

Dialectal Variation

1. Language change over time & Regional US dialects
2. Social & Ethnic dialects
3. Contact influences



Dialect

- **Dialect:** language variety used by some group
 - Neutral linguistic term, not sub-standard
 - Dialects differ by multiple linguistic levels
 - Phonological (accent), lexical (vocab), syntactic...
 - Everyone speaks a dialect of a language
- **Language:** continuum of dialects
 - “Neighbors” are mutually intelligible
 - Those farther apart may be less so

Language Variation

- **Diachronic** variation:
 - language change over time
- **Synchronic** variation:
 - language variation at a particular point in time
 - Dialects

Mnemonics: Syn-chronic
Same-time

Dia-chronic
across-time
~**diameter** goes
across a circle

Language Change over Time



-
- How & Why
 - Chain Shift
 - Merger & Monophthongization

Why do languages change?




Some causes:

- New generations modify, innovate
 - Change over time
- Geography
 - isolated groups develop separately
- Language contact
- Social groups differentiate themselves
 - Separation, overt/covert prestige



A (Brief) History of English

Old English (449-1066):

  Fæder ure þu þe eart on heofonum
 Si þin nama gehalgod ...

Beowulf

Middle English (1066-1500):

Oure fadir that art in heuenes,
halewid be thi name ...

Chaucer's
Canterbury Tales

Early Modern English (1500-1800):

Our father which art in heaven,
hallowed be thy name...

Great Vowel Shift
Shakespeare

Modern English (1800-present):

Our father, who is in heaven,
May your name be kept holy...

Sound change

- A change in pronunciation over time
 - **Unconditioned:** sound changes no matter where it appears in the language

<u>OldE</u>		<u>ModE</u>	
<i>cū</i> [ku:]	>	<i>cow</i> [kaʊ]	(/u:/ > [aʊ])
<i>hūs</i> [hu:s]	>	<i>house</i> [haʊs]	

(i.e., Great Vowel Shift)

Sound change

- A change in pronunciation over time
 - **Conditioned:** a sound changes only in certain phonetic/phonological environments
 - Coarticulation → phoneme reinterpretation

OldE

c*inn* [kin]

>

ModE

*ch*i*n* [tʃin]

(/k/ > [tʃ] / __ [i, ɪ])

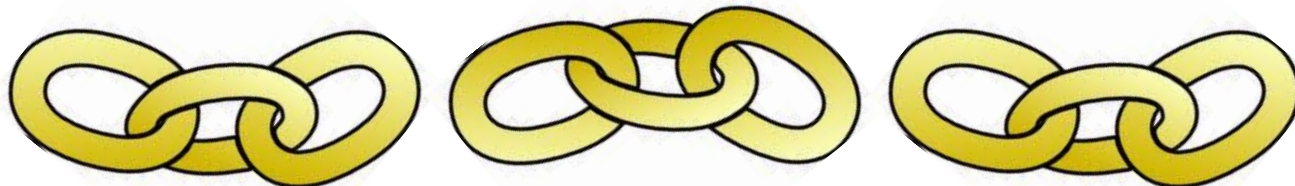
c*ū* [ku:]

>

*c*o*w* [kɑʊ]

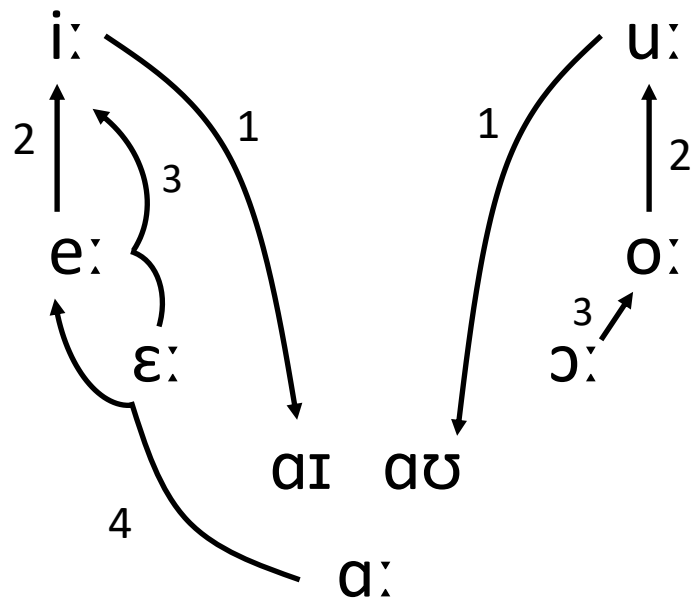
Chain shifts

- **Chain shift:** Multiple phonemes/allophones shift phonetically toward/away from others in the same (sub)system
 - **Push chain:** A phoneme moves toward (becomes like) another, which then moves away
 - **Pull/drag chain:** A phoneme moves away from another, which moves in to fill the gap



Great Vowel Shift (in brief)

- Between MidEng and ModEng (1400-1700), long vowels undergo shift upward in height (with high vowels becoming diphthongs)



Pull or push chain? Hint:



Great Vowel Shift (in brief)

- Responsible for many of the spelling peculiarities of English

<u>MidE</u>	<u>ModE</u>		
shires	shires	[ʃi:rəs] / [ʃaɪrɪz]	i: → aɪ
sweete	sweet	[swe:tə] / [swit]	e: → i
bathed	bathed	[bɑ:ðəd] / [beɪðd]	ɑ: → eɪ
shoures	showers	[ʃu:rəs] / [ʃaʊrɪz]	u: → aʊ
roote	root	[ro:tə] / [ɹʊt]	o: → u
ooth	oath	[ɔ:θ] / [oθ]	ɔ: → o

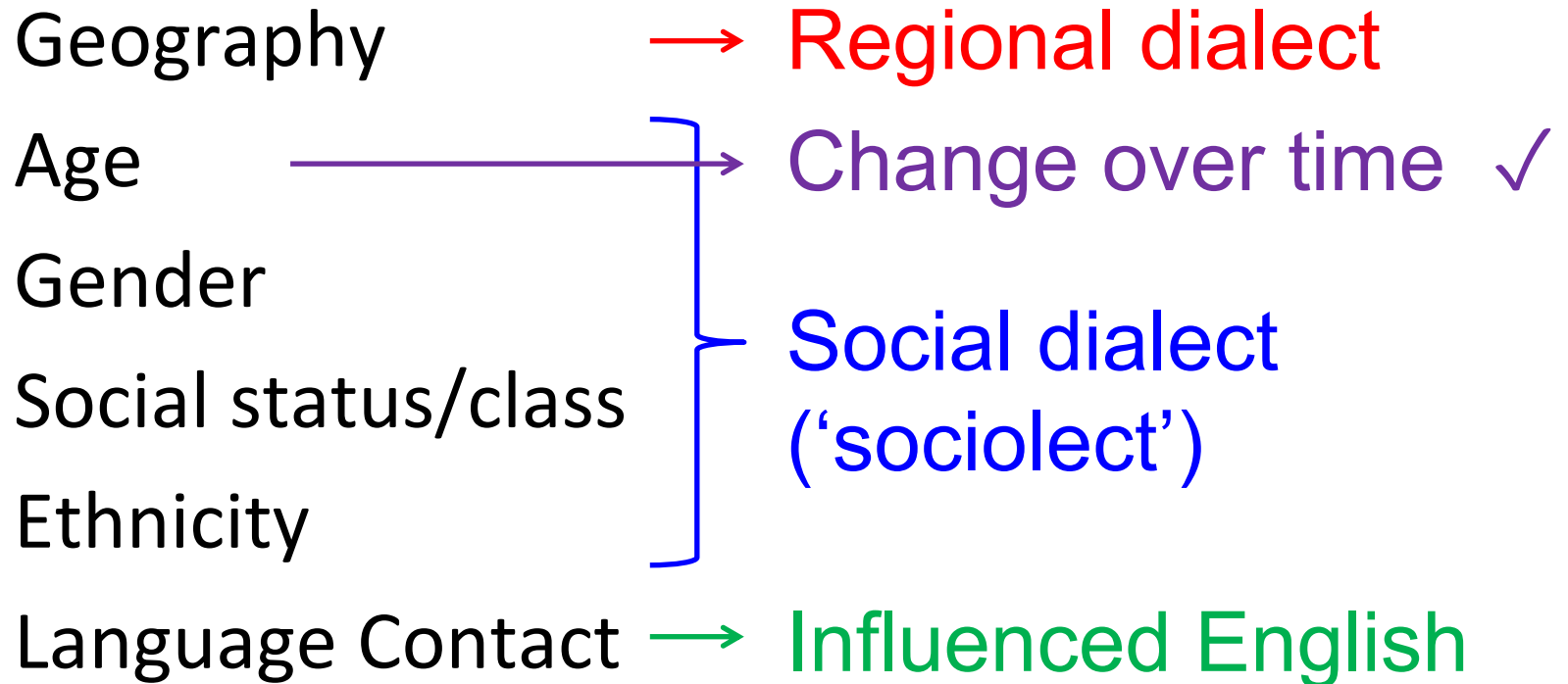
Merger

- **Merger:** Neighboring phonemes merge, so they can no longer be distinguished in production or perception
 - Merger by *transfer*: A moves in with B (B doesn't move)
 - *Mary-marry-merry* merger (/er, ær/ disappeared)
 - By *approximation*: A and B meet in the middle (both move)
 - *Pin-pen* merger (both /ɪ/)
 - By *expansion*: new space = A+B (both expand to overlap)
 - Low-back vowel merger (*cot-caught* and anything in between)

Other types of sound change

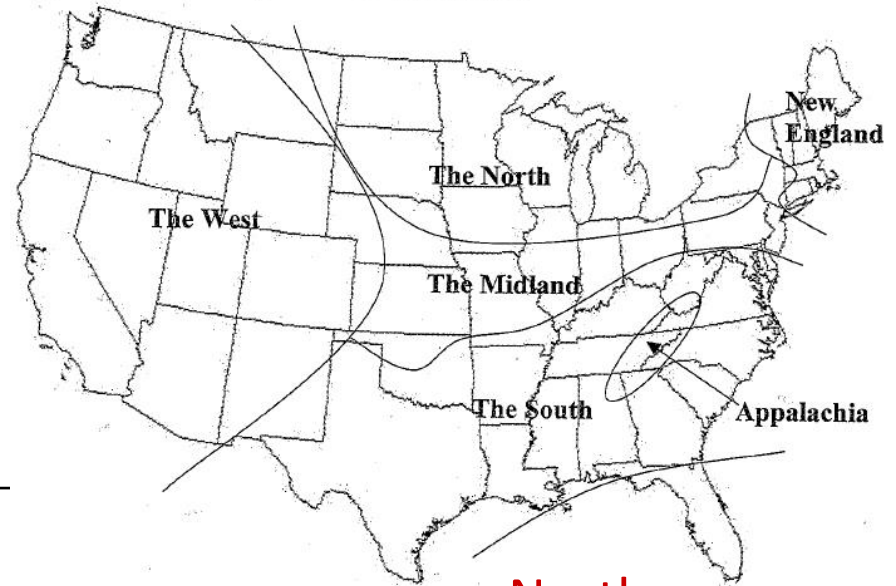
- **Split:** Opposite of merger
 - Some words that used to be pronounced with Vowel A are now pronounced with Vowel B
- **Monophthongization:** Diphthong loses glide
 - aka diphthong simplification
 - intermediate steps: glide weakening
 - Nucleus often lengthens
 - Nucleus may shift in quality
 - Southern /aɪ/ → /aː/ (fronted, lengthened monophth.)

