg 1-3/5, D/Pem 1-4/9-10, D/Cth 2-4/8/10-12; P/Rdn 1-6, P/Bre 1/3-7, Gw 2/4-5/7/9/12-13, W Gmg 1-8, M Gmg 9-16, S Gmg 17/19-21.

G'r G records OMZ from Morg, Caerf.

EDD records NAME sing. and variants in general dial. use in Scot. Ireland and Eng.

HAME sing. recorded from 14th C. Adoption of M Du hame (Du haam) corresponding to MHG ham(e) 'fishing-rod', of unknown origin.

#### JIGGER ['dʒɪgə]

Type of conveyor-belt, used in mechanised coal-mining.

Ge V, Wi L.

Prob. formed on JIG v. "to make a succession of rapid jerks", from the movement of the conveyor.

#### JOURNEY ['dʒørni]

A number of drams (usu. around 9 or 10) shackled together.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Ge V, Bi G, Te S.

SAWD:Llan records JOURNEY, and at Risca.

Wright records JOURNEY at 9-10/12-13.

G'r G records SIWRNE from Morg, Caerf, Rhos, SIWRNA from P. D.

OED records JOURNEY as dial. in the sense "the load or

amount carried at one journey." From JOURNEY "spell of travel, esp. by land" (obsol. 'day's travel'), an adoption of OF jornee, Modern F journée 'day, day's work or travel'.

LAY A ROAD v. + n. [lei Å ro:d]

To put down rails and sleepers for a dram to travel along a roadway.

Te S.

MAIL [meil]

First or last journey of the day, in which men (rather than coal) would travel (cf. MAN-RIDING JOURNEY).

Te S.

Not recorded in this specific sense elsewhere, but poss. attributive use of MAIL "short for mailcoach or van (on a railway)".

MAN-RIDING JOURNEY adj. + n. [man 'rAidin 'dʒæ:ni]

First or last journey of the day, in which men (rather than coal) would travel (cf. MAIL).

Em L.

MECKLEMEN ['mek-ł̥ mən]

Officially turbine officers, "the men who work the switches" (Al W.).

Al W.

EDD records MICKLE (var. meckle, mekil, mekle) in combination with -MAN, 'the head labourer on a farm' from Scot.

MUCK-TRAM ['mʌk tɹæm]

Drams used to carry muck away from the face if there was no more room in the gob.

Em L.

Wright records DRAM at 13 in the sense 'a tub for debris' (see also DRAM).

OILER/OILEY ['ɔɪlə/ 'ɔili]

Man who oiled the wheels etc. of the drams after they had been emptied on top of the pit, in preparation for their return underground.

OILER: Te S.        OILEY: Wi L.

OED records OILER "one who oils or lubricates with oil".

OSTLER ['ɒstlə]

Man who looked after the horses in the stables underground.

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S.

OSTLER recorded at Risca.

G'r G records OSLER from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records OSTLER.

From HOST(E)LER, formed on OF (h)ostel, modern F hôtel 'hotel'. Recorded in the sense "stable-man, groom" from 15th C. Variant spelling OSTLER, restricted since 16th C. to this sense.

#### PIN [pɪn]

Piece of metal dropped through a hole to attach one thing to another: 1. to attach the gun to the dram, 2. to attach the shackles to the dram, 3. to fasten the gate of the carriage.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Ge V, Te S.

PIN recorded at Risca.

Late OE pinn, adopted of L pinna applied to various objects likened to a wing or a feather.

#### PISYN TIN ['piʃn 'ti:n]

Thick piece of leather attached to the haulier's belt, designed to protect his lower back and kidneys when he used his back to move a de-railed dram.

Al W, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

Not known at Risca.

G'r G records PISIYN TIN from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records PISHYN TIN.

Welsh pisyn 'piece' + tin 'rump, tail'.

#### RIDER [rAidA]

Man who rode on the journey of drams between the pit-bottom and the parting.

G'r G records REIDAR from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records RIDER.

#### SCOTCHES n. pl. [skɔtʃɪz]

Brakes on a dram.

Al W.

G'r G records SGOTSIAN, SGOTSIS from P.D.

OED records in general sense "a block placed under a wheel, a cask, or the like, to prevent moving or slipping."

Occasionally, SKATCH, which may indicate identity with scatch 'stilt', adopted of OF escache.



#### SHACKLER [ʃak-lA]

Man who shackles drams together into a journey.

Te S, Mr I.

From SHACKLE n., OE sċ(e)acul, corr. to LG schäkel link of a chain. Used as a verb from 15th C.

## SHAFT [ʃaft]

The wood and iron frame which was attached to the hames of the horse in front, and the gun behind, so that the horse could pull the dram (see fig. 10(viii)).

Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

G'r G records SIAFFT from Morg, Caerf.

OED records SHAFT "One of the long bars, between a pair of which a horse is harnessed to a vehicle." OE scaft, sceaf.

## SHARING THE TURN Ger. phr. [ʃe:rin ðA tœ:n]

(Job of) deciding which haulier should collect the full drams of which colliers and in what order.

Ge V.

## SPRAG [sprag]

Long piece of wood (c. 18 inches to 2 foot 6 inches), sharpened at both ends, which was placed through the wheels of a dram to brake it (see also SPRAG, section C).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Ge V, Te S.

Also SPRAGGER 'Man who brakes or sprags drams': Mr I.

SPRAG recorded at Risca.

Wright records SPRAG at 11.

G'r G records SBRAF from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records SPRAG n. and SPRAGO v.

OED records SPRAG "a stout piece of wood used to check the revolution of a wheel" from 1878, of obscure origin.

TACK n. + v. [tak]

- n. Harness, collar, etc. of horse.
- v. to put harness etc. on the horse.

Wi L, Te S.

Shortened form of TACKLE "apparatus, equipment, gear", adopted of (M)LG takel. In the sense "to harness" from 18th C.

TRAFFIC gen. ['trafɪk]

General name for horses, drams, journeys, etc. moving on the roads.

Em L, Te S.

Adoption of F traf(f)ique (modern tráfico) of obscure origin. (The first syllable may represent L. trāns.)

TUB [tʌb]

Large dram, poss. made out of wood (cf. BOMBEY).

Al W, Wa B, Bi G.

Wright records TUB in the sense of 'dram' (not an especially large one) at 2/4-5/7/9/12-15 and PIT-TUB at 6.

G'r G records TWB, again in the sense of 'dram' from P.D., Rhos.

Jones records TWBA 'a large kind of tram made of wood'.

EDD records TUB in the sense of 'dram' from Nb, Du, Y.

ME tubbe.

TUGS pl. [tʌgz]

A pair of short chains attached to the hames, by which the collar is attached to the shaft.

Te S.

SAWD records TUGS in the sense of 'hames' at D/Cth 7.

From c. 1250. Formed on TUG v., early ME togge.

WAGON ['wagʌn]

Rail-way truck with c. 20 tons capacity, used to take coal from the colliery.

Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S.

OED records WAGON 'A truck used to convey minerals along the roadways of a mine, or from the mine to the place of shipment' from 1649.

Early forms wagan, wag(h)en, adoption of Du. wagen, obs. waghen 'wain'.

## E. SHOT-FIRING

AUGER ['o:gA]

Machine for hand-boring into coal etc.

Al W.

OED records AUGER "an instrument for boring in the soil or strata of the earth, having a stem which may be lengthened as the perforation extends." OE nafu-gar formed on nafu 'nave' (of a wheel) + gar 'piercer, borer, spear'; lit. 'nave-borer'.

BLOW THE TOP v. + n. [blɔu ðA tɔp]

Cause an explosion to bring down the roof to extend a roadway or heading.

Em L, Wi L.

BLOW THE TOP recorded at Risca.

BLOW v. "to shatter, destroy or otherwise act upon by means of explosion" + TOP, see section B above.

CAP [kap]

Detonator used in firing.

Em L, Wi L.

G'r G records CAPAN in this sense from Morg, Caerf.

CAP = Guncap, percussion cap "a cap-shaped piece of copper lined with a fulminating composition, used to ignite the powder in fire-arms."

DRIVE v. tr. [druAiv]

Open up, extend (i.e. to drive a road, face forward).

Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

G'r G records DRIVO, DRIVO HEDIN from Morg, Caerf.

OED records DRIVE in specific sense "in mining, to excavate horizontally: distinguished from SINK".

HEADING-MAN ['(h)eidɪn man]

Man whose job it was to excavate or drive the heading.

(cf. ROAD-MAN).

Te S.

SAWD: Llan records HEADING-MAN 'the man in charge of one working place at the coal-face'.

HEADING-MAN recorded in Rh sense at Risca.

See also HEADING, section B above.

KEO SOLGA ['kijou 'sɒlgA]

German earth which was mixed with nitro-glycerine to effect a controlled explosion in early method of shot-firing.

Al W.

No record found elsewhere.

OPENING-WORK vbl. n. ['ɔpniŋ wə:k]

Work of extending the pit underground to gain access to new areas of the coal-face.

Te S.

POWDER MONKEY ['pʌdə 'mʌŋki]

Boy who carried powder for the shot-firing man in early mining work.

Wi L.

OED records POWDER-MONKEY "a humorous term for a powder-boy on board ship".

RAM v. tr. ['ræm]

Fill a hole ready for firing.

Al W, Em L.

RAM v. recorded at Risca.

Wright records RAM v. in same sense at 7/9/11.

G'r G records RAMO v. from Morg, Caerf.

RAM v. recorded from 14th C. Formed on RAM n. 'male sheep, battering-ram'.

OE ram(m), perh. related to ON ram(m)r 'strong'.

## RAMMING ger. ['rammɪŋ]

Mixture of clay and stone-dust used to fill holes during shot-firing.

Al W, Em L, Wi L.

G'r G records RAMIN from Morg, Caerf.

Presumably extended use from 'the mixture of clay, etc. used for ramming'; see RAM v.

## RIPPER ['rɪpə]

Man whose job it was to bring down the roof "to make height" (cf. RIPPINGS and RIPPING THE TOP).

Mr I.

Jones records RHIPWR 'a ripper'.

Formed on RIP v. 'tear or pull away vigorously', of unknown origin.

## RIPPINGS ['ri:pɪŋz]

That which is blown or cut down from the roof, when "making height" (cf. RIPPER and RIPPING THE TOP).

Al W, Mr I.

G'r G records RIPINS from Morg, Caerf.

OED records RIPPING in the specific sense "that portion of

the roof which is cut down in the roadways to make sufficient height for men and horses to travel" from 1894,  
Vbl. n. formed on pr. ppl. of RIP v.

RIPPING THE TOP ger. phr. ['rippɪŋ ðə tɒp]

Bringing down the roof to "make height" in the roadways  
(cf. RIPPER and RIPPINGS).

Te S.

Jones records RHIPPO'R TOP 'to trim the roof so as to make it passable for horses'.

Pr. ppl. of RIP v. (see above under RIPPER) + TOP (see section B).

ROAD-MAN ['ro:d mæn]

Man whose job it was to extend or 'drive' the roadways underground (cf. HEADING-MAN).

Al W, Bi G.

See also ROAD, section B above.

SCRAPER ['skre:pə]

Long, thin iron bar, used to clean out loose material from drilled holes in preparation for firing.

Wi L.

G'r G records SGAPAR from Morg.

OED records SCRAPER in specific sense, "a piece of iron used to take out the pulverised matter which remains in a hole when bored previous to blasting." Formed on SCRAPE v., adopted of ON skrapa or (M)Du schrapen, OE scrapian 'scratch'.

SHOTS pl. [ $\int\text{ɒts}$ ]

Deliberate small explosions (usu. fired in a series) used to break up rock and in later years coal

Al W.

SHOT-FIRING recorded at Risca.

Jones records SHOT v.

EDD records SHOT 'a blast; a charge or cartridge of gunpowder for blasting' from Scot., Nb, Du.

Formed on OE sc(e)ot, gesc(e)ot.

SHOTSMAN/SHOT-FIRER/SHOT-FIRING MAN ['ʃɒtsmən/ʃɒt'fɪər/ʃɒt'fɪərɪŋ mən]

Man who detonates the explosives (or fires the shots) after they have been prepared by the collier/road-man etc.

Deputy to the fireman.

SHOTSMAN: Wi L, Wa B, Ge V.

SHOT-FIRER: Al W. SHOT-FIRING MAN: Te S.

SHOTSMAN recorded at Risca.

G'r G records SHOTSMAN from Morg, Caerf. also FFYIARMAN SIOT from Caerf.

OED records SHOTMAN, SHOTSMAN in connection with mining from 1905. (See also SHOTS above).

#### SINKER ['sɪŋkə]

Man employed to sink a shaft.

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Mr I.

OED records SINKER "one who sinks a pit-shaft, well or the like" from 1708. Formed on SINK v., OE sincan.

#### SPAWN v. [spo:n]

Explode, catch fire, e.g. "The powder would not spawn without the detonator," (Wi L).

Wi L.

OED records SPAWN in general sense "To engender, produce, bring forth, give rise to", in this case pres. give rise to an explosion. Aphetic adoption of AN espaundre 'shed roe', variant of OF espandre 'shed, spill', normal development of L. expandere.

#### TOP HOLES gen. [tɒp 'o:lz]

That which is blown or cut down from the roof when "making height" (cf. RIPPINGS).

Wi L.

OED records the poss. related TOP-HOLE "passage driven in thick coal to draw off gas".

TOTAL CAVE-IN adj. + n. ['to:tAl 'ke:vɪn]

Method by which certain areas of the coal-face were not supported or made safe after coal had been excavated, but were allowed to collapse. It is a method particularly associated with modern machine-cutting.

Al W.

WATER-INFUSE v. ['wo:tAr ɪn'fju:z]

Pump water into holes bored in the coal and put pressure on the water with a plunger so that the water would split the coal.

Al W, Ge V.      WATER THE COAL: Te S.

#### F. TIMBER-WORK AND MAKING SAFE

ARM [a:m]

Upright post, usually used as one of a pair (see PAIR OF TIMBER) with a collar (see COLLAR) to support the roof (see also fig. 10(ix)).

Al W, Bi G, Te S.

Wright records ARM 'vertical prop' at 10.



ARM also recorded at Risca.

G'r G records BRAICH (Welsh braich 'arm') from Morg, Caerf.

OE arm (earm).

#### BAR [ba:]

Horizontal prop, used to support roof (cf. COLLAR).

Al W.

Wright records BAR in the same sense at 1/5-6/11-13.

BAR also recorded at Risca.

G'r G records BAR at Rhos, P. D.

OED records BAR 'Timber used to support the roof of a seam in a mine' from w. Y.

Adoption of (O)F barre, normal development of Roman \*barra, of unknown origin.

#### COG [kɒg]

Large, square constructed pillar, used to support the roof at certain strategic places (see also PARTING COG, PEAKING COG). Lengths of timber (c. 2 ft 6 inches to 3 feet) were placed in alternating pairs and the centre filled with rubbish and muck (see fig. 10(x)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records COG in the sense 'a small prop' at 10.

G'r G records COGYN, COGZ in the Rh sense from Morg, Caerf.

COG recorded at Risca.

OED records COG "a block used in building up a support for the roof of a mine" = CHOCK n. ME cogge found from 13th C.

OED definition suggests that COG was originally one of the lengths of timber used in the construction, but is used by extension in the Rh for the whole construct.

#### COG-MAN ['kɒg mæn]

An old man given the 'light' job of sawing timber into lengths for use in the construction of cogs.

Te S.

#### COLLAR ['kɒlə]

A horizontal timber prop used in conjunction with two uprights or 'arms' to support the roof (see fig. 10(ix)).

Wi L, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records COLLAR in the same sense at 10.

COLLAR also recorded at Risca.

G'r G records COLER from Morg, Caerf, P.D.

#### FLAT [flat]

Horizontal prop used in the face, rather than the roadway.

It gave more support than a post and lid, but was not as permanent as a collar.

Bi G.

Wright records FLAT 'a horizontal prop' at 9. (In the distribution it is given as a variant of COLLAR).

G'r G records FFLATEN from Morg, Caerf.

From the adjective FLAT 'horizontally level'.

HALVES [a:vz]

Two uprights formed by splitting a length of timber (which was round, like a small tree trunk) vertically down the middle. The flat side would be placed against the side of the roadway.

Wi L.

From OE half (healf).

HATCHET ['atʃɪt]

Small axe used for chopping and shaping timber.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Te S, Mr I.

HATCHET recorded at Risca.

G'r G records ATSIAD from Morg.

Adoption of (O)F hachette, diminutive of hache 'axe'.

LAG [lag]

Horizontal prop used between two uprights to support the roof (cf. COLLAR).

Mr I.

G'r G records LAGEN from Morg, Caerf. .

Poss. from LAG 'stave of a barrel, lath or strip of material in a covering or casing' prob. of Scandinavian origin, ON logg 'rim of a barrel'.

LID [lid]

A wedge of timber used in conjunction with a post to hold up the roof (see fig. 10(xi)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

Wright records LID 'wedge' from 1/3/7/11-12/15/

LID recorded by SAWD:Llan and at Risca.

G'r G records LIDEN from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records LIDAN.

EDD records LID 'mining-term: a wedge-shaped piece of wood used to strengthen the roof' from Y, Db, Sa.

OE hlid.

PAIR OF TIMBER {pe:r A 'timbA}

Two uprights used together (with a horizontal prop) to support the roof.

Al W, Te S, Mr I.

G'r G records PÂR COED, PÂR O GOED (Welsh coed 'timber, wood') from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records PÄR O GO'D.

PARTING COG ['pa:tɪŋ kɒg]

Cog erected at the entrance to a stall, to give extra support for the increased area of roof occasioned by the turning (cf. PEAKING COG).

Te S.

PARTING "the place at which two or more things separate" + COG.

PEAKING COG ['pɪk:ɪŋ kɒg]

Cog erected at the turning of a heading (cf. PARTING COG).

Te S.

Poss. formed on PEAK "a projecting point" (i.e. the corner of the turning) + COG.

PLUG AND FEATHERS [plʌg ʌn 'feðəz]

Set of three wedges, one (the plug) slightly bigger than the other two (the feathers), used to split coal by driving the bigger one between the two smaller ones.

Al W.

PLUG AND FEATHERS recorded at Risca.

OED records PLUG in the specific mining sense: "The iron wedge or punch which is driven between two other wedges, called feathers...to split rock, coal, stone, etc."

#### POST [po:st]

Vertical timber or upright used (often in conjunction with a lid) to support the roof. Used in the face and the road (see fig. 10(xi)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Ge V, Te S, Mr I.

POST recorded by SAWD:Llan and at Risca.

Wright records POST 'vertical timber under 3 feet in length' at 9.

G'r G records POST from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records POST.

OE post, adoption of L. postis, perh. formed on por-, pro- + base of L. stare 'stand'.

#### SAWYER ['sɔɪjə]

Man who worked in the saw-mill on top of the pit, preparing timber for use underground.

Wa B, Te S.

SAWYER "one who saws timber", late ME sawier, alteration of obsol. sawer (formed on SAW v. + -ER) with assimilation of the ending to F.-ier.

## SLEDGE [sledʒ]

Heavy wooden hammer used for driving in wedges (a process usu. referred to as 'sledge and wedge').

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi g, Te S, Mr I.

SLEDGE recorded at Risca.

G'r G records SLEJ from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records SLEDJ, with the additional comment "used as a personal epithet: 'y sledj fel wyt ti' [You're like a sledge] (see also Ch. 8).

OE slecg, from c. 1000.

## STAND v. tr. [stand]

Build (of a cog).

Te S.

STAND v. "cause to stand, set upright" from 19th C.

OE standan.

## TIMBER-MAN ['tɪmə bA mn]

Man in charge of timber underground. He would make places safe after there had been a fall.

Wa B, Bi G, Mr I.

TIMBER-MAN recorded at Risca.

Wright records TIMBERER 'pit carpenter' at 5/11.

TIMBER<OE Timber + MAN.

UPRIGHT ['ʌprʌɪt]

Vertical timber prop. General name (cf. ARM and POST).

Wi L.

UPRIGHT recorded at Risca.

Wright records UPRIGHT 'vertical prop' at 9.

UPRIGHT "something set or standing upright" in frequent use from c. 1790. OE upriht.

WEDGE [wedʒ]

Tapering block of wood, used to fill space between collar and roof to make it more secure, or to be driven into a small gap to split something (see also PLUG AND FEATHERS).

Al W, Wi L, Bi G, Te S.

Wright records WEDGE 'a small piece of wood to support the roof' (what is also called LID in other localities) at 2/13.

OE wecg, recorded from 725.

## G. SAFETY, LIGHTING, VENTILATION AND DRAINAGE

### AMBULANCE BOX ['ambəns boks]

Box containing first aid equipment.

Te S.

AMBULANCE "moving hospital", an adoption of F. ambulance  
(1796) formed on L. ambulare 'walk' + BOX.

