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Dutch & Afrikaans Pronunciation & Accents

Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

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12. Neutral Flemish-Dutch pronunciation

12.1. The *neutral pronunciation of Flemish Dutch* is rather similar to the international pronunciation, for it presents less marked peculiarities with respect to the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands.

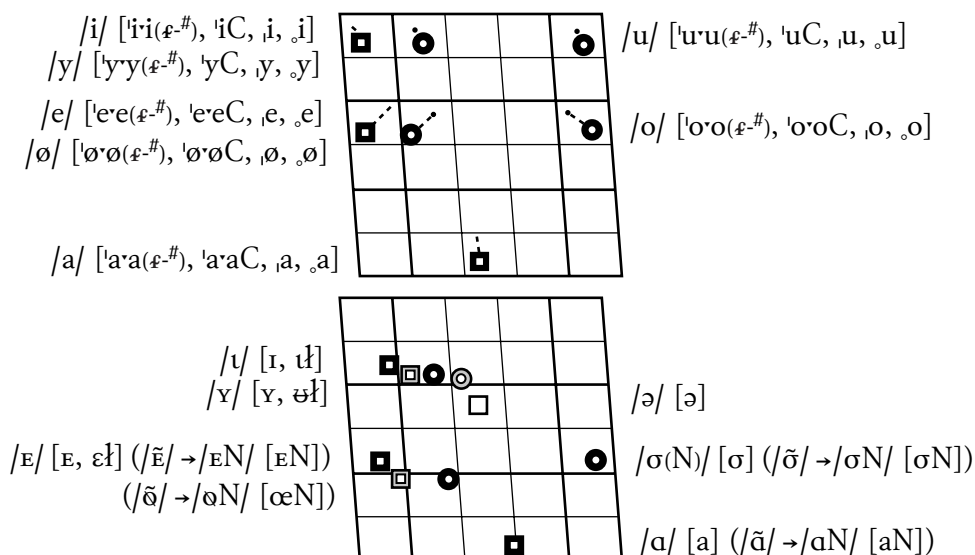
As we have already recalled, Dutch was introduced in Belgium as an official language only in recent times, precisely in 1898. Consequently, the local neutral pronunciation of Dutch has been prevented from developing considerable deviations from the inherited ‘ideal’ model.

To be true, one will see that also the *mediatic* pronunciation of Flemish Dutch is somewhat similar to the international pronunciation of Dutch (cf § 15.1).

It goes without saying that whoever is seriously interested in acquiring a genuine Flemish pronunciation should pay attention to the subtle nuances explained hereby. Much less so, people studying Netherlandic Dutch, who theoretically could even ignore the international pronunciation at all, in spite of their great differences.

12.2. As fig 12.1.1 clearly shows, the main difference between Flemish Dutch and international Dutch is that ‘long’ vowels are truly longer than their ‘short’ counterparts, including when they are in syllables ending in /r/ or other consonants. How-

fig 14.1.1. Neutral Flemish accent: vowels.

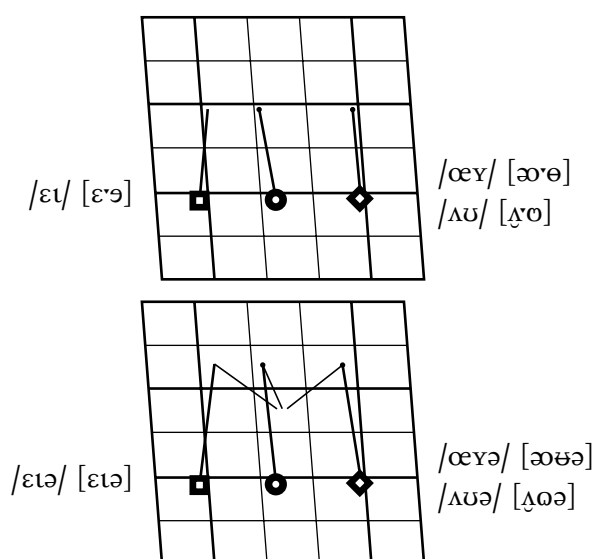


ever ‘long’, yet these vowels are usually realized as monotimbric diphthongs, eg /a/ [aː], instead of international [aa]. Such lengthening applies to diphthongs as well, including the phonemic and ‘sequential’ diphthongs (as we already know, the latter are those resulting from the juxtaposition of single vowel phonemes); no semi-chrone occurs, instead, when diphthongs are followed by schwa, thus forming a triphthong. In poststress /i, e, a, o, u, y, ø/ followed by /ɪ/, either in checked or free syllable, one finds [VV]: *leraar* [lɛːɛʔaaʔ].

Another peculiarity is that /ɪ, y, ɛ/ have specific taxophones before [t]. In addition, for unstressed -a, /a/ [a] is the preferred choice.

A few examples: *wie* [ˈβiri], *fiets* [ˈfits], *vier* [ˈviriʔ], *wit* [ˈβɪt], *stil* [ˈstɪt], *zee* [ˈzɛː], *lepel* [ˈlɛːpɪt], *deel* [ˈdɛːt], *weer* [ˈβɛːʔ], *pen* [ˈpɛn], *ver* [ˈvɛʔ], *veld* [ˈvɛt], *bak* [ˈbak], *kar* [ˈkaʔ], *bal* [ˈbaʔ], *ja* [ˈjaː], *maan* [ˈmaːn], *tafelaken* [ˈtaːfaʔakə(n)], *maar* [ˈmaːʔ], *vol* [ˈvɔʔ], *om* [ˈ(ɪ)ɔm], *dor* [ˈdɔʔ], *zo* [ˈzɔː], *boom* [ˈboːm], *oor* [ˈ(ɪ)ɔːʔ], *doe* [ˈduː], *goed* [ˈɦuʔ], *broer* [ˈbɛːuːʔ], *nu* [ˈnyː], *duren* [ˈdyːʔə(n)], *uur* [ˈyːʔ], *beu* [ˈbøʔ], *beul* [ˈbøʔ], *deur* [ˈdøʔ], *put* [ˈpʏt], *kruk* [ˈkɛʏk], *stulp* [ˈstɔʔp], *je* [jə], *eerste* [ˈ(ɪ)ɛːʔstə], *kinderen* [ˈkɪndəʔə(n)], *gemakkelijk* [ɦəˈmakəʔək].

fig 12.1.2. Neutral Flemish accent: phonemic diphthongs.



12.3. In Flemish Dutch, as in other native and mediatic accents, the three phonemic diphthongs have their second element slightly higher when preceding /ə/. Despite being rather narrow, these diphthongs are not monophthongs at all, ie ‘/ɛɪ, œɪ, ɔɪ/’, as some phonologists (or precipitous phoneticians) have written (fig 12.1.2).

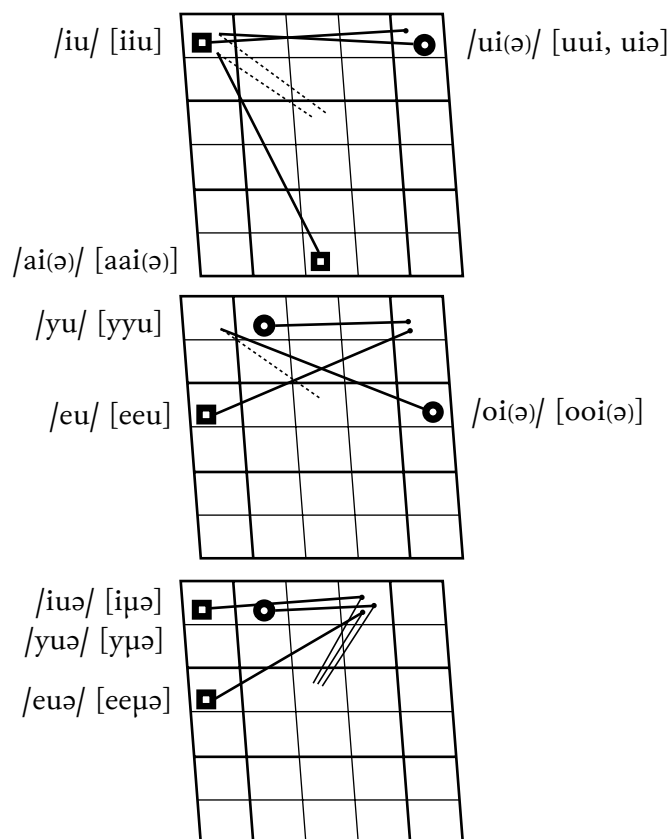
The first vocogram in fig 12.2 shows the six frequent vocalic sequences composed by one of the vowels from the first vocogram in fig 12.1.1 and either /-i/ or /-u/, both in open and checked syllables. The second vocogram clearly shows that /u/ [ɯ] occurs between one of the three fronter vowels, /i, e, y/, and /ə/ [ə].

Let us see these examples: *trein* [ˈtɛɪn], *ijs* [ˈ(ɪ)ɛʔs], *bakkeleien* [ˈbakəˈlɛɪə(n)], *lui* [ˈlœʔ], *huis* [ˈɦœʔs], *kruier* [ˈkɛʔəʔ], *vrouw* [ˈvɛʔ], *paus* [ˈpɛʔs], *blauwe* [ˈblœʔ].

In addition: *kieuw* [ˈkiu], *nieuwe* [ˈniɯə], *leeuw* [ˈleu], *middeleeuws* [ˈmɪdəˈleuʔs],

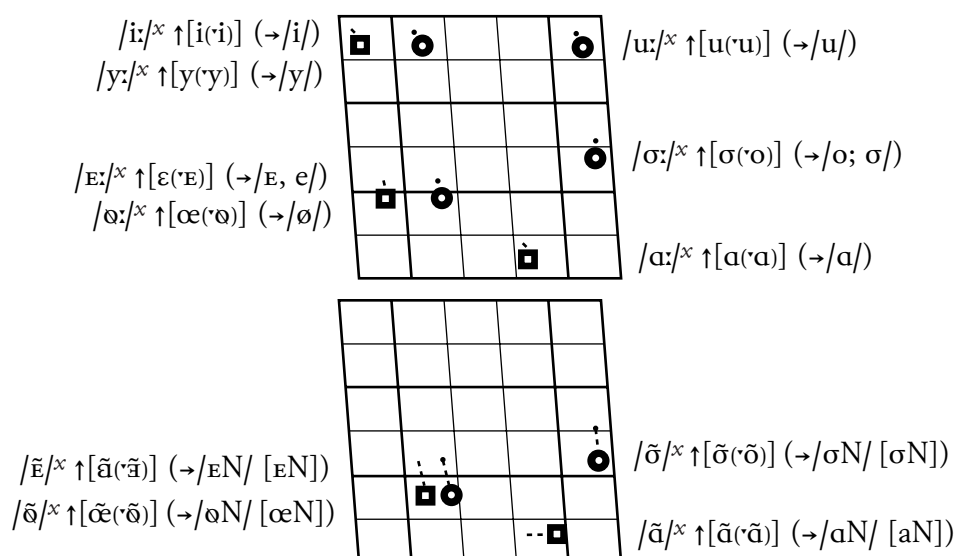
sneeuwen [ˈsneɐ̯mən], *saai* [ˈsaai], *aait* [ˈ(ʔ)ai̯t], *draaien* [ˈdʁaaiə(n)], *fooi* [ˈfooi], *nooit* [ˈnooi̯t], *dooien* [ˈdooiə(n)], *boei* [ˈbuui], *koeien* [ˈkuiə(n)], *ruw* [ˈʁyyu], *duwen* [ˈdyɥən].

fig 12.2. Neutral Flemish accent: sequential diphthongs & triphthongs & tetraphthongs.



12.4. fig 12.3 shows the vowel xenophonemes required for a genuine pronunciation of loanwords, particularly the French ones, with [V·V(C), V(C)] and [Ṽ·Ṽ(C), Ṽ(C)],

fig 12.3. Neutral Flemish accent: xenophonemes (seven oral & four nasalized).



Ŷ(C)]. However, loanwords are currently pronounced using normal Dutch phonemes, as shown in fig 12.1.1. At the phonemic level, the long-vowel xenophones are symbolized as /V:/, ie /i:/, ɛ:/, ɑ:/, ɔ:/, u:/, y:/, ø:/, so that they are easily recognizable, and as a practical expedient to recall that they generally lose the /:/ component, and merge with native phonemes.

Examples: *team* ['ti:im, 'tim], *pruderie* [pɾyɖə'ɾi:], *crème* ['kɛɛ'ɛm, 'kɛɛm], *serre* ['sɛɛ'ɛə, 'sɛɛə], *basket* ['bɑ'skəɛt, 'bas-, -kɛɛt], *baccarat* [baka'ɛɑ'ɑ, -'ɛɑ] (/baka'ɾɑ:, -kɑ-/), *centrifuge* [sɛntɾi'fɪy'yzə], *freule* ['fɛœ'ølə, 'fɛø'ølə], *dejeuner* [dɛʒœ'neɛ, də-], *controle* [kɔntɾø'olə, -ɔlə, -ɔ'olə], *loge* ['lɔ'ɔʒə, -ɔʒə, -ɔ'ɔʒə], *zone* ['zɔ'ɔnə, 'zɔnə, 'zɔ'ɔnə], *corps* ['kɔ'ɔɛ, 'kɔɛ, 'kɔ'ɔɛ], *boom* (ingl.) ['bu'um, 'bum], *atout* [a'tu'u, a'tut] (/a/).

In addition: *timbre* ['tɛ̃ɛbɛə, 'tɛmbɛə], *enfin* [ɛ̃fɛ̃ɛ, ɛ̃fɛ̃ɛn], *renaissance* [ɾɛnɛ'sɛ̃ɛsə, ɾɛnɛ-, -sɛ̃ɛsə], *restaurant* [ɾɛstɔ'ɛ̃ɛɛ, -'ɛ̃ɛnɛ], *pardon* [paɾ'dɔ̃ɛ, -'dɔ̃n], *parfum* [paɾ'fœ̃ɛ, -'fœ̃m, -'fɪm].

As the examples above show, the typical Flemish choice for /ɔ:/ is /o; ɔ/. In Greek loanwords containing graphemic *eu*, /ø/ is preferred over /œɪ/, which instead is an alternative (if not the only choice) for many speakers in the Netherlands.

Examples: *euforisch* [ø'fɔ'ɔɛs], *euthanasie* [øtana'zi:] (/ana-/), *therapeut* [tɛɾa'pø'øɛ] (/a-/), *Eustatius* [ø'sta'asiɪs, -tsi-].

There are also cases in which /e/ is preferred over /ə/, as in *consequent* [kɔnsɛ'kɔɛnt], *considerabel* [kɔnsɪdɛ'ɾabɛ], *reclame* [ɾɛ'klɛɾamə], *record* [ɾɛ'kɔɛɛ] (for /ɾə'kɔɾ/)... Generally, final graphemic *-e* (basically, in French loans) can be actually pronounced: *trance* ['tɾɛ̃ɛs(ə), -ɛ̃ɛs(ə)], *tranche* ['tɾɛ̃ɛʃ(ə), -ɾɛ̃ɛʃ(ə)].

12.5. As far as the *consonants* are concerned, let us look at fig 12.4. Then, fig 12.5 shows the orograms of all the articulations occurring in this accent.

Of course, there are three nasal phonemes, /m, n, ŋ/, with /n≡C/ (eg /n/ assimilated to the point of articulation of the following consonant, thus producing a number of taxophones).

Examples: *moe* ['mu'u], *komen* ['kɔ'omə(n)], *om* ['(ɾ)ɔm], *nu* ['ny'y], *wonen* ['βɔ'ɔnə(n)], *zon* [zɔn], *brenge* [bɾɛɛŋə(n)], *langzaam* [lɛɛŋzɛm] (/am/), *ring* ['ɾɪŋ]; *onfris* [ɔŋ'fɾis], *antiek* [an'tik], *rangeren* [ɾɛɛŋ'zɛɛə(n)], *kantje* ['kantʃə], *handje* ['hantʃə].

Regarding stops, one finds the labiodental [p] before /f/, [pf]; the denti-alveolar [t] at the end of a word in prepausal position; the prepalatal [tʃ] before /j/, [tʃj]. Furthermore, there is a prevelar [k] next to /j, i, ɪ, e, ɛ, y, ʏ, ø/.

Finally, one regularly finds [g] as /g/ in loanwords, or as a taxophone of /k/ by assimilation. In Flemish pronunciation, the laryngeal stop (cf fig 3.4.B) is possible when emphasis is required before stressed vowels, especially at the beginning of a

fig 12.4. Neutral Flemish accent: consonants & contoids.

m	[m]	[n]	n	[ɲ]	[ɲ]	ŋ	
p b	[p]	t d	[t]		[t]	[k g]	k (g)
	f v	s z		ʃ (ʒ)	[j]	[x ɣ]	x [ɣ]
β					j	[h ɦ]	h [ɦ]
		l	[ɫ]		[ɫ]		

[illegible]

Examples: *peren* [p'eɛɾə(n)], *appels* [l'(ɾ)apɫs], *ik heb* [ək'hɛp], *bet* [l'bɛɫ], *ik ben* [əg-'bɛn], *opfrissen* [l'(ɾ)ɔpɫɪsə(n)], *tweed* [t'β'eɛɫ], *drie* [d'ɬɛ'i], *tjee* [t'ɬj'e], *tik* [t'ɪk], *kat* [l'kat], *zakje* [z'akjə], *goal* [l'gɔ'ɔɫ], *zakdoek* [z'agɫɔk], *ach jee!* [ax'j'e], *op een ochtend* [ɔpən'l'(ɾ)ɔxtəntɛ], *chaotisch* [xa'l'(ɾ)ɔ'tis], *naïef* [na'l'(ɾ)if] (/a/), *beangst* [bə'l'(ɾ)anɫɛ].