Contributors to dialect variation



Regional Dialects

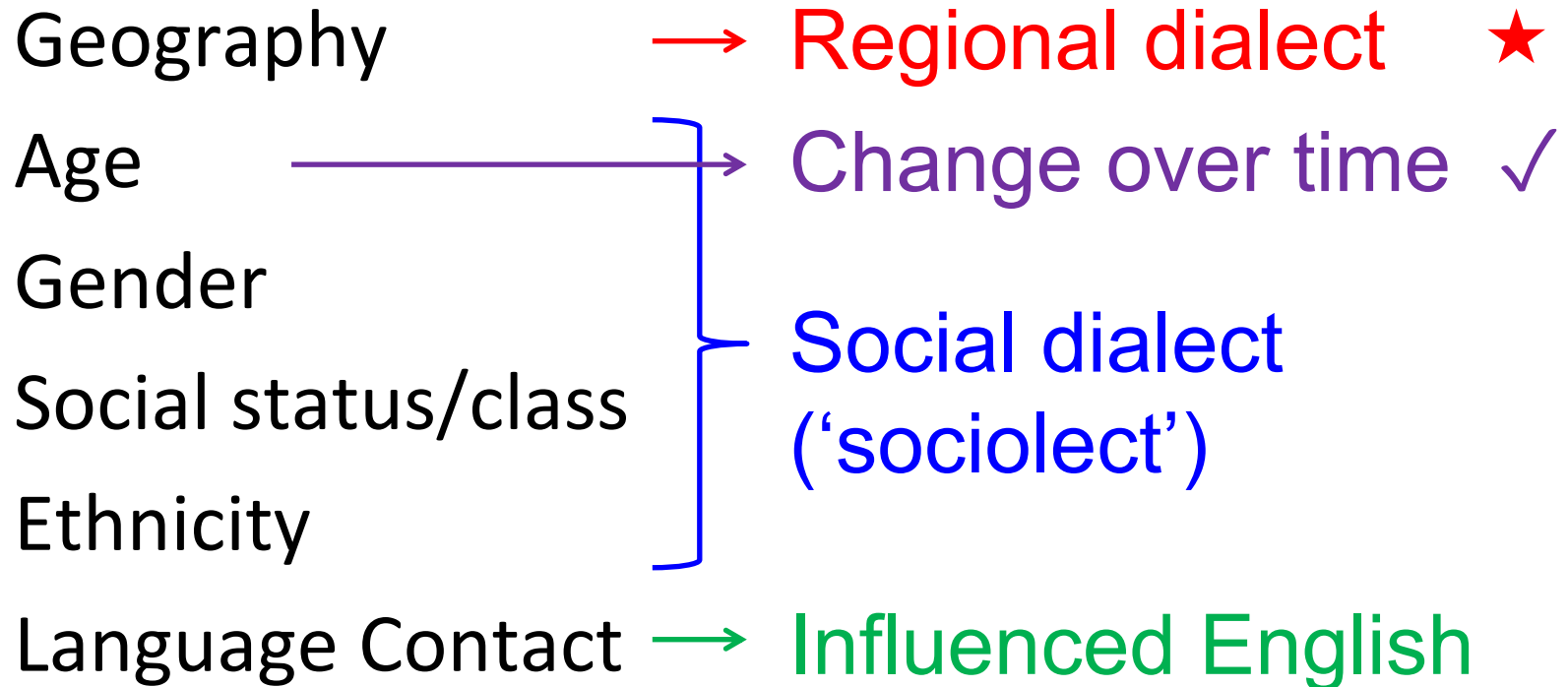
Approximate dialect regions of the United States



Phonetic features of major
American English dialect regions
(focusing on vowels)

North
East
Midland
West
South &
Oklahoma

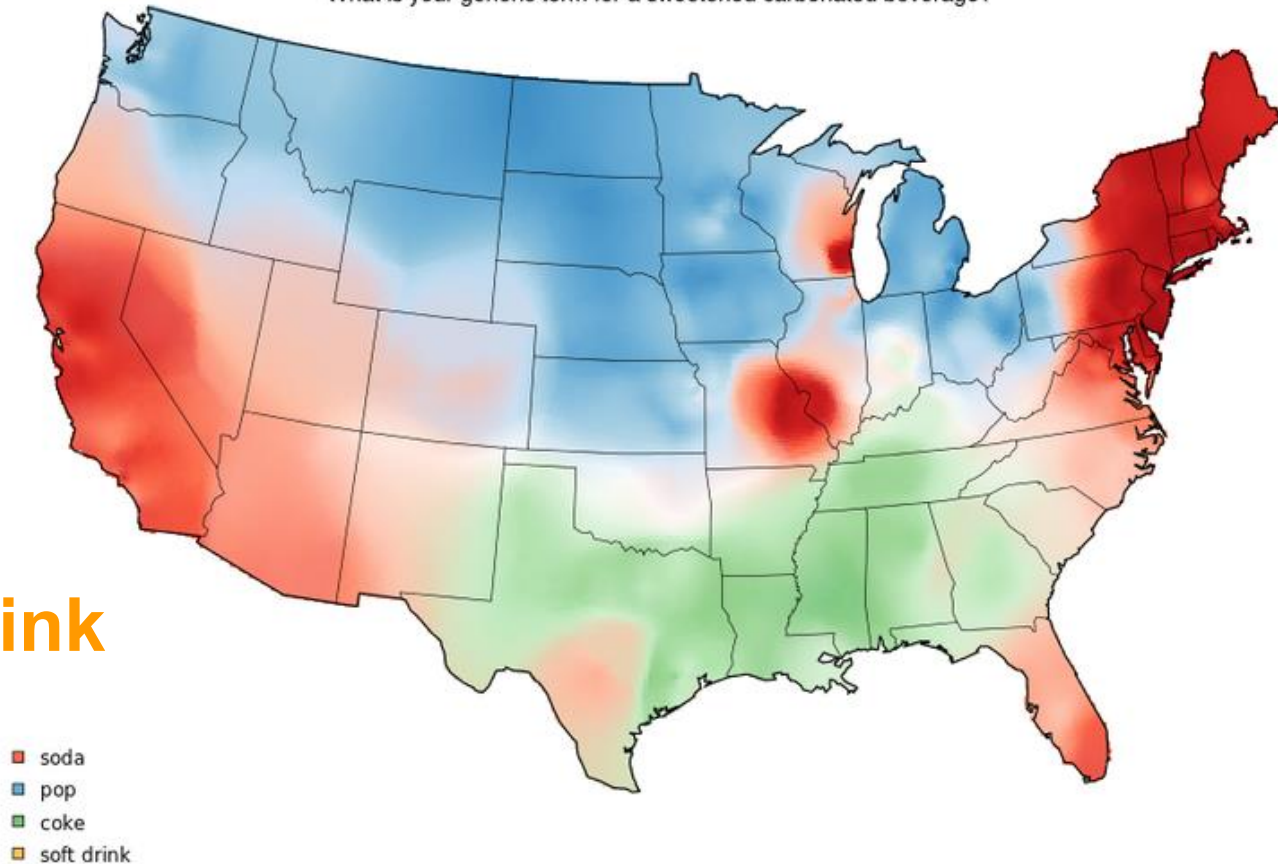
Contributors to dialect variation



Words for 'carbonated beverage'

What is your generic term for a sweetened carbonated beverage?

pop
soda
coke
soft drink

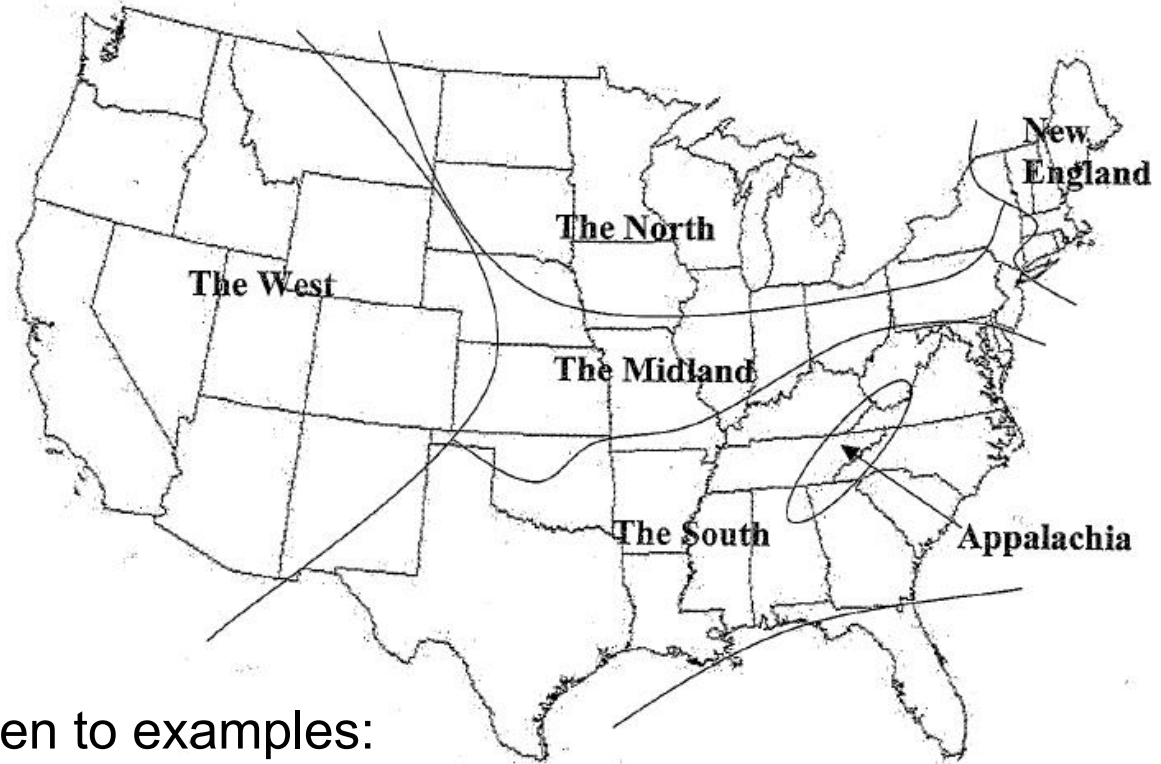


Joshua Katz, Department of Statistics, NC State University

Other pretty Katz maps: <https://www.businessinsider.com/22-maps-that-show-the-deepest-linguistic-conflicts-in-america-2013-6#ok-this-one-is-crazy-everyone-pronounces-pecan-pie-differently-10>

Major U.S. regional dialects

- The North
 - Northern Cities
- The East
 - New England
- The South
 - Appalachia
- The Midland
- The West



Listen to examples:

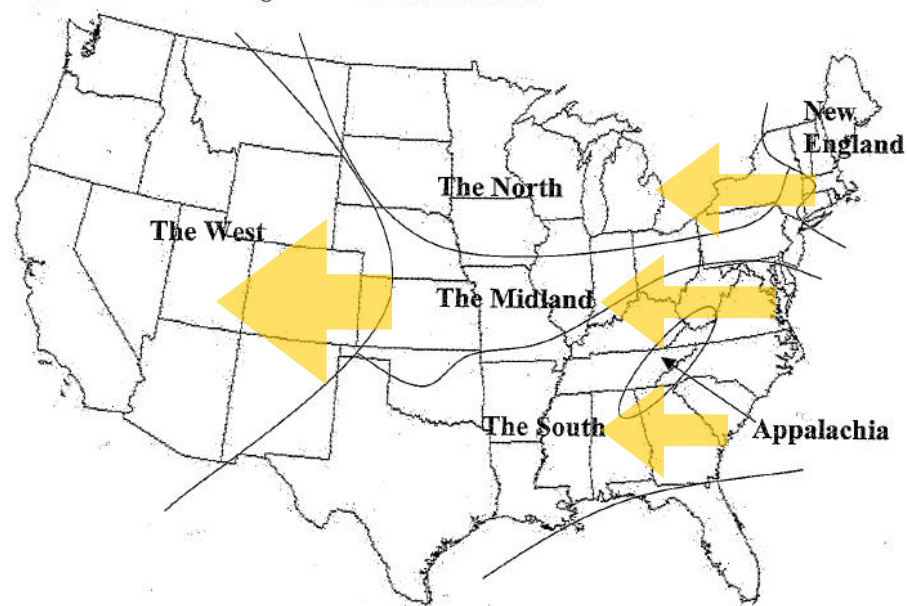
http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_maps/namerica.php

<https://www.dialectsarchive.com/>

Regional U.S. dialects

- Regional differences (along East coast) can be traced to dialects of British English during settling of America in 17th, 18th c.

Approximate dialect regions of the United States



- **Dialect leveling:** ‘canceling out’ of dialect differences due to intermingling (i.e., in West)







The North

- Inland North

- No Low-Back Vowel Merger: /a/ ≠ /ɔ/

- *cot* ≠ *caught*

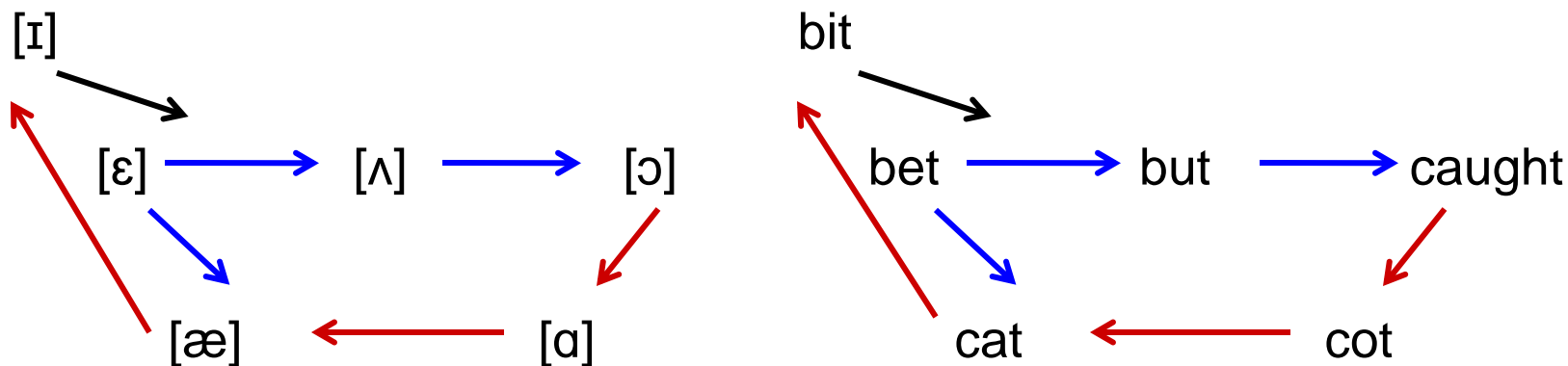
- Northern Cities Vowel Shift

- Started in the cities around the Great Lakes

- Detroit, Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Rochester...

