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German Pronunciation & Accents

Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

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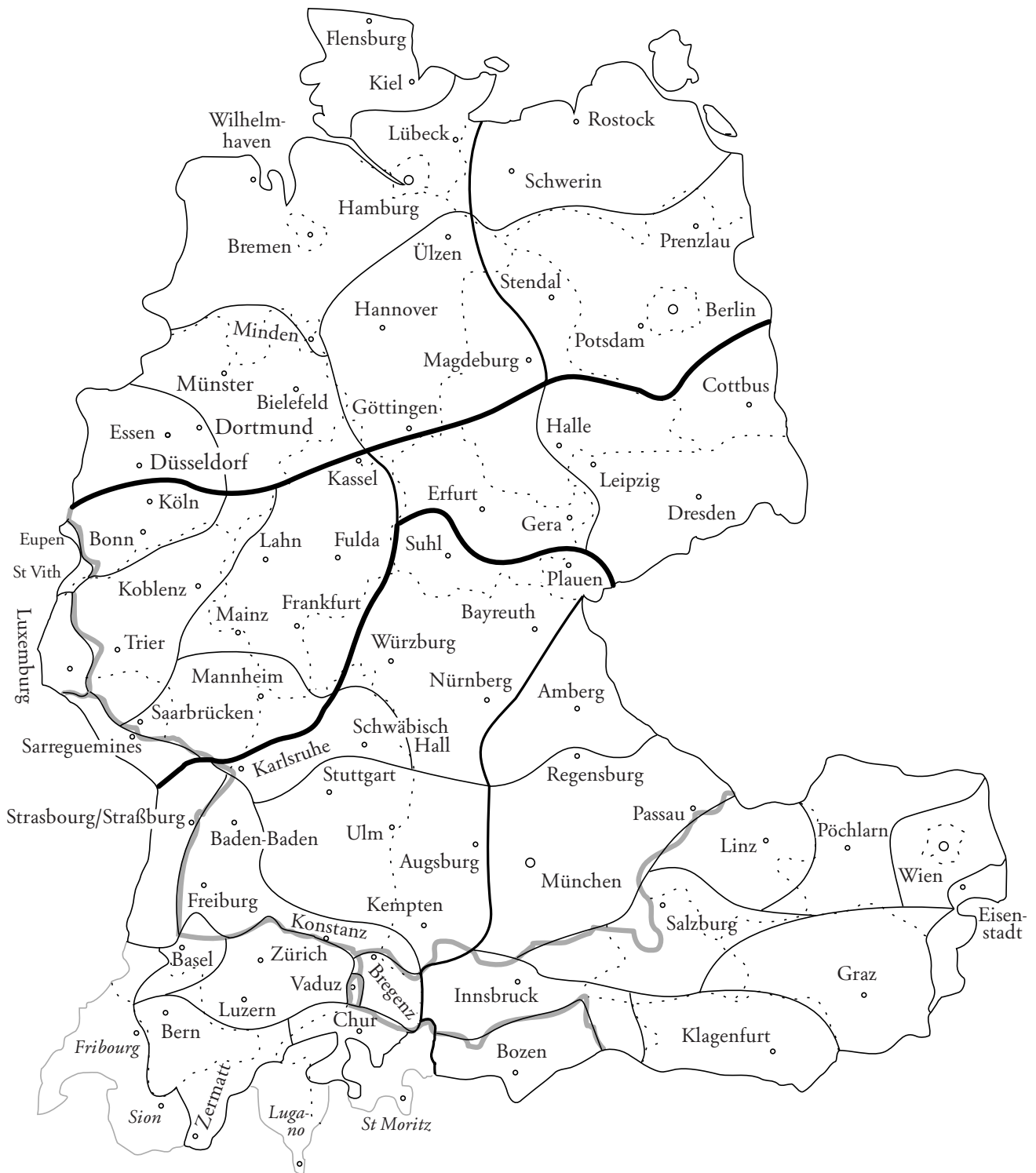
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fig 19.0.4. The German-accent koinés: towns & cities with administrative boundaries.



man, with names that we consider more useful than some traditional ones, whereas fig 19.0.3 gives the most important towns and cities in each koiné.

In order to be more useful, fig 19.0.4 adds the borders of the administrative regions (with broken lines, as in fig 19.0.1), which do not correspond to real koinés.

15.

North-east Germany

15.1. As we have already said, we think it important to present the other accents, in addition to international and neutral pronunciations, not only for useful comparisons, but also to be ready to grasp the pronunciation characteristics of German outside former ‘West Germany’. We will start from former ‘East Germany’ (DDR, ie the present-day north-eastern part of reunified Germany), followed by Austria, Switzerland, and South Tyrol (or Alto Adige), to understand different accents better and more quickly. These accents are described in comparison with international and neutral pronunciations.

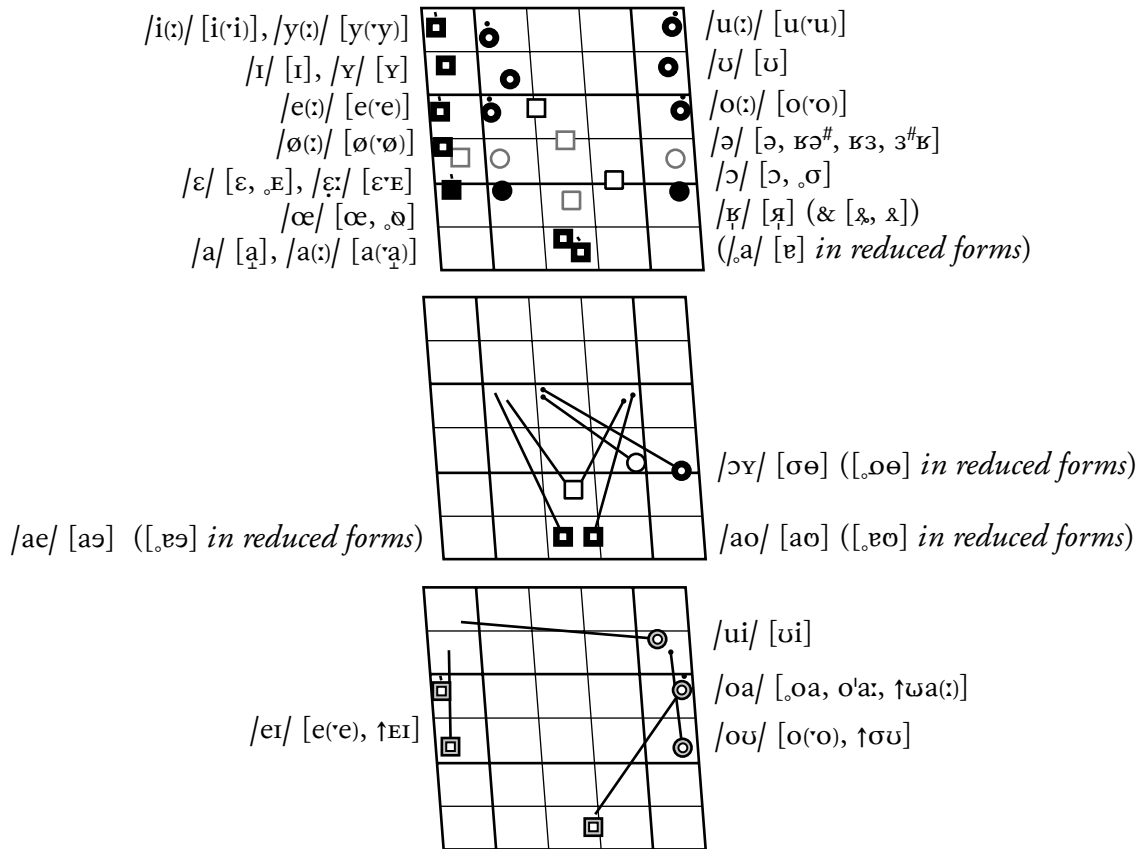
We will limit ourselves to the most necessary considerations, even if, in books entirely devoted to Austrian or Swiss pronunciations, much less detailed information is usually given, when this is not decidedly approximate, or even misleading. It is sadly true, however, that even whole books, entirely devoted to describe the pronunciation of neutral/international German (called ‘standard’), give only a small part of what one would like to know, and often too approximately, although we do know what we describe here: it is sufficient to really listen to spoken German following the natural phonotonic principles. In fact, things *are* there to be ‘discovered’.

The following observations could also be useful to those who feel the need to acquire a more typical accent among the last three, mainly if they want (or have) to be in preferential contact with the inhabitants of the areas above indicated, more than with those of Germany.

North-east Germany pronunciation (*ne*)

15.2. This is the accent that, until the fall of the ‘Berlin Wall’ could be defined as the *neutral* pronunciation of ‘North-east Germany’ (or ‘Deutsche Demokratische Republik’, as a historical absurdity, with two lexical-semantic falsities out of three words, as is common for –either right- or left-wing– dictatorships, where lies are institutional – unfortunately, on more serious matters than the phonic ones).

But, given the political reunification of the ‘two Germanies’, there is no point in talking about a *neutral* accent of the Northwest anymore, with little differences, mostly for some vowel phonemes, the syllabic structure of ‘long vowels’, and intonation patterns.

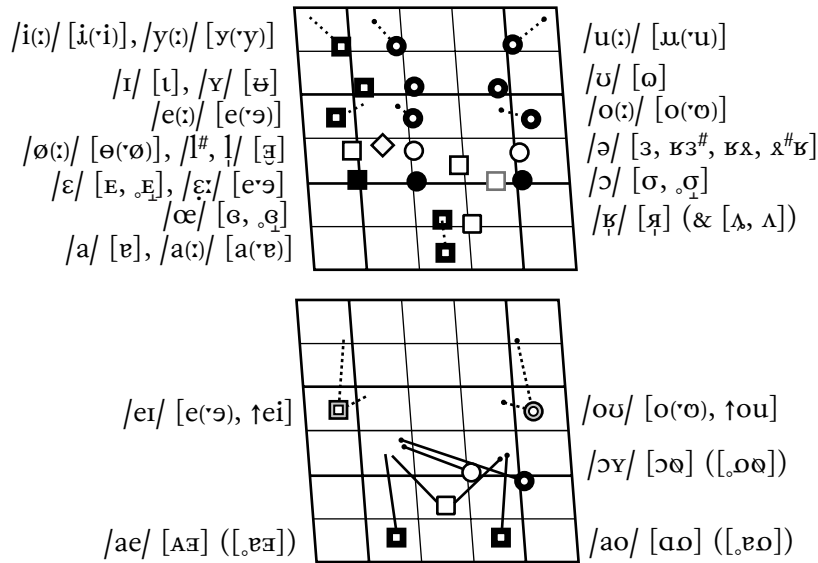
fig 15.1. North-east German: *traditional* monophthongs & diphthongs (*tne*).

All in all, this accent is similar enough to the international accent, except mostly for its diphthongal ‘long’ vowels. In addition, as all neutral pronunciations, statistically this is a minority accent that is generally learnt intentionally by voice professionals.

Therefore, we will treat it as the *traditional* pronunciation of the Northeast, which can be heard from careful speakers, who, however, are not yet able to really monophthongize their ‘long vowels’ and to carry out some other slight alterations especially on vowels and intonation, which distinguish it from modern neutral pronunciation. Therefore, it is a parallel to traditional ‘western’ pronunciation (G 13), with which it certainly should be compared. Arguably, it is not the local pronunciation of Berlin or of Saxony. But see the mediatic and, most of all, the broad characteristics of this area: fig 15.2-3 and related text sections.

15.3. Thus, fig 15.1 shows the vowels and diphthongs of *traditional* northeastern German. As will be seen shortly, by comparing these diagrams with those of previous chapters, the ‘long stressed vowels’ are actually *monotimbric diphthongs*, or *vocalic doublings*, with a slight upward movement (which, in the case of /ɛ:̃/, is ditimbric, [ɛːɛ̃]). Altogether, their length is not shortened: [V:] → [V·V] (ie not [VV], as in Austria or Switzerland, for instance).

Also consider carefully fig 15.2, which shows the vowels and diphthongs of northeastern *mediatic* pronunciation (*mne*), to be accurately compared with fig 15.1 (and, of

15.2. North-east German: *mediatic* monophthongs & diphthongs (*mne*).

course, with those of neutral and international pronunciations, too). As can easily be seen, the ‘long’ vowels are even less narrow diphthongs than the traditional ones.

For this reason, the higher vowels, although they do not cross the border of their box, are better shown using some special symbols, /i:/ [iː], /y:/ [yː], /u:/ [uː], as it is necessary to do for /e:/ [eː], /ø:/ [øː], /o:/ [oː], /a:/ [aː] (which actually cross boxes). Generally, /ɛ:/ coincides with /e:/ [eː] (but not necessarily for every word or speaker).

Note carefully that the short vowels are different, indeed: /ɪ/ [ɪ], /ʏ/ [ʏ], /ʊ/ [ʊ], /ɛ/ [ɛ], /œ/ [œ], /ɔ/ [ɔ], /a/ [a].

The following examples simultaneously show differences in long vowels: *Wien* *tne* [ˈviːn] *mne* [ˈviːn] *n/i* [ˈviːn], *sehen* *tne* [ˈzeːən] *mne* [ˈzeːən] *n/i* [ˈzeːn], *spät* *tne* [ˈʃpɛːt] *mne* [ˈʃpɛːt] *n* [ˈʃpɛːt; -ɛːt] *i* [ˈʃpɛːt]; and *Bahn* *tne* [ˈbaːn] *mne* [ˈbaːn] *n/i* [ˈbaːn], *so* *tne* [ˈzoː] *mne* [ˈzoː] *n/i* [ˈzoː], *gut* *tne* [ˈɡuːt] *mne* [ˈɡuːt] *n* [ˈɡuːt] *i* [ˈɡuːt], *Tür* *tne* [ˈtʏr] *mne* [ˈtʏr] *n* [ˈtʏr] *i* [ˈtʏr], *schön* *tne* [ˈʃøːn] *mne* [ˈʃøːn] *n/i* [ˈʃøːn].

Also notice: *infizieren* *mne* [ˈɪnfɪtʃiːzɪrən] *n* [ˈɪnfɪtʃiːrən, -iːrən] *i* [ˈɪnfɪtʃiːʌn], *Mutulus* *mne* [ˈmuːtʊlʊs] *n* [ˈmuːtʊlʊs] *i* [-t], *Synonym* *mne* [ˈzɪnoːnɪm] *n/i* [ˈzɪnoːnɪm].

As for the short vowels: *Fisch* *tne/n/i* [fɪʃ] *mne* [fɪʃ], *fünf* *tne/n/i* [fʏnf] *mne* [fʏnf], *Hund* *tne/n* [hʊnt] *mne* [hʊnt] *i* [-t], *elf* *tne/n/i* [ɛlf] *mne* [ɛlf], *zwölf* *tne/n* [tʃvɔlf] *mne* [tʃvɔlf] *i* [tʃvɔlf], *oft* *tne/n* [ɔft] *mne* [ɔft] *i* [ɔft], *Kamm* *tne/n/i* [kham] *mne* [khem].

The two realizations of /ə/ –which, in traditional northeastern German, are slightly lower than in neutral German (*n* [ə, ɛ#] → *tne* [ɛ, ə#])– are even lower and backer in mediatic northeastern pronunciation ([→ *mne* [ɔ, ɛ#]): *unsere* *tne* [ʔʊnɔzɛɔ, -nɔz-, -nɔz-] *mne* [ʔʊnɔzɛɔ, -nɔz-, -nɔz-] *n* [ʔʊnɔzɛɔ] *i* [ʔʊnɔzɛɔ].

However, the frequent vocalization of /ɛ, ɛ/ is realized higher in traditional northeastern pronunciation ([ɛʔ, ɛʔ]), but lower and fronter in the mediatic one ([ʌ, ʌ]): *Wasser* *tne* [ˈvasɛ, -ɛ, -ɛ] *mne* [ˈvasɛ, -ʌ, -ʌ] *i* [-ʌ].

