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THE PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF WELSH ON THE ENGLISH DIALECTS OF WALES

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ABSTRACT

The English language has a long history in Wales, and it is widely agreed that the Welsh language has influenced the varieties of English that evolved there. However, the effects of these influences have not been extensively described and are scattered across numerous publications, which often devote just a few sentences to them. This paper serves as a review of such studies regarding the phonetic and phonological influences of Welsh on Welsh Englishes, as well as a comparison of the sound systems of these two languages and other varieties of English as an attempt to identify additional influences that possibly have shaped this dialect.

The differences in the pronunciation of segments and suprasegmentals of English dialects in Wales can usually be explained by direct influences of the native tongue of Wales, for instance, uvular realisations of /r/ in the Aberhosan area, or as originating from neighbouring English dialects; however, often this is a matter of either shared influence or, as in the case of monophthongization of FACE and GOAT vowels, Welsh origin reinforced by local English dialects.

Identifying the precise origin of a linguistic feature is often challenging; however, in such instances, the research presented in this paper highlights the gaps in knowledge regarding the phonetics and phonology of Welsh Englishes and identifies topics where future research would be especially desirable.

Keywords: Welsh Englishes, Celtic Englishes, Welsh, phonetics, phonology, language contact

1. Introduction

Cymru, or as it is more commonly known, Wales is a country on the western coast of the Isle of Great Britain and one of the countries that make up the United Kingdom. It is home to over three million people of diverse backgrounds and ethnicities, the majority of whom speak at least one of two major languages of

Wales: English and Welsh (O'Rourke 2022). The latter is a Celtic language of the Brythonic group and is native to the country; however, approximately only a sixth of the population can speak it (Owen and Parry 2022). English, on the other hand, arrived in Wales in the eleventh century (Penhallurick 2008: 105), and ever since these two languages coexisted in this region, resulting in the formation of a new group of dialectics – Welsh Englishes. These new varieties of English were influenced by the numerous dialects of the Celtic language of Wales, mixing the elements building both languages. The areas where this influence is visible are in their vocabulary and grammar; however, it is most noticeable in the areas of phonetics and phonology (Penhallurick 2008: 106).

This group of dialects of English has not been extensively described. However, phonological surveys conducted, for instance, the *Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects* by David Parry (1997, 1979), or Penhallurick (1991), contributed much to the knowledge of the varieties of this group. Nonetheless, to my knowledge, a study solely aiming to collect and describe the phonetic and phonological influences of Welsh has not been published; and although many academic papers, mention the topic, these references are usually not elaborate. Additionally, it is common for Welsh Englishes to be grouped into one variety, which complicates their description, therefore this paper will describe the common elements of the whole group, occasionally referring to its varieties.

The objectives of the research presented in this paper are to collect data regarding the influence of the Welsh phonetics and phonology that appears in academic literature, to compare the systems of Welsh and Welsh Englishes in order to find possible explanation for some of its phonetic developments, as well as to highlight the gaps in the knowledge in the field that require more research.

2. Vowels

2.1 Overview of the Vowel System

The vowel system of Welsh Englishes comprises 16 monophthongs: six short vowels /ɪ, ɛ, a, ʌ, ɔ, ʊ/, eight long vowels /iː, eː, ɛː, œː, aː, ɔː, oː, uː/, two additional vowels appearing only in unstressed position /i, ə/, and six diphthongs /ɪu, ai, au, ɔi, oə, iə/ (Penhallurick 2008: 108). These sets may slightly differ in regional varieties, which is discussed in the proceeding sections. These vowels, unsurprisingly, show a close resemblance to the standard British English system (see: Jones 2011: vii-viii); however, there are some differences between them, mainly regarding the diphthongs. This chapter examines the differences between the two vowel systems which possibly have their origin in the phonetics of the Welsh language. The vowels are described using the lexical sets proposed by Wells (1982).

2.2 Monophthongs

The description of the monophthongs in Welsh Englishes requires the usage of 13 phonological symbols, which is one more than the description of the standard British English; however, this does not mean that Welsh Englishes have one additional vowel phoneme (Thomas 1994: 115-121). Some of these differences originate in spelling pronunciations following the Welsh orthographic system (Paulasto et al. 2020: 52), while others are directly connected to Welsh phonetics. Of course, there are also some conditioning factors other than the influence of Welsh, but this section explores only those related to the Welsh language.

