in the previous paragraph, there is considerable re-alignment of vowels before /r/, so that *merry* and *marry* (and sometimes *Mary* too) may be pronounced the same while *short* and *sport* may have different vowels (/ɔː/ in the former and [oː] in the latter, corresponding to GB /əʊ/).

Differences of realisation are always numerous between any two systems of English pronunciation and only the most salient will be mentioned. Among the vowels this includes the realisation of the diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ as monophthongs [eː] and [oː], hence *late* [leːt] and *load* [loːd]. Among the consonants, /r/ is either phonetically [ɻ], i.e. the tip of the tongue is curled further backwards than in GB, or else a similar auditory effect is achieved by bunching the body of the tongue upwards and backwards (this latter form of /r/ is now intruding into GB);[38] /t/ intervocalically following an accent is usually a voiced tap in GA, e.g. *better* [beɾə] and may sometimes become [d] producing a neutralisation between /t/ and /d/; and /l/ is generally a dark [ɫ] in all positions in GA, unlike GB where it is a clear [l] before vowels and a dark [ɫ] in other positions (see §9.7.1).

A wholesale change in the realisation of the short vowels in GA is increasingly reported, sometimes called the 'Northern Cities Shift',[39] although it now seems more widely spread than this. The vowel principally affected by this shift is /a/ which becomes closer to [ɛ] or [ɛə], or even [e] or [eə]. This affects both those words like *sad* which have /a/ in GB and those words like *after* where the GA /a/ corresponds to /ɑː/ in GB. In other areas of the U.S. including Columbus, Ohio, and Jackson, North Carolina, short vowels seem to be going in the opposite direction, i.e. /ɪ,e,a/ are lowering and losing a tendency to diphthongisation.[40]

7.12.2 Standard Scottish English (SSE)

There are nowadays taken to be three languages in Scotland: Gaelic, Scots and (Scottish) English. The Northumbrian dialect of Old English spread into the south and east of Scotland at much the same time as it spread through England and has continued in use as present-day Scots. A different type of English was re-introduced from the south of England in the eighteenth century but was subsequently much influenced by Scots; it is this that is now described as Scottish English. Most speakers in Scotland will slightly or considerably vary their style of speech between Scots and STANDARD SCOTTISH ENGLISH according to different situations. The typical vowel system of Scottish English involves the loss of the GB distinctions between /ɑː/ and /a/, between /uː/ and /ʊ/, and between /ɔː/ and /ɒ/. Thus the pairs *ant* and *aunt*, *soot* and *suit*, *caught* and *cot* are pronounced the same. On the other hand there may be a phonemic split corresponding to GB /e/; while most such words have a vowel of an [ɛ] quality, a small group of words have a vowel of an [ɛ̈] quality, e.g. *heaven, eleven, next.*

SSE also has no /ɪə,ʊə/ because, like General American, it is rhotic and *beard* and *dour* are pronounced as /biːrd/ and /duːr/ (= [dyːɹ]). Similarly GB /ɛː/ (formerly /eə/) is followed by an /r/, so *fare* GB /fɛː/ becomes SSE [feːɹ]. Some speakers will also have different sequences of (short) vowel plus /r/ corresponding to GB /ɜː/ in *bird, serve* and *turn*; others have the same r-coloured schwa [ɚ] in such words. Rhoticity in SSE is declining with many speakers now only semi-rhotic (i.e. pre-pausal and pre-consonantal /r/ may be treated differently). Moreover the lexical incidence of vowels before /r/ may not correspond to GB: *short* and *sport* may have different vowels as in GA, *short* rhyming with *caught* but *sport* with *boat.*

The SSE vowels corresponding to GB /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are typically monophthongal (as in General American), e.g. *gate* and *boat* are [geːt] and [boːt]. Moreover the vowel common to *soot* and *suit* is not like either of the GB vowels in these words, but is considerably fronted to something like [ÿ], hence [sÿt]. More generally there is no systemic durational difference between long and short vowels, as there is in GB.