- A *chain shift* involving the lax vowel subsystem

Northern Cities Shift



Examples (listen and guess the word):

<http://www.pbs.org/speak/ahead/change/vowelpower/vowel.html>

Short video from PBS series “Do You Speak American?” (2.5 min):

<http://youtu.be/9UoJ1-ZGb1w>

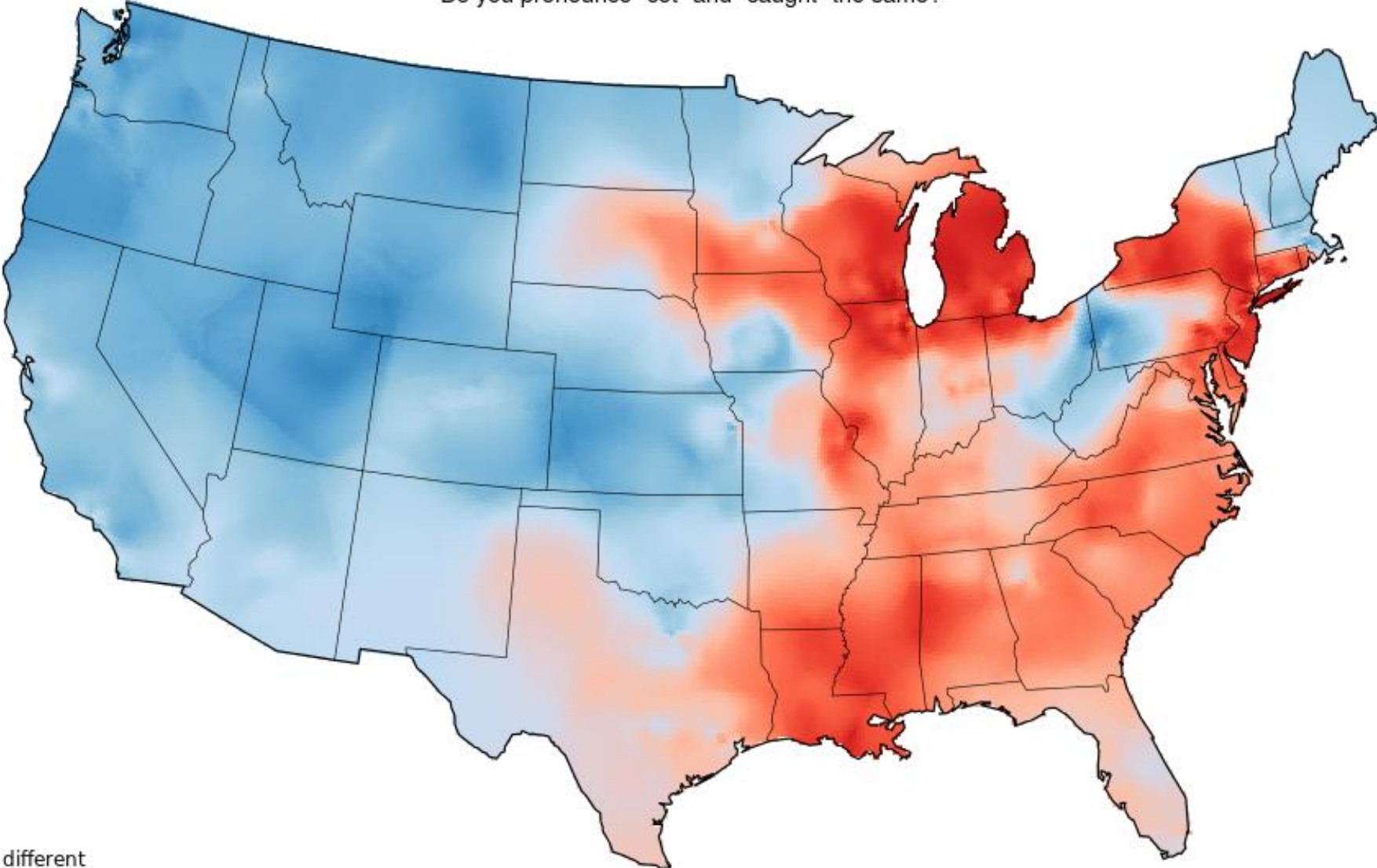
The East

- E. New England (incl. Boston) & NYC
 - /r/-lessness: no [ɹ] in coda
 - May “compensate” with longer vowel and/or [ə] replacement
 - Boston: *car* [ka:], *park* [pa:k], NYC: *beer* [biə], *weird* [wiəd]
 - *Mary* ≠ *merry* ≠ *marry*: [meri, mɛri, mæri]
 - /ɑ/-fronting → [a:]
 - Combined w/ /r/-lessness in Boston: [pa:k ə ka:]
 - Some areas: low-back merger
 - Combined w/ fronting in Boston: [a]
 - Closer to [ɔ] in NYC

The Midland

- Low-back merger
 - *cot* = *caught*
- /I/-vocalization
 - /I/ → back, rounded: *belt* [bɛwt], *hill* [hiw]
- W. PA (“Pittsburghese”)
 - aʊ-monophthongization: *downtown* → [da:nta:n]
 - https://pittsburghspeech.pitt.edu/PittsburghSpeech_Pghese_Overview.html
 - <http://www.pittsburghese.com/>

Do you pronounce "cot" and "caught" the same?



- different
- same

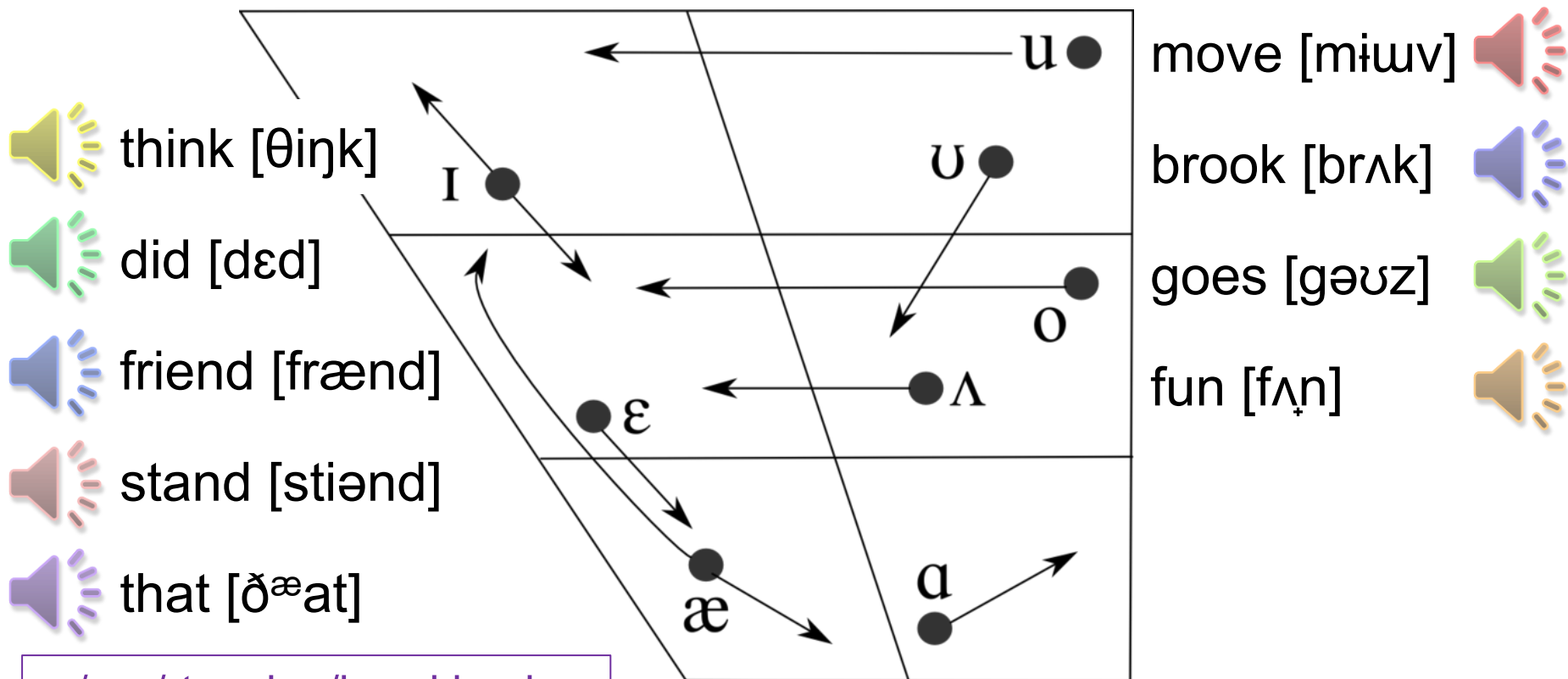


The West

- Low-Back Vowel Merger: /a, ɔ/ → /ɑ/
- High-back fronting and/or unrounding
 - /u/: *dude* [dʌd], *move* [mʌv]
 - /ʊ/: *good* [gʊd] – with a smile!
- /ɪ/ → [i] / __ŋ: *thing* [θiŋ]
- Northwest: Pre-velar raising (*bag~beg* merger)
 - *bang* [bɛiŋ] or [beɪŋ], *anger*, *anchor*, *thanks...*
 - *bag* [bɛɪg] or [beɪg], *tag*, *lag...*
 - *beg* [beɪg], *egg*, *leg...*



Northern California Shift

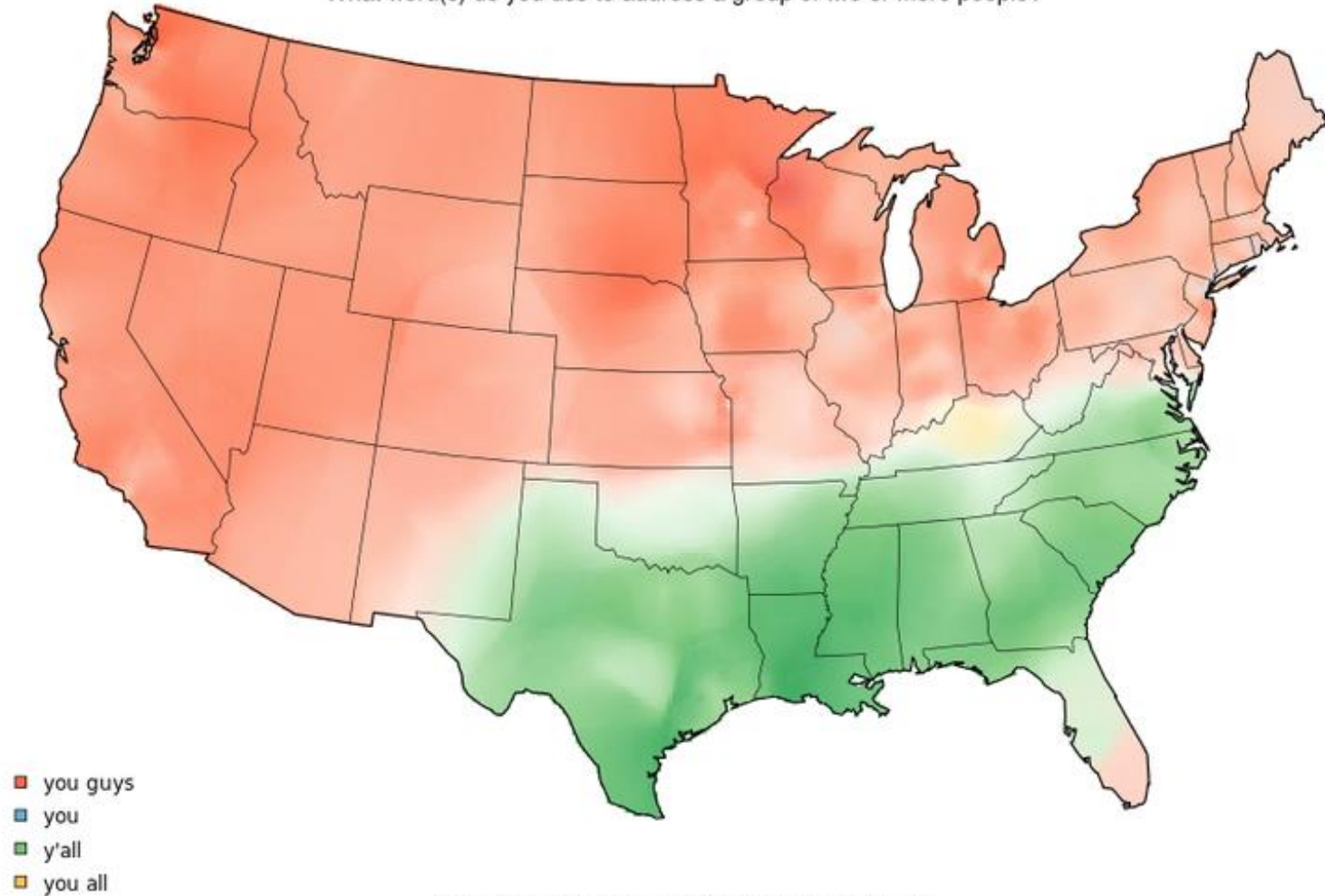


/æ/-tensing/breaking is common elsewhere and /æ/-backing is spreading

<http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/vowels.html>

The South, y'all

What word(s) do you use to address a group of two or more people?

