

Excerpts form Luciano Canepari
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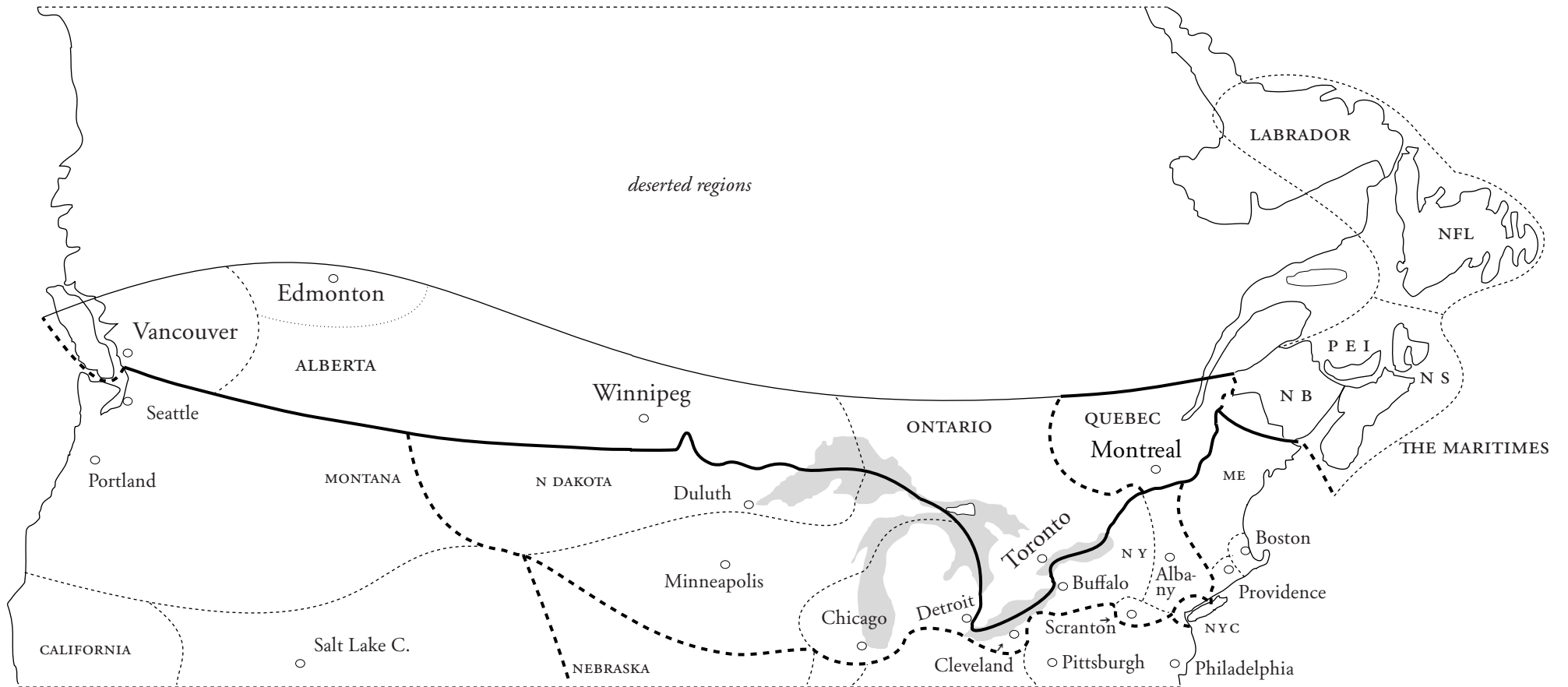
English PronunciationS
The Pronunciation of English around the World
Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

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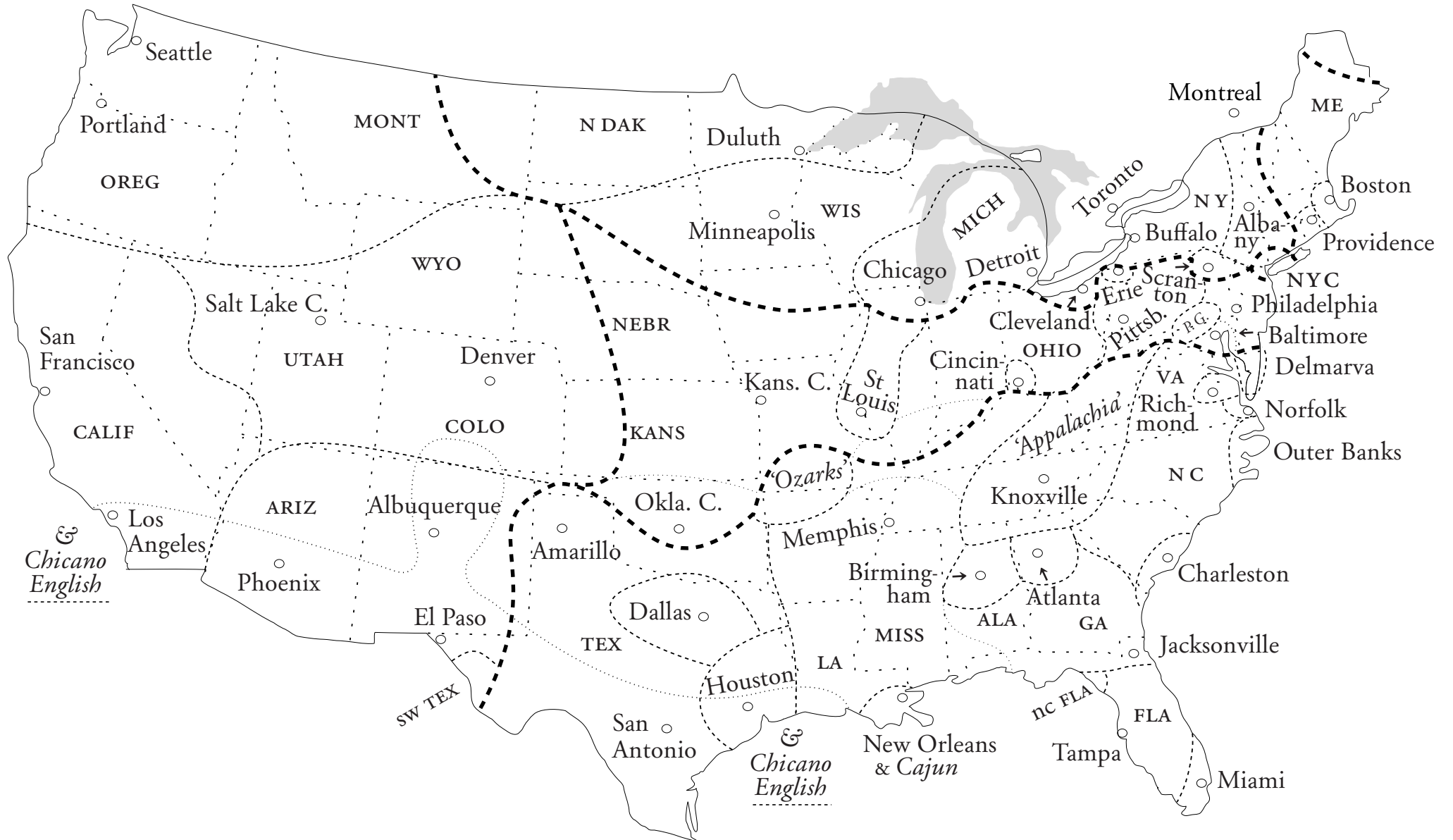
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Canadian-accent areas: Vancouver, Edmonton, the Prairie Provinces, Tononto, Quebec, the Maritimes, and Newfoundland with Labrador
(see the table of contents for the single specific chapters) [© Luciano Canepari, 2010, Venice University, Italy]



The USA core territory showing both state and accent borders (see the table of contents for the single specific chapters)

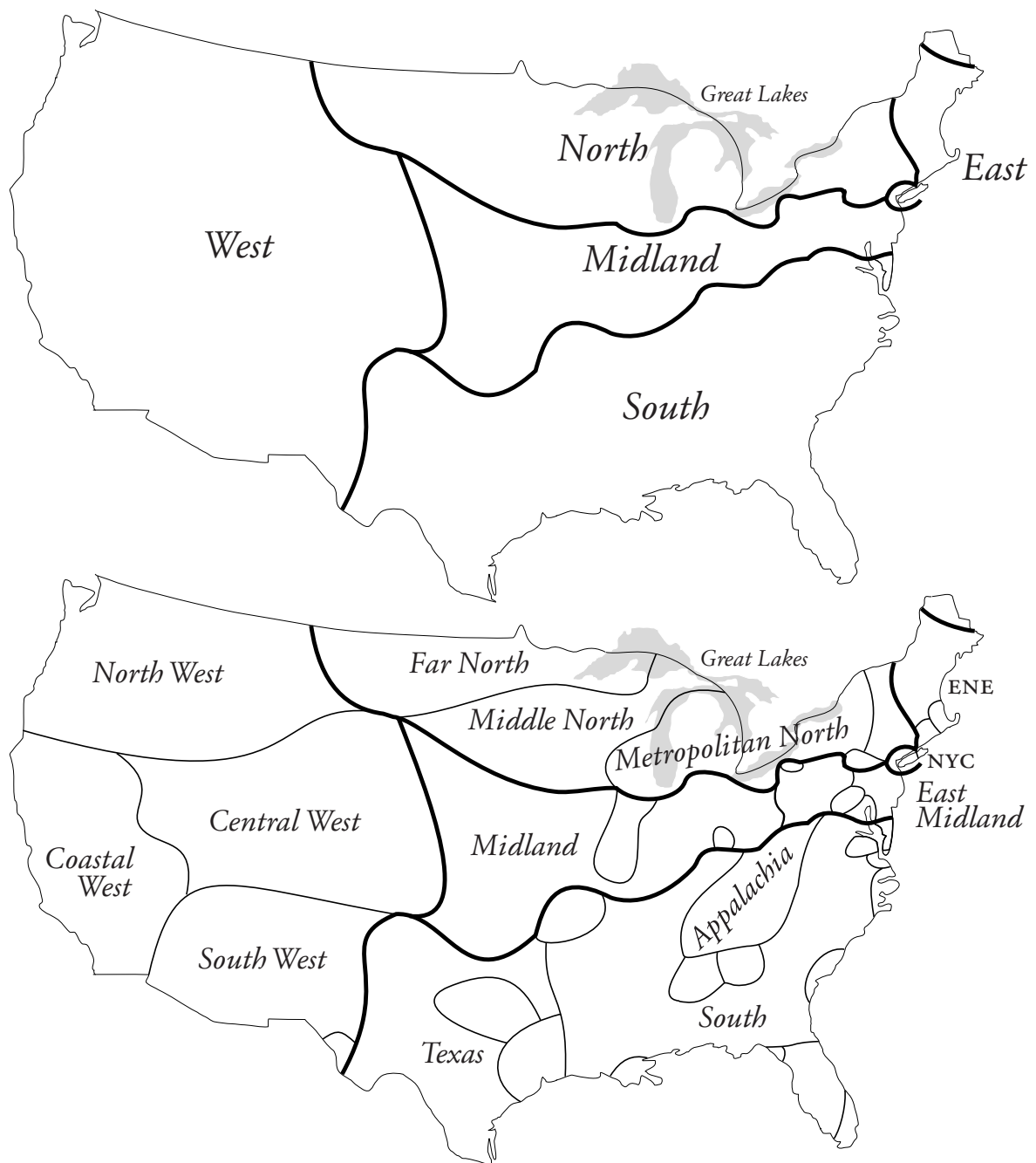
[© Luciano Canepari, 2010, Venice University, Italy]

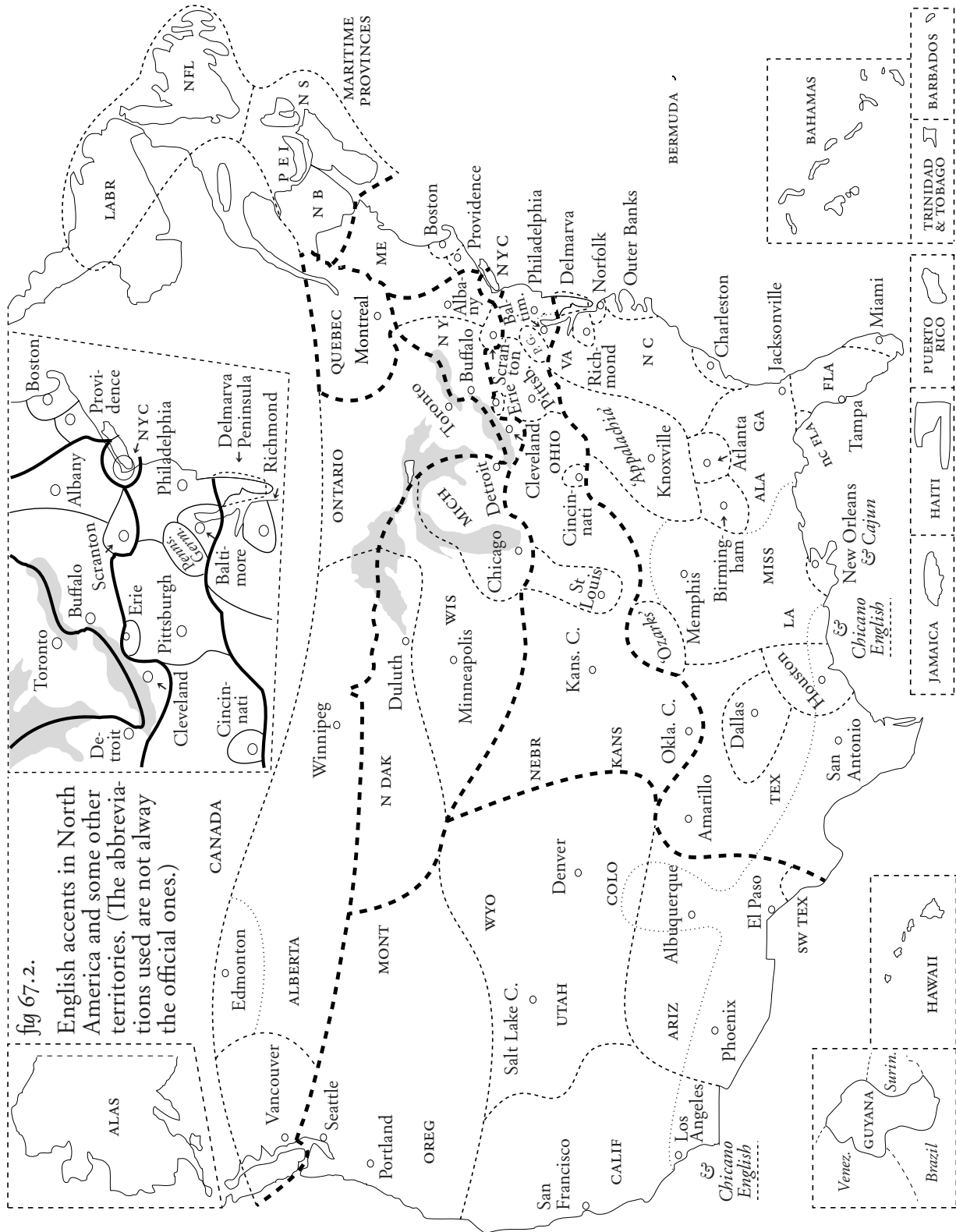


67. A brief introduction to the West (& maps)

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fig 67.1. Accent areas (and subdivisions) of the United States of America.





As we will see, we have found a great number of recognizable accents, even, spoken within the boundaries of North America.

First of all, let us have a look at the general map (fig 67.2) of North America, which includes Canada and second-language territories, as well.

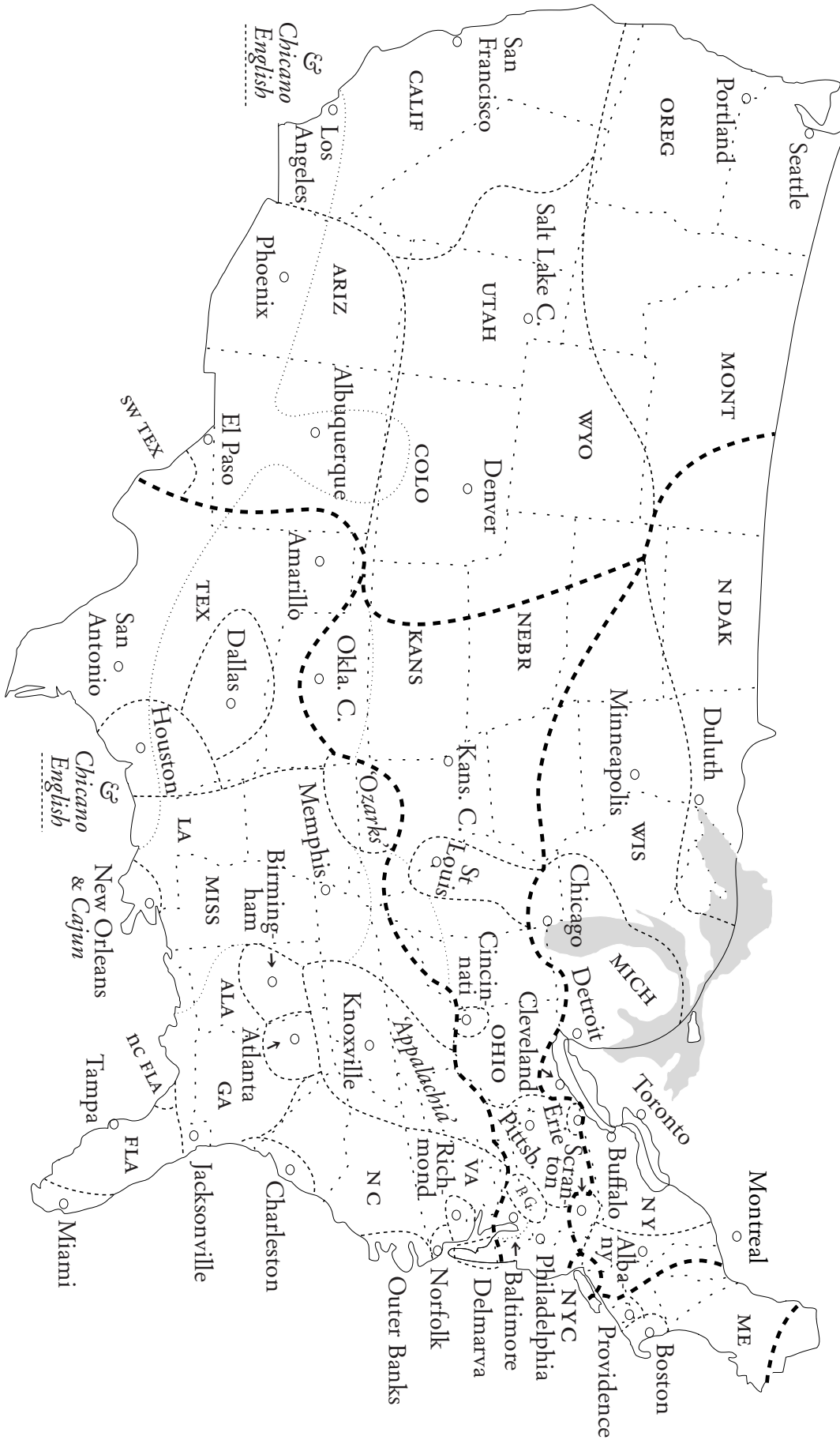


fig 67-3. The USA core territory showing both state and accent borders.

We must never forget that any regional speaker is more or less prone to influences from both neutral and mediatic pronunciations, especially from the latter. If not systematically, indeed, this happens at least for some phonemes (as /ɪ, I/), or phonic contexts (as for vowels before /ɪ, ɪ, ɹ, N/), or for given lexemes (or ‘words’) and grammemes (as *-ing*).

In fig 67.1 you can see the five principle areas of American accents: West, North, East, Midland, South (and their internal subdivisions, but naming just the larger ones, here). While fig 67.3 shows only the core area of the USA, both with their state and accent borders.

For the *West* and its subdivisions, cf fig 67.3.

fig 67.4. The West speech area of the USA.

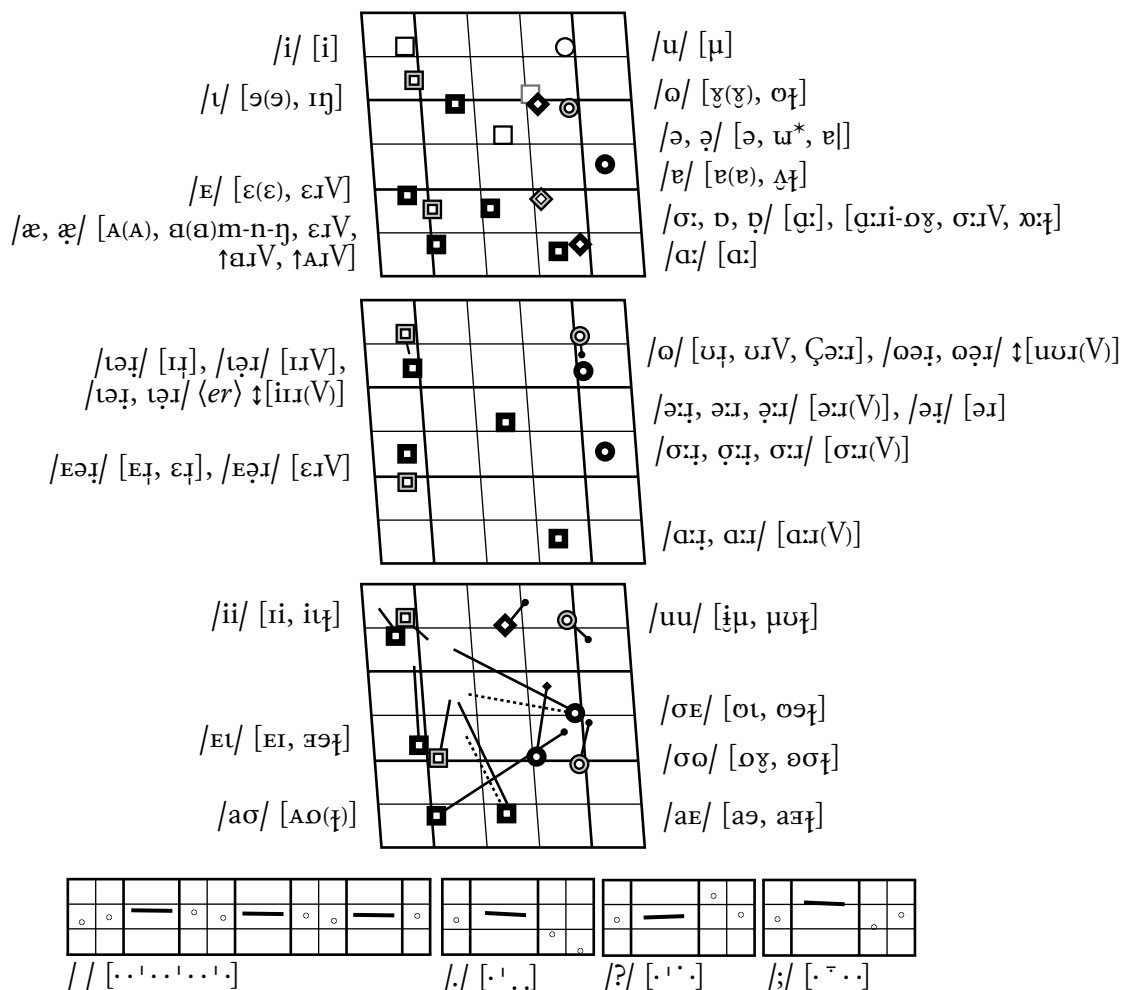


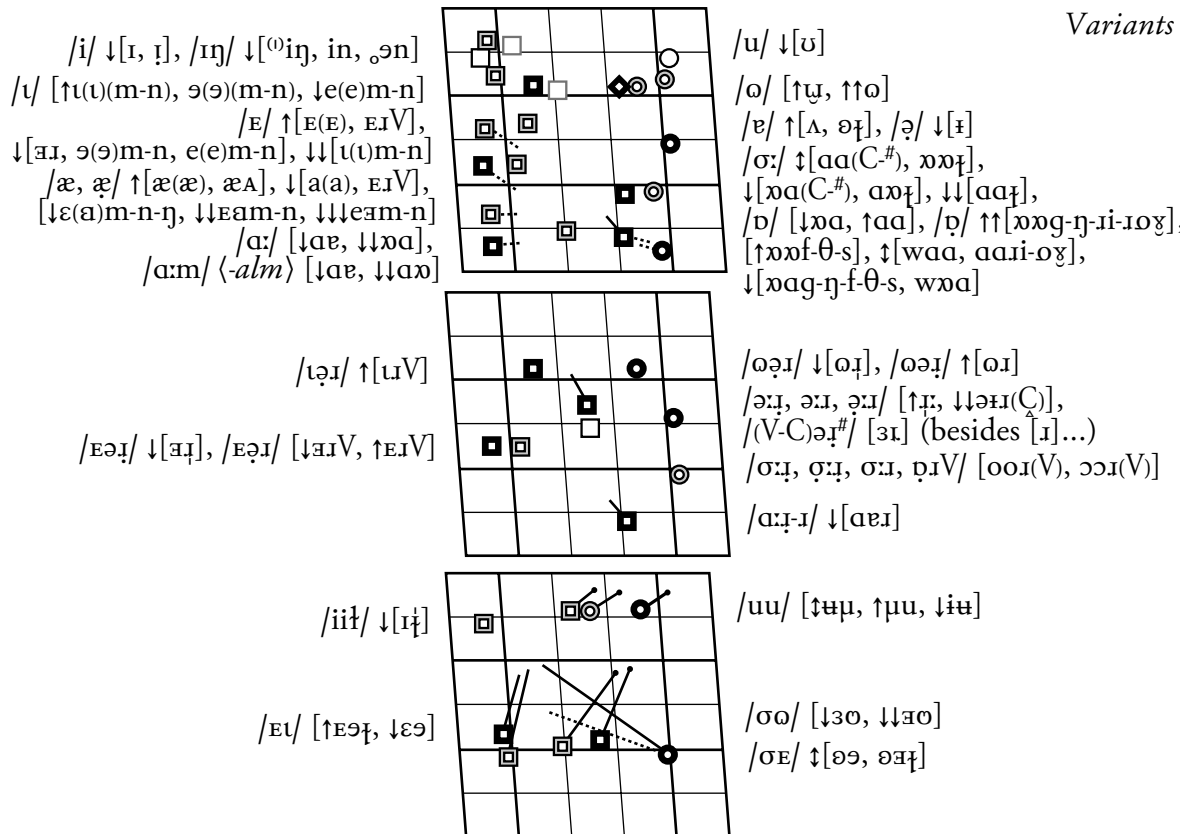
69. The Coastal West (Los Angeles &c)

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69.1. The *Coastal West* (California &c – cf fig 67.1 & 67.3) is mostly characterized by /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɐ, ɔ/ [ə, ɛ, ʌ, ɐ, ʊ] (lengthened as [VV] rather than [Vː]): [ˈlɪədʒ] /ˈlɪdʒ/ *lid*, [ˈɪɛɛdʒ] /ˈɪɛdʒ/ *red*, [ˈhæt] /ˈhæʃ/ *hat*, [ˈmæn] /ˈmæn/ *man*, [ˈkæɪi] /ˈkæɪi/ *carry*, [ˈhɛʃ] /ˈhɛʃ/ *but* (which is [ɐ-]), [ˈbʊk] /ˈbʊk/ *book*. Besides, /σ:, ɒ, ɔ/ are all [ɑ:]: [ˈsɑ:] /ˈsɑ:/ *saw*, [ˈhɑʃ] /ˈhɒʃ/ *hot*, [ˈlɑ:st] /ˈlɒst/ *lost*, but they are slightly different from [ɑ:] /ɑ:/ as in: [ˈspɑ:] /ˈspɑ:/ *spa*, although they are both long, which makes hasty people think they are alike.

fig 69. The Coastal West: vowels, diphthongs & intonation.





