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English Pronunciation & Accents

Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

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4. The native-like accent of International English

4.1. There is even a more *native-like* ‘International’ kind of English pronunciation: *ni*. Of course, by definition, it presents some taxophones, as neutral American or British pronunciations do, as we will see soon.

Six further symbols are needed, thus, for this more authentic accent: [ɪ, ə, ɛ, ʌ, ʊ, ɔ]. Let us begin with the taxophone [ʊ] of /ə/ in contact with velar or velarized consonants ([k, g, ŋ; w, ɹ, ɻ, ʒ, ʃ], also [ʒ], and [ʒ, ʒ, ʒ], but not [ɹ]). This taxophone occurs with a simple /ə/ not preceded by a vowel forming a phonemic diphthong or triphthong. On the contrary, [ʊ] does occur for /ə/ after a prefix, as in *rearrange* /riiə-ˈɹɛɪnɔŋz/ *ni*/a[riiʊˈɹɛɪnɔŋz] b[riiəˈɹɪ-]), unless the sequence /iiə/ becomes the diphthong /iə/: *ni*/a[riəˈɹɛɪnɔŋz] b[riəˈɹɪ-]. However, [ʊ] is not necessary in simplified International English.

Besides, for V + /ɹ/, their ‘normal’ timbres are –conveniently– slightly modified (cf fig 4, part 2), even if the retraction for /ɹ, ɛɹ, æɹ, ɔɹ/ does not bring them out of their boxes in the vocogram: [ɹ, ɛɹ, æɹ, ɔɹ]; however, /ɛɹ/ does trespass on the box of [ʌ] (: [ʌɹ] from [ɛɹ]). Here we indicate this International native-like pronunciation of English with *ni*:

luck /lɛk/ *ni*/b[lɛk] a[lʌk]
lull /lɛɹ/ *ni*/[lʌɹ] a[lʌɹ] b[lʌɹ].

4.2. In addition, the diphthongs become more similar to actual (neutral) American ^{or} British English. Thus, /aɛ, ɔɛ; aɔ/ have less peripheral second elements: [aə, ɔə, aɔ], instead of their simplified versions, [aɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ] (which, however, are not at all too far-fetched).

Before /ɹ/ (and before /ɹ/ as well), the second elements of /ɛɹ, aɛ, ɔɛ/, instead of remaining unchanged –as in the simplified version, [ɛɹ, aɛ, ɔɛ]– are slightly changed. The latter two become [aɛ, ɔɛ] (while ‘normal’ /ɛɹ/ becomes [ɛɹ], with [ɛɹ] + /ɹ, ɹ/):

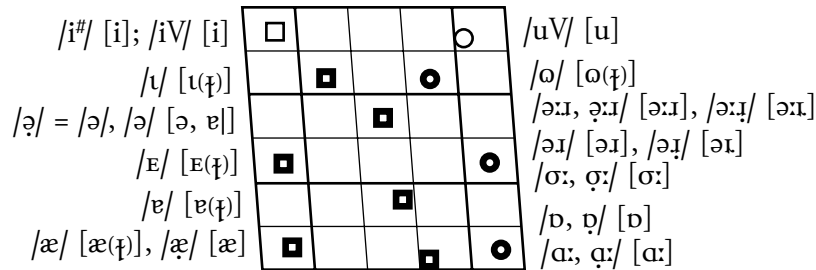
way /ˈweɪ/ *ni*/a/b[ˈweɪ]
wale /ˈweɪɹ/ *ni*/[ˈweɪɹ] a/b[ˈweɪɹ]
die /ˈdɪaɛ/ *ni*/a/b[ˈdɪaə]
dial /ˈdɪaɛɹ/ *ni*/[ˈdɪaɛɹ] a/b[ˈdɪaɛɹ]
boy /ˈbɔɛ/ *ni*/a/b[ˈbɔə]
boil /ˈbɔɛɹ/ *ni*/[ˈbɔɛɹ] a/b[ˈbɔɛɹ].

4.3. But, most of all, the two high diphthongs –both front and back, /ii, uu/– have their ‘native-like’ normal taxophones [iɪ, uʊ], which are practically inverted before /ʔ, ʔ̣/:

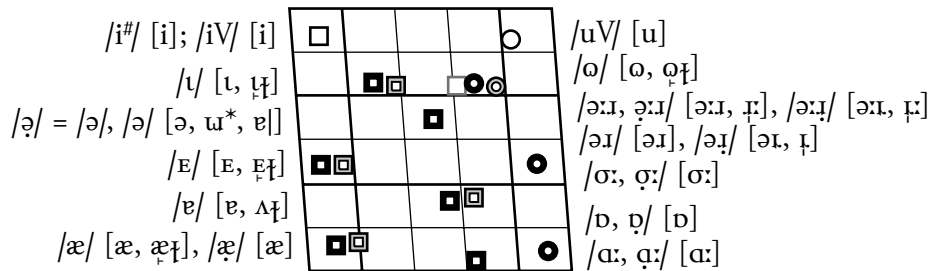
sea /'sii/ *ni*|a|b['sri]
seal /'siiʔ/ *ni*['sriʔ, 'siriʔ] a|b['siriʔ, 'siriʔ]
two /'tʃuu/ *ni*|a|b['tʃuʊ] b['tʃuʊ]
tool /'tʃuuʔ/ *ni*['tʃuʊʔ, 'tʃuʊʔ] a|b['tʃuʊʔ, 'tʃuʊʔ].

fig 4. A comparison between plain (i) and ‘native-like’ (ni) International English.

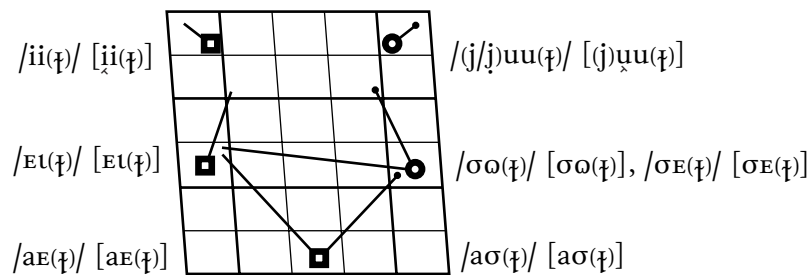
1. Simplified international V



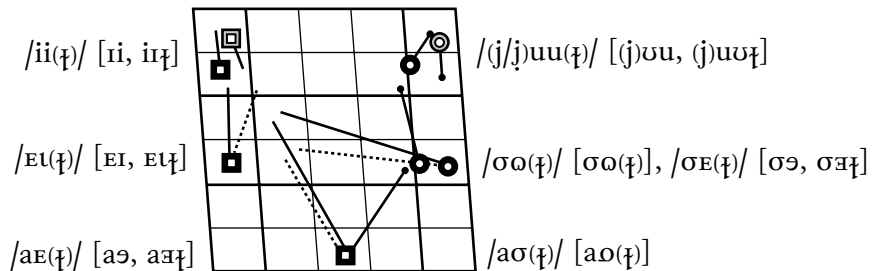
2. Native-like international V



3. Simplified international VV



4. Native-like international VV



4.4. However, of course, as we have already said, the plain ‘International’ pronunciation is not an artificial one, when compared with patently ‘foreign’ kinds of pronunciation, which are decidedly much less suitable; actually, pronunciations such as the following are not fitting at all:

way, wale, die, dial, boy, boil, sea, seal, too, tool *['wei/'wɛi, 'weil/'wɛil; 'dai, 'dail; 'boi/'bɔi, 'boil/'bɔil; 'si, 'sil; 'tu/'tʃu, 'tul/'tʃul] (among the many possible ones).

4.5. For /ə:ɪ, əɪ/, native-like International English can have either [ə:ɪ, əɪ] or [ɛ:, ɛ]:

fur /'fə:ɪ/ *ni* ['fə:ɪ, 'fɛ:] *a* ['fɛ:] *b* ['fɛ:]
letter /'lɛtə:ɪ/ *ni* ['lɛt-ɛ, -ɛɪ, -wɪ] *a* ['lɛɪ-ɛ] *b* ['lɛɪ-ɛ]
here /'hɪə:ɪ/ *ni* ['hɪɛ, 'hɪwɪ] *a* ['hɪɛ] *b* ['hɪɛ]
there /'ðɛə:ɪ/ *ni* ['ðɛɛ, 'ðɛwɪ] *a* ['ðɛɛ] *b* ['ðɛɛ]
cure /'kjʊə:ɪ/ *ni* ['kɪhɔwɪ, 'kɪhɔɛ] *a* ['kɪhɔɛ] *b* ['kɪhɔɛ].

4.6. When /ə:ɪ, əɪ, əɪ/ are followed by a vowel, in the same or in a different rhythm group, we have [ə:ɪ, ə:ɪ, wɪ] or [ɛ:, ɛ:, ɛ], respectively:

furry /'fə:ɪi/ *ni* ['fə:ɪi, 'fɛɪi] *a* ['fɛɪi] *b* ['fɛɪi]
hurry /'hə:ɪi/ *ni* ['hə:ɪi, 'hɛɪi] *a* ['hɛɪi] *b* ['hɛɪi]
stir it /'stɪə:ɪt/ *ni* ['stɪə:ɪt, 'stɪɛɪt], *a* ['stɪɛɪt] *b* ['stɪɛɪt]
hearing /'hɪə:ɪŋ/ *ni* /a/ ['hɪwɪ-ŋ] *b* ['hɪwɪ-ŋ]
hear it /'hɪə:ɪt/ *ni* /a/ ['hɪwɪ-t] *b* ['hɪwɪ-t]
deliver it /dɪlɪvə:ɪt/ *ni* [dɪlɪv-wɪt, -ɪt] *a* [dɪlɪv-wɪt, -ɪt] *b* [dɪlɪv-ɛɪt, -ɪt]
cure him /'kjʊə:ɪm/ *ni* /a/ ['kɪhɔɪ-ɪm] *b* ['kɪhɔɪ-ɪm]
clever enough /'klɛvəɪ ə'nɛf/ *ni* ['kɪlɛv-wɪ w'nɛf, -ɪ w-] *a* [-ɪ w'nɛf] *b* [-ɛɪ t'nɛf]
dear enough /dɪəɪ ə'nɛf/ *ni* [dɪwɪ w'nɛf, 'dɪɛɪ] *a* [dɪɛɪ w'nɛf] *b* [dɪwɪ t'nɛf]
here and there /'hɪə:ɪ ən(d)ðɛə:ɪ/ *ni* ['hɪwɪ w'nðɛwɪ, 'hɪɛɪ] *a* ['hɪɛɪ w'nðɛɛɪ] *b* ['hɪwɪ ənðɛɛɪ].

4.7. Both the British ‘RP’ and the American models have some problems of social acceptability: ‘RP’, though still very widely used, both in the BBC news and in some kinds of British *sitcom* and movies, has always had –for many people– a strong connotation of artificial affectation, which makes it quite disagreeable to many native speakers.

As a matter of fact, RP is generally associated with a ‘high’ social position (eg members of the aristocracy, of the higher clergy or military ranks, Tory MP’s, prestigious-university professors, &c), and a certain age group (over 60 years of age, let us say, born before 1950). Clothing, too, should be sufficiently formal, usually, to be suitable for an RP accent. If these conditions are lacking –ie for common natives– the British neutral accent could prove to be definitely inappropriate, most of all if it is a traditional one.

4.8. It must be said that, paradoxically, even an impersonation of an RP speaker (even only partially successful, especially if belonging to certain particular varieties) may give rise to negative feelings from British listeners belonging to the

middle or working class. Indeed, these people might find a few snobbish phonetic traits, easily recognizable as marked ones, especially if the speakers are young(er), even if mixed with foreign features.

Against these (empirically checked) difficulties, it might –perhaps– be better to choose the American neutral accent. This is certainly recommendable to learners in North America, but not in the British Isles, where most people would consider it inappropriate.

4.9. We reckon that this dilemma may be faced, in a practical and diplomatic way, aiming at acquiring the *‘International’ accent*, which –although it might seem to be ‘nobody’s accent’– would have none of the possible negative connotations of the two mediatic accents (that we will be dealing with below), or even of the two national neutral ones, which some people seem to consider ‘nobody’s accent’, as well, since –in both nations– only about 3% of native speakers actually use them.

Let us see G 53 for the sample transcriptions of the story *The North Wind and the Sun*, in the neutral accents, including both plain and native-like International English.

26.

The ‘whole truth’ on English *r*

26.1. The English ‘/r/’ phoneme is completely different from that of most languages, which have *alveolar* contoids: [r] (trill), [r̥] (tap), while other languages have *uvular* contoids: [ʀ] (trill), [ʁ] (constrictive), [ʁ̥] (approximant), just to name a few.

Thus, it is extremely important to use a different symbol for English *r*, even at a phonemic level: /ɹ/. Furthermore, American and British English have two quite different articulations, although –from an auditory point of view– the impression is quite similar. However, there are some perceptible differences: suffice to say that the American type has a relatively higher intrinsic timbre than the British one.

Even International English *r* is alike, since it has both the approximant type, [ɹ], before vowels, and the semi-approximant, [ɹ̥], as well, which is similar, though weaker, and is used before consonants or pauses.

26.2. Once and for all, it is of paramount importance to establish the exact articulation of both kinds of approximant (and semi-approximant) contoids.

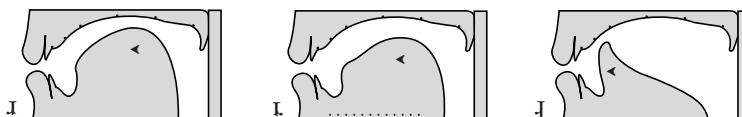
Unfortunately, except in very few cases, even among native English phoneticians, there exist odd and perhaps too traditional ideas about the precise nature and articulation of /ɹ/, which are not based either on real analyses of sounds or accurate kinesthesia.

It is true that the American *r* is articulated in a backer position than the British one, but its retraction refers to the dorsum *not* to the tip of the tongue!

26.3. It is proved that the American /ɹ/ is a *prevelar* approximant, [ɹ], with a very slight raising of the tip of the tongue towards the postalveolar region. But it is (almost) uninfluential, and practically unavoidable, because it is caused by the lateral contraction, which is typical of both American (& International) and British /ɹ/, as we will see.

On the contrary, the British sound is decidedly postalveolar, [ɹ̥], in the specific meaning of an area after the alveolar one, approached by the tip of the tongue (not

fig 26.1. The taxophones of English /ɹ/: *i*ʰa[ɹ] b[ɹ], and /ɹ/: *i*[ɹ] a[ɹ] b[∅].



by the lamina, as in the unsatisfactory IPA official point of view). It is actually an apico-postalveolar articulation.

26.4. It will be very important to observe the orograms of these two approximants very carefully (fig 26.1). As we have already said, both of them are laterally contracted, just as real lateral contoids, but there is no contact with the roof of the mouth (as, instead, with real laterals).

The absence of such a lateral contraction would simply deprive these articulations of their typical timbre, which is so similar (in these phones), even though their actual articulations are relatively very different.

In addition, both [ɹ] and [ɻ] show a certain amount of lip rounding (more evident in stressed syllables and, for [ɹ], in prenuclear position), but less than for [w], similar to that of [ɰ]. Thus, by changing both [ɹ] and [ɻ] towards a duller timbre, it contributes in making them less different auditorily, while remaining articulatorily rather different. By coarticulation, a preceding consonant is somewhat rounded, as well. However, it would be a sort of complication wanting to use different symbols for unrounded, or less rounded, postnuclear [ɹ] (and international [ɹ̥]), which could be something like '[ɹ̥, ɹ̥]'; but '[ɹ̥, ɹ̥]', if intense (or 'syllabic').

26.5. Once the exact articulations are clear, it is easy to understand why, for /tɹ, dɹ/, the British pronunciation regularly undergoes assimilation, giving [t(h)ɹ, dɹ]. On the other hand, the fact that the auditory impression is so similar for these two types of phones, may explain why, even in American pronunciation, [t(h)ɹ, dɹ] can be used, besides the more usual ones, [t(h)ɹ, dɹ]. In International pronunciation, we have [tʃ(h)ɹ, dʒɹ], as in many accents, and possible even in the neutral ones:

try /tɹɪə/ ⁱ[tʃhɪə] ^a[tʃhɪə] ^b[tʃhɪə]
dry /dɹɪə/ ⁱ[dʒɪə] ^a[dʒɪə] ^b[dʒɪə].

Certainly, it is very strange that the majority of phoneticians (even native ones) keep on using the symbol [ɹ] to hint at the neutral American type, which is far from being postalveolar. By the way, the term *postalveolar* corresponds to the official 'retroflex' one, which picturesquely tries hard to pass itself off as a real point of articulation, while, in fact, it is –at most– just a very peculiar articulatory *modification*. But, as is well known, good kinesthetic, auditory (and even acoustic) skills are not the same for all people...

26.6. In the previous chapters, we have seen several examples of /ɹ, ɹ̥/ ⁱ[ɹ, ɹ̥] ^a[ɹ] ^b[ɹ, Ø], and several others will follow. Let us remember only that our diaphonemic transcription rigorously distinguishes between /ɹ/, which is always pronounced in all nneutral accents of English, and /ɹ̥/, which is pronounced only in American and International English (with a slight difference, though). As a matter of fact, in British English, /ɹ̥/ corresponds to 'zero', as *r* is pronounced only before vowels:

rear /ɹɪə/ ⁱ[ɹ̥ɪə] ^a[ɹ̥ɪə] ^b[ɹ̥ɪə]
rare /ɹɪə/ ⁱ[ɹ̥ɪə] ^a[ɹ̥ɪə] ^b[ɹ̥ɪə]
roar /ɹɔː/ ⁱ[ɹ̥ɔː] ^a[ɹ̥ɔː] ^b[ɹ̥ɔː].

26.7. In American pronunciation, /əɪ/, preceded by vowels or consonants, is realized as [ɪ]. It is the same for /əɪ/ (and, by and large, for /əɪ/), too, which occur before vowels. In addition, both /əɪ/ and /əɪ, əɪ/ are realized as [ɪ] (although ^a[əɪ, əɪ], for ^a[ɪ, ɪ], are acceptable, as well, even if less frequent).

In International English, we find [ɪ] before vowels, but the weaker rhotophone, [ɪ], before consonants or pauses; besides, /əɪ/ is [əɪ], but /əɪ, əɪ/, [əɪ] (+ vowels):

murder /'mɜːɪdɜː/ ⁱ['mɜːɪdɜː] ^a['mɪdɪ] ^b['mɜːdɜː]
murderer /'mɜːɪd(ə)ɪə/ ⁱ['mɜːɪdɜːɪə] ^a['mɪdɪrɪ, -dɪɪ] ^b['mɜːdɜːɪə, -dɪə, -dɪə].

26.8. In normal American speech, /VVɪ/ (in a *protune*) generally changes into ^a[VVɪ] (for British English cf 11):

tower /'taʊəɪ/ ⁱ['tʰaʊəɪ] ^a['tʰaʊɪ] ^b['tʰaʊə]
the Tower of London /ðə'taʊəɪ əv'lɒndən/ ⁱ[ðə'tʰaʊəɪ əv'lɒndən] ^a[ðə'tʰaʊɪ əv-
 'lɒndən] ^b[ðə'tʰaʊəɪ əv'lɒndən, -əɪɪ]
powers /'paʊəɪz/ ⁱ['phəʊəɪz] ^a['phəʊɪz] ^b['phəʊɜːz]
the powers of darkness /ðə'paʊəɪz əv'dɑːknəs/ ⁱ[ðə'phəʊəɪz əv'dɑːknəs] ^a[ðə-
 'phəʊɪz əv'dɑːknəs] ^b[ðə'phəʊɜːz əv'dɑːknəs, -əɜːz].

26.9. However, /ɪ/ is pronounced, even in British English, when it occurs final in a rhythm group before a following rhythm-group initial vowel (and there is no intervening pause, not even a short one). In this way, the two words are bound together, and /ɪ/ becomes /ɪ/ [ɪ]:

far away /'fɑːɪ əweɪ/ ⁱ['fɑːɪ əweɪ] ^a['fɑːɪ w'eɪ] ^b['fɑːɪ w'eɪ]
the car arrived /ðə'kɑːɪ ə'raɪvɪd/ ⁱ[ðə'kħɑːɪ ə'raɪvɪd] ^a[ðə'kħɑːɪ w'raɪvɪd] ^b[ðə-
 'kħɑːɪ ə'raɪvɪd]
take care of yourself /'teɪk 'keəɪ əv'jɜːsɪf, -jɜːɪ/ ⁱ['tʰeɪk 'kħeəɪ əv'jɜːsɪf, -jɜːɪ]
^a['tʰeɪk 'kħeɪ əv'jɜːsɪf, -jɜːɪ] ^b['tʰeɪk 'kħeɪɜː əv'jɜːsɪf, -jɜːɪ].

26.10. On the other hand, in British English again, on the analogy of word-final /əɪ, ɪə, eə, oə, ɔɪ, aɪ/, very frequently, final /ə, ɪ, ə, ɔ, a:/ are realized as the previous ones, as well, even if no etymological *r* is present in their spelling:

Eliza Ellis /ə'lɪzə 'elɪs/ ⁱ[ə'lɪzə 'el-əs] ^a[ə'lɪzə 'el-əs] ^b[lɪzə 'el-ɪs; -zəɪ 'el-ɪs]
the idea of it /ðɪə'ɪdɪə/ ⁱ[ðɪə'ɪdɪə(ɪ)əvɪt] ^a[ðɪə'ɪdɪə(ɪ)əvɪt] ^b[-ɪdɪə(ɪ)əvɪt; -ɪəvɪt]
law and order /'lɔː ən(d)'ɔːɪdɜː/ ⁱ['lɔː ən'ɔːɪdɜː] ^a['lɔː ən'ɔːɪdɜː] ^b['lɔː ən'ɔːɪdɜː; 'lɔːɪ]
the spa at Bath /ðə'spɑː ə'pæθ/ ⁱ[ðə'spɑː ə'pæθ] ^a[ðə'spɑː ə'pæθ] ^b[ðə'spɑː ə'pæθ; ðə'spɑːɪ]
G. B. Shaw asked /'dʒɪɪbɪi 'ʃɔː 'æskt/ ⁱ['dʒɪɪbɪi 'ʃɔː 'æskt] ^a['dʒɪɪbɪi 'ʃɔː 'æskt]
^b['dʒɪɪbɪi 'ʃɔː 'æskt; 'ʃɔːɪ].

It can also occur within words, but it is generally considered quite inadequate:

drawing /'dɹɔːɪŋ/ ⁱ['dʒɹɔːɪŋ] ^a['dɹɔːɪŋ] ^b['dɹɔːɪŋ; ɹdɹɔːɪŋ]
schwaish /'ʃwɑːɪʃ; 'ʃvɑːɪʃ/ ⁱ['ʃwɑːɪʃ; 'ʃv-] ^b['ʃwɑːɪʃ; ɹʃwɑːɪʃ; 'ʃv-].

26.11. This British use is very widespread, chiefly for /əʃ/, although good speakers try to avoid it, but many others use it airily, even teaching it to foreigners (who should avoid it, unless they are very fluent and have a very good command of British English).

In mediatic American English, we have a uvularized [ɹ], ie [ɹ̠]. In a broad New Zealand accent, /ɹ/ is a velarized version of [ɹ], ie [ɹ̠] (however, neutral New Zealand English has [ɹ]).

In addition to American English (except in typical Southern, Eastern, and Black accents) and Canadian English, also Irish English (in the whole island) has /ɹ/ = [ɹ].

The same goes both for a small area of the South Island in New Zealand and for the West Country in the southwest of England (as well as for some more limited areas in the North of England).

A typical Scottish accent, usually, has /ɹ, ɹ̠/ = [r] (though, too often, it is still described as a trill, '[r]').

26.12. As a speech defect, /ɹ/ is realized as a labiodental [ʋ]. This is so widespread, especially in Great Britain, that someone considers it to be normal (all the more so because it is frequent in the *mediatic British* accent).

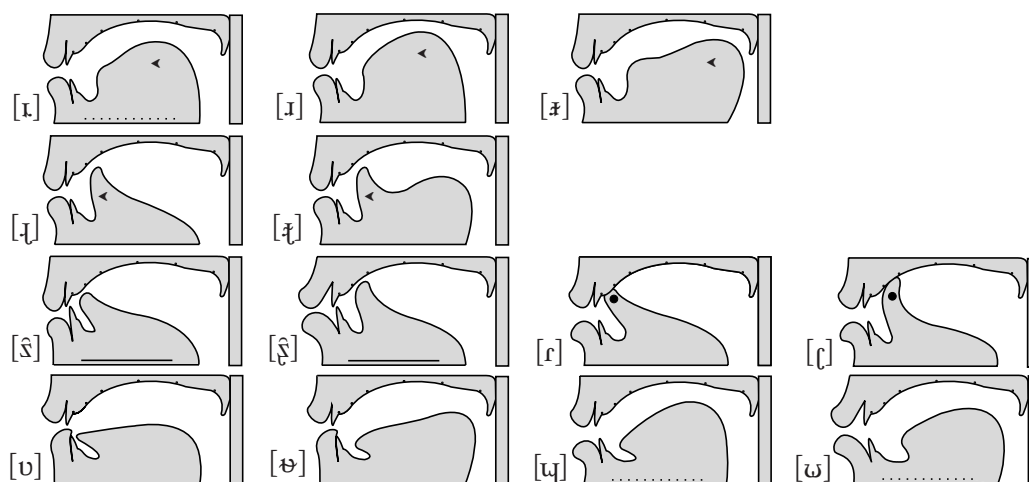
Two further defective realizations are /ɹ/ → [w], semi-approximant weaker than [w], which can cause some communication problems, though not exactly alike (cf fig 26.2):

witch /'wɪtʃ/ ['wɪtʃ]
rich /'rɪtʃ/ ^{i/a}['ɹɪtʃ] ^b['ɹɪtʃ] ['ʋɪtʃ, 'wɪtʃ]'.
 (Note: The original text has a typo 'b' which has been corrected to 'b' in the transcription above.)

26.13. Besides [ɹ, ɹ̠, ɹ̠], given again for better comparisons with the other variants, fig 26.2 shows [ɹ̠, ɹ̠, ʋ]. In addition, it shows ^a[ɹ̠] ^b[ɹ̠], which can occur in the sequences /tɹ, dɹ/ (as seen in § 17.7-10), and [r], as well.

26.14. In traditional British pronunciation, we find /ɹ/ [ɹ, ʋrV, θr, ðr, pr, br, kr, gr], as in affected British pronunciation, where we can also have [ʋV, θV] ([ve-larized] labiodental approximant), and even [ʋɹV] (voiced postalveolar tap) [ʋɹV] (voiced provelar semiapproximant), in some frequent words such as: *very, terrible, sorry, tomorrow*.

fig 26.2. Various taxophones for English /ɹ, ɹ̠/ (see text).



94.

New York City 1

The typical accent

(with social differences)

94.1. 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 simply New York (in International pronunciation /nuːjɔːɪk, nə-, ni-, ni-, nə-/), has a huge number of speakers (approximately 8,000,000) for its typical accent.

The most characteristic vowel sound is /σ:, σ:, ɒ/ [ɔə, ɔʌ] ↓[σɔ, σʌ]: *saw* /'sɔ:/ [ˈsɔʌ, ↓-σʌ], *broad* /'brɔ:d/ [ˈbɪɔʔəɔ̃, ↓-σɔ̃ɔ̃], *austere* /ɔː'stɪə:/ [ɔə'stɪʀʌ] ↓[σɔ-, -ɪʌ], *long* /'lɒŋ/ [ˈʎɔəŋ, ↓-σɔŋ], *lost* /'lɒst/ [ˈʎɔəst, ↓-σɔst].