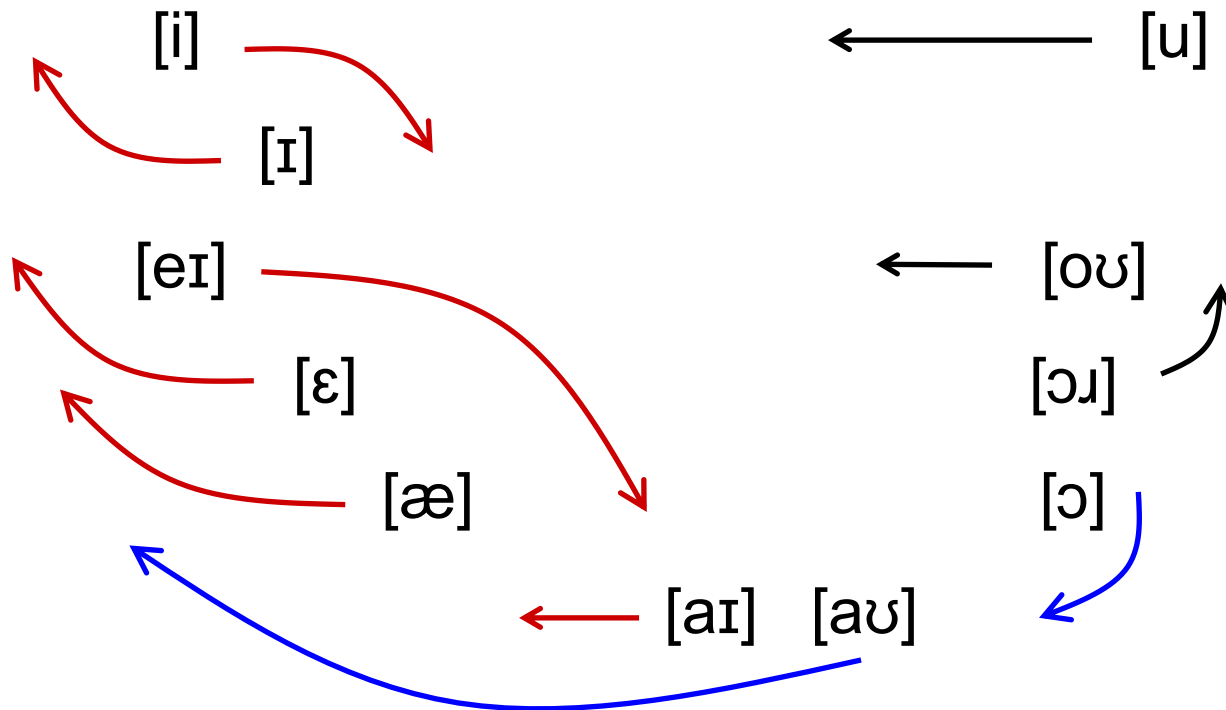


The South

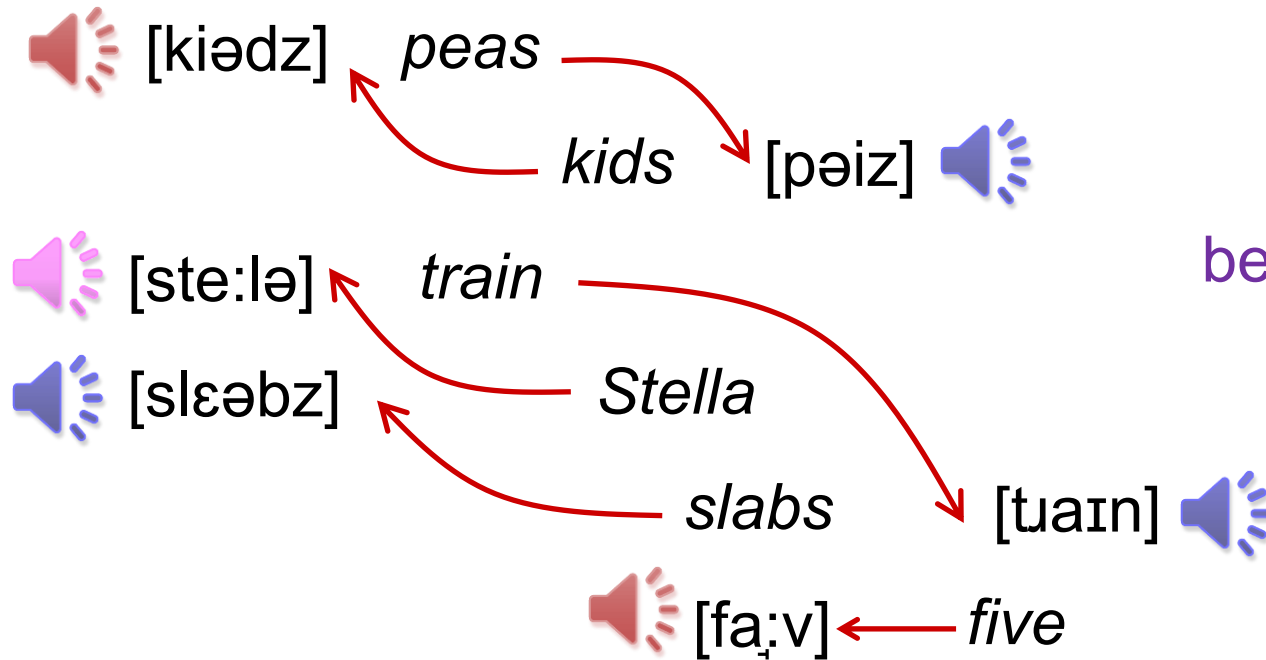
- /aɪ/-Monophthongization
 - *five* → [fa:v] or [fæ:v]
 - Word-finally and before voiced obstruents
 - (Some areas: also before voiceless obstruents)
- *pin*~*pen* merger
 - *_in, _en* both = [ɪn] (a bit lower than “pin”)
- Some /r/-lessness (mostly older, rural, “core” South)
- 3 Vowel Shifts
 - Southern Vowel Shift
 - Back Uplide Shift
 - Back Vowel Fronting



3 Southern Shifts



Southern Shift



Breaking:
monophthong
becomes diphthong

“Please call Stella” story read by speakers of different English dialects:
http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=find&language=english

Back Upglide Shift

[hæʊs]

house


call



[kɑʊt]



“Please call Stella” story read by speakers of different English dialects:
http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=find&language=english

(Non-Low) Back Vowel Fronting

 [spəʊnz] ← spoons

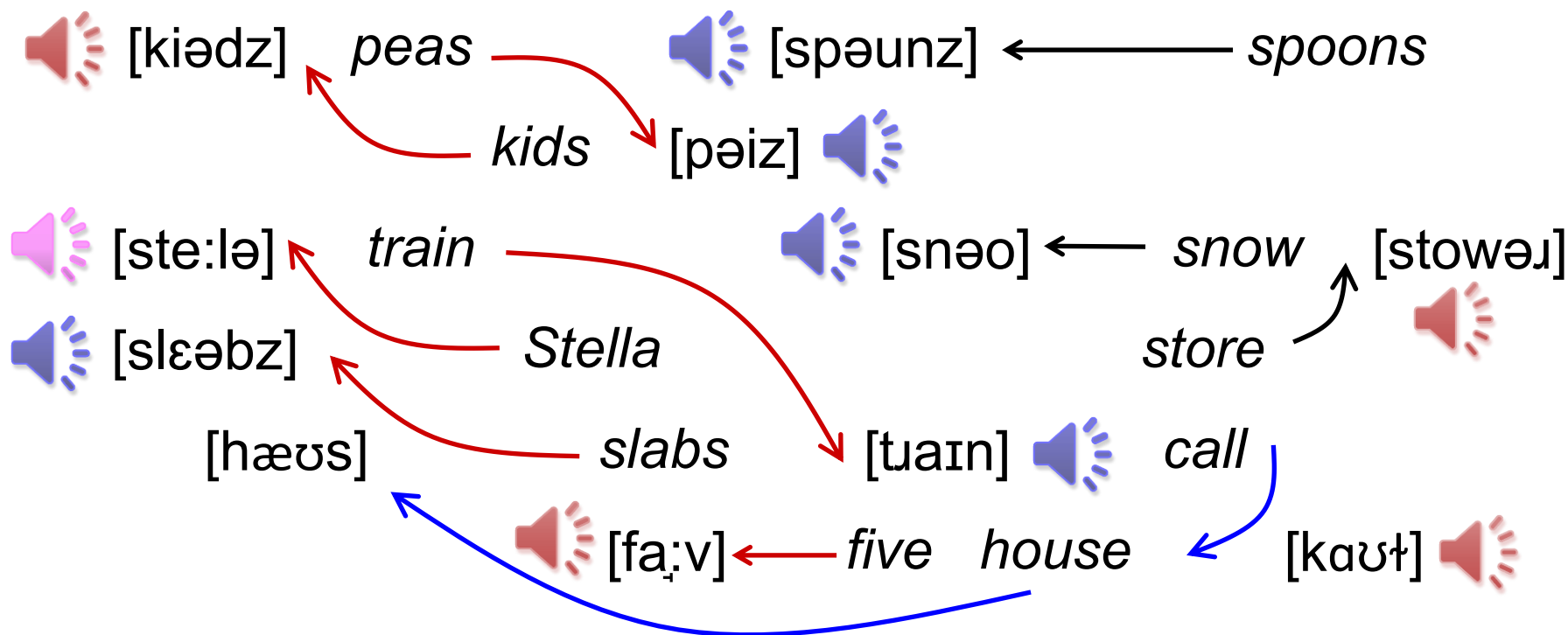
 [snəʊ] ← snow
store  [stɔwə]

* Back vowel fronting *without* breaking
is common in the Midland and California

“Please call Stella” story read by speakers of different English dialects:

http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=find&language=english

Southern Vowel Chains



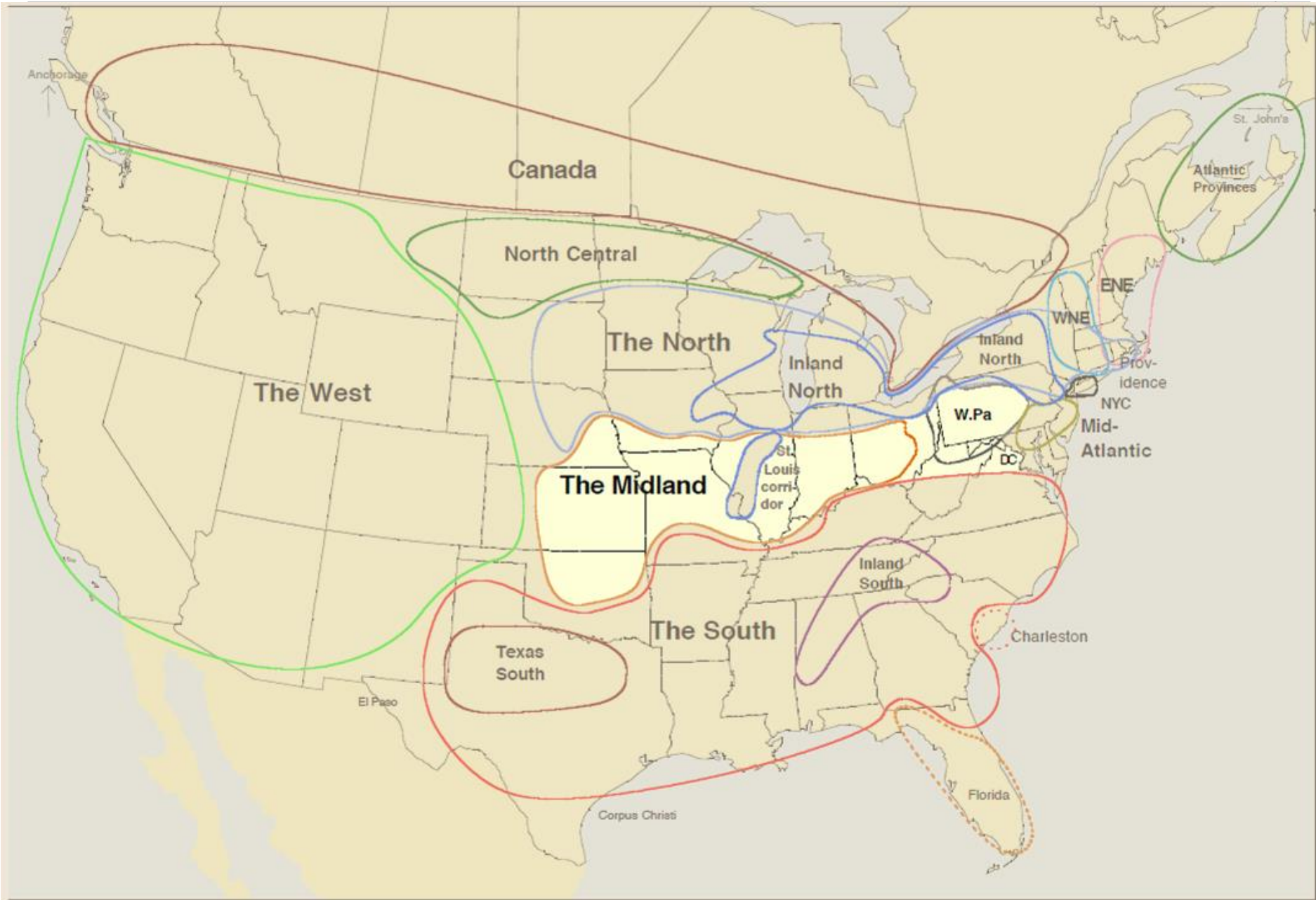
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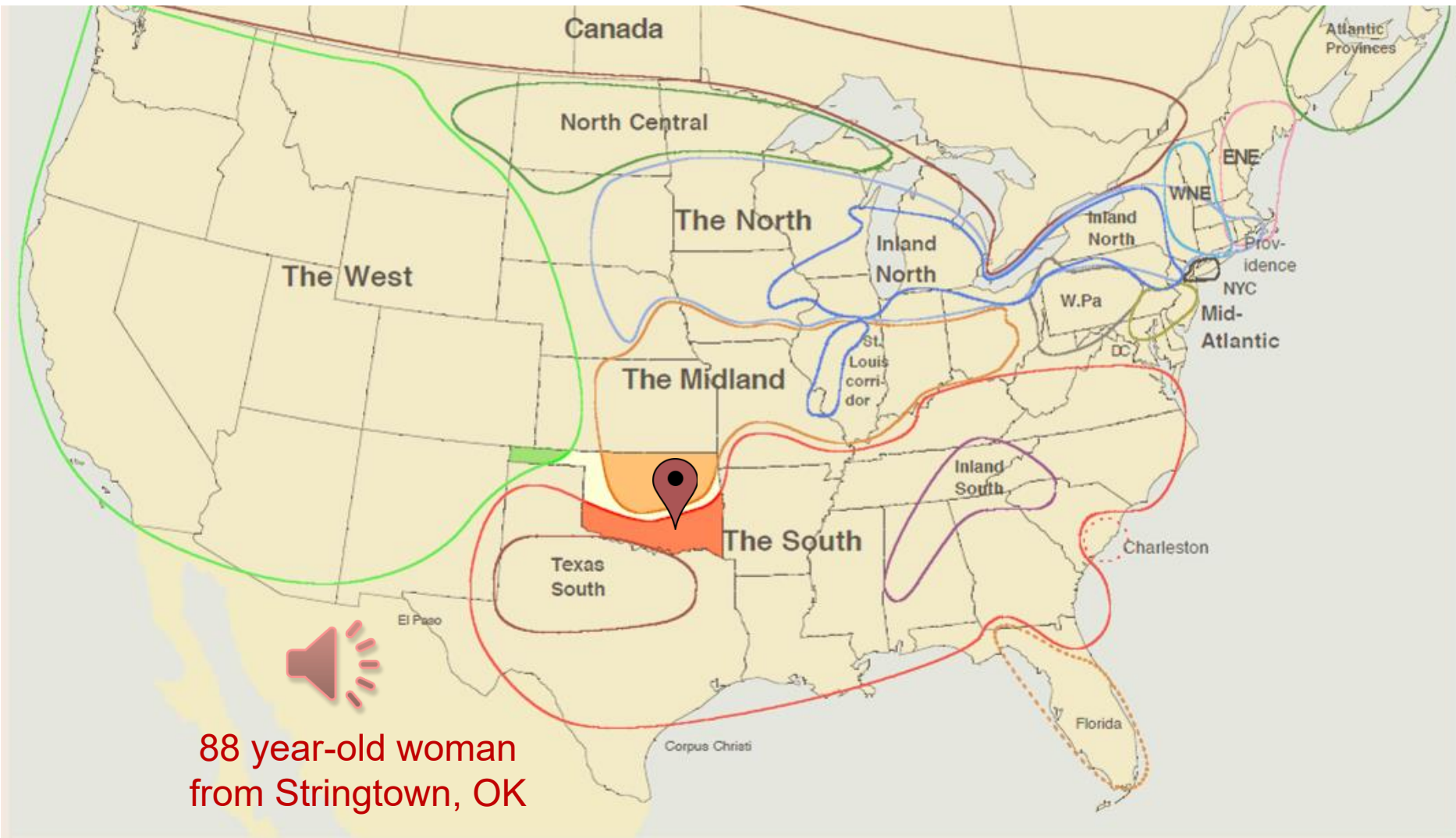


Appalachia

- Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia
- Tensing before fricatives
 - *fish, push* → [fiʃ], [puʃ]
- Stress shift
 - *guitar, police, directly, cigar, insurance*



What about Oklahoma?



Oklahomans (born after 1955)

South: retracting

(esp. cities, formal, youth)

✗ /ai/-monophthongization

✓ some: casual speech; rural

✓ *pin-pen* merger

✗ /r/-lessness

~ Southern Shift:

✓ some /e-ɛ/ shifting

✗ little /i-ɪ/ shifting

~ Back Upglide Shift

✓ some in casual speech

✗ not in formal speech

✓ back vowel fronting

Midland

✓ *cot-caught* merger

✗ /l/-vocalization

West

✓ *cot-caught* merger

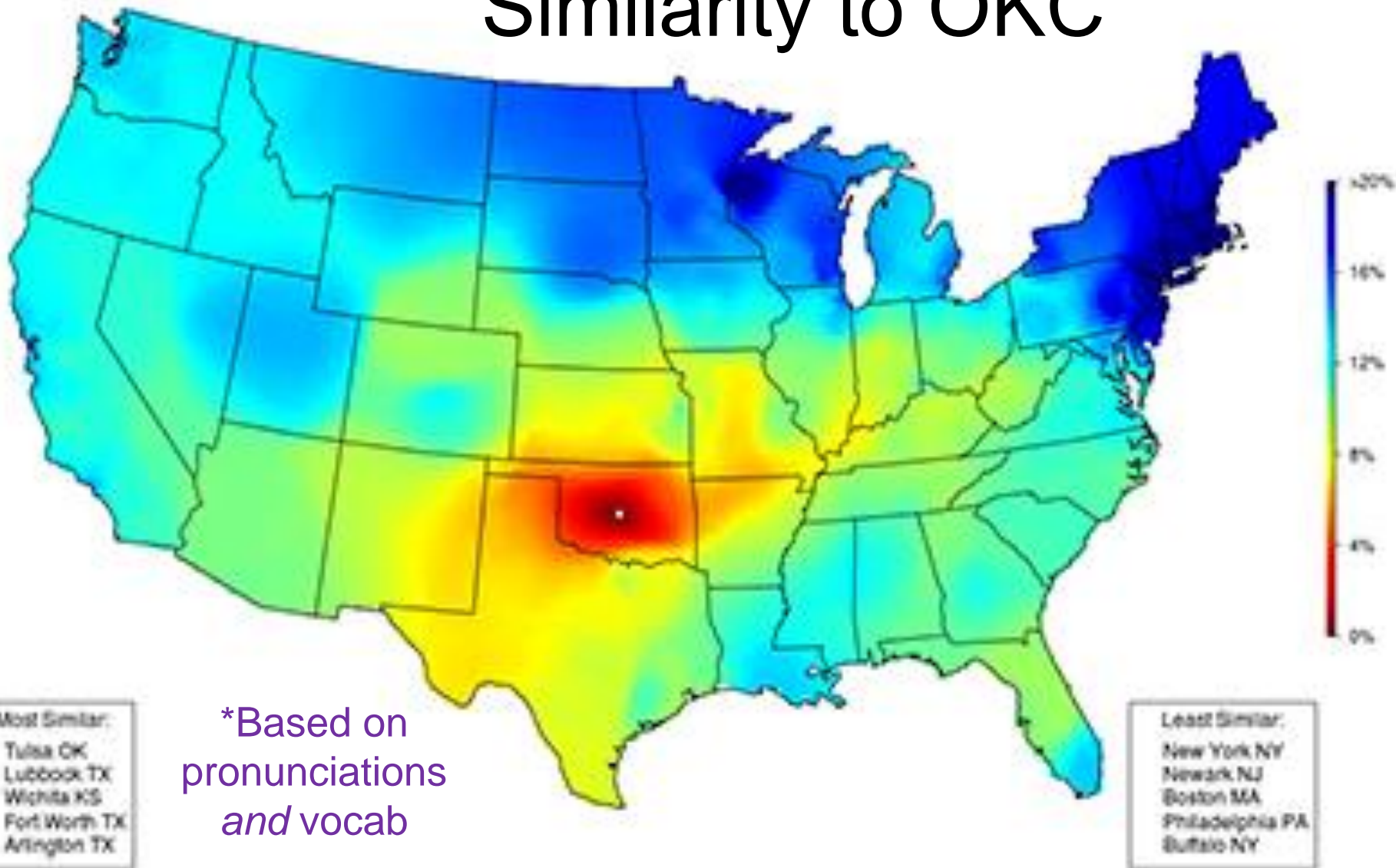
✓ back vowel fronting

✓ prenasal /æ/-tensing

Not salient/stigmatized

Sweeping the nation

Similarity to OKC



More fun with regional dialects

- Take Vaux's dialect survey:
http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cambridge_survey/
- Maps from the Harvard Dialect Survey:
<http://www4.uwm.edu/FLL/linguistics/dialect/maps.html>
- More Katz heat maps: <https://www.businessinsider.com/22-maps-that-show-the-deepest-linguistic-conflicts-in-america-2013-6#ok-this-one-is-crazy-everyone-pronounces-pecan-pie-differently-10>
- Telsur project /ANAE (so much data):
https://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/home.html
- Speech Accent Archive (see “how to” to **submit a sample of your voice!**): http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_maps/namerica.php
- International Dialects of English Archive:
<https://www.dialectsarchive.com/>

Social Dialects



- Prestige
- Sociolects
 - Age
 - Gender
 - Social status/class
 - Ethnicity/Ethnolects
 - African American English (AAE)
- Language attitudes



Standard vs. Vernacular

□ **Standard** dialect

- the variety used by political leaders, upper classes, media (people in power)
- taught/corrected in schools
- considered the ‘prestige’ dialect

□ **Vernacular**: non-standard dialect

- term going out of favor (negative connotations of sub-standard)

Standard vs. General American

- **Standard American English (SAE)**
 - Characterized primarily by its *grammatical* features, rather than its phonological features
 - Which “accents” (phonological features) are considered prestigious can change

FDR:



JFK:



LBJ:



Standard vs. General American

- **General American English (GAE)**
 - No noticeable regional features
 - “no accent”
 - American English speakers are unusual in how we determine “accent” prestige:
 - No recognized prestige dialect
 - You “sound best” if we can’t tell where you’re from
 - All regional dialect features are undesirable
 - And non-majority social features (class, ethnicity, gender, age, native language...) – but this is common everywhere



