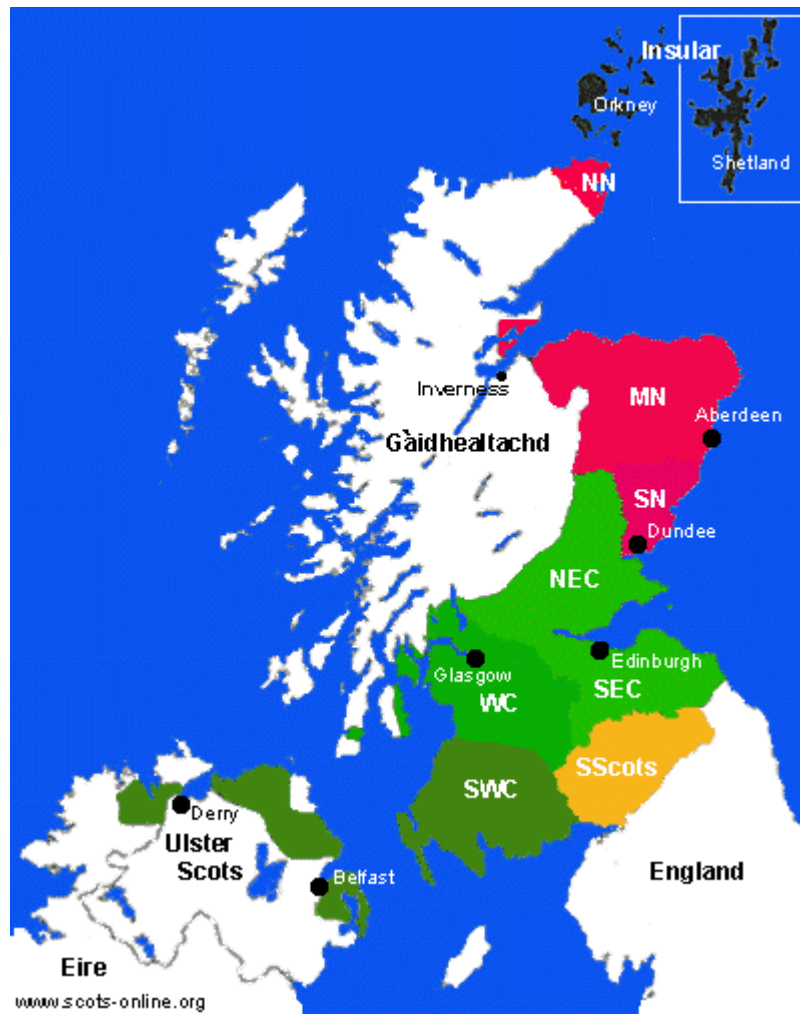


# A Phonological Comparison of Scots Dialects

By Andy Eagle



## A Phonological Comparison of Scots Dialects

Dialects of course gradually pass into each other so that a mixture of dialects occurs where one dialect merges into another. A whole series of tables would be necessary to represent the distribution of sounds accurately.

Only the main dialect differences between the areas mentioned are illustrated. The descriptions make no claim to be exhaustive.

1. South, Central & Ulster Dialects
2. Northern and Insular Dialects
3. Bibliography

### Abbreviations

S = Southern	Adj. = Adjectival
SEC = South East Central	Adv. = Adverbial
NEC = North East Central	C = Consonant
WC = West Central	Dim. = Diminutive
SWC = South West Central	Ex. = Except
Ulster = Ulster	Fin. = Final
SN = South Northern	Gen. = Generally
MN = Mid Northern	Inter. = Interrogative
NNa = North Northern	Init. = Initial
NNb = North Northern	Med. = Medially
I.Ork = Orkney	NA = Not applicable
I.Sh = Shetland	Occ. = Occasionally
	Unstr. = Unstressed
	Verb. eng. = Verbal endings

The phonetic transcriptions are broad, for narrower transcriptions consult the literature mentioned in the bibliography.

### Consonants

Consonants usually have the same phonetic values (pronunciation) in Scots, as in English except where shown in the tables.

/b/ <b>, /d/ <d>, /f/ <f, ph><sup>1</sup>, /g/ <g>, /h/ <h><sup>2</sup>, /dʒ/ <j, dg(e)>, /k/ <c,k,ck><sup>3</sup>, /l/ <l>, /m/ <m> /n/ <n>, /p/ <p>, /r/ <r><sup>4</sup>, /s/ <s, c, ce, se, ss>, /t/ <t>, /v/ <v><sup>5</sup>, /w/ <w>, /ɛks/ <x> /j/ <y> /z/ <z, s, se><sup>6</sup>.

