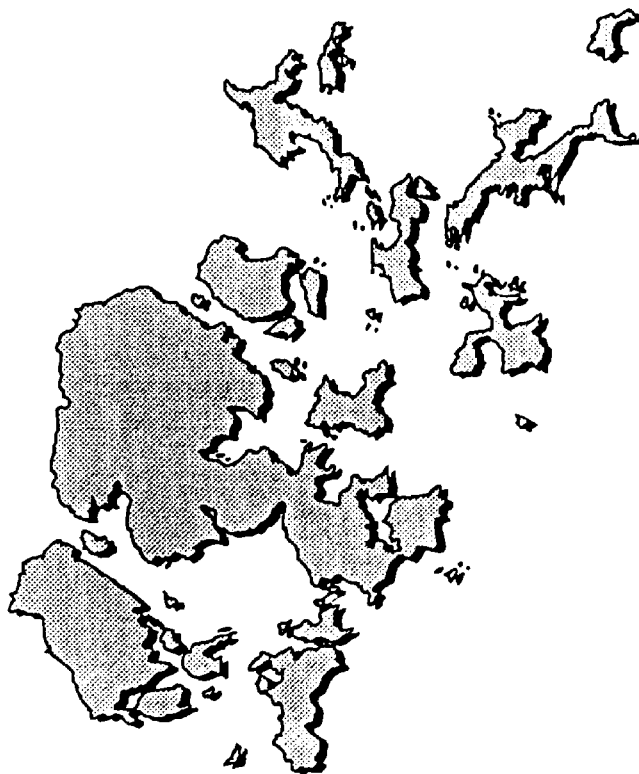HOVEDFAGSOPPGAVE
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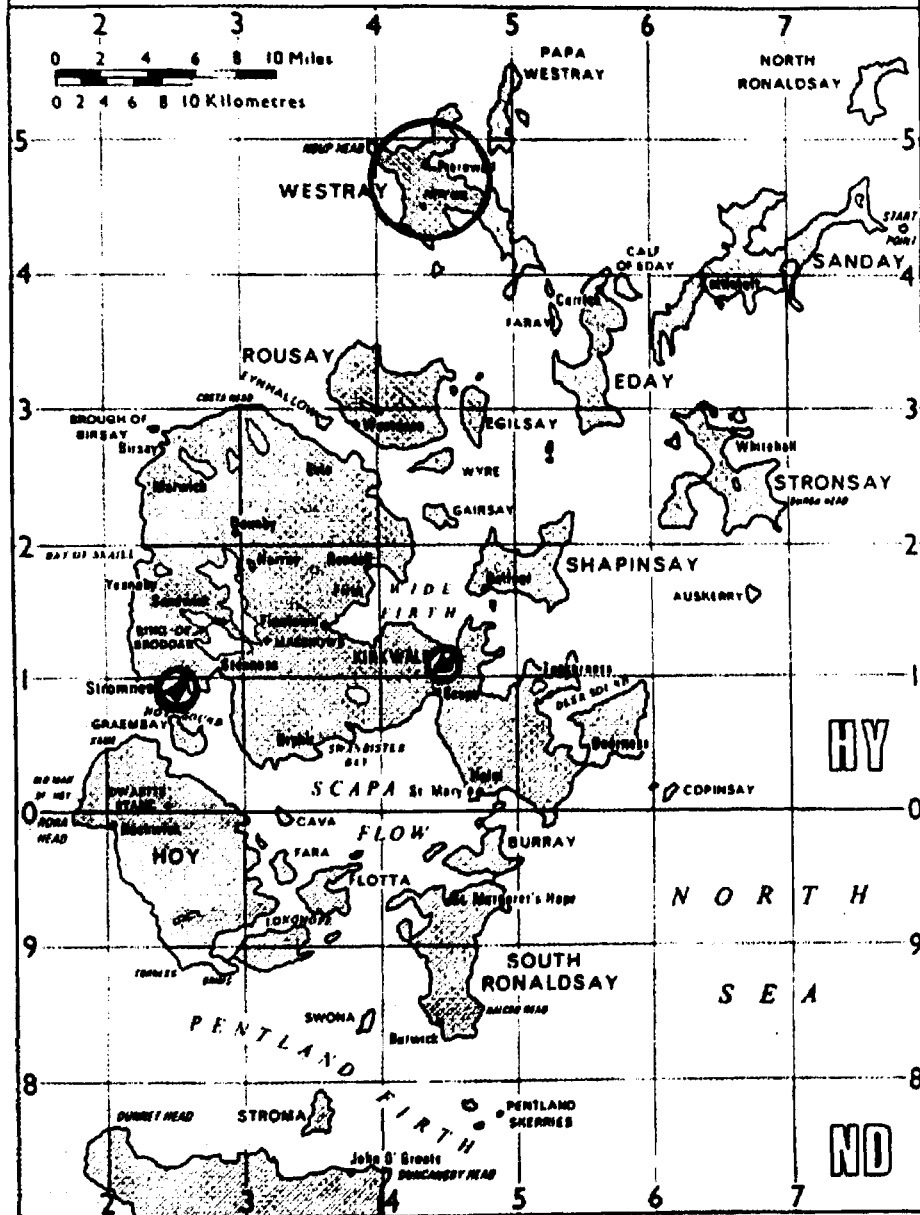

THE KIRKWALL ACCENT

ELISE ORTEN
ENGELSK INSTITUTT
UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN
VÅREN 1991

ORKNEY

General locations and National Grid

0 2 4 6 8 10 Miles

0 2 4 6 8 10 Kilometres

PAPA WESTRAY

NORTH RONALDSAY

WESTRAY

START POINT

CALF OF EDAY

SANDAY

Carrick

FARA

ROUSAY

EDAY

BROUGH OF BIRSAY

Birsay

EGILSAY

Whitehall

STRONSAY

WYRE

GAIRSAY

SHAPINSAY

AUSKERRY

SToy

KIRKWALL

Stromness

HY

GRAEMSAY

SCAPA St Mary

COPINSAY

HOY

CAVA

FLOW

FARA

FLOTTA

N O R T H

BURRAY

St Margaret's Hope

SOUTH RONALDSAY

S E A

SWONA

PENTLAND

STROMA

PENTLAND SKERRIES

ND

John O' Groats

DUNCANSBY HEAD

CONTENTS

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) diacritics (Revised to 1979), (Gimson1980) for describing my phonetic symbols.

I need these diacritic symbols in my phonetic transcription:

˳ :	voiceless	[z̥]
ʰ :	aspirated	[tʰ]
~ :	velarized	[ɫ]
˔ :	raised	[ɕ̝]
˕ :	lowered	[ɕ̞]
+ :	advanced	[u+]
ˉ :	retracted	[ɨ]
ː :	long	[aː]
· :	half-long	[aˑ]
ˌ :	retroflex	[ʂ]
ːˌ :	overlength	[Aːˌ]
ʼ :	ejective	[tʼ]

ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS

[A] : allophone of /a/; a fully open centralized vowel.

\#   :   morpheme boundary

Ø   : zero realization

ABBREVIATIONS

RP - Received Pronunciation

SSE - Standard Scottish English

KA - The Kirkwall Accent

GA - General American

IPA - The International Phonetic Alphabet

V   - Vowel

C   - Consonant

C [ ] - Cardinal Vowel

I will give references to Wells, to whose terms I shall frequently refer, for instance, **Glide Cluster Reduction**, FACE **Merger**, etc.

PURPOSE

The purpose of my investigation is to look at what it is that characterises the way Standard English is pronounced in Kirkwall, Orkney (cp. Abercrombie 1979:68).

I will concentrate on the Kirkwall accent and will give a detailed description of its sound system, comparing the signemes with Received Pronunciation (RP) and Standard Scottish English (SSE), as described by Aitken (1977:8).

I have chosen Kirkwall, as my main area of investigation since it is the capital and administrative centre of Orkney and hence exposed to a great deal of influence from Scotland, England and Orkney itself.

Moreover, I have chosen two other Orkney accents as references, namely those of Stromness and Westray. This will indicate a geographical variation in addition to possible phonological differences, thus providing more depth to my description of the Kirkwall accent.

THEORY

The analysis is based on the view of the London School of Phonology, viz. the Physical Approach, which is adhered to by Trudgill and Wells. For the London School, the starting point of any procedure is the concrete utterance, unique, and registered by the researcher's senses (Andrésen1989:4). This means that, by interviewing my informants personally, I examine individual speech as it is produced by the informant and registered by my senses.

Further, my attitude to the phoneme will also be based on the Physical Approach, thus defined by Jones: "...whether the phoneme is defined psychologically or physically, I adhere to Baudouin de Courtenay's statement that the term phoneme is a phonetic one" (1957:22). Jones defines the phoneme as a group of related sounds of a given language which are so used in connected speech that no one of them ever occurs in

positions in which any other can occur; the members are in complementary distribution (op.cit.:27).

According to the London School, the phonological analysis will result in a presentation of the accent's signemes: signemes of phone, or phonemes, signemes of length, or chronemes, signemes of stress, or stronemes, signemes of pitch or tonemes, and signemes of juncture or junxemes (op.cit.:32).

I will follow Jones and Gimson's definition of the syllable in the interpretation and presentation of vowel phonemes: any syllabic nucleus (Sivertsen1960, uses the term **peak**) constitutes one phoneme i.e. diphthongemes, monophthongemes, and phonemes under longness and shortness. I will therefore deal with a large number of phonemes, unlike Sivertsen and the American structuralists, who have chosen to deal with simple and complex peaks (loc.cit.). The advantage of the latter system is that you will work with a smaller number of phonemes, but these are further away from phonetic fact. In dialect research it is more convenient to use Jones and Gimson's system: a large number of phonemes close to phonetic description of uttered sounds.

Following Wells (1970:232), I will describe the Kirkwall accent and compare it with RP and SSE on four levels:

* systemic differences
* distributional differences
* incidential differences
* realizational differences

STARTING POINT

The accent will be analysed on the basis of phonemes. I will not operate with chronemes since the phonetic differences in quantity found are predictable on the basis of phonetic context and the phone's inherent quality. Neither will I work with stronemes since the lexical stress difference principally

consists in the position of the stress and not in its intrinsic nature.

I am particularly on the look-out for for tonemes, on account of possible influence of Norse.

AITKEN'S LAW

Even if Aitken's Law got its name after the scholar who is generally known as its discoverer, the law was described tentatively by William Grant in *Manual of Modern Scots* (1921:60-61). Aitken's first publication of the law was in 1962. In 1970 he described the law in detail in "How to pronounce Older Scots"(*Scottish Language and Literature*, 1977: 8-9). The main differences between the presentations of the law by Grant and Aitken are that Grant states the synchronic situation while Aitken describes the diachronic development. The tenor of the law as presented by Aitken in 1962 is: a vowel is phonetically short unless it is followed by a morpheme boundary (#), a voiced fricative, or /r/, in which case it is long (Wells 2 1982:400).
The vowels /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ are always short (loc.cit.).

If Aitken's law works in the Kirkwall accent, there is no point in working with quantity as a separate signeme.

INFORMANTS

I have recorded eight informants from the age of 15 to 60, using the following criteria:

* region
* sex
* age
* occupation
* education

I have used six word lists, 1-6, (Appendix II, A-F) as well as two extracts from short stories, A and B, (Appendix II, G-H) as well as recordings of free speech. The word lists and the stories are written in Standard English, SE, which means that the recordings of these will be a variant of SE. The items in the word lists are selected mainly from Gimson (1980) and Wells (1982). Story B is adapted from R.C Sherriff: "Journey's End". I have used no standard questionnaire for the recordings of free speech, but an informal list of questions for each informant. The reason for this was to get a relaxed conversation.

I have seen most of my informants on at least three different occasions i.e. July 1989, July 1990 and November/December 1990, when I spent two months in Kirkwall. In July 1989, I recorded wordlists numbers 1 and 2, and the two short stories: A and B, with Margrethe (15), Sigrid (20), Hilde (60), Erlend (18) (my main informant) and Svein (27), all of whom are from Kirkwall. In July 1990 I recorded list 3 with the same informants. Besides I recorded lists 1, 2 and 3 + A and B with Thorfinn (42), also from Kirkwall, as well as with Magnus (17) (Westray), and Sigurd (19) (Stromness). In November, I recorded lists 4, 5 and 6 with Erlend, Margrethe, Thorfinn, Sigurd and Hilde.

Erlend is my main informant, which is the reason for choosing males of about the same age as informants of reference accents, viz. Westray and Stromness.

The setting for the recordings have been in my informants' own homes, with only the informant and myself present. Before starting recording, my informant and I chatted about different subjects to make the atmosphere as relaxed as is possible in this situation.

The informants were working under full anonymity and the names I use to describe them are fictitious. I have chosen to use proper names for my informants, rather than numbering them, as I find naming more personal. The names I have used all originate from Norse. The reason being that Norse names are still very popular in the islands. They also show Orkney's strong historical links with Norway.

KIRKWALL

Erlend is at the moment studying French and psychology at Stirling University. When I did my first recordings of Erlend, in 1989, he had just finished his last year at Kirkwall Grammar School. In July 1990, he had spent one year at university. Before Erlend went to university he lived in Kirkwall together with his mother, father, and sister, and when he is home from university he stays with his family. Both his parents are teachers. Erlend's mother is originally from Shetland, but she has lived in Kirkwall for more than 20 years. His father comes from St. Margaret's Hope, situated on South Ronaldsay; the southernmost of the Orkney Isles.

Margrethe is Erlend's sister. She was doing her third year at Kirkwall Grammar School when I recorded her in 1989.

Sigrid left Kirkwall Grammar School when she was 16 years old. At the time of my first recordings, she was working in a supermarket. When I recorded her in 1990, she had just got a job at a bookermaker's office. Sigrid's mother comes from Kirkwall. She is a secretary. Her father comes from Harray, on the mainland of Orkney. He works as a mate on oil-rig supply boats in the North Sea.

Hilde is a retired primary school teacher.

Svein left Kirkwall Grammar School when he was 17. He now works for the Building Service Department at the Council Offices in Kirkwall. Svein's mother works as a housewife and his father is a retired council gardener. Both Svein's parents are from Kirkwall.

Thorfinn went to Kirkwall Grammar School up to the age of 16. Since then he has had several jobs: tailor, carpenter, barman, shop assistant and is at the moment working as a janitor at a school.

STROMNESS

Sigurd went to Stromness Academy until he was 18 years old. When I recorded him in 1990, he had done one year of a degree in export and language studies at a polytechnic in Scotland.

Sigurd's mother is from Harray, Orkney, and is the chairwoman of the Community Council. His father is from Stromness and is in charge of the Northern Lighthouse Board.

Except for his year at college, Sigurd has lived in Stromness all his life.