As a consequence of that, /x/ is articulated with a less prominent phone, the velar approximant [ɣ], instead of international [x]; when /x/ is followed or preceded by /i, ɪ, e/, a prevelar taxophone occurs, [ɣ̟] (and the correspondent voiced taxophones, [ɣ̟̚, ɣ̟̚̚], are possible, too). Therefore, /χ, x/ correspond to less 'harsh' articulations than in international pronunciation, and even less so than in most Netherlandic accents. Another possibility is /x̟/ [χ̟C], while /χ̟̚/ [ɣ̟̚C] is preferred in the mediatic accent.

Among the other *approximants*, for graphemic *w*, one normally finds /v/ [β], a velarized bilabial approximant (while, the international accent has a plain labial-

-dental, [v], as most Netherlandic accents have). Then, one has /j/ [j], with a constrictive taxophone, [j̥], after /t/ [t̥], as already seen.

Apart from [h, h̥; ɦ, ɦ̥], just explained above, there is /h/ [h], whose voiced taxophone, [ɦ], is far less common than in Flemish mediatic pronunciation and many Netherlandic accents; cf fig 3.4.E-F.

Examples: *fruit* [ʰfœʊə̯t̥], *vinden* [ʰvɪndə̯(n)], *boven* [ʰbœʊvə̯(n)], *afbrengen* [ʰʔavbʰɛŋə̯(n)], *sussen* [ʰsysə̯(n)], *zon* [ʰzɔn], *lezen* [ʰleʒə̯(n)], *sjouwen* [ʰʃʌwə̯(n)], *jus* [ʰʒyʏ], *tjalk* [ʰtjalk], *schal* [ʰsxal], *geschiel* [həʰsxil], *dag* [ʰdax], *goed* [ʰɦut̥], *git* [ʰɦit̥], *morgen* [ʰmœɦə̯(n)], *aanslagbiljet* [ʰʔaʰan.sʰlaxbɪl̥jɛt̥, -ɦb-], *lachbui* [ʰlaxbæœ, -ɦb-], *dagdief* [ʰdaxdɪf, -ɦd-], *wegbrengen* [ʰβɛɦbʰɛŋə̯(n), -ɦb-], *geen* [ʰɦe̯en], *wat* [ʰβat̥], *antwoord* [ʰʔantβœʊə̯t̥], *gewoon* [həʰβœʊən], *wiel* [ʰβil], *hand* [ʰhant̥].

For the graphemic sequences *-ns-* and *-rs-*, /s/ is preferred over /z/ in Flanders: *consul* [ʰkɔnsɛ̯t̥], *consult* [kɔnʰsɛ̯t̥], *consumptie* [kɔnʰsympsi], *transitief* [tʰansit̥ɪf], *transistor* [tʰanʰsɪstœ̯], *cursief* [kʰyʰsɪf], *cursor* [kʰyʰsœ̯], *cursus* [kʰyʰsys], *conversatie* [kɔmʰvɛʰsaʰasi]. In *-tie*, /si/ is more common than /tsi/: *conventie* [kɔmʰvɛnsi], *politie* [poliʰrisi], *natie* [naʰasi]. In the following examples, [sj] occurs instead of [ʃ]: *contradictio* [kɔntʰɛaʰdɪksjo] (/a/), *contentieus* [kɔntenʰ(t)sjœ̯s], *officiaal* [ɔfiʰsjaʰal], *nationaal* [natsjoʰnaʰal, ʰnas-]. Finally, for the digraph *ch*, in initial position, /k/ prevails over /x/: *cholerisch* [koʰleʰe̯is], *chloor* [kʰlœ̯œ̯], *chrisma* [kʰɛ̯isma].

12.7. The /ɾ/ phoneme is a velarized alveolar tap in neutral Flemish Dutch: [ɾ]. In prepausal position or before a voiceless consonant, a devoiced taxophone, [ɾ̥], normally occurs. The only lateral phoneme, /l/, is articulated as [l] before front and front-central vowels, while a semi-velarized taxophone, [ɭ], occurs before central or back vowels, as well as before consonants or pauses; in addition, /əl̥/ is [ɭ̥].

Examples: *raam* [ʰɛaʰam], *straks* [stʰaks], *leraar* [ʰleʰe̯aaɾ̥] (/a/), *dertig* [dɛ̯t̥ɪx], *les* [ʰlɛs], *last* [ʰlast̥], *allerlei* [aʰlə̯ɾ̥lɛ̯ə̯], *veel* [ʰvɛ̯ɛ̯t̥].

The *intonation* of Flemish Dutch is shown in the tonograms of fig 12.6. Comparisons between different accents are useful.

fig 12.6. Neutral Flemish-Dutch intonation: protunes & tunes.



13. Mediatic Flemish-Dutch pronunciation

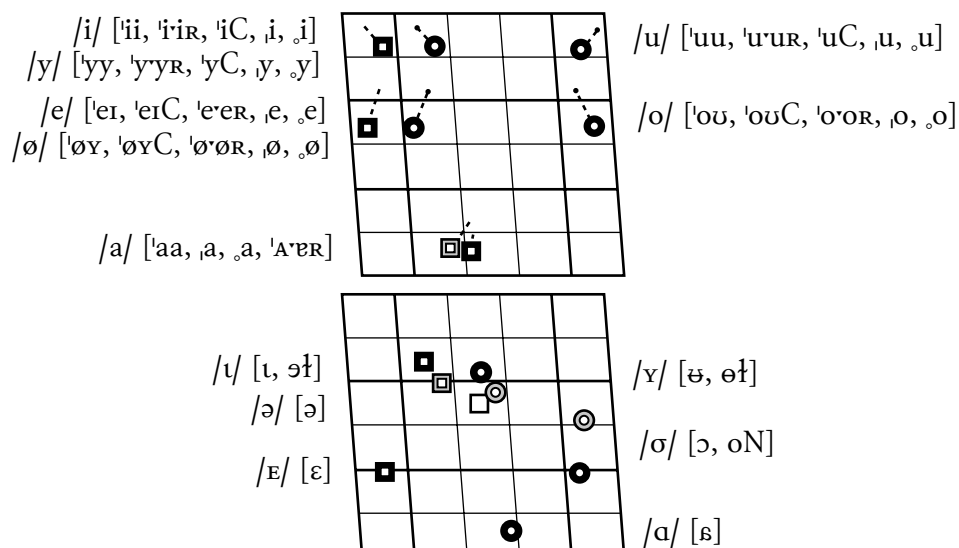
13.1. The *mediatic pronunciation of Flemish Dutch*, pretty much like its international counterpart, is rather similar to the international pronunciation, certainly much more than the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands, apart from some ‘national’ characteristics.

As it is known, Dutch was introduced in Flanders as an official language only in 1898. Frequently, it is also influenced by television networks from the Netherlands, too.

13.2. Stressed ‘long’ vowels are [V̥V] only if followed by /r/, either in free or checked syllable, while /i, y, u/ in checked syllable are short; stressed /e, ø, o/ are [eɪ, øʏ, ou], but [e̞e, ø̞ø, o̞o] if followed by /r/. For /ɛ, σ/ one has [ɛ; ɔ, oN[#]]. In addition, /ɪ, ʏ/ [ɪ, ʊ] have specific taxophones before [t]: [ə, ɵ]. For unstressed -a, [a] is the preferred choice. Poststress /i, e, a, o, u, y, ø/, followed by /r/, are [VV]: *leraar* [l̥e̞eɾa̞ɐ̞r].

Examples: *wie* [ʰii, ʰii], *fiets* [ʰits], *vier* [ʰi̞i̞r], *wit* [ʰʊɪt, ʰʊɪt], *stil* [ʰstəɪ], *zee* [ʰzeɪ], *lepel* [ʰleɪpɪ], *deel* [ʰdeɪ], *weer* [ʰe̞e̞r], *pen* [ʰpɛn], *ver* [ʰvɛr], *veld* [ʰvɛɪt], *bak* [ʰbɛk], *kar* [ʰkɛr], *bal* [ʰbɛɪ], *ja* [ʰjaa], *maan* [ʰmaan], *tafellaken* [ʰtaafəɪakə(n)], *maar* [ʰma̞ɐ̞r], *vol* [ʰvɔɪ], *om* [ʰɔm], *dor* [ʰdɔr], *zo* [ʰzou], *boom* [ʰboum], *oor* [ʰo̞o̞r], *doe* [ʰduu], *goed* [ʰxuɪ], *broer* [ʰbru̞r], *nu* [ʰnyy], *duren* [ʰdy̞rə(n)], *uur* [ʰy̞y̞r], *beu* [ʰbøʏ], *beul*

fig 15.1. Mediatic Flemish accent: vowels.

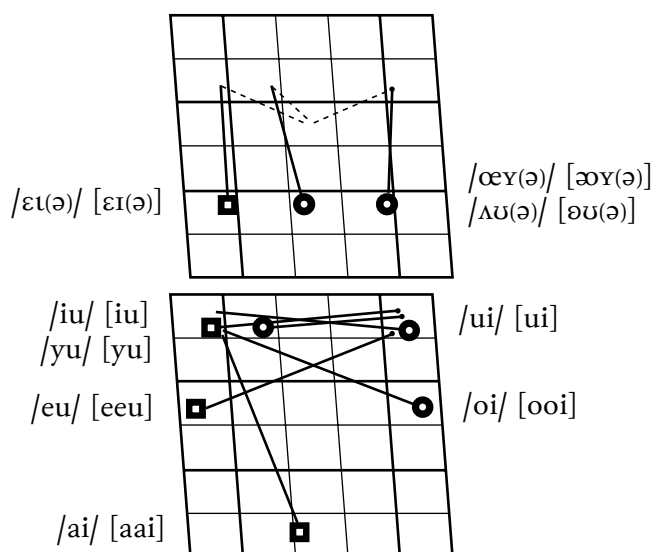


[ʰbøɣʔ], *deur* [ˈdøʊə], *put* [ˈpʊt], *kruk* [ˈkrʊk], *stulp* [ˈstʊlp], *je* [jə], *eerste* [ˈʔeːrʂtə], *kinderen* [ˈkʊndəʁə(n)], *gemakkelijk* [xəˈmɛkəʔək].

13.3. The three phonemic diphthongs are not lengthened, and their second elements do not change when followed by /ə/, forming triphthongs, with quite peculiar first elements –similar to those of neutral Flemish Dutch– for the last two: /ɛɪ(ə), œɪ(ə), ʌɪ(ə)/ [ɛɪ(ə), œɪ(ə), ʌɪ(ə)]. The first elements of these diphthongs –particularly the last two of them– are quite peculiar and also similar to those of Flemish Dutch.

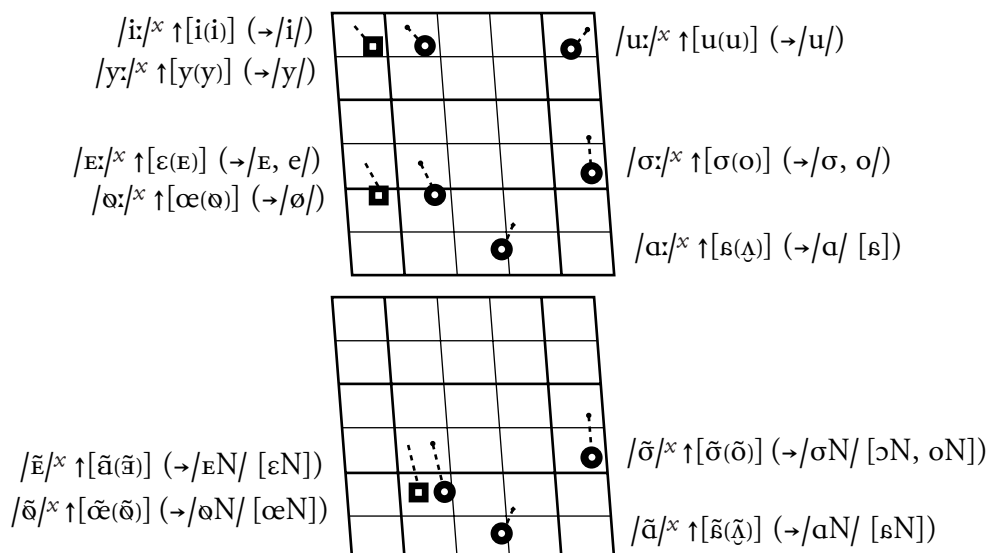
Examples: *trein* [ˈtʁɛɪn], *ijs* [ˈʔɛɪs], *bakkeleien* [ˈbɛkəʔɛɪə(n)], *lui* [ˈʔœɪ], *huis* [ˈhœɪs], *kruier* [ˈkrœɪə], *vrouw* [ˈvʁœɪ], *paus* [ˈpœɪs], *blauwe* [ˈblœɪə].

fig 13.2. Mediatic Flemish accent: phonemic & sequential diphthongs & triphthongs.



The second vocogram in fig 13.2 shows the six frequent diphthongal sequences composed of one of the vowels from the first vocogram in fig 13.1 and either /i/ or /u/, both

fig 13.3. Mediatic Flemish accent: xenophonemes (seven oral & four nasalized).



in free and checked syllables. When followed by /ə/ [ə], /u/ never changes to [μ].

Examples: *kieuw* [ˈkiu], *nieuwe* [ˈniuə], *leuw* [ˈleu], *middeleeuws* [ˈmɪdəˌleuəs], *sneeuwen* [ˈsneeuən], *saai* [ˈsaai], *aait* [ˈʔaait], *draaien* [ˈdraaiən], *fooi* [ˈfooi], *nooit* [ˈnooit], *dooien* [ˈdooiən], *boei* [ˈbui], *koeien* [ˈkuiən], *ruw* [ˈryu], *duwen* [ˈdyuən].

13.4. fig 13.3 shows the vowel xenophonemes required for a genuine pronunciation of loanwords, particularly French ones, with [ˈVV(C), ˌV(C)] and [ˈṼṼ(C), ˌṼ(C)]. However, loanwords are currently pronounced using normal Dutch phonemes, as shown in fig 13.1.

As we know, at the phonemic level, the long-vowel xenophonemes are symbolized as /V:/, ie /i:, e:, a:, o:, u:, y:, ø:/, so as to be easily recognizable, and as a practical expedient to remind that they generally lose the /:/ component, and merge with native phonemes.

Examples: *team* [ˈtiim, ˈtim], *pruiderie* [ˌprɪdərɪi], *crème* [ˈkrɛɛm, ˈkrɛm], *serre* [ˈsɛɛrə, ˈsɛrə], *basket* [ˈbɛɛskɛt, ˈbɛs-, ˈkɛt], *baccarat* [ˌbɛskəˈrɛɛ, ˈkɛ-, ˈraa] (/bɛskəˈrɛ:, ˈkɛ-/), *centrifuge* [ˌsɛntrɪˈfɪyɪzə], *freule* [ˈfrɛɛlə, ˈfrøylə], *dejeuner* [ˌdeʒœˈnei, ˌdɛ-], *controle* [ˌkɔnˈtrɔɔlə, ˈstɔl-, ˈouɪlə], *loge* [ˈlɔɔɔzə, ˈstɔzə, ˈouɪzə], *zone* [ˈzoɔnə, ˈzɔnə, ˈzɔɔnə], *corps* [ˈkɔˈɔr, ˈkɔr, ˈkɔˈɔr], *boom* (ingl.) [ˈbuum, ˈbum], *atout* [ˈʔatuu, ˈʔatut] (/a/).

In addition: *timbre* [ˈtɛɛbrə, ˈtɛmbrə], *enfin* [ˌɛ̃fɛ̃ɛ̃, ˌɛ̃mˈfɛ̃n], *renaissance* [ˌrɛnɛˈsɛ̃sɛ̃, ˌrɛnɛ-, ˈsɛ̃nsɛ̃], *restaurant* [ˌrɛstɔˈrɛ̃ɛ̃, ˈrɛ̃nt], *pardon* [ˌpɛ̃rˈdɔ̃, ˈdɔ̃n, ˈdon], *parfum* [ˌpɛ̃rˈfœ̃, ˈfœ̃m, ˈfœ̃m].

As the examples above show, the typical mediatic Flemish choice for /σ:/ is /σ, o/. In Greek loanwords containing graphemic *eu*, /ø/ is preferred over /œy/, which instead is an alternative (if not the only choice) for many speakers in the Netherlands.

Examples: *euforisch* [ˈøfɔˈɔris], *euthanasie* [ˌøtanaˈzi] (-ana-), *therapeut* [ˌteraˈpøyt] (-a-), *Eustatius* [ˈøˈstaasiys, -tsi].

One also finds cases in which /e/ is preferred over /ə/, as in *consequent* [ˌkɔnseˈkœ̃nt], *considerabel* [ˌkɔnsɪdeˈraabɛ̃], *reclame* [ˌrɛˈklaamə], *record* [ˌrɛˈkɔ̃rɛ̃] (for /rɛˈkɔ̃r/)... Generally, final graphemic *-e* (basically, in French loans) can actually be pronounced: *trance* [ˌtrɛ̃s̃(ə), ˌs̃ns̃(ə)], *tranche* [ˌtrɛ̃s̃̃(ə), ˌs̃̃ɛ̃(ə)].

13.5. As far as the *consonants* are concerned, let us look at fig 13.4. Then, fig 13.5 shows the orograms of all articulations occurring in this accent.

Of course, there are three nasal phonemes, /m, n, ŋ/, with /n≡C/ (ie /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, thus producing a number of taxophones).

Examples: *moe* [ˈmuu], *komen* [ˈkoumən], *om* [ˈom], *nu* [ˈnyy], *wonen* [ˈθounən], *zon* [ˈzɔn], *brenge* [ˈbrɛ̃nə(n)], *langzaam* [ˌlɛ̃ŋzɛ̃m] (-am/), *ring* [ˈrɪŋ]; *onfris* [ˈɔ̃mˈfrɪs], *antiek* [ˌɛ̃ntɪk], *rangeren* [ˌrɛ̃ŋˈʒɛ̃rən], *kantje* [ˈkɛ̃ntjə], *handje* [ˈhɛ̃ntjə].