15.6. As for the diphthongs, by comparing the vocograms of fig 15.1 & fig 15.3 (with fig 12.1-2), one can see in particular that traditional northeastern German has

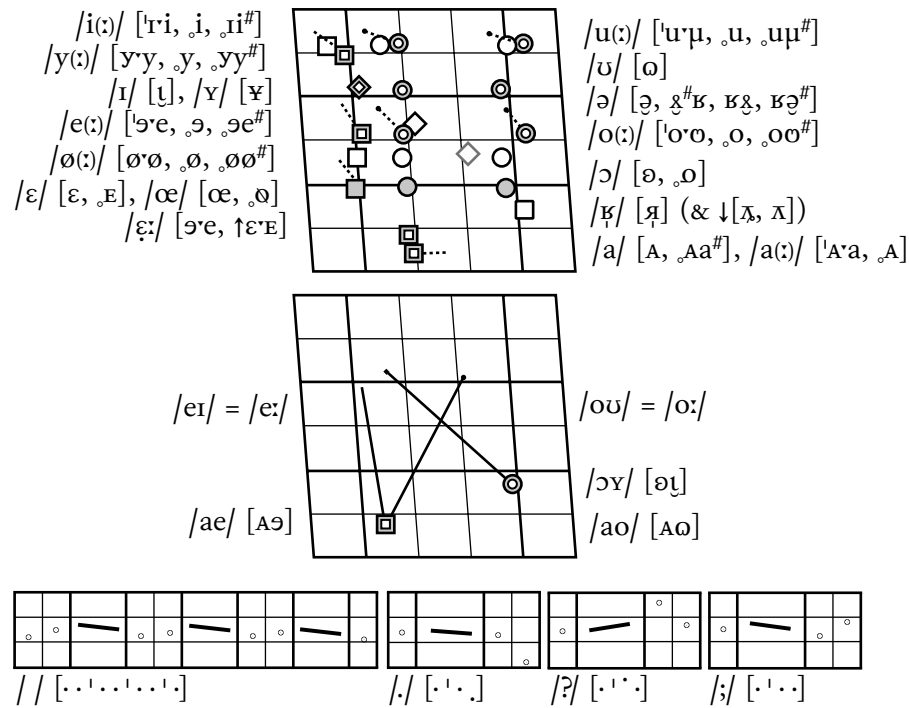
less peripheral second elements for the last two, /ae, ao, ɔʏ/ *tne*[aə, aɔ, σə], whereas, in mediatic northeastern German, the timbres are less wide and more peculiar, *mne*[Aɛ, aɔ, ɔə]: *Eis tne*[ʔaəs] *mne*[ʔAɛs] *n/i*[ʔaes], *blau tne*[b̥laɔ] *mne*[b̥laɔ] *n/i*[b̥laɔ], *neu tne*[ʔnσə] *mne*[ʔnɔə] *n/i*[ʔnɔʏ].

As the respective vocograms show, the xenophonemes /ei, ou/ have certain differences, as well; in addition, we generally find /ui/ [ui] and peculiar reduced forms for /ae, ao, ɔʏ/ [ɛɛ, ɔɔ, ɔə] (fig 15.1-2).

Let us now consider fig 15.3, which gives the remarkable peculiarities of the broad north-east German accent, for vowels (more centralized), diphthongs, and intonation, that we leave with the interested readers, for a careful analysis and examples. Notice how many narrow diphthongs there are, even for final unstressed vowels. Also note the particular timbres of /a, a:, ae, ao/ and /ə/.

Let us add that, in this accent, final unstressed vowels are not completely shortened, as it does not happen in traditional pronunciation (cf §13.4).

fig 15.3. North-east German: *broad* accent – vowels, diphthongs, and intonation.



15.7. As for the *consonants*, we can have almost all the peculiarities found in mediatic German pronunciation (G 14), possibly with even more stronger lenitions and attenuations, which are not generally present in traditional northeastern pronunciation.

In the mediatic northeastern accent, the change /g/ → [j] is also quite frequent, between front vowels, including /ə/: *legen mne*[ʔe'əjzɛn, -jɛ] *n/i*[ʔle:ɔɣɛ], *einige mne*[ʔAɛnɛjz] *n*[ʔAɛnɛɣ] *i*[-gə]; and intervocalic /t/ can often be [ɫ].

In addition, we can find /g/ → [j] between /ɛ, l/ and /ə/: *Sorge mne*[ʔzɔɣjz] *n*[ʔzɔɣɣ] *i*[ʔzɔɣɔ], *Felge mne*[ʔfɛj-ɣz] *n*[ʔfɛlɣɣ] *i*[-gə]. After front vowels, /k/ (when final, or in front of voiceless consonants) can become [ɰ]: *Sieg mne*[ʔzi:ɣ] *n/i*[ʔzi:k], *legt mne*[ʔle'əɣɫ]

n [lɛ:kɛ] i [-t]. Instead, after back vowels, including /a, a:/, /k/ (when final, or in front of voiceless consonants) can become [ɥ]: *gesagt* ^{mne}[g̊ɜʔz̊aʁɐɥt] n [g̊ɜʔz̊a:kɛ] i [g̊ɜʔz̊a:kt].

Equally, after /ɤ, l/, final /k/ can become [ɥ]: *Sarg* ^{mne}[ʔɜʁɥ] n [ʔz̊a:k] i [ʔz̊a:k], *Volk* ^{mne}[fɔɥ] n [fɔ:k].

In addition, before pauses, /V^{k#}/ can also be realized as a (pre)velar stopstricative, ^{mne}[kx, kx̥]: *Krieg* ^{mne}[k̥h̥ɛ:i:k, -kx, -kx̥, -ɥ] n [k̥h̥ɛ:i:k] i [k̥h̥ɛ:i:k], *Tag* ^{mne}[t̥h̥a:ɐk, -kx, -kx̥, -ɥ] n [t̥h̥a:k] i [t̥h̥a:k], *Zug* ^{mne}[t̥s̥u:uk, -kx, -kx̥, -ɥ] n [t̥shu:k].

The voiceless constrictives (and /z/), after /n, l/, frequently change into homorganic sequences of a stop and a constrictive, or into real stopstricatives or semi-stopstricatives: *Hans* ^{mne}[h̥ɛns, -ts, -ts, -t̥s̥] n [h̥ans], *also* ^{mne}[ʔɛlzo, -dzo, -dzo] n [ʔalzo].

In mediatic northeastern pronunciation, we also have /M[#], l/ [Vɤ, ɤ] (shown in the first vocogram of fig 15.2): *viel* ^{mne}[fi:iɤ] n [fi:l], *Esel* ^{tne}[ʔe:ɛz] ^{mne}[ʔe:ɛzɤ] n [ʔe:z]. However, all these realizations are not very recommendable.

Again, in mediatic pronunciation, as some examples have already shown, the voiceless stops are less ‘aspirated’: *Pein* ^{mne}[p̥h̥aɛn] n [p̥haen]; in addition, the voiceless stopstricatives have no ‘aspiration’ at all: *zu* ^{mne}[t̥s̥u:u] n [t̥shu:]; and a sonant (including /ɤ/) preceded by voiceless consonants is not devoiced: *Platte* ^{mne}[p̥h̥lɛtɜ] n [p̥h̥lɛtɜ]; on the contrary, a sonant followed by a voiceless consonant is partially devoiced: *Pumpe* ^{mne}[p̥h̥ɔmpɜ] n [p̥h̥ɔmpɛ] i [-ɜ].

fig 15.4 shows the intonation patterns, which are slightly less peculiar than the ‘western neutral’ ones – something more towards an ‘international’ situation, so to say. Also, look at the differences between the tonograms themselves in fig 15.3.

fig 15.4. North-east German: intonation patterns.



15.8. Here is the ^{mne} sample passage from § 11.10.

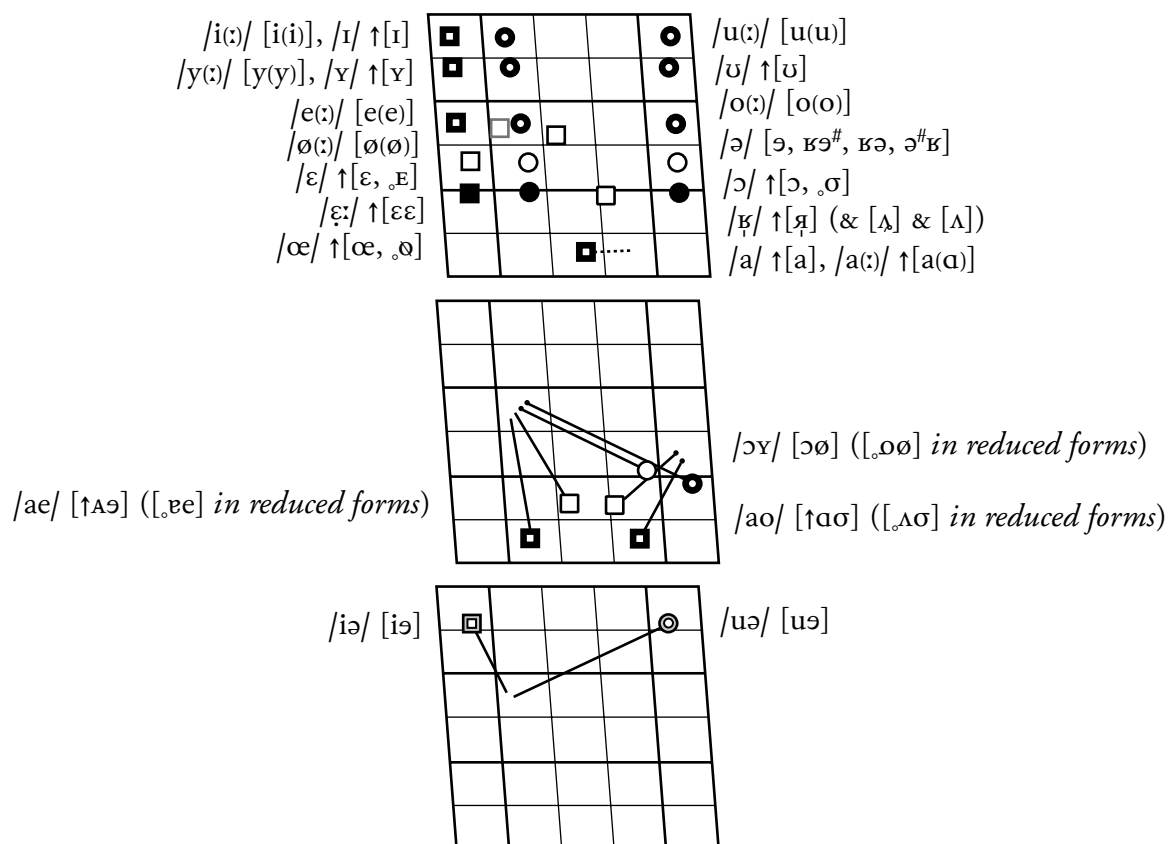
Einst stritten sich Nordwind und Sonne, wer von ihnen beiden wohl der Stärkere wäre, als ein Wanderer, der in einen warmen Mantel gehüllt war, des Weges daherkam. Sie wurden einig, dass derjenige für den Stärkeren gelten sollte, der den Wanderer zwingen würde, seinen Mantel abzulegen.

Der Nordwind blies mit aller Macht, aber je mehr er blies, desto fester hüllte sich der Wanderer in seinen Mantel ein. Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf. Nun erwärmte die Sonne die Luft mit ihren freundlichen Strahlen, und schon nach wenigen Augenblicken zog der Wanderer seinen Mantel aus. Da musste der Nordwind zugeben,

16. Austria

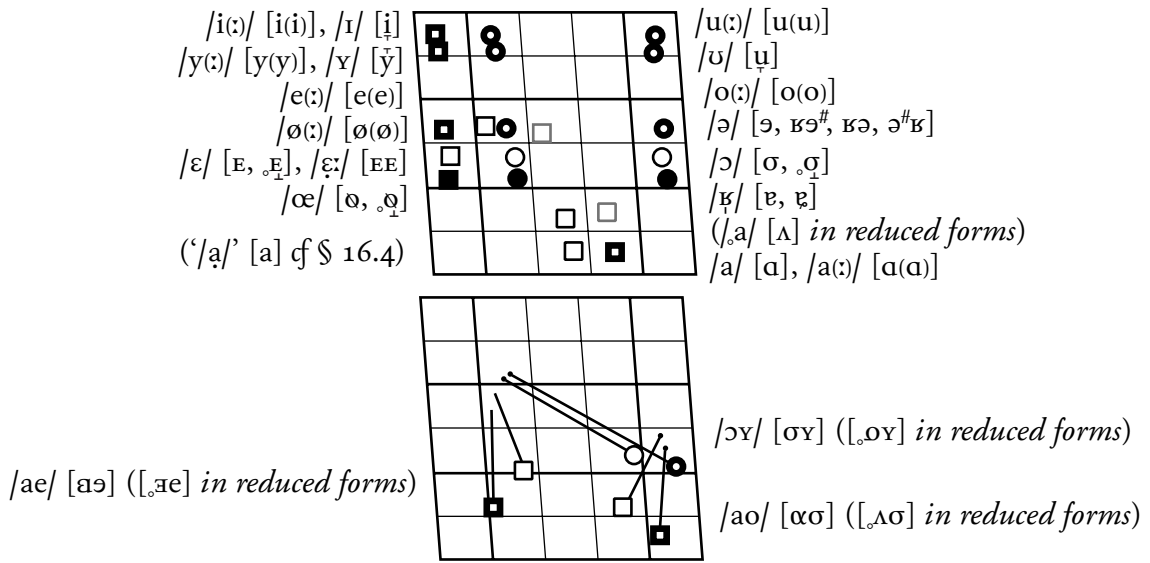
16.1. fig 16.1 gives the neutral pronunciation of Austrian German, which should be carefully compared both with international German (fig 5.8 & fig 10.6) and the neutral accent of Germany (fig 12.1-5 & fig 12.13), to discover differences and similarities. The second vocogram shows the three diphthongs (/ae, ao, ɔʏ/, see § 16.5, and their variants possible in reduced forms). The third vocogram gives two further typical diphthongs (marked in grey, because they may only occur in local family and place names), ^a[iə, uə] 'iə, uə': *Diex* ^a[ˈd̥iəks, ˈd̥iiks], *Ruetz* ^a[ˈʁuəts, ˈʁuuets].

fig 16.1. Austrian German: *neutral* monophthongs & diphthongs (*na*).



16.2. In addition, fig 16.2 shows the peculiarities of *mediatic* Austrian German, which predominates on Austrian radio and television. It is an intermediate way

fig 16.2. Austrian German: *mediatic* monophthongs & diphthongs (*ma*).



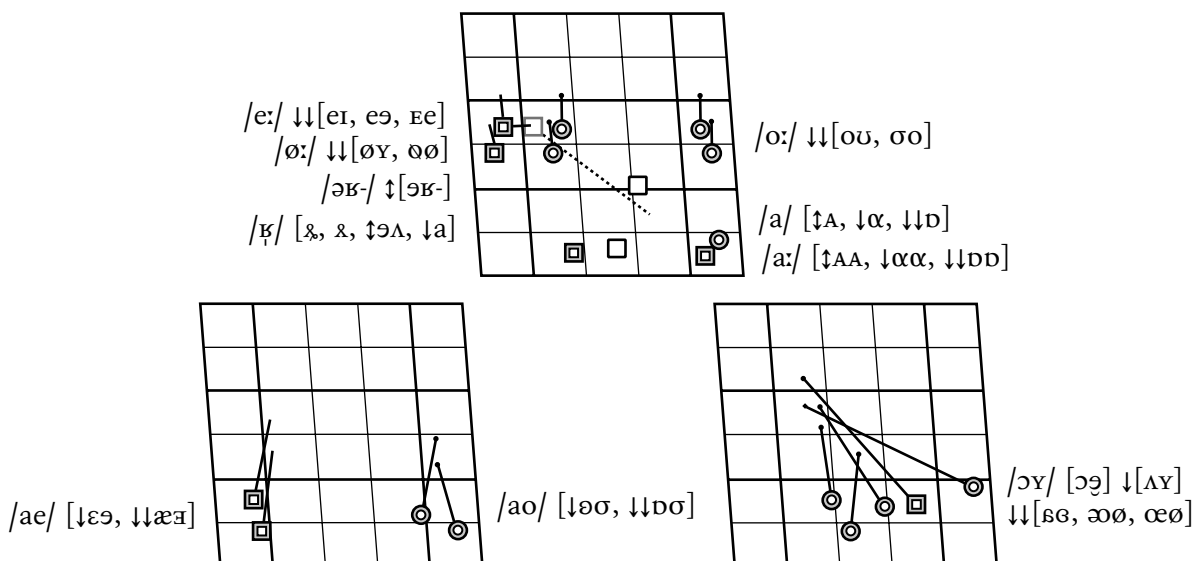
between the less and the more marked forms, *ie* between actual neutral Austrian German and the most local variants.

Furthermore, fig 16.3 shows general broad Austrian characteristics, which are not markedly regional. Usually, the intonation patterns remain the typical ones, shown in fig 16.6, although some attenuated usages are to be found, to some extent towards the international patterns (in some rarer cases, also towards neutral German, under the influence of German TV and films).

16.3. Let us observe the monophthongs. The 'long' vowels are, actually, geminated or doubled, and their length is shorter, even if gemination can make them sound slightly longer than they actually are. Specifically: ^a[VV], not ⁿ[V:] (nor [V·V]).

The actual articulations corresponding to */ɪ, ʏ, ʊ; ɛ, œ, ɔ/* (and */ɛ:/*) are notice-

fig 16.3. Austrian German: mostly *broad* accent (*ba*) – & refined */a(:)/* [ʌ(A)].



ably closer than in neutral German, so that they are better represented by $ma[i, y, u; \epsilon(\epsilon), \emptyset, \sigma]$ (and $ma[\epsilon\epsilon]$), though placed in the lower part of their boxes in the vocogram ($[V_{\tau}]$).