WESTRAY

Magnus left school when he was 16, since then he has been working as a butcher in his father's shop on Westray. Magnus's father is a butcher himself and it is he who has taught Magnus the trade. Magnus's mother assists in the family shop on Westray. Both his parents are from Westray and Magnus has lived there all his life.

CHOICE OF INFORMANTS

I have chosen Erlend as my main informant. There were three main reasons for this choice:

1. Erlend had lived in Kirkwall all his life when I made the first recordings of him in 1989.

2. He is a fine representative of young Kirkwall. At 19, he is in the transition from boyhood to adulthood.

3. From the very start Erlend seemed interested in my project and understood well what I was doing.

I got in touch with Erlend through Kirkwall Grammar School. I also got in touch with Margrethe, Hilde, Magnus and Sigurd through acquaintances at Kirkwall Grammar School. Svein and Sigrid were my friends before starting my thesis and recordings. I met Thorfinn when he was working in a shop in Kirkwall.

RECORDING AND LISTENING

For my first recordings, in July 1990, I used a BASF 9210 recorder. For the other recordings I used a very handy Sony Professional Walkman- Stereo Cassette-Corder WM-d6C, giving excellent quality.

When listening to and analysing the vowels in my material, I first listened to the reading of the word lists by my main informant, comparing his sounds with Jones' Cardinal Vowels and placing them within the cardinal vowel area. When I had transcribed his pronunciation phonetically as well as noting down the phonemes, I started the comparison with the other informants. First re-listening to my main informant, then listening to the informant with whom I was to compare Erlend's recording. Then I used a double cassette player, playing one word at a time, Erlend first, then X, noting down the possible phonemic and phonetic differences between them. I used the same procedure with the consonant system; analyzing the main informant's system and comparing it with that of the other informants.

LINGUISTIC TERMS, TRANSCRIPTION

I shall use the terms "dialect" and "accent" in the same way as these terms are used by Abercrombie(1972:42-45), Wells 1 (1982:2-4) and Trudgill (1979:2), viz.

Dialect - a variety of a language, describable in terms of syntax, morphology, and vocabulary.

Accent - a variety of a language, describable in terms of phonology.

This way of looking at and using "dialect" and "accent" was revolutionary at the time of appearance because of the fact that with these definitions Standard English (SE) was defined as a dialect and Received Pronunciation (RP) as an

accent. The definitions cohered with the work on *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland,* 1975.

A dialect or accent becomes standard if it is imitated beyond its original scope, taught in schools and used in administration. Thus SE is a dialect, used all over the world. Scots is a group of dialects, none of which is standard any more.

SE is pronounced with a number of accents, RP and GA (General American) are two of them.

There is a Scottish accent, widely used by educated Scots, described by Grant, Abercrombie and Wells, and suggested by Abercrombie as a model for the teaching of English abroad. It is often referred to as "Scottish Standard English" or SSE (Aitken1977:8).

Thus SSE is an accent (or a group of closely related accents) with which SE can be pronounced, on line with RP or GA.

The strict distinction between "dialect" and "accent" is useful in research and presentation. In reality the two concepts are not independent: certain dialects will as a rule go with certain accents, and vice-versa.

My thesis will deal only with accents.

The phonetic symbols I am going to use in my research is that of the International Phonetic Association or IPA(Gimson1980).

PRESENTATION

I will present the Kirkwall accent in the same manner as Eva Sivertsen did it in her presentation of the Cockney accent (Sivertsen1960), where she presents and analyses one phoneme after the other.

HISTORY

Orkney is a group of islands situated north of Scotland. The first time the islands were actually put on the map was probably by the Romans, who recorded them as Orcades; as a group of 30 islands (Miller1976:67).

The group of islands today counts 67, whereof only 18 are inhabited. Orkney is situated eight nautical miles from John O'Groats, across the Pentland Firth surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the North Sea to the east.

Though peripheral, Orkney has held a rather central place in both Norse and Scottish history, from the Stone Age up to the present. The reasons for this may be many: its fertile land, its rich fishing grounds, its strategic position, and - especially today - its remoteness. Archeological finds show that Orkney was an important residence for Stone Age people. The best preserved Stone Age village is to be found at ScaraBrae, situated on the west coast of the Mainland. On the Mainland of Orkney as well as on the smaller isles there are also several megalithic tombs and standing stones, the best known tomb being Maeshowe and a ring of standing stones, the Ring of Brodgar. There are also signs of the Beaker people in Orkney. These people lived in the Bronze Age; ca.1800 B.C. and probably came from present Spain to England in search of metal (Schei1985:31). Up to this period it seems as if the people settling in Orkney have lived in peace with each other, but in the Iron Age, we find signs of the need for defence against enemies by the building of the brochs; the broch period lasted from about 100 B.C. to 100 A.D (Schei1985:33-34). In this period the migration of tribes took place throughout Europe, but we do not know who were the broch-builders' enemies. Moving into written records, in the period 300-843 A.D., there was a Pictish settlement in Orkney (Schei1985:37). We know very little of the Picts as there are no written records from this period except the "Pictish Chronicle", which is a list of Pictish kings, written in the ogam writing system (Schei1985:37). The Picts were never mentioned in the sagas. The Pictish language is unknown, but it is believed to be of

Indo-European origin (Schei 1985:38). The Picts were probably descendants of the broch-builders.

According to legend, monks from the early Celtic church, around 563, may have travelled to Orkney and settled there. St. Colomba, the leader of the church, came originally from Ireland, but settled on Iona in the inner Hebrides, from where he worked as missionary (Schei1985:42). Towards the end of the 7th century the Picts in the south of Scotland were put under the rule of the Northumbrians for about 30 years. As a consequence of this, the Roman Church governed and missionaries were sent up to Orkney (Schei1985:43). In the year 843 the Picts were united with the Scots who originally came from the northern parts of Ireland. These people were Celtic Christians and they established a colony in Argyll, called Dalriada (Schei1985:35). Their language only remains in a handful of place-names in Orkney, such as *Papdale* and *Papay Westray*, as well as a handful of daily life words, but before the Norsemen came to Orkney there might have been two different languages: Pictish as well as a Celtic dialect, but some of the very few words deriving from Celtic may as well have come via Scots. Archeological finds indicate that Orkney and the south-west coast of Norway communicated already from the 9th century. We are on the other hand not quite sure of when the first Vikings came to Orkney, migration could have started as early as 700 A.D. (Miller1976:69). What we do know is that by 850 A.D., Norse colonists had settled there (op.loc.:68). In 1098, King Magnus Bare-Legs of Norway conquered Orkney. During the Norse period, Orkney was ruled by a class of aristocratic earls. Most of what we know about the Viking Age today has been supplied by the sagas; oral tales written down in the 13th century, concerned mostly with the great men and their deeds (loc.cit.). During the Viking-Age the language of the islands was Norn. The origin of the word Norn is the O.N. norrœna or norrœnt mål (from norrœn,northern) (Marwick1929:xi). The dialect they used might have been similar to that of Western Norway at the time. The oldest preserved document in pure Norse dates back to 4th April 1329. Another document, from 1424 is also written in Norse,

but with a touch of Danish influence in the spelling of the words. Scots words and names are also persistent. Due to the predominant Nordic settlement in Orkney in the Middle Ages, Norn was spoken all over the islands. From the pledging of Orkney to Scotland, a gradual decline in Norn took place. Even so, up to the end of the 16th century, if not longer, Norn was the general language among Orcadians (Marwick 1929:xxiv). A series of sources comment on this development, viz.

1596 Both English and Norn were spoken throughout the islands - Dalrymple in Marwick 1929:224.

1605 Norn is spoken by people, but English is used by the Church and is well understood by the people - Sir Thomas Craig in Marwick 1929:224.

Ca.1670 Norn is spoken only in a few parishes, especially on the Mainland, and chiefly at homes, but everybody can speak Scots-Mathew Mackaill in Marwick 1929:224.

1700 All speak Scots and a few still speak Norn. -James Wallace in Marwick 1929:225.

1701 The people generally speak English, but the accent is different from that of Scots. Norn is still spoken on Mainland. On Harray there are people who only speak Norn -Rev. John Brand in Marwick 1929:225 (The Reverend Brand here gives an important piece of information in that he adds that none in Orkney can speak Irish, even though this language is frequently used in Caithness.)

1750 The Scots dialect is spoken with an accent similar to Norwegian. Thirty or forty years earlier Norn was the vulgar language of two parishes on the Mainland. Since the charity schools were introduced in Orkney, Norn has had a rapid decline in these parishes and is now only understood by the old people. -Murdoch Mackenzie cic. James Mackenzie in Marwick 1929:225

1757 Twenty years ago the country people from the Mainland spoke Norn among themselves, but English was the common language.- Norn spoken by the common people.-A few people in Harray and Firth can speak Norn quite fluently. -Extracts from the "Pundlar Process" in Marwick 1929:226.

1773 Norn is worn out, even the songs in Norse are lost, even though half a century ago it was the language spoken in two parishes on the Mainland. Today everybody speaks English, but with a Norwegian accent and some words of the Norn language - Rev. George Low in Marwick 1929:226.

1805 In 1756 or 1757 Norn was spoken in Harray. Today it exists only in a few vulgar and obsolete words as well as in Christian names and place names -Rev. George Barry in Marwick 1929:227.

1814 Some years back Norn has been recalled to have been spoken in North Ronaldsay - Sir Walter Scott in Marwick 1929:227.

The transition period from Norn to English produced a language very much depreciated by English-speaking scholars. Thus Low (1773) in his treatise uses words like *corrupted* about the Lord's Prayer copied by Dr Piercy and false *pronunciation* and sounds which they *cannot master* about their pronunciation of English. He suggests that some of the sounds the Orcadians used are pronounced according to their Norn dialect, (cp. phonemes /x/ and /t/) (Marwick:226-27).

From about the middle of the 13th century, Orkney was ruled by Scottish earls, though still under the Norse king. This situation had come about because of Scotland's great influence and her closeness to Orkney. The Scottish earls were Gaelic speaking, and the local population may very well have picked up some of their vocabulary. The Gaelic influence did not last very long as new Scots-speaking earls were appointed in 1379. Henry Sinclair was appointed by King Håkon. The Sinclairs were English speaking Scots and from now on the Anglo-Scottish influence was very strong. The administrative language was Anglo-Scots, all legal documents were written in Scots and the bishop was also Scots-speaking. The written language in Orkney soon turned into Scots. Still the spoken language of Norn persisted among the local population. One of the reasons for keeping a second, and inferior language alive may very well have been Orkney's strong links with Norway. The Orcadians exported grain and malt to Iceland and Norway and imported wood and tar from Norway. In 1468 Orkney was

pledged to Scotland through the marriage contract between princess Margrethe and James III of Scotland. Nevertheless, existing regulations related to the trade between the islands and Norway were to be maintained. Thus the trade between Orkney and Bergen continued without restrictions, such as exemption from duty, till the end of the 16th century.

By the Reformation in 1560 private estates were sold to immigrant Scots, which led to a feudal system in Orkney. During this period Scots was the official language, Norn was still spoken among the Orcadians, and Orkney may be said to be bilingual throughout the 16th as well as most of the 17th centuries, but the decline of Norn came quickly. Scots was the language of both school and Church and Norn was looked upon as sinful by the ministers. The last Orcadians to speak Norn were nicknamed "an auld Norny body" and were looked upon as eccentrics. In 1611 the Norse law system was altogether abolished in Orkney and this led to a fast process in the extinction of Norn (Schei 1985:125-126).

Ever since Orkney was pledged to Scotland in 1468, the islands have been British, first under Scotland, then by the Treaty of the Union in 1707, part of the UK.

Orkney and Scapa Flow were very important naval bases during both World Wars, being so strategically situated. The servicemen stationed on Orkney during the second world war were twice the population in Orkney (Miller 1976:140).

PRESENT-DAY SITUATION

In 1988 the population in Orkney was 19,455 people. In the 1981 census 6,881 lived in Kirkwall, 2,160 in Stromness and 702 on Westray. Since then there has been a slight increase in population. ("Orkney Economic Review", 1989:20).

"INCOMERS"

A lot of people from England and Scotland have moved up to Orkney to escape the "rat race" down south. In recent years the trend has been for Orcadians to sell their farms on

the smaller islands to move to Mainland, while the "incomers" buy land on the smaller islands. On Sanday only 50% of the population were Orcadians in 1990. Egilsay has the "nickname" "New England", with 5 Orcadians living there out of 42. This migration also affects the language in that the more prestigious accents influence the local accents. This is especially the case with local children who very easily pick up bits of accents from their English and Scottish peers. Westray is the only island which has restrictions on selling land to incomers, trying to keep the island Orcadian.

The general upturn in the UK economy has not had a noticeable impact on unemployment in Orkney in the second half of 1988. Instead of the normal rise, the rate of unemployment remained flat or just above 10%. (op.cit:4). On Westray, however, there is no unemployment.

INDUSTRY

The island of Flotta is Orkney's only oil terminal. 16,633,307 metric tonnes of oil were shipped from Flotta in 1987. The output of oil at the terminal in 1988, however, was only around half the normal level due to the closure of the pipeline system following the "Piper Alpha" disaster in July 1988. (op.cit.:17).

The tourist industry continues to grow every year and reached its peak in 1990. Tourism was recorded the main industry in Orkney in 1990.

There was a continued expansion in 1988 of salmon farming, which has been one of Orkney's principal growths industries in the 80's. Many of the existing units increased in size and five new units were established during the year. The five new units established in 1988, although not affecting the industry's output until 1990, have already had an impact on smolt intake and employment in 1988. Employment in the industry as a whole rose strongly, with an additional 13 full-time and 12 part-time jobs.
In 1988 the number of salmon farms was 17 altogether (op.cit:13).

In 1988 the whitefish catch landed by the Orkney fleet declined in volume and value terms for the first time in the 80's. In recent years, landings have grown strongly and the decline in 1988 is a measure of the problems now experienced by the industry with licencing and quota restrictions (op.cit:10).

Agriculture has shown continued improvement in 1988 mainly due to a marked increase in cattle prices and mild weather conditions for the year (op.cit:3). Since 1989/90, however, difficulties for the farmers have arisen. The reasons for this is partly due to the EEC Regulations, not allowing the farms to sell neither their local farm cheese, nor their eggs directly from the farms. As well as to the fall in prices selling cattle, partly due to the cow disease, as well as salmonella.

The largest component of Orkney's relatively small manufacturing, the food and "dine" industry, encompasses the two creameries, the abattoir operated by the Orkney Meat Ltd, fish processing, baking, confectionery, whiskey distilling and other businesses.

The Orkney Salmon Company, established in 1987 to market salmon from most units in Orkney, had a successful first year and plans to expand further into processing in the current year, to take advantage of the better market for value-added products (op.cit:14).

ORKNEY-NORWAY

The friendship association between Orkney and Norway has more than 200 members in Orkney.
Due to Orkney's historical links with Norway the interest in Norway and the Norwegian language is remarkably strong.
Both in Stromness and in Kirkwall evening classes in Norwegian take place, as well as a module course at Kirkwall Grammar School.