### BATTERY ['batAri]

Safe place, away from coal-face, where lamps were taken to be lit if they had gone out. Poss. also the machine that would give off sparks when a handle was turned, from which the lamp could be lit (cf. LIGHTER).

Wa B, Mr I.

OED records BATTERY "apparatus for producing voltaic electricity". (Adoption of (O)F batterie, formed on battre beat). Rh use prob. by extension from the presence of such apparatus in the safe place.

### BLACK DAMP [blak 'damp]

Foul, damp air, which appears to rise from the ground (cf. FIRE DAMP).

Bi G.

OED records from 1836 "The miners...also meet with foul air, called by them the black damp...which suffocates the

instance it is inhaled" (Scenes of Commerce). Also poss.  
carbonic acid gas.

BLOWER/BLOW-OUT ['blɔwər/ 'blɔwʌt]

Escape of gas from a fissure in the coal.

BLOWER: Te S, Mr I.      BLOW-OUT: Te S.

BLOW-OUT recorded at Risca.

Wright records BLOWER 'discharge of gas' at 1/4/6/9/12/15.

G'r G records BLOWER (distribution unspecified).

OED records BLOWER 'a violent discharge of gas' from Nb,  
Du, Y, St.

Formed on BLOWv. <OE v. blāwan.



BOUNCE [bʌns]

Boom, caused by movement of gas behind the coal.

Te S.

G'r G records PYWNSEN n. 'sbonciad o lo o'rffas' [(jerky)  
movement of coal in the face] from Morg.

OED records as obsol. BOUNCE "The loud burst of noise  
produced by an explosion."

BRADDISH ['brædɪʃ]

Partition or door (sometimes also called a BRADDISH-DOOR)  
to control the flow of air through the pit, or, by

extension, the thick, coarse, tarred material (sometimes also called BRADDISH-CLOTH) from which those doors were made (cf. DOORS).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Ge V, Te S, Mr I.

BRADDISH-SHEETS recorded at Risca.

Wright records BRATTICES 'ventilation doors/cloths' at 11, BRATTICE-CLOTHS at 7, BRADDISH-CLOTHS at 14 and BRADDISH-DOORS at 6/9.

G'r G records BRADISH, all localities.

Jones records BRADISH.

EDD records BRATTICE from Scot., Nb Du, Y, La, St.

OED records BRAADDISHING as a dial. form of BRATTICING.

BRATTICE is recorded as a "breastwork or parapet of wood" from 13th C., a "wooden partition" from 19th C., and is connected specifically with coal-mining from 19th C. "In early use there are several types, brutaske, brutage, bretage, bretais, -ise, adoptions of AN breteske, brutesche, brete sche, -asce ... perh. formed on Roman derivative of German \*bred- (OE bred, G. brett), var. of \*bord - BOARD + \*-isca -ISH."

CREEPING pr. ppl. ['kri:pɪŋ]

Moving, advancing (of gas).

Al W.

Formed on CREEPv. <OE crēopan.

DOORS pl. [do:z]

Partitions in the roadways which regulated and directed the flow of air around the pit (also called REGULATING DOORS and AIR-DOORS) (cf. BRADDISH).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Ge V, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records the following variants for 'ventilation screens or doors': DOORS at 3, DOORS (permanent) + BRATTICES (temporary) at 11, AIR DOORS at 4/5/12, VENTILATION DOORS at 6/9, BRADDISH-DOORS at 15, TRAP-DOORS AT 1.

DOORS/AIR-DOORS recorded at Risca.

OED records only in general sense "a movable barrier of wood or other material."

DOOR-BOY ['do: bɔɪ]

Young boy whose job it was to open and close the ventilation doors to allow journeys etc. to pass. In the early years of mining in the Rhondda, this would have been the first job a boy did on entering the pit at age 10 or 11. However, door-boys were a thing of the past in the experience of all the informants except Mr I.

Wi L, Ge V, Te S, Mr I.

DOOR-BOY recorded at Risca.

OED records the special combination DOOR-BOY "a boy who guards the door of a passage in a mine."

DOWNCAST ['dʌnkaʃt]

Shaft to bring fresh air into the pit (cf. INTAKE).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Mr I.

DOWNCAST recorded at Risca.

OED records DOWNCAST "The throwing down of a current of air into a coal-mine etc.: attributive in DOWNCAST SHAFT, the shaft by which fresh air is introduced into a mine, also elliptically called the DOWNCAST."

FALL [fɔ:l]

Collapse of the roof or top.

Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

EDD records FALL 'the falling down of the roof or stone in a pit' from Nb, Du.

FIRE-DAMP ['fAijA damp]

Methane gas, given off by the coal, which is potentially explosive (cf. BLACK-DAMP).

Al W.

OED records FIRE-DAMP "A miner's term for carburetted hydrogen or marsh-gas."

## FIREMAN ['fʌɪəmən]

Man who has the overall responsibility for the safety of a district.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Ge V, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records FIREMAN at 10.

FIREMAN recorded at Risca.

G'r G records FFYIARMAN, FFIARMAN from Morg, Caerf, Rhos.

Jones also records FIREMAN.

OED records FIREMAN "Mining. One whose duty it is to examine the workings of a mine to see that no fire-damp is present, to attend to the blasting etc."

## HURDLES ['hʌrdlz]

Movable screens used to direct air flow to remove gas,  
where it is becoming dangerous.

Al W.

Wright records HURDLES as 'ventilation doors' at 5.

OE hyrdel, normal development of \*xurðilaz, formed on German \*xurðiz...ON. hurð, Gothic haurds 'door'.

## INTAKE ['ɪn:tɛk]

Shaft carrying fresh air into the pit (cf. DOWNCAST).

Al W, Te S.

Wright gives INTAKE SHAFT as the keywords for 'the channel carrying fresh air into the mine'.

SAWD: Llan records INTAKE in same sense.

EDD records INTAKE from Nb, Du.

OED records INTAKE "Mining. The airway by which a current of air is introduced into a mine." Formed on TAKEv. + IN.

#### LAMP -ROOM ['lamprum]

Room in the buildings on top of the pit where lamps were collected prior to going underground.

Wa B.

LAMP-ROOM recorded at Risca.

#### LAMP-STATION [lamp 'steiʃən]

Safe place, away from the face, where lamps were lit or re-lit (cf. BATTERY).

Al W.

#### LIGHT-CARRIER [laɪt 'kariə]

Young boy who would carry extinguished lamps from the colliers at the face to the battery or lamp station to be re-lit. (Late 19th, very early 20th C. and phased out with door-boys).

Mr I.

**LIGHTER [ 'lAitə]**

A machine which would give off sparks when a handle was turned so that lamps could be re-lit safely (see also BATTERY).

Bi G.

OED records LIGHTER in general sense "An instrument for lighting."

**MAN-HOLE [ 'mænəʊl]**

Safety hole cut into the side of the roadway at every 10 yds, big enough for a man to step into if a journey etc. was coming.

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S.

Wright records MAN-HOLE at 1/3-6/8/11-12/15.

MAN-HOLE also recorded at Risca.

G'r G records MANOL from all localities.

Jones records MANHOLE.

OED records MAN-HOLE "a recess in a wall etc., used as a place of refuge, e.g. to avoid passing trains."

**OUT-TAKE [ 'Autek]**

Return airway, or airway carrying foul air out of the pit (cf. UPCAST).

Te S.

SAWD:Llan records OUTBY in the same sense.

OED records OUT-TAKE v. Obsol: "to take out (lit.); to extract, draw forth."

OVERMAN ['o: vAmn]

Official of the pit: above a fireman, but below the under-manager.

Al W, Wa B, Te S, Mr I.

Jones records OVERMAN.

EDD records OVERMAN 'A foreman, overseer, esp. the overseer of a pit' from Scot., n.Cy, Nb, Du, Y.

OED records OVERMAN in connection with mining from 1789.

RETURN [ri'tæ:n]

Small passage which carries air from one part of the pit to another, usually towards the upcast shaft.

Al W, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

Jones records RETURN.

EDD recorded RETURN 'The current of air...as it returns, after being conducted through the mine, to make its exit by the upcast shaft' from Nb, Du.

RETURN used elliptically for RETURN AIRWAY.

## STONE-DUST [sto:n dʌs]

Very finely ground limestone-rock, thrown down mines to try to prevent explosions.

Al W.

Wright records STONE DUST as the keywords for 'a sort of fine sand thrown down mines to stop the danger of explosions' but no variants or distribution recorded.

## SUMP [sʌmp]

Area of the shaft below the level of the pit-bottom, into which excess water from the pit would be drained. The sump would be emptied periodically.

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

SUMP recorded by SAWD:Llan and at Risca.

G'r G records SWMP from Morg, Caerf.

Jones also records SWMP.

EDD records SUMP 'a hole containing water; a dirty pool or puddle; a bog' from Scot., Nb, Du, Cu, Y, La.

OED records SUMP "Mining. A pit or well sunk at the bottom of an engine shaft to collect the water of the mine" from 1653.

SUMP an adoption of (M)LG, M Du sump, or in mining use corresponding to G sumpf, related to SWAMP.

## UNDER-MANAGER [ 'ʌndə 'mænidʒə]

Official of the pit: above the overman but below the manager.

Al W, Wa B, Te S.

OED records UNDER-MANAGER in connection with mining from 1894.

## UPCAST ['ʌp:kast]

Shaft which takes foul air from underground to the surface (cf. OUT-TAKE).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Mr I.

UPCAST recorded by SAWD:Llan and at Risca.

EDD records UPCAST for n. Cy, Nb, Du.

OED records UPCAST, used elliptically for UPCAST SHAFT, from 1816 (see also DOWNCAST).

## ZINC [zɪŋk]

Sheet made out of zinc used as a hurdle to direct air-flow or put over a miner to keep water off his back when working in a very wet place.

Al W, Bi G.

ZINC used elliptically for ZINC SHEET.

## H. WASHING AND GRADING THE COAL

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AERIAL(S) s/pl. [e:rɪjʌl(z)]

System of buckets (like a ski-lift) used to take waste material from the colliery to the tip.

Wi L, Bi G.

AERIALS recorded at Risca.

OED records AERIAL adj. only in general sense "Placed aloft, or at an airy height, lofty, elevated" formed on L. aerius (adoption of Greek ἀέριος, formed on ἀερ-, ἀέρ AIR).

BEANS pl. [bi:nz]

Second smallest size of coal, when graded at the washery (see also PEAS, NUTS, COBBLES and LARGE).

Al W.

EDD records BEAN 'a kind of small coals, so called from the size' from n. Cy, Nb, Du.

OED records BEAN "any object resembling a bean in shape" and also BEANS "small coals" from Newcastle, 1881.

BILLY ['bɪli]

Very fine small coal.

Wi L, Te S.

Wright records BILLY 'sediment, slurry' at 10.

G'r G records BILI y glo mân [small coal] from Morg, Caerf.

BILLY-CHECK ['bili tʃek]

An examination of the coal in a dram (above ground) to determine how much billy or small coal had been filled.

At one time a lower rate was paid for small than for large coal, or it was even not paid for at all.

Te S.

Jones records BILLY FAIR PLAY or BILLY 'a device attached to the screen (in the washery) by means of which the small coal was separated from the large and weighed.'

BLAST [bla:st]

Device that empties the stones and waste material sorted at the washery into a wagon ready to be transported to the tip.

Wi L.

Pres. from BLAST 'gust of wind or air', OE blæst.

CHECK-WEIGHER/CHECK-WEIGHMAN [tʃek'weijə/tʃek'weimən]

Man who weighs and records the weight of coal in each dram on top of the pit.

CHECK-WEIGHER: Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Mr I.

CHECK-WEIGHMAN: Te S

WEIGHMAN recorded at Risca.

Wright records the following variants: CHECK-WEIGHMAN at 1/3/8/14-15, WEIGHER at 10, CHECKER at 11-12, WEIGHER and CHECKER at 9.

CHECK-WEIGHING MACHINE [tʃek'weɪjɪŋ mə'ʃi:n]

Machine used by the check-weighman to ascertain the weight of coal contained in a dram.

Al W, Em L, Bi G. Also WEIGH-BRIDGE: Te S.

COBBLES pl. [kɒb'lz]

Lumps of coal, between nuts and large in size (see also PEAS, BEANS, NUTS and LARGE).

Al W, Wi L.

Wright records COBBLES as the name given to small coal at 3/5/7/10/12.

EDD records COBBLE 'a small round lump of coal, generally used in pl.' from Y, Ch, St, Db, Nt, R, Lei, Nth, Wa, Sa, Sr.

OED records COBBLE "coal of the size of small cobble stones" formed on COB (of obscure origin, in Anglo-Latin cobus 'cob-loaf') + -LE.

DUFF [dʌf:]

Very fine coal-dust (cf. SLURRY).

Al W, Ge V, Bi G.

DUFF recorded in same sense at Risca.

Wright records DUFF 'coal-dust' at 2.

G'r G records DYFF glo mân [small coal] from Morg, Caerf.

OED records DUFF "Coal-dust or smaller coals, after separation of the nuts".

HOPPER ['hopʌ]

Chute through which different-sized pieces of coal fall on to belts below when they are sorted in the screens.

Wi L.

OED records HOPPER "In a corn or other grinding mill, a receiver like an inverted pyramid or cone, through which grain... passes into the mill; so called because it had originally a hopping or shaking movement... Applied to similar contrivances".

INCLINE ['ɪn:klaɪn]

Road from the colliery up to the tip.

Te S, Su J.

G'r G records INCLEIN in the same sense from G Morg, Caerf.

Wright records INCLINE in the sense 'haulage road underground' at 9-10.

OED records INCLINE in the general sense "An inclined plane or surface... (esp. on a road or railway)" but in the specific mining sense it records something closer to Wright: "More fully INCLINE-SHAFT. A shaft or opening into a mine having considerable inclination."

#### LARGE/-COAL [la:dz/-ko:l]

The largest size of lumps of coal. Sometimes used as LARGE COAL, but also elliptically as LARGE.

Al W, Wi L, Wa B, Bi G.

G'r G records GLO MAWR (Welsh glo 'coal', mawr 'big, large') from Morg, Caerf.

LARGE 'big, great', adoption of (O)F large (now 'broad, wide'), normal development of L. larga, feminine of largu,-s 'abundant, bountiful'.

#### LARGE CHECK ['la:dz tʃek]

Examination of the coal contained in a dram (on top of the pit) to ascertain how much large coal is there (see also BILLY CHECK).

Te S.

#### NUTS pl. [nʌts]

Size of coal between beans and cobbles sorted at the washery (see also PEAS, BEANS, COBBLES, LARGE).

Al W, Wi L.

Wright records as the name given to small coal at 15.

OED records NUTS "small lumps of coal which will pass through a screen, the bars of which vary in width apart between  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches" from 1883.

PEAS pl. [pi:z]

Smallest size of coal sorted at the washery (see also BEANS, NUTS, COBBLES, LARGE).

Al W, Wi L.

OED makes no specific application to mining.

SCREEN [skri:n]

A moving belt or grid over which coal travels to be sorted in the washery. The screen has different-sized holes, progressing from the smallest to the largest, through which the different-sized pieces of coal fall.

Wi L, Wa B, Bi G, Mr I.

Wright records SCREENS in the same sense at 2-7/9-15.

OED records SCREEN "An apparatus used in the sifting of grain, coal, etc." Aphetic adoption of O. Frankish \*skrank, adoption of Old Northern French escren, a variant of escran.

## SLAG gen. [slag]

Mixture of muck and poor, small coal.

Ka L, Wi L, Te S, Mr I.

Wright records SLACK 'coal-dust' at 2/6/10-15 and SLECK in the same sense at 3/5/7.

EDD records SLAG 'A thin band of coal mixed with lime and iron pyrites' from Nb, Du.

OED records SLAG in the sense "A vitreous substance... which is separated from metals in the process of smelting" from 1620. Adoption of MLG slagge, perh. formed on slagen 'strike, slay' with reference to fragment resulting from hammering.

## SLURRY gen. ['slʌri]

The very fine dust washed off the coal (cf. DUFF) or small coal/coal-dust and oil mixed together.

Al W, Wi L, Bi G.

Wright records SLURRY for 'sediment' at 1.

OED records SLURRY "Thin sloppy mud or cement" from c. 1440. Poss. connected to SLUR (dial.) 'fluid mud' (sloor, slore, Promptorium Parvulorum).

## SMALL COAL [smɔ:l ko:l]

General name given to small-sized pieces of coal (as

opposed to washery names of peas, beans, nuts). Sometimes SMALL used elliptically (cf. LARGE/-COAL).

Al W, Em L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

SMALL COAL recorded at Risca.

Wright records SMALL COAL at 2 and SMALLS at 6/13-14.

G'r G records GLO BACH [Welsh glo 'coal', bach 'small'] from Morg, Caerf.

#### TIP [tɪp]

Place above ground where waste coal and rubbish are taken.

Al W, Em L, Wa B, Bi G, Te S.

TIP recorded at Risca.

Wright records (PIT) TIP at 2-6/8/10-11, DIRT-TIP at 13 and TIP at 9.

Jones records TIP.

OED records TIP "The mound or mass of rubbish etc. that is tipped." Originally tipe 'overturn', in literary use till 17th C and still dial., the distribution suggesting Scandinavian origin.

#### TRIMMER ['trɪmə]

Man who knocks slag or rubbish off coal on top of the pit.

Te S.

OED records in general sense "one who trims".

## TUMBLER ['tʌmbər]

Conveyor which takes the dram of coal from the check-weighman and tips the contents on to the screen in the washery.

Wi L, Te S, Mr I.

TUMBLER recorded at Risca.

G'r G records TWML0/TWMBLO v. 'to tip the dram up to empty it' from Morg, Caerf, P.D.

OED records TUMBLER "tipping apparatus for tubs or wagons" from 1886. Formed on TUMBLEv. <ME tumbel, adoption of MLG tummelen.

## WASHERY ['wɔʃəri]

Place on top of the pit where the coal is taken to be washed and sorted.

Al W, Wi L, Bi G.

WASHERIES pl. recorded at Risca.

OED records WASHERY "A place at which the washing of coal, ore, wool, etc. is carried on" from 1895.

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I. GENERAL (Food, animals, clothing, etc.)

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## BEAT adj. [bit]

Inflamed (referring to knee/elbow) through constant knocking and bumping.

Wi L.

Perhaps from BEATEN "struck with repeated blows".

BILLY-CAN ['bili kan]

Cylindrical can used to take water underground (cf. JACK).

Bi G.

OED records BILLY "An Australian bushman's teapot" and in British use from 1872.

BLACK-LEG [blak leg]

Strike-breaking miner.

Ge V.

OED records BLACK-LEG "a local name of opprobrium for a workman willing to work for a master whose men are on strike" from 1865.

BLACK-PATS/PADS - see Chapter 8, sec. D.

BOARD [bo:d]

Compensation board. A committee which would decide whether compensation should be paid to a miner suffering from pneumoconiosis, and if so, how much.

Ge V.

## BUTTY ['bʌtɪ]

Workmate, friend. Sometimes used specifically for a partner in work, but often used more generally for a colleague or friend.

Al W, Wi L, Te S, Mr I, Is E, Ja E.

BUTTY recorded at Risca.

SAWD records BUTTIES 'companions, friends' at Gw 6-7, W Gmg 4, M Gmg 12, S Gmg 19.

SED records BUTTIES at Sa 11, He 5-6, Mon 1/3, Gl 1, So 3-4/11/13, W 6.

Wright records BUTTY 'the collier's helper in the stall' at 5-6/10-11.

OSEE records BUTTY from 19th C and suggests it is probably evolved from the phrase play booty (recorded from 16th C) in which BOOTY 'plunder' is an adoption of (O)F butin, adoption of MLG bute, buite 'exchange, distribution', related to ON býta 'to deal out, exchange'.

## COMBINE ['kɒmbain]

A group of pits which were managed together.

Mr I.

OED records "A combination of persons in furtherance of their own interests, commercial or political", orig. US colloq.

## DOCKET ['dokət]

Pay-slip.

Ka L.

EDD records DOCKET 'A hating term: the wage-ticket of work people'. Of unknown origin.

## DUCK [dʌk]

Strong material used for making patches and knee-pads.

Em L, Ka L.

G'r G records DYC from Morg, Caerf.

Known only from 17th C, apparently adoption of 17th C.

Du doeck 'linen or linen cloth' (Hexham 1678).

## DUST [dʌst]

Disease affecting the lungs - officially pneumoconiosis or silicosis - caused by very fine particles of coal or stone (i.e. dust) that have been inhaled and have settled in the lungs.

Ka L, Bi G, Te S.

## GREASY KNEE ['grisi ni:]

Infection of the lower leg of the horse, caused by walking through water.

Wi L.

OED records GREASY "Of a horse: affected with the 'grease'... 'A sorrel mare... subject to greasy heels' (London Gazette, 1701).