Regarding stops, we have the labiodental [p] before /f/, [pf]; the denti-alveolar [t] at the end of a word in prepausal position; the prepalatal [t̪] before /j/, [t̪j]. Furthermore, the postpalatal [ɕ] occurs as a taxophone of /k/ after /i, ɪ, e/ (which could also be represented as a 'palatal [c]'), and the prevelar [k̠] before /j, i, ɪ, e, ɛ, y, ɪ, ø/.

Finally, [g] occurs regularly as /g/ in loanwords, or as a taxophone of /k/ by assi-

or a xenophoneme, /ʒ/. We encounter [j] in the following sequences: /tj, ntj/ [tʲ, ntʲ]. Furthermore, we have /χ/ [χ] (with /χÇ/ [ɣÇ]) and /x/ [x], as in international pronunciation. When /x/ is followed & preceded by /i, ɪ, e/, a palatal taxophone occurs, [ç] (and the correspondent voiced taxophones, [j, ɣ], are possible, too, by assimilation. Finally, prevelar taxophones [ɣ, ʁ] are possible, as well, before front(-central) vocoids or [j]).

Among the *approximants*, for graphemic *w*, in mediatic pronunciation, one normally finds /ʋ/ [ʋ], a velarized labial-dental approximant, and a frequent post-palatal taxophone [ɰ], in front of /i, ɪ, e/ (whereas, the international accent has a plain labial-dental, [v], as most Netherlandic accents have).

Then, one has /j/ [j], with a constrictive taxophone, [j̥], after /(n)t/ [(n)t̥], as we have seen. Note that [j, ɰ] typically feature a slight but perceptible movement that is indicated by their double arrow.

In addition, /h/ [h], has the voiced taxophone [ɦ], especially between voiced sounds; cf fig 3.4.E-F.

Examples: *fruit* [frʊɪt̥], *vinden* [ˈvɪndə(n)], *boven* [ˈbʊvə(n)], *afbrengen* [ʔɛv-
brɛŋə(n)], *sussen* [ˈsʊsə(n)], *zon* [ˈzɔn], *lezen* [ˈleɪzə(n)], *sjouwen* [ˈʃʊwə(n)], *jus* [ˈʒy],
tjalk [tʲɔlk̥], *schal* [ˈsɰʃɔl̥], *geschiel* [xəˈsɰiɪl̥], *dag* [ˈdɔχ], *goed* [ˈxuɪt̥], *morgen* [ˈmɔɾ-
xə(n)], *aanslagbiljet* [ˈʔaanslɔχbɪl̥jɛt̥, -ɛb-], *lachbui* [ˈlɔχbʊɪ, -ɛb-], *dagdief* [ˈdɔχdɪf̥,
-ɛd-], *wegbrengen* [ˈʋɛχbrɛŋə(n), -ɛb-], *geen* [ˈxɛɪn], *bevlieging* [bɛvˈliiçɪŋ], *wat* [ˈʋɔt̥],
antwoord [ʔɛntʋoort̥], *gewoon* [xəˈʋoun], *wiel* [ˈʋiɪl̥, ˈɰiɪl̥], *hand* [ˈɦɛnt̥].

For the graphemic sequences *-ns-* and *-rs-*, /s/ is preferred over /z/ in Flanders: *consul* [ˈkɔnsɔl̥], *consult* [ˈkɔnsɔlt̥], *consumptie* [ˈkɔnsʊmpsi], *transitief* [ˈtrɛnsiˈtɪf], *transistor* [ˈtrɛnsɪstɔɾ], *cursief* [ˈkʊɾˈsɪf], *cursor* [ˈkʊɾsɔɾ], *cursus* [ˈkʊɾsʊs], *conversatie* [ˈkɔŋvɛɾˈsaasi].

In *-tie*, /si/ is more common than /tsi/: *conventie* [ˈkɔŋvɛnsi], *politie* [ˈpoˈliisi], *natie* [ˈnaasi]. In the following examples, [sj] occurs instead of [ʃ]: *contradictio* [ˈkɔntrɔˈdɪksjo] (/ra/), *contentieus* [ˈkɔntɛnˈ(t)sjɔys], *officiaal* [ˈɔfiˈsjaaɪ], *nationaal* [ˈnɔt-sjoˈnaaɪ, ˈnɔs-] (/na/, also /na/ in the Netherlands). Finally, for the digraph *ch*, in word-initial position, /k/ prevails over /χ/: *cholerisch* [ˈkoˈleːerɪs], *chloor* [ˈkloːɔɾ], *christma* [ˈkrɪsma].

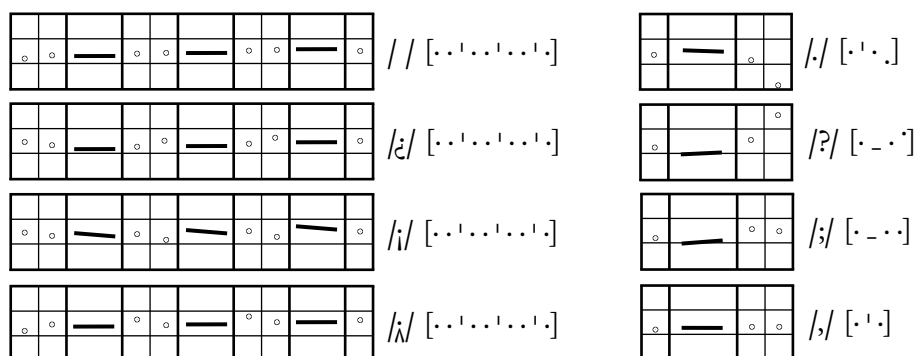
13.7. The /r/ phoneme is a uvular trill in mediatic Flemish Dutch: [ʀ] (but a uvular constrictive, [ʁ], or a velarized alveolar tap, [ɾ], can also be heard, more or less frequently), including a uvular tap [ɾ].

The only lateral phoneme, /l/, is generally articulated as a semi-velarized alveolar bilateral, [ɭ], in every position; but a plain alveolar one can be used before front and front-central vowels (although we do not show it); in addition, /əl̥/ is [ɭ̥].

Examples: *raam* [ˈraam], *straks* [ˈstrɔks], *leraar* [ˈleːɛraɛɾ] (/a/), *dertig* [ˈdɛɾtɔχ], *les* [ˈɫɛs], *last* [ˈɫɔst̥], *allerlei* [ˈɔɫɛɾˈɫɛɪ], *veel* [ˈvɛɛɫ̥].

The *intonation* of mediatic Flemish Dutch is shown in the tonograms of fig 13.6. In comparison with international intonation, a slightly rising movement in the protune can be observed. Of course, other comparisons are useful, too.

fig 13.6. Mediatic Flemish-Dutch intonation: protunes & tunes.



-rounded, cf. fig 14.3). Again, the second vocogram of fig 14.1.1 presents the usual realizations of the four nasalized xenophonemes, /ẽ, ã, õ, õ̃/, which normally pass to [VN] sequences. The vowels in questions are the three ‘normal’ phonemes /e/ [ɛ], /a/ [ɑ], /o/ [o], to which [ø] is added.

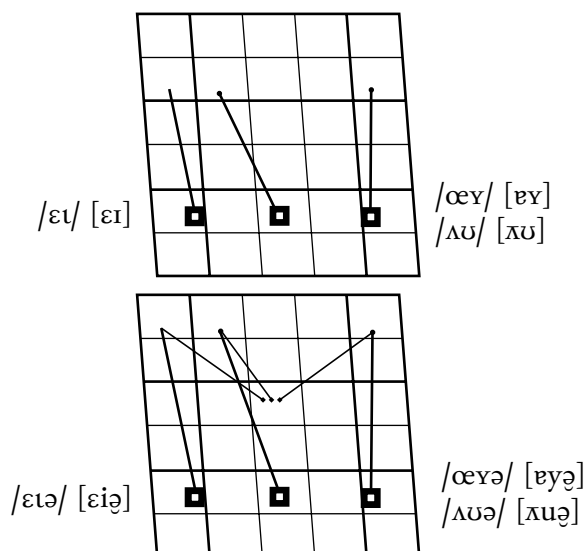
Their nasalized realizations, more typical of an intentionally ‘committed’ pronunciation, are given in the second vocogram of fig 14.4.1; [ø] precisely comes from [õ(ẽ)]. As far as final *-a* in unstressed syllables is concerned, one finds oscillation between [a] (/a/) and [ɑ] (/ɑ/), depending on the words in question and the speakers: it was decided to introduce [a] first, being the most frequent realization.

Examples: *wie* [ˈviː], *fiets* [ˈfiːʃ], *vier* [ˈvɪːɪ], *dik* [ˈdɪk], *stil* [ˈstɪl], *zee* [ˈzɛə], *deel* [ˈdeɪl], *weer* [ˈvɛːɪ], *veld* [ˈvɛːl], *ver* [ˈvɛːɪ], *dat* [ˈdɑːt], *kar* [ˈkɑː], *bal* [ˈbɑːl], *ja* [ˈjaː], *tafellaken* [ˈtaːfɛlˌakən], *maar* [ˈmɑːɪ], *taal* [ˈtaːl], *vol* [ˈvɔːl], *om* [ˈɔːm], *dor* [ˈdɔː], *zo* [ˈzɔː], *boom* [ˈboːm], *oor* [ˈɔːɪ], *doe* [ˈduː], *goet* [ˈχuːt], *broer* [ˈbrøːɪ], *nu* [ˈnyː], *duren* [ˈdyːɪ(n)], *uur* [ˈyːɪ], *beu* [ˈbøː], *beul* [ˈbøːl], *deur* [ˈdøːɪ], *put* [ˈpøːt], *kruk* [ˈkrøk], *stulp* [ˈstøːl], *je* [ˈjə], *eerste* [ˈɛːɪstə], *kinderen* [ˈkɪndəɪ(n)], *gemakkelijk* [ˈχɛmɑːkɛlɪk].

14.2. fig 14.1.2 shows the three phonemic diphthongs, whose first elements are not lengthened even in stressed syllables: /ɛɪ, œɪ, ʌɪ/ [ɛɪ, øɪ, ʌɪ] (first vocogram), with a higher second element when followed by /ə/ [ə] (second vocogram): /ɛɪə, œɪə, ʌɪə/ [ɛɪə, øɪə, ʌɪə].

Examples: *trein* [ˈtɛɪn], *ijs* [ˈɛɪs], *bakkeleien* [ˈbɑːkɛlɛɪə(n)], *lui* [ˈlɛɪ], *huis* [ˈhɛɪs], *kruier* [ˈkrøɪɪ], *vrouw* [ˈvøɪ], *paus* [ˈpʌs], *blauwe* [ˈblʌwə].

fig 14.1.2. Neutral Netherlandic accent: phonemic diphthongs (& triphthongs).



The first two vocograms of fig 14.2.1 illustrate other six supplementary diphthongs (and triphthongs) formed by a sequence of one of the following: /i, e, a, o, u, y/ + /i/ or /-u/; the third vocogram shows the less frequent variants, which are a bit more complex: [eə, aɪ, oɪ].

In the first and second vocograms of fig 14.2.2, one can see the triphthongs resulting

fig 14.2.1. Neutral Netherlandic accent: sequential diphthongs (with variants).

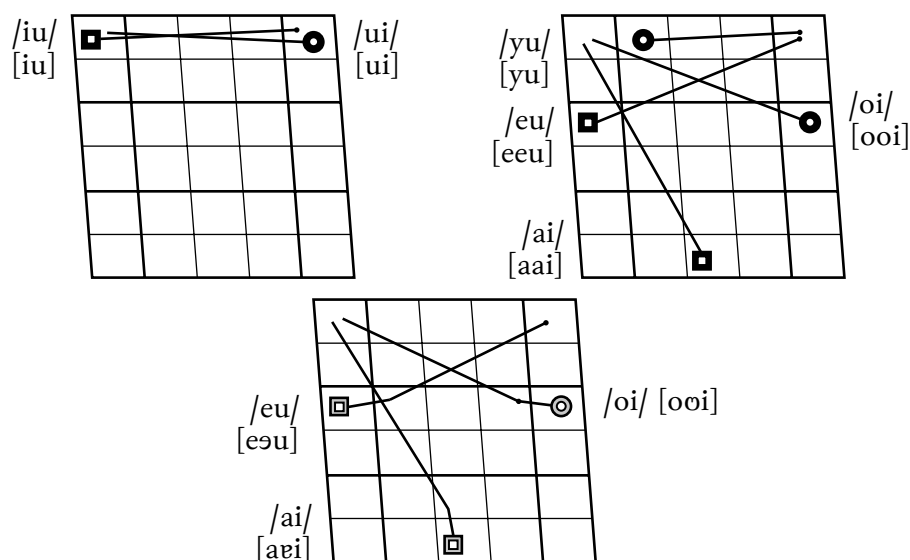
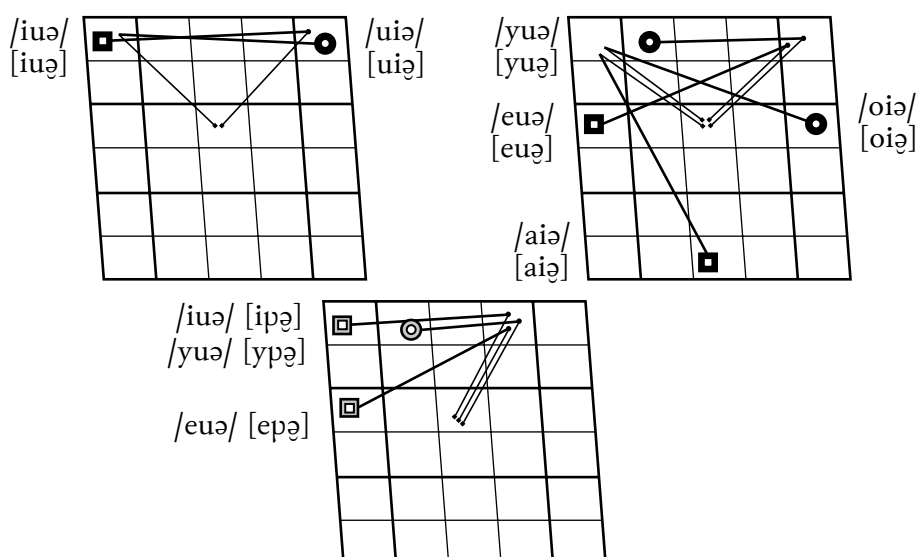
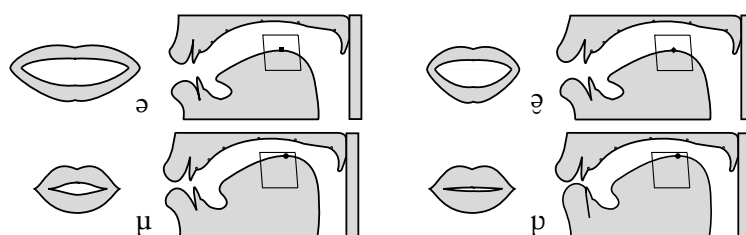


fig 14.2.2. Neutral Netherlandic accent: sequential triphthongs (with variants).



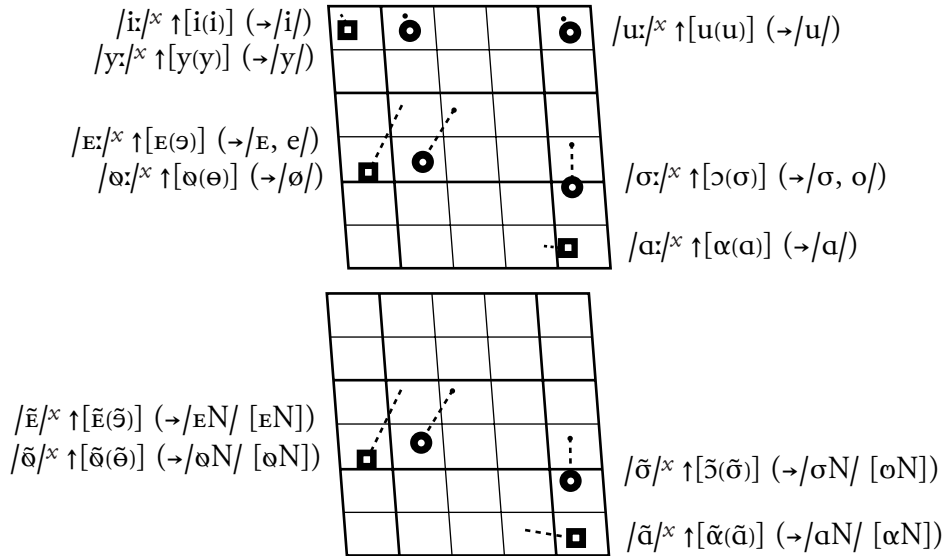
by adding /ə/ [ə]: /iu(ə), eu(ə), ai(ə), oi(ə), ui(ə), yu(ə)/ [iu(ə), ui(ə); eeu, euə; aai, aiə; ooi, oiə; yu(ə)]. Furthermore, for /iu, eu, yu/, in addition to [VuV], one often finds [VpV] (as shown in the third vocogram, with the front-central labiodentalised vocoid [p], that is to say a vocoid with the lips in the same position as for [ʊ], cf fig 14.3).

fig 14.3. Neutral Netherlandic: a comparison between 'normal' [ə, ʊ] and the half-rounded taxophone, [ə̞], and the labialized one, [p̞].



Examples: *kieuw* ['kiu], *nieuwe* ['niuə, 'nipə], *leuw* ['leu, 'leəu], *middeleeuws* ['mɪdʰeuʃ], *sneeuwen* ['sneuə(n), 'snepə(n)], *saai* ['saai, 'savi], *aait* ['ʔaait, 'ʔavit], *draaien* ['dʰaiə(n)], *fooi* ['fooi, 'fooi], *nooit* ['nooit, 'nooit], *doeien* ['doiə(n)], *boei* ['bui], *koeien* ['kuiə(n)], *ruw* ['ʁyu], *duwen* ['dyuə(n), 'dypə(n)].

fig 14.4.1. Neutral Netherlandic accent: xenophonemes.