As can be seen in the variant vocograms, /σ:/ can become ↑[ɑɑ, xɑ]: ↑[sɑɑ, 'sɔɑ] /'sɔ:/ *saw*, [↓↓ɑɑɪ] /'σ:ɪ/ *all*, and /ɒ/ can be [↑ɑɑ]: [↑sɑɑɔɔɪ] /'sɒɔɔ/ *sorrow*. Equally, /ɑ:/ can become [↓ɑɐ, ↓↓ɑɑ]: [↓sɒɐ, ↓↓sɒɑ] /'spɑ:/ *spa*. Thus, /ɑ:/ [ɑ, ↓ɑɐ] are similar –but not quite identical– to /σ:, ɒ/ [↑ɑɑ]; while [xɑ] can actually correspond to ↓σ:/ and to ↓↓ɑ:/, as well, even for the same speaker, but often the listener is deceived while listening to *different* speakers, who do not necessarily merge those phonemes completely.

69.2. The diphthongs /uu, σo, σɛ, ɛɪ/ are quite peculiar, as well: /uu/ [ɪ̃u, ↑ɪu, ↑ɪu, ↓ɪu], /σo/ [oɔ, ↓ɜo, ↓↓əo], /σɛ/ [oɪ, ↑əə]; for /σo/ we find: [nɔɔ, ↓-ɜo, ↓↓-əo] /'nɔɔ/ *no*, [gəəɪ] /'gəəɪ/ *goal*; for /ɛɪ/ we have: [dɛɪ, ↓-ɛə] /'dɛɪ/ *day*, [vɛəɪ, ↑-ɛəɪ] /'vɛəɪ/ *vale*. Let us also notice: /σɪ, ɔɪ/ and /σɪ, ɒɪ/ becoming either [↓ooɪ] or [↓ɔɔɪ]: [sʃooɪ, -ɔɔɪ; fɔoɔɔɪ, fɔɔ-] /'sʃooɪ, 'fɔɔɔɔ/ *story, forest*, instead of 'normal' Californian [sʃooɪ, fɔɔɔɔ] (as shown in the first vocogram).

We end with these examples: [tʰhə(ə)n, ↑-ɪ(u)n, ↓-e(e)n] /'tʰɪn/ *tin*, [mɛ(e)n, ↓-ə(ə)n, ↓-e(e)n, ↓↓-ɪ(u)n] /'mɛn/ *men*, [mɑ(a)n, ↓-ɛ(a)n, ↓↓-ɛan, ↓↓↓-ɛən] /'mæn/ *man*. The vocograms will explain all the rest as to variants and phonic contexts. Often the unstressed syllables have less attenuated vocoids, as for instance: [gɑɪdən, -ən; dɛdən, -ən, -nɪ, -nɪ] /'gɑɪdən, 'dɪdɪn/ *garden, didn't*. Both /ɪ, ɪ̃/ are quite often semi-approximant, [ɪ]. Frequently, /tʰ, tʰ#/ are [ʔ], even in [wɛtʰɛvɪ, -ʔ] /wɒtʰɛvɪ, wɒtʰ/ *whatever*. Typically, the stressed vowels may be creaky. The interrogative intoneme is rising-falling: /ʔ/ [·'·].

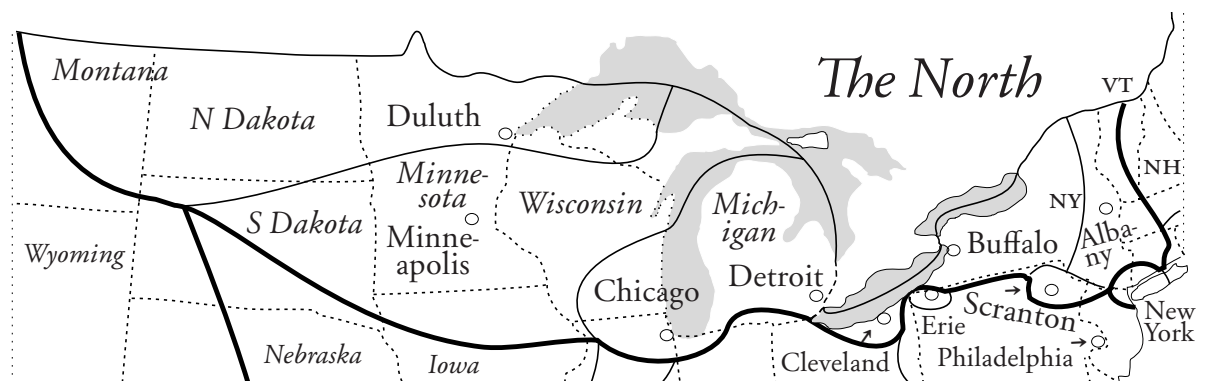
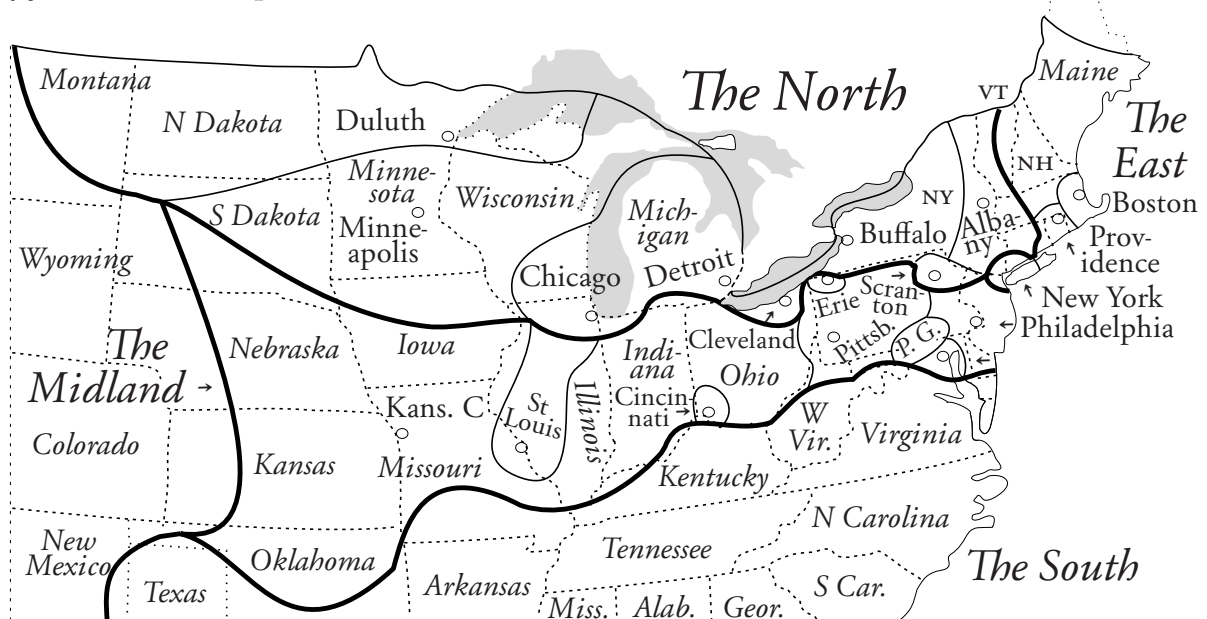
74. A brief introduction to the North (& map)

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74. The linguistic *North* of the USA includes five accents (cf fig 67.1 & fig 74): the *Far North* (Duluth &c), the *Middle North* (Minneapolis &c), the *Metropolitan North* (Chicago &c), *Western New England* (Albany &c), and *Northeastern Pennsylvania* (Scranton).

The map in fig 74 also shows the Midland and the East, and the adjoining parts of the West and the South, as well.

fig 74. The North speech area (first with the East and the Midland, then alone).



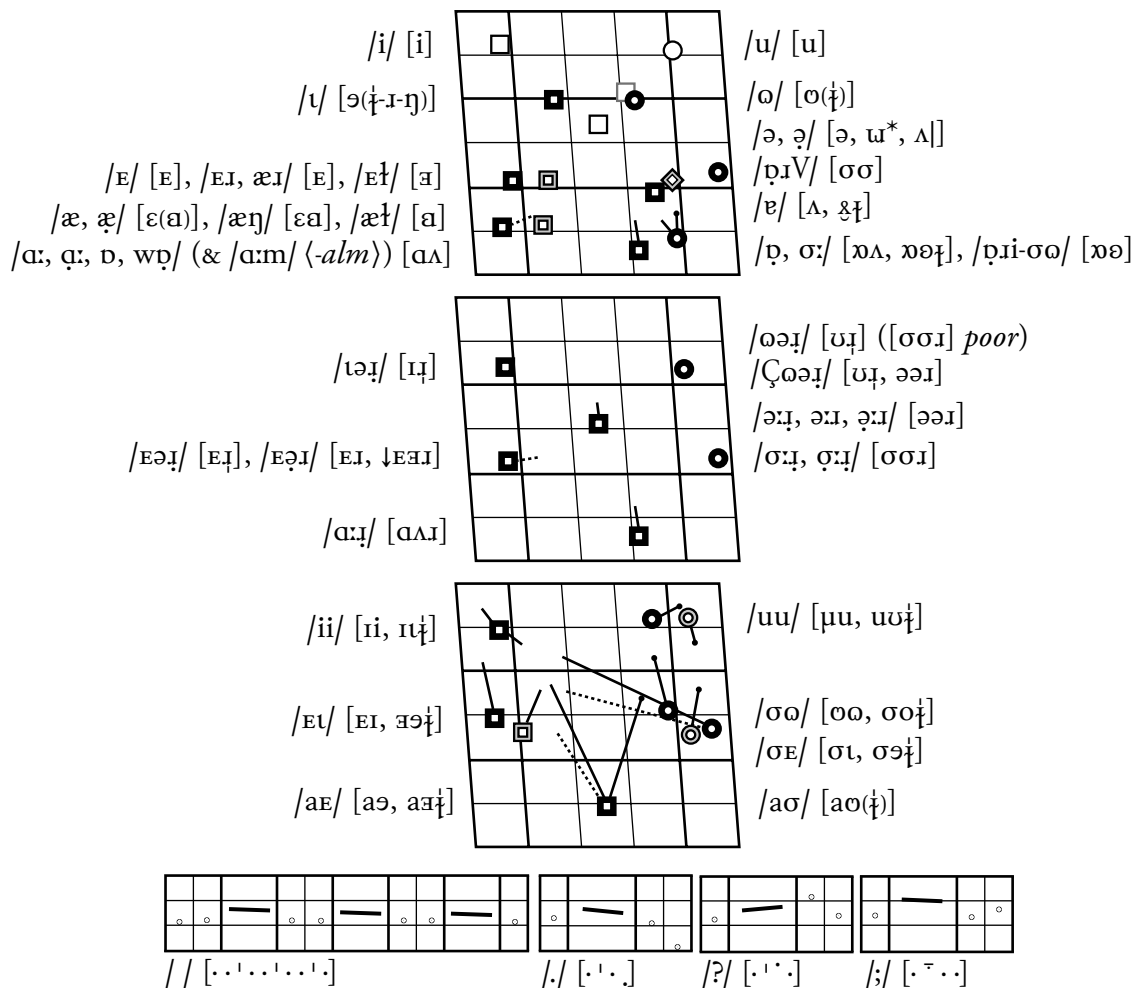
77. The Metropolitan North (Chicago &c)

[© Luciano Canepari, 2010, Venice University, Italy]

77.1. The *Metropolitan North* (Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and beyond, up to Syracuse [New York State] – fig 74 & fig 77.1-3) has the most representative accent of the whole linguistic North of the USA. We will show the typical accent (fig 77.1), together with a number of broad variants (fig 77.2) and other frequent –somehow marked– variants (fig 77.3).

The principal characteristic is the opposition between /σ:, ʊ/ [ɔΛ] (& [ɔθɪ, ɔθɪi, ɔθɪω]) but [σσɪV]) and /ʊ, ɑ:/ [ɑΛ] (& /ɑ:, wʊ/). Thus: [ˈsɔΛ] /ˈsɔ:/: saw, [ˈlɔΛsɪ] /ˈlɔpsɪ/

fig 77.1. The Metropolitan North: typical vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



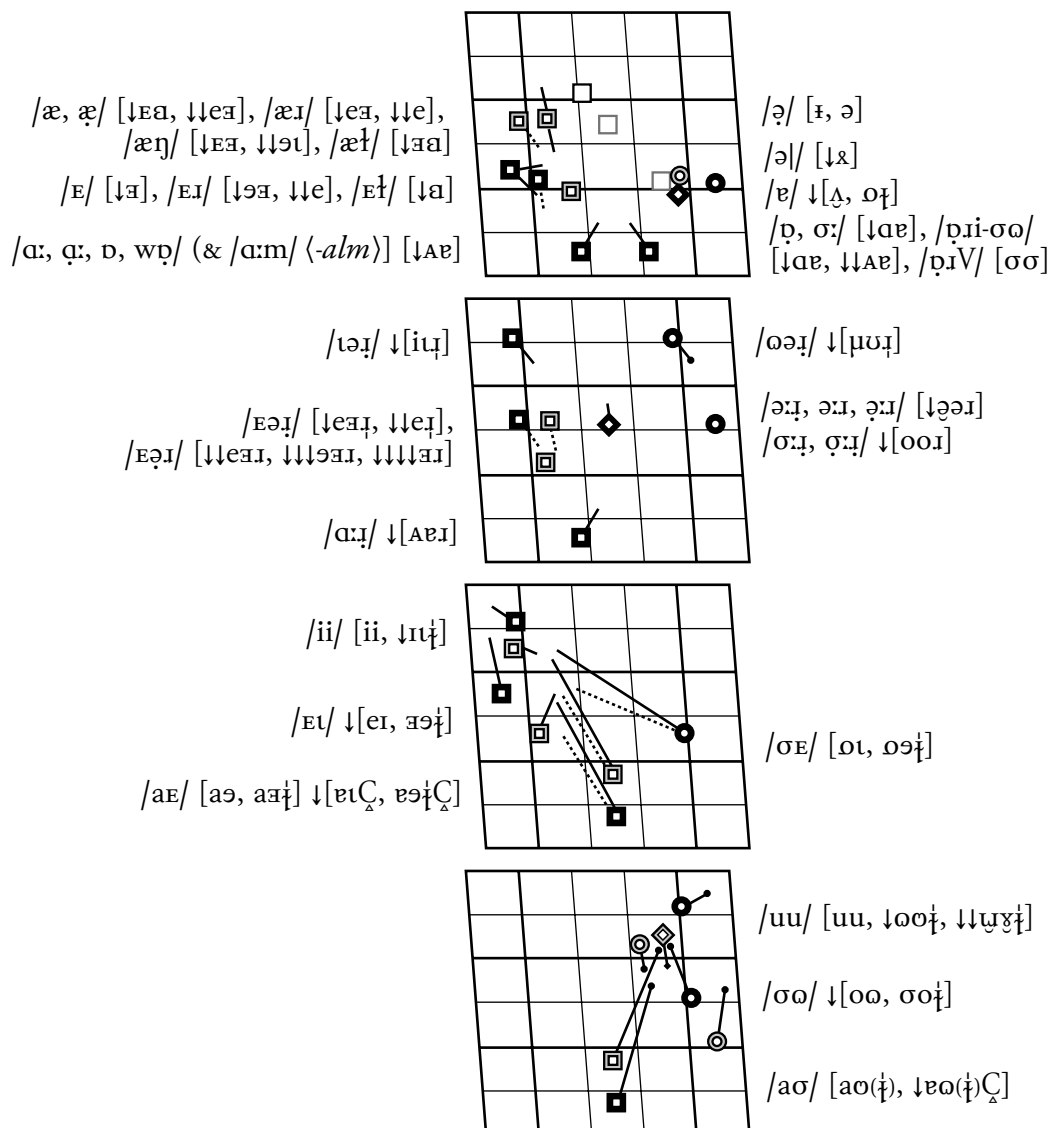
lost, [ˈwɒθɔ̃] /ˈwɒsɔ̃/ *wall*, [ˈsɒθ.i] /ˈsɒ.i/ *sorry*, [ˈhɒsɪ.əbɪ] /ˈhɒ.i.əbɪ/ *horrible*, [ˈhɑɒt] /ˈhɒt/ *hot*, [ˈspɑː] /ˈspɑː/ *spa*, [ˈpɑːstɑ] /ˈpɑːstə/ *pasta*, [ˈwɑːnt] /ˈwɒnt/ *want*, [ˈkɑːm] /ˈkɑːm/ *calm*.

77.2. The difference between [ɒ] /ɔ, ɒ/ and [ɑ] /ɒ, ɑ/ is not great, but sufficient; while in the *broad accent* we have [æ] opposed to [ɑ]: [ˈsɑː] /ˈsɔː/ *saw*, [ˈlæst] /ˈlɒst/ *lost*, [ˈwɑː] /ˈwɒsɔ̃/ *wall*, [ˈsɑː.i] /ˈsɒ.i/ *sorry*, [ˈhɒsɪ.əbɪ] /ˈhɒ.i.əbɪ/ *horrible*, [ˈhæɪt] /ˈhɒt/ *hot*, [ˈspæ] /ˈspɑː/ *spa*, [ˈpæstɑ] /ˈpɑːstə/ *pasta*, [ˈwænt] /ˈwɒnt/ *want*, [ˈkæm] /ˈkɑːm/ *calm*.

In a more *conservative accent* (generally older, and less frequent now), we find, respectively, [ɔ] /ɔ, ɒ/ opposed to [æ] /ɒ, ɑ/: [ˈsɔː] /ˈsɔː/ *saw*, [ˈlɔst] /ˈlɒst/ *lost*, [ˈwɔː] /ˈwɒsɔ̃/ *wall*, [ˈsɔː.i] /ˈsɒ.i/ *sorry*, [ˈhɒsɪ.əbɪ] /ˈhɒ.i.əbɪ/ *horrible*, [ˈhæɪt] /ˈhɒt/ *hot*, [ˈspɑː] /ˈspɑː/ *spa*, [ˈpæstɑ] /ˈpɑːstə/ *pasta*, [ˈwænt] /ˈwɒnt/ *want*, [ˈkæm] /ˈkɑːm/ *calm*.

Anyway, the opposition is still firm, in spite of the fact that certain speakers (usually older & better educated people) use [ɑ] /ɑ, ɒ/ while others (generally

fig 77.2. The Metropolitan North: broad variants of vowels & diphthongs.



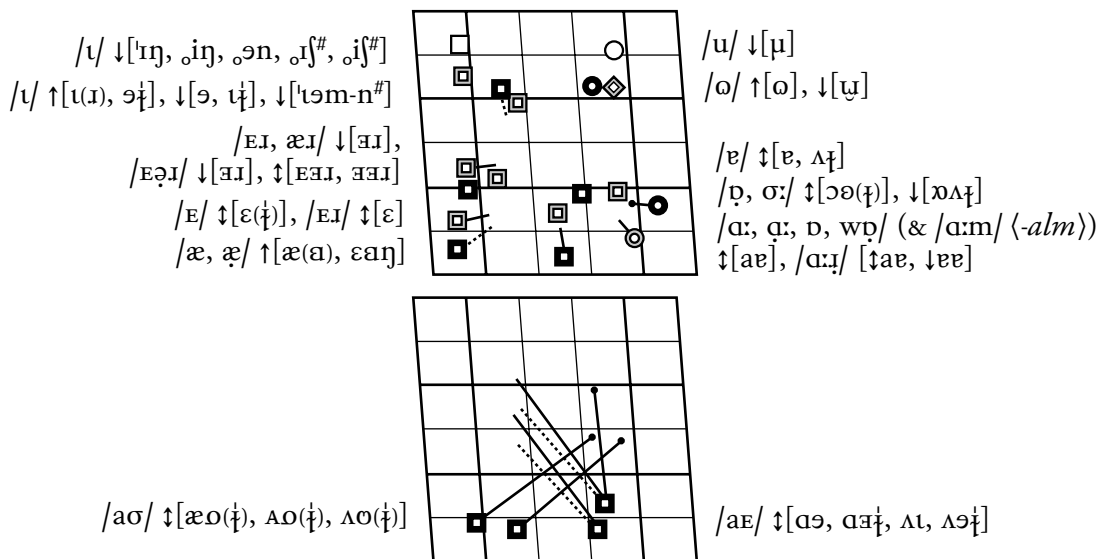
younger ^{or} less educated people) use [aɐ] /σ:, ρ/; they do not merge their realizations, while some hearers may confuse what they hear from different speakers.

77.3. Then we have to notice [ə, ↑u] /ɪ/: [ʰbəʃ, ↑-ɪʃ] /'bɪʃ/ *bit*, [o, ↑o] /ɔ/: [ʰphoʃ, ↑-oʃ] /'pɔʃ/ *put*; [ɛ, ↓ɛ, ↑ɛ] /ɛ/: [ʰhɛd̥, ↓-ɛd̥, ↑-ɛd̥] /'hɛd/ *head*, [ɛ(ə), ↓ɛə, ↓↓ɛə, ↑æ(ə)] /æ, æ/: [ʰmɛəd̥, ↓-ɛəd̥, ↓↓-ɛəd̥, ↑-æəd̥] /'mæd/ *mad*; [ʌ, ↓ʌ, ↑ɐ] /ɐ/: [ʰhʌb̥, ↓-ʌb̥, ↑-ɐb̥] /'hɛb/ *hub*. The readers are invited to discover some more particular phonic contexts for these phonemes, by carefully looking at the various vocograms.

As to the /V(ɔ)ɪ-ɪ/ sequences, it is important to consider the second vocogram in fig 77.1, and most of all the second one in fig 77.2: [ʰhɪɪ, ↓'hiɪ] /'hi:ɪ/ *hear*, [ʰkheɪɪ, ↓-eɪɪ, ↓-eɪɪ] /'keɪɪ/ *care*, [ʰmeɪɪ, ↓-eɪɪ, ↓↓-eɪɪ, ↓↓↓-əɪɪ, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɪɪ] /'meɪɪ/ *Mary*, [ʰkhaɪɪ, ↑-æɪɪ, ↓-æɪɪ] /'kaɪɪ/ *car*, [ʰfəɪɪ, ↓'fəɪɪ] /'fəɪɪ/ *fur*, [ʰmɔɔɪɪ, ↓'moɔɪɪ] /'mɔ:ɪɪ/ *morning/mourning*, [ʰhuɪɪ, ↓-muɪɪ] /'tuɔɪɪ/ *tour*.

As for the diphthongs, let us notice, in particular /eɪ, oʊ/: [ʰseɪɪ, ↓'seɪɪ] /'seɪ/ *say*, [ʰseɪɪ, ↓'seɪɪ] /'seɪ/ *sale*, [ʰgɔoʊ, ↓'gɔoʊ] /'gɔoʊ/ *go*, [ʰgɔoʊ, ↓'gɔoʊ] /'gɔoʊ/ *goal*. Of course, it is useful to look at the other diphthongs, as well. A part from the narrow, or very narrow, [ɪi, ii; ɪu, uu] /ii, uu/, it is important to note the raised broad variants for /æɪ, aɔ/: [ʰlæɪɪ, ↓'læɪɪ] /'læɪ/ *light*, [ʰlæɪɪ, ↓'læɪɪ] /'læɪ/ *out*. In fig 77.3, instead, we can see their mediatic-influenced variants: ↑[aɐ, ʌɪ] /æɪ/, ↑[æo, ʌo, ʌo] /aɔ/.

fig 77.3. The Metropolitan North: lighter or mediatic-influenced variants.