JACK [dʒak]

Tin flask used to carry cold tea or water underground (see fig. 10(xii)).

Al W, Em L, Wi L, Wa B, Ge V, Bi G, Te S, Mr I.

JACK recorded at Risca.

G'r G records JAC from Morg, Caerf.

Jones records JAC/JAC DIN.

EDD records JACK 'A drinking vessel; a large copper can'  
Scot, Sa, Nth, Ha, Co, Sf.

Adoption of (O)F jaque, of much disputed origin, perh.  
immediately adoption of Sp. Portuguese jaco...of Arab  
origin.

RUFF v. [rʌf:]

Chafe (the neck of the horse) through rubbing of the collar.

Em L.

Poss. ROUGH v. "to turn, pull, scrape or rub up so as to make rough".

SCAB UNION adj. + n. [skab 'iunjʌn]

Union supported by the coal-miners, i.e. the Industrial Union, set up in opposition to the mine-workers' own union, the Miners' Federation.

Wi L, Ge V.

ODEE records "a low scurvy fellow" from 16th C, "non-unionist" from 19th C. Adoption of OB \*skabbr = OE sceabb.

SHWNI/JACKY DAUGORNS/LEGHORNS pl. ['ʃəni/'dʒaki 'dʌigo:nz/  
lʌ'go:nz]

Stag beetles, that take their name from their two long feelers or horns.

SHWNI DAUGORNS: Bi G, Ge V. SHWNI LEGHORNS: Wi L.

JACKY DAUGORNS: Al W. JACKY LEGHORNS: Em L.

Known in Risca as 'hornets', again taking their name from main feature. JACKY/SHWNI (Welsh pronunciation of Johnny) + Welsh dau 'two' + horns.

STAGMUS ['stægmʌs]

Nystagmus. Disease affecting the eyes, leading to an involuntary oscillation of the eyeball, caused by working in poor light.

Em L.

Jones records STAGMA.

From Greek γνῶτις α γνῶσης 'nodding, drowsiness'.

TALLY ['tali]

Token given to the collier in the lamp-room and returned at the end of a shift as proof of completion.

Al W.

Wright records TALLY 'a label on a dram to indicate who had filled it' at 9/12-14.

G'r G records TALI from Rhos.

EDD records TALLY from Nb, Du.

Adoption of AN tallie = Anglo L. tallia, talia, for L. tálea 'cutting, rod, stick'.

TOMMY BOX ['tɔmɪ boks]

Small metal box in which food was taken underground.

Al W, Em L, Ka L, Wa B, Ma C, Te S, Mr I.

TOMMY BOX recorded at Risca.

SAWD: Llan records TOMMY 'a meal eaten underground' also 'a meal out' at P/Rdn 2.

Wright records TOMMY BOX at 11.

SED records TOMMY at La 1; Db 1, St 7, He 1-4/6, Wa 6, Mon 2-3/6, Gl 1-4; Ess 14; So 4/7, W 8.

OSEE records TOMMY as 'a workman's name for food' from  
18th C. Familiar form of Tom.

TRUMPS [tʌmps]

Extra money given by the collier to his boy at the end of a good week. (The collier was paid by the mineowner and in turn paid his own boy).

Al W, Bi G, Te S.

G'r G records TRWMPYN, TRWMPS in the same sense from Morg, Caerf.

OED records TO TURN UP TRUMPS "to turn out well or successfully". Modern colloq., corruption of TRIUMPH, also obsol. TRUMP "a thing of small value, a trifle" from 1513, ?back-formation from TRUMPERY.

WHIFT [wɪft]

Short rest from working.

Te S.

EDD records WHIFT as a variant of WHIFF, and records WHIFF 'a short time; an instant' from Lth, Ant, Nb, Nth, Wa.

OED records WHIFF. ? Partly an alteration of ME wiffe 'offensive odour or taste, vapour', partly a new onomatopoeic formation.

YORKS pl. [jo:k̩s]

Thin straps of string or leather tied around the leg, just below the knee, to keep the trouser-leg up.

Al W, Em L, Ka L, Wi L, Wa B, Te S, Mr I.

YORKS recorded at Risca.

G'r G records IORCEN, IORCS from Morg, Caerf.

SED records YORKS at Nb 2/4-6, Cu 2/4-6, Du 4-6, We 1-4, La 1-5/7-9/11-13, Y 3-5/7/10/12-15/17-19/28/33-34, Ch 1-6, Db 2-5, Sa 1-7/9-11, St 1-11, He 1-7, Wa 1-2/4/6-7, Mon 1-3/5-7, Gl 1-3/5-7, Ox 2-3/5-6, Nt 1-4, L 3-4/6-7/11-12/14-15, Lei 1-2/4-7, Nth 1/5, Nf 4-5/7, Bk 1/5, So 1-13, W 1-9, Brk 2/4-5, Sr 2-3, K 5-6, Co 1-4/6-7, D 1-8/10-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-7, Sx 2-5. Also found in the forms YORKERS, YORKIES, LONDON-AND/TO-YORKS, and LEEDS-AND-YORKS.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. Op.cit. pp. 32-49. The same information is also recorded in Wright's book The Language of British Industry, pp. 169-180.
2. L. Davies, Geirfa'r Glöwr (Llandysul, 1976).
3. Tom Jones, "Coal Mining Terms", Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Vol. VIII, Part III, Nov. 1936, pp. 208-224.
4. SAWD, Vol. I, p. 256 and in Anne Gladwell's unpublished doctoral thesis, "Patterns in Distribution: An Intensive Study of Dialect and Tradition in Rural and Industrial Monmouthshire", (Swansea, 1973), pp. 148-153.

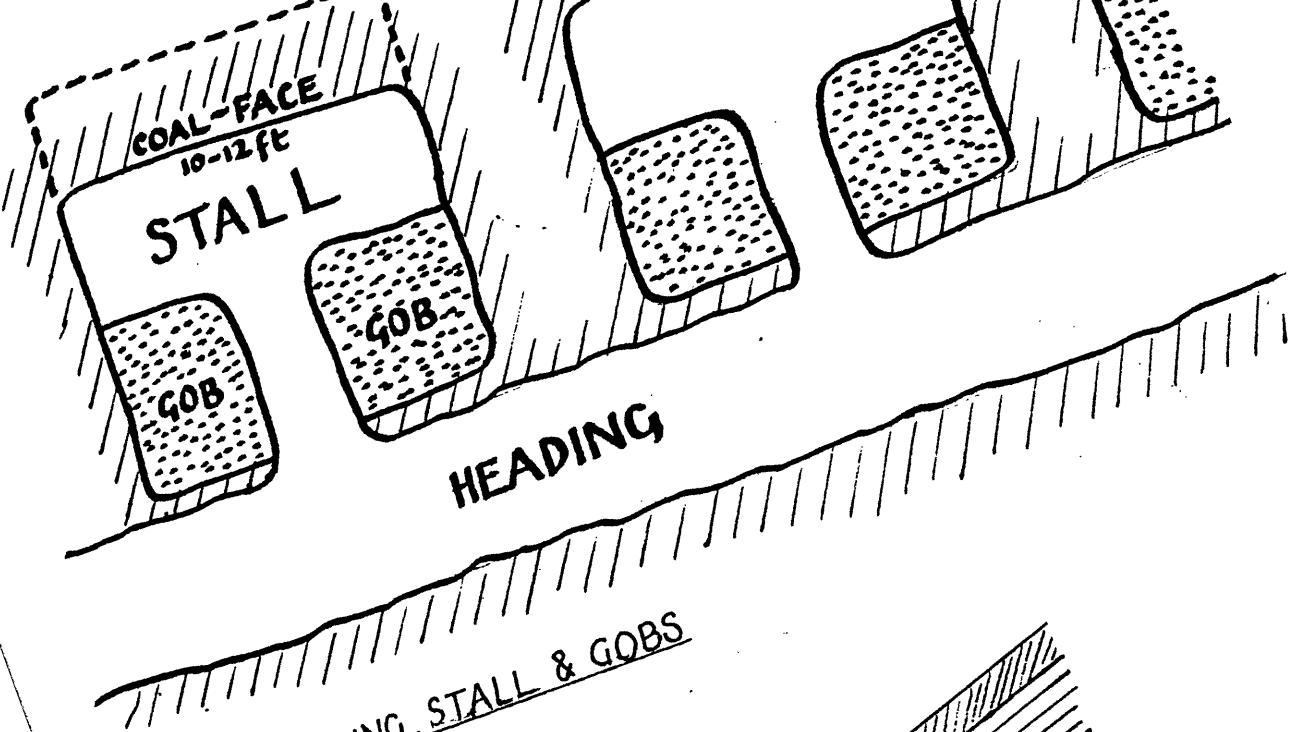


Fig. 10.1 HEADING, STALL & GOBS

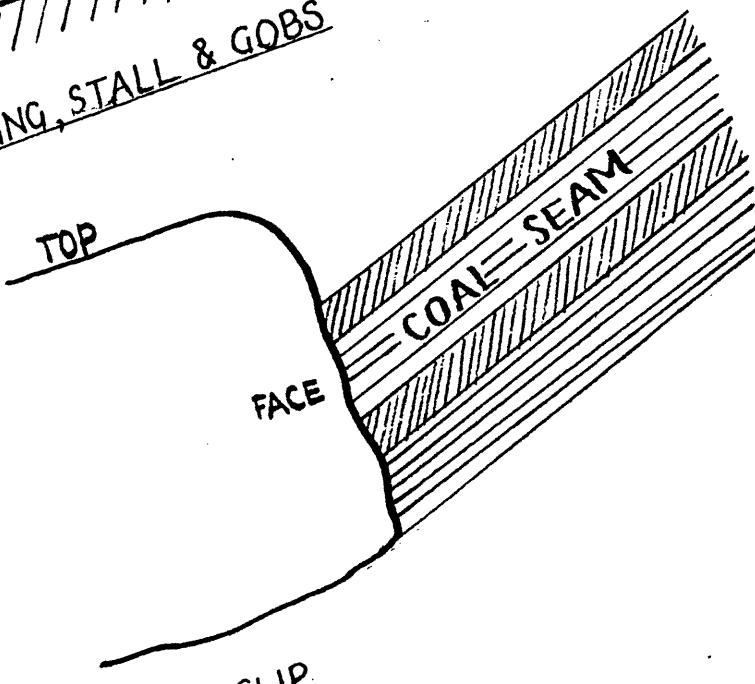


Fig. 10.2 BACK-SLIP

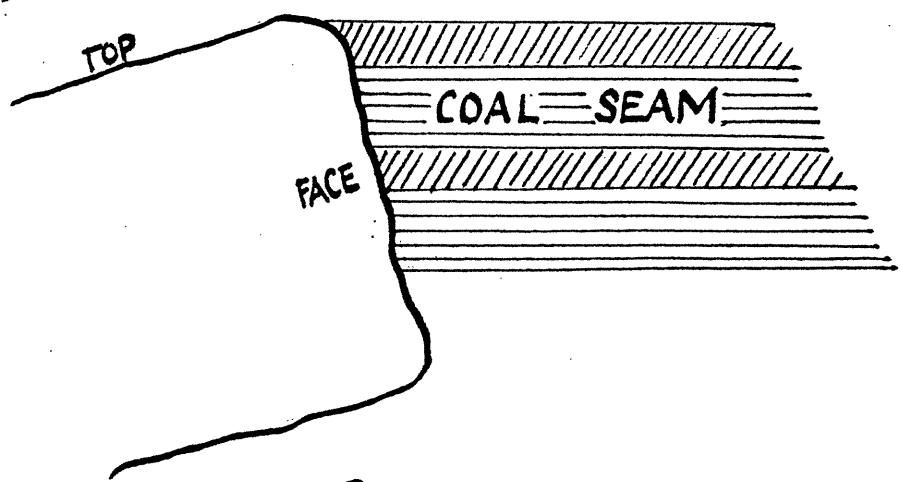


Fig. 10.3 FACE-SLIP

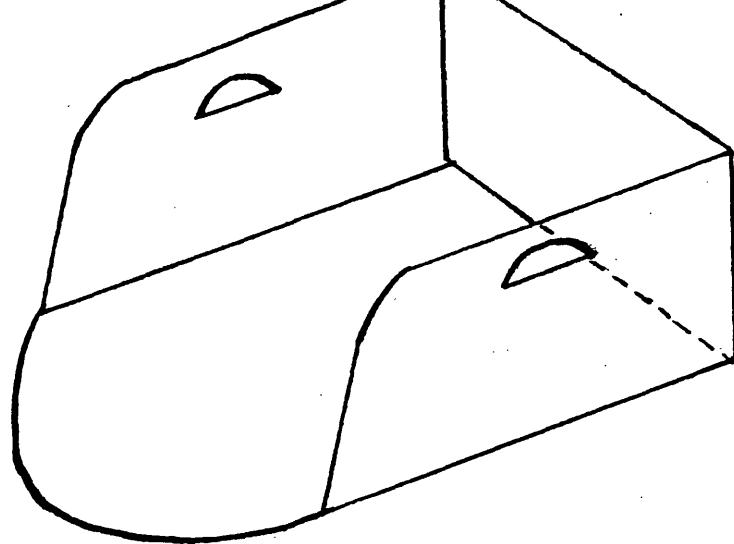


Fig.10.4 CURLING BOX

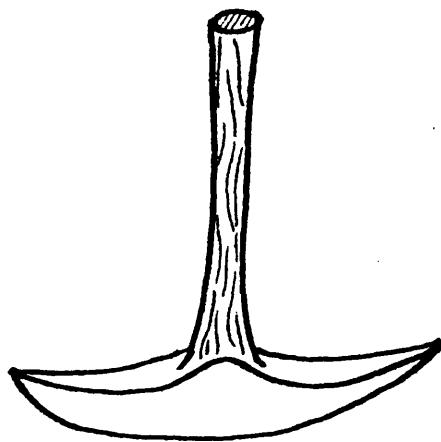


Fig.10.5 MANDREL

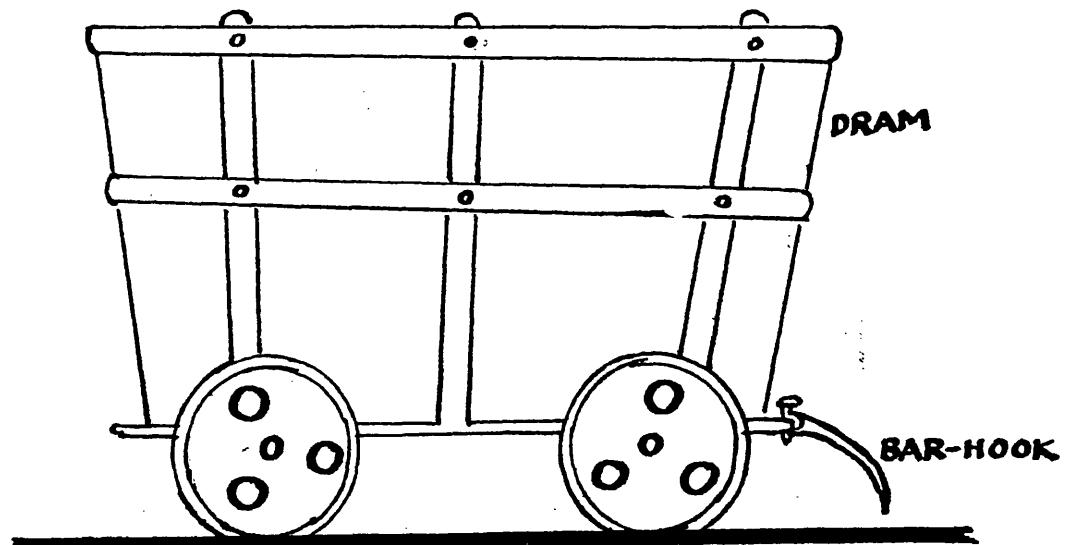
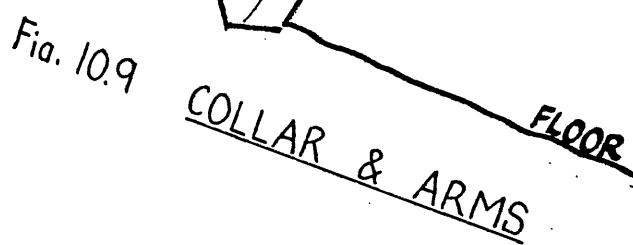
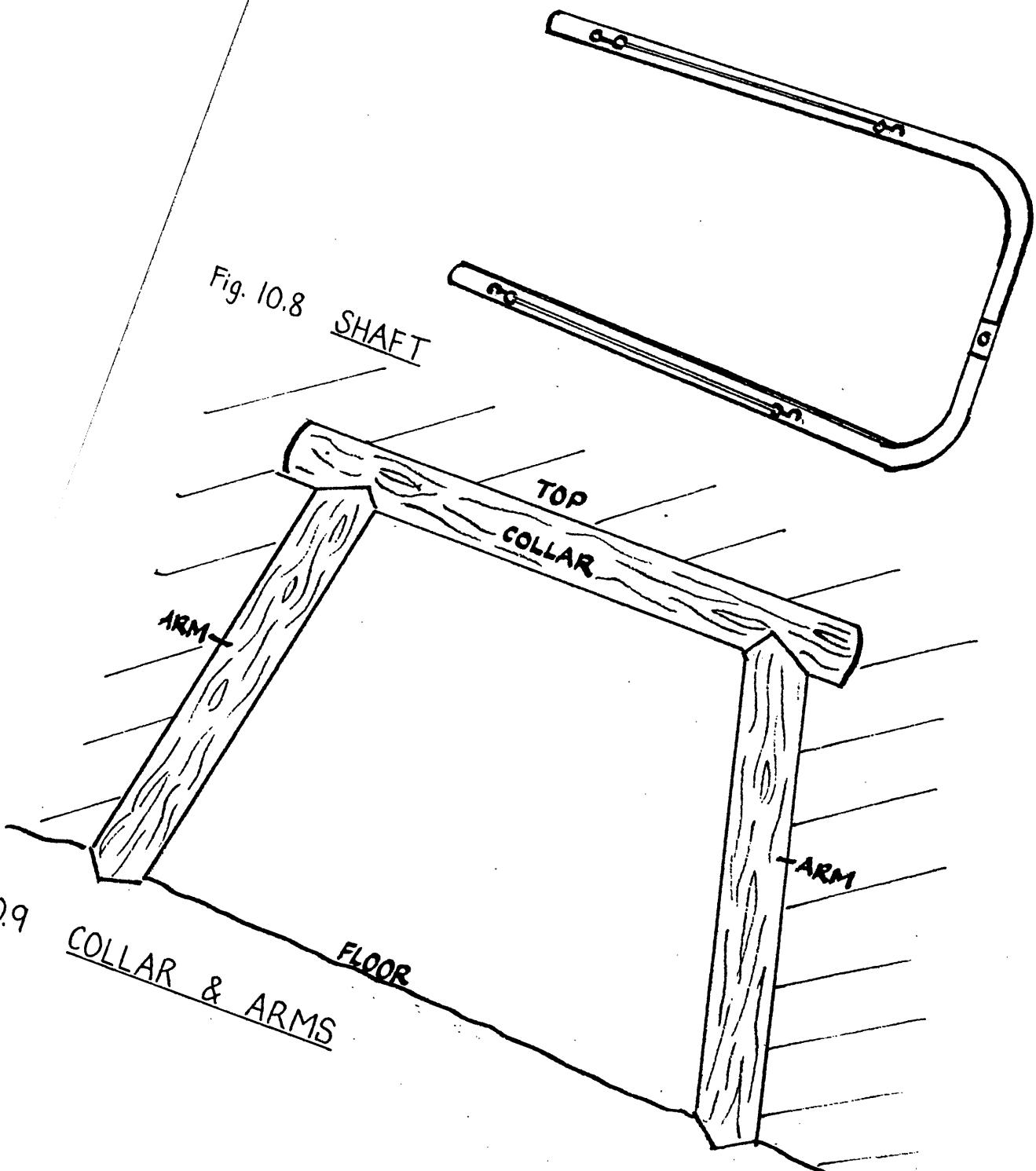
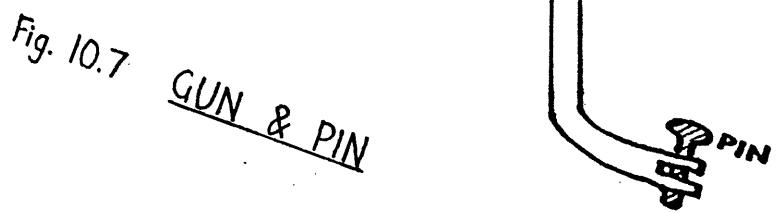