The DRESS vowel is pronounced in Welsh Englishes in mid-open position (Penhallurick 2008: 109), that is, in a more open position than in standard British English (Roach [1983] 2000: 15-16). The Welsh language also lacks the short mid-front vowel [e] but substitutes it with the open-mid vowel [ɛ] (Awbery 2010: 359-361), which might suggest Welsh influence on the pronunciation of this phoneme in Welsh Englishes, especially since the apparent similarity of these vowels often results in the replacement of the English phone with the native pronunciation of /e/ (Sawala et al. 2017: 25).

In the case of the BATH vowel, the existing surveys of Welsh varieties of English present contradictory findings; however, Paulasto et al. (2020: 51-52), having analysed them, concluded that it is predominantly pronounced as [a] and [aː] in a major part of the country. Although this vowel fronting is certainly affected by the neighbouring varieties of English in England, the spelling pronunciation of Welsh <a> is speculated to also be a factor in this shift.

A characteristic of Northern Welsh regarding monophthongs is that it features one more phoneme than the dialect of the south, the high central unrounded vowel /ɨ/, also called "barred *i*" (Awbery 2010: 359-361). According to Thomas (1994: 129), this sound eventually found its way to the northwestern Welsh variety of English, where it appears solely in stressed monosyllabic words, for instance, *tip* /tɨp/ and *pit* /pɨt/, although it may also appear in longer words. He attributes this assimilation to the Welsh vowel system to the historical lack of contrast in the length of the front vowels, resulting in the exchange of the English short vowel [ɪ] for the "barred *i*" of Northern Welsh. As in Northern Welsh, this vowel may also appear in diphthongs, which is discussed in Section 2.3.

The unstressed vowels in words from the lettER group are extensively merged with the STRUT group, often in a more centralised position [ʌ~ɐ̈]. This tendency toward the merger is comparable to that in Welsh, where "final unstressed syllables are said never to be reduced to schwa" (Walters 2003: 74, cited in Paulasto et al. 2020: 60). The reason is that in Welsh, the pitch is raised following the stressed penultimate syllable (Paulasto et al. 2020: 68-69), and the transfer of this feature might have increased the emphasis on the ultima in Welsh Englishes

(see Section 4.2. for further discussion). The vowel is also frequently realised as [ə] and [ɛ], as well as [a] and [æ]; these variants are often associated with rhoticity (Paulasto et al. 2020: 59-60), which is discussed further below in this section. Nowadays, this practice is less prominent, and [ə] is the most common realisation of letER and commA (Paulasto et al. 2020: 59-60).

However, this prosodic feature of Welsh, combined with spelling pronunciations based on Welsh conventions, might contribute to other instances of retention of the "full" consonant in unstressed final syllables. As a result, pronunciations of words from the startED group with [ɛ], and others such as *benches* [bɛntʃɛz] and *common* [kɒmɒn], remain preferred in the pronunciation in Welsh Englishes today (Paulasto et al. 2020: 60). Other groups of vowels possibly affected by spelling pronunciation are ONE, LOT, and CLOTH when pronounced as [o] rather than merged with the STRUT group, as well as BATH, TRAP, PALM, and START, which are most commonly pronounced as [a] or [aː], with the former said to be influenced by the spelling (Paulasto et al. 2020: 51-52). Alternative pronunciations of the BATH vowel, which are also present in the Welsh language (Awbery 2010: 362), appear in the border regions of the Midlands. There, the vowel is realised either in a more fronted and raised position as [æː] or completely shifted to the back as [ɑː] (Thomas 1994: 131). It is difficult to firmly establish the route of this change; nonetheless, its Welsh origin is also possible, as the phonemes also are present in the dialects of Welsh in that area (Ball and Williams 2001: 64-65, 68-69).

Finally, rhoticity in Welsh Englishes (see Section 3.4.) impacts the realisation of nine lexical groups: BATH, START, NURSE, NORTH, FORCE, BOAR, CURE, FIRE, and POWER (Paulasto et al. 2020: 51-53, 57, 60). In these instances, when the vowel is followed by a rhotic consonant, its offset is shaped to accommodate the movement towards /r/, which results in so-called *r*-colouring. However, since the realisation of post-vocalic /r/ varies in Welsh Englishes (see Section 3.4. for a description of its distribution), the quality of *r*-colouring also changes depending on the dialect (Paulasto et al. 2020: 56, 58-59).

