WELSH ENGLISH: A 'MYSTERY' FOR THE KINGDOM

A phonetic approach to English in Wales

Maite Núñez Busto

Abstract

Nowadays Wales is a country which is included in the United Kingdom (UK), and in which two different languages are spoken: the Welsh language and Welsh English, whose name is given partly due to the particularities it has when compared to the other dialects of the kingdom. These particularities seem to be the result of both the geographical and the linguistic isolation Wales has suffered from its origins, as well as of the strong influence Welsh language has had on Welsh English, as they are both coexistent. The aim of this dissertation is to analyse the phonological characteristics of the English currently spoken in Wales, based on the data collected from a recording made by two native speakers of the dialect. While some differences between participants were observed regarding the degree of adherence to Welsh English phonological descriptors, overall, they both displayed many prototypical features of Welsh English, but also showed a tendency to standardise their speech. This finding may be acknowledging the two opposing forces in the reality of dialects in the United Kingdom these days, levelling and/or standardisation, on the one hand, and language and dialect preservation, on the other hand, as might be the case of Welsh and Welsh English in Wales.

Keywords: Welsh language, Welsh English, levelling, standardisation

Index

1. Introduction

The United Kingdom, also named as Britain, is a European sovereign state currently divided into four different countries: Northern Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. Among these countries, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales dispose of their own administrations, with different powers. Furthermore, the kingdom is considered to be a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system of governance. Therefore, the countries that constitute the bigger nation have some sort of independence concerning their government. The identity of such different countries is also revealed linguistically, as we can associate different English varieties to them, Welsh English being one of them. Welsh English can be described as a dialect highly influenced by the Welsh language, a proto-indo-European language rooted in the Celtic family (Penhallurick, 2004), which developed in the area somehow in isolation due to the geographical barrier separating Wales from UK. Furthermore, Welsh is the second indigenous language most widely spoken in the United Kingdom, as well as the only Celtic language whose official status is recognised (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2014-2016). Moreover, it is also the oldest language spoken in the area, as well as a representative of native British language before the invasions of Romans, Germans and Normans (Martin, 2005). Although nowadays the vast majority of the Welsh population has English as a mother tongue and 21% of them also speaks Welsh (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2014-2016), English has not always been a language spoken in Wales, as it was not until the Industrial Revolution, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the Welsh population started speaking English.

Welsh English presents a range of phonological features that differ from those English in other areas of the UK bears. According to Martin (2005), this dialect is 'identifiably influenced by the three factors of British medial, Welsh-border dialects of English, and the Welsh tongue itself'. In this study we will describe the phonological features Welsh English bears focusing mainly on the results of a recording made by two southern native speakers of the dialect.

2. English in Wales

2.1. Geographical context

Wales is an area of 20,000 square kilometres situated in the island of Great Britain, in the west of England. This country has the Irish Sea in its north and west, and in its South it has the Bristol Channel. Its widest is 200 kilometres east to west, and 250 kilometres north to south.

Notwithstanding its considerable size, Wales is a sparsely inhabited area consisting of rugged mountains, which might be the cause of the communication difficulties there were in the past between the north and the south of the country. This fact has had a great impact on language, making it notoriously different both phonetically and even syntactically depending on the different areas: South Wales tended to fall under anglicising influence of the West of England, as Gloucester or Bristol, which were very close to Wales. This 'Anglicisation' is a process by which the Welsh population assimilated the culture and ideology of their English neighbours. Williams defines this process as a 'shorthand term to describe the vast and complex process whereby the core values of a burgeoning English society penetrated Wales from the early modern period onwards' (1990: 19).

The population in Wales is mostly rural, although since the Industrial Revolution (1760-1820/40) the region's economy started to be supported by mining and steel-making valleys.

2.2. Historical context

The history of Wales might date back to 48 CE, when the Romans arrived in this country in order to militarily invade it, what they actually completed by 78 CE. Wales had an extraordinary mineral wealth, which lead the Romans to extract gold, copper and lead among other metals. The duration of the Roman rule lasted until AD 383, when they abandoned the area.

After the Romans left the country, Wales was an independent kingdom until 1284, when Edward I, king of England, conquered the area. In 3 March 1284 the king proclaimed the Statute of Rhuddlan, which consisted of the annexation of Wales to England. However, after this statute, the Welsh people preserved their own language, as

well as some of their own laws and statutes. Moreover, Marcher Lords, the nobles in charge of guarding the border between England and Wales, who ruled in their own lands, continued being independent from England. Moreover, this Kingdom was divided into three smaller areas: Anglesey, Merioneth and Caernarvon.

The Statute of Rhuddlan continued being current until 1536, when The Acts of Union (1536-1543) were established. During this period, Henry VIII abolished the powers the Marcher Lords had and divided their lands into seven different counties: Denbigh, Montgomery, Radnor, Brecon, Monmouth, Glamorgan and Pembroke. Likewise, it was stated that the only law in Wales was to be the law of England and, hence, English was to be the language spoken in the government. As Penhallurick pointed out, 'under the Acts of Union of 1536-1543, English was made the sole language of government and law in Wales' (2004: 98).

With the increasing popularity of English, Welsh began to decline, developing negative connotations. As claimed by Aitchison and Carter, 'Welsh was the language of the barbarous past. English the language of the civilised future' (in Penhallurick, 2004: 99). However, the majority of the population still used Welsh until 1700s, when the language started to be replaced by English in the homes of the landowners. In this period, Welsh was mainly used by the working and lower middle classes, who constituted a large portion of the population.

Until the mid-eighteenth century Welsh still remained stronger than English. Then, the increasing immigration to Wales of English workers willing to find a job strengthened English, and Welsh underwent a noticeable weakening, as English was considered the language of opportunity and upward mobility.

Along with the Industrial Revolution, English was the language to be used at court. Likewise, most secondary industrial enterprises in Wales belonged to English companies, as the Welsh economy was primarily based on export, due to the increasing demand for wool and coal throughout the Industrial Revolution.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Welsh was no longer spoken as a mother tongue in urban areas in the South and along the border with England. In schools, English gradually replaced Welsh. Nowadays, this situation remains, and as stated by Penhallurick 'What lies ahead for Welsh is a process of *Latinization*' (2004: 99) as Welsh is hazardously threatened as a result of the decrease of its speakers.

Notwithstanding the great impact Welsh language has had on the English spoken in the country and the fact that its speakers are easily recognized, the language is decreasingly spoken by the population living in Wales. Currently, only a half of the Welsh speakers daily speak it, and around one out of five people speaks Welsh weekly. The younger speakers generally receive their education in Welsh at school, and tend to use this language for academic purposes rather than for communicating with friends or family. Moreover, the language of the mass media, which currently has a great impact on the population, is in its majority English language. Despite this fact, over half of the speakers of Welsh try to make use of their language when they are about to deal with public organisations (Welsh Language Use Survey, 2013-2015).

3. Phonological features of Welsh English

Having already contextualised Welsh English both historically and geographically, its phonological description should now be addressed.

As Wales is an area of a remarkably big size and the accents and features of the north differ from those of the mid and south Wales, in this section we will proceed to analyse the general phonological characteristics of English in Wales, focusing mainly on the south of the country, more concretely on Cardiff. Hence, in this paper we will be using the terms 'Welsh English' (WE) and 'Cardiff English' (CE) interchangeably.

3.1. Vowel system in Welsh English

Overall, the vowel system of the accents of the south of Wales and the one of Received Pronunciation are rather distinct. The vowels of the area of Cardiff are more centralised in their articulation and the starting points of the majority of the diphthongs are more central (Wells, 1982). Notwithstanding this fact, the main peculiarity of Welsh accents lays on the STRUT-Schwa Merger and in the absence of phonemes which correspond to RP[1] /ɪə/ and /ʊə/.