77.4. As for the *consonants*, we have already seen [ɹ] /ɹ/. Let us add just that, in the broad accent, we often find ↓[t, d] both for /t, d/ and /θ, ð/. We conclude with the grammeme *-ing*, which, in broad accents, can appear as [ɪŋ, ɪn, ən, ɹ].

The more typical accent has a *paraphonic* general bent for nasalization, which appears also when no nasal consonant is present: <~ [ʃɪzɪɹəm]ʃɪ'khaɪlɔʊ, ↑-æ-, ↓-æ- / [ʃɪzɪɹəm]ʃə'kaɪ:ɹɔʊ / *She's from Chicago*. Locally, we find: ' [ʃə'kɔ:ɹɔʊ] [↓↓-khaɪ-, ↓↓↓-khaɪ-, ↓↓↓-khaɪ-] (where the second form, with broad [aɐ] /σ:/, might sound closer to neutral [ɑ:] /ɑ:/).

80. A brief introduction to the East (& maps)

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80. The linguistic eastern area of the States, actually, the *northeastern* part (fig 67.1-2, fig 74 & especially fig 80.1-2) comprises New England and the territory of New York City. Excluding the westernmost part of New England (cf § 78), Eastern New England includes the accent (generally known as ‘Down East’) of the fishy and rural state of *Maine* (without its northeastern part, which linguistically belongs to the adjoining Canadian Maritime Provinces, but with New Hampshire, eastern Vermont, and northcentral Massachusetts).

fig 80.1. The northeastern part of the States.

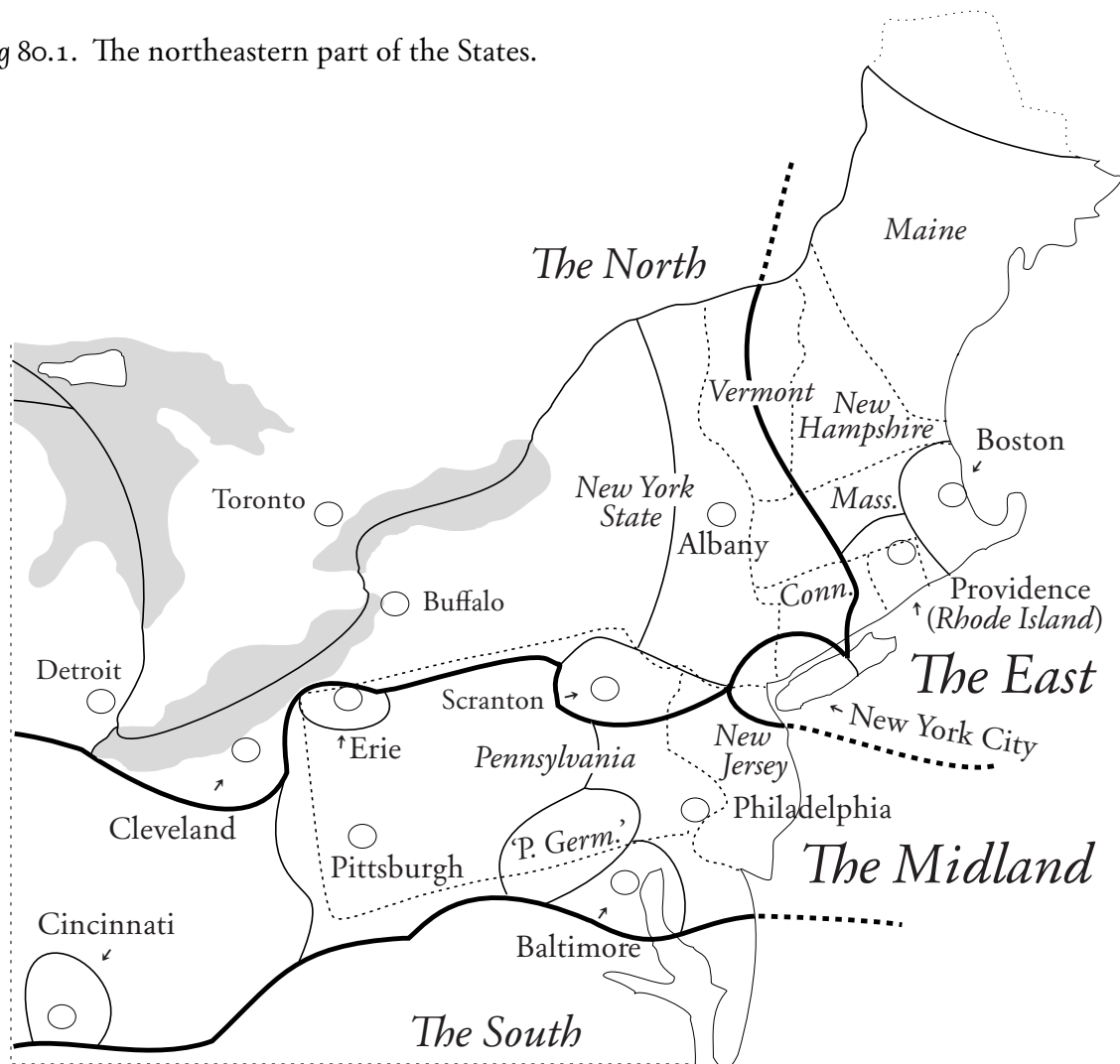
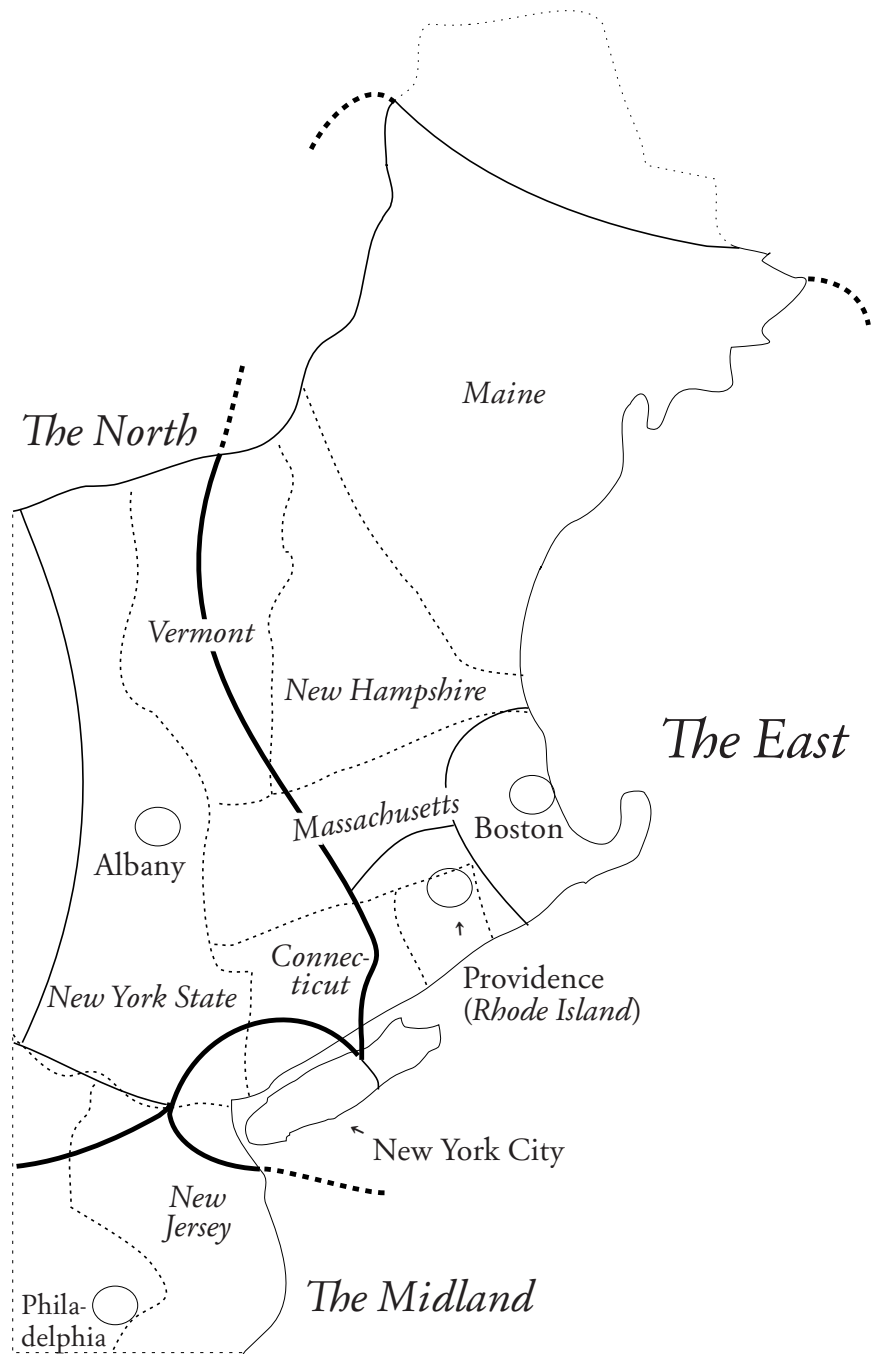


fig 80.2. Magnification of the East: Eastern New England and New York City.



Besides, the East includes eastern *Massachusetts* (with Boston), *Rhode Island* (with Providence, and parts of the adjoining states of Massachusetts, Connecticut and the eastern part of Long Island, in the southernmost part of NY State), and *New York City* (ie the southcentral part of Long Island, and adjacent parts of Connecticut and New Jersey).

For NYC, we will deal with its typical accent (with social differences) and with ethnical peculiarities: Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Black and Jewish. We will end with the Yiddish-English accent, mostly found in NYC (though not only there, of course, and we will add its London differences, as well).

84. New York City 1 The typical accent (with social differences)

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84.1. In spite of its small area (although it includes the adjoining parts of Connecticut, New Jersey and mainland New York State), New York City, or New York (in International pronunciation /nuːjɔːrk, nɔ-, ni-, nɪ-, nə-/), has a huge number of speakers (approximately 8,000,000) for its typical accent.

The most characteristic vowel sound is [ɔə, ɔʌ] ↓[σɔ, σʌ] /σ:, σ:, ɒ/: [ˈsɔʌ, ↓-σʌ] /sɔ:/ *saw*, [ˈbɪɔʌd, ↓-σɔd] /ˈbɪɔ:ɪd/ *broad*, [ɔəˈstɪʌ] ↓[σɔ-, -ɪʌ] /σ:ˈstɪʌɪ/ *austere*, [ˈlɔəŋ, ↓-σɔŋ] /ˈlɔŋ/ *long*, [ˈlɔəsɪ, ↓-σɔsɪ] /ˈlɔsɪ/ *lost*. There are further broader variants (as can be seen in the fourth vocogram): ↓↓[ˈsɔʌ, ˈbɪɔʌd, ɔɔˈstɪʌ, ˈlɔʌŋ, ˈlɔʌsɪ] ↓↓↓[ˈsɔʌ, ˈbɪɔʌd, ɔɔˈstɪʌ, ˈlɔʌŋ, ˈlɔʌsɪ] (↓ is a semi-approximant, corresponding to [w]).

84.2. By the way, our notation and vocograms, at last, clearly show what really people say, instead of using either some generic diacritics and official symbols –not in diagrams of any sort– including a lot of absurd [ə], or partial acoustic diagrams of peculiar individual speakers, not prone to useful normalizations. Nor do we use accountant-like dull percentages. Please, notice the real usefulness of fig 84.2, too.

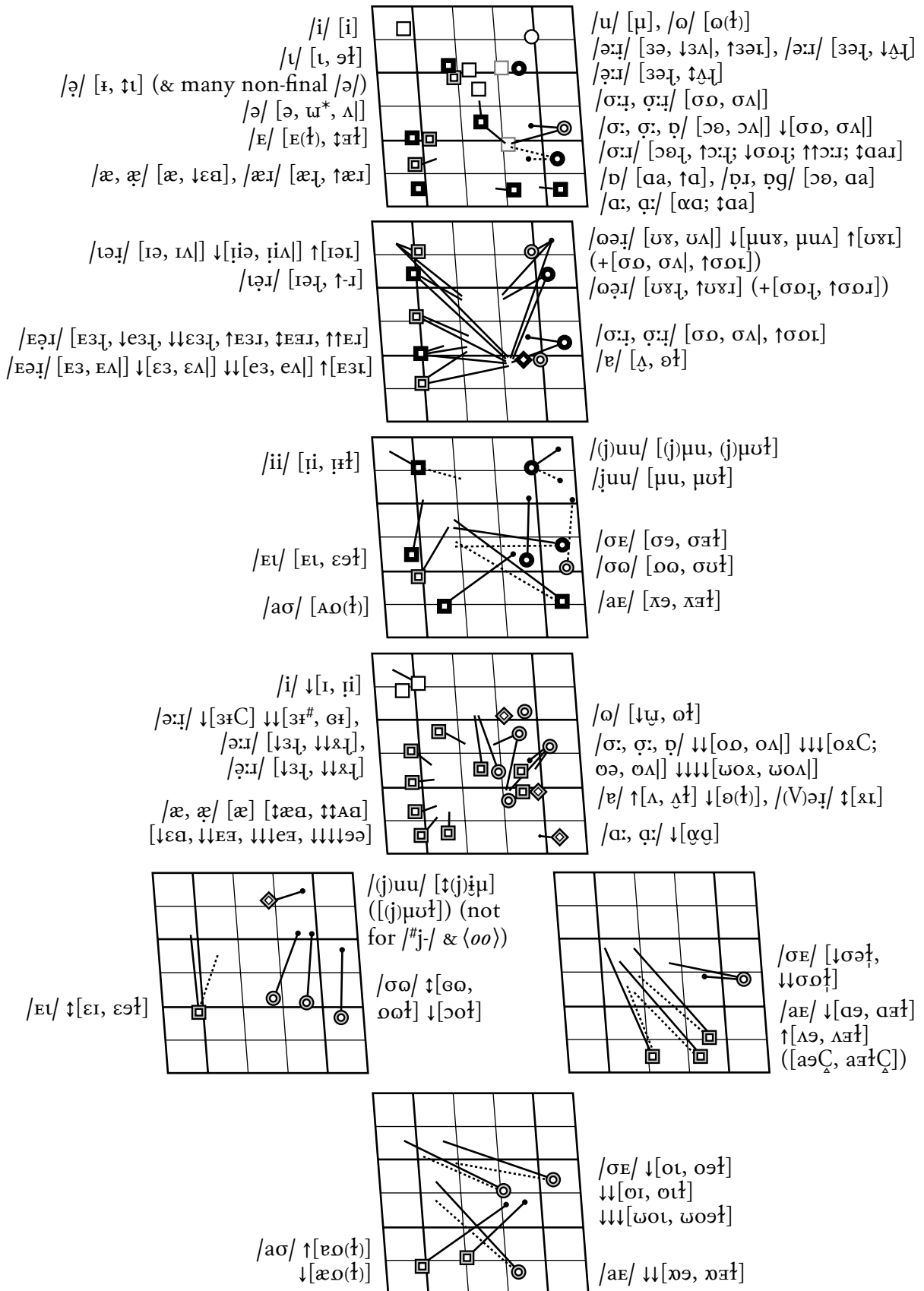
Instead, we find [ɔə, ɔʌ] /ɒɪ, ɒɟ/: [ˈsɔəɪ, ˈsɔʌ-] /ˈsɒɪ/ *sorry*, [ˈhɔəɪbɪ, ˈhɔʌ-] /ˈhɒɪbɪ/ *horrible*, [ˈfɪɔəɟ, -ɔʌɟ] /ˈfɪɒɟ/ *frog*. Then, [ɔəɪ, ɪɔɪ; ↓σɔɪ; ↑ɪɔɪ, ↑ɔʌɪ] /σɪɪ/: [ˈstɔəɪ, ↓-σɔ-] /ˈstɔ:ɪ/ *story*. Even /ɑ:, ɑ:/ are peculiarly back [ɑɑ, ↓ɔɔ; ↑ɔʌ]: [ˈfɑɑð, ↓-ɔɔ-; ↑-ɔʌ-] /ˈfɑ:ð/ *father*, [ˈkɪɑɑ, ↓ɔɔ; ↑ɔʌ] /ˈkɑ:ɪ/ *car*.

84.3. The other notorious case of characteristic vowel is [æ, ↓ɛɛ, ↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓↓ɛɛ] /æ, æ/, but this is complicated by distributional, contextual and socio-phonetic peculiarities, ie ‘socio-taxophones’, apart from middle-class ‘elegant’ [↑æ, ↑↑æ] (now quite rare, that we show only in the vocograms). The normalized distribution is as follows: even in the broadest accent, we always have [æ] before the *voiceless stop(strictive)s* /p, t, k; tʃ/: [ˈtʃhæp] /ˈtʃæp/ *chap*, [ˈbæt] /ˈbæɪ/ *bat*, [ˈsæk] /ˈsæk/ *sack*, [ˈmætʃ] /ˈmæɪʃ/ *match*.

But we find the raised and diphthongized realizations [↓ɛɛ, ↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓↓ɛɛ] before the *voiced stops* /b, d, g/: [ˈkɪhæb, ↓-ɛɛb, ↓↓-ɛɛb, ↓↓↓-ɛɛb, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛb] /ˈkæb/ *cab*, [ˈdæd, ↓-ɛɛd, ↓↓-ɛɛd, ↓↓↓-ɛɛd, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛd] /ˈdæd/ *dad*, [ˈbæɡ, ↓-ɛɛɡ, ↓↓-ɛɛɡ, ↓↓↓-ɛɛɡ, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛɡ] /ˈbæɡ/ *bag*.

The same is true before the *voiceless constrictives* /f, θ, s, ʃ/: [ˈkɪhæf, ↓-ɛɛf, ↓↓-ɛɛf, ↓↓↓-ɛɛf, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛf] /ˈkæf/ *calf*, [ˈbæθ, ↓-ɛɛθ, ↓↓-ɛɛθ, ↓↓↓-ɛɛθ, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛθ] /ˈbæθ/ *bath*, [ˈmæs,

fig 84.1. New York City: typical vowels, diphthongs & intonation (/e/ is in the 2nd vocogram).



In word-initial position, common words have raising: [↑'æfʃɹ, ↓'ɛɹ-, ↓↓'ɛɹ-, ↓↓↓'ɛɹ-, ↓↓↓↓'əɹ-] /'æfʃɹɪ/ *after*, [↑'æsk, ↓'ɛɹ-, ↓↓'ɛɹ-, ↓↓↓'ɛɹ-, ↓↓↓↓'əɹ-] /'æsk/ *ask*. While less common words have no raising, in the same word-initial position: [↑'æfgæn, -wɪn, ↓-ɛɹɪn, ↓↓-ɛɹɪn, ↓↓↓-ɛɹɪn] /'æfgæn, -ən/ *Afghan*, [↑'æstəɹɪsk, ↑-ɹ-] /'æstəɹɪsk/ *asterisk*.

84.7. But this is only half the story, because we can also find mixed usages with different people, and oscillations with the same speakers, as well. But, for a 'normalized' accent, this has to be considered true.

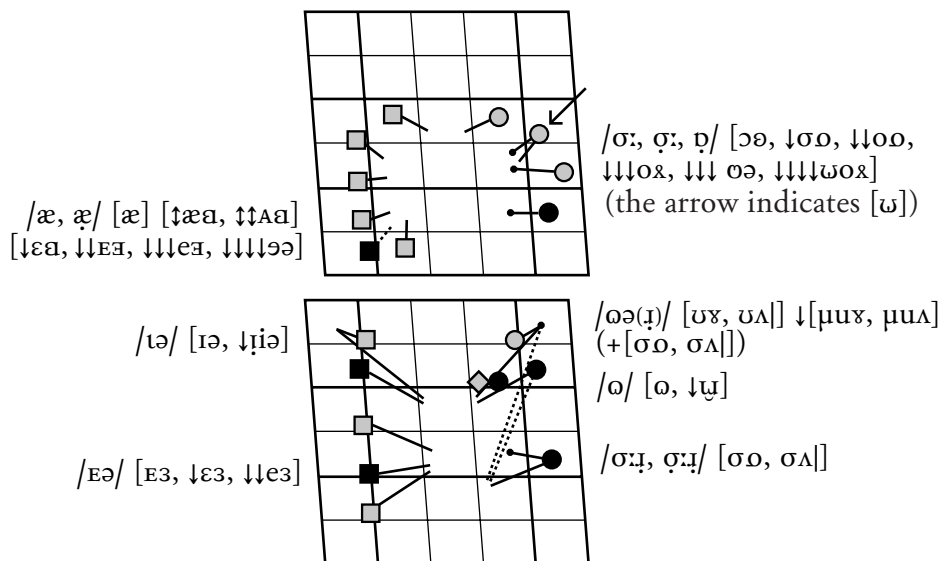
The anecdotes about speakers confusing taxophones of /æ, æ/ with /ɛə, ɪə/, are just perception mistakes by hearers. In fact, we have [bæɹɔ̃, ↓bɛɹɔ̃, ↓↓bɛɹɔ̃, ↓↓↓bɛɹɔ̃, ↓↓↓↓bɛɹɔ̃] /'bæɹɔ̃/ *bad*, [bɛɹɔ̃, ↓bɛɹɔ̃, ↓↓bɛɹɔ̃] /'bɛɹɔ̃/ *bared*, [bɹɔ̃, ↓bɹɔ̃] /'bɹɔ̃/ *beard*, and [æɹn, ↓'ɛɹɪn, ↓↓'ɛɹɪn, ↓↓↓'ɛɹɪn, ↓↓↓↓'əɹɪn] /'æɹn/ *Ann*, [↑'ɹən, 'ɹən] (& [↑'iən; ↑↑aəən, ↑↑əəən, 'kəən, ↓↓kəəən]) /'ɹən/ (& /'iən; 'aɛən/) *Ian*, &c. And the same holds for /σ:, σ:, ɹ/ with /ω/, as in: [gɹɔ̃, ↓gɹɔ̃, ↓↓gɹɔ̃, ↓↓↓gɹɔ̃, ↓↓↓↓gɹɔ̃] /'gɹɔ̃/ (if pronounced as 'gɹɔ̃') *god*, [gɹɔ̃, ↓gɹɔ̃] /'gɹɔ̃/ *good*.

Let us consider also [lɔ̃, ↓-σɹ, ↓↓-σɹ, ↓↓↓-σɹ, ↓↓↓↓lɔ̃, ↑lɔ̃] /'lɔ̃/ *law*, [lɔ̃, ↓σɹ, ↑↑'lɔ̃] /'lɔ̃/ *lore*, [lɔ̃, ↑'lɔ̃] /'lɔ̃/ (British English also: /'ljəɹ, 'ljɔ̃, 'ljɔ̃/) *lure*.

84.8. No matter how similar they may seem to be, we do think that no real *natural phonetician* would confuse even [ɛɹ, ɛɹ, ɛɹ] /ɛə/ with [ɛɹ, ɛɹ], or [ɪə, ɪə] /ɪə/ with [əə, ɛɹ], and [ɔ̃, σɹ, ɔ̃, ωɹ, ɔ̃] /ɹ/ (& /σ:, σ:/) with [ω, ɹ] /ω/, or with [ɹ, ɹ, ɹ] /ωɹ/ or [σɹ, σɹ] /σ:, σ:/. Actually, [σɹ] is shared by /σ:/ and /σ:, σ:/, as in any non-rhotic accent, indeed (unless they distinguish between /σ:, σ:/, by using an opener timbre in the former than in the latter).

We collect this sociophonetic information about /æ, æ/ and /σ:, σ:, ɹ/ &c in fig 84.2 to better show how things actually are.

fig 84.2. New York City: socio-phonetic variants of /æ, æ/ and /σ:, σ:, ɹ/. Also prepausal /ωɹ, σ:, σ:/ are included, to complete the discussion in § 84.7.



84.9. It is worthwhile noticing [ɜə, ↓ɜɹ] /ə:/: [fɜ:ə, ↓ɜ:ɹ] /fə:ɹ/ *fur*, and [ɜəɹ, ↓ɹ] /ə:ɹ, ə:ɹ/: [fɜ:əɹi, ↓ɹi] /fə:ɹi/ *furry*, [hɜ:əɹi, ↓ɹi] /hə:ɹi/ *hurry*. There is a three-way opposition for: [mæ:ɹi, ↑-ɹi] /mæ:ɹi/ *marry*, [mɛ:ɹi, ↑-ɹi] /mɛ:ɹi/ *merry*, [mɛ:ɜ:ɹi, ↓-ɜ:ɹi, ↓↓-ɜ:ɹi, ↑-ɜ:ɹi, ↑-ɛ:ɹi, ↑↑-ɛ:ɹi] /mɛ:ə:ɹi/ *Mary*.

The readers are invited to inspect the diphthongs in the third vocogram (and their variants, in the last three vocograms, including the taxophones + /ɹ/). We will only draw attention to /æ, aɔ/. As a matter of fact, we have [↑ɹə, ɹə, ↓ə, ↓↓ə] /æ/: [↑fhɹəm, -ɹəm, ↓-ɹəm, ↓↓-ɹəm] /fæm/ *time* (followed by a voiceless consonant, it is frequent to find ‘neutral-like’ [↑↑aə], too: [↑↑waəɹ, ↑-aəɹ, -aəɹ, ↓-aəɹ, ↓↓-aəɹ] /wəəɹ/ *white*), [↑ɹə, ə, ↓ə] /aɔ/: [↑hɹəʊs, -aʊs, ↓-aʊs] /həʊs/ *house*.

