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English PronunciationS
The Pronunciation of English around the World

Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

2. *Territorial Accents*

169. A brief introduction to the Celtic accents (& map)

169.1. One important thing must be quite clear from the very beginning, when talking about the pronunciation of English in the Celtic areas of the British Isles. English is a Germanic language, while the substratum languages in Wales (pop. about 3,000,000), Scotland (pop. more than 5,000,000) and Ireland, made up by Ulster (or Northern Ireland, pop. less than 2,000,000) and Eire (/ˈɛə̯ɹə/, or Southern Ireland, pop. more than 4,000,000) –arguably– are Celtic. (The population of England is about 50,000,000.)

Thus, these peoples cannot be considered to be actual monolingual speakers, because they constantly have around them both English and *Welsh* or (Scottish or Irish) *Gaelic*, /ˈgɛɪlɪk, ˈgæ-, ˈgɑː-/. This is true even when they do not actively use any Celtic language. In fact, the sounds of these languages are always there, because other people, in everyday life, or on the radio and TV, do use them.

Often some Celtic words are used for expressive or jocular purposes, even by those who speak only English. Besides, as always happens with different –and foreign – languages, the results of spelling pronunciation are more or less present in the speech of people who are not exactly monolingual.

169.2. While actual loanwords are adapted to the English phonic system, in the Celtic areas it is English that is pronounced according to the phonic system of the substratum language, even when the speakers are quite fluent in English, or do not actually speak any Celtic languages. Their social and cultural environment is decisive, indeed, although far from being absolutely uniform, too.

On the contrary, with different languages spoken on the same territory, the possibility of less systematic and more varied interference is more real than ever. This is why the Celtic accents that we will see (in ☞ 170-177) are generally less stable than actual monolingual accents, depending on geo-socio-phonic factors.

Of course, these same factors are not quite uninfluential on monolingual speakers in England, as well. It is a very well-known fact that the *use of language* varies according to different sociolinguistic parameters, while the language itself remains just the same. The Celtic peoples have actually been English-speaking –not 'monolingual', indeed– only for two (or, at most, three) centuries.

169.3. The map in *fig* 169 shows the phonic areas and subareas we have identified for the Celtic accents. *Wales* and the *Cardiff* region, with a considerably less

fig 169. The Celtic areas of English accents.

Welsh accent than anywhere else in Wales. In a following map of Wales (*fig* 170.1), we will indicate nine sectors, useful for signaling given sound occurrences.

For *Scotland* we have three main areas: an *eastern* one (where Scots is spoken more or less actively), which includes the *Lowlands* (or southern, or southeastern, Scotland), and the *Orkneys & Shetlands*. The other two areas are the *Highlands* (or northern, or northwestern, Scotland, including the *Inner Hebrides*), and the *Outer Hebrides*. The most representative Scottish accent is the southern one, including Edinburgh and Glasgow, while the most different are those of the Islands. The intermediate area is a linguistically mixed zone, with less defined features (so that the best Scottish pronunciation is said to be found in Inverness).

169.4. *Ireland* is linguistically divided into *Ulster* (or, roughly, Northern Ireland) and *Eire* (or Ireland, or Southern Ireland). In turn, in Ulster we have two accent areas: *Ulster English* proper, with Belfast, and *Ulster-Scots English*, a northeastern complex area, as can be seen in the map of *fig* 169.

For Eire, we have an *Eastern* (Southern-)Irish area, with Dublin, and a *Western* (Southern-)Irish area, with the rest of the Republic of Ireland. Besides, there is a mixed zone between their northern parts and Ulster, with oscillating and less defined features.

169.5. In certain local studies on particular areas or cities, where English is spoken, often (too often, indeed), we read that certain features are peculiar to that area or city, while they are given as absent from other areas or cities (for instance, between Glasgow and Edinburgh). As a matter of fact, by analyzing various different areas or cities, we have seen that the Celtic accents are quite similar, within the boundaries we have drawn. Their actual peculiarities are in the frequency of their features, not in their being present or absent. Of course, all this is determined by the geo-socio-phonic factors typical of each individual speaker. When possible, however, we will indicate more localizable features.

In addition, we are sick of reading about 'sociolinguistic classes' of people who are *expected to speak* in a given way because they belong to one of those *sociolinguistic classes*: UC (upper class), MC (middle class), WC (working class). Besides, each one can be specified by one of three *degrees*: U (upper), M (middle), L (lower), as, for instance: MMC (middle middle class).

169.6. Instead, different people, almost independently from any supposed sociolinguistic class, usually realize the phonemes of English in a given way. They are used to pronouncing certain words in a given way, according to their own linguistic story.

It is true that age, education, housing, income, locality, mobility, occupation, sex and status mostly determine one's own conscious or unconscious attitude towards the pronunciation of one's language.

But phonic things do not necessarily obey any absolute, mathematical, or universal laws. In fact, inevitably, people do oscillate. Only specific awareness and knowledge can bring to a coherent and consistent use of language.

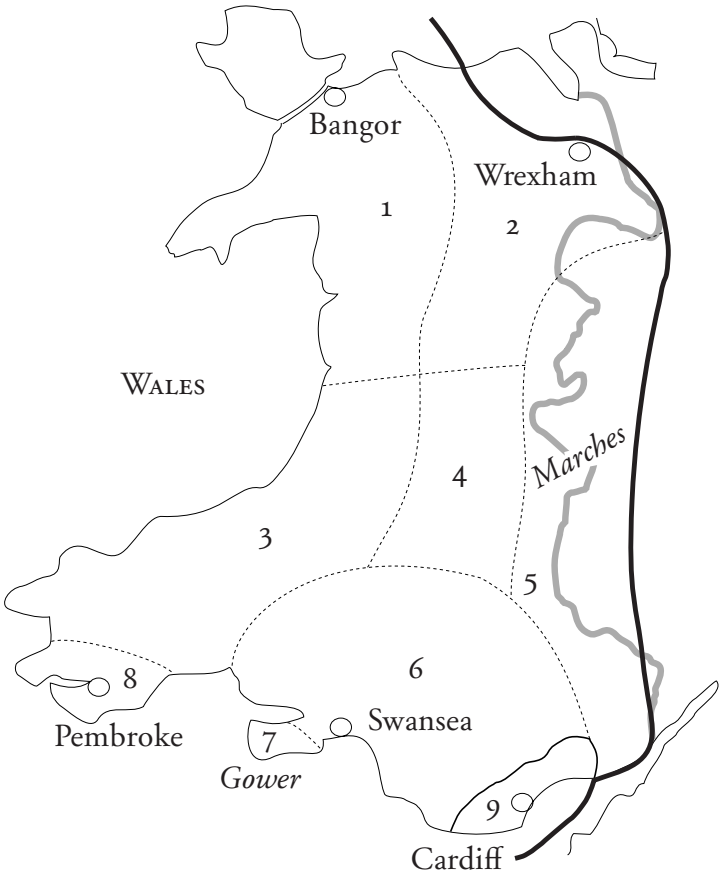
Thus, especially non-monolingual people hardly ever can be expected to exhibit any kind of normalized pronunciation. Even good actors seldom succeed in speaking with a flawless and convincing (normalized) accent.

170. Wales

170.1. The map of *fig* 170.1 shows the linguistic area of the *Welsh* accent of English. In addition to the smaller area around Cardiff (and Newport – whose accent will be dealt with in ☞ 171), we have indicated, by means of dotted lines, a few subareas, for which we will report some local peculiarities.

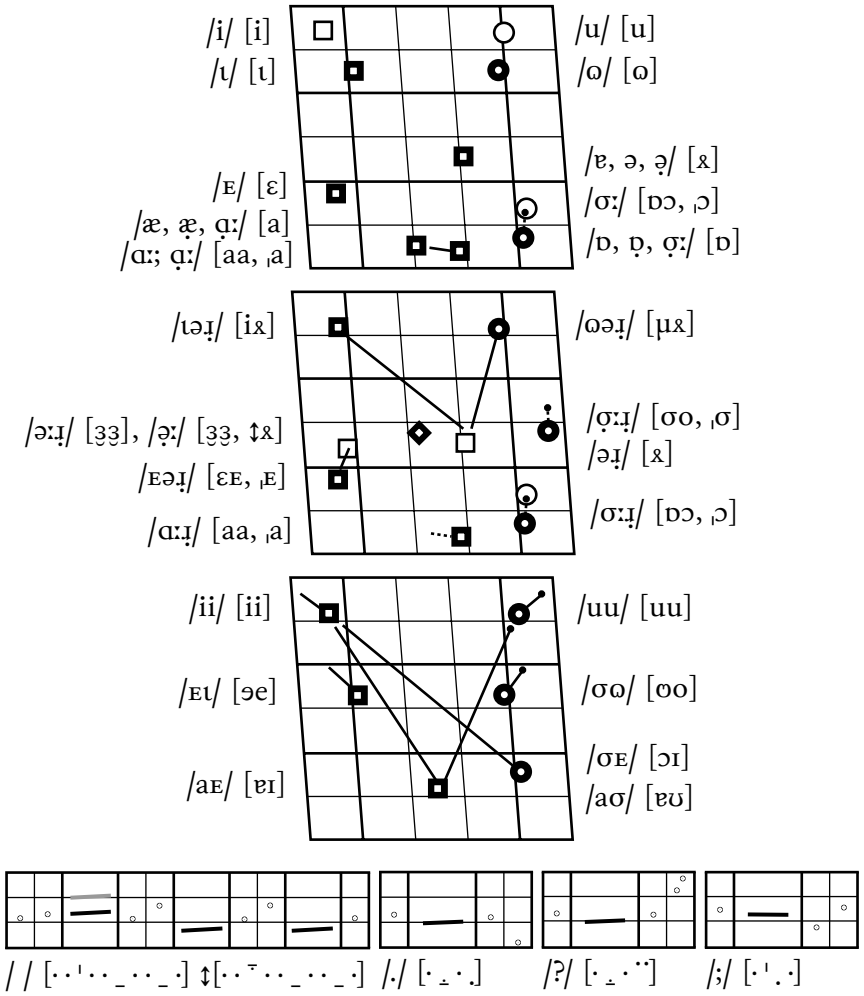
Thus, the typical Welsh accent is shown in *fig* 170.2, while *fig* 170.3-4 will add the lighter or broader (and the broadest) variants we have found.

fig 170.1. Wales: nine sectors for two English accents and variants. Welsh and Cardiff accents.



170.2. Let us start by confuting the popular idea (unfortunately shared by too many authors on the subject) that Welsh English typically has 'long monoph-

fig 170.2. Welsh English: vowels, diphthongs & intonation. Typical accent.



thongs', even for English /ii, ɛɪ, ʊʊ, uu/. The truth, on the contrary, is that this accent has many actual phonetic diphthongs (although narrow or monotimbric), as can easily be seen in our vocograms (and, of course, heard from native speakers).

In fact, we have: [ˈʈhiˑi] /ˈʈii/ *tea*, [ˈɖəˑe] /ˈɖɛɪ/ *day*, [ˈgʊˑo] /ˈgʊʊ/ *go*, [ˈʈhuˑu] /ˈʈuu/ *two*. In the Marches (sector 5), we have the diphthongal variants [↑eɪ, ↑↑ɛi] /ɛɪ/, [↑oʊ, ↑↑ɔµ, ↕ə̟µ] /ʊʊ/ – and practically no trace of [ɘe, ↓↓eɛ, ↓↓↓ɛɛ] /ɛɪ/, [ʊo, ↓↓oʊ, ↓↓↓ʊʊ] /ʊʊ/. In the Gower (sector 7), we also have [↑↑ɛi] /ɛɪ/, [↑↑ɔµ] /ʊʊ/, but in opposition with typical Welsh [ɘe, ʊo] /ɛɪ, ʊʊ/ (sector 6, *cf* § 170.4).

Also the phonemic long monophthongs are monotimbric or narrow diphthongs: [ˈkhaˑa] /ˈkɑːɻ/ *car*, [ˈfɜ̝ˑɜ̝] /ˈfəːɻ/ *fur*, [ˈwɒˑɔ] /ˈwɔː/ *war*, [ˈsɒˑɔ] /ˈsɔː/ *saw*, [ˈmʊˑo] /ˈmɔ̟ːɻ/ *more* (and [ˈkhɛˑɛ] /ˈkɛəːɻ/ *care*).

170.3. Besides, we have: [ˈb̥iˑɤ] /ˈbɪəɻ/ *beer*, [ˈʈhµˑɤ] /ˈʈʊəɻ/ *tour*, with close first elements, too often described even as 'bisyllabic [iːjə, uːwə]', which is not so. More rarely, and only for certain words with *-ear*, we can even find [↓jɜ̝ɜ̝, ↓↓jɜ̝ɜ̝] /ɪəɻ/: [↓ˈnjɜ̝ˑɜ̝, ↓↓ˈnjɜ̝ˑɜ̝] /ˈnɪəɻ/ *near* (but can occur in many sectors: 3-8).

The false impression of '[iːjə, uːwə]', is paralleled by the fact that the triphthongs do not undergo smoothing, but keep their central elements as high as in

the corresponding diphthongs: [ˈfɐɪɤ] /ˈfaɛəɻ/ *fire*, [ˈphɐʊɤ] /ˈpaʊəɻ/ *power*. However, we also find such cases as: [ˈfɐɪɾɪn] /ˈfaɛə̯ɹɪŋ/ *firing*, [ˈd̥ɐʊɾi] /ˈdaʊə̯ɹi/ *dowry*, [ˈniiɬi, ↑ˈniɤɬi] /ˈnɪəɻli/ *nearly*, [ˈɾiiɬi] /ˈɹɪəli, ˈɹii(ə)li, -ɬli/ *really*.

170.4. But let us see how some phonemic oppositions work in this accent. We have just seen that [ˈmɒɔnɪn] /ˈmɔːɻnɪŋ/ *morning* is different from [ˈmʊonɪn] /ˈmo̞ːɻnɪŋ/ *mourning*, *ie* /ɔːɻ, ʊːɹ/ ≠ /o̞ːɻ, o̞ːɹ/, although, in milder accents, they can merge into [↑ʊʊ, ↓ɔʊ] (*cf fig* 170.3).

Actually, [ʊo] /o̞ːɻ/ differs from [ʊo] /ʊɷ/, and the difference is not so slight (as it is worth checking in our vocograms), although we happen to read –even in articles by native Welsh-English speakers– that they are 'alike'! Even in their most similar forms (though sociophonically quite faraway, indeed, and likely not to occur in the speech of one and the same speaker), they are not exactly the same: [↑ʊ˕ʊ˖] /o̞ːɻ/ and [↓↓↓ʊ˂ʊ˃] /ʊɷ/, which, for native speakers (& hearers!), may be more than enough.

Thus, in sectors 6-7, we can have: [ˈsʊˑo] & [↑-oˑʊ, ↑↑-ʊˑɯ, ↕-ə̯ɯ] /ˈsʊɷ/ *so*, [ˈsʊˑo] & [↑-oˑʊ, ↑↑-ʊˑɯ, ↕-ə̯ɯ] & [↑-ɔˑu] in addition /ˈsʊɷ/ *sow* (v.), [ˈsʊˑo] & [↑↑-ʊˑʊ, ↕-ɔʊ] /ˈso̞ːɻ/ *sore*/*soar*.

170.5. There is no clear opposition between /æ, æ̟, ɑː/: [ˈanʃh] /ˈænʃ/ *ant*, [ˈanʃh] /ˈæ̟nʃ/ *aunt*, [ˈphasʃɤ] /ˈpɑːsʃə/ *pasta*. When the spelling of /æ/-words has *al*, *au*, *aff*, *aph*, *ath*, *ass* (even if followed by unstressed syllables, but not by other non-inflectional consonants), we can find oscillation: [ˈa(a)nʃh] /ˈæ̟nʃ/ *aunt*, [ˈb̥a(a)θ] /ˈbæ̟θ/ *bath*, [ˈpha(a)s] /ˈpæ̟s/ *pass*.

Instead, with *an(C)*, *am(C)*, *af*C, *as*C, the vowel tends to be short: [ˈd̥ans] /ˈdæ̟ns/ *dance*, [ɪg̊ˈzamphɤɬ] /ɪgˈzæ̟mpɬ/ *example*, [ˈafʃɤ] /ˈæ̟fʃəɻ/ *after*, [ˈphasʃ] /ˈpæ̟sʃ/ *past*/*passed*. In the Marches, we generally have [ʌ] /æ, ɑː/ (and for many /æ̟/, too): [ˈʌnθɹʌks] /ˈænθɹæks/ *anthrax*.

Generally, we have [aa] /ɑː/: [ˈfaaðɤ] /ˈfɑːðəɻ/ *father*, [ˈspaˑa] /ˈspɑː/ *spa*, [ˈphaˑam] /ˈpɑːm/ *palm*. Besides, we have [ɒ] /ɒ, o̞, o̞ː/: [ˈnɒʃh] /ˈnɒʃ/ *not*, [ˈsɒˑŋ] /ˈso̞ŋ/ *song*, [ˈɒɬʃhɤ] /ˈo̞ːɬʃəɻ/ *alter*. Due to spelling pronunciation, in words with *wa-*, *qua-*, we often have [wa] /wɒ, wo̞/: [ˈwanʃh, ↑ˈwɒnʃh] /ˈwo̞nʃ/ *want*, [ˈkhwaɾɜɬ, ↑-wɒ-] /ˈkwo̞ɹɬ/ *quarrel*, [ˈkhwaɬɪʃhi, ↑-wɒ-] /ˈkwɒləɻi/ *quality*. In sectors 2-5, we frequently find [↑ɑa, ↑↑ɑʌ] /æ̟, ɑː/.