---

[1] Along the dissertation, the abbreviation RP will sometimes be used so as to comply with space constraints.

There are some English vowels that are present in English but not used in Welsh English, as the ones present in SQUARE, NORTH and NURSE, /ɛə/, /ɔ:/ and /ɜ:/ respectively as it can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The vowel system of Cardiff English in Collins and Mees (1990: 93)

CE	RP	Keyword	CE	RP	Keyword	CE	RP	Keyword
ɪ	ɪ	KIT	i:	i:	FLEECE	ei	eɪ	FACE
ɛ	e	DRESS	ɛ:	ɛə	SQUARE	əu	əʊ	GOAT
a	æ	TRAP	a:	ɑ:	PALM	əi	aɪ	PRICE
ɑ	ɒ	LOT	ʌ:	ɔ:	THOUGHT	ʌu	aʊ	MOUTH
ə	ʌ	STRUT	u:	u:	GOOSE	ʌi	ɔɪ	CHOICE
ɣ	ʊ	FOOT	ø:	ɜ:	NURSE	i:ə~jø:	ɪə	NEAR
a~a:	ɑ:	BATH				i:ə	ɪə	BEER
ə	ə	commA				u:ə~ʌ:	ʊə~ɔ:	CURE
i:	ɪ	happY						

As pointed out by Honikman and Laver, *Setting* is used as a 'term to cover the general posture of the vocal organs as they are held throughout the speech process' (in Collins and Mees, 1990: 88). This posture is likely to vary depending on the accent, as some accents tend to lack certain lip and tongue settings or voice pitch that others very often present.

In Cardiff English, the tongue is oftentimes advanced. Furthermore, its back vowels tend to be unrounded, which is a remarkable peculiarity, as in other English dialects back vowels are typically rounded. LOT words which are spelt with *a* are oftentimes pronounced with /a/ instead of with /ɒ/, as in *wash* /waʃ/, which seems to have its origins in the fact that in the Welsh language *wa* tends to be pronounced as /wa(:)/ (Wells, 1982).

On the other hand, the vowel /ɜ:/, as in *bird*, or *nurse* is pronounced with the lips rounded, approaching the close-mid front rounded vowel sound /ø:/ (Collins and Mees, 1990; Huges et al., 2005).

Middle-class Cardiff English often presents neutral lip-setting. Thus, THOUGHT vowels seem to have the lip-rounding found in RP, and NURSE vowel seems rounded to the close-mid front rounded vowel (Collins and Mees, 1990).

According to Collins and Mees (1990: 88), the overall effect of this accent is that it portrays 'greater resonance and tension'. Concerning vocal folds, Cardiff English

differs from RP in that in the former, they are in greater tension. Moreover, CE seems to widely lack creak, which RP typically presents. Nevertheless, there are certain occasions in which we can find creak in CE, although it is attributed to the most sophisticated middle-class speakers in the area. Additionally, in general the pitch of the voice is considerably lower than that in RP, except for when speakers are delivering an affective speech; in this situation, a higher pitch can be noticed.

3.1.1. Vowel length

One of the distinctive features of Welsh English accents is the length of its vowels, as the pairs of /ɛ, ɛ:/, /a, a:/, /ɒ, ɔ:/ do not differ in the quality of their sound, but rather in the length of their realisation, making words such as *shed* and *shared* or *hat* and *heart* differ from each other. Therefore, long /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ are just the short sounds /ɛ, ɔ/ with an added length (Wells, 1982). Similarly, the contrast between the /æ/ and /ɑ:/ vowels, is also usually one of length only, and not vowel quality. Thus *cat* /kat/ and *cart* /ka:t/ (Huges et al. 2005: 84).

Unlike RP, which uses /ɪ/, English spoken in the south of Wales features /i:/ as the final vowel in words such as *city* or *happy*.

In Cardiff, among other areas of the south-east of Wales, some of the BATH words are pronounced with the long vowel sound /a:/, as in *class* /kla:s/ or *grass* /gra:s/. In some other areas of the country there is a remarkable variation between the long and the short pronunciation of the same vowel sound, although in general the short vowel is more frequent than the long one. Therefore, there might be a geographical fact taking part in the variation of the sounds /a/ and /a:/ (Wells, 1982).

3.1.2. Welsh English 'Schwa'

In Welsh accents, 'schwa' can be released as a mid, unrounded vowel. This vowel can appear either in syllables which are weak or even in the strong ones. As in English spoken in Bristol, in English in Wales speakers do not make a contrast between /ʌ/ and /ə/. Hence, we may find words like *putt*, which have /ə/, contrasting with /ʊ/ in *put*. (Huges et al. 2005).

Welsh short /ə/ has a restricted phonotactic distribution, as it nearly always appears in clitics and non-final syllables. Likewise, Welsh English tends to avoid /ə/ when in final checked syllables (commonly known as closed syllables), such as in moment /'mo:mɛnt/ or Welshmen /'wɛlʃmɛn/, which in RP would be uttered with a schwa as their last vowel (/-mənt, -mən/). Furthermore, suffixal –ed and –est are often heard with the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/. This difference between Welsh English and RP seems to be the result of Welsh language's influence, as it is never the case that /ə/ appears in the final syllable of a polysyllabic term in it (Wells, 1982).

3.1.3. Monopthongisation and diphthongisation

The monophthongs and diphthongs belonging to the sound system of Welsh English and those of Welsh itself are remarkably similar. In English spoken in Wales the diphthong /əu/ seems to be narrow enough to be sometimes pronounced as a monophthong /o/, making pairs as *so* and *soar* homonyms (Huges et al. 2005).

In FACE and GOAT words, monphthongs /e:/ and /o:/ may be used by Welsh speakers, instead of the diphthongs /ei/ /ou/ respectively; however, this practice might be seen as an old-fashioned tendency and in the places which are more anglicised, among them Cardiff can be included, the norm seems to be diphthongal. Moreover, in words including the GOAT vowel, when spelled with *u* or *w*, a diphthong is used, thus *dough /dəʊ/, know /nəʊ/.* In several areas of Glamorgan, in the south of Wales, there is a tendency to pronounce the words containing the RP sound /əʊ/ as /o:/, and the /eɪ/ sound as /e:/. For the places in which there is a contrast between these sounds, /ɛi/ is used when the spelling of the word uttered includes an *i* or a *y*. This could be illustrated by the words *toe* /to:/ and *day* /deɪ/. Moreover, there is also a tendency to differentiate between the words *toe* and *tow*, /to:/ and /tou ~ tɔu/ respectively. Nevertheless, it is not a typical practice in Cardiff.

Although GOOSE words spelt *u, ue, eu,* or *ew* are sometimes released as a diphthong /ɪ̆u/, as in *include* /inklɪ̆ud/ and *new* /nɪ̆u/ , the ones spelt with *o* (*lose* /lu:z/), *oo* (*moon* /mu:n/) or *ou* (*soup* /su:p/) are pronounced with a monophthong /u:/ in Welsh English (*whole* /hu:l/) (Wells, 1982).

When there is a vowel preceding /r, l/, where RP has /ɪə/, CE bears /i:/, e.g. *cereals*, *really* /si:ri:əlz/, /ri:li:/ (Collins and Mees, 1990).

3.2. Consonant system in Welsh English

In general terms, the consonant system characteristic of Welsh English spoken in the area of Cardiff is very similar to that of the English spoken in England (see Table 2 below). However, we can relate some differences, such as the lack of a consistent use of /h/ and the inclusion of marginal /x/ and /ɫ/ or the stronger aspiration of /p, t, k/ in initial position (Collins and Mees, 1990).