84.10. As to the *consonants*, the broad accent has ↓[t, d] (less often even velarized, ↓↓[t̚, d̚]) /t, d/: [fhə'dɛɹ, ↓thə'd-, ↓↓thə'd̚-, ↑-ɛɹ] /fə'dɛɹ/ *today*. Besides, we frequently find [ɹ] /t, t/ + /t̚, #V, #C/: [fɹɹ, -t̚, ↓-ɹ] /fɹɹ/ *little*, [ðæp'bɒk, -ɹ-, ↑-ɹ-] /ðæp'bɒk/ *that book*, [nɔɹ'ɒnli, ↑nɔɹ-, -ɹ-, ↑-ɹ-] /nɔɹ'ɒnli/ *not only*.

Another typical consonantal phenomenon is ↓[t, d, θ, dð] ↑[θ, ð] /θ, ð/: ↓[dɪs'tɪŋ, dðɪs'tθɪŋ] ↑[ðɪs'tθɪŋ] /ðɪs'tθɪŋ/ *this thing*. The same is true for ↓[t, d, θ, dð] ↑[tθ, dð] /tθ, dθ/: ↓[ɛɪt, θ] ↑[-tθ] /ɛɪtθ/ *eighth*, ↓[wɪd, -dð] ↑[-dð] /wɪdθ/ *width*. Not only /t/ [ɹ], but also /VdV/ [ɹ]: [fæɹɹ] /fæɹɹ/ *latter*, [fæɹɹ, ↑-dɹ] /fæɹɹ/ *ladder*.

The broad accent often has ↓[ŋg^(#)V]: [sɪŋɹ, ↓sɪŋgɹ, ↑-ɹ] /sɪŋɹ/ *sing it*, [fɹəŋ ɹəŋd, ↓-ŋg, ↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ, ↓↓↓fɹəŋ] /fɹəŋ ɹəŋd/ *Long Island*.

Typically, we have [l, ↓l, ↓↓l, ↓↓↓l] /l/: [lɪli, ↓lɪli, ↓↓lɪli, ↓↓↓lɪli] /lɪli/ *lily*, [t̚, t̚] /t̚/: [bɹt̚, -t̚] /bɹt̚/ *bill*; [t̚, t̚] /t̚/: [bɹt̚, -t̚, ↑bɹ-, ↓-ɹ-] /bɹt̚/ *bottle*.

84.11. The typical New-York accent is non-rhotic, and thus has ‘linking *r*’ and is prone to ‘intrusive *r*’ practice: [fɹəɹɹ wɹwɹɹ, ↑fɹəɹɹ, ↑wɹwɹɹ] /fɹəɹɹ əwɹwɹɹ/ *far away*, [fɹəɹɹ ən(d)ɹəɹɹ, ↓-ɹɹ, ↑-dɹɹ, ↑lɹɹ, ↓fɹəɹ, ↓↓fɹəɹ, ↓↓↓fɹəɹ, ↓↓↓fɹəɹ, ↓↓↓fɹəɹ, ↓↓↓fɹəɹ, ↓↓↓fɹəɹ] /fɹəɹ ən(d)ɹəɹɹ/ *law and order*.

However, younger and more educated speakers are more or less influenced by neutral ^{or} mediatic pronunciation, so they are (although unsystematically) partially rhotic, even with [ɹ] instead of ‘normal’ [ɹ], or rather with a softer [ɹ]: [↑↑lɹə ən(d)ɹəɹɹ]. To be true, some speakers can have [ɜəɹ, ɜ:ɹ] /ə:ɹ/, also to avoid using, or letting people think they use, the broad and highly stigmatized ‘Brooklyn’ variant [ɜɹ] /ə:ɹ/: [↓mɜ:ɹɹ, mɜ:ə-, mɜ:ɹɹ, ↑mɜ:ɹɹ] /mɜ:ɹɹ/ *murder*.

The broad accent also has [st̚, st̚, s̚, st̚ɹ] /st̚ɹ/ (and [dʒɹ] /dɹ/, as well): ↓[st̚ɹɹ, st̚ɹ, s̚, st̚ɹ] /st̚ɹɹ/ *street*. Besides, the broad accent is rather nasal, especially for /VN/ sequences (but also paraphonically): [d̚ɛn jɹkɹŋkhɹm:] /d̚ɛn jɹkɹŋkɹm/ *Then you can come*. Besides, [θ, t̚] /j/: [nɹu] /nɹu/ *new*, [fhɹub̚] /f̚juub/ *tube*, [d̚uuk] /d̚juuk/ *duke* (including [d̚uɹɹ, ↓d̚uɹ-, ↓-ɹ] /d̚juɹɹ/ *during*).

85. New York City 2

Ethnic characteristics: Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Black & Jewish

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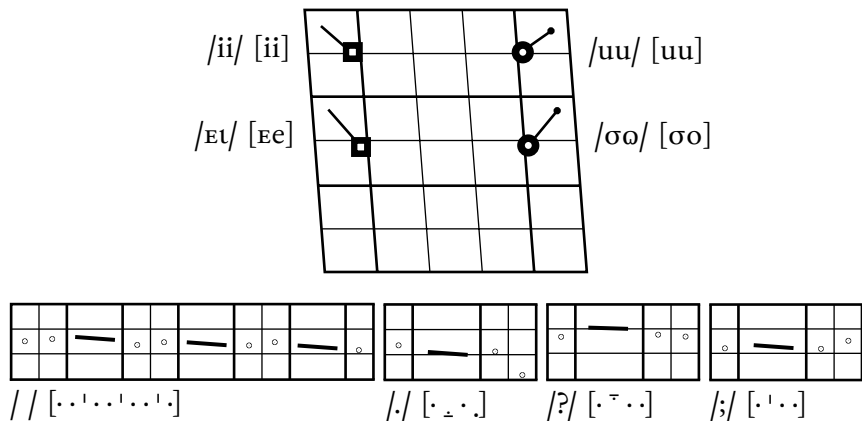
85.1. Apart from the ‘typical’ accent (Ⓔ 84), with its social peculiarities, it is possible to find ethnic characteristics, as well. *fig 85.1* shows the principal parts of New York City.

fig 85.1. The five boroughs of NYC: Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn (Kings) & Staten Island (Richmond).



85.2. The ‘Irish’ use less broad traits and generally have normal [θ, ð] /θ, ð/; fewer [ʔ] for /t, t̪/ than in the Bronx; a frequent dental stop-semi-constrictive realization of [t̪, d̪] /t, d/; the use of [ɪVɪ] /ɪVɪ/ and [ɪVɪ̆] /ɪVɪ̆/; systematic use of /ɪn/ for /ɪŋ/; narrow higher diphthongs [ii, ee, oo, uu] /ii, ee, oo, uu/; and intonation patterns as shown in *fig 85.2*.

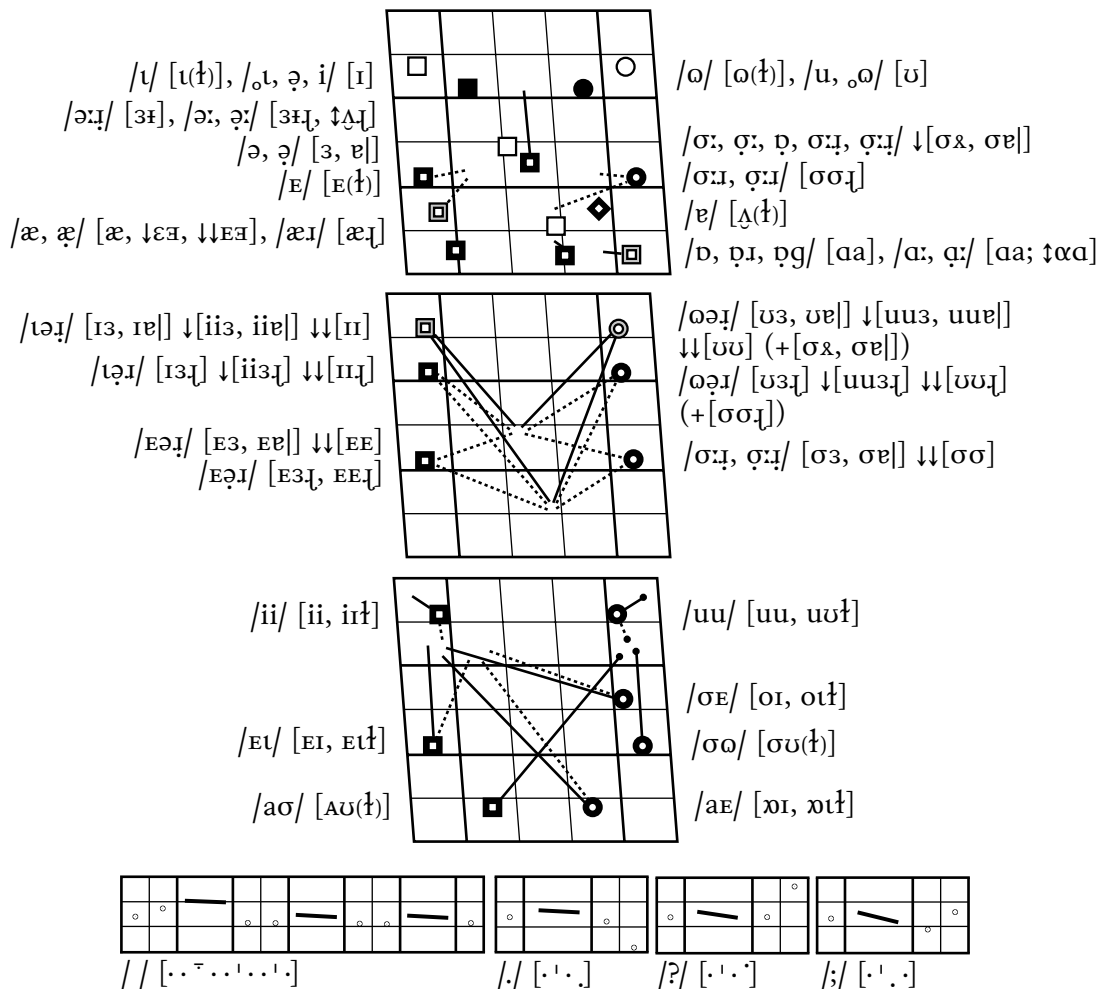
fig 85.2. Irish accent: peculiar diphthongs & intonation.



85.3. The ‘Italians’ (generally more concentrated in Brooklyn and Staten Island, /'stætʃən 'æɪlənd/) have the vowels, diphthongs and intonations shown in fig 85.3. The consonants, generally, have the broad variants seen in G 84.

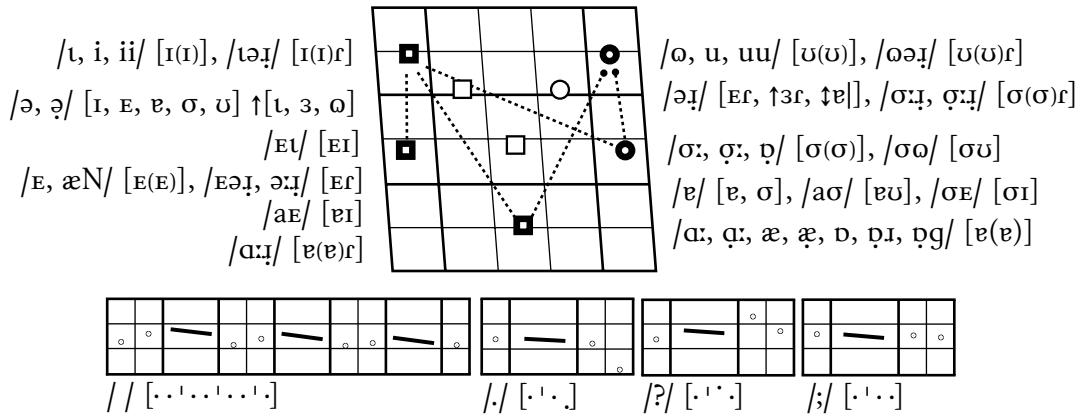
A broader version, more typical of bilingual people (but different from actual Italians, such as tourists, cf G 245, which is still more foreign-like), or ‘Little-Italy style’,

fig 85.3. Brooklyn & Staten Island (often called ‘Italian’): vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



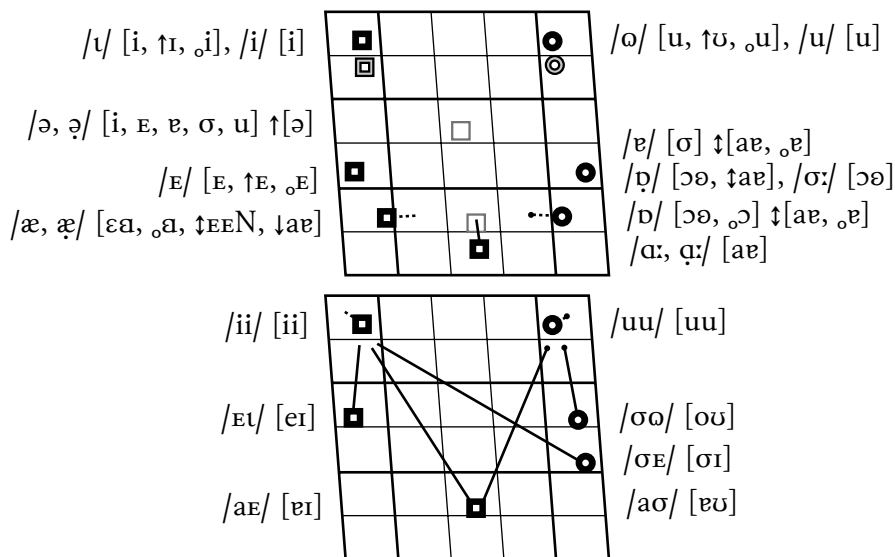
has the vocalic and intonational elements given in fig 85.4 (with more secondary stresses and often with [ʔ] for [ʃ]: [bɑɑrlɪˈwɔɪtə, ɪ-] /ˈbɑːɪliwɔɪtəɪ/ *barley water*. For the consonants we find: [ŋg, ɪŋ] /ŋ/; ‘unaspirated’, but lengthened [pː, tː, kː; tʃ] /p, t, k; tʃ/; [t, d] /t, d/, [t, d, ɹ] /t, d, r/; [t, tʰ, d, dʰ] /θ, ð/; [s, ɹz] /z/; [θ] /h/; [r, ɹv] /r, r:/; [tɚ, stɚ, dɚ] /tɹ, stɹ, dɹ/; [l, ɫ] /l/, [l, ɫ] /ɫ/, [σl, σɫ] /ɫ/; [(C)ʰCV] /CʰV/, [ʰVVC(V)ʰ] /VC(V)ʰ/; [(V)ʃσn] /ʃ(ə)nʰ/; [dɛ, dɪ, dð] /ðə/, [dɪ, dðɪ] /ði/ *the*; [tʉ] /tə, tu/ *to*.

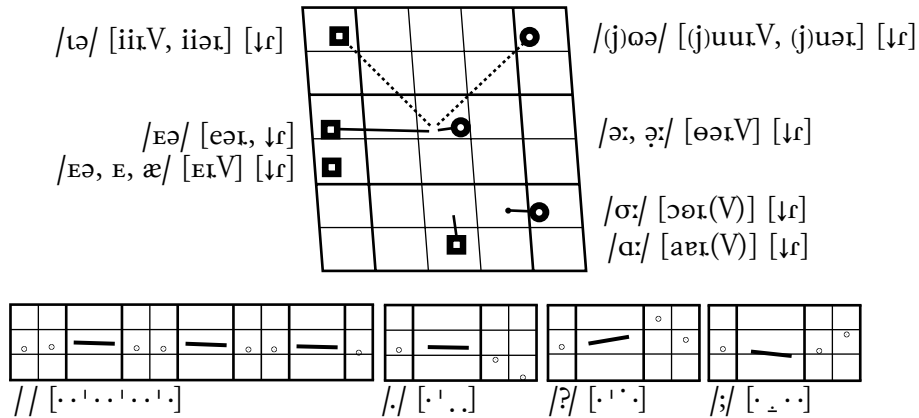
fig 85.4. ‘Little Italy’ broad accent.



85.4. The ‘Puerto Ricans’ have the vocalic and intonational characteristics given in fig 85.5 (for a broader accent of G 223). For *mb* and *ng*, the broad accent has ↓[mb, ŋg]; the ‘aspiration’ of /p, t, k; tʃ/ is possible only in a mild accent; we find [t, d] /t, d/, [t, ɹ] /t, r/, [VβV, VɹβV, VβrV] /b, v/, [VδV, VɹδV, VδrV] /d/, [s, ɹz] /z/, [ɪsC, ɛsC] /ʰsC/; [t, ɹs, d] ↑[θ, ð] /θ, ð/; [tʃ, ɹʃ] /tʃ/, [dʒ, ɹʒ] ↓[ʒ, ɹʒ, ɹʒʰ, Vtʃʰ, VjV] /dʒ/; [w, ɹβ] /w/; [VjV, VwV] /ɛɪ, aɛ, σɛ; σɔ, aσ/+/əɪ/: [ˈpaːwɛɹ] /ˈpaσəɪ/ *power*; [(s)tʃɹ, dʒɹ] ↑[ɹ] /s)tɹ, dɹ/; [ɪV, ɹV] /l, ɹ/, ↓[ɹʰ, ɹʰ] /lɹ/, [σl, ɹσl] /ɫ/; [ɹVɹ, ɹɹV, ɹVɹ] /ɹVɹ/; [θ] /j/; [h, ɹh] /h/; [θC] /tʰC/; [Cθʰ] /CCʰ/; [ʰVVCʰ] /VCʰ/, [ʰVVʰ] /VVʰ/.

fig 85.5. Puerto Rican accent: vowels, diphthongs & intonation.

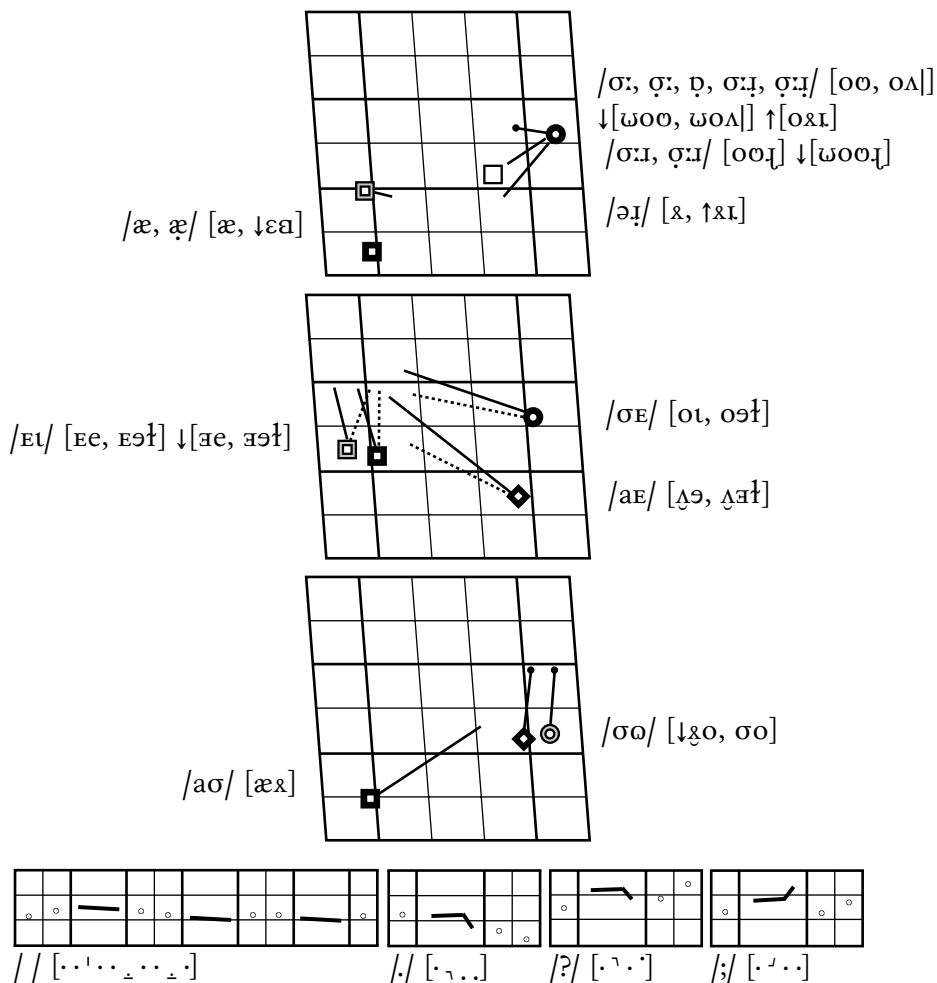




85.5. The ‘Blacks’ keep their ethnic characteristics better, having less contacts with different people. Thus, the readers are referred to Φ 106.

85.6. The ‘Jews’ have the vocalic and intonational elements shown in fig 85.6. Their [εə] /æ, æ/ are less raised, while their [oo, oʌ] ↓[ωoo, ωoʌ] /σ:, σ:, ρ/ are definitely more raised, even if not unique; besides, we find the marked variants of [Eɪ, ↓Eɪ; σU, ↓ξU] /Eɪ, σO/, [Δə, oɪ, æɪ] /aE, σE, aσ/, and the peculiar timbre of [ɹ, ↑ɹɪ] /əɪ/, in every position, not only final.

fig 85.6. Peculiarities of the Jewish accent: some vowels & diphthongs, and intonation.



As for the consonants, we have [ŋk[#], ŋ[#]gV] /ŋ/ and [ŋ] /ŋg/: [ˈsɪŋŋk] /ˈsɪŋŋ/ *singing*, [ˈlɒŋŋ ˈgʌlənd] /ˈlɒŋ ˈælənd/ *Long Island*, [ˈfɪŋɹ] /ˈfɪŋgəɹ/ *finger*; [t, tʰ, t̥; d, d̥, d̥z] /t, d/, [t̥, t̥ʰ] /t̥/, [d] /t̥/; in addition to [n̥u; t̥u, t̥ʰ, t̥; d̥u, d̥ʰ, d̥z] /nj, t̥j, d̥j/, we can find †[n̥j̥; t̥j̥u, t̥j̥ʰ; d̥j̥u, d̥j̥ʰ], as well; [s, θ; z, ʒ] /s, z/; [t, d] /θ, ð/; [s] /z[#]/; [z[#]ç] /s[#]ç/; [r, ɹ, ɹ̥, ɹ̥] /r/, [θ, r, ɹ̥, ɹ̥] /r̥/.

The tonic syllables of the three intonemes are quite peculiar, as can be seen in the tonogram of fig 85.6.

87. A brief introduction to the Midland (& maps)

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87.1. The linguistic area identified as the Midland (cf fig 87.1) comprises an eastern part and a larger western part. The eastern part (cf fig 87.2) covers New Jersey to Pennsylvania, ie from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.

This may be considered to be a kind of transitional zone, with mixed characteristics, sometimes called *Middle(-Atlantic) States*. Geographically, it includes also New York City, which shares some peculiarities with Philadelphia (but is more properly placed in the East koiné of the States, from a strict linguistic point of view).

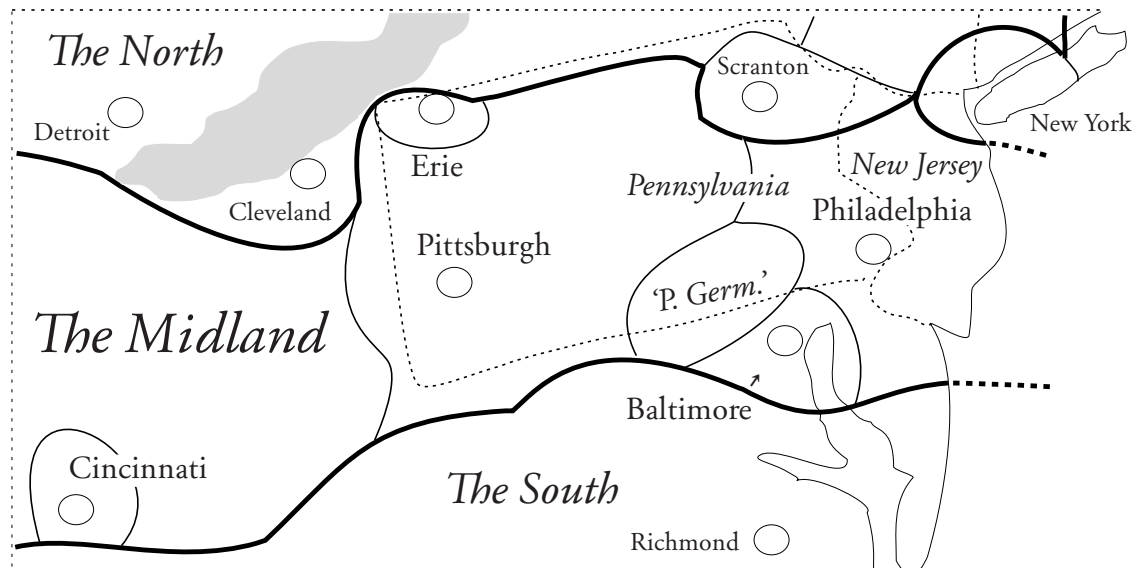
fig 87.1. The Midland speech area of the USA.



87.2. The western part of the Midland, generally called the *Midwest* (or *Middle West*) includes most of the states from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois to great parts of Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska (cf fig 87.1). This area, although phono-tonetically differentiated, and not as uniform as once it was thought to be, from a phonemic point of view, better corresponds to the typical phonological system of American English. Indeed, most Americans –generally, including Midlanders– think that the best pronunciation is to be found in this western area of the Midland.