2.3 Diphthongs

Welsh Englishes have fewer diphthongs than the standard variety of British English (Jones 2011: vii-viii). This difference can be explained by the monophthongal realisation of some English diphthongs. Additionally, certain diphthongs are realised differently from the British English standard due to influences from other dialects and languages.

In Welsh Englishes, as in most other Celtic Englishes, diphthongs from the FACE, STAY, GOAT, and SNOW groups are often realised as monophthongs (Filppula 2006: 518-519). The vowels in such words, pronounced in RP as [ei] and [ou], in the dialects of Wales become [eː] and [oː] respectively (Thomas 1994: 129). This

monophthongization was formerly present throughout the country, especially in the FACE and GOAT groups, excluding the highly Anglicised region in the south-west of Wales (Penhallurick 2008: 112-113). However, the RP pronunciation of the diphthongs is now becoming more common (Paulasto et al. 2020: 55). This monophthongal realisation originates in the Welsh vowel system, which lacks these two diphthongs; additionally, influence of the neighbouring dialects of England reinforced this pronunciation in the northern variety (Penhallurick 2008: 113).

An opposite process occurs in words from the TUESDAY group, which in the standard British English is part of the GOOSE group. These are the words spelt with <u, ue, eu, ew> which, instead of standard [uː] or [juː], are pronounced as [ɪu] in Welsh Englishes (Paulasto et al. 2020: 59). This diphthong is native to the Welsh language (Awbery 2010: 364), and the correlation between the English TUESDAY group and the Welsh [ɪu] is apparent in English borrowings in Welsh. In such words, the English rounded vowel with a glide [juː] is replaced by said diphthong, written according to Welsh orthography as <iw>, for example, *iws* [ɪus] 'use' and *iwnifform* [ɪunɪfɔrm] 'uniform', which directly corresponds to the substitution of this sound in Welsh Englishes (Wells 1982: 386). As a similar diphthong appears in the neighbouring dialects of English, they might also have had some influence on this process in southeastern Wales (Paulasto et al. 2020: 59). As pointed out by Wells (1982: 385-386), this change of sounds, though very subtle, switches "the feature [syllabic] from [–, +] to [+, –]", with the result that words from the TUESDAY group do not rhyme with the rest of the GOOSE group, for example *suit* /sɪut/ and *boot* /buːt/. Although this tendency to substitute Welsh /ɪu/ for English /ju/ is in decline, he notices that this slight difference is often missed by speakers, thus resulting in a complete elimination of /juː/ in hypercorrect pronunciations such as [sɪtuːeɪʃn] *situation* and [spɛkuːleːʃn] *speculation*.

In the northwestern region of Wales, the Northern Welsh high central unrounded vowel /ɨ/ entered the diphthongs of the local varieties of English. This change affects only the words from the CHOICE group spelt <oy>, for example, *boy* /boɨː/ and *toy* /toɨː/ (Thomas 1994: 129). This change might also be explained as the possible instance the spelling pronunciation, as the grapheme <y> in Northern Welsh is pronounced as [ɨ] (Hannahs 2013: 24).

3. Consonants

3.1 Overview of Consonantal Systems

The core consonant system of Welsh Englishes consists of 24 consonants. This set is accompanied by eleven other consonants: two appearing in words of Welsh origin and nine regional variations of the core consonants. These sounds are presented in Table 1 (adapted from Parry 1999: 10-13; Penhallurick 2008: 108, 116-119; Paulasto et al. 2020: 47-48, 60-68) with the additional consonants given in brackets.

Table 1. Core consonants of Welsh Englishes

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolar-Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b		(t d)	t d				k g		
Affricate						tʃ dʒ				
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	(ɬ)	ʃ ʒ		(x)	(ʁ)	h
Liquid				r (ɾ ɾ)	l (ɬ)	(ɹ)				
Nasal	m		(n)	n				ŋ		
Glide	w						j		(ʁ)	

This system closely parallels the core consonant system of British English, presented in Table 2 (after Roach 2000: 65). The main differences between them, such as rhoticity, neatly correspond to the core consonant system of Welsh (see Table 3, adapted from Thomas [1992] 2008: 321; Awbery 2010: 366-368; Jones: 1984: 40, 49; Paulasto et al. 2020: 62-63, 66; Williams 2021; Parry 2008: 118), which suggest contact-induced influences from this language.