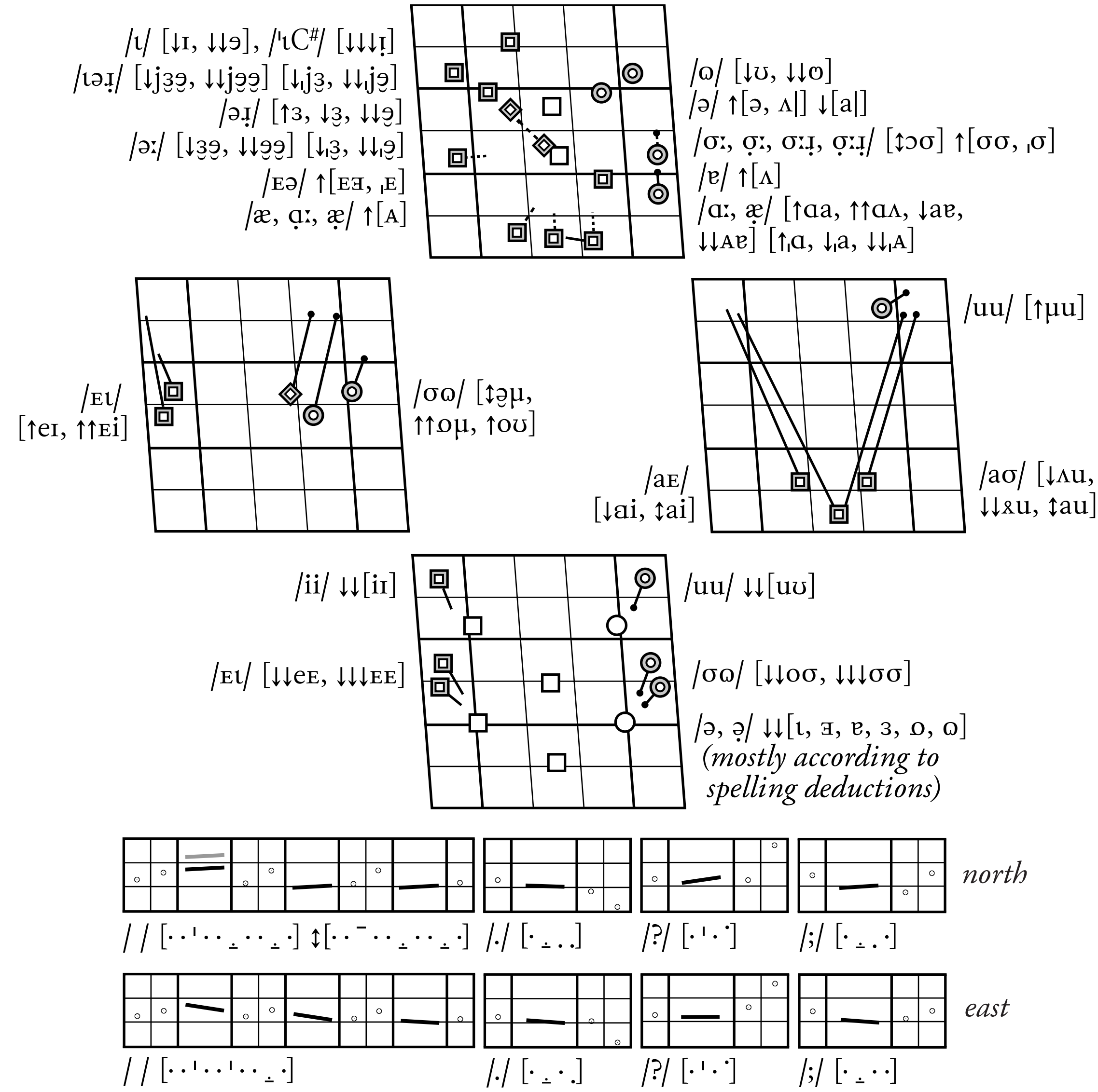
In rural accents of the northwest (sector 1), we can find [ɬ] /ɪC#/, *ie* in stressed checked final syllables or in monosyllables: [ˈphɪkh, ↓-ɬkh] /ˈpɪk/ *pick*.

Later, we will consider some possible additional oppositions not found in current English (§ 170.10-11).

170.6. Most typical, indeed, is the real absence of opposition between /ɐ, ə/, except if introduced on purpose (as can be seen in *fig* 170.3): [ˈphɬɤmmɤ] /ˈplɐməɻ/ *plumber*, [ˌðɤphɾɤˈfɛssɤz̥] /ðəpɹəˈfɐsəɻz/ *the professors* (neutral International English [ˌo̞ðəpɹəˈfɐsəɪz̥]); while the opposition *is* present (although with closer timbres than neutral) between /ɐ/ and /ʊ/: [ˈphɤʃh] /ˈpɐʃ/ *putt*, [ˈphʊʃh] /ˈpʊʃ/ *put*.

In addition, we generally have [ʒ̞ʒ̞] /əː, əː/, although we can also find [↕ɤ] /əː/: [ˈfʒ̞ʒ̞ɾi] /ˈfəːɹi/ *furry*, [ˈwʒ̞ʒ̞ɾi, ↕ˈwɤɾi] /ˈwəːɹi/ *worry*. There are also two broader variants [↓ʒ̞ə̯, ↓↓ə̯ə̯] (often transcribed as '[œː, øː]'!).

fig 170.3. Welsh English: broader and lighter variants.



170.7. When /ɩə, ɷə/ are followed by /ɹ/ (*ie* by /ɹV/, which is different from /ɩəɹ̞, ɷəɹ̞/), they are different, indeed. In fact, they are typically realized as /iiɹ/ and /uuɹ/ (or '/ɪuɹ, ɨuɹ/', *cf* § 170.11 & *fig* 170.4, left): [ˈfiiɾɩn] /ˈfɩə̣ɹɩŋ/ *fearing*, [ˈd̥ɪuɾɩn, ˈd̥ɨµ-] /ˈd̥jɷə̣ɹɩŋ/ *during*, [ˈʈhɪuɾɩn, ˈʈhɨµ-] /ˈʈɷə̣ɹɩŋ/ *touring*. Let us notice that the grammeme *-ing* is [ɩn], never reduced to [ʌn, ɜn, ən, n̩]. For /ᴇə̣ɹV/ we have [ɛᴇ] (and a mild variant, [↑ᴇɜ], and a broad one, [↓↓ᴇi], too): [ˈmɛᴇɾi, ↑ˈmᴇɜ-, ↓↓ˈmᴇi-] /ˈmᴇə̣ɹi/ *Mary*.

The other three diphthongs are: [ˈɬɐˑɪ] /ˈlaᴇ/ *lie*, [ˈnɐˑʊ] /ˈnaσ/ *now*, [ˈb̥ɔˑɪ] /ˈbσᴇ/ *boy*. Apart from the peculiar variants that we will see (§ 170.12 & *fig* 170.4, right), we can find two which differ from the neutral ones only for their very close second elements, [ai] /aᴇ/ (mostly in the north), [au] /aσ/ (mostly in the south), shown in *fig* 170.3.

170.8. Again in *fig* 170.3, we can see some peculiar variants, both lighter and broader (and some are very broad, indeed). Some of them are actually geo-phonic, *ie* they can be assigned to given subareas, indicated in the map of *fig* 170.1.

But, let us consider, in particular, the third vocogram in *fig* 170.3. The stress-

able variants given are: [ˈʈhiˑɪ] /ˈʈii/ *tea*, [ˈɖ̥eˑᴇ] /ˈɖᴇɩ/ *day*, [ˈɡ̊oˑσ] /ˈɡσɷ/ *go*, [ˈʈhuˑʊ] /ˈʈuu/ *two*. Their peculiarity is quite evident and clear, indeed. They are all '↓↓', while we can even have ↓↓↓[ᴇᴇ, σσ], in northern Wales (*fig* 170.3, both northwestern and northeastern, sectors 1-2, in the map of *fig* 170.1).

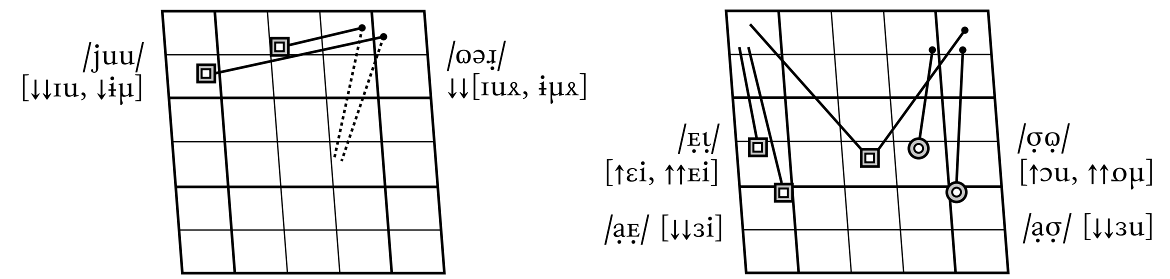
170.9. The six white (or empty) signals (again in *fig* 170.3) refer to unstressed syllables. Instead of 'English' /ə, ə̣/, they show typical broad realizations, which depend mostly on spelling pronunciation.

As a matter of fact, in the broad accents, unstressed (initial or final) syllables have centralized vocoids instead of central /ə, ə̣/, which, on the other hand, would be [ɤ̞] in current Welsh English, rather than a true schwa (and its possible current variants: [ə, ɯ, ɐ]).

170.10. Thus, in marked Welsh accents, we find, instead: ↓↓[ɩ, ɜ, ɐ, ɜ, ɒ, ɷ] (there is oscillation between [ɜ, ɐ] and 'normal' [ɤ̞], *cf fig* 170.2); although, generally, they are poorly rendered (within the official *IPA* notation) as '[i, ε, a, ə, ɔ, u]'. Here are some examples: [ˈphɛnsɩɫ] /ˈpᴇnsɫ̣/ *pencil*, [ˈwɒnʈhɜɖ̥] /ˈwɒ̣nʈə̣ɖ/ *wanted*, [ˈwɩmmɜn] /ˈwɩmɩn/ *women*, [ˈsʊofɐ] /ˈsσɷfə/ *sofa*, [ɐˈɡ̊ʊˑo] /əˈɡσɷ/ *ago*, [sɐˈphʊˑoz̥] /səˈpσɷz/ *suppose*, [ɒˈphɩnnjɒn, -jɜn] /əˈpɩnjən/ *opinion*, [ˈɪusfɷɫ, ˈɨʉs-] /ˈjuusfɫ̣/ *useful*.

It goes without saying that, in Welsh English, there is no reduction of pre-sonantal /ə̣/: [ˈnaʈʃʈʃhɜɾɐɫ fɒˈnɛʈʈhɩks] /ˈnæʈʃ(ə)ɹ(ə)ɫ̣ fəˈnᴇʈ̣ɩks/ *Natural Phonetics*, [ˈɪuʃɷɫi, ˈɨʉ-, ↑-ʒ̞-, ↑↑-ʒ-] /ˈjuuʒ(ə)li/ *usually*.

fig 170.4. Welsh English: possible typical additional oppositions with 'normal' /uu, ɷəɹ̣, ᴇɩ, σɷ, aᴇ, aσ/.



170.11. We will, now, pass to a few possible additional oppositions. The first one is very very typical and common, indeed (*cf fig* 170.4): [↓↓ɪu, ↓ɨʉ] /juu/ instead of current [uu, ↑ʉu] /uu/. It occurs in words with *e* + *u*/*w* in their spellings (or *u*, in foreign words): [ˈnɪˑu, ˈnɨˑʉ] /ˈnjuu/ *new*, [ˈb̥ɪuɾʊo, ˈb̥ɨʉ-] /ˈbjɷəɹσɷ/ *bureau*; while those whose spelling presents *oo*, *o* have 'normal' [uu, ↑ʉu] /uu/: [ˈɖ̥uˑu, ˈɖ̥ʉˑu] /ˈɖuu/ *do*.

So, in the typical accents, there is a difference between [ˈθɾɪˑu, -ɨˑʉ] /ˈθɹuu/ ('/ˈθɹ̣juu/') *threw*, [ˈθɾuˑu, -ʉˑu] /ˈθɹuu/ *through*. Many speakers, arbitrarily, extend the opposition to (unhistorically) distinguish even between [ˈb̥ɫɪˑu, -ɨˑʉ] /ˈbluu/ ('/ˈbl̦juu/') *blew*, [ˈb̥ɫuˑu, -ʉˑu] /ˈbluu/ *blue*. We also have: [ˈɪˑu, ˈɨˑʉ] ↑[ˈjɪˑu, ˈjɨˑʉ] /ˈjuu/ *you*, [ˈɪuθ, ˈɨʉθ] ↑[ˈjɪuθ, ˈjɨʉθ] /ˈjuuθ/ *youth*. The same holds true of [#ɪu, #ɨʉ] ↑[#jɪu, #jɨʉ] /#juu/ *u-* (some speakers, in front of [#ɪu, #ɨʉ], can use the 'prevocalic' form of the articles, in such cases as): [ɤ̞ˈnɪunɩ͵fɔɾm, ðiˈɪu-, ðiˈɨʉ-] /(ð)əˈjuunə̣fσːɹ̣m/ *a*/*the uniform*.

170.12. In the area around Swansea, in southern Wales (cf ƒig 170.1, sectors 6-7), other historical distinctions may be kept, which are not part of current English any longer. They regard the possible opposition between words with /ɛɪ, σɷ/ that have plain *a*, *o* (at most *oe*) in their spelling, [ɘe, ʊo] /ɛɪ, σɷ/ (typically Welsh), against others with *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* or *ou*, *ow*, as [ɛi, ↑ɛi] or [ɔu, ↑ɔμ] /ɛɪ, σɷ/ (again, but that we indicate here as '/ɐ̟ɪ, ɒ̟ʊ̟/'): [ˈphɘˑen] /ˈpɛɪn/ *pane*, [ˈphɛˑin, -ɛˑin] /ˈpɛɪn/ *pain*, [ˈʧhʊˑo] /ˈʧσɷ/ *toe*, [ˈʧhɔˑu, -ɔˑμ] /ˈʧσɷ/ *tow*.

(Arguably, it might seem better to use '/ɐ̟ɪ, ɒ̟ʊ̟/' for the typical narrower Welsh diphthongs, should we want to show the relation with the Middle English situation, as in Norwich, ↻ 145. But, according to the diaphonemic principles, we explicitly indicate the differences from what is expected, in a given area, although outwardly in contradiction with the typical realizations. Thus, a 'dotted' –or 'underdotted'– symbol just indicates an additional, or alternative form, which is not as necessary or widespread as the basic one, no matter how different it may be.)

In the same area, a further distinction is possible, though frankly rarer and rarer (and with a very restricted functional load), between 'normal' [ɐɪ, ɐʊ] /aɛ, aσ/, mostly in their taxophonic realizations [ɑi, ʌu] (given in ƒig 170.3), and [ɜi, ɜu] '/ạɛ̯, ạσ̯/', as in: [ˈd̥ɑˑi] /ˈdaɛ/ *Dai*, [ˈd̥ɜˑi] /ˈdaɛ/ *die*, [ˈkhʌˑu] /ˈkaσ/ *cow*, [ˈɜˑu] /ˈaσ/ *ow!*

170.13. As for the *consonants*, the most typical characteristic is the lengthening of most single consonants (except /j, w, ɹ, h, χ, ɬ/) after short stressed vowels, within a word (even if the following syllable begins with a sonant), [ˈVCCV] /ˈVCV/ (or [ˈVCᶜV, ˈVCːV]): [ˈphɛpphɤ] /ˈpɛpəɹ/ *pepper*, [ˈg̊ɾaffɪks] /ˈgɹæfɪks/ *graphics*, [ˈmɤnni] /ˈmɛni/ *money*. This occurs in the whole of Wales (including the Marches, sector 5, though less systematically), except in Cardiff.

In Swansea, instead of lengthening the consonants, we find a lengthening of the stressed short vowels: [ˈphɛˑphɤ, ˈg̊ɾaˑfɪks, ˈmɤˑni] (same examples).

The second most peculiar characteristic concerns the phono-syllabification of final consonants followed by a vowel, [(C)C#V] /(C)#CV/: [ˈg̊ɛ ʧhɐˈɬɒˑŋ] /ˈgɛɐ̯ əˈlɒ̟ŋ/ *get along*, [ˈwɛɬ ʃɹŋg̊ɬʃ] /ˈwɛɬʃ ˈɹŋglɪʃ/ *Welsh English*. Besides, the final sequences /nd, ndz/ tend to lose their stop element, in any case: [ˈfɐˑɪn] /ˈfaɛnd/ *find*, [ˈbaˑnz̥] /ˈbændz/ *bands*.

170.14. The typical accents have [ph, ʧh, kh, ʧ̊h] /p, ʧ, k, ʧ/ and [ṗ, ʧ̣, k̟̣, ʧ̟̣] (or [b̥, d̥, g̊, ʤ̊] in voiced contexts) /b, d, g, ʤ/. While, in contact with any voiceless consonants, we have neutralization of both series, into [p, ʧ, k, ʧ̟] (mostly in the north), or [ṗ, ʧ̣, k̟̣, ʧ̟̣] (mostly in the south). In our examples, however, we will simply use [ph, b̥; ʧh, d̥; kh, g̊; ʧ̊h, ʤ̊], in all contexts: [ˈafʧɤ] /ˈæfʧəɹ/ *after*, [ˈphasʧ] /ˈpæsʧ/ *past*, [ˈd̥ɒts] /ˈdɒʦ/ *dots*, [ˈb̥ɛʧʧhɤ] /ˈbɛɐ̯ʧəɹ/ *better*, [ˈʧhəeb̥ɤɬ] /ˈʧɛɪb̟ɬ/ *table*.

Besides, we can have dentialveolar [ʇh, ʇ, ʧ̣, ʤ̣] /ʧ, ʤ/ (mostly in the north, sectors 1-2, where we may even find dental [th, t, d̥, d], & sector 4), and [ʧ̊h, ʧ, ʧ̣, ʤ̊] /ʧ, ʤ/ (mostly in less broad accents), while in the typical and broad accents of the north (sectors 1-2), we generally find [ʧ̟̣, ʤ̟̣] ↓[ʧ̊h] /ʤ/ (and [s] /z/, as well).

In addition, we often find [ʧhz, ʧz, ʧ̣z, ʤ̣z] (with a voiced alveolar approximant, [z] /ɹ/ – or even with alveolar slit stopstrictives, [ʦhz, ʦz, ʧ̣z, ʤ̣ʐz]) /ʧɹ, ʤɹ/: [ˈʦhzəˑen] /ˈʧɹɛɪn/ *train*. In milder accents, we can find [ˈʧh, ʧ, ʤ̣, ʤ], as in current English, though unsystematically.

170.15. A typical Celtic feature is the lack of stop unexplosion (so typical of current English, instead) before heterorganic stops or stopstrictives, or in final position (indicated as [C$_*$], ʊs [Cˀ]): [ˈakˀ$_*$tˀ] /ˈæktˀ/ *act*, [ˈɹɒˑbˀ$_*$dˀ, -pˀ$_*$tˀ] /ˈɹɒbdˀ/ *robbed* (common English [ˈækˀtˀ, ˈɹɒˑbˀdˀ]). In addition, in initial or final position, we find [ʤˀ, tʃˀ; ʤ, tʃ] /ʒ/ (but [ʃ, ↑ʒ, ↑↑ʒ] /ʒ/, in medial position): [ˈɾuˑuʤˀ] /ˈɹuuʒ/ *rouge*. Mostly in the north (*ie* sectors 1-3), the broad accents have ↓[s, ʃ] /s, z; ʃ, ʒ/: [ˈnʊʊsɪs] /ˈnʊɷzᵊz/ *noses*.