In fact, JSK (ie John Samuel Kenyon), as early as 1924, based his famous book about *American Pronunciation* on his own accent of the Western Reserve of Ohio.

fig 87.2. Eastern Midland.



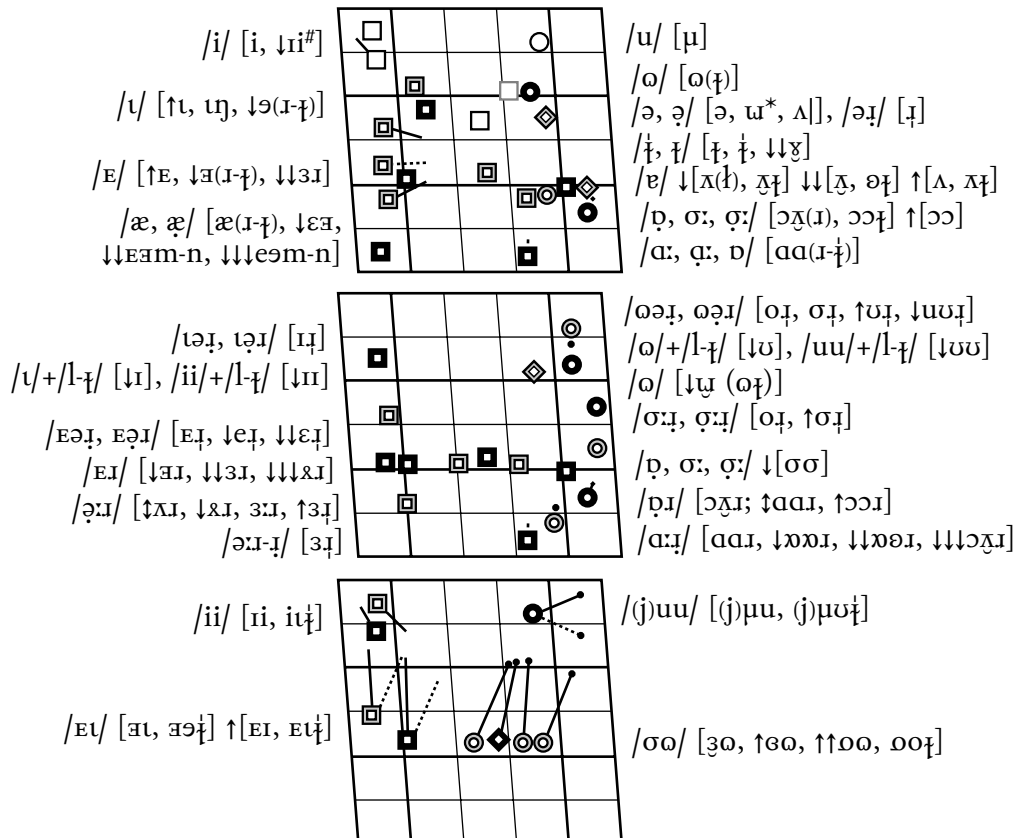
92. Eastern Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)

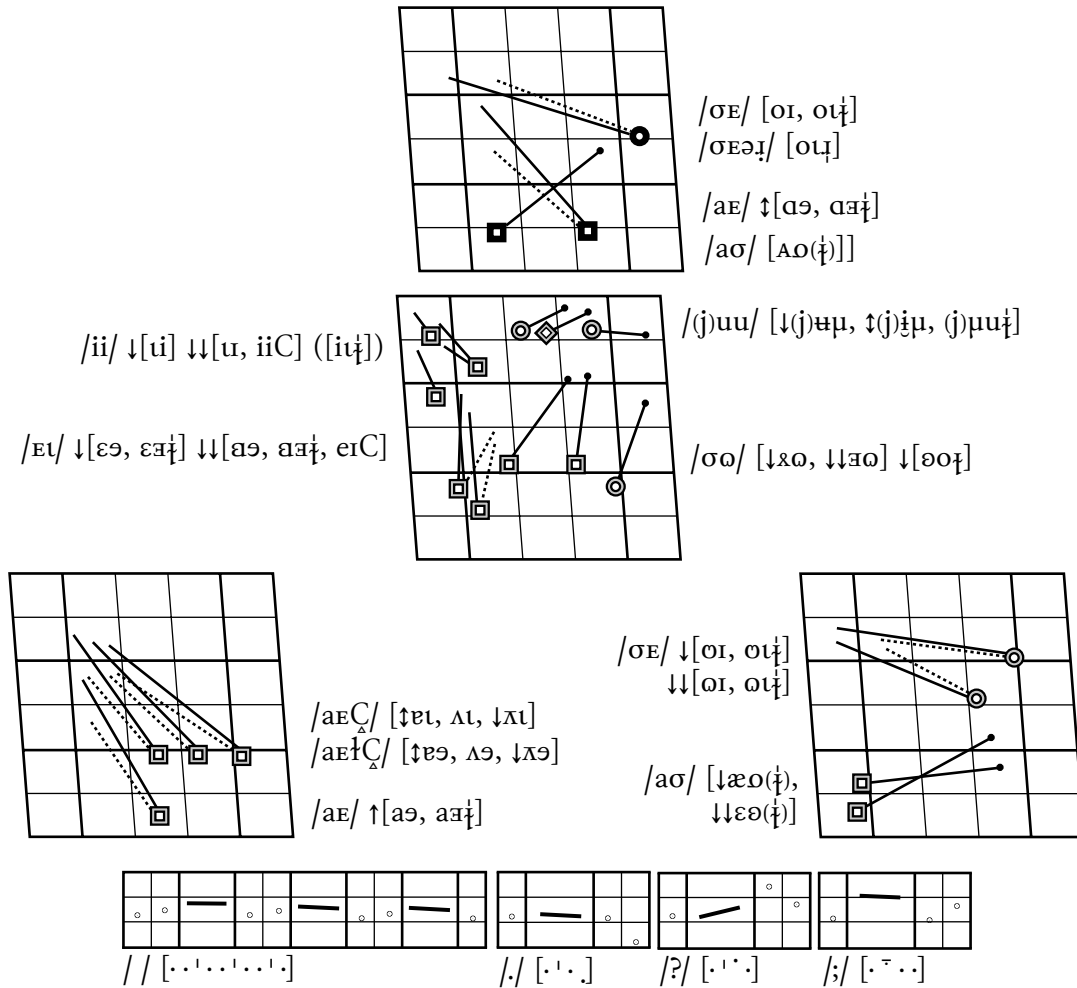
[© Luciano Canepari, 2010, Venice University, Italy]

92.1. Going back to the eastern section of the Midland (the Middle Atlantic States, cf § 87.1 and especially fig 87.2), we find Philadelphia (eastern Pennsylvania and most of New Jersey), that has an accent of its own, which shares some peculiarities with New York City, though less extreme.

Let us start with [æ, ↓εɛ, ↓↓εɛm-n, ↓↓↓εɛm-n] /æ, æ/, which means that, beside normal [æ], we find [εɛ] before /f, θ, s/ (and /d/ only in *bad, glad, mad*; occasionally, also *sad* and *dad*): [↑hæf, ↓-εɛf] /'hæf/ *half*, [↑phæθ, ↓-εɛθ] /'pæθ/ *path*, [↑phæs, ↓-εɛs] /'pæs/ *pass*, [↑læst, ↓lεɛst] /'læst/ *last*, [↑bæd, ↓-εɛd] /'bæd/ *bad*, [↑glæd, ↓glεɛd] /'glæd/ *glad*, [↑mæd, ↓-εɛd] /'mæd/ *mad*. Before /m, n/, we have: [↑sæm, ↓↓εɛm, ↓↓↓εɛm] /'sæm/ *Sam*, [↑mæn, ↓↓-εɛn, ↓↓↓εɛn] /'mæn/ *man*, [↑ænɪ, ↓↓-εɛnɪ, ↓↓↓εɛnɪ] /'ænɪ/ *ant*, [↑hænd, ↓↓-εɛnd, ↓↓↓εɛnd] /'hænd/ *hand*.

fig 92. Eastern Pennsylvania (Philadelphia): vowels, diphthongs & intonation.





92.2. The raising is present also with inflectional suffixes: [↑bænɪŋ, ↓↓-ɛɛ-, ↓↓↓-eə-] /'bænɪŋ/ *banning*, [↑phæsɪŋ, ↓↓-ɛɛ-] /'pæsɪŋ/ *passing* (while we have only [æ] /æ, æ/ in: *hammer, panel, passive, example*).

By analogy, also (true or false) derivational suffixes can, variably, produce raising in words that do not have any real suffix (or that do not exist as plain words): [phlæstɪk, ↓-ɛɛ-] /'plæstɪk/ *plastic*, [læsi, ↓-ɛɛ-] /'læsi/ *Lassie*.

The grammemes, if stressed, have no raising: [ænd̩] /'ænd̩/ *and*, [æm] /'æm/ *am*, [hæv̩] /'hæv̩/ *have*, [hæz̩] /'hæz̩/ *has*, [hæd̩] /'hæd̩/ *had*, [kæn] /'kæn/ *can* (but the noun *can* is [↑khæn, ↓↓-ɛɛɪn, ↓↓↓-eəɪn] /'khæn/, while *can't* oscillates [↑khænɪ, ↓↓-ɛɛɪnɪ, ↓↓↓-eəɪnɪ] /'kænɪ/). Such lexemes as irregular verbs in /æm#, æn#/ have no raising, as well: [swæm] /'swæm/ *swam*, [ɪæn] /'ɪæn/ *ran*, [bʊ'gæɪn] /bʊ'gæɪn/ *began* (but [↑æ, ↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓eə] /æ/ in *slam*, which is a regular verb; and also in *understand*, irregular but not ending in a plain nasal consonant).

92.3. The sequences /æstV, æstV/ oscillate: [mæstɪ, ↓-ɛɛ-] /'mæstɪ/ *master*, [phlæstɪ, ↓-ɛɛ-] /'plæstɪ/ *master*. The same is true of the sequences /æNV/: [fæməli, ↓↓-ɛɛ-, ↓↓↓-eə-] /'fæməli/ *family*, and *camera, damage, manage, manner, flannel, planet*, as well. In a broader accent, also some words with /æIV/ can have moderate raising. In addition, as in New York, learned words like *adz, alas, Gath, wrath*, which are acquired late in life, oscillate considerably.

92.4. As to the other vowels (and diphthongs), the accent of Philadelphia has a number of typical peculiarities, especially in its broadest version. In fact, we have a lowered [↑ɪ, ↓ə] /ɪ/: [↑sɪt, ↓səʔ] /sɪt/ *sit*; retracted [↑ɛ, ↓ɐ, ↓↓ɜɪ] /ɛ/: [↑bɛːd̥, ↓bɛːd̥] /bɛd/ *bed*, [↑mɛɪ, ↓mɛ-, ↓↓mɜ-, ↓-ɪ] /mɛɪ/ *merry*, and retracted [↑ɹ, ↓ɹ, ↓↓ɹ] [↑ɹɛʔ, ↓ɹɛʔ, ↓↓əʔ] /ɛ, ɛʔ/: [↑hɹʌʔ, ↓ɹʌʔ, ↓↓ɹʌʔ] /hɛʔ/ *hut*, [↑d̥ɹɛʔ, ↓ɹɛʔ, ↓↓əʔ] /d̥ɛʔ/ *dull*.

Let us also notice [↑ɔɔ, ɔɹ, ↓σσ] /σɔ, σɔ, ɔ/: [↑sɔː, -ɔɹ, ↓-σːσ] /sɔː/ *saw*, [↑ɔɔf, ↓-σσf] /ɔf/ *off* and [ɑɑ] /ɒ, ɑ, ɑ/: [↑hɑɑʔ] /hɒʔ/ *hot*, [↑spɑːɑ] /spɑː/ *spa*.

The sequences /Vəɪ, Vɜɪ; Vəɪ, Vɜɪ/ are quite peculiar; let us consider a few (of course, all the others should be inspected well, too): [↑mɛɪ, ↓-ɛɪ, ↓↓-ɛɪ, ↓-ɪ] /mɛəɪ/ *Mary*, [↑mɛɪ, ↓-ɛɪ, ↓↓-ɜɪ, ↓↓-ɜɪ, ↓-ɪ] /mɛɪ/ *merry*, [↑wɜɪ, ↑-ɜɪ, ↓-ɜɪ, ↑-ɹɪ, ↓-ɪ] /wɜɪ/ *worry*, [↑fɜɪ, ↓-ɪ] /fɜɪ/ *furry*, [↑fɜɪ] /fɜɪ/ *fur*, [↑khɑːɑ, ↓-ɹɹɪ, ↓↓-ɹɹɪ, ↓↓-ɔɹɪ] /kɑː/ *car*, [↑wɔɪ, ↑-σɪ] /wɔɪ/ *war*, [↑dɔɪ, ↑-σɪ] /dɔɪ/ *door*, [↑sɔɹɪ, ↑-ɑɑ-, ↑-ɔɔ-, ↓-ɪ] /sɔɹɪ/ *sorry*, [↑hɔɹɹɪ, ↑-ɑɑ-, ↑-ɔɔ-] /hɔɹɹɪ/ *torrent*, [↑hɔɪ, -σɪ, ↑-σɪ, ↓-uɪ] /hɔɪ/ *tour*.

92.5. Also the diphthongs are a bit peculiar. Let us start with the marked realizations of ↓↓[ɪiC, eɪC] /iiC, eɪC/: [↑biɪʔ, ↓↓-ɪɪʔ] (although, practically, coinciding with International English) /biɪʔ/ *beat*, [↑hɪɪ, ↓-ɪɪ, ↓↓-ɪɪ] /hɪɪ/ *tea*, [↑mɛɪɪ, -ɛɪɪ, ↓-ɛɪɪ, ↓↓-ɛɪɪ, ↓↓-eɪɪ] /mɛɪɪ/ *made*. Let us continue with the peculiar realizations of [↑mu, ↓mɪ, ↑ɪ] /uu/: [↑hɪmɪ, ↓-mɪ, ↑ɪ] /hɪmɪ/ *two*, [↑ɜ, ↑ɜ, ↑↑-σ, ↓-σ, ↓↓-σ] /σ/ *so*. The readers are invited to look at the other three diphthongs, and their variants, particularly [↑ɔɪ, ↓-σɪ, ↓↓-σɪ] /ɔɪ/ *boy*, and the possible raising of [↑ɛə, ɹə, ↓ɹə] /æɪ/: [↑næɪʔ, -ɹəʔ, ↓-ɹəʔ] /næɪʔ/ *night*.

92.6. As for the *consonants*, let us report the frequent occurrence of [↑j, h] /hj/: [↑jɪmɪ, ↓-mɪ, ↑ɪ] /jɪmɪ/ *huge*; [θ, ð] ↓[t, d]: [↑dɛstɛɪ, ↑ðɪsθɪ] /ðɪsθɪ/ *this thing*; [↑ɹ, ↓ɹ]: [↑pɑɹɹɪ, -ɹ, ↓-ɹɹ] /pɑɹɹɪ/ *partner*.

But the most peculiar consonantal feature is the treatment of /l, ɹ, ɹ/. This accent also shows vocalization of /ɹ, ɹ/ [↑ɹ, ↓-ɹ, ↓↓-ɹ]: [↑bɹɹ, ↓-ɹɹ, ↓↓-ɹɹ] /bɹ/ *bill* (and even deletion, especially after rounded vowels and diphthongs: [↑ɔɹɹ, ↓-ɹɹ, ↓↓-ɹɹ] /ɔɹ/ *all*, [↑hɪmɪ, ↓-mɪ, ↓↓-mɪ, ↓↓-mɪ] /hɪmɪ/ *tool*).

Typically, the same is said to happen to /l/, but, actually, we find [↑l, ↓ɹ, ↓l, ↓↓l], even between vowels (not real ‘vocalization’, although it is easy to be confused, when somebody works with only a few and scanty number of phones and symbols): [↑dɑɑl, ↓-ɹ, ↓-l, ↓↓-l] /dɑɑl/ *dollar*, [↑fiɪl, ↓-ɹ, ↓-l, ↓↓-l] /fiɪl/ *feeling*, [↑fɛɹɹɪ, ↓-ɹɹɪ] /fɛɹɹɪ/ *Philadelphia*, [↑fɪl, ↓-ɪ] /fɪl/ *Philly*.

92.7. The quality of /ɹ/, which often becomes intense (or ‘syllabic’, [↑ɹ]) even after vowels or diphthongs, causes the merger of /ɑσɹ, ɑσəɹ/: [↑ɑσɹ, ↓-ɑσɹ, ↓-σ, ↓↓-σ, ↓Vσ] /ɑσɹ/ *owl*, [↑hɑσɹ, ↓-ɑσɹ, ↓-σ, ↓↓-σ, ↓-Vσ] /hɑσɹ/ *towel*. Of course, some other sequences may sound more or less similar: [↑phæɹ, -ɹ, ↓-σ] /phæɹ/ *pal*, [↑khɑσ, ↓-σ, ↓↓-σ] /kɑσ/ *cow*; [↑fɛɹ, ↓-ɹ, ↓↓-ɹ] /fɛɹ/ *fell*, [↑fɜ, ↑-σ, ↑↑-σ, ↓-σ, ↓↓-σ] /fɜ/ *foe*; [↑ɛlɪn, ↓-ɹɹ, ↓↓-ɹɹ, ↓↓-ɹɹ] /ɛlɪn/ *Ellen*, [↑ɜɹn, ↑-σ, ↑↑-σ, ↓-σ, ↓↓-σ] /ɜɹn/ *Owen*.

97. A brief introduction to the South (& maps)

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97.1. The maps in fig 97.1-2 show the area covered by the linguistic South of the USA. It is apparent that it is impossible to simply speak of ‘*the Southern accent*’. Thus, we will also divide our treatise into *better-known accents* (part 14, with ¶ 97-106) and *lesser-known accents* (part 15, with ¶ 107-115). Both will contain a number of accents, which are delimited in the map, but are not necessarily contiguous. Apart from a general presentation, the smaller or larger subareas are indicated rather clearly.

97.2. Five greater areas can be identified as well. Texas, or *Texas South*, with two subzones (Dallas, Houston) and the Chicano belt (indicated by the thin dotted line, cf fig 67.2-3, as well). The *western South*, mostly Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and southwestern Tennessee –including New Orleans, although quite peculiar– and southwestern Alabama, where, nowadays, we easily find /ɪ/ actually realized as a contoid, except in New Orleans. The *northern South* includes the moun-

fig 97.1. Map of the five principle zones of the linguistic South (with its subdivisions).

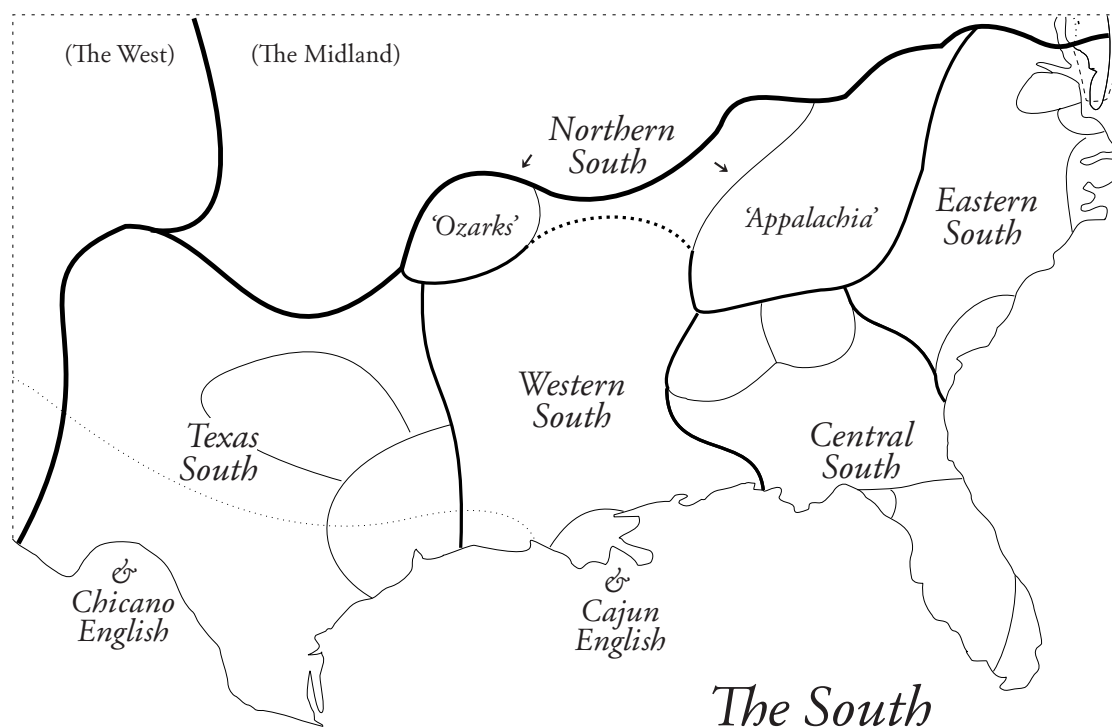
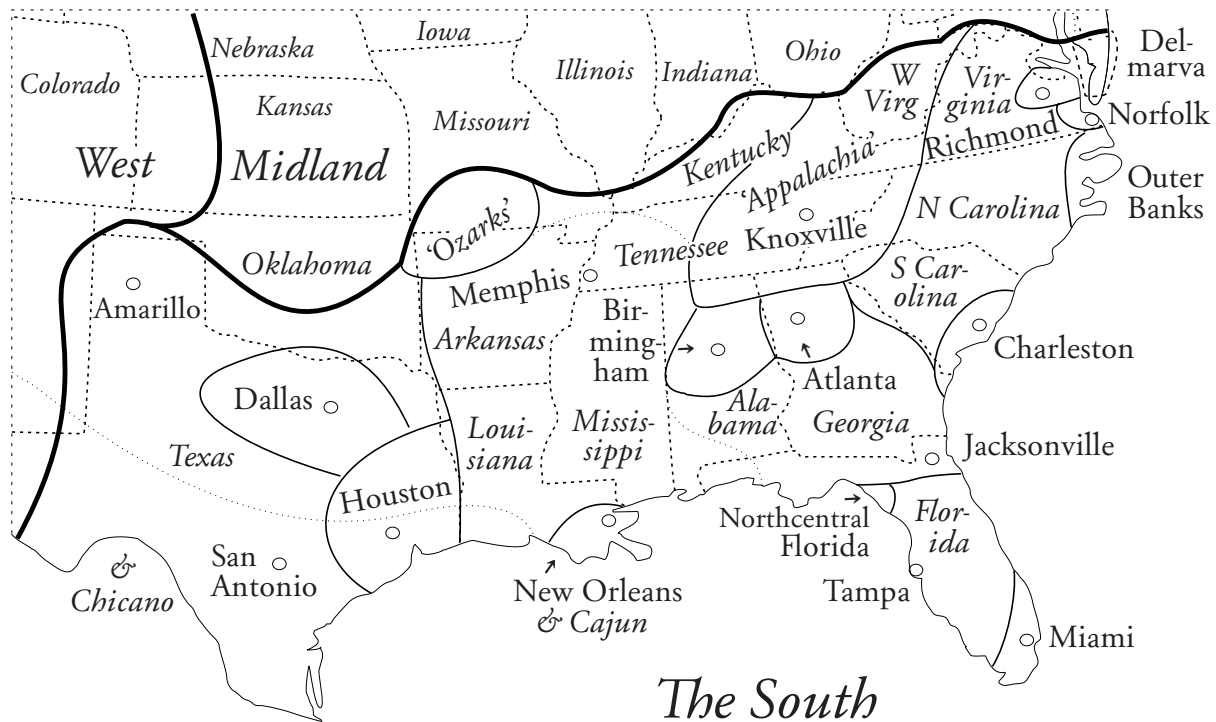


fig 97.2. Map of the South, with more particulars.



tain regions of the Ozarks and Appalachia (connected by a thick dotted line that indicates a transitional subzone, with mixed realizations and usages). They are still fairly similar, and treated together, because decidedly different from the rest below them. The *central South* (mostly Alabama, Georgia and Florida) is separated from the *eastern South* (mostly North and South Carolina, and Virginia, where special taxophones of /æ, ə/ + /ç/ are particularly frequent).

97.3. Of course, the differences are not only spacial, or geographical, but also social. Thus, we will start with a more general description of –so to say– a ‘general southern accent’, neither too broad, nor too mild (or mixed). But still a recognizably typical southern accent. Then, we will add more peculiar characteristics, both social and regional, including differences depending on sociophonic factors, such as the speakers’ age, education, occupation, gender, attitudes towards language and pronunciation. However, we will not provide arid statistics, with dull percentages (as 0.01%, or 50%), which make one think of so many impotent Peeping Toms.

97.4. Instead, we will employ our ‘usage arrows’, such as –one or more– *upward* arrows (↑), or *downward* arrows (↓), and *double* arrows (↕), as well. Of course, any ↓ indicates a degree of less recommendable pronunciation, generally in comparison with the *International accent* (frankly and objectively, the best possible one, today), or with the American neutral accent, for Northern America. Or the British neutral accent, for other accents described, including the Celtic accents or the southern hemisphere ones. Of course, any mediatic accents are ruled out auto-

matically. The same criteria hold good for second- or foreign-language accents, according to their (personal, local, or national) primary ‘affiliations’.

Consequently, any † indicates a degree of more recommendable pronunciation, again in comparison with the International accent (or with the American or British neutral accents, as the case may be).