Table 2: The phonemic table of consonants in the Welsh accent In Collins and Mees (1990).

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p b			t d				k g	
Affricates						tʃ dʒ			
Fricatives		f v	θ ð	s z (ɫ)		ʃ ʒ		(x)	(h)
Nasals	m			n				ŋ	
Approximants	w			l	r		j	w	

3.2.1. Roticity

Although, unlike Welsh language, Welsh English can be described as a non-rhotic accent, however, we may sometimes find instances of /r/ being pronounced. This phenomenon is due to the fact that Welsh English is influenced by both non-rhotic English, as RP, and by the Welsh language, where /r/ is always pronounced (rhotic accent) and realized as a voiced and voiceless trill.

On the one hand, it is mostly common that 'r' is not pronounced in English spoken in Wales, as according to Wells 'Welsh English is from a historical point of view very largely the English imposed by schoolteachers' (1982: 380). Moreover, this dialect derives from non-rhotic dialects of Southern English (Dialectblog retrieved on April, 21). In English in the south of England, when /r/ sound is not pronounced, the vowel preceding it is lengthened. Therefore, it is common that in Welsh English spoken in the south this lengthened vowel is oftentimes present.

In Cardiff English, /r/ is generally realized as a post-alveolar approximant (Collins and Mees, 1990). Nevertheless, in the broadest accents, especially when placed in an intervocalic position, /r/ is uttered as a strong alveolar tap /ɾ/. Furthermore, in Welsh English, the voiced post-alveolar approximant /r/ is also released as /ɾ/ when followed by some specific consonants, such as /b/, /v/ and /ɵ/. This could be illustrated by examples such as *every* /ɛvɾi/. Also influenced by English in non-rhotic areas, intrusive 'r' is often heard in words such as *drawing* /drʌ:rɪn/ (Colins and Mees, 1990).

On the other hand, it is also frequent in the English spoken in the south of Wales to find some phonological characteristics resulting from the influence of the Welsh language, especially in the English spoken by those speakers who have Welsh as their first language. There are some frequent instances of flapped /ɾ/ in Welsh English, especially in traditional Welsh-speaking areas (Penhallurick, 2004). Regarding orthographic 'r', it can be possible to find utterances of post-vocalic /r/ in word medial or word final positions, as in *chair* (/tʃɛr/). This practice is frequent in accents of both the north and the south of Wales ad is influenced by the Welsh language, as in it, 'r' is always articulated, regardless of the position in which it appears. In these instances, it is common to find a short vowel followed by /r/ e.g. *first* /fʌrst/ (Penhallurick, 2004).

3.2.2. H dropping

In south Wales, as in other areas of England, there is a clear tendency to drop the voiceless glottal fricative sound /h/, although this feature may vary depending on the social class of the speakers and the situation in which they are delivering their speech. In casual speech or in working-class, it is common to find /h/. Also, it does not tend to be dropped in words such as *him* in stressed positions (Huges et al. 2005).

The sound sequence /hj/ is released as /j/, e.g. *human* /ju:mən/. Some speakers may pronounce it with a voiceless palatal fricative, as it can be seen in *human* /çum:ən/ (Collins and Mees, 1990).

3.2.3. Dropping of initial /w/

The velar approximant /w/ is sometimes dropped in traditional Welsh English. This practice is particularly seen in words with a following back, close, rounded

stressed vowel, as *woman* /ʊmən/ or *wool* /ʊl/ (Penhallurick, 2004). Still, forms with initial /w/ are the most common.

3.2.4 Stops

Fortis consonants (voiceless) can be seen as alternatives to lenis (voiced) in certain words, such as *wardrobe* /wʌ:drəup /, or *husband* /əzbənt/. Furthermore, there are also noticeable instances of stressed *and* /ant/ when used as a hesitation marker (Collins and Mees, 1990: 89). This pronunciation of a voiced sound as a voiceless sound makes *and* be pronounced with a fortis consonant sound in this context.

The voiceless bilabial plosive sound /t/ is broadly voiced when it appears in medial position between voiced sounds. Hence, it is released as a tap /ɾ/: *better* /bɛɾə/, *hospital* /ɑspɪɾl/.

Although there is a tendency to include a glottal stop /ʔ/ between a vowel and syllabic /l/ only in the word *little* /lɪʔl/, RP sequence /tn/ is regularly pronounced as /ʔn/ in words such as *kitten* /kɪʔn/, that is, pronouncing the double *t* with the back of the throat (with the glottis) in between the two vowels.

In the environment 'V__V, double *t* in Cardiff English many times appears voiced or tapped. Therefore, we could often find words such as *matter* /maɾə/.

As pointed out by Collins and Mees (1990), as certain sequences, such as /tj/ or /dj/ are not characteristic of some Welsh English accents of the south, words as *tube* and *due* present a different pronunciation to the one they have in RP. Instead of /tju:b/ and /dju:/ they are uttered as /tʃu:b, dʒu:/.

3.2.5 Lengthened and doubled consonants

/p, b, t, d, k, g, v, θ, s, ʃ, tʃ, m, n, ŋ, l/ seem to be lengthened in word-medial position in the Welsh English spoken in most parts of Wales. As Penhallurick puts it: 'In the Welsh language, medial consonants tend to be long, especially between vowels when the preceding vowel is stressed' (2004: 111).

Medial consonants are mostly seen lengthened when preceding another consonant or a vowel, e.g. /m:/ in *thimble,* or between vowels when the first vowel is stressed, e.g. *city* (/sɪttɪ/) (Huges et al. 2005).

3.2.6. Unvoicing of /d/ and /z/

/t/ is sometimes used to replace the last consonant in words such as *cold* (/kəʊlƫ/) and *second* (/sɛkənƫ/), where /ld/ and /nd/ in the end of the word become /lt/ and /nt/ respectively. These words could be strongly tied to certain English loanwords in Welsh (Penhallurick, 2004). Likewise, there is a strong tendency to devoice /b, d, g, dʒ/ in final position. Although this feature is occasionally found in other English accents, it is more exaggerated and consistent in English spoken in Cardiff. Consonant /z/ is also devoiced to /s/ when it appears in word-medial or word-final position, as in *thousand* (/θaʊsənd/) or *cheese* (/tʃiːs/) (Penhallurick, 2004).

The practice of devoicing /d/ and /z/ might be the result of the power Welsh had over English spoken in Wales, as with some few exceptions, in Welsh language there is no voiced alveolar fricative /z/.

3.2.7. Aspiration

Southern Welsh English speakers tend to make voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ strongly aspirated in 'initial stressed position, and often finally before a pause' (Penhallurick, 2004: 108). Nevertheless, in environments in which there is an /s/ preceding stop clusters, there is no aspiration.

In words starting by /sp-, st-, sc-/, as *spin*, *steam* or *score*, it is typical for Welsh English speakers to pronounce /sb-, sd-, sg/. This practice might be the result of the influence of some Welsh spellings, as the borrowed English words *spite* and *scope*, which are given the written forms *sbeit* and *sgôp*; or else, it might be the result of the aspiration of the voiceless plosives (Wells, 1982).

3.2.8. Velar Nasal

The ending –ing tends to be pronounced as /ɪn/ in gerundive forms. Likewise, the ending -*thing* is sometimes pronounced /əɪŋk/ in words like *something* or *everything*.

3.3. Intonantion

According to Wells, 'Popular English views about Welsh accents include the claim that they have a 'sing-song' or lilting intonation' (cited in Penhallurick, 2004: 111). Therefore, prosody and its resulting musicality is a feature that characterises English spoken in Wales. Although there is not much published regarding Welsh accents of English and prosody (Penhallurick, 2004), there is evidence of a strong influence of Welsh language on the intonation patterns of the English spoken in the area, reflected in the recurrent practice of rising the pitch from the stressed syllable. Nevertheless, as the influence Welsh language has in Wales is gradually decreasing, and most of its speakers speak Welsh English in their daily life, it might be the case that this prosodic characteristic is becoming less distinct.