14.3. fig 14.4.1 shows the vowel xenophonemes, with [$\text{VV}(\text{C})$, $\text{V}(\text{C})$] and [$\text{V}\tilde{\text{V}}(\text{C})$, $\tilde{\text{V}}(\text{C})$]. In the first vocogram, one can see the seven oral vowels (including their merging with the usual phonemes presented in the first vocogram of fig 14.1.1); in the second one, we have the four nasalized vowels (with their respective simplification, as shown in the second vocogram of fig 14.1.1).

The stressed vowels at the beginning of a word are normally preceded by [ʔ]; the same is true for non-initial stressed vowels if preceded by /a, ə/ and for vowels in half-stressed syllables after a pause.

The phonemic status of [ʔ] is problematic to assess. From one point of view, the laryngeal stop is not indispensable to distinguish minimal pairs. However, in many parts of the Dutch-speaking world, [ʔ] is perceived as ‘necessary’ for a truly genuine pronunciation. In theory, one might systematically omit it, but native speakers could regard such omission as a sloppy and inaccurate choice.

Examples: *team* ['tiim, 'tim], *pruderie* [pʰyɖə'ʔii], *crème* ['kʰɛɛm, 'kʰɛm], *serre* ['ʃɛə'ʔ, 'ʃɛʔ], *basket* ['bɑqʃkəʔ, 'bɑʃ-, -kɛʔ], *baccarat* [bɑkɑ'ʔɑɑ, 'ʔav] (/bɑkɑ'ɑ:, -kɑ-/), *centrifuge* [ʃɛntʰi'fyyzəʔ], *freule* [fʰɔəʔə, 'fʰəəʔə], *dejeuner* [dɛʒə'nee, dɛ-], *controle* [kɔntʰɔʔə, -oʔə], *loge* [lɔʔɔzə, 'lɔoʔzə], *zone* [zɔʔɔnə, 'zooʔnə], *corps* [kɔʔɛ, 'kɔɛ, 'kooʔ], *boom* (Engl.) ['buum, 'bum], *atout* [a'tuu, a'tuʔ] (/a/).

In addition: *timbre* ['tẽʃbʔə, 'tɛəmbʔə, 'tɛmbʔə], *enfin* [ǣ'fẽʃ, ɑm'fɛn], *renaissance* [ʰɛnɛʃǣʃ, ʔə-, 'ʃɑnʃ], *restaurant* [ʰɛʃtə'ʔǣʃ, 'ʔɑnʃ], *pardon* [pɑʔdʃɔ, 'dɔn], *parfum* [pɑʔfǣʃ, 'fɔm, 'fɛm].

In words of Greek origin with *eu*, both /ø/ and /œy/ may occur: *euforisch* [ø'fo'o-ʔiʃ, ɐy-], *euthanasie* [ʔətanɑ'zii, ʔɐy-] (/ana-/), *therapeut* [tɛʰɑ'pøəʔ, -ɐyʔ] (/a-/), *Eus-*

tatius [ɛʏˈstaːtsɪyʃ, -aːsi-, ɔ-]. Furthermore, there is /ə/ in such cases as the following: *consequent* [kɒŋsɛˈkʷɛntɪ], *considerabel* [kɒnsɪdɛˈfæbɪ], *reclame* [ɛəˈklaɐmə], *record* [ɛəˈkɔʊf, -ɔf].

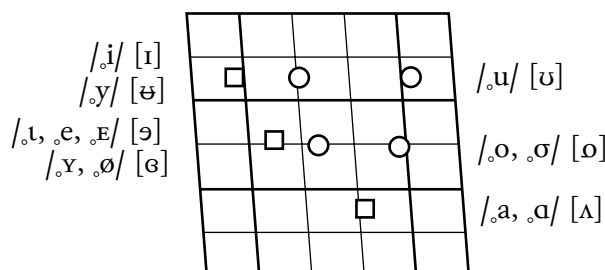
It is customary not to pronounce word-final *-e* after constrictive phones: *trance* [tɛʁɑŋs], *tranche* [tɛʁɑŋʃ] (there is oscillation in other words).

14.4. The vocogram in fig 14.4.2 shows the reductions (and a few cases of neutralization) affecting the twelve main vowel phonemes (ie those given in the first two vocograms of fig 14.1.1), in free unstressed syllable.

These seven vocoids, /i/ [ɪ], /y/ [ʏ], /u/ [ʊ], /ɪ, e, ɛ/ [ə], /ʏ, ø/ [ɐ], /a, ɑ/ [ʌ] and /o, ɔ/ [ɒ] can be the highest degree of timber reduction, in such situation, without ever switching to /ə/ [ə] in neutral pronunciation (contrary to mediatic pronunciation). Of course, no diphthongs, either phonemic or phonetic (ie 'sequential'), nor vowels in checked syllables, undergo such a reduction.

Examples: *minuut* [miˈnyʏt, mɪ-], *muziek* [myˈzɪk, mɐ-, -zɪ-], *poelier* [puˈliːɪɛ, pu-], *spinnijdig* [ʃpɪˈnɛɪdɛɕ, ʃpɐ-], *summier* [ʃɐˈmiːɪɛ, ʃɐ-], *metaal* [mɛˈtaːɫ, mɐ-], *reuzin* [ɛʊˈzɪn, ɛɐ-, -zɪ-], *lokaal* [lɔˈkaːɫ, lɔ-], *herrijzen* [hɛˈɛɪzɛ(n), hɐ-, -zɪ-], *pommade* [pɔˈmaɛdɛ, pɔ-], *banaan* [baˈnaɐn, bʌ-], *kassier* [kɑˈsiːɪɛ, -zɪ-], *benzine* [bɛnˈziːnɛ, bɐ-, -zɪ-], *kanton* [kɑnˈtɔn, kʌ-], *kwartier* [kʷɛˈtiːɪɛ], *portier* [pɔˈɛːtiːɪɛ, pɔ-].

fig 14.4.2. Neutral Netherlandic accent: possible vowel reductions in unstressed syllables.



14.5. As far as the *consonants* are concerned, fig 14.5 shows all the C occurring in this accent; while fig 14.6 provides their orograms; for [h, ɦ], cfr fig 3.4.E-F.

To the three *nasal* phonemes, a number of taxophones must be added for /n≡C/ (homorganic /n/), like the post-alveopalatal [ɲ] before [ʃ, ʒ]; the pre-palatal [ɲ] before [t]; the palatal [ɲ] before [c]; and the uvular [ɴ] before [ɣ, ʁ]. One also finds /xÇ/, while the Netherlandic mediatic accent prefers /χÇ/.

Examples: *moe* [ˈmuu], *komen* [ˈkoomɛ(n)], *om* [ˈʔom], *nu* [ˈnyy], *wonen* [ˈʊoɔnɛ(n)], *zon* [ˈzɔn], *brengen* [ˈbɛɲɛɲɛ(n)], *langzaam* [ˈlɑŋzɑm] (/am/), *ring* [ˈɛɲ]; *onfris* [ɔŋˈfɛɪʃ], *onwel* [ɔŋˈʊɛɪ], *antiek* [ɑnˈtik], *rangeren* [ɛʁɑŋˈʒɛɛɛ(n)], *kantje* [ˈkɑŋtɕɛ], *handje* [ˈhɑŋtɕɛ], *bronchitis* [bɛɔŋˈkiitɛs].

As far as *stops* are concerned, one can note [p] before /f/ [pf]; an alveolar [t] at the end of a word in pre-pausal position and in the sequence /ts/ [tʃ]; prepalatals [t̪, d̪] before [ç, j]; a palatal [c] before [ç]; a prevelar [k̠] before front(-central) vocoids. In addition, there is [ʔ], not only for emphasis before initial stressed vowels within a sen-

fig 14.5. Neutral Netherlandic accent: consonants & contoids.

m	[m]	[n]	n	[ɲ]	[ɳ]	[ɳ]	ŋ	[ŋ]		
p	b	[p]	t	d	[t]	[t̚]	k	(g)	[ʔ]	
	f		s	z	(ʒ)	[s̚]	[x]	χ	[ʁ]	
	v					[ç]				
	u					j	[ɣ]		h	[ɦ]
			l	ɫ	[ɫ]	[ɭ]	[x]	ʁ	[ʀ]	

tence, but also before a stressed vowel preceded by /a, ə/ in a word and half-stressed post-pausal vowels.

Examples: *peren* [ˈpeʁə(n)], *appels* [ˈʔɑpɫs], *ik heb* [ɪkˈhɛp], *bet* [ˈbɛt], *ik ben* [ɪkˈbɛn], *opfrissen* [ˈʔɒpʁɪsə(n)], *tweed* [ˈtweɪt], *drie* [ˈdrii], *tjee* [ˈtʃeə], *tik* [ˈtɪk], *zakje* [ˈzɑc-çə], *kit* [ˈkɪt], *kat* [ˈkɑt], *goal* [ˈgoʊt], *zakdoek* [ˈzɑgduːk], *ach jee!* [ˈʔɑʃˈtʃeə], *op een ochtend* [ˈʔɒpənˈʔɒktɛnt], *chaotisch* [ˈkɑʔootɪʃ], *naïef* [naˈiɛf] (/a/), *beangst* [bɛˈʔɑŋst].

14.6. For the *constrictives*, let us observe that /v/ is [v̥], a partially devoiced labial-dental semi-constrictive in all occurrences, but [vb, vd]; /s, z/ are alveolar, [s, z̥] (and [z], by assimilation); /ʃ/ and the xenophoneme /ʒ/ feature no labial protrusion, [ʃ, ʒ̥]; one also has: prepalatals [ʃ̥, ʒ̥] before [j]; palatals [ç, ʝ] in [Cj] sequences; and /χ/ [χ̥] (uvular constrictive trill), /x/ [χ̥] (uvular constrictive) with the correspondent voiced phones resulting by assimilation: [ʀ, ʁ].

Before front or front-central vowels, a *velar* constrictive trill, [x] or a constrictive, [x̥], may occur. For /χ, x/, the Netherlandic accent uses the ‘strongest’ (and generally the least ‘pleasant’) articulations among most European languages.

Examples: *fruit* [ˈfrʏt], *vinden* [ˈvɪndə(n)], *boven* [ˈboʊvə(n)], *afbrengen* [ˈʔɑv-ɪbʁɛŋə(n)], *sussen* [ˈsʊsə(n)], *zon* [ˈzɔn], *lezen* [ˈleʒə(n)], *misdrif* [ˈmɪzdrɪf], *sjouwen* [ˈʃuə(n)], *jus* [ˈʒy], *tjalk* [ˈtʃɑɫk], *schal* [ˈʃkɑɫ], *dag* [ˈdɑɫ], *aanslagbiljet* [ˈʔaɛnslɑɫbɪljɛt, -ɾb-], *wiegje* [ˈviɪχçə], *goed* [ˈxuɪt], *morgen* [ˈmɔʁχə(n)], *wegbrengen* [ˈvɛɪbʁɛ-ŋə(n), -ɾb-], *geen* [ˈxɛən], *wat* [ˈvɑt], *antwoord* [ˈʔɑntvʊʊd], *gewoon* [χəˈvʊʊn], *wiel* [ˈviɫ], *hand* [ˈhɑnt].

For the *approximants*, one finds /v/ [v̥]; then, /j/ [j̥], with the correspondent constrictive taxophone [j̥, ç] in the following sequences: /nj, (n)tj, dj, (n)sj, zj, (n)kj, lj/ [ɲj, (ɲ)t̚ç, d̚j, (ɲ)s̚ç, ʒ̥j, (ɲ)c̚ç, ɭ̥j]; finally, /h/ [h̥], with [ɦ] between voiced phones.

The phoneme /r/ should be realized as [ʀ] in every position, in neutral Netherlandic pronunciation; nowadays, however, mediatic ^{or} regional [ʁ] (a uvular constrictive, in every position) or [ʃ, ʒ̥] (prevelar uvularized approximant or semi-approximant, whose most accurate representation would be [ʃ̥, ʒ̥̥], in post-nuclear position) are largely prevailing, and it is no longer possible to exclude them neutral pronunciation.

The /l/ phoneme is realized as [l̥] before front or front-central vowels, but [ɫ] before back or back-central vowels, as well as before consonants and pauses; [ɫ̥] also occurs.

Examples: *gehaast* [χəˈhaɛst], *in hun huis* [ɪn(h)ənˈɦɛys], *raam* [ˈʁaɛm, -ʁ-], *straks* [ˈʃtʁɑks, -ʁ-], *leraar* [ˈleʁɛɛɛ, -ʁɛɛɛ, ↓-ʃ, ↓-ʒ̥] (/a/), *dertig* [ˈdɛɪtɛɪ, -ʁ-, ↓-ʃ-, ↓-ʒ̥-], *les* [ˈlɛs], *last* [ˈlɑst], *allerlei* [ˈʔɑɫɛɪ, -ʁ-, ↓-ʃ-, ↓-ʒ̥-], *veel* [ˈvɛɪt].

fig 14.7. Neutral Netherlandic-Dutch intonation: protunes & tunes.

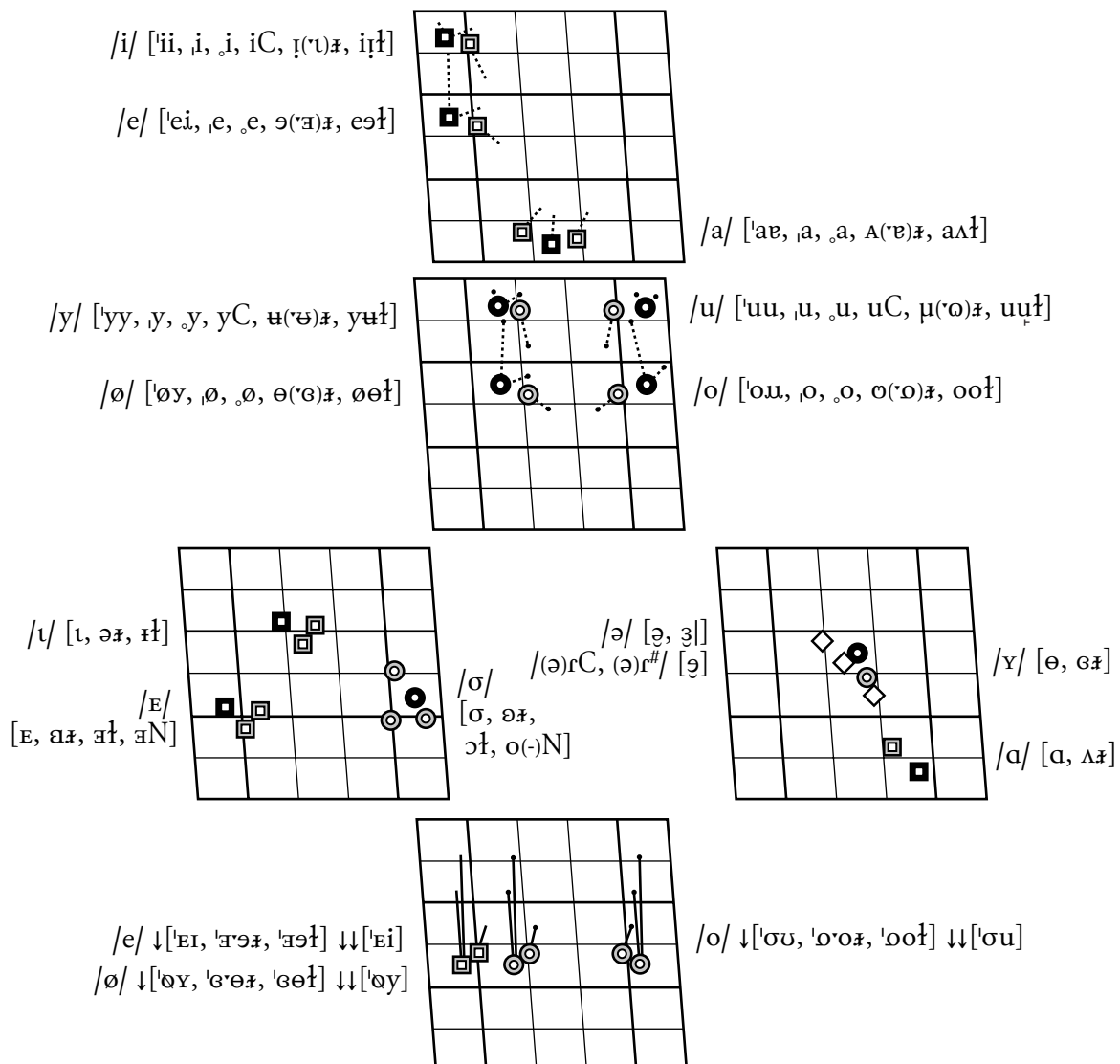


The *intonation* of Netherlandic Dutch is clearly presented in the tonograms of fig 14.7, which should be carefully compared with the tonograms of further accents, starting from those of the international pronunciation.

15. Mediatic Netherlandic-Dutch pronunciation

15.1. The mediatic accent of Netherlandic Dutch is now commonly heard on radio and tv broadcastings all over the Netherlands, as well as in movies and also among native speakers who cannot be regarded as using either the neutral accent or a regional one. This mediatic accent can be found even in the audio recordings

fig 15.1.1. Mediatic Netherlandic accent: vowels.



attached to language courses. For many people, the mediatic accent is a sort of neutral pronunciation; and in fact, nowadays it is increasingly more widespread in professional environments than the ‘neutral’ proper.