In neutral Austrian pronunciation, we have $na[I^{\pm}, Y^{\pm}, U^{\pm}; \epsilon^{\pm}, \emptyset^{\pm}, \sigma^{\pm}]$ (and $na[\epsilon\epsilon]$ fig 16.1), with the unstressed taxophones $na[\epsilon, \emptyset, \sigma]$: *Fisch* $ma[fi\dot{\imath}] \ n/i[fi\dot{\imath}]$, *fünf* $ma[fiymf] \ n/i[fiymf]$, *Hund* $ma[hunt] \ n[hunt] \ i[-t]$, *elf* $ma[elf] \ n/i[\epsilon lf]$, *spät* $ma[\dot{\imath}p\epsilon\epsilon t] \ n[\dot{\imath}p\epsilon\epsilon t]$, *zwölf* $ma[t\beta\epsilon lf] \ n[tsh\beta\epsilon lf] \ i[tshv\epsilon lf]$, *oft* $ma[oft] \ n[\dot{\imath}oft] \ i[\dot{\imath}oft]$. Certain words have $/e:/ \ a[ee]$ instead of $/\epsilon:/$.

16.4. Both $/a/$ and $/a:/$ are back-central $[a, a\alpha]$: *Stadt* $ma[\dot{\imath}tat] \ n[\dot{\imath}tat] \ i[\dot{\imath}tat]$, *Staat* $ma[\dot{\imath}taat] \ n[\dot{\imath}ta:t] \ i[\dot{\imath}ta:t]$. Less broad accents have $a[a, a\alpha]$ – or, in a refined accent, $a[A, AA]$ – while, in a really broad one, we find $a[\alpha, \alpha\alpha]$ and even $a[\partial, \partial\partial]$ (which almost anybody notices at once).

Austrian dialects generally have a phonemic opposition between a back(er) a and a front(er) a , either short or long. In Austria, such a distinction is timbric, and it can be found even in the ‘language’, not only in the dialects, where the back timbre is used in traditional words, whereas the front timbre ($/a/$ [a]) is used in loans and neologisms, as, for instance, in *Bank*: $ma[b\grave{a}ŋk] \ n/i[b\grave{a}ŋk]$ ‘bench’, $ma[b\grave{a}ŋk] \ n/i[b\grave{a}ŋk]$ ‘bank; gambling table’.

A very *broad* accent (as the first vocogram of fig 16.3 shows) has $/e:, \emptyset:, \sigma:/ \ ba[\epsilon i, \epsilon\epsilon, \emptyset Y, \emptyset\emptyset; \sigma U, \sigma\sigma]$: *weh* $na[vee] \ ba[ve i, ve\emptyset, v\epsilon\epsilon] \ n/i[ve:]$, *Bö* $na[b\grave{\emptyset}\emptyset] \ ba[b\grave{\emptyset}\emptyset Y, b\grave{\emptyset}\emptyset] \ n/i[b\grave{\emptyset}:]$, *so* $na[soo] \ ba[sou, 's\sigma] \ n/i[zo:]$.

16.5. The realizations of $/\partial/$ are: $a[\partial, \partial]$, with a frequent vocalization of $/\text{ɸ}/$ (also with consonantal accompaniments) $ma[\text{ɸ}, \text{ɸ}]$. Thus, we have: *unsere* $ma[un\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}] \ n[un\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}] \ i[un\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}]$ and *Wasser* $ma[vas\text{ɸ}, -\text{ɸ}] \ n[vas\text{ɸ}] \ i[vas\text{ɸ}]$.

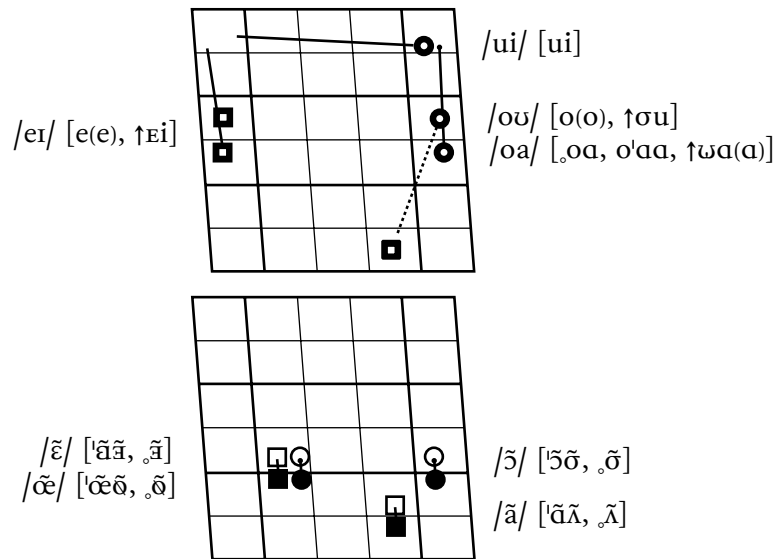
The symbol $a[\text{ɸ}]$ corresponds to that currently used (but less rigorously, also in neutral German) for $[\Lambda]$, which, instead, is suitable for neutral Austrian accents, that have $a[\Lambda^{\text{y}}, \Lambda^{\text{y}}]$, whereas the broad accent exhibits either $a[\text{ɸ}^{\text{y}}, \text{ɸ}^{\text{y}}]$ or $a[\downarrow a(\text{y})]$. We do not show the various different-accent combinations of $/V(\text{ɸ})/$ and $/\partial, \text{ɸ}/$, which are inferrable from what we say.

Observe that $a[\partial]$ ($n[\text{ɸ}] \ i[\partial]$) is front-central, considerably more advanced than in neutral (or international) German. The most refined accent can have $a[\partial\text{ɸ}, \partial\Lambda]$ for $/\partial\text{ɸ}, \text{ɸ}/$ (first vocogram of fig 16.3). As an attempt to improve their pronunciation, certain speakers use $/\partial\text{ɸ}/$ [$\uparrow\partial\text{ɸ}$], $/\text{ɸ}/$ [$\uparrow\partial\Lambda$]: *gerade* $a[\uparrow\text{g}\partial\text{ɸ}a\text{a}\text{d}\partial] \ n[\text{g}\partial\text{ɸ}a\text{a}\text{d}\partial] \ i[\text{g}\partial\text{ɸ}a\text{a}\text{d}\partial]$, *Ernährer* $a[\uparrow\partial\Lambda\text{n}\epsilon\epsilon\text{ɸ}\Lambda] \ n[\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}'\text{n}\epsilon\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}] \ i[\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}'\text{n}\epsilon\text{ɸ}\text{ɸ}]$. But the result is not recommendable.

Now, let us move to the diphthongs (second vocogram of fig 16.2). While $/\sigma Y/$ is only higher in its first element, $[\sigma Y]$, $/ae, a\sigma/$ are decidedly different, $ma[\text{a}\epsilon, \alpha\sigma]$: *Eis* $ma[\text{a}\epsilon\sigma] \ n/i[\text{ɸ}a\epsilon\sigma]$, *blau* $ma[b\grave{\lambda}\alpha\sigma] \ n/i[b\grave{\lambda}a\sigma]$, *neu* $ma[n\sigma Y] \ n/i[n\sigma Y]$. Respectively, the neutral accent has $a\uparrow[\text{a}\epsilon, \alpha\sigma, \sigma\emptyset]$, and the broad one (cf fig 16.3) has $a\downarrow[\epsilon\epsilon, \emptyset\sigma, \Lambda Y]$, as in Vienna, also with $a\downarrow[\text{æ}\text{æ}, \sigma\sigma, \text{æ}\sigma]$ (or $a[\sigma\epsilon]$), as a compromise, or even $a\downarrow[\text{æ}\emptyset, \alpha\emptyset]$. Thus, we can also hear: *Eis* $a[\uparrow\text{a}\epsilon\sigma, \downarrow\text{æ}\epsilon\sigma, \downarrow\text{æ}\text{æ}\sigma]$, *blau* $a[\uparrow\text{b}\grave{\lambda}\alpha\sigma, \downarrow\text{b}\grave{\lambda}\emptyset\sigma, \downarrow\text{b}\grave{\lambda}\sigma]$, *neu* $a[\uparrow\text{n}\sigma\emptyset, \downarrow\text{n}\Lambda Y, \downarrow\text{n}\sigma\text{æ}]$ (or $a[\text{n}\sigma\epsilon]$, and $a\downarrow[\text{n}\text{æ}\emptyset, \text{n}\alpha\emptyset]$).

The diphthongal xenophonemes (fig 16.4) are slightly closer than in neutral German: $/ei, \sigma U/ \ ma[ee, \uparrow\epsilon i; \sigma\sigma, \uparrow\sigma u]$.

fig 16.4. Austrian German: xenophonemes and /ui/.



16.6. In comparison with neutral German, there are also differences in phonemic length in certain words, as in: *Altertum* *ma*[ˈaltɐ̃tʰuːm, -tɐ̃] *n*[ˈʔaltɐ̃tʰuːm, -tʰuːm] *i*[ˈʔaltɐ̃tʰuːm, -tʰuːm], *spielbar* *ma*[ˈʃpiːl̩b̩aɐ̃, -aɐ̃] *n*[ˈʃpiːl̩baɐ̃] *i*[ˈʃpiːl̩baː], *Harz* *ma*[ˈhaʁts, -aʁts] *n*[ˈhaʁts] *i*[ˈhaʁts], *Barsch* *ma*[ˈb̩aʁʃ, -aʁʃ] *n*[ˈb̩aʁʃ] *i*[ˈb̩aʁʃ], *Schuster* *ma*[ˈʃustɐ̃, -ɐ̃] *n*[ˈʃustɐ̃] *i*[ˈʃustɐ̃]; *Geschloss* *ma*[ˈɡ̊ɐ̃ʃl̩oos] *n*[ˈɡ̊ɐ̃ʃl̩os] *i*[ˈɡ̊ɐ̃].

In addition, for *geboren* *a*[ˈɡ̊ɐ̃b̩oːʁn, -oːʁn, -oːʁn] *n*[ˈɡ̊ɐ̃boːʁn, -oːʁn] *i*[ˈɡ̊ɐ̃boːʁn, -oːʁn] /-oːʁn/, we also find *a*↓[-ɔʁn, -ɔʁn] ↓[-ɔʁn].

fig 16.4 shows (with some sociophonic gradations) the Austrian realizations of the vocalic foreign phonemes (or xenophonemes): the four nasalized vowels of French (and words with *oi*), two English diphthongs, and the particular German diphthong /ui/.

16.7. As for the *consonants*, often /ŋ[#], ŋC/ change to /ŋk[#], ŋkC/ (but this is not recommendable, ↓): *Zeitung* *ma*[ˈtsaːtʰuŋ, -ŋk] *n*[ˈtʰaːtʰuŋ] *i*[ˈtʰaːtʰuŋ]. However, even without [k], the articulation of the nasal is never really uvular, nor is it in /ʁŋ/: *spazieren* *a*[ˈʃpaːtʰsiːʁn, -iːʁn, -iːʁn, -iːʁn, -iːʁn].

In addition, /t, d/ are rather dental than denti-alveolar: *Detektor* *a*[ˈdɛːtɛktoːʁ] *n*[ˈdɛːtɛktoːʁ] *i*[ˈdɛːtɛktoːʁ]. Often, /k[#], kl, gl/ can be prevelar or postpalatal; and /k[#]/ can also become a stopstrictive (but it is better to avoid these variants): *Tag* *a*[ˈtaːk, -k, -kx, -ɕ, -kç] *n*[ˈtʰaːk] *i*[ˈtʰaːk], *dunkler* *ma*[ˈdʊŋklɐ̃, -ŋkl-, -ŋɕ-, -ɐ̃] *n*[ˈdʊŋklɐ̃] *i*[ˈdʊŋklɐ̃], *Regler* *ma*[ˈʁeːɡlɐ̃, -ɡl-, -j̩l-, -ɐ̃] *n*[ˈʁeːɡlɐ̃] *i*[ˈʁeːɡlɐ̃].

The voiceless stops and stopstrictives have no ‘aspiration’ (except for less typical pronunciations) as we have seen for /ts/: *Pol* *a*[ˈpʰool] *n*/*i*[ˈpʰoːl], *Ton* *a*[ˈtoːn] *n*[ˈtʰoːn] *i*[ˈtʰoːn], *Kind* *a*[ˈkɪnt] *n*[ˈkɪnt] *i*[-t], *Pfund* *a*[ˈpʰʊnt] *n*[ˈpʰʊnt] *i*[-t], *Tschako* *a*[ˈtʃako] *n*/*i*[ˈtʃako].

The voiced stops are half-voiced, *a*[b̥, d̥, ɡ̥]; but we also find *a*[b, d, ɡ], between voiced phones, as always, in the neutral accent; but, in the broad accent, we generally have the voiceless phones, *ma*[p, t, k]: *Bube* *ma*[ˈpuːpɐ̃] *a*[ˈb̥uːb̥ɐ̃, -βɐ̃] *n*[ˈb̥uːb̥ɐ̃]

$i[-ə]$ (we often find $a[V\beta V]$ $n/i[VbV]$), *Duden* $ma[tuutn]$ $a[duudn]$ $n[du:dn]$ $i[du:dn]$, *gegen* $ma[k\text{eek}\eta]$ $a[\text{g}\text{ee}\text{g}\eta]$ $n/i[\text{g}\text{e:g}\eta]$.

On the other hand, within words, *b*, *d*, *g*, when followed by heterosyllabic /n, l/, can be /b, d, g/ (instead of /p, t, k/, as in neutral German pronunciation, with neutralization): *Ordnung* $a[\text{or}\text{d}\text{nu}\eta]$ $n[\text{or}\text{d}\text{nu}\eta]$ $i[\text{or}\text{d}\text{nu}\eta]$, *möglich* $a[\text{m}\text{ø}\text{g}\text{li}\text{ç}]$ $n/i[\text{m}\text{ø:k}\text{li}\text{ç}]$. The laryngeal stop, [ʔ], does not occur, except in less typical accents: *ich esse* $a[\text{i}\text{ç}\text{es}\text{ə}]$ $n[\text{ʔi}\text{ç}\text{ʔes}\text{ə}]$ $i[\text{ʔi}\text{ç}\text{ʔes}\text{ə}]$, *Theater* $a[\text{te}\text{a}\text{at}\text{r}]$ $n[\text{t}\text{he}\text{ʔa:t}\text{r}]$ $i[\text{t}\text{he}(\text{ʔ})\text{a:t}\text{r}]$.

16.8. The constrictives are more variable (than in neutral German) for *v*, especially if word-initial: *Vers* $a[\text{v}\text{e}\text{r}\text{s}]$ $f[-]$ $n[\text{f}\text{e}\text{r}\text{s}]$ $i[\text{f}\text{e}\text{r}\text{s}]$, *Viper* $a[\text{fi}\text{i}\text{p}\text{r}]$ $v[-]$ $n[\text{vi:p}\text{r}]$ $i[\text{vi:p}\text{r}]$; normally, /z/ is /s/ $a[s]$ (while we find $a[z]$ only in less typical accents and more easily after a consonant): *sagen* $a[\text{s}\text{a}\text{g}\eta]$ $n/i[\text{z}\text{a:g}\eta]$, *also* $a[\text{also}]$ $n/i[\text{ʔalzo}]$, *reisen* $a[\text{r}\text{e}\text{is}\eta]$ $n/i[\text{r}\text{e}\text{is}\eta]$ (thus, like $a[\text{r}\text{e}\text{is}\eta]$ $n/i[\text{r}\text{e}\text{is}\eta]$ *reißen*).

In words as *Stil*, *Strategie*, /st/ is preferred to /ʃt/: $a[\text{stiil}]$ $n/i[\text{ʃtiil}]$, $a[\text{st}\text{r}\text{a}\text{t}\text{e}\text{g}\text{i}\text{i}]$ $n[\text{ʃ}\text{t}\text{r}\text{a}\text{t}\text{e}\text{g}\text{i}\text{i}]$ $i[\text{ʃ}\text{t}\text{r}\text{a}\text{t}\text{e}\text{g}\text{i}\text{i}]$ (although both are used).

In addition, /j/ is an approximant $a[j]$: *ja* $a[\text{j}\text{a}]$ $n[\text{j}\text{a}]$ $i[\text{j}\text{a}]$. Generally, /x/ is velar $a[x]$: *nach* $a[\text{n}\text{a}\text{x}]$ $n[\text{n}\text{a}\text{x}]$ $i[\text{n}\text{a}\text{x}]$.

For /ʋç/ we have /ʋx/: *durch* $a[\text{d}\text{u}\text{r}\text{x}]$ $-a\text{x}$, $-a\text{x}$ $n[\text{d}\text{u}\text{r}\text{ç}]$ $i[\text{d}\text{u}\text{r}\text{ç}]$, and for /-iç/ we find /-ik/: *zwanzig* $a[\text{t}\text{ʃ}\text{b}\text{a}\text{n}\text{t}\text{s}\text{i}\text{k}]$ $n[\text{t}\text{ʃ}\text{h}\text{b}\text{a}\text{n}\text{t}\text{s}\text{i}\text{ç}]$ $i[\text{t}\text{ʃ}\text{h}\text{v}\text{a}\text{n}\text{t}\text{s}\text{i}\text{ç}]$, /ʋs/ can be /ʋʃ/.