While analysing such tables, it is crucial not to ignore the fact that phonological symbols are only a simplified representation of sounds. And, as is the case here with plosives, they differ slightly from their English equivalents, even though the same symbols are used (see Section 3.2. for further discussion). Therefore, further analysis of the consonantal system of Welsh Englishes and its Welsh influences requires a more detailed description.

Table 2. Core consonants of British English

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolar-Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g		
Affricate						tʃ dʒ				
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z		ʃ ʒ				h
Liquid					l	ɹ				
Nasal	m			n				ŋ		
Glide	w						j			

Table 3. Core consonants of Welsh

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolar-Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b		[t d]	t d				k g		
Affricate						(ʧ ʤ)				
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s (z)	ɬ	(ʃ)		[x]	χ [ʁ]	h
Liquid			[l ɬ]	r (ɾ ɾ)	l	(ɹ)				
Nasal	m (m̥)		[n n̥]	n (n̥)				ŋ (ŋ̊)		
Glide	w						j	[ʀ]		

3.2 Plosive Consonants

There are six plosive consonants in Englishes of Wales, grouped into three lenis-fortis pairs: /p, b, t, d, k, g/. These symbols are also used to transcribe consonantal sounds in both Welsh and British English. However, this does not imply that these sounds are entirely identical between the languages for the reason that phonological symbols do not show the true value of sounds but are simplified to allow for accurate differentiation of phonemes within one system (Roach 2000: 38-41). Therefore, when comparing the phonetics of different languages or dialects, it is crucial not to analyse them solely by their phonological transcription. This section explores the linguistic innovations of Welsh origin in the pronunciation of plosive consonants in Welsh Englishes with respect to place of articulation, aspiration and voicing.

Most varieties of English in Wales and Welsh share a common place of articulation: /p, b/ are bilabial, /t, d/ are alveolar, and /k, g/ are velar. However, the position of /t, d/, especially in northern and some mid-Welsh dialects of both languages, is dental (Paulasto et al. 2020: 62; Ball and Williams 2001: 17-19; Jones 1984: 41), which is infrequent in other parts of the country (Penhallurick 2008: 117). Such a realisation is not present in the northwestern English dialects of England (Watson 2008: 352), which leaves Northern Welsh as the source of this change. Additionally, in Northern Welsh dialects, when dental [t̪, d̪] proceeds /r/, their realisation shifts to post-alveolar [t̪r, d̪r] (Ball and Williams 2001: 18). This might also be reflected in northern Welsh Englishes; however, more research is needed to prove the existence of this process in this dialect.

The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ are strongly aspirated in the dialects of English in Wales, especially in the North, which is most prominent in word-initial

position (Paulasto et al. 2020: 60-61). This phenomenon is directly linked to the patterns of aspiration in the Welsh language with one difference: in Welsh, aspiration does not occur word-finally (Hannahs 2013: 14). This strong word-final aspiration, which often results in affrication, might be due to the influence of neighbouring English Englishes, being observed in Liverpool English, for example (Watson 2008: 353). However, the strength of aspiration of the fortis plosive consonants in onset and medial positions is a result of Welsh influence.

The voicing of plosives in Welsh and English is quite different, to the extent that some researchers (Ball 1984: 5; Jones 1984: 41) argue that the Welsh language almost entirely lacks voicing in the realisation of stops and instead differentiates them based on VOT. However, according to Paulasto et al. (2020: 62), such a minimal voicing does not appear to be a feature of Welsh Englishes in the national surveys, except for occasional word-final devoicing in Holyhead. This view contrasts with the common caricature of Welsh pronunciation of English in literature (Thomas 1994: 122-123, as cited in Paulasto et al. 2020: 62). For example, in Shakespeare's play *Henry V* ([1599] 2015) the author modified the spelling of words spoken by Fluellen, who is a character from Wales, to show this process, for example, *p* for *b* (*beseech* → *peseech*) (Filppula 2006: 517). This might suggest that the Welsh pattern of devoicing plosives in English varieties of Wales used to be more prominent in the past than it is now.