Five years after the friendship association was established, in 1983, Orkney Island Council and Hordaland Fylkeskommune made a twinning agreement, promoting cultural exchanges between the two counties.

Two Norwegian companies have established fish farms in Orkney: Orkney Sea Food Ltd. and Sea Fresh Orkney Ltd. Orkney Sea Food Ltd. has also established a fishmonger's in the centre of Kirkwall. There is also a weekly scheduled transport of lobsters from Orkney to Bergen.

In the summer months there is a weekly scheduled air service run by the British Airways, from Kirkwall via Lerwick to Bergen.

KIRKWALL GRAMMAR SCHOOL (K.G.S.)

In most cases cathedrals had a school attached to them. Originally these were largely song schools for the training of choir boys. Later they increased their curriculum to include Latin as well as the art of singing. Kirkwall Grammar School started as the Cathedral School of the St. Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall. The written records of the school's existence go back to the 15th century, but we can assume that from the 12th century Latin was taught in the Church (de Geer 1985:94). The school was open to choir boys as well as "to poor people who wanted to be taught" (Clouston1926:34). At the time there was also a Sang School in Kirkwall, but this saw the end of its existence through the Reformation. In the 17th century private schools started to appear in Orkney and by the end of the 18th century private schools for Ladies had opened as well as the S.S.P.C. (Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge).

In the school's rules drawn up about 1700, Latin was the only school subject, apart from religion. Latin was the language among the boys in the class as well as in the playtime. Towards the end of the 18th century new subjects were offered to the students, such as English, French, Mathematics, Book-keeping and Navigation. All the same, Latin was still predominant when entering the 19th century.

School fees were paid for the different subjects studied at Kirkwall Grammar School, and during the French War (1789-1815) the number of prosperous tradesmen's

children increased in the school. In 1807, the Burgh
Council decided to raise the school fees to attract well
qualified teachers. The raising of the school fees would also
mean that only the well-off families were able to send
their children to school.

Even so, before 1872, when the Education Act was
passed, more than 80% of all Kirkwall children between 5 and
13 had some kind of education (Thomson1976).

Today, Kirkwall Grammar School caters for pupils living
nearby Kirkwall, as well as those living in the islands where
there is no schooling offered for these pupils.

The staff at K.G.S. is counting 70 teachers, more than 50%
of these are non-Orcadians, mostly from Scotland and England.

From conversations with language teachers at the school,
I got the impression that the language policy was not very
strict. The pupils, without restrictions, used their traditional
dialect in the classroom, including such features as glottalling.
On the other hand, it did not seem to me that the pupils were
encouraged to value their own dialect. When speaking with the
headmaster, Mr. Thomson, he said that the school did not offer
any such subjects including the Orcadian language and its
history, but that he was interested in the idea. In Shetland, it
seems that the interest and the proudness of their own local
dialect is much stronger than in Orkney. Through conversations
with teachers at K.G.S. on the topic: traditional dialects, they
seemed to take great interest in the subject, and some teachers
started reading local writers, writing in dialect, with their
classes.

THE VOWEL SYSTEM

My main informant, Erlend, has 12 vowels in his vowel inventory: 9 monophthongs and 3 diphthongs.

The monophthongs are: /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, /ʉ/, /ʌ/ .

The diphthongs are: /aɪ/, /au/, /ɔɪ/.

THE MONOPHTHONGS:

Phoneme number 1: /i/[1]

We can distinguish /i/ through the minimal pairs: *see* /si/ vs. *saw* /sɔ/, *bead* /bid/ vs. *bid* /bɪd/ and *feed* /fid/ vs. *food* /fʉd/.

The phonemic norm[2] of /i/ as in *see* [siː], is a close, front, unrounded, long vowel. It is a monophthong: [iː].

The realization is close to that of the corresponding phoneme in RP and SSE, thus similar to C [i].

Most of the words I have tested include the realization of /i/ as subject to Aitken's Law.[3] Thus it is long before morpheme boundaries as in *see* [siː] and *fees* [fiːz], long before voiced fricatives as in *believe* [bə'liːv], long before /r/ as in *here* [hiːᵊr] and *deer* [diːᵊr] and short in other cases such as *feed* [fɪd], *peace* [pʰɪs] and *meat* [mɪt]. Contrary to Aitken's Law it is long in *bead* [bɪːd].

The most important allophonic deviations from the norm are found in the following contexts:

Before /r/, /i/ is realized phonetically as a centring diphthong, thus [iːᵊ] as in *deer, fierce* and *here*. The "Pre-R Breaking"[4] is very weak in this case.

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1 When numbering the phonemes I have chosen to use the same number system as Abercrombie uses in *Languages of Scotland*, "Accents of Standard English in Scotland" p.72.

2 As defined by Daniel Jones, *The Phoneme: Its nature and use.* 3rd edition, 1967, p.8.

3 See page 3.

4 J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction,* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 214.

Before "dark" /l/ the realization of /i/ is short and slightly diphthongized: [iə] as in *field* [fiəld].[1] Phonemically it is a monophthong.

The realization of /i/ is strikingly close before /t/, thus it is close to the vowel limit as in *feet* [fiʔt] and *meat* [miʔt]. In both cases it is a short monophthong.

Creek and *creak* are perfect homophones, thus both are pronounced [krik]. The same is the case with *meet* and *meat* pronounced [miʔt]. This shows that the KA has been through the FLEECE Merger.[2]

Phoneme number 2: /ɪ/

We can distinguish /ɪ/ through the minimal pairs: *bid* /bɪd/ vs. *bed* /bɛd/, *bit* /bɪt/ vs. *bet* /bɛt/ and *bill* /bɪl/ vs. *ball* /bɔl/.

The phonemic norm of /ɪ/ as in *fit* [fɪʔt] is a front vowel, maximally retracted, close, maximally lowered, and unrounded. It is a monophthong: [ɪ].

/ɪ/ is, in conformity with Aitken's Law, always short.

Before dark /l/ it is slightly diphthongized: [bɪəl] as in *bill*. Phonemically it is still a monophthong.

The realization of /ɪ/ seems to some extent to be variphonic; sometimes the realization seems to be in the half close area: [e] as in *bid* [bed]. It should be noted that it is always short.

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[1] "Dark" /l/; [ɫ] is an allophone of /l/.
[2] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1*: An Introduction, (Cambridge,1982), pp.194-95.

The different realizations of the /ɪ/ phoneme found in my material, from very close to very open, are in accordance with Grant (1921).[1]

/ɪ/ is distributionally excluded from positions before /r/ + C, thus *bird* [bʌɪd], *kirk* [kʌrk], where /ʌ/ is used. There are no examples where the letter i is followed by word final r in my material.

In my material, /ɪ/ is not found in final, unstressed position. Thus *city* is pronounced ['sɪʔi] with my informants.

Phoneme number 3: /e/

We can distinguish /e/ through the minimal pair *late* /let/ vs. *light* /laɪt/, *car* /kar/ vs. *care* /ker/ and *pail* /pel/ vs. *pull* /pʉl/.

The phonemic norm of /e/ as in *maid* [meːd], is a front, half-close, unrounded vowel. It is a monophthong: [eː].
The realization is close to C2; [e].

It seems to be intrinsically long; there are hardly any occurrences of short /e/ in my material, with the possible exception of *late* and *famous* (see below). Still its quantity is not accounted for by Aitken's Law.

Before /r/, /e/ is realized with full length as in *care* and *dare* [kʰeːr] and [deːr], there is no indication of any Pre-R Breaking.[2] On the other hand, I do have examples of phonetic centring diphthongs before dark /l/ as in *sail* and *pail*. The realization of /e/ in this environment is half-long with a short glide towards the centre: [se·ᵊl] and [pe·ᵊl]. It is debatable though, whether to consider [ᵊ] as final part of the

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[1] W. Grant, *Manual of Modern Scots*, (Cambridge, 1921), pp.41-42.

[2] In free speech *where* is sometimes pronounced [ʍʌːr] with some of my informants.

vowel, thus making it phonetically a centring diphthong, or whether to look upon it as inherent in the dark /ł/.

In *late* Erlend seems to use a diphthong realization with shortness; [leɪ⁷t] (all the other informants, except Margrethe, use a pure monophthong in *late*).[1] *Famous* is also pronounced with a short /e/ ['feməs], whereas it is half-long in *game* [geˑm].

Erlend distinguishes between *made* and *maid*. *Made* is slightly diphthongized, with a glide towards [ɪ] [meˑɪd], giving a quality similar to the current RP /eɪ/, while *maid* still retains the quality of a half-close monophthong: [meˑd]. This means that Erlend, strictly speaking, forms a minimal pair making /eɪ/ a separate phoneme. This can be a trace of an incomplete FACE Merger[2] in his accent, but as the instances are few and the diphthong realization very weak, in many cases even doubtful, I prefer not to introduce an extra phoneme, but look upon it as a variphonic realization. Another reason for not introducing /eɪ/ as a separate phoneme is the fact that neither Margrethe, nor any of the other informants, use a glide in *made*, thus with them, *maid* and *made* are perfect homophones. Margrethe's /e/ is, on the other hand, very close: [meˑd].

Phoneme number 4: /ɛ/

We can distinguish /ɛ/ through the minimal pairs: *bed* /bɛd/ vs. *bid* /bɪd/, bet /bɛt/ vs. bit /bɪt/.

The phonemic norm of /ɛ/ as in *bed* [bɛːd], is front, half-open, unrounded vowel. It is a monophthong: [ɛː].

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[1]   The diphthongized realization of /e/ i.e. [eⁱ] is quite frequent in the reading of connected texts, as in *plate* and *ate*.

[2]   J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction*, (Cambridge, 1982), pp.192-94.

A striking feature about the realization is its quantity. It is long or half long in *beg*, [bɛːɡ], *bed* [bɛːd], and *bet* [bɛˀt], thus its quantity is not accountable for by Aitken's Law.

Its longness may be seen in connection with vowel number 2 i.e. /i/ in *bid* [bɛ̜d]. The quality is very similar to that of *bed* and it seems as if the difference in quantity is an attempt to keep the distinction between *bid* and *bed*. It is possible that an interpretation including the use of two chronemes would be productive, but as this would be the only occurrence of chronemes I will not include it in my analysis.

/ɛ/ can also occur before /r/ + C as in *heard* [hɛːrd], *Perth* [pʰɛ̜rθ], *earth* [ɛ̜rθ].[1] *Heard* and *herd* are complete homophones.

There is a glide before dark /l/ as in *belt* [bɛˑᵊɫt] and *helm* [hɛˑᵊɫm].

Erlend has only one vowel in this area, thus *sever*, *never*, *ever* and *eleven*, *heaven* form complete rhymes.[2]

Phoneme number 5: /a/

We can distinguish /a/ through the minimal pairs: *bad* /bad/ vs. *bed* /bɛd/, *part* /part/ vs. *port* /pɔrt/ and *car* /kar/ vs. *care* /ker/.

The /a/ phoneme in the KA corresponds to the /a/ and /ɑ/ phonemes in RP.

The phoneme has two markedly different realizations dependent on phonetic context:

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[1] With most of my informants (except Erlend, Margrethe and Hilde), the words *father* and *garden* are realized as ['fɛðər] and ['ɡɛrdən] in free speech. The difference is incidential. The word *park* is realized as [pʰAːk]. Lamb (1988), says in his introduction to words starting with a: "'the letter A pronounced e in the West Mainland if followed by the letter r e.g. *erm arm*". As we have seen from my examples this is not always so.

[2] "Aitken's Vowel", /ɛ̈/, is not present in the system.

*In contexts where according to Aitken's Law the vowel is short, its realization is a front, open vowel, near to C [a] as in *bad* [bəd] and *dance* [dəns]. It is a monophthong: [a].

*In contexts where according to Aitken's Law it is realized as long, it is a fully open, but central vowel as in *car* [kʰaːr]. It is a monophthong: [a].[1] Phonetically speaking it is an open, central, unrounded monophthong. I might use [ɑ] to describe the vowel for instance in *car*, in view of its correspondence to RP, but considering its phonetic realization, which is more central, it is more convenient to use [a] as the phonetic symbol.

/a/ is subject to Aitken's Law (with some exceptions, see below). Under longness it can vary from full lenght to half length.

Before /r/ it is pronounced as a long monophthong as in *car* [kʰaːr]. Before /r/ + C it is pronounced long as in *card* [kʰaːrd], *part* [pʰaːt], *heart* [haːrt]. In *park* the /r/ is not pronounced, still /a/ is realized as a long, centralized monophthong: [pʰaːk].[2] *Heart, dark, clerk* are pronounced with half lenght.

Before voiced fricatives in disyllabic words as in *father*, it is pronounced as a half long, centralized monophthong, thus ['faˑðər]. Before unvoiced fricatives it is pronounced with a long and centralized /a/, as in *bath* [baːθ]. Contrary to Aitken's Law, the words of the type *bath* are being pronounced with a long vowel and realized as [a].

Many Scottish people have only one phoneme /a/ common to *Sam* and *psalm*. Others may have two phonemes, /a/ in *Sam* and /ɑ/ in *psalm*. Both Erlend and

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[1] I prefer to use the symbol [a] to denote a fully open, central vowel for *car, park* etc. Even if this is not an IPA symbol it follows the IPA's principles in that it is easy to print or write.

[2] The allophone in *park* is still [aː], even if the word has lost the /r/; the allophone is used in a destroyed context, and this may signal the birth of a new phoneme.

Margrethe have an opposition between *Sam* and *psalm*,
hence they use two different phonemes, but the phonemes
only contrast in a few environments, mainly in
environments with a following labial nasal as in *Sam* and
psalm. Otherwise they are in complementary distribution.

It is possible to look upon this from several points of
view.

One interpretation is that Erlend has a minimal pair
represented by *Sam* and *psalm*, and consequently two
phonemes, which would be in conformity with the London
School's principal view, which means that there is a one to
one correspondence to RP. The disadvantage is that only one
minimal pair /a/ vs. /ɑ/ could be produced. The
interpretation has another drawback in that the phonemes
are put under a very peculiar distributional constraint; the
quality of the phonemes are dependent on Aitken's Law in
that /a/ is excluded from the positions before /r/.

On the other hand, if looked upon as one phoneme, a
picture of complementary distribution emerges, with /r/ as
the controlling principle. On the basis of my material this
interpretation will fail to account for the sound used in the
word *psalm*. The interpretation may be justified in that
psalm is a loanword. It can also be justified in that it is a
practical solution, you may feel it intuitively correct. The
solution is also supported in that the other informants,
without doubt, have only one phoneme. We will then find
that there is a "bracketing" between the KA and RP, one
phoneme in the KA corresponding to two in RP:

$$\left/\!\!\left/ \frac{\text{RP} \qquad \text{a vs. } \alpha}{\text{SSE, KA} \qquad \text{a}} \right/\!\!\right/$$

The environment in *psalm* i.e. before a bilabial nasal
is important, and it can be looked upon as a variation of /a/
[ᵃ/ʌ], the variphone within the phoneme counting as an
allophone of /a/.