The letter <ɜ> (yogh) /j, nj/ or /ŋ/ as in *capercaillie*, *senzie* and *Menzies* is sometimes used though now usually written <z>.

### Glottal Stops

Glottal Stops /ʔ/ often occur for /t/ and sometimes /k/ and /p/, between two vowels.

## Vowel Length

Vowel length is not shown in the tables. Most Scots dialects follow the Scots Vowel–Length Rule.

The following vowels are usually short: /ə/ (in unstressed positions), /ɪ, ʌ, ε, a/

The following vowels are usually long: /e, i, o, u, ø, ø, γ, Y/

In stressed syllables before /v, ð, z, ʒ/ and /r/.

Before another vowel and

Before a morpheme boundary.

The following vowels are usually long in most dialects: /a, ɔ/.

## Footnotes

1. In Southern Scots may be voiced to /v/ in some words e.g. *caff*(chaff), *staff*, *sheaf*.
2. Usually /ç/ before the semivowel /j/.
3. In South East Central and Insular Scots palatalization may occur before front vowels.
4. The proximity of /r/ final after the long vowels, except <a>, and diphthongs, and in the collocations <-rl-, -rm-, -rn, shr->, often produces a glide or svarabhakti vowel.
5. On the Moray Firth coast (Mid Northern Scots) initial, and occasionally medial, <v> may be realized /w/.
6. Initial <z> may be /dz/.

# 1. South, Central & Ulster Dialects

## Vowels & Diphthongs

Spelling		IPA						In words such as	
		S	SEC	NEC	WC	SWC	Ulster		
Vowel	Unstr.	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	awa, ahint, aboot, the, oxter, smeddum, bannock	
1	Long	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	ae <sup>1</sup>	cry, fire, hive, kye	
	Short	əi	əi	əi	əi <sup>1</sup>	əi	ɛi	advice, bide, eyntment, eyster, fine, tyne, wyce, wyte	
2	Gen.	i	i	i	ɪ	i	i	bield, chiel, dreich, eetem eild, freet, heich, jeelie, keep, meet, scribe, shielin, skeich, weel, weet, wheech	
3	Gen.	i <sup>1</sup>	i~e	e	i~e	i~e	e <sup>2</sup>	beast, beat, cheap, east, heap, hear, meat, ream	
							i <sup>3</sup>	beir, deave, deid, heid, meidae, peir, spreid, teir, thread	
4	Gen.	e <sup>2</sup>	e	e	E	e	e <sup>4</sup>	drave, face, hame, lade, Pace	
	Note Init.	jɪ	jɪ	e	jɪ	jɪ	e <sup>5</sup>	aiblins, aik, ait, ale, ane, ance	
	Fin.	e <sup>3</sup>	e		e	e		brae, frae, gae, sae, tae n., wae	
	Note Fin.	je	je		je	je		ae	
5	Gen.	ɔ <sup>4</sup>	o	o	o <sup>2</sup>	ɔ	o~ɔ	boss, box, cod, common, on, rock	
	Before xt	ʌu						dochter, thocht	
6	Gen.	u	u	u	u	u~y	u <sup>6</sup>	about, bouk, broun, coum, coont, cour, doun, dout, droop, dule, hoose, hure, moose, oot, poupit, scoor, soond, thoum	
	Fin.	ʌu						allou, brou, cou, dou, fou, hou, nou, oo, sou, you	
7	Init. Long	ø <sup>5</sup>	je	je <sup>1</sup>	je	y <sup>1</sup>	ju	uise	
	Init. Short		jɪ	jɪ <sup>1</sup>	jɪ			ju	uiss
	Med. Long		e	e <sup>1</sup>	e			e <sup>7</sup>	buird, fuird, fluir, muir, ruise, Fairsday, shuir, pruire, abuse, muisc
	Med. Short		ɪ	ɪ <sup>1</sup>	ɪ				ɪ <sup>8</sup>
	Fin.		e	e <sup>1</sup>	e	e <sup>9</sup>	adae, dae, shae, tae v.		