The vocograms of fig 15.1.1 show the monophthongs and should be compared with those provided in other chapters, as usual, in order to understand the similarities and differences. The monophthongs in the first two vocograms are often realized as narrow monotimbric or ditimbric diphthongs, with important taxophones. The high vowels, /i, y, u/, are realized as [ii, yy, uu] in stressed free syllables, but as short [i, y, u] in checked *or* unstressed syllables. As a rule, [ɾiɪ, ɾyɪ, ɾuɪ] occur in checked syllables ending in /r/ or /rC/; and [iɪ, yɪ, uɪ] when followed by [t].

In stressed syllables, the non-high vowels, /e, ø, o/, are realized as closing diphthongs, [ei, øy, ou], with their second elements being indicated by special symbols (almost [ei, øy, ou]; see the first two vocograms of fig 15.1.1).

Otherwise, /e, ø, o/ are realized as centering diphthongs, [əɪ, ɵɪ, ɔɪ] (and /a/ [aɪ]), in stressed syllables ending in /r/ [ɾ], a prevelar uvularized approximant (more rigorously, [ʁ]), or even a semi-approximant [ɣ] ([ʁ]). In syllables ending in [t], /e, ø, o; a/ become [eə, øə, ɔə; aɪ]; whereas, in unstressed syllables, they are realized [e, ø, o; a].

Poststress /i, e, a, o, u, y, ø/, followed by /r/ [ɾ], [ɾC, ɾV], are [VV]: *leraar* [ˈleɪɾaɪɾ].

15.2. The third and fourth vocograms of fig 15.1.1 provide the monophthongs that are always short, even in stressed syllables, with various taxophones: /ɪ/ [ɪ, əɪ, ɪt], /ʏ/ [ə, ɔɪ], /ɛ/ [ɛ, əɪ, ɛt, ɛN], /ɑ/ [ɑ, ʌɪ], /ɔ/ [ɔ, əɪ, ɔt, ɔN] (the last sequence, both in checked and free syllables) and /ə/ [ə], a half-rounded vocoid – which is lower and backer, [ɜ], at the end of a word and before pauses.

For /ə/ɾC, (ə)ɾ#, [ə] or [ɾ] occurs (the latter is uvularized and intense or –officially– ‘syllabic’; again, [ʁ] or [ɣ] would be more precise, but not really necessary). As for unstressed -a at the end of a word, the most common realization is /a/ [a].

The fifth vocogram in fig 15.1.1 shows more marked variants of /e, ø, o/: ↓[ei, əɪ, ət; øy, ɵɪ, ɵt; ɔu, ɔɔɪ, ɔɔt], ↓↓[ei, øy, ɔu].

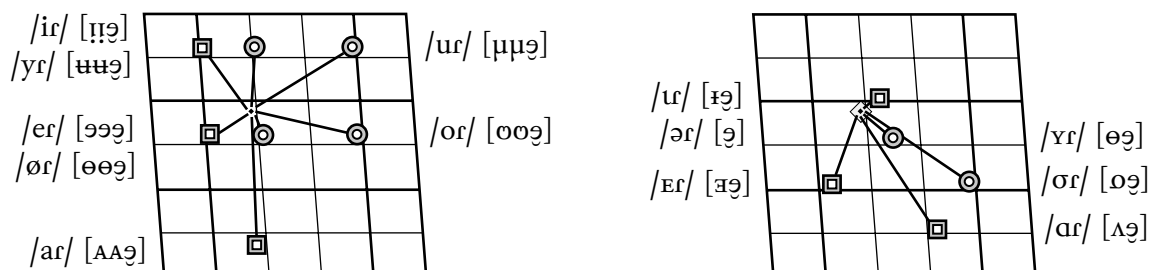
Examples: *wie* [ˈviɪ, ʏ-], *fiets* [ˈfiɪtʃ], *vier* [ˈfɪɪɾ, ʏ-], *kasjmir* [ˈkaʃmiɪɾ], *viel* [ˈfiɪt, ʏ-], *dik* [ˈdɪk], *stil* [ˈʃtɪt], *wirwar* [ˈvɪɪɾ, ʏ-], *zee* [ˈʒeɪ, ʒ-, ↓-ei, ↓↓-ei], *weer* [ˈvɪɪɾ, ʏ-], *deel* [ˈdeɪt, ↓-əɪt], *veld* [ˈfɛɪt, ʏ-], *ren* [ˈɾeɪ, ʏ-], *ver* [ˈfɛɪ, ʏ-], *dat* [ˈdɑt], *kar* [ˈkɑɪ], *bal* [ˈbɑt], *ja* [ˈjɑɪ], *tafellaken* [ˈtɑfɛɪtək, -əɪ, -əɪ], *maar* [ˈmaɪɾ], *taal* [ˈtaɪt], *vol* [ˈfɔt, ʏ-], *om* [ˈɔm, ↓ɔm], *dor* [ˈdɔɪ, ʒ-, ↓-ɔu, ↓↓-ɔu], *boom* [ˈbɔm, ↓bɔu, ↓↓bɔu, ↓-ɔm, ↓↓-ɔm], *oor* [ˈɔɔɪ, ↓ɔɔɪ], *doe* [ˈduɪ], *goet* [ˈχɔt], *broer* [ˈbrɔɪ], *veevoer* [ˈfeɪfɔɪ, ʏ-], *poel* [ˈpuɪt].

And: *nu* [ˈnyɪ], *duren* [ˈdyɪɾ, -əɪ, -əɪ], *uur* [ˈɾyɪ], *sprekkuur* [ˈspɾeɪkɔɪ, ↓-ei, ↓↓-ei], *ridicul* [ˈɾɪdɪkɔɪ], *beu* [ˈbɔy, ↓-ɔy, ↓↓-ɔy], *deur* [ˈdɔɪ, ↓-ɔɪ], *beul* [ˈbɔɪ, ↓-ɔɪ], *put* [ˈpɔt], *kruk* [ˈkɾɔk], *spurt* [ˈspɾɔt], *stulp* [ˈʃtɔt], *je* [ˈjɔ], *eerste* [ˈɛɪɾstɜ], *kinderen* [ˈkɪndɛɪ, -əɪ, -əɪ], *gemakkelijk* [χɛˈmakɛtɛk].

In fig 15.1.2, the vocalization of /ə/ɾ/ combined with the various vowels is provided: [ə]. Examples for /Vɾ, Cəɾ/ [ə]: *vier* [ˈfɪɪə, ʏ-], *kasjmir* [ˈkaʃmiɪə], *wirwar* [ˈvɪɪə, ʏ-], *weer* [ˈvɪɪə, ʏ-], *ver* [ˈfɛɪə, ʏ-], *kar* [ˈkɑə], *maar* [ˈmaɪə], *dor* [ˈdɔə],

oor [ʊoə], *broer* [ˈbrʊə], *veevoer* [ˈfɛiʃʊə, ˈvɛiʃʊə], *uur* [ʊuə], *spreekuur* [ˈspɹɛikʊə], *deur* [ˈdøə], *spurt* [ˈspʊrt], *stulp* [ˈstʊlp], *verbruiker* [fəˈbrʊkʊə, v-], *polder* [ˈpɔldə].

fig 15.1.2. Mediatic Netherlandic accent: vocoidal realization of /ə/ [ə], either after C or different V elements. Also phonemic and phonetic diphthongs can combine with /ə/ [ə], as [-iə; -yə; -uə, -yə, -pə].



15.3. fig 15.1.3 shows the three phonemic diphthongs, whose first elements are never lengthened, even in stressed syllables: /ɛi, œy, ʌu/ [æi, aɪ, ɔu] (first vocogram), including the taxophones occurring in the triphthongs formed with /ə/ [ə]: [æiə, aɪə, ɔuə, -ɜ].

The second vocogram provides the ‘good’ variants of the three diphthongs: ↑[æi, aɪ, ɔu], including ↑[æiə]. The third vocogram shows the sociophonically marked variants of the diphthongs and triphthongs: ↓[Ai(ə), Aɪ, ɛu(ə), ɔu(ə), (-ɜ)].

fig 15.1.3. Mediatic Netherlandic accent: phonemic diphthongs.

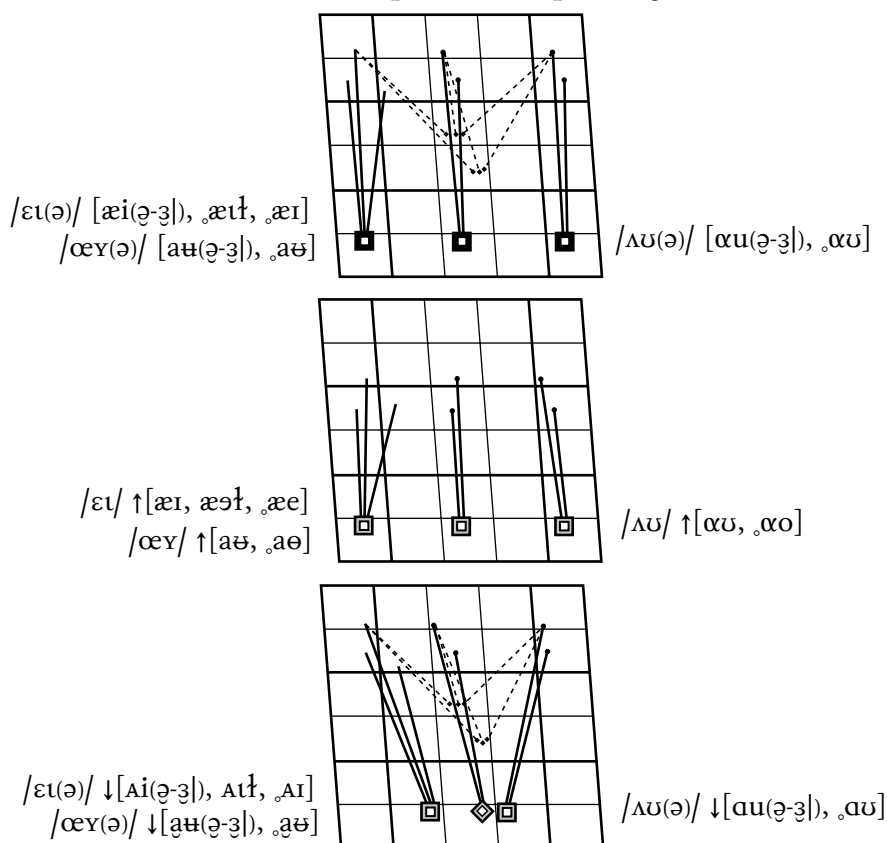
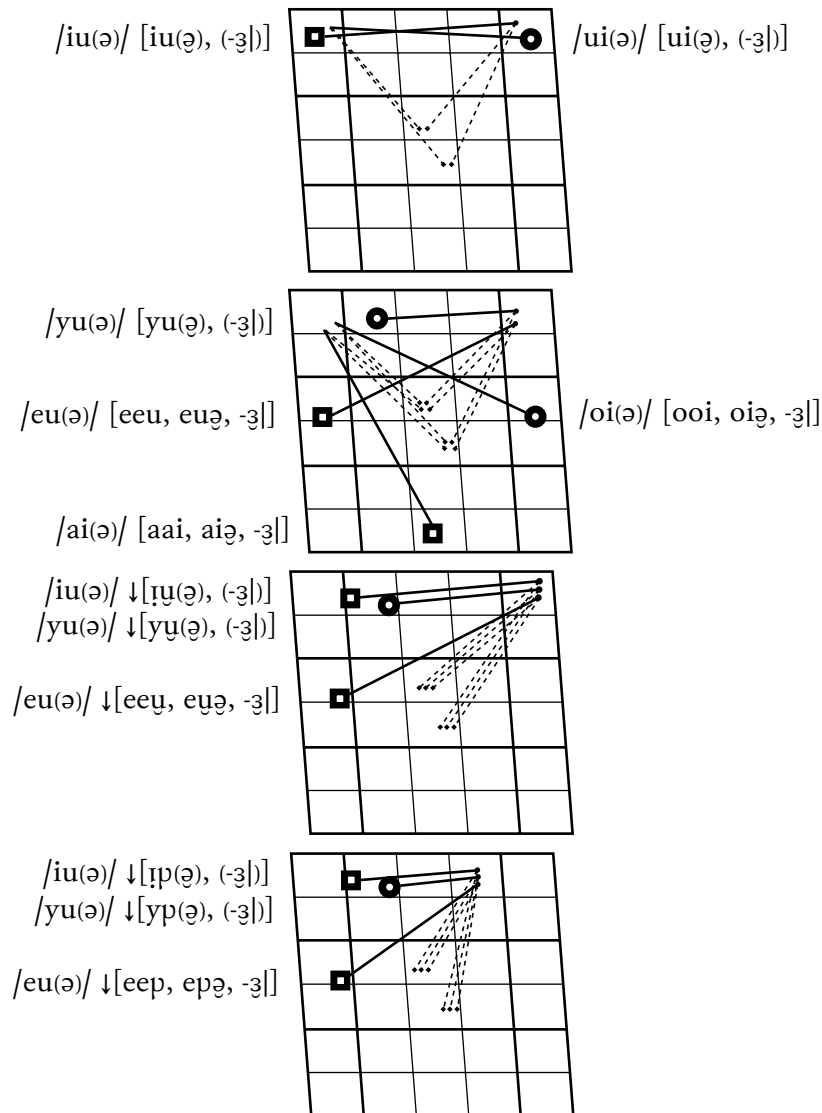


fig 15.2. Mediatic Netherlandic accent: sequential diphthongs & triphthongs (and variants).

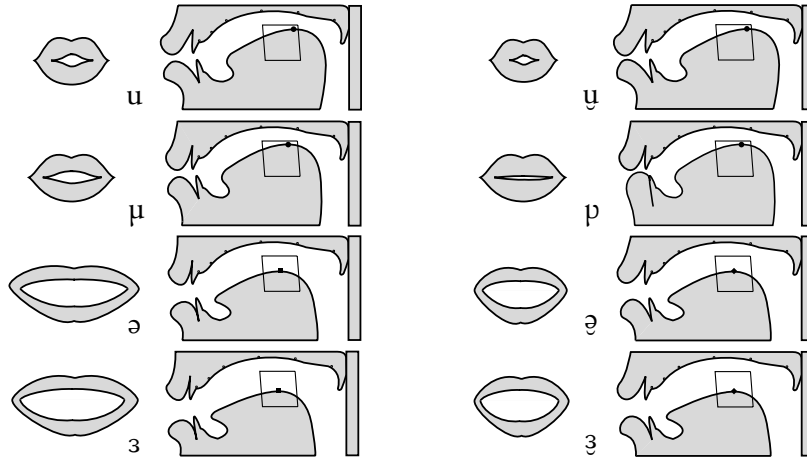


The first two vocograms in fig 15.2 provide the six supplementary diphthongs that derive from the juxtaposition of /i, e, a, o, u, y/ + /i/ or /u/, including the triphthongs with /ə/; in the third and fourth vocograms, the most marked variants of /iu, eu, yu/ are presented, with a hyper-rounded second element, [y], or a back-central labiodentalized one, [ɾ] (cf fig 15.3): [ɪy, eɥ, yɥ], or [ɪp, ep, yp].

Examples: *trein* [ˈtɾɛɪn, -æɪn, ↑-æɪ-, ↓-aɪ-], *ijs* [ˈɾæɪs, ↑ɾæɪs, ↓ɾaɪs], *bakkeleien* [bɑkəˈlæɪz, ↑-æɪz, ↓-aɪz, -əɪn, -əɪn], *lui* [ˈlɪaɪ, ↑-aɪ, ↓-aɪ], *huis* [ˈhɪaɪs, ↑-aɪs, ↓-aɪs], *kruier* [ˈkɾɪaɪ, ↑-aɪ, ↓-aɪ], *vrouw* [ˈvɾɔɪ, ↑-aɪ, ↓-aɪ], *paus* [ˈpɾɔɪs, ↑-aɪs, ↓-aɪs], *blauwe* [ˈbɪɔɪz, ↑-aɪz, ↓-aɪz].

In addition: *kieuw* [ˈkiy, ˈkiy, ˈkɪp], *nieuwe* [ˈniy, ˈniy, ˈnɪp], *leuw* [ˈleu, ˈleu, ˈlep], *middeleeuw* [ˈmɪdɪeɪs, -eɪs, -ep], *sneeuwen* [ˈsneɪz, ˈsneɪz, ˈsneɪz, -əɪn, -əɪn], *saai* [ˈsaai], *aait* [ˈaai], *draaien* [ˈdɾaɪz, -əɪn, -əɪn], *fooi* [ˈfooi], *nooit* [ˈnooi], *dooien* [ˈdoi, -əɪn, -əɪn], *boei* [ˈbui], *koeien* [ˈkui, -əɪn, -əɪn], *ruw* [ˈɾy, ˈɾy, ˈɾyp], *duwen* [ˈdy, ˈdy, ˈdyp, -əɪn, -əɪn].

fig 15.3. Mediatic Netherlandic: a comparison between ‘normal’ [u, μ, ə, ɜ] and some taxophones: *hyper-rounded* [ʊ], *labiodentalized* [p], *half-rounded* [ə̃, ɜ̃].