I have chosen to deal with only one phoneme in Erlend's system, namely /a/, with three different realizations, viz.

[a], where Aitken's Law demands shortness.

[ʌ], where Aitken's Law demands length.

[a/ʌ], before a bilabial nasal.

Phoneme number 8: /ɔ/

We can distinguish /ɔ/ through the minimal pairs: *saw* /sɔ/ vs. *see* /si/, *dawn* /dɔn/ vs. *down* /daun/.

The phonemic norm of /ɔ/ as in *saw* [sɔː] is an open, back vowel. It is a monophthong [ɔː].

It is realized variphonically between open and half-open. It is rounded.

/ɔ/ is subject to Aitken's Law in most of the words I have tested, thus long as in *saw* [sɔː] and long before /r/ as in *Thor* [θɔːr] and *for* [fɔːr]. On the other hand it is half long before /r/ + C as in *sword* [sɔ·rd] and *border* ['bɔ·ɹdər].

It is half-long in *dog* [dɔ·g], as well as in *dawn* [dɔ·n]. There is no Pre-R Breaking, thus *sword* [sɔ·rd], *short* [ʃʒ·rt], and *cork* [kʰɔ·rk].

My main informant, Erlend, distinguishes between /ɔ/ and /ɒ/ in *caught* and *cot* as in RP and thereby may be said to differ in system from SSE. Principally he uses one phoneme i.e. /ɔ/ and does neither distinguish *stock* [stɔk] from *stalk* [stɔk], *knotty* ['nɔti] from *naughty* ['nɔti], nor *don* [dɔn] from *dawn* [dɔn]. Hence these make perfect homophones. Strictly speaking, he has two phonemes, *caught* and *cot* forming a minimal pair. Since this opposition comes out only in a few special cases however, we may assume the existence of a system without the opposition principally, and look upon the opposition where it occurs, as due to influence from other systems. I therefore choose not to introduce two phonemes to Erlend's system, hence there is a systemic

difference between KA and RP, and we get the diaphonemic bracketing:

$$\left|\left|\frac{\text{RP} \qquad \text{ɔ vs. ɒ}}{\text{SSE, KA} \quad \text{ɔ}}\right|\right|$$

Margrethe is fully consistent in this respect, her system altogether lacks the opposition /ɔ/ vs. /ɒ/. This may be seen as another reason for using only one phoneme, namely /ɔ/.

Both *not* and *naught* contain the same phoneme /ɔ/, but Erlend's pronunciation of *naught* seems to have a slight glide towards [ə] [nɔ·ᵊt], whereas *not* has a pure monophthong [nɔt].

Phoneme number 9: /o/

We can distinguish /o/ through the minimal pairs: *n o* /no/ vs. *now* /nau/, *door* /dor/ vs. *deer* /dir/, *port* /port/ vs. *part* /part/.

The phonemic norm of /o/ as in *old* [oɬd], is a back, half-close, somewhat centred vowel. It is a pure monophthong: [o:].

It is long before morpheme boundary as in *no* [nǫ:], *blow* [bɬǫ:] and *know* [nǫ:].[1]

Before /r/, there is a very slight glide, Pre-R Breaking, as in *sport* [spǫ·ᵊrt], *door* [do̞·ᵊr], *score* [skǫ·ᵊr], *port* [pʰǫᵊɹt] and, *court* [kʰǫᵊr²t]. Before /r/ + C, the realization may be variphonic, since there is no glide in *worn* [wo:rn] and *force* [fǫ·ɹʂ]. The phonetic allophone he uses in the cases where he

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[1] The vowel in *no* is found phonetically in the area between half open and half close. For diachronical and comparative reasons, I interpret it as the same phoneme used in *home, stone* and *road*. For phonetic reasons I might as well use /ɔ/. *Saw* [sɔ:] and *no* [nǫ] make rhymes in KA while this is not so in RP. Another thing to mention about *no* is that it is connected to emotions and can thus vary both in quality and quantity.

makes a glide before /r/, is phonemically a monophthong, since the KA still is a rhotic accent. Hilde is the only informant who is consistent in not using any Pre-R Breaking at all.

Before nasals there is a slight glide towards the centre, thus *stone* and *home* are pronounced [stǫ·ᵊn] and [hǫ·ᵊm] respectively, all the other informants use a pure monophthong in this context.

It seems to be intrinsically long.

Erlend, unlike RP distinguishes between *horse* [hɔ⅃s̩] and *hoarse* [hoːʳs̩], *warn* [wɔːrn] and *worn* [woːrn], *for* [fɔːr] and *four* [fǫːᵊr]. The FORCE-NORTH Merger[1] has not yet reached the KA, but the glide towards schwa before /r/ is found in most of the keywords.

Phoneme number 11: /ʉ/

We can distinguish /ʉ/ through the minimal pairs: *pool* /pʉl/ vs. *pail* /pel/, *mood* /mʉd/ vs. *made* /med/, *food* /fʉd/ vs. *feed* /fid/.[2]

The phonemic norm of /ʉ/ as in *blue* [blʉː], is that of a close, central vowel. It is a monophthong: [ʉː].

/ʉ/ is subject to Aitken's Law, thus long in *new* [njʉː] and short in *food* [fud], if the vowel in conformity with Aitken's Law is short, its realization can be slightly retracted [u] instead of [ʉ]. This seems, however, to be variphonic.

Phonetically it is realized as a diphthong before /r/, thus there is Pre-R Breaking, as in *poor* [pʰʉ·ᵊr] and *moor* [mʉ·ᵊr].

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.235.

[2] I have chosen to use the symbol /ʉ/. Wells uses /u/, but adds that arguably it would be better written /ʉ/ (A.C. Wells, *Accents of English: The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.402).

Before dark /l/ it is realized with a glide, as in *pull* [pʰuəl] and *fool* [fʉəl], phonemically it is still a monophthong.

Systemically the KA differs from RP in lacking the opposition /u/ vs. /ʊ/. Thus in the KA, *mood* and *good* form complete rhymes; [mʉd] and [gʉd]. This can be referred to as the FOOT-GOOSE Merger,[1] which is characteristic of all Scottish accents. The difference can be set up as a diaphonemic bracketing:

$$\bigg/\!\bigg/\ \begin{array}{l|ll} \text{RP} & \text{u} & \text{vs.} & \text{ʊ} \\ \hline \text{SSE, KA} & \text{ʉ} & \end{array}\ \bigg/\!\bigg/$$

The word *boot* seems to stand phonologically alone. Its realization is [buːt] like in RP.

Wolf, blue, food, move, have all quality very close to RP /ʊ/.

Phoneme number 12: /ʌ/

We can distinguish /ʌ/ through the minimal pairs *cut* /kʌt/ vs. *caught* /kɔt/, *nurse* /nʌrs/ vs. *Norse* /nɔrs/.

The phonemic norm of /ʌ/ as in *cut* [kʰʌʔt], is a back, half-open, centralized vowel. It is a monophthong: [ʌ].

It is always short, according to Aitken's Law.

With Erlend /ʌ/ occurs before /r/ in *word* [wʌrd], *hurry* [hʌri], whereas in RP /ʌ/ occurs in *hurry*, but not in *word* .

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.133.

THE DIPHTHONGS:

Phoneme number 14: /aɪ/

We can distinguish /aɪ/ through the minimal pairs *light* /laɪt/ vs. *let* /lɛt/, *hide* /haɪd/ vs. *hid* /hɪd/.

The phonemic norm of /aɪ/ with Erlend is a glide from C [a] to C [ɪ] as in *side, kind, private, fly.* In the word *light,* the starting point of the diphthong is much more centralized than that of the norm, i.e. from [ə] towards C [ɪ]. In *hide* and *mine* the glide commences from a slightly closer allophone of /a/ than the norm, i.e. [a̝], gliding towards C [ɪ] [ha̝ɪd], but not as close as that of *light.*

With Erlend *side* and *sighed* are complete homophones as in RP, but Margrethe distinguishes between the two by using different quantity, thus *sighed* includes half lenght [saˑɪd] versus *side* [saɪd]. Some speakers of Scottish accents distinguish the two words while others do not.[1]

In my material it is the allophone in the environment before /t/, as in *light* [ɰəɪt], which deviates most from the norm. The diphthong is more centralized and much closer than the norm i.e. In *hide* and *mine* the realization of /a/ is also closer than the norm.

/aɪ/ is also subject to breaking, as in the words *fire* and *byre,* i.e. [ˈfaɪə̯r], [ˈbaɪə̯r].

Phoneme number 15: /au/

We can distinguish /au/ through the minimal pairs *town* /taun/ vs. *ten* /tɛn/, *howl* /haul/ vs. *hill* /hɪl/.

The phonemic norm of /au/ is a glide from C[a] to C[ʊ] (similar to RP) as in *owl , cow* and *howl.*[2]

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2: The British Isles,* (Cambridge, 1982), p.405.

[2] Observed in free speech, but not collected in my material, is the fact that the pronunciation of *cow* in the singular is pronounced with a monophthong [kʊ], whereas diphthongization has taken place in the plural form [kaˑɪ].

In the environment before /t/ as in the word *about*, the glide starts from a much more centralized position than that of the norm i.e. from C[ə] going towards C[u] i.e. [ə'bəut]. The word *house* is pronounced with a diphthong realization starting from a closer position than the norm; [a̧], but not as close as *about* and *town* (cp. /aɪ/ above).

Phoneme number 16: /ɔɪ/

We can distinguish /ɔɪ/ through the minimal pairs *boil* /bɔɪl/ vs. *ball* /bɔl/, *voice* /vɔɪs/ vs. *vice* /vaɪs/.

The phonemic norm of /ɔɪ/ is a glide from C [ɔ] to C [ɪ] as in *boy* [bɔɪ], *voice* [vɔɪs], *boil* [bɔɪł]. In my material there are no great deviations from the norm, which is very similar to RP and SSE.

Re. /e/

Although the phoneme used in *made* includes a diphthong in its phonetic realization, I prefer to describe and classify it as a phonemic monophthong, /e/ (see p.21 above).

Re. Centring Diphthongs

As stated above, my main informant consistently uses centring diphthongs as phonetic realizations of /i/ and /ʉ/ before /r/ and /l/, of /e/ and /ɛ/ before /l/, /o/, /r/, as well as before nasals. /a/, /ɔ/ and /ʌ/ are the only monophthongs which are never realized as centring diphthong in these contexts.

To get an overview of Erlend's vowel inventory, I have chosen to fit it into Abercrombie's diagram of the vowels of Scotland and England [1]

	Scotland	England	Erlend
bead	1 i	1 i	1 i
bid	2 ɪ	2 ɪ	2 ɪ
bay	3 e	3 eɪ	3 e
bed	4 ɛ	4 ɛ	4 ɛ
(*never*	4a ë)		
bad	5 a	5 a	5 a
balm		6 ɑ	
not	8 ɔ	7 ɒ	8 ɔ
nought		8 ɔ	
no	9 o	9 ou	9 o
pull	11 ʉ	10 ʊ	11 ʉ
pool		11 u	
bud	12 ʌ	12 ʌ	12 ʌ
side	13 ʌi		
sighed	14 ae	14 aɪ	14 aɪ
now	15 ʌu	15 au	15 au
boy	16 ɔe	16 ɒɪ	16 ɔɪ

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[1] D. Abercrombie, *Languages of Scotland*, "Accents of Standard English in Scotland", (Edinburgh, 1979), p.72.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN MY MAIN INFORMANT, ERLEND, AND THE OTHER KIRKWALL INFORMANTS:

Phoneme number 1: /i/

All my informants have the phoneme /i/, and they all use a front, close /i/ as in *feed*.

In the word *feed* Svein's realization deviates from that of the rest of the informants. He uses a half-open vowel, [ɛ].

Erlend	Svein
[fid]	[fɛd]

This is the only case where Svein uses [ɛ] instead of the expected [i]. I therefore prefer to regard the use as incidential, perhaps due to misreading.

Hilde deviates a great deal from the other informants in that she has no glide on [i] when it is followed by /l/, as in *field*. The reason may be that Hilde uses a clear /l/: [l] in this context whilst the other informants, who realize /i/ as /iə/, use a dark /l/: [ɫ] in this context:

Erlend	Hilde
[fiəɫd]	[fild]

Phoneme number 2: /ɪ/

All my informants have the phoneme number 2: /ɪ/ in their phoneme inventory. The realization of the phoneme differs, from being very close to very open

Hilde constantly also uses a closer /ɪ/ than the other informants, as in *bid* [bɪd].

Erlend	Hilde
[bẹd]	[bɪd]

As with /i/, Hilde has no glide on /ɪ/ before /l/ for instance in the word *bill* [ɪ]. Her /l/ is clear. Erlend and the other informants use a glide on /ɪ/: [ɪ̯ə]. Their /l/ is dark.

Erlend   **Hilde**

[bʲʌɪ]   [bɪl]

Phoneme number 3: /e/

All my informants have the phoneme /e/. Its norm is [eː], but in a few cases, the phoneme differs in realization from one informant to the other.

In the word *famous* all Kirkwall informants have a short vowel. In *game*, the realization of /e/ is half long, close to the norm.

Sigrid uses a more advanced [e] than Erlend:

Erlend   **Sigrid**

['feməs]   ['fȩ̞məs]

The closeness of the realization varies slightly from one informant to the other. Thus:

	Erlend	**Margrethe**
way	[weː]	[wȩː]
gam	[geˑm]	[gȩˑm]

		Thorfinn
day	[deː]	[dȩː]

In the word *late*, both Erlend and Margrethe use a slight diphthongization in the direction of [ı]:

Erlend   **Margrethe**

[ɬeˑ ⁱt]   [ɬeˑˑⁱt]

Sigrid, Svein and Hilde have no diphthongization in this word:

Sigrid-Svein-Hilde

[ɬeˑt]

All the informants have a glide towards schwa before [ɫ] as in *pail* [pʰeˑ₄] and *sail* [seˑ₄].

Before /r/, as in *care* and *dare*, Margrethe uses Pre-R Breaking, while Erlend and the other informants do not:

Erlend	**Margrethe**
[keːr]	[keːᵊr]
[deːr]	[deːᵊr]

Phoneme number 4: /ɛ/

All informants possess the phoneme /ɛ/. None of them have Aitken's vowel. The realization of /ɛ/ exhibits certain peculiarities. With all of them, the quality of the norm is [eː].