4. Speech sample analysis of Welsh English

This work aims to display an account of current phonological features that make Welsh English differ from the remnant varieties of English in the United Kingdom. To do so, the speech of two speakers of Welsh English was recorded. The following section provides the methodological details (speakers' environment and linguistic profile, as well as recoding procedure). A further analysis section will look into the phonological realizations which ascribe to Welsh English in both informants. These will then be discussed in the light of the literature reviewed. Finally, some overall conclusions and limitations will be given regarding the phonological features of English in Wales found in both informants.

4.1. Methodology

4.1.1 The speakers

The data provided by the two native speakers of Welsh English were collected by a questionnaire completed by themselves. The questions they answered are attached in Appendix 3.

The first speaker, referred to as 'G' in the transcriptions, is a female, aged 35. She is from Porthcawl, a town located in the south coast of Wales in the county borough of Bridgend, situated 40 kilometres west from Cardiff. She has lived there for her whole life, except from a year in which she moved to Plymouth. She got her Degree in English Studies, as well as a PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate in Education). This speaker speaks no Welsh, and her mother tongue is English, as her father was from Dunfermline, Scotland, and her mother from Porthcawl, Wales. She speaks some Spanish, learnt after school classes, in school education, and two one-month exchanges with a Spanish family in Spain.

The second speaker, 'M' in the transcriptions, is a female aged 37 and has lived her whole life in Cardiff. She got a degree in Graphic Design, and speaks a little Welsh, although her mother tongue is English. She speaks no other languages, and her parents were from England and Wales.

As both speakers have relatively similar profiles and live 40 kilometres from one another, both in South Wales, we could expect that their English accents present similar phonological realisations.

4.1.2. Procedure

The task consisted of recording a conversation between the two participants with no external interlocutor, so as to invade their intimacy as little as possible (they are friends), which may in turn help to detect more phonological characteristics of the candidates' accents. The recording of the conversation lasted around twenty minutes, as speakers did not feel comfortable at the beginning of the talk and they made some pauses because the conversation did not flow. Nevertheless, only around seven minutes were transcribed. It was set that the task would be accomplished in a comfortable and

relaxed atmosphere. The topic suggested was to comment on memories about moments they lived together and on anecdotes about their current daily life.

The task was recorded by using one of the speakers' smartphone. The recording was then transcribed both orthographically and phonetically.

4.2. Analysis: phonological features of the recording

4.2.1. Vowel sounds

The vowel /ɜ:/ is pronounced rounded, although it does not resemble the lowered close-mid front rounded vowel /ø:/, as we expected, e.g. *turning* /tɜ:nɪŋ/ (G9), *birthed* /bɜ:ðt/ (G15). Therefore, it might be the case that the speakers are gradually losing the influence Welsh language had over this vowel in their speech.

The two participants seem to pronounce LOT words that are spelt with *a* with /ɒ/ instead of /a/. This feature was also seen in *what* /wɒt/ (G8), *washing* /wɒʃɪŋ/ (G7), thus, evincing an important influence of English in the speakers' speech.

4.2.1.1. Vowel length

In words such as *twenty* (/twɛni:/) (G8), *tiny* /taɪni:/ (G9) or *husky* /hʌski:/ (G8), *mercy* /mɜ:si:/ (G7) the final vowel was pronounced as /i:/ featuring a well described characteristic of Welsh English.

The vowel speaker 'G' utters in *back* /bak/ (G21, G22) is not as front as RP /æ/, realizing some kind of /a/, as described above. Contrarily, in *Hampton* /æmtən/ (M19) speaker 'M' pronounces the vowel less open than speaker 'G' (G20). Nevertheless, the difference is not noticeable enough to be able to ensure that there is a difference on the quality of the vowel. This might be slightly influenced by the fact that 'M' drops the glottal fricative that precedes the sound and 'G' does not, which might have affected the quality of the vowel immediately following it.

4.2.1.2. Welsh English 'schwa'

Speakers seem to avoid schwa when it appears in final checked syllables, as it can be seen in *parents* /peərɛnts/ (G22), *seven* /sɛvɛn/ (M20), September /səptɛmbɛr/ (G18). In these two examples, instead of using a schwa sound speakers use an /ɛ/ sound ascribing to Welsh English phonological reviews above.

4.2.1.3. Monophthongisation and diphthongisation

The diphthong /əu/ appears to be pronounced in a rather narrow way, resembling /o:/. This might be seen in examples such as *so* /so:/ (G18), *only* /o:nlɪ/ (G21), *open* /o:pən/ (M21). Likewise, the vowel in *flooding* /flɛḏɪŋ/ (M3, G4) seems to be released more fronted, approaching an /ɛ/ sound.

4.2.2. Consonant sounds

4.2.2.1. Rhoticity

Overall, there are more instances in which /r/ sound is not pronounced in the conversation than words in which it is pronounced. As expected, when the /r/ is not pronounced, the vowel preceding it is lengthened, e.g. *four* /fɔ:/ (M2), *garden* /gɑ:dʔn/ (G6), or even the cluster *-er* is pronounced as a single schwa sound, e.g. *answer* /ænsə/ (M1). The cases in which the sound /r/ is pronounced seem to be just cases of linking *r*, as in G7 (/ðɛər ɪz/). Thus, regarding the use of the /r/ sound, Welsh English spoken by the participants resembles a more non-rhotic variety such as English rather than rhotic one, such as Welsh.

4.2.2.2. H dropping

The dropping of the /h/ sound is accomplished in several words throughout the recording, especially by one of the two speakers, as we can see in M2 (*have* /əv/), M6 (*haven't* /ævnt/) and M19 (*Hampton* /amtən/). Contrarily, speaker 'G' pronounces the sound in G1 (*having* /hævɪŋ/), G6 (*huge* /hju:dʒ/) and G20 (*Hampton* /hæmtən/) and drops it some other times, as in *he* /i:/ (G6). Therefore, one of the two speakers tends to

avoid using *h* sound more frequently than the other, who generally drops it in non-stressed pronouns.

4.2.2.3. Dropping of initial /w/

The speakers did not drop this sound in words such as *wolf* /wʊlf/ (G9). Nevertheless, there are some instances in which the bilabial approximant sound /w/ seems to exhibit less lip protrusion, resembling a voiced labio-dental fricative /v/, although it does not completely disappear, e.g. *what* /vɒt/ (G8), *Wales* /veɪlz/ (M18).

4.2.2.4. Stops

The sound /t/ was released as a tap /ɾ/ in words such as *pretty* /prɪɾɪ/ (G6, M14) by both speakers.

There are some noticeable instances of glottal stops, such as in *garden* /gɑ:dʔn/ (M4, G6, G18), *got* /gɒʔ/ (M6, G21), *not* /nəʔ/ (G8), *flat* /flæʔ/ (G14), *it* /ɪʔ/ (G14), *passport* /pɑ:spəʔ/ (G22), *for* /fəʔ/ (G22). It is noticeable that both speakers present these characteristics, and glottal stops are remarkably frequent throughout the conversation.

4.2.2.5. Devoicing of /d/

/d/ is pronounced very close to /t/ by both speakers in certain words, such as in *flooding* /flʌd̥ɪŋ/ (M3, G4), *beds* /bed̥z/ (G6). This is sometimes seen when the sound /d/ is preceded by an /n/, which is present in the conversation in words such as *thousand* /θaʊzənd̥/ (M20), *second* /sɛkənd̥/ (G21), although speaker 'G' does not make it unvoiced in *thousand* /θaʊzənd/ (G18).