3.3 Nasal Consonants

In the case of nasal consonants, Welsh Englishes do not show much influence from the Welsh phonetic system. These consonants are always voiced, as in other English dialects (Ladefoged [2001] 2012: 137) and unlike in Welsh. There is only one confirmed case of influence in the pronunciation of one of the nasals: the place of articulation of /n/ is shifted to a dental position in the same geographical regions as for /t, d/ (see Section 3.2.). Additionally, the occasional pronunciation of the ending *-ing* as [-ɪŋk] instead of [-ɪŋ], for example, in Cardiff English (Paulasto et al. 2020: 62), might be influenced by Welsh, since the Welsh digraph *ng* is sometimes pronounced with a following velar plosive (Awbery 2010: 375). However, the pronunciation [-ɪŋg] was formerly widespread in the neighbouring English dialects of the western Midlands (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 199-120); thus, the influence of Welsh in this instance is only speculative.

3.4 Liquids Consonants and Rhoticity

The pronunciation of /l/ in Welsh Englishes is clearly influenced by Welsh (Penhallurick 2008: 118). According to Awbery (2010: 368), in the northern dialects of Welsh /l/ is realised as dark, whreas in the southern dialects, as clear in

all contexts. However, a study by Morris (2017: 196) found a variation in the pronunciation of this sound in Northern Wales, thus indicating that it is not solely dark in dialects from that area. The difference in /l/ realisations is also observable in Welsh Englishes, where the dark realisation dominates in the dialects of North Wales, and the clear realisation in Mid and South Wales (Paulasto et al. 2020: 65-66). However, the dark realisation of /l/ in Northern Wales is lighter than in Welsh of that region and varies across speakers of different genders and from different areas (Morris 2017: 198). Additionally, the more conservative dialects, i.e. those in Welsh-speaking areas, retain the type of articulation of the local dialects of Welsh; for example, in South Pembrokeshire the realisation of /l/ is always clear (Parry 1989: 151), as in Pembrokeshire Welsh (Awbery 1986: 13). An additional difference between the two dialects of Welsh is the place of articulation of the sound, which in the north is dental and in the south alveolar (Awbery 2010: 368), which might have influenced the articulation of the sound in Welsh varieties of English, as in the case of /t, d/ and /n/ (see Sections 3.2. and 3.3.), and thus affecting all the alveolar consonants; however, this matter requires further research.

Rolled 'r' is considered a stereotypical feature of Welsh Englishes (*How to Speak with a Welsh Accent* 2019); however, this claim is only partially true because different varieties of English in Wales vary in their levels of rhoticity, or lack it completely. Rhoticity in Welsh Englishes is most prominent in the areas where the Welsh language continues to be spoken, thus, mostly the northwestern and southwestern regions of Wales, which is directly connected to the influence of Welsh (Thomas 1985: 213; Penhallurick 2008: 118). This is particularly noticeable in the case of different rhotic consonants employed by some varieties of English in northern Wales, which directly correspond to the rhotic consonants of the autochthonous Welsh dialects. Although, it is important to mention that the youth in Northern Wales appears to favour the alveolar approximant [ɹ] realisations than the rhotic ones (Morris 2021: 14), which might also be the case for the southwestern areas. However, rhoticity is may still be heard in some dialects of English in Wales, for example, in the Aberhosan area, the uvular rhotic realisations [ʁ ~ ʁ̞] (Paulasto et al. 2020: 66). Another realisation of rhotic consonants in the varieties of English in Wales is the alveolar flap [ɾ], which also appears more frequently in the Welsh-speaking areas (Penhallurick 2008: 118). Such a sound in this context is also used in other dialects of English; however, Collins and Mees (1989: 91), in discussing Cardiff English, note a much longer articulation of this sound than in RP, which makes it resemble /d/ rather than /t/; this might also be of Welsh origin.

3.5 Fricative and Affricate Consonants

The system features four lenis-fortis pairs of fricatives /f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ/, two unpaired fricatives /x, ɬ/, and one lenis-fortis pair of affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ (Thomas

1994: 125-126; Paulasto et al. 2020: 86). While Welsh Englishes do not have a regular /h/ (Thomas 1994: 122), it does appear in some dialects and in hypercorrect pronunciations (Thomas 1994: 132). Possible Welsh influence on the realisation of these consonants may be discerned in their place of articulation, voicing patterns, and the pronunciation of /h, x, ɬ/.