Before /l/, Erlend and the other informants except Hilde use [ɛˑᵊ] (and the /l/ is dark). Hilde uses no glide (and the /l/ is clear) (compare vowel number 2).

| **Erlend** | **Hilde** |
| [bɛˑ₄t] | [bɛlt] |

Hilde's realization of the phoneme /ɛ/ follows Aitken's Law. She has short /ɛ/ in *bed, beg, bet*, and long before /r/ as in *Perth, earth, heard*. The other informants always realize the phoneme /ɛ/ as long or half-long, never short (as to the possibility of regarding 2 and 4 as regulated by chronemes, see p.22 above).

	Erlend	**Hilde**
beg	[beːg]	[bɛg]
bed	[beːd]	[bɛd]

Phoneme number 5: /a/

As mentioned under Erlend's vowel system, it is possible to regard the system as containing two phonemes /a/ and /ɑ/ (numbers 5 and 6 according to Abercrombie's system), since

Erlend has the opposition *Sam* vs. *psalm*. The same applies to Margrethe.

The other informants have only one phoneme in this area: /a/.

Hilde's /a/ is not subject to Aitken's Law. Her phoneme /a/ is always long, as in *sad, bad, tan, badge*.

The one phoneme has two allophones strikingly different, [a] and [aː], controlled by the context, viz. in contexts where according to Aitken's Law the vowel is long, [aː], in contexts where, according to Aitken's Law the vowel is short, [a].

In the realization we notice certain peculiarities. As mentioned above, Hilde's /a/ is not subject to Aitken's Law (as far as quantity is concerned). Her /a/ is nearly always long before /d/ as in *bad* [baːd], before /ns/ as in *dance* [daːns] She also uses a long /a/ before nasals in eg. *tan* and *jam* and before the consonant cluster, /dʒ/ as in *badge*:

Erlend	Hilde
[tan]	[taːn]
[dʒam]	[dʒaːm]
[badʒ]	[baːdʒ]

On the other hand she quite unexpectedly uses a short /a/ in *bat* [bat] and *balcony* ['balkəni].

Thorfinn's pronunciation of *balcony* is very open. He uses phoneme number 8, /ɔ/ where the other informants would use phoneme number 5, /a/. But as this is the only occurrence of such a phenomenon, the difference between Thorfinn and the other Kirkwall informants taken to be incidential.

Erlend	Thorfinn
['balkəni]	['bɔlkəni]

Phoneme number 8: /ɔ/

On this point all informants are systemically different from RP, thus following SSE in that they have one phoneme, *don* and *dawn* forming complete homophones.

The only informant with a possible minimal pair, *cot* vs. *caught* is Erlend, but the pair is isolated. (Compare Erlend and Margrethe's possible minimal pair *Sam* vs. *psalm*.) A possible interpretation for using length in *caught* may be to assume a boundary *caugh#t*, which would give a long /ɔ/.

In the words *ball* and *tall*, Thorfinn's realization of /ɔ/ is lowered and retracted, very similar to [ʌ]. In the same keywords, Erlend's realization is close to C [ɔ]:

Erlend	Thorfinn
[bɔˑl]	[bɔ̞ˑl]
[tɔˑl]	[tɔ̞ˑl]

Otherwise there are no noticeable differences between Erlend and the other informants, but notice Margrethe's use of [au] in the word *naught* (This may be due to the archaic word).

Phoneme number 9: /o/

/o/ is long or half-long regardless of context as in *blow*, *no* and *home* (compare /e/ above).
A possible exception is Thorfinn's realization of the word *soap*, which is short and very open, close to the C [ɔ]. Erlend and the other informants' realization is half-long, its quality is approximately the same as C [o]:

Erlend	Thorfinn
[soˑp]	[sɔp]

This difference may be incidential, or due to misreading.
Margrethe and Sigrid deviate from Erlend in that their realization of /o/ is much closer than Erlend's:

Erlend	Margrethe-Sigrid
[blɔ̞ː]	[bloː]
[nɔ̞ː]	[noː]
[hɔ̞ˑm]	[hoːm]

Hilde differs from Erlend in that she has no Pre-R Breaking in *port*. Erlend and Margrethe are the only informants with a Pre-R Breaking in the word *court*:

Erlend	Hilde
[pʰɔ̯əɹt]	[pʰɔrt]

Erlend-Margrethe	The other informants
[kʰɔ̯·ərʔt]	[kʰɔrt]

Phoneme number 11: /ʉ/

All Kirkwall informants have one phoneme /ʉ/ like SSE. (Non of them include the phoneme /ʊ/ in their vowel system, as does RP.)

The realization deviates considerably. As to quantity the realization follows Aitken's Law. The norm is a close, central vowel: [ʉ].

Hilde's realization deviates from that of the others in that she uses a close and retracted [u], close to a realization of RP /ʊ/, when the sound is short, as in *wood* and *good* :

Erlend	Hilde
[wʉd]	[wʊd]
[gʉd]	[gʊd]

Hilde's RP-like realization of /ʉ/, may be influenced by her educational background and job as a teacher. On the other hand, she pronounces the words: *blue, true, music* and *bureau* with a more close and centralized /ʉ/, approximately the same as that of the other informants.

Thorfinn has a more open and retracted [u] before dark /l/, as in *pull*:

Erlend	Thorfinn
[pʉl]	[pʉ̈l]

Margrethe's realization of /u/ has a very centralized and very close quality, as in *shoe*, whereas Hilde and Thorfinn's realization is quite retracted and lowered:

Erlend	**Margrethe**	**Thorfinn-Hilde**
[ʃuː]	[ʃy̶ː]	[ʃʉ̃ː]

Erlend and Sigrid have Pre-R Breaking in the word *poor*. The rest of my informants have not. Erlend and Sigrid also have a slight diphthongization in *fool*.

Erlend-Sigrid	**The other informants**
[fy̶·ə̯]	[fʉɫ]
[pʰy̶·ə̯r]	[pʰy̶·r]

Phomene number 12: /ʌ/

The realization of /ʌ/ is approximately the same for all my informants. The only word in which there is a slight variation is *bird*, Hilde's realization is more fronted than Erlend's:

Erlend	**Hilde**
[bʌɹd]	[bʌrd]

Phoneme number 14. /aɪ/

As stated above Erlend has a diphthong /aɪ/. Its realization is [aɪ] without regard to context as in: *fly, hide, mine, wild*.

In the corresponding words the other informants have sounds between [aˑɪ] and [aɪ], no rule can be found:

Erlend	**Margrethe-Sigrid**
[ɸlaɪ]	[ɸlaˑɪ]
	Margrethe-Sigrid-Svein-Thorfinn
[haɪd]	[haˑɪd]

Erlend	Margrethe-Sigrid-Hilde
[maɪn]	[maˑɪn]
	Margrethe-Hilde
[waʜd]	[waˑʜd]

The striking variation between [ae] and [ʌi] (for instance in *tied* vs. *tide*) found in some Scottish accents has not been demonstrated in my material.

Phoneme number 15. /au/

The phonemic norm of /au/ is found in words such as *owl* [aʉl], *cow* and *howl*, while *about, town, house* include a more centralized [əʉ].

All my informants have the phoneme /au/. Its realization is on the whole uniform, with a few striking exceptions.

In the words *about* and *town,* Erlend's realization of the diphthong is raised and centralized.[1] Hilde and Thorfinn's realization is close to the RP pronunciation:

Erlend	Hilde-Thorfinn
[əˈbəʉt]	[əˈbaʊt]
[tʰəʉn]	[tʰaʊn]

Margrethe and Sigrid's realization of *town* is [tʰaˑʉn].

In the word *cow*, Margrethe uses a slightly lengthened diphthong:[2]

Erlend	Margrethe
[kaʊ]	[kaˑʊ]

Margrethe uses this diphthong, /au/, also in the word *naught* [naʉt] (can the word be unfamiliar to her?).

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1 In free speech Sigurd, Svein and Sigrid use /ʉ/, in *town, down* and *house*.
2 See above.

Phoneme number 16: /ɔɪ/

All my informants have the phoneme /ɔɪ/. It does not merge with /aɪ/, thus *voice* and *vice* are heterophones.

Erlend's realization of the word *boy* is that of a pure diphthong, [ɔɪ] as is most of the other informants. Svein's quality, however, is a bit closer, [ʒɪ], whereas Hilde's is [ɔ·ɪ]:

Erlend	Svein	Hilde
[bɒɪ]	[bɒɪ]	[bɔ·ɪ]

Hilde has the same realization of /ɔɪ/ in the word *boil* [bɔ·ɬ] as in *boy* [bɔ·ɪ]. The other informants, including Erlend, all have [bɔɬ] and [bɒɪ].

The pronunciation of the word *voice* is [vɔɪs] with all informants.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN MY MAIN INFORMANT, ERLEND, AND MY INFORMANTS FROM STROMNESS AND WESTRAY:

Phoneme number 1: /i/

Both informants have the phoneme /i/.

Before /r/, in the word *fierce*, Magnus uses a short /i/, [fiᴵş], whereas Sigurd follows Aitken's Law and pronounces the word with a long /i/, [fiːᴵş]. Neither Magnus nor Sigurd use Pre-R Breaking in the word *fierce*, whereas Erlend does. In the word *here*, there is a slight diphthongization with all informants: [hiːᵊr].

In the word *feed*, Magnus, like Svein (see above), uses a sound in the half open area, [fɛd]. Sigurd pronounces *feed* in the same manner as Erlend, namely [fɟd].

Before /l/, as in the words *feel* and *field*, Sigurd has no glide towards schwa, making /i/ a pure monophthong, [i] in [fɨl] and [fɨld]. Magnus and Erlend, on the contrary, use a slight diphthongization: [iᵊ] in [fiᵊl] and [fiᵊld].

Phoneme number 2: /ɪ/

Both informants have the phoneme /ɪ/. Its realization does not deviate much from that of my main informant.

In free speech, Magnus pronounces the word *English* differently from the others, his /ɪ/ phonemes are very close i.e. [ˈiŋliʃ]. This example shows how /ɪ/ may vary in quality, in Scottish accents.[1]

Phoneme number 3: /e/

Both informants have the phoneme /e/.

Before /l/, as in the word *pale*, Magnus realizes /e/ as a pure monophthong, [peᴵl], while Erlend and Sigurd make a glide toward [ə] viz. [peˑᵊl]. Both informants diphthongize /e/ in the word *sail*, thus [seˑᵊl].

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[1] W. Grant, *Manual of Modern Scots*, (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 41-42.

Before /t/, as in the word *late*, both Magnus and Sigurd use a pure monophthong, [e], as in [le²t]. Erlend makes a slight diphthongization towards [ı]:[e¹] [le¹²t]. Magnus's realization is variphonic before dark /l/, thus [eː/eᵊ].[1]

Phoneme number 4: /ɛ/

Both informants have the phoneme /ɛ/.

Before /l/, as in the word *helm*, all informants have a glide towards schwa, [ɛᵊ], but Erlend's realization is much more open than is Magnus's and Sigurd's.

The realization of /ɛ/ before /t/ as in *bet*, is also more open with Erlend than with the other informants.

In the word *jerk*, Sigurd, like Erlend, uses a quite close /ɛ/, that is [dʒɛːrk]. Magnus uses an altogether different phoneme, namely /ʌ/, [dʒʌ⁺rk]. This may indicate that Magnus (Westray), is on the way into the NURSE Merger on this point. He has /ɛ/ in *herd*, but /ʌ/ in *jerk*.

In wordlist 2, Magnus seems to leave out his /r/ phonemes in words such as: *Perth* and *earth*. The quality of the vowel is the same as is used by the other informants, i.e. [ɛ]. In quantity, on the other hand, Magnus uses a short realization of /ɛ/ i.e. [pɛ⁻θ] and [ɕθ], whereas Sigurd, as well as Erlend use long vowels i.e. [pɛ⁻ːrθ] and [ɕːrθ], following Aitken's Law.

In the word *vexed*, Sigurd's quantity is that of a half-long /ɛ/, whereas it is short with the other informants. In the word *next*, on the other hand, it is short with all informants, including Sigurd.
Neither Magnus nor Sigurd has Aitken's Vowel.

Phoneme number 5: /a/

Both informants have the phoneme /a/.

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[1] Magnus distinguishes himself from the others in the pronunciation of the word *most*, which he in free speech realizes [meːst]. The difference is incidential. In *home*, on the other hand, Magnus has [hoːm], like the other informants.

Before /r/ the realization is an open, centralized monophthong, [A]. Its quantity varies between long and half-long. Sigurd uses full length, possibly over-length, before /r/ as in the words *part, heart, clerk* and *dark* [phAːɾt], [hAːɾt], [khlAːɾk] and [dAːɾk], whereas Erlend and Magnus use half-length. Sigurd's extra long realization of [A] may have something to do with intonation in accents outside Kirkwall(see p.66+68 below).

Sigurd and Magnus, like Erlend, both distinguish between *Sam* and *psalm*, forming a minimal pair, but as this is the only occurrence of such a minimal pair, I prefer to look away from it.

Before nasals, as in the words *tan, dance* and *jam*, Erlend's realization is an open and fronted vowel, [a]. Sigurds realization is more centralized. The same phenomenon occurs in the word *bad*. The reason for the centralization may be that of Sigurd's quantity, using half-long /a/ in these contexts. Magnus' realization of the word *tan*, is altogether different in that he uses a different phoneme, /ɛ/, [thɛn] (perhaps due to misreading).

In the word *heartless*, Sigurd uses /ɛ/, instead of /a/. Like the other informants, he uses /a/ in the word *heart* (see above). I choose to look upon it as an incidential difference between free speech and reading. His pronunciation is isolated, the other informants read *heartless* ['haɾtlɛs]. The use of /ɛ/, may be characteristic for Sigurd's free speech. I noticed that in his reading of the word *car*, Sigurd uses phoneme /a/, but in his free speech he says [khɛːr] (cp. p.23 note 1).[1]

Phoneme number 8: /ɔ/

Both informants have the phoneme /ɔ/, but the realization of the phoneme differs slightly.

In the word *dog*, the realization of /ɔ/ is closer than Erlend's. In the word *dock*, both Erlend and Sigurd use an open, half-long /ɔ/. Magnus uses a peculiar realization sounding almost like a different phoneme, /ʌ/, i.e. [dʌk] (misreading?).

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[1] In free speech, Magnus have [fɛrm] for *farm* and ['fɛrmɔr] for *farmer*.

Sigurd and Magnus make *horse* and *hoarse* comlete homophones i.e. [hɔːɹʂ], whereas Erlend forms a minimal pair, *horse*, [hɔːɹʂ] vs. *hoarse*, [hǫːɹʂ].

Phoneme number 9: /o/

Both informants have the phoneme /o/.

Pre-R Breaking seems to be inconsistent.

In the word *court*, there is a slight diphthongization with Erlend, [kʰɔ̃ərˀt]. Magnus and Sigurd have no Pre-R Breaking. In the word *port*, on the other hand, both Erlend and Magnus use a glide on /o/, [ɔ̃ə]. Sigurd is consistent in using no Pre-R Breaking, making /o/ a pure monophthong, [oˑ]. In *poor*, on the other hand, both Sigurd and Magnus make a glide towards schwa, [pʰoːᵊr].