Accordingly, any ‡ indicates a kind of pronunciation, which certain speakers, in given places or societies, *subjectively* judge as being ‘better’ than others, which, actually, from our (well-known) point of view, are nothing but more or less marked peculiarities, that –rather– should be avoided, because different from international ones.

97.5. Of course, the usual sociophonic factors are relevant in the South, too. However, it is very important to always keep clearly in mind that there is a fundamental distinction between *rural* and *urban* speech. Urban speakers, as a whole, present milder and less typical accents, *ie* more influenced by either neutral or mediatic accents, and avoid more local, and generally stigmatized, features. Inevitably, urban speakers are more exposed to contacts with outsiders and to frequent linguistic comparisons.

On the contrary, rural speakers may even have no outside contact through their whole lives. So they will keep the local and typical features more systematically and more faithfully. Of course, isolated coastal or mountainous areas are more conservative than metropolitan areas such as those of Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Dallas.

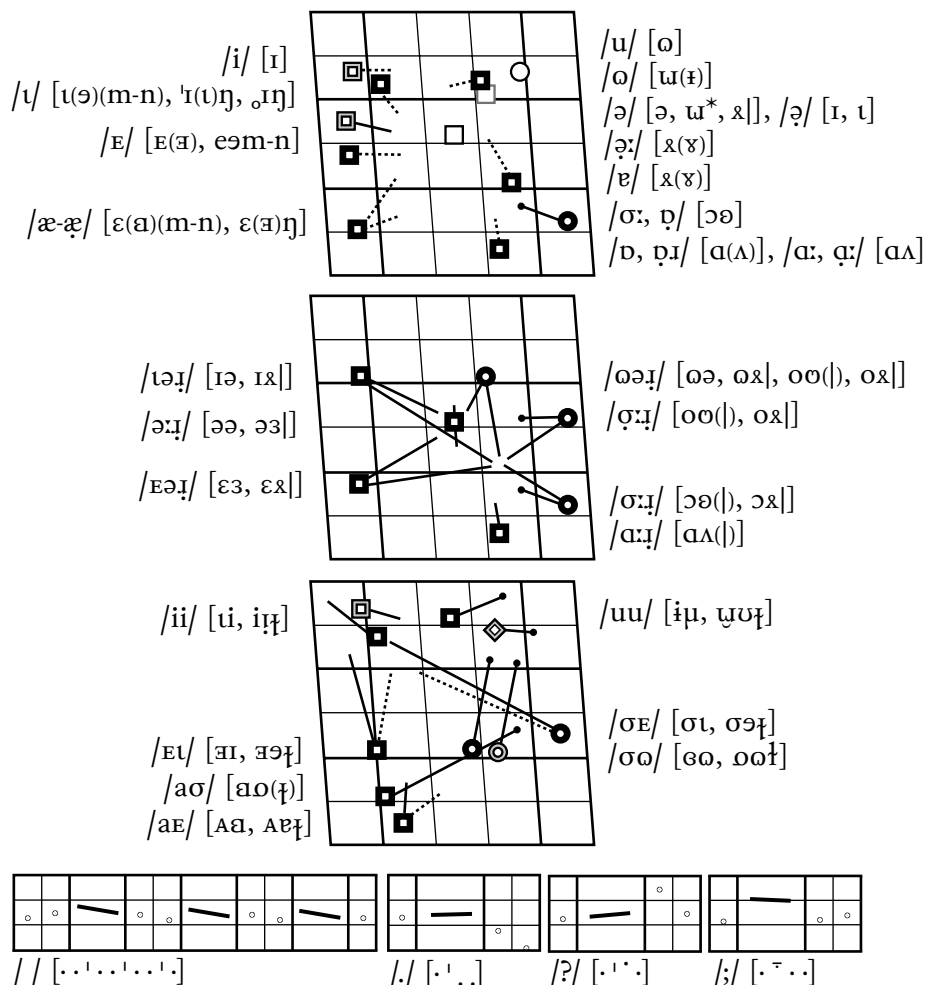
It is a rather well-known fact that watching tv does not change much a speaker’s accent, while new words are more regularly learned, for active use, although –inevitably– within one’s own typical phonemic system. However, it is a fact that accents can be learned from tv, according to the frequency of their presence on tv, the faithfulness of their quality, and –of course– the scientific and artistic aptitude for this important part of *Natural Phonotonetics* (& *Paraphonics*, as well).

98. The South (proper)

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98.1. The phonosynthesis of fig 98.1 presents a typical, but mild, southern accent. It includes a moderate 'drawl' for the phonemically short vowels (especially, but not only, in monosyllables), occurring in intonemes [ɪə, ɛɛ, ɛɔ, ɑɬ, ʌʌ, ʊʊ] /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɒ, ɐ, ʊ/, as if they were real phonemic diphthongs 'u, ɛɛ, ææ, ɑɑ, ɐɐ, ʊʊ'. Otherwise, in lighter accents, we can find simple [ɪ, ɛ, ɛ, ɑ, ʌ, ʊ], in currently non-lengthening contexts, ie mostly followed by voiceless consonants: [ˈsɪŋŋɪŋ] /ˈsɪŋŋɪŋ/ *singing*, [ˈbɪɔɔ] /ˈbɪɔɔ/ *bid*, [ˈhɪɪt] /ˈhɪɪt/ *hit*, [ˈbɛɛt] /ˈbɛɛt/ *bed*, [ˈhɛɛt] /ˈhɛɛt/ *het* (heterosexual), [ˈbɛɛt]

fig 98.1. The South: vowels, diphthongs & intonation of a mild, general, normalized accent.



/bæd/ *bad*, [hɛɪf] /hæt/ *hat*, [khaʌd] /kɒd/ *cod*, [hɑʌf] /hɒt/ *hot*, [khaɪd] /kɛd/ *cud*, [hɪɪf] /hɛt/ *hut*, [həɪd] /hɛɪd/ *heard*, [həɪt] /hɛɪt/ *hurt*, [gʊɪd] /gʊd/ *good*, [fʊɪf] /fʊt/ *foot*, [sɔɪ] /sɔː/ *saw*, [sɔɪt] /sɔːt/ *sought*, [sɔɪŋ] /sɒŋ/ *song*, [ɔɪf] /ɔf/ *off*, [sɔɪɪ] /sɒɪɪ/ *sorry*, [wɔɪɪ] /wɒɪɪ/ *warrior*, [spɑʌ] /spɑː/ *spa*, [hʊeən, hʊw-, ↑w-] /wɛn/ *when*, [mɛən] /mæn/ *man*, [sɛəŋ] /sæŋ/ *sang*, [fəɪɪ] /fɛɪɪ/ *furry*, [hɪɪɪ] /hɛɪɪ/ *hurry*, [sɪəɪ] /sɪtɪ/ *city*, [ɪnflʊəns] /ɪnfluəns/ *influence*.

98.2. A lighter type of southern drawl, phonetically, shows just narrow homochromatic diphthongs (or doubling), [ɪ, ɛɛ, ɛɛ, ɑɑ, ɪɪ, ʊʊ] (for phonemically simple /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɒ, ɛ, ʊ/): [bɪɪd] /bɪd/ *bid*, &c. While, a still lighter drawl just has an added semichrone, [ɪ] + [ɪ] = [ɪ:], thus, [V:C] → [V:C:] (as phonemically long vowels, ‘[ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɑ, ɛ, ɪ, ʊ:]’), [ɪ, ɛ, ɛ, ɑ, ɪ, ʊ]: [bɪɪd] /bɪd/ *bid*, &c.

The more evident the southern drawl becomes, we find [V:C, VVC] → [VVVC] (with the same –doubled– vocoids); or [VVC] → [VVVC]. Notice that [V] indicates slightly different vocoids, generally centralized, as shown above, to give narrow diphthongs plus a vocoid, i.e. real phonetic triphthongs. This extra-lengthening of the stressed syllables, in intonemes, is counterbalanced by corresponding shortenings of the unstressed syllables in words ^{or} phrases and sentences, as we will see below: [oV] → [oV] or [oθ]: [dʒɛn(ə)li sʌðəɪz ɪˈzɪzli æɪdʒɛn(ə)faɪd] /dʒɛn(ə)li sʌðəɪz nɪz ɪˈzɪz(ə)li æɪdʒɛn(ə)faɪd/ *Generally, Southerners are easily identified*.

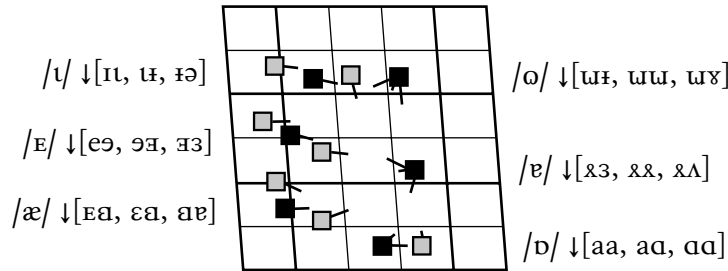
98.3. Consequently, this length compensation further highlights the difference between stressed (& drawled) syllables and unstressed (& more reduced-than-normal) syllables: [VVVC] vs [oVC]. This effect is further increased, when the drawl produces triphthongs, instead of simple diphthongs, in even broader accents, as we will see: [VVVC] (and even [VVC], where [V] indicates more or less still different vocoids). Here, we show an example of what will be dealt with below, for broader accents, although we have not yet given any examples of the diphthongs (cf fig 98.4): [tʰəʊn, tʰæʊn] (even [tʰãõn, tʰæãõn]) /tʰaʊn/ *town*.

98.4. The other vocograms (in fig 98.1) show the phonemic diphthongs of a mild accent like this. We just exemplify them in final position, and /əɪ, ɪɪ/ (leaving to the readers the task to search examples with /ɪ/ or in internal position): [tʰɪɪ] /tʰii/ *tea*, [dʰɪɪ] /dʰei/ *day*, [lɪɪ] /lɛɪ/ *lie*, [kɪɪ] /kɑɪ/ *cow*, [bɪɪ] /bɔɪ/ *boy*, [tʰɪɪ] /tʰuu/ *two*; [bɪɪ] /bɪɪ/ *beer*, [kɪɪ] /kɛɪ/ *care*, [kɪɪ] /kɑɪ/ *car*, [wɪɪ] /wɔɪ/ *war*, [fɪɪ] /fɔɪ/ *four*, [pɪɪ] /pɒɪ/ *poor*, [fɪɪ] /fɛɪ/ *fur*; and [fəɪɪ] /fɛɪɪ/ *furry*, [hɪɪɪ] /hɛɪɪ/ *hurry*.

98.5. A further southern peculiarity, a rather marked one, indeed, shows appreciable timbre differences in the six short stressed vowels, according to phonic contexts. Not all (even broad) speakers have them systematically, or so evidently as shown in fig 98.2. The effect applies to words with a front vocoid, against /ə/, in the following syllable. So, we can generally say that the frame /C_C/ uses the ‘middle’ realizations shown in fig 98.2. While the frame /C_Ci, -CəC/ (this last corresponds to /-CɪC/ in the South) employs the fronter realizations; while the frame /C_Cə(C)/

uses the backer ones. Thus, we can have: [ˈpʰɪkɪtʃ] /ˈpɪkəʃ/ *picket*, [ˈpʰɪəkɹ] /ˈpɪkəɪ/ *picker*, [ˈdʒeɪlɪ] /ˈdʒɛli/ *jelly*, [ˈsɛɪlɹ] /ˈsɛləɪ/ *cellar*, [ˈpʰɛɹɪ] /ˈpæɪ/ *parry*, [ˈpʰæɹɪʃ] /ˈpæɪʃ/ *parrot*, [ˈhɑːɹɪdʒ] /ˈhɒɹɪdʒ/ *horrid*, [ˈhɑːɹɪ] /ˈhɒɹɪ/ *horror*, [ˈpʰɹɹɪ] /ˈpʰɹɪ/ *putty*, [ˈbʌɹɪ] /ˈbʌʃɹɪ/ *butter*, [ˈbʌʃɪ] /ˈbʌʃi/ *bushy*, [ˈpʰʌʃɹ] /ˈpʌʃɹɪ/ *pusher*.

fig 98.2. Contextual marked timbre differences.

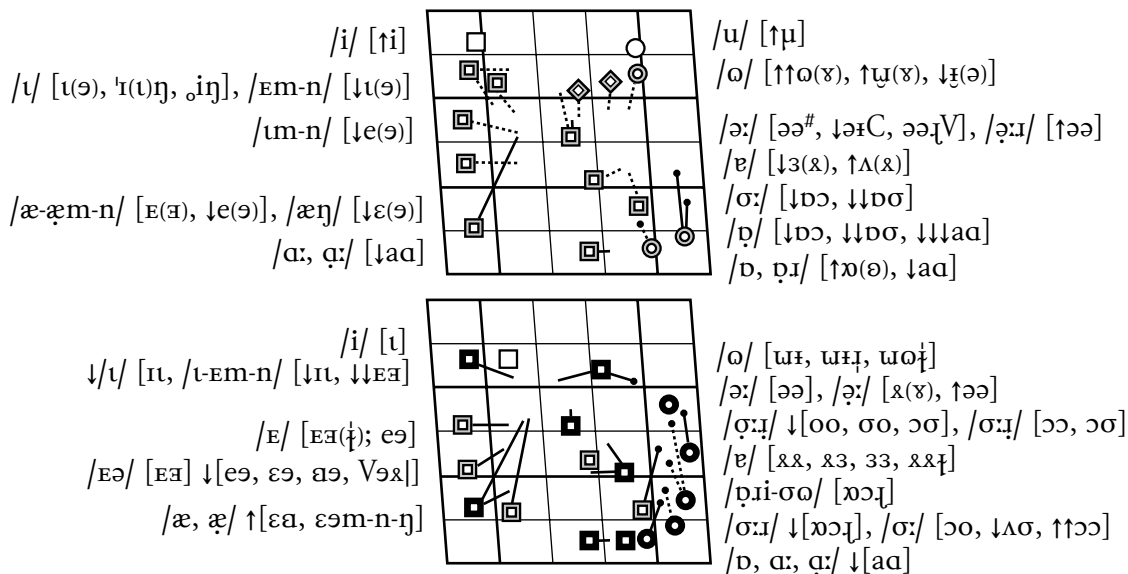


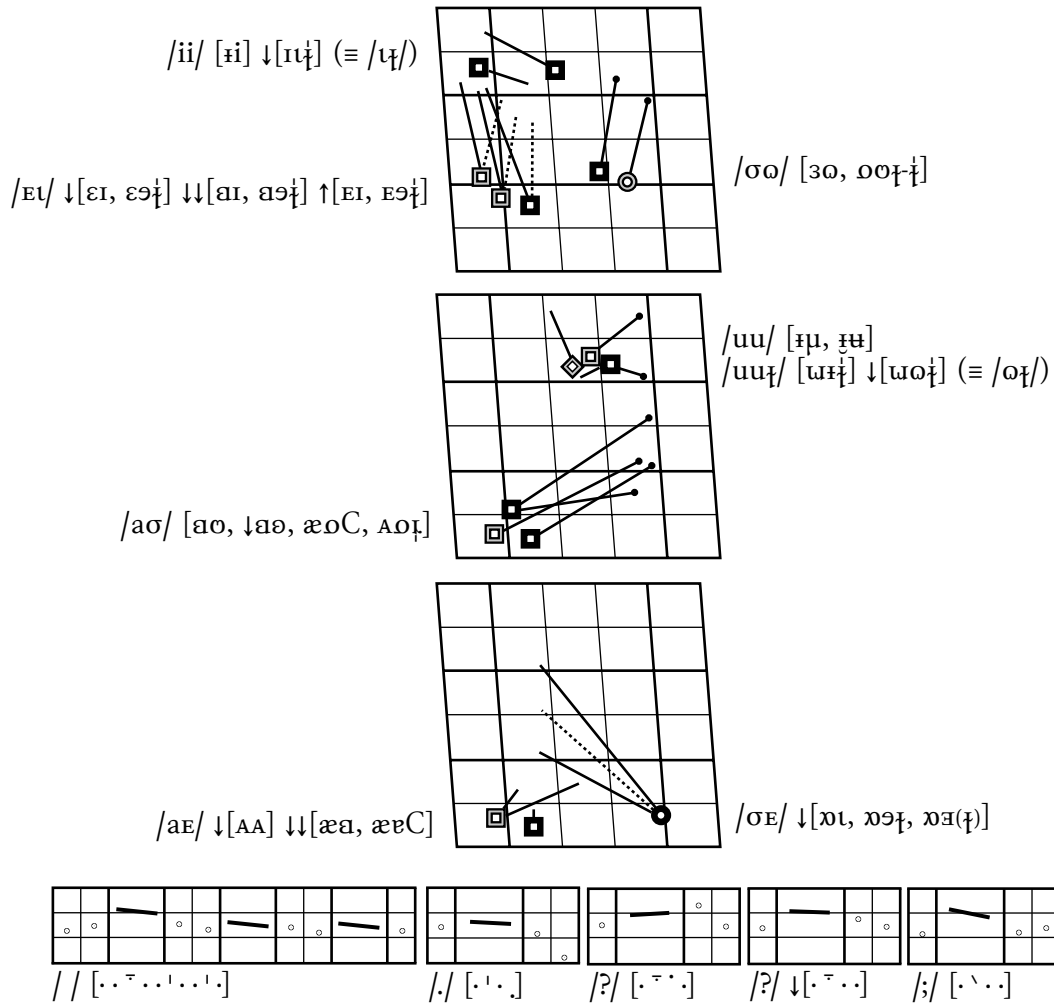
98.6. We can now look at fig 98.3, which shows further realizations of the vowels and diphthongs of broader southern accents, though not so broad as those we will see later on (in fig 98.4). Of course, occasionally they can be used even by speakers who mostly show the realizations of fig 98.1, giving a kind of intermediate accent. It goes without saying, that also some of the realizations shown in fig 98.4 can appear mixed with some of those in fig 98.3 (and even fig 98.1, naturally including fig 98.2).

Let us start from the possible and typical merger exemplified by: [ˈpʰɪvən, ↓ˈpʰeɹən] /ˈpɪn/ *pin*, [ˈpʰeɹən, ↓ˈpʰɪvən] /ˈpɛn/ *pen*, [ˈmɪvənɪ, ↓ˈmeɹənɪ] /ˈmɪni/ *mini*, [ˈmeɹənɪ, ↓ˈmɪvənɪ] /ˈmeni/ *many*, [ˈɹɪvəm, ↓ˈɹeɹəm] /ˈɹɪm/ *rim*, [ˈɹeɹəm, ↓ˈɹɪvəm] /ˈɹɛm/ *REM*. Then, [ˈsɛɹəm, ↓ˈseɹəm] /ˈsæm/ *Sam*, [ˈsɛɹɪŋ, ↓ˈseɹɪŋ] /ˈsæŋ/ *sang* (always looking at fig 98.1-3).

Let us add some further variants: [ˈsɪvən, ↓-ɪ, ↑-i] /ˈsɪti/ *city*, [ˈbʌɪk, ↓ˈbɪk, ↑ˈbʌɪk, ↑ˈbʌɪk] /ˈbʌk/ *book*, [ˈbɪvɪdʒ, ↓ˈbɪvɪdʒ] /ˈbɪvɪdʒ/ *bird*, [ˈhɪvɪtʃ, ↓ˈhɪvɪtʃ, ↑ˈhɪvɪtʃ] /ˈhɪvɪtʃ/ *hut*, [ˈsɔv, ↓ˈsɔv, ↓ˈsɔv] /ˈsɔv/ *saw*, [ˈlɔst, ↓ˈlɔst, ↓ˈlɔst, ↓ˈlɔst] /ˈlɔst/ *lost*, [ˈhɔv, ↓ˈhɔv, ↑ˈhɔv] /ˈhɔv/ *hot*.

fig 98.3. The South: broader and lighter variants of vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



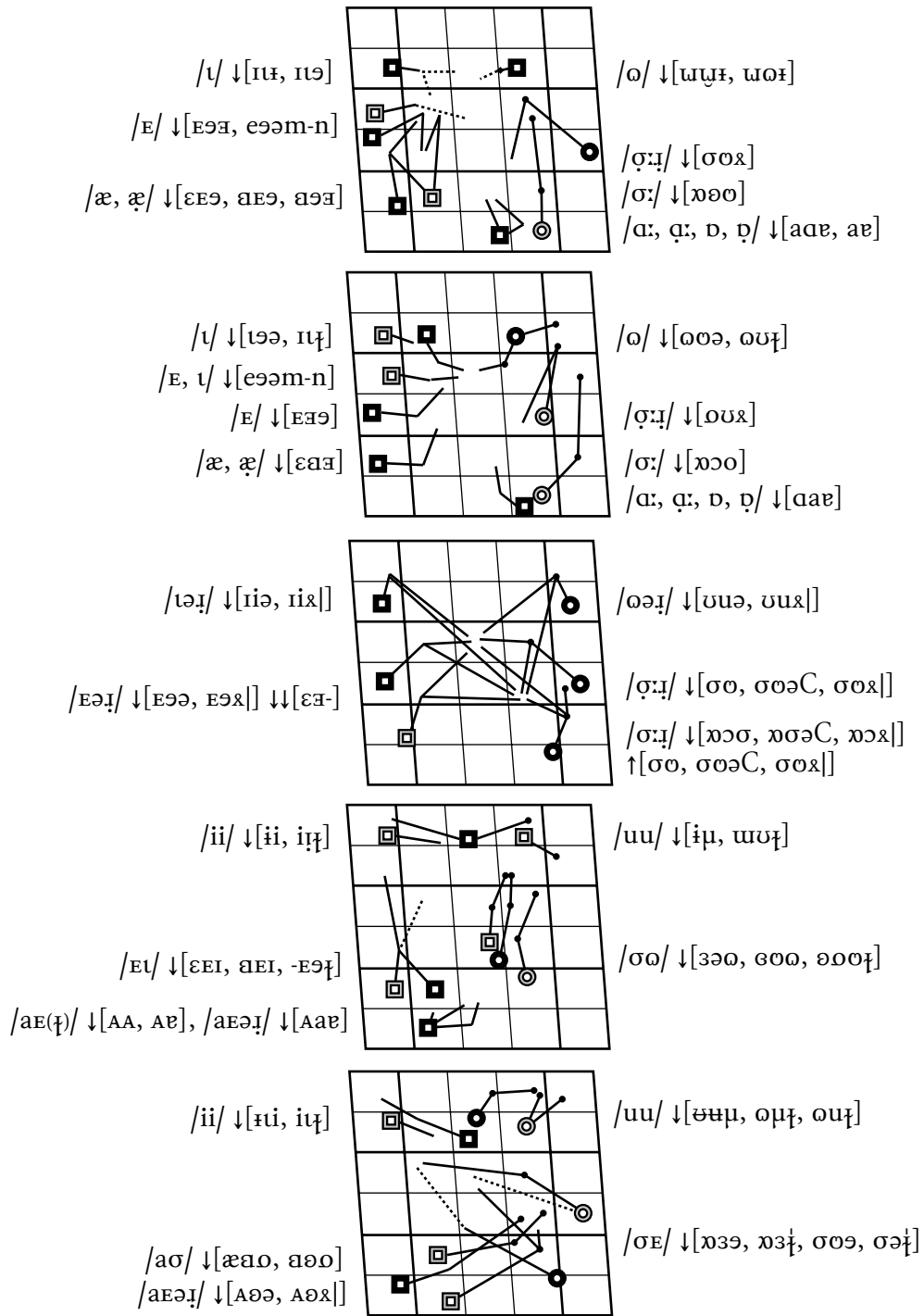


98.7. In the second vocogram of fig 98.3, let us notice the additional realizations given, and, in particular: [ˈmɛɜɪ, ˈmɛɜ-] ↓[ˈmɛə-, ˈmɛə-, ˈmɛə] (almost, but not exactly, ‘/Eɪ/’) [↓-ɪ, ↑-ɪ] /ˈmɛəɪ/ *Mary*, [ˈkʰɛɜɹ] ↓[-ɛəɹ, ɛəɹ, -əɹ] (almost, but –a gain– not exactly, ‘/Eɪ/’) /ˈkʰɛəɪ/ *care*, [ˈdɔ̯ɔ, -ɔ̯ɹ] ↓[-ɔ̯ɔ, -ɔ̯ɔ, -ɔ̯ɔ] ↓↓[-σɔɹ, -ɔ̯ɹ] (almost, not exactly, ‘/σɔ̯ɪ/’, as in fig 98.4) /ˈdɔ̯ɪ/ *door*, [ˈwɔ̯ɔ, -ɔ̯ɹ] ↓[-ɔ̯ɔ, -ɔ̯ɔ] ↓↓[-ɜɔɔ, -ɜɔɹ] (for this, cf fig 98.4, last vocogram, as well) /ˈwɔ̯ɪ/ *war*.

The other vocograms, in fig 98.3, show further realizations and contexts for vowels and diphthongs. Let us only explicitly notice: [ˈhAɹ, ↓-Aɹ, ↓↓-Aɹ, ↓↓↓-æɹ] /ˈhæɪ/ *high*, [ˈtʰAɹm, ↓-Aɹm, ↓↓-Aɹm, ↓↓↓-æɹm] /ˈtʰæɪm/ *time*.

98.8. Let us now, briefly, consider fig 98.4, which illustrates the broadest possible southern realizations. The most interesting thing, here, is that we find *triphthongs* even for the six ‘short’ monophthongs, in stressed monosyllables. They are placed in the vocograms according to the usual presentation order, but following the criterion of gathering them into a reasonably small number of still readable vocograms, as far as possible for mortals like us (luckily just mortals, nothing more), without renouncing natural-phonetic precision. Of course, for natural phoneticians and their supporters, it is easy enough to ‘discover’ which part of the figure(s) to concentrate on, in turn. As a matter of fact, the phonemes and con-

fig 98.4. The South: still broader variants of vowels & diphthongs.



texts speak for themselves. We just need to be a little patient, while amusing ourselves: great discoveries are at hand, just round the corner (of some vocograms)!