There are further broader variants (as can be seen in the fourth vocogram): ↓↓[ˈsɔʌ, ˈbɪɔʔəɔ̃, ɔɔ'stɪʀʌ, ʎɔəŋ, ʎɔəst] ↓↓↓[ˈsɔʌ, ˈbɪɔʔəɔ̃, ɔə'stɪʀʌ, ʎɔəŋ, ʎɔəst] ↓↓↓↓[ˈsɔʌ, ˈbɪɔʔəɔ̃, ɔɔ'stɪʀʌ, ʎɔəŋ, ʎɔəst] ([ɔ] is a semi-approximant, corresponding to [w]).

94.2. 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. Notice the real usefulness of fig 94.2, too.

Instead, we find /ɒɪ, ɒg/ [ɔə, ɔa]: *sorry* /'sɒɪ/ [ˈsɔəɪ, 'sɔa-], *horrible* /'hɒɪəbɪ/ [ˈhɔəɪəbɪ, 'hɔa-], *frog* /'frɒg/ [ˈfɪɔʔəɔ̃, -aɔ̃]. And /σ:ɪ/ [ɔəɪ, ↑ɔɪ; ↓σɔɪ; ↑↑ɔ:ɪ, ↑ɔaɪ]: *story* /'stɔ:ɪ/ [ˈstɔəɪ, ↓-σɔ-]. Even /ɑ:, ɑ:/ are peculiarly back [ɑɑ, ↓ɑɑ; ↑ɑɑ]: *father* /'fɑ:ðə:/ [ˈfɑɑðʌ, ↓-ɑɑ; ↑-ɑɑ-], *car* /'kɑ:ɪ/ [ˈkɪɑ'ɑ, ↓ɑɑ; ↑ɑɑ].

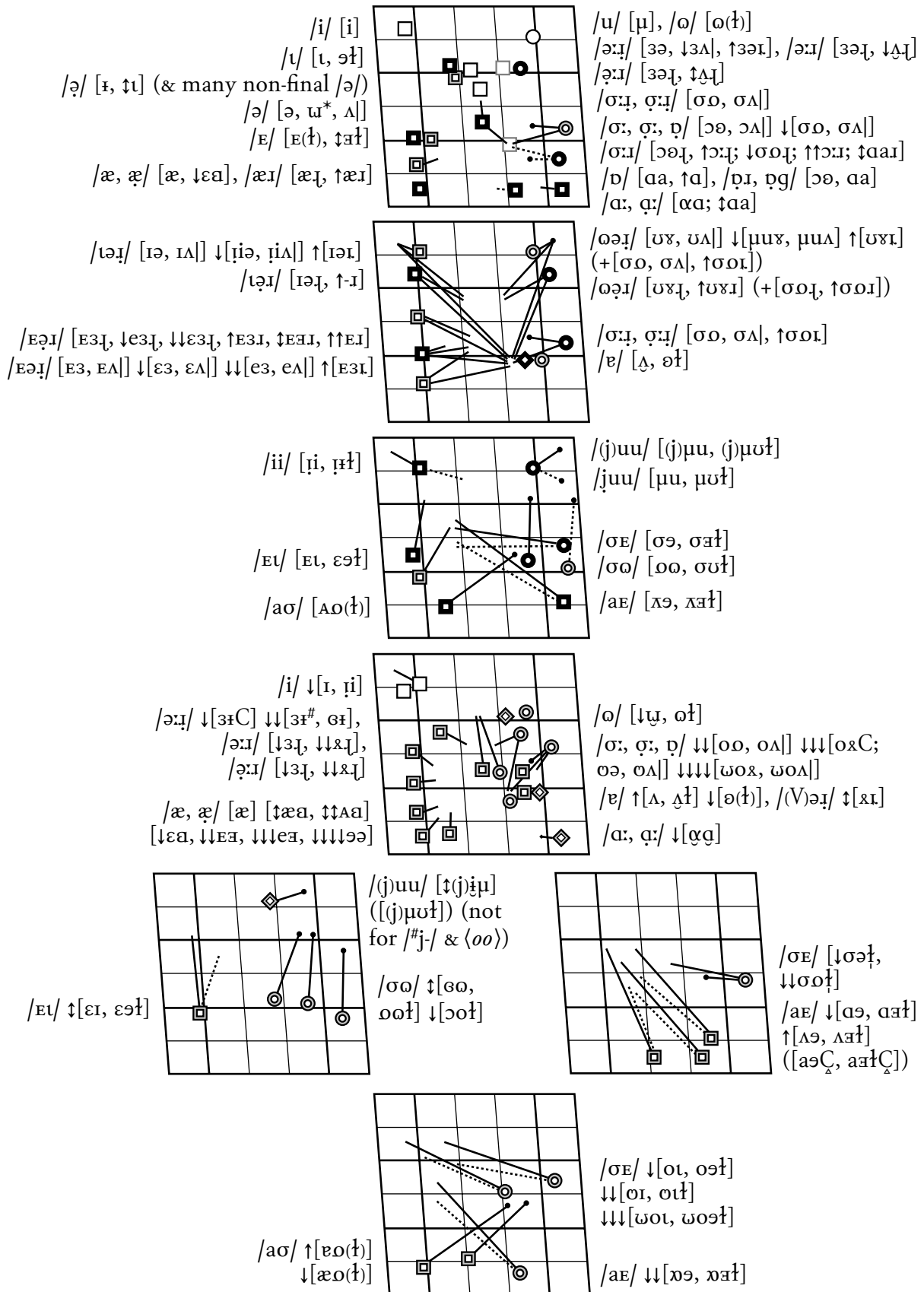
94.3. The other notorious case of characteristic vowel is /æ, æ/ [æ, ↓ɛɛ, ↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓↓ɛɛ], but this is complicated by distributional, contextual and sociophonetic peculiarities, ie ‘socio-taxophones’, apart from middle-class ‘elegant’ [↑æɛ, ↑↑AA] (now quite rare, that we show only in the vocograms).

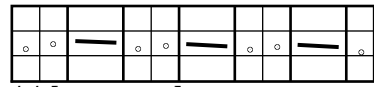
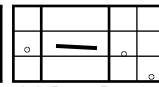
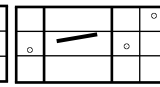
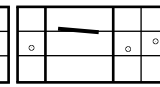
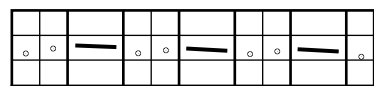

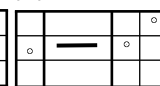
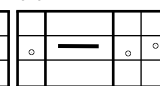
The normalized distribution is as follows: even in the broadest accent, we always have [æ] before the *voiceless stop*(*strictive*)s /p, t, k; tʃ/: *chap* /'tʃæp/ [ˈtʃhæp], *bat* /'bæt/ [ˈbæt], *sack* /'sæk/ [ˈsæk], *match* /'mætʃ/ [ˈmætʃ].

But we find the raised and diphthongized realizations [↓ɛɛ, ↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓ɛɛ, ↓↓↓↓ɛɛ] before the *voiced stops* /b, d, g/: *cab* /'kæb/ [↑ˈkɪhæb̥, ↓-ɛɛb̥, ↓↓-ɛɛb̥, ↓↓↓-ɛɛb̥, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛb̥], *dad* /'dæd/ [ˈd̥æd̥, ↓-ɛɛd̥, ↓↓-ɛɛd̥, ↓↓↓-ɛɛd̥, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛd̥], *bag* /'bæg/ [↑ˈbæɔ̃, ↓-ɛɛɔ̃, ↓↓-ɛɛɔ̃, ↓↓↓-ɛɛɔ̃, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛɔ̃].

The same is true before the *voiceless constrictives* /f, θ, s, ʃ/: *calf* /'kæf/ [↑ˈkɪhæf, ↓-ɛɛf, ↓↓-ɛɛf, ↓↓↓-ɛɛf, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛf], *bath* /'bæθ/ [↑ˈbæθ, ↓-ɛɛθ, ↓↓-ɛɛθ, ↓↓↓-ɛɛθ, ↓↓↓↓-ɛɛθ], *mass*

fig 94.1. New York City: typical vowels, diphthongs & intonation (/e/ is in the 2nd vocogram).



				typical NYC
// [· · · · · · · · · ·]	/./ [· · ·]	/ʔ/ [· · ·]	/:/ [· · ·]	
				Bronx
// [· · · · · · · · · ·]	/./ [· · ·]	/ʔ/ [· · ·]	/:/ [· · ·]	

/ˈmæs/ [ˈmæs, ↓-ɛs, ↓↓-eɛs, ↓↓↓-eɛs, ↓↓↓↓-əɛs], *dash* /ˈdæʃ/ [ˈdæʃ, ↓-ɛʃ, ↓↓-eɛʃ, ↓↓↓-eɛʃ, ↓↓↓↓-əɛʃ].

94.4. There is inconsistency with the *voiced constrictives* /v, ð, z, ʒ/, although [æ] is considered to be the normal(ized) realization: *salve* /ˈsæv/ [ˈsæv̥] ([↓-ɛv̥, ↓↓-e̞v̥, ↓↓↓-e̞v̥, ↓↓↓↓-əv̥]), *jazz* /ˈdʒæz/ [ˈdʒæz̥] ([↓-ɛz̥, ↓↓-e̞z̥, ↓↓↓-e̞z̥, ↓↓↓↓-əz̥]), &c.

Both possibilities can occur before the *voiced stopstricive* /dʒ/: *badge* /ˈbædʒ/ [ˈbædʒ, ↓b̥ɛːdʒ, ↓↓b̥e̞ːdʒ, ↓↓↓b̥əːdʒ, ↓↓↓↓b̥əːdʒ], *magic* /ˈmædʒɪk/ [ˈmædʒ-ɪk, ↓m̥ɛːdʒɪk, ↓↓m̥e̞ːdʒɪk, ↓↓↓m̥əːdʒɪk, ↓↓↓↓m̥əːdʒɪk].

As for the *nasals*, we find the raised taxophones before /m, n/, while speakers oscillate with /ŋ/ (although [æ] predominates): *Sam* /ˈsæm/ [ˈsæm, ↓-ɛm, ↓↓-e̞m, ↓↓↓-ə̞m], *man* /ˈmæn/ [ˈmæn, ↓-ɛn, ↓↓-e̞n, ↓↓↓-ə̞n], *sang* /ˈsæŋ/ [ˈsæŋ, ↓-ɛŋ, ↓↓-e̞ŋ, ↓↓↓-ə̞ŋ], *Frank* /ˈfræŋk/ [ˈfræŋk, ↑-ɪ-] ([↓-ɛn-, ↓↓-e̞n-, ↓↓↓-ə̞n-]).

Before /ɹ/ and /ɹ/, there is no raising: *Sal* /ˈsæɹ/ [ˈsæɹ], *Harry* /ˈhæɹi/ [ˈhæɹ-i, ↑hæɹ-i].

94.5. Besides, this distribution of taxophones also applies if an obstruent (consonant) is added, but not if followed by /ɹ, l, ɹ/ or a vowel: *camp* /ˈkæmp/ [ˈkʰæmp, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *ant* /ˈænt/ [ˈtʰænt, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *dance* /ˈdæns/ [ˈdʰæns, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *ranch* /ˈræntʃ/ [ˈtʰræntʃ, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *candy* /ˈkændi/ [ˈkʰændi, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-].

The same is true if inflectional grammemes (such as *-s, -d, -ing, -y, -ly*) are added: *cabs* /ˈkæbz/ [ˈkʰæbz̥, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *banned* /ˈbænd/ [ˈbænd̥, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *planning* /ˈplænɪŋ/ [ˈtʰplænɪŋ, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *glassy* /ˈglæsi/ [ˈtʰglæsi, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *manly* /ˈmænli/ [ˈtʰmænli, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-].

Autonomous grammemes (such as auxiliaries and modals) retain [æ] (if not used in their –more normal– reduced forms): *am* /ˈæm/ [ˈæm], *have* /ˈhæv/ [ˈhæv̥], *has* /ˈhæz/ [ˈhæz̥], *had* /ˈhæd/ [ˈhæd̥], *can* /ˈkæn/ [ˈkʰæn], *and* /ˈænd/ [ˈænd̥].

94.6. Let us notice that raising occurs in checked syllable, even with [\$\$, \$\$\$] structures, generally, but not with [\$\$\$\$]. Since /æ, æ/ are ‘short’ vowel phonemes in International and most American English, we have /æC[#]V, æC[#]V/ even in *dragging, magic, imagine, avenue* /ˈdʰræɡɪŋ, ˈmædʒɪk, ˈɪmædʒɪn, ˈævə[ɹ]njuu/ (with raising, as well), &c. But *animal, humanity* /ˈænəmənt̩, hjuˈmænəti/ (without raising, with /æC[#]V\$/), &c. Besides, learned or less common words have no raising: *alas* /əˈlæs/ [əˈlæs], *planet* /ˈplænət/ [ˈphlæn-ət].

In word-initial position, common words have raising: *after* /ˈæft̩ə/ [ˈtʰæft̩, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-], *ask* /ˈæsk/ [ˈtʰæsk, ↓-ɛp-, ↓↓-e̞p-, ↓↓↓-ə̞p-]. While less com-

mon words have no raising, in the same word-initial position: *Afghan* /'æfgæn, -ən/ [↑'æfgæn, -wn, ↓-ɛæn, ↓↓-ɛɛn, ↓↓↓-ɛɛn, ↓↓↓↓-əən], *asterisk* /'æstɜːrɪsk/ [↑'æstɜːrɪsk, ↑-ɪ-].

94.7. 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.

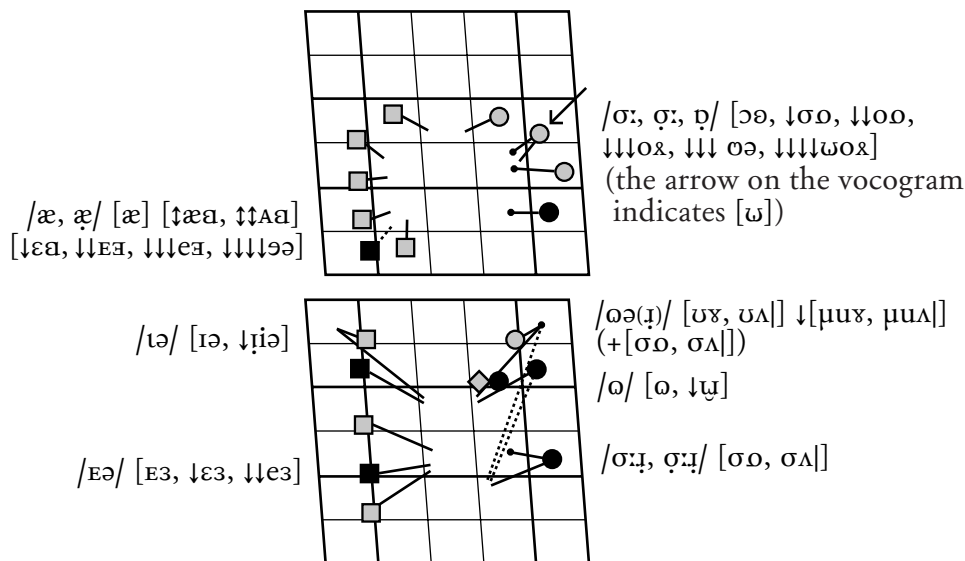
The anecdotes about speakers confusing taxophones of /æ, æ/ with /ɛə, ɪə/, are just perception mistakes by hearers. In fact, we have *bad* /'bæd/ [↑'bæd, ↓'bɛɛd, ↓↓'bɛɛɛd, ↓↓↓'bɛɛɛɛd], *bared* /'bɛəɪd/ [↑'bɛɛɛɛd, ↓'bɛɛɛɛd, ↓↓'bɛɛɛɛd], *beard* /'biəɪd/ [↑'brɛɛd, ↓'bɪɪɛɛd], and *Ann* /'æn/ [↑'æɛn, ↓'ɛɛɛn, ↓↓'ɛɛɛɛn, ↓↓↓'ɛɛɛɛɛn, ↓↓↓↓'ɛɛɛɛɛɛn], *Ian* /'iən/ [↑'ɪɛn, ↓'ɪɛn] (& /'iɪən; 'æɛn/ [↑'iɪən; ↑↑'æɛn, ↑↑'æɛn, 'æɛn, ↓↓'æɛn]), &c. And the same holds for /σ:, σ:, ɒ/ with /ω/, as in: *good* /'gʊd/ [↑'gʊd, ↓'gʊɪd], *god* /'gɒd/ [↑'gɒd, ↓'gɒɪd, ↓↓'gɒɪd, ↓↓↓'gɒɪd, ↓↓↓↓'gɒɪd] (if pronounced as 'gɒɪd').

Let us also consider *law* /'lɔ:/ [↑'lɔɪ, ↓'lɔɪ, ↓↓'lɔɪ, ↓↓↓'lɔɪ, ↓↓↓↓'lɔɪ, ↑↑'lɔɪ], *lore* /'lɔ:ɪ/ [↑'lɔɪ, ↓'lɔɪ, ↑↑'lɔɪɪ], *lure* /'lʊəɪ/ [↑'lʊɪ, ↑'lʊɪɪ] (British English also: /'ljʊəɪ, 'ljʊɪɪ, 'ljɔ:ɪ/).

94.8. No matter how similar they may seem to be, we do think that no real *natural phonetician* would confuse even /ɛə/ [ɛɜ, ɛɜ, ɛɜ] with [ɛɛ, ɛɛ], or /ɪə/ [ɪə, ɪə] with [əə, ɛɛ], and /ɒ/ (& /σ:, σ:/) [ɔə, σɔ, ɔɔ, ɔɔɔ, ɔə] with /ω/ [ω, ω], or with /ωəɪ/ [ʊɪ, ʊɪ] or /σ:ɪ, σ:ɪ/ [σɔ, σɪ]. Actually, [σɔ] is shared by /σ:/ and /σ:ɪ, σ:ɪ/, as in any non-rhotic accent, indeed (unless they distinguish between /σ:ɪ, σ:ɪ/, by using an opener timbre in the former than in the latter).

We collect this sociophonic information about /æ, æ/ and /σ:, σ:, ɒ/ &c in fig 94.2 to better show how things actually are.

fig 94.2. New York City: socio-phonetic variants of /æ, æ/ and /σ:, σ:, ɒ/. Also prepausal /ωəɪ, σ:ɪ, σ:ɪ/ are included, to complete the discussion in § 94.7.



94.9. It is worthwhile noticing /ə:ɪ/ [ɜə, ↓ɜɜɜ]: *fur* /'fɜ:ɪ/ [↑'fɜɜ, ↓-ɜɜ], and /ə:ɪ, ə:ɪ/ [ɜəɪ, ↓ɜɜɜ]: *furry* /'fɜ:ɪɪ/ [↑'fɜɜɪɪ, ↓-ɜɜɜɜɜɜ], *hurry* /'hɜ:ɪɪ/ [↑'hɜɜɪɪ, ↓'hɜɜɜɜɜɜ]. There is a three-way

opposition for: *marry* /'mæ.ɹi/ ['mæɹ-i, ↑'mæɹ-i], *merry* /'mɛɹi/ ['mɛɹ-i, ↑'mɛɹ-i], *Mary* /'mɛə.ɹi/ ['mɛəɹ-i, ↓-ɛəɹ-i, ↓↓-ɛəɹ-i, ↑-ɛəɹ-i, ↑-ɛəɹ-i, ↑↑-ɛɹ-i].

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 /æ/ [↑ʌə, ʌə, ↓ə, ↓↓ə]: *time* /'taɪm/ [↑'tʰɪʌəm, -ɪəm, ↓-aɪəm, ↓↓-əɪəm] (followed by a voiceless consonant, it is frequent to find 'neutral-like' [↑ʌə]), too: *white* /'waɪt/ [↑'waɪt, ↑-ʌɪt, -ʌɪt, ↓-aɪt, ↓↓-əɪt], /aɔ/ [↑ɛə, ʌə, ↓ə]: *house* /'haʊs/ [↑'hɛəʊs, -ʌəʊs, ↓-əʊs].

94.10. As to the *consonants*, the broad accent has /t, d/ ↓[t, d] (less often even velarized, ↓↓[t̤, d̤]): *today* /tə'deɪ/ [tʰə'deɪ, ↓tʰə'd-, ↓↓tʰə'd̤-, ↑-ɛɹɪ]. Besides, we frequently find /t, t̤/ + /t̤, #V, #C/ → [ɹ]: *little* /'lɪt̤l̤/ [l̤ɪt̤l̤, -t̤, ↓-ɹ-], *that book* /ðæt'bʊk/ [ðæp'bʊk, -ɹ-, ↑-t̤-], *not only* /nɒt'əʊnli/ [nɒt'əʊnli, ↑nɒ-, -ɹ-, ↑-t̤-].

Another typical consonantal phenomenon is /θ, ð/ ↓[t, d, t̤, d̤] ↑[θ, ð]: *this thing* /ðɪs'tɪŋ/ ↓[dɪs'tɪŋ, d̤ɪs't̤ɪŋ] ↑[θɪs'tɪŋ]. The same is true for /t̤θ, d̤θ/ ↓[t, d, t̤, d̤] ↑[t̤θ, d̤θ]: *eighth* /'eɪt̤θ/ ↓[eɪt, -t̤θ] ↑[-t̤θ], *width* /'wɪd̤θ/ ↓[wɪd, -d̤θ] ↑[-d̤θ]. Not only /t̤/ [ɹ], but also /Vd̤V/ [↓ɹ]: *latter* /'læt̤ə/ [l̤æɹ-ʌ], *ladder* /'læd̤ə/ [l̤æɹ-ʌ, ↑l̤æd̤-ʌ].

The broad accent often has ↓[ŋg^(#)V]: *sing it* /'sɪŋɪt/ ['sɪŋ-ɪɹ, ↓'sɪŋɪ-, ↑-t̤], *Long Island* /'lɒŋ 'aɪlənd/ [l̤ɒŋ 'æɹlənd, ↓-ŋg, ↓l̤ɒ-ɹ-, ↓↓l̤ɒ-ɹ-, ↓↓↓l̤ɒ-ɹ-, ↓↓↓l̤ɒ-ɹ-, ↓↓↓l̤ɒ-ɹ-, ↑ʌ-ɹ-, ↓aɹ-, ↓↓ə-ɹ-].

fig 94.3. The five boroughs of NYC: Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn (Kings) & Staten Island (Richmond).



Typically, we have [l, ↓l, ↓↓l, ↓↓↓l] (& [ɫ] + [V]) /l/: *lily* /'lɪli/ [lɪl-i, ↓lɪl-i, ↓↓lɪl-i, ↓↓↓lɪl-i], /ɪ/ [ɪ, ɪ]: *bill* /'bɪl/ [bɪl, -ɪ]; /ɪ/ [ɪ, ɪ]: *bottle* /'bɒtəl/ [bɑɑɪɪ, -ɪ, ↑bɑɑɪɪ, ↓ɪ-].

94.11. The typical New-York accent is non-rhotic, and thus has 'linking *r*' and is prone to 'intrusive *r*' practice: *far away* /'fɑ:ə ɔ'weɪ/ [fɑ:ɑɪ ɔ'weɪ, ↑fɑ:ɑɪ, ↑ɔ'weɪ], *law and order* /'lɔ: əndə'ɔ:ɪdə/ [↓lɔ:əɪ ənd(ɔ)'sɔdɔ, ↓-ɪ, ↑-dɪ, ↑lɔ:ɪ-, ↓lɔ:ɪ, ↓↓lɔ:ɪ, ↓↓↓lɔ:ɪ, ↓↓↓lɔ:ɪ, ↓↓↓lɔ:ɪ].

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 [ɪ] instead of 'normal' [ɹ], or rather with a softer [ɹ]: [↑lɔ:ə (ɹ)ənd(ɔ)'sɔɪdɔɪ]. To be true, some speakers can have /ə:ɪ/ [ɜɪ, ɜɪ], also to avoid using, or letting people think they use, the broad and highly stigmatized 'Brooklyn' variant /ə:ɪ/ [ɜɪ]: *murder* /'mɜ:ɪdə/ [↓mɜɪdɔ, 'mɜə-, 'mɜɪdɔ, ↑mɜəɪdɔɪ].

The broad accent also has /sɪɪ/ [ʃɪɪ, ʃɪɪ, ʃ-, ʃɪɪ-] (and /dɪɪ/ [dɜɪ-], as well): *street* /'striiɪt/ [↓ʃɪɪɪt, ʃɪɪ, ʃ-, ʃɪɪ-].

Besides, the broad accent is rather nasal, especially for /VN/ sequences (but also paraphonically): *Then you can come* /'ðɛn jəkən'kɛm/ [dɛn jɔkɔn'khɔm:].

In addition, /j/ [∅, ↑j]: *new* /'njuu/ [nɪu, ↑nj-], *tube* /'tjuub/ [tɪhɪub, ↑tɪj-], *duke* /'djuuk/ [dɪuk, ↑dj-] (including *during* /'dʒu:ɪŋ/ [dɪʊɪŋ, ↓dɪuɪ-, ↓↓dɪuɪ-, ↓-ɪn]).

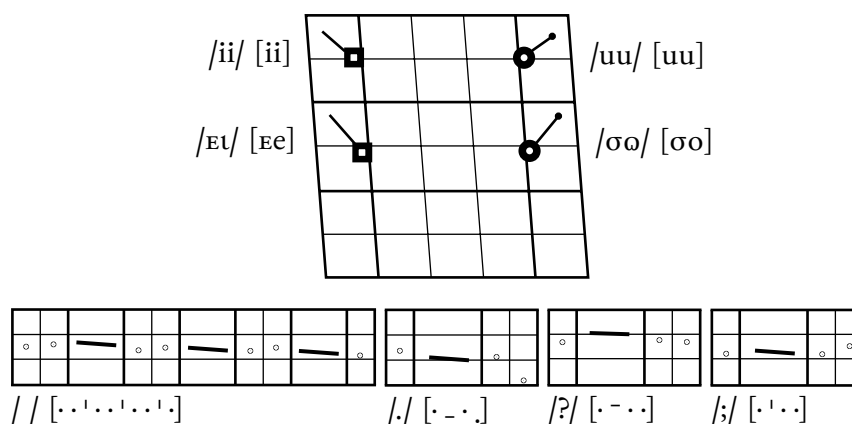
Paraphonically, in the Bronx, there can be a typical postdorsal-tongue setting, ⟨V⟩ (cf fig 168.3), giving velarization, and a nasalized voice, ⟨~⟩.

95. New York City 2 Ethnic characteristics: Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Black & Jewish

95.1. Apart from the 'typical' accent (G 94), with its social peculiarities, it is possible to find ethnic characteristics, as well. fig 95.1 shows the principal parts of *New York City*.

95.2. The 'Irish' use less broad traits and generally have normal /θ, ð/ [θ, ð]; for /t, t̪/, fewer [ʔ] than in the Bronx; a frequent dental stop-semi-constrictive realization of /t, d/ [t̪, d̪]; the use of /ɪVɪ/ [ɪVɪ] and /IVɪ/ [IVɪ]; systematic use of /ɪn/ for /ɪŋ/; narrow higher diphthongs /ii, eɪ, σo, uu/ [ii, eɪ, σo, uu]; and intonation patterns as shown in fig 95.1.

fig 95.1. Irish accent: peculiar diphthongs & intonation.



95.3. The 'Italians' (generally more concentrated in Brooklyn and Staten Island, /'stæt̪n̪ 'æɪlənd/, cf map in fig 94.3) have the vowels, diphthongs and intonations shown in fig 95.2. The consonants, generally, have the broad variants seen in G 94.

A broader version, more typical of bilingual people (but different from actual Italians, such as tourists, cf G 260, which is still more foreign-like), or 'Little-Italy style', has the vocalic and intonational elements given in fig 95.3 (with more secondary stresses and often with [i\$] for [i\$]: *barley water* /'bɑ:ɹliwɔ:t̪ə/ [bɑɑɹli'wɔxɹə, -ɹ-]).