In the word *soap*, Erlend's realization is closer than Magnus and Sigurd's.

Phoneme number 11: /ʉ/

Both informants have the phoneme /ʉ/.

Before /l/, as in the words *pool* and *fool*, both Erlend and Magnus have a glide [ʉ̈ə], but the quality of Magnus's realization of the phoneme is more retracted and lowered than Erlend's. Sigurd, on the other hand uses a centralized, pure monophthong, [ʉ]. In *fool*, it is a bit lowered.

In the word *shoe*, Sigurd's realization has a more retracted and lowered quality than that of Erlend and Magnus.

The phoneme used by Magnus in the word *moor* stands out. It seems as if he uses /ɔ/ instead of /u/. All informants use Pre-R Breaking, Erlend and Sigurd [mʉ̈ˑᵊr] and Magnus [mɔˑᵊr].

Phoneme number 12: /ʌ/

Both informants have the phoneme /ʌ/.

Before /r/, as in the words *purr* and *girl*, the quality of Erlend's vowel is more fronted than Sigurd's.

Sigurd's realization of the vowel in *bird*, seems to be a different phoneme than that used by Erlend and Magnus. He uses a centralized vowel, /ə/, whereas the two others use /ʌ/. If the vowel in this word is considered to belong to the phoneme /ə/, Sigurd deviates distributionally from the others on this point in that he uses /ə/ under stress.

When reading the word *bird* in wordlist 2, Magnus seems to leave out /r/ i.e. [bʌd] (compare /ɛ/ above).

In the word *girl*, Magnus uses phoneme /ɛ/, while Erlend and Sigurd use /ʌ/. This seems to be an incidential difference. Notice that in the word *heard*, all informants use phoneme /ɛ/. This means that the NURSE Merger has only partly taken place. The words *bird* and *purr* have been through the Merger, while the word *heard* has not. There are different vowels corresponding to the NURSE set[1]: *heard* [ɛ], *bird* [ə] or [ʌ].

In the word *dull*, Sigurd uses /ɔ/ instead of /ʌ/. This may be due to misreading, but may also be a distributional phenomenon due to the following dark /l/.

Phoneme number 14: /aɪ/

Both informants have the phoneme /aɪ/.

The quality of the phoneme is very similar with my informants. The main difference is to be found within quantity. Both Erlend and Magnus use a short diphthong, [aɪ], in words like *fly, hide, mine, mile* and *wild:* whereas Sigurd, consistently, uses a half-long diphthong, i.e. [aˑɪ].

Phoneme number 15: /au/

Both informants have the phoneme /au/.

In the words *about, town* and *house* Erlend and Magnus use a very centralized diphthong, [əʉ]. Sigurd, on the other hand, uses [au].[2]

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.137.

[2] In free speech Sigurd and Magnus have /ʉ/ in *house, now* and *town*.

In the word *cow*, Sigurd realizes /au/ with a slightly longer quality than Erlend and Magnus, i.e. [aʉ]. Sigurd's realization is slightly closer than the others.

Phoneme number 16: /ɔɪ/

Both informants have the phoneme /ɔɪ/.

This phoneme seems to be realized very similarly with my informants. They all realize the words *boy, boil* and *voice*, as [ɔɪ], no important differences seem to be found.

THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

Accents of English do not differ much from each other in their consonant systems.
The consonant systems of my reference accents; RP, SSE and GA, are almost identical, thus:

Plosives, affricates	p		t		tʃ	k	
	b		d		dʒ	g	
Fricatives	f	θ	s		ʃ		
	v	ð	z		ʒ		
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	
Approximants, liquids	w		l	r	j		h

(Wells I:125-26)

SSE deviates from RP and GA by including the phonemes /ʍ/ and /x/ in its consonant system.

On the basis of my material, it is possible to establish the same consonants as those above for the accents I have examined, including ʍ and x, i.e. my consonant system is identical with that of SSE and deviates very little from the two other reference accents: RP and GA.

The consonant system in the accents examined by me:

Plosives, affricates	p		t		tʃ	k	
	b		d		dʒ	g	
Fricatives	f	θ	s		ʃ	x	
	v	ð	z		ʒ		
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	
Approximants, liquids	w		l	r	j		h
	ʍ						

On the other hand there are marked differences in **distribution, incidence and realization**.

In the following pages I will treat those points where the Orkney-accents charistically deviate from one or more of the reference accents, systemically, distributionally, incidentially and/or realizationally. These points are:

1. The phoneme /x/.
2. The phoneme /ʍ/.
3. The distribution and realization of /r/.
4. The sequence and combination of /r/ plus /s/.
5. The realization of /l/.
6. Some realizations of /p,t,k/, including glottalling.

1. The phoneme /x/

The KA consonant system, like SSE, (and most Scottish accents), but unlike RP and GA, includes the voiceless velar fricative /x/.

On this point there is a systemic difference between KA/SSE and RP/GA.

The phoneme /x/ can be established through the minimal pair *loch* vs. *lock* Its phonemic norm as in *loch, broch, Pitlochry, Rannoch Moor*, is a voiceless velar fricative [x]. In my material, there are no examples of strong deviation from that of the norm, thus /x/ has no sharply different subsidiary members.

The incidence (see below) might suggest an interpretation of /x/ as some variety of /k/, since Scottish /x/ is replaced by /k/ in RP and GA as in *loch* /lɒk/, but the minimal pairs given above make such an interpretation non-feasible.

From my material, /x/ is subject to some distributional constraint in that it does not occur word-initially. In this position, Grant mentions that /x/ used for /θ/ before /r/, is quite common in the Mid. Scottish dialects. He uses Stirling as the example for the pronunciation of the words: *thrice* [xrəis], *throo* [xruː], *throat* [xrot].[1]

In most of my examples it occurs in final position as in, *loch, broch, Balloch, Rannoch Moor*. Because of the scarcity of

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[1] W. Grant, *Manual of Modern Scots*, (Cambridge, 1921), p.30.

examples in my material, it is difficult to say anything about the phoneme's incidence in medial position.
There is on the other hand a marked lexical distribution (incidence):

a. Loan-words from Gaelic and Old Norse, such as *loch* [lɔx] (originating from Gaelic) and *broch* [brɔx] (originating from Old Norse).

b. Place names, such as *Auchermuchty* [ɔxtər'mɔxtɪ], *Kirkintilloch*, *Balloch*, *Auchterarder*, *Pitlochry*, *Rannoch Moor* (all situated in Scotland; I do not know of any place names containing /x/ in Orkney itself, except those including *Loch* or *Brough*).

c. Greek loan words with the spelling -ch-, such as *patriarch*, *epoch*, *parochial* (only with some of my informants).
Erlend uses /k/ in all three words, while Margrethe uses /x/ in *patriarch*, but /k/ in *epoch* as well as *perochial*. Thorfinn and Hilde use the phoneme /x/ in all three words. In the word *patriarch*, Hilde uses both /x/ and /k/ making the consonant cluster /xk/. The consonant cluster may be due to a development from /rk/ to /xk/ with a "dying /r/" (as in the word *park*, see p.54). Sigrid uses /x/ in *epoch*, but /k/ in *perochial* and a glottal stop [ʔ] in *patriarch*.

None of my informants uses /x/ either in *technical* or in *technology*. A strange phenomenon though, occurs in Hilde's pronunciation of the word *technical*. She seems to use the velar fricative /x/ not as one might expect in the written cluster c h ['tɛxnɪkl], but in the second syllable of the word, where one would expect /k/: (Hilde) ['tɛknɪxl]. This mis-pronunciation may be due to the fact that the informant is aware of the choice between /x/ and /k/, so aware of it, in fact, that she makes a mistake in pronouncing the word.

Phonetically and incidentially the corresponding phoneme in RP/GA is /k/, making the diaphonemic bracketing:

$$\frac{\text{RP, GA} \quad k}{\text{SSE, KA} \quad k \text{ vs. } x}$$

Wells, in his second volume of the *Accents of English*, where he considers the British Isles, claims that the use of /xw/ rather than /kw/ as an initial cluster, e.g. /ˈxwɛstjən/ *question*, is used in Orkney and Shetland.[1] The same is stated by Grant.[2] I have no such phenomenon in my material, neither in the word lists nor in free speech.

In the appendix to Marwick's *Orkney Norn* (1929), I found references to an old document (see p.12 above) written by Low (1773) where he argues that there are many sounds the Orcadians "cannot master, but pronounce according to their old Norn dialect", as he puts it. He refers to the **qu** sequence which is pronounced "as if it was written **wh**". His examples are: *queen=wheen, question=whestion, quarrel=wharrel.* It is impossible to control which sound Low refers to, but the sound he aims at may be /x/, since both Grant and Wells use this sound in the word *question* above. Another reason for interpreting it as /x/ is the fact that Low refers to the sound as being transfered from Norse into the English language. As the /x/ sound was present in Old Norse,[3] it seems reasonable to consider /x/ as entering Orkney both through Norse (*broch*) as well as from Gaelic (*loch*).

2. The phoneme /ʍ/

I have chosen to give the voiceless, labio-velar fricative [ʍ] phonemic status as it can be distinguished through the opposition of the minimal pairs: *which* vs. *witch, whether* vs. *weather*, establishing a phonemic contrast between /ʍ/ and /w/.[4]

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2: The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.399.

[2] W. Grant, *Manual of Modern Scots*, (Cambridge, 1921), p.30.

[3] A.Torp, *Norsk og Nordisk før og nå*, (Oslo, 1982), p.21.

[4] Phonetically, it is useful to interpret it as a fricative (and Wells classifies it as such). Its place in the system, on the other hand, especially in relation to /w/, makes it more likely to interpret it as an approximant.

The phonemic norm of /ʍ/ as in *white, while, why, whether, which,* is a voiceless, labio-velar fricative [ʍ] as in SSE.

On the other hand the sound could be interpreted as a combination of /h/+/w/ since the said accents have:

[ʍ] + V, *whether*

[h] + V, *heather*

[w] + V, *weather*

and thus no minimal pair [ʍɛðər] vs *[hwɛðər] (Wells has chosen to phonemicize [ʍ] /hw/ to reduce the number of phonemes). I prefer to regard /ʍ/ as a separate phoneme (as does Gimson), since it is nearer to basic phonetic facts, and seems to be in conformity with native intuition. Hence there is a systemic difference between RP and some varieties of GA on the one hand and SSE and KA on the other, and we will have the diaphonemic bracketing:

$$ \Big\| \frac{\text{RP, (GA)} \quad \text{w}}{\text{SSE, KA} \quad \text{w vs. ʍ}} \Big\| $$

Most types of RP have been through **Glide Cluster Reduction**,[1] but having classified [ʍ], as a phoneme /ʍ/, it would be better to say that there has been a loss of the phoneme /ʍ/ in RP, which means that there is a systemic difference between the KA and certain types of RP.

All my informants, including Sigurd and Magnus, have the phoneme /ʍ/ in words such as *white, while,why, whether* and *which*.

3. The distribution and realization of /r/

The phoneme /r/ can be distinguished through the minimal pairs *right* vs. *light, right* vs. *night.*
The phonemic norm of /r/ in the KA as in *car, snarl, fruit, jerk,* is an alveolar tap [ɾ], as it is in SSE.

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction,* (Cambridge, 1982), p.228-30.

The distribution of /r/ is that it is always marginal in the syllable, and thus there is no reason to interpret *bird* as /brd/. The KA, like SSE and GA, is a rhotic accent, the /r/ being produced in words such as /kar/ *car*, /pʌr/ *purr*, /pur/ *poor*, /bʌrd/ *bird*, /snarl/ *snarl*, /port/ *port*. In RP, which is a non-rhotic accent, these words have been through the process of R-Dropping,[1] and have altogether lost their /r/, thus /kɑ/ *car*, /pɜ/ *purr* etc.

With some of my Orkney informants R-Dropping has occurred, as in *heartless, car, part, heart, park, port, hurt, court, Perth* etc.

Few phonemes, if any, have so many clearly distinguishable realizations as has /r/. Some allophones can be accounted for by the phonetic context, but often sociolinguistic and emotional factors must be considered. The result is a large number of free variations.

As early as 1913, Grant pointed out the tendency for Scotsmen to attenuate the force of the trill especially in final positions and before other consonants.[2] This phenomenon has increased and today the most common realization of /r/ in Scottish English is an alveolar tap [ɾ] as well as a post-alveolar or retroflex fricative or approximant [ɹ].[3] This is also the case with my main informant, Erlend. He has four different allophones of the phoneme /r/, viz.

a. A voiced post-alveolar frictionless continunant as is the norm in RP, [ɹ].
b. A retroflex fricative, as in Gen.Am. [ɻ].
c. An alveolar tap, [ɾ],which is Erlend's norm.
d. A voiced alveolar roll (trill) [r].

The realization of /r/ in different environments:

a. The realization of /r/ in initial position.

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.218-22.
[2] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2 : The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1982), p. 411.
[3] Loc.cit.

1.*real*, 2.*road*.

	Erlend	Margrethe	Hilde	Thorfinn	Sigrid	Svein	Sigurd	Magnus
1.	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[r]
2.	[r]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[r]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]

b. The realization of /r/ in the environment V-V.

1.*period*, 2.*tourist*, 3.*bureau*, 4.*curious*, 5.*berry*.

	Erlend	Margrethe	Hilde	Thorfinn	Sigrid	Svein	Sigurd	Magnus
1.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
2.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
3.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
4.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
5.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]

ci. The realization of /r/ in the environment V-C (where the consonant is different from /d/ and /t/):

1.*snarl*, 2.*girl*, *curl*, 3.*jerk*,*clerk*, 4.*park*, 5.*dark*,

6.*Perth*,*birth*,*earth*.

	Erlend	Margrethe	Hilde	Thorfinn	Sigrid	Svein	Sigurd	Magnus
1.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
2.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
3.	[r]	[ɹ]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
4.	∅	[ɹ]	∅	∅	∅	[r]	[r]	[r]
5.	∅	[ɽ]	∅	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
6.	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	∅

cii. The realization of /r/ in the environment V-C (where the consonant is /d/ or /t/):

1.*heartless*, 2.*part*, 3.*garden*, 4.*card*.

	Erlend	Margrethe	Hilde	Thorfinn	Sigrid	Svein	Sigurd	Magnus
1.	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	∅	[r]	∅	∅	[r]	∅
2.	[ɽ]	[ɽ]	[r]	∅	∅	[r]	[r]	∅
3.	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	∅
4.	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]

With Erlend and Margrethe, the degree of retroflexion of the tongue (auditorily estimated) is greater than in RP in the words *part* and *word*, the realization is thus closer to that of

GA i.e. [ɻ].[1] Margrethe also uses [ɻ] in the word *dark*. In this word Erlend uses a zero realization of /r/.