In Welsh personal and place names, we can find two more constrictives: voiceless uvular [χ] ⟨*ch*⟩, and voiceless alveolar lateral [ɬ] ⟨*ll*⟩, and the sequence [hɾ] ⟨*rh*⟩ (especially in the north, 1-2). Non-Welsh-speaking Welsh people, readily replace [χ, ɬ, hɾ] by [kh; l, ɬ, θl, khl; ɻ, ɾ], respectively (as generally English speakers do for the phones they actually have): [phɜnˈʈhuɾχ] ([phɜnˈʈhʒ̧kh]) *Pentyrch*, [ɬaˈnɛɬi] ([khɬaˈnɛkhɬi]) *Llanelli*, [ˈhɾɔnða] ([ˈɻɒnɖɤ]) *Rhondda*.

170.16. Readily, in the broad accents, the diphonic voiced consonants become voiceless, before voiceless consonants: [ˈfɐˑɪf ˈphɐˑʊnᵊ] /ˈfaɛv ˈpaʊnʤz/ *five pounds*, [ˈbɒˑp ˈkhɬaakh] /ˈbɒb ˈklɑːɻk/ *Bob Clark*.

A further peculiarity is [Ø] for /j/ + /ii, ɪ/, or /w/ + /uu, ɷ/: [ˈiisʈ] /ˈjiisʈ/ *yeast*, [ˈɪˑɖˀ] /ˈjɪɖ/ *yid*, [ˈuunˀɖɜˀ] /ˈwuunʤᵊd/ *wounded*, [ˈɷmmɤn] /ˈwɷmən/ *woman*.

In addition, as we know, we have [ɪu, ɨμ] /juu, jᵿu/: [ˈfɾˑu, ˈfɨˑμ] /ˈfjuu/ *few*, [ˈnɪˑu, ˈnɨˑμ] /ˈnjuu/ *new*. In the broad accents, we find [CØu, CØɤ] /Cju, Cjᵊ/: [ˌsɪʈhuˈəeʃɤn, -ɜn, -ɒn] /sɪʈjuˈɛɪʃ(ə)n/ *stimulus*, [ˈsʈɪmmɤɬɤs, -ɷs] /ˈsʈɪmjᵊləs/ *stimulus*, [aɾˈʈhɪkkhɤɬɤˌʃhʊɾi] /ɑːɻˈʈɪkjᵊləʈo̝ɹi/ *articulatory*.

170.17. As for /ɹVɻ/, in sectors 2, 4, 6, we have [ɻV] (or [ʐV] which is also postalveolar, but without the lateral contraction of British English [ɻV]): [ˈɻɛˑɛ] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*, [ɻiˈphʊoʈh] /ɹᵊˈpo̝ːɻʈ/ *report*.

In addition, we typically find [ɾVVɾ$^{\#}$, ɾVɾC$^{\#}$], in the north and west (sectors 1-3): [ˈɾɛˑɛɾ] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*, [ɾiˈphʊoɾʈh] /ɹᵊˈpo̝ːɻʈ/ *report*; and [ɹVɪ], in the Marches (sector 5, and beyond: in the western parts of the bordering English counties), and in the Pembroke (8) peninsulas: [ˈɹɛˑɛɪ] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*, [ɹiˈphʊoɪʈh] /ɹᵊˈpo̝ːɻʈ/ *report*.

In the Gower (7), we have [ɹVɤ, ɹVɪ]: [ˈɹɛˑɤ, ɹɛˑɛɪ] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*, [ɹiˈphʊɤʈh, -ʊoɪʈh] /ɹᵊˈpo̝ːɻʈ/ *report*. Another possibility lies between these two, [ɬVɤ̞] (where [ɤ̞] stands for a laterally contracted [ɤ], as in a variant pronunciation of Mandarin Chinese [ˉkʊɤ̞] /ˉkʊuʐ/ *gōur*); it is possible to hear it, in milder or mixed pronunciations, in the northwest (sector 1): [ˈɹɛˑɤ̞] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*, [ɹiˈphʊɤ̞ʈh] /ɹᵊˈpo̝ːɻʈ/ *report*.

In addition, in the northwest (sector 1), individual speakers may have [ʁ, ʁ] for both /ɹ, ɻ/.

170.18. Although with oscillations, we generally have [ɬVɬ, ɬ$^{\#}$j, ↑lV] /lVɬ/ in the south (sectors 3-4 & 6-8): [ˈɬɬː, ↑ˈlɬː] /ˈlɬ/ *lill*, [ˈmɪɬɬjɒn, -ɜn, -ɤn] /ˈmɪljən/ *million*; and [ɬVɬ, ɬ$^{\#}$j, ↑Vɬ] /lVɬ/ in the north (sectors 1-2): [ˈɬɬː, ↑ˈɬɬː, ↓ɬV-], [ˈmɪɬɬjɒn, -ɜn, -ɤn]; and [lVɬ, ɻ$^{\#}$j] /lVɬ/ in the Marches (5): [ˈlɪɬː], [ˈmɪɻjɜn, -ɤn].

As it currently happens in England, we can have [Ø] /h/, also for /hj, ʍ/ (/ʍ/ ≡ /hw/), although we can have [h, hj] & [hw/hʊ], as well (fairly regularly so, in sec-

tors 1-3, including ↓↓[hɾ], for *rh*): [ˈhɒʃh, ↓ˈɒʃh] /ˈhɒʃ/ *hot*, [ˈwɛnː, ˈhw-] /ˈu̯ɛn/ *when*, [ˈhɾɪðɤm] /ˈɹɪðm̩/ *rhythm*.

170.19. In typical Welsh English (and, of course, in Welsh itself), we can find long vowels only in stressed syllables. Thus, for the following nouns, we have: [ˈɾɛkkhoˌd̥] /ˈɹɛkɔːɻd̥, -əɻd̥/ *record* (n.), [ˈkhɒmʲvɜs] /ˈkɒnvəːɻs/ *converse*, [ˈɪmphoʃh] /ˈɪmpɔːɻʃ/ *import*, [kharˈʃhuˑun] /kɑːɻˈʃuun/ *cartoon* (instead of International English [ˈɹɛkɔˑɪˌd̥, ˈkhɒmʲvəˑɪs, ˈɪmpɔˑɪʃ, khɑˑɪˈʃhuˑun] – and similar adaptations in neutral British or American English).

The shortening of unstressed long vowels, together with the slight timbre reduction of unstressed vowels (cf § 170.9-10) and the lengthening of single consonants (cf § 170.13), of course, produces a particular rhythm in Welsh English.

170.20. The prosodic difference between Welsh English and neutral English is still augmented by the typical intonation patterns of Welsh, as can be seen in the tonograms of fig 170.2 (and fig 170.3, for the north, 1-2), with their peculiar tonal levels and movements, which English people readily associate with Indian accents, especially Hindi. In the preintoneme tonograms of both figures, we can see a higher variant of the first stressed (or first protonic) syllable: [˷, ˉ] (and '↕').

The intertonic (or unstressed) syllables in the preintoneme, generally, have a rising movement and are higher than the preceding stressed ones (except for the very first one). Another –easily noticed– peculiarity is that in the south (generally in sectors 3-4 & 6) the first post-tonic syllable of the conclusive intoneme is slightly higher than the tonic one. This is sufficient to give the peculiar auditory effect, which can easily be noticed.

In the north (sectors 1-2), faucalization (⟨ʌ⟩ cf fig 161.3) is frequent, in broad accents. The second set of tonograms, in fig 170.3, refers to the Marches (sector 5).

172. A brief introduction to the Scottish accents (& map)

172.1. Scotland is a serious problem, indeed, for the pronunciation of English. In fact, it does not have only peculiar phonetic realizations, and –sometimes– a few phonemes less, with typical mergers, but also more distinctions, than in the neutral accent(s). As a matter of fact, what messes up pronunciation (rather than Scottish Gaelic, which would give just a 'normal' local accent, being a Celtic language) is the widespread use of Scots, a Germanic language, closely related to English, but with very many differences. These differences appear lexically, grammatically and phonically.

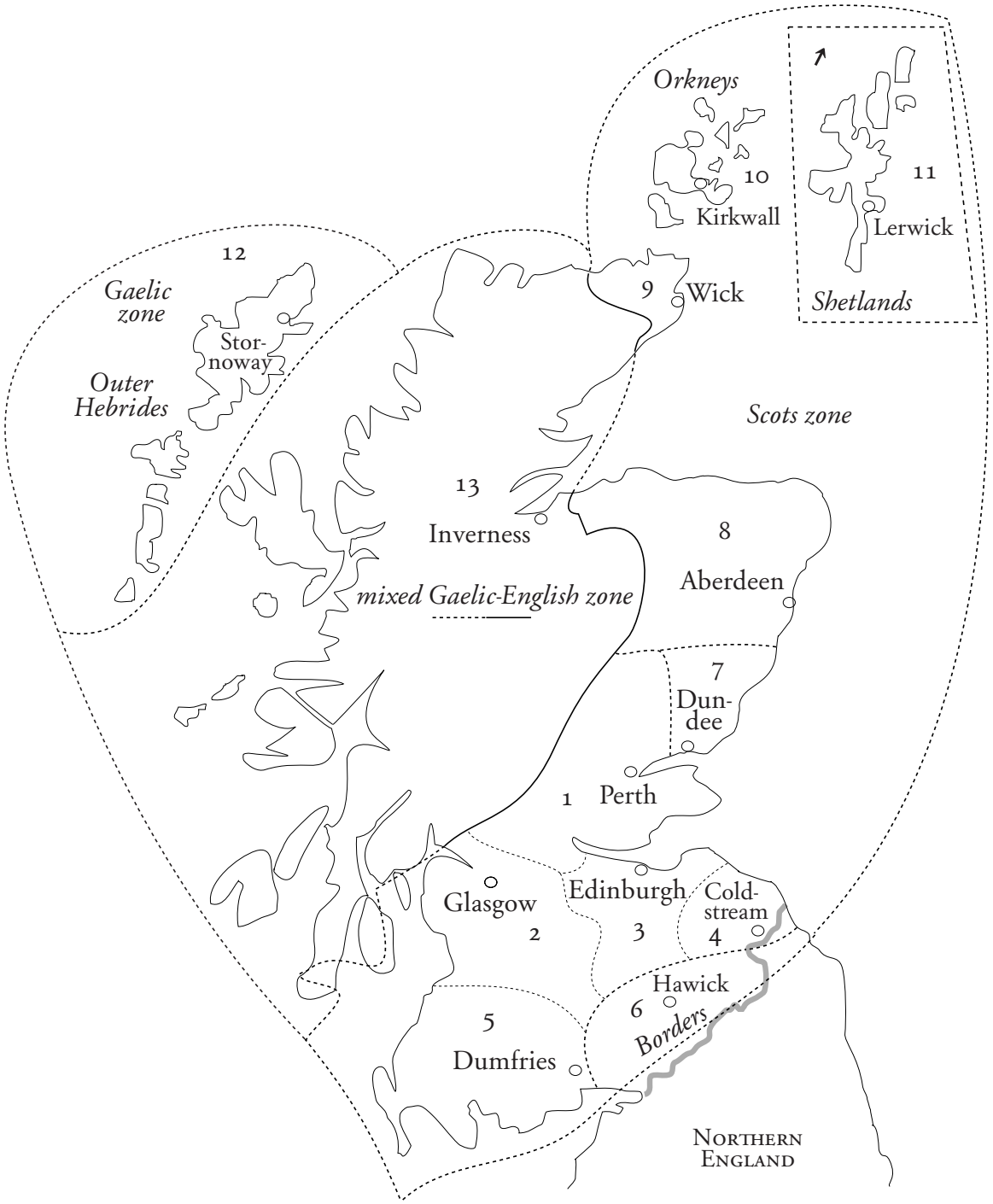
Also at the phonic level, they are very disappointing indeed, because –too often– we find such an intricated correspondence (or, rather, non-correspondence!) between the phonemes of English and those of Scots. Many English words with one and the same phoneme may have more than two different phonemes in Scots, often as many as five or six! Let us indicate at least: *home* with /ɐɪ/ ('hame'), *mother* with /ɪ/ ('mither'), *long* with /æ/ ('lang'), *house* with /uu/ ('hoose').

The situation is even worse than in the North of England, where in everyday conversation people generally use a lot of dialectal words, which (when not completely different) may differ for one phoneme (or more than one). This considerably masks the relation between actual English words and local dialectal words. However, they are used in English sentences, as if they were real words belonging to the English language.

172.2. In Scotland, this situation is even more far-fetched than this. Thus, too many words are not English words at all. And people keep on speaking like that, without worrying about it. Of course, such ways of speaking do not possibly belong to what we call *English accents*. On the contrary, they fall within the *use* of the English language, with all its departures, such as local non-standard words, phrases, idioms and grammatical differences. Even (phonetic and phonemic) vowel length is completely different between English and Scots (and Scottish English, of course!).

Thus, we will treat only pronunciation features, by describing normalized accents (although with geographical and social differences), while completely excluding any occurrences of dialectal words, when they would exhibit actual dialectal sounds. Instead, as far as intonation is concerned, we will be glad to describe any important and widespread tonetic features, which are ready to pass into the Scottish accents of English.

fig 172. Scotland: thirteen sectors for the three accents and variants. Scots (1-11), Gaelic-Hebridian (12), and the mixed Gaelic-English zone (13: the Highlands).



172.3. It is a sadly well-known fact that the Scottish accents of English are the worst among bilingual speakers (even when they can actually use only English). Often, they can be worse than many foreign accents, indeed, because they are so unsystematically inconsistent. They are also worse than the Italian regional accents of Northern Italy, where any speakers realize as they want (or, rather, as they can!) a number of phonemes, especially /e, ɛ; o, ɔ/, which are not distinguished in the current official spelling. Speakers abuse these and other phonemes, in an utterly

'uncivilized' manner, depending both on the various substratum dialects (again, even when the speakers do not actually speak those dialects) and on a very strange jumble of peculiar and absurd personal oddities, and a more or less frequent use of local words. In fact, even twins can exhibit individual peculiar pronunciation features.

Of course, in spite of this complicating situation, we cannot avoid dealing with the Scottish accents, and with their manifold curious variations, as we will see in the following chapters, too.

172.4. The map in fig 172 shows three accent areas (with subdivisions for one of these areas). The first one is the *eastern* area, from southern Scotland (neighboring on northern England) to north-eastern Scotland and the Orkney and Shetland Islands. This is the Scots area, from no. 1 to no. 11.

Then, we have the *central* area, *ie* the Highlands, where Scottish Gaelic is no longer spoken. However, it is a mixed Gaelic-English area, happily less influenced by Scots, where English is considered to be spoken better than elsewhere in Scotland. And Inverness is generally thought as the place where the best Scottish English can be found.

The third –*western*– area, *ie* the Outer Hebrides, is where Gaelic is still widely spoken. But, in the Inner Hebrides, along the coasts of western Scotland, by now included in sector 13, there are very few Gaelic speakers.

172.5. The irritating irreverence we find in Scotland, towards the pronunciation of the English language (to say nothing about its grammar and lexicon), regards the *number* of phonemes, which are either merged or splitted, and the use of *length*, which follows completely different rules. Therefore, there are too many oscillations and inconsistences, which –undeniably– deform the nature of the language itself. This makes the Scottish accents intolerably unbearable for most native speakers and foreigners, as well (unless they can amuse themselves by lingering over those 'funny' accents).

We illustrate the quite different use of *length* (between proper English and Scottish English) by means of the following sections. The problems derive from the fact that the different distribution of length in Scots (when compared with English) follows quite different rules. The vowels of Scots (and, unfortunately, of Scottish English) can be short [V], half-long [VV], or long [V·V] (generally corresponding to [V, V·, V:], respectively). The phonemic diphthongs can be half-long [VV], or long [V·V]. However, foreigners may find these accents easier to understand, in certain cases.

172.6. Here, these vowels and diphthongs are shown with the diaphonemes of English (certainly not as the phonemes of Scots!), and with the phones of the most *typical Scottish accent*, cf fig 173 (not the broadest or lighter ones, cf Ch 174). Some of these vowels are *short*, [V]: /ɪ/ [ɔ], /ɐ/ [a̟], /ɐ̟/ [ɜ], this is used mostly in the south, but not by all speakers, and only in few words, rarely coinciding in different areas and for different speakers; the most frequent ones are: *never*, *clever*, *seven*, *eleven*, *heaven*, *devil*, *shepherd*, *twenty*, *breath*, *next*, *earth*, *jerk*.

Some vowels can be *short* or *half-long* (depending on different kinds of accents), [V, VV]: /ɐ/ [ɛ], /æ, ɐ̯/ [a], /ɒ, ɒ̯/ [ɔ]; or else *half-long* or *short*, [VV, V]: /ɑː, ɑ̯ː/ [a], /oː, o̯ː/ [ɔ]. One diphthong is *half-long*, [VV]: /ə̯ɐ̯/ [ɐi]; two others are either *half-long* [VV]: /ao, oɐ/ [ʌʉ, ɔɪ] or *long* [V·V], again, depending on different kinds of accents and speakers; sometimes, even [a, ɔ] can behave as those dealt with in the next section, § 172.7.

172.7. Lastly, we find a set of vowels and diphthongs whose *length* depends on their *phonic contexts*. Thus, /ii, uu/ can be *short* [V], or *long* [V·V]: /ii/ [i, i·i], /uu/ [ʉ, ʉ·ʉ]. Then, /aɐ/ is either *half-long* [aɜ], or *long* [a·ɜ]; while /ɐɪ, oʊ/ are either *short* [e, o], or *half-long* [ee, oo]. To end with, we have /ʊ/, which is realized exactly as /uu/ (only few speakers have a distinction between /ʊ, uu/, especially in milder or refined accents – often, but wrongly, considered affected, and called 'Morningside' accent, in Edinburgh, and 'Kelvinside' accent, in Glasgow, *cf* Ꮆ 176).

The exact (and typical Scots) *length* for this last set of phonemes is as follows: they are *short* (or *half-long*, in the case of the diphthong actually realized as ditimbric /aɐ/ [aɜ]), *unless* they are absolutely *word-final* ([_#]), even if followed by the grammemes *-(e)d* and *-(e)s*, /d̯, z/, or *syllable-final* (although with many oscillations, due to the highly subjective way of actually feeling the 'syllable-finalness' by different speakers).

172.8. The typical examples to show this peculiar (Celtic) oddity are: [ˈni·i] /ˈnii/ *knee* and [ˈni·id̯] /ˈniid̯/ *kneed*, against [ˈnid̯] /ˈniid̯/ *need*; or [ˈbɾʉ·ʉ] /ˈbɹuu/ *brew* and [ˈbɾʉ·ʉd̯] /ˈbɹuud̯/ *brewed*, against [ˈbɾʉd̯] /ˈbɹuud̯/ *brood*; or [ˈsʈee] /ˈsʈɐɪ/ *stay* and [ˈsʈeed̯] /ˈsʈɐɪd̯/ *stayed*, against [ˈsʈed̯] /ˈsʈɐɪd̯/ *staid*; or [ˈʈʰoo] /ˈʈʊʊ/ *tow*/*toe* and [ˈʈʰood̯] /ˈʈʊʊd̯/ *towed*/*toed*, against [ˈʈʰod̯] /ˈʈʊʊd̯/ *toad* – [Cʰ] = [↑Ch, Cɦ, ↓C].