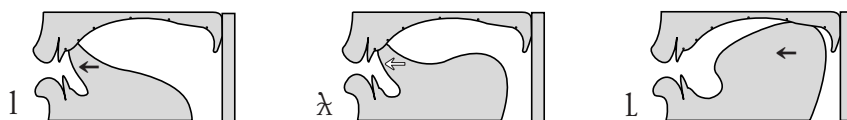
For /[#]ç/ we have /k/: *China* $a[\text{k}\text{i}\text{i}\text{n}\text{a}]$ $n/i[\text{ç}\text{i}\text{i}\text{n}\text{a}]$, but: *Melancholie* $a[\text{m}\text{e}\text{l}\text{a}\text{n}\text{ç}\text{o}\text{li}\text{i}]$ $n/i[\text{m}\text{e}\text{l}\text{a}\text{n}\text{j}\text{o}\text{k}\text{o}\text{li}\text{i}]$. Often, /ç/ is realized as postpalatal, $ma[\text{ç}]$, especially in Vienna.

The most widespread realization for /ʋ/ is a uvular constrictive, with the possibility of postnuclear vocalization, together with a fairly frequent alveolar tap, or trill, $a[\text{r}]$, $a[\text{r}]$ (even velarized, $a[\text{r}^{\text{h}}$, r^{h}).

This characteristic is mostly non-urban (but also Viennese, although in alternation with $a[\text{v}]$, r). Notice that it is better to avoid non-uvular articulations, even if the apical ones do not sound peculiar, indeed: *rar* $a[\text{r}\text{a}\text{r}]$ rar , rar , $-\text{a}\text{r}$ $n[\text{r}\text{a}\text{r}]$ $i[\text{r}\text{a}\text{r}]$.

Let us remind that the typical Viennese *l* –although certainly not part of neutral pronunciation– is articulated as a velarized alveolar unilateral, $a[\lambda]$ (cf fig 16.5), which can occur in every position, although it normally alternates with [l], also in broadest and most typical Viennese speakers. In the broad Viennese accent (as in the dialect, cf its synopsis, in C 23), in /kl, gl; kl, gl/ sequences, a velar lateral is used, $a[\text{L}]$, l . In Viennese pronunciation, in addition to $a[\lambda]$ (and $a[\text{L}]$), we often find its vocalization, $a[\text{ə}]$ (as in the local dialect): *Spiegel* $a[\text{ʃ}\text{pi}\text{i}\text{g}\text{l}]$, $-\text{g}\text{ə}$ $n/i[\text{ʃ}\text{pi:g}\text{l}]$, *Esel* $a[\text{e}\text{es}\lambda]$, $-\text{s}\text{ə}$ $n/i[\text{ʃ}\text{pi:g}\text{l}]$, $\text{ʔe:z}\text{l}$.

fig 16.5. Austrian German: lateral contoids.



16.9. In non-neutral pronunciation, within words, intersyllabic voiceless simple consonants, after (short) stressed vowels, are realized with a slight –but evident–

gemination, that we indicate with a superscript first element, only here, $a^{[CC]}$: *stoppen* $a^{[ʃtɔp̩m; ʃtɔp̩pm]}$ $n^{[ʃtɔp̩m]}$ $i^{[ʃtɔp̩m]}$, *Wetter* $a^{[vɛtɐ; ʷɛtɐ]}$ $n^{[vɛtɐ]}$ $i^{[vɛtɐ]}$, *tapfer* $a^{[tʰapfɐ; tʰapfɐ]}$ $n^{[tʰapfɐ]}$ $i^{[tʰapfɐ]}$, *sitzen* $a^{[sɪtsn̩; sɪʔtsn̩]}$ $n/i^{[zɪtsn̩]}$, *Wasser* $a^{[vasɐ; ʷasɐ]}$ $n^{[vasɐ]}$ $i^{[vasɐ]}$, *waschen* $a^{[vaʃn̩; ʷaʃn̩]}$ $n/i^{[vaʃn̩]}$, *sicher* $a^{[sɪçɐ; sɪʔçɐ]}$ $n^{[zɪçɐ]}$ $i^{[zɪçɐ]}$, *machen* $a^{[max̩h̩; maʰx̩h̩]}$ $n^{[max̩h̩]}$ $i^{[max̩h̩]}$.

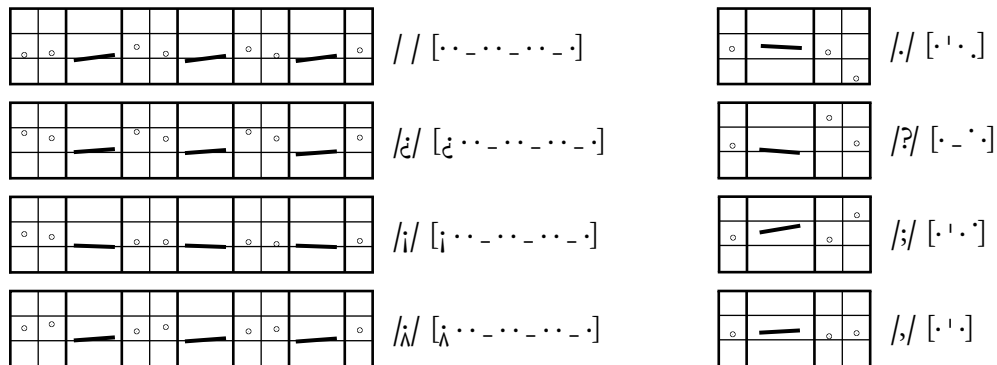
The insertion of a homorganic stop between /n, l/ and voiceless constrictives or /z/ is possible, but not really widespread.

There are also stress differences: *Kaffee* $a^{[kaʰfɛe]}$ $n/i^{[khaʰfɛ; khaʰfɛ]}$, *Labor* $a^{[laʰbɔɐ; laʰbɔɐ]}$ $n^{[laʰbɔɐ]}$ $i^{[laʰbɔɐ]}$, *Tabak* $a^{[taʰbak]}$ $n^{[tʰaʰbak; tʰabak; tʰabak]}$ $i^{[tʰaʰbak]}$, *Portier* $a^{[pɔɐʰtʰiɐ; pɔɐʰtʰiɐ]}$ $n^{[pʰɔɐʰtʰiɐ]}$ $i^{[pʰɔɐʰtʰiɐ]}$; *Motor* $a^{[moʰtoɐ; moʰtoɐ]}$ $n^{[moʰtoɐ]}$ $i^{[moʰtoɐ]}$.

fig 16.6 shows the typical tonograms of Austrian-German *intonation*. It is easily identifiable, because of its slightly rising half-low protonics and falling mid intertonics. Also, the interrogative tune, in particular, and the suspensive one have rather peculiar movements: let us look carefully at fig 16.6.

Paraphonically, a slight creaky form (or laryngealization), $\langle ʔ \rangle$, can be observed, more evident in women.

fig 16.6. Austrian German: intonation patterns.



16.10. Here is the *ma* sample passage from § 11.11.

Einst stritten sich Nordwind und Sonne, wer von ihnen beiden wohl der Stärkere wäre, als ein Wanderer, der in einen warmen Mantel gehüllt war, des Weges daherkam. Sie wurden einig, dass derjenige für den Stärkeren gelten sollte, der den Wanderer zwingen würde, seinen Mantel abzunehmen.

Der Nordwind blies mit aller Macht, aber je mehr er blies, desto fester hüllte sich der Wanderer in seinen Mantel ein. Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf. Nun erwärmte die Sonne die Luft mit ihren freundlichen Strahlen, und schon nach wenigen Augenblicken zog der Wanderer seinen Mantel aus. Da musste der Nordwind zugeben, dass die Sonne von ihnen beiden der Stärkere war.

Hat dir die Geschichte gefallen? Wollen wir sie wiederholen?

[ʼaəŋf̥ · ʃtʁɪtŋsɪç ʼnɔʁtviŋt · unʼsɔnə | ʁeʁfəniŋʼbʁəʔdŋʁʁool dʁʃtɛʁkəʁəʁeʁə | al-
səŋʁʁʁʁʁʁ · ʁdʁɪnəʁnŋʁ · ʁəmm̄ -mantl̄ ɡ̊əʼhɪltʁəʁ · dʁsʁveeɡ̊əs · dʁʁheʁkaam̄ · ||
siʁʁdŋʁʁənik̄ | dʁasʁdʁeʁjeeniɡ̊ə · ʁfʁ(ʁ)dŋʁ-ʃtɛʁkəʁŋ̊ ʁɡ̊eltŋsɔltə · ʁdʁdŋʁ-ʁʁʁʁʁ ʁtsɪŋ-
ŋ̊ʁʁvʁdʁə · ʁəʁnŋʁ-mantl̄ ʁaptsəneemm̄ · ||

dʁə-nɔʁtviŋp̄ ʁbliis̄ | mitalʁ · ʁmaxt̄ · || ʁabʁje-meʁ ʁʁbliis̄ | ʁdʁestɔʁfestʁ · -hɪltəsɪç dʁə-
ʁʁʁʁʁ · ʁiŋʁəʁnŋʁʁʁmantl̄ ʁəʁn̄ · || ʁentlɪç · ʁɡ̊aap dʁəʁnɔʁtviŋ · dʁŋʁkəmpf̄ ʁʁʁ · || ʁnuun̄ |
ʁ-ʁeʁmtə dʁiʁsɔnə · dʁiʁluft̄ | ʁmitiʁŋʁʁʁʁʁʁlɪçŋ̊ · ʃtʁaaln̄ · || unʁʁoon · ʁnəax-ʁveeniɡ̊ŋ̊ ʁʁ-
ɡ̊ŋ̊ʁʁblik̄ · ʁʁʁʁ · dʁəʁʁʁʁʁ · ʁiʁəʁnŋʁʁʁmantl̄ ʁʁʁ · || ʁdʁa · ʁmʁstə dʁəʁnɔʁtviŋ · ʁtsuu-
ɡ̊eəb̄ · ʁdʁas dʁiʁsɔnə | ʁʁnɪŋʁʁʁəʔdŋʁ · ʁdʁʃtɛʁkəʁəʁə · ||

ʁhat dʁiʁdʁiɡ̊ʁʁɪçtə · ʁɡ̊ə-faln̄ · ʁ-ʁvɔln̄ʁvɪə si-ʁviidʁəʁhoolŋ̊ · || |] .

17. Switzerland

17.1. fig 17.1 shows the Swiss-German neutral accent (learnt intentionally). In the third vocogram, you can see three further typical diphthongs, ^{ns}[iə, yə, uə] /iə, yə, uə/ (marked in grey, because they only occur in local family and place names): *Dieth* ^{ns}[d̥iə̯t], *Rüegg* ^s[ʁyə̯g̊], *Huep* ^{ns}[huə̯p].

Often, except in less typical pronunciations, or in refined accents, /yɜ, y, yə/ change to /iɜ, i, iə/. In the second vocogram, we can see the realizations likely to occur in reduced forms, of /æ, aɔ, ɔɪ/ ^{ns}[ɛə, əɔ, ɔɪ] (and, in the first vocogram, those of /a/ ^{ns}[ɛ]). The English xenophonemes are decidedly closer than in neutral German: /eɪ, oʊ/ ^{ns}[ee, ei; oo, ou], cf fig 17.4 (second vocogram, together with /ui/ and /oa/), while the first vocogram (again in fig 17.4) shows the French nasalized xenophonemes.

fig 17.1. Swiss German: *neutral* monophthongs & diphthongs (^{ns}).

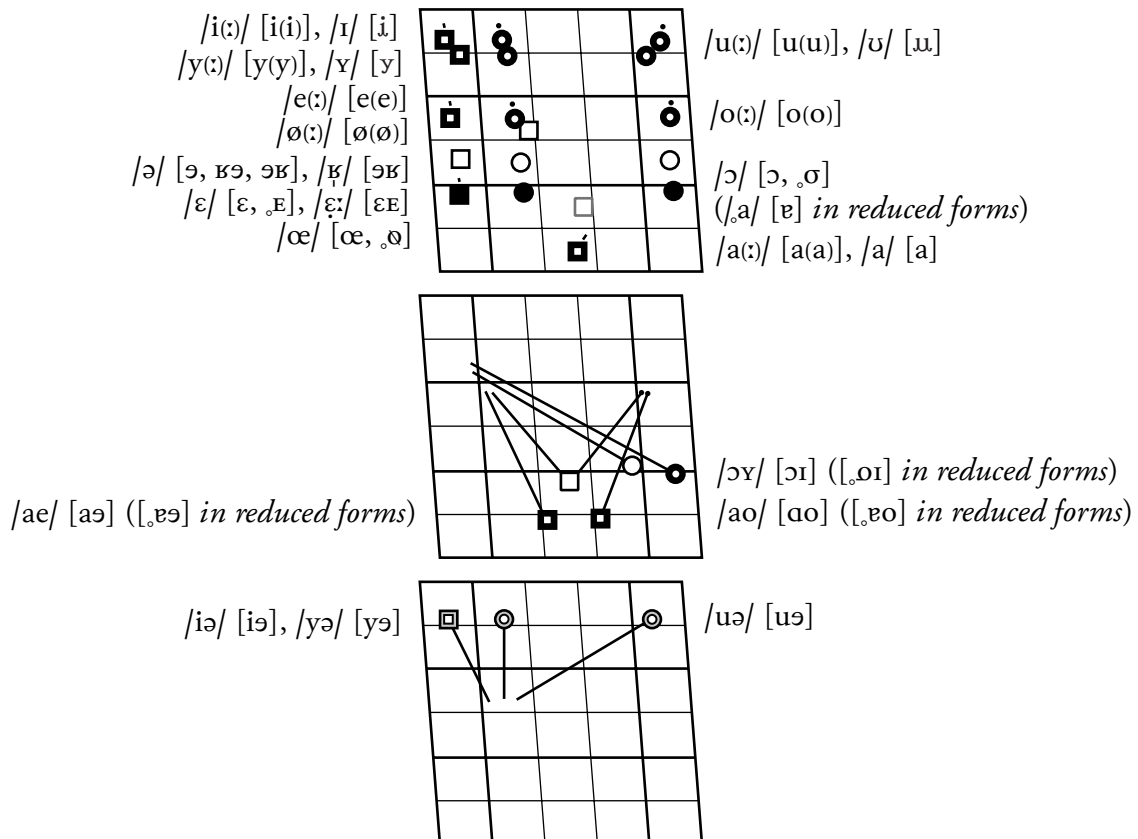
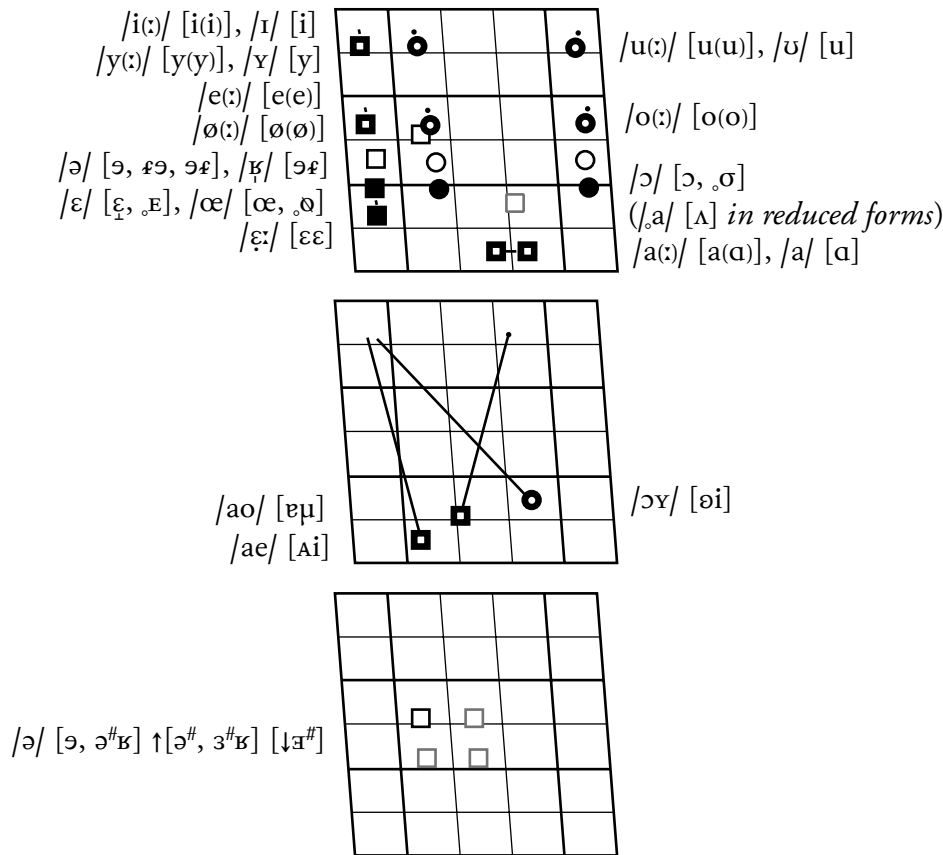


fig 17.2. Swiss German: *mediatic* monophthongs & diphthongs (*ms*).