For the consonants we find: /ŋ/ [ŋ, ŋg] ↑[ŋ, ŋ]; 'unaspirated', but lengthened /p, t̪, 'k; t̪/ [p:, t̪:, k:; t̪:]; /t, d/ [t, d], /t̪/ [t̪, d̪, ɹ]; /θ, ð/ [t, t̪, d, d̪]; /z/ [s, t̪z]; /h/ [θ]; /ɹ, ɹ/ [r, ɹv]; /t̪ɹ, st̪ɹ, d̪ɹ/ [t̪z, st̪z, d̪z]; /l, ɹ/ [l, l̪], /ɹ/ [σl, σl̪]; /C(C)V/ [(C)V], /VC(V)#/ [VVC(V)#]; /ʃ(ə)n#/ [(V)ʃon]; *the* /ðɪ/ [dɹ, d̪ɹ] /ðə/ [dɛ, dɹ, d̪ɛ, d̪ɹ], *to* /tə, tu/ [tɹ].

fig 95.2. Brooklyn & Staten Island (often called 'Italian'): vowels, diphthongs & intonation.

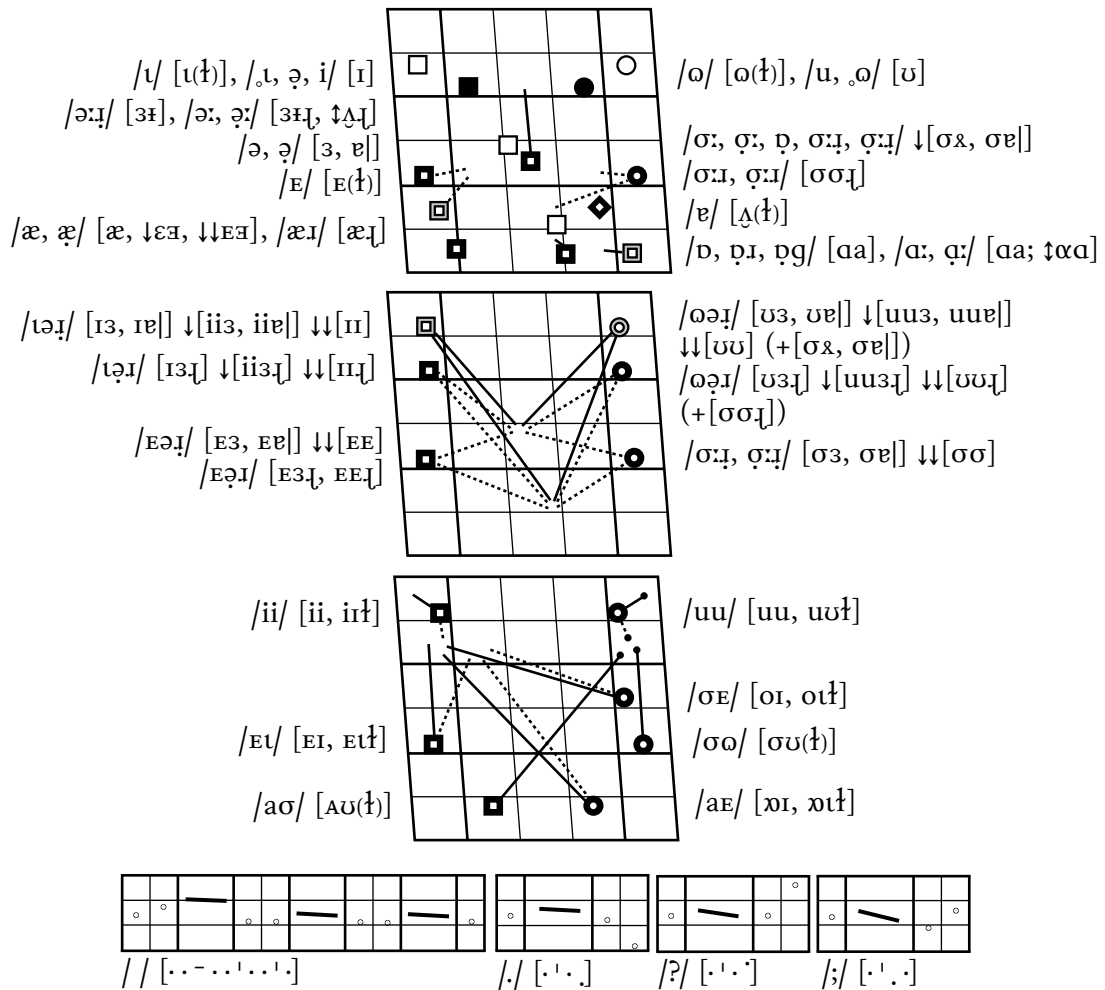
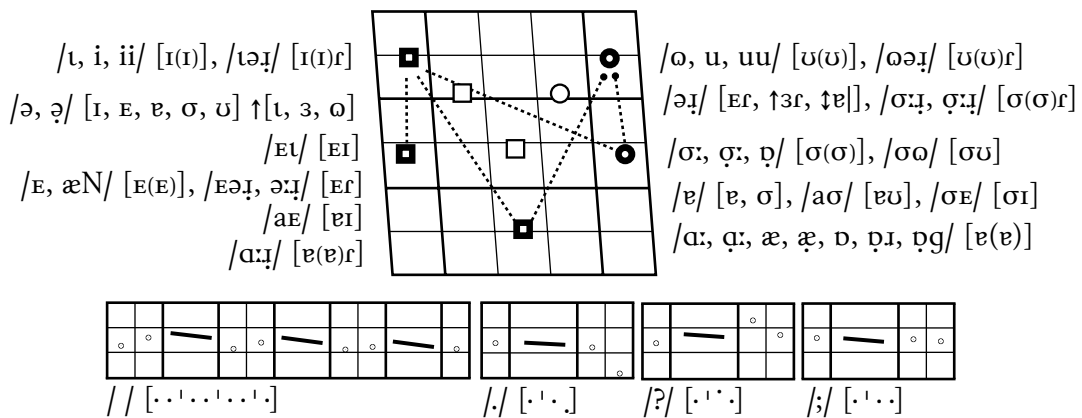


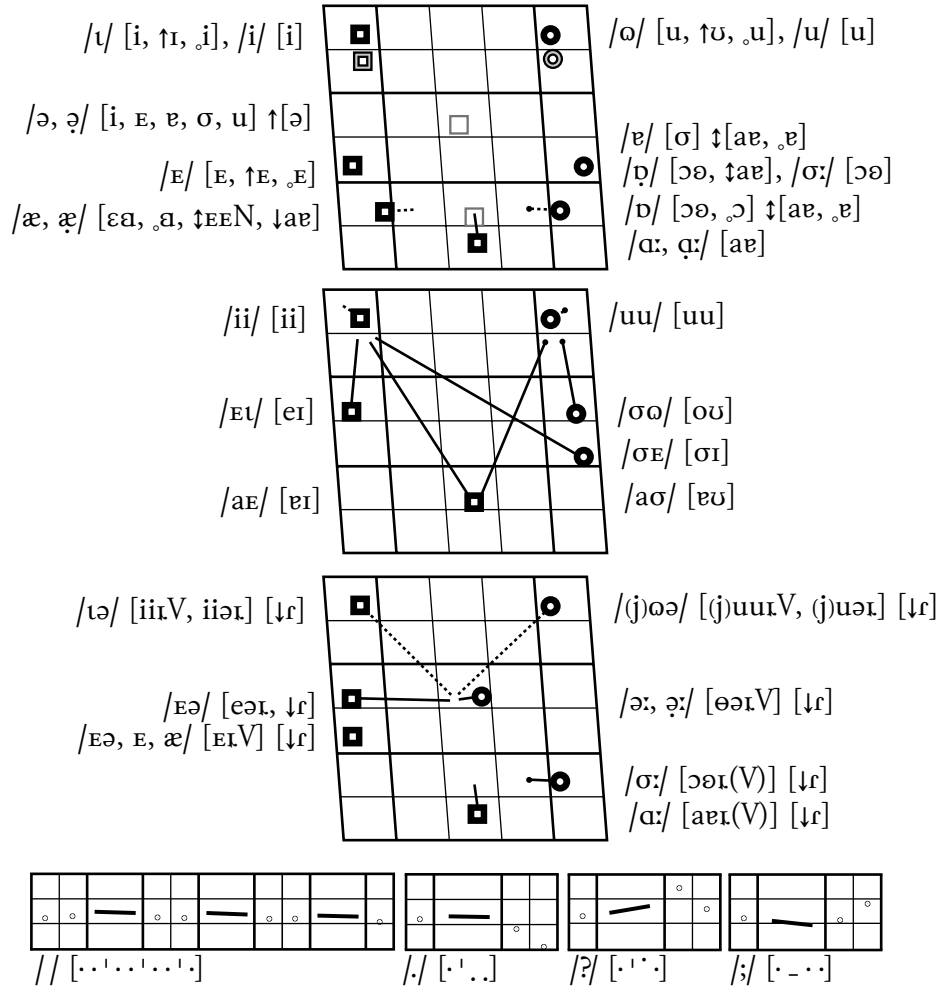
fig 95.3. 'Little Italy' broad accent.



95.4. The 'Puerto Ricans' have the vocalic and intonational characteristics given in fig 95.4 (for a broader accent of \mathcal{G} 234). 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], /tʃ/ [t, tʃ], /b, v/ [VβV, VrβV, VβrV], /d/ [VδV, VrδV, VδrV]; /z/ [s, ↑z], /#sC/ [ʊsC, ɛsC]; /θ, ð/ [t, ↓s, d] ↑[θ, ð]; /tʃ/ [tʃ, ↓ʃ], /dʒ/ [dʒ, ↓ʒ, rʃ, rʃʰ, Vtʃʰ, VjV]; /w/ [w,

↓β]; /eɪ, aɛ, ɔɛ; σω, aσ/+əɪ/ [VjV, VwV]: *power* /'paʊəɪ/ [ˈpaʊwɛɪ]; /s)ʃɪ, dɪ/ [(s)tʃɛ, dʒɛɪ] ↑[ɪ]; /l, ɹ/ [lV] ↑[lV], /lj/ ↓[lʃ], lʃʒ, /t/ [σl, ↑σl]; /ɪVɪ/ [rVɪ, ↓rV, ↑rVɪ]; /j/ [θ]; /h/ [h, ↓h]; /tʃC/ [θC]; /CCʃ/ [Cθʃ]; /VVCʃ/ [VVCʃ], /VVʃ/ [VVʃ].

fig 95.4. Puerto Rican accent: vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



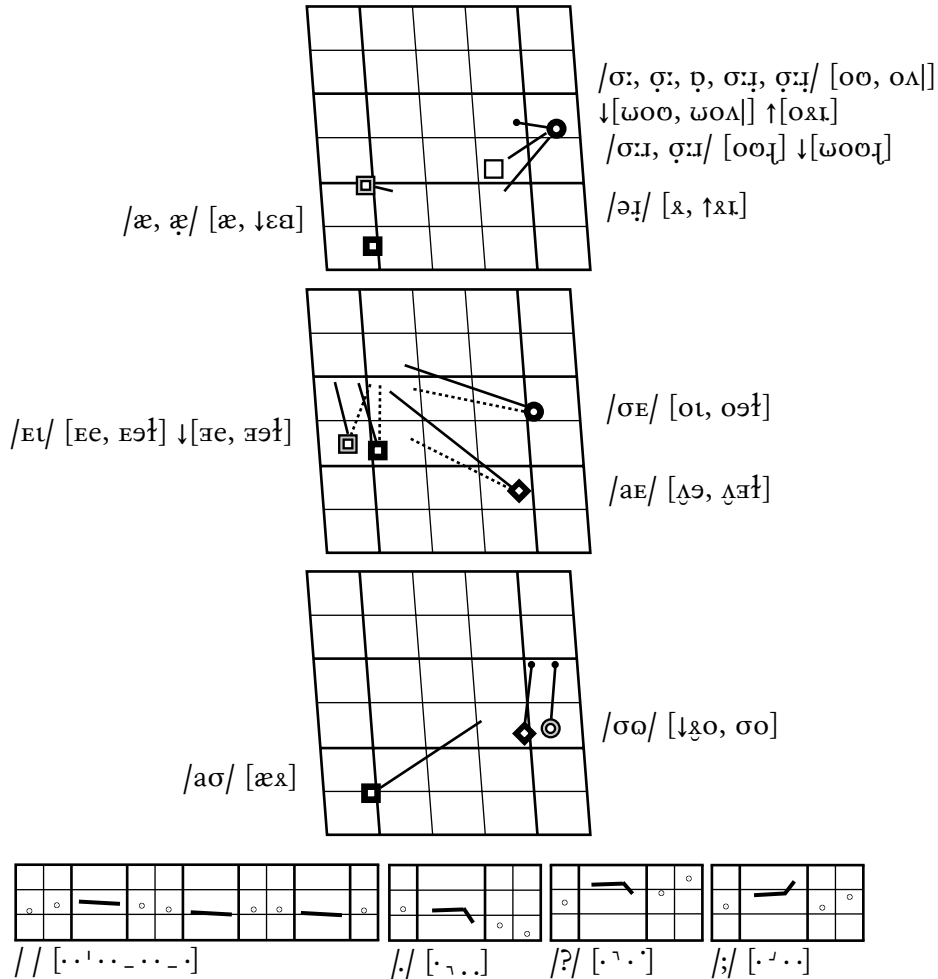
95.5. The ‘Blacks’ keep their ethnic characteristics better, having less contacts with different people. Thus, the readers are referred to \mathfrak{G} 116.

95.6. The ‘Jews’ have the vocalic and intonational elements shown in fig 95.5. Their /æ, æ/ [ɛa] are less raised, while their /σɪ, σɪ, ɒ/ [σθ, σθ] ↓[ωσθ, ωσθ] are definitely more raised, even if not unique; besides, we find the marked variants of /eɪ, σɔ/ [eɪ, ↓eɪ; σɔ, ↓σɔ], /aɛ, σɛ, aσ/ [aɛ, σɛ, aσ], and the peculiar timbre of /əɪ/ [ɛ, ↑ɛɪ], in every position, not only final.

As for the consonants, we have /ŋ/ [ŋkʃ, ŋk, ŋʃg, ŋʃg] and /ŋg/ [ŋ, ŋ]: *singing* /ˈsɪŋŋ/ [ˈsɪŋ-ŋk], *Long Island* /ˈlɒŋ ˈaɛlənd/ [ˈlɒσθŋ ˈgɛələnd], *finger* /ˈfɪŋgəɪ/ [ˈfɪŋɛ]; /t, d/ [t, θ, tɔ; d, dθ, dɔ], /tʃ/ [rʃ, rʃ], /t/ [d]; in addition to /nj, tj, dj/ [nɪu; tɪu, θ-, tɔ; dɪu, dθ-, dɔ-], we can find ↑[nɪu; tɪu, tɪu; dɪu, dɪu], as well; /s, z/ [s, θ; z, ɔ]; /θ, ð/ [t, d]; /zʃ/ [s]; /sʃC/ [zʃC]; /ɹ/ [r, ↓r, ↓r], /ɹ/ [θ, r, ↓r, ↓r].

The tonic syllables of the three tunes are quite peculiar, as can be seen in the tonogram of fig 95.5.

fig 95.5. Peculiarities of the Jewish accent: some vowels & diphthongs, and intonation.



erosexual'), *bad* /'bæd/ ['bɛɑd], *bat* /'hæt/ ['hɛɑt], *cod* /'kɒd/ ['kħɑɑd], *hot* /'hɒt/ ['hɑɑt], *cud* /'kʊd/ ['kħɑɑd], *but* /'hʌt/ ['hɛɑt], *heard* /'hɛɑ:d/ ['hɛɑd], *hurt* /'hɛɑ:t/ ['hɛɑt], *good* /'gɒd/ ['gʊɑd], *foot* /'fʊt/ ['fʊɑt], *saw* /'sɔ:/ ['sɔə], *sought* /'sɔ:t/ ['sɔə], *song* /'sɒŋ/ ['sɔəŋ], *off* /'ɒf/ ['ɔəf], *sorry* /'sɒri/ ['sɔəri], *warrior* /'wɒriə/ ['wɔəri], *spa* /'spɑ:/ ['spɑʌ], *when* /'wɛn/ ['hʊwɛən, 'hw-, ↑w-], *man* /'mæn/ ['mɛʌn], *sang* /'sæŋ/ ['sɛʌŋ], *furry* /'fɛəri/ ['fɛəri], *hurry* /'hɛəri/ ['hɛəri], *city* /'sɪti/ ['sɪti], *influence* /'ɪnfluəns/ ['ɪnfluəns].

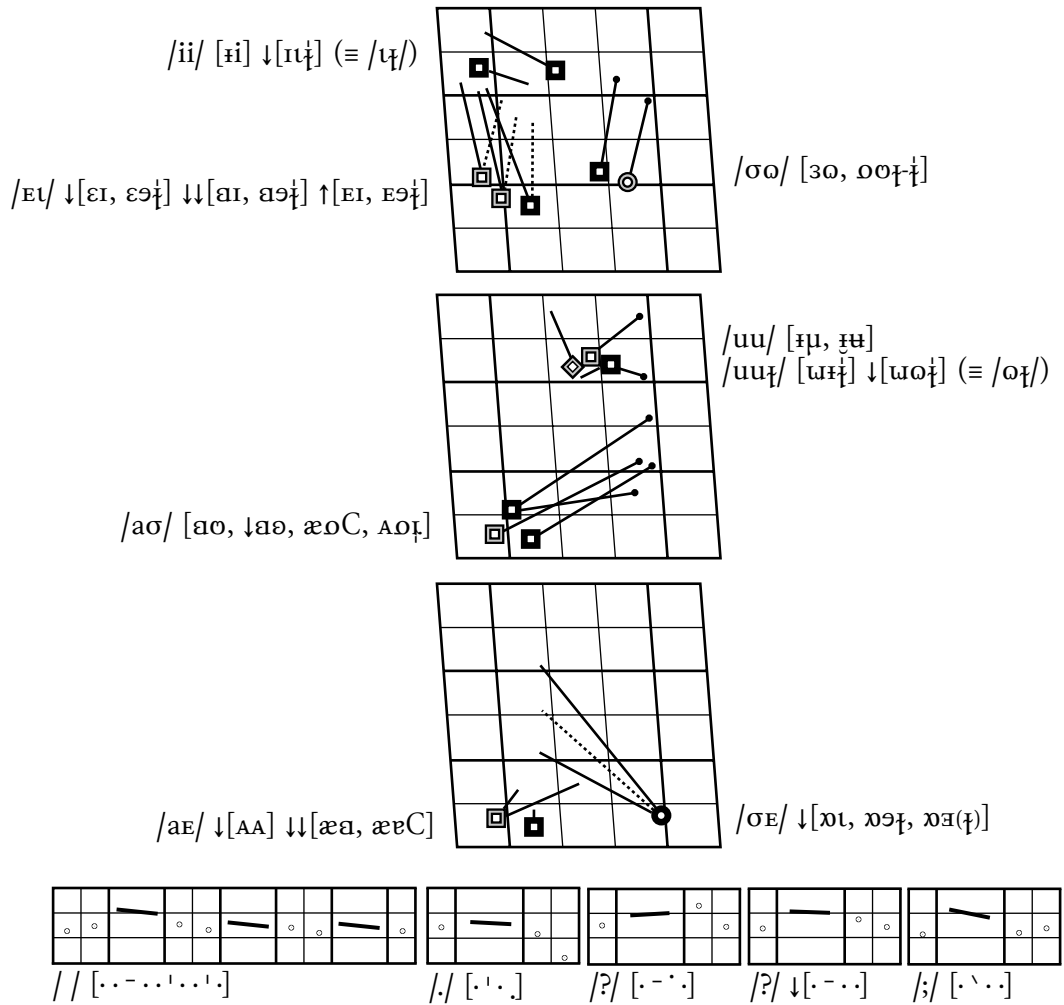
108.2. A lighter type of southern drawl, phonetically, shows just narrow homochromatic diphthongs (or doubling), [u, ɛɛ, ɛɛ, ɑɑ, ɔɔ, ʊʊ] (for phonemically simple /u, ɛ, æ, ɒ, ɐ, ʊ/): *bid* /'bɪd/ ['bɪd], &c. While, a still lighter drawl just has an added semichrone, [˙] + [˙] = [ː], thus, [V˙C] → [VːC] (as phonemically long vowels, ' [u, ɛ, æ, ɑ, ɐ, ʊ:]'), [u, ɛ, ɛ, ɑ, ɔ, ʊ:]: *bid* /'bɪd/ ['bɪd], &c.

The more evident the southern drawl becomes, we find [V˙C, VVC] → [VVC] (with the same –doubled– vocoids); or [VVC] → [VVC]. Notice that [V] indicates slightly different vocoids, generally centralized, as shown above, to give narrow diphthongs plus a vocoid, ie real phonetic triphthongs. This extra-lengthening of the stressed syllables, in tunes, is counterbalanced by corresponding shortenings of the unstressed syllables in words ^{or} phrases and sentences, as we will see below: [ˌV] → [ˌV] or [ˌθ]: *Generally, Southerners are easily identified* /'dʒɛn(ə)rəli 'sɛðəɪnəɪz əɪiiz(ə)li æf'dɛnʃəfæd/ ['dʒɛnɪli 'sɛθnəz ɪ'tɪzli æf'dɛnʃəfæd].

108.3. Consequently, this length compensation further highlights the difference between stressed (& drawled) syllables and unstressed (& more reduced-than-normal) syllables: [VVC] vs [ˌVC]. This effect is further increased, when the drawl produces triphthongs, instead of simple diphthongs, in even broader accents, as we will see: [VVC] (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 108.4): *town* /'taʊn/ ['tħɑəʊn, 'tħæəʊn] (even ['tħɑ̃əʊn, 'tħæ̃əʊn]).

108.4. The other vocograms (in fig 108.1) show the phonemic diphthongs of a mild accent like this. We just exemplify them in final position, and /əɪ, ɔɪ/ (leaving to the readers the task to search examples with /ɪ/ or in internal position): *tea* /'ti:/ ['tħvi], *day* /'deɪ/ ['dħɪ], *lie* /'laɪ/ ['lħɪ], *cow* /'kaʊ/ ['kħəʊ], *boy* /'bɔɪ/ ['bħɔɪ], *two* /'tu:/ ['tħɪ], *beer* /'bɪə/ ['bħɪ], *care* /'kɛə/ ['kħɛ], *car* /'kɑ:/ ['kħɑ], *war* /'wɔ:/ ['wħɔ], *four* /'fɔ:/ ['fħɔ], *poor* /'pɔ:/ ['pħɔ], *fur* /'fɜ:/ ['fħɜ]; and *furry* /'fɛəri/ ['fɛəri], *hurry* /'hɛəri/ ['hɛəri].

108.5. 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 108.2. 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 108.2. While the frame /C_Ci, -C_C/ (this last corre-



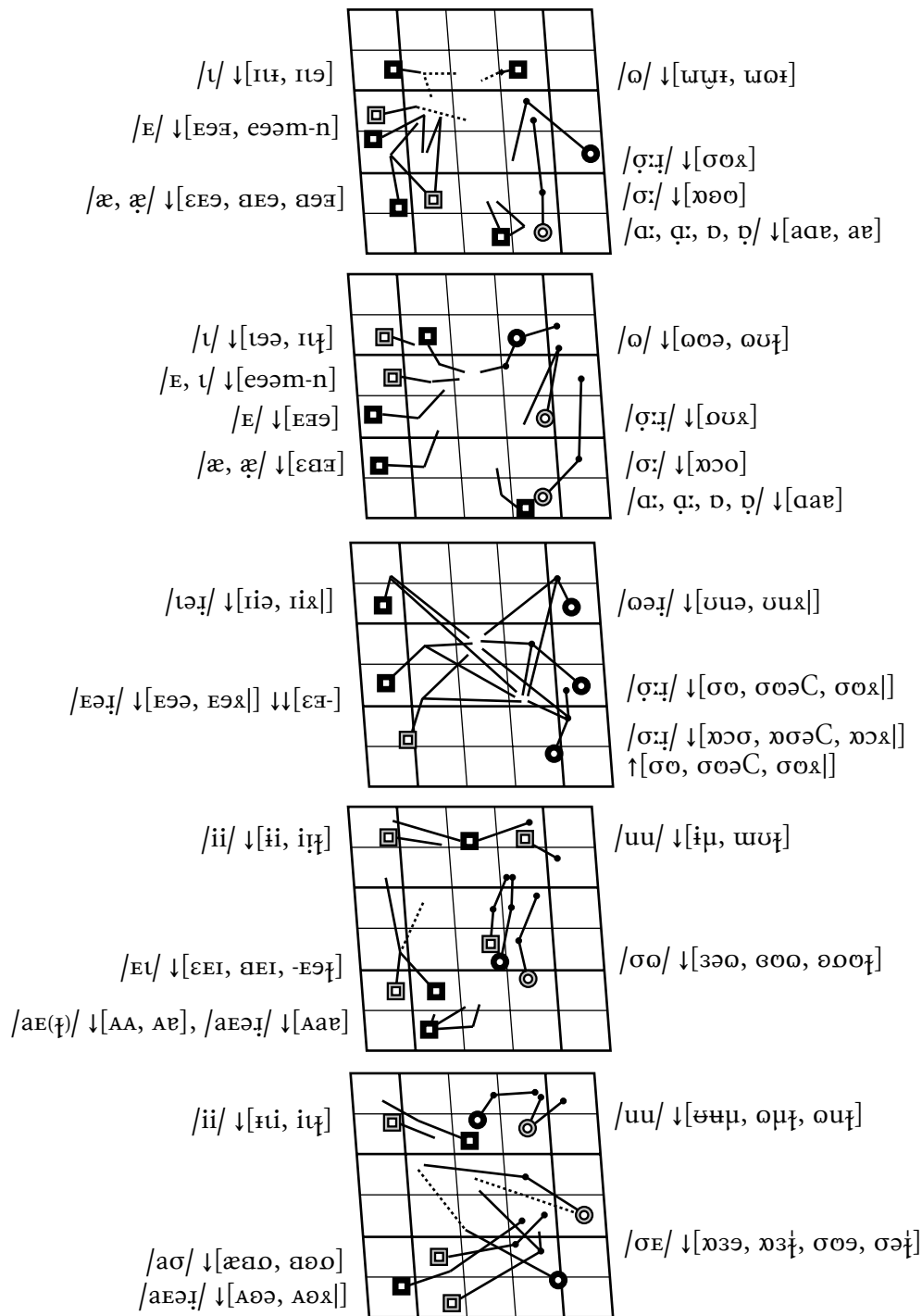
↓bɛk, ↑bɪk, ↑bɔk], *bird* /'bɜ:ɪd/ [↓'bɜəɪd, ↓'bɜɪd], *but* /'hɛt/ [↓'hɛɪt, ↓'hɛɪt, ↑'hɛɪt], *saw* /'sɔ:/ [↓'sɔə, ↓'sɔɪ, ↓↓'sɔɪ], *lost* /'lɒst/ [↓'lɒst, ↓'lɒst, ↓↓'lɒst, ↓↓'lɒst], *hot* /'hɒt/ [↓'hɒt, ↓'hɒt, ↑'hɒt].

108.7. In the second vocogram of fig 108.3, let us notice the additional realizations given, and, in particular: *Mary* /'mɛəri/ [↓'mɛəri, ↓'mɛəri] (almost, but not exactly, '↓eɪ') [↓-ɪ, ↑-ɪ], *care* /'kɛəri/ [↓'kɛəri, ↓'kɛəri] (almost, but –again– not exactly, '↓eɪ'), *door* /'dɔ:/ [↓'dɔɪ, ↓'dɔɪ] ↓↓[-σɔɪ, -σɔɪ] (almost, not exactly, '↓σɔɪ', as in fig 108.4), *war* /'wɔ:/ [↓'wɔɪ, ↓'wɔɪ] ↓↓[-ɔɪ, -ɔɪ] ↓↓[-ɔɪ, -ɔɪ] (for this, cf fig 108.4, last vocogram, as well).