The position of articulation of the dental fricatives /θ, ð/ in Welsh is specified by Thomas (2008: 327) as interdental, while in British English these sounds are realised postdentally in most instances (Hosseinzadeh et al. 215: 654). However, there is little mention of the exact place of articulation of these fricatives in Welsh Englishes. However, Collins and Mees (1989: 90), in their description of Cardiff English state that "/ð/ is normally approximant rather than fricative", which places this sound in the interdental position, thus suggesting a possible influence of Welsh on this dialect.

Furthermore, the devoicing of the fricatives and affricates /z, ʒ, dʒ/ and the voicing of /f/ in Welsh Englishes possibly originate from Welsh. Both Paulasto et al. (2020: 63) and Thomas (1994: 128-129) portray the pattern of devoicing [z, ʒ, dʒ] as taken from Welsh phonetics. The latter language lacks these sounds in its native consonant inventory (see Table 3). Although [z, dʒ] do occur, they are confined almost exclusively to English loanwords and in most cases are devoiced to [s, ʃ] respectively (Awbery 2010: 369). Such a widespread trend is also observed in the entire group of Welsh Englishes when [z, ʒ, dʒ] appear word-medially and word-finally in standard Southern British English (Paulasto et al. 2020: 63).

In the areas of southeastern and southwestern Wales, Parry (1999: 39) recorded initial voicing or substitution of [f] with [v] in the words *first*, *four*, and *furrow*. This finding is presented as an undoubted influence of the varieties of English in southwestern England, since such a pattern of voicing is associated with those accents (Penhallurick 2008: 117). However, there is a possibility for partial influence of the Welsh pronunciation of this grapheme, which is [v] (Thomas 2008: 321). Therefore, since Welsh is a phonetically spelled language (Filppula 2006: 518), this voicing might have partially originated from the pronunciation of the words according to Welsh orthography.

In Welsh Englishes, similarly to other non-standard varieties of English in England, *h*-dropping is a fairly frequent phenomenon (Paulasto et al. 2020: 65) to the extent that it has become somewhat stereotypical (*How to Speak with a Welsh Accent* 2019). However, in the case of Welsh Englishes, the Welsh pronunciation was also a contributing factor. The voiceless glottal fricative [h] is included in the phonetic inventory of northern Welsh varieties, whereas the southern dialects, particularly in the south-east, lack this phoneme (Hannahs 2013: 16; Awbery 2010: 369), which certainly could have contributed to the extent of *h*-dropping in English varieties of these areas.

The appearance of the fricatives [x, ɬ] in Welsh Englishes is unquestionably a result of Welsh influence. However, the place of articulation of [x] is described as velar rather than uvular, which is more common in Welsh. Many authors (Paulasto et al. 2020: 62; Penhallurick 2008: 118; Thomas 1994: 122, 133) insist that this pair of fricatives occurs in these dialects of English only in Welsh loanwords, expressions, or place and personal names, for example, *crochon* 'bread-basket', *ych-a-fi* 'yuck!', *Llancaiach*, *Gwenllian*. However, many speakers of the dialects simplify or alter the pronunciation of these sounds. Especially difficult to replicate is the voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ], and to approximate its pronunciation, speakers produce the sequence [kl] in initial position, where the aspiration of the plosive consonant imitates the audible frication of /ɬ/, and the sequence [θl] in medial position (Thomas 1994: 133-134). An interesting case of approximate pronunciation of the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ is found in Cardiff English, where speakers occasionally produce the cluster [xl], as the voiceless velar fricative /x/ is more established there than the other fricative of Welsh origin (Collins and Mees 1989: 91). In areas where /x/ is not common, it is replaced with the voiceless velar plosive [k] (Thomas 1994: 134).

Such practices might be an effective strategy for reproducing the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ because the aspiration or the frication of the preceding consonant, combined with the lateral position of /l/, may result in the actual pronunciation of the target sound. However, such stop-lateral and fricative-lateral clusters also appear in other contexts in both Welsh and Welsh Englishes. Therefore, in such circumstances, there is a possibility of an unpremeditated pronunciation of the lateral fricative as an allophone of /l/.