17.2. For /ə/ we have ^s[ə], in every context, since /ɜ/ is not realized as uvular, but as a uvularized alveolar, [ɜ̃, ɜ̃] (even though, in neutral Swiss pronunciation, we can find [ɜ]): *gerade* ^{ms}[gəʰʁaadə] ^{ms}[-aa-] ⁿ[gəʰʁa:dɛ] ⁱ[gəʰʁa:də], *unsere* ^{ms}['uɪnsəʰə] ⁿ['ʔʊɪnzəʰɛ] ⁱ['ʔʊɪnzəʰə], *unser* ^{ms}['uɪnsəʰ] ⁿ['ʔʊɪnzɜ] ⁱ['ʔʊɪnzʌ]. In addition, we generally have ^s[-ən, -əm, -əl] for /n, m, l/: *fahren* ^{ms}['faaʰən] ^{ms}[-aa-] ⁿ['faɜɪn, ʰaʰɪn] ⁱ['faɜɪn, ʰaʰʌn], *losem* ^s['looʒəm] ⁿ['lo:zɪ], *Esel* ^s['eezəl] ⁿ['ʔezl]. In Switzerland, only in very careful pronunciation can we find ^s[n, m, l], as well as ^s[ɜ, ʌ, ʌ], even in speakers who do not have /ɜ/ [ɜ].

17.3. fig 17.2 shows the differences between the mediatic accent, which is typically in an intermediate position between the most local accents and the less marked and neutralized form (fig 17.1-4).

The first vocogram gives the short and long 'monophthongs'; in reality, also in this Swiss accent, the 'long' ones are narrow diphthongs with no extra lengthening: *viel* ^{ms}['fiil] ⁿ['fi:l], *früh* ^{ms}['fɛyy] ⁿ['fɛy:], *gut* ^{ms}['gʊut] ⁿ['gʊ:t] ⁱ[-t], *Beet* ^{ms}['b̥eet] ⁿ['b̥e:t] ⁱ[-t], *Öl* ^{ms}['ø̥l] ⁿ['ʔø:l], *wo* ^{ms}['yoo] ⁿ['vo:], *spät* ^{ms}['ʃpɛt] (which is very stable and typical, not replaced by 'e:/', /ɛ:/) ⁿ['ʃpɛ:t] ⁱ[-ɛ:t], *Staat* ^{ms}['ʃtaat] ⁿ['ʃta:t] ⁱ['ʃta:t].

The second vocogram gives the mediatic diphthongs, which are fairly different from the neutral ones (both in Switzerland and in Germany): /ae, ao, ɔʏ/ ^{ms}[aə, aɔ, ɔɪ], but ^{ms}[ʌi, ɛʊ, øi]: *Eis* ^{ms}['aəz] ^{ms}['ʌiz] ⁿ['ʔaes], *blau* ^{ms}['b̥lao] ^{ms}['b̥lɛʊ] ⁿ['b̥lao], *neu* ^{ms}['nɔɪ] ^{ms}['nøi] ⁿ['nɔʏ]. In the broadest accent, we have /ae/ ^{bs}[ʌi, ɛɪ], /ao/ ^{bs}[əʊ, əʊ],

/ɔʏ/ ^{bs}[oə, əɪ] (as can be seen in the last two vocograms of fig 17.3): ^{bs}[ʰaɪz, ʰeɪz; ʰl̥əʊ, ʰbl̥aʊ; ʰnoə, ʰnəɪ].

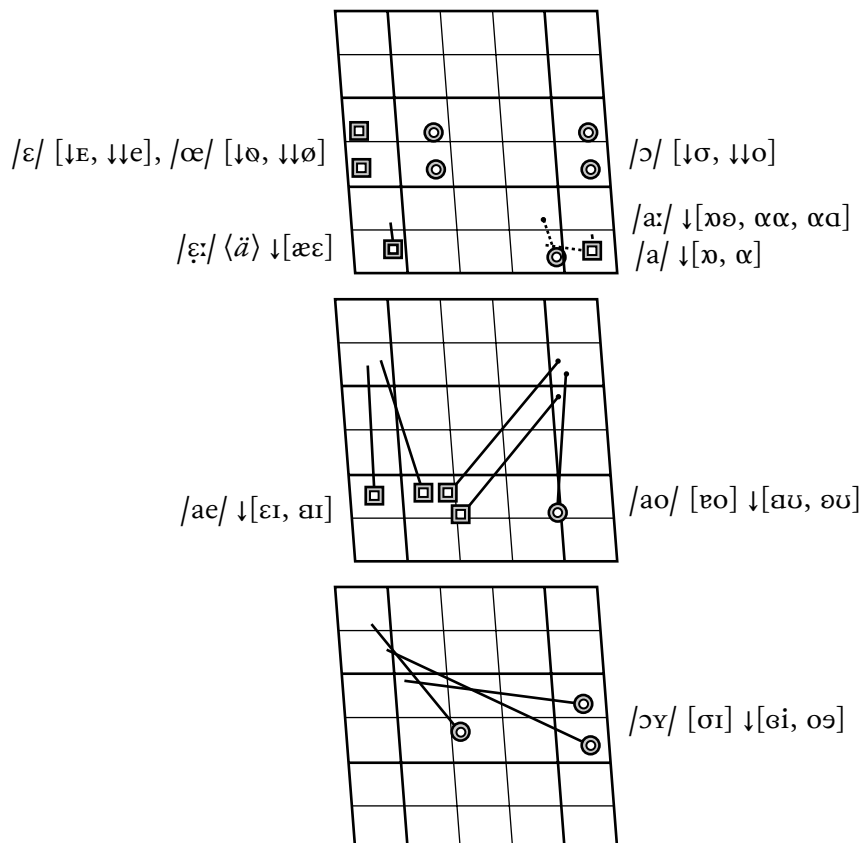
The third vocogram of fig 17.2 shows further realizations for /ə/. In fact, in addition to what has already been given in § 17.2 & fig 17.1, one can also find [ɹ̥ʰ]; and [ʰəʰ], with [ʰzʰ], if followed by non-apical *r*. In this case, it is also possible to find [əʰ], with [ə] in the other contexts, even with continual alternations, as it often happens in Zurich: *Ebene* ^{ms}[ʰeɐ̯bənə, ʰbənə, ʰ-nɐ] ⁿ[ʰe:ɐ̯nɐ] ⁱ[-ənə], *unsere* ^{ms}[ʰun-səkə, ʰ-zəkə, -əkə, ʰ-ɐ] ⁿ[ʰunzəkɐ] ⁱ[-əkə].

17.4. The first vocogram of fig 17.3 gives the broad variants, definitely non-neutral ones, also for /ɛ, ɛ:, ɔ, a, a:/. Notice, in particular, ^{bs}[æɛ] ⁿ[ɛ:] ⁱ[ɛ:]; in Zurich, even ^{bs}[ɹ̥ɹ̥æ] /a:/ and ^{bs}[ɹ̥ɹ̥ɑ] (also ^{bs}[ɹ̥ɹ̥ɑ], typical of Bern, and [ɹ̥ɹ̥ə]), typical of broad Zurich – § 23.8 gives the synopsis of Zurich *Schwyzertütsch*, the local Alemannic dialect, with still more different realizations.

The short vowels have close vocoids for /i, y, u/ ^{ms}↓[i, y, u] (in neutral Swiss German [i, y, u] – better than ^{ms}[ɪ, ʏ, ʊ], or ‘circus official IPA’ ^{ms}[ɪ̥, ʏ̥, ʊ̥] fig 17.1): *Fisch* ^{ms}[ʰɪʃ] ⁿⁱ[ʰɪʃ], *fünf* ^s[ʰfʏnf] ⁿⁱ[ʰfʏnf], *Hund* ^{ms}[ʰʊnd] ⁿⁱ[ʰʊnt] ⁱ[-t]; and even closer ones for /ɛ, œ, ɔ/ ↓[ɛ, ø, ɔ] (even ↓[e, ø, o], especially in Zurich; we transcribe them only in this section and the next one, § 17.5): *elf* ^{bs}[ʰɛlf] ⁿⁱ[ʰɛlf], *zwölf* ^{bs}[ʰtsβɔlf] ⁿ[ʰtsʰβœlf] ⁱ[ʰtsʰvœlf], *oft* ^{bs}[ʰɔft] ⁿⁱ[ʰɔft] ⁱ[-t].

For the spelling *ä*, a marked non-neutral realization is also common, ^{bs}[ɹ̥æ] (which

fig 17.3. Swiss German: *broad* accent (^{bs} – differences from mediatic only).

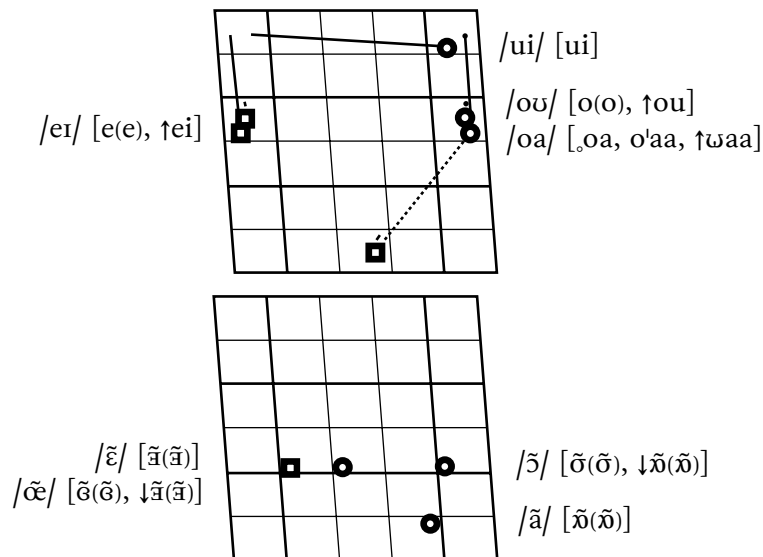


can also be ^{bs}[a], or ^{bs}[↓↓A], especially in Zurich): *fällt* ^s[fɛlt, ↓↓fælt] ⁿ[fɛlt̩] ⁱ[-t]. In addition, /a/ is back-central, ^{ms}[a] (which, in broad pronunciation, is a fully back ^{bs}[↓α], or even rounded, as well, ^{bs}[↓↓ɔ]): *Stadt* ^s[ʃtat; ↓-αt, ↓↓-ɔt] ⁿ[ʃt̩t̩] ⁱ[ʃtat].

17.5. In comparison with neutral German, certain words have short vowels, as in: *Art* ^s[ʰaʁt] ⁿ[ʰaʁt̩] ⁱ[ʰaʁt], *Floß* (in Switzerland, *β* is not used, so: *Floss*) ^s[flɔs, -os, -os] ⁿ[fl̩ɔs] ⁱ[fl̩ɔs], *Jagd* ^s[jaŋd̩] ⁿ[jaŋkt̩] ⁱ[jaŋkt], *nun* ^s[ˈnun] ⁿ/ⁱ[ˈnun̩], *Pferd* ^s[pʰɛʁd̩, -ɛ-, -e-] ⁿ[pʰɛʁt̩] ⁱ[pʰɛʁt], *vor* ^s[fɔʁ] ⁿ[foʁ̩] ⁱ[foʁ], *werden* ^s[vɛʁd̩ən, -ɛ-, -e-] ⁿ[vɛʁd̩n̩] ⁱ[vɛʁd̩n̩], *Erde* ^s[ɛʁd̩ə, 'ɛ-, 'e-] ⁿ[ʔɛʁd̩t̩] ⁱ[ʔɛʁd̩t̩], *Wuchs* ^s[vʏks] ⁿ/ⁱ[vʏks̩], *zärtlich* ^s[tsɛʁt̩liç, -ɰ, ↓tsæʁ-] ⁿ[tsɛʁt̩liç̩] ⁱ[tsɛʁt̩liç̩].

fig 17.4 shows (with sociophonetic gradations) the Swiss realizations of the xenophonemes: the four French nasalized vowels and words with *oi*, the two English diphthongs, and the peculiar /ui/ diphthong.

fig 17.4. Swiss German: xenophonemes and /ui/.



17.6. As for the *consonants*, fig 17.5 shows several orograms, which illustrate the consonantal articulatory nuances.

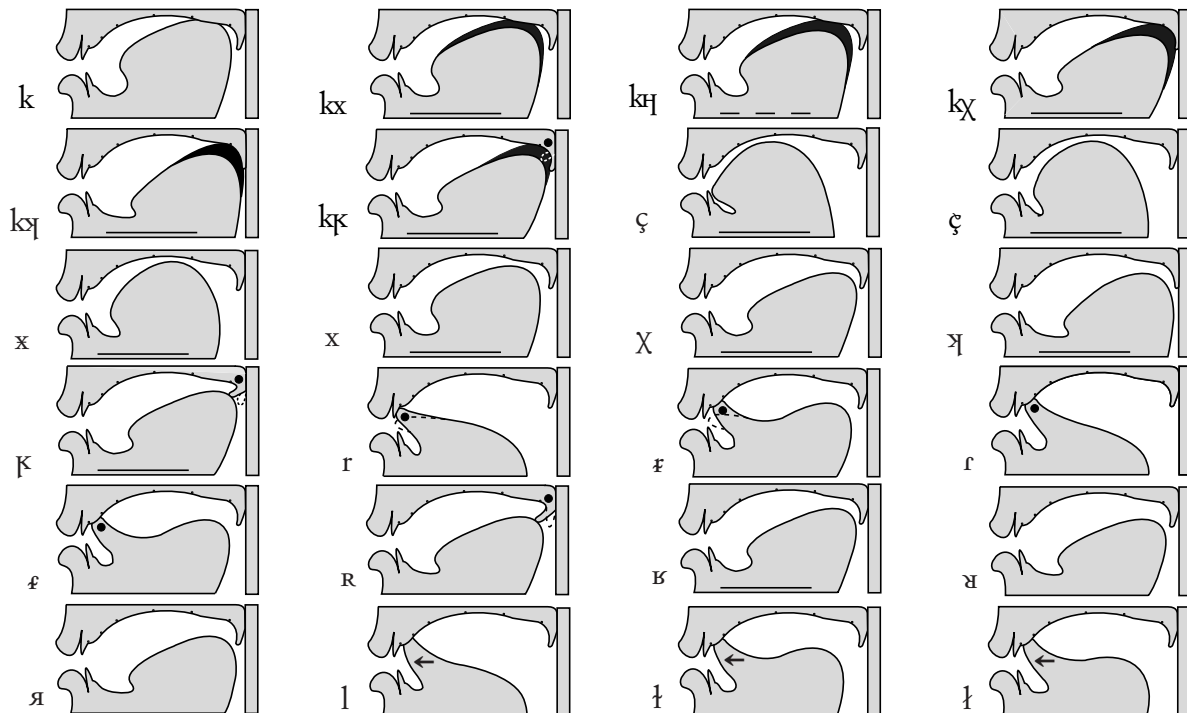
The articulation of /t, d/ is decidedly dental: *Detektor* ^{ms}[d̩ɛt̩ɛkt̩ɔʁ] ⁿ[d̩ɛt̩ɛkt̩ɔʁ̩] ⁱ[d̩ɛt̩ɛkt̩ɔʁ]; while, /k/ is ^s[k, kʰ, kx, kχ, kɰ, k̠] (notice that [k̠] is also trilled): *Kind* ^s[k̩nd̩, 'kx, 'kχ-, 'kɰ-, 'k̠-] ⁿ[k̩nd̩t̩] ⁱ[-t], *Sack* ^s[sak, -kʰ, -kx, -kχ, -kɰ, -k̠] ⁿ/ⁱ[zak].

Notice that in the transcription in § 11.12 we use ^s[kχ], to insist on this typical realization (even though, in neutral pronunciation, people try to avoid it, perhaps using a velar stop-semi-strictive instead, ^s[kʰ], which is an intermediate realization between [k] and the other stopstrictives indicated, [kɰ, k̠], clearly broader than [kχ]).

In addition, /p, t, k; pʰ, t̪, t̪/ have no ‘aspiration’ (unless used deliberately): *Pol* ^s[p̩ool] ⁿ/ⁱ[p̩ho:l], *Ton* ^s[toon] ⁿ[t̪ho:n] ⁱ[t̪h-], *Kuh* ^s[kuu, 'kʰ-, 'kx, 'kχ-, 'kɰ-, 'k̠-] ⁿ/ⁱ[khu:], *Pfund* ^{ms}[pfund̩] ⁿ[p̪f̪h̪ʊnt̩] ⁱ[-t], *zehn* ^s[t̪seen] ⁿ/ⁱ[t̪she:n], *Tschako* ^s[t̪ʃak̩o] ⁿ/ⁱ[t̪ʃak̩o].

Furthermore, [ʔ] is not used, except in less broad and less typical accents: *Thea-*

fig 17.5. Swiss German: comparisons between peculiar and more widespread contoids.



ter ^s[te'aatəɸ] ⁿ[tʰe'ʔa:tɣ] ⁱ[tʰe'(ʔ)atɿ], *ich esse* ^s[iχ'ɛsə, iɸ-] ⁿ[ʔiɕ'ɛsɿ] ⁱ[-ə]. However, it is clear that lexeme and grammeme boundaries are respected. Only in very broad pronunciation, is resyllabification possible: *bs* ^s[i'χɛsə, i'ɸ-, i'ɸ-].