The other vocograms, in fig 108.3, show further realizations and contexts for vowels and diphthongs. Let us only explicitly notice: *high* /'haɪ/ [↓'haɪ, ↓'haɪ, ↓↓'haɪ], *time* /'taɪm/ [↓'taɪm, ↓'taɪm, ↓↓'taɪm, ↓↓'taɪm].

108.8. Let us now, briefly, consider fig 108.4, 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

fig 108.4. The South: still broader variants of vowels & diphthongs.



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 contexts 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)!

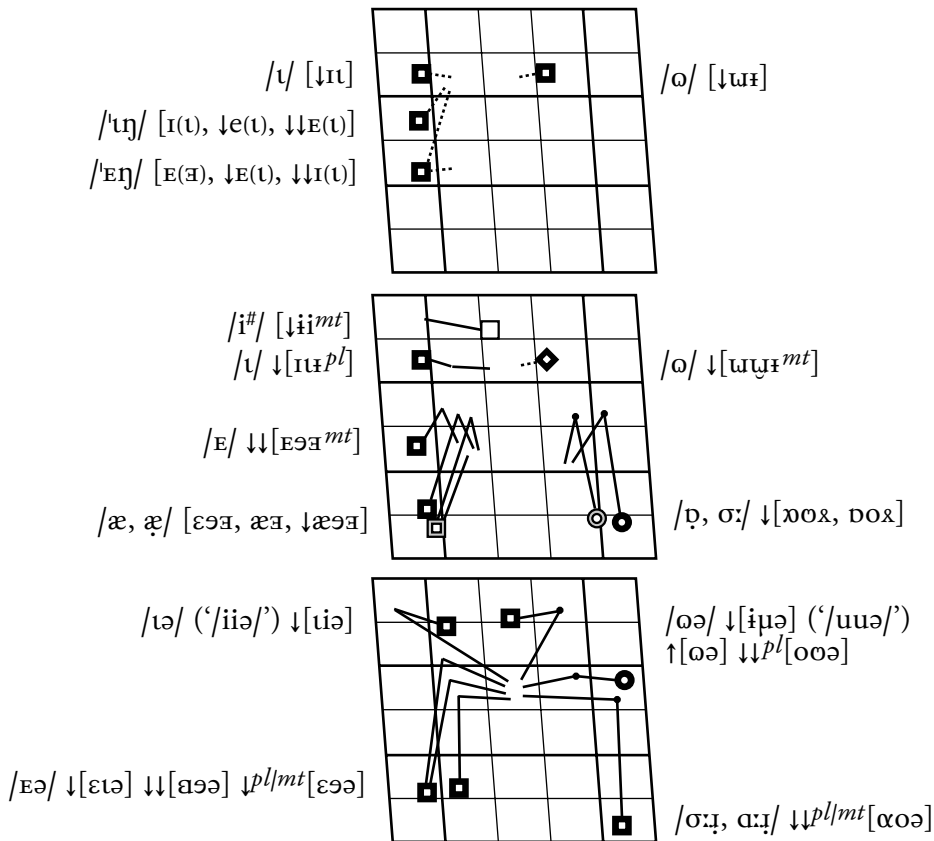
(triphthongs) /ɪV/ → [ɪɪV], /eɪV/ → [ɛɛV], /æɪV/ → [ɛɛV], /oɪV/ → [ɔɪV];
 (triphthongs or tetraphthongs) /ɔɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔV, ɔɔV, ɔɔV] [↓ɔɔV], /ɔɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔV, ɔɔV], /ɔɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔV, ɔɔV], /ɔɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔV, ɔɔV], /ɔɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔV, ɔɔV];
 (tetraphthongs) /ɔɪV/ → [ɔɔV], /eɪV/ → ↓[eɛV, eɛV, eɛV], /aɪV/ → [aɔV], /oɪV/ → ↓[ɔɔV, ɔɔV]; /iɪV/ → [iɪV], /eɪV/ → [eɛV], /aɪV/ → [aɔV], /oɪV/ → [ɔɔV], /aɔV/ → [aɔV], /oɔV/ → [ɔɔV], /uɪV/ → [ɪɪV].

Here are some examples: *very* /'vɛɪi/ [ˈvɛɪi, -ɛɪi, ↓-ɛɪi], *sorry* /'sɔɪi/ [ˈsɔɪi, -aɪi] ↓[-ɔɪi, -ɔɪi, aɪi] [↓ɔɪi], *story* /'stɔɪi/ [ˈstɔɪi] ↓[-oɪi, -oɪi], *Mary* /'mɛɪi/ [ˈmɛɪi] ↓[-eɪi, -eɪi, -eɪi].

108.12. A note seems necessary, at this point, about not a few treatises, which (using the official *IPA* notation) resort to such symbols as ‘[y, ɣ, ɵ]’, for advanced vocoids, or sequences as ‘[ɪjə], [ejə, eɪjə, eɪjə], [æjə, æɪjə], [awə, aɔwə], [ɔuwə, ɔwə], [ouwə], [ɔwə]’, trying to indicate the southern drawl for /ɪ, e, æ, ɔ, ɔɪ, ɔɪ, ɔɪ/ (of course, the last but one symbol stands for /ɔɪ, ɔɪ/).

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).

fig 108.6. The South: further variants.



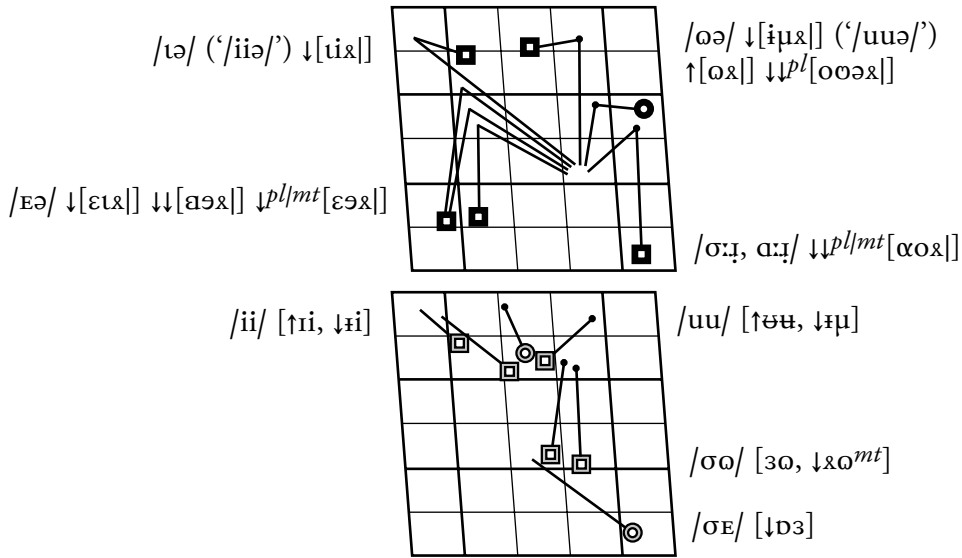
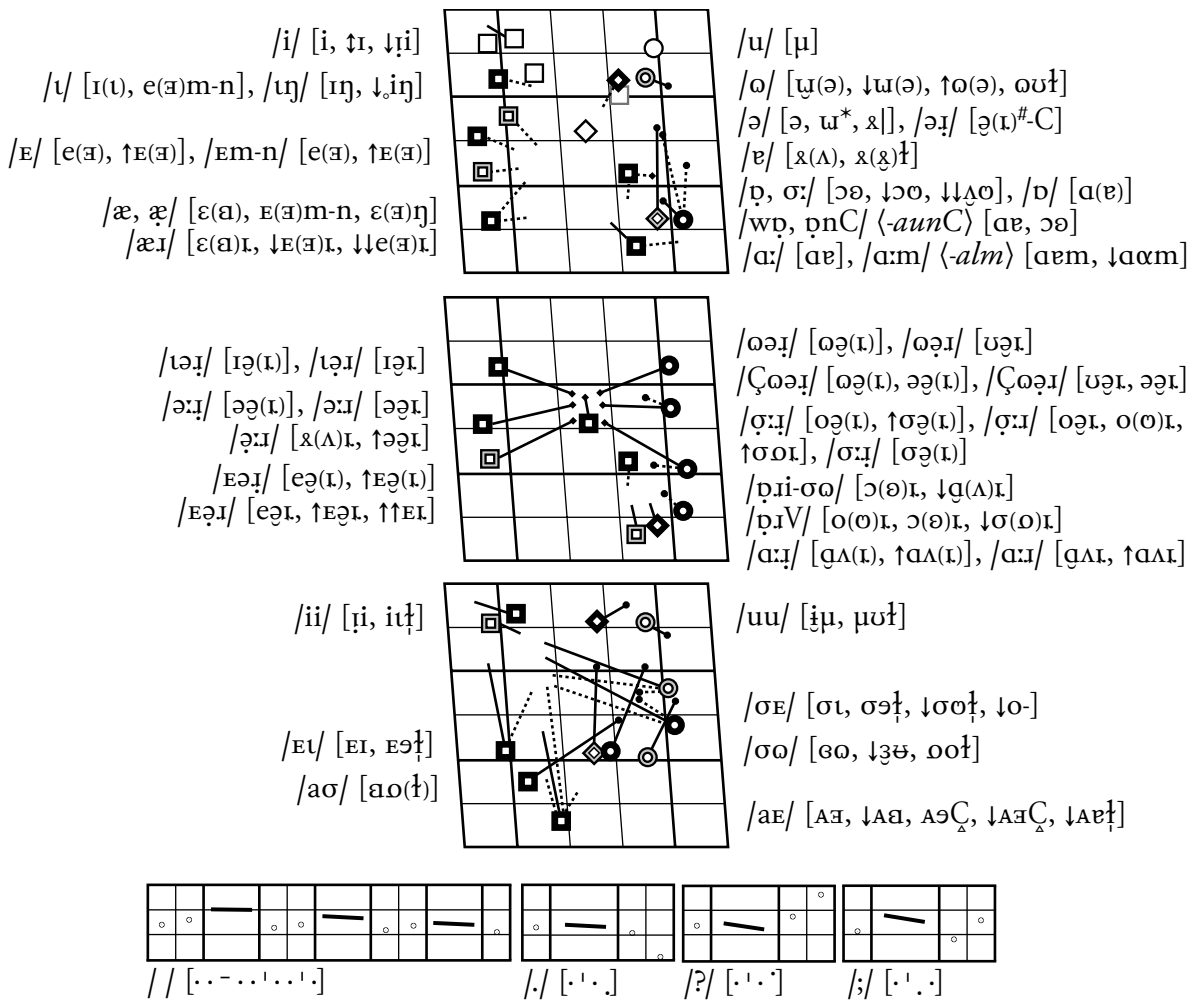


fig 108.7. The South: further different variants, including intonation.



108.13. We now add fig 108.6-7, 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 or less frequently. Those marked *pl* are particularly typical of 'plantation areas'; while, those marked *mt* are of 'mountain areas'.

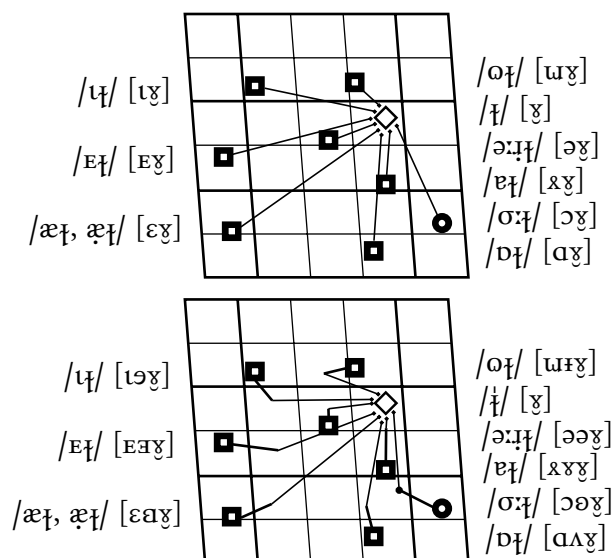
108.14. As we have already said, in the South, we have /ə/ = /ɪ/ ≠ /ə/, so that there is a difference between /ə/ and /ə/ (contrary to International and most American usage, but in accordance with most British usage). These examples are mostly from Wells 1982, § 6.5.10, and adapted to our transcription: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

For /i, u/, we have [ɪ, ɪ, ɪ; ɔ, ɪμ]: *city* /'sɪtɪ/ [ɪsɪɪ, ↓-ɪ, ↑i, ↓-ɪ], *react* /ɪ'ækt/ [ɪɪ-ɛækt, ↓ɪ-, ↑ɪ-], *situation* /sɪtʃu'eɪʃ(ə)n/ [sɪtʃu'ɪʃn, ↑-μ-].

The broad accent has /ə/ for final unstressed *-ue*, *-ow* and *-i*: *continue* /kən'tɪnjuu/ [khwɪn'tɪnɪju, ↓-jɔ], *yellow* /'jɛləw/ [jɛɪləw, ↓-ɔ, ↓-ɔ], *Mississippi* /mɪsə'sɪpi/ [mɪsɪ'sɪpɪ, ↓-ɔ, -s's-].

Especially younger speakers may merge /ii/, ɪ; uu/, ɔ/: *feel* /'fiɪ/ [ɪi, ↓-ɪ], *fill* /'fɪ/ [ɪi, ↓-ɪ], *pool* /'puu/ [ɪpu, ↓-wɔ], *pull* /'pɔ/ [ɪpu, ↓-wɔ]. More rarely they happen to merge /Eɪ/, Eɪ; ɔɔ/, ɔɔ/: *fail* /'fɛɪ/ [ɪɛɪ], *fell* /'fɛɪ/ [ɪɛɪ, ↓-ɛɪ], *foal* /'fɔɔ/ [ɪfɔɔ, ↓-ɔɔ], *fall* /'fɔɔ/ [ɪfɔɔ, ↓-ɔɔ], *foil* /'fɔɔ/ [ɪfɔɔ, ↓-ɔɔ]. Other merged variants are also possible.

fig 108.8. The South: broad vocalization of /ɪ/, with six short and two long monophthongs (corresponding to those in fig 108.1), producing either diphthongs or triphthongs (actually, different from any others).



108.15. As for the *consonants*, the typical accent presents /w/ [hw, hw, ↑w]: *why* /'waɪ/ [hwɔɔ, hw-, ↑w-] &c; /j/ [nj, ↓n, ↑n; tj, ↓tj, ↑tj; dj, ↓dɔ, ↑dɔ]: *new* /'njuu/ [njɪμ, ↓n-, ↑n-] &c, *tube* /tjuub/ [tɪjɪμb, ↓tɪh-, ↑tɪh-] &c, *due* /'djuu/ [dɪjɪμ, ↓dɔ-, ↑dɔ-] &c; /hj/ [hj, ↑j]: *huge* /'hjuudɔ/ [hɪjɪμdɔ, ↑j-] &c.

But, the most typical feature, for the South, is its *non-rhoticity*, although, nowadays, lighter accents are rhotic, even though not systematically, in general. How-

ever, 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 /ɪVɪ/ [ɪV∅]: *rare* /'ɪɛəɪ/ [ɪ'ɛ'ɔ] &c; while a rhotic accent has [ɪVɪ] (or [ɪVɪ]; and, sometimes, [ɪVɪ], as a compromise for neo-rhotic speakers) /ɪVɪ/: [ɪ'ɛ'əɪ, -ɪ, 'ɪ]. In addition, the typical accent has no ‘linking-*r*’, except if introduced on purpose: *far away* /'fɑ:ɪ ə'weɪ/ [ɪ'fɑɪ (ɹ)ɪ'weɪɪ] &c. Of course, ‘intrusive-*r*’ is not used at all: *saw it* /'sɔ:ɪt/ [ɪ'sɔ'ɪt] &c. On the contrary, in a very broad accent, we can find ‘intrusive-*l*’: *saw it* /'sɔ:ɪt/ [ɪ'sɔ'ɪt, ↓↓'sɔ'ɪt] &c.

108.16. We also have /lVɪ/ [lVɪ, ↓lV-, ↓↓lV-, -Vɪ, ↑-Vɪ]: *lily* /'lɪli/ [lɪ'ɪɪ, ↓lɪ-, ↓↓lɪ-] &c, *Al* /'æɪ/ [ɪ'ɛɪ] &c, *cult* /'kʌɪ/ [k'hɔɪ] &c.

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.

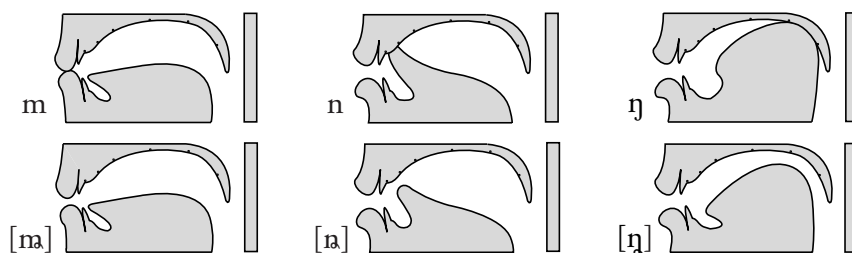
In fact, as fig 108.8 shows, the possible broad ‘vocalization’ of /ɪ/ does not exactly correspond to any of the various typical diphthong taxophones of the different vowel phonemes that we have seen in fig 108.1-7. Not even in the accent shown in the last vocogram of fig 108.7, with /Vəɪ, Vɪ:/ [Və(ɪ), Vɪ(ɪ)] (also if [ɪ] → ∅], in non-rhotic accents).

Thus, it would be quite ill-advised to say, for instance, that *help* /'hɛɪp/ [h'ɛɪp, ↓h'ɛɪp, ↓↓h'ɛɪp] can become homophonous with *hep* /'hɛp/ [h'ɛp], in spite of any kind of possible drawing.

108.17. In broader accents, we can find /θ, ð/ ↓↓[t, d] ↓[t, d] [tθ, dð]: *this thing* /ðɪsθɪŋ/ [ðɪsθɪŋ, dðɪs'tθ-, ↓dɪs't-, ↓↓dɪs't-, -ɪŋ, ↓-ɛɪŋ, ↓↓-ɛɪŋ], and /ʃɪ/ [↓↓sɪ, ↓sɪ]: *shrub* /'ʃɹʌb/ [ɪ'ʃɹɔɪb, ↓sɪ-, ↓↓sɪ-].

Again in broader accents, we have the typical and widespread nasalization of /VN#, VNC, VN#/ [ṼN], 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 108.9): *constant* /'kɒnstənt/ [k'hɔɪnstənt, k'hɔɪnstənt, k'hɔɪnstənt], *camping* /'kæmpɪŋ/ [k'hɛampɪŋ, k'hɛampɪŋ, k'hɛampɪŋ]. These are, often, unwisely described (and transcribed) as actual pure nasalized vocoids –à la française– with no nasal contoid, especially before voiceless contoids: ‘[k'hɔɪstənt̃, k'hɛpɪ̃]’.

fig 108.9. The South: some nasal and seminasal articulations.



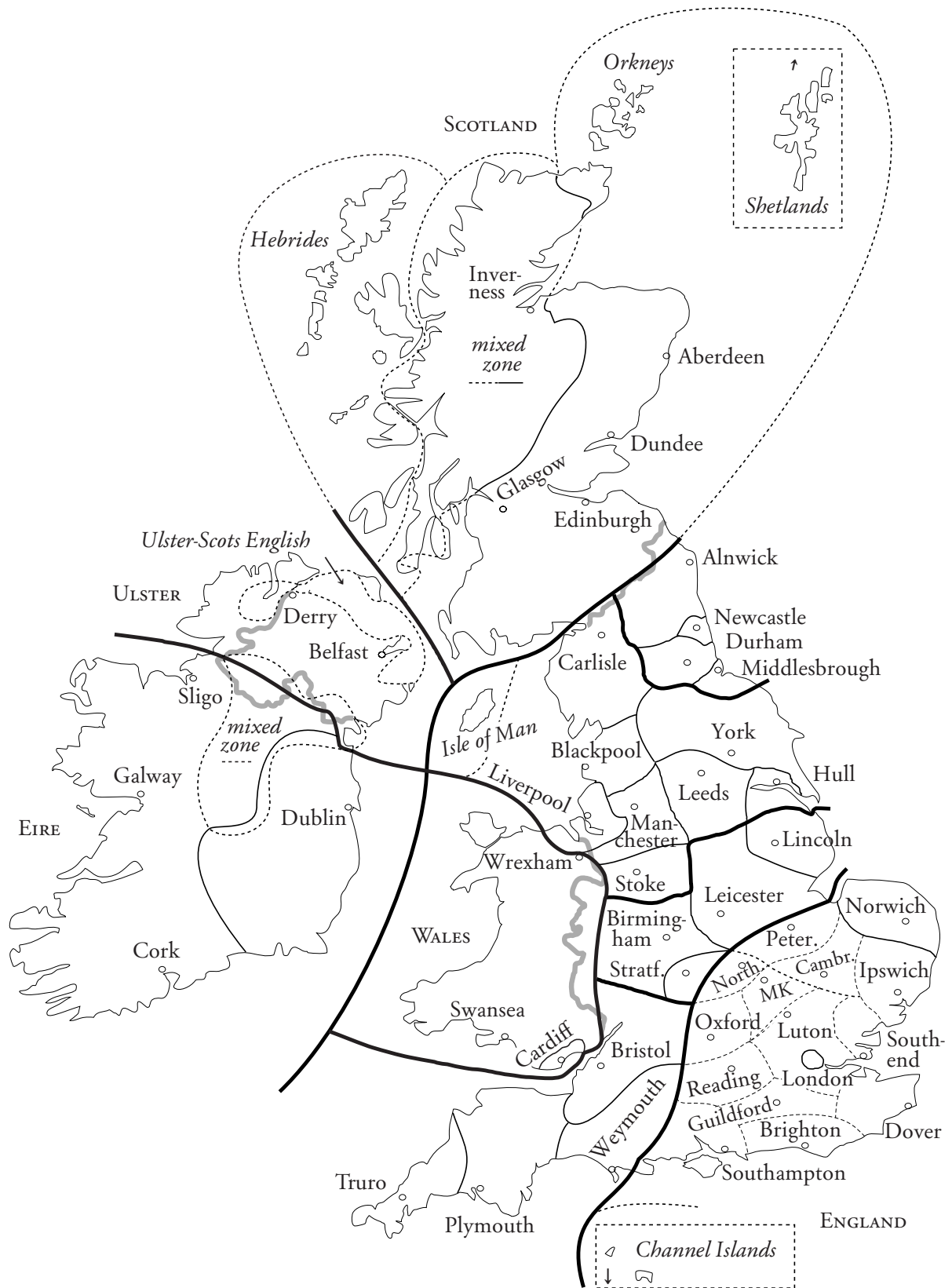
108.18. Let us end by indicating four typical southern pronunciations and some frequent stress displacements. We just give phonemic transcriptions, independently of any possible realizations: *on* /⁽⁰⁾ɒn/ is /σ:n/, *going to* ('going-to, gonna') is /⁽⁰⁾gσ:n/ and non-rhotic /⁽⁰⁾gσ:ɹn/: *going to be* [-m'b-], *going to do* [-n'd-], *going to go* [-ŋ'g-]; *can't* is /'kænt/, and *thing* is /'θɪŋ/, but with the frequent, though stigmatized, pronunciation given first, here: [ɹθɪŋ, θɪŋ, -ɹɪŋ] (fig 108.6). It seems right to say that, transcribing them with /ou, eɪ/ ie /⁽⁰⁾σou, ⁽⁰⁾gσou, 'kɛɪnt, 'θɛɪŋ/, is not fully correct (even if their realizations might seem to correspond to neutral /σo, eɪ/), with [ɹθkheɪnt] (fig 108.3). However, this might be acceptable for the Black-American accent (cf § 116.8).

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

Very often, the following words can be stressed on their first syllable: *afternoon* /æftəˈnuːn/ [ˈɛaftəniːn], *defense* /dɪˈfens/ [ˈdɪfɛns], *Detroit* /dɪˈɔɪt/ [ˈdɪtɪtɪt], *event* /ɪˈvɛnt/ [ˈɪvɛnt], *hotel* /həˈtɛl/ [ˈhɒtɛl], *insurance* /ɪnˈʃʊərəns/ [ˈɪnʃʊərəns, -ʃoʊ-], *Monroe* /mənˈɹoʊ, mɛn-, mɒn-/ [ˈmɔːrɹɔː] &c, *police* /pəˈliːs/ [ˈphɒlɪs, -ɪs], *umbrella* /ʌmˈbrɛlə/ [ˈɔːmbɹɛlə] &c.

108.19. Paraphonically, we can often find breathy voice, ⟨·⟩, which sounds lax, a narrow pitch range, given to a compressed tonal setting, ⟨◊⟩ (cf fig 49), and a lowered-larynx setting ⟨:⟩. In addition, we find different articulatory settings: *radical* ↓⟨V̥⟩, *predorsal* ⟨V̥⟩, and *postdorsal* ↑⟨V̥⟩ (cf fig 168.3).

fig 139.3. The British Isles: complete accent areas.



140.

London

(or Cockney proper)

140.1. Let us start with London and Cockney proper. Most typically, it is the speech of the working-class of *the East End* of London, which includes the harbor.

The main vocalic characteristics reside in its diphthongs, which we present in the second vocogram of fig 140.1, while in the third vocogram we add both the *less* broad variants (↑, seven) and the *broadest* ones (↓, two [with grey edges]).

Frequently, speakers can fluctuate between these three types: /ii/ [ɪɪ, ↑ɦɪ], /ɛɪ/ [Aə, ↑ɦɪ], /aɛ/ [ɔɦ, ↑ɦə], /aσ/ [ɛʌ, ↑ɦəʌ, ↓ɦə] (the last variant, which is generally 'described' as [æʌ, aʌ], is the most narrow diphthong of all), /σɛ/ [oɪ, ↑ɦə], /σɔ/ [ɐɔ, ↑ɦə], ↓ɦə], /uɪ/ [əɦ, ↑ɦɦ].

Usually, the diaphoneme /ə/ is /ɪ/ [ɪ]. For (*n*)either we generally find /ii/.

fig 140.1. London (Cockney accent): vowels & diphthongs (normally, its intonation corresponds to the neutral one).