Fig.10.6 DRAM & BAR-HOOK



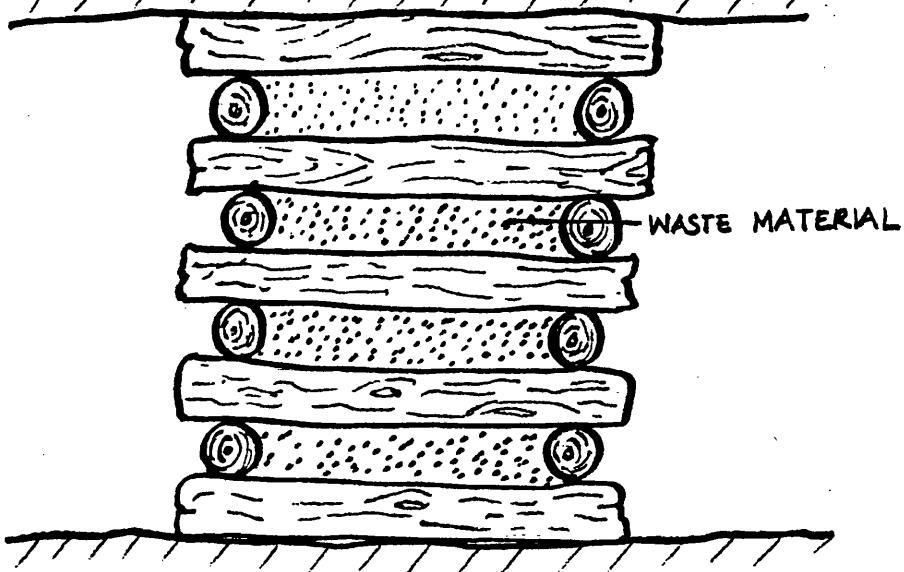


Fig. 10.10 COG

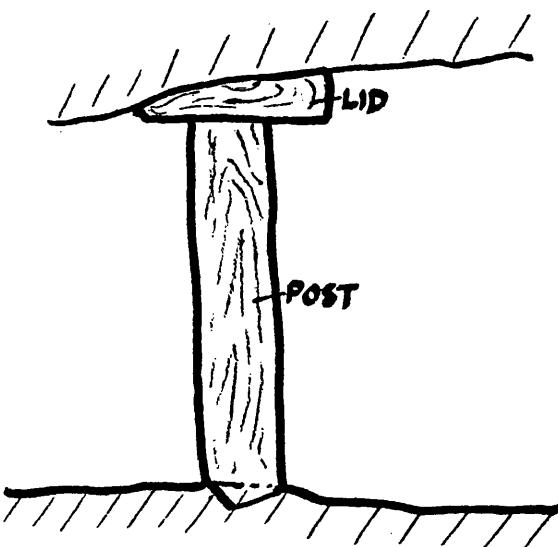


Fig. 10.11 LID & POST

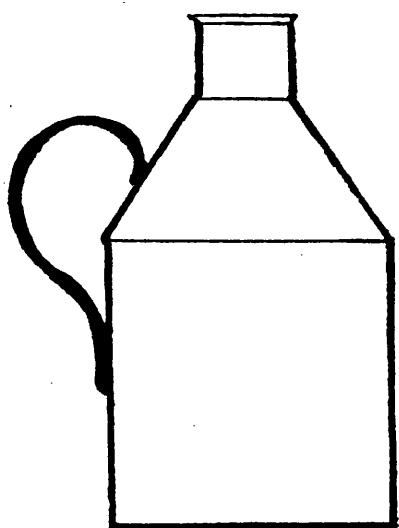


Fig. 10.12 JACK

## CHAPTER 11

### SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Unlike traditional dialect studies, the Rhondda investigation deals with a population which was created almost entirely by immigration. Settlers into the area brought Welsh from the heartlands of rural Wales and dialect forms of English from England and the already anglicized parts of South East Wales. They provided a lively mix of language to accompany the intensive industrial, social and religious activity that have been characteristic of the Rhondda during the past 150 years. A radio commentator discussing immigration into San Francisco once raised the question of whether the resultant community were more like a 'salad bowl' or a 'melting pot'. In the salad bowl the ingredients are mixed but retain their separate identities. In the melting pot the ingredients lose their separateness and take on a new homogeneous character. It is a question that finds resonances in the Rhondda community. This chapter seeks to offer some observations about the ingredients that went into the mix of Rh E, and to draw some tentative conclusions about their nature.

There are two central and inextricably-linked tensions to consider in any discussion of the history of Rh E. The first is the tension between the influence of the family and the influence of the local community on the speech of the individual. The second is the tension between Welsh and English in both family and community. In the early days of the Rhondda's industrial history

these tensions were minimal. Welsh-speaking families settled into and reinforced a native Welsh-speaking community. However, as the community grew and more English-speaking families arrived, the languages of home and community began to differ. This worked both ways. Members of English-speaking families found themselves in a community where the Welsh-speaking inheritance and culture were still very evident and influential, but, conversely, members of Welsh-speaking families found themselves in a community where English was increasingly becoming the predominant language of the street as the balance between numbers of Welsh and English-speakers changed.

All the informants were aware of Welsh used within the community, even if this only meant remembering Welsh taught in school or having a friend who spoke Welsh. However, the amount of Welsh possessed by an individual depended upon a number of factors:

(i) The most important factor in determining how much Welsh an individual possessed was family origin. Some informants report a very strong attachment to and identification with the particular place where their family came from. Ma S and Al T each tell a similar story, fondly remembering whole summers spent on family farms, Ma S in Pontrhydfendigau, Cardiganshire, and Al T in Atworth near Bath. However, for the majority of the informants, the place where their family came from is only a memory. More important is the inheritance of language which resulted.

As we saw in Chapter 2, immigration into the Rhondda

took place from three main sources: the Welsh-speaking, largely rural counties of Mid, West and North Wales, especially Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Montgomeryshire; the neighbouring industrial valleys of South-East Wales, e.g. Aberdare and Merthyr; some English counties, especially those of the West Country. In the cases of the informants, family provenance has a direct bearing on the individual's knowledge of the Welsh language, as the following table makes clear:

ONE OR BOTH PARENTS FROM	ABLE TO SPEAK WELSH	UNDERSTANDS SOME WELSH	NO WELSH
1. WEST, MID or NORTH WALES	Wa B, Is E, Sa J, Ed J, Ma S, Ge V.	Ja E, Bi G, Mr I.	
2. SOUTH-EAST WALES (incl. the Rhondda)	Id G, Em L.	Ja E, Bl G, Wi L, Te S.	Ma C, Ro G, De J, Do J, Su J, Ka L, Al M, Ma P, Li W, Na Y.
3. ENGLISH COUNTIES		Bi G, Te S.	De J, Al T, Al W.

Fig. 11.1

Of the second group, a large number have at least one parent who was born in the Rhondda itself (Ma C, Bl G, Id G, De J, Do J, Su J, Em L, Ka L, Ma P, Te S, Li W, Na Y). This group also includes all the younger members of the sample and might, therefore, be said to represent the first generations who were a product of the Rhondda, rather than of immigration.

It will immediately be seen from this table that all the informants who have a minimum of one parent from Mid, West or North Wales have at least some understanding of Welsh, while none of those informants who have one parent from an English county is able to speak Welsh and only Te S and Bi G are able to understand any Welsh. (Both also had one Welsh-speaking parent). So, family background directly affects the amount of Welsh possessed by an individual. It also affects the individual's perception of his or her Welshness. Many of the English-speakers identified Welshness with possession of the language rather than place of birth. For them, being born in the Rhondda was not enough to make them Welsh, and they often distinguished their own families from those whom they regarded as really 'Welshy'.

(ii) In families where one parent spoke Welsh and the other English, the language of the family usually became English to accommodate the English-speaker. This was especially true if English was the language of the mother. For instance, Ja E says, "My father spoke Welsh, but my mother was English you see, so actually we spoke no Welsh at all." Bi G recounts a similar story: "My father spoke Welsh, but we had to speak English because my mother was English." The mother was, of course, particularly influential in this matter because she had day-to-day responsibility for the care of the children. Te S, however, tells how his Welsh-speaking mother refused to speak Welsh in the home because his father was an English-speaker from Somerset, even though his father "could understand Welsh better than me, because when he came

up to Treorchy it was all Welsh, you see."

(iii) A strong link emerges between religion and Welshness.

While English was becoming dominant as the language of the school and shop, the non-conformist chapels were bastions of the Welsh language. As the strength of those chapels has declined, so have the individual's opportunities to speak Welsh. Sa J, Ed J and Ma S all note that the only times they speak Welsh within the Rhondda community are when they meet friends or ministers from their Welsh-speaking chapels. For other informants, the Anglican Church played a contrary role, further enforcing the English of the wider community. For instance, Ro G links her family's Englishness with the fact that they were Church and not Chapel: "My mother was Church...and there was no way we spoke Welsh with anyone."

(iv) The decline of the use of Welsh within families that were originally Welsh-speaking was influenced by the decline of Welsh in general use within the community. Is E reports how he used to speak Welsh to his brothers and sisters but now more often speaks English. Bl G tells how her parents spoke Welsh to the first three of their children, but English to the second three and comments, "I think it became less fashionable at one point to speak Welsh." Ma S tells how she had to learn English to survive at school and then had to act as interpreter for her monolingual Welsh mother when they went shopping, because English was by then the language of the street and shop. Interestingly, Welsh appears to have remained current for longer underground, and a number of informants (Bl G, Ma P, Te S, Al W) report their English-speaking

fathers learning to speak or at least understand Welsh for use underground. However, they all refused to speak Welsh in the home and so their knowledge of Welsh appears to have had little effect on the family.

Welsh-medium education is currently undergoing a revival in the Rhondda. Some members of the younger generations whose families lost their Welsh (though none of those included in this survey) are seeking to re-establish it, and knowledge of Welsh is once again regarded as an advantage rather than a disadvantage. However, English remains the dominant language - the language of the shop, street and workplace - for the majority of people.

The points noted above give some idea of the complicated relationship between Welsh and English and between the language of the home and the language of the community in the Rhondda. The next question to consider is how the presence of Welsh, either within a speaker's own competency or in the wider community, affect the English spoken in the Rhondda. I should like to make a number of points concerning this:

(a) The direct influence of the Welsh language was evident in the English speech of those informants who were also able to speak Welsh. Interestingly, the phonological and grammatical influences were often more marked than the lexical influence. Welsh-speakers such as Ed J and Sa J generally used Welsh vocabulary when speaking Welsh and English vocabulary when speaking English. Thus Sa J says that she would never use the word

twp when speaking English because it is a Welsh word. She would always use 'stupid' in her English speech. However, these Welsh-speakers also translated Welsh constructions and idioms literally, giving rise to English forms that were not standard ones, for instance, There's more hoult on it (Sa J), He'd a terrible cough on him (Ge V) and They used to bath home here (Is E), (see 7.23 and 7.24). The prevalence of double negatives is probably influenced by the Welsh negative construction, and Welsh word-order influences the word-order in English sentences such as, Lucky for me now that I've got television, isn't it (Ma S) and It was out of the question carpets (Ge V), (see 7.21(i) and (ii)).

Phonologically, the Welsh-speakers show a preference for long pure vowels over the Standard English diphthongs (see for example 5.14, the FACE vowel and 5.17, the GOAT vowel). They also display a high level of aspiration and consonant lengthening (see Chapter 6) and provide numerous examples of rolled and final/pre-consonantal r in their pronunciation (see 6.26 II and III). The informant Ma S shows a strong phonological Welsh influence, and also uses the plural morpheme /-ɪs/, which is recorded by SAWD only from localities in Cardiganshire, where her family came from (see 7.4(iii)). The influence of Welsh also leads to an unusual syllable-stress in her speech on certain occasions. For instance, in Standard English Fu-Man-Chu would have the stress on the first syllable, but in Ma S's speech it is pronounced [fu 'man: ſu], reflecting the Welsh convention of always placing the stress on the penultimate syllable of the polysyllabic word. Here again we also

see the consonant-lengthening that regularly accompanies stressed syllables.

(b) However, while the direct influence of the language may be traced in the English speech of those who were brought up to speak Welsh, it is significant that the features described in (a) above are not exclusive to these informants. With regard to grammar, a surprising number of non-Welsh speakers used word-orders and constructions which were obviously affected by the Welsh, for instance: Bigger they were (Te S), Terrible weight it was (Al W), Quite excited over that we used to get (Do J), (see 7.21(i)); and That (i.e. waste material) was going in the gob with us (Te S), (see 7.26 (i)). There is also general use of the tag isn't it, from the Welsh on te fe? (see 7.16(i)). With regard to pronunciation, a certain amount of consonant-lengthening, aspiration and final/pre-consonantal r did occur in the speech of monoglot English-speakers, although possibly not to the same extent as in the speech of the Welsh-speakers. However, one characteristic that appears to have become well established in the speech of both Welsh- and English-speakers, old and young, was the use of a long vowel in place of the Standard English diphthong (see 5.14 and 5.17). Sometimes, use of a long vowel was subconscious, as when Ma P claimed, "Now when we were taught our alphabet we were taught to say A/eɪ:/, B, C. The other valley says A/e:/... I know they're more Welshy up in Treorchy, that way, than we are here", and then herself proceeds to use the long FACE vowel in her more informal speech (see 5.14). The use of long vowels in place of diphthongs

is one of the more characteristic features of Rh E, and in my experience of the Rhondda, in the recorded speech of the children of Su J and De J and in unrecorded informal contacts, it continues to remain strong. It would appear, therefore, that the Welsh language exerts an influence indirectly through the type of English spoken by the wider community of the Rhondda, as well as directly, as a result of the informant's own Welsh competency or the influence of a close Welsh-speaking relative.

(c) The way the influence of Welsh works on the vocabulary of the informants is very interesting. As we noted in (a), Welsh-speakers such as Ed J and Sa J usually translate all Welsh words into English when speaking English. It was left to the next generation, who were familiar with Welsh but did not speak it, to draw on the vocabulary of both languages as a resource in their English speech. Thus Sa J's daughter would use twp in her English speech where her mother would not (see Chapter 8, Section B). A word like twp appears also to take on a slightly different meaning when used as part of English speech. Sa J insists that in Welsh twp is pejorative, as is 'stupid' in English. But twp used in English speech takes on more affectionate or teasing overtones. Thus its use increases the richness of Rh E by providing an additional word with a different nuance, rather than a straight substitute for 'stupid'. Some words remain associated with a particularly Welsh-speaking background, e.g. use of Llechwan by Ed J and Ma S, or the use of na fe by Ge V, but others have become general currency. Ma P identifies herself strongly as being

English, but then readily uses twp and says that she would also use gwt. Al T says that she always believed that to use the word bopa was "terrible" because of its Welsh associations, but then herself uses clecing, didoreth and twp (see Chapter 8). Once again we can see that the presence of Welsh in the wider community affected the English spoken even by those who had no Welsh contact at home.

(d) There was little evidence of a distinct geographical variation in language within the Rhondda itself. A word like gwli, whose meaning appeared to differ in the lower Rhondda Fawr from that in the upper Rhondda Fawr and Rhondda Fach, was the exception rather than the rule. The difference in meaning of the word cokum appeared to be random rather than geographical. However, according to the 1981 census, there are a greater number of Welsh-speakers in the Upper Rhondda Fawr and the Ferndale area of Rhondda Fach than in other parts of the Rhondda Valleys (see Fig. 11.2). In the present Investigation, all the Welsh-speakers were from the Treorchy or Ferndale/Tylorstown areas. This was not a deliberate choice and does appear to bear out the census figures, although the numbers included in the survey and the way in which they were chosen do not enable us to draw more than very tentative conclusions about this subject. However, it is possible that the greater number of Welsh-speakers in these areas leads to a greater likelihood of those characteristics which are influenced by Welsh appearing in the speech of people from these areas.

Of course, other factors than Welsh have also influenced Rh E. There is a strong presence of grammatical forms

which are common in English dialects, including, notably, the forms of the verbs BE, DO and HAVE, including the periphrastic use of do and the omission of the auxiliary have (see 7.16 and 7.19). There is also a great deal of elision and assimilation, which is associated by Wells with the more anglicized and urban areas of South Wales (see Chapter 6), alongside the aspiration and consonant-lengthening associated with Welsh speech. A certain amount of glottaling is also present (see 6.5) - a characteristic not known in Welsh.

Such features were displayed in varying degrees by all the informants, whether monoglot English or bilingual, once again showing that the speech of the individual is influenced by the general speech of the community as well as by the family. However, the extent to which they were found did appear to depend on a number of factors:

Language. As those characteristics associated with Welsh were more likely to be found in the speech of informants with Welsh in their background, so those features associated with other English dialects were more likely to be found in the speech of those informants brought up in English-speaking homes.

Sex. A number of the women, especially those with strong English backgrounds, e.g. Al T and Ma P, expressed concern about the need to speak 'correctly'. Even so, certain characteristics, e.g. omission of auxiliary HAVE (see 7.16(iii)) and elision and assimilation did occur in their less formal speech, along with

a limited dialect vocabulary. Thus, even those women who are conscious of speaking 'properly' and who disassociate themselves from the way in which certain of their fellow Rhondda inhabitants speak, still display the characteristics of Rh E. However, it was noticeable that the men interviewed for the CMQ used dialect grammatical forms much more readily and consistently than the women interviewed for the Investigation (with the possible exceptions of Ma C, Ka L, Al M and Li W). There was also a limited general vocabulary (as opposed to the specific language of coal-mining) which was more readily used by men than by women. Particular examples here were butt, mun and shomai. Shomai is, of course, from the Welsh and is not found in any other English dialects. However, it was interesting that the grammatical features discussed earlier as being associated with Welsh, did not appear to be sex-specific in the same way that the English dialect grammatical forms did.

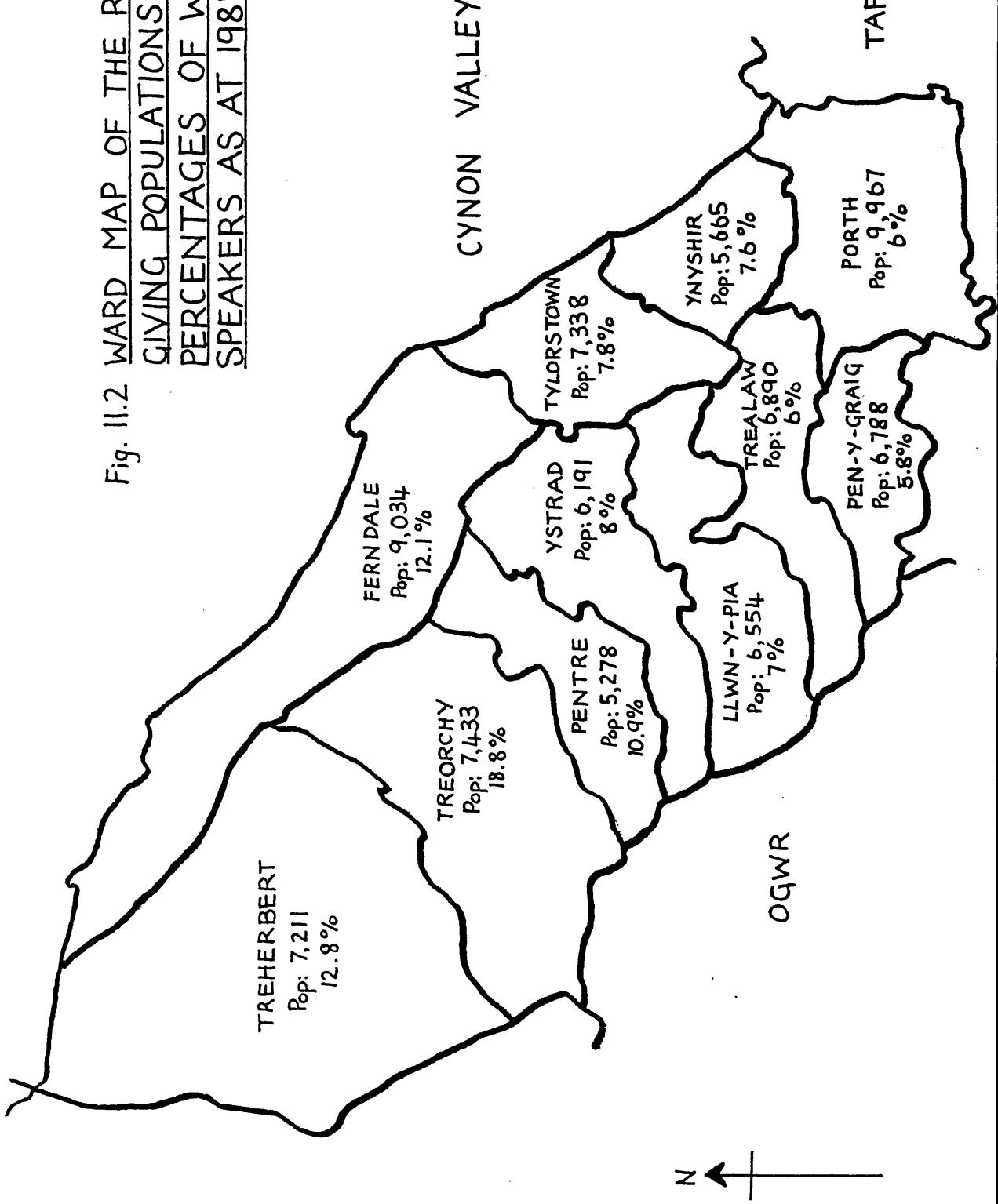
Age. As we have already noted, the Welsh-influenced characteristics of long FACE and GOAT vowels are still very much in evidence in the speech of the younger informants, as is a certain amount of consonant-lengthening. However, the anglicized features of assimilation and elision appear to have become more common than aspiration (this was particularly noticeable in the speech of the children of Su J and De J) and the NURSE vowel is more consistently [ə:], as opposed to the [ø:] or [ə:] of the speech of many of the older speakers. It is these features, along with disyllabic, rather than monosyllabic, pronunciation of certain PRICE, MOUTH,

NEAR, SQUARE and CURE words (see 5.19, 5.21-3 and 5.27) that constitute the characteristic sounds of present-day Rh E. With regard to grammar, the English dialect forms of the verbs BE, DO and HAVE noted in 7.16 and 7.19 are more in evidence than the Welsh-influenced word-orders noted in 7.21 in the speech of the younger informants. The vocabulary of Rh E is also changing. This was evident not only from the fact that certain items of the vocabulary derived from Welsh were unknown to Su J and De J, but also from the fact that many such words were greeted by older informants with phrases such as, "Oh yes, I'd forgotten, we used to say that." It is encouraging that other words such as cwtsh (v. and n.), appear to have established a firmer foothold and are more enduring, and there was also a lively English-based vocabulary and a willingness to generate new vocabulary, even if only on a very localised basis, among the younger speakers (witness the use of the word ballicators).