17.7. The 'voiced' consonants of diphonic pairs are, in reality, half-voiced, ^s[b̥, d̥, ɡ̥; v̥, z̥, ʒ̥], even before pauses or in syllable-final position (whereas, in neutral German, their neutralization is regular, changing them into /p, t, k; f, s, ʃ/).

However, we generally find /s/ instead of /z/, after pauses or consonants: *Bube* ^{ms}[b̥uubə] ⁿ[b̥u:bɿ] ⁱ[-ə], *Bub* ^s[b̥uub] ⁿ[b̥u:p], *du* ^s[d̥uu] ⁿ[d̥u:] ⁱ[d̥u:], *und* ^s[ʉnd] ⁿ[ʔʉnt] ⁱ[-t], *reden* ^s[r̥eɛðən] ⁿ[r̥e:ðɿ] ⁱ[r̥e:ðɿ], *Bogen* ^s[b̥ooɡən] ⁿ[b̥oo:ɡɿ], *Tag* ^{ns}[taag] ⁿ[t̥ha:k] ⁱ[t̥h-], *Gewinn* ^s[ɡ̥əv̥in] ⁿ[ɡ̥v̥in] ⁱ[ɡ̊ə-], *lesen* ^s[l̥eɛzən] ⁿ[l̥e:zɿ], *sagen* ^{ns}[saagən] ⁿ[z̥a:ɡɿ], *Binse* ^{ms}[b̥insə] ⁿ[b̥inzɿ] ⁱ[-ə], *Page* ^{ns}[paaʒə] ⁿ[p̥ha:ʒɿ] ⁱ[-ə].

17.8. Often /f/ replaces /v/ even in neutral Swiss pronunciation: *November* ^s[no'fembəɸ] ⁿ[no'vembɣ] ⁱ[-ʌ], *Ventil* ^s[fɛn'tiil] ⁿ[vɛn'thi:l] ⁱ[vɛn'thi:l], *Vulkan* ^s[ful'kaan, -kɣ-, -kx-, -kɣ-, -kɸ-, -kɸ-] ⁿ[vul'kha:n].

For internal or word-final *sp, st*, we have /sp, st/; but /ʃp, ʃt/, in the broad accent: *Knospe* ^s[knɔspə, ʃ-ʃpə] ⁿ[khnɔspɿ] ⁱ[-ə], *bist* ^{ms}[b̥ist, ʃ-ʃt] ⁿ[b̥ist] ⁱ[b̥ist], *gestern* ^s[ɡ̊ɛstəɸn, ʃ-ʃt-] ⁿ[ɡ̊ɛstɣn] ⁱ[ɡ̊ɛstɿ]. Generally, for internal /ʃ/ (after a short stressed vowel, as for any other consonant) we find ^s[ʃ]: *Muschel* ^{ms}[muʃə] ⁿ[muʃɿ]. For *chs* /ks/, in broad pronunciation, fairly often 'xs' occurs: *Fuchs* ^{ms}[fuks, ʃ-χs, ʃ-ɸs, ʃ-ɸs] ⁿ[fuks].

Only in a very mild accent, can /ç/ occur (but, articulated as postpalatal ^s[ç], or prevelar ^s[x̣]); while, normally, we find /x/ ^s[χ, ɸ, ɸ]: *Milch* ^{ms}[milχ, -ɸ, -ɸ; ʃ-ç, ʃ-x] ⁿ[miɿç], *auch* ^{ns}[aɔχ, -ɸ, -ɸ] ^{ms}[aɸ-] ⁿ[ʔaɔχ] ⁱ[ʔaɔx]; *-ig* is regularly /ɪk/ (ie 'ɪg');

whereas /ɪç/ is decidedly rare and used only deliberately): *zwanzig* ^{ms}[ʰtsβantsiç] ⁿ[ʰtshβantsiç] ⁱ[ʰtshvantsiç, -ɪk]. In addition, /[#]ç/ is normally /k/: *China* ^s[ʰkiina, ʰkɥ-, ʰkx-, ʰkχ-, ʰkɣ-, ʰkɤ-, ʰkɛ-, ʰkɶ-] ^{n/i}[çina]; /j/ is an approximant, [j]: *ja* ^s[ʰjaa] ⁿ[jɑ] ⁱ[jɑ]; /kvi:/ can have [kʏ, kɥ], as in *Biskuit* ^s[ʰbiskʏi, -kɥi].

17.9. Typically, /ʀ, Vʀ/ are realized as a uvularized alveolar – a trill, ^s[ʀ], in stressed syllables; a tap, ^s[ʀ̥], in unstressed syllables – in every context, even after vowels: *rar* ^s[ʰraaʀ] ⁿ[ʰraʀ] ⁱ[ʰraʌ], *Reaktor* ^s[ʰɛʰaktoʀ] ⁿ[ʰɛʰaktoʀ] ⁱ[ʰ(ʀ)aktoʌ]. Also [r, ɾ] are possible, even in /Cʀ/ [Cəʀ, Cəʀ, Cəɾ, Cəɾ]. In regional pronunciations (or, on the contrary, as a deliberate choice, under the influence of neutral pronunciation), uvular realizations are possible: ^s[ʀ, ɾ, ʀ̥]; /ʀs/ is often /ʀ̥s/.

Neutral /l/ is always alveolar, while in non-neutral pronunciation we often find ^s↓[ɫ, ɫ̥], before a pause or a consonant: *alle* ^s[ʰalʲə] ⁿ[ʰalɫ] ⁱ[ʰalə], *leben* ^s[ʰleebəʌn] ^{n/i}[ʰle-bɫn], *Wolf* ^s[ʰvɔɫf] ↓[ʰf, -ʰf] ^{n/i}[ʰvɔɫf], *hell* ^s[ʰhɛɫ] ↓[ɫ, -ɫ] ^{n/i}[ʰhɛɫ].

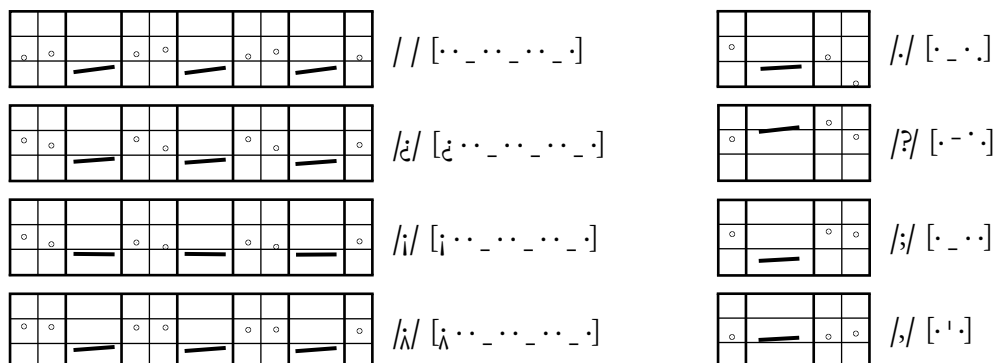
17.10. In Swiss pronunciation, in word-internal position, after stressed short vowels, intersyllabic phonemically simple consonants are realized with a slight –but clearly perceptible– gemination, that we indicate with a superscript second element, ^s[C^C]. This affects consonants, either voiceless or voiced, when geminated in spelling *pp*, *bb*; *tt*, *dd*; *gg*; *ff*; *ss*; *mm*, *nn*; *rr*; *ll*, or represented by digrams *ck*; *pf*; *tz*; *ch*; *ng* or even with three or four letters *sch*, *tsch*.

Thus, we have: *immer* ^s[ʰim^məʀ] ⁿ[ʰimɾ] ⁱ[ʰimʌ], *innen* ^s[ʰinⁿən] ^{n/i}[ʰinɫ], *Hunger* ^s[ʰuŋⁿəʀ] ⁿ[ʰuŋɾ] ⁱ[-ʌ]; *stoppen* ^s[ʰʃtɔp^pən] ⁿ[ʰʃtɔpɫ] ⁱ[ʰʃt-], *Krabbe* ^s[ʰkrab^bə] ⁿ[ʰkhɾa-bɫ] ⁱ[ʰkhɾabə], *Wetter* ^s[ʰvɛt^təʀ] ⁿ[ʰvɛtɾ] ⁱ[-tʌ], *Widder* ^s[ʰvid^dəʀ] ⁿ[ʰvidɾ] ⁱ[-dʌ], *Roggen* ^s[ʰrɔç^çən] ^{n/i}[ʰrɔçɫ], *Socken* ^s[ʰsɔk^kən, -kɥ^ɥ-, -kx^x-, -kχ^χ-, -kɣ^ɣ-, -kɤ^ɤ-, -kɛ^ɛ-, -kɶ^ɶ-] ^{n/i}[ʰsɔkɫ].

Also: *tapfer* ^s[ʰtapf^fəʀ] ⁿ[ʰtʰapfɾ] ⁱ[ʰtʰapfʌ], *sitzen* ^s[ʰsits^sən] ^{n/i}[ʰzitsɫ], *grätschen* ^s[ʰçɛt^tʃən] ^{n/i}[ʰçɛtʃɫ]; *Affe* ^s[ʰaf^fə] ⁿ[ʰafɫ] ⁱ[-ə], *Wasser* ^s[ʰvas^səʀ] ⁿ[ʰvasɾ] ⁱ[-ʌ], *waschen* ^s[ʰvaʃ^sən] ^{n/i}[ʰvaʃɫ], *sicher* ^s[ʰsiç^çəʀ, -ɣɣ-, -ɤɤ-] ⁿ[ʰziçɾ] ⁱ[-ʌ], *machen* ^s[ʰmaç^çən, -ɣɣ-, -ɤɤ-] ⁿ[ʰmaçɫ] ⁱ[ʰmaxɫ]; *harren* ^s[ʰhaɾ^rən] ⁿ[ʰhaɾɫ, -aɾɫ] ⁱ[-ʌ], *Quelle* ^s[ʰkβɛɫ-ʲə] ⁿ[ʰkhβɛɫɫ] ⁱ[ʰkhvɛɫə]. Of course, in all the above examples, we have ^{ns}[a] ^{ms}[a].

17.11. As for stress differences, we find such cases as: *Autor* ^{ns}[ʰaotoʀ, aʰotoʀ] ^{ms}[ʰəmu-] ⁿ[ʰaotoɾ] ⁱ[-toʌ], *Labor* ^s[ʰlaboʀ, laʰboʀ] ⁿ[laʰboʀ] ⁱ[-oʌ], *Motor* ^s[ʰmootoʀ,

fig 17.6. Swiss German: intonation patterns.



mo'tooʃ] ⁿ[mo:toʃ, mo'thoʃ] ⁱ[-toʌ, -'thoʌ], *Buffet* ^{ms}[bʊffɛt, bʊfɛt] ^{n/i}[bʊfɛ:], *Hotel* ^s[hɔtɛl, ho'tɛl] ⁿ[ho'thɛl] ⁱ[-'thɛl], *Neujahr* ^{ms}[noɪ'jaʃ] ^{ms}[noɪ'jaʃ] ⁿ[noɪ'jaʃ, noɪ'jaʃ] ⁱ[noɪ'jaʌ, noɪ'jaʌ]. In addition, it is interesting to note words like: *Abonnement* ^s[abɔnɔ'mɛnt] ⁿ[ʔabɔnɔ'maŋ, ↑-õõ, -ãã] ⁱ[ʔabɔnɔ'maŋ].

The typical Swiss intonation is easily recognized by its slightly rising low protonics and mid intertonics that continue the raising movement (at least in a normal protune). The three marked tunes also have rather peculiar movements: fig 17.6 should be analyzed carefully.

17.12. Here is the ^{ms} sample passage from § 11.12.

Einst stritten sich Nordwind und Sonne, wer von ihnen beiden wohl der Stärkere wäre, als ein Wanderer, der in einen warmen Mantel gehüllt war, des Weges daherkam. Sie wurden einig, dass derjenige für den Stärkeren gelten sollte, der den Wanderer zwingen würde, seinen Mantel abzunehmen.

Der Nordwind blies mit aller Macht, aber je mehr er blies, desto fester hüllte sich der Wanderer in seinen Mantel ein. Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf. Nun erwärmte die Sonne die Luft mit ihren freundlichen Strahlen, und schon nach wenigen Augenblicken zog der Wanderer seinen Mantel aus. Da musste der Nordwind zugeben, dass die Sonne von ihnen beiden der Stärkere war.

Hat dir die Geschichte gefallen? Wollen wir sie wiederholen?

[ʔiɪŋʃ · ʃtʁitʰənsix 'noɪ'tyɪnt · un'sɔnɔ · ʏɛʃɔninəm'baɪdɔŋ,ʏool dʊʃ ʃtɛʃkχəʃə,ʏɛɛ-
ʃə · |alsainʏvəndʊʃəʃ · ʔdɛʃinainəm ʏəʃməm _mantl ɡə'hyltʏvəʃə · dʊʃ'ʏeegʊʃ · dʌ_heɛʃ-
kχəʃəm · || siʏvʊʃdʊn'ainiɡ · dʌs'dɛɛʃjeeniɡə · ʔfʏʃdʊŋ ʃtɛʃkχəʃəŋ ɡɛltəŋ,soʃtə · ʊdɛʃdʊŋ-
_ʏəndʊʃəʃ 'tsβiŋəŋ,ʏyʃdʊ · ʃainəm_mantl _əptʃə,neemən · ||

dʊʃ_noɪ'tyɪmp 'bliis · mit'alləʃ _maxt · || əbʊʃje_mɛʃ ɛʃ_bliis · |dɛstoʃɛstəʃ _hyltə-
sich dʊʃ'ʏəndʊʃəʃ · ʌin,ʃainəm_mantl 'ain · || 'ɛntliχ · ɡəʃ dʊʃ'noɪ'tyɪn · dʊŋ_kχəmpf
'ɛmf · || 'nun · ʃə ʏɛʃmtə dʌ'sɔnɔ · di'lʊft · |mitʃəŋ'fɛɔintliχəŋ · ʃtʃəʌlən · || un'ʃoon ·
ʔnaəχ_ʏeeniɡən 'ɛmɡəm'blɪkχʰən · |_tsookχ · dʊʃ'ʏəndʊʃəʃ · ʌin,ʃainəm_mantəl 'ɛʏs · ||
'dʌə · |mustəʃdʊʃ'noɪ'tyɪn · 'tsuʊ,ɡeebən · |dʌsdʌ'sɔnɔ · ʔfɔninəm'baɪdɔŋ · | dʊʃ ʃtɛʃkχə-
ʃə,ʏəʃə · ||

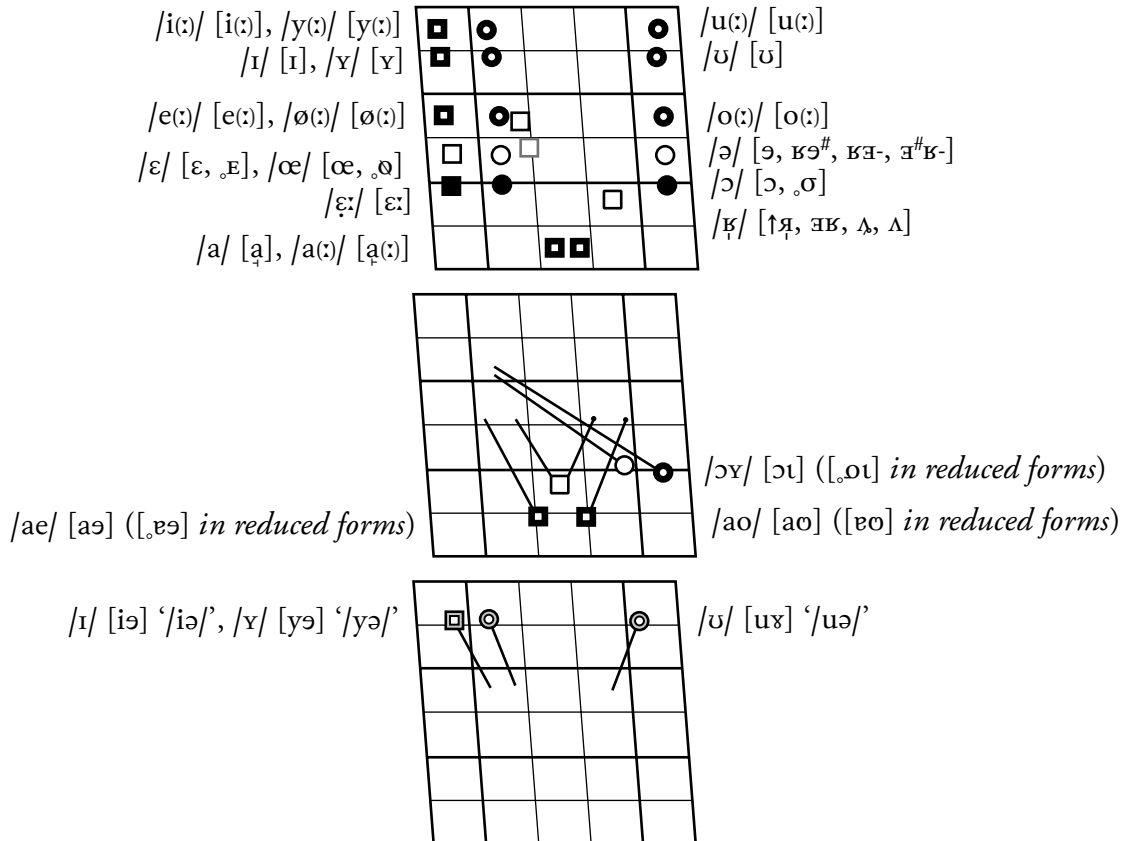
ʔhat,diʃdʌiɡʊʃiχtə · ʔɡə-fallən · | ʔ_ʏɔlləŋyɪʃ siʏiɪdʊʃ-hoolən · ||||].