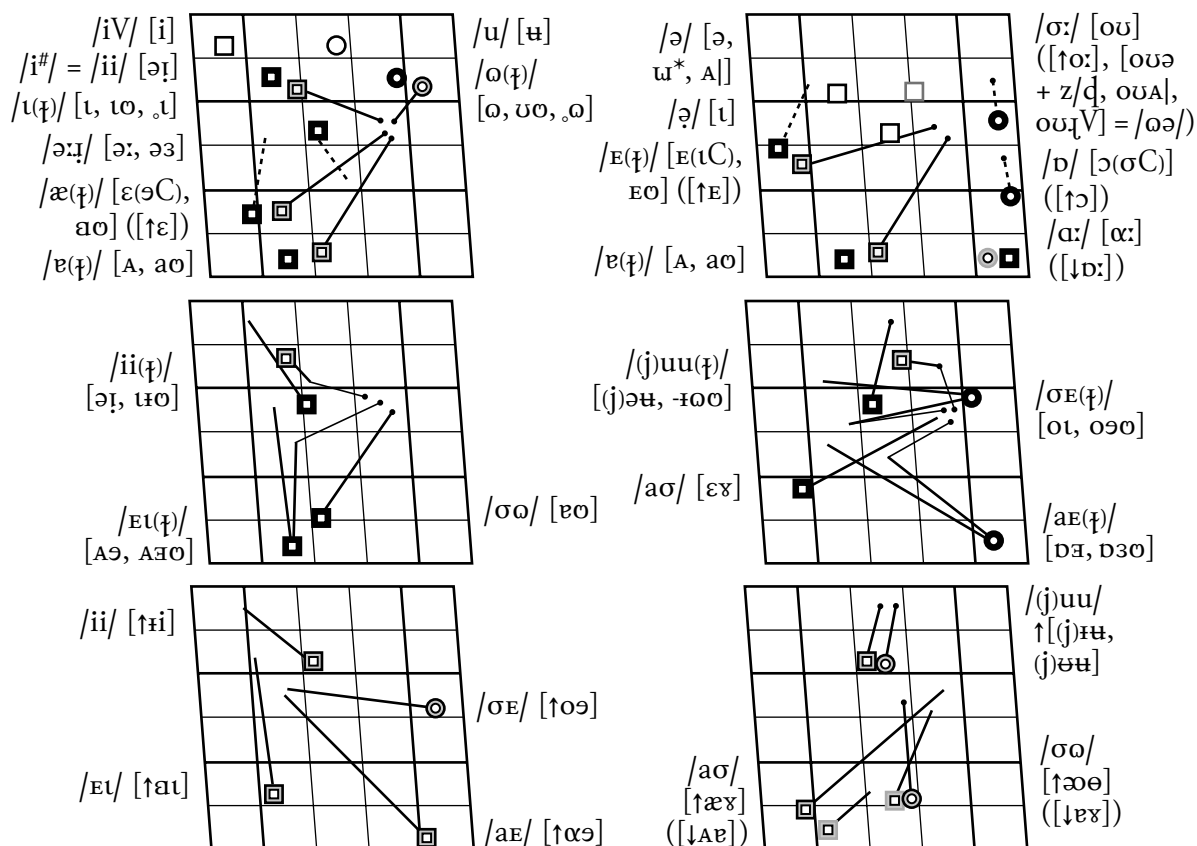
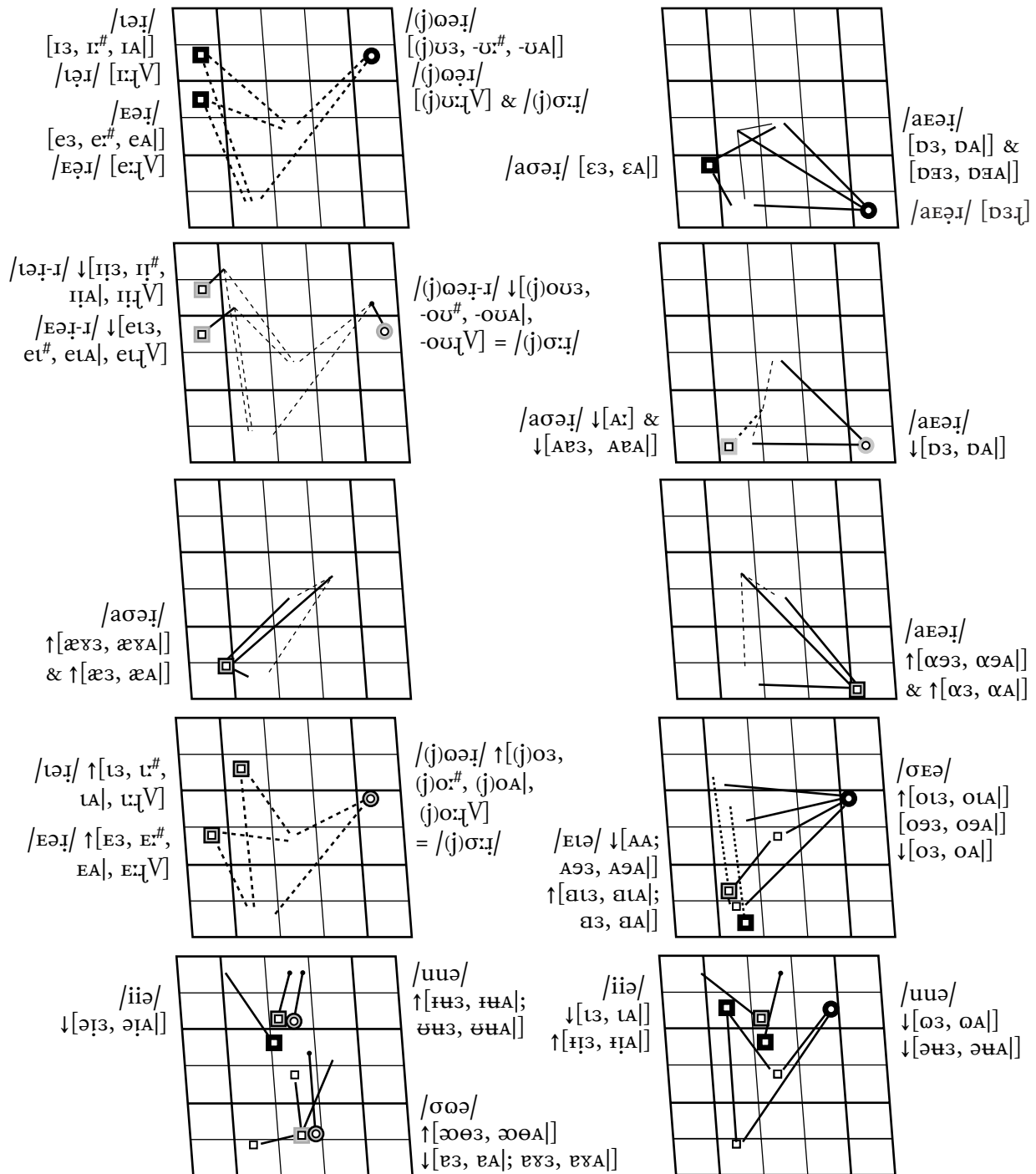


fig 140.2. London (Cockney accent): further vowels, diphthongs & triphthongs.



140.2. For the monophthongs, the most evident characteristics –in addition to some timbres– are contextual diphthongizations. In fact, in the most typical and broad accent, /ɛ, æ, ɒ/ occurring in stressed monosyllables in (bi)checked syllables –ie with /Cʰ, CCʰ/– are pronounced [ɛɪ, ɛə, ɔɜ]. For the first two phonemes, this fact is particularly clear with /n, nɔ, t, d; ŋ, k, ks, g/ (although /t/ = [ʔ]) and with other voiced C (but also with voiceless ones), as in: *dad* /'dæd/ ['dɛɛdɜ] (for ['dæɔ]). Something similar happens to /σ:(ɪ)/, which most typically is [ou] (although in

a less broad pronunciation it is [o:], as in *lawn*, *water*, *story* /'lɔ:n, 'wɔ:tə, 'stɔ:ri/ [l'ɔ:ʊn, 'wɔ:ʊɹ, 'stɔ:ʊi] (for [l'ɔ:n, 'wɔ:tə, 'stɔ:ɹi]). In an intermediate accent, as in the less broad one, in all positions, we always find [o:, ɔ:], respectively. Instead, in the most typical and broadest accent, we find [ɔ:ʌ], when in word-final position before pauses.

140.3. However, in final position, within sentences, or with the grammemes /z#, ɰ#/, we have [ɔ:ʌ]: *paw*, *pore*, *pour*, *poor* ['pɔ:ʌ] (for /'pɔ:, 'pɔ:ɹ/ ['phɔ:], and /'pɔ:ʌ, -sɔ:ɹ/ ['phɔ:, -ɔ:ɹ] for the last one [following the most international phonemic order]); *paws*, *pores*, *pours*, *poor's* ['pɔ:ʌz] (for /'pɔ:z, 'pɔ:ɹz/ ['phɔ:z], and /'pɔ:ʌz, -sɔ:ɹz/ ['phɔ:z, -ɔ:z]).

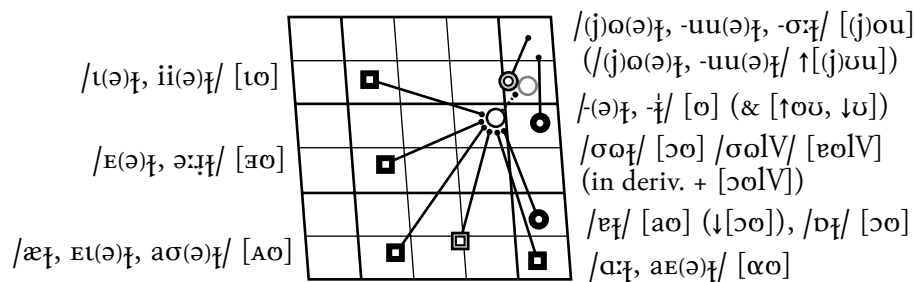
/ɔ:/ occurs more frequently (and the same is true of traditional and affected pronunciations) than in the neutral accent, especially for /ɔ:/: *off*, *cloth*, *cross* /'ɔ:f, 'klɔθ, 'krɔs/ [l'ɔ:f, 'kxlɔ:f, 'kxlɔ:s]. Even /ə:/ can be diphthongized [ɜ:, ɜ:z]; and also the timbres of /ɑ:, ɜ:/ are quite remarkable (for /ə(ɹ)#/, too): *car*, *further* /'kɑ:ɹ, 'fɜ:ɹðə/ [l'kxlɑ:, 'kxlɔ:z; 'fɜ:vɑ, 'fɜ:z].

The vowels which are followed by nasal consonants (and often those which are preceded by nasals, too) are nasalized (as is the diphthong /aɔ/, quite often independently from context). For the grammeme /ɪŋ/ we have [ĩn, ŋ]; and, for *-thing*, [-fĩŋŋk] is frequent: *mine*, *something*, *anything* /'maɪn, 'sɜ:mθɪŋ, 'eniθɪŋ/ [l'mɔĩn, 'sɑmfĩŋŋk, 'ɛn-əĩfĩŋŋk].

140.4. The first and second vocograms in fig 140.2 show the realizations of /ɪə, ɛə, eə, ɛə, (j)ə, -ə, æə, æə, aɔə, aɔə/ (often /jə-/ becomes /jɔ:-/); instead, the third and fourth vocograms show the broadest variants, whereas the fifth to seventh vocograms give the least broad variants, including monophthongal variants (in the seventh vocogram) of: /ɪə, -ə/ ↑[ɪz, ɪ#, ɪA, ɪɹV], /ɛə, -ə/ ↑[ɛz, ɛ#, ɛA, ɛɹV], /ə, -ə/ ↑[ɔz, ɔ#, ɔA, ɔɹV] (thus, as ↑/(j)ɔ:-, -ɹ/).

In addition, the last three vocograms (eighth to tenth) show the beginning of the following triphthongs, including their diphthongal variants (but, on the vocograms, we just show their final elements, [-ɜ, -A]), by means of two small squares, because it would be very difficult to draw them clearly enough, without avoiding very disturbing overlappings of lines, or having to add further vocograms): /ɛɪə, -ə/ ↓[Aɜ, Aɜz, AɜA] ↑[ɛɪz, ɛɪA]; /ɔə, -ə/ ↓[ɜz, ɜA; ɜz, ɜA] ↑[ɔəz, ɔəA], /ɔɛə, -ə/ ↓[ɔz, ɔA] [ɔɛz, ɔɛA] ↑[ɔɪz, ɔɪA], /iɪə, -ə/ ↓[ɪz, ɪA; ɪɪz, ɪɪA] ↑[ɪɪz, ɪɪA], /uə, -ə/ ↓[ɔz, ɔA; ɜz, ɜA] ↑[ɜz, ɜA; ɜz, ɜA].

fig 140.3. London (Cockney accent): typical neutralizations before /ɹ/.



140.5. We will now consider, in the vocogram of fig 140.3, the many (and typical) neutralizations of /V(V)/ + /ɪ/, which is vocalized into [ɔ] (in broader pronunciations, we find [ʊ]; while, in less broad ones, we can have [oʊ]): /ɪ, ɪə, iɪ, iɪə/ [ɪə], /Eɪ, Eə, ə:ɪ/ [Eə], /Eɪ, æɪ, aɪ, aɪə/ [Aə], /eɪ/ [ə, ↓ə] (in the broadest accent, the diphthong may coincide with /σəV/ [eəV], when it is lexeme-internal), /ɑ:ɪ, æɪ, æəɪ/ [ɑə], /ɒɪ, σəɪ/ [ɔə] (in derivatives of /σəɪ/ we find [ɔəV], instead of [eəV], exactly as in mediatic pronunciation), /ʝəɪ, -əɪ, -uəɪ, -uəəɪ, -σəɪ/ [ʝəu] (for /ʝə, -ə, -uə, -uəə/, we also find a less broad realization, ↑[(ʝ)ə]).

For /σEɪ, σEəɪ/, we have [oə] (even in less broad accents); for /-əɪ, -ɪ, -ɪ/ we have [o] (and ↓[ʊ], ↑[oʊ]); *-el, -al* and *'ll*, after vowels, can be slightly lengthened [o:, ↑o:] (and the same is true of /-əɪ, -ɪ/). For /-əɪ[#]V, -ɪ[#]V, -ɪ[#]V/, we find [əV, ↓əV], *uncle Herbert* ('*Erbert*) [Aŋɹkəl'əzbəɹ(ɪ)].

In the first two vocograms of fig 140.1, we have marked, in grey, also five V and five VV, which before /ɪ/ may not undergo the typical neutralization shown in the last vocogram.

140.6. As far as the *consonants* are concerned, the most typical characteristic refers to /p, t, k, tʃ/, which are typically preglottalized, [p̚], also [p̚], in all cases where in the British accent synglottalization is possible (cf ʒ 21 & ʒ 23), or where in mediatic British English preglottalization occurs (cf § 56.12-15). Also for their phonetic realizations we find some differences. In fact, in the most typical and broadest pronunciations, /p, t, k/ are realized as the corresponding stopstrictives: [p̚p, t̚, k̚], also 'aspirated' (in the normal contexts expected for neutral pronunciation, too): [p̚pʰ, t̚h, k̚h] (which can give the impression of stronger 'aspiration'). However, the most typical and broad element is the substitution of /t, tʃ/ with [ɹ] in all the cases seen in ʒ 20, but with further typifying contexts (*ie* except before a tautosyllabic stressed nucleus, or after pauses, or after /s/, [t̚ʃh, |t̚h, 'st̚, st̚]).

Examples: *butter* /'bʊt̚əɪ/ ['bʌɹ-ə], *water* /'wɔ:t̚əɪ/ ['wouɹə], *cotton* /'kɒt̚ŋ/ ['kxhɔɹ-ŋ], *sitting* /'sɪt̚ɪŋ/ ['sɪɹ-ŋ], *bottom* /'bɒt̚əm/ ['bɔɹ-m], *Burton* /'bɜ:t̚ɪŋ/ ['bɜɹɹ-ŋ], *Elton* /'Eɪt̚ŋ/ ['Eɪɹ-ŋ], *Clinton* /'klɪn̚(ə)n/ ['kxhlɪn̚-ŋ], *little* /'lɪt̚l/ ['lɪɹ-ə], *partner* /'pɑ:t̚nəɪ/ ['p̚p̚hɑɹ-ə], *separately* /'sep̚(ə)ɪt̚li/ ['sɛɹ-pp̚ɪɹlɪ], *lots* /'lɒt̚s/ ['lɔɹs].

140.7. More examples: *painter* /'peɪn̚t̚əɪ/ ['p̚p̚hãɹn̚ɹə, -n̚ə, -n̚ə, -n̚ɹə, -n̚ɹt̚s̚], *paint it* /'peɪn̚t̚əɪ/ ['p̚p̚hãɹn̚ɹɹ, -n̚ɹɹ, -n̚ɹ, -n̚ɹɹ, -n̚ɹt̚s̚ɹ], *Walter* /'wɔ:t̚əɪ/ ['wouɹə], *halt it* /'hɔ:t̚ɪt̚/ ['ouɹɹ, -ɹɹ, -ɹɹ, -ɹt̚s̚ɹ], *start it* /'stɑ:t̚ɪt̚/ ['st̚ɔɹɹɹ, -ɹɹ, -ɹɹ, -ɹt̚s̚ɹ], *hit it* /'hɪt̚ɪt̚/ ['ɪɹ-ɹ, 'ɹ-ɹ, 'ɹ-ɹ, 'ɹ-t̚s̚ɹ], *a little bit of butter* /ə'lɪt̚l bɪt̚ əv̚'bʊt̚əɪ/ [ə'lɪɹ-ə bɪt̚ əv̚'bʌɹ-ə], *put up* /'pʊt̚ ʊp̚/ ['p̚p̚hɔɹ 'Aɹ-pp̚], *put it up* /'pʊt̚ ʊp̚/ ['p̚p̚hɔɹ-ɹ 'Aɹpp̚].

In less broad pronunciations, an incomplete, attenuated stop is possible: [ɹ], which is less 'invasive'; the vocoid preceding [ɹ] can also be laryngealized, whereas [ɹ] can become 'zero', especially before another vocoid (adding however, the creaky phonation type), [V̚V → V̚V → V̚V → V̚V]: *a little bit of butter* [ə'lɪə bɪt̚ əv̚b̚ɹ].

Generally, forms such as *lill* /'lɪl/ ['lɪə] and *little* /'lɪt̚l/ ['lɪə, 'lɪə, 'lɪə] maintain some differences even if the latter is actually pronounced in this way; as a matter of fact, in addition to the creaky phonation type, /ɪ/ is often lengthened (at least in a tune).

140.8. Before a vocoid (even if derived from /t̪/, and even between words), also a less broad variant, [ɹ], is possible (or even [ɹt̪] in ‘elegant’ speech, which we do not indicate). It is also possible for [nɹ] to become [n]; here we will report the relevant examples, without spelling, following the order in which they are given above (§ 140.6-7, including *water* and *Walter*): [ˈbɑː-ɑ, ˈwɔːɑ, ˈsɪ-ə̃n, ˈbɔː-ə̃m, ˈlɪ-ə], [ˈpʰhɑ̃-ɹɑ, -nɑ; ˈpʰhɑ̃-ɹnɹ, -nɹ], [ˈwɔːɑ, ˈɔːɑ, ˈʃt̪ɑːnɹ, ˈɪ-ɹ, əˈlɪ-ə ˈbɪ əˈbɑː-ɑ, ˈpʰhɔː ˈɑːpʰ, ˈpʰhɔː-ɪ ˈɑːpʰ].

Other consonants can become [ɹ], especially /p, k/: *stopping* /ˈstɒpɪŋ/ [ˈstɔːɹ-ŋ], *Philip liked it* /ˈfɪlɪp ˈlaɪkɪt/ [ˈfɪl-ɹ ˈlɑɪk-ɹɪ], *Cockney* /ˈkɒkni/ [ˈkxhɔːn-ɹ]. In a previous example, we have seen that typically /d/ becomes stopstrictive, [dʒ]; besides, commonly, /Vd/ is realized as [Vɹ], when it is word-final and followed by C or V, and in the grammeme sequence {-dn̩t} /-d̪n̩t/, as well: *bread and butter* /ˈbrɛd ɒnd ˈbʌtə/ [ˈbrɛɹ-ɹ ˈbɑː-ɑ], *good boy* /ˈɡʊd ˈbɔɪ/ [ˈɡʊɹ ˈbɔːə], *I didn't* /aɪ ˈdɪdn̩t/ [ɪ ˈdɪɹ-ɹ(ɹt̪)].

140.9. For /st̪, st̪ɪ, st̪ɪ/, broad pronunciations have [st̪, st̪ɪ, st̪ɪ]: *stay* /ˈsteɪ/ [ˈst̪ɛːə], *strong* /ˈstrɒŋ/ [ˈst̪ɹɔːŋ], *question* /ˈkwɛstʃ(ə)n/ [ˈkxhwɛst̪ɹɔːn, -t̪ɹ]. In broad pronunciations, /θ, ð/ become /f, v/; however, there are many intermediate nuances, including the realizations of normal pronunciation: [f, v; ð, v; θ, ð; θ, ð].

More often, /#ð/ can be realized as [θ, ɹ, d̪, d]: *this house is mine* /ðɪs ˈhaʊs ɪz ˈmaɪn/ [ɪs ˈɛːs ɪz ˈmɔ̃n, ɹɪs-, d̪ɪs-, dɪs-]. As we have seen, the typical realization of /h/ is [θ], which is a stigmatized pronunciation, and therefore can lead many speakers to hypercorrecting: *eat* /iːt/ [ˈhɔɪɹ(t̪)].

For /n̪j, t̪j, d̪j/, the typical Cockney pronunciation has no /j/, but, in less broad pronunciations, mediatic-like types are also possible: *new* /ˈnjuː/ [ˈnɔːɹ, ˈnɹɹ, ˈnɹɹɹ, ˈnɹɹɹ], *tune* /t̪juːn/ [ˈt̪hɔ̃-ɹn, ˈt̪hɹɹ-ɹn, ˈt̪hɹɹ-ɹn, ˈt̪hɹɹ-ɹn, ˈt̪hɹɹ-ɹn, ˈt̪hɹɹ-ɹn], *duke* /d̪juːk/ [ˈd̪ɹɹɹk, ˈd̪ɹɹɹk, ˈd̪ɹɹɹk, ˈd̪ɹɹɹk, ˈd̪ɹɹɹk, ˈd̪ɹɹɹk].

140.10. The attenuation of triphthong is extremely frequent, even between words, also for /VV̥.ɪ/: *fire* /ˈfaɪə/ [ˈfɔː, ˈfɔː], *I enjoy it* /aɪ ɪnˈdʒɔɪt/ [ɪ ɪnˈdʒɔɪt, ɑɪn-].

Substantially, the Cockney intonation patterns correspond to the neutral ones, with the addition of a paraphonic use of harsh voice: ⟨x⟩.

140.11. Of course, the pronunciation described in this chapter –as the title itself clearly says– is that of native speakers. It is obvious that a population, especially in a metropolis like London, is not completely homogeneous, not only socially, but also ethnically. Thus, many communities can be found in the same place, as for instance those described in § 227, with ‘London-Jamaican’ & ‘Cockney-Jamaican’ accents. Further, perhaps less large, communities certainly exist, with their peculiar characteristics, too, which generally depend on their original provenance, as well.

But, another very important thing must be constantly kept in mind: that newcomers –especially from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds– also rely on a kind of international pronunciation, usually drawn from TV and radio, more or less heavily blended with their own possibilities and local linguistic situations. So, when some Labovian sociolinguists (we prefer not to mention) tell us that in London (or in other similar places) there are some new vowel changes, we must constantly bear in mind a serious caveat about their ‘discoveries’.

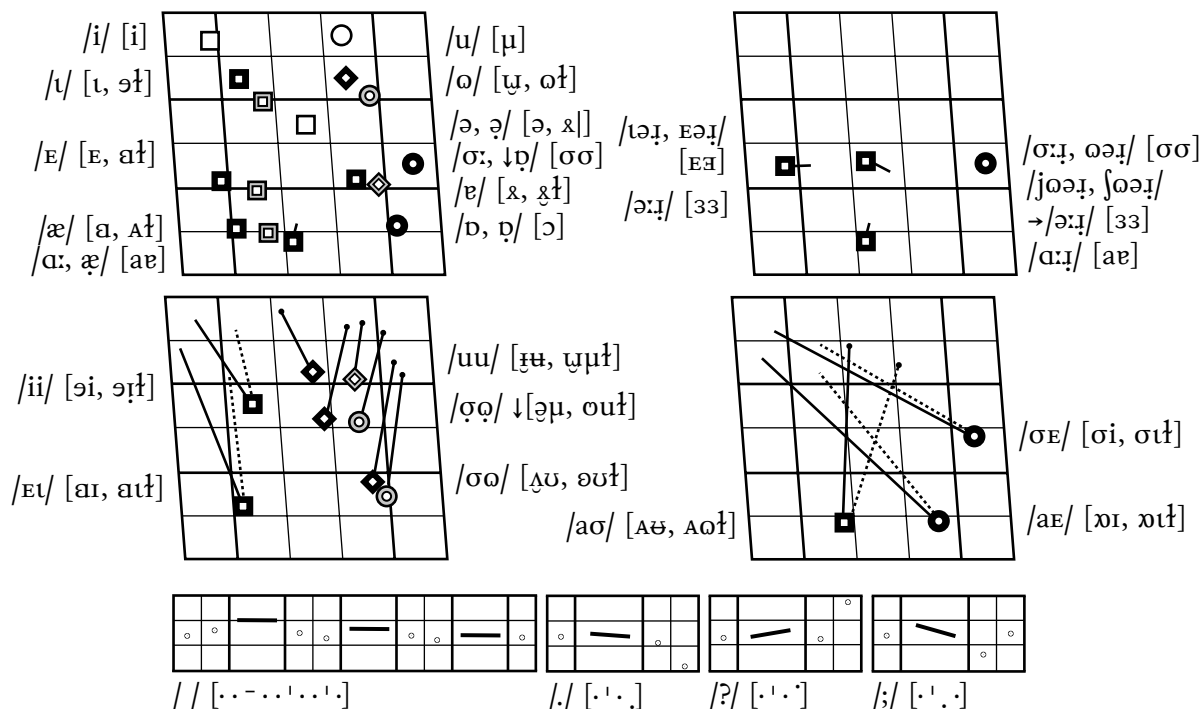
155. Norfolk (Norwich)

155.1. The accent of *Norwich* (/ˈnɔɹɪ-ɪdʒ, -tʃ/, in Norfolk /ˈnɔ:ɹɪfæk/) has the typical peculiarities shown in fig 155.1, to be compared with those in the other areas of this part and with \mathcal{G} 56 and fig 155.2-3 (for both broader and lighter variants).

In fig 155.1, the most peculiar timbre is that of /ɑ:, æ/ [aɛ] (in the first vocogram, and even [ɔAA], in the first vocogram of fig 155.2): *car* /ˈkɑ:ɹ/ [ˈkhaɛ ↓-Aɹ], *last* /ˈlæst/ [ˈlaɛst, ↓-AAsɪ].

Further peculiarities of this accent are: the timbres of /ɒ/ [ɔ, ↓ɔ, ↓↓ɔ] (again in fig 155.1-2), as in *hot* /ˈhɒt/ [ˈhɔt, ↓ˈhɔt, ↓↓ˈhɔt]; more and more often, /ɒ/ becomes /ɔ/, rather than /σ:/, as before.

fig 155.1. Norwich: vowels, diphthongs & intonation.

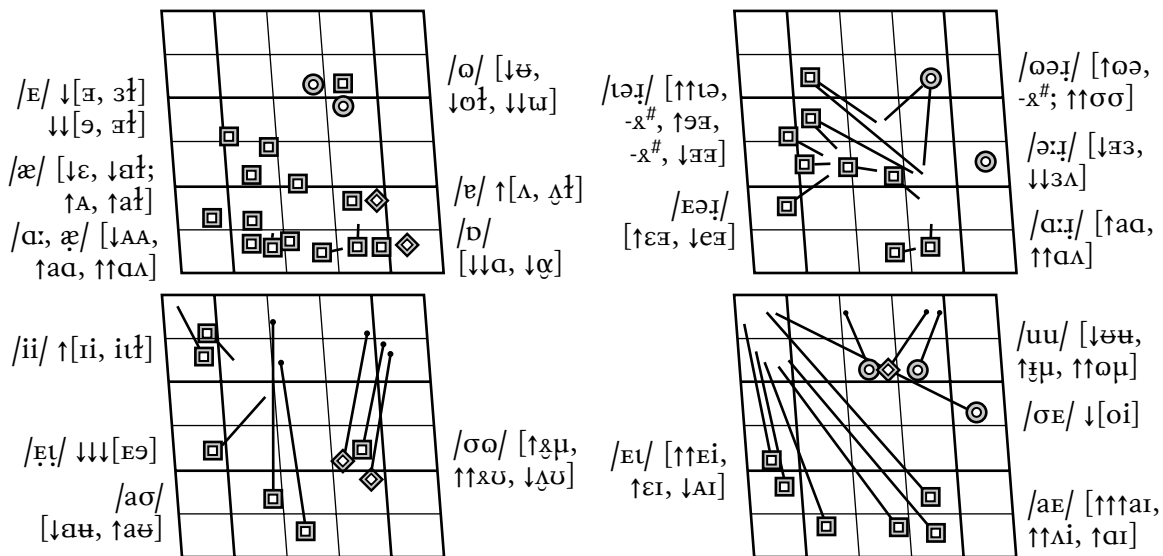


In addition, there is the tendency to generalize [ə] in unstressed syllables (but with no [ɔ] taxophone in contact with velar or velarized contoids), not only for /ə, ə/: *houses* /ˈhaʊzəz/ [ˈhAɔzəz], *wanted* /ˈwɒntəd/ [ˈwɔntəd], but also for /ɪ/, as in *-ing* /ɪ/ [ən]:

falling /'fɔ:lɪŋ/ [fɔsɔlən], *this morning* /ðɪs'mɔ:ɪnɪŋ/ [ðəs'mɔsɔnən], *tell him* /tɛlɪm/ [tʰel-əm], *it is in the kitchen* /ɪtɪzɪndə'kɪtʃ(ə)n, ɪtsɪn-/ [ətɪzənðəkɪtʃ-ŋ, ətsən-]. Once this happened even to /i/, which now has regular [i] (except in some broad rural accents). However, we do have final unstressed /σɔ/ → /ə/.