	before /k, x/ back stop cons.	jʌ <sup>6</sup>	ju	(j)ʌ	jʌ <sup>3</sup>	ju	(j)ʌ	beuch, beuk, eneuch, heuk, leuch, leuk, neuk, teuch
8	Gen.	e <sup>7</sup>	e	e	e	e	e <sup>3</sup>	aiple, aith, braid craiter, faim, gaither, graith, haimer, laim
	Fin.							day, gray, lay
8a	Fin.	ei	əi	əi	əi	əi	əi	Fley
9	Gen.	oe	oi	oi	oi	oi	oi	noise, Boid, foy, ploy
10	Gen.	ɔɪ	əi	əi	əi	əi	əi	byle, ile
11	Fin.	ei	i	i	i	i	i	dee, dree, free, knee, see
12	Med. & init.	a:	a:~ɔ:	ɔ:~a:	ɔ:~a:~a <sub>4</sub>	a~a:~ɔ:	ɔ:~a:~a: <sub>10</sub>	auld, haud, haund, saund, slauchter,
	Init. (occ. Med.)							awe, awn, bawd, bawbee, bawsant
	Fin.							blaw, slaw, snaw, draw, gnaw aw, caw, faw, gaw, haw, staw
	Fin.	a:~e				a		awa, twa, wha
			a:~ɔ:~e					
13	Gen.	ʌu	ʌu	ʌu	ʌu <sup>5</sup>	ʌu <sup>2</sup>	ʌu <sup>11</sup>	bowt, cowp, cowt, flowe, glowe, gowd, gowf, growe, howe, knowe, lowe, lowp, owsen, rowe, sowder, towe
14	Gen.	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju	dew, feu, few, spew, new
		jʌ <sup>6</sup>		(j)ʌ	jʌ <sup>3</sup>		(j)ʌ	teug, speug, peuther, sleum, spleut, deugs
15	Gen.	ɪ <sup>8</sup>	ɪ <sup>1</sup>	ɪ <sup>2</sup>	ɪ <sup>6</sup>	ɪ	ɪ <sup>12</sup>	drink, fit, in, inch, licht, lift, rin, simmer, sin, stibble, pit
	After w & wh oft.	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ		ʌ	whin, whisper, whit, wid, wind, wir, wurd, wirm, wittins
16	Gen.	ɛ~æ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	bed, brek, ebb, esh, fecht, gled, gless, seck, wecht
17	Gen.	a~a	a <sup>2</sup>	a <sup>3</sup>	a	a~a	a~a <sup>13</sup>	aff, lang, mak, wash, watch
18	Gen.	ɔ <sup>9</sup>	o	o	o	o	o~ɔ	boat, coal, hoast
19	Gen.	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	bund, burn, drunken, fund, grund, truff, tung, unce, wund

## Consonants

Spelling	IPA							In words like
	S <sup>10</sup>	SEC <sup>3</sup>	NEC <sup>4</sup>	WC <sup>7</sup>	SWC <sup>3</sup>	U <sup>14</sup>		
Ch	Med. & Fin.	x <sup>11</sup>	x	x	x	x	x	nicht, bocht, loch
Ch	Init.	tʃ	tʃ <sup>4</sup>	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	chield, chowk, chap, chirle
dge, g, ge	Gen.	dʒ <sup>12</sup>	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	fadge, begrudge, cadge, crudge, gigot, breinge
Ld	Gen.	ld <sup>13</sup>	l	l(d) <sup>5</sup>	l(d) <sup>8</sup>	l(d) <sup>4</sup>	l	auld, bauld, cauld, fauld
Nch	Gen.	nʃ	nʃ	nʃ	nʃ	nʃ	nʃ	brainch, clinch, dunch, hainch, inch, French
Nd	Gen.	nd <sup>14</sup>	n	n(d) <sup>6</sup>	n	n	n	haund, saund, sindry, Find
ng, nk	Gen.	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	hing, ingan, single, Finger, fank, bink
Qu	Gen.	kw	kw	kw	kw	kw	kw	acquint, queen, quair
Sh	Gen.	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	creash, sheep
Sh	Occ.	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	pushion, fushion
Tch	Gen.	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	fleetch, wratch
Th	Gen.	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	thole, thrawn, graith
Th	Gen.	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð <sup>15</sup>	thir, thae, blether
Wh	Gen.	ɸ <sup>15</sup>	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	whan, wha, wheel, wheech

## Suffixes

Spelling	IPA						In words like	
	S	SEC	NEC	WC	SWC	Ulster		
-ae	Gen.	ɛ	e	e~i	e	e	e~i~ɛ	airae, barrae, nairae, swallae, windae
-ie	dim.	i	e~i	e <sup>7</sup>	e	e	e	grannie, shoppie, lassie, laddie, wifie
-fu	Fin.	fɛ	fe~fi	fe	fə	fa	fu	awfu, carefu, mensefu
-it, -t	Verb. pt.	ət~t <sup>16</sup>	ət~t <sup>5</sup>	ət~t	ət~t	ət~t	ət~t	selt, telt, scunnert, duntit, skelpit
-in	Pres. Part.	ən <sup>17</sup>	in	in	in	in	in	duntin, sellin
-in	Gerund	in <sup>17</sup>						tellin, skelpin
-na	Neg. part.	nɛ	ne~ni	ne	nə~ne	ne	ne	dinna, haesna, maunna, wisna, winna
-y	Adv. & Adj.	i~i	e~i	e <sup>7</sup>	e	e	e	sairy, stany, stoury, reeky
-ly	Adv. & Adj.	li~li	le~li	le	le	le	le	feckly, geyly