The chief differences from GB in the realisation of the consonants lies in the use of a tap [ɾ], e.g. *red* [ɾed] and *trip* [tɾɪp], though there is variation between this and [ɹ] (the usual type in GB), the use of [ɹ] being more common in post-vocalic positions and generally more prestigious. The phoneme /l/ is most commonly a dark [ɫ] in all positions, *little* [ɫɪtɫ] and *plough* [pɫaʊ]. Finally, intervocalic /t/ is often realised as a glottal stop (like London below), e.g. *butter* [bʌʔɚ].

7.12.3 London English, Estuary English (EE) and Multicultural London English (MLE)

The most dialectal type of London speech is called Cockney. Unlike the previous two varieties above (General American and Standard Scottish English), Cockney is as much a class dialect as a regional one. In its broadest form the dialect of Cockney includes a considerable vocabulary of its own, including rhyming slang. But the characteristics of Cockney pronunciation are spread more widely through London speech than its vocabulary; this type of pronunciation we henceforth refer to as popular London or broad London. The prevalence of a Cockney pronunciation in London is now much challenged by the growth of what has come to be known as Multicultural London English (MLE), dealt with towards the end of this section.

Unlike the previous two types of pronunciation there are no differences in the inventory of vowel phonemes between GB and popular London and there are relatively few (compared with GA and SSE) differences of lexical incidence. There are, however, a large number of differences of realisation. The short front vowels tend to be uniformly closer than in GB, e.g. in *sat, set* and *sit*, so much so that *sat* may sound like *set* and *set* itself like *sit* to speakers from other regions. Additionally the short vowel /ʌ/ moves forward to almost C.[a]. Among the long vowels, most noticeable is the diphthongisation of /iː/ (= [əi]), /uː/ (= [əu]) and /ɔː/ which varies between [ɔʊ] morpheme-medially and [ɔwə] morpheme-finally, thus *bead* [bəid], *boot* [bəut], *sword* [sɔʊd], *saw* [ɔwə]. Broad London speech also uses distinctive pronunciations of a number of diphthongs /eɪ/ = [aɪ], /aɪ/ = [ɑɪ], /əʊ/ = [aʊ] and /aʊ/ = [aː], e.g. *late* [laɪt], *light* [lɑɪt], *no* [naʊ], *now* [naː]. The

last two vowels are close enough to cause considerable confusion among non-London listeners, although the distinction is not usually neutralised. In two cases special allophones are used before dark [ɫ] (which itself = [ʊ]—see below): /əʊ/ = [ɒʊ] and /uː/ = [uː] (is monophthongal compared with the usual [əʉ]), e.g. *bowl* [bɒʊː], *fool* [fuːʊ]. Before the vocalised form of /l/ there is much neutralisation, e.g. *field* and *filled* as [fɪʊd], *col* and *coal* as [kɒʊ], and *pull* and *pool* as [puʊ]. The use of the [ɒʊ] variant of /əʊ/ is now spreading more widely outside London RGB and may be considered a variant within GB itself.

Among the consonants most notable are the omission of /h/ and the replacement of /θ,ð/ by /f,v/, e.g. *hammer* /ˋamə/, *think* /fɪŋk/, *father* /ˋfɑːvə/. Dark [ɫ], i.e. /l/ in positions not immediately before vowels becomes vocalic [ʊ], e.g. *milk* [mɪʊk], *middle* [ˋmɪdʊ]; /t/ is realised as a glottal stop following vowels, laterals and nasals, e.g. *butter* [ˋbʌʔə], *eat it* [ˋiːʔ ɪʔ], *not that* [nɒʔ ˋðaʔ], *benefit* [ˋbenɪfɪʔ], *belt up* [beʊʔ ˋʌp]; there may be similar replacement of /p,k/ before a following consonant, e.g. *soapbox* [ˋsaʊʔbɒks], *technical* [ˋteʔnɪʔʊ] (in this last word [ʊ] as the realisation of /l/ still counts as a consonant).