In addition, we find the possible typical merger of /ɪə, eə/ [ɛɛ] (but with many unmerged variants, given in the second vocogram of fig 155.2): *beer* /'bɪəɪ/ [ɫ'bɛɛɪ, ↓↓-ɛɛɪ, ↑-ɛɛɪ, ↑↑-ɪɛɪ], *bear* /'bɛəɪ/ [ɫ'bɛɛɪ, ↑-ɛɛɪ, ↓-ɛɛɪ].

fig 155.2. Norwich: broader or lighter variants.



155.2. All diphthongs, in fig 155.1-2, have more or less peculiar realizations and variants, and their second elements are fairly high, as can be seen in our vocograms. But the curious thing, for this accent, is that we have to introduce the diaphoneme /σɔ/ [əɪ, ɔɫ] (third vocogram of fig 155.1, often unsatisfactorily rendered as 'ʊu, u:'), in words derived from Middle English /ɔɔ/ (→ /oo/ in Early Modern English, → /σɔ/ in present-day English), such as *moan*, *nose*, *sole*, *toe*, different from *mown*, *knows*, *soul*, *tow*, from Middle English /σu/ (→ /σɔ/ in present-day English, again), with regular /σɔ/ [Δσ, ɔɫ].

They are also different from *moon*, *news*, *Sue'll*, *two*, as well, with regular /uu/. (That is why 'ʊu, u:' are not suitable, even if /uu/ should be rendered as 'ɛɛ:', again unsatisfactorily, because the phonemes must be kept stable, for a unique phonemic system, for the same and only language, while their realizations may vary a lot, indeed.) When needed, the appropriate diaphonemes have to be introduced, instead of positing too many partially different systems, which does not help at all, but does complicate things and ideas.

In addition, *go* and the adjective *no* may have /σɔ/, while *know* and the adverb *no* have regular /σɔ/.

155.3. The parallel (front) phenomenon, ie the introduction of the diaphoneme /ɛɪ/ [ɛɛ], is no longer needed, except for some rare very old rural speakers.

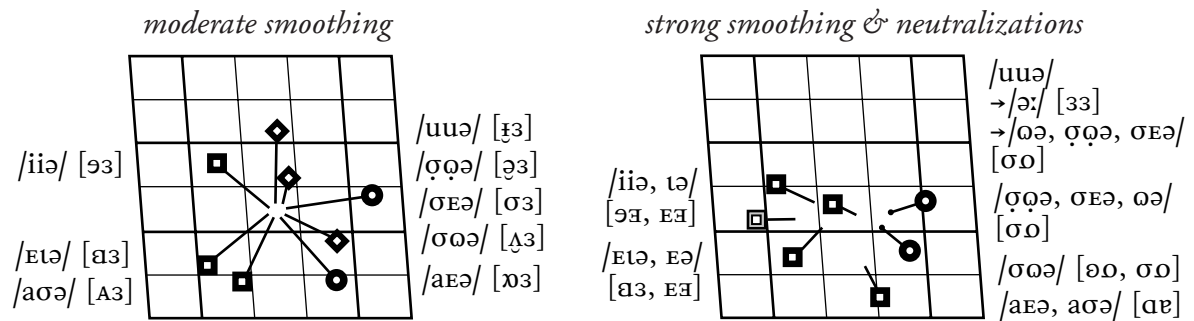
Its realization is among the further variants, in the third vocogram of fig 155.2. This was current in words such as *mane*, *daze*, from Middle English /AA/ (→ /εε/ in Early Modern English, → /eɪ/ present-day English), different from *main*, *days*, from Middle English /ai/ (→ present-day English /eɪ/, again).

It seems quite likely that also /σɔ/ will soon change into regular /σω/, as will happen to a number of words (again with /σω/ in the common language), which are pronounced, instead, with the /ω/ phoneme, in the broad accent: *boat*, *bone*, *comb*, *home*, *whole*, *froze*, *oats*, *road*. The same is true for some others, with different phonemes in common English, for instance, /ω/ again both in *tooth* (/uu/) and *because* (/ɔ/). These highly stigmatized and rural features are very rare, now.

155.4. Another very peculiar feature of this Norfolk accent is the extreme spread of *smoothing*, as shown in fig 155.3, both for broad and mild accents. The first vocogram gives the result of the eight diphthongs (including /σɔ/) followed by /ə/, where the eighth phonemic triphthongs change into diphthongs. Let us see some examples: *player* /'plɛɪə/ [ˈphlɛɪə], *fire* /'faɪə/ [ˈfɔɪə], *tower* /'taʊə/ [ˈtɰɰə], *you know it* /ju'nɔwɪt/ [jə'nɰɰɪt, -ə'ɔɪt], *they allow it* /ðeɪ'ləʊɪt/ [ðə'lɰɰɪt], *do it* /'duːɪt/ [ˈdɰɰɪt, -ə'ɪt].

The second vocogram, in fig 155.3, shows a further degree of smoothing, and a number of typical possible neutralizations: *fire* /'faɪə/ [ˈfɔɪə], *tower* /'taʊə/ [ˈtɰɰə], *being* /'biːɪŋ/ [ˈbɛɪŋ], *pier* /'pɪə/ [ˈphɛɪ, ↓-ɛɪ], *player* /'plɛɪə/ [ˈphlɛɪə, ↓-ɛɪ], *care* /'keə/ [ˈkɰɰə, ↓-ɛɪ], *knowing* /'nɔwɪŋ/ [ˈnɔɪŋ, -ɔɪŋ], *doing* /'duːɪŋ/ [ˈdɰɰɪŋ, -ɪɪŋ], *going* /'gɔwɪŋ/ (/'gɔɪŋ) [ˈgɔɪŋ], *employing* /ɪm'plɔɪɪŋ/ [ɪm'phlɰɰɪŋ], *cure* /'kjʊə/ [ˈkɰɰə, kɰɰɪɪ].

fig 155.3. Norwich: typical smoothing.



155.5. As for the *consonants*, in rural areas we can find /h/ [h], /IVɰ/ [IVɰ], while in Norwich we have /h/ [h, ↓θ], /IVɰ/ [IVɰ]; there is no trace of [ɰ, ɰ] or vocalization yet. However, /p, ɰ, ɰ, k; ɰ/ [p, ɰ, k; ɰ], /ɰ#, Vɰɰ, VɰV/ [ɰ, ɰ], /VnɰV/ [VɰɰV] are widespread in the whole area, but not in sequences of two: *put it* /'pɔɰɰt/ [ˈphɰɰɰt]; and /ɰ/ [ɰ] is spreading, as well.

But, the most peculiar Norfolk phenomenon is /juu, jɔ/ → /uu, ω/, after any consonant, not only for /j/ (except in absolute initial position, where now we find /#j/; although, in a very broad accent, we can still have even /#juu, #jɔ/ → /θuu, θω/): *new* /'njuu/ [ˈnɰɰ], *tune* /'tjuun/ [ˈtɰɰɰ], *due* /'djuu/ [ˈdɰɰ], *few* /'fjuu/ [ˈfɰɰ], *queue* /'kjuu/ [ˈkɰɰ], *huge* /'hjuudʒ/ [ˈhɰɰdʒ], *curious* /'kjʊəɪəs/ [ˈkɰɰɰɰɰɰ, kɰɰɰɰ]; *use* (v.) /'juuz/ [ˈjɰɰɰ, ↓ɰɰɰ].

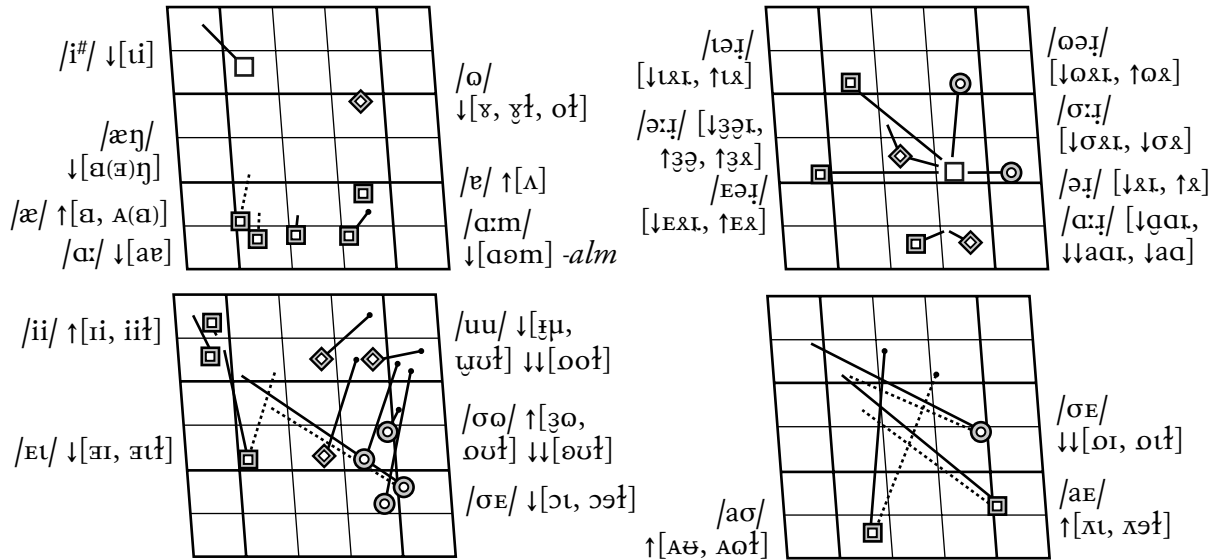
155.6. *Paraphonically*, the broad accent is characterized by a *raised larynx* setting ⟨.:), *creaky voice* ⟨ʔ), and *faucalization* ⟨ʌ), *low predorsal* tongue setting, ⟨ʋ), in different proportions; this produces a kind of metallic voice, and stronger *loudness* ⟨^h).

A further typical, and noticeable, feature concerns the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables, which produces a peculiar and easily recognizable rhythm. In fact, the long vowels and diphthongs are not much reduced, when followed by voiceless consonants or unstressed syllables, in the same word or rhythm group; while, the unstressed vowels, besides tending to become /ə/, are further shortened or even dropped.

Examples: *opposition* /ɒpə'zɪʃ(ə)n/ [ɔpə'zɪʃ-ŋ, ɔp'z-], *controversy* /kən'trɒvəɹsi, 'kɒn-
trɒvə(ɹ)ɹsi/ [khŋ'thɹɔv-əsi, -ɔv-si, 'khɔŋtɹəvəsi, -əvsi], *holidays* /'hɒlə'deɪz, -dɪz/ ['hɔl-ə'dɪz,
'hɔɪ'dɛz], *half past two* /'hæf 'pæst ˈtuː/ ['hæf pəs'thɛɪ], *forty five* /'fɔːtɪ 'faɪv/ ['fɔː-
ɹi 'fɔɪv, -ɹi, -ɹə], *am I?* /'æmə/ ['æm-ɹ], *in the middle of the night* /ɪnðə'mɪdl̩ ɒvðə-
'naɪt/ [ɪðə'mɪdl̩-ɪvðə'nɔɪt, ɪð'm-, -ð'ɪ-], *as far as I can see* /əz'fɑːɹ əzæ'kən'siː/ [z'fɑːɹɹ
zɔɪkŋ'səɹi, zɹkŋ-].

variant for the other word, as well: *pole* /'pɔʊ/ [↓'pʰəʊt]. Of course, the hearers may be in a state of uncertainty. And this is quite understandable, especially if we consider the actual and possible typical neutralizations that we will see in fig 160.4.

fig 160.2. Cornwall (Truro): broader and lighter variants.



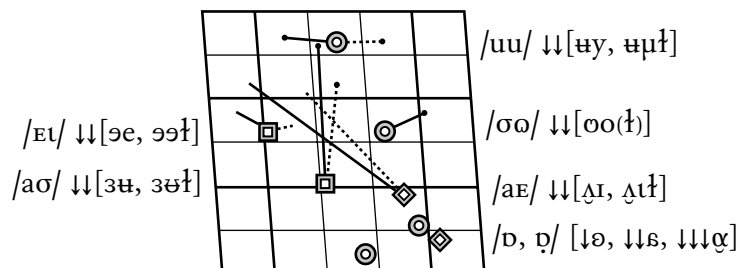
160.3. The interested readers should carefully examine all vocograms before we pass to fig 160.3, where we can find the typical *rural* realizations of the broadest accent: /uu/ ↓[ɹy, ɹɪt], /Eɪ/ ↓[əɛ, əɪt], /σɔ/ ↓[oo(ɪ)], /aɛ/ ↓[ɛɪ, ɛɪt], /aσ/ ↓[ɜɹ, ɜɪt], and /ɒ, ɒ/ [↓ɔ, ↓ɔɛ, ↓↓ɔ] ([ɛ] is a ‘rounded [a]’): *two* /'tu/ [↓'tʰɹy], *now* /'naσ/ [↓'nɜɹ], *top* /'tɒp/ [↓'tʰɔp, ↓↓'tʰɔp, ↓↓'tʰɔp].

The sequences /VəɪV/ generally have /ə/ → [∅] (especially with /aɛ, aσ/+əɪV/): *firing* /'faɛəɪŋ/ [fɛɪɪŋ]. In the broad accent, we find *-age, -ing, -ish, -y* /əɪt, ɪ, ɪ, i/ [ɪɪt, ɪn, ɪ, ɪ#]: *village* /'vɪlɔɪtʃ/ [vɪl-ɪɪtʃ], *sailing* /'seɪɪŋ/ [seɪɪɪŋ], *English* /'ɪŋ-ɡlɪʃ/ [ɪŋɡlɪʃ], *city* /sɪtɪ/ [sɪɪ-ɪ].

In the broad accent, final /ə/ → [↓ɜ, ↓↓ɔ] (too often interpreted as if it were ‘/əɪ, ɪ/’): *America* /ə'mɛɪəɪkə/ [ə'mɛɪ-əɪkɛ, ↓-ɜ, ↓↓-ɔ], *idea* /aɛ'dɪə, -iiə/ [ɛɪ'dɪɹɛ, ↓-ɜɜ, ↓↓-ɔɔ]. In typical rural accents, we have ↓[ə'mɛɪ-əɪkɛɪ, ɛɪ'dɪɹɛɪ].

Generally, the schwa is kept in the endings /C(ə)n/ [Cən]: *revolution* /ɪɛvə'lʊʊ(ə)n/ [ɪɛvə'lɹɪʊɪn]. In rural speech, /ɛ, æ/ → [ɛə, ɛɛ], especially before /g, ʃ/ (variably before /k/): *egg* /'ɛg/ [ɛəg], *bag* /'bæg/ [bɛɛg]. There is a reduced form for *got* /gɒt/ [gɛɪt, gɛɪt].

fig 160.3. Cornwall (Truro): typical *rural* taxophones.



160.4. We now pass to fig 160.4, where we can see the *possible* and typical (and even multiple) neutralizations before /ɹ/: *fill* /'fiɹ/ [ʰfiɹ], *feel* /'fiɹ/ [ʰfiɹ, ʰfɛɹ], *fail* /'fɛɹ/ [ʰfɛɹ], *sell* /'sɛɹ/ [ʰsɛɹ], *sal* /'sæɹ/ [ʰsɛɹ, ʰsɑɹ], *sowl* /'sɑɹ/ [ʰsɑɹ], *gull* /'gʌɹ/ [ʰgʌɹ], *guile* /'gʌɹ/ [ʰgʌɹ], *fool* /'fuɹ/ [ʰfɔɹ], *full* /'fuɹ/ [ʰfɔɹ, ʰfɔɹ], *foal* /'fɔɹ/ [ʰfɔɹ], *fall* /'fɔɹ/ [ʰfɔɹ], *foil* /'fɔɹ/ [ʰfɔɹ].

The assimilative taxophone /ə/ [w], in contact with velar or velarized consonants, generally, only occurs in lighter accents: *again* /ə'geɹ/ [ə'geɹ, ↑w-], *contain* /kən'teɹ/ [khən'thɛɹ, ↑khwɹ-].

For the word *water* /'wɔɹəɹ/, we can have [ʰwɔɹ-əɹ], and in rural accents [↓'wə-, ↓↓'wə-, ↓↓'wə-], all with short 'ɔ'.

fig 160.4. Cornwall (Truro): typical possible neutralizations.

/ɹ, iɹ/ [uɹ]	□	○	/ɔɹ, uɹ/ [ɔɹ]
/iɹ, ɛɹ/ [ɛɹ]	□	○	/uɹ, ɔɹ, ɔɹ, ɔɹ/ [ɔɹ]
/ɛɹ, æɹ/ [æɹ]	□	□	/ɛɹ, æɹ/ [æɹ]
/æɹ, ɑɹ/ [ɑɹ]	□	□	

160.5. There are instances of /θ/ [ʰf], but especially very frequent occurrences of /ɹ, ɹ/ [ɹ], in various contexts: [ɹ#, ɹC, Vɹɹ, Vɹɹ]: *cat* /'kæɹ/ [ʰkhæɹ], *technical* /'teknɹkɹ/ [ʰthɛɹnəkɹ, ↑wɹkɹ], *exactly* /ə'gɹzækɹli/ [ə'gɹzæɹli, ↓-iɹ, ↓↓-iɹ, ↑wɹ-], *bottle* /'bɔɹɹ/ [ʰbɔɹɹ], *cotton* /'kɔɹɹ/ [ʰkhɔɹ-ən] (both words, in rural accents, have: [↓-ə-, ↓↓-s-, ↓↓-ə-]); and [VɹV, VɹV]: *better* /'beɹəɹ/ [ʰbeɹ-əɹ, ʰbeɹ-əɹ] [↑-wɹ].

Besides /ɹ/ [ɹ], we can occasionally find [ɹ, ɹ, ɹ], also for /ɹ/; whereas, in milder urban accents, we can have /ɹ/ [∅]. For /IVɹ/ we find [IV, ↓ɹV, Vɹ], but not yet [Vɹ]; /VVɹ/ [VVɹ] is frequent: *snarl* /'sɹɑɹɹ/ [ʰsɹɑɹɹ], *world* /'wɹɹɹ/ [ʰwɹɹɹ].

For /sɹɹ/ we can have: *street* /'stɹiɹ/ [ʰstɹiɹ, ↓ɹɹ-]; more often, we find /nɹ, ɹj, ɹj/ [n, ɹj, ɹj]: *new* /'nɹju/ [ʰnɹɹ], *tune* /'tɹju/ [ʰtɹhɹɹ], *due* /'dɹju/ [ʰdɹɹ].

The typical West-Country voicing of initial voiceless constrictives is less widespread (and decidedly less in southern Cornwall); it occurs especially in rural speech, with /ɹ/ [↓ɹ, ↓↓ɹ]: *seven* /'seɹ(ə)ɹ/ [ʰseɹ-ən, ↓z-, ↓↓z-].

In tunes, even monosyllables followed by /ɹ/, generally, keep their length unreduced: *night* /'naɹ/ [ʰnɹɹ], or are lengthened in non-lengthening contexts, as well: *sick* /'sɹk/ [ʰsɹk].

161.

West Midlands (Birmingham, ‘Brummie’)

161.1. The linguistic *Midlands* include the *West Midlands*, with Birmingham (the second largest city in England – and, indeed, in the British Isles, cf fig 139.4) and Stratford-on-Avon (in Warwickshire, where William Shakespeare was born and buried), and the *East Midlands*, with Leicester (in Leicestershire, and Nottingham, in Nottinghamshire, famous for its associations with the Robin Hood legend), and Lincoln (in Lincolnshire, one of the main agricultural counties in England).

Arguably, even linguistically, the Midlands occupy an intermediate position between the South and the North of England.

161.2. Of course, we start from *Birmingham*, and the ‘Black Country’ (where, in the past, there were many factories that produced a lot of dirty smoke). In fig 161.1, we can see the typical accent of Birmingham, ‘Brummie’; in fig 161.2, there are many variants, both broad and mild, in various degrees.

Starting from fig 161.1, let us consider the two main peculiarities of the Midlands. The difference between /ɔ, ɐ/ and between /æ, ɑ:/ (and /æ, ɑ:/) may be entirely lost, in the broadest accent. In fact, both pairs may completely lack their second element: *put* /'pɔt/ (neutral English ['phɔt]) ['phɔt], *putt* /'pɛt/ (neutral English ['phɛt]) [↓↓↓'phɔt], *ant* /'ænt/ ['ʌnt] (neutral English ['ænt]), *ant* /'ænt/ (neutral British English ['ɑnt]) ['ʌnt].

161.3. However, the exact variation can clearly show that this is only one possibility among many others (cf fig 161.1-2, for a complete survey).

As a matter of fact, for this accent, we do have:

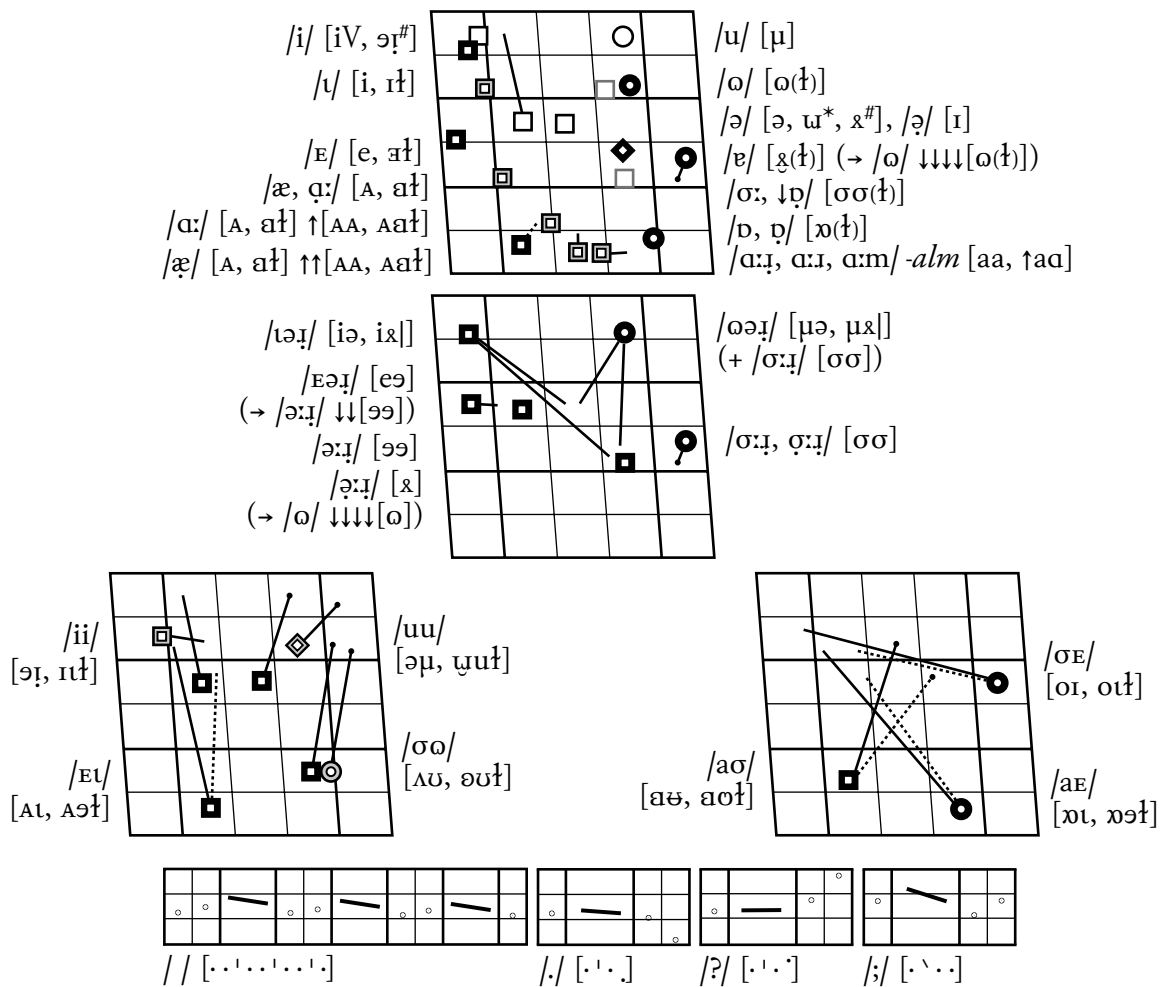
put /'pɔt/ ['phɔt, ↓-ɔt, ↓↓-ɔt, ↓↓↓'phɔt, ↓↓↓↓'phɛt],
putt /'pɛt/ [↓↓↓↓'phɔt, ↓↓↓-ɔt, ↓↓'phɔt, ↓-ɛt, ↑-ɛt, ↑↑-ɛt, ↑↑↑-ʌt],
ant /'ænt/ [↓↓'a-nt, ↓'ant, 'ʌnt, ↑'ant, ↑↑'ænt],

ant /'ænt/ [↑↑'ænt, ↑'ʌnt, ↓'æænt, ↓↓'ʌʌnt, ↓↓↓'aant, ↓↓↓↓'gʌnt] – according to International and American pronunciation; while, according to British pronunciation, we would have:

[↑↑↑'aant, ↑↑'aant, ↑'aant, 'gʌnt, ↓'ʌʌnt, ↓↓'æænt, ↓↓↓'ænt].