## Footnotes

### Southern

1. Also e, particularly before /t/ and /θ/.
2. In some areas /ɪə/. After /h/ may be /(h)jɪ/.
3. The <f> in *frae* may be /θ/.
4. May be initial /wʌ/ in *open, orchard* and *ort* etc.
5. Also /ə/ or /æ/, however, the South East Central Scots pronunciations are now very prevalent.
6. Also /ə/ or /iu/.
7. In some areas /ɪə/. May also be /iu/ before <ch>. After /h/ may be /(h)jɪ/.
8. May be /əi/ before /g, ŋ/ and /x/. In North Roxburghshire may be /ɛ/ in some words.
9. May be /uə/ in words such as *coal*.
10. Medial <d> may be /ð/ in a few words such as *ledder, pouder, shouder* and *sowder*. Final <d> may be /t/ in words such as *cupbuird* and *orchard*, and /dʒ/ in words such as *curmud, daud* and *fud*. Final <t> may be /d/ after /l, r, m, n, ŋ/ or a vowel in a monosyllable e.g. *telt* and *selt*. In the cluster <tw>, /w/ may be vocalized in words such as *twilt* [tolt], *twin* [ton] and *twinty* ['tunti]. A /j/ before /i/ may be elided in words such as *year*.
11. Usually /x/ after back vowels and /ç/ after front vowels.
12. May be /ʒ/ after <n>.
13. To the west, simplification to /l/ occurs finally and when the next word begins with a consonant.
14. To the West simplification to /n/ occurs in all positions.
15. Older speakers may have /mχ/. May be /h/ in some words.
16. May be /d/ after /l, r, m, n, ŋ/ or a vowel in a monosyllable.
17. Now the present participle and gerund are /ɪn/.

### SEC

1. May be /ʌ/ before /l/, /kl/ and /tl/.
2. Also /a/, especially before /n(d)/ and /ŋ/.
3. In West Lothian <tw> may be realized /kw/ in words such as *atween, twa, twal* and *twinty*.
4. In Churnside may be /ʃ/.
5. May be /d/ after /l, r, m, n, ŋ/ or a vowel in a monosyllable.

### NEC

1. In eastern parts of Fife older speakers have /ø/ and towards Perthshire /y/.
2. Also /a:/.
3. Also /ʌ/ towards the Highland line and before /l, kl/ and /tl/.

4. Also /a/, especially before <n(d)>.
5. <l> may be pronounced /j/ in words such as *blue* [bju:], *laik* [jek] and *plou* [pju:]. In Perthshire <tw> may be realized /kw/ in words such as *atween*, *twa*, *twal*, *twinty* and *twist*.
6. Between vowels usually simplified to /l/, otherwise /ld/.
7. Between vowels usually simplified to /n/, otherwise /nd/.
8. To the west also /i/.
9. In East Perthshire, if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ or z/, it is /(l)i/, otherwise /(l)ɪ/.

## WC

1. In and around Campbeltown it may be /e/ before /k/.
2. May be /ʌ/ in *body* and *mony*.
3. In and around Campbeltown it may be /ʌ/.
4. In and around Campbeltown the cluster <auld> may be /ʌul(d)/.
5. May be /o:/, especially before /k/.
6. May be /ʌ/ before /kl/ and /tl/.
7. An <l> may be realized /j/ in words such as *blue* [bju:], *laik* [jek] and *plou* [pju:] etc.
8. May be simplified to /l/ when the next word begins with a consonant.

## SWC

1. The West Central Scots pronunciations are spreading.
2. May be /o:/ before /k/.
3. Initial /g/ and /k/ often /gj/ and /kj/ before /a, ε, e, ɪ, i/ and /y/.
4. Simplified to /l/ when a consonant begins the next word.