The history of Rh E is that of a movement away from the 'salad bowl' created when immigrants brought into the Rhondda the language of their home and still felt strong ties to the towns and villages they had only recently left, towards a 'melting-pot' in which the people of the Rhondda melded their own new identity, mixing together in the street and workplace, sharing each other's language. Now the community is changing once again in response to changed work opportunities. The population appears to be on the decline, with younger people leaving to look for work. However, older people who left on the same search at an earlier stage in the

century are now returning for their retirement and there are also signs that the Rhondda is attracting commuters whose work is in the more prosperous coastal strip. How this will affect Rh E remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that further investigations of the area will be carried out at some later date to discover the ways in which the characteristics described by this Investigation are either being consolidated or being changed under new influences. What is certain is that the Rhondda will remain a fascinating and fruitful area for dialect study.

Fig. II.2 WARD MAP OF THE RHONDDA  
GIVING POPULATIONS AND  
PERCENTAGES OF WELSH-  
SPEAKERS AS AT 1981 CENSUS



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SECTION A is concerned with books referred to in the text or consulted for their general and historical information.

SECTION B is concerned with books consulted for their linguistic information.

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## INDEX VERBORUM

The following is an index to Rh. E. words discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10 of this thesis, for their phonological, grammatical and lexical significance. Numbers given refer to the sections in which they are discussed. Where a word appears in capital letters it indicates that it is a verb-stem, and inflections of that verb-stem are also discussed in the section given.

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heck 'hop'	8 C
hecking	6. 7 II
height	6.13 III
helper	5.5
her	7. 9 ii, 7.10 i
here	5.12, 5.22
hers,	7.10 ii
herself	7.11
high	5.19, 6.21 I
him	7. 9 i & ii
himself	7. 11
hinge/s	7. 4 iii
Hirwaun	6.27 II
his	7.10 i & ii
his-self	7.11
hitcher 'man at pit-bottom'	6.22 II, 10 A

hitching-plate	10 D
hobby	5.28 i, 6.4 II
hockey	6.7 II
hold n.	6.6 III
hole	5.17
hole 'undercut' (v.)	10 C
hollow coal	10 C
holt 'body, thickness'	8 A iv
home	6.8 III, 7.24
homes (part of horse's tack)	10 D
hoof	5.18
hook	5.9, 6.7 III
hook-and-wheel	8 C
hoop	6.3 III
hopper	10 H
hop/scotch	8 C
horse	5.25
horse/s	7.4 iii
hot	5.7
hours	5.21, 6.24 III
house	5.21, 6.15 III, 6.21 I
house/s	7.4 iv
how be?	8 B i
huge	5.18, 6.25 III
hundred	6.19 I, 6.21 II
hundredweight/s	7.4 v
hung	6.10 II
hurdles 'screens'	10 G
hurly-burly	6.27 II
<u>hwyl</u> 'fervour'	8 B i
hymns	6.8 II
 I	 7.9 i
Ian	5.22, 6.25 IV
ice	6.15 III
idea	5.28 vii, 6.6. II

ill	6.26 III
impact	6.3 II, 6.5 III, 6.8 II
in	5.4
inch	6.22 III, 7.4 v
incline 'road from colliery to tip'	10 H
intake 'ventilation shaft'	10 G
in the pickies 'in trouble'	8 B ii
Irish Emko 'shovel'	10 C
iron	5.19, 6.24 IV
is	6.21 III
I sent a letter (game)	8 C
isn't	6.5 III, 6.16 II
isn't it	7.16 i b
it	6.5 III, 7.9 i & ii
it'll	6.5 III, 6.26 III
its	6.5 II & III, 7.10 i
I've	6.12 III
jack 'bottle for oil'	8 A v
jack 'tin flask'	10 I
jar	6.23 I
jaw	6.23 I
jigger 'conveyor belt'	10 D
joking 'pretend'	8 B ii
Jones	6.6 III
Joneses	7.4 iii
journey (of drams)	10 D
Joyce	6.23 I
juice	5.18, 6.15 III
jump-up/-down 'fault'	10 B
June	6.9 III, 6.23 I
just	5.8, 6.5 III
keepsiez 'keeping marbles'	8 C
keo solga 'earth for detonations'	10 E
kettle	6.26 III

key	5. 13, 6. 7 I
kicking	6. 7 I
kick-the-dab (game)	8 C
kidding	5. 28 iv
kiss-chase (game)	8 C
kiss, kick and torture (game)	8 C
knocker 'signalling stick'	10 A
knocking-in (ball game)	8 C
 L	 5. 5
lad	6. 6 III, 6. 26 I
lag 'horizontal prop'	10 F
lamb	6. 8 III
lamp	6. 8 II
lamp-room	10 G
lamp-station	10 G
large-coal	10 H
large check	10 H
last	6. 5 III
later	6. 5 II
latter	7. 7 v
laughed	5. 10, 6. 11 II
laughing	6. 11 II
lay (a road)(v.)	10 D
laying (pr. ppl.)	7. 20 iv
lead n.	6. 6 III, 6. 26 I
lean-on/-to 'scullery'	8 A ii
leather	6. 14 II
leave	7. 17 ii
left	6. 5 III
leg	6. 8 III
lendsiez 'returning marbles'	8 C
letter	5. 28 ii, 6. 5 II
level 'roadway'	10 B
level-heading 'roadway in new coal'	10 B
levels 'mine-workings'	6. 16 III, 10 B

lid 'wedge'	10 F
light-carrier	10 G
lighter	10 G
listened	6.6 III
listening	6.15 II
little	6.5 II, 6.26 III
Llanelli	6.20
Llanon	6.20
llau bwt 'left-handed'	8 B ii
llechwan 'bakestone'	6.19 II, 6.20, 8 A iii
Llwynypia	6.20
local (adv.)	7.22 i
London	5.28 iii
long-wall system	10 C
loo 'W.C.'	8 A ii
lovely (adv.)	7.22 i
lumps	5.8
lunch	5.8
mail 'drams carrying men'	10 D
main 'chief passageway'	10 B
main haulage-way 'chief passageway'	10 B
majority	6.27 II
make	6.9 I
mam/mamma/mammy	8 A i
<u>mam-gu</u> 'grandmother'	8 A i
man	5.6
man 'collier'	10 C
man/men	7.4 vi
mandrel 'pick'	10 C
man-hole	10 G
man-riding journey	10 D
marble board	8 C
Mari Lwyd	8 C
mash 'to infuse (tea)' (v.)	8 A iii
me	7.9 ii

mecklemen 'turbine officers	10 D
memory	6.8 II
Merthyr	6.27 II
meticulous	6.25 III
mice	6.15 III
middle-kitchen	8 A ii
middle-room	8 A ii
might	6.5 III
miles	7.4 ii
mine	7.10 ii
mingy 'mean'	6.9 II
missis 'wife'	8 A i
moaning minnie	8 B ii
moither/moithered 'confused'	8 B ii
money	6.9 II
moor	5.27, 6.27 III
more	5.26, 5.27, 7.7 i & ii
morning	6.10 II
moss	5.11
most	7.7 iii
mostly	6.5 II
mountain	5.28 vi
mouse	6.9 I
mouse/mice	7.4 vi
Mrs	6.16 III
much	7.8 iv
muck 'dirt'	10 C
muck-tram	10 D
mun 'man' (vocative)	8 D
mush 'man' (vocative)	8 D
my	7.10 i
myself	6.11 III, 7.11
<u>na fe</u> 'There you are'	8 D
name/s	5.14
nana	8 A i

naughty	6.5 II
near	7.8 iii
never	6.27 III 7.19 ii b
next	6.5 III
no	5.17, 6.9 I
none	6.9 I
nose	6.9 I
nothing	5.28 iv, 6.13 II
no way 'no' (emphatic)	8 D
nudging	5.28 iv, 6.23 II
nuts 'small coal'	10 H
oah 'uncle'	8 A i
oak	5.17
oars	5.26
odd	5.7
of	6.12 III, 7.25
often	5.11
oil	5.20, 6.26 III
oil-cloth	6.26 II
oiler/oiley	10 D
oil-lamps	6.21 III
old	6.6 III, 6.26 III
old workings	10 B
on	5.7, 6.9 III, 7.23
on appro 'on credit'	8 D
one	6.24 I
on it (the chaser)	8 C
on it (chasing game)	8C
only	6.9 II
on the ends 'cutting into the end of a seam'	10 C
on the hearth 'at home'	8 D
on tick 'on credit'	8 D
opening-work	10 E
ostler	10 D

our	6.27 III, 7.10 i
ours	7.10 ii
ourselves	7.11
out	5.21, 6.5 III
out-core 'thin seam of coal'	10 B
out-take 'ventilation shaft'	10 G
ovens	6.12 II
overman	10 G
owl	5.21, 6.26 III
own	5.17
pack 'fill gob' v.	10 C
packed	6.5 III, 6.7 II
pair of timber 'set of props'	10 F
pancakes	6.9 II
pantry	6.3 I, 6.9 II
pappish/poppish 'easy'	8 C
parents	5.28 v, 6.5 II, 6.27 II
parlour	6.27 II & III, 8 A ii
particular	6.3 I, 6.5 II, 6.7 II, 6.25 III
parting/double parting 'double roadway'	10 B
parting cog 'roof support'	10 F
party	6.5 II
passage	8 A ii
patch 'clean coal' (v.)	10 C
paw	5.16, 6.3 I
peace	6.3 I
peaking cog 'roof support'	10 F
pears	5.24, 6.3 I
pea/s	7.4 ii
peas 'small coal'	10 H
peg board	10 A
penny	6.9 II
penny readings	8 B i
person	6.3 I

physic 'tonic, medicine'	8 D
pick	5. 4
pictures	6. 7 II, 6.22 II
pillar of coal	10 C
pin (for shackle/gun)	6.9 III, 10 D
pinch	6.22 III
pine-end	8 A ii
<u>pisyn tin</u> 'leather back-piece'	10 D
pit	6.3 I
pit-bottom	10 A
pit-frame	10 A
pits	5. 4
place	5. 14
place 'working position/stall'	10 C
plug and feathers 'wedges'	10 F
<u>plwyf</u> 'social security'	8 D
poor	5.27
pop 'grandfather'	8 A i
pop alley 'marble'	8 C
popular	6.25 III
posh	6.17 III
post 'timber support'	10F
postman	5.28 v
posts	6.5 II
potato	6.3 I
potch 'swede and potato mash'	8 A iii
potch 'mess or dabble' (v.)	8 D
potch 'fuss or trouble' (n.)	8 D
pound/s	7. 4 v
pour	5.26, 5.27, 6.3 I
practically	6.26 II & III
prove	6.27 II
pull 'extract (coal)' (v.)	10 C
puncher 'automatic pick'	10 C
purr	5.12, 6.3 I
push	6.17 III

put	6.5 III
pwing 'floor rising'	10 B
quar 'stone'	10 B
quar top 'stone roof'	10 B
quick (adv.)	7.22 i
race	6.27 I
race 'build up coal on dram' (v.)	10 C
raglan 'coat, mac'	8 A iv
ram 'fill hole' (v.)	10 E
ramming 'clay and stone-dust'	10 E
ready	6.6 II
real	5.22
rear (v.)	5.22, 5.23
REAR	7.20 vii
reared (up) 'brought (up)'	8 D
reasonable (adv.)	7.22 i
red	6.27 I
Reece	6.27 I
refuse (n.)	6.15 III
regular	6.25 III, 6.26 II
regular (adv.)	7.22 i
return 'airway'	10 G
Rhondda	6.27 I
Rhys	6.27 I
ribblings 'burnt out coal'	8 A v
rich	6.22 III, 6.27 I
rider 'man in charge of journey'	10 D
ridge	6.23 III
ridiculous	6.25 III
right	6.27 I
ringworth 'goodness'	8 A iii
ripper 'man who brought down the roof'	10 E
rippings 'bits of roof'	10 E
ripping the top 'bringing down the roof'	10 E

RISE 'raise'	7.20 viii
rise (a ticket)	8 B i
rise (of a funeral)	8 B i
road-man	10 E
roads/roadways 'passageways underground'	10 B
rodney 'scruffy person'	8 B ii
rodney/'s 'last train'	8 B i
roll 'fault in coal'	10 B
roof 'top of roadway underground'	10 B
roof/rooves	7.4 iv
room	5.9
rope	6.27 I
rouge	6.18 II
rough	6.11 III
round	6.6 III, 6.9 III
rub	6.27 I
rubber	6.4 II
rubbish 'waste material'	10 C
ruff 'chafe' (v.)	10 I
run	7.20 i
runner	6.9 II
run-sheep-run (game)	8 C
sandwiches	6.9 II
saucepans	6.15 II
sawing	6.27 II & III
sawyer	10 F
say fibs 'tell lies'	8 B ii
scab-union	10 I
scotches 'brakes'	10 D
scotch-/stone 'stone for hopscotch'	8 C
scramb 'scratch'	8 D
scraper (for cleaning holes)	10 E
screen (for washing/grading coal)	10 H
scythe	6.14 III
secondary	6.6 II & III

SEE (pa. t.)	7.20 iii
seek	6.7 III, 6.15 I
shackler	10 D
shaft 'entrance to pit'	10 A
shaft (part of horse's tack)	10 D
shanty 'lean-to'	8 A ii
sharing the turn	10 D
shave	6.12 III
she	7.9 i
sheaf/sheaves	7.4 iv
shears	5.22, 6.25 IV
sheep	7.4 v
shepherd	6.3 II
she's	6.16 III
shilling	7.4 v
shoe	5.18, 6.17 I
shoe the white horse (game)	8 C
shomai? 'How are you?'	8 B i
shore	5.26, 6.17 I
shots 'explosions'	10 E
shotsman/shot-firer/shot-firing man	10 E
should	5.9
should/shouldn't	8 D
shouldn't	6.5 III
shower	6.24 III
showers	5.21
Shwni bobochr 'Dicky two-sides'	6.19 II, 8 B ii
Shwni daugorns	6.27 II
Shwni/Jacky daugorns/leghorns 'stag beetle'	10 I
Shwni oi 'scruffy person'	8 B ii
shy	6.17 I
shynkyn 'bread, butter and tea'	8 A iii
sick	5.4, 6.7 III
side (of stall)	10 C
sight	5.19, 6.15 I

since	7.17 i
sing	6.10 II
singer	5.28 ii, 6.10 I
singing	6.10 I & II
single	6.8 II, 6.10 I
sinker	10 E
sinking	6.10 I
skipping	5.28 iv, 6.3 II, 8 C
skreg	8 D
slag	5.6
slag 'stone in coal'	8 A v
slag 'muck and small coal'	10 H
slammed-out 'exhausted'	8 B ii
slaps 'scruffy shoes'	8 A iv
sledge (hammer)	10 F
sleepers	6.3 II
slope 'lean-to'	8 A ii
slurry 'coal dust and water/oil'	10 H
small coal	10 H
soak 'infuse tea' (v.)	8 A iii
somebody	6.4 II, 6.8 II
something	6.10 II, 6.13 II
soon	5.18, 6.15 I
soot	5.9
sop 'bread and milk'	8 A iii
spawn 'catch fire'	10 E
special	6.17 II
spondulics 'money'	8 D
sprag '(wooden) prop' (n. + v.)	10 C
sprag 'brake'	10 D
sprags	6.3 II
spuds (counting rhyme)	8 C
squeeze 'pressure of roof'	10 B
stagnus 'eye disease'	10 I
stall 'work-place underground'	5.16, 10 B
stall-road	10 B

stand 'infuse tea' (v.)	8 A iii
stand 'build (a cog)' (v.)	10 F
start	6.5 III, '6.15 I
steep 'infuse tea' (v.)	8 A iii
stew 'leave tea too long' (v.)	6.25 III, 8 A iii
stick	6.7 III
sting 'amount of work'	10 C
stomach	6.7 III, 6.19 III
stomachs	6.7 II
stone 'marble slab'	8 A v
stone-dust	10 G
sugar	5.28 ii, 6.8 II
summer	6.8 II
sump 'drainage pit'	10 G
sun	5.8
supper	6.3 II
sure	5.27, 6.24 III
swathed	6.6 III, 6.14 II
table	6.26 III
tack '(put on) harness etc.' (n. + v.)	10 D
<u>tad-cu</u> 'grandfather'	8 A i
taiwan 'marble'	8 C
take	6.5 I
tally 'token'	10 I
tamp 'bounce'	8 C
tamping down 'raining hard'	8 D
taw 'marble'	10 I
tea	5.13, 6.5 I
team	6.5 I, 6.8 III
tears (v.)	5.23, 6.5 I
teeth	5.9, 6.13 III
<u>teisen</u> <u>lap</u> 'cake'	8 A iii
ten	5.5
than	6.14 I
than what	7.28

that	5.6, 6.5 III, 6.14 I, 7.8 ii, 7.13, 7.14
that's	6.5 II
the	6.14 I, 7.5
their	5.23, 6.27 III, 7.10 i
theirs	5.14, 5.23, 6.25 IV, 7.10 ii
them	6.14 I, 7.8 ii, 7.9 i & ii, 7.13
themselves	7.11
there's	7.11
these	5.23, 6.14 I, 7.16 i c
these here	5.14, 7.13
they	7.8 ii
themselves	6.14 I, 7.9 i, 7.10 i
thigh	7.11
thin (adv.)	6.13 I
think	7.22 i
thirty	6.7 III, 6.10 I, 6.13 I
this	6.5 II, 6.27 II
this here	7.13
those	7.8 ii
three	6.14 I, 7.13
threw	6.13 I
through	5.18
throw	5.18
tidy 'metal fireplace rail'	5.17
tidy 'respectable' (adj.)	8 A v
tidy 'well' (adv.)	8 B ii
tie	7.22 i, 8 B ii
tight 'short (of money)'	6.5 I
tight (adv.)	8 D
timber-man	7.22 i
tinned	10 F
tip (of waste coal)	6.6 III
to	10 H
	7.27

toe	5.17, 6.5 I
tommy box 'lunch box'	10 I
ton	5.8, 6.5 I, 6.9 III, 7.4 v
tongs	7.6 iii
tongue	6.10 II
took	5.9
tooth	5.9
toothache	7.6 iv
tooty/toopy down 'squat' (v.)	8 D
top	5.7, 6.3 III
top 'roof of underground roadway'	10 B
top holes 'material brought down from roof'	10 E
top of the pit	10 A
total cave-in	10 E
touch 'chasing game'	8 C
tour	6.27 III
town	6.5 I
toy	5.20, 6.5 I
traffic 'drams etc. underground'	10 D
tricksy bars 'handstands'	8 C
trimmer (for cutting coal)	10 H
trip 'gradient'	10 B
tripet 'trivet'	8 A v
trough	5.11
trumps 'extra money'	10 I
tub	6.4 III
tub 'large dram'	10 D
tub/s	7.4 ii
Tuesday	6.25 III
tugs 'chains on harness'	10 D
tumbler 'conveyor'	10 H
tundish 'funnel'	8 A v
turn a heading	10 B
<u>twll</u> 'hole'	6.20, 8 D