98.9. These triphthongs include (please, notice that the different realizations, shown in our transcriptions, can be given in the vocograms of different figures, throughout all this chapter, to save space): /ɪ/ → ↓ [ɪɪ, ɪə, ɪə], /ɛ(m-n)/ → ↓ [ɛə, ɛə, ɛəm-n], /æ, æ/ → ↓ [ɛə, əɛ, əɛ, əɛ, əɛ, əɛ, əɛ], /ɑ:, ɑ:, ɒ, ɒ/ → ↓ [ɑɑ, ɑɑ], /σ:/ →

↓[xəʊ, ɫɔʊ, ɫoʊ], ↓[αoə, -ɔ], /ɔ:ɪ/ → ↓[ɔoʊ, ɔuʊ], /ɔ/ → ↓[ɫɫɪ, ɫoʊ, ɔoʊ].

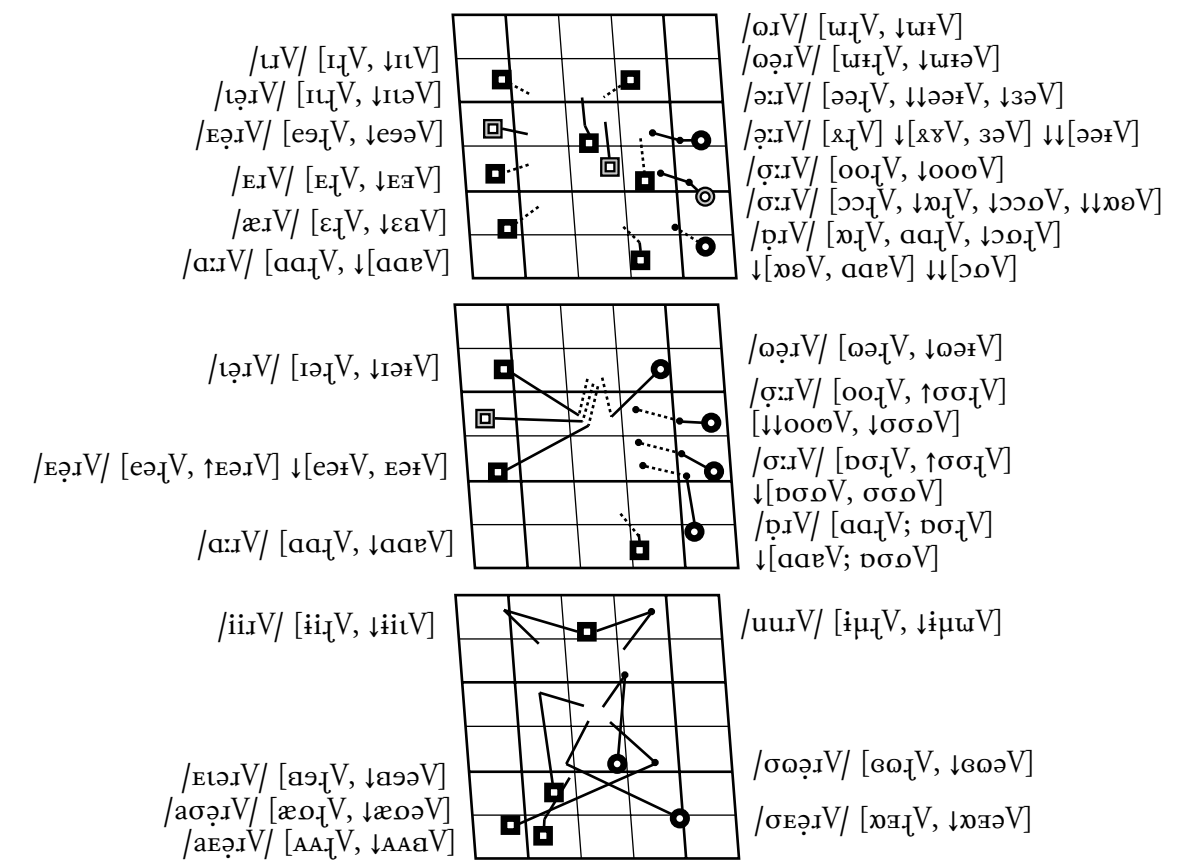
Other triphthongs are for the diphthongs: /ii/ → ↓[ɪi], /eɪ/ → ↓[ɛeɪ, æeɪ], /æəɪ/ → ↓[ʌæ], /ɔɛ/ → ↓[ɫɔɛ, ɔoʊ, əoʊ], /aɔ/ → ↓[æaɔ, əaɔ], /uɪ/ → ↓[ʊɪ]; /ɪə/ → ↓[ɪiə, iə, -ɔ], /eə/ → ↓[ɛeə, ɛə, eɪə, əə, -ɔ], /oə/ → ↓[ʊoə, uoʊ]; and also for: /ɔ:ɪ/ → ↓[ɫɔʊ, ɫə, -ɔ], ↓[αoə, -ɔ] & /ɔ:ɪ/ → ↓[ɔoʊ, ɔoʊ] (just seen above).

98.10. Here are some examples: ↓[ˈbiɪd̥], -ɪəd̥, -ɪəd̥] /ˈbɪd/ *bid*, ↓[ˈwɪɪn, -ɪən, -ɪən] ↓[ˈeən] /ˈwɪn/ *win*, ↓[ˈbeɪd̥], -ɛɛd̥] /ˈbed/ *bed*, ↓[ˈðeən] & /ˈðen/ *then*, ↓[ˈbeɪd̥], -æɛd̥, -æɛd̥, -ɛɛd̥, -ɛɛd̥, -æɛd̥] /ˈbæd/ *bad*, ↓[ˈmæɛn, -æɛn, -æɛn, -ɛɛn, -ɛɛn] /ˈmæn/ *man*, ↓[ˈdʒæɛn, -æɛn] /ˈdʒɔn/ *John*, ↓[ˈsɔʊ, -ɫoʊ, -ɫoʊ] ↓[ˈ-αoʊ] /ˈsɔ:/ *saw*, ↓[ˈɡuɪd̥], -ɫoʊd̥, -ɫoʊd̥] /ˈɡoʊd/ *good*, ↓[ˈbiɪ] /ˈbi:/ *bee*, ↓[ˈdeɪ, -æɪ] /ˈdeɪ/ *day*, ↓[ˈfaɪ] /ˈfaɪ/ *fire*, ↓[ˈbɔɛ, -ɔoʊ] /ˈbɔɛ/ *boy*, ↓[ˈɡɔɛ, -ɔoʊ, -əoʊ] /ˈɡo/ *go*, ↓[ˈkæaɔ, -əaɔ] /ˈkæʊ/ *cow*, ↓[ˈtʰuɪ] /ˈtu:/ *two*, ↓[ˈhiɪ] /ˈhi:/ *hear*, ↓[ˈkæɪ, -ɛɪ] /ˈkæɪ/ *care*, ↓[ˈphɪu, -ɔoʊ, -ɫoʊ] /ˈpɔɪ/ *poor*, ↓[ˈdɔʊ, -ɫoʊ] /ˈdɔ:ɪ/ *door*, ↓[ˈwɔʊ, -ɫoʊ] ↑[ˈ-ɫoʊ] /ˈwɔ:ɪ/ *war*.

98.11. Occasionally (ie not systematically), in the broadest accents, we can find triphthongs (and even tetraphthongs) for /V, V:, VV, Və, VVə, VVə/ + /ɪV/ (as shown in fig 98.5), when /ɪ/ is not realized as a contoid, but as a vocoid (rather than [∅]):

(triphthongs) /ɪV/ → [ɪɪV], /eɪV/ → [ɛeɪV], /æɪV/ → [ɛæɪV], /oɪV/ → [ɫɫɪV];
 (triphthongs or tetraphthongs) /ɔ:ɪV/ → [ɫɔɔV, ɫɫoV, ɫoʊV] [↓ɫɫoV], /ɔ:ɪV/ → [ɫoʊV, ɫoʊV], /əɪV/ → [əəV, ɛəV, ɛəV] [↓əəV], /ə:ɪV/ → [əəV, ɛəV, ɛəV] [↓əəV];

fig 98.5. The South: broadest variants of triphthongs & tetraphthongs for the vocalization of /ɪ/.



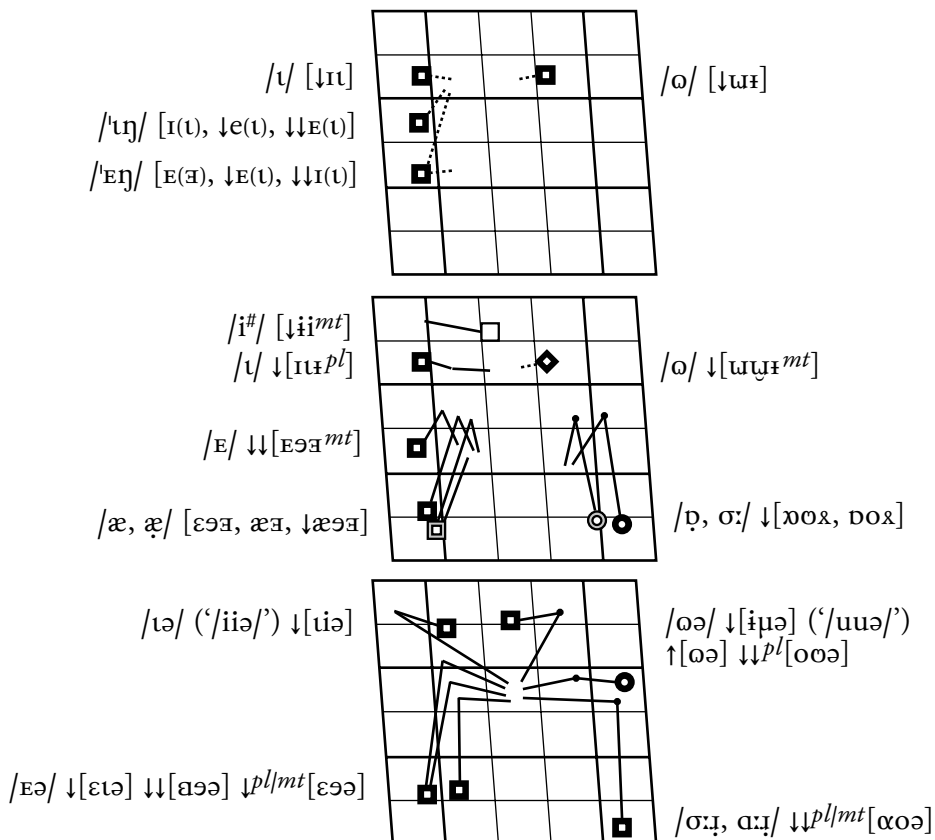
→ ↓[ɤɤV, ɜɜV] [↓ɔɔɤV];
 (tetraphthongs) /ɪɔɪV/ → [↓ɪɪɔV], /ɛɔɪV/ → ↓[ɛɔɔV, ɛɔɪV, ɛɔɤV], /ɑɪV/ → [↓ɑɑɔV], /ɔɔɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔɤV, ɔɔɪV]; /iiɪV/ → [↓iiɪV], /EɪɪV/ → [↓ɛɛɔV], /æɛɪV/ → [↓AAɔV], /σɛɔɪV/ → [↓ɔɔɔV], /ɑσɔɪV/ → [↓æɔɔV], /σσɔɪV/ → [↓θθɔV], /uɪɪV/ → [↓iiɪuV].

Here are some examples: [ˈvɛɪɪ, -ɛɪɪ, ↓-ɛɪɪ] /ˈvɛɪɪ/ *very*, [ˈsɑɪɪ, -ɑɪɪ] ↓[-ɔɔɪ, -ɔσɔɪ, ɑɑɪ] [↓ɔσɔɪ] /ˈsɔɪɪ/ *sorry*, [ˈstɔɔɪɪ] ↓[-ɔσɔɪ, -σσɔɪ] /ˈstɔɪɪ/ *story*, [ˈmɛɜɪɪ] ↓[-ɛɛɪ, -ɛɪɪ, -ɛɔɪ] /ˈmɛɔɪɪ/ *Mary*.

98.12. A note seems necessary, at this point, about not a few treatises, which (using the official IPA notation) resort to such symbols as ‘[y, ʏ, ø]’, for advanced vocoids, or sequences as ‘[ɪjə, ejə/eɪjə/ɛjə/eɪjə, æjə/æɪjə, ɑwə/ɑuwə, ɔuwə/ɔwə, ɔuwə, ɔwə]’, trying to indicate the southern drawl for /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɔ, σɪ, σɪ, ɔ/ (of course, the last but one symbol stands for /σɪɪ, σɪɪ/). It is obvious that *Natural Phonetics* cannot accept such things. Even our own natural-phonetic notation would not be enough without our vocograms. In fact, only with accurate vocograms can one actually do real phonetics (together with orograms, tonograms, and other natural-phono-tonetic diagrams, as needed).

98.13. We now add fig 98.6-7, where additional variants can be found for either further very broad or light variants. They should be inspected very carefully and compared with the preceding figures. You may happen to hear these variants, more

fig 98.6. The South: further variants.



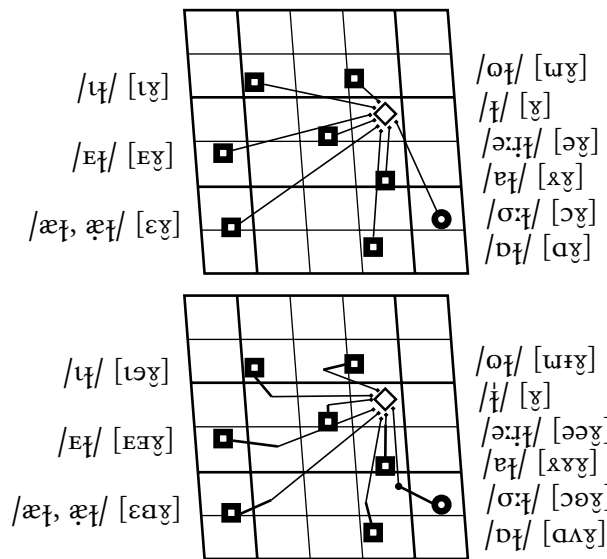
98.14. As we have already said, in the South, we have /ə/ = /ɪ/ ≠ /ə/, so that there is a difference between /ə/ and /ə/ (contrary to International and most American usage, but in accordance with most British usage). These examples are mostly from Wells 1982, § 6.5.10, and adapted to our transcription: *rabbit* /-ɪ/|, but *abbot* /-ə/|; *splendid* /-ɪd/| (-əɔd/|) and *mended* /-ɪd/| (-əɔd/|), but *tendered* /-əɔd/| (-əɔɔd/|); *get 'im* /-ɪm/|, but *get 'em* /-əɔm/|; *roses/Rose'* /-ɪz/| (-əz/|), but *Rosa's* /-əz/|.

For /i, u/, we have [ɪ, ↓ɪ, ↑i; ɔ, ↑ɪ]: [ˈsɪtɪ] /city/, [ɪˈeɪkɪ, ↓ɪɪ-, ↑ɪɪ-] /ɪˈækt/ *react*, [sɪtʃʊˈeɪʃ(ə)n, ↑ɪ-ɪ] /sɪtʃʊˈeɪʃ(ə)n/ *situation*.

The broad accent has /ə/ for final unstressed *-ue*, *-ow* and *-i*: [khwɪnˈtʃɪənjɪɪ, ↓ɪɪ] /kənˈtɪnjʊu/ *continue*, [ˈjɛləɔ, ↓ɪɪ, ↓ɪɪ] /ˈjɛləɔ/ *yellow*, [mɪsɪˈsɪpɪ, ↓ɪɪ, -sɪs-] /mɪsəˈsɪpɪ/ *Mississippi*.

Especially younger speakers may merge /iɪɪ, ɪ; uɪɪ, ɔɪ/: [ˈfiɪɪ, ↓ɪɪɪ] /ˈfiɪɪ/ *feel*, [ˈfiɪɪ, ↓ɪɪɪ] /ˈfiɪɪ/ *fill*, [ˈphɪɪɪ, ↓ɪɪɪ] /ˈpuɪɪ/ *pool*, [ˈphɪɪɪ, ↓ɪɪɪ] /ˈpɔɪɪ/ *pull*. More rarely they happen to merge /eɪɪ, ɛɪ; ɔɪɪ, ɔɪ, ɔɪɪ/: [ˈfeɪɪɪ, ↓ɪɪɪ] /ˈfeɪɪɪ/ *fail*, [ˈfeɪɪɪ, ↓ɪɪɪ] /ˈfeɪɪɪ/ *fail*.

fig 98.8. The South: broad vocalization of /ɪ/, with six short and two long monophthongs (corresponding to those in fig 98.1), producing either diphthongs or triphthongs (actually, different from any others).



/ˈfeɪɪ/ *fell*, [ˈfɔɪɪ] ↓[-ɔɪɪ, -ɔɪɪ] /ˈfɔɪɪ/ *foal*, [ˈfɔɪɪ] ↓[-ɔɪɪ, -ɔɪɪ] /ˈfɔɪɪ/ *fall*, [ˈfɔɪɪ] ↓[-ɔɪɪ, -ɔɪɪ] /ˈfɔɪɪ/ *foil*. Other merged variants are also possible.

98.15. As for the *consonants*, the typical accent presents [h, hw, ↑w] /w/: [ˈhʌwə, ˈhw-, ↑w-] & [ˈwəɪ] /why/; [nɪ, ↓n, ↑n; tɪ, ↓t, ↑t; dɪ, ↓d, ↑d] /j/: [ˈnɪɪ, ↓nɪ-, ↑nɪ-] & [ˈnɪɪ] /new/, [ˈtɪɪɪ, ↓tɪɪ-, ↑tɪɪ-] & [ˈtɪɪɪ] /tube/, [ˈdɪɪɪ, ↓dɪɪ-, ↑dɪɪ-] & [ˈdɪɪɪ] /due/; [hɪ, tɪ] /hj/: [ˈhɪɪɪ, ↑ɪɪ-] & [ˈhɪɪɪ] /huge/.

But, the most typical feature, for the South, is its *non-rhoticity*, although, nowadays, lighter accents are rhotic, even though not systematically, in general. However, it is better to consider typical southern –and rural (& older)– accents as non-rhotic, but less typical –and urban (& younger)– as rhotic.

Thus, a ‘typical’ non-rhotic accent is supposed to have [ɪV∅] /ɪVɪ/: [ɪˈɛɪ] & [ˈɛɪ] /rare; while a rhotic accent has [ɪVɪ] (or [ɪVɪ]); and, sometimes, [ɪVɪ], as a

compromise for neo-rhotic speakers) /ɪVɪ/: [ɪɛəɪ, -ɪ, ɪ̣-]. In addition, the typical accent has no ‘linking-*r*’, except if introduced on purpose: [fɑɹɹ (r)wɹwɹɪ] &c /fɑ:ɪ əwɹeɪ/ *far away*. Of course, ‘intrusive-*r*’ is not used at all: [sɔəɪ] &c /sɔ:ɪ/ *saw it*. On the contrary, in a very broad accent, we can find ‘intrusive-*l*’: [sɔəɪ, ↓↓sɔəɪɪ] &c /sɔ:ɪ/ *saw it*.

98.16. We also have [ɪVɪ, ↓V-, ↓↓V-, -Vɪ, ↑Vɪ] /ɪVɪ/: [ɪəɪ, ↓ɪ̣-, ↓↓ɪ̣-] &c /lɪli/ *lily*, [ɛəɪ] &c /æɪ/ *Al*, [kʰɹɹɪ] &c /kʰɹɹɪ/ *cult*.

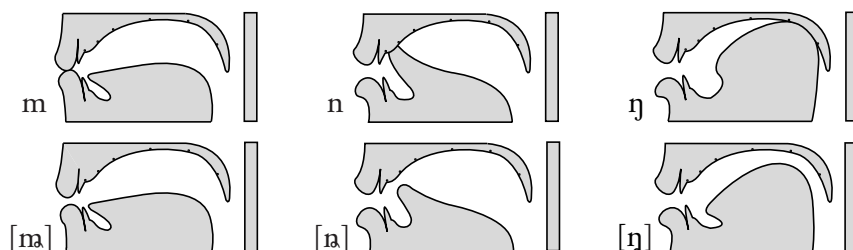
We often happen to read in ‘scientific’ works that the sequences formed by /Vɪ/ + /m, p, b; f, v/ become exactly like simple /V/ + /m, p, b; f, v/. However, this is another hearing (and analyzing) problem, generally caused by personal and transcriptional unskillfulness. When you do not have a sufficient number of phones (and respective symbols) –ie when you are hooked just on the official IPA, for instance– you do not even have hopes of clearly hearing the difference between close and similar, but different, phones.

In fact, as fig 98.8 shows, the possible broad ‘vocalization’ of /ɪ/ does not exactly correspond to any of the various typical diphthong taxophones of the different vowel phonemes that we have seen in fig 98.1-7. Not even in the accent shown in the last vocogram of fig 98.7, with [Və(ɪ), V:(ɪ)] /Vəɪ, V:ɪ/ (also if [(ɪ) → ∅], in non-rhotic accents). Thus, it would be quite ill-advised to say, for instance, that [hɛɹp, ↓hɛɹp, ↓↓hɛɹp] /hɛɹp/ *help* can become homophonous with [hɛəp] /hɛəp/ *hep*, in spite of any kind of possible drawling.

98.17. In broader accents, we can find ↓↓[t, d] ↓[t, d] [tθ, dð] /θ, ð/: [ðɪsθɪŋ, dðɪs'tθ-, ↓dɪs't-, ↓↓dɪs't-, -ɪŋ, ↓-ɪŋ, ↓↓-ɪŋ] /ðɪs'tθɪŋ/ *this thing*, and [↓sɪ, ↓sɪ] /sɪ/: [ʃɹɹɪb, ↓sɪ-, ↓↓sɪ-] /ʃɹɹɪb/ *shrub*.

Again in broader accents, we have the typical and widespread nasalization of [ṼN] /VN#, VNC, VN#/, including the use of semi-nasal contoids [ṼN] (ie with no actual contact with any part of the palate, as in [m̃, ñ, ŋ̃], cf fig 98.9): [kʰɑɹnsʃənʃ, 'kʰɑ̃ɹnsʃənʃ, 'kʰɑ̃ɹnsʃənʃ] /kʰɹnsʃənʃ/ *constant*, [kʰɛmpɪŋ, 'kʰɛ̃mpɪŋ, 'kʰɛ̃mpɪŋ] /kʰæmpɪŋ/ *camping*. These are, often, unwisely described (and transcribed) as

fig 98.9. The South: some nasal and seminasal articulations.



actual pure nasalized vocoids –à la française– with no nasal contoid, especially before voiceless contoids: [kʰɑ̃sʃənʃ, 'kʰɛ̃pɪŋ].

98.18. Let us end by indicating four typical southern pronunciations and some frequent stress displacements. We just give phonemic transcriptions, independently

of any possible realizations: *on* /⁽⁰⁾ɒn/ is /σ:n/, *going to* ('going-to, gonna') is /⁽⁰⁾gσ:n/ and non-rhotic /⁽⁰⁾gɔ:ɪn/: [-m'b-] *going to be*, [-n'd-] *going to do*, [-ŋ'g-] *going to go*; *can't* is /'kænt/, and *thing* is /'θɪŋ/, but with the frequent, though stigmatized, pronunciation given first, here: [ɹθɪŋ, θɪŋ, -ɪŋ] (fig 98.6). It seems right to say that, transcribing them with 'ou, ei' ie /⁽⁰⁾σɔn, ⁽⁰⁾gσɔn, 'kɛɪnt, 'θɛɪŋ/, is not fully correct (even if their realizations might seem to correspond to neutral /σɔ, ɛɪ/), with [ɹkheɪnt] (fig 98.3). However, this might be acceptable for the Black-American accent (cf § 106.8).

Besides, in the South, the grammeme *-ing* is [iŋ, ɪn, ɪn, ɪ] /ɪŋ/, very frequently, and not really stigmatized: [fɪʃiŋ, -ɪn, -ɪn, -ɪ] /'fɪʃɪŋ/ *fishing*.

Very often, the following words can be stressed on their first syllable: [ˈɛɑftəˌniːm] /æftəˌnuːn/ *afternoon*, [ˈdɪfɛns] /dɪˌfɛns/ *defense*, [ˈdɪtɹɪt] /dɪˌtɹɪt/ *Detroit*, [ˈɪvɛnt] /ɪˌvɛnt/ *event*, [ˈhɒtɛl] /hɒtɛl/ *hotel*, [ˈɪnʃʊərəns, -ʃʊɹ-] /ɪnˈʃʊərəns/ *insurance*, [ˈmɒnɹɔː] &c /mənˈɹɔː, mɒn-, mɒn-/ *Monroe*, [ˈpɒlɪs, -ɪs] /pəˈlɪs/ *police*, [ˈʌmbrɛlə] &c /ɛmˈbrɛlə/ *umbrella*.

106. Black-American English (not only in the South)

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106.1. We conclude this first part on southern accents, with a very important one, which is certainly not limited to either the geographical or linguistic South. As a matter of fact, this ‘racial’ accent is rather uniform, wherever Black people are (although there may be slight mixtures with some local elements, as for instance in New York, Chicago or Los Angeles, &c). This considerable uniformity is mostly derived from strong grouping and isolation from the outside world. And often the American society still expects that, in general, Black people speak just like Black people, even when their language is grammatically and lexically ‘correct’. Thus, the higher socially and professionally some Black people rise, they are expected to use language more properly. However, they *should* still sound Black. Besides, they often *want* to sound Black.