## Ulster

Ulster Scots is subdivided into:

- Western Ulster Scots in County Derry and Donegal
- Central Ulster scots in County Antrim
- Eastern Ulster scots in County Down and the Ards

1. May be /aɪ/ after /w/ & /m/.
2. May be /i/, for example *deave*, or /ɛ:/ before <r>.
3. May be /e:/ in *bleize*, *eleiven*, *screich* and *seiven*.
4. Sometimes /ɛ:/ before <r>.
5. In Antrim, when initial, may be /jɪ/ or /jɪ̃/ and *ae* may be /je/.
6. Occasionally /y/.
7. Or /ɛ:/ before <r>, and in Co. Donegal, Mid Ards and west of Strangford Lough Co. Down /i:/.
8. Otherwise /e:/ or /ɛ:/ before <r> in North Antrim and points in north east Londonderry and in Co. Donegal, Mid Ards and west of Strangford Lough Co. Down /i:/.



9. Otherwise /i:/ in Co. Donegal, Mid Ards and west of Strangford Lough Co. Down.
10. Usually /ɔ:/ or /ɑ:/ in eastern and central dialects and /a:/ in western dialects, in words such as *haund*, *saund* and *slauchter*, however, before <ld> that may be /ʌ/.
11. May be /o:/, especially before /k/.
12. Also /i/ in Antrim and /ɛ/, especially in Donegal.
13. Usually /a/ in eastern dialects, /a/ in central and western dialects, and generally /ɛ/ before or after /k/ and before /g/ and /ŋ/.
14. A <d> before <r> may be interdental. A <t> may be interdental or be glottalized between vowels and finally in words such as *beast* and *juist* etc. An <f> may be /f/ and <v> may be /β/.
15. May be elided medially or realized interdentally before <er>.

## 2. Northern and Insular Dialects

### Vowels & Diphthongs

Spelling	IPA						In words like	
	SN	MN	NNa	NNb	Ork	Sh		
Vowel	Unstress.	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	əi	awa, ahint, aboot, the, oxter, smeddum, bannock
1	Long	aɪ~ae	əi <sup>1</sup>	əi <sup>1</sup>	əi~oi	ai	ai	cry, fire, hive, kye
	Short	əi				əi	əi	advice, bide, eyntment, eyster, fine, tyne, wyce, wyte
2	Gen.	i	i <sup>2</sup>	i	i	i	i	biel, chiel, dreich, eetem eild, freet, heich, jeelie, keep, meet, scribe, shielin, skeich, weel, weet, wheech
3	Gen.	i <sup>1</sup>	i <sup>3</sup>	əi~e	əi~e	i~e <sup>1</sup>	i~e <sup>1</sup>	beast, beat, cheap, east, heap, hear, meat, ream
								beir, deave, deid, heid, meida, peir, spreid, teir, thread
4	Gen.	e	e <sup>4</sup>	əi~e	əi~e	e <sup>2</sup>	e <sup>2</sup>	aiblins, aik, ait, ale, drave, face, hame, lade, Pace
	Before n	i	i <sup>5</sup>			e <sup>3</sup>	e <sup>3</sup>	ane, ance, bane, gane, nane, stane, alane, mane
	Fin.	e	e	e	e	e <sup>4</sup>	e	ae, brae, frae, gae, sae, tae n., wae
5	Gen.	o	ɔ <sup>6,7</sup>	o	o	ɔ~o	ɔ~o <sup>4</sup>	boss, box, cod, common, on, rock
	Before x							dochter, thocht
6	Gen.	u	u <sup>8</sup>	y	y	u <sup>5</sup>	u <sup>5</sup>	aboot, allou, bouk, brou, broun, coum, coont, cou, cour, dou, doun, dout,