twlsyn 'witty man'	8 B ii
two	5.18, 6.5 I
two-balls (game)	8 C
<u>twp/twpsyn</u> 'silly (person)' (adv. + n.)	8 B ii
<u>ty-bach</u> 'W.C.'	8 A ii
typical	6.13 II, 6.5 I
tyres	5.19, 6.25 IV
uncle	6.10 I, 6.26 III
uncore 'uncouth'	8 B ii
undercut 'cut under coal' (v.)	10 C
under-manager	10 G
union	5.28 iii, 6.25 I
united	6.25 I
university	6.25 I
up	6.3 III
upcast 'ventilation shaft'	10 G
upright 'prop'	10 F
urn	6.9 III
us	5.8, 6.15 III, 7.9 ii
using	6.16 II, 6.25 I
usually	6.18 I, 6.25 I
valley	6.26 II
vestry	6.15 II
villain	5.28 v
vision	5.28 iii, 6.18 I
voice	5.20, 6.12 I
vote	6.12 I
W	6.4 II
wagon 'truck'	10 D
waistcoat	5.28 vi
walk	5.16
wap in 'jump in'	8 D
warmly (adj.)	7.8 iii

warp	6.3 III
was	6.24 I
wash	6.17 III
washery	10 H
washing	5.28 iv, 6.17 II
wash-up 'sink'	8 A v
wasn't	6.5 III, 6.16 II
wasp/s	5.7, 7.4 i
waste 'area of stall for waste material'	10 C
watching	5.28 iv, 6.22 II
water-infuse (v.)	10 E
way	5.14, 6.24 I
we	7.9 i
wedge	10 F
week	6.24 I
Welsh	5.5, 6.17 III
Welsh cakes	8 A iii
Welsh carpets 'newspaper'	8 A v
went	6.5 III
were	6.27 III
wet 'pour water on tea' (v.)	8 A iii
what	6.5 III, 7.14 i & ii
what?	7.12
whatever	6.5 II
wheel	5.13, 6.26 III
where	6.24 I
whey	5.14, 6.24 I
which	6.24 I, 7.14 i
whift 'short break'	10 I
whip	6.24 I
whites	6.24 I
who	7.14 i
who?	7.12
whoever	6.27 III
whole	5.17, 6.19 I, 6.21 II, 6.24 I

whom	7. 4 ii
whose	7. 14 iii
whose?	7. 12
why?	5. 19, 6. 24 I
winder 'man who raises pit-carriage'	10 A
winding-gear	10 A
with	7. 26
woman	6. 24 I
woman/women	7. 4 vi
won't	6. 5 III, 6. 9 III
work	5. 12, 6. 7 III
worse	6. 15 III
worst	7. 7 iii
would	6. 6 III, 6. 24 I
wouldn't	6. 5 III, 6. 6 II
Wye	6. 24 I
 yarn	6. 25 I
year/s	5. 12, 6. 25 I, 7. 4 v
yeast	6. 15 II
yellow	5. 28 vi
yes	5. 5
Ynyshir	6. 27 III
yorks 'leg straps'	10 I
you	5. 18, 6. 25 I, 7. 9 i & ii, 7. 10 i
younger	5. 28 ii, 6. 8 II, 6. 10 I
your	5. 27, 6. 24 III, 6. 27 III, 7. 10 i
yours	5. 27 7. 10 ii
yourself	7. 11
youself	7. 11
you've	6. 12 III
 zed	6. 16 I
zinc (sheeting)	6. 16 I, 10 G
zoo	6. 16 I

## APPENDIX A

### TEXTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

#### CONVENTIONS EMPLOYED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRES

1. Words appearing in capital letters are key-words, i.e. the notions to be named.
2. Underlining of the key-word indicates that the word is inserted for its phonological importance and must therefore be obtained by the fieldworker.
3. † denotes that the word has been inserted for its morphological importance.
4. ‡ denotes that the word or phrase has been inserted for its syntactical importance.
5. ... (beginning a 'naming' question) = What do you call.
6. ... (beginning a 'naming' question and followed by for and a gerund) = What's your word.
7. ... (in a 'completing' question, usually in front of the key-word) indicate that the fieldworker should pause and allow the informant to complete the sentence.
8. The following abbreviations are used in instructions to the fieldworker:

g. = gesticulate

i. = indicate

p. = point to

Rev. = 'Reverse question', i.e. a question that asks for the meaning or meanings the informant attaches to the words given.

## I. GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

(For notes on its use, see Chapter 3, section (ii))

### THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

1. Can you tell me something about your background? First of all, have you lived in X all your life?
2. Where did your parents come from?

*(This question is very important in a place like the Rhondda, where there has been much immigration from other places. Strong links may have been maintained with the parents' original home or homes - perhaps relations were regularly visited there - and this may affect the informant's speech in some way.)*

3. What job did your father do? Did your mother work outside the home?
4. How much Welsh was spoken in your family? (If the informant was brought up to speak Welsh): Do you speak Welsh very often now?

*(These questions are, of course, only relevant in Welsh localities. They are important for ascertaining the extent to which the informant's English speech has been affected by either (i) speaking Welsh himself - as a first or second language, or (ii) being in an environment where he hears either Welsh spoken, or the English of first-language Welsh speakers.)*

5. ...the different members of your family? I don't mean their actual names, but what you called your mother / father / grandmother / grandfather / aunty when you were young.

*(Make sure you get the form used in the home, not the formal title. If bopa is given for "aunty", ascertain whether it is used just for blood-relations or for anyone else, e.g. the old lady next door. If bopa is not given, ask if it is known.)*

### CHILDHOOD

1. At what age did you start school? and finish?
2. Can you tell me something about the games you used to play?

*(Here the informant should be encouraged to explain how the different games were played. No set questions can really be given here because different games are played in different*

areas, but you may want to insert the questions from A New Phonological Questionnaire on Touch/Tag and terms for immunity, the chaser, the way they chose who was going to do the chasing, etc. - only the lexical questions, not the phonological ones.)

(Also, if scotch or hop-scotch is mentioned): When you go from one square to another on one leg, then you say you... HOP / HECK.

3. Where did you used to play?
4. ...the lane running along the back of the houses? GULLY / BACK LANE. (If gully is not used, ascertain if it is used in some other way, e.g. for the alley down the side of the house.)
5. Can you tell me something about the special times of the year? What times do you especially remember? CHRISTMAS / HALLOWEEN, etc.

(When talking about Christmas): Who did you used to think brought the presents? FATHER CHRISTMAS / SANTA CLAUS / SHWN CORN. (Make sure that this is the form the informant has always used).

(When talking about Halloween): What do you know about Mari Lwyd? Were any special games played at these times? Was there a time when children would go around the doors asking for money or sweets?

6. (Squat down on your haunches). What am I doing now? TOOTYING / COOPYING DOWN
7. If you want to tell someone that something was very, very easy, you might say to them, Oh, that's...PAPPISH / PUTSY. (There might be a word they can remember using when young but no longer use, so check for this.)
8. If, when you were young, you did something wrong and one of the other children went and told the teacher, what did you say they were doing? TELLING TALES / CARRYING CLECS.

#### THE HOME

1. Can you tell me something about your home now? What do you call the different rooms in the house? Where do you eat? And where is the cooking done?
2. Can you tell me something about the way you/your mother used to cook? How were the saucepans and kettles arranged over the fire?

...the flat, round iron plate that was put on the fire for cooking on? GRIDDLE / BAKESTONE.

What kind of things did you cook on this? WELSH CAKES / BAKESTONES OR PIKELETS, etc.

If you had a big joint of meat, how did you cook that? ON A SPIT or IN THE OVEN.

If you'd just made gravy that looked good and rich, how might you describe it? It's got plenty of...GOODNESS / RHINWEDD.

Did you have a special word for potatoes and swede mashed together? POTCH.

3. Who used to look after the fire? Can you tell me about how the fire was laid? If you were going out for the afternoon, what would you do to the fire to keep it going? BANK IT UP WITH SMALL.

What tools do you use for seeing to the fire? TONGS, POKER, etc.

... the bits that fall through underneath the fire? ASHES.

What do you do with them? RISE THE ASHES.

... the coal that has not burnt out completely? CLINKER.

What do you do with this?

Do you have names for the different sizes of coal?

4. Where do you keep the coal? IN THE COAL CWTCH / CWTCH GLO.

5. ... the place under the stairs where you keep odd bits and pieces (or the working clothes)? CWTCH DAN STAR / CWTCH UNDER THE STAIRS / GLORY HOLE.

*(If you are in a Welsh locality and cwtch is not used in response to questions 4 or 5, ask if the informant knows the word. Also, ask if he uses it in any other way, e.g. What if you were talking to a little child, you might say to them, Come and have... a CWTCH. Ask if, in this sense, cwtch would only be used when talking to a child.)*

6. What's your name for the old fashioned W.C.? EARTH CLOSET / TY BACH / DUB.

7. To get back to food, do you remember anyone eating bread soaked in milk? What did they used to call it? SOP.

And what about stale bread with tea poured over it, what did they call that? SHYNKYN.

(Questions R26-28 from NPQ may also be inserted here)

8. Where did you used to keep the food? IN THE LARDER / PANTRY. Can you describe it to me?  
 What did you keep your bread in? BREAD PAN / BIN.  
 Where did you keep your cups and saucers and plates?
9. Can you tell me about cleaning the house now? Was it very different before there were vacuum cleaners and carpets on the floor?
10. Did you have a special day set aside for doing the washing? Can you tell me about it? How did you heat the water?
11. Have the kinds of clothes you wear changed very much over the years? What would you put on if you were going out and it was raining? RAINCOAT / MAC / RAGLAN. (If raglan is not mentioned, ask if it means anything to the informant. In the Rhondda this is sometimes used to refer to a mac of any kind, regardless of cut).  
 What do you call a pair of very scruffy old shoes or slippers? SLAPS.  
 Did you have any other word for a jersey or sweater? GANZY.
12. If you'd been doing very tiring work all day, at the end you might say... I'M REALLY TIRED / EXHAUSTED.  
 And if you hadn't eaten during all that time, you might say... I'M STARVING.  
 If about ten things happen at once, and you don't really know what you're doing, you might say, I'm... MOITHERED, or I'm in... A MOITHER.
13. Did you ever keep animals? (You might be lucky enough to find someone who kept pigs or chickens or something, "out the back".) Where? Can you tell me more about it?

#### THE TOWN AND ITS PEOPLE

1. Where do you do your shopping? What buildings are there other than the shops?
2. If you met a friend on the street, how would you greet them? HELLO / SHOMAI.
3. Did you ever/do you go to church or chapel? Can you tell me about that? (Here I look for the set-up within the chapel : the deacons, the set-fawr, and also Penny Readings and Cymnfa Ganu.)

4. If, when you were younger, you were queuing to go into the pictures or something, and someone tried to push in in front, what did you say to them? GET BACK IN THE GWT.  
(If this phrase is not given, ask if it is known.)
5. Did you have a special name for the last train up the valley at night? THE RODNEY('S). (*Rodney* might also be used to denote a scruffy person or ruffian.)  
What do you need to do before you can travel on the train?  
BUY A TICKET / RISE A TICKET.
6. Can you tell me now about how you would describe some of the different kinds of people you might meet?
  - a) How would you describe someone who was a bit stupid?  
... TWP / TWPSIN. (Or perhaps:) If someone had said or done something a bit silly you might say to them, Don't be ... SO TWP.
  - b) If you were describing someone who really looked after themselves, you know, always gets themselves a seat on the bus, or something like that, you might say, Oh she's really ... FIT.
  - c) And if someone was a bit over familiar, you might say, She's very ... EWN.
  - d) How would you describe someone who was a real ruffian?  
... RODNEY / SHWNI OI.
  - e) And about someone who complains a lot you might say, He's a real ... CONIN / CONER / MOANER. (If *conin* is used): Would you say it differently if you were talking about a woman? ... CONEN.
  - f) Rev. What does 'cokum' mean to you?
7. How do you use the word tidy? Would you ever describe someone as a "tidy person"? What would you mean by this?
8. How would you tell someone what time a funeral was due to take place? THE FUNERAL'S RISING ...

II. A NEW PHONOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRE FOR  
ANGLO-WELSH DIALECTS

Devised by David Parry, (Swansea, 1980)

A. GAMES

1. A popular game amongst small children is Hide and ... SEEK.
2. Another old game is called Put and ... TAKE.
- 2A. At a party you might play the game Pass-the-Parcel. You know someone passes the parcel to you and you ... TAKE it.
3. ... that game where one player chases all the other, touching each one like this (i.) when he catches him? TAG / HE / IT.
4. ... the one who does the chasing? (IT / HE).
5. In order to choose who is to do the chasing, you first recited something like "Eeny-meeny-miny-mo"; what did you call this? (DIP / COUNTING OUT).
6. You recited the dip (*use his word*) in order to decide who was going to be ... (ON IT / IT / HE).
7. Do you remember any other games you played as a child? (*Get names and descriptions.*)
8. When you played a game of chasing, if you wanted to drop out of the game for a few minutes without getting caught, you crossed your fingers like this (i.) and said ... (TRUCE TERM).
9. A ball that's punctured won't (i.) ... (BOUNCE / DAP / TAMP).
- 9A. Talking of ball games, golf is played with a very small ball (g.), but for soccer the ball is much (g.) ... BIGGER.
10. A boy who's keen on soccer may try to get a place in the school ... TEAM.
11. At a soccer match, the spectators are the people who are standing and ... WATCHING.
12. Girls generally like the ball-game that is played with long sticks with a curve at the end. What do you call that game? HOCKEY.

13. Now let's talk about athletics. If a boy seems good at the mile or the marathon, you might say: He'll make a good long-distance ... RUNNER.
14. What do they do with the javelin (i.)? They ... THROW IT t. Today they throw the javelin; yesterday they ... THREW it. (I saw a naughty boy pick up a stone. I told him not to ... THROW IT t. But he paid no attention; he went ahead and ... THREW it.)
15. If you like the water and take out a boat and go rowing, you use a pair of (i.) ... OARS.
16. ... this? FINGER.

#### B. GEOGRAPHY

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1. Cardiff is the capital of ... WALES.
2. Cardiff is a city but Merthyr (or any suitable local example) is just a ... TOWN.
3. Cardiff is on the river Taff, but Hay (Builth) is on the river ... WYE.
4. Snowdon is a famous ... MOUNTAIN.
5. Buckingham Palace is in ... LONDON.
6. ... a stretch of bare barren land, sometimes marshy [sometimes high up]? ... MOOR.

#### C. OLD SAYINGS

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1. "A rolling stone gathers no ... MOSS."
2. "As brown as a ... BERRY."

#### D. PETS

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1. Lots of people like to keep a pet. There's the animal that likes milk ... CAT, or the other one, that you take for walks on a lead ... DOG.
2. When a cat is happy it begins to ... PURR.
3. If a child teases a cat too much, the cat will put out its claws and ... (SCRATCH / SCRAM / SPAG).
4. A bird has feathers, but a cat has ... FUR.

5. A cat has got five soft little pads on each ... PAW.
6. And all together he has got four ... PAWS.
7. ... that little creature that lives in a hole; a cat likes to lie in wait and pounce on it? MOUSE.
8. Our cat ran after a mouse yesterday but didn't manage to ... CATCH it t.
9. Our kitten has seen several mice but has never actually (i.) ... CAUGHT t one.
10. To reward a good dog you might offer him a nice juicy ... BONE.
11. ... a female dog? .

#### E. SCRIPTURE

1. Noah led all the animals, two of each kind, into the ... ARK.
2. There are, how many, Commandments? TEN.
3. What are those big fish - Jonah was swallowed up by one? WHALES. (Make sure you get the plural.)

#### F. MUSIC

1. When you feel cheerful you may open your mouth and start to ... SING.
2. Paul Robeson (or Bing Crosby, etc.) was a famous ... SINGER.
3. But Beethoven was a famous ... COMPOSER.
4. Sometimes you find you don't quite remember the words of a song although you do know the ... TUNE.
5. A good singer obviously needs to have a good ... VOICE.
- 5A. After a singer has given a good concert, and the audience is clapping, he will probably have to take a ... BOW.
6. When television first came out, people had black and white sets. Nowadays more and more people have [not black and white but] ... COLOUR television.
7. Do you know the song about Nelly Dean? Let's see, how does it start? ... THERE'S

#### G. MOTORING

1. On a fine afternoon at the weekend a lot of people go out for a drive in the ... CAR. (Make sure you get the singular.)
2. A learner-driver has got to have a red sign at the front and back of the car. What letter is on that sign? L.
3. ... the rubber things round the wheel of a car? TYRES.
4. At the traffic lights, green means you can go ahead; what colour means you have to stop? RED.
5. At the cross-roads you can turn either left or ... RIGHT.
6. If a driver doesn't know which road he ought to follow, he may have to stop and ask someone his ... WAY.
7. How far is it from P to Q (name two local points)? About x MILES. †
8. If you were driving along and you were going too fast, and the police caught you, you might be asked to pay a ... FINE.

#### H. BABIES

1. If a young woman you know is pregnant and you want to know when the baby is expected, you might ask her: When is your baby ... DUET.
2. When a toddler is being fed, its mother first puts something over its clothes to keep them clean. What do you call this? BIB.
3. If a baby is feverish its temperature will be too ... HIGH.
4. If you want to give a baby a safe present, you might buy it a nice soft ... TOY.

#### J. CHILDREN

1. The favourite present for a little girl was always a (i.) ... DOLL.
2. If you catch a naughty boy trespassing in your garden, you shout: Get ... OUT. Or, Off you ... GO. (Get both of these.)

3. If your own boy is leaving the house and you want to know where he's off to, you ask him: Where are you ... GOING? Later on, your wife notices that your boy is not at home, and she asks you: Where has he ... GONE?
4. You find a window broken and you ask your boy if he broke it. But he's not responsible for it, so he says: No, I ... DIDN'T DO IT t. (Accept also "I never done it" or anything else that includes his form of the lsg. past tense negative of DO.)
5. We don't usually say a boy is sixty inches tall; we say he is five ... FEET t. ("Foot" is of course acceptable here).
6. Five feet (or "foot", use his form) is the boy's ... HEIGHT. (7 stone is his WEIGHT, and five feet (foot) is his ... HEIGHT.)
7. Your neighbour asks you: Have you seen my little boy lately? You answer either: Yes, or ... NO.
8. A parent's duty to a child is to BRING HIM UP. I once knew of a boy whose parents were abroad, so his grandparents took him and ... BROUGHT t HIM t UP. (Listen for "n" meaning 'him').
9. Jack is ten, Tom is twelve. So Jack is not OLDER than Tom, but ... YOUNGER.
10. If a boy has been very good you might reward him with, say, a glass of pop. Pop that's got a lot of fizz in it is very ... FIZZY.
11. Or perhaps you give him a piece of cake. Cake may be home-made, or, if it's from the shop, you call it ... (SHOP CAKE). (Ask if he ever calls it "boughten cake".)
12. Or maybe you offer the boy some fruit, one of those red or green fruits. You might say to him, D'you want ... AN t apple?
13. A bigger reward for a good boy would be a prize, say a book. A favourite boys' book is called Uncle Tom's ... CABIN.
14. Of course, some boys don't read proper books; they prefer the Dandy or the Beano or other kinds of ... COMICS.
- 14A. Did you read comics as a boy? Which ones?
15. Some children's names are pronounced differently in different parts of the country. How do you pronounce these names? (Write them down for him): JOYCE, JUNE, IAN, HUGH, HUW, REES, RHYS.

16. If a boy tells his mother that he's going to do something outrageous, she says (put on a stern face and voice): Don't you ... DARE.
17. If your boy did do something unusual, you'd certainly want to know the reason ... WHY. (You'd certainly ask him ... WHY.)

#### K. GARDENING, NATURE

1. ... the patch of ground at the front of a house? (FRONT GARDEN / FORECOURT / BAILEY). And at the back? (BACK GARDEN / YARD).
2. If there's a garden at the front, what do you have to open in order to get in and out? GATE.
3. Sometimes the gate is made of wood, sometimes of ... IRON.
4. What's another word for 'soil'? EARTH.
5. If your lawn wants trimming, you say: I'll have to go and cut the ... GRASS.
6. ... that moist stuff you find on the grass in the early morning? DEW.
7. To cut the grass, you can use either a lawn-mower or a pair of (g.) ... SHEARS.
8. But a farmer who has to cut down long grass will use a ... SCYTHE.
9. What trees commonly grow in gardens and fields? ASH, BIRCH, FIR, OAK.  
(There's a well-known song: Hearts of ... OAK).  
(There's another song about the oak and the ... ASH).  
What's the ordinary name for a tree like pine or spruce, that's always green? FIR.
10. What tree's branches did they use to beat naughty boys with?  
BIRCH.
11. ... the seed of the oak tree? ACORN.
12. There are two well-known fruits people grow in their gardens: apples and ... PEARS.