3.6 Glides

The two glides /j, w/ appearing in Welsh Englishes are virtually the same as in the standard variety of British English, both in the case of their distribution and articulation (Thomas 1994: 126). However, the Welsh accent in public view appears to lose the palatal glide /j/ (*How to Speak with a Welsh Accent* 2019), a phenomenon which is also described by Thomas (1994: 126), who adds that the rounded bilabial glide /w/ is also frequently dropped. The environment for glide dropping in Welsh Englishes is when a glide "would be followed by a vowel of similar quality", which results in the creation of homophone pairs such as *wood* and *hood* (the latter with *h*-dropping), as well as *east* and *yeast* (Thomas 1994: 126). While the reason for *j*-dropping in varieties of English in Wales is not described, in the matter of *w*-dropping, Penhallurick (2008: 118) considers this process as influenced by Welsh, as it is mostly confined to the areas where Welsh is still spoken. This assumption of influence is supported by the fact that the initial /w/ is foreign to the Welsh language, and as Awbery (2010: 370) observes, *w*-

dropping is also present there. However, this process is disappearing in Welsh Englishes, as it is not found in the most recent surveys (Paulasto et al. 2020: 65).

4. Prosody

4.1 Introduction

An image of a traveller at Cardiff General Railway Station who, upon arrival, is surrounded by Welsh-sounding speech, only to notice after listening more carefully that the language they are hearing is not Welsh but English, is how Pilch (1983: 244) describes the universal experience of the prosody of Welsh Englishes for foreigners. Later, he proclaims that the sound of "the Welsh accent" or the pronunciation of Welsh varieties of English is very distinct from that of other dialects, even in the speech of monoglots. This distinctiveness is universally attributed to the Welsh influence on the dialects as the similarities between the two languages regarding prosody are very apparent. Regrettably, the prosody of the dialects has not been described in much detail; however, there is some literature on two features, stress and intonation. This section discusses these prosodic features in Welsh Englishes and the influences of Welsh prosody on them.

4.2 Stress

Both Welsh and English are examples of lexical stress languages, i.e. languages whose words are longer than one syllable usually contain a syllable that is regarded as more prominent (Mennen et al. 2020: 4). However, the stressed syllable in Welsh appears primarily in a fixed position, namely the penultimate (Awbery 2010: 372), while in English its position is more unpredictable (Roach 2000: 96-97). Some authors (Pilch 1983: 245) claim that Welsh often manifests elements of free-stress languages, such as unpredictable lexical stress; however, the overwhelming majority agree that lexical stress in Welsh is very regular (Webb 2011: 2106). Additionally, Welsh and English differ in signalling lexical stress, with the Welsh cues being somewhat unusual among the world's languages but appearing in Welsh Englishes (Webb 2011: 2107, 2109; Walsh and Parker 1981).

The main differences concern vowel and consonant length. In English the duration of vowels in stressed syllables is often prolonged, which is perceived by native speakers as stress even in "nonsense words" (Roach 2000: 94). Similarly, in Welsh the duration of the stressed segment is longer than the rest; however, the segment whose length is important as the cue to stress is not a vowel but a consonant (Williams 1986, as cited in Webb 2011: 2107). The vowels are frequently shortened in stressed position (Hannahs 2013: 25-26), although they bear little importance regarding stress (Webb 2011: 2107).

According to Webb (2011: 2108), Welsh Englishes follow to some extent the Welsh practice, having geminate consonants and shorter vowel durations than the standard variety of British English in stressed positions. However, her results show the influence of both languages as the average length of the stressed vowel is closer to the standard variety, and the average length of the post-stress consonant is considerably longer than the standard and approaching the average for the Welsh consonants. More insight into vowel and consonant length was brought by Mennen et al. (2015), who compared vowel and consonant length in the speech of bilinguals from Welsh- and English-speaking homes with that of Welsh monolinguals of English from the Ammanford area in Eastern Carmarthenshire. Their study found no significant effect of the linguistic situation of the speakers on the length of segments; however, the bilingual speakers from English-speaking backgrounds intensified the different lengths in Welsh. While the Welsh influence in this instance is certain, it is unclear whether these differences in the length of stressed segments are a result of historical or recent interactions between the languages; however, the former is considered more probable (Mennen et al. 2020: 5, 12-13).