4.2.2.6. Aspiration

Voiceless plosives, /p, t, k/, seem to be remarkably aspirated in the speech of the speakers when placed in initial stressed position, e.g. *pile* /pʰaɪl/ (G6), *top* / tʰɒp/ (G6),

carpets /kʰɑːpɛts/ (M6). /sp/ sound sequence presents no aspiration, as in *springer* /sprɪŋə/, *spaniel* /spænɪəl/ (G8).

No instances were found of /sp-, st-, sk-/ being pronounced as /sb-, sd-, sg/, e.g. *stare* /stɛər/ (G9).

4.2.2.7. Nasals

Some gerundives are pronounced as /ɪn/ instead of /ɪŋ/ throughout the conversation, as in M21 (*itching* /ɪtʃɪn/) and G22 (*dying* /daɪɪn/). Nevertheless, in many more instances the –ing forms of the verbs, as well as the adjectives ending in –*ing*, are pronounced /ɪŋ/, as in M3 (*flooding* /flɛɖɪŋ/) or G6 (*swimming* /swɪmɪŋ/). This latter pronunciation *of –ing* seems to be the result of the influence of English over Welsh English.

Sometimes, as in *twenty* /twɛniː/ (G8), it seems that the /t/, when following an /n/, is not released, being replaced by the preceding /n/ sound. This assimilation of the voiceless alveolar plosive might be just a result of making the sound easier to pronounce in faster conversation.

5. Discussion

Speaker 'G' presents several characteristics typical of Welsh English. Firstly, she tends to pronounce the final vowel of the words ending in *y* as a long /iː/ sound. Secondly, this speaker sometimes avoids schwa sound when in final checked syllables. This feature might just be the result of the influence of Welsh language, as it never releases schwa sound in the final syllable of a polysyllabic word. Thirdly, the diphthong /əu/ seems to be pronounced narrow enough to approach /oː/. Likewise, /ʌ/ appears to be fronted, approaching the open mid-front vowel /ɛ/. The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ was released as an alveolar tap in *pretty*; although, unluckily, there are not more examples in the speech in which she makes such replacement. Concerning glottal stops, these are very frequent throughout the utterances of the speaker, which might just be the result of the speech being delivered in a high speed and the informality of the conversation. The speaker tends to pronounce the voiced alveolar fricative devoiced in some occasions, as when preceded by the alveolar nasal. The voiceless plosives seem to

be aspirated when in initial position, although the /sp/ sound sequence presents no aspiration. This participant sometimes replaces the velar nasal with the alveolar nasal in the ending of some gerundive forms of verbs. Sometimes, the voiceless alveolar plosive is not released when it follows the alveolar nasal; instead, the former is replaced by the latter. Therefore, the participant shows a number of Welsh English phonological features which would identify her speech as representative of the accent under study. Notwithstanding identity factors, which were not covered in the questionnaires devised for this study but could well be interfering, facts such as living in a smaller rural area or town not bordering with England and therefore not having had much contact with non-Welsh English speakers in the community might have contributed to a sometimes prototypical display.

On the other hand, concerning the Welsh English traces that this participant does not feature, there are not enough instances of the long open-mid central unrounded vowel sound so as to see whether this feature is a tendency or not, but although /ɜ:/ is pronounced rounded, it seems not to be so close to the lowered mid-front rounded vowel. Furthermore, this participant does not pronounce the LOT words spelt with *a* using an /a/ sound; instead, she utters /ɒ/. Regarding the realisation of *h*, 'G' tends to pronounce this sound with the exception of certain unstressed pronouns, as *he*. Thus, she might be closer to a standardised display of the language in this situation. Similarly, the participant does not drop the initial bilabial approximant in words, although in some instances this sound is released with not lip protrusion and, thus, the consonant is not clearly perceivable. Moreover, there are no instances in which /sp-, st-, sk-/ are replaced by their corresponding voiced plosives. Finally, she displays a non-rhotic accent, pronouncing the /r/ only when it is a linking *r*. There are several reasons why 'G' ascribes less to Welsh English. First, she has scarce knowledge of Welsh language and, her father not being Welsh, she has received English input since she was a child. Furthermore, her educational background and metalinguistic competence (she studied English Studies), may be intervening in a tendency to detach from Welsh English accent as the accent she displays is said by many Welsh people of her environment to sound 'posh'[2]. Thus, overall, although she presents some features that might be considered holdovers of the Welsh language, this speaker has a clear tendency to standardise her speech.

---

[2] Participant's comment informally shared with researcher.

The second participant, speaker 'M', also presents some features typical of Welsh English. First, she pronounces the vowel in *Hampton* less open than speaker 'G'. As the other participant in the recording, this speaker seems to avoid schwa sound in final checked syllables and replaces it by the open mid-front vowel /ɛ/. Moreover, RP diphthong /əu/ tends to be pronounced narrower, nearly resembling /o:/ in several words. The open mid-back vowel in *flooding* is released more fronted, approaching an /ɛ/ sound. The participant oftentimes drops the /h/ sound and sometimes softens the bilabial approximant in certain words, which might resemble the /w/ dropping characteristic of the Welsh English, although it is actually the same consonant slightly changed by absence of lip protrusion. The voiceless alveolar plosive is released by the speaker as a tap /ɾ/ in a word; unluckily, we do not have enough instances of this feature so as to consider it a tendency. Glottalisation is very present in the speech of 'M', as it and the reason for this might be the same as the one for 'G': because of the speed of the conversation and the fact that it is informal. The voiced alveolar plosive, resembles its corresponding voiceless sound in *flooding* and sometimes when it is preceded by the alveolar nasal and it is in the ending of the word, although this feature is not present every time this two sounds go together in this context. Voiceless plosives seem to be highly aspirated when they appear in the initial stressed position of a word. Throughout the conversation, some gerundives tend to be pronounced as /ɪn/ instead of /ɪŋ/, which might be the result of the influence of Welsh language over Welsh English pronunciation. A possible explanation for this prototypical display might reside in several facts, such as her being able to speak some Welsh and being a mother of two children receiving formal education in Welsh, an additional contact with the Welsh language which may be interacting with her Welsh English accent. Furthermore, un/conscious identity factors may also be present with this regard; however, we did not collect socio-linguistic information of this type for this assessment.

There are some other features typical of Welsh English that speaker 'M' does not release. The open-mid central unrounded vowel is rounded, although it is not so close to the lowered close-mid front rounded vowel as we could expect. Moreover, LOT words whose spelling includes an *a* are not pronounced with /a/, but rather with /ɒ/; this feature the speaker does is highly influenced by the English pronunciation. The sequences /sp-, st-, sk-/ are not replaced by /sb-, sd-, sg-/ in the utterances of the participant, which means a greater influence of English than of Welsh language in this

particular sounds. In general, this participant seems to present a more prototypical accent, although she sometimes standardises her speech, as she lives in a more cosmopolitan area which is nearby the England border.

In conclusion, in the recording accomplished by the two participants taking part in this project, the most remarkable phonological distinctions in the accent studied, compared to those of RP, seemed to be those concerning the consonant system of the language, rather than those of the vowel system, as vowels seem to present a rather subtle difference to those of Standard English. This might be just a result of the profile of the speakers, as they are relatively young, and they do not have a high knowledge of Welsh. Regarding the consonantal features, Welsh English spoken by the volunteers was generally non-rhotic. The phenomenon of *h* dropping was displayed mainly by speaker 'M', who had a higher knowledge of Welsh compared with speaker 'G'; thus, this might be the reason why she tended to drop the sound more often. Therefore, we had two speakers uttering the same words, one dropping the *h* and the other one not doing so. This non-dropping of the voiceless glottal fricative might be due to the fact that the speaker wants to put some stress over the word she is using, or else, because in this case there is little influence of the Welsh language. /w/ dropping is not present in their speech, although there is sometimes an absence of lip protrusion, but the sound does not completely disappear. Concerning glottal stops, speakers frequently realise them. Devoicing of /d/ and aspiration are common features of the speech of both participants.