12. ... those insects with striped bodies and stings that buzz around the fruit trees? WASPS.

#### L. NUMBERS, TIME AND WEATHER

1. How many is this (i. with fingers)? FOUR.
2. Half of four is ... TWO.
3. Half of two is ... ONE.
4. If you did have two apples but gave them both away, how many have you got left? NONE.
5. Twenty hundredweight make one ... TON.
6. What have I got in my hand? (Show an empty hand). NOTHING.
7. The numbers 2/4/6/8 are even; the numbers 1/3/5/7 are ... ODD.
8. In a day, there are 24 ... HOURS.
9. Seven days make one ... WEEK.
10. If Friday is your day for going to town, you say: I always go to town ON t a Friday. (Accept also "Fridays", "of a Friday", or whatever he says that conveys the meaning).
11. Up till mid-day it is morning; what do you call the next part of the day? AFTERNOON.
12. Twelve months make one ... YEAR.
13. If something happened not twelve months ago but twice as long ago as that, you say it happened two ... YEARS † ago. (Look out for "two year".)
14. ... the month after March? APRIL.
15. ... the part of the year that comes after Springtime?  
SUMMER.
16. On a fine day we enjoy the warmth from the (look up at the sun) ... SUN.
- 16A. What colour is the sky on a clear day? BLUE.
17. But some people don't like too much sun; they prefer to sit under a tree in the ... SHADE. (... tree and enjoy the ...)

18. In winter, when everything is frozen up, the roads are all covered with ... ICE.
19. We say: Today the wind blows; yesterday the wind ... BLEW.
20. You don't know what the weather is going to turn out like, and you can't make up your mind whether to take your overcoat or your umbrella, so you might think: Oh well, just to be on the safe side I'll take ... BOTH. (Look out for "the both".)
21. In April we get a lot of (i.) ... SHOWERS.
- 21A. If there are dark clouds in the sky, you might say: Oh it looks as if it's ... COMING ON TO RAIN.
22. When it's raining very heavily you say: It's ... RAINING HARD. (Check for the expression "raining pouring", and "emptying down".)

#### M. FARMING AND ANIMALS

1. The farmer gets milk from the ... COW.
2. Or sometimes from the ... GOAT.
3. The fresh milk is put into a ... CHURN.
4. ... the male of the cow? BULL.
5. ... the newly-born cow or bull? CALF. And more than one? CALVES †.
6. ... the man who looks after the sheep? SHEPHERD.
7. ... a young sheep? LAMB.
8. And the female? EWE.
9. In the old days, before tractors came in, to move things around on the farm, the farmer would use a ... CART.
10. In the old days the milkman had a cart too, drawn by a ... HORSE.
11. What does a horse drink from? TROUGH.
12. A horse feeds on a kind of dried grass which we usually call ... HAY.
13. ... a young female horse [the female of the colt]? FILLY.

14. ... a horse's foot? HOOF.
15. Talking of animals, what do you call a creature that's like a rabbit, only bigger? HARE.
16. Now let's talk about birds. What is the bird with the big round eyes; it flies about by night, making loud hooting noises? OWL.
17. What do you call those hissing birds that waddle around in flocks? GEESE t. And one of them? GOOSE.

#### N. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, ETC.

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1. If your friend comes to the door and you want him to enter, you say: Come ... IN.
2. If your friend expresses an opinion that you share, you say: Yes, I quite ... AGREE.
3. If your friend says: Let's go for a walk, and you'd like to do so, you say: Yes, that's a good ... IDEA.
4. If your friend moves to London, you won't see him very often, but you may from time to time write him a ... LETTER.
5. Who delivers the letters? The ... POSTMAN.
6. If your friend is on the telephone and you try to ring him up but can't get an answer, you say: I've tried to ring Mr(s) So-and-So, but I can't get ... THROUGH.
- 6A. Or, if you had to 'phone the operator first, she might say: Hold on a minute, I'll just put you ... THROUGH.
7. On Sundays a lot of people attend services; some go to Chapel and some go to ... CHURCH.
8. We'd all buy lots of expensive things if we had the (*jingle some coins*) ... MONEY. Another word for 'money' is ... CASH.
9. A pound is not less than a penny but ... MORE.
10. A man with lots of money is very ... RICH.
11. The opposite of 'rich' is ... POOR.
12. A man who's got lots of money but is very mean about spending it is a ... MISER.

13. When we have to choose a new government we hold a General ... ELECTION.
14. You go to the polling station to record your ... VOTE.
15. Father was going out for a walk, but it began to rain, so back he (g.) ... CAME t.
16. If someone tells you a tall story you might say that he's spinning you a ... YARN.
17. You might say: Get away with you, who d'you think you're ... KIDDING?
18. If someone shows you something unusual and you can't make out what it is, you might say: What on earth is ... THAT?
19. Some people you know well; others you know only by (g.) ... SIGHT.
20. If you meet someone you know in the street and enquire after his health, you say: How are ... YOU?
21. There are some people who always feel awkward in company and don't have much to say because they're far too ... SHY.

#### O. THE FAMILY

1. Your mother and father are your ... PARENTS.
2. A child is either a girl or a ... BOY.
3. What's another word for a boy? LAD.
- 3A. What does a boy call his father? DAD. And his mother? MAM / MUM.
4. A boy grows up into a ... MAN.
5. When a young man and woman plan to get married, they first of all become ... ENGAGED.
6. To earn their living and support their families, most men have to go out to ... WORK.
7. A working man often joins a trade ... UNION.

#### P. SCHOOL

1. How old is a child when he starts school, usually? FIVE.

2. He starts school when he is five years of ... AGE.
3. When a boy sets out for school he put on his (p. head) ... CAP.
4. If it's cold his mother makes him put his ... COAT on.
5. When it's time for school to begin, the teacher rings the ... BELL.
6. In school you've got to learn the alphabet right through from A to ... ZED.
7. 'A' is the first letter, 'Z' is the ... LAST.
8. The teacher writes things on the blackboard for the children to ... COPY. (In school you've got to do your own sums, you mustn't look at another boy's book and ...)
9. If you're writing in pencil and make a mistake, you can soon put it right with a (g.) ... RUBBER.
10. Pencils used to be made of black ... LEAD.
11. Jack has stopped borrowing Tom's pencil because he's now got one of his ... OWN.
- 11A. If I wanted a pencil and you had one, you might hand it to me and say: Here's one, but if you knew that there was one on the table, you might point to it and say: ... THERE'S one.
12. In arithmetic, this sign (i. minus) tells you to take away, but this sign (i. plus) tells you to ... ADD.
13. If a boy goes in for stamp-collecting, you say that stamp-collecting is his ... HOBBY.
14. The teachers took the children on an outing to see the animals in the ... ZOO.
15. I used to have a giraffe - not a real one, of course, only a ... TOY.
16. A toy soldier made of plastic is quite light, but one made of lead is quite ... HEAVY.
17. When children play on a see-saw they go (i.) ... UP and (i.) ... DOWN.

18. In a well-known children's story, Robin Hood shoots wild ... DEER. (A child out shopping with his mother points to a toy marked five pounds. The mother says: You can't have that, it's far too ... DEAR.)
19. You shoot arrows from a ... BOW.
20. In lots of boys' stories there are two main characters: there's the hero and there's the ... VILLAIN.
21. You hear someone knocking at the door. You call out: Who's there? Your children reply: It's only ... US.

Q. THE BODY

1. ... this? HEAD. If there is a pain in your head you say: I've got ... A † HEADACHE.
2. ... this? HAIR.
3. You do your hair with a brush or a ... COMB.
4. ... this? FOREHEAD.
5. A man who is not growing a beard gets out his razor each morning and has a (i.) ... SHAVE.
6. What was that red stuff some women used to put on their faces when making up? ROUGE.
7. ... this? JAW.
8. ... this? TONGUE.
9. ... this? EAR.
10. A man who is a bit deaf might say from time to time: Sorry, I can't (g.) ... HEAR.
11. ... these? EYES.
12. A man with keen eyesight has got good ... VISION.
13. ... this? NOSE.
14. ... this? TOOTH. And the whole set of them? TEETH.
15. If you saw someone sitting like this, with their hand over their jaw, you might say: Have you ... got TOOTHACHE †.
17. ... this? ARM.

18. If you hold your arm up above your head for too long, your arm will begin to ... ACHE.
19. If there is a pain in your head, you say: I've got ... A † HEADACHE. (Listen for *THE* or nothing preceding.)
20. ... this? BELLY. If your belly hurts, you say you've got belly ... ACHE.
21. ... this? THIGH.
22. ... this? LEG.
23. If you feel upset about something, you may say: It breaks my ... HEART.
24. If you want to wash yourself all over, the easiest way is to have a nice hot ... BATH.
25. In Summer, lots of people go to the sea in order to ... BATHE. (Do you know the old rhyme: Adam and Even and Pinchme went down to the river to ...)
26. You might say: I must get away from this fire, it's far too ... HOT.
27. Or, in other words, you can't stand the ... HEAT.
28. If you have got a bad dose of flu, then you don't feel well but ... ILL.
29. When you've just got over a long illness, you're bound to feel rather ... WEAK.
30. If you eat something that disagrees with you, you'll begin to feel ... SICK.
31. A three-piece suit has jacket, trousers and ... WAISTCOAT.
32. If you're dressing up formally, you put on a collar and ... TIE.
33. ... this? SHOE.
34. This part of the shoe is the heel, and this part is the ... TOE.
35. Nowadays, shoes are often made of plastic, but in the old days they were made of real ... LEATHER.
36. In a shoe-shop, the assistant might show you two pairs of shoes, and you might say: I like these, but I don't like (i.) ... THOSE.

37. You might say: I'm worn out, my feet are killing me. I can hardly (i.) ... WALK.
38. Nobody would try to walk from here to London; it's much too ... FAR.
39. What's your word for doing this (i. with elbow)? NUDGING.
40. If a man catches his shirt on a nail, he probably ... TEARS it. (Make sure you get 3sg. pr. t.)
41. You go to a tailor in order to ask him to ... MAKE a suit.
42. A man who does everything with this hand (i.) you say is ... (LEFT-HANDED / CAG-HANDED).
43. A man who can't do anything without making a mess of it is ... CLUMSY.

#### R. THE HOME

1. Some people live in flats, but most live in a ... HOUSE. (A place where you can walk in and buy beer and sit and drink it is called a public ...).
2. (*Draw a house*). ... this? (GABLE-END / PINE-END).
3. ... the room in a house in which you entertain visitors? (PARLOUR).
4. (Reversed question). What do you mean by a KITCHEN? (*The answer may be written down in ordinary orthography. If the kitchen is used as a living-room, what does he call the part of the house where the cooking is done?*)
5. ... that (p.)? DOOR.
6. You lock a door with a ... KEY.
7. A door made of unseasoned timber will soon ... WARP.
8. A carpenter who's going to plane a piece of wood puts it into a ... VICE. (A lot of people say gambling/drinking/smoking is a ...)
9. ... this? FLOOR.
10. You go to the shops for a loaf of ... BREAD.

11. Most people get bread from the shops nowadays, but in the old days lots of people made their own; they'd set aside a special day to ... BAKE. (How do you make bread? You ... it).
12. When a loaf or cake is ready for baking, you put it in ... THE t oven. (Phonetic form of THE before foll. vowel).
13. If you leave it in too long, then it may ... BURN.
14. What do they bake white bread with? FLOUR.
15. To make the bread rise, they add ... YEAST.
16. In the old days they did a lot of cooking over the ... FIRE.
17. Nowadays, most stoves run on electricity or ... GAS.
18. Before you can use a stove, you must turn it ... ON.
19. Before gas and electricity came in, the lamps had to be filled with ... OIL.
20. A fire won't burn if the chimney is clogged up with ... SOOT.
21. Now let's talk about housework. On a Monday, lots of housewives do their ... WASHING.
22. In the old days people often did their washing in a ... TUB.
23. You can catch cold if you put on clothes that are damp; it's best to make sure that they're properly ... AIRED.
24. If you're tired after doing the washing and could do with a drink, you might make yourself a nice cup of ... TEA.
25. So you put the kettle on and wait for it to ... BOIL.
26. When you put the boiling water in with the leaves in the tea-pot, what do you say you do? (BREW / MAKE / WHET / SOAK the tea).
27. Then you leave the tea-pot for a few minutes in order to let it ... (STAND / STEEP / STEW).
28. After that, the tea is ready to (i.) ... POUR.
29. In a large restaurant, where they cater for large numbers of people, the tea may be made not in a pot but in an ... URN.
30. If you like your tea sweet, you put in a spoonful or two of ... SUGAR.

31. After you've drunk the tea, you take the tea-pot and (g.)  
... (EMPTY / EMPT it).
32. Some people prefer tea; others prefer ... COFFEE.
33. Tea is kept in a caddy but coffee is usually kept in a  
... JAR.
34. If a man goes into a pub for a drink of beer, he might ask  
for either mild or ... BITTER.
35. Now let's talk about food. When you feel hungry, you say:  
I could do with something to ... EAT. I made myself a piece  
of toast and then I ... ATE it. I did have a piece of  
toast but now I have ... EATEN it.
36. If you've got an apple that's rather large, you might cut it  
in ... HALF.
37. A greedy boy wouldn't be satisfied with just half an apple;  
he'd want the ... WHOLE of it.
38. You squeeze a lemon in order to get the ... JUICE.
- 38A. The lemon juice is not sweet but (g.) ... BITTER.
39. A favourite dish at breakfast time is eggs and ... BACON.
40. If you're making a green salad, you might put in some  
lettuce, some watercress, and a few slices of cool ...  
CUCUMBER.
41. ... onions when they are young and used in a salad?  
(SPRING ONIONS / JIBBONS).
42. What colour is the yolk of an egg? YELLOW.
43. Do you remember the old nursery rhyme: 'Little Miss Muffet  
sat on a tuffet, eating her curds and ... WHEY.'
44. What meals do you have during the day? (BREAKFAST, DINNER,  
TEA, SUPPER).
45. A boy coming home hungry from school at dinner-time asks:  
Mam, is the dinner ... READY.
46. You go to the grocer's with a list of things you want to  
buy. You ask for each item in turn, then when you've  
finished you say: Thankyou, that will be ... ALL.
47. How do you repair socks that have holes in them? DARN.
48. You darn socks with ... WOOL.

49. In the kitchen, what do you use (i. or draw) if you want to pour liquid from a basin into a bottle? (FUNNEL / TUNDISH).
50. What do you wash up in? (SINK / BOSH).
51. What would a woman wear if she was doing some washing in the sink? APRON.
51. What do you wash yourself in? (SINK / WASH-BASIN / WASH-UP / BOSH).

#### S. MISCELLANEOUS

1. If someone said to you: You're not Welsh, you could contradict and say: Oh, yes, I ... AM.
2. When I began learning to ride a bike, I was so bad at it that I fell ... OFF.
3. A man who's been in the army a long time will probably be glad to get ... OUT.
4. If you call to see someone but he's too busy to stop and talk just then, you say: All right, I'll call back ... LATER.
5. If the bus is due in about five minutes or less, you say: The bus will be here very ... SOON.
6. If someone asks whether the bus has gone and you're uncertain, you say: I'm not ... SURE.
7. If the bus is too full for any more people to get on, the conductor says: Sorry, there's no ... ROOM.
8. I have my troubles and you have ... YOURS. We have our troubles and they have ... THEIRS.
9. The sea runs up to the ... SHORE. (She sells sea-shells on the sea ...).
10. If a mother was walking along the cliff-top with her son, she might warn him: Don't go too near the ... EDGE. (Some people go paddling at the water's ...).
11. I fold this piece of paper (i.) and in it I make a ... RIDGE. (If this were a mountain, we'd say we were climbing over the ...).
12. I drink water when ... I'M t thirsty. (Convert for the other parts of TO BE, present tense, in this context.)

13. I haven't got a car, but my friend ... HAS t. (*Look for HAVE.*)
14. On the other hand, I've got a bike but he ... HASN'T t. (*Look for HAVEN' T.*)

### **III. COAL-MINING QUESTIONNAIRE**

#### **A. UNDERGROUND**

##### **1. Going down into the pit**

- (a) How did you get down into the pit? CAGE / CARRIAGE / BOND.
- (b) ... the men who worked the carriage? WINDER-MEN.
- (c) How did you indicate when it was time for the carriage to go up or down? BELL / KNOCKER.
- (d) Where did the carriage stop when it went down into the pit? PIT-BOTTOM.
- (e) ... the man at the pit-bottom who loaded the coal into the carriage? HITCHER.

##### **2. The layout of the pit underground**

- (a) ... the different areas of the pit? DISTRICTS.
- (b) ... the passages? MAIN ROAD / MAIN HEADING / HEADINGS.
- (c) ... the connecting passages? RETURNS.
- (d) ... the places where the colliers worked? STALLS.
- (e) ... the places at intervals along the roadways that gave cover to miners? MAN-HOLES.
- (f) ... the wider places in the roadways that allowed the trucks of coal to pass? PARTINGS.
- (g) How would you tell someone where you were working in the pit? I'M WORKING IN SO-AND-SO HEADING.

##### **3. The coal face**

- (a) ... the place where the coal was actually dug out? The COAL-FACE.
- (b) ... the man who worked there? COLLIER.
- (c) ... the person who helped the collier? The COLLIER-BOY.
- (d) What tools would the collier use? HATCHET / SLEDGE / MANDREL / CURLING-BOX.

- (e) Where would the collier throw the rubbish? GOB / WASTE.
- (f) ... the earth and stone not containing coal? CLOD.
- (g) ... the process of separating the clod from the coal? PATCHING.
- (h) ... the different sizes of coal? SMALL / LARGE / LUMP / NUTS / PEAS / BEANS / COBBLES.
- (i) What is the coal found in? SEAMS.
- (j) ... the various seams of coal?
- (k) ... the ways the seams sloped? BACK-SLIP / FRONT-SLIP.

4. Transporting the coal

- (a) What did the collier put the coal into? DRAMS / TRAMS.
- (b) ... the process of filling a dram? BEDDING / RACING.
- (c) ... a number of drams joined together? A JOURNEY OF DRAMS.
- (d) ... the man who looked after the drams? TRAFFIC-MAN / HITCHER / SHACKLER / SPRAGGER.
- (e) What did the drams run on? RAILS.
- (f) How would the driver stop the journey? BRAKE IT DOWN.
- (g) What was put through the wheels of a dram to stop it moving? SPRAG.
- (h) How were they pulled along? By a HORSE.
- (i) ... the man who looked after the horses? OSTLER / HAULIER.
- (j) How did you tell who filled which dram?
- (k) ... the very large drams? TUBS / BOMBEYS.

5. Lighting, ventilation and drainage, etc.

- (a) What types of lamp did you use? SAFETY / DAVY / BATTERY / OIL.
- (b) ... the youngster who would take the lighted lamps to the miners? LIGHT-CARRIER.

- (c) Where did the light-carrier light the lamps and why?  
BATTERY / AWAY FROM THE FACE.
- (d) How would you tell if there was gas in a heading? (The flame of the safety lamp would turn blue.)
- (e) ... it when gas leaks out of a crack? A BLOWER OF GAS.
- (f) What was the name of the shaft that brought clean air into the pit? DOWNCAST.
- (g) What was the name of the shaft that took stale air out? UPCAST.
- (h) How was the air circulated in the pit? The air was driven by a FAN through a system of airways.
- (i) What is used to regulate the airflow? AIR-DOORS / BRATTICE-DOORS.
- (j) Who would open and close those doors? The DOOR-BOY.
- (k) ... the man who looked after the ventilation? The FIREMAN.
- (l) ... the channel around the shaft to collect water? CUTTING / CHANNEL.
- (m) What was done about water at the coal-face?
- (n) ... it when the roof collapses? FALL.
- (o) ... it when the ground comes up? PWCING.

6. Sinking and extending the pit

- (a) ...the steel bucket used when sinking a pit? SINKER / BUCKET.
- (b) ... the men who carried out this process? SINKERS.
- (c) ... the men who would start off a new heading by arranging an explosion? SHOT-FIRERS.
- (d) What is the process called when filling a hole ready for firing? RAMMING.
- (e) ... the men who took away the roof or floor so that it was high enough for the horse? RIPPERs.
- (f) How did you get from one seam of coal to a new seam? A DRIFT is driven down at a slope.

(g) What do you do if the line of coal jumps down lower?  
You cut back PUCKINGS to get level with it.

(h) What is used to support the roof? PROPS / COG /  
PAIR OF TIMBER.

(i) ... the man who looked after the timber? TIMBERMAN.

7. Life underground

(a) ... your workmate? BUTTY.

(b) What animals were found underground? RATS / CATS /  
HORSES / MICE / BLACK-PATS / SHWNI DAIGHORNS.