Besides, we have: [ˈsa·ɜ] /ˈsaɐ/ *sigh* and [ˈsa·ɜd̯] /ˈsaɐd̯/ *sighed*, against [ˈsɐid̯] /ˈsə̯ɐ̯d̯/ *side* (with a timbric distinction, as well). And, for those accents and speakers with this distinction: [ˈnɔɔ] /ˈnɔː/ *gnaw* and [ˈnɔɔd̯] /ˈnɔːd̯/ *gnawed* (or [ˈnɔ(d̯)]), against [ˈnɔd̯] /ˈnɒd̯/ *nod* (or [ˈnɔɔd̯]); or [ˈbaa] /ˈbæ̯/ *baa* and [ˈbaad̯] /ˈbæ̯d̯/ *baaed* (or [ˈba(d̯)]), against [ˈbad̯] /ˈbæd̯/ *bad* (or [ˈbaad̯]).

172.9. The same lengthening occurs, when these phonemes are followed by [∑̬#], ie the voiced constrictives /v, ð, z, ʒ/ (notice that /z/ may fall within the preceding grammemic criterion, as well), or followed by /ɻ#/. This Celtic 'rule' is similar to the phonetic lengthening rule typical of neutral French.

Thus, we have: [ˈmʉ·ʉv̬] /ˈmuuv/ *move*, but [ˈhʉf] /ˈhuuf/ *hoof*, or [ˈfeez̬] /ˈfɐɪz/ *faze*, but [ˈfes] /ˈfɐɪs/ *face*; and [ˈbiˑɪr, ↑-ɪ] /ˈbɪəɻ/ *beer*, [ˈbʉ·ʊr, ↑-ɪ] /ˈbʊəɻ/ *boor*, [ˈfeɜr, ↑-ɪ] /ˈfɐəɻ/ *fair*, [ˈboʊr, ↑-ɪ] /ˈbo̯ːɻ/ *bore*, [ˈwɔɔr, ↑-ɪ] /ˈwɔːɻ/ *war*, [ˈbaɐr, ↑-ɪ] /ˈbɑːɻ/ *bar*.

In word-internal free syllables, the different accents and idiolects have a great deal of variability. Let us show some examples, with /aɐ/ (and /ə̯ɐ̯/, to make the difference more clear). Generally, derived words or less common words can more frequently be said with /aɐ/: [ˈdɾaɜłə, -ɐi-, ↑ˈd̯ɹ-] /ˈd̯ɹaɐli/ *dryly*, [ˈʃaɜnɜs, ʃɐi-] /ˈʃaɐnə̯s/ *shyness*, [ˈfɐiɬən, ˈfaɜ-, ↑-ŋ] /ˈfaɐlɪŋ/ *filing*, [ˈpʰaɜłɔn, -ɐi-, -ɜn] /ˈpaɐlɒn, -ən/ *pylon*, [ˈspɐid̯ɤr, ↑-ɪ, -aɜ-] /ˈspaɐd̯ə̯ɻ/ *spider*, [ˈkʰɾaɜsɜs, -ɐi-, ↑-ɹ-] /ˈkɹaɐsə̯s/ *crisis*, [ˈhaɜdɾo, ˈhɐi-, ↑-d̯ɹ-] /ˈhaɐd̯ɹʊʊ/ *hydro*.

Also words as *bible*, *idol*, *vital*, *disciple* can belong to this group. Other words,

such as plural forms as the following ones, oscillate, as well: [ˈɬaˑɜvˌz, ˈɬɐi-] /ˈlaɛvz/ *lives*, [ˈwaˑɜvˌz, ˈwɐi-] /ˈwaɛvz/ *wifes*.

172.10. But let us show *in detail* the typical lengthenings in Scottish English, starting from the monophthongs (both short and long, *ie* narrow monotimbric diphthongs), and show the most typical timbres (given and described in *fig* 173, while other timbres can be found in other vocograms or in other chapters). Of course, we indicate different degrees of acceptability, in comparison with International (and British & American) neutral pronunciations, also by means of our sociophonic arrows. Let us keep in mind that the symbol [Ç̬] indicates voiced constrictives, a subset of [Ç], with clearly different results, here. Besides, [И] indicates sonants, which here means the nasal and lateral consonants of English. We also show intermediate degrees of length, more similar to the neutral ones, which can occur in milder accents. Some examples will be given when we present the different accents of Scottish English. By now, it is important to inspect § 172.11-14 very carefully (and patiently).

172.11. For the *monophthongs*, we have:

/ɪ/ [ə] (↓[əÇ̬#] ↑[ˈəəÇ̬#, ˈəИːÇ̬#, ˈə(И)Ç̬, ˈə$])
/ɛ/ [ɛ] (↓[ˈɛÇ̬#] ↓↓[ˈɛɛ(И)Ç̬, ˈɛɛ$] ↑[ˈɛɛÇ̬#, ˈɛИːÇ̬#, ˈɛ(И)Ç̬, ˈɛ$])
/ɐ/ [ɜ] (↓↓[ɜÇ̬#] ↓[ˈɜɜÇ̬#, ˈɜИːÇ̬#, ˈɜ(И)Ç̬, ˈɜ$] ↑[ɛ] &c like /ɛ/)
/æ, ɑ̟ː/ [a] (↓[ˈaÇ̬#, ˈaИ(Ç̬)] ↓↓[ˈaa(И)Ç̬, ˈaa$] ↑[ˈaa(И)Ç̬#, ˈa(И)Ç̬, ˈa$])
/ɑː, æ̟/ [a] (↓[ˈaaÇ̬#, ˈa(И)Ç̬] ↓↓[ˈaÇ̬#, ˈa(И)Ç̬, ˈa$] ↑[ˈaˑa#, ˈaˑa(И)Ç̬#, ˈaa(И)Ç̬, ˈaa$])
/ɐ/ [ɐ̞] (↓[ɐ̞Ç̬#] ↑[ˈɐ̞ɐ̞Ç̬#, ˈɐ̞ИːÇ̬#, ˈɐ̞(И)Ç̬, ˈɐ̞$])
/ɒ, ɒ̟/ [ɔ] (↓[ɔÇ̬#, ˈɔИ(Ç̬)] ↓↓[ˈɔɔ(И)Ç̬, ˈɔɔ$] ↑[ˈɔɔ(И)Ç̬#, ˈɔ(И)Ç̬, ˈɔ$])
/ɑː, ɒ̟ː/ [ɔ] (↓[ˈɔɔÇ̬#, ˈɔ(И)Ç̬] ↓↓[ˈɔÇ̬#, ˈɔ(И)Ç̬, ˈɔ$] ↑[ˈɔˑɔ#, ˈɔˑɔ(И)Ç̬#, ˈɔɔ(И)Ç̬, ˈɔɔ$])
/ʊ/ [ʉ, ↑ʊ] (↓[ˈʉ(И)Ç̬#, ˈʉ(И)Ç̬, ˈʉ$] ↓↓[ˈʉˑʉ∑̬#] ↑[ˈʉʉÇ̬#, ˈʉИːÇ̬#, ˈʉ(И)Ç̬, ˈʉʉ$] ↑↑[ˈʊʊÇ̬#, ˈʊИːÇ̬#, ˈʊ(И)Ç̬, ˈʊʊ$]).

172.12. For the *diphthongs*, we find:

/ii/ [i] ([ˈiˑi#, ˈiˑi∑̬#] ↓[ˈii(И)Ç̬#] ↓↓[ˈi(И)Ç̬#, ˈi(И)Ç̬, ˈi$] ↑[ˈiˑi(И)Ç̬#, ˈii(И)Ç̬, ˈii$])
/ɛɪ/ [e] (↓[ˈee#, ˈee(И)Ç̬#] ↓↓[ˈe(И)Ç̬#, ˈe(И)Ç̬, ˈe$] ↑[ˈeˑe#, ˈeˑe(И)Ç̬#, ˈee(И)Ç̬, ˈee$])
/aɛ/ [aɜ] ([ˈaˑɜ#, ˈaˑɜ∑̬#] ↓[ˈɐi(И)Ç̬#, ˈɐi(И)Ç̬, ˈɐi$] ↓↓[ˈɐi#, ˈɐi∑̬#] ↑[ˈaˑɜ(И)Ç̬#, ˈaɜ(И)Ç̬, ˈaɜ$])
/ạɐ̯/ [ɐi] (↓[ˈɐiÇ̬, ˈɐiÇ̬#, ˈɐi(И)Ç̬, ˈɐi$] ↑[ˈaˑɜ#, ˈaˑɜ(И)Ç̬#, ˈaɜ(И)Ç̬, ˈaɜ$])
/aʊ/ [ʌʉ] (↓[ˈʌʉ#, ˈʌʉÇ̬#] ↓↓[ˈʌˑʉ(И)Ç̬, ˈʌˑʉ$] ↑[ˈʌˑʉ#, ˈʌˑʉ(И)Ç̬#, ˈʌʉ(И)Ç̬, ˈʌʉ$])
/ʊɛ/ [ɔɪ] (↓[ˈɔɪ#, ˈɔɪÇ̬#] ↓↓[ˈɔˑɪ(И)Ç̬, ˈɔˑɪ$] ↑[ˈɔˑɪ#, ˈɔˑɪ(И)Ç̬#, ˈɔɪ(И)Ç̬, ˈɔɪ$])
/ʊʊ/ [o] (↓[ˈoo#, ˈoo(И)Ç̬#] ↓↓[ˈo(И)Ç̬#, ˈo(И)Ç̬, ˈo$] ↑[ˈoˑo#, ˈoˑo(И)Ç̬#, ˈoo(И)Ç̬, ˈoo$])
/uu/ [ʉ] ([ˈʉˑʉ#, ˈʉˑʉ∑̬#] ↓[ˈʉʉ(И)Ç̬#] ↓↓[ˈʉ(И)Ç̬#, ˈʉ(И)Ç̬, ˈʉ$] ↑[ˈʉˑʉ(И)Ç̬#, ˈʉʉ(И)Ç̬, ˈʉʉ$]).

172.13. For vowels/diphthongs + /i̯/ (*ie* /i̯#, i̯C/, with /i̯/ = [_] → [ɪ, ↓ɾ]), we have:

/ɪəi̯, iiəi̯/ [ii̯] ([iˑɪ_#] ↓[i_C] ↑[iˑ_(Ç̬)#, ii̯_(Ç̬)#, ii̯_$])
/ɛəi̯, ɛɪəi̯/ [eə] ([eə_#] ↓[e_C] ↑[eˑə_(Ç̬)#, eə_(Ç̬)#, eə_$])
/ʊəi̯, uuəi̯/ [ʉə] ([ʉˑʊ_#] ↓[ʉ_C] ↑[ʉˑʊ_(Ç̬)#, ʉʊ_(Ç̬)#, ʉʊ_$])
/ɒːi̯, ɔʊəi̯/ [oʊ] ([oʊ_#] ↓[o_C] ↑[oˑʊ_(Ç̬)#, oʊ_(Ç̬)#, oʊ_$])

/ɑːɹ̩/ [ɑɒ] ([ɑɒ_#] ↓[ɑ_C] ↑[ɑˑɒ_(C̬)#, ɑɒ_(C̭)#, ɑɒ_$])
/ɑːɹ̩/ [ɑɐ] ([ɑɐ_#] ↓[ɑ_C] ↑[ɑˑɐ_(C̬)#, ɑɐ_(C̭)#, ɑɐ_$])
/əːɹ̩/ [ə] ⟨*i*, *y*, *ea*⟩ ([əə_#] ↓[ə_C] ↑[əˑə_(C̬)#, əə_(C̭)#, əə_$] ↑↑[ə] ↑↑↑[əə])
/əːɹ̩/ [ɛ] ⟨*e*, *ea*⟩ ([ɛɛ_#] ↓[ɛ_C] ↑[ɛˑɛ_(C̬)#, ɛɛ_(C̭)#, ɛɛ_$] ↑↑[ə] ↑↑↑[əə])
/əːɹ̩/ [ʌ̹] ⟨*u*, *o*⟩ ([ʌ̹ʌ̹_#] ↓[ʌ̹_C] ↑[ʌ̹ˑʌ̹_(C̬)#, ʌ̹ʌ̹_(C̭)#, ʌ̹ʌ̹_$] ↑↑[ə] ↑↑↑[əə])
/əːɹ̩/ ↓[ɜ] ⟨*e*/*ea*⟩ ([ɜɜ_#] ↓[ɜ_C] ↑[ɜˑɜ_(C̬)#, ɜɜ_(C̭)#, ɜɜ_$] ↑↑[ə] ↑↑↑[əə])
/əːɹ̩/ ↑↑[ə] ⟨*i*/*y*, *u*/*o*⟩ ([əə_#] ↓[ə_C] ↑↑↑[əˑə_(C̬)#, əə_(C̭)#, əə_$])
/əːɹ̩/ ↑↑↑[ə] ⟨*i*/*y*, *e*/*ea*, *u*/*o*⟩ ([əə_#] ↓[ə_C] ↑↑↑[əˑə_(C̬)#, əə_(C̭)#, əə_$])
& /ae, a̟e̟, ao, oe/+/ə̹ɹ̩/ [aɜ, ɐi, ʌʉ, ɔɪ]+[ɤ_] ([VV]).

172.14. And, for vowels/diphthongs + /ɹ/ (*ie* /ɹV/, with /ɹ̩/ = [_] → [ɹ, ↓ɾ]), we find:

/ʊɹ/ [ə] ([ə_])
/ɪə̹ɹ/ [i] ([i_] ↑[ə_])
/iiə̹ɹ/ [i] ([i_] ↑[ii_])
/ɐə̹ɹ/ [e] ([e_])
/ɐɪə̹ɹ/ [e] ([e_] ↑[ee_])
/ɐɹ/ [ɛ] ([ɛ_])
/əːɹ, əːɹ/ [ʌ̹] ([ʌ̹_] ↑[ʌ̹ʌ̹_] ↑↑[əə_])
/æɹ/ [a] ([a_])
/ɑːɹ/ [a] ([a_] ↑[aa_])
/ɷɹ, ɷə̹ɹ/ [ʉ] ([ʉ_] ↑[ʊ̟_])
/uuə̹ɹ/ [ʉ] ([ʉ_] ↑[ʉʉ_])
/o̹ːɹ, ɔɷə̹ɹ/ [o] ([o_] ↑[oo_])
/ɔːɹ/ [ɔ] ([ɔ_] ↑[ɔɔ_])
/o̹ɹ/ [ɔ] ([ɔ_])
& /ae, a̟e̟, ao, oe/+/ə̹ɹ/ [aɜ, ɐi, ʌʉ, ɔɪ]+[_] ([VV]).

173. A typical Scottish-English accent

173.1. We will, now, see the typical Scottish accent of English, in its normalized form. It is mostly used in sectors 1-6 of the map in ƒig 172. But, given its origin from Scots, it is not at all uniform. In fact, the same speakers can usually vary between what is shown in ƒig 173 and its lighter or broader variants (ƒig 174.1-2, some of which are classified in Ch 175), or even with refined variants (Ch 176).

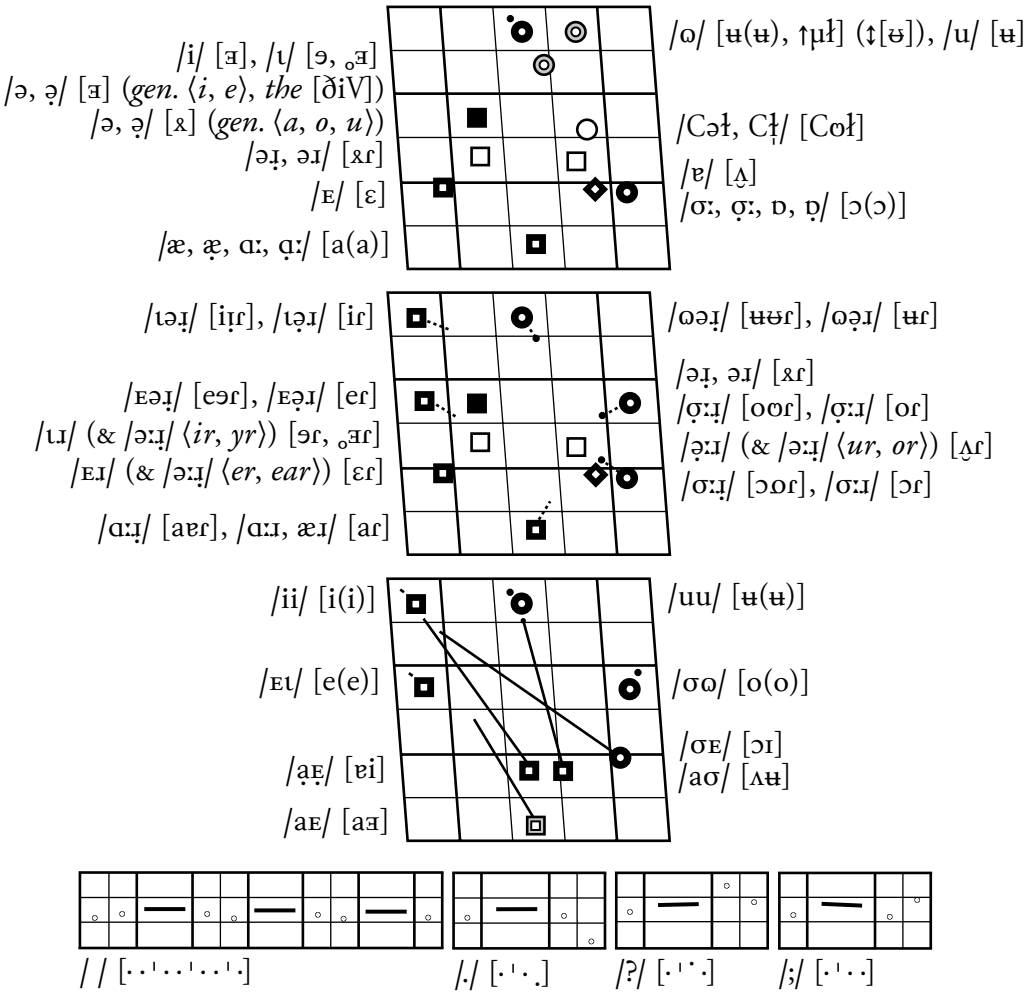
In Ch 177, we will see some more clearly local variants for sectors 1-9, which, however, oscillate quite a bit, for the same or different speakers, including the use of Scots words and sounds. The accents of the Islands (and of the Highlands) will be given in Ch 178-9.