In the words *snarl, beard, board, turn*, /r/ is realized as a tap [ɾ]. It may be added that the /r/ in the environment is pronounced variphonically in words such as *word* and *bird*. Erlend sometimes uses [ɹ], at other times he uses a tap [ɾ].

In the word *park*, Erlend uses zero realization of /r/. As he drops /r/ he replaces it by giving pre-aspiration to /k/: [pʰAːʰkʰ]. The pre-aspiration may be due to the "dying /r/".

In the environments V-V and V-#, it seems as if only the tap [ɾ] is used, as in the words *serious, period, tourist, bureau, curious, car, father, deer, care, door, moor*, etc.
In the word *purr*, however, Erlend uses a voiced alveolar roll: [r]. This is Erlend's only occurrence of the roll and it may be due to either an echoic pronunciation of the word or to the fact that historically the r was doubled in the spelling of the word. All the other informants, except Magnus and Svein (who regularly use a tap [ɾ]) use a trill in the word *purr* (cf. e.5. below).

d. The realization of /r/ in the environment C-V.
Erlend uses both [ɹ] as in *private* and a tap [ɾ] as in *fruit* and *true*.
1.*private*, 2.*true*, 3.*fruit*.

Erlend	Margrethe	Hilde	Thorfinn	Sigrid	Svein	Sigurd	Magnus
1.[ɹ]	[ɾ]	[ɹ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]
2.[ɾ]	[ɹ]	[ɹ]	[ɾ]	[ɹ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]
3.[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]

e. The realization of /r/ in the environment V- #.
1.*care*, 2.*sure*, 3.*moor*, 4. *car*, 5.*purr*.

Erlend	Margrethe	Hilde	Thorfinn	Sigrid	Svein	Sigurd	Magnus
1.[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]
2.[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]	[ɾ]

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[1] It is striking that it is only my main informant, Erlend, and his sister, Margarthe, who use the retroflex [ɻ].

3.[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]
4.[r]	[r]	Ø	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	Ø
5.[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]	[r]

f. The realization of /r/ in combination with a following /s/ (see the sequence and combination /r/ + /s/ below) as in the words *horse, fierce, scarse, chairs, nurse,* etc. In this environment the /r/ is very weak, and I prefer to use the symbol [ɹ]. The pronunciation is the same with all my informants.

As mentioned above, Erlend has very few cases of R-Dropping. The environment in the words where he does drop his /r/ phoneme is preconsonantal.
In the pronunciation of the word *park,* the /r/ has been dropped, and is replaced by what is phonetically a pre-aspiration, (which with Hilde also may be interpreted as /x/).

Sigrid, Magnus and Thorfinn, on the other hand, use R-Dropping more frequently both in preconsonantal and in final position in words such as *car, part, port,* etc. Magnus (Westray) is the informant who most frequently of all informants uses R-Dropping, e.g. in the pronunciation of the words: *earth, heard, bird, word,* where Sigrid and Thorfinn use a tap [r] (which in some cases is very weak with Sigrid, e.g. *earth, bird*).[1]

On the basis of the collected material, we can say that both distribution and realization of the phoneme /r/ are unstable, under free variation. There is every reason to assume that this is a point where the Orkney accents are in a marked process of changing.

The unvoiced uvular fricative [ʀ] is not used by any of my informants. However, the phenomenon exists in Orkney. The only occurrences I have noticed are with four elderly men and a woman, all native Orcadians, as well as a young man in his

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[1] Magnus uses R-Dropping in free speech, as well as in reading, as in the word *north.*

late twenties. Like Wells, I will prefer to look at the uvular [ʀ] as a personal idiosyncracy.[1]

4. The sequence and combination of /r/ + /s/

In the words containing the sequence /r/ + /s/, the allophone of /r/ is very weakened and retroflex, and I prefer to symbolize it as [ɹ], while the allophone of /s/ is retroflex i.e. [ʂ]. An example of this combination is in the word *nurse* [nʌɹʂ]. [ʂ] may be interpreted as an allophone of the phoneme /ʃ/ occurring after /r/. Still I have chosen to deal with [ʂ] as an allophone of the phoneme /s/ for various reasons:

1. For comparative purposes, i.e. my reference accents, RP, SSE and GA, use the phoneme /s/ in this environment.

2. The KA consonant system includes the phoneme /ʃ/, realized [ʃ] as in the word *ship*.

3. The KA has the sub-minimal pair *fierce* vs. *fish*, [fiəɹʂ] vs. [fiʃ], even if there is no glide (all informants except Erlend), *fierce* and *fish* are a sub-minimal pair.

I will not interepret [ʂ] as a phoneme, since it only occurs in the combination /r/ + /s/.

In my material [ʂ] is most frequently found in final position. I have only a few examples of medial [ʂ] in my material, as in the word *ourselves*, pronounced by Erlend in story A and *first*, pronounced by Thorfinn in free speech.

All my informants, including Sigurd (Stromness) and Magnus (Westray) use the retroflex fricative realization of /s/ [ʂ] in the sequence /r/ plus /s/ as in *force* [foɹʂ], *nurse* [nʌɹʂ], *scarce* [skɛɹʂ], *horse* [hɔɹʂ].

In Gaelic, there is a phonological rule which seems to be similar to the KA, whereby /r/ plus /s/ coalesces into a retroflex fricative [ʂ].[2] I agree with Wells, in that it is not relevant to regard it as due to Gaelic influence, since it is a very widespread phenomenon, found both in the Highlands and sometimes in the Lowland. Another reason for not

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2: The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.411.

[2] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2 : The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1982), p. 413.

regarding this as due to Gaelic influence, is that Orkney has never been a Gaelic speaking area.

I have also observed the retroflex fricative [ʂ], when the s-plural form is preceeded by /r/, as in *chairs* [tʃeɪʂ], *teachers* ['tiːtʃeɪʂ], *brothers* ['brʌðeɪʂ] etc.

5. The realization of /l/

My main informant, Erlend, uses, as in SSE, only one allophone of the phoneme /l/ in all phonetic contexts. The allophone he uses is the velarized variety of /l/, namely [ɫ]:

1. In initial position, as in the words *late, light*.
2. In the environment V-V as in the words *believe, village*.
3. In the environment V-C as in the words *belt, revolver, wolf, helm*.
4. In the environment C-V as in the words *fly, blood*.
5. In the environment V-# as in the words *feel, dull, doll, pull, sail*.
6. In the environment C-# as in the words *girl, snarl*.

RP, on the other hand, has two perceptibly different allophones, clear and dark /l/, according to environment. Hence there is a realizational difference between Erlend and RP, e.g. in intervocalic position, in that RP uses a clear /l/, while Erlend uses the darker variety. Thorfinn and Svein, are the only informants, besides Erlend, who use only one variety of /l/, i.e. [ɫ].

Hilde uses clear and dark /l/ variphonically, there seems to be no rule in the distribution and no consistency can be demonstrated. She uses a clear variety, [l], in words such as *late, feel, bill, believe, village, helm, fool, sail, fly, owl*, but the dark variety, [ɫ], in the same environment i.e. in the words *boil, wild, pool, belt, light*. No consistency can be demonstrated. Her use of clear /l/ in final position and before consonants can be seen as a kind of hyper-correction. A reason for this may be that she, through her educational background has tried to adapt to the RP distribution, without considering the needed

restrictions in environment, and thus, this has led to the inappropriate form.

There is no reason for considering Hilde's inconsistent realizations of /l/ to be a Gaelicism for reasons mentioned above.

Margrethe and Sigrid use clear /l/ in just a handful of words: The only examples in my material is Margrethe's use of [l] in the words *influence, blue* and *believe*. What may be of importance here is the fact that her examples of clear /l/ are all followed by a close vowel i.e. /i/ or /u/. Sigrid has only two examples of [l], i.e. the words *believe* (like Margrethe) and *helm* (like Hilde).

Magnus (Westray) has only dark /l/ , while Sigurd (Stromness) has clear /l/ in *bill* (like Hilde), *helm* (like Hilde and Sigrid), *blood, dull* (like Hilde) and *light*.

As a conclusion we may say that dark /l/, has been and still is the normal, but that clear /l/ quite haphazardly seems to be in a process of entering the KA.

6. Some realizations of /p,t,k/, including glottalling

The KA includes the following plosives: /p,t,k,b,d,g/. There is no incidence of the disappearance of the oppositions /p/ vs. /b/ in my material.

Wells argues, that a striking feature in what he calls Scots in Orkney includes the loss of the opposition /t-θ, d-ð/, with a dental plosive for both sounds.[1] In my material from Orkney I have found no such phenomenon, neither in free speech nor from the recordings of word lists and stories. From a historical point of view it seems as if the feature has been present. G. Low (1773) informs us that the Orcadians did not possess t h and pronounced t for the θ sound. He also mentions the "unaspirated" realization of the th sound (/t/ instead of /θ/) in words like *thing, three, thumb, thousand*.

Gregor Lamb, in *The Orkney Wordbook* (1988), says that "in initial position of words commencing with th, the H is lost

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2: The British Isles,* (Cambridge, 1982), p.399.

in some instances as in *tink* for *think, toom* for *thumb*". Even if he does not use any phonetic or phonemic symbols, it is not difficult to see that he refers to the same phenomenon as Wells and Low (see above).

With all my informants, the norm of /p,t,k/ is fully aspirated i.e. [pʰ,tʰ,kʰ] as in the words *piece, part, pure, tan, tune, turn, kindness, cool, cow*. There is one case though, where Magnus (Westray) deaspirates /p/ and /t/ as in the words *pail* [p⁼eː ɬ] and tide [t⁼aɪd].

In Scottish English /p,t,k/ may have little or no aspiration.[1]

In the word *feet* (wordlist), Erlend seems to have an ejective /t/ [fiʔt].

GLOTTALLING.

The KA includes the glottal stop [ʔ] among its phonetic plosives as in the words *bat* and *city*.

The phenomenon of Glottalling occurs when the air pressure, which has been built up by the closing of the vocal folds is being released by the sudden opening of the same vocal folds.[2] The phenomenon is known as "glottal catch", "glottal plosive" or "'glottal stop'". It can be described phonetically as a voiceless, glottal, plosive, and is noted as [ʔ] in the IPA alphabet.[3] The glottal stop is usually phonetically classified as an allophone of /p,t,k/.

The voiceless plosives /p,t,k/, and also the affricate /tʃ/, are in RP and SSE often preceded by a glottal stop [ʔ]. When the [ʔ] is inserted before the oral closure is effected it is referred to as **Preglottalization** or **Glottal Reinforcement**,[4] as in the word *what* [ʍɔʔt].

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 2: The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.409.

[2] A.C. Gimson, *An introduction to the pronunciation of English*, (London, 1970), p.168.

[3] A.C. Gimson, *An introduction to the pronunciation of English*, (London, 1970), p.168.

[4] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English 1: An Introduction*, (Cambridge, 1982), p.260.

Glottalling[1] or Replacing Glottal Stop occurs when /p/,/t/,/k/ is replaced by a glottal plosive as in the word *butter* ['bʌʔə] i.e. a glottal closure only.

There is a marked difference between free speech and the reading of the word lists in the use of Glottalling and Glottal Reinforcement in my material. I have only found examples of non-initial T-Glottalling. I have no examples of glottalling of either /p/ or /k/ in my material (neither in free speech, nor in the wordlists), but Glottal Reinforcement is found for /p/, /t/ and /k/.

In free speech Glottalling is very frequent in the KA as in *butter, gutter, right, but, Scotland,* etc. and Pre-Glottalization seems to be general. In the reading of the word-lists, pure Glottalling is quite scarce, with my informants, whereas Pre-Glottalization is a very frequent phenomenon, especially in the realization of /t/.

My main informant uses T-Glottalling only in a few words (wordlists) such as *city* ['sɪʔi], *bat* [baʔ].

Hilde and Magnus (Westray) are the only informants who do not have any Glottalling at all, neither in reading nor in free speech. On the other hand they do include Glottal Reinforcement both in their reading as well as in free speech as in the words *fruit, feet, jerk, music* (wordlists).

Erlend, Sigrid, Thorfinn and Sigurd (Stromness), use Glottalling quite frequently in free speech as well as in reading the stories. The examples of glottalling in the reading of the word lists are quite scarce, Erlend only glottalizes the words *city* and *bat*, Sigrid glottalizes *city* and *private* , Thorfinn uses quite a lot of T-Glottalling in his reading of the word lists as in the words *city, private, bat, port, fruit, shoot, about.*

A phenomenon which is unique in comparison with the other informants is Thorfinn's glottalling of final /d/ as in the words *bed, bad, sad, blood, good, made.*

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[1] B.S. Andresen, *Pre-Glottalization in English Standard Pronunciation,* (Oslo, 1968), p.9.

Sigurd uses Glottalling in the words *city*, *private*, *bet*, *bat*, *caught*, and Glottal Reinforcement in the words *feet*, *fruit*, *shoot*, *boot*, *put*, *bit*, *dock*, *doctor*.

Svein and Margrethe do not glottalize at all in the reading of the word lists, whereas Svein uses Glottalling quite frequently in the reading of the stories, Margrethe has only one example of Glottalling in the stories (as in the word *what*). Both of them Pre-Glottalize quite often /t/ in words such as *feet*, *bit*, *heartless*, *private* and /k/ as in *dock*, *music*, *doctor*.

In free speech on the other hand all my informants (except Hilde and Magnus) use T-Glottalling quite frequently as in *Shetland*, *but*, *not*, *might*, *Latin*, etc.

In the reading of the stories Erlend, Svein, Sigrid, Thorfinn and Sigurd use T-Glottalling quite often:

...*give it a funeral...*, *sat around the fire...*, ...*better shot than...*, ...*what we'll do...*, ...*scattered the ashes...*, ...*might have been...*

Glottal Reinforcement, [ʔt] for /t/ as in *fruit*, *shoot*, *feet*, *cut*, *port*, *court*, *put* ,[ʔp] for /p/ as in *trap* (very slight), *turnips* and [ʔk] for /k/ as in *dock*, *doctor*, *effect*, is found with all my informants.

Preglottalized /p/, /t/ and /k/ can be regarded as allophones of /p/, /t/ and /k/. There is hardly any pair [p] vs. [ʔp], [t] vs. [ʔt], [k] vs. [ʔk]. The glottalized [ʔp,ʔt,ʔk] are variphonic allophones.

[ʔ] (replacing ʔ) is more difficult. It seems to be an allophone of /p/, /t/ or /k/, which according to Jones is a contradiction. Still I prefer to look upon [ʔ], not as a separate phoneme, but as an allophone of all three.