Overt vs. Covert prestige

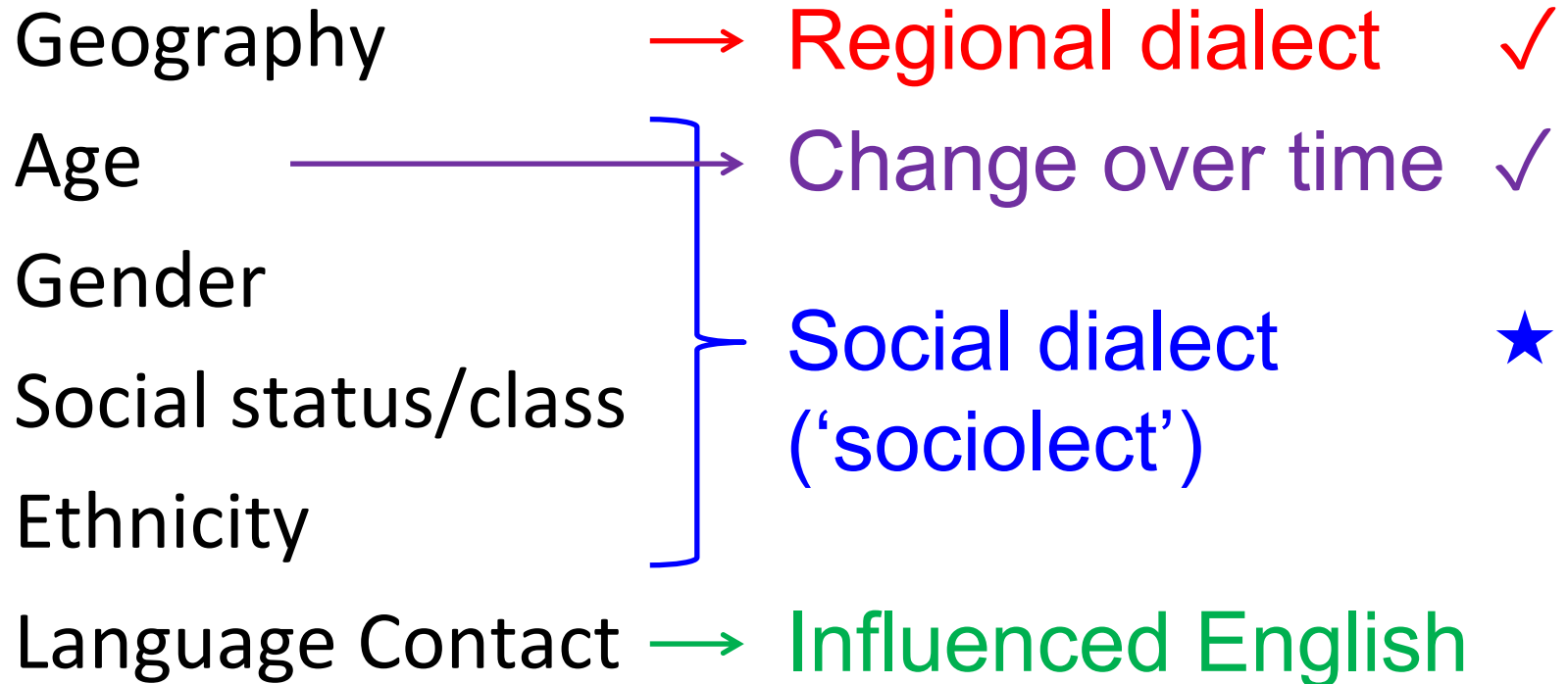
□ Overt prestige:

- Attached to a dialect (particularly the *standard*) by the community at large; defines how people should speak to gain status in that community

□ Covert prestige:

- Exists among *nonstandard* speakers; defines how people should speak to be considered members of that particular group

Contributors to dialect variation





Variation and age

- **Apparent-time Hypothesis:** Variation that correlates with age is a sign of change in progress
 - The youngest age groups will be most advanced in the change, the oldest groups the most conservative
 - Assumes most aspects of linguistic systems are solidified by adulthood



Variation and age

- **Age-grading:** Usage changes throughout people's lifespans
 - Rare, not many examples attested
 - e.g., Teens use high rates of slang, but less when they enter the work force
 - **Life stages:** Childhood, high school, college, work force, retirement; parenthood...
 - Often working-age group most conservative



Variation and age

- Attitudes about changes in progress: Associated with the speakers who are first noticed using them

Liz imagines her boss's
commentary on her
boyfriend's habits

Variation and Gender

- Biological differences ('sex'): male vs. female
 - Men's voices have lower pitch than women's

- Social differences ('gender'): masculine vs. feminine
 - Women tend to raise (and men tend to lower) the pitch of their voices more than what biology dictates



Variation and Gender

- Women/girls use ‘standard’ forms more than men/boys (e.g., *running* vs. *runnin’*)
 - Regardless of age, region, ethnicity, or class
 - Women over-report use of standard, while men under-report it(i.e., ‘overt’ vs. ‘covert’ prestige)



Variation and Gender

- Link between social/cultural norms for speech and gender is *arbitrary*.

E.g., Malagasy culture: Indirect speech valued

Western culture: Direct speech valued

→ In both cases, it is the male norms that are more highly valued





Variation and Socioeconomic class

William Labov

- New York City 'r'-lessness
- Studied variation in [ɹ] pronunciation as it relates to socioeconomic class

Dept Store study - Method

- Interviewed salespeople at
 - Saks 5th Avenue, (upper class)
 - Macy's (middle class)
 - S. Klein (lower class)

The logo for Saks Fifth Avenue, featuring the brand name in a classic, elegant cursive script.

- Asked:

- “Excuse me, where are the _____?”
- “Fouruth flooru.” (casual speech)
- “Excuse me?”
- “*Fouruth flooru.” (careful speech with emphasis)*



Dept Store study - Results

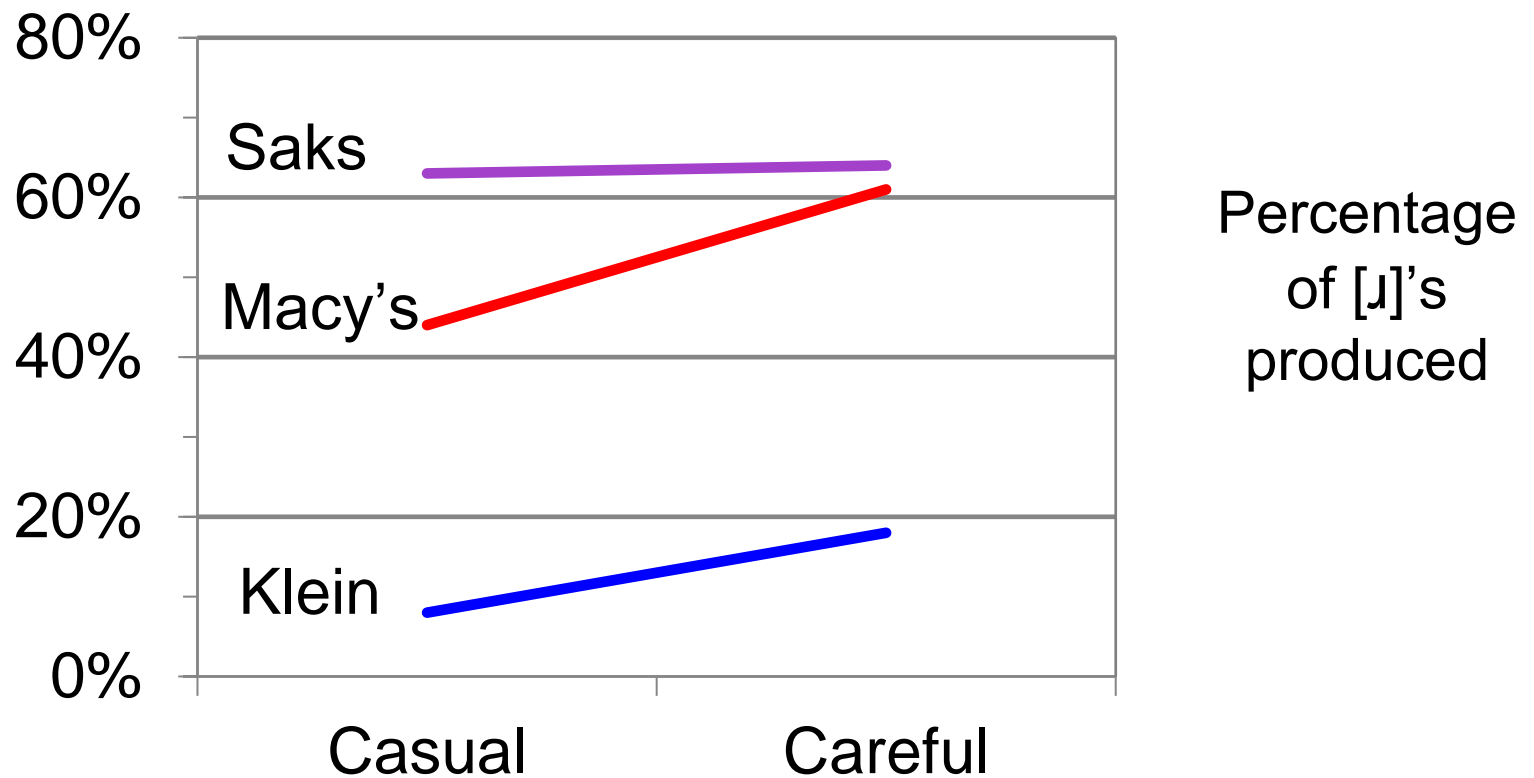
	Klein	Macy's	Saks	Percentage of [ɹ]'s produced
Casual	8%	44%	63%	
Careful	18%	61%	64%	

Pronunciation of [ɹ] increased...

...w/ level of socio-economic class

...w/ attention level paid to speech

Dept Store study - Results





Dept Store study - Conclusions

- Pronunciation of [ɹ] is correlated with socioeconomic class
 - In this case, with the class of the shoppers, i.e. the speakers' audience, not necessarily their own wealth
- Considerable intra-speaker variation
- Variation most prominent among lower classes (low: +10%; mid: +17%; high: +1%)

Overt vs. covert prestige



Variation and Ethnicity: Ethnolects

- **Ethnolect:** Dialect used by an ethnic group
- **African-American English (AAE):** A continuum of speech varieties spoken primarily among African-Americans
 - Not *all* African-Americans speak AAE
 - Not *only* African-Americans speak AAE
 - Varieties also differ by other social factors (region, age, gender, class...)



Where did AAE come from?

- Anglican Hypothesis: slaves learned the varieties of English-speakers around them
- Creolist Hypothesis: AAE = combination of English and African languages
- Either way, Africans and their descendants have been socially separated from Anglo-Americans, leading to different patterns of language change over time
- Newer term: **African American Language (AAL)**



AAE/AAL

African-American English/Language (AAE/AAL)

MYTH: AAE is ungrammatical, illogical, broken English, bad English, or slang

FACT: AAE is as rule-governed, systematic, and grammatical as any language variety

□ Some AAE rules that differ from SAE/GAE...

Structure of AAE (syntax examples)

1. Multiple negation

AAE: *He don' know nothin'.*

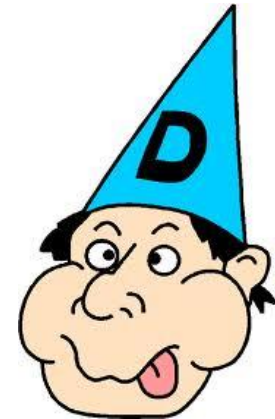
- Spanish: Él no sabe nada.

(He not know nothing)

- Middle English:

*“He never yet no villainy not said
In all his life to no kind of creature.”*

(Chaucer, 1400)



Structure of AAE (syntax examples)

2. Deletion of copula 'to be'

AAE: *He __ my brother.*

- Russian: Он мой брат.
[on mɔɪ brat]
(He my brother)



- Does not apply to 1st person sg. (**I __ a teacher.*)
- Does not apply at the end of a phrase (**I don't know who he __.*)

Structure of AAE (syntax examples)

3. Absence of 3rd person sg. –s

AAE: *He eat_ five times a day.*

I eat
you eat
he/she eat_
they eat





AAE Vowel Phonology

- Vowel features ~ Southern:
 - /r/-lessness
 - *pin/pen* merger
 - /aɪ/-monophthongization

AAE Consonant Phonology

□ Syllable structure

■ Word-final stop deletion

□ “would, shit” [wʊ, ʃɪə]

■ Coda cluster reduction

□ “self, desk, kids, most” [sɛf, dɛs, kɪz, moʊs]

■ Weak syllable deletion

□ “because, about” [kɪz, baʊt]

■ Word-final nasal assimilation/deletion

□ “pin” [pĩ]

also in fast/
casual GAE

origin of French
nasal vowels

AAE Consonant Phonology

□ Substitutions & assimilations

■ Stopping before nasals

- “wasn’t” [wʌdn̩t]

also in fast/
casual GAE

■ Interdental stopping

- “this, that” [dɪs, dæt]

also in many non-
American English
dialects

■ Interdental fronting

- “with, brother” [wɪf, brʌvə]

■ /l/-vocalization

- “bell” [bɛʊ]

also in Midland

■ Final stop devoicing

- “bad” [bæ:t]

also in German



Attitudes

- **Language attitudes:** Attitudes (impressions, opinions, etc.) about a language variety
 - Based on attitudes about *the group of people* who use the language variety

- What are our attitudes about regional dialects in the U.S.? ...