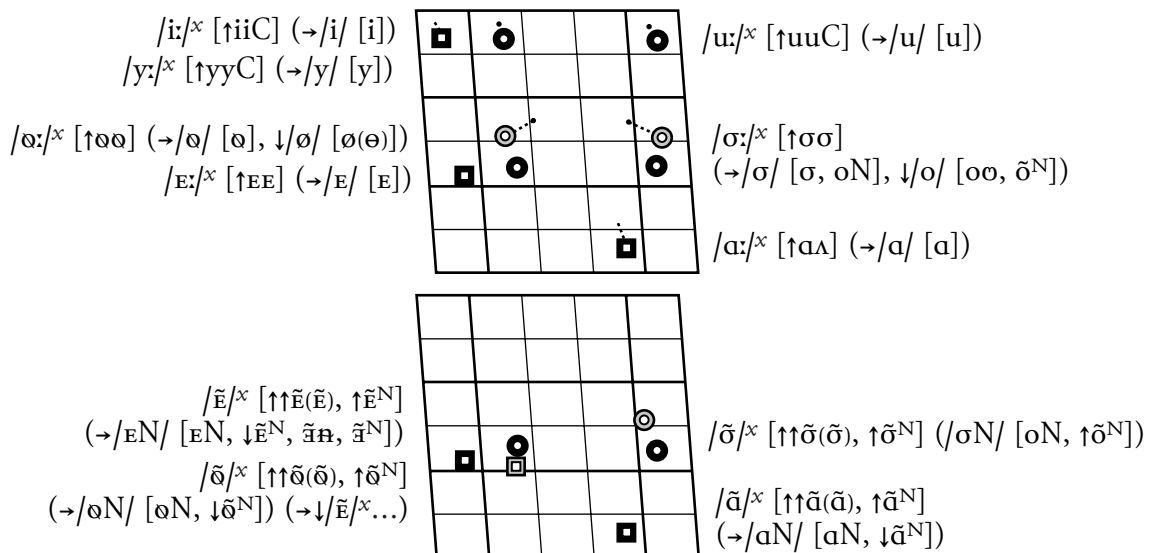


15.4. fig 15.4.1 shows the vowel xenophonemes. In the first vocogram, the seven oral xenophonemes are presented, while the second vocogram shows the four nasalized ones. For all of them, the simplified forms are indicated, which derive from the change to the native phonemes, that are remarkably more common; as a matter of fact, sticking to the xenophonemes denotes intentionality, and it is sociophonically marked as ↑.

Generally, stressed vowels in initial position are preceded by [ʔ]; the same is true for other stressed vowels following /a, ə/, as well as for half-stressed vowels after a pause.

Examples: *team* [ˈtiim, ˈtim, ˈtiĩm, ˈtīm], *pruderie* [ˈpɾyɔdɐˈviː], *crème* [ˈkɾɛɛm, ˈkɾɛm, ˈkɾɛɛ̃m, ˈkɾɛ̃m], *serre* [ˈʃɛɛʁɜ, ˈʃɛʁɜ], *basket* [ˈbɑɫʃkɛʃ, ˈbɑʃ-, ˈkɛʃ], *baccarat* [ˈbakaˈʁɑɫ, ˈʁɑɛ] (/bakaˈrɑ:/), *centrifuge* [ˈʃɛɛtʁiˈfiyɜʒ, ˈʃɛ̃ɛ-], *freule* [ˈfɾɔɔtɜ, ˈfɾɔɔ-], *dejeuner* [ˈdɛʒɔˈnei, ˈdɛ-], *controle* [kɔɛˈtɾɔsɔtɜ, -ɔɫtɜ, kɔ̃ɛ-], *loge* [ˈlɔsɔʒ, ˈlɔɫ-], *zone* [ˈʃɔsɛʒ, ˈʃɔɫ-, ˈʒ-], *corps* [ˈkɔsɔ, ˈkɔʃ, ˈkɔɔʃ], *boom* (Engl.) [ˈbuum, ˈbum, ˈbuĩm, ˈbũm], *atout* [ˈaˈtuu, ˈaˈtuʃ] (/a/).

fig 15.4.1. Mediatic Netherlandic accent: xenophonemes.



15.6. As far as the *consonants* are concerned, fig 15.5 shows all of them, while fig 15.6.1-2 contain all their orograms; for [h, ɦ], cfr fig 3.4.E-F). The readers are advised to pay attention to ‘new’ phones, such as [f, ɸ] (labiodental and alveolar semi-constrictives) for /v, z/, which have no vocal folds vibration, but are weaker than the corresponding full constrictives [f, ɸ].

We also recommend to take good notice of [by], a mediatic taxophone of /v/ [v, v̥], which can occur before V. After all, [by] is still a labiodental articulation with lip rounding (as shown in fig 15.6.2, including its partial magnification), but much tenser than [v]. In fact, the articulation in question is a *semi-stop-semi-constrictive*. The first ‘semi-’ indicates that the stop phase is attenuated, as the occlusion is not complete; the second ‘semi-’ implies that the second part of the phone is less than a full constrictive, ie semi-constrictive.

The simple semi-constrictive variant, [v̥], is a bit less marked than [bv̥], but as frequent as [v]. Also from an auditory point of view, [v̥] is distinguishable enough from /v/, which in the mediatic accent is more customarily realized as a voiceless or partially devoiced phone, [f, v̥] (unless voice assimilation takes place in consonant sequences, in which case [v] occurs).

[illegible]

There are also different contoids for /n/ in all contexts: velarized alveolar nasal

[illegible]

Examples: *fruit* [ʔfʁaʊʔ, ʔ-aʊʔ], *vinden* [ʔʏndʒ, -əʏ, -ēʏ, ʏ-, -īʏ], *boven* [ʔbomʃʒ, -əʏ, -ēʏ, ʏ-, -īʏ], *afbrengen* [ʔaʋʔbʁɛŋʒ, -ēʏ-, -əʏ, -ēʏ], *sussen* [ʃøʂʒ, -əʏ, -ēʏ], *zon* [ʃon, -ōʏ, ʔ-, -], *lezen* [ʔleiʒʒ, -əʏ, -ēʏ, ʔ-, -], *sjouwen* [ʃʏuʒ, -əʏ, -ēʏ], *jus* [ʒʏy], *tjalk* [ʔʧaʔk], *schal* [ʃʧaʔ], *dag* [ʔdaʧ], *aanslagbiljet* [ʔaʋʏʂʔaʧbʏʔjɛʔ, 'aēʏ-, -ʁb-], *wiegie* [ʔʏiɪʧʒ, ʏ-, -], *goed* [ʧʏʔ], *morgen* [ʔmøʔɪʧʒ, -əʏ, -ēʏ], *wegbrengen* [ʔʁɛʧbʁɛŋʒ, -ēʏ-, -əʏ, -ēʏ, ʏ-, -].

15.10. The following sequences occur regularly: /ts/ [ʈʂ] *ts*, *ds*, /vr/ [ʋʁ, ʋʀ, ʋʁ], *wr* and /sχ/ [ʂχ] *sch*, /sχr/ [ʂχʁ, ʂχʀ] *schr*.

Furthermore, the mediatic accent also shows the insertion of /ə/ [ə], *in word-final position*, in sequences of heterorganic C, formed by /r/ [ʁ, ʀ] (rather than [ʀ]) and /m, p, k, f, χ/, and also for non-homorganic /rn/, [ʁn]. The same happens with /l/ [ʎ] –rather than [ʀ]– and the same C (but there are no native words with /ln[#]/). Instead of [ə̃m, ə̃n], intense contoids are possible, as well: [m̃, ñ]. These /ə/-epentheses can also be frequent in the neutral accent, in familiar or colloquial speech.

Examples: *arm* [ʔʌʁm, ʔʌʁəm, ʔʌʁm̃], *urn* [ʔʊʁn, ʔʊʁən, ʔʊʁñ], *dorp* [ˈdɔʁp, ˈdɔʁəp], *werk* [ˈʊʁk, ˈʊʁək, ˈʊ-], *zelf* [ˈʂʌʎf, ˈʂʌʎəf, ˈʂ-], *erg* [ʔʌʁk, ʔʌʁək], *kalm* [ˈkʌʎm, ˈʎəm, ˈʎm̃], *help* [ˈhʌʎp, ˈhʌʎəp], *melk* [ˈmʌʎk, ˈmʌʎək], *dolf* [ˈdɔʎf, ˈdɔʎəf], *alg* [ˈʌʎk, ˈʌʎək].

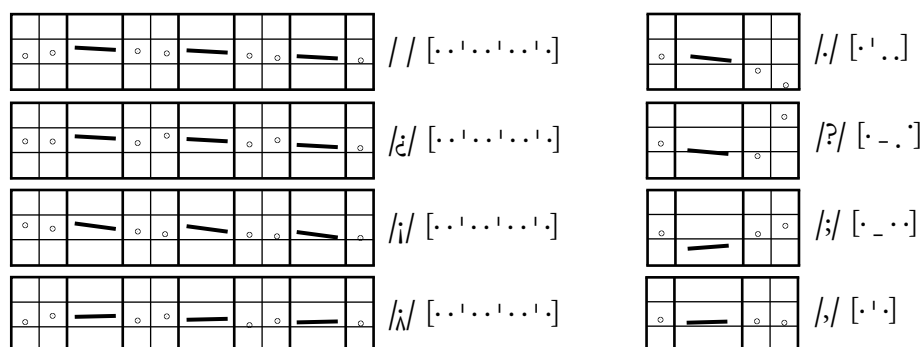
The same happens in compound words: *mergbeen* [ˈmʌʁkbeən, ˈmʌʁək-, -ʁb-, -ēn], *melkboer* [ˈmʌʎbʊʁ, ˈmʌʎəg-].

Instead, inside a word (not at its end), such an insertion denotes a very broad accent: *arme* [ʔʌʁmɜ, ʔʌʁəmɜ], *sterkste* [ˈʂtʌʁkʂtɜ, ʔʂtʌʁəkʂtɜ], *morgen* [ˈmɔʁχɜ, -ə̃n, -ē̃n, ʔmɔʁχɜ], *halma* [ˈhʌʎma, ʔhʌʎəma], *helpen* [ˈhʌʎpɜ, -ə̃n, -ē̃n, ʔhʌʎəpɜ].

A minimal pair like *toorn* and *toren* /ˈtoʁn, ˈtoʁə(n)/ is kept different in the mediatic pronunciation, too: [ˈtoʁn, -ʁn] vs [ˈtoʁɜ, -ə̃n, -ē̃n].

15.11. The mediatic *intonation* patterns are shown in the tonograms of fig 15.7, which, as usual, should be carefully compared with those of the neutral Dutch pronunciation, particularly in its Netherlandic version (fig 15.7), and by reading the numerous examples provided in G 10-11.

fig 15.7. Mediatic Netherlandic-Dutch intonation: protunes & tunes.



18.

Afrikaans Pronunciation

18.1. Modern Afrikaans (or ‘South-African Dutch’) derives from the Dutch language brought to South Africa three and half centuries ago. Here, the phonemes of Afrikaans will be shown as *intralinguistic* not very abstract entities, and in no necessary relation with those of Dutch. Of course, our phon(oton)etic transcriptions will use *canIPA* symbols.

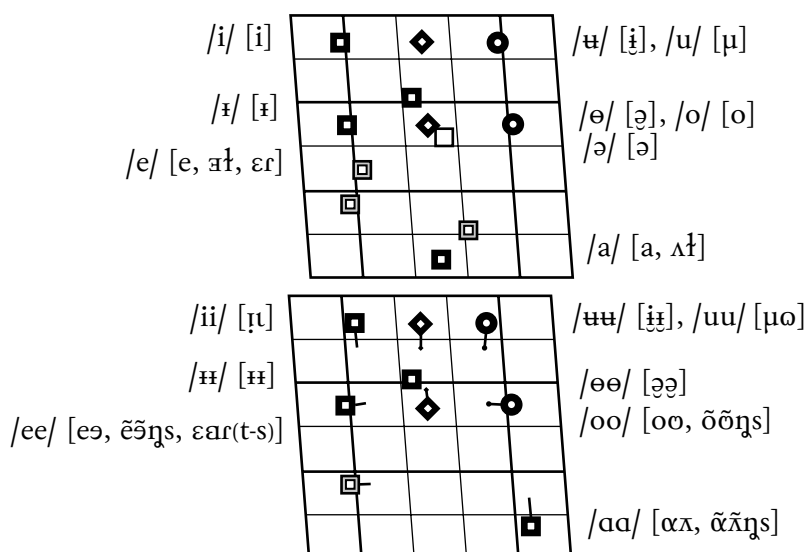
The accent of Dutch as spoken by Afrikaners (ie White South-African speakers of Afrikaans) has been described in § 17, referring to the International-Dutch phonemic system used in this book.

The first vocogram of fig 18.1.1 shows the nine short vowels of Afrikaans. They include /ə/ [ə], which is slightly different from both /ɛ/ [ɛ] and /ø/ [ø], and also some taxophones of /ɛ/ [e, ɛɪ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ] and /a/ [a, ʌɪ, ʌɪ]. Thus, one has /i, e; ɪ, ɛ, ø, ə, a; u, o/ [i, e; ɪ, ɛ, ø, ə, a; μ, o] (and [ɛ, ɪ, ʌ], just seen).

Examples: *skiet* [ˈskit], *bed* [ˈbet], *wel* [ˈvɛɪ, -ɛɪ], *herberg* [ˈɦɛɪbɛɪɾ], *nuus* [ˈnɪs], *dit* [ˈdɪt], *kus* [ˈkəs], *vereniging* [fəˈreɪnəvɛɪŋ, -χ-], *ek maak* [ɛkˈmɑk], *kat* [ˈkat], *al* [ʔʌɪ, -ʌɪ], *rok* [ˈrok], *boek* [ˈbʊk].

In the upper part of the second vocogram of fig 18.1.1, you can see /ii, ɛɛ, uu/, three rather narrow diphthongs, [ɪɪ, ɛɛ, μω], which only occur followed by /r/ (equally plus /ʰ, V, C/). Examples: *mier* [ˈmɪɪr], *muur(e)* [ˈmɛɛr(ə)], *voer* [ˈfʊɪr].

fig 18.1.1. Main Afrikaans vowels.



The rest of the second vocogram shows four narrow diphthongs (one with an opener taxophone when followed by /r/: /ee/ [εa], and a monotimbric one for the extremely rare /ɥ/ [ɥ]): /ee; ɥ, øø; oo, aa/ [eə; ɥ, øø; oo, aɫ].

Examples: *sê* ['seə], *mens* ['mẽɔ̃ɲs], *perd* ['pɛart], *brûe* ['brøə], *môre* ['moore], *spons* ['spõõɲs], *taak* ['tɔɫk], *Afrikaans* [ʔafɾə'kõãɲs, -ri-], *lê* ['lɥ].

In regional pronunciations, the structure /VVns/ [ṼṼɲs] (both in final or internal position in a word) may be extended to other phonemes, as for instance /i, ɛ, ə, ø, ɐə/ (here we just transcribe the neutral and the strictly corresponding non-neutral variants): *diens* ['dins, ↓d̃ɪ̃ɲs], *insig* [ʔɪnsəɸ, -χ, ↓ʔɪ̃ɪ̃ɲ-], *erns* [ʔeəɲs, ↓ʔẽaɪ̃ɔ̃ɲs], *kuns* [kəɲs, ↓k̃õ̃õ̃ɲs], *seuns* [sɛ̃ɔ̃ɲs, ↓s̃ɛ̃õ̃ɲs].

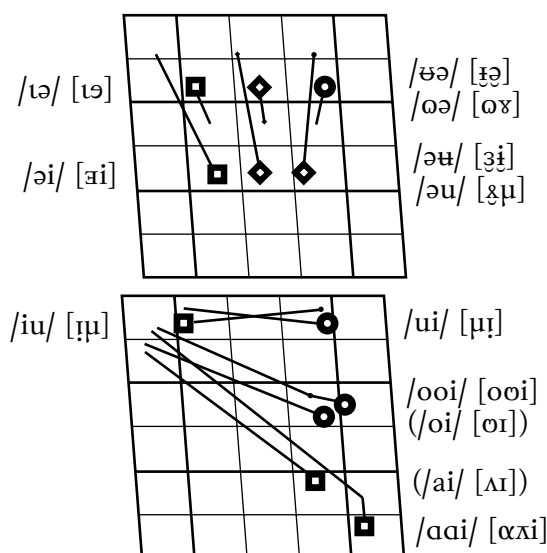
18.2. The first vocogram of fig 18.1.2 shows the three phonemic (closing) diphthongs, shared with Dutch, though a bit different not only in their starting points, /əi, əɥ, əu/ [ɛi, ɜ̃i, ɟu], and the three descending diphthongs, typical of Afrikaans, /ɪə, ɐə, ɔə/ [ɪə, ɛə, ɔɔ].

Examples: *ryp* ['rɛip], *vuus* ['fɜ̃ɪs], *hout* ['hɟut]; *lees* ['lɪəs], *Koetzee* [kɪt'sɪə], *reuk* ['rɛ̃ɔk], *rook* ['rɔ̃ɔk].

The second vocogram of fig 18.1.2 gives six vowel sequences obtained by combining some of the elements already seen. Two are very common, /aai, ooi/ [aɪ, ooi]; two are less common, /iu/ [ɪu], /ui/ [uɪ]; while the other two are quite rare, /ai/ [aɪ], /oi/ [oi].

Examples: *haai* ['hɔ̃aɪ], *hooi* ['hooi]; *leeu* ['lɪu], *moeilik* ['mɪuɪlɛk]; *baie* ['bɪaɪ], *toings* ['tɔ̃iɲs].

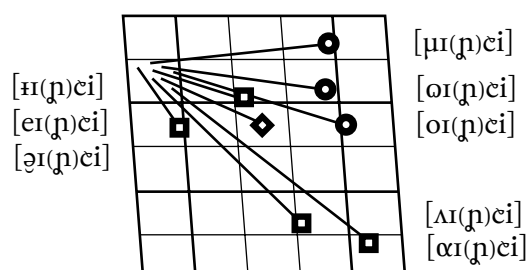
fig 18.1.2. Main Afrikaans true diphthongs & triphthongs.



The vocogram of fig 18.1.3 adds the eight transitional diphthongs, typical of diminutives. They are formed by one of the stressed V –/e, ɛ, ø, u, o, a; oo, aa/ [e, ɛ, ø, u, o, a; oo, aɫ] – combined with /i(n)ki/ [ɪ(n)ci], where the /i/-[ɪ]-element can be more or less evident (also as [i, ɪ], sometimes, including [ø], zero, especially because /ɪ/ can be sufficient, when present).