(c) What did you take your lunch in? TOMMY-BOX.

(d) What did you take your drink in? JACK.

(e) What did you wear to protect the bottoms of your legs?  
YORKS.

B. ABOVE GROUND

(a) ... the men who used to run the pit? MANAGERS /  
UNDER-MANAGERS / OVERMEN.

(b) Who checked the coal when it reached the top of the pit?  
CHECK-WEIGHER.

(c) What happened to the coal then? Taken to WASHERY.

(d) When the coal was washed, what was washed off? DUFF / DUST.

(e) What was the very dirty coal called? MUCK / SLAG.

(f) What was done with it? Taken to the TIP.

(g) What other buildings were there above ground? OFFICES /  
BLACKSMITH'S SHOP / PIT-HEAD BATHS / LAMP ROOM / STORE ROOM.

**APPENDIX B****LISTS OF LOCALITIES**

Lists I, II and III are reproduced from The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects, Vol.II, with the kind permission of David Parry.

I LIST OF LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY OF  
ANGLO-WELSH DIALECTS, VOLUMES I AND II

VOLUME I: SOUTH-EAST WALES

POWYS: RADNORSHIRE

P/Rdn 1 Rhayader; 2 Llanbister; 3 Knighton/Knucklas;  
4 Howey; 5 New Radnor; 6 Painscastle

POWYS: BRECONSHIRE

P/Bre 1 Llanafan Fawr; 2 Llanwrtyd Wells; 3 Upper Chapel;  
4 Hay on Wye; 5 Trecastle; 6 Talybont on Usk;  
7 Ystradgynlais

GWENT

Gw 1 Pandy; 2 Manmoel; 3 Abergavenny; 4 Rockfield;  
5 Blaenavon; 6 Llanhilleth; 7 Llanover; 8 Usk;  
9 Tintern; 10 Llandewi Fach; 11 Caerleon;  
12 Marshfield; 13 Undy

WEST GLAMORGAN

WGmg 1 Gorseinon; 2 Glais; 3 Resolven; 4 Llangennith;  
5 Llanrhidian; 6 Bishopston; 7 Middleton; 8 Horton

MID GLAMORGAN

MGmg 9 Penderyn; 10 Pontlottyn; 11 Miskin (Mountain Ash);  
12 Hengoed; 13 Cwmfelin; 14 Tonteg; 15 Rudry;  
16 St Brides Major

SOUTH GLAMORGAN

SGmg 17 Llangan and Treoes; 18 Cowbridge; 19 Peterston-  
super-Ely; 20 Llantwit Major; 21 Llancarfan.

VOLUME II: SOUTH-WEST WALES

DYFED: CARDIGANSHIRE

D/Cdg 1 Furnace; 2 Rhydyfelin; 3 Llanon; 4 Tregaron;  
5 Lampeter and Drefach

DYFED: PEMBROKESHIRE

D/Pem 1 Goodwick; 2 Boncath; 3 St David's; 4 Wolf's Castle;  
5 Camrose; 6 Wiston; 7 Marloes; 8 Llangwm;  
9 Angle; 10 St Florence

DYFED: CARMARTHENSHIRE

D/Cth 1 Cenarth; 2 Llansawel; 3 Myddfai; 4 Login;  
5 Newchurch; 6 Golden Grove; 7 Laugharne;  
8 Ferryside; 9 Pontiets and Carway; 10 Llandebie;  
11 Llangennech; 12 Llanelli.

## DIALECTS

The following list of localities included in the Survey of English Dialects is copied from the Introduction to that work, page 31, sec. 3.2.

- 1 Nb
  - 1 Lowick
  - 2 Embleton
  - 3 Thropton
  - 4 Ellington
  - 5 Wark
  - 6 Earsdon
  - 7 Haltwhistle
  - 8 Heddon-on-the-Wall
  - 9 Allendale
- 2 Cu
  - 1 Longtown
  - 2 Abbeytown
  - 3 Brigham
  - 4 Threlkeld
  - 5 Hunsonby
  - 6 Gosforth
- 3 Du
  - 1 Washington
  - 2 Ebchester
  - 3 Wearhead
  - 4 Witton-le-Wear
  - 5 Bishop Middleham
  - 6 Eggleston
- 4 We
  - 1 Great Strickland
  - 2 Patterdale
  - 3 Soulby
  - 4 Staveley-in-Kendal
- 5 La
  - 1 Coniston
  - 2 Cartmel
  - 3 Yealand
  - 4 Dolphinholme
  - 5 Fleetwood
  - 6 Pilling
  - 7 Thistleton
  - 8 Ribchester
  - 9 Read
  - 10 Marshside
  - 11 Eccleston
  - 12 Harwood
  - 13 Bickerstaffe
  - 14 Halewood
- 6 Y
  - 1 Melsonby
  - 2 Stokesley
  - 3 Skelton
  - 4 Egton
  - 5 Dent
  - 6 Muker
  - 7 Askrigg
  - 8 Bedale
  - 9 Borrowby
  - 10 Helmsley
- 11 Rillington
- 12 Burton-in-Lonsdale
- 13 Horton-in-Ribblesdale
- 14 Grassington
- 15 Pateley Bridge
- 16 Easingwold
- 17 Gargrave
- 18 Spofforth
- 19 York
- 20 Nafferton
- 21 Heptonstall
- 22 Wibsey
- 23 Leeds
- 24 Cawood
- 25 Newbald
- 26 Thornhill
- 27 Carleton
- 28 Welwick
- 29 Golcar
- 30 Holmbridge
- 31 Skelmanthorpe
- 32 Ecclesfield
- 33 Tickhill
- 34 Sheffield
- 6a Man
  - 1 Andreas
  - 2 Ronague
- 7 Ch
  - 1 Kingsley
  - 2 Rainow
  - 3 Swettenham
  - 4 Farndon
  - 5 Audlem
  - 6 Hanmer (Flintshire)
- 8 Db
  - 1 Charlesworth
  - 2 Bamford
  - 3 Burbage
  - 4 Youlgreave
  - 5 Stonebroom
  - 6 Kniveton
  - 7 Sutton-on-the-Hill
- 9 Nt
  - 1 North Wheatley
  - 2 Cuckney
  - 3 South Clifton
  - 4 Oxton
- 10 L
  - 1 Eastoft
  - 2 Saxby
  - 3 Keelby
  - 4 Willoughton
  - 5 Tealby
  - 6 Wragby
  - 7 Swaby

8 Old Bolingbroke  
 9 Scopwick  
 10 Beckingham  
 11 Fulbeck  
 12 Sutterton  
 13 Swinestead  
 14 Lutton  
 15 Crowland

11 Sa  
 1 Weston Rhyn  
 2 Prees  
 3 Llanymenech  
 4 Montford  
 5 Kinnersley  
 6 Chirbury  
 7 All Stretton  
 8 Hilton  
 9 Clun  
 10 Diddlebury  
 11 Kinlet

12 St  
 1 Warslow  
 2 Mow Cop  
 3 Alton  
 4 Barlaston  
 5 Ellenhall  
 6 Hoar Cross  
 7 Mavesyn Ridware  
 8 Lapley  
 9 Edingale  
 10 Wigginton  
 11 Himley

13 Lei  
 1 Harby  
 2 Hathern  
 3 Seagrave  
 4 Packington  
 5 Markfield  
 6 Great Dalby  
 7 Sheepy Magna  
 8 Goadby  
 9 Carlton Curlieu  
 10 Ullesthorpe

14 R  
 1 Empingham  
 2 Lyddington

15 He  
 1 Brimfield  
 2 Weobley  
 3 Cradley  
 4 Checkley  
 5 Longtown  
 6 Whitchurch

16 Wo  
 1 Romsley  
 2 Hartlebury  
 3 Hanbury  
 4 Clifton on Teme  
 5 Earls Croome  
 6 Offenham  
 7 Bretforton

17 Wa  
 1 Nether Whitacre  
 2 Hockley Heath  
 3 Stoneleigh  
 4 Napton-on-the-Hill  
 5 Aston Cantlow  
 6 Lighthorne  
 7 Shipston-on-Stour

18 Nth  
 1 Warmington  
 2 Welford  
 3 Little Harrowden  
 4 Kislingbury  
 5 Sulgrave

19 Hu  
 1 Warboys  
 2 Kimbolton

20 C  
 1 Little Downham  
 2 Elsworth

21 Nr  
 1 Docking  
 2 Great Snoring  
 3 Blickling  
 4 Grimston  
 5 North Elmham  
 6 Ludham  
 7 Outwell  
 8 Gooderstone  
 9 Shipdham  
 10 Ashwelthorpe  
 11 Reedham  
 12 Pulham St. Mary  
 13 Garboldisham

22 Sf  
 1 Tuddenham  
 2 Mendlesham  
 3 Yoxford  
 4 Kedington  
 5 Kersey

23 Mon  
 1 Skenfrith  
 2 Llanellen  
 3 Raglan  
 4 Cross Keys  
 5 Llanfrechfa  
 6 Shirenewton

24 Gl  
 1 Deerhurst  
 2 Gretton  
 3 Bream  
 4 Whiteshill  
 5 Sherborne  
 6 Slimbridge  
 7 Latteridge

25 Ox  
 1 Kingham  
 2 Steeple Aston  
 3 Islip

- 4 Eynsham  
 5 Cuxham  
 6 Binfield Heath  
**26 Bk**  
 1 Tingewick  
 2 Stewkley  
 3 Long Crendon  
 4 Buckland  
 5 Coleshill  
 6 Horton  
**27 Bd**  
 1 Turvey  
 2 Great Barford  
 3 Harlington  
**28 Hrt**  
 1 Therfield  
 2 Codicote  
 3 Wheathampstead  
**29 Ess**  
 1 Great Chesterford  
 2 Belchamp Walter  
 3 Cornish Hall End  
 4 Henham  
 5 Stisted  
 6 West Bergholt  
 7 Little Bentley  
 8 High Easter  
 9 Tiptree  
 10 East Mersea  
 11 Nettleswell  
 12 Little Baddow  
 13 Tillingham  
 14 Doddingtonhurst  
 15 Canewdon  
**30 MxL**  
 1 Harmondsworth  
 2 Hackney  
**31 So**  
 1 Weston  
 2 Blagdon  
 3 Wedmore  
 4 Coleford  
 5 Wootton Courtenay  
 6 Stogursey  
 7 Stogumber  
 8 Withypool  
 9 Brompton Regis  
 10 Stoke St. Gregory  
 11 Horsington  
 12 Pitminster  
 13 Merrriott  
**32 W**  
 1 Ashton Keynes  
 2 Sutton Benger  
 3 Avebury  
 4 Burbage  
 5 Steeple Ashton  
 6 Netheravon  
 7 Sutton Veny  
 8 Fovant  
 9 Whiteparish  
**33 Brk**  
 1 Buckland  
 2 Uffington  
 3 West Ilsley  
 4 Inkpen  
 5 Swallowfield  
**34 Sr**  
 1 Walton-on-the-Hill  
 2 East Clandon  
 3 Coldharbour  
 4 Outwood  
 5 Thursley  
**35 K**  
 1 Stoke  
 2 Farningham  
 3 Staple  
 4 Warren Street  
 5 Denton  
 6 Goudhurst  
 7 Appledore  
**36 Co**  
 1 Kilkhampton  
 2 Altarnun  
 3 Egloshayle  
 4 St. Ewe  
 5 Gwinear  
 6 St. Buryan  
 7 Mullion  
**37 D**  
 1 Parracombe  
 2 Swimbridge  
 3 Weare Giffard  
 4 Chawleigh  
 5 Gittisham  
 6 South Zeal  
 7 Kennford  
 8 Peter Tavy  
 9 Widdicombe  
 10 Cornwood  
 11 Blackawton  
**38 Do**  
 1 Handley  
 2 Ansty  
 3 Whitchurch Canonicorum  
 4 Portesham  
 5 Kingston  
**39 Ha**  
 1 Hatherden  
 2 Oakley  
 3 King's Somborne  
 4 Alresford  
 5 Hambledon  
 6 Burley  
 7 Whitwell (Isle of Wight)  
**40 Sx**  
 1 Billingshurst  
 2 Hartings  
 3 Sutton  
 4 Fletching  
 5 Horam  
 6 Firle

GEOGRAPHY OF WALES

With grid-references to the Ordnance Survey one-inch map  
(6th ed.). Copied from LGW pp.557-558.

1	Llaneilian 23/4692	56	Harlech 23/5831
2	Llanrhuddlad 23/3389	57	Berth-ddu 23/7033
3	Llanfair-yn-Neubwll 23/3076	58	Llanuwchllyn 23/8730
4	Pentre Berw 23/4772	59	Llanfachreth 23/7522
5	Llangoed 23/6079	60	Abermo 23/6115
6	Caernarfon 23/4762	61	Dolgellau 23/7217
7	Port Dinorwig 23/5267	62	Aberangell 23/8410
8	Bangor 23/5872	63	Llanymawddwy 23/9019
9	Aber 23/6572	64	Llangynog 23/0526
10	Dwygyfylchi 23/7176	65	Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant 33/1226
11	Bethesda 23/6266	66	Llangedwyn 33/1824
12	Llanberis 23/5760	67	Nantmawr 33/2624
13	Waunfawr 23/5259	68	Llanwddyn 33/0219
13/1	Brynlrefail 23/5662	69	Llanfyllin 33/1419
14	Llanllyfni 23/4751	70	Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain 33/2120
15	Llanaelhaearn 23/3844	71	Llangadfan 33/0110
16	Nefyn 23/3040	72	Meifod 33/1513
17	Aberdaron 23/1726	73	Llwyngwril 23/5909
18	Llanengan 23/2926	74	Aberdyfi 22/6195
19	Aber-erch 23/3936	75	Machynlleth 23/7400
20	Garndolbenmaen 23/4944	76	Llanbrynmair 23/8800
21	Beddgelert 23/5948	77	Carno 22/9696
22	Porthmadog 23/5638	78	Adfa 32/1091
23	Eglwys-bach 23/8070	79	Staylittle 22/8892
24	Dolgarrog 23/7667	80	Trefeglwys 22/9790
25	Capel Curig 23/7258	81	Caersws 32/0391
26	Penmachno 23/7950	83	Tal-y-Bont 22/6589
27	Llaneilian-yn-Rhos 23/8676	84	Capel Bangor 22/6580
28	Betws-yn-Rhos 23/9073	85	Ponterwyd 22/7480
29	Llanefydd 23/9870	86	Llangurig 22/9079
30	Gwytherin 23/8761	87	Ysbyty Ystwyth 22/7371
31	Penycefn 23/9365	88	Llanilar 22/6275
32	Rhuddlan 33/0278	89	Ffair-Rhos 22/7368
33	Bontuchel 33/0857	90	Llangwyryfon 22/5970
34	Llanasa 33/1081	91	Blaenpennal 22/6165
35	Bagillt 33/2275	92	Cilcennin 22/5260
37	Bodfari 33/0970	93	Llanarth 22/4257
38	Treuddyn 33/2558	94	Llandderibrefi 22/6655
39	Pentrefoelas 23/8571	95	Aber-porth 22/2651
40	Cerrigydrudion 23/9548	96	Talgarreg 22/4251
41	Derwen 33/0750	97	Llanwnnen 22/5347
42	Llandegia 33/1952	100	Llandygwydd 22/2443
43	Bwlchgwyn 33/2653	101	Troed-yr-Aur 22/3245
44	Llangollen 33/2142	102	Llandysul 22/4140
45	Francysylltau 33/2640	103	Rhydcymerau 22/5738
46	Rhosllanerchrugog 33/2946	104	Caeo 22/6739
47	Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog 33/1532	105	Rhandirmwyn 22/7843
48	Llansanffraid Glyn Ceiriog 33/2038	106	Llanfair-ar-y-bryn 22/8039
49	Rhydycroesau 33/2430	107	Llandeilo'r Ffan 22/8934
50	Llansilin 33/2028	108	Merthyr Cynog 22/9837
51	Rhyduchar 23/9037	110	Llanwnda 12/9339
52	Glanrafon (Corwen) 33/0743	111	Cwm Gwaun 22/0035
53	Llandderfel 23/9837	112	Dinas 22/0138
54	Blaenau Ffestiniog 23/7045	113	Trefdraeth 22/0539
55	Trawsfynydd 23/7035	114	Brynderian 22/1035
		115	Boncath 22/2038
		116	Llanfyrnach 22/2231
		117	Cwmorgan 22/2934
		118	Cynwyl Elfed 22/3727
		119	Brechfa 22/5230

- 120 Talyllychau 22/6332  
 121 Llangadog 22/7028  
 122 Llanddeusant 22/7724  
 123 Haliway 22/8232  
 124 Cwmwysg 22/8828  
 125 Crai 22/8924  
 126 Heolsenni 22/9223  
 127 Libanus 22/9925  
 128 Llangynidr 32/1519  
 129 Trefin 12/8432  
  
 130 Jordanston 12/9132  
 131 Tyddewi 12/7525  
 132 Carnhedrynn 12/7927  
 133 Solfach 12/8024  
 134 Cas-lai 12/8925  
 135 Cas-blaidd 12/9526  
 135/1 Walton East 22/0223  
 136 Maenclochog 22/0827  
 137 Clunderwen 22/1219  
 138 Llanboidy 22/2123  
 139 Llanddowror 22/2514  
  
 140 Meidrim 22/2820  
 141 Llan-y-bri 22/3312  
 142 Llan-gain 22/3815  
 144 Llanegwad 22/5121  
 145 Llanddarog 22/5016  
 146 Rhos-maen 22/6423  
 147 Capel Gwynfe 22/7221  
 149 Llandyfaelog 22/4111  
  
 150 Pontyberem 22/5011  
 151 Penygroes 22/5813  
 152 Cwmgwili 22/5710  
 153 Felin-foel 22/5102  
 154 Bynea 22/5499  
 156 Felindre 22/6302  
 157 Cwmgors 22/7010  
 158 Cwmllynfell 22/7412  
 159 Heol-las 21/6998  
  
 161 Sgiwen 21/7297  
 162 Tonna 21/7798  
 163 Creunant 22/7904  
 164 Onllwyn 22/8410  
 165 Aber-craf 22/8212  
 166 Cwmgwrach 22/8605  
 167 Ystradfelite 22/9313  
 168 Penderyn 22/9408  
 169 Pyle 21/8282  
  
 170 Llangynwyd 21/8588  
 171 Blaengwynfi 21/8996  
 172 Nantymoel 21/9392  
 173 Cwmparc 21/9495  
 174 Ponysrefail 31/0188  
 175 Pen-tyrch 31/1081  
 176 Aberdár 32/0002  
 177 Ferndale 31/0097  
 178 Abercynon 31/0894  
 179 Abercarnaid 32/0503  
  
 180 Bedlinog 32/0901  
 181 Bargod 31/1499  
 182 Fochriw 32/1005

Points of inquiry nos. 36, 82, 98, 99, 109, 143, 148, 155, 160 were eliminated during the course of inquiry, and nos. 135/1 and 135/1 added.

IV LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN PETER WRIGHT'S INVESTIGATION OF COAL-MINING LANGUAGE

(Taken from Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles, M. F. Wakelin ed., London, 1972, pp. 34-35).

1. Auchinloch, Dunbartonshire.
2. Whitburn, Nb.
3. Queensbury, Y.
4. Hoyland, Y.
6. Warsop, Nt.
7. Clifton, Nt.
8. Deal, K.
9. Radstock, So.
10. Ebbw Vale, Gw.
11. Forest of Dean, Gl.
12. Colbrook Dale, Sa.
13. Wrexham, Clwyd.
14. Pendleton, La.
15. Maryport, Cu.

V LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN LYN DAVIES'S GEIRFA'R GLÖWR

Bon	Bôn-y-Maen	Maerdy	Y Maerdy
Caerf	Caerfyddin (Carmarthen)	Merth	Merthyr Tydfil
Cefneith	Cefneithin	Morg	Morgannwg (Glamorgan)
Clyd	Clydach	P D	Y Parlwr Du
Coel	Y Coel bren	Pontardd	Pontarddulais
Cwmaf	Cwmafan	Pontyber	Pontyberem
Cwmdr	Cwmdar	Res	Resolfen
Cwmgrs	Cwm-gors	Rhig.	Y Rhigos

Cwm t Cwmtawe	Rhondd Rhondda
Cwmtrch Cwmwrch	Rhos Rhosllannerchrugog
C Crib Cefncribwr	Rhym Rhymni
Dowl Dowlais	Tanyfr Tanyfron
D Morg Dwyrain Morgannwg (South Glamorgan)	Trci Treorchy
GCG Gwauncaegurwen	Treban Trebannws
G Morg Gorllewin Morgannwg (West Glamorgan)	Trebth Tre-boeth
Llandyb Llandybrie	Trims Trimsaran
Llangenn. Llangennech	Ystadgn Ystradgynlaid