								droop, dule, fou, hou, hoose, hure, moose, nou, oo, oot, poupit, scoor, sou, soond, thoum, you
7	Gen.	ø <sup>2</sup>	i	i <sup>2</sup>	i <sup>4</sup>	ø <sup>6</sup>	ø <sup>6</sup>	abuin, abuisse, bluid, bruit, duin, fruit, luif, luim, muisc, pruiue, ruise, spuim, yuil, uise, uiss
	After g, k		wi					cuil, cuit, guid, schuil
	Before r		i <sup>9</sup>	ju	ju			buir, fuir, fluir, Fuirsdai, muir, shiur
	Fin.			i	i	ø <sup>7</sup>		adae, dae, shae, tae v.
	Before k, x	ju	ju	ju <sup>3</sup>	ju <sup>2</sup>	ø <sup>8</sup>	ø <sup>7</sup>	beuch, beuk, eneuch, heuk, leuch, leuk, neuk, teuch
8	Gen.	e	e <sup>10</sup>	əɪ~e	əɪ~e	e~ε <sup>9</sup>	e <sup>8</sup>	aiple, aith, braid craiter, faim, gaither, graith, haimer, laim
	Fin.			e	e	e		day, gray, lay
8a	Fin.	əi	əi	əi	əi	əi	əi	Fley
9	Gen.	oi	oi	oi	oi	ɔe	ɔe	noise, Boid, foy, ploy
10	Gen.	əi	əi	əi	əi	əi <sup>10</sup>	əi	byle, ile
11	Fin.	i	i	i	i	i	i	dee, dree, free, knee, see
12	Med. & init.	a: <sup>3</sup>	a: <sup>11, 12</sup>	a: <sup>4</sup>	a: <sup>3</sup>	a: <sup>11</sup>	a: <sup>9</sup>	auld, haud, haund, saund, slauchter,
	Init.							awe, awn
	Fin. (occ. Med.)							bawd, bawbee, bawsant, blaw, slaw, snaw, draw, gnaw aw, caw, faw, gaw, haw, staw
	Fin.							awa, twa, wha
13	Gen.	ʌu	ʌu <sup>13</sup>	ʌu	ʌu	ʌu <sup>12</sup>	ʌu <sup>10</sup>	bowt, cowp, cowt, flowe, glowe, gowd, gowf, growe, howe, knowe, lowe, lowp, owsen, rowe, sowder, towe
14	Gen.	ju	jʌu	jy	jy	ju <sup>13</sup>	ju	dew, few, spew, new
			ju	ju	ju			feu, teug, speug, peuther, sleum, spleut, deugs
15	Gen.	ε	ɪ	ε	ε	ɪ <sup>14</sup>	ɪ <sup>11</sup>	drink, fit, in, inch, licht, lift, rin, simmer, sin, stibble, pit pig, big, nicht, sicht
	Before g, x			əi				
	After w & wh oft.	ʌ	ʌ	ε				
16	Gen.	ε	ε <sup>14</sup>	ε	ε	ε <sup>15</sup>	ε <sup>12</sup>	bed, brek, ebb, esh, fecht, gled, gless, seck, wecht
17	Gen.	a <sup>4</sup>	a <sup>15</sup>	a <sup>5</sup>	a	a	a <sup>13</sup>	aff, lang, mak, wash, watch

18	Gen.	o	o <sup>16</sup>	o	o	ɔ~o	ɔ~o	boat, coal, hoast
19	Gen.	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	bund, burn, drunken, fund, grund, truff, tung, unce, wund

## Consonants

Spelling	IPA						In words like
	SN	MN <sup>17</sup>	NNa <sup>6</sup>	NNb <sup>4</sup>	Ork <sup>16</sup>	Sh <sup>14</sup>	

ch	Med. & Fin.	x	x <sup>7</sup>	x	x	x	x	nicht, bocht, loch
ch	Init.	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ~ʃ	tʃ~ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	chield, chowk, chap, chirI
dge, g, ge	Gen.	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ~tʃ-	tʃ	dʒ~tʃ	fadge, begrudge, cadge, crudge, gigot, breinge
gn	Init.	gn <sup>5</sup>	gn <sup>18</sup>	gn <sup>7</sup>	gn <sup>5</sup>	gn <sup>17</sup>	gn <sup>15</sup>	gnap
kn	Init.	tn <sup>5</sup>	kn <sup>18</sup>	n <sup>8</sup>	kn <sup>5</sup>	kn <sup>17</sup>	kn <sup>15</sup>	knee, knap, knot, knowe
Ld	Gen.	ld	l <sup>19</sup>	l(d)	l(d)	l(d) <sup>18</sup>	l(d) <sup>16</sup>	auld, bauld, cauld, fauld
nd	Gen.	n	n	n	n	n(d) <sup>19</sup>	n(d) <sup>17</sup>	haund, saund, sindry, find
ng, nk	Gen.	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	ŋ ŋk	hing, ingan, single, Finger, fank, bink
qu	Gen.	kw	kw	kw	kw	kw <sup>20</sup>	kw <sup>18</sup>	acquert, queen, quair
sh	Gen.	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ <sup>21</sup>	ʃ	creash, sheep
sh	Occ.	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	pushion, fushion
tch	Med. & Fin.	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	tʃ	fleetch, wratch
th	Gen.	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	t <sup>19</sup>	thole, thrawn, graith
th	Gen.	ð	ð <sup>20</sup>	ð <sup>9</sup>	ð <sup>6</sup>	ð	d	thir, thae, blether
wh	Inter.	f	f <sup>21</sup>	f <sup>10</sup>	f	ɱ	ɱ <sup>20</sup>	whan, wha, whit, whaur
wh	Gen.	ɱ~f <sup>6</sup>						wheel, wheech
wr	Oft. Init.	wr	vr	Vr	vr	r	wr	wrack, wrang, write, wricht