18. South Tyrol (or Alto Adige, Italy)

18.1. *fig 18.1* shows the vowels and diphthongs of neutral South-Tyrolese (or Tyrolean) pronunciation. A very broad accent has /eɪ, oɪ/ st[eɪ, oɪ] (as in the local dialects): *wɛh* st[ˈvɛɪ, ↓ˈvɛɪ] ^{n/i}[ˈvɛɪ], *so* st[ˈsoɪ, ↓ˈsoɪ] ^{n/i}[ˈzoɪ]; in addition, /øɪ/ st[øɪ]: *Bö* st[ˈpøɪ, ↓ˈpøɪ] ^{n/i}[ˈbøɪ] (which is not part of the genuine dialect, that historically unified the front-central rounded series with the front –spread– one, cf § 23.9-12 for the South-Tyrolese koiné dialect and three more German dialects in northeastern Italy).

However, the dialect of Bolzano (Bozen), influenced by the German language, has reintroduced /yɪ, ʏ, øɪ, œ, ɔɪ/ st[yɪ, ʏ, øɪ, œ, ɔɪ]. On the other hand, in Puster Valley (Pustertal [ˈpʰustɐˌtʰal], Val Pusteria, in northeastern South-Tyrol) and Vinschgau Valley (Vin(t)schgautal) [ˈfɪntʃgəʊˌtʰal, -ɳ-], Val Venosta, in northwestern South-Tyrol), [iə, yə, uɤ] are the frequent realizations of /ɪ, ʏ, ʊ/.

fig 18.1. South-Tyrolese German: *neutral* monophthongs & diphthongs (*nst*).



The first vocogram shows the neutral realizations of the vowels, rather similar to the neutral German ones. However, South-Tyrolese pronunciation still remains easily identifiable, because its prosodic characteristics have typical differences. There are also different phonemic distributions, as, for instance, /ɛ/ in *erst* st[ʰɛʌst, ʰɛʌst; ↓ʰɛʌst] ⁿ[ʔɛʰʌst] ⁱ[ʔɛʌst], *Pferd* st[ʰfɛʌt, ʰfɛʌt; ↓ʰfɛʌt] ⁿ[ʰfheʰʌt] ⁱ[ʰfheʌt].

18.2. The second vocogram shows the diphthongs of neutral South-Tyrolese German. Let us note that, while /ɔʏ/, by comparison, mostly has a different second element, which is not rounded, st[ɔɪ]. On the other hand, /ae, ao/ are certainly not so wide, st[aɐ, aʊ] (in mediatic pronunciation, ^{mst}[aɪ, aʊ, ɔɪ], as we will see shortly, fig 18.2): *Eis* st[ʰaɐs] ^{n/i}[ʔaɐs], *blau* st[ʰplao] ^{n/i}[ʰplao], *neu* st[ʰnɔɪ] ^{n/i}[ʰnɔɪ].

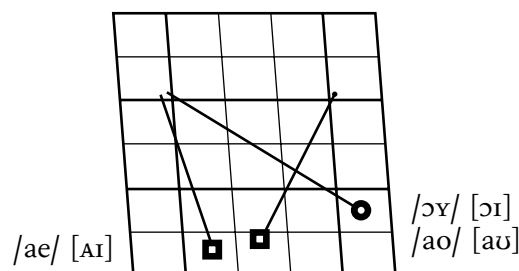
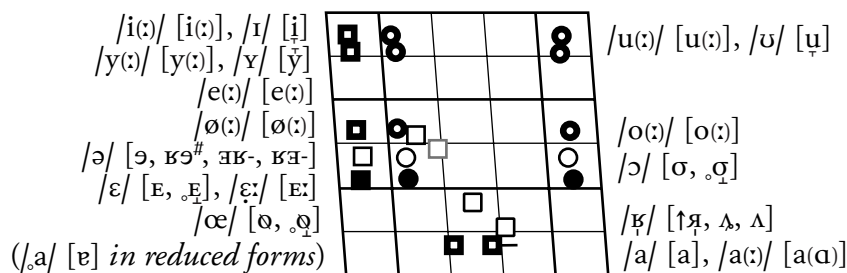
Notice that the dialectal realizations of /ae, ao/ are st[aɐ, aʊ], but also st[aʊ], even less wide (fig 18.3 & fig 23.9). The variant realization /ɔʏ/ st[ɔɪ] can be found only in Bozen; while in South-Tyrolese pronunciation it merged into /ae/ st[aɐ], otherwise it is represented by /ui, oi/: *nui* [= *neu*] st[ʰnui] /ʰnui/, *foir* [= *Feuer*] st[ʰfoir] /ʰfoir/. Again, in the second vocogram of fig 18.1, you can also see the possible realizations of /ae, ao, ɔʏ/ st[ɐə, ɐʊ, ɔɪ], in reduced forms.

Many bilingual speakers have Italian-style [ai, au, ɔi] for /ae, ao, ɔʏ/, even when Italian is their second language, which they studied at school (fig 18.3).

18.3. The third vocogram of fig 18.1 shows three further typical diphthongs (although marked in grey, because they also occur in the language, in local family and place names), st[iə, uɤ] ^{n/i}[i:, u:] /iə, uə/: *Dietl* st[ʰtiətʰ] /ʰdiitʰ] ⁿ[ʰdi:tʰ] ⁱ[ʰdi:tʰ], *Kuens* st[ʰkxuɤns, ʰku:ns] ^{n/i}[ʰkhu:ns] (with the addition of /yə/ st[yə], under the influence of German, by structural analogy): *Rüegg* st[ʰʁyək] ⁿ[ʰʁyək] ⁱ[ʰʁyək].

The diphthongal xenophonemes /ei, ou/ st[ɛ:, ʔei; ɔ:, ʔou] are very rarely used (and, if ever, completely on purpose), cf fig 18.4.

fig 18.2. South-Tyrolese German: mediatic monophthongs & diphthongs (^{mst}).



18.4. fig 18.2 gives the variants of *mediatic* South-Tyrolese German. The first vocogram shows the short and long monophthongs.

For this accent, also, it is immediately clear that the articulations corresponding to /I, Y, U; ε, ɛ:, œ, ɔ/ are closer than in neutral German, so that the symbols ^{mst}[i, y, u; ɛ, ɛ:, ø, ɔ] are needed (in the neutral and less marked accents we find st[I+, Y+, U+; ε+, ɛ:+, œ+, ɔ+] (which, in an official IPA trapezium, would hardly be differentiated from their long counterparts, if not mostly by length, as in mediatic and local Swiss accents), and unstressed variants are slightly closer in more neutral pronunciation, st[ɛ, ø, ɔ], fig 18.1).

Examples: *Fisch* ^{mst}[ʃi:] ^{n/i}[ʃɪ], *fünf* ^{mst}[fʏmf] ^{n/i}[fʏmf], *Hund* ^{mst}[hʊnt] ⁿ[hʊnt̩] ⁱ[-t], *elf* ^{mst}[ɛlf] ^{n/i}[ʔɛlf], *spät* ^{mst}[ʃpɛt] ⁿ[ʃpɛ:t] ⁱ[ʃpɛ:t], *zwölf* ^{mst}[tʃʊlf] ⁿ[tʃʊlf̩] ⁱ[tʃʊlf̩], *oft* ^{mst}[ɔft] ⁿ[ʔɔft̩] ⁱ[-t].

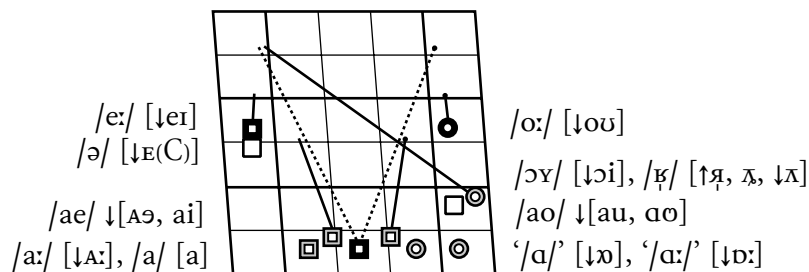
In Puster Valley, /ɛ:/ is [ɛ:, ɛ:], while /ε, œ, ɔ/ are [ɛ, ø, ɔ], and /I, Y, U/ are [i, y, u] (the latter ones are also found in Vinschgau Valley).

18.5. One can easily see that /a:/ is diphthongized: *Staat* ^{mst}[ʃta:t] ⁿ[ʃtɛ:t] ⁱ[ʃta:t], *Stadt* ^{mst}[ʃtat] ⁿ[ʃtɛ:t] ⁱ[ʃtat]. In a less marked accent, /a, a:/ are more alike: st[a, a:]; while, in a broader accent, near to the local dialect, we can also have st[ɔ, ɔ:] (which cannot help being noticed at once, as the dialect synopsis clearly shows, § 23.9).

Usually, the South-Tyrolese dialects have a phonemic opposition between a non-back *a* and a back rounded *a*, either short or long (cf fig 18.3). This timbric distinction can be found even in the language, where the back timbre is used in traditional words, while the non-back timbre is mostly used in loans and neologisms, as, for instance, in *Ball*: ‘ball’ st[pɔl] ^{n/i}[bɔl] (and the compromise [pal]), in opposition to ‘dance’ st[pal] ^{n/i}[bɔl].

The same vocogram also shows the broadest realizations of /ɛ:, ɔ:/ ↓[ɛɪ, ɔʊ] and of /ɤ/ ↓[ɔ] (including the compromise articulation [ɔ]). In Vinschgau Valley, we find /a, a:/ ↓[ɔ, ɔ:] also in current German words.

fig 18.3. South-Tyrolese German: *broad* and *dialect* features (*bst*).



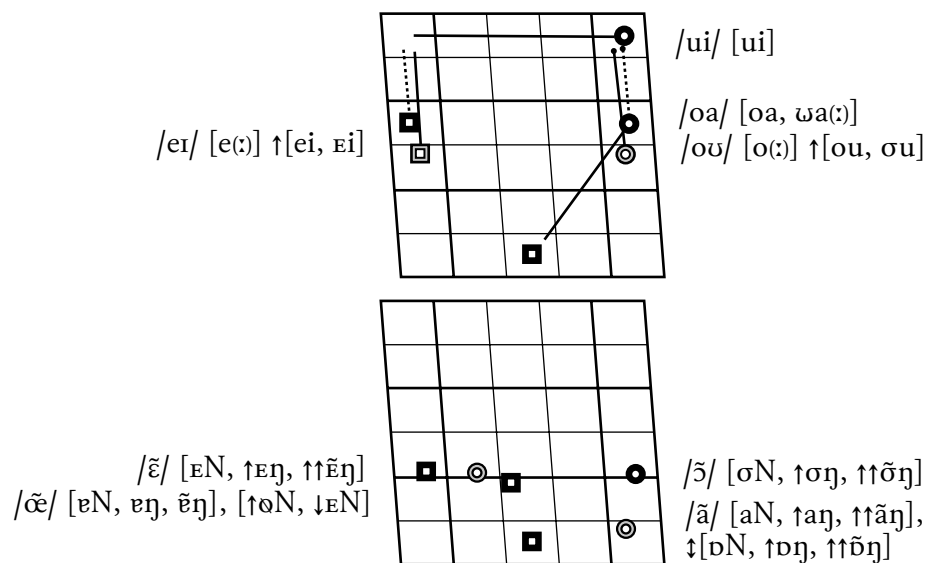
18.6. /ə/ is realized as st[ə, ɐ] (cf fig 18.1-2), with the vocalization of /ɤ/ (and consonantal accompaniments, too) st[ɔ, ɔ], and, in the broadest pronunciations, even *bst*[ɔ, ɔ], as in the dialects (cf the synopsis indicated); thus, we have: *unsere* ^{mst}[ʊnsɛrə] ⁿ[ʔʊnsɛr̩] ⁱ[-ə] and *Wasser* [ʋasɔ, -ɔ] *bst*[ʋɔsɔ, -ɔ] ⁿ[ʋasɔ] ⁱ[-ɔ].

It is important to note that st[ə, ɐ] ⁿ[ɛ, ə] ⁱ[ə], in less broad accents, are realized

slightly differently (as other vowels are), although they are represented by the same symbols. Final *-e* (not only of verbs) and the first one in *-ere(C)[#]* tend to be dropped (except in Puster Valley), especially in non-controlled pronunciation: *Type* st[ˈty:pə, ˈty:p] ⁿ[ˈtʰy:pɪ] ⁱ[ˈtʰy:pə] (which can coincide, thus, with *Typ* st[ˈty:p] ⁿ[ˈtʰy:p] ⁱ[ˈtʰy:p]). In Puster Valley, /ə/ is [ɛ], both in free and checked syllables.

fig 18.4 shows (with sociophonic gradations) the South-Tyrolese realizations of the xenophonemes: the four nasalized French vowels and words with *oi*, the two English diphthongs, and the peculiar diphthong /ui/. We do not explicitly show the various possible combinations of /V(:)/ and /ə, ɤ/ (they are easily inferrable).

fig 18.4. South-Tyrolese German: xenophonemes and /ui/.

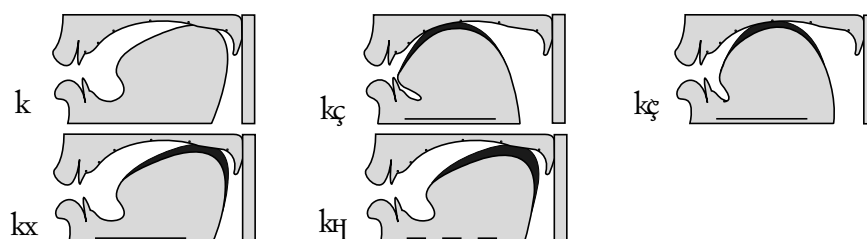


18.7. Moving on to the *consonants*, we find that, in general, internal /ŋ/ becomes /ŋg/ (but not in neutral and less broad accents): *bringen* st[ˈpʁɪŋgə, ˈpʁɪŋg] ^{n/i}[ˈbʁɪŋg] (however, even without [g], as in less broad pronunciation, the nasal is always velar, not uvular, also in *-ung*).

Especially in checked syllables with *N* (above all in stressed position), vowels are nasalized in broad accents: *Wien* st[ˈvi:n, ˈvĩ:n] ^{n/i}[ˈvi:n], *Fang* st[ˈfaŋ, ˈfãŋ] ^{n/i}[ˈfaŋ].

Both /t, d/ are realized as the voiceless dental [t]: *Detektor* st[teˈtɛktɔɾ] ⁿ[d̥ɛˈtɛk-
tɔɾ] ⁱ[d̥ɛˈtɛktoɾ]; often, /[#]k, k[#], k^h/ are stopstrictives, or even stop-semi-strictives, ve-
lar (or postpalatal, near front vowels, cf fig 18.5): *kommen* st[ˈkɔmm̩, ˈkx-, ˈkɸ-] ^{n/i}[ˈkɔ-
mm̩], *Socken* st[ˈsɔk̩, ˈsɔkxən, -kɸ-] ^{n/i}[ˈzɔk̩], *dick* st[ˈtik, -kx, -kɸ, -kç, -kç] ⁿ[ˈd̥ik] ⁱ[ˈd̥ik].

fig 18.5. South-Tyrolese German: some typical contoids.



18.8. The voiceless stops and stopstrictives are not ‘aspirated’ (generally even in less broad accents), as we have just seen for /k/: *Pol* st[ˈpo:l] ^{n/i}[ˈpho:l], *Ton* st[ˈto:n] ⁿ[ˈtho:n] ⁱ[ˈtho:n], *Kind* ^{mst}[ˈkɪnt, ˈkx-, ˈkç-] ⁿ[ˈkɦɪnt] ⁱ[-t], *Tschako* st[ˈtʃako] ^{n/i}[ˈtʃha-ko], *Pfund* ^{mst}[ˈpfunt] ⁿ[ˈpfɦʊnt] ⁱ[-t].