One of the two speakers, 'M', seems to feature more phonological characteristics of Welsh English, and therefore a less standardised accent. Despite living in a more cosmopolitan city, in which many inhabitants are young immigrants both from England and from other countries, hence, in a community more prone to undergo standardisation than a rural area, her adherence to WE may owe to i) having some knowledge of Welsh language, ii) being in contact with Welsh as her children use it at school and iii) not having developed an academic linguistic competence in the English language.

6. Final remarks, limitations and further research

There are some phonological features that differ English spoken in Wales from that spoken in some other areas of the UK. This situation is due to the fact that English

entered a community which already spoke a language which the speakers identify with and associate with the preservation of their origins. Nowadays, many of the Welsh English speakers have some knowledge of Welsh, although the number of the speakers of this language is gradually decreasing. Hence, the influence of Welsh over English spoken in Wales may also be decreasing. With the decrease of the speakers of Welsh in the area, English in Wales is gaining greater importance. We could therefore expect that the phonological features of Welsh English will continue changing, given the dynamic nature of languages. It would not be striking, thus, that Welsh English gradually presented phonological features even more similar to those of English in the southern areas of England.

The speakers taking part in this experiment exhibited some phonological features that resemble (Southern Standard) English, but there are still numerous holdovers from the Welsh language. This may be displaying a conflicting reality of dialects in the UK. On the one hand, a revival of the Welsh language is being accomplished by Welsh people, as the country is trying to increase the number of its speakers by means of educational policies that make the teaching of Welsh language compulsory in schools. On the other hand, traditional rural dialects have been developing towards a more 'supraregional' and standardised English accent for the last decades, the so-called dialect levelling phenomenon in the UK (Kerswill, 2003), often led by geographic mobility and the impact of the media.

The author would like to note the difficulty to access publications dedicated to Welsh English phonology, specifically on its prosodic aspects. Furthermore, we could not find an up-to-date reference volume including a display of the current phonological trends of Welsh English. If this remark is not revoked by the research limitations of the writer, this paper would appeal for the need to develop such a publication.

We shall acknowledge that this case study was carried out taking into account the result of the recording of two speakers, which displays an interesting perspective of the topic under analysis but may not necessarily be representative of the speaking community of Welsh English.

Welsh English is a variety of English spoken in an area in which two different languages coexist: English and Welsh, one of the most spoken Celtic languages. Nevertheless, it seems that this accent has not received as much attention as other varieties have, having become a more 'mysterious and veiled' variety. We shall end this

dissertation by advocating for the accomplishment of more studies which unveil the linguistic attributes of current Welsh English.

References

"BBC Languages- United Kingdom - BBC - Home." Web. 21 Apr. 2016. Chapter 15: The Industrial Revolution. Retrieved April 21, 2016, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/guide/ch15_industrial_revolution.shtml

Collins, B., Mees, I. M. (1990). In Coupland, N., & Thomas, A. R. (Eds). *English in Wales: Diversity, conflict, and change*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hughes, A., Trudgill, P., & Watt, D. J. (2005). *English accents and dialects: An introduction to social and regional varieties of English in the British Isles*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Is the Welsh Accent "Foreign"?. (2011). Retrieved April 21, 2016, from http://dialectblog.com/2011/06/02/welsh-accent-foreign/

Kerswill, P. (2003). Dialect levelling and geographical diffusion in British English. In D. Britain & J. Cheshire (Eds.), *Social Dialectology. In honour of Peter Trudgill*. (pp. 223–243). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Penhallurick, R. (2004). Welsh English: phonology. In Burridge, K., Kortmann, B., Schneider, E. W., Mesthrie, R., & Upton, C. (Eds). *A handbook of varieties of English* (pp.98-112). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wells, J. C. (1982). *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Welsh Language: The Industrial Revolution. Retrieved April 21, 2016, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/guide/ch15_industrial_revolution.shtml

Welsh language use survey. (n.d.). Retrieved May 24, 2016, from http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/welsh-language-use-survey/?lang=en

Welsh Phonetics: a preface. (n.d.). Retrieved April 21, 2016, from https://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/welshphonfwd.htm

Williams, C. H. (1990). The Anglicisation of Wales. In Coupland, N., & Thomas, A. R. (Eds) *English in Wales: Diversity, conflict, and change.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Works Consulted. (n.d.). Retrieved March 01, 2016, from http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~cpercy/courses/6362-martin.htm

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Orthographic transcription of the recording

G1. Okey then, this is Gemma and Mari having a random conversation for you. Em… why the hell is the sun out? It's February. We don't usually have sun in February, this is Wales. It's freaking mad!

M1. You obviously said the answer: it is Wales.

G2. Yeah.

M2. Because we can have four seasons in one day.

G3. We do tend to have a fair bit of that. Isn't that a Crowded House song: "four seasons in one day"? Sure it is. I think it is actually, yeah. Emm… Mixed change from several solid weeks of rain there, isn't it?

M3. Yeah, flooding.

G4. Flooding is always fun, yes.

M4. Especially at my back garden.

G5. Again, also fun with small children. Let's jump in the fiddles.

M5. Free swimming pool!

G6. Yeah! Pretty much free swimming pool. Oh the dogs have been driving me insane with the rain, because Tris has been doing the back garden and obviously there is that huge compost pile now right the back. Em… it has put top on it now but before the dogs would just XX climbing in it, spring their paws in it. Just I wonder what this is coming in absolutely stinking! And Helo is a nightmare! Cause he tries to wipe his paws so that he doesn't trip into the house, climb on the sofa or climb on the beds: what he does all the time.

M6. Like you haven't got carpets!

G7. Oh Gods! Don't stalk the rocks that are down can all be picked up and put in the washing machine, so there is that. There is that small mercy. But no he's a nightmare! He would not sit still as he used to in his paws. And he launches his paws at you as if he's about to smack you in the face! He snaps in XX.

M7. He is rather a large dog…to his age.

G8. He's not that big! He's…what? Twenty…two kilos? So he's not that big considering he's a Husky Springer Spaniel cross.

M8. Compared to M'ija though

G9. Yeah, M'ija is tiny, M'ija is only about eleven kilos. Though she's turning into a wolf or little so and so and she loves Tress. She would sit there and stare at him lovingly.

M9. Tiggie was bigger than aammm… M'ija.

G10. Tiggie was a cat! Yeah there is that about it…

M10. A rather big cat!

G11. Huge cat! But a scary cat expressing it off.

M11. Wait down for a stone.

G12. Ouchh! But how much is seven kilos?

M12. Don't know… but it was bigger than Tia was till she was six months old.

G13. Shit! Excuse my French! Good Guild! Tiggie knows it was that big…to him! And now you have rats, so I mean… yeah! Much smaller by comparison.

M13. When I had rats before Tiggie let out the way, cause they want to jump off my shoulder onto the cage and Tiggie was nowhere to be seen.

G14. To be fair he did jump a metric mile! When I picked up my handbag that was by the side of him. Am, if you remember that was back in the flat that was, wasn't it?

M14. Yeah. So pretty two thousand and four.

G15. That's a long time ago. Yeah it's before birthed the kids, isn't it?

M15. Yeah.

G16. Hai ai ai…

M16. Well Delift did twelve years this summer.

G17. Tell me… Mind you! I've been living in my house… Almost thirteen and a half years.

M17. That long!?