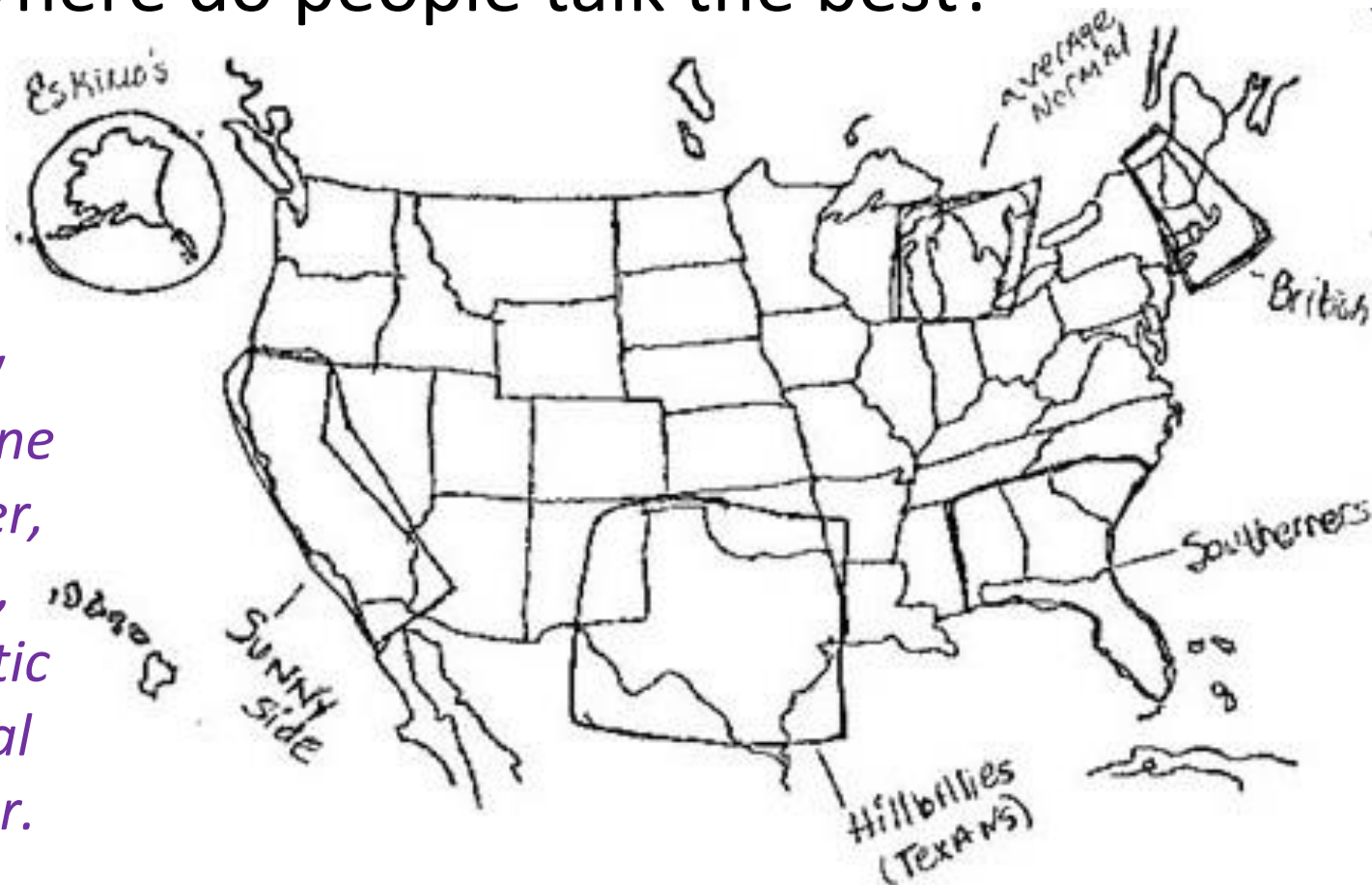
Circle places where people talk differently.
Give each circle a label.



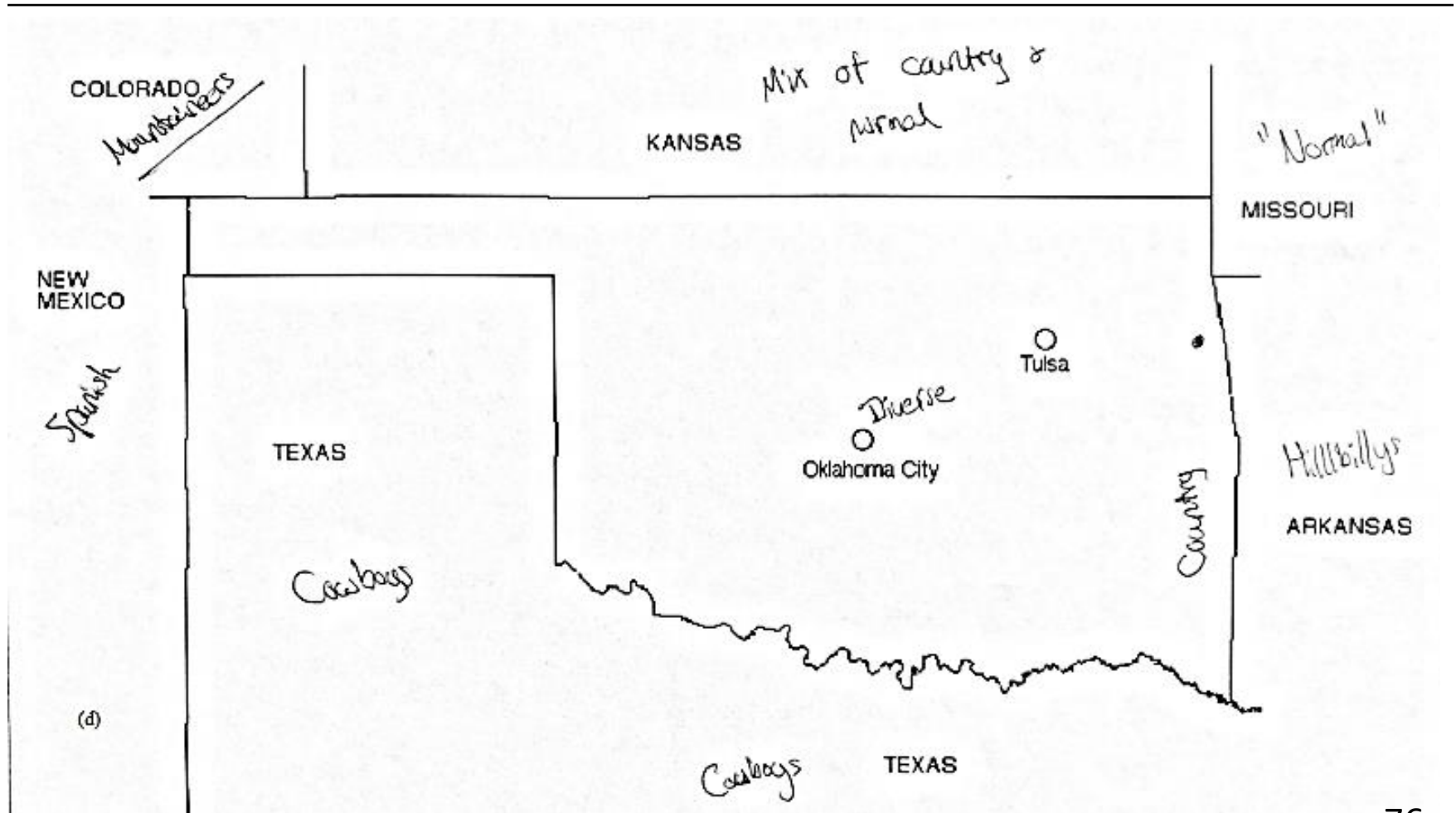
Attitudes

Where do people talk the best?

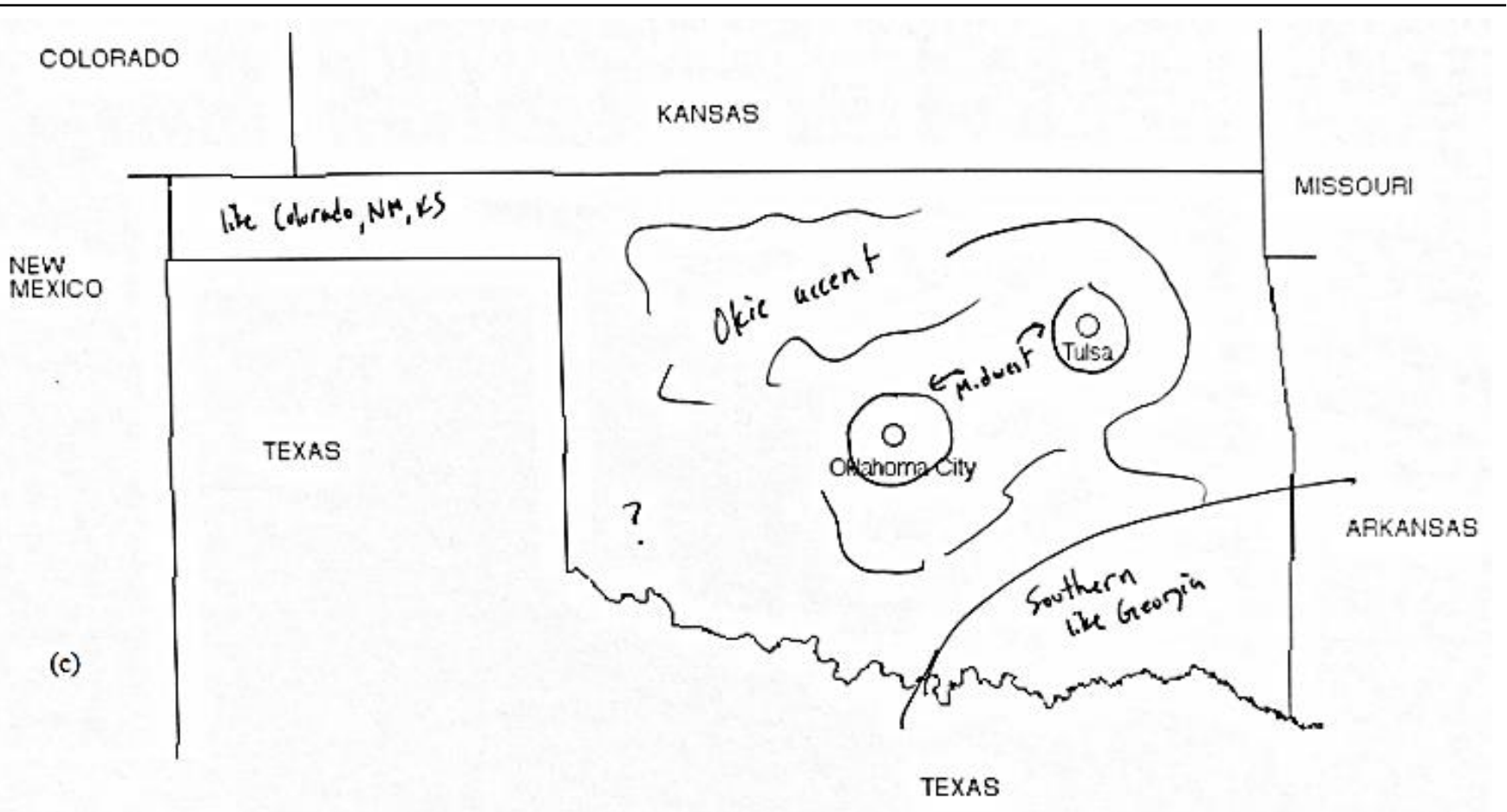
Linguistically speaking, no one dialect is better, more correct, more systematic or more logical than any other.