(We include [æ], although it does not appear in the vocograms, because this neutral pronunciation is not completely impossible, at least for Black-Country speakers who exhibit a non-local accent, or a mild mixed accent – at least for some words, or in some occasions or situations.)

fig 161.1. West Midlands (Birmingham): vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



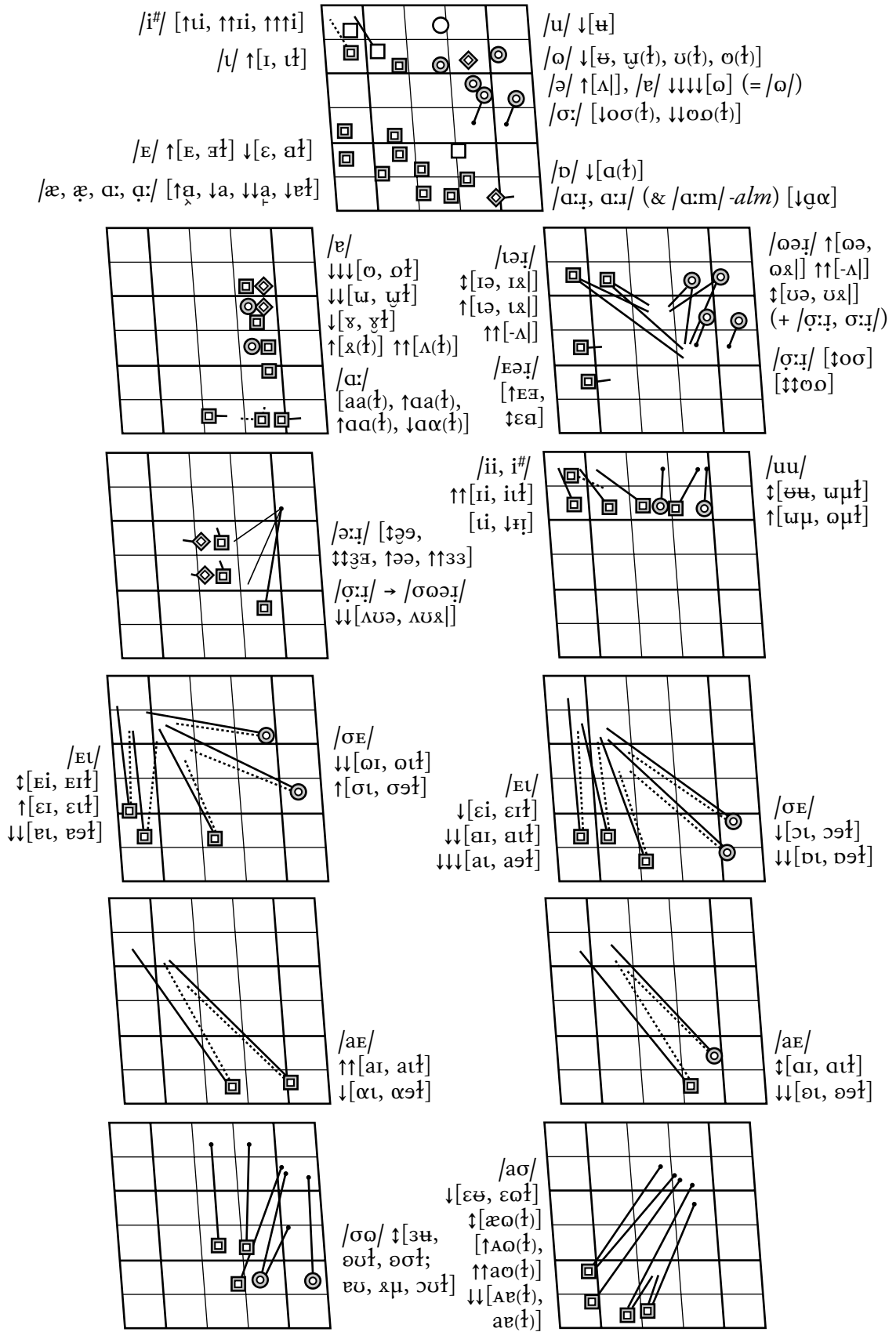
161.4. In the first case –*put* & *putt*– we can have two pronunciations in common: [ˈphɒʃ, ˈphɒʃ]; but, actually, they are: *put* [ˈphɒʃ, ↓↓phɒʃ], *putt* [↓↓↓phɒʃ, ↓↓↓phɒʃ]. In the second case –*ant* & *aunt*– we have three pronunciations in common: [ˈʌnʃ, ˈʌnʃ, ˈænʃ]; actually: *ant* [↑↑ænʃ, ↑ʌnʃ, ˈʌnʃ], *aunt* [↑↑ænʃ, ↑ʌnʃ, ˈʌnʃ] (but [↓ʌnʃ, ↓↓ʌnʃ, ↓↓↓ænʃ], considering British English).

Indeed, things are a bit more complicated, because, in this Black-Country accent, /æ/ can be lengthened, while keeping its timbres. Indeed, from a modern –and International– point of view, it is better not to distinguish between /æ/ and /æ:/. However, the opposition between /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ is absolutely necessary, today (especially outside England).

It is worth while examining closely the first vocogram of fig 161.1 and the first two of fig 161.2 to see the different realizations of the phonemes just seen. Of course, all the others must not be overlooked, as well.

161.5. In any case, all this means that the possibility of confusion, especially for /ɔ, ɛ/, mostly depends on the hearers, because sociophonically our arrows are clear indicators of different levels of language usages, which very seldom occur simultaneously in one and the same speaker.

fig 161.2. West Midlands (Birmingham): broad and mild variants.



For the diaphoneme /ɒ/, we have two correspondences, according to speakers and words. While, in milder accents, we have /ɒ, ɔ/ [ɔ, ɔ], /ɔ:/ [σσ, ↓σσ, ↓↓σσ]; in broader accents, instead, we find /ɒ/ [↓α, ɔ], /ɔ, σ:/ [↓↓σσ, ↓σσ, σσ] (although, with mixed usages): *off* /'ɒf/ [ɔf, ↓ɔf, ↓↓'ɒf, ↓'ɒf, 'σɒf].

161.6. Further particularities are the peculiar timbres of /ɪ/ [i, iʔ] ↑[ɪ, iʔ], /e/ [e, ɛ, ɛʔ] ↑[ɛ, ɛʔ] ↓[ɛ, ɛʔ], /iː/ [ɛɪ, ↑i, ↑↑i, ↑↑↑i] (but we will limit our exemplifications, here, to some taxophones of fig 161.1, leaving to the readers the task of comparing the realizations given in fig 161.2): *city* /'sɪtɪ/ ['sɪʔ-ɛɪ], *will* /'wɪl/ ['wɪʔ], *yes* /'jɛs/ ['jɛs], *well* /'wɛl/ ['wɛʔ].

The typical accent has peculiarly close vocoids (although with less strange variants, given in fig 161.2), also for /ɪə, ɛə, ɔə/ [iə, ɪə; eə; mə, ɪə]: *here* /'hɪə/ ['hɪə], *there* /'ðɛə/ ['ðɛə], *tour* /'tʊə/ ['tʊə].

The typical broad accent can still distinguish between /σ:ɪ/ [σσ] [↓σσ, ↓↓σσ] and /σ:ɪ/ [σσ] [↑σσ, ↑↑σσ], in addition to ↓[ΛUə, ΛUə], which corresponds to /σɔə/ (given in the fourth vocogram of fig 161.2): *war* /'wɔ:ɪ/ ['wσ:σ] [↓-σ:σ, ↓↓-σ:σ], *four* /'fɔ:ɪ/ ['fσ:σ] [↑-σ:σ, ↑↑-σ:σ, ↓↓-ΛUə]. Characteristic are also /ə:/ [əə, ↑əə, ↑↑əə, ↑↑↑əə, ↑↑↑↑əə]: *furry* /'fɜ:ɪ/ ['fɜ:ɪ], /ə:/ [ə]: *hurry* /'hɜ:ɪ/ ['hɜ:ɪ, ↓↓↓-ə, -əə, ↑-əə, ↑↑-əə, ↑↑↑-əə].

161.7. But most peculiar are the typically 'southern' timbres of the seven diphthongs: *bee* /'bi:/ ['bɛɪ], *day* /'deɪ/ ['dɛɪ], *time* /'taɪm/ ['tɛɪm], *boy* /'bɔɪ/ ['bɔɪ], *gown* /'gaʊn/ ['gɛɪn], *go* /'gɔ:/ ['gɛɪ], *two* /'tu:/ ['tɛɪ]. We just show examples without /ɪ/ (which are left, again, with the active readers, who will certainly examine their many variants, as well).

Let us draw particular attention, however, to the possible following narrow-diphthong variants (last vocogram of fig 161.2), /aɔ/ ↓[aɛ, aɛ]: *now* /'naɔ/ ['naɛ, 'naɛ]. Currently, as in most areas of England, we have both /jɔ:, jɔə/ for /jɔə/: *cure* /'kjɔə/ ['kɛjɔ:, -ɪə].

161.8. As for the *consonants*, what strikes most is that /ŋ/ is typically realized as [ŋg, ŋg] (even in milder accents), before vowels, or sonants, or pauses: *singer* /'sɪŋə/ ['sɪŋgə], *singing* /'sɪŋɪŋ/ ['sɪŋgɪŋ, -gɪŋg], *meaningless* /'mi:niŋləs/ (-ləs) ['mi:niŋg-lɪs], *willingly* /'wɪlɪŋli/ ['wɪlɪŋg-lɪ], *Longman* /'lɒŋmən/ ['lɒŋg-mən], *songwriter* /'sɒŋwaɪtə/ ['sɒŋg-waɪtə].

Except for older speakers, we often have glottalization of postvocalic /p, t, k; tʃ/ [p̚, t̚, k̚; tʃ̚]: *stop* /'stɒp/ ['stɒp̚], *not* /'nɒt/ ['nɒt̚], *rock* /'rɒk/ ['rɒk̚], *watch* /'wɒtʃ/ ['wɒtʃ̚]. Commonly, we also have /tʃ̚, tʃC/ [ʔ]: *lot* /'lɒt/ ['lɒt̚, -ʔ], *Scotland* /'skɒtlənd/ ['skɒt̚-lənd, -ʔ]; and /t/ [ɾ]: *Betty* /'beti/ ['beɪ-ɛɪ, "beɪ-]. Younger people can have /θ, ð/ [θ, ð] ↓[f, v].

Frequently, we find /h/ [h, ↓θ], /nj, tj, dj/ [n, tʃ, dʒ] ↑[nj, tj, dj], /w/ [w]. Besides normal /r/ [r], in the broad accent, we also find /r/ [r], between vowels or between obstruents and vowels: *sorry* /'sɒri/ ['sɒr-ɛɪ, ↓-rɛɪ], *bread* /'breɪd/ ['br-ɛɪ, ↓br-]. Linking and intrusive *r* is quite common. Besides, we have /l/ [l, ↓l], and (especially with younger people) /r/ [r].

Paraphonically, we find a possible general nasalization throughout, (˜), and a postdorsal articulatory setting, (&V).

183.

A typical Scottish-English accent

183.1. We will, now, see the typical Scottish accent of English, in its normalized form. It is mostly used in sectors 1-6 of the map in fig 182. But, given its origin from Scots, it is not at all uniform. In fact, the same speakers can usually vary between what is shown in fig 183 and its milder or broader variants (fig 184.1-2, some of which are classified in G 184), or even with refined variants (G 186).

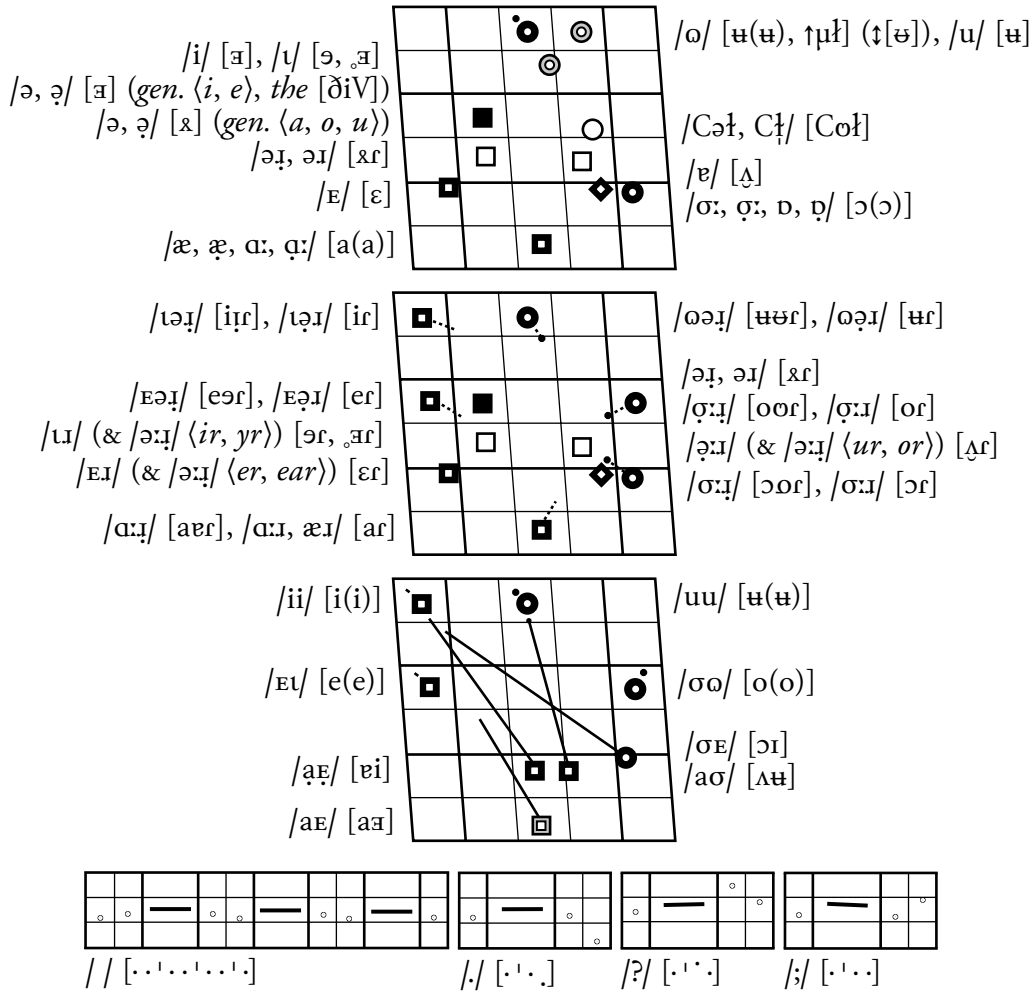
In G 187, we will see some more clearly local variants for sectors 1-9, which, however, oscillate quite a bit, for the same or different speakers, including the use of Scots words and sounds. The accents of the Islands (and of the Highlands) will be given in G 188-189.

183.2. Thus, in fig 183, we can see the typical timbres of /ɪ/ [ʲə, ə]: *hit* /'hɪt/ [ʰəʔ], *whizz* /'wɪz/ [ʰwəʒ, ʰwəʒʒ], /ɛ/ [ɛ]: *yes* /jɛs/ [jɛs, ʲjɛs], *says* /sɛz/ [sɛɛz, ʲsɛz], /æ, æ, a:, ɑ:/ [a]: *hat* /'hæt/ [ʰaʔ, ʰaaʔ], *fast* [fæst/ [ʰfast, 'faast], *spa* /'spɑ:/ [ʰspaa, ʲspa], *pasta* /'pɑ:stə/ [ʰpʰastɹ, -aa-], /ɐ/ [ʌ]: *hut* /'hɛt/ [ʰʌʔ], *love* /'lɛv/ [ʰʌv, ʰʌvʲ], /ɒ, ɒ, ɔ:, ɔ:/ [ɔ]: *hot* /'hɒt/ [ʰɔʔ, ʰɔʔʲ], *lost* /'lɒst/ [ʰɔst, -ɔɔ-], *saw* /'sɔ:/ [ʰɔɔ, ʲsɔ], *alter* /'ɔ:tʃə/ [ɔʰʔɹ, ɔɔʰ-], /ʊ/ [u, uʲ]: *book* /'bʊk/ [ʰbʊk], *good* /'gʊd/ [ʰgʊd, ʰgʊdʲ] (which, typically, is identical with /uu/ [u], together with the mergers of /æ, æ, a:, ɑ:/ [a], /ɒ, ɒ, ɔ:, ɔ:/ [ɔ], just shown, above).

Also typical are the different timbres of /ə, ə/ [ə] (for ⟨i, e⟩, including /iʰ, iV/, as well, and *the*, but *the*^{#V} [ðiV]); along with /ə, ə/ [ɛ] (for ⟨a, o, u⟩, including /əʰ/ and /əɹ, əɹ/ [ɛɹ]). This distribution of /ə, ə/ [ə, ɛ] occurs in reduced forms, as well; again, generally according to spelling. Besides, more often, we have /Cəʔ, Cʰ/ [Cɔʔ]: *the man* /ðə'mæn/ [ðə'man, -aan], *the onion* /ði'ɒnjən/ [ðɪ'ʌn-jən], *a man* /ə'mæn/ [ɛ'man, -aan], *accept* /ək'sɛpt/ [ɛk'sɛpt], *except* /ək'sɛpt/ [ɛk'sɛpt], *some cups of tea* /səm'kʰɪps əv'tʰi:/ [sɛm'kʰʌps əv'tʰi], *from here to there* /frəm'hɪə ʔə'deə/ [frɛm'hɪɹ ʔɛ'deɹ].

183.3. Always keeping in mind the peculiarities of length given in G 182, the diphthongs are as shown in the third vocogram: /ii/ [i]: *sea* /'si:/ [ʰsɪ], *leave* /'li:v/ [ʰlɪvʲ], *beat* /'bi:t/ [ʰbɪʔ], *bean* /'bi:n/ [ʰbɪn], /ɛɪ/ [e]: *day* /'deɪ/ [ʰdeɛ], *amaze* /ə'meɪz/ [ɛ'meez], *late* /'leɪt/ [ʰleʔ], /aɛ/ [aɛ]: *high* /'haɪ/ [ʰhaɛ], *rise* /'raɪz/ [ʰraɛz], and /aɪ/ [ɛi]: *fine* /'faɪn/ [ʰfeɪn], *night* /'naɪt/ [ʰneɪʔ], /aʊ/ [ʌu]: *now* /'naʊ/ [ʰnʌu], *rouse* /'raʊz/ [ʰrʌuʒ], *mouse* /'maʊs/ [ʰmʌus], /ɔɪ/ [ɔɪ]: *boy* /'bɔɪ/ [ʰbɔɪ], *choice* /tʃɔɪs/ [ʰtʃɔɪs], /ɔʊ/ [o]: *go* /'gɔʊ/ [ʰgɔʊ], *nose* /'nɔʊz/ [ʰnoʊz], *goat* /'gɔʊt/ [ʰgɔʊʔ], /uu/ [u]: *two* /'tu:/ [ʰtʰu], *news* /'nju:z/ [ʰnjʰuʒ], *boot* /'bu:t/ [ʰbʰuʔ].

fig 183. The typical Scottish accent of English: vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



183.4. The second vocogram shows the realizations of the vocalic elements when followed by /ɪ, ɪ/. We typically find different and peculiar timbres in: *bird* /'bɜ:ɪd/ [ʰbɜrd], *word* /'wɜ:ɪd/ [ʰwɜrd], *heard* /'hɜ:ɪd/ [ʰhɜrd], *cord* /'kɔ:ɪd/ [ʰkɔrd], *board* /'bɔ:ɪd/ [ʰbɔrd], *hard* /'hɑ:ɪd/ [ʰhɑrd].

Other peculiarities are: *here* /'hi:ɪ/ [ʰhi:ɪr], *hearing* /'hi:ɪɪ/ [ʰhi:ɪrɪ], *spirit* /'spɪ:ɪ/ [ʰspɪ:ɪr], *there* /'ðe:ɪ/ [ʰðe:ɪr], *Mary* /'mɛ:ɪ/ [ʰmɛ:ɪr], *merry* /'mɛ:ɪ/ [ʰmɛ:ɪr], *marry* /'mæ:ɪ/ [ʰmæ:ɪr], *err* /'ɜ:ɪ/ [ʰɜ:ɪr], *stirring* /'stɪ:ɪ/ [ʰstɪ:ɪr], *fur* /'fɜ:ɪ/ [ʰfɜ:ɪr], *furry* /'fɜ:ɪ/ [ʰfɜ:ɪr], *hurry* /'hɜ:ɪ/ [ʰhɜ:ɪr], *far* /'fɑ:ɪ/ [ʰfɑ:ɪr], *sorry* /'sɔ:ɪ/ [ʰsɔ:ɪr], *war* /'wɔ:ɪ/ [ʰwɔ:ɪr], *wore* /'wɔ:ɪ/ [ʰwɔ:ɪr], *story* /'stɔ:ɪ/ [ʰstɔ:ɪr], *poor* /'pɔ:ɪ/ [ʰpɔ:ɪr], *cure* /'kɜ:ɪ/ [ʰkɜ:ɪr], *curing* /'kɜ:ɪɪ/ [ʰkɜ:ɪrɪ].

183.5. As for the *consonants*, let us observe that the ending *-ing* /ɪŋ/ is [əŋ, ɔŋ, ɪŋ, ʌŋ]: *singing* /'sɪŋɪŋ/ [ʰsəŋəŋ, ɔŋ, ɪŋ, ʌŋ]. Most typical is the realization of /p, t, k; tʃ/ as [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ; tʃʰ], ie [↓C, Ch, ↑Ch] (with no 'aspiration' at all; or very slight, indeed; or 'normal'): *pin* /'pɪn/ [ʰpʰən], *take* /'teɪk/ [ʰtʰɛk], *car* /'kɑ:ɪ/ [ʰkʰæɪr], *chess* /'tʃɛs/ [ʰtʃʰɛs]. Besides, the apical pair can be ↑[t, d] (alveolar), [t̪, d̪] (dentalalveolar), ↓[t, d] (dental) (which we show only here, although the dental articulation is very common for /tɪ, dɪ/ [tɪr, dɪr]): *train* /'tɹeɪn/ [ʰtʰrɛn, t̪ʰrɛn, ↓tʰrɛn].

Another very typical Celtic realization is the absence of 'lateral or nasal explosion': *little* /'lɪt̪l̪/ [ʲəɹɔɫ, -ɹɫ], *cotton* /'kɒt̪n/ [kʰɔɹɫn, -ɹɫn].

One further typical (but, of course, not exclusive) feature of Scottish English is the realization /t/ [ɹ] in /VɹV, ɹC, tɹ, Cɹ#, Vɹ#/ (although [ɹC] is commonly accepted, by now, in neutral pronunciation, as well, provided speech is not slow or deliberate): *city* /'sɪt̪i/ [ʲsəɹɫ], *Scotland* /'skɒt̪l̪ənd/ [ʲskɒɹɫɫɫnd], *dental* /'dɛnt̪l̪/ [ʲdɛnɹɔɫ], *want* /'wɒnt̪/ [ʲwɔɹnɹ], *fat* /'fæt̪/ [ʲfaɹ].

Especially between vowels, we can often find /t/ [ɹ], often sociophonically used as 'ɹ' to avoid [ɹ]: *city* /'sɪt̪i/ [ʲsəɹɫ], *better* /'bɛt̪əɹ/ [ʲbɛɹɫɫ, -ɹ-, ɹ-ɹɫɫ].

183.6. For /p, k/, in the same contexts, we have [p, k] ↓[p̰, k̰] ↓↓[ɹp, ɹk]: *stop* /'stɒp/ [ʲstɒp, -p̰, ↓-ɹp], *rock* /'rɒk/ [ʲrɒk, ↓-k̰, ↓↓-ɹk]. In certain urban, mostly uneducated accents, we can find /θ/ [ð, h]: *three* /θri:/ [ʲθri:, 'hr-], *nothing* /'nʌθɪŋ/ [ʲnɫð-ɪŋ, -h-]. For /tj, dj, nj/ we have [tʃ, dʒ] ↑[tj, dj] [nj]: *dew* /dju:/ [ʲdʒɪɪ, ɹdʒ-].

As /h/ shows no tendency to be dropped in lexemes, we commonly find /w/ [hw, hw], except in uneducated or, on the contrary, in refined accents (both with not rare oscillations): *when* /'wɛn/ [ʲhwɛn, 'hw-].

In addition, in typical Scottish words and proper names, the phoneme /x/ [x] is used for the spelling <ch> (extended to classical and other foreign words and names), though it tends to become /k/, both in uneducated and refined accents: *loch* /'lɒk, ɹ-x/ [ʲlɒx], *Tulloch* /'tʌlɒk, ɹ-x/ [ʲtʰɫɫɫɫx], *technical* /'tɛknɒkɫ/ [ʲtʰɛxnɒkɫ], *epoch* /'i:pɒk, 'ɛ-, -ɒk/ [ʲi:pɒx, 'ɛ-, -ɫx], *Bach* /'bɒk, ɹ-x/ [ʲbax], *Arachne* /ə'rækni/ [ʲɹɫɫɫnɫ].

The plural of *house* can keep the /s/ of the singular, thus eliminating a strange and useless difference: *houses* /'haʊzəz/ [ʲhɫɫsɹz, ɹ-z].

183.7. Coming to /r, ɹ/, the Scottish accents are well-known for their realization as [r] ↑[ɹV, VɹV, ɹC, ɹ#]: *rare* /'reə/ [ʲreɹ, ɹɹɹ], *readers* /'ri:dəɹz/ [ʲri:dɫɫz, ɹɹ-dɫɫz], *sorry* /'sɒɹi/ [ʲsɒɹɫ, ɹ-ɹ], *party* /'pɑ:ɹti/ [ʲpʰɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, ɹ-ɹ-], *far* /'fɑ:ɹ/ [ʲfæɹ, ɹ-ɹ]. Both in uneducated and refined accents, however, more and more often, we find /ɹ/ [θ]: [ʲreɫ, ɹɹɫ; ʲri:dɫz, ɹɹ-; (ɹ)ʲpʰɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ; (ɹ)ʲfæɫ].

As to /l, ɫ/, we generally have (although with regional and personal peculiarities, as we will see in the next chapters) [ʲVɫ]: *lill* /'lɪɫ/ [ʲɫɫ] (in broad urban speech [-ɫ]), *highly* /'haɪli/ [ʲhaɫɫ, 'hɫi-], *nearly* /'ni:ɹli/ [ʲni:ɫɫ].

183.8. The typical Scottish *intonation* patterns are shown in the tonograms of fig 183. Verbs in *-ate* and *-ize* are often stressed on their last syllable: *manipulate* /mənɪpjə'leɪt/ [mɫnɹpɹjɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ], *hypnotize* /'hɪpnə'taɪz/ [ʲhɹpɹnɫtʰɫɫɫɫɫ]. A Celtic characteristic makes a final consonant begin the syllable with an initial vowel of the following word: *a large audience* /ə'lɑ:ɹɫɫz 'ɔ:diəns/ [ʲɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, -ɫɫɫɫ], *take off* /'teɪk 'ɒf/ [ʲtʰɫɫ 'kɫɫ], *pays out* /'peɪz 'aʊt/ [ʲpʰɫɫ 'zɫɫɫ], *first of all* /'fɜ:ɹst əv'ɔ:ɫ/ [ʲfɹs ɹɫvɔɫ, ɹɫ-], *an hour ago* /ən'aʊə ə'gəʊ/ [ʲɫɫnɫɫ ɹɫ'gəʊ], *five years old* /'faɪv 'jɪəɹz 'ɔ:ɫd/ [ʲfaɫɫ 'vjɪ:ɹ 'zɫɫd], *six women out of uniform* /sɪks 'wɪmən əʊtəv'ju:nəfɔ:ɹm/ [ʲsɫk 'swɛmɫɫ nɫɫ ɹɫvɹjɫɫnɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ, ɹɫ-, ɹɫ-]. Thus, in the typical accents, [ɫnem] may mean either *a name* /ə'neɪm/ or *an aim* /ən'eɪm/.

In Scottish English, the reduced forms of grammemes are less frequently used than in neutral English, and with less peripheral vocoids. Besides, they can be

more numerous (*ie on* [ɔn, n], *got* [gɔt], *I* [aɪ, ɪ]) and more varied (*to* [tʊ, tɔ, tɪ], *you* [ji, jɪ, jɔ, jʊ], *you'll* [jʊl], *for* [fɔr, fɔr, fɛr]).

In the broad accent, between /ɹ/ and a following /m, n; l, t/, an [ɛ] is inserted: *aren't* /ɑ:ɪnt/ ['arɛnt]. Scottish people typically hesitate with ⟨[ɛ]⟩, not ⟨[ɜ, ɐ]⟩.

Paraphonically, the use of harsh voice, ⟨x⟩, is also typical of broad accents.

191. Eastern Eire (& Dublin)

191.1. Of course, we start from *Dublin*, in eastern Eire. This is the most influential accent in Ireland, although Northern Ireland is a different accent area (mostly with historical influence from Scotland). Obviously, the Dublin accent inevitably affects even the more Gaelic and conservative accents, in western and southern Eire.

fig 191.1 shows the typical accent of Dublin and of the eastern area in the maps of fig 190.1-2. In fig 191.4-5, we will see its broader and lighter variants.

fig 191.1. Eastern Eire (Dublin): vowels, diphthongs & intonation.