173.2. Thus, in ƒig 173, we can see the typical timbres of /ɪ/ [ˈə, ˌɐ]: [ˈhəʈ] /ˈhɪʈ/ *hit*, [ˈhɔəˌz, ↑hɔəəˌz] /ˈẉɪz/ *whizz*, /ɛ/ [ɛ]: [ˈjɛs, ↓ˈjɛɛs] /ˈjɛs/ *yes*, [ˈsɛɛˌz, ↓ˈsɛˌz] /ˈsɛz/ *says*, /æ, ạ, ɑː, ọː/ [a]: [ˈhaʈ, ↓ˈhaaʈ] /ˈhæʈ/ *hat*, [ˈfasʈ, ˈfaasʈ] [fạ̈sʈ/ *fast*, [ˈspaa, ↓ˈspa] /ˈspɑː/ *spa*, [ˈpʰasʈɤ, -aa-] /ˈpọːsʈə/ *pasta*, /ʌ/ [ʌ̰]: [ˈhʌ̰ʈ] /ˈhʌʈ/ *hut*, [ˈɬʌ̰ʏˌ, ↑ˈɬʌ̰ʌ̰ʏˌ] /ˈlʌv/ *love*, /ɒ, ọ, ɔː, ọː/ [ɔ]: [ˈhɔʈ, ↓ˈhɔɔʈ] /ˈhɒʈ/ *hot*, [ˈɬɔsʈ, -ɔɔ-] /ˈlọsʈ/ *lost*, [ˈsɔɔ, ↓ˈsɔ] /ˈsɔː/ *saw*, [ˈɔɬʈɤɾ, ˈɔɔɬ-] /ˈọːɬʲəɹ/ *alter*, /ɷ/ [ʉ, µɬ]: [ˈbʉk] /ˈbɷk/ *book*, [ˈgʉd̥, ↑ˈgʉʉd̥] /ˈgɷd/ *good* (which, typically, is identical with /uu/ [ʉ], together with the mergers of /æ, ạ, ɑː, ọː/ [a], /ɒ, ọ, ɔː, ọː/ [ɔ], just shown, above).

Also typical are the different timbres of /ə, ə̣/ [ɜ] (for ⟨*i*, *e*⟩, including /i#, iV/, as well, and *the*, but *the#V* [ðiV]); along with /ə, ə̣/ [ɤ] (for ⟨*a*, *o*, *u*⟩, including /ə#/ and /əɹ, əɹ/ [ɤɾ]). This distribution of /ə, ə̣/ [ɜ, ɤ] occurs in reduced forms, as well; again, generally according to spelling. Besides, more often, we have /Cəɬ, Cɬ/ [Cʊɬ]: [ðɜˈman, -aan] /ðəˈmæn/ *the man*, [ðiˈʌ̰n̥jɤn] /ðiˈɐnjən/ *the onion*, [ɤˈman, -aan] /əˈmæn/ *a man*, [ɤkˈsɛpʈ] /əkˈsɐpʈ/ *accept*, [ɜkˈsɛpʈ] /ə̣kˈsɐpʈ/ *except*, [sɤmˈkʰʌ̰ps ɤˌʏˈʈʰiˑi] /səmˈkɐps əvˈʈii/ *some cups of tea*, [fɾɤmˈhiˑɪɾ ʈɤˈðeɜɾ] /fɹəmˈhɪəɹ ʈəˈðɐəɹ/ *from here to there*.

173.3. Always keeping in mind the peculiarities of length given in Ch 172, the diphthongs are as shown in the third vocogram: /ii/ [i]: [ˈsiˑi] /ˈsii/ *sea*, [ˈɬiˑiˌ] /ˈliiv/ *leave*, [ˈbiʈ] /ˈbiiʈ/ *beat*, [ˈbin] /ˈbiin/ *bean*, /ɐɪ/ [e]: [ˈd̥ee] /ˈd̥ɐɪ/ *day*, [ɤˈmeeˌz] /əˈmɐɪz/ *amaze*, [ˈleʈ] /ˈlɐɪʈ/ *late*, /aɐ/ [aɜ]: [ˈhaˑɜ] /ˈhaɐ/ *high*, [ˈɾaˑɜˌz] /ˈɹaɐz/ *rise*, and /ạɐ̣/ [ɐi]: [ˈfɐin] /ˈfạɐ̣n/ *fine*, [ˈnɐiʈ] /ˈnạɐ̣ʈ/ *night*, /ɑʊ/ [ʌʉ]: [ˈnʌʉ] /ˈnɑʊ/ *now*, [ˈɾʌʉˌz] /ˈɹɑʊz/ *rouse*, [ˈmʌʉs] /ˈmɑʊs/ *mouse*, /ʊɐ/ [ɔɪ]: [ˈbɔɪ] /ˈbʊɐ/ *boy*, [ˈʧʰɔɪs] /ˈʧʊɐs/ *choice*, /ʊɷ/ [o]: [ˈgoo] /ˈgʊɷ/ *go*, [ˈnooˌz] /ˈnʊɷz/ *nose*, [ˈgoʈ] /ˈgʊɷʈ/ *goat*, /uu/ [ʉ]: [ˈʈʰʉˑʉ] /ˈʈuu/ *two*, [ˈnjʉˑʉˌz] /ˈn̥juuz/ *news*, [ˈbʉʈ] /ˈbuuʈ/ *boot*.

ƒig 173. The typical Scottish accent of English: vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



173.4. The second vocogram shows the realizations of the vocalic elements when followed by /ɹ̩, ɹ/. We typically find different and peculiar timbres in: [ˈbəɾd̩] /ˈbəːɹ̩d/ *bird*, [ˈwɐ̯ɾd̩] /ˈwəːɹ̩d/ *word*, [ˈhɛɾd̩] /ˈhəːɹ̩d/ *heard*, [ˈkʰɔɾd̩] /ˈkɔːɹ̩d/ *cord*, [ˈboɾd̩] /ˈbɒːɹ̩d/ *board*, [ˈhaɾd̩] /ˈhɑːɹ̩d/ *hard*.

Other peculiarities are: [ˈhiˑɪɾ] /ˈhɪəɹ̩/ *here*, [ˈhiɾəŋ] /ˈhɪə̟ɹɪŋ/ *hearing*, [ˈspəɾəʈ] /ˈspɪɹə̟ʈ/ *spirit*, [ˈðeəɾ] /ˈðɛəɹ̩/ *there*, [ˈmeɾɛ] /ˈmɛə̟ɹi/ *Mary*, [ˈmɛɾɛ] /ˈmɛɹi/ *merry*, [ˈmaɾɛ] /ˈmæɹi/ *marry*, [ˈeəɾ] /ˈəːɹ̩/ *err*, [ˈsʈəɾəŋ] /ˈsʈəːɹɪŋ/ *stirring*, [ˈfɐ̯ɾ] /ˈfəːɹ̩/ *fur*, [ˈfɐ̯ɾɛ] /ˈfəːɹi/ *furry*, [ˈhɐ̯ɾɛ] /ˈhə̟ːɹi/ *hurry*, [ˈfaɛɾ] /ˈfɑːɹ̩/ *far*, [ˈsɔɾɛ] /ˈsɒɹi/ *sorry*, [ˈwɔɔɾ] /ˈwɔːɹ̩/ *war*, [ˈwoɔɾ] /ˈwɒ̟ːɹ̩/ *wore*, [ˈsʈoɾɛ] /ˈsʈɒ̟ːɹi/ *story*, [ˈpʰʉ̯ʊ̯ɾ] /ˈpʊə̟ɹ̩/ *poor*, [ˈkʰjʉ̯ʊ̯ɾ] /ˈkhjʊəɹ̩/ *cure*, [ˈkʰjʉɾəŋ] /ˈkjʊə̟ɹɪŋ/ *curing*.

173.5. As for the *consonants*, let us observe that the ending *-ing* is [əŋ, ↓ən, ↓↓n̩] /ɪŋ/: [ˈsəŋəŋ, ↓-ən, ↓↓-n̩] /ˈsɪŋɪŋ/ *singing*. Most typical is the realization of /p, ʈ, k; ʧ/ as '[pʰ, ʈʰ, kʰ; ʧʰ]', *ie* [↓C, Cʜ, ↑Ch] (with no 'aspiration' at all; or very slight, indeed; or 'normal'): [ˈpʰən] /ˈpɪn/ *pin*, [ˈʈʰek] /ˈʈɛɪk/ *take*, [ˈkʰaɛɾ] /ˈkɑːɹ̩/ *car*, [ˈʧʰɛs] /ˈʧɛs/ *chess*. Besides, the apical pair can be ↑[ʈ, ɖ] (alveolar), [ŧ, ɗ] (dentialveolar), ↓[t, d] (dental) (which we show only here, although the dental articulation is very common for /ʈɹ, ɖɹ/ [tɾ, dɾ]): [↑ˈʈʰɾen, ˈŧʰɾen, ↓ˈtʰɾen] /ˈʈɹɛɪn/ *train*.

Another very typical Celtic realization is the absence of 'lateral or nasal explosion': [ˈɬəʔʊɬ, -ɭɤɬ] /ˈlɻ̩ɬ̩/ *little*, [ˈkʰɔɭɤn, -ɭɜn] /ˈkɒɭn̩/ *cotton*.

One further typical (but, of course, not exclusive) feature of Scottish English is the realization /ɭ/ [↓ʔ] in /VɭV, ɭC, ɭɬ, Cɭ#, Vɭ#/ (although [ʔC] is commonly accepted, by now, in neutral pronunciation, as well, provided speech is not slow or deliberate): [ˈsəʔɜ] /ˈsɻ̩i/ *city*, [ˈskɔʔɬɤnd̥] /ˈskɒɭlənd/ *Scotland*, [ˈɖɛnʔʊɬ] /ˈɖɛnɻ̩ɬ̩/ *dental*, [ˈwɔnʔ] /ˈwn̩ɭ/ *want*, [ˈfaʔ] /ˈfæɭ/ *fat*.

Especially between vowels, we can often find /ɻ̩/ [ɹ], often sociophonically used as '↕' to avoid [ʔ]: [ˈsɔɹɜ], [ˈbɛɹɤɾ, -ʔ-, ↑-ɭɤɹ] /ˈbɛɻ̩əɻ̩/ *better*.

173.6. For /p, k/, in the same contexts, we have [p, k] ↓[p̚, k̚] ↓↓[ʔp, ʔk]: [ˈsɭɔp, -p̚, ↓↓-ʔp] /ˈsɭɒp/ *stop*, [ˈɾɔk, ↓-k̚, ↓↓-ʔk] /ˈɹɒk/ *rock*. In certain urban, mostly uneducated accents, we can find /θ/ [ʊ̈, h]: [ˈʊ̈ɾiˈi, ˈhɾ-] /ˈθɹii/ *three*, [ˈnʌ̹ʊ̈ɜŋ, -h-] /ˈnɐθɪŋ/ *nothing*. For /ʧ, ɖj, nj/ we have [ʧ, ɖʒ] ↑[ʧj, ɖj] [nj]: [ˈɖʒʉˈʉ, ↑ɖj-] /ˈɖjuu/ *dew*.

As /h/ shows no tendency to be dropped in lexemes, we commonly find /ʍ/ [hʊ, hw], except in uneducated or, on the contrary, in refined accents (both with not rare oscillations): [ˈhʊɛn, ˈhw-] /ˈʍɛn/ *when*.

In addition, in typical Scottish words and proper names, the phoneme /x/ [x] is used for the spelling ⟨*ch*⟩ (extended to classical and other foreign words and names), though it tends to become /k/, both in uneducated and refined accents: [ˈɬɔx] /ˈlɒk, ↑-x/ *loch*, [ˈʈʰʌ̹ɬɤx] /ˈʈɐlək, ↑-x/ *Tulloch*, [ˈʈʰɛxnɜkʊɬ] /ˈʈɛknə̀kɬ̩/ *technical*, [ˈipɔx, ˈɛ-, -ɤx] /ˈiipɒk, ˈɛ-, -ək/ *epoch*, [ˈbax] /ˈbɑːk, ↑-x/ *Bach*, [ɤˈɾaxnɜ] /əˈɹækni/ *Arachne*.

The plural of *house* can keep the /s/ of the singular, thus eliminating a strange and useless difference: [ˈhʌʉsəz̥, ↑-z-] /ˈhaʊzə̀z/ *houses*.

173.7. Coming to /ɹ, ɻ̩/, the Scottish accents are well-known for their realization as [ɾ] ↑[ɹV, VɹV, ɹC, ɹ#]: [ˈɾeəɾ, ↑ˈɹeəɹ] /ˈɹɛəɻ̩/ *rare*, [ˈɾiɖɤɾz̥, ↑ɹiɖɤɹz̥] /ˈɹiiɖəɻ̩z/ *readers*, [ˈsɔɾɜ, ↑-ɹɜ] /ˈsɒɹi/ *sorry*, [ˈpʰaɾʔɜ, ↑-ɹ-] /ˈpɑːɻ̩i/ *party*, [ˈfaɐɾ, ↑-ɹ] /ˈfɑːɻ̩/ *far*. Both in uneducated and refined accents, however, more and more often, we find /ɻ̩/ [ø]: [ˈɾeɤ, ↑ˈɹeɤ; ˈɾiɖɤz̥, ↑ɹ-; (↑)ˈpʰaɤʔɜ; (↑)ˈfaɤ].

As to /l, ɬ/, we generally have (although with regional and personal peculiarities, as we will see in the next chapters) [ɬVɬ]: [ˈɬəɬ] (in broad urban speech [-əɬ̩]) /ˈlɪɬ/ *lill*, [ˈhaɜɬɜ, ˈhɐi-] /ˈhaɛli/ *highly*, [ˈniɾɬɜ] /ˈnɪəɻ̩li/ *nearly*.

173.8. The typical Scottish intonation patterns are shown in the tonograms of fig 173. Verbs in *-ate* and *-ize* are often stressed on their last syllable: [mɤˌnəpjɤˈɬeʈ] /məˈnɪpjə̀lɛɪʈ/ *manipulate*, [ˌhəpnɤˈʈʰaˑɜz̥] /ˈhɪpnəʈaɛz/ *hypnotize*. A Celtic characteristic makes a final consonant begin the syllable with an initial vowel of the following word: [ɤˈɬaɐɾ ˈdʒɔɖɜɤns, -iɤns] /əˈlɑːɻ̩dʒ ˈɑːɖiəns/ *a large audience*, [ˈʈʰe ˈkɔf] /ˈʈɛɪk ˈp̪f/ *take off*, [ˈpʰee ˈzɐʉʔ] /ˈpɛɪz ˈaɔʈ/ *pays out*, [ˈfɔɾs ʈɤˈvɔɬ, ʔɤ-] /ˈfəːɻ̩sʈ əvˈɑːɬ/ *first of all*, [ɤˈnʌʉɤ ɾɤˈgoo] /ənˈaɔəɹ əˈgɔɷ/ *an hour ago*, [ˈfaˑɜ ˈvjiˑɪɾ ˈzoɬɖ̥] /ˈfaɛv ˈjɪəɻ̩z ˈɔɷɬɖ/ *five years old*, [ˈsək ˈswəmɜ ˈnʌʉ ʈɤˈvjʉnɜfɔɾm, ʔɤ-, ɹɤ-] /ˈsɪks ˈwɪmə̀n aɔʈəvˈjuunə̀fɔːɻ̩m/ *six women out of uniform*. Thus, in the typical accents, [ɤˈnem] may mean either /əˈnɛɪm/ *a name* or /ənˈɛɪm/ *an aim*.

In Scottish English, the reduced forms of grammemes are less frequently used

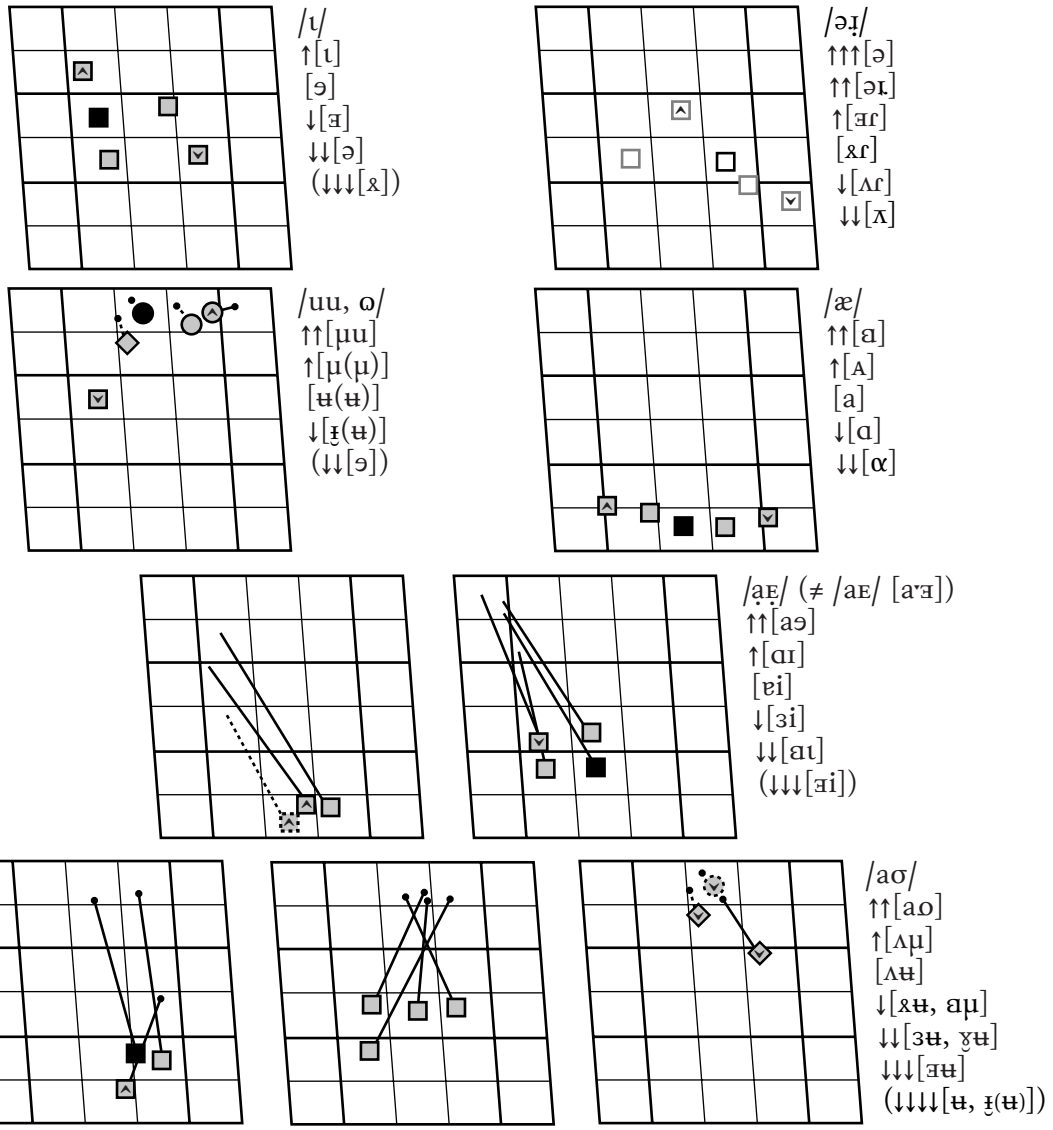
than in neutral English, and with less peripheral vocoids. Besides, they can be more numerous (*ie* *on* [ɤn, n̩], *got* [gɤʔ], *I* [ʌ̯, ɤ]) and more varied (*to* [ʈʉ, ʈɤ, ʈɘ], *you* [ji, jɘ, jɤ, jʉ], *you'll* [jʉɫ], *for* [fɔɾ, fɤɾ, fɘɾ]).