## Suffixes

Spelling	IPA						In words like
	SN	MN	NNa	NNb	Ork	Sh	

-ae	Gen.	ə	ə~e	ə	ə	ə~ɔ~u	ə~ɔ~u	airae, barrae, nairae, swallae, windae
-ie	Dim.	i <sup>7</sup>	i <sup>22</sup>	ɪ	i	i	i	grannie, shoppie, lassie, laddie, wifie
-fu	Gen.	fɛ	fɛ~fe	fɛ	fɛ	fu	fu	awfu, carefu, mensefu
-in	Pres. Part.	ɪn	ɪn	An	an	an	ɪn	duntin, sellin
-in	Gerund			ɪn	ɪn	ɪn		tellin, skelpin

-na	Neg.	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	dinna, haesna, maunna, wisna, winna
-t, it	Verb. End.	t~ɪt	t~ɪt	t~ɪt	d~ɪd	t~ɪt <sup>22</sup>	t~ɪt	selt, telt, scunnert, duntit, skelpit
-y	Adv. & Adj.	e <sup>7</sup>	i <sup>22</sup>	i <sup>11</sup>	i <sup>7</sup>	i	i	sairy, stany, stoury, reeky
-ly	Adv. & Adj.	le <sup>8</sup>	li <sup>23</sup>	li <sup>12</sup>	li <sup>8</sup>	li	li	feckly, geyly

## Footnotes

### SN

1. May be /e/ in the North, to the south more so, often in association with a front consonant.
2. Usually /y/ in West Angus, /i/ in Kincardineshire, and /e/ along the coast. However, the Central Scots pronunciation is spreading.
3. May be /ɔ:/ in Angus.
4. May be /ɛ/ before /b/ and /g/ from Dundee to Arbroath.
5. Older speakers otherwise /n/.
6. Usually /f/ with interrogatives otherwise /m/.
7. Usually /i/ if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, otherwise /ɪ/ or alternatively /e/.
8. Usually /li/ if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, otherwise /lɪ/ or alternatively /le/.

### MN

1. In Buchan may be /ɔi/ in long environments.
2. May be /e/, particularly in coastal dialects, Moray and Nairn usually have /e/. May also be /əi/ or /ɪ/ before /v/ and /z/. In some areas /əi/ occurs, usually after /w/ and /a/ dark /l/, and sometimes after other consonants.
3. In Coastal dialects, Moray and Nairn it is usually always /e/. However, may be /əi/ or /ɪ/ before /v/ and /z/. May be /ɪ/ before /k/ and in some areas /əi/ occurs, usually after /w/ and a dark /l/ and sometimes after other consonants.
4. In some areas /əi/ occurs, usually after /w/ and /a/ dark /l/, and sometimes after other consonants.
5. Moray and Nairn usually have /e/.
6. Away from Aberdeen /o/ may also occur.
7. The cluster <cht> is sometimes pronounced /θ/.
8. May be /wɪ/ after initial /k/.
9. In Moray and Nairn usually /j)u:/ before /r/.
10. In some areas /əi/ occurs, usually after /w/ and a dark /l/, and sometimes after other consonants. May be /ja/ after /k/ and /n/.
11. In Buchan fishing villages may be rounded to /ɔ/ before a nasal.

12. May be /av/, often having /j/ before the preceding vowel (except cognates with St.E. -a/l/).
13. May be /jo/ before /k/.
14. May be /ei/ in coastal villages.
15. May be /ʌ/ or /ɪ/ before /n/.
16. May be /wəi/ after initial /k/.
17. Initial <f> is often /fj/. Initial <g> is often /gj/, in Buchan that may be /dj/. In Moray and Upper Banff /r/ may be elided before /s/. On the Moray Firth coast <v> may be pronounced /w/.
18. Older speakers otherwise /n/.
19. Reversal of /d/ and /l/ may occur in words such as *ward* [wardl] and *field* [fidl] etc.
20. Medial <th> before /ər/ may be /d/.
21. May be /w/ in some words, for example, *wheel*.
22. Usually /i/ if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, the pronunciation is /i/, otherwise /ɪ/.
23. Usually /li/ if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, otherwise /lɪ/.