G18. Cause I moved in…this September the year I started my English degree. So that was… two thousand and two! Yeah! So thirteen now years. I'm running out tackling in the garden!

M18. Yeah! That is a year and a half after I moved back to Wales from being in Uni.

G19. Yeah, where were you?

M19. North Hampton.

G20. Ah I knew it was a Hampton somewhere. Yeah… how long ago is that?

M20. Nineteen ninety seven to two thousand I was in Uni. Then I stayed at there till two thousand and one.

G21. I only did my… I only got my GCSE results in ninety seven. That was the arose flying back from doing emm… my second month exchange with the Spanish family in Leon, and I was flying back ammm…the day our GCSE results came out. So of course I had to fly to Heathrow, so my poor parents plus they'd gone down to the school to pick up my results that were in a sealed envelope, and I told mum that she wasn't allowed to open it, that I wanted to be the one to see them first. So bless her! Three and a half hours up in the car to Heathrow with this envelope on her lap, birding.

M21. Itching to open it!

G22. Oh yeah! Birding a hole in her legs type of thing. Oumm… and I'm on the plane and I'm dying for a pee, absolutely dying for a pee! And there was a huge queue for all the toilets, so… I'm sort of right okay, okay, okay, okay, right. So the queue dies down, I get up to go to the toilet. "If all passengers could please return to their seats, amm… tray tables in their upright and locked position and fasten their seat belts, we are about to experience some turbulence". It was like no! I need to go to the toilet, you don't understand! Land at Heathrow cause I couldn't get up with that before we landed. Getting through passport control at Heathrow was a nightmare, was about half to three

quarters of an hour. And then we'd flown in at the same time as two flights from TELE BEEF. So you had them on their carrousels and trying to find ours and you know, racism being what it was back in ninety seven. Amm... Security was on high leads going through customs for the two TELE BEEF flights. So the time I actually get to my parents would actually missed me! I was standing by the side of them before they even knew that I actually came out through the gate. I just were 'I need to pee' and my mother… Ouh my mother…

'Trevor! get right back here now! You open this envelope first! I've had it on my lap for hours! Open it now and then you can go and pee!'

'Oh yeah hough'.

Appendix 2: phonetic transcription of the recording

G1 |əʊkeɪ ðən ðɪz ɪz dʒɛmːa ənd maːrɪ hævɪŋ eɪ randəm kəʊnvəseɪʒən fə juː| |əmː waɪ ðə hel ɪz ðə sʌn aʊt? ɪts febrərɪ| |wɪ dənt juːsʊəlɪ həv sʌn ɪn febrərɪ ðɪz ɪz weɪlz| |ɪtz friːkɪŋ mæd|

M1 |juː ɔbvɪəslɪ sed ðɪ ænsə| |ɪt ɪz weɪlz|

G2 |jɪɛə|

M2 |biːkəz wɪ kən əv fɔː siːsənz ɪn wʌn deɪ|

G3 |wɪ duː tɛnd tə hæv ə feə bɪt əv ðət| |ɪznt ðæt ə krɜːdɪd həʊs səŋ| |fɔː siːsənz ɪn wʌn deɪ| |ʃʊər ɪt ɪz| |aɪ θɪŋk ɪt ɪz æktʃʊəlɪ| |jɪɛə| |ɛmː mɪkst tʃeɪndʒ frəm sɛvərəl sɔlɪd wiːks əv reɪn ðɛə, ɪznt ɪt?|

M3 |jɪɛə| |flɛḏɪŋ|

G4 |flɛḏɪŋ ɪz ɔːweɪz fʌn jɛs|

M4 |ɪspɛʃəlɪ ət maɪ bak gaːdʔn|

G5 |əgɛn ɔːlsəʊ fʌn wɪð smɔːl tʃɪldrən| |lets dʒʊmp ɪn ðə fɪdəlz|

M5 |friː swɪmɪŋ puːl|

G6 |jɛə| |prɪɾɪ mʌtʃ friː swɪmɪŋ puːl| |əh ðə dɒgz hæv biːn draɪvŋ mɪ ɪnseɪn wɪð ðə reɪn| |bɪkɒz trɛz əz biːn dʊɪŋ ðə bak gɑːdʔn ənd ɒbvɪʊzlɪ ðər ɪz ðət hjuːdʒ kʰɒmpɒs pʰaɪl naʊ raɪt ðə bak| |ɛmː ɪʔ hæs pʌt tʰɒp ɒn ɪt naʊ bəʔ bɪfɔː ðə dɒgz wʊd dʒʌst klaɪmɪŋ ɪn ɪt sprɪŋ ðɛə pɔːz ɪn ɪt| |dʒʌst aɪ wʌndə wɒt ðɪz ɪz kʰʌmɪŋ ɪn æbsəluːtlɪ stɪŋkɪn| |ən hiːləʊ ɪz ə naɪtmɛə| |kʌz ɪ traɪz tə waɪp hɪz pɔːz səʊ ðət hɪ dʌznt trɪp ɪntə ðə haʊz klaɪm ɒn ðə səʊfə ɔː klaɪm ɒn ðə beḏz| |wɒt hɪ dʌz ɔː ðə taɪm|

M6 |laɪk juː ævənt gɒʔ kʰɑːpɛts|

G7 |əh gɒdz| |dəʊnt stɔːk| |ðə rɒks ðət ɑː daʊn kæn ɔːl bɪ pɪkt ʌp ənd pʌt ɪn ðə wɒʃɪŋ məʃiːn səʊ ðɛə ɪz ðət| |ðɛər ɪz ðæt smɔːl mɜːziː| |bʌt naʊ hɪz ə naɪtmɛə| |hɪ wʊld nət sɪt stɪl əz hɪ juːst tə ɪn hɪz pɔːz| |ənd hɪ lɔːntʃɪz hɪz pɔːz ət jə| |əz hɪz əbaʊt tə smæk juː ɪn ðə feɪs| |hɪ snæps ɪn XX|

M7 |ɪɪz rɑːðə lɑːdʒ dɒg| |tə hɪz eɪdʒ|

G8 |hɪz nəʔ ðæt bɪg| |hɪz vɒt| |twɛni tuː kiːləʊz| |səʊ ɪz nətʔ ðæt bɪg kənsɪdərɪŋ hɪz ə hʌskiː sprɪŋgə spænɪəl krɒs|

M8 |kəmpɛəd tə miːxa ðəʊ|

G9 |jiɛə miːxa ɪz taɪniː| |miːxa ɪz əʊnlɪ əbaʊt əlɛvən kiːləʊz| |ðəʊ ʃɪz tɜːnɪŋ ɪntə ə wʊlf ɔː lɪtəl səʊ ənd səʊ ənd ʃɪ lʌvz trɛs| |ʃɪ wʊd sɪt ðɛər ənd stɛər ət hɪm lʌvɪŋlɪ|

M9 |tɪgɪ wəz bɪgə ðən əmː miːxa|

G10 |tɪgɪ wəz ə kʰæt| |jɛə ðər ɪz ðæt əbaʊt ɪt|

M10 |ə rɑːðə bɪg kʰæt|

G11 |hiu:dʒ kæt| |bət ə skeɪɾɪ kæt ɪkspresɪŋg ɪt ɒf|

M11 |weɪt daʊn fər ə stəʊn|

G12 |əʊtʃ| |bʌt haʊ mʌtʃ is sevən ki:ləʊz|

M12 |dəʊnt nəʊ| |bʌt ɪt wəz bɪgə ðən ti:ə wəs tɪl ʃɪ wəs sɪks mʌnθs əʊld|

G13 |ʃɪt| |ɪgskɪu:z maɪ frɛntʃ| |gu:d gɪld tɪgɪ nəʊz ɪt wəz ðæt bɪg tə hɪm| |ənd naʊ ju: hæv ræts səʊ aɪ mi:n jɛa| |mʌtʃ smɔ:lə baɪ kəmpærɪsən|