Popular London speech has historically been the major influence on the phonetic development of GB[41] and, as has been outlined in section 7.8, London RGB, i.e. a hybrid between GB and broad London, popularly called ESTUARY ENGLISH,[42] is now widely used in south-east England and may be spreading to other urban areas. The phonetic features of London in Estuary English include the replacement of dark [ɫ] by [ʊ], e.g. *field* [fɪʊd]; the glottalisation of /t/ pre-consonantally, e.g. *not that* [nɒʔ ˋðat] and increasingly word-finally before pause and before a following vowel, e.g. *not that* [nɒʔ ˋðaʔ], *eat ice* [iːʔ ˋaɪs]; the use of London-type realisations of the diphthongs /eɪ,aɪ/ and London-type allophones before /l/, e.g. *cold* [kɒʊd], *cool* [kuːʊ].

Other broad London sounds are less likely in Estuary English, e.g. /h/-dropping, monophthongisation of /aʊ/, the wide diphthong in /əʊ/, fronting of /ʌ/, the use of glottal stop for /t/ intervocalically as in [wɔːʔə] and the replacement of /θ,ð/ by /f,v/.

Some other characteristics sometimes claimed for Estuary English appear not to be based in London speech but may be changes more generally in progress in GB: the realisation of /r/ without a tongue tip contact, i.e. [ʋ] or [ɰ], and the replacement of /s/ by /ʃ/ where it is initial in consonant clusters, e.g. *stop*, *stare*, *industry*, *strain*, *obstruct* as [ʃtɒp], [ʃtɛə], [ˋɪndʌʃtri], [ʃtreɪn], [əbˋʃtrʌkt].

One intonational characteristic of London that seems to have spread into Estuary English and even more widely is the use of the 'unknown' tag interrogative. In this the speaker uses an interrogative tag with a falling tone (which usually expects the listener to know enough to agree with the speaker) in cases where the listener clearly has no relevant knowledge, e.g. 'I was woken up at 6.30 this morning; the postman came knocking on the door, didn't he?' (with a falling tone on *did*). Similarly there may be spreading usage of preposition and auxiliary verb accenting, 'I didn't do anything because there was nothing TO do', 'You couldn't have seen me in London because I haven't BEEN in London'

There are many pronunciations which are standard in London RGB but which must be considered as on the verge of being acceptable as part of GB. These include (i) the vocalisation of dark [ɫ] as [ʊ] in many pre-consonantal positions and finally, e.g. *held* [heʊd], *fill* [fɪʊ], *middle* [mɪdʊ], and (ii) the use of [ʔ] for /t/ before an accented vowel or before a pause, e.g. *not even* [nɒʔ ˋiːvn̩], *need it* [ˋniːd ɪʔ]. Before unaccented /ɪ,ə/ use of [ʔ] is still stigmatised as non-GB (and typical of broad London) both intra-word and inter-word, e.g. *water* [wɔːʔə], *got a* [gɒʔə], *that is* [ðaʔ ɪz].[43]

An alternative type of popular London speech has arisen over the last fifty years as a result of the large number of immigrants settling in the city. West Indians (a large number from Jamaica) were the first to arrive in the 1950s, followed by Asians (the largest groups were from the Indian subcontinent and from East Africa, where a large number of Indians had previously settled), followed most recently by those from Eastern Europe. These were the most prominent groups but there were lesser numbers from many other areas including Vietnam, West Africa and the Middle East. So there is now a large ethnic mix in London but it seems to be the West Indians who take the lead in language matters and hence the new accent is often called Jafaican (short for fake Jamaican) or, more academically, Multicultural London English (MLE).[44] But some Asian, African and local London characteristics may be in the mix. Some of the features of this accent are the absence of the fronting of /ʊ,uː,ʊə/, noted in §7.10.2 as now common in GB, the monophthongisation of /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ to [eː] and [oː] and the absence of the London 'crossover' (of /aɪ/ as [ɑɪ] with a back starting-point and /aʊ/ as [aʊ] with a very front starting-point, or even [aː]). The accent, as to be expected, is not a very homogeneous one; so, for instance, /ʊ,uː,ʊə/, instead of not being fronted at all, may be very fronted to [yː,ʏ,yː], /θ,ð/ may be fronted to /f,v/ like Cockney, /ʌ/ may be backed and so closer to Cardinal [ʌ]. However, there is very little evidence, in the form of recordings or transcriptions, to back up the phonetics of MLE (though there is more about vocabulary and grammar).