These differences may result in a false perception of stress shifting to a different position, as unstressed syllables in Welsh and consequently in Welsh Englishes often are "as strong phonetically as the stressed ones" (Walters 2003: 220, as cited in Mennen et al. 2020: 12). This realisation, together with the way English speakers read the cues to stress, may lead to this false observation. However, such a realisation does result in an increased emphasis on the final syllable (Paulasto et al. 2020: 60), which may explain some differences in the pronunciation of the vowels in the lett^{ER} group (see Section 2.2.).

4.3 Intonation

Welsh Englishes are often described as having a singsong intonation, meaning that to other speakers, Welsh Englishes seem to be sung (*How to Speak with a Welsh Accent* 2019), which might be common among the Celtic Englishes (Filppula 2006: 516). It is most observed in the southern regions of Wales, for example, in Rhonda Valley English. Such a perception is explained by an overall rising intonation in these dialects, i.e. a high pitch on unstressed syllables, which is emphatically raised after a stressed syllable (Paulasto et al. 2020: 68-69). Additionally, such rises often appear consecutively, unlike in the standard variety of British English, which may give the impression of singing and an overall higher pitch of speech (Pilch 1983: 245). Another feature of rising intonation in Welsh Englishes is that it is often preceded by initial downward movement after stressed syllables, thus is similar to a falling-rising tone, and, before stressed syllables, is introduced by a level tone, which delays the actual rise (Quaino 2011: 305-306).

The rising intonation of Welsh Englishes is also described by Wells (1982: 392) as more rapid than in RP, i.e. in utterances where a low-rise is used in the standard; for example, in yes-no questions, a high-rise is observed in Welsh Englishes. He also highlights that the falling intonation of the standard is realised in this dialect as a rise-fall tone, the level of which also varies among the varieties. For example, the phrase isn't it in RP is pronounced as [ˋɪzn̩tɪt], and in Welsh Englishes as [ˆɪnɪt], but in Cardiff English, the width of this tone is shorter and less prominent when compared to Rhonda Valley English.

The musicality of varieties of English in Wales is, according to Quaino (2011: 304-305), most prominent in the accent of the southern Valleys; however, he speculates that the data showing a trend of the upward movement in post-stress syllables (Walters 1999) might not be completely reliable as the very informal environment in which it was collected could have influenced the intonation of the speakers. However, according to his study, the tendency for tone-rising depends on the dialect, as Cardiff English exhibits a higher tendency for it than Glamorgan English.

These elements of intonation of Welsh Englishes are considered to reflect the influence of Welsh as they are so different from the standard varieties of British English. Although the topic has not yet been well researched, the limited sources on Welsh intonation agree that the tendency for rising intonation is also present in Welsh. An additional similarity, presented by Awbery (2010: 373) is a common pattern in which the rising tones are arranged in a sequential order, which has also been observed in Welsh Englishes. She describes this phenomenon in more detail as often occurring in a 'saw-toothed' pattern, i.e. the following syllable is introduced in a slightly lower pitch than the previous one, which might also be reflected in the English dialect. Taking these facts into consideration, although this area still requires much attention, it is safe to assume that the intonation of Welsh Englishes have in fact been influenced by Welsh.

5. Conclusion

Unsurprisingly, the research presented above identifies numerous influences of Welsh phonetics and phonology on Welsh Englishes, as the two languages have coexisted for a long time in Wales. With regard to segmental phonology, many vowels of these varieties of English have shifted to different positions from those in the standard British English; however, those shifts are rarely described in the context of the Welsh vowel systems, which prevents one from fully describing the factors which shaped such movements. Conversely, when discussing the consonants of Welsh Englishes authors frequently refer to Welsh phonetics, possibly because there the effects are more transparent. Suprasegmental features have not been as widely researched; however, new studies have been conducted

(Mennen et al. 2020; Webb 2011; Quaino 2011), which have greatly expanded our knowledge of stress and intonation patterns in Welsh Englishes.

This paper, by collecting and analysing the results of previous studies, highlights the areas in which more research is needed to better understand the formation of Welsh Englishes, as well as the differences among the varieties of the group. As stated above, it is in the domain of intonation that the influence of Welsh influences has been least investigated; however, there are also gaps in our knowledge regarding certain segmental features of Welsh Englishes, for instance, the exact position of articulation of /l/ in the northern variety. It remains to be seen what other influences future studies will discover.

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