Examples: *bedjie* [ˈberci], *prentjie* [ˈpreɪnci], *pitjie* [ˈpɪci], *kindjie* [ˈkɪnci], *putjie* [ˈpʊci], *puntjie* [ˈpʊɪnci], *hoedjie* [ˈɦuɪci], *soentjie* [ˈsɪnci], *pootjie* [ˈpoɪci], *oondjie* [ˈʔoɪnci], *rotjie* [ˈrɔci], *mondjie* [ˈmɔɪnci], *matjie* [ˈmɑci], *randjie* [ˈrɑɪnci], *maatjie* [ˈmɑci], *aandjie* [ˈʔɑɪnci].

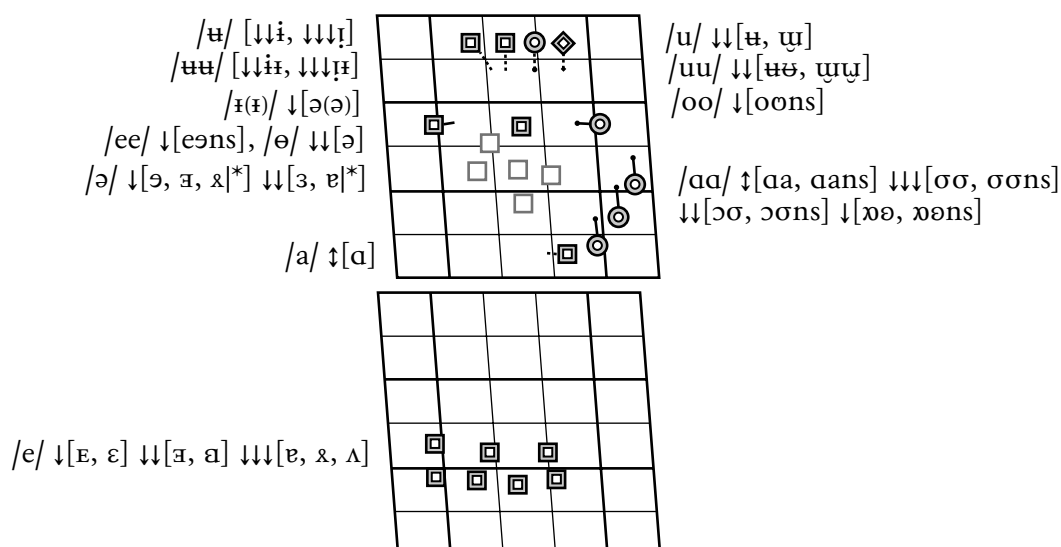
fig 18.1.3. Afrikaans diphthongs used in some types of diminutives.



18.3. Now, a number of *non-neutral variants* is added. Thus, fig 18.1.2 and fig 18.1.3 only show the differences, without repeating what is shared between the neutral and the mediatic accents of Afrikaans. Most variants are *mediatic* ones, indicated as ↓ (corresponding to ^m), a few are *regional*, indicated as ↓↓, ↓↓↓. In a certain way, someone might interpret both ↓ as a personal target, if just aiming at the mediatic accent, instead of at the neutral one. After all, enough is as good as a feast. But, we also include /a/ ↑[ɑ] and /aa/ ↑[ɑɑ, ǣ̃ŋs] (shown in the first vocogram of fig 18.2.1), which (subjectively) may be felt as being ‘better international realizations’.

The vocogram of fig 18.2.1 gives the opener realizations of /ɪ, ɪə/ ↓[ə, əə], coinciding with neutral /ə/ [ə]. But, *mediatic* /ə/ has a number of different realizations, ↓[ə, ɜ, ɜ] and ↓↓[ɜ, ɐ], so that a certain difference can be maintained between a true /ə/ and /ɪ, ɪə/. The variants ↓↓[ɜ, ɐ] may occur in final position before a pause, but mostly when they are followed by a –mainly tautosyllabic– velar or uvular C: /k, ŋ, ɣ/.

fig 18.2.1. Differences between neutral and mediatic Afrikaans vowels (including some non-neutral variants).



Again in the first vocogram of fig 18.2.1, one can also see both the *mediatic* (and Southwestern, including Cape Town to Namibia) realizations of /ɑ/ ↓[ɒ, ɒns] and the broadest regional ones, ↓[ɔ, ɔns, ɔ̃ɔ̃ns], ↓↓[σ, σns, ɔ̃σ̃ns], most typical of the former Transvaal area, now ascribable to northeastern South Africa.

Examples: *nuus* [↓'nɪs, ↓↓'nɪs], *muure* [↓'mɪrɐ, ↓↓'mɪrɐ, ↓-ɛ], *boek* ↓↓['bʊk, 'bʊk], *voer* ↓↓['fʊɐ, 'fʊɐ], *mens* [↓'mɛns], *dit* [↓'dɛt], *lie* [↓'lɛ], *kus* [↓'kəs], *kat* [↑'kat], *ek maak* [↑'ɛk'mɑk, ↑'ɛk'mɒk, ↓↓'ɛk'mɔk, ↓↓-σk], *Afrikaans* [↑'ɛfrɛ'kɑns, ↓'ɛfrɛ'kɑns, -ri-, ↓↓'ɛfrɛ'kɔns, ↓↓'ɛfrɛ'kσns], *spons* [↓'spɔns]. *Afrika* is [↑'ɛfrɛ'ka, -fri-, ↑'ɛfrɛ'ka, ↓'ɛfrɛ'ka, ↓↓'ɛfrɛ'ka, ↓↓'ɛfrɛ'ka].

The second vocogram of fig 18.2.1 shows both the light *mediatic* (and Southwestern) variants of /e/ ↓[ɛ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ] and the broadest ones (coinciding with some regional realizations, as well, of central and northeastern South Africa) ↓↓[ɛ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ], ↓↓[ɛ, ɛɪ, ɛɪ].

Examples: *bed* [↓'bɛt, ↓↓'bɛt, ↓↓'bɛt], *wel* ↓[↓'vɛɪ, -ɛɪ] ↓↓[↓'vɛɪ, -ɛɪ], ↓↓[↓'vɛɪ, -ɛɪ], *herberg* [↓'hɛrbɛɪ, ↓↓'hɛrbɛɪ].

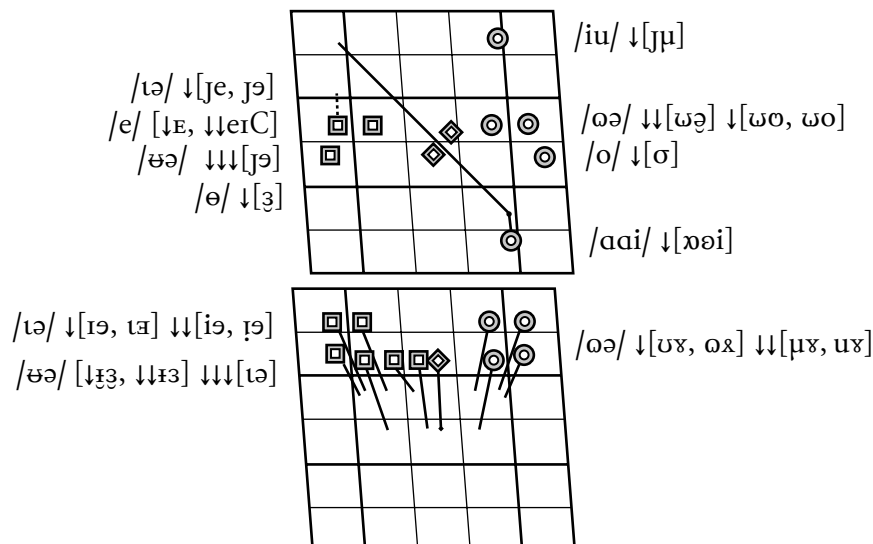
18.4. The first vocogram of fig 18.2.2 shows the frequent *mediatic* realizations of seven phonemes. For three of them, instead of diphthongs, one finds [CV] sequences of semiapproximants plus vocoids, /iu, ɪə, ɔə/ ↓[jɪ, jɛ, jə; wə, wɔ, wɔ]; in addition, for /e, ɐ, o/, there are also ↓[ɛ, ɜ, σ] (the first one is less centralized than in the second vocogram of fig 18.2.1; from an international point of view they might be considered as 'better variants': ↑); then, /ɑi/ ↓[ɒɪ], as well.

Examples: *leeu* [↓'ljɪ], *lees* ↓[↓'ljɛ, ↓'ljɛ], *Koetsee* ↓[kɔt'sjɛ, -sɛ], *rook* ↓[rɔk, 'rɔk] ↓↓[rɔk, 'rɔk]; *bed* [↓'bɛt, ↓↓'bɛt], *kus* [↓'kɜs], *rok* [↓'rɔk], *haai* [↓'hɒɪ].

In the second vocogram of fig 18.2.2, one can see a number of *mediatic* tiny differences for /ɪə/ ↓↓[ɪə, ɪə] ↓↓[ɪə, ɪə], /əə/ ↓↓[ɛə, ɛə] ↓↓[ɛə, ɛə], /ɔə/ ↓↓[ɔə, ɔə] ↓↓[ɔə, ɔə].

Those with a higher starting point are most typical both of the *mediatic* accent and of southwestern South Africa, including Cape Town (to Namibia, where Afri-

fig 18.2.2. Further differences between neutral and mediatic Afrikaans vowels (including some non-neutral variants).



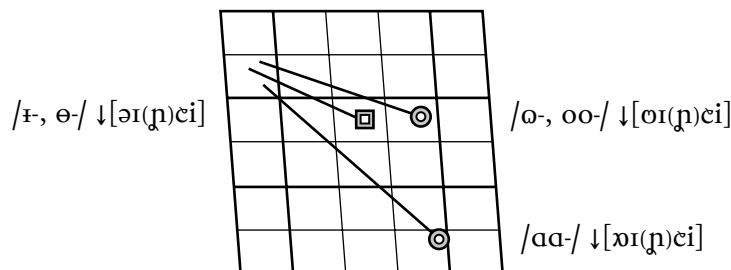
kaans is also spoken currently). So, in spite of being more different from the neutral realizations we have seen, they might be considered either as ↓, or even ↑.

Examples: *les* ↓[l'is, l'is, l'is, l'is], *Koetzee* ↓[kʊt'siə, -iə, -iə, -iə], *reuk* ↓[rɛ̃k, rɛ̃k, rɛ̃k, rɛ̃k], *rook* ↓[rʊk, rʊk, rʊk, rʊk].

In fig 18.2.3, you can see the neutralization of two couples of diphthongs formed in diminutives (/ɛ-, ɐ-/ /o-, oo-/) and the timbres for /aa-/.

Examples: *pitjie* [p'ɛɪci], *kindjie* [k'ɛɪci], *putjie* [p'ɛɪci], *puntjie* [p'ɛɪci]; *poottjie* [p'ooɪci], *oondjie* [o'ooɪci], *rotjie* [r'ooɪci], *mondjie* [m'ooɪci]; *maatjie* [m'aaɪci], *aandjie* [a'aaɪci].

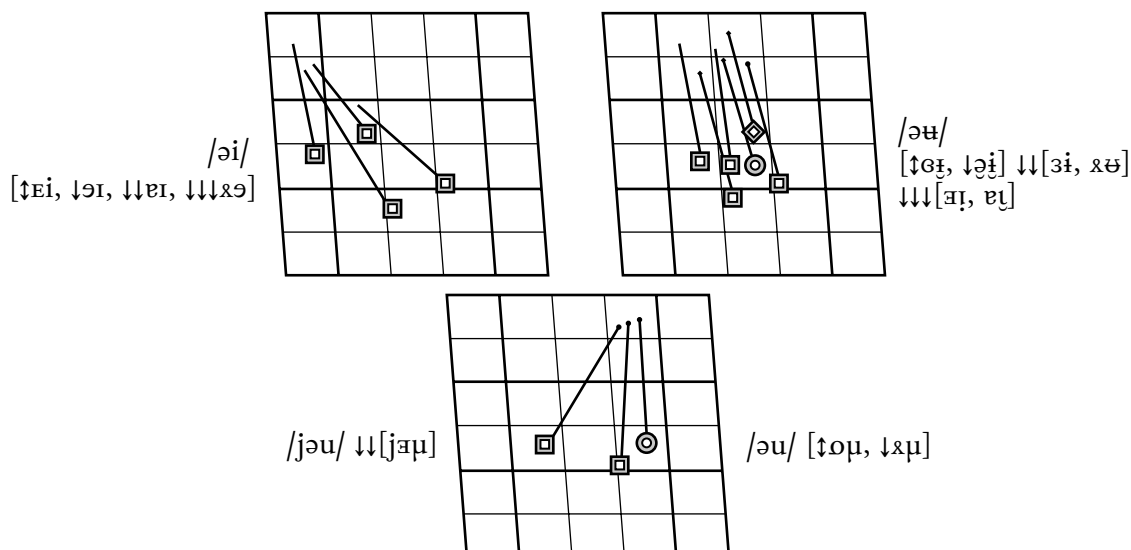
fig 18.2.3. Some differences and neutralizations in diphthongs for diminutives.



Let us now consider fig 18.3. The three vocograms show the *mediatic* —↓— variants of the three phonemic diphthongs /əi, əu, əu/ (including some mediatic and regional variants of /əi/, and the ‘better international variants’ —↑— for all of them), /əi/ [ɛi, ɛi, ɛi, ɛi], /əu/ [ɔu, ɔu, ɔu, ɔu], /əu/ [ɔu, ɔu, ɔu, ɔu].

Examples: *ryp* [r'ɛip, r'ɛip, r'ɛip, r'ɛip], *vuis* [v'ɔis, v'ɔis, v'ɔis, v'ɔis], *hout* [h'out, h'out, h'out, h'out], *jou* [j'ou, j'ou, j'ou, j'ou]. Of course, different native hearers would certainly be rather puzzled, should they ever happen to hear words like *uitreik*, *uiteinde* [ʊɛ̃tɹɛik, ʊɛ̃tɹɛ̃ndə] pronounced with [ɛ̃] and [ɛ̃] together in the very same word, as something unreal, like *[ʊɛ̃tɹɛik, ʊɛ̃tɹɛ̃ndə]; but, luckily,

fig 18.3. Differences between neutral, mediatic and some regional variants in the three typical phonemic diphthongs.



no sane native speakers would possibly say anything of the kind. In fact, they would spontaneously use realizations sufficiently apart in the vocogram.

18.5. Passing to the *consonants* of Afrikaans, in addition to the four *nasal* phonemes /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ [m, n, ɲ, ŋ], one can find several homorganic taxophones for /nC/ [ɲ, ŋ, ɲ, n] and a provelar semi-nasal for /VVns/ [ṼṼŋs], besides a dental [ɲ].

We decided to use /ɲ/, to avoid that people might think that /ɲj/ corresponds to [ɲʲ], which is typical of many Germanic languages, as for instance English *onion* [ˈɒn-ʃən]. Lexeme-final /rm, lm/ are generally realized as [rəm, ləm] or [rɲ, lɲ], while /rn, ln/ are only occasionally realized as [rən, lən] or [rɲ, lɲ] (in Dutch this phenomenon is much more widespread, with further C).

Examples: *maa* [ˈmɑɑ], *nach* [ˈnɑχ], *oranje* [ɔˈɔɾapə], *tong* [ˈtɔŋ]; *envelop* [ˈɛnɔpə], *stand* [ˈstɑnt], *van sjokola* [fɑɲʃokəˈlɑɑ], *mandjie* [ˈmɑɲɟi], *ons* [ˈɔŋs], *bank* [ˈbɑŋk], *van chloor* [fɑɲχlɔɔɾ]; *film* [ˈfɪləm, -lɲ], *storm* [ˈstɔrəm, -rɲ].

Let us add *psalm* [pəˈsələm, -lɲ] to show another example of schwa insertion in the sequence /#ps/, where a potential monosyllable becomes a trisyllabic word!

When *nie* /ni/ ‘not’ forms a rhythm unit with a preceding word, it is weaker [ni], and undergoes assimilation and reduction: *jy sal nie* [j(ə)ˈsɑli], *ek weet nie* [ɛgˈvɛti].

18.6. The set of *stops* includes the phonemes /p, b; t, d; k, g/ [p, b; t, d; k, g], with /g/ both as a *xenophoneme* –ie (g) *gh*– and as a rare phoneme in the sequence /gə/, instead of considering it as a very peculiar taxophone of /χ/ [χ, χ] in that single context, and as an assimilatory taxophone. Sometimes, /b, d, g/, after a pause, can be [b̥, d̥, g̥], especially in *mediatic* pronunciation.

In addition, there is [ɾ] occurring before stressed V, or between V, or word-beginning. We also have [(ɲ)ci] for /-(ɲ)ki/ -(n)*tjie*, -(n)*djie* in diminutives, as we have already seen; and [t̪, d̪] in the homorganic sequences [t̪ʃ, d̪ʒ] /tʃ, dʒ/ used in foreign words.

Examples: *pop* [ˈpɔp], *ribbe* [ˈrɪbə], *tent* [ˈtɛnt], *dood* [ˈdɔɔt], *knie* [ˈkni], *berge* [ˈbɛrgə], *brugge* [ˈbrɛgə], *ek dink* [ɛgˈdɪŋk], *ghrop* [ˈgrɔp], *uitjie* [ˈuɪɟi], *tjap* [ˈtʃɑp], *jellie* [ˈjɛli, ˈjɛ, ˈdʒ, ˈj].

Words in /-Vndər/ (with a short V) are colloquially changed into /-Vnər/: *kinders* [ˈkɪnərs], *onder* [ˈɔnər] (also *onder-*). Words in /-Vndə(l)/ generally keep their /d/; while an intervocalic /d/, in an unstressed syllable, may become a flap, [ɾ], in a very colloquial way of speaking (even if deriving from //td// → /(d)d/, following a typical assimilation rule, shared with Dutch).