Oklahoma Attitudes



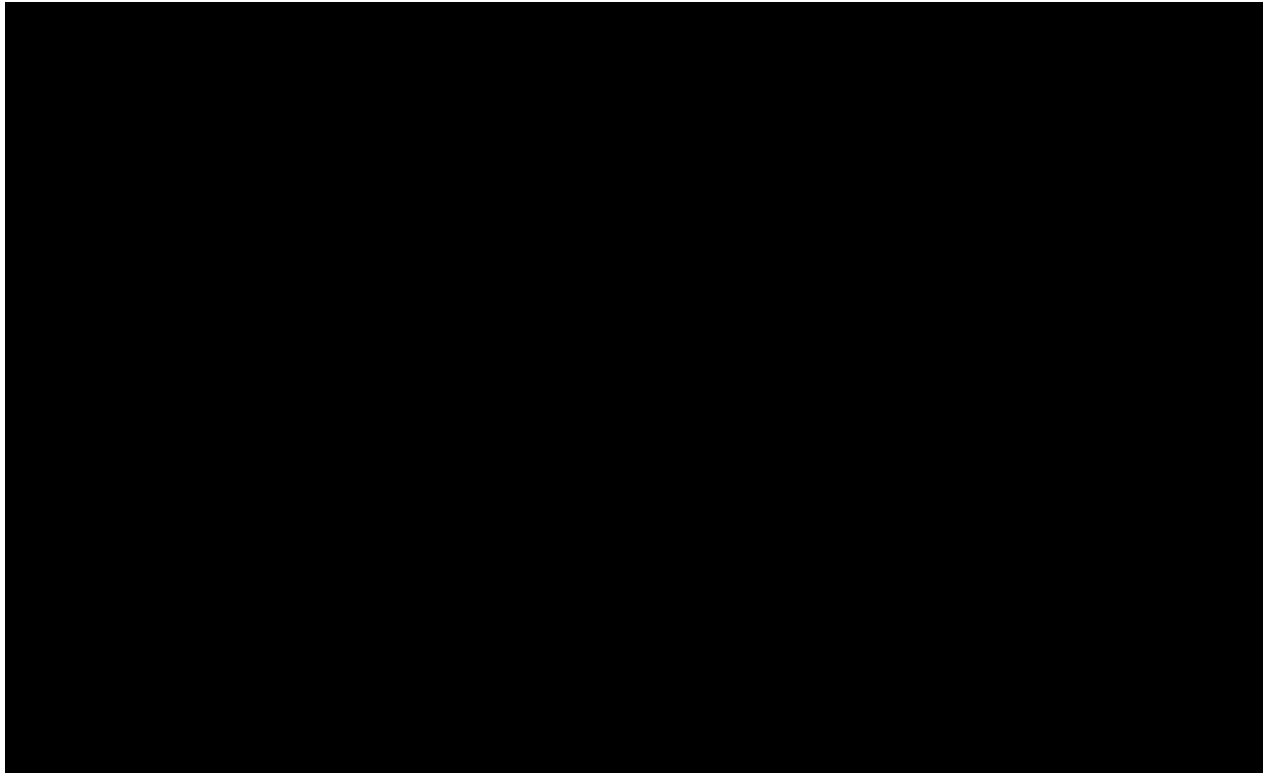
Oklahoma Attitudes





Imitation

- Attitudes often surface (overtly or covertly) when imitating other dialects





Imitation

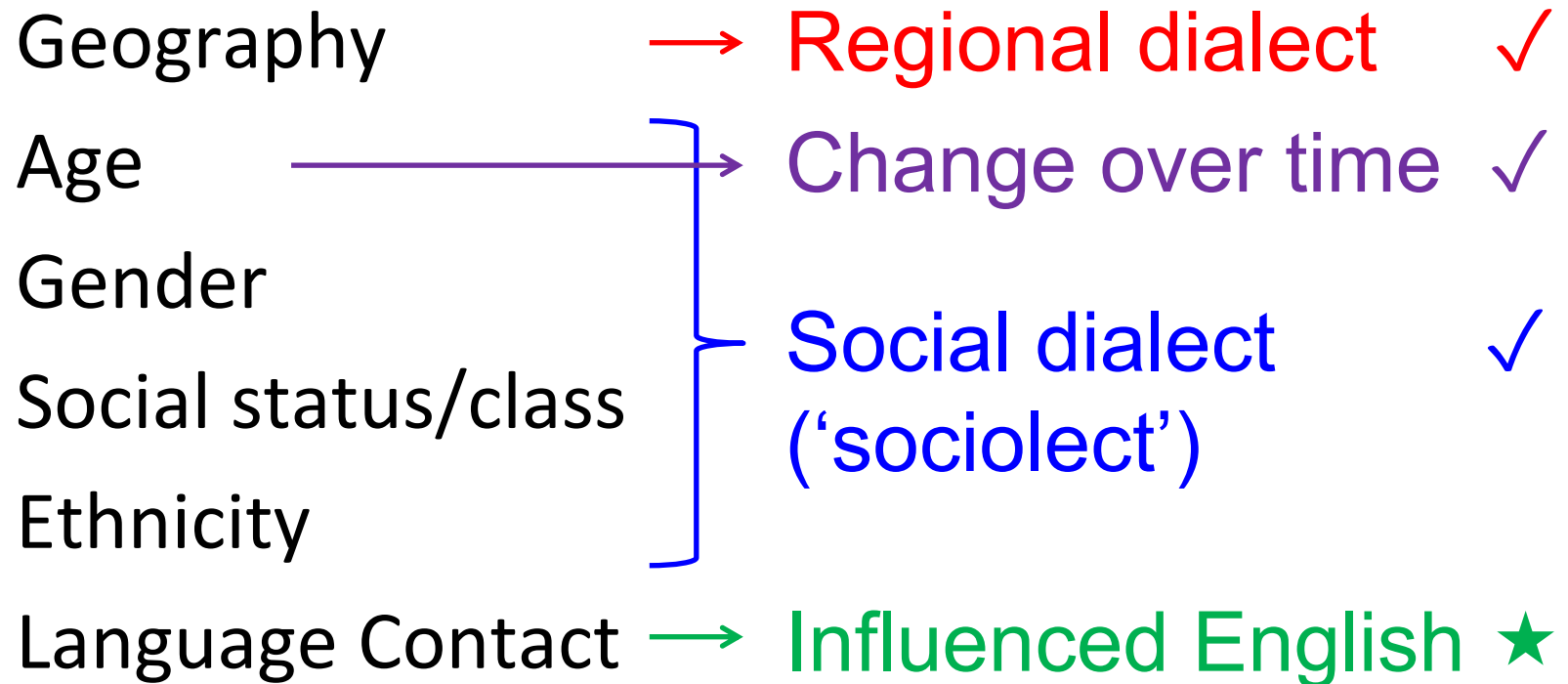
- Rarely accurate/consistent: pick a few:
 - Words/phrases: “y’all, I do declare! I reckon... sugar”
 - Phonological: /ai/-monophthongization, r-lessness...
 - Voice quality (harsh male, breathy female)
- Imitations often rely on stereotypes/caricatures
 - What sort of TV/movie character might Oscar be imitating when talking about being out of money?
 - (Think of factors that contribute to variation: age, ethnicity, gender, social status/class, occupation, age/time, etc.)

Contact Influences



1. Language Contact
 - Bi/multilingualism
2. ELL/Influenced English
 - Spanish-influenced English
 - East Asian influences
 - Indian English
 - Where to learn more

Contributors to dialect variation





Language Contact

- **Language contact:** speakers of different languages communicate → languages influence each other
 - Borrowings (words)
 - **Bi/multilingualism:** speaker/community fluency
 - **Pidgin:** simplified combination of grammar, vocab of languages thrust into contact; used for trade
 - **Creole:** fully grammatical language formed by children of pidgin speakers
 - Often use simplified grammar of one language but vocab from a more socially dominate/powerful language

Societal multilingualism

- Whole communities share 2+ languages and use them in everyday life
 - Regional/tribal languages
 - Wider-use languages for trade, government, etc.
 - Languages used in education, religion, etc.
 - Immigrant/minority languages



Societal multilingualism

□ **Code-switching:**

- The use of 2+ languages/dialects within an utterance/conversation

□ **Diglossia:**

- Different languages/dialects are used for different functions:
 - Spoken vs. written (e.g. Arabic)
 - Conversation/home vs. school/work/government
 - Informal vs. formal situations

hablo
spanglish

“Spanglish” (Code-switching)



“Spanglish” (Code-switching)

“*¿Qué pasó tía?*”

What happened, girl?

“I went to the store to buy those *zapatos* that I liked, *pero estaban* gone.”
shoes but they-were

“*Los* shoes *amarillos?*”

The yellow

“*Sí, estaban todos* sold out. And I even hid ‘em too.”

Yeah, they-were all

...

“*¡Tira la basura, cabrón!*”

Take-out the trash, jerk!

“I am! For God’s sakes, *déjame en paz*. Cripes.”
leave-me in peace



USA: Societal Monolingualism?

- The U.S. is in the minority of countries in having a majority of monolingual residents
 - Why are Americans monolingual?
 - Why are some Americans resistant to bilingual education? (using multiple languages in public schools)
 - What are some attitudes about bilinguals, immigrants, and non-native English speakers?



USA: Societal Monolingualism?





ELL

- **English Language Learner (ELL)**: learning English as a second (or 3rd, 4th ...) language
 - Similar term to ESL (English as a Second Language)

- Over 60 million people in the US use a language other than English in the home
 - Spanish (from variety of dialect regions)
 - Chinese & other Asian languages
 - Many others



Accents & Transfer

- **Language transfer**: influence of a native language (L1) on learning a new language (L2)

- Accents: result of phonological mismatches between L1 and L2
 - Phonemes
 - Phonotactics (syllable structure)
 - Prosody



Accent vs. Disorder

- Accents are NOT disordered
 - Accent Modification is elective, not treatment

- SLPs must take clients' L1s into account when assessing speech/language disorders
 - Disentangle L1 influences from disordered patterns



Influenced English

- **Influenced English**: variety spoken by a social or ethnic group with current or past use of another L1
- ELL, bilingual, or **Heritage Speakers**: grand/children of L1 speakers who did not learn the language as an L1
 - Heritage speakers may not be bilingual, but their English is influenced by community bilingualism

Spanish-Influenced English

- Spanish ≠ English
 - Cons. phonemes /x ɲ ʎ r r/ (voiceless velar fricative, palatal nasal & lateral, alveolar tap & trill)
 - Allophones: fricative [β ð ɣ] for /b d g/, stop [ɟ] for /j/
 - Dentals /t̪ d̪ n̪/, fully-voiced /b d g/, unaspirated /p t k/, monophthongal /e o/
 - Diphthongs /eu, ja je jo, wa we wi wo/
 - Syllables approx. same length
 - Stress doesn't lengthen

Spanish-Influenced English

- English ≠ Spanish
 - Cons. phonemes /ŋ v ð z ʃ ʒ dʒ h ɹ/, /θ/ in Latin Am.
 - Substitutions [n; f b β; d; s; tʃ; x; r; t s/
 - Allophones [p^h t^h k^h], [ʔ r] for /t d/
 - Vowel phonemes /ɪ ε æ ʊ ɔ ʌ/
 - Substitutions w/ nearest Spanish vowel /a e i o u/
 - Phonotactics: Many consonant clusters
 - /s/+consonant onsets → /ɛ/ before /s/: [ɛspanis, ɛskul]
 - Coda cluster reduction
 - Unpredictable lexical stress rules

East Asian Influences

- English has many consonants and vowels that many other languages do not have
 - Uncommon: /v θ ð ʃ ʒ dʒ ɹ/ & /ɪ ε æ ʊ ɔ ʌ/
 - Also less common: /f z b d g/
 - If has voiced stops, they're fully voiced (negative VOT)
 - Some Asian languages have one liquid phoneme: just /l/ or both [l ɹ] as allophones → confusion w/ English
 - Some SE Asian languages: [l] is allophone of [n]
 - → substitutions w/ nearby L1 phoneme

East Asian Influences: Substitutions

Intended Phoneme		Observed Phoneme				
		Cantonese	Vietnamese	Korean	Japanese	Filipino
Fricatives	θ	s, t, f	s, t	t	t, s, z	t, s
	ð	d, z	d, z	d	d, z, θ, t, s	d
	ʃ	s	s	s	s, tʃ, t	s, ts
	ʒ		z, dʒ	z	dʒ	s, ds
	f		p	p	h	p
	v	f, w	j, b, p	p, b	b, f, w	b
	s		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	
	z	s	s, ʃ	s, ts, dz	dz, dʒ, s, ts	s

Intended Phoneme		Observed Phoneme				
		Cantonese	Vietnamese	Korean	Japanese	Filipino
Affricates	tʃ		s, ʃ	t		t, s, ts
	dʒ		z, ʒ, d	tʃ	ʒ	ds
Stops	p	p̄	p̄, p ^h , b, f	p̄, b		p ^h
	t	t̄	t̄, t ^h	t̄, d	tʃ	t ^h
	k	k̄	k̄, k ^h	k̄, g		k ^h
	b	p̄	p		p	
	d	t̄	t		dʒ, t	
	g	k̄	k			
Liquids	r	l		l	l	
	l	n	n	r	r	



Indian English

- Past influences from British English
 - **Received Pronunciation (RP)**: past prestige standard, used in schools in UK and former colonies (seen today as snobby)

- Now
 - Influences from American English
 - Common L2 for speakers of many different L1s
→ Indian English = dialect(s) of English, not just “accented”



Indian English

- Example substitutions, transfer influences
 - Mismatches in alveolar, dental, retroflex stops; between sibilants
 - Different phoneme/allophone categories
 - /w ʊ v/ for /v/ or /w/
 - Allophones of one phoneme
 - Stopping of /f v θ ð/ to [p b t d]
 - Don't exist in Indian languages



Indian English

- Consonant cluster simplification or epenthetic vowels
- English prosody is challenging (much different from L1s)
 - Rising/falling intonation mismatches
 - Word, sentence stress: different locations

Where to learn more?

- What if you have a client with an L1 or English dialect you don't know much about?
 - *Journal of the IPA* “Illustrations of the IPA” – w/ audio:
<https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/journal-ipa>
 - *Handbook of the IPA* – free w/ audio:
<https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/ipa-handbook-downloads>
 - Internet search for [language] + “phonology”
 - Wikipedia (note: quality/thoroughness varies)
- Compare phoneme inventories, allophonic rules, phonotactics, prosody... & predict difficulties