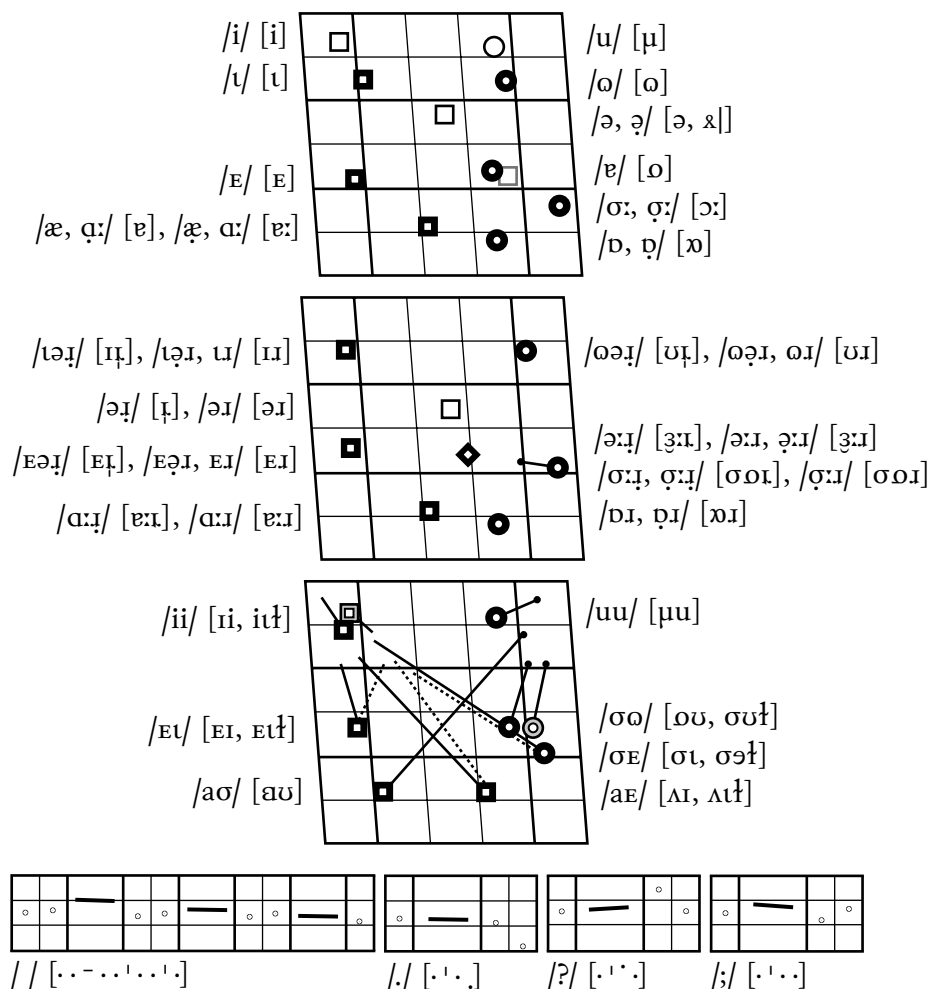
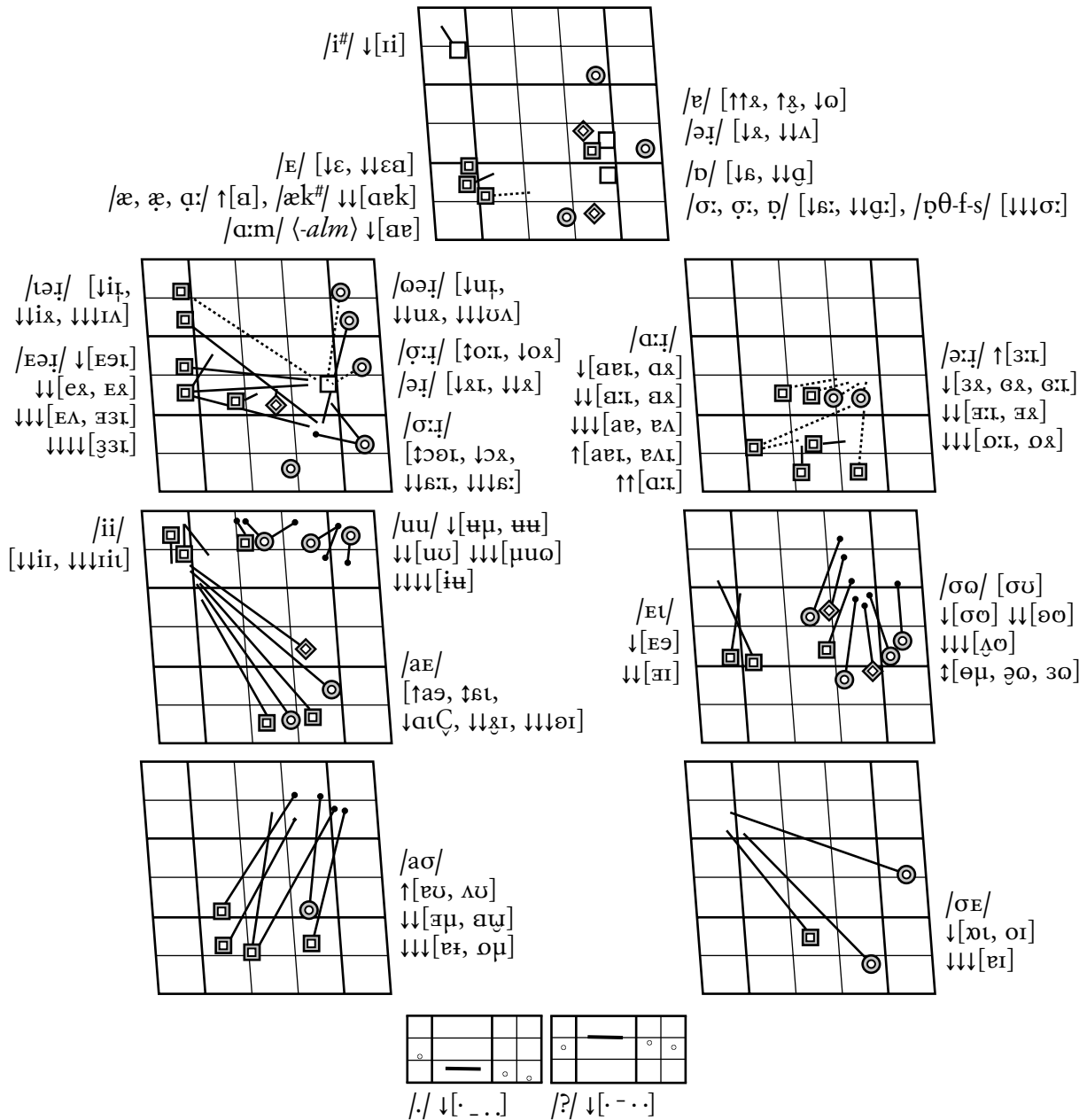


fig 191.2. Eastern Eire (Dublin): variants for vowels, diphthongs & intonation.



↓[ˈbɒɪ, ˈbɔɪ], *high* /ˈhæ/ [ˈhæə, ˈhəɪ], *how* /ˈhə/ [ˈhəʊ, ˈhɒ], *low* /ˈlɔ/ [ˈlɔʊ] ↑[ˈlɔɪ, ˈlɔə, ˈlɔə].

191.6. As for the *consonants*, the most important features, for the whole of Eire, are: /θ, ð/ [t(h), d] (which regularly occur in the West, or in lighter accents elsewhere), ↓[t(h), d] (regularly in the East and South, except in lighter accents), ↑[tθ, dð] (especially in urban lighter accents), ↑↑[θ, ð] (especially as a conscious effort to avoid the typical Eire phones, or in the mixed zone): *think* /ˈθɪŋk/ [ˈtɪŋk, ↓[tʰ-, ↑↑tθ-], *within* /wɪðɪn/ [wəˈdɪn:, ↓-d-, ↑-dð-, ↑↑-ð-]. We can find such cases as: *breathed* /ˈbrɪɪðd/ [ˈbrɪɪdɔs, ↑↑-d] (disyllabic just as *seeded* /ˈsi:dɔd/ [ˈsi:sɔs, ↑↑-dɔd]), *breadth*/*breath* /ˈbrɛθθ, ˈbrɛθ/ [ˈbrɛt], *width*/*with* /ˈwɪdθ, ˈwɪð/ [ˈwɪd], *eighth* /ˈeɪtθ/ [ˈeɪt], like *eight* (both rhyming with *faith*).

191.7. The other, even more peculiar, consonantal feature, typical of the whole of Eire, is: /t, d/ [z, ɜ] (alveolar slit constrictives) in weak positions, ie between vowels or in final position (followed by a pause or a vowel; not in an initial stressed syllable or in contact with a consonant): *bit* /'bɪt/ ['bɪz], *better* /'bɛtə/ ['bɛz], *put it* /'pʊtɪt/ ['phɔzɜ], *bid* /'bɪd/ ['bɪz], *leader* /'li:də/ ['lɪz], *lead it* /'li:dɪt/ ['lɪzɜ] (& *seeded*, just seen above).

Thus, there is no complete coincidence between /t/ [z] and /t/. In fact, the sequences /nɪ, ɪt, ɪt/ are not included among the contexts which use [z], being /Ct/.

191.8. The quite strange fact, from an international (or neutral American or British) point of view, is that these extremely peculiar realizations are not at all stigmatized, in Eire. On the contrary, they can be exhibited on purpose, as a clear sign of proud Irishness... But, of course, we regularly have: *tats* /'tæts/ ['tʰɛts], *tract* /'trækt/ ['tʰrɛkt], *dads* /'dædz/ ['dɛ'dz].

However, to mitigate the strong impact of [z], there are three variants for /t/, at different levels of accents. In fact, to start with, we can have both /t/ [t] and /t/ [ɹ]: *better* /'bɛtə/ [↑'bɛt, ↓'bɛt], *put it* /'pʊtɪt/ [↑'phɔzɜ, ↓'phɔzɜ], *twenty* /'twɛntɪ/ [↑'tʰwɛntɪ, ↓'nɪ], *party* /'pɑ:ɪtɪ/ [↑'phɛ:ɪtɪ, ↓'phɛ:ɪtɪ], *Walter* /'wɔ:ɪtə/ [↑'wɔ:ɪt, ↓'ɹɪ, ↓'ɹ]. Also *eighteen* /eɪ'ti:n/ [eɪz'tɪn, -ɹ, -tʰ] can be heard.

191.9. In addition, at least for some common words or phrases, we can also find, in the broadest accent: /t/ → [ɹh], between vowels and even in final position: *Saturday* /'sæɹəɹdɪ, -ɛɹ/ ['sɛzɹɪ, 'sɛhɹ-], *not at all* /'nɔt ə'tɔ:ɹ/ ['nɔz əzɔ:ɹ, 'nɔh, ↓-]. As a matter of fact, this is a well-known Gaelic peculiarity, with names such as: *Fahy* /'fɛɹ, 'fɑ:(h)ɹ/ ['fɛ(h)hi], *O'Flaherty* /ə'flæ(h)əɹtɪ, σɔ-/ [ə'flɛhɹtɪ], *McGrath* /mə'gɹɑ:θ, -h/ [mə'gɹɛh].

Besides, the typical accents also show /t, d/ → [t, d], in /tɹ, dɹ; tɹɪ, dɹɪ/: *tractor* /'træktɹɪ/ ['tʰrɛktɹɪ], *drink* /'dɹɪŋk/ ['dɹɪŋk], *ladder* /'lædɹɪ/ ['lɛdɹɪ]. Actually, in a broad Dublin accent (and in rural western accents, as well), we can find [t(h), d], both for /θ, ð/ and /t, d/; or [t(h), d] for both pairs, in rural (and even urban) southern accents.

Especially, in a broad Dublin accent, we can also have stopstricative realizations in final positions (or, for /t/, even in an initial stressed position): *stop* /'stɔp/ ['stɔp, -pp], *tot* /'tɔt/ ['tʰɔz, 'tɛ(h)ɔtɛ], *rack* /'ræk/ ['rɛk, -kx].

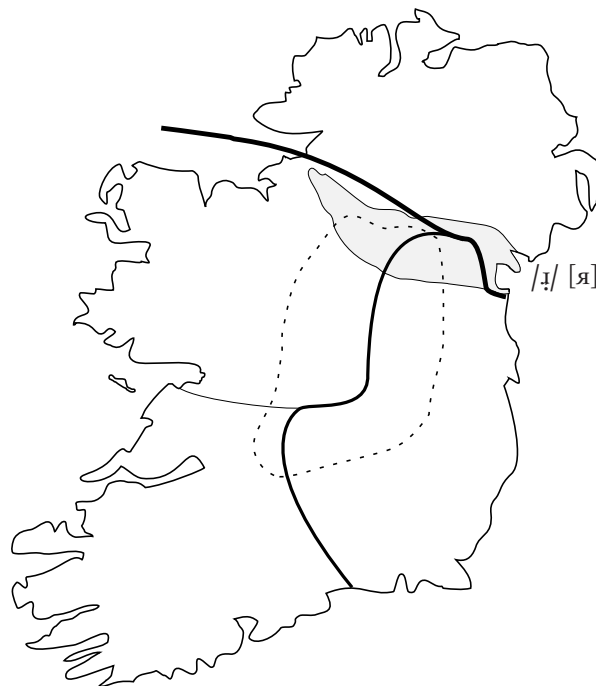
Normally, in Eire, we have /tj, dj/ = [tʃ, dʒ] [tʃ, dʒ] (in broader accents ↓[tʃ, dʒ], more or less with no lip protrusion – for /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ, ʒ] ↓[ʃ, ʒ], as well): *tube* /'tjuub/ ['tʃhɹub, 'tʃhɹub], *duke* /'djuuk/ ['dʒuuk, 'dʒuuk]. For /nj/, we have three possibilities, [n, ↓n, ↑nj]: *new* /'njuu/ ['nɹu, ↓n-, ↑nj-]. The various vocograms show several other different realizations for /uu/.

191.10. In rural accents, we can often hear palatal stops, [c, ɟ], for /k, g/ before low unrounded vowel phonemes, or in final position, after front vowel phonemes: *cat* /'kæɹt/ ['chɛz], *car* /'kɑ:ɹ/ ['chɛ:ɹ], *weak* /'wiik/ ['wiic], *flag* /'flæɹ/ ['flɛ:ɹ]. In part of the mixed zone (cf fig 190.1), and to some extent in some of the bordering areas around it, also called the Midlands (cf fig 191.3), we can still hear [c, ɟ] (or the corresponding stopstricatives, [kç, gç]) both for /kj, gj/ and /tj, dj/, so that we can have such homophones as *cube/tube* /'kjuub, 'tjuub/ ['chɹɹub, 'kçh-] (either in stressed or unstressed syllables, and with very fronted realizations of /uu/).

In rural accents, especially in the South and West, we can still have /v/ [β], /f/ [ɸ] (bilabial constrictives): *van* /'væn/ [βæn:], *love* /'lɛv/ [lɛɸβ], *few* /'fjuu/ [ʰɸjuu], *leaf* /'liif/ [liiɸ].

Again, in rural accents (especially in the West), we can find /sC, zC/ [ʃC, ʒC] (also with [ɹ, ɹ̥]): *star* /'stɑ:ɹ/ [ʃtʰɛ:ɹ], *west* /'wɛsɹ/ [wɛʃɹ], *biscuit* /'bɪskəɹ/ [bɪʃcɛɹ], *castle* /'kæstɹ/ [tʰɛʃɹ], *listen* /'lɪsn̩/ [lɪʃn̩], *wisdom* /'wɪzɒm/ [wɪʒɒm], *puzzle* /'pɛzɹ/ [pʰɒʒɹ]. And, still in rural accents, we can also have /ɹs/ [ɹʃ, ɹʂ], /ɹz/ [ɹʒ, ɹʒ̥] (cf § 191.11), as in: *force* /'fɔ:ɹs/ [fɔ:ɹʃ, -ɹʂ], *liquors* /'lɪkəɹz/ [lɪk-ɹʒ, -ɹʒ̥]. In rural accents of the South, we typically find: /ɹ, ɹ̥/ [r].

fig 191.3. Two particular areas. The grey one indicates where it is possible to find /ɹ̥/ [ɹ̥]; in the white dotted one, palatal taxophones can be typical for /k, g/ [c, ɟ] and /kj, gj/ [tʃ, dʒ].



191.11. In Eire, we have /w/ [hʷ, hw, ↑w]: *which* /'wɪtʃ/ [hʷɪtʃ, hʷ-, ↑w-] (cf *witch* /'wɪtʃ/ [wɪtʃ]); and /hj/ [h, ↑hj], including [ɹ̥j], for such words as *humor* /'hju-uməɹ/ [hjuumɹ, ↑hj-, ɹ̥j-]. Besides, we have /l/ [l], /ɹ/ [ɹ, ↓l, ↑ɹ]: *lill* /'lɪɹ/ [lɪɹ, ↓l-, ↑ɹ-].

In addition, we find /ɹ/ [ɹ], /ɹ̥/ [ɹ̥] (prevelar laterally contracted approximant, slightly rounded: the most typical one), [↑ɹ] (prevelar laterally contracted semi-approximant, slightly rounded: most typical in Dublin), [↓ɹ̥] (prevelar laterally contracted semi-approximant, slightly rounded and uvularized: most typical in rural accents), [↓ɹ̥, ↓↓ɹ̥] (full vocalization: most typical of a broad Dublin accent): *rare* /'ɹɛəɹ/ [ɹ̥ɹ̥ɹ, ↑ɹ̥-, ↓ɹ̥-, ↓↓ɹ̥, ↓↓ɹ̥-]. More rarely, in Dublin, we can also have /ɹ̥/ [ɹ̥] (alveolar approximant, as a kind of compromise between rhotic and non-rhotic accents): *rare* /'ɹɛəɹ̥/ [ɹ̥ɹ̥ɹ̥].

In a small area (shown in grey in the map of fig 191.3), we can still happen to hear a pharyngealized uvular approximant for /ɹ̥/ [ɹ̥] (which seems to have been more widespread, in the past, both in the whole East and in the mixed zone): *rare* /'ɹɛəɹ̥/ [ɹ̥ɹ̥ɹ̥].

191.12. Let us add some general observations to complete our treatment. Many Irish people still use /eɪ/ [eɪ, eə, eɪ, eə, eɛ, ee] for /ii/ in *tea, sea, eat*. However, we do not consider this fact as something belonging to the *pronunciation* of English, but as the *use* of dialectal words in English contexts. In fact, many other speakers just use /ii/ [iɪ, iɪ, ii, ii, iɪ, iɪ], and carefully avoid using the other forms.

We do the same with the non-literal use of *old*, pronounced as [aʊl] (and all the other variants), for instance in such a phrase as *the owl fella* [di:əʊl'fɛl-ɔ]: thus *owld*.

On the contrary, we prefer to consider the following peculiarities as belonging to the pronunciation of Irish English: *many, any, any-* with /æ/ [ɛ] instead of normal /ɛ/ [ɛ]: *anyway* /'ɛniweɪ, -ə-/ [ɫ'ɛn-əweɪ]. The same for *either, neither* with /eɪ/ [ɛɪ] instead of normal /aɛ, ii/: *either way* /'aɛðəɪ 'weɪ, 'ii-/ [ɫ'eɪdɪ 'weɪɪ].

191.13. As we may have already seen from some examples, we have /ə/ = /ə/, and /ə/ [ə, ɔ]: *roses* /'ɪɔʊzəz/ [ɫ'ɪɔʊzəz], *sofa* /'sɔʊfə/ [ɫ'sɔʊfɔ], *to go* /tə'gɔʊ/ [ɫ'hə'gɔʊ] (not [ɫ'hw'g-]).

Besides, we find /Vəɪ/ → /Vɪ/: *hearing* /'hi:əɪn/ [ɫ'hi:ən], *pirate* /'pɪ:əɪt/ [ɫ'pɪ:ɪt]. Also /VVəɪ/ → /VVɪ/: *player* /'pleɪəɪ/ [ɫ'pɪ:ɪɪ], &c. Even before laterals and nasals, at least in a broad accent, we can have /Və/ → /V/: *vowel* /'vaʊə/ [ɫ'vɪ:ɪ], *lion* /'laɪən/ [ɫ'lɪ:ɪn]. We can even hear *quiet* /'kwaɪət/ [ɫ'kwɪ:ɪt], pronounced like *quite* /'kwaɪt/ [ɫ'kwɪ:ɪt].

On the other hand, we can typically have [Cɪ] → [Cəɪ] (or [Cɪ]), between a consonant and a sonant: *arm* /'ɑ:ɪm/ [ɫ'ə:ɪm], *film* /'fɪɪm/ [ɫ'fɪ:ɪm], *worn* /'wɔ:ɪn/ [ɫ'wɔ:ɪn]; also *Dublin* /'dʊbɪn/ [ɫ'dʊb-əɪn]. But we have oscillations, and other solutions, as well; consider, for instance: *modern* /'mɔ:ɪn/ [ɫ'mɔ:ɪn, -əɪn, -ɪn, -ɪn, -ɪn].

In initial unstressed position, vowels tend to avoid using /ə/: *official* /ə'fɪʃl/ [ɫ'ɔ'fɪʃl], *accept* /ək'sɛpt/ [ɫ'ɛk'sɛpt], *effect* /ə'fɛkt/ [ɫ'ɛ'fɛkt, ɪ-].

In rural accents, we often have /i#/ → /ə/: *lucky* /'lɛki/ [ɫ'lɔkɔ]; in rural and popular accents, /ɔʊ#/ → /ə/: *window* /'wɪndʊʊ/ [ɫ'wɪndɔ], while verbs have /ɔʊ#/ → /i/: *follow* /'fɔləʊ/ [ɫ'fɔl-i], *following* /'fɔləʊɪn/ [ɫ'fɔl-iən].

191.14. As for *reduced forms*, while *Saint (St)* has none, /sɛɪnt, sənɪ/ [ɫsɛɪnt], other words do have reduced forms, contrary to common (especially British) usage: *on* /ɔn/ [əɪn, n], *in* /ɪn/ [əɪn, n], *it* /ɪt/ [əɪ, əɪ], *him* /ɪm/ [əɪm, m], *I* /aɪ/ [ɛ, ə], *my* /maɪ/ [mi, mɔ], *by* /baɪ/ [bi, bɔ], *you* /ju: /jə/ [jɔ], *your/you're* /jɔ:ɪ, jɔ:ɪ, jɔ:ɪ/ [jɪ], *we're* /wɛɪ/ [wɪ], *where* /wɛɪ/ [ɫhwɪ], *when* /wɛn/ [ɫhwən], *what* /wɔt/ [ɫhwɔt, -ɔ]. The common greeting *How are you?* is generally /'hɑ:ɪjə, -ju:/.

In broad and typical accents, verbs in *-ate, -y, -ize* have their stress on the last syllable: *activate* /'æktɪvɛɪt/ [ɫ'ɛktɪvɛɪt], *satisfy* /'sætɪsfæɪ/ [ɫsɛtɪsfɪt], *organize* /'ɔ:ɪgənæɪz/ [ɫ'ɔ:ɪgənɪtɪz]; also: *interested* /'ɪntɪrɪstɪd/ [ɫ'ɪntɪrɪstɪd], *interesting* /'ɪntɪrɪstɪŋ/ [ɫ'ɪntɪrɪstɪŋ], *subsequently* /'sɛbsɪkwɛntli/ [ɫsɔb'siikwɛntli].

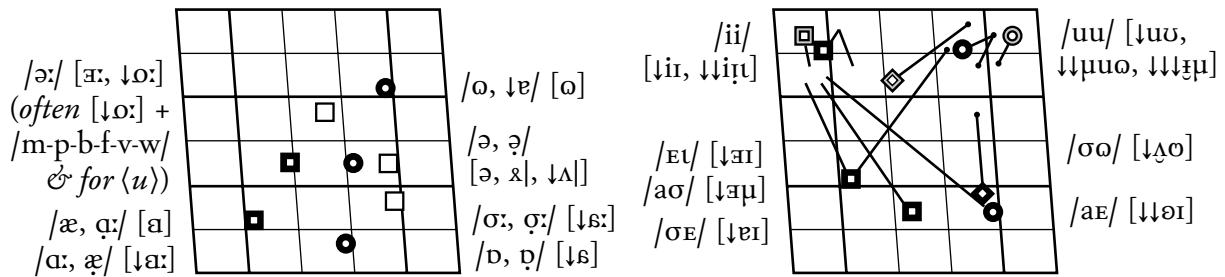
The intonation patterns are shown, with variants, in fig 191.1-2. For southern and western Eire, see G 192.

191.15. The *broadest Dublin accent* (as shown in fig 191.4) has /ɪ/ [ə, ɔ, ɫɔ] (which recalls what happens in New York City): *harper* /'hɑ:pəɪ/ [ɫ'hɑ:pɔ, -ɔ], and

/ə:ɪ/ [ɛ:, ↓ɔ:] (with the latter variant most often occurring after /m, p, b; f, v; w/, or for the spelling <u>): *stir* /'stɛ:ɪ/ [stɛ:], *word* /'wɔ:ɪd/ [wɔ:dɪ], *nurse* /'nɛ:ɪs/ [nɔ:s].

Equally peculiar are the diphthongs, as fig 191.4 clearly shows: *bean* /'bi:ɪn/ [b'i:ɪn, ↓↓b'i:ɪn], *day* /'dɛɪ/ [↓dɛɪ], *time* /'tʰaɪm/ [↓↓tʰəɪm], *boy* /'bɔɪ/ [↓bɛɪ], *town* /'tʰaʊn/ [↓tʰɛɪn], *go* /'gɔɔ/ [↓gɔɔ], *soon* /'su:ɪn/ [↓su:ɪn, ↓↓sɪuɔn, ↓↓sɛɪn]. As for the consonants, cf § 191.6-13.

fig 191.4. Broad Dublin accent: typical taxophones.

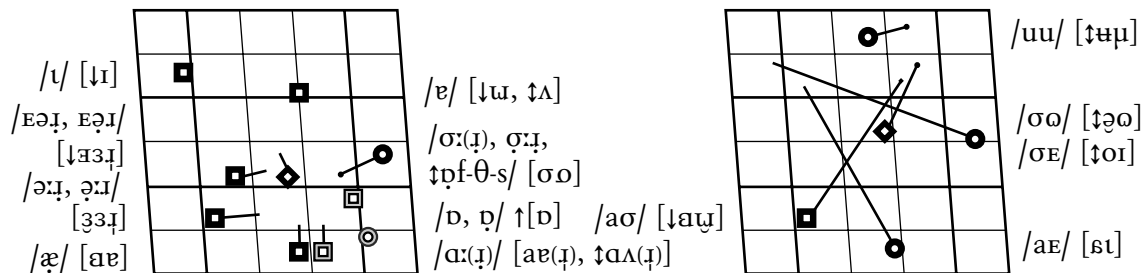


191.16. There is also a kind of refined, partially newer, *Dublin accent* (as shown in fig 191.5), which derives from reactions both to the broadest local accent and to the so-called ‘Dublin 4’ accent. The latter was typical of one of the most affluent areas of Dublin (whose postal address is *Dublin 4*), where the national broadcasting company –RTE– and University College Dublin are located. That accent, during the 1980’s, aimed at avoiding features from the broad Dublin accent, moving away from them, even though the result was strongly disliked and ridiculed by most people.

The most typical new features, only partially connected with Dublin 4 ones, are shown in fig 191.5. In addition, we often have /tʰ, dʰ; tʰ#, dʰ#/ [tʰ, dʰ], /t/ [ɾ], /tʰ/ [ʔ] (while /t, d/ [z, ɾ] are avoided).

Especially young female speakers can have semi-stopped realizations (ie stops with slightly incomplete closure) for prevocalic /b, d, g/ *body*, *go* [bʰɔdʰi, gʰɔ]. We also find /ɹ/ [ɾ] (with partially different rhythmic results, due to [VVɹ], instead of [VVɹ]): *car* /'kɑ:ɹ/ [kʰaɛɹ], *floor* /'flɔ:ɹ/ [flσɔɹ], *fear* /'fɛɹ/ [frɹ], *fire* /'fɛɹɹ/ [fɛɹɹ]. Finally, we have /ɹ/ [ɾ, ↓ɹ]: *well* /'weɹ/ [weɹ] ([ɾ] is felt to be ‘insufficient’).

fig 191.5. Refined Dublin accent: typical taxophones (including some ↓, ↓).



191.17. A typically recognized Irish kind of voice, frequently, uses both whispy voice (<∞>) and falsetto (<*>).