

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 (/ɔ:/ in the former and [o:] 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 [e:] and [o:], hence *late* [le:t] and *load* [lo:d]. Among the consonants, /r/ is either phonetically [ɹ], 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/ intervocally following an accent is usually a voiced tap in GA, e.g. *better* [berə] 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 /ɑ:/ 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 /ɑ:/ and /a/, between /u:/ and /ʊ/, and between /ɔ:/ 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 [ɛ̃] 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 /bɪ:rd/ and /dɪ:ɹ/ (= [dy:ɹ]). Similarly GB /ɛ:/ (formerly /eə/) is followed by an /r/, so *fare* GB /fɛ:/ becomes SSE [fe:ɹ]. Some speakers will also have different sequences of (short) vowel plus /r/

corresponding to GB /ɜ:/ in *bird*, *serve* and *turn*; others have the same r-coloured schwa [ə] 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 [ge:t] and [bo:t]. 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 [y], hence [syt]. 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* [red] and *trip* [trɪp], 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* [ɫɪt] and *plough* [plɔʊ]. Finally, intervocalic /t/ is often realised as a glottal stop (like London below), e.g. *butter* [bʌʔə].

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 /ɪ:/ (= [əi]), /u:/ (= [əu]) and /ɔ:/ 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/ = [aɪ], /əʊ/ = [aʊ] and /aʊ/ = [aɪ], e.g. *late* [laɪt], *light* [laɪt], *no* [naʊ], *now* [naɪ]. The