#### **NNa (The Black Isle)**

1. In short environments when final also /oi/.
2. Also /ø/ or /y/. May be /ju:/ before /r/.
3. May be /jɔ/ in words such as *eneuch*.
4. May be /a/ before /l, n, r, x/.
5. In the Black Isle and Easter Ross may be /əi/ before /n/ and /ŋ/.
6. In Avoch and Cromarty initial <h> may be elided and wrong insertion of /h/ may also occur.
7. Older speakers otherwise /n/.
8. May also be /kr/ for older speakers in the Black Isle and Easter Ross, otherwise /n/.
9. Often silent in pronominals.
10. In Cromarty /w/ prevails and in some words in other areas. In the Black Isle and Easter Ross <wh> may be omitted or /h/ in interrogatives.
11. Usually /i/, however, if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, it is /i/, otherwise /ɪ/.
12. Usually /li/, however, if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, it is /li/, otherwise /lɪ/.

#### **NNb (Caithness)**

1. Also /ø/ or /y/.
2. May be /jɔ/ in words such as *eneuch*.
3. May be /a/ before /l, n, r, x/, the cluster <auld> may be ʌl(d).
4. Final <k> and <ck> are often /g/. Initial <j> is usually /tʃ/.
5. Older speakers otherwise /n/.
6. Often silent in pronominals.

7. Usually /i/, however, if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, it is /i/, otherwise /ɪ/.
8. Usually /li/, however, if the preceding vowel is /i/ or /əi/, or the preceding consonant is /b, d, ð, g, v, ʒ/ or /z/, it is /li/, otherwise /lɪ/.

## Ork

1. May be /ɛ/ before /k/.
2. May be /əi/ after /w/ and in North Ronaldsay may be /ɛ:/ before /r/.
3. In some dialects /i/ and occasionally before other consonants.
4. Occasionally /i/.
5. Usually /ø/ in words such as *dule*, *hure*.
6. Also /Y/, may be /j(u)/ before /p/. On the island of Stronsay may be /ɪ/ in short positions and /e/ in long positions.
7. Also /Y/. On the island of Stronsay may be /e/.
8. Also /Y/ or /j(u)/.
9. May be /æ:/ before /p, t, k, tʃ, f, s/ and /ʃ/. Occasionally may be /i/ in *baith* and *laich*.
10. In North Ronaldsay /oi/.
11. In North Ronaldsay may be /ɛ/ before /r/. The cluster <auld> may be /ʌul(d)/.
12. Occasionally /ɔ/.
13. On Mainland may be /ʌu/.
14. May be /i/ before /g, k/ and /m, ɛ/ before /l/, /əi/ before /x/ and a preceding /k/ may be /kj/ or /tʃ/.
15. May be /e/ before /l/ in some areas.
16. Initial /d/ before a vowel may be /dj/ or even /dʒ/. Initial /f/ may be /fj/. In North Ronaldsay /tʃ/ for initial /k/. Final <et> may be /ɪd/ in words such as *lempet* and *packet*.
17. Older speakers otherwise /n/.
18. Usually /ld/, syllable final simplified to /l/.
19. Usually /nd/, syllable final simplified to /n/.
20. After /s(w)/ may be /m/.
21. The cluster <shr> may be realized /sr/.
22. May be /d/ and /əd/ in south east Orkney.

## Sh

1. May be /ɪ/ or /ɛ/ in short environments before /k/.
2. In the northern isles and in West Mainland may be /ɛ(:)/ before /r/. On Whalsay may be /je/ after /k/ and /g/.
3. In the northern Isles and Fair Isle may be /i/ before /n/.
4. On Yell may be /əu/ before /x/.
5. Usually /ø/ in words such as *dule*, *hure*.
6. Also /Y/.
7. Also /Y/, /ju/ or /jɔ:/.

8. In the northern isles and in West Mainland may be /ɛ(:)/ before /r/. On Whalsay may be /je/ after /k/ and /g/.
9. Also /æ:/ in some areas. May be /a:/ before /l/. On the Fair Isle may be /ɔ(:)/ before /x/.
10. Also /u/ or /ɔ/ in some words.
11. May be /əi/ or /æe/ before /f/ and /x/.
12. In the outer isles may be diphthongized.
13. Also /ɔ/ and /æ/ in some areas.
14. Initial <d> before a vowel may be /dj/ or /dʒ/. Initial /f/ may be /fj/. Initial <j> is usually /tʃ/.
15. Older speakers otherwise /n/.
16. Syllable final may be simplified to /l/.
17. Syllable final may be simplified /n/.
18. In Southern Shetland may be /m/ after /s/ and /sw/.
19. May be /θ/ after a final vowel.
20. Around Lerwick may be /kw/.

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