7.12.4 General Northern English (GNE)

While there is relative homogeneity in a broad London accent but much less so in General American and Standard Scottish English, the label GENERAL NORTHERN ENGLISH is even less homogeneous (strictly speaking the label should be General Northern England English). We use it here simply to identify those things which the disparate pronunciation systems in the North of England have in common (and we will also mention a few characteristics which are typical only of certain areas). The area we are talking about covers that area north of a line from the river Severn to the Wash and includes Birmingham. Within this area there was a traditional dialect distinction between the north and the south of a line joining the rivers Humber in the east and Ribble in the west. Such a distinction still remains in conservative rural dialects and is shown in features north of the line like /iː/ in *night* and /a/ in *long*.

The major identifying feature of this area is the loss of the distinction between GB /ʊ/ and /ʌ/, the single phoneme varying in quality from [ʊ] to [ʌ̈]. So GNE has no distinction between *put* and *putt*, *could* and *cud*, and, for many speakers, between *buck* and *book* (although others may use /uː/ in the latter word). Hypercorrections may be made by those attempting RGB producing, for example, *sugar* [ˈʃʌgə], *pussy* [ˈpʌsi], *put* [pʌt]. Almost as identifying a characteristic is the change-over in lexical incidence from /ɑː/ to /a/ in words with a following voiceless fricative (or a nasal followed by a further consonant), as in General American, e.g. *past* /past/, *laugh* /laf/, *aunt* /ant/. Another type of lexical incidence concerns the occurrence of a full vowel in prefixes where GB has /ə/, e.g. *advance* /adˈvans/, *consume* /kɒnˈsjuːm/ *observe*, /ɒbˈzɜːv/. These full vowel prefixes are generally those in closed syllables, whereas those with open syllables retain /ə/, e.g. *connect* /kənekt/. The diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ may be monophthongal [eː] and [oː] as in GA and SSE (indeed sometimes, as in Newcastle, the direction of the diphthong is reversed to [eə] and [oə]). Many areas of Northern English have a fronted articulation of both /uː/ and /ɑː/ (the distinction between /a/ and /ɑː/ being carried by length alone). Vowel incidence in the final syllable of *city*, *pretty*, *usually*, etc. varies between /iː/ in, for example, Liverpool, Hull and Newcastle, and /ɪ/ in Manchester and Leeds.

Other vowel changes (compared with GB) characteristic of particular areas include the loss of the /ɛː/-/ɜː/ distinction in Liverpool (the local accent is called Scouse) and its common realisation as [œː], e.g. both *fare* and *fur* are pronounced [fœː]; a similar neutralisation and realisation of /ɛː/ and /ɜː/ in Hull where another notable feature is the monophthongisation of /əʊ/ to [ɜː]; the realisation of /au/ in many words as [uː] in broad Newcastle (where the local accent is called Geordie) while /uː/ itself becomes [ɪə], e.g. *about* [əˈbuːt].], *boot* [bɪət]; and the use of a particularly close /ɪ/ in all positions in Birmingham, e.g. *pit* is almost [pit], where the distinction between *pit* and *peat* will depend on length alone.