In the broad accent, between /ɹ̣/ and a following /m, n; l, ɫ/, an [ɘ] is inserted: [ˈaɾɘnʈ] /ˈɑːɹ̣nʈ/ *aren't*. Scottish people typically hesitate with ⟨[ɘ]⟩, not ⟨[ɜ, ɐ]⟩.

175. Sociophonic comparisons for Scotland

175.1. We, now, draw particular attention to some sociophonic characteristic peculiarities, with a number of different realizations, already seen. They are grouped in a way that allows to consider them from another point of view. Some of them might seem very strange, indeed, from an international or neutral point of view.

fig 175. Scotland: sociophonic comparisons. To identify them more easily, the better variants are also indicated with [ˆ] inside their markers; the worse ones, with [ˇ].



180. A brief introduction to the Irish accents (& maps)

fig 180.1. Ireland: six accent areas. Four principal ones, in white, and two secondary ones, in grey (*cf fig* 180.2).

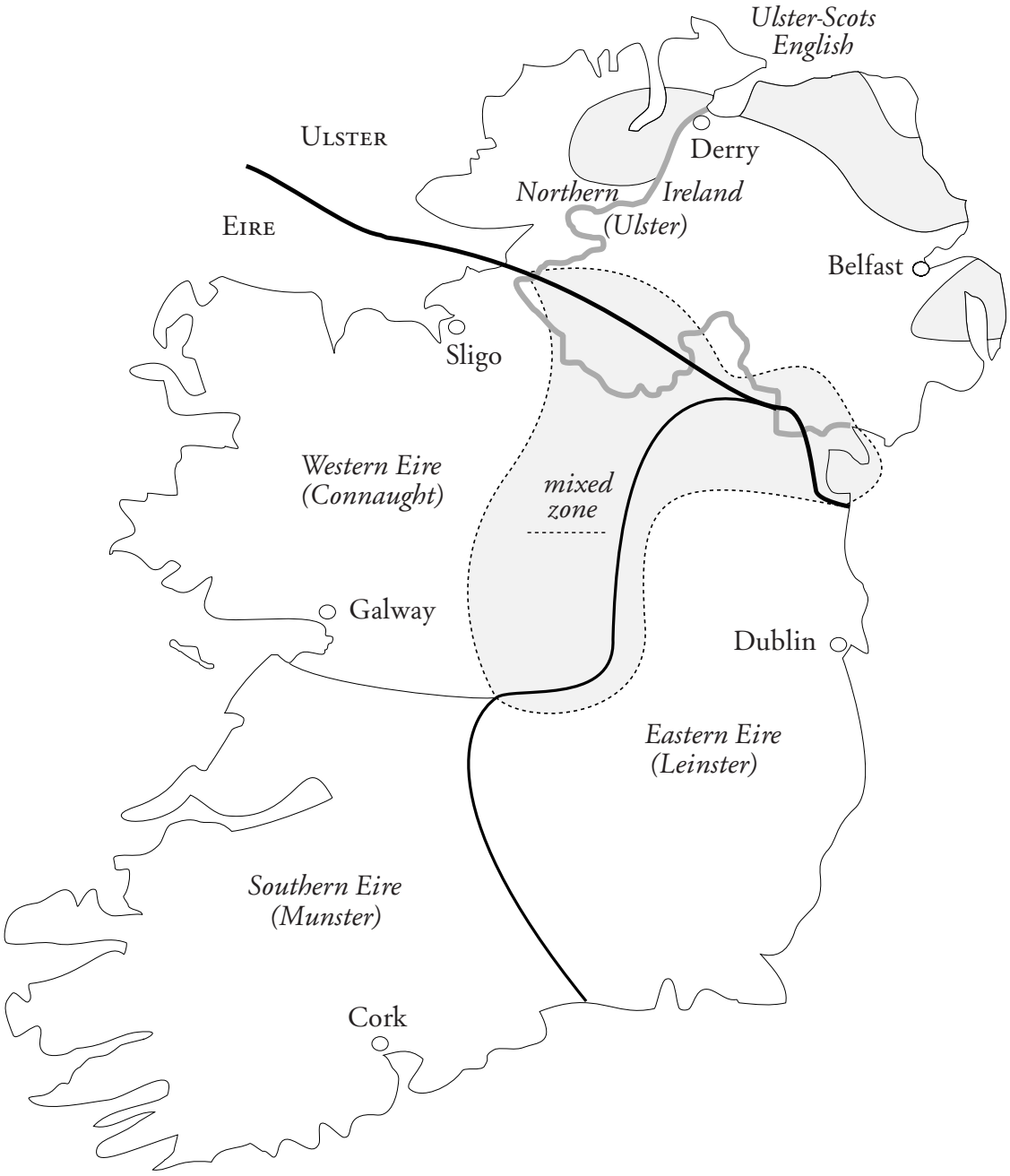
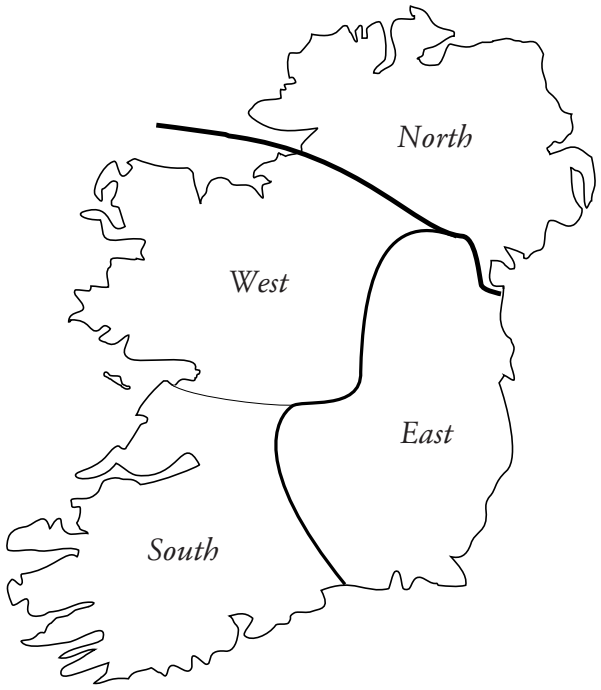


fig 180.2. Ireland: Simple division into four ares: North, East, South, West.



180.1. As the map in *fig* 180.1 shows, Ireland has four principal English accents, which do not exactly coincide with a division into *North*, *East*, *South*, and *West* (as shown in the map of *fig* 180.2, with boundary-lines of three different degrees of thickness). These four areas are useful to present some given peculiarities (with some integrations).

Two of these four accents belong to *Southern Ireland* (or *Eire* proper – /ˈɛə̯ɹə/, /ˈɛɪɹə; ˈaɛɹə; -i/); the other two belong to *Northern Ireland* (or *Ulster* /ˈɐʇsʃə̯ɻ/).

The East, or *Eastern Eire* (or *Leinster* /ˈlɛnsʃə̯ɻ/ or *Eastern Ireland*) includes *Dublin* /ˈɖɐblɪn/. The South, or *Southern Eire* (or *Munster* /ˈmɐnsʃə̯ɻ/, or –but more ambiguously– *'Southern Ireland'*) includes *Cork* /ˈkɔːɻk/. The West, or *Western Eire* (or *Connaught* /ˈkɒnɔːʇ/, or *Western Ireland*) includes *Sligo* /ˈslaɛgɔɷ/ & *Galway* /ˈgɔːɬwɛɪ/. The South and West share various features.

180.2. The North, or *Northern Ireland* proper (or *Ulster*) includes *Belfast* /bɛʇˈfæ̝sʃ/ and *Derry* /ˈɖɛɹi/ (or *Londonderry* /ˈlɐnɖənɖɛɹi, -ɖɹi/), and also *Donegal* /ɖɒnə̝ˈgɔːʇ, ɖɐ-/ westwards and parts of *Fermanagh* /fə̝ɻˈmænə/ and *Monaghan* /ˈmɒnəhən/ southwards. Thus, these last three counties politically belong to Eire, but linguistically are part of Northern Ireland. For historical reasons, very often languages do not exactly follow administrative boundaries.

There are three smaller areas in Ulster, where an *Ulster-Scots English* accent is to be found (*cf fig* 180.1), above Derry and Belfast (and southeast of the latter, as well). Of course, in spite of this geographical division in three, they form one linguistic area.

In our map of *fig* 180.1, a 'mixed zone' is present between the northern, eastern, and western areas. Arguably, in this zone, we do find mixed elements of the other more specific accents (combined in different ways, according to speakers and words) and some peculiar features, as well.

The number of speakers in the whole Island of Ireland is almost 6,000,000. Apart from about 2% composite speakers in the mixed zone, we have: Eire 65%, Ulster 33%. More precisely: Eastern Eire 40%, Southern Eire 17%, Western Eire 8%, Ulster proper 30%, Ulster-Scots 3%.

180.3. But, of course, as in the other Celtic countries in the British Isles, English is not a real mother tongue (although, by now, very many Irish people do not speak Gaelic at all, especially in eastern Eire and Northern Ireland). Thus, the Irish are a kind of second-language users of English. This causes many oscillations, between different kinds of realizations for many phonemes, for the same speakers and words, as well.

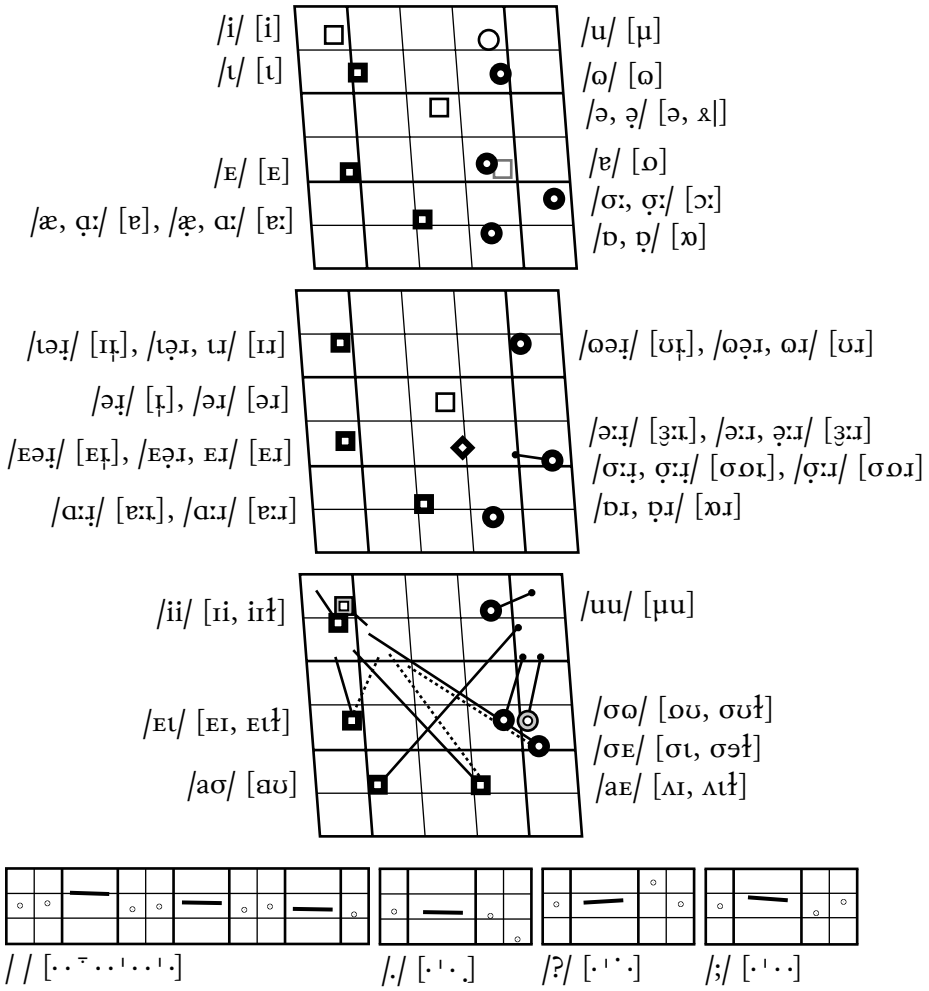
As a matter of fact, something like that (although, this time, entirely within the Germanic family) does happen even with English, American, Australian and New--Zealand people, who actually show more or less frequent oscillations between some kinds of neutral, mediatic, and broad accents, when they are not coherently systematic in their pronunciation of English.

181. Eastern Eire (& Dublin)

181.1. Of course, we start from Dublin, in eastern Eire. This is the most influential accent in Ireland, although Northern Ireland is a different accent area (mostly with historical influence from Scotland). Obviously, the Dublin accent inevitably affects even the more Gaelic and conservative accents, in western and southern Eire.

fig 181.1 shows the typical accent of Dublin and of the eastern area in the maps of *fig* 180.1-2. In *fig* 181.4-5, we will see its broader and lighter variants.

fig 181.1. Eastern Eire (Dublin): vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



Most peculiar are the realizations of /æ, ɑ̣ː/ [ɐ], /ɑː, æ̣/ [ɐː], which are differentiated just by length: [ˈmɐnː] /ˈmæn/ *man*, [ˈhɐs] /ˈhæʃ/ *hat*, [ˈlɐˑsʃ] /ˈlæsʃ/ *last*, [ˈfɐˑdɻ] /ˈfɑːðəɻ/ *father*, [ˈkhɐːɹ] /ˈkɑːɻ/ *car*. The second most peculiar phoneme is /ɐ/ [ɒ] (which, in the broadest accent, can gradually merge with /ɷ/, as we will see soon): [ˈhɒs] /ˈhɐʃ/ *hut*.

In Dublin, and in most urban eastern accents (directly influenced by the capital), we find the merger /ɔː, ɔ̣ː/ [ɔɒ] (while in rural eastern and in western accents they are still distinct, again, as we will see): [ˈwɔˑɒɹ] both for /ˈwɔːɻ/ *war* and /ˈwɔ̣ːɻ/ *wore*, [ˈsʃɔɒɹi] /ˈsʃɔ̣ːɹi/ *story*, [ˈlɔɒɹɤ] /ˈlɔːɹə/ *Laura*; but [ˈsɤɹi] /ˈsɔ̣ɹi/ *sorry*, [ˈhɤɹɻ] /ˈhɒɹəɻ/ *horror*.

There are possible oscillations between [ɔː] & [ɤ] (and variants) for /ɔ̣/, as there are between [ɐ] & [ɐː] (and variants, again) for /æ, æ̣, ɑ̣ː/. In the East (except for Dublin), /æ̣f, æ̣θ, æ̣s/ are generally short.

181.2. As can be seen from the examples just given, we have /ɻ/ [ɹ]; the other /Vːɻ/ sequences are: /ɑːɻ/ [ɐːɹ], /əːɻ/ [ɜːɹ]; let us add: /ɑːɹ/ [ɐːɹ], /əːɹ, ə̟ːɹ/ [ɜ̟ːɹ], as the following examples show: [ˈsʃɐˑɹi] /ˈsʃɑːɹi/ *starry*, [ˈfɜ̟ˑɹi] /ˈfəːɹi/ *furry*, [ˈhɜ̟ˑɹi] /ˈhə̟ːɹi/ *hurry*.

For the /Vəɻ/ sequences, we have: /ɪəɻ/ [ɪɻ], /ɛəɻ/ [ɛɻ], /ɷəɻ/ [ʊɻ] (and /əɻ/ [ɻ]): [ˈhrˑɻ] /ˈhɪəɻ/ *here*, [ˈdɛˑɻ] /ˈðɛəɻ/ *there*, [ˈphʊˑɻ] /ˈpɔːɻ/ *poor*, [ˈmɒdɻ] /ˈmɐðəɻ/ *mother*.

The diphthongs are as follows: /ii, ɛɪ, aɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ, ɔɷ, uu/ [ɪi, iɪɬ; ɛɪ, ɛɪɬ; ʌɪ, ʌɪɬ; ɔɪ, ɔəɬ; ɑʊ(ɬ); ɒʊ, ɔʊɬ; µu(ɬ)]: [ˈbrˑi] /ˈbii/ *bee*, [ˈfiˑɪɬ] /ˈfiiɻ/ *feel*, [ˈhɛˑɪ] /ˈhɛɪ/ *hay*, [ˈsɛˑɪɬ] /ˈsɛɪɻ/ *sale*, [ˈflʌɪ] /ˈflaɛ/ *fly*, [ˈfʌˑɪɬ] /ˈfaɛɻ/ *file*, [ˈbɔˑɪ] /ˈbɔɛ/ *boy*, [ˈbɔˑəɬ] /ˈbɔɛɻ/ *boil*, [ˈfɑˑʊɬ] /ˈfaɔɻ/ *fowl*, [ˈgɒˑʊ] /ˈgɔɷ/ *go*, [ˈgɔˑʊɬ] /ˈgɔɷɻ/ *goal*, [ˈphµˑuɬ] /ˈpuuɻ/ *pool*.

181.3. ƒig 181.2 shows different degrees of broader and milder accents for most phonemes. Let us start from /ɐ/, which, instead of the typical and peculiar [ɒ], can be realized in many different ways, including the complete merger with /ɷ/: [↓ɷ, ↑ɤ̟, ↑↑ɤ], as in [ˈhɒs, ↑↑ˈhɤs, ↑ˈhɤ̟s, ↓ˈhɷs] /ˈhɐʃ/ *hut* (and [↓ɯ, ↕ʌ], in ƒig 181.4), [ˈfɷs] /ˈfɷʃ/ *foot*.