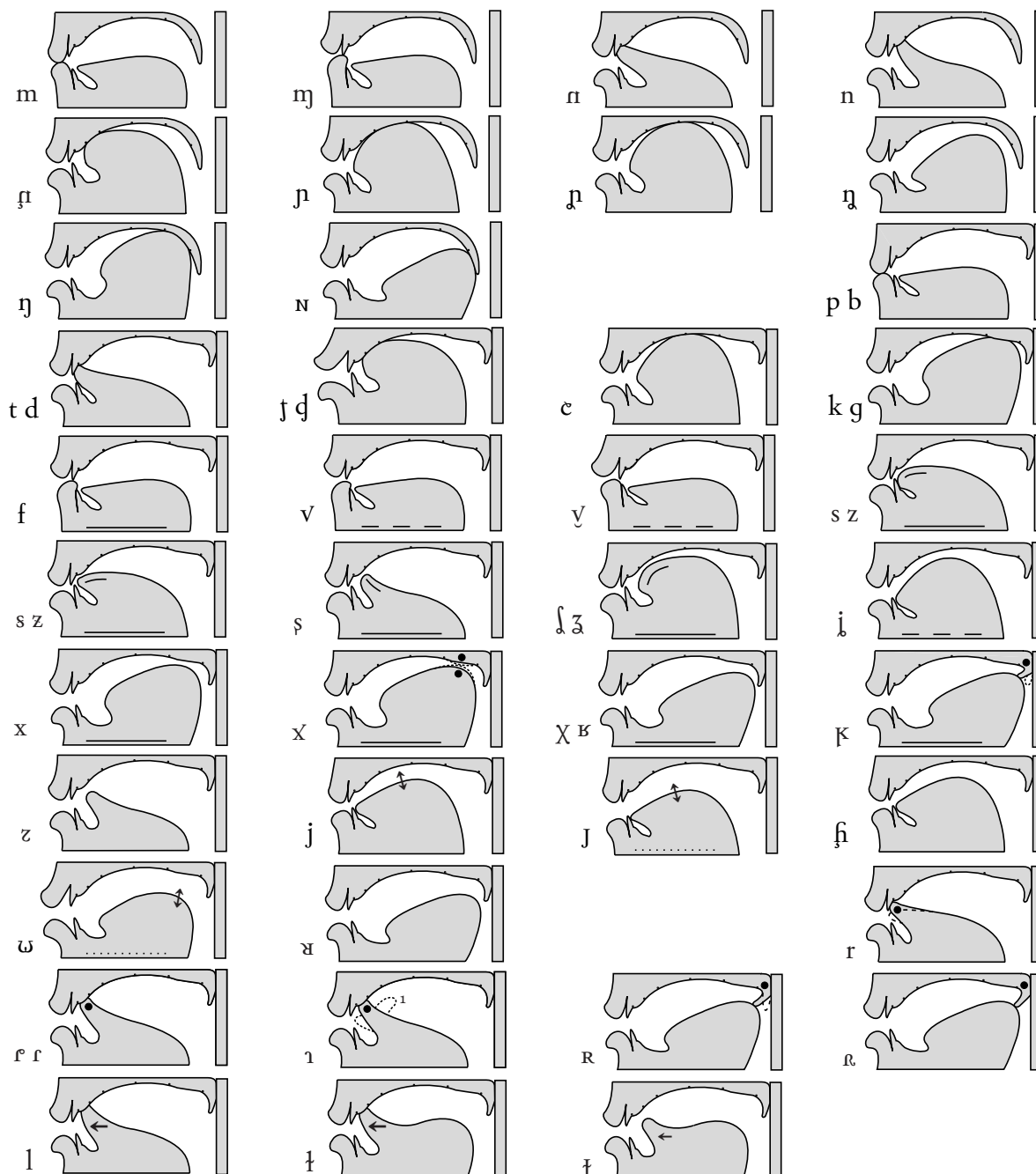
But, by this same rule, on the contrary, for the grammeme *-de*, we have //C_Δdə// → /-C_Δtə/): *middel* [ˈmɪdɪ, -ɾ, ɪ], *middeag* [ˈmɪdɑχ, -ɾ, -χ], *wat die...* [ˈvɑ(d)di, ˈvɑɪ], but *wat dan?* [ˈvɑ(d)ˈdɑn], *vertraagde* [fərˈtrɑχtə, -χtə]. Also the /#d/ of the grammeme *die* /di/ ‘the’, when preceded by another grammeme, undergoes assimilation and reduction: *in die* [ɪ(n)ni-, əni-], *op die* [ɔ(p)pi-], *met die* [me(d)di-], *deur die* [dɛɔ(r)ri-, dɛɔri-], *voor die* [fɔɔ(r)ri-, fɔɔri-].

As for the *constrictive* phonemes of Afrikaans, one has /f/ [f] (*f*, *v*) and the semi-constrictive /v/ [v] (*w*; with [v̥] after tautosyllabic C). Then, we find /s/ [s] (*s*, *z*)

fig 18.4. Table of Afrikaans consonants: phonemes, taxophones and variants.

m [m]	[n]	n	[ɲ]	p	[p]	[ɲ]	ŋ	[N]	
p b	t d		[t d]		[c]		k (g)		[ʔ]
f v [v]	s (z) [s z]	[s]	[ʃ]	[j]			[x-x']	[χ]-[ʁ]	h
		[ɹ]	[ɹ]	j [ɹ]	[ɸ]		[ɹ]	[ɹ]	
		l	[ɹ]						

fig 18.5. Afrikaans contoids: phonemes, taxophones and variants.



and the xenophonemes /z/ [z] (z), /ʃ/ [ʃ] (sj) and /ʒ/ in the sequence /dʒ/ [ɹɹ, dʒ, ʃɹ] (j) together with /tʃ/ [tʃ] (tj, or the original spelling) for loan words. Let us observe

that we use [s, z], although one can also hear denti-alveolar [s, z] and even alveolar [ʃ] especially in /rs, s[#], st, sk/.

Then, there is a uvular constrictive *trill* [ʀ] for /χ/ (*ch, g*), which can lose its trilled nature, becoming [χ], and with two constrictive velar taxophones (again as a trill or not) before front V, [x, ɣ].

Examples: *vyf* [ˈfɛif], *wind* [ˈvɪnt], *swem* [ˈsɤm], *see* [ˈsɛə], *zero* [ˈsɛrɔʒ, ˈz-], *Zoe-loe* [ˈzʊlə], *sjef* [ˈʃef], *genie* [ˈʒəni, ˈʒ-], *gewig* [ˈkəvɪk, ˈχəvɪχ], *geel* [ˈxɛlə, ˈx-, ˈɣ-].

Among the *approximants*, /j/ [j] can become a semiconstrictive, [j̥], for emphasis or precision. In the *mediatic* accent, one also finds two semi-approximants –[j, ɰ], palatal, and velar rounded– for the variant realizations of /iu, ee, oo/ [i, e, o], which become [j, j̥; j̥, j̥; ɰ, ɰ, ɰ] (first vocogram of fig 18.2.2, in the table of C, they are shown as ɰ).

The laryngeal approximant is a voiced /h/ [ɦ], also after pauses or in contact with voiceless C, that may become voiced, whereas –in grammemes and suffixes– it readily drops entirely. Before non-back V, /h/ [ɦ] may become palatal [h̟].

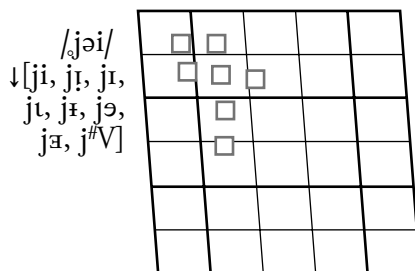
Examples: *juk* [ˈjək, ˈj̥ək], *miljoen* [mɪlˈjʊn, -t̪-, -j̥ʊn], *hond* [ˈɦont], *apartheid* [ˈʔa-ˈpart(h)ɛit], *onthou* [ˈɦontɦʊ, -d̪ɦ-], *hen* [ˈɦen], *hups* [ˈɦəps], *ek gehoor het nie* [ˈʔək-ˈɦəʀət̪ni, ˈʔək-, -kχ-].

Then, there is an alveolar tap /ɾ/ [ɾ] in any context (but it can become partially devoiced, [ɾ̥], or completely voiceless, [ɾ̥], before a pause); one can also find [ɾ] for emphasis or precision; or ↓[ʒ, ʒ̥] in *mediatic* pronunciation. In Southwestern South Africa /ɾ/ is very frequently uvular ↓[ʀ, ʀ, ʀ, ʀ] in any context.

To end with the C of Afrikaans, there is an alveolar lateral /l/ [l], which becomes velarized, [ɭ] or –especially, but not exclusively, in the *mediatic* accent– semi-lateral velarized, [ɭ̥] (both of them also intense for /əl̥/ [ɭ̥, ɭ̥]).

Examples: *raar* [ˈrɑɾ, -ɾ̥, -ɾ̥, ˈrɑɾ], *portier* [pɔɾˈtɪr, -ɾ̥, -ɾ̥, pɔɾˈtɪr], *kleur* [ˈklɛʀ, -ɾ̥, -ɾ̥, ˈklɛʀ], *lap* [ˈlap], *slyp* [ˈslɛɪp], *nul* [ˈnʊɭ, -ɭ̥], *belg* [ˈbɛɭk, -ɭ̥, -χ].

fig 18.6. Possible reduced forms for unstressed *jy*.



18.7. The vocogram of fig 18.6 shows the numerous possible realizations of unstressed *jy* /jəi/ ↓[ji, jɪ, jɪ, jɪ, jɪ, jə, jɛ, jɛ, jɛ, jɛ, j̥V] (which are non-neutral, or colloquial, including plain [j], that can occur before V, as in *jy eet* [jɛiˈt̪ɛt]... [ˈjɛt]). They are quite normal in colloquial speech, in spite of the fact that current Afrikaans orthography and grammars only show the three following reductions for grammemes: the article *'n* [ə], the possessive *s'n* [sən] (or *s'ne* [sənə]), and the negative *g'n* [kən, χən] (from *geen* [ˈkɛən, ˈχ-]).

First of all, any unstressed monosyllabic grammeme certainly has a form without

stress, while possibly keeping its normal vowel timbres. And this certainly is a kind of reduced form, too.

But there are several other *reduced forms* that can be heard in current speech, in addition to the enclitic possessive *se* [sə], which grammars present, although without explicitly saying that it has a real phonic reduced form.

Thus, here are those that one is very likely to hear in spontaneous speech: *is* [əs, s], *as* [əs], *het* [hət, ət], *ek* [ək], *en* [ən, ən], *by* [bə], *my* [mə], *ny* [nə], *vir* [fər], *wil* [vɪ], *dit* [dət], *dat* [dət, dʌt], *doen* [dən], *te* [tə] (even if meaning 'too'), *om* [əm], *soos* [səs], *met* [mət, mət], *moet* [mət], *hom* [həm, əm], *jou* [jə, jʌ], *jou is* [jʌs], *jy is* [jɛ(i)s], *-V hy* [Vɛi], *dis is* [dɪs], *maar* [mɛr], *na* [na], *vandag* [fən'daɪ, -χ], *vanaand* [fən'vɑnt], *vanmiddag* [fə(m)'mɪdaɪ, -χ]...

Let us also note: *ek is sewe* [ʔək'siəvə], *wie is jy?* [ɛ'viːs-jɛi..], *gedoen het* [kə'dʌnət, χ-], *terug* [tɪrəɪ, -χ], *telefoon* [telə'fəʊn, tɛt'fəʊn], *telefoongids* [telə'fəʊnɪkɪts, tɛt'fəʊn-, -χɪts], *ek het hom gesien* [ʔəkətəmɪkə-sin.., -χ-], *toe om die kinders* [tʊmi-kɪnərs..], *is dit genoeg?* [ɛ'ɪstə(t)kənɪpɪk·, -χənɪpɪk·]...

Let us observe: *Kaapstad* [kɑpstat], *Pretoria* [prətɔria], *Bloemfontein* [blumfon'tein]. Lastly, let us carefully compare: *jool* [jʊʌt, -t], *ioon* [iʊʌn].

18.8. The fundamental intonation patterns of Afrikaans are shown in fig 18.7. Here are some examples:

Verskoon dat ek in die rede val

[fər'skøʊn dɛtʔek ɪndi-rɛdəfɛl..] [-t]

(Excuse me for interrupting)

Iets te drink?

[ɛ'ɪts tɛdrɪŋk·]

([May I offer you] something to drink?)

Dit is lank sedert, ek jou laas gesien het

[dɪtəs-lɑŋk·| sɛdərtʔək'jʊ lɑs kə-sinɪt..] [-χ-]

(It has been a long time, since I saw you last)

Tot siens, ek het die tydjie baie geniet

[tɔt-sins..| ʔekəɪ tɛɪci bɛɪkə-nɪt..] [-χ-]

(Goodbye, I had a delightful time)

Is die pad goed?

[ɛ'ɪsi'pat· ɛ'kʊt·] [-χ-]

(Is the road good?)

Dag!

[ɪ-dɑɪ·] [-χ·]

(Goodbye!).

fig 18.7. Fundamental intonation patterns of Afrikaans.

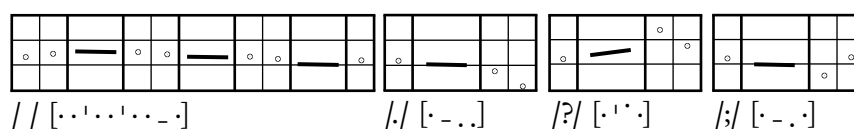
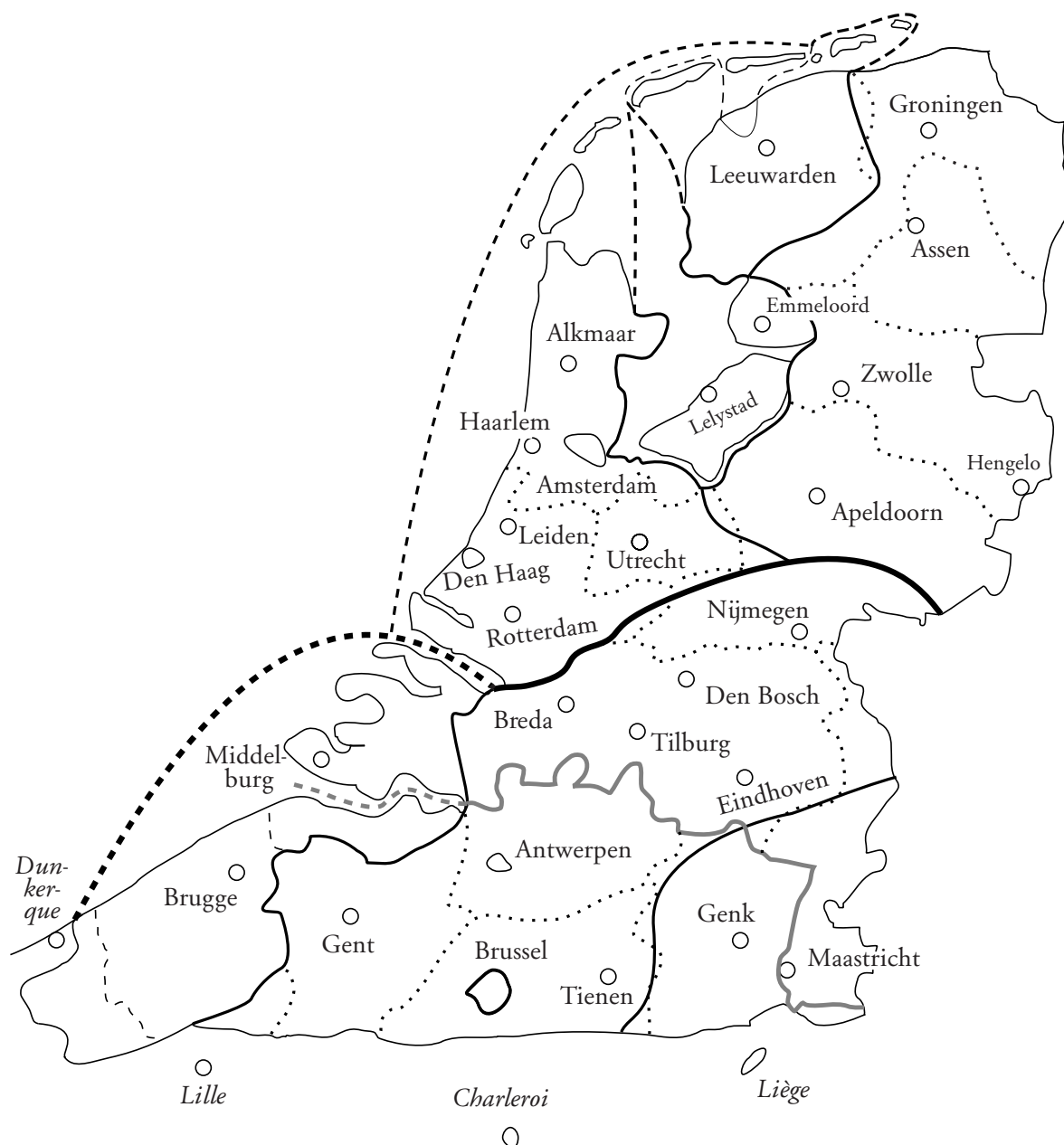


fig 16.o.2. The provinces & principal towns & cities, with the 7 general accent divisions.



As a matter of fact, to be honest, the number of speakers who use this kind of accent is certainly higher than that of neutral speakers (even including 9-per-cent ones). Thus, often –and more and more so, indeed– mediatic pronunciation is widely considered to be a kind of neutral pronunciation. Perhaps an easy-going type, less sophisticated, but even less camp, which requires less commitment by native speakers.

16.o.3. Moreover, there is a multitude real *regional pronunciations* (or local pronunciations), which do not coincide exactly with *local (traditional) dialects*, although the latter are the determining factor for the local accents. Any dialects have more or less different pronunciations, as well as different vocabulary and grammar. This does not mean, of course, that regional speakers use perfect official vocabulary and grammar,