Most notable among the consonants of GNE is the realisation of /r/ as [ɾ] in a number of conurbations including Leeds, Liverpool and Newcastle, and the lack of the GB allophonic difference between clear [l] and dark [ɫ], clear [l] being used in all positions in many areas, e.g. Newcastle, and dark [ɫ] in others, e.g. Manchester. In a quite extensive area from Birmingham to Manchester and Liverpool the GB single consonant /ŋ/ becomes [ŋg], e.g. *singing* [ˈsɪŋgɪŋg]. Also in a number of urban areas, notably south-east Lancashire, /p,t,k/ in final position (i.e. before pause) may be realised as ejectives, e.g. *stop* [stɒpʼ].

A number of the features above are incorporated into the northern type of RGB. This applies particularly to the use of /a/ rather than /ɑː/ in words like *path* and *dance* and the use of full vowels in some suffixes like those in *conserve*, *object* and *advance*.

7.12.5 Australian English (ANE)

There is little regional variation in AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH (ANE), the variation which does occur being largely correlated with social class and ranging from

a broad accent all the way up to GB. The broad accent described here shares many features with broad London speech, but has of course a particular combination of these and other features which identify it.

Like London there are no differences of phonemic inventory from GB and not an extensive number of words involved in differences of incidence. It is the realisation of long /ɑː/ as [aː] which more than any other identifies ANE, e.g. *father* [ˈfaːðə], *part* [paːt] (thus, for example, making it distinctively different from South African English). Words which in GB have /ɑː/ before clusters of nasal plus another consonant, e.g. *dance*, *advantage*, *chance*, vary between /a/ and /ɑː/ (= [aː]) in ANE; pronunciations with [aː] are by some considered prestigious, by others affected. Like London, /iː/ and /uː/ are realised as [əi] and [əu]; and the short front vowels are all closer than GB, the distance between /a,e,ɪ/ being thus reduced (compare this with New Zealand where /a,e/ are equally raised and /ɪ/ becomes [ɨ], almost indistinguishable from /ə/).

In its diphthongs ANE is again like London having /eɪ/ = [aɪ] and /ai/ = [ɑi] and in having a convergence of quality of /əʊ/ and /aʊ/; /ɪə,ʊə/ are monophthongised, so /ɪə/ = [ɪː], *clear* [klɪː] (leading to an accumulation of three vowels, /iː/, /ɪ/ and [ɪː] in the close front area), while /ʊə/ is either replaced by /ɔː/ as in *sure* or becomes disyllabic as in *sewer* /ˈsuːə/.

Although ANE, in its broader form, does drop /h/, it does not use glottal stop nor does it vocalise /l/, having dark [ɫ] in all positions.

A particular development in Australian English (and in New Zealand) which has been the subject of much discussion recently, both in newspapers and in academic journals,[45] is the increasing use of a high rising tone on declarative clauses (where a fall would normally have been expected). The meaning of this tone and the reasons behind its increased use have also been much discussed (see also §7.10.2(9) and §11.6.3).

7.12.6 Caribbean English

The most populous islands of the Caribbean where English is spoken as a first language are Jamaica, Trinidad (including Tobago) and Barbados, together with Guyana on the adjacent mainland; and there are numerous less populous islands. These islands (and Guyana) usually have a continuum in dialect from a broad variety generally referred to as a creole (a creole being a first language which has been derived from a pidgin) to a high variety which approaches GB and can be regarded as a type of RGB. What is described here is the broad creole variety. There are few descriptions of the English accent of most of the islands;[46] only Jamaica has been the topic of a number of articles and books.[47]

The most obvious characteristic of the vowel system is that it is like that of GB rather than that of General American. The second most obvious characteristic is the absence of /ə/, this vowel usually being replaced by /a/ (although sometimes by other full vowels), e.g. *father* [ˈfaːda], *woman* [ˈwʊman]. Replacement of [ə] by [a] also occurs in the second part of the diphthongs ending in [ə]; corresponding to GB /ɪə/ and /ɛː/ is a diphthong approximating to [ea], e.g. *beer*