M13 |wɛn aɪ əd ræts bɪfɔ: tɪgɪ lɛt aʊt ðə weɪ| |kɔ:z ðeɪ wɒnt tə dʒʌmp ɒf maɪ ʃəʊldər ɒntʊ ðə keɪtʃ ənd tɪgɪ wəz nəʊwɛə tə bɪ si:n|

G14 |tə bɪ fɛə hɪ dɪd dʒʌmp ə mɛtrɪk maɪl wɛn aɪ pɪkt ʌp maɪ hændbæg ðət wəz baɪ ðə saɪd əv hɪm| |əm ɪf ju: ri:mɛmbə ðət wəz bak ɪn ðə flæʔ ðæʔ wəz| |wəsnt ɪʔ|

M14 |jɛə səʊ prɪɾɪ tu: θaʊzənd ənd fɔ:|

G15 |ðæts ə lɒŋ taɪm əgəʊ| |jɛə ɪts bɪfɔ: bɜ: ɒt ðə kɪdz| |ɪzənt ɪt|

M15 |jɛə|

G16 |haɪ aɪ aɪ|

M16 |wɛl dɪlɪft dɪd twɛlv jɪəz ðɪz sʌmə|

G17 |tɛl mɪ| |maɪnd ju:| |aɪv bi:n lɪvɪŋ ɪn maɪ haʊz ɔ:lməʊst θɜ:ti:n ənd ə hɑ:f jɪəz|

M17 |ðæt lɒŋ|

G18 |kɔ:z aɪ mu:vt ɪn| |ðɪs səptɛmbɛr ðə jɪər aɪ stɑ:tɪd maɪ ɪŋglɪʃ dɪgri:| |so: ðæt wəz| |tu: θaʊzənd ənd tu:| |jɛə| |səʊ θɜ:ti:n naʊ ji:əz| |aɪm rʌnɪŋg aʊt tæklɪŋ ɪn ðə gɑ:dʔn|

M18 |jɛə ðæt ɪz ə jɪər ənd ə hɑːf ɑːftər aɪ muːvt bak tə veɪlz frəm biːŋg ɪn juːnɪ|

G19 |jɛə wɛə wə juː|

M19 |nɔːθ amtən|

G20 |ɑːh aɪ njuː ɪt wəz ə hæmtən sʌmwɛə| |jɛə| |haʊ lɒŋg əgəʊ ɪz ðæt|

M20 |naɪntiːn naɪntiː sɛvɛn tə tuː θaʊzənd aɪ wəz ɪn juːniː| |ðɛn aɪ steɪd ət ðɛə tɪl tuː θaʊzənd̩ ənd wʌn|

G21 |aɪ oːnlɪ dɪd maɪ| |aɪ oːnlɪ gɒʔ maɪ dʒiː siː ɛz iː riːzəlts ɪn naɪntiː sɛvən| |ðæt wəz ðɪ ərəʊz flaɪɪŋ bak frəm duːɪŋg əm| |maɪ sɛkənd mʌnθ ɛkstʃeɪndʒ wɪð ðə spænɪʃ fæmɪlɪ ɪn lɛɒn| |ən ə wəz flaɪɪŋ bak əm| |ðə deɪ aʊə dʒiː siː ɛz iː riːzəlts keɪm aʊt| |səʊ əv kɔːs aɪ hæd tə flaɪ tə hiːθrəʊ| |səʊ maɪ pʊə pærənts plʌz ðeɪd gɒn daʊn tə ðə skuːl tə pɪk ʌp maɪ riːzəlts ðət wɜː ɪn ə siːld ɛnvələʊp| |ənd aɪ tɒld mʌm ðət ʃiː wɒzənt əlaʊd tə əʊpən ɪt| |ðət aɪwɒntɪd tə biː ðə wʌn tə siː ðɛm fɜːst| |səʊ blɛs hɜː| |θriː ənd ə hɑːf aʊəz ʌp ɪn ðə kɑː tə hiːθrəʊ wɪð ðɪz ɛnvələʊp ɒn hə læp| |bɜːdɪŋ|

M21 |ɪtʃɪn tə oːpən ɪt|

G22 |əʊ jɛə| |bɜːdɪŋ ə həʊl ɪn hə lɛgz tʰaɪp əv θɪŋ| |əʊm| |ənd aɪm ɒn ðə pleɪn ənd aɪm daɪɪn fər ə piː| |æbsəluːtlɪ daɪɪn fər ə piː| |ənd ðɛə wəz ə hjuːdʒ kjuː fər ɔːl ðə tɔɪlɪts| |səʊ| |aɪm sɔːt əv raɪt əʊkeɪ| |əʊkeɪ| |əʊkeɪ| |əʊkeɪ| |raɪt| |ðə kjuː daɪz daʊn| |aɪ gɛt əp tə gəʊ tə ðə tɔɪlɛt| |ɪf ɔːl pæsɪndʒəz kʊd pliːz rɪtɜːn tə ðɛə siːts| |əm| |treɪ teɪbəlz ɪn ðɛər ʌpraɪt ənd lɒkt pəzɪʃən ənd fɑːsən ðɛə siːt bɛlts| |wiː ɑːr əbaʊt tə ɪkspɪərɪəns sʌm tɜːbjʊləns| wəz laɪk nəʊ| |aɪ niːd tə gəʊ tə ðə tɔɪlɪt| |juː dəʊnt ʌndəstænd| |lænd ət hiːθrəʊ kɔːz aɪ kʊdənt gɛt ʌp wɪð ðæt bɪfɔː wɪ lændɪd| |gɛtɪŋ θruː pɑːspɔʔ kəntrəʊl ət hiːθrəʊ wəz ə naɪtmɛə| |wəz əbaʊt hɑːf tə θriː kwɔːtəz əv ən aʊə| |ən ðɛn wɪd fləʊn ɪn ət ðə seɪm taɪm əz tuː flaɪts frəm tɛlɛ biːf| |səʊ juː hæd ðɛm ɒn ðɛə kærʊsəlz ənd traɪɪŋ tə faɪnd aʊəz ənd juː nəʊ| |reɪsɪzəm biːŋ wɒt ɪt wəz bak ɪn naɪntɪ sɛvən| |əm| |sɪkjʊərətɪ wəz ən haɪ liːdz gɒɪŋ θruː kʌstəmz fə ðə tuː tɛlɛ biːf flaɪts| |səʊ ðə taɪm aɪ æktʃʊəlɪ gɛt tə maɪ pɛərənts wəd æktʃʊəlɪ mɪst mɪ| |aɪ wəz stændɪŋ baɪ ðə saɪd əv ðɛm bɪfɔː ðeɪ iːvən njuː ðət aɪ æktʃʊəlɪ keɪm aʊt θruː ðə geɪt| |aɪ dʒʌst wɜː| |aɪ niːd tə piː| |ən maɪ mʌðə| |əʊ maɪ mʌðə| |treːvə|

34

|gɛt raɪt bak hɪə naʊ| |ju: əʊpən ðɪz ɛnvələʊp fɜ:st| |aɪv hæd ɪt ɒn maɪ læp fəʔ aʊəz|
|əʊpən ɪt naʊ ənd ðɛn ju: kæn gəʊ ənd pi:| |əʊ jɛə həʊh|

Appendix 3: questionnaire

1- Name:

2- Age:

3- Where are you from?

4- Where do you live?

5- Studies:

6- Current job (if any):

7- Do you speak Welsh?

8- Which is your mother tongue?

9- Do you speak any other languages? If so, where did you learn them?

10- Where were your parents born?