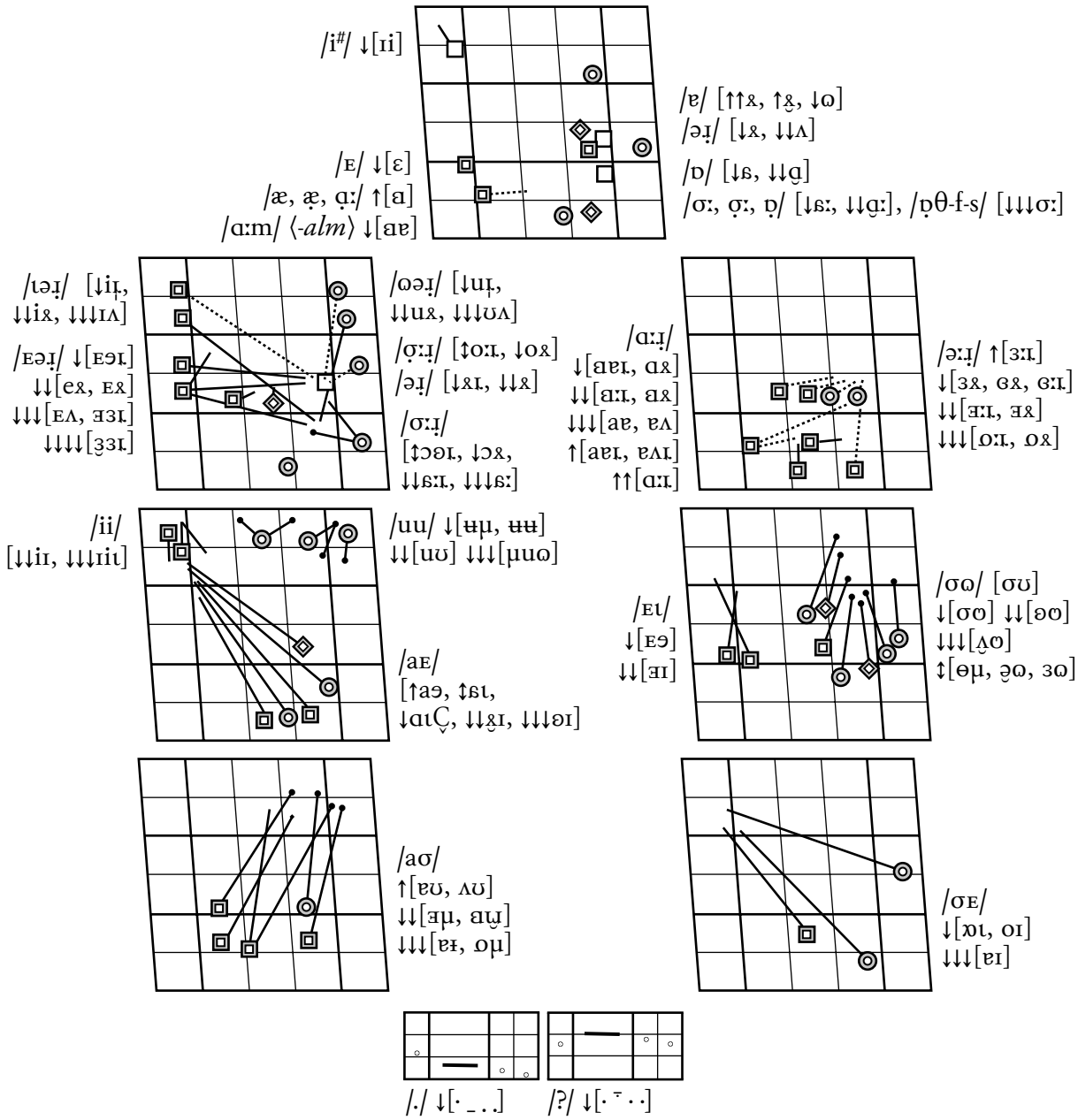
It is also interesting to notice that we can also have /ɒ/ [↓ʁ, ↓↓ɢ̟]: [ˈhɤs, ↓ˈhʁs, ↓↓ˈhɢ̟s] /ˈhɒʃ/ *hot*; and /ɔ̣/ [↕ɔː], especially when followed by /θ, f, s/: [ˈbɤs, ↓ˈbʁs, ↓↓ˈbɢ̟s, ↕ˈbɔˑs] /ˈbɔ̣s/ *boss*.

181.4. The second vocogram (of ƒig 181.2) illustrates the variants of sequences of vowels plus /ɻ/. Apart from the peculiarly high timbres for the first elements of /ɪəɻ, ɷəɻ/ ↓[i-, u-] and the opposition between /ɔ̣ːɻ/ [o-] and /ɔːɻ/ [ɔ-], it is to be noticed that, in addition to [ɹ, ɻ], they can end with the very broad and uneducated vocalization, represented with [-ɤ]: [↓ˈphɛpɤɹ, ↓↓-ɤ] /ˈpɛpəɻ/ *pepper*.

This is typical of the broadest (and working-class) Dublin accent, and can be heard even in other urban accents, especially in eastern Eire.

181.5. The third vocogram concentrates on the various further possible realizations of /ɑːɻ/ ↓[ɑɐɹ, ɑɤ] ↓↓[ɑːɹ, ɑɤ] ↑↑[ɑːɹ] and /əːɻ/ ↑[ɜːɹ] ↓[ɞːɹ, ɜɤ] ↓↓[ɞɤ, ɔɤ, ɔːɹ]: [ˈfɐːɹ] ↓[ˈfɑˑɐɹ, ˈfɑˑɤ] ↓↓[ˈfɑːɹ, ˈfɑˑɤ] ↑↑[ˈfɑːɹ] /ˈfɑːɻ/ *far*, ↑[ˈfɜːɹ] ↓[ˈfɞːɹ, ˈfɜˑɤ] ↓↓[ˈfɞˑɤ, ˈfɔˑɤ, ˈfɔːɹ] /ˈfəːɻ/ *fur*.

fig 181.2. Eastern Eire (Dublin): variants for vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



The last four vocograms of *fig* 181.2 are most interesting for the variants of /ʊɛ/ ↓[ɞɪ, ɔɪ], /aɛ/ [↑aə, ↓ɐɪ], /aʊ/ ↑[ɐʊ, ʌʊ] ↓↓[ɜɯ], and /ʊɷ/ [ʊʊ] ↕[ɵɯ, ə̟ɷ, ɜɷ]: ↓[ˈbɞˑɪ, ˈbɔˑɪ] /ˈbʊɛ/ *boy*, [↑ˈhaˑə, ↓ˈhəˑɪ] /ˈhaɛ/ *high*, ↑[ˈhɐˑʊ, ˈhʌˑʊ] ↓↓[ˈhɜˑɯ] /ˈhaʊ/ *how*, [ˈlʊˑʊ] ↕[ˈlɵˑɯ, ˈlə̟ˑɷ, ˈlɜˑɷ] /ˈlʊɷ/ *low*.

181.6. As for the *consonants*, the most important features, for the whole of Eire, are: /θ, ð/ [t(h), d] (which regularly occur in the West, or in lighter accents elsewhere), ↓[ʈ(h), ɖ] (regularly in the East and South, except in lighter accents), ↑[tθ, dð] (especially in urban lighter accents), ↑↑[θ, ð] (especially as a conscious effort to avoid the typical Eire phones, or in the mixed zone): [ˈthɪŋk, ↓ˈʈh-, ↑ˈtθ-, ↑↑ˈθ-] /ˈθɪŋk/ *think*, [wəˈdɪnː, ↓-ˈɖ-, ↑-ˈdð-, ↑↑-ˈð-] /wɪðˈɪn/ *within*. We can find such cases as: [ˈbɹɪidəɪ̯̈, ˈbɹii-, ↑↑-ɖ̈] /ˈbɹiiðɖ/ *breathed* (disyllabic just as [ˈsɪɪxəɪ̯̈, ˈsii-, ↑↑-ɖəɖ̈] /ˈsiiɖəɖ/

seeded), [ˈbɹɛt] /ˈbɹɛɖθ, ˈbɹɛθ/ *breadth/breath*, [ˈwɪˌɖ] /ˈwɪɖθ, ˈwɪð/ *width/with*, [ˈɛɪt, ˈeət] /ˈɛɪʈθ/ *eighth*, like *eight* (both rhyming with *faith*).

181.7. The other, even more peculiar, consonantal feature, typical of the whole of Eire, is: /ʈ, ɖ/ [ɾ, ɽ] (alveolar slit constrictives) in weak positions, *ie* between vowels or in final position (followed by a pause or a vowel; not in an initial stressed syllable or in contact with a consonant): [ˈbɪɾ] /ˈbɪʈ/ *bit*, [ˈbɛɾɻ] /ˈbɛɻəɹ̝/ *better*, [ˈphɷɾəɾ] /ˈpɷɻɪʈ/ *put it*, [ˈbɪˌɽ] /ˈbɪɖ/ *bid*, [ˈlɪiɽɻ, ˈlii-] /ˈliiɖəɹ̝/ *leader*, [ˈlɪiɽəɾ] /ˈliiɖɪʈ/ *lead it* (& *seeded*, just seen above).

Thus, there is no complete coincidence between /ʈ/ [ɾ] and /ɻ/. In fact, the sequences /nɻ, ɹɻ, ɬɻ/ are not included among the contexts which use [ɾ], being /Cɻ/.

181.8. The quite strange fact, from an international (or neutral American or British) point of view, is that these extremely peculiar realizations are not at all stigmatized, in Eire. On the contrary, they can be exhibited on purpose, as a clear sign of proud Irishness… But, of course, we regularly have: [ˈʈhɐts] /ˈʈæʈs/ *tats*, [ˈʈhɹɐkʈ] /ˈʈɹækʈ/ *tract*, [ˈɖɐˑdˌz] /ˈɖædz/ *dads*.

However, to mitigate the strong impact of [ɾ], there are three variants for /ɻ/, at different levels of accents. In fact, to start with, we can have both /ɻ/ [ɻ] and /ɻ/ [ɻʔ]: [↑ˈbɛɻ, ↓ˈbɛʔɻ] /ˈbɛɻəɹ̝/ *better*, [↑ˈphɷɪəɾ, ↓ˈphɷʔəʔ] /ˈpɷɻɪʈ/ *put it*, [↑ˈʈhwɛnɪi, ↓-nʔi] /ˈʈwɛnɻi/ *twenty*, [↑ˈphɐˑɹɪi, ↓ˈphɐˑɹʔi] /ˈpɑːɻɻi/ *party*, [↑ˈwɔˑɬɪɻ, ↓-ɬʔɻ, ↓-l-, ↓ˈwʌˑ-] /ˈwɔːɬ-ɻəɹ̝/ *Walter*. Also [ɛɪɾˈɹˑin, -ɹˈ-, -ˈʈh-, eə-, -iˑin] /ɛɪˈʈiin/ *eighteen* can be heard.

181.9. In addition, at least for some common words or phrases, we can also find, in the broadest accent: /ʈ/ → [↓↓h], between vowels and even in final position: [ˈsɐɾɻ-ˌɹi, ˈsɐhɻ-] /ˈsæɻəɹ̝ɖi, -ɛɪ/ *Saturday*, [ˈnɷɾ əɾˈɔːɬ, ˈnɷh, ↓-l] /ˈnɒɻ əɻˈɔːɬ/ *not at all*. As a matter of fact, this is a well-known Gaelic peculiarity, with names such as: [ˈfɐ(ˑ)hi] /ˈfɛɪ, ˈfɑːˌ(h)i/ *Fahy*, [oˈflɐhɻʈi] /əˈflæˌ(h)əɹ̝ɻi, ɔɷ-/ *O'Flaherty*, [məˈgɹɐh] /məˈgɹɑːθ, -h/ *McGrath*.

Besides, the typical accents also show /ʈ, ɖ/ → ↓[t, d], in /ʈɹ, ɖɹ; ʈəɹ̝, ɖəɹ̝/: [ˈthɹɐktɻ] /ˈʈɹækʈəɹ̝/ *tractor*, [ˈdɹɪŋk] /ˈɖɹɪŋk/ *drink*, [ˈlɐdɻ] /ˈlædəɹ̝/ *ladder*. Actually, in a broad Dublin accent (and in rural western accents, as well), we can find [t(h), d], both for /θ, ð/ and /t, d/; or [ʈ(h), ɖ] for both pairs, in rural (and even urban) southern accents.

Especially, in a broad Dublin accent, we can also have stopstrictive realizations in final positions (or, for /ʈ/, even in an initial stressed position): [ˈsʃɤp, -pp] /ˈsʃɒp/ *stop*, [ˈʃhɤɾ, ˈtɾ(h)ɤtɾ] /ˈʃɒʈ/ *tot*, [ˈɹɐk, -kx] /ˈɹæk/ *rack*.

Normally, in Eire, we have /ʧj, ɖʒj/ = /ʧ, ɖʒ/ [ʧ, ɖʒ] (in broader accents ↓[ʧ, ɖʒ], more or less with no lip protrusion – for /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ, ʒ] ↓[ʃ, ʒ], as well): [ˈʧhʊˑuˌb, ˈʧhuˑuˌb] /ˈʧjuub/ *tube*, [ˈɖʒʊuk, ˈɖʒuuk] /ˈɖjuuk/ *duke*. For /nj/, we have three possibilities, [n̻, ↓n, ↑nj]: [ˈn̻ʊˑu, ↓ˈn-, ↑ˈnj-] /ˈnjuu/ *new*. The various vocograms show several other different realizations for /uu/.

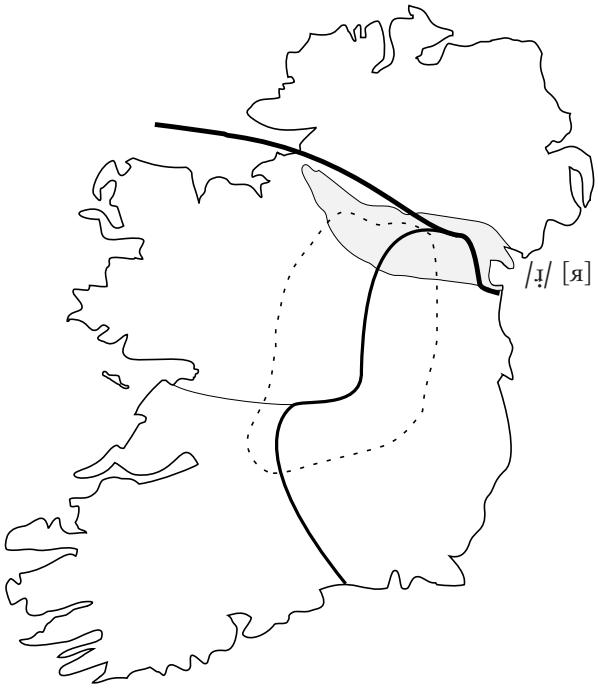
181.10. In rural accents, we can often hear palatal stops, [c, ɟ], for /k, g/ before low unrounded vowel phonemes, or in final position, after front vowel phonemes: [ˈchɐɾ] /ˈkæʈ/ *cat*, [ˈchɐːɹ] /ˈkɑːɻ/ *car*, [ˈwiic] /ˈwiik/ *weak*, [ˈflɐˑɟ̊] /ˈflæg/ *flag*. In part

of the mixed zone (cf ƒig 180.1), and to some extent in some of the bordering areas around it, also called the Midlands (cf ƒig 181.3), we can still hear [c, ɟ] (or the corresponding stopstrictives, [kç, gʝ]) both for /kj, gj/ and /ʈj, ɖj/, so that we can have such homophones as [ˈchʉ̟ʉ̟b̥, ˈkçh-] /ˈkjuub, ˈʈjuub/ *cube*/*tube* (either in stressed or unstressed syllables, and with very fronted realizations of /uu/).

In rural accents, especially in the South and West, we can still have /v/ [ß], /f/ [ɸ] (bilabial constrictives): [ˈßɐnː] /ˈvæn/ *van*, [ˈlɔ̟ˑβ̞] /ˈlɐv/ *love*, [ˈɸjuˑu] /ˈfjuu/ *few*, [ˈliiɸ] /ˈliif/ *leaf*.

Again, in rural accents (especially in the West), we can find /sC, zC/ [ʃC, ʒC] (also with [ɻ, ɭ]): [ˈʃʃɐːɹ] /ˈsɻɑːɻ/ *star*, [ˈwɛʃʈ] /ˈwɛsʈ/ *west*, [ˈbɪʃcəs] /ˈbɪskə̟ʈ/ *biscuit*, [ˈchɐʃ-ɭ] /ˈkæs̻ɬ/ *castle*, [ˈlɪʃn̩] /ˈlɪsn̩/ *listen*, [ˈwɪʒɖəm] /ˈwɪzɖəm/ *wisdom*, [ˈphɔʒl̩] /ˈpɐz̻ɬ/ *puzzle*. And, still in rural accents, we can also have /ɻs/ [ɹʂ, ɻʂ], /ɻz/ [ɹʐ, ɻʐ] (cf § 181.11), as in: [ˈfoˑɹʂ, -ɻʂ] /ˈfo̞ːɻs/ *force*, [ˈlɪkɻʐ, -ɻ̊ʐ] /ˈlɪkəɻz/ *liquors*. In rural accents of the South, we typically find: /ɹ, ɻ/ [ɾ].

ƒig 181.3. Two particular areas. The grey one indicates where it is possible to find /ɻ/ [ʁ]; in the white dotted one, palatal taxophones can be typical for /k, g/ [c, ɟ] and /kj, gj; ʈj, ɖj/ [c/kç, ɟ/gʝ].



181.11. In Eire, we have /ʍ/ [hʊ, ↑w, ↓hʊw]: [ˈhʊɪʧ, ↑ˈw-, ↓ˈhʊw-] /ˈʍɪʧ/ *which* (cf [ˈwɪʧ] /ˈwɪʧ/ *witch*); and /hj/ [ɧ, ↑hj], including [↓j], for such words as [ˈɧuumɻ, ↑ˈhj-, ↓ˈj-] /ˈhjuuməɻ/ *humor*. Besides, we have /l/ [l], /ɬ/ [ɬ, ↓l, ↑ɬ]: [ˈlɪɬː, ↓-lː, ↑-ɬː] /ˈlɪɬ/ *lill*.

In addition, we find /ɹ/ [ɹ], /ɻ/ [ɹ] (prevelar laterally contracted approximant, slightly rounded: the most typical one), [↑ɪ] (prevelar laterally contracted *semi*-approximant, slightly rounded: most typical in Dublin), [↓ɤ] (prevelar laterally contracted semi-approximant, slightly rounded and uvularized: most typical in rural accents), [↓↓ʁ, ↓↓↓ʌ] (full vocalization: most typical of a broad Dublin accent): [ˈɪɐˑɻ, ↑-ɻ, ↓-ɻ̟, ↓↓-ʁ, ↓↓↓-ʌ] /ˈɪɐəɻ/ *rare*. More rarely, in Dublin, we can also have /ɻ/ [ɾ]

(alveolar approximant, as a kind of compromise between rhotic and non-rhotic accents): [↕ˈɹɛːz] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*.

In a small area (shown in grey in the map of *fig* 181.3), we can still happen to hear a pharyngealized uvular approximant for /ɻ/ [ʁ] (which seems to have been more widespread, in the past, both in the whole East and in the mixed zone): [ˈɹɛːʁ] /ˈɹɛəɻ/ *rare*.