The phonemic voiced stops, /b, d, g/, are voiceless in typical pronunciation, st[p, t, k], but half-voiced, st[b̥, d̥, ɡ̊], in less broad accents. However, *between voiced phones*, they are half-voiced, st[b̥, d̥, ɡ̊] (except, usually, in the dialects which –most–ly– have st[p, t, k/kx], as in the broadest accents. Instead, in less broad accents, they are really voiced, st[b, d, ɡ]): *Bube* st[ˈpu:bə, ˈbə] ⁿ[ˈb̥u:bɪ] ⁱ[-ə].

Half-voiced realizations are possible before internal /n, l/, too: *Ordnung* ^{mst}[ˈɔɾd-nuŋ] ⁿ[ˈɔɾɳdnuŋ] ⁱ[ˈɔɾɳdnuŋ], *möglich* ^{mst}[ˈmø:ɡ̊liç] ^{n/i}[ˈmø:k̥liç]. In Vinschgau Valley, fully voiced realizations prevail, [b, d, ɡ], whereas in Puster Valley, you can find either [b, d, ɡ], or [p, t, k].

In Bozen and mediatic accents, we can find st[VβV, VδV, VɣV] /VbV, VdV, VgV/: *Bube* ^{mst}[ˈb̥u:βə], *Rede* ^{mst}[ˈx̥e:δə], *Frage* ^{mst}[ˈf̥x̥a:ɣə, -aʔ-].

There is no [ʀ], except in less broad accents, where however it is less evident than in neutral German (and, in this case, we could mark it with a special symbol, st[ʀ]): *ich esse* st[ˈɪçʑʑɛsə, ɪçʑɛsə] ⁿ[ˈɪçʑʑɛʃ] ⁱ[-ə], *Theater* st[teˈaːtɛ, ˈteːʔa:tɛ] ⁿ[tʰeˈ(ʀ)a:tɛ] ⁱ[tʰeːʔa:tɛ].

18.9. For the constrictives, it is to be noted that /z/ is normally /s/ st[s] (generally, even in less broad accents, in Bolzano, as well): *sagen* st[ˈsa:ɡ̊h, ˈsaʔ-] ^{n/i}[ˈza:ɡ̊h], *also* st[ˈalso] ^{n/i}[ˈʔalzo], *reisen* st[ˈx̥aəs̺n̩] ^{n/i}[ˈx̥aɛz̺n̩] (which becomes identical to *reisen* st[ˈx̥aəs̺n̩] ^{n/i}[ˈx̥aɛs̺n̩]).

In initial position, before consonants, /s/ practically never occurs (replaced by /ʃ/). And, for internal and final /st/, in broad accents, as in the dialects, we typically find /ʃt/: *liebsten* st[ˈli:pst̺n̩, ˈʃt̺n̩] ⁿ[ˈli:pst̺n̩] ⁱ[-st̺n̩], *sonst* st[ˈsɔnst, ˈʃt̺n̩] ⁿ[ˈzɔnst] ⁱ[-t̺n̩].

However, when they are heterolexic, we have /st/: *Samstag* st[ˈsamst̺kx, -aakx] ⁿ[ˈzams̺t̺h̺k] ⁱ[ˈzams̺t̺h̺k] (as in the dialects: *samst̺ig* st[ˈsamst̺ikx, ˈsɔms̺tikç]).

In Puster Valley, the sequences /ns, nz, ls, lz/ are normally [nts, lts], and /tʃ, ʃ, ʒ/ are without lip protrusion, [tʃ̥; ʃ̥, ʒ̥], and /#z/ is [ʃ̥].

18.10. For (tautosyllabic) sequences /#Cv/, we have st[Cv]: *Schwester* st[ˈʃv̥ɛst̺] ⁿ[ˈʃβ̥ɛst̺] ⁱ[ˈʃv̥ɛst̺], *zwei* ^{mst}[ˈtʃv̥aɪ] ⁿ[ˈtʃh̥β̥aɪ] ⁱ[ˈtʃh̥v̥aɪ], *Quell* st[ˈkv̥ɛl] ⁿ[ˈkɦ̥β̥ɛl] ⁱ[ˈkɦ̥v̥ɛl].

For /f/, it is possible to have /v/, also in words such as *Vize*: st[ˈvɪtsə] (which, even in neutral German, may have the variant with /v/, although not prevailing), also for *v*[#], against neutral phonemic rules, in cases such as *positiv*: st[ˈpɔsɪtɪv]. Instead, in Puster Valley and Vinschgau Valley, we find /kv/ [kw].

In addition, /j/ is an approximant st[j]: *ja* st[ˈjaː] ⁿ[ˈj̥aː] ⁱ[ˈjaː]. Generally, /x/ is velar st[x]: *nach* st[ˈnaːx] ⁿ[ˈnaːχ] ⁱ[ˈnaːx]; and /ç/ is maintained (even after /ʃ/, contrary to what happens in Austria): *durch* st[ˈtuɾç] ⁿ[ˈd̥uɾç] ⁱ[ˈd̥uɾç]. However, in Puster Valley and Vinschgau Valley, we find /ʃç/ [rx]; /ʃs/ is often [ʃʃ].

For /-iç/ we have /-ik/ (except in less broad accents): *zwanzig* st[ˈtʃv̥antsik, -kx, -kç] ⁿ[ˈtʃh̥v̥antsiç] ⁱ[ˈtʃh̥v̥antsiç, -ik̥]; for /#ç/ we systematically find /k/: *China* st[ˈkiːna,

'kx-, 'kç-) ^{n/i}['çina]. However, in the dialects, except in Bozen, [ç] /ç/ does not exist at all. Thus, in broader accents, /ç/ → /x/, including *chs* /ks/ → /xs/.

18.11. The most widely used articulation for /ʁ/ is a uvular constrictive, which co-exists with a fairly widespread uvular trill, st[ʀ], with their possibility of postnuclear vocalization, which, as we have already seen, is back-central, st[ʌ] (or back, in the dialects and in the broadest accents, st[ʌ̃], including the intermediate variants [ʌ, ʌ̃]).

In absolute final position, after stressed vowels, in the *dialects* and in the broadest accents, we have st[ʀ]: *rar* st['ʁaʀʁ; -aʀʌ; ↓-aʀʀ; ↓-ɔ:ʀ] ⁿ['ʁaʀ] ⁱ['ʁaʌ], *hier* st['hiʀʁ; 'hiʀʌ; ↓'hi:ʀ] ⁿ['hiʀ] ⁱ['hiʌ]. However, in Puster Valley and Vinschgau Valley, and outside the main towns, we normally find /ʁ/ [r, ʀ] (even around Bozen).

18.12. In *non-neutral* South-Tyrolese pronunciation, word-internal simple inter-syllabic consonants (voiceless, nasals and laterals), after (short) stressed vowels, are realized as restrained (but fairly evident) geminates, which we indicate with superscript symbols of the first element, in the variant form notated only here, st[^CCC].

Examples: *immer* ^{bst}['imʌ̃; 'imʌ̃ʌ] ⁿ['ʀimʀ] ⁱ['ʀimʌ], *stoppen* ^{bst}['ʃtɔpʀ; 'ʃtɔpʀʀ] ⁿ['ʃtɔpʀ] ⁱ['ʃt-], *Wetter* ^{bst}['vɛtʌ̃; 'vɛtʌ̃ʌ] ⁿ['vɛtʀ] ⁱ['vɛtʌ], *tapfer* ^{bst}['tʌpʀʆ; 'tʌpʀʆʆ] ⁿ['tʌpʀʆ] ⁱ['tʌpʀʆʆ], *besitzen* st['sitsʀ; 'sitsʀʀ] ^{n/i}['zitsʀ], *Wasser* ^{bst}['vʌsʌ̃; 'vʌsʌ̃ʌ] ⁿ['vasʀ] ⁱ['vasʌ], *waschen* ^{bst}['vʌʃʀ; 'vʌʃʀʀ] ^{n/i}['vaʃʀ], *sicher* ^{bst}['siçʌ̃; 'siçʌ̃ʌ] ⁿ['ziçʀ] ⁱ[-ʌ], *machen* ^{bst}['mʌxʀ; 'mʌxʀʀ] ⁿ['mʌxʀ] ⁱ['mʌxʀʀ], *Quelle* ^{bst}['kvɛlʌ̃; 'kvɛlʌ̃ʌ] ⁿ['khβɛlʆ] ⁱ['khvɛlʌ̃].

The insertion of a homorganic stop between /n, l/ and /f, s, z, ʃ, ç/ is possible, although not particularly widespread.

18.13. In lofty or foreign words, there is a frequent use of Italian, or Italian-like, structures: /gn/ → /nj/: *Prognose* st['pʁɔŋ'jo:sə] ⁿ['pʁɔg'no:zɛ] ⁱ['pʁɔg'no:zə], *Signal* st['siɲ'ja:ʌl] ^{n/i}['ziɲ'na:ʌl], *resignieren* st['ʁɛsiɲ'ji:ʁɲ, -ʁɲ, -jiʌn] ⁿ['ʁɛziɲ'ni:ʁɲ, -iʀɲ, -iʌn, -ʌn] ⁱ[-i:ʁɲ, -iʌn]; /t/ → /ts/: *Diplomatie* st['diploma'tsi:] ⁿ['diploma'thi:] ⁱ['diploma'thi:], *Garantie* st['kaʁaɲ'tsi:] ^{n/i}['gʌʁaɲ'thi:] ⁱ[-thi:]; /ts/ → /tʃ/: *Mercedes* st['mɛʌ'tʃɛ:dɛs] ⁿ['mɛʀ'tʃɛ:dɛs] ⁱ['mɛʌ'tʃɛ:dɛs], *Barcelona* st['paʌtʃɛ'lɔ:na] ⁿ['bʌʀtʃɛ'lɔ:na] ⁱ['bʌʌ-].

Also, /ʃ/ → /sk/, as in: *Schema* st['ʃkɛ:ma] ^{n/i}['ʃɛ:ma], *Schizophren* st['ʃkɪtʃɔ'fɛ:n] ⁿ['ʃɪtʃɔ'fɛ:n, ʃçi-] ^{n/i}[-'fɛ:n, ʃçi-]; /ʒ/ → /dʒ/: *Journalist* st['tʒʊʌnʌlɪst] ⁿ['ʒʊʀnʌlɪst] ⁱ['ʒʊʌnʌlɪst]; /kv/ → /kw/ st['kw] (in addition to st['ku]): *Quartett* st['kwʌl'tɛt] ⁿ['khβɛʀ'tɛt] ⁱ['khvʌl'tɛt].

Especially in Puster Valley, words such as *gehen* are pronounced as if they were phonemically 'ge:hn̩', with a clear [h]!

For the vowels, we can find: /y/ → /u/: *Bürokratie* st['byʁokʁa'tsi:] ⁿ['byʁokʁa'thi:] ⁱ[-kʁa'thi:]; *Europa* /ɔʏ/ → /eu/: st['euʁɔ:pa] ⁿ['ʀɔʏ'ʁɔ:pa] ⁱ['ʀɔʏ-], *neutral* st['neu'tʁa:ʌl] ⁿ['noʏ'tʁʌ:ʌl] ⁱ['noʏ'th-]. Words like *elend* are generally 'elənt̩', not /-ɛnt/. *Wieviel* ['vi:fi:l, 'vi:fi:l] can even be ['vi:f̩, -fi:l].

18.14. The South-Tyrolese *intonation* is easily recognized by its half-low protonic syllables, except the first one, which is half-high. Mostly, the interrogative tune (and the suspensive one, too) have peculiar movements, which can be seen in the tonograms of fig 18.6. In addition, fig 18.7 shows the the three marked tunes.

fig 18.6. South-Tyrolese German: intonation patterns.

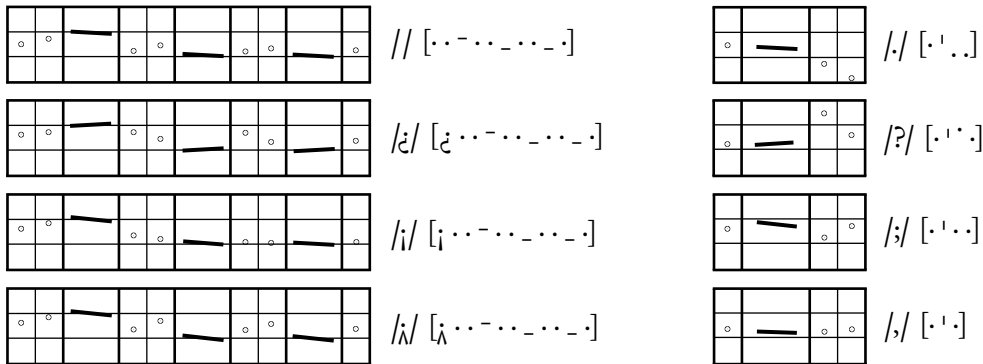
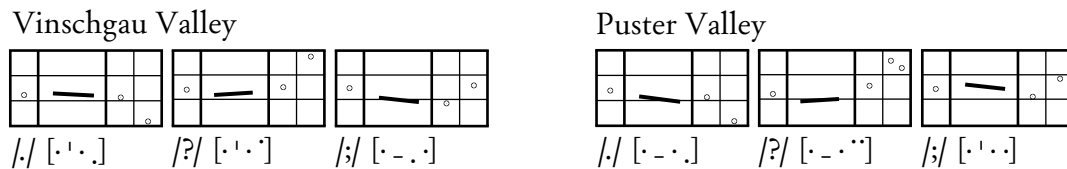


fig 18.7. South-Tyrolese German: the marked tunes of Vinschgau Valley & Puster Valley.



18.15. Here is the *mst* sample passage from § 11.13.

Einst stritten sich Nordwind und Sonne, wer von ihnen beiden wohl der Stärkere wäre, als ein Wanderer, der in einen warmen Mantel gehüllt war, des Weges daherkam. Sie wurden einig, dass derjenige für den Stärkeren gelten sollte, der den Wanderer zwingen würde, seinen Mantel abzunehmen.

Der Nordwind blies mit aller Macht, aber je mehr er blies, desto fester hüllte sich der Wanderer in seinen Mantel ein. Endlich gab der Nordwind den Kampf auf. Nun erwärmte die Sonne die Luft mit ihren freundlichen Strahlen, und schon nach wenigen Augenblicken zog der Wanderer seinen Mantel aus. Da musste der Nordwind zugeben, dass die Sonne von ihnen beiden der Stärkere war.

Hat dir die Geschichte gefallen? Wollen wir sie wiederholen?

[ʔaiŋʃ · ʔtʁɪtɪŋsɪç ˈnɔʔʌvɪnt · uŋˈsɔnə | ˌvɛʔfənɪŋˈbʌɪdŋvɔʔ ɔʔʔʔɛʔʔɛʔvɛʔə .. | ˌals-
 aɪŋˈvʌŋdʒɛʔʔ · ˌdɛʔlɪnʌɪnɪˈvʌʔmɪ ˈmantl̩ ɔʔhɪʔtʔvʌʔ · ɔʔsˈvɛ:ɔʔs · tɐˈhɛˌʔkʂaʔm .. || sɪ-
 ˌvʌʔdŋˈaɪnɪkʃ | tʌstɛˌʔjɛˈnɪɔʔ · ˌfʏ(ʌ)ŋʔʔʔɛʔʔɛʔ ˈɔʔɛʔtʔsɔʔtə · ˌdɛʔdŋˈvʌŋdʒɛʔʔ ˈtʂʊɪŋʔ-
 ˌvʏʔdʒə · ˌsʌɪnɪˈmantl̩ ˈʌptʂəˌnɛˈmɪ .. ||

tʌˈnɔʔʌvɪmp ˈplɪsː | mɪˈʔʌ · ˈmʌxt .. || ˌʌbʔjɛˈmɛˌʔ ɛʔˈblɪsː | ˌtɛstɔˈfɛstʌ · ˈhɪʔtʂɪç tʌˈvʌŋ-
 dʒɛʔʔ · ʔɪnˌsʌɪnɪˈmantl̩ ˈaɪn .. || ˈɛntʔɪç · ˈkʂaˈʔp tʌˈnɔʔʌvɪn · ɔʔˈkʂʌmpf ˈʌʔf .. || ˈnu:nː | ˌʔvɛʔ-
 mʔə ɔʔˈsɔnə · ɔʔɪˈʔʔ | ˌmɪtʌŋˈfʁɔɪntʔɪçŋ · ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ .. || uŋˈʔɔ:n · ˌnʌʔʔˈvɛ:nɪɔʔ ˈʌʔɔʔŋˈblɪ-
 kŋ · | ˈʔsɔ:kx · tʌˈvʌŋdʒɛʔʔ · ʔˌsʌɪnɪˈmantl̩ ˈʌʊs .. || ˈtʔʔ · | ˌmʌstʔdʔʔʔʔʔ · ˈtʂʊ:ɔʔˈbŋmː | ˌtʌ-
 tɪˈsɔnə | ˌfɔnɪŋˈbʌɪdŋ · | tʔʔʔɛʔʔɛʔʔvʌʔ .. ||

çhatʔɪʔdɪɔʔʔɪçʔə · ɔʔʔˈfʌʔ · çˈvɔʔŋvɪʌ sɪˌvɪˈdʔʔˈhɔ:lŋ · ||].