Glottalling is, as we have seen, a very common phenomenon in Kirkwall (and Stromness).[1] It seems to be a trend to use it amongst young people. It has, however been

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[1] "T in initial position normally pronounced as in English. Frequently omitted by young Orcadians when appearing in other parts of the words e.g. *tatties* becomes *ta-ies* and *water* *wa-er*".(G. Lamb, *The Orkney Wordbook*, Orkney, 1988). Lamb here refers to T-Glottalling. I have observed the same two words pronounced with a glottal stop i.e. *tatties* (potatoes) pronounced ['taʔɪz] and *water* ['waʔər].

present in the KA for a long time, as is the case in popular Scottish English.[1]

I spoke to some of the teachers at Kirkwall Grammar School, who said that Glottalling was "accepted" there and was not knocked down on.

Most of my informants were aware of the glottalling in their language, some of them explained:

Erlend: "People trying to be posh might put the [t] in".

Svein: "It was a thing mother used to get on to us about". "She said: Say it right". "It was considered low class".

Hilde: "I wouldn't have thought it was common for Orcadians". "Its horrid, isn't it".

These sayings suggest that Glottalling is regarded as inferior, but since Orkney is a very classless society, Erlend's words: "People trying to be posh..." may mean that although it is relatively well accepted to use glottalling, there is a kind of reversed snobbery present.

Pre-Glottalization is very common, although the speakers may not be aware of it.

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[1] J.C. Wells, *Accents of English: The British Isles*, (Cambridge, 1989), p.409.

Chart of Glottalling and Pre-Glottalization

a Glottalling b Pre-Glottalization

		Wordlists	Stories	Free speech
Erlend	a	*city, bat.*	*it, sat, better,, shot,* etc.	+
	b	+	+	+
Margrethe	a	-	*what.*	+
	b	+	+	+
Svein	a	-	*it,what,sat, scattered,* etc	+
	b	+	+	+
Sigrid	a	*city,private.*	*it,what,sat,*etc.	+
	b	+	+	+
Thorfinn	a	*potatoes,gutter, city,private,* etc.	+	+
	b	+	+	+
Hilde	a	-	-	-
	b	+	+	+
Sigurd	a	*city,bat,caught,*	*might,put,not,*	*quite,light,title,*
	b	+	+	+
Magnus	a	-	-	-
	b	+	+	+

Explanation of the chart

/t/, glottalized in words in italics.

+ = predominant Glottalling or Pre-Glottalization.

- = no Glottalling.

CONCLUSION

The Kirkwall accent of 1990 (as defined on p.1), very close to SSE

After having analysed the KA it is obvious that it has been influenced by SSE to a very large extent. In the reading of word lists and stories (written in SE) by my Kirkwall informants, the KA is practically identical with that of SSE.

The two other accents which I have studied i.e. Stromness and Westray, are very close to the KA, hence there is very little variation within Orkney itself.

Thus in 1990, one may speak of an Orkney accent, which again is very close to SSE.

There seems to be hardly any social variants in Orkney. My informants represent different social groups, considering education and profession. Even so, these do not differ linguistically to any considerable degree. The reason for this may be that Orkney is regarded as a fairly classless society (the Orcadians are aware of this themselves) and sociolinguistic factors seem to play a minor role for their accent.

Glottalling

The only striking sociolinguistic difference I have found among my informants is Glottalling (Replacing Glottal Stop) Glottalling applies to the realization of the /t/ phoneme only, not to /p/ or /k/. Pre-Glottalization is generally used by my informants, and they are not aware of it themselves.

Glottalling is now used by an increasing number of people. This applies for instance to young people at Kirkwall Grammar School. Hilde and Magnus (Westray) do not include Glottalling in their accent at all, neither in the word lists, reading of texts, nor in free speech. Hilde's sex, age and educational background may account for her not using Glottalling. With Magnus, geographical reasons seems to be significant in that Glottalling has not yet reached Westray. Margrethe uses no Glottalling in reading, but she uses it frequently in free speech.

Westray

Among native Orcadians, the Westray accent and dialect are considered very peculiar, set apart from the other islands. From the (very limited) material I have collected on Westray, on the other hand, the accent appears to be quite close to that of Kirkwall and Stromness. Some of my Kirkwall informants argued that **intonation** should be taken into consideration on this point. Intonation may turn out to be an important concept in making comparisons between Westray and other parts of Orkney.

Erlend (about Westray): "...it is very old fashioned." "The intonation goes up and down."

I have also been told that the personal pronouns *thee* and *thou* are still in use on Westray. However, my informant used neither in the recordings of free speech

The most striking phonetic differences I found between Magnus (Westray) and my other informants is the fact that Magnus, in free speech, uses the diphthong [çi] in the word *fishing* ['fçiʃin], as well as using the phoneme /e/ in the word *most*.

No Norse features in the sound system

When studying the KA, I was on the look-out for Norse features, especially tonemes. This ended up as being a negative trace with all my informants. Neither have I found any remnants of Old Norse in the sound system. Quite a number of lexes (an area beyond the scope of this thesis) of Norse origin are still in use, but they seem to disappear gradually from the vocabulary. Some of them still in daily use are the words *flitting* (to move house), *cog* (a small cask), *kirk* (church), *noust* (boat-place), *ken* (to know), *speer* (to ask).

Centring Diphthongs

The existence and scope of centring diphthongs may be a feature characteristic of the accents under investigation and may serve to identify them within English accents.

As we have seen, the majority of my informants quite consistently use centring diphthongs as phonetic realizations of

/i/ and /ʉ/ before /r/ and /l/, of /ɪ/, /e/ and /ɛ/ before /l/ and
of /o/ before /r/ (with Erlend of /o/ also before /m/ and /n/),
thus:

	Before /r/	**Before** /l/
/i/	Erlend, Sigrid, Magnus. e.g. *fierce, deer*	All the informants, except Sigurd and Hilde. e.g. *field*
/ʉ/	Erlend, Sigrid, Magnus. e.g. *poor, moor*	All the informants, except Hilde. e.g. *fool*
/ɪ/	No informants	All Kirkwall informants, except Hilde. e.g. *bill*
/e/	Margrethe. e.g. *care, dare*	All the informants, except Magnus. e.g. *pale* All the informants. e.g. *sail*
/ɛ/	No informants.	All the informants, except Hilde. e.g. *belt, helm*
/o/	All the informants, except Hilde and Sigurd. e.g. *port* All the informants, except Hilde. e.g. *poor* Erlend and Margrethe. e.g. *court*	No informants.

/a/, /ɔ/ and /ʌ/ are never realized as centring diphthongs
in these contexts.

In the contexts above it seems as if the KA (as well as Stromness and Westray) possibly is in a process of change on this point. Centring diphthongs, phonetically, seem to be entering the accent, presumably due to English influence.

Some special features

Since my area of investigation is on the segmental level, I have not made any suprasegmental investigations, such as intonation. As mentioned above, the Orcadians are aware of their intonation. The Orkney accents in general rise at the end of words, which makes their accent sound very lilting and singsong. Their intonation has been considered a rest of Norse (esp. Norwegian) influence. I have come across no systematic investigation of Orkney intonation. Thus, intonation is an interesting area open to further research.[1]

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[1] Schei (1985:127), takes it for granted that Orkney intonation is peculiar and of Norse origin, but she does not state in exact terms in what this peculiarity consists of. "...soft sing-song lilt of the islands, which has remained for a thousand years....". Quoted from E.Muir (in Schei 1985:123).

APPENDIX I.

Phonemic and phonetic transcription of extracts of Story A (Appendix II. G.) read by Erlend[1]

Morag and I shared the rest of the turnips between us and ate

/ˈmɔrəg ən ˈaɪ ˈʃerd ðə ˈrest ɔv ðə ˈtʌrnips bəˈtwin ʌs ən ˈet

[ˈmǫːrəg ən ˈa+ɪ ˈʃę̣rd ðə ˈrç+ːst ɔy̦ ðə ˈtʰʌrnɪʔps bəˈtwin ʌs ən ˈeˈt

them ourselves. I was thinking of these things as I put on dry

ðəm aurˈsɛlvs aɪ wɔs ˈθɪŋkɪŋ ɔv ˈðiz ˈθɪŋs az aɪ ˈpʊt ɔn ˈdraɪ

ðəm auˀˈş̦ɛ̣l̦y̦s aɪ wǫs ˈθɪŋkɪŋ ɔy̦ ˈðiːẓ ˈθɪŋs aẓ aɪ ˈpʰy̦ʔ ɔn ˈdɹaɪ

clothes, poured out a plate of soup, drew my chair close to the

ˈkloðz ˈpɔrd ˈaut ə ˈplet ɔv ˈsʊp ˈdɹu maɪ ˈtʃer ˈklɔs tʉ ðə

ˈk̦lɔːðẓ ˈpǫ̦ɹd ˈau ʔ ˈpɫeɪ ʔ ˈsy̦p ˈdɹu maɪ ˈtʃę̣ɹ klɔːs tu ðə

fire, and put my book in readiness on the table. As I turned to

ˈfaɪər ənd ˈpʊt maɪ ˈbʉk ɪn ˈrɛdinɛs ɔn ðə ˈtebl az aɪ ˈtʌrn tə

ˈfaɪɾ ən ˈpʰʉt maɪ ˈbʉk ɪn ˈɹɛdinɛs ɔn ðə ˈteˈbɫ aẓ aɪ ˈtʰʌrn tə

sit down my eye caught an unexpected flicker of movement

sɪt ˈdaun maɪ ˈaɪ ˈkɔt ən ˈʌnɛkspɛktəd ˈflɪkər ɔv ˈmʉvmənt

sɪt ˈdəʉn maɪ ˈaɪ ˈkʰɔːʔt ən ˈʌnɛkspɛktəd ˈflɪkəɾ ɔy̦ ˈmʉvmənt

through the salt and crusted window, and dreading that it was

θrʉ ðə ˈsɔlt ən ˈkrʌstəd ˈwɪndɔ ən ˈdrɛdɪŋ ðat ɪt wɔz

θɾʉː ðə ˈsɔɫt ən ˈkrʌstəd ˈwɪndǫ ən ˈdɹɛdɪŋ ða ʔ ɪʔ wɔẓ

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[1] The phonemes /z/ and /s/ exist, but in the reading of connected text, the sounds [z] and [v] in the reference accents are replaced by [ẓ] [y̦] or [s] [f].

APPENDIX I.

part of the byre roof or hen house blowing away I hurried to

'part ɔv ðə 'baɪə'rʉf ɔr 'hɛnhaus 'bloɪŋ ə'we aɪ 'hʌrɪd tə

'pʰart ɔy̆ ðə 'baɪə'ruːf ɔr 'hɛnhaus 'blǫɪŋ ə'weˡ aɪ 'hʌrɪd tə

peer out.

'pir 'aut /

'pʰiːr 'əʉtʰ]

APPENDIX II. A.

WORDLIST 1.

see	effect	dull	saw	tune
feed	bed	result	sword	true
fees	beg	car	dawn	music
feet	bet	card	port	boot
piece	belt	garden	caught	fruit
feel	helm	father	ball	shoot
field	bad	part	tall	juice
bid	sad	heart	wood	fool
bit	tan	park	good	cool
bill	badge	bath	put	purr
city	jam	dance	pull	bird
kindness	bat	snarl	wolf	turn
heartless	balcony	dog	blue	nurse
believe	blood	gone	food	hurt
affect	come	dock	move	girl
private	among	doll	shoe	curl
village	cut	revolver	new	doctor

famous	voice	real	board
about	boil	period	court
accept	blow	serious	
ago	know	care	
possible	road	dare	
day	home	chairs	
made	oak	scarce	
way	soap	poor	
late	old	moor	
game	cow	pure	
sail	town	sure	
pail	house	tourist	
fly	about	bureau	
hide	owl	curious	
mine	howl	fortune	
light	deer	contour	
mile	beard	influence	
wild	idea	door	
boy	fierce	score	

APPENDIX II. B.

WORDLIST 2.

feed	tide
hid	boy
sever	cow
never	stone
Sam	here
psalm	hair
cot	horse
law	hoarse
put	poor
pool	tie
cut	tied
data	tide
finger	potatoes
bird	hear
heard	butter
word	gutter
late	shut

WORDLIST 3.

witch	clever
which	bury
weather	berry
whether	next
heather	vexed
jerk	
clerk	
dark	
Perth	
birth	
earth	
heard	
bird	
word	
sever	
never	
ever	

APPENDIX II. D.

WORDLIST 4.

meat	creak	tide
accent	valley	trap
rally	Kirkwall	palm
made	The Kirkwall Accent	tied
creek	now	book
Devon	down	white
twenty	meet	why
text	technology	
never	technical	
next	Pitlochry	
every	Kirkintilloch	
seven	Balloch	
ever	Auchtermuchty	
seventy	Auchterarder	
eleven	Rannoch Moor	
devil	broch	
maid	loch	

APPENDIX II. E.

WORDLIST 5.

no	border	bid
boy	not	bay
now	nought	bed
Thor	pull	balm
warn	pool	word
border	bud	heard
forty	side	herd
for	sighed	fair
force	now	hard
floor	boy	forty
four	first	four
worn	father	poor
store	cart	
core	heart	
door	clerk	
sword	card	
court	bead	

APPENDIX II. F.

WORDLIST 6.

made	short
maid	sport
rally	cork
vally	pork
never	stock
ever	stalk
sever	
eleven	
heaven	
creek	
creak	
cot	
caught	
knotty	
naughty	
don	
dawn	

APPENDIX II. G.

STORY A.

Morag and I shared the rest of the turnips between us and ate them ourselves. I was thinking of these things as I put on dry clothes, poured out a plate of soup, drew my chair close to the fire, and put my book in readiness on the table. As I turned to sit down my eye caught an unexpected flicker of movement through the salt and crusted window, and dreading that it was part of the byre roof or hen house blowing away, I hurried to peer out.

"Oh blast!" I exclaimed, as the movement resolved itself into the wind-flapped edge of a man's overcoat. I had lulled myself into thinking that the malevolence of the day would have ensured for me an afternoon of comlete privacy, but I had forgotten that there was one man who was completely undeterred from his roundlings whatever the weather.

"Oh well!"

APPENDIX II. H.

STORY B.

(Madge, Jimmie, and Dennis have killed a blackbird, and they are discussing what to do with it.)

"Let's give it a funeral," said Madge. "I've got a long chocolate box like a coffin. I only use it to put my gloves in."
But Dennis took the lead again.
"No, I know what we'll do. We'll roast it over a camp-fire."

Dennis pinched a match-box in the kitchen; the cook was persuaded to give them some dripping, and they tried to roast the blackbird on the top of a tin. Perhaps it was as well that, during a dispute arising from Jimmie's boast that he was a better shot than Dennis, the bird was dropped into the flames, and pronounced after recovery to be fit only for burial. Madge, with a black veil, acted as chief mourner.
When the burial service was over, they sat round the fire, smoking dried leaves in pipes made of acorn cups and bits of straw, until it was time to go home. They scattered the ashes, and it was hardly their fault, they told themselves later, that some, not stamped out so thoroughly as they might have been, set the heather on fire.

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