181.12. Let us add some general observations to complete our treatment. Many Irish people still say, for instance, [ˈʃheˑə, ˈseˑə, ˈeəs] for /ˈʃii, ˈsii, ˈiiʃ/ *tea*, *sea*, *eat*. However, we do not consider this fact as something belonging to the *pronunciation* of English, but as the *use* of dialectal words in English contexts. In fact, many other speakers just say [ˈʃhɾi, ˈsɾi, ˈɪiz], and carefully avoid using the other forms.

We do the same with the non-literal use of *old*, pronounced as [ɑʊl] (and all the other variants), for instance in such a phrase as *the owl' fella* [diˌɑʊlˈfɛlɤ]: thus *owld*.

On the contrary, we prefer to consider the following peculiarities as belonging to the pronunciation of Irish English: *many*, *any*, *any-* with /æ/ [ɐ] instead of normal /ɛ/ [ɛ]: [↓ˈɐnəˌweə] /ˈɛniwɛɪ, -ə̣-/ *anyway*. The same for *either*, *neither* with /ɛɪ/ [eə] instead of normal /aɛ, ii/: [↓ˈeədɻ ˈweˑə] /ˈaɛðəɻ ˈwɛɪ, ˈii-/ *either way*.

181.13. As we may have already seen from some examples, we have /ə̣/ = /ə/, and /ə/ [ə, ɤ|]: [ˈɹoʊzəz̥] /ˈɹsʊzə̣z/ *roses*, [ˈsoʊfɤ] /ˈsʊʊfə/ *sofa*, [ʃhəˈgoˑʊ] /ʃəˈgʊʊ/ *to go* (not [ʃhɯˈg-]).

Besides, we find /Və̣ɹ/ → /Vɹ/: [ˈhɹɹən] /ˈhɪə̣ɹɪŋ/ *hearing*, [ˈphʌɪɹəs] /ˈpaɛə̣ɹə̣ʈ/ *pirate*. Also /VVəɻ/ → /VVɻ/: [ˈphleˑəɹ] /ˈplɛɪəɻ/ *player*, &c. Even before laterals and nasals, at least in a broad accent, we can have /Və̣/ → /V/: [ˈvɑˑʊl] /ˈvasəɬ/ *vowel*, [ˈlʌɪn] /ˈlaɛən/ *lion*. We can even hear [ˈkhwʌɪs] /ˈkwaɛəʈ/ *quiet*, pronounced like [ˈkhwʌɪs] /ˈkwaɛʈ/ *quite*.

On the other hand, we can typically have [CИ] → [CəИ] (or [CИ̩]), between a consonant and a sonant: [ˈɐˑɹəm] /ˈɑːɻm/ *arm*, [ˈfɪləm] /ˈfɪɬm/ *film*, [ˈwoˑɹən] /ˈwo̰ːɻn/ *worn*; also [ˈɖɒbələn] /ˈɖɐblɪn/ *Dublin*. But we have oscillations, and other solutions, as well; consider, for instance: [ˈmɤɖɻn, -ɖəɹn̩, -ɖɹən, -dəɹn̩, -dɹən] /ˈmɒɖəɻn/ *modern*.

In initial unstressed position, vowels tend to avoid using /ə/: [oˈfɪʃl̩] /əˈfɪʃɬ̩/ *official*, [ɐkˈsɛpʈ] /əkˈsɛpʈ/ *accept*, [ɛˈfɛkʈ, ɪ-] /ə̣ˈfɛkʈ/ *effect*.

In rural accents, we often have /i#/ → /ə/: [ˈlokɤ] /ˈlɐki/ *lucky*; in rural and popular accents, /ˌʊʊ#/ → /ə/: [ˈwɪnɖɤ] /ˈwɪnɖʊʊ/ *window*, while verbs have /ˌʊʊ#/ → /i/: [ˈfɤli] /ˈfɒlʊʊ/ *follow*, [ˈfɤliən] /ˈfɒlʊʊɪŋ/ *following*.

181.14. As for *reduced forms*, while *Saint* (*St*) has none, [seənʈ] /sɛɪnʈ, sənʈ/, other words do have reduced forms, contrary to common (especially British) usage: [ən, n̩] /ɒn/ *on*, [ən, n̩] /ɪn/ *in*, [əʈ, əs] /ɪʈ/ *it*, [əm, m̩] /ɪm/ *him*, [ɐ, ə] /aɛ/ *I*, [mi, mə] /maɛ/ *my*, [bi, bə] /baɛ/ *by*, [jə] /juu, jə/ *you*, [jɻ] /jɷəɻ, jʊːɻ, jəɻ/ *your*/*you're*, [wɻ] /wɪəɻ/ *we're*, [hɹ̩] /ʍɛəɻ/ *where*, [hɹən] /ʍɛn/ *when*, [hɹəʈ, -s] /ʍɒʈ/ *what*. The common greeting *How are you?* is generally [ˈhɑɤɪjɤ], instead of /haʊˈɑːɻjə, -juu/.

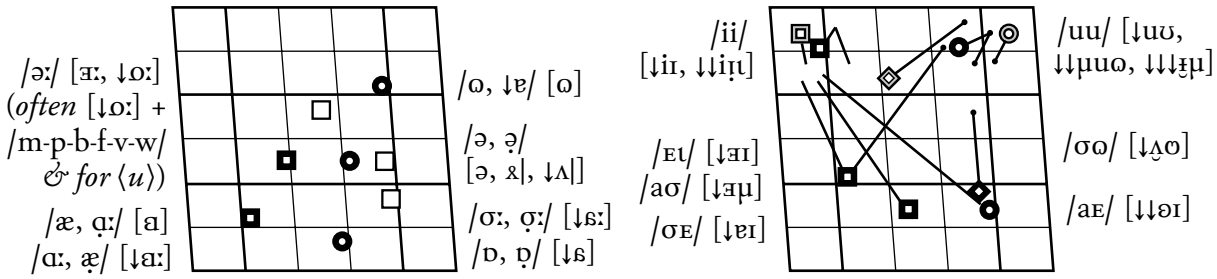
In broad and typical accents, verbs in *-ate*, *-y*, *-ize* have their stress on the last

syllable: [ˌɐkʈəˈveəs] /ˈækʈəvɛɪʈ/ *activate*, [ˌsɐsəsˈfʌɪ] /ˈsæʈəsfaɛ/ *satisfy*, [ˌɔɪgəˈnʌɪzˌ] /ˈɔːɻgənaɛz/ *organize*; also: [ˌɪnʈəˈɪɐsʈəɖ] /ˈɪnʈəɻəsʈəɖ/ *interested*, [ˌɪnʈəˈɪɐsʈən] /ˈɪnʈəɻəsʈɪŋ/ *interesting*, [sɔbˈsiikwənʈli] /ˈsɐbsəkwənʈli/ *subsequently*.

The intonation patterns are shown, with variants, in *fig* 181.1-2. For southern and western Eire, see § 182.

181.15. The *broadest Dublin accent* (as shown in *fig* 181.4) has /ɻ/ [ə, ɤ|, ↓ʌ|] (which recalls what happens in New York City): [↓ˈhɑˑpɤ, -ʌ] /ˈhɑːɻpəɻ/ *harper*, and /əːɻ/ [ɜː, ↓oː] (with the latter variant most often occurring after /m, p, b; f, v; w/, or for the spelling ⟨*u*⟩): [ˈsʈɜː] /ˈsʈəːɻ/ *stir*, [ˈwoːɖ] /ˈwəːɻɖ/ *word*, [ˈnɔˑs] /ˈnəːɻs/ *nurse*. Equally peculiar are the diphthongs, as *fig* 181.4 clearly shows: [↓ˈbiˑɪn, ↓↓ˈbiɪn] /ˈbiin/ *bean*, [↓ˈɖɜˑɪ] /ˈɖɛɪ/ *day*, [↓↓ˈʈhəˑɪm] /ˈʈaɛm/ *time*, [↓ˈbɛˑɪ] /ˈbɔɛ/ *boy*, [↓ˈʈhɜˑɱn] /ˈʈaɔn/ *town*, [↓ˈgɤ̯ˑʊ] /ˈgɔʊ/ *go*, [↓ˈsuˑʊn, ↓↓ˈsɱuɷn, ↓↓↓ˈsɻɱn] /ˈsuun/ *soon*. As for the consonants, *cf* § 181.6-13.

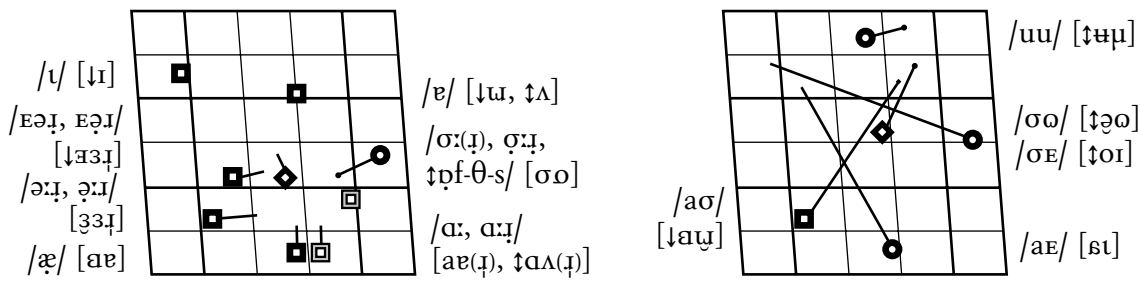
fig 181.4. Broad Dublin accent: typical taxophones.



181.16. There is also a kind of refined, partially newer, *Dublin accent* (as shown in *fig* 181.5), which derives from reactions both to the broadest local accent and to the so-called 'Dublin 4' accent. The latter was typical of one of the most affluent areas of Dublin (whose postal address is *Dublin 4*), where the national broadcasting company –RTE– and University College Dublin are located. That accent, during the 1980's, aimed at avoiding features from the broad Dublin accent, moving away from them, even though the result was strongly disliked and ridiculed by most people.

The most typical new features, only partially connected with Dublin 4 ones, are shown in *fig* 181.5. In addition, we often have /ˈʅ, ˈɖ; ʅ#, ɖ#/ [ʦ, ʤ], /ɻ/ [ɹ], /ʅ#, ʅC/ [ʔ] (while /ʅ, ɖ/ [ʂ, ʐ] are avoided). Then, /ɻ/ [ɻ] (with partially different rhyth-

fig 181.5. Refined Dublin accent: typical taxophones.



mic results, due to [ˈVVɻ], instead of [ˈVˑVɻ]): [ˈkhaɐɻ] /ˈkɑːɹ/ *car*, [ˈflɔɒɻ] /ˈflɒːɹ/ *floor*, [ˈfɪɾɻ] /ˈfɪəɹ/ *fear*, [ˈfʁɪɻ] /ˈfaɛəɹ/ *fire*. Finally, we have /ɬ/ [ɬ, ↓ɬ]: [ˈwɛɬː] /ˈwɛɬ/ *well* (with [ɬ] felt to be 'insufficient').

181.17. A typically recognized Irish kind of voice, frequently, uses both whispery voice ⟨∘∘⟩ and falsetto ⟨*⁎⟩.

185. Sociophonic comparisons for Ulster English

185.1. Here we group the different sociophonic variants, in order to draw special attention to them: *fig* 185.1-2 group the most significant sociophonic facts, in separate vocograms, to make them clearer (except the fourth vocogram – not every speaker uses /ɒ/).

Let us observe that a downward *arrow head* (inside a marker, or, in certain necessary cases, just outside of it) indicates the broadest variant (often almost over the limit of actual 'language', as for /ɪ/ [↓↓↓↓ɤ]); while, an upward arrow head suggests the best variants, at times even better than the typical normalized one, chosen as the most representative for the accent.

We first show the monophthongs (*fig* 185.1), then the diphthongs (*fig* 185.2).

fig 185.1. Ulster English: sociophonic comparisons for some monophthongs.

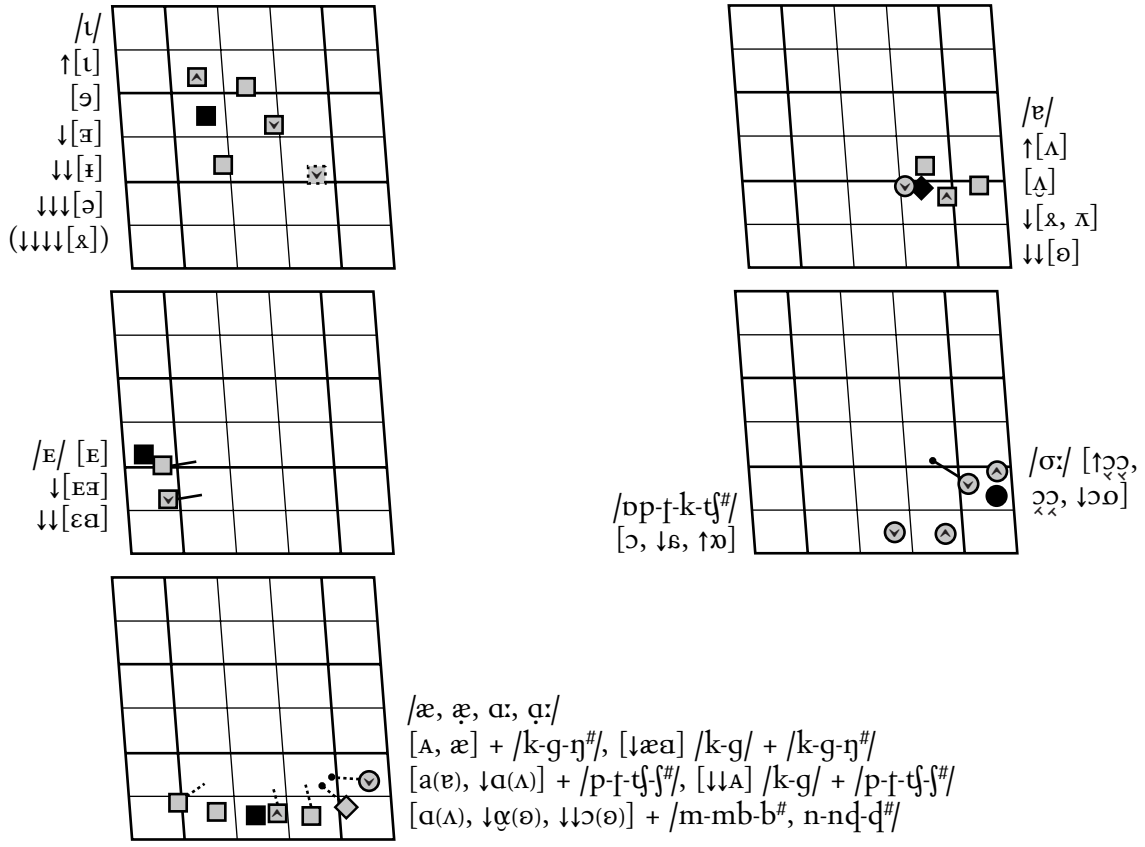
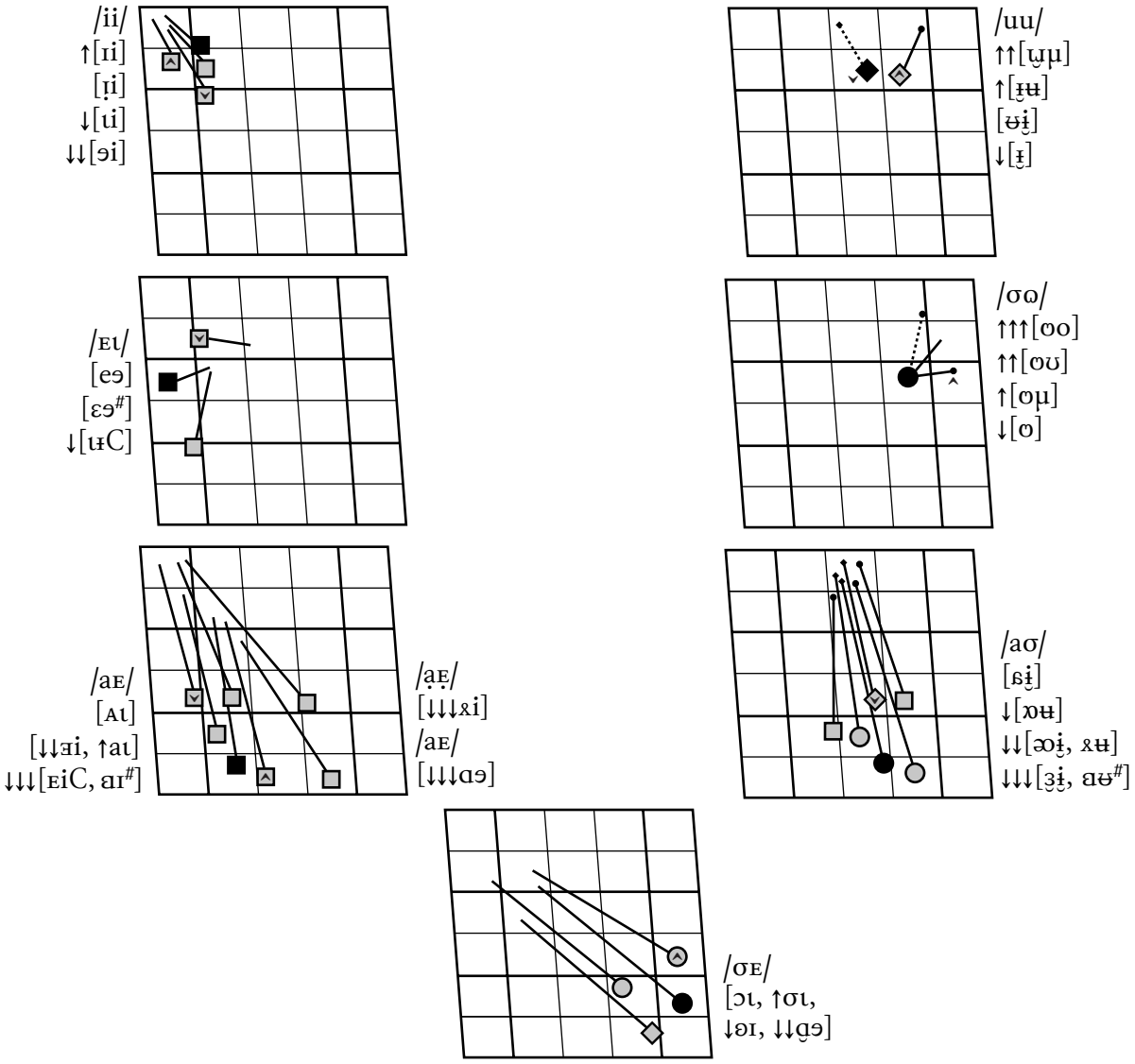


fig 185.2. Ulster English: sociophonic comparisons for the diphthongs.



185.2. A number of words, such as *bull*, *put*, *push*, *full*, *wood*, *look*, in the broad accent, have /ɐ/, instead of /ɷ/.