Of course, this does not mean that there is anything –biologically or racially– that prevents Black people from being able to pronounce English as White people do. This is true even for the typical kind of ‘Black –or African– voice’ that we will illustrate below (cf § 106.2). In fact, either Black actors can get rid of any trace of Black pronunciation, again including the paraphonic characteristic of the Black voice; or White actors can acquire all these peculiarities, on purpose. On the phone, either Black or White *trained* speakers can manage to be passed for someone belonging to the other group. Certainly, Barack Obama or many black university teachers can show no trace of Black speech or voice, at all.

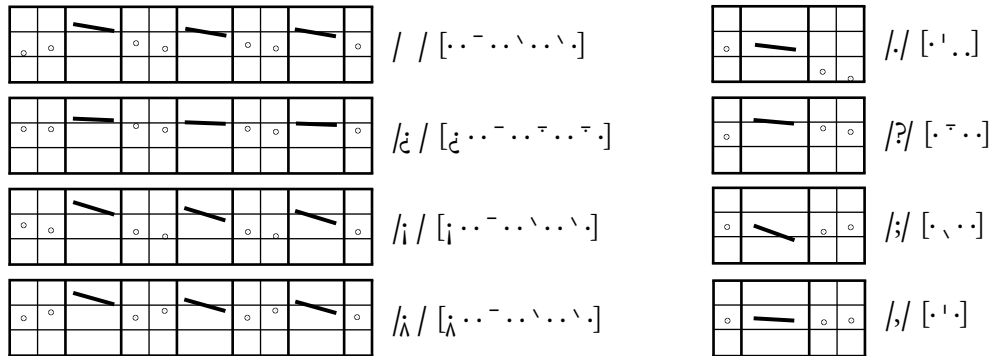
fig 106.1. Black-American voice: paraphonic tonality structure ⟨♠⟩.



106.2. Let us now consider the nature of the *Black-American voice*. Basically, it is the same also for Black-Caribbean people, and –indeed– for truly Black-African people, whether they speak English or not, especially in Western and Eastern Africa. As fig 106.1 shows, tonetically there is an expansion of the middle band and compression of the other two bands ⟨♠⟩. In addition (cf fig 106.2), there is general intermediate voicing (or whispery voice, with greater air emission ⟨∞⟩), and the use of falsetto ⟨*⟩ associated with interrogative intonemes or with emphatic preintonemes. Here are two short examples: ⟨♠ ∞ * [ɛ̃(d)jə̃wɔ̃sɒn səm̃wɑ̃ɑ̃ɪɪ̃*]⟩ / ɛ̃(d)jə̃-

three marked preintonemes of the typical accent, that we have obtained from various recordings. It may be interesting to observe the protonic syllables (ie stressed syllables of the four preintonemes).

fig 106.4. Black-American English: complete tonograms.



106.3. Passing, now, to the vowel system of a typical Black-American accent (again in fig 106.3), it is apparent that it is based on that of the typical (white) southern accent, with [ɔσ] /σ:, σ:, ɒ/, [aa] /ɒ/, [αα] /α:, α:/, [ɔσɪV] /σ:ɪV/, [ooɪV] /σ:ɪV/: [sɔσ] /'sɔ:/ *saw*, [ɔσɪɹ] /'σ:ɪɹə/ *alter*, [sɔσɪŋ] /'sɔŋ/ *song*, [hɑɑt] /'hɒt/ *hot*, [spɑɑ] /'spɑ:/ *spa*, [pħɑɑstɹ] /'pɑ:stə/ *pasta*, [wɔσɪɹ] /'wɔ:ɪɹə/ *warrier*, [stɔoɪ] /'stɔ:ɪ/ *story*, [mɔσɪnɪŋ] /'mɔ:ɪnɪŋ/ *morning*, [moonɪn] /'mɔ:ɪnɪŋ/ *mourning*, [pħuɹ, -ɔɹ, -oɔ] /'pɒə/ *poor*.

The crucial differences lie in the phonemic diphthongs, which are extremely narrow, [ii, ɪɪ, ɪɪ̆, ɪɪ̆] /ii/, [eɪ, eə̆] /eɪ/, [AA(ɪ), ɪaaɪ, AɪC̆] /aɪ/, [aa] /aɛə̆/, [aə(ɪ), ɪaaɪ] /aɔ/, [aa] /aɔə̆/, [σɪ, σɜ̆, ɪσɔ̆] /σɛ/, [ou, oŏ] /σɒ/, [uu, uɪ, uɪ̆, ɪŭ] /uu/: [tħiɪ] /tħii/ *tea*, [fɪɪlɪn, -ɪ] /fiiɪŋ/ *feeling*, [fɪɪ̆, ɪfɪ̆] /fiĭ/ *feel*, [dɛɪ] /dɛɪ/ *day*, [veə̆] /veɪ̆/ *vale*, [hAA] /hæ/ *high*, [nAAɪ] /næɪ/ *night*, [hɑɑ, ɪhɑɹ] /hæə̆/ *higher*, [kħɑə] /kɑɔ/ *cow*, [tħɑɑ, ɪtħɑwɹ] /tɑə̆/ *tower*, [bɔɹ] /bɔɛ/ *boy*, [bɔɜ̆] /bɔɛ̆/ *boil*, [gɔɪ] /gɔɔ/ *go*, [gɔŏ] /gɔɔ̆/ *goal*, [tħuɪ] /tħuu/ *two*, [fɪŭ, ɪfɪ̆] /fuŭ/ *fool* (possibly merged with [fɪ̆] /fɪ̆/ *fill*, [fɪ̆] /fɪ̆/ *full*).

In the broad accent, also the other diphthongs + /ə/ change into [Vjɹ, Vwɹ]: [ɪ'siɹjɹ] /'siɪə̆/ *seer*, [pħleɹjɹ] /'plɛɪə̆/ *player*, [ɪm'pħlɔjɹ] /ɪm'plɔɛə̆/ *employer*, [gɔwɹ] /gɔɔə̆/ *goer*, [tħɑwɹ] /tɑə̆/ *tower*, [dɪwɹ] /dɪuuə̆/ *doer*.

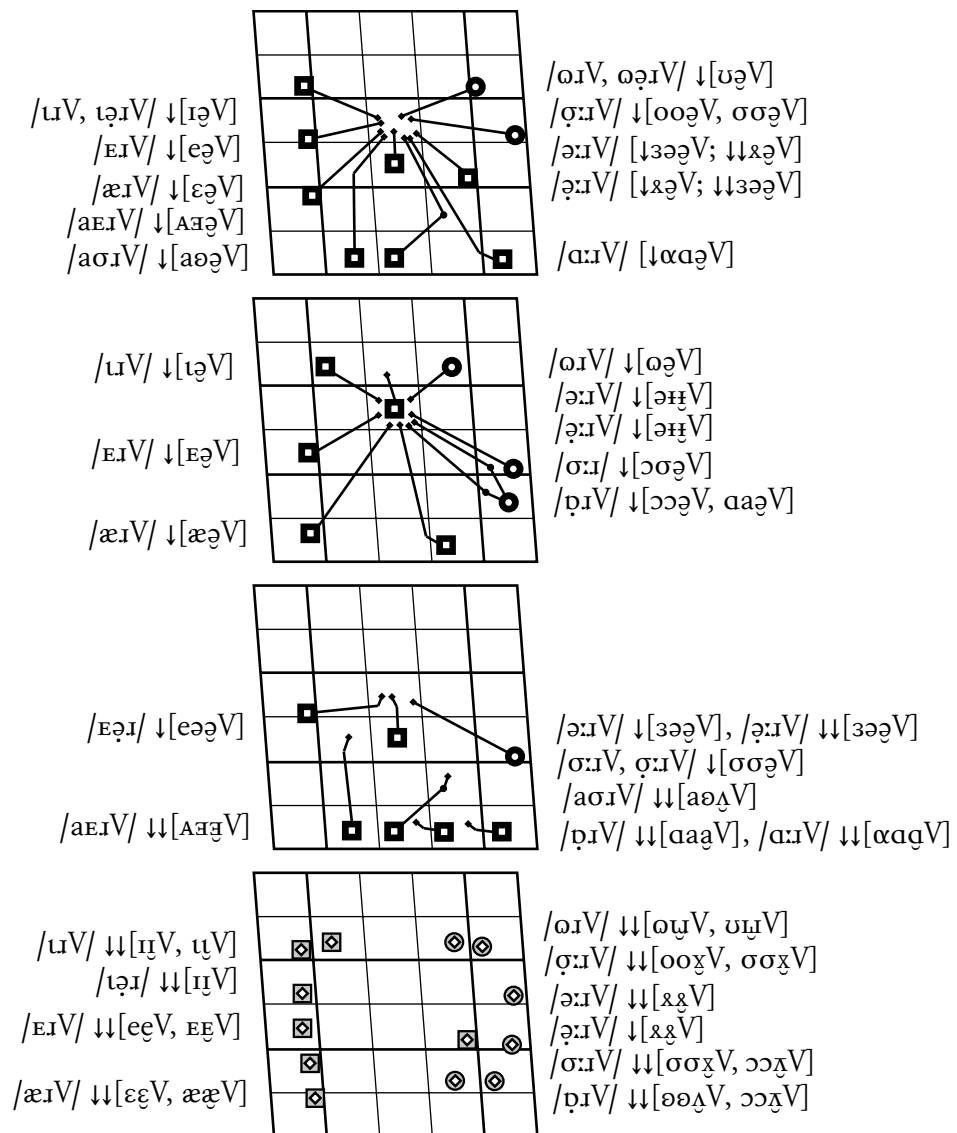
For the *pin* and *pen* kind of context (/ɪ, e/ + /m, n/), we typically have a merged realization (but with possible variants, cf fig 106.6): [pħəɹn, ɪ-ɪn] /'pɪn/ *pin*, [pħəɹn, ɪ-ɛn, ɪ-ɪn] /'pɛn/ *pen*. For /ɪŋ, æŋ/ we find: [tħɪŋ, ɪ-ɛŋ, ɪ-ɛŋ] (slightly different from /eɪ/ [eɪ, ɪeɪ, ɪeɪ]) /tħɪŋ/ *thing*, [sɛɹŋ, ɪ-æŋ, ɪ-ɛŋ] /sæŋ/ *sang*. The readers are invited to continue the comparison between fig 106.3 & fig 106.6, and –at least– with the International and American accents (cf Ch 3-6 & Ch 10).

106.4. Of course, the typical Black accent is non-rhotic (in spite of mixed usages with frequent oscillations): [ɹɛɹ, ɪ-ɛɹ, ɪ-ɛɹ, ɪ-ɛɹ] /'ɹɛə̆/ *rare*, [ɹɔɹ, -oo-] /'ɹɔ:ɹə̆/ *roarer*, [kħɑɑ] /'kɑ:ɹ/ *car*, [kħɑɑt] /'kɑ:ɹt/ *cart*, [mɜ̆, ɪmɜ̆] /'mɜ:ɹə̆/ *murder*. There is no 'linking-r' (and, of course, no 'intrusive-r', as well), typically even in [fə(ɹ)ɛvɹ, foo-] /fəɹɛvə̆/ *forever*.

As in broad White southern accents, also in broad Black accents we do find ‘r-vocalization’ in intervocalic position. Actually, in Black accents, it is even more widespread (though not general and systematic), especially in quick spontaneous speech. With the help of fig 106.5, we will examine closely this phenomenon.

There is an important difference between the White southern ‘r-vocalization’ (cf fig 98.5) and the Black (not-only-southern) ‘r-vocalization’ (cf fig 106.5). The White type changes /ɪ/ into a slight centralization of the vocoid under consideration, as we have seen. On the contrary, the Black type exhibits half-rounding of the relevant unrounded vocoid that replaces /ɪ/, or half-unrounding of the rounded vocoid, as we will see in a while. A lighter variant uses a half-rounded *schwa* [ə], instead, which is an in-between realization compromise.

fig 106.5. Black-American English: vocalization of /ɪ/ in intervocalic position.

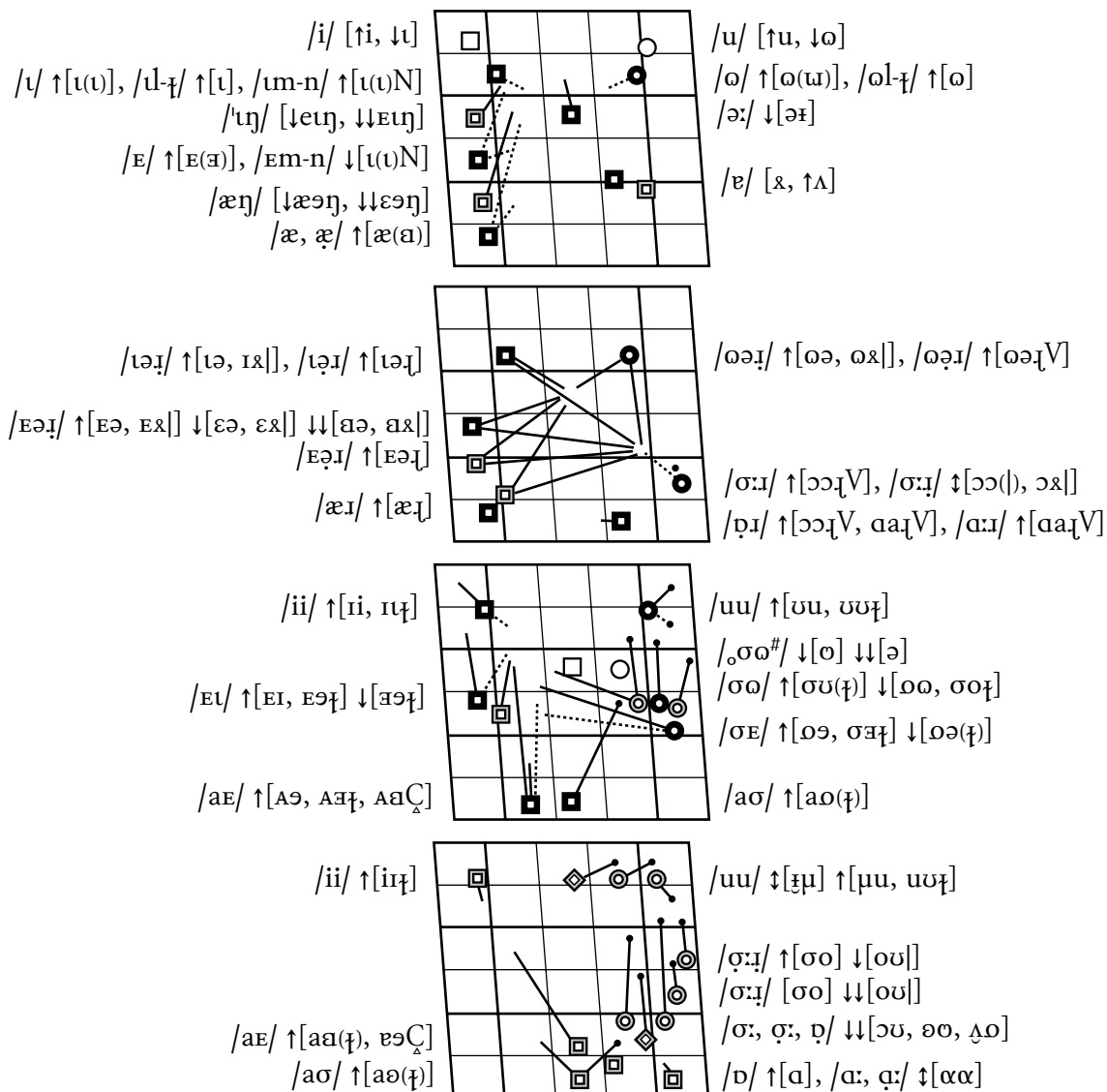


106.5. It is not easy to show on a vocogram two vocoids placed exactly on the same spot, but with slightly differing lip positions. So we had to resort to some

new special empty signals, according to their initial articulation, ie unrounded or rounded. In their center, we place a smaller signal apt to indicate the succeeding half-rounded lip positions (cf fig 106.5, last vocogram).

First, we can see three vocograms based on those of fig 106.3 (but including some of the variants given in fig 106.6, too), where we have triphthongs and tetraphthongs resulting from 'r-vocalization' by means of half-rounded vocoids, mostly [ə], but also [ɜ̄, ɝ̄, ʌ̄, ɔ̄, ɔ̄] (which occur in the last-but-one position). The fourth vocogram shows, by means of the new signals, further triphthongs and tetraphthongs, where the last-but-one element is the half-rounded version of the preceding one, whether rounded or not. Here are some examples (the readers will complete the whole inventory at will; all they need is in the vocograms): [ˈmɪɹ̄ɔ̄] ↓[ˈmɪəɔ̄, ˈmɪəɔ̄] /ˈmɪɹ̄ɔ̄/ *mirror*, [ˈhɪəɹ̄ɪŋ] ↓[ˈhɪəɪŋ, ˈhɪ-] /ˈhɪəɹ̄ɪŋ/ *hearing*, [ˈveɹ̄ɪ, ˈveɹ̄ɪ] ↓[ˈveɪɪ, ˈveɪɪ] /ˈveɹ̄ɪ/ *very*, [ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄ɹ̄ɪ, ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄-, ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄-] ↓[ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄əɪ, ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄əɪ] ↓↓[ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄əɪ, ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄ɹ̄ɪ] /ˈsɔ̄ɔ̄ɹ̄ɪ/ *sorry*, [ˈstɹ̄ɑ̄ɹ̄ɪ, ˈstɹ̄ɑ̄ɹ̄ɪ] [↓-ɑ̄ɑ̄əɪ, ↓↓-ɑ̄ɑ̄əɪ] /ˈstɹ̄ɑ̄ɹ̄ɪ/ *starry*. These half-round-

fig 106.6. Black-American English: variants of vowels and diphthongs.



ed vocoids, that replace the consonant /ɹ/, can be a little shortened, as for instance [ə], but they never become [∅] (a complete zero phone).

106.6. Of course, also Black-American pronunciation has some variants, both milder –for the most part– but even broader. They are shown in fig 106.6, which should be inspected with close attention. For instance, let us look at the second and fourth vocograms (fig 106.6 & the second in fig 106.3) and let us consider the possible variants of [ˈwɔːs, ˈwɔːs, ˈwɔːs] ↓[ˈwɔːs, ˈwɔːs] /ˈwɔːs/ *war*, [ˈdɔːr, -ɔːr, ˈ-ɔːr, ˈ-ɔːr] /ˈdɔːr/ *door*, [ˈsɔːs, ˈsɔːs, -ɔːs, -ɔːs] /ˈsɔːs/ *saw*. It is possible to establish degrees of preference between various realizations, also thanks to the use of our different arrows (both in shape and in number). Besides, it is easy enough to precisely compare their exact realizations, in spite of so many rather narrow diphthongs.

In our vocograms, they are all different from one another, except [↓ou] for /ɔːr/ (*door*) and –in a less typical, but quite broad and stigmatized, accent– [↓↓ou] for /ɔːr/ (*war*).

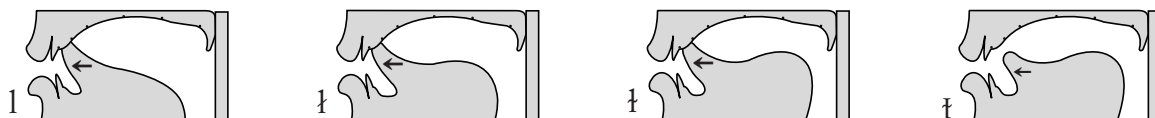
Let us consider, now, the possible realizations of /so/ (as in [ˈsɔːs, ˈsɔːs, ˈsɔːs] /ˈsɔːs/ *so*, not followed by /r/). Well, the most typical one, [ou], coincides, in its transcription, with that just seen for marked /ɔːr, ɔːr/. Generally, they do not occur in the speech of one and the same speaker, due to sociophonic characteristics. However, if we thoroughly examine the exact position –in the vocograms– of /so/ [oːuː] and /ɔːr/, ↓↓ɔːr/ [oːuː], we are able to find some slight differences, which can be important.

106.7. As for the *consonants*, let us talk at once about the reported presumed dropping of /r/. As a matter of fact, what does happen is that /r/ is realized as a semi-lateral contoid, with no contact with any part of the roof of the mouth (cf fig 106.7). We can see ‘normal’ alveolar [l], semi-velarized alveolar [ɫ], velarized alveolar [ɭ], and ‘alveolar velarized’ semi-lateral [ɭ̥], which can be intense (or ‘syllabic’, as well, [ɭ̥], even after vowels, so that the term *intense* is definitely more appropriate than ‘syllabic’).

It is true that [ɭ̥] may sound like a kind of vocoid to untrained listeners, rather than what it actually is: a semilateral (re)sonant contoid. It may sound to them as if it were the typical half-rounded vocoid we found in the White southern accent ([ɤ], cf fig 98.8). Actually, it is less remarkable than that. That must be why so many linguists report that it drops completely, in certain contexts, or that it changes into [ə].

Here are some examples: [ˈlɪlɪ] /ˈlɪlɪ/ *lily*, [ˈhɛɹp, ˈhɛɹp] /ˈhɛɹp/ *help*, [ˈwɔːɹ, ˈwɔːɹ] /ˈwɔːr/ *wall*, [ˈkʰɹɹ, ˈkʰɹɹ] /ˈkʰɹɹ/ *cult*, [ˈlɪɹ, ˈlɪɹ] /ˈlɪɹ/ *little* (as can be seen from the examples and in the notation of the vocograms), /r/ often becomes intense [ɭ̥], as we have already said.

fig 106.7. Three lateral and one semi-lateral articulations.



106.8. There is nothing to add for /ɪ, ɪ/ (cf § 106.4), apart that even some Blacks, with a less typical pronunciation, more and more frequently, do pronounce [ɪVɪ] – or [ɪVɪ], with a semi-approximant for /ɪ/.

A well-known fact is that the typical Black accent tends to have [tVfVf, dVvVv] /θ, ð/ ([tθ, dð] are also possible, and quite often *nothing* is [ˈnʌʔn]): [ˈtɪŋk, ↓-eɪŋk, ↓↓-eɪŋk] /θɪŋk/ *think*, [ˈnʌfɪn] /ˈnʌθɪŋ/ *nothing*, [ˈphɛəf] /ˈpæθ/ *path*, [ˈdiːz] /ˈðiːz/ *these*, [dəˈbrʌvɜː] /ðəˈbrʌðə/ *the brother*, [ˈwɪɪv, ɔwɪv] /ˈwɪð/ *with*.

In the broad accent, /ʃɪ/ generally becomes /ʃskɪ/: [ˈskɪiɪt, -iiɪ] /ˈstɪiɪt/ *street*. Final consonant clusters as /Cɪ#, Cɪ#/ typically lose the final element (not only before consonants): [ˈwɑs] /ˈwɒsp/ *wasp*, [ˈphoʊs] /ˈpɒsɔs/ *post*, [ˈdeəs] /ˈdesk/ *desk*, [ˈsɒsɪ] /ˈsɒft/ *soft*, [ˈɪeɪz] /ˈɪeɪzɪd/ *raised*, [ˈmʊvɪ] /ˈmʊvɪd/ *moved*, [ˈfʌɪn] /ˈfaɪnd/ *find*, [ˈoʊl] /ˈoʊld/ *old*, [ˈeɪp] /ˈæp/ *apt*, [ˈfækt] /ˈfækt/ *fact*.

Often, we have [tʃ, dʒ; ʃ, ʒ] /tʃ, dʒ; ʃ, ʒ/. A very broad, but now very rare, pronunciation, typical of some older speakers, has [oʊtʃ] /sɒtʃ, ɔːtʃ/ (not shown in any of our vocograms, but easy to draw), in such words as *coach, roach, porch*.

For final unstressed *-o(w)*, we have [oʊ, ɪsɔ, ↓o, ↓↓ə, ↓↓↓ə]. Other characteristics are more or less the same as in other kinds of non-neutral pronunciation. The nasalization of vowels in contact with nasal consonants is widespread in this accent, too, with following semi-nasal contoids (cf fig 98.9).

The phrase *going to* ('going-to, gonna') is typically /⁽⁰⁾gɔːɪn/ [oə], and /⁽⁰⁾gɔwɪn/ [oʊ] &c, with actual /sɔ/ (both are different from *gone* /⁽⁰⁾gɒn/), and with normal assimilation: [-mˈb-] *going to be*, [-nˈd-] *going to do*, [-ŋˈg-] *going to go*.

In this accent, also *can't* and *ain't* can actually have [eɪn] /ɛɪn/, besides other realizations, [ɪ, eɪ, eə, əə, ɛɛ], which can be interpreted as /ɛn/.

106.9. As it happens in the typical southern accent, generally, unstressed syllables are more reduced than normal, either by losing vowels ^{or} consonants, or reducing vowels to [V]: [ˈkɒmfəɪtəbəl] /ˈkɒmfəɪtəbəl/ *comfortable*, [ˈdɪfərəns] /ˈdɪf(ɛ)ɪəns/ *difference*, [ˈdʒɛnəlɪ] /ˈdʒɛn(ə)ɪli/ *generally*, [ˈmɪzəbəl] /ˈmɪz(ə)ɪəbəl/ *miserable*, [ˈɹɛɡlɪ] /ˈɹɛɡjələ/ *regular*, [ˈsæɪdɪ] /ˈsæɪdɪ, -ɛɪ/ *Saturday*.