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Introduction

Trinidadian English (TrE), a sub-variety of Trinidadian and Tobagonian English (TTE), is spoken in the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, a country of approximately 1.3 million people, and wherever Trinidadian (and Tobagonian) speakers of English have emigrated. TrE is a variety of English and not a variety of English Creole or Creole English. Its standard variety may be referred to as a standard variety of TTE or as a Trinidad & Tobago variety of standard English, and this is the variety is in focus here.

The country comprises two islands in the Caribbean, with Trinidad located seven miles off the north-east coast of Venezuela in South America, and Tobago located twenty-one miles north-east of Trinidad.

There are relatively few studies or analyses of the phonology of varieties of Caribbean English (standard or non-standard), in general (see Allsopp 2003 and Roberts 2007 for references to Caribbean English phonology and Irvine 2004 for a treatment of Jamaican English phonology). There are fewer still of the phonology of Trinidadian English (standard or non-standard), in particular - see Winford 1978 and 1979 and Wilson 2007, Youssef 2004a and 2004b, and also references in Warner 1967 and Winer 1993 and 2009, and most recently, Leung 2012, the most in-depth study on Trinidadian varieties in general to date, and Wilson 2013.

Tom McArthur's 1987 circle of World Standard English (WSE), reproduced in Crystal 2003, includes Caribbean Standard English—naming some of its national varieties—among the 'various regional or national standards, either

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established or becoming established ('standardizing')' (Crystal 2003:111, cf. Allsopp 2003), whether or not there is or was an official movement towards standardisation.[1] Youssef also pays specific attention to TTE, namely Trinbagonian (Trinidadian and Tobagonian) standard English, a 'long-established indigenous variety of Standard English' (2004b: 42).

The term *standard* is used here in accordance with Crystal's usage (2003: 110–111). According to Crystal, standard English (SE) 'is the variety of English which carries most prestige within a country' and 'we may define the Standard English of an English-speaking country as a minority variety (identified chiefly by its phonology, vocabulary, and to a much lesser extent grammar, and orthography) which carries the most prestige and is most widely understood' by other speakers of English, standard and non-standard (2003: 110). TrE, as one variety of standard Caribbean English, fits into this definition, possessing the common core of WSE, and differing from other Caribbean and non-Caribbean varieties of standard English only in minor features of phonology (especially prosody), with little or no grammatical or orthographic distinctiveness of its own, and 'a great deal of lexical distinctiveness' (Crystal 2003: 111)[2], as evidenced by

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[1] Caribbean lexicography probably represents the first unofficial steps towards codification and standardisation of Caribbean varieties of English (Cassidy & Le Page 2003, Holm 1982, Allsopp 2003 and Winer 2009)—unofficial, since those dictionaries were designed to be more of historical records than tools in codification and standardisation, with more recommendatory than prescriptive intent (except for parts of Allsopp 1996). The recent Winer dictionary for both the English and Creole of Trinidad & Tobago TrE (and of TrEC and Tobagonian English Creole, TobEC) is the largest and most comprehensive of all of these dictionaries and provides a foundation for future moves towards standardisation, strongly recommending orthographic choices based on historical principles.

[2] Crystal (2003: 344) suggests that either British or American standard English "exists as an official means of formal international communication in the

the recent publication of a dictionary comprising over 12,200 entries (Winer 2009).

Political independence only came to most of the Commonwealth Caribbean from the 1960s (as is the case for many so-called Third Diaspora or Outer Circle countries, to use Kachru's term, as applied by Bhatt 2001 to the Caribbean in an adaptation of Kachru's 1997 concentric circle model). Political independence, however, has never been necessarily concomitant with linguistic and literary independence. English has been spoken natively in the Caribbean since the early to mid-17th century. In Trinidad, TrE has been natively spoken and written in Trinidad since the early 19th century, for over two hundred years, although the actual numbers and relative percentages of these native speakers are not known.[3]

Caribbean area, spoken by an educated minority with any one of a wide range of regional accents", although native speakers of English in Trinidad have had a range of levels of education, ranging from primary to tertiary levels. It is true that speakers of standard Caribbean varieties of English (SCE) have traditionally looked to those varieties exonormatively, without necessarily realising, recognising or describing the essential similarities and growing differences among all the varieties in question, but it is probably equally true that SCE has always been a distinct variety but only now consciously coming into its own. See Shields-Brodber (1989) for Jamaica, Belgrave (2009) for Barbados and James and Youssef (2004) for Trinidad & Tobago.

[3]   Nineteenth century Trinidad was a veritable Babel, with over 20 languages spoken by 100,000 people in the late 19th century. Gamble himself specifically names over 15 languages, including 3 named African languages, as well as "many different dialects" from Africa and the "Coolie" languages from "all parts of India". Tinker and others name over 7 of those Indic languages besides Bengali (also named as Hindustani, now known as Bhojpuri) and Tamil named by Gamble. Some of these languages were spoken by native-born Trinidadians and

Although TrE may be considered a minority variety in its home in Trinidad & Tobago and in the wider Caribbean, it does not belong to the group of 'new Englishes' of the Third Diaspora, contrary to the statements of some scholars on the historical status of Caribbean Englishes (cf. Kachru, Kachru & Nelson 2009). Such statements reflect historical inaccuracies; the English-official or Anglophone Caribbean does not in fact fit neatly into Kachruvian theory. According to Kachru, the speakers of English in the 'Third Diaspora' countries of Asia and Africa and 'Fourth Diaspora' countries in Europe and South America were and are speakers of other first languages. The Third Diaspora groups were colonised by Britain two centuries after the colonisation of the Caribbean and North America. The Caribbean is in fact the crucible of and at the vanguard of 'New' World colonisation and 'civilisation', with an unbroken continuity of English in certain territories (see Roberts 2008).[4]

Many Trinidadian English Creole (TrEC) speakers learn TrE as a second, formal code, similar to the way that Standard Scottish English is acquired by Scots speakers (see Douglas 2009: 48), although the sociolinguistic relationship between TrE and TrEC may be somewhat different and one made of 'varilingual' speakers (Youssef 1996). ('Varilingualism' is a term coined by Youssef to

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some by immigrants and their children ("new Trinidadians"). English would have been one of the languages spoken natively by born Trinidadians, without a doubt a minority, but a sociolinguistically important minority (Ferreira 1997). French Creole (Patois) was the de facto lingua franca at one point (Gamble 1866: 29, 39).

[4]   Some Caribbean English varieties may have been influential in the development of some varieties of North American English, with the Barbadian-born and British planters from Barbados and their varieties of English making its way to South Carolina and elsewhere in the USA in the 17th century, as one example.

describe a type of normative code-mixing, lying between monolingualism and bi/multilingualism.)

Only the English spoken by TrEC speakers as a second code may be considered Third Diaspora, allowing Second and Third Diaspora Englishes to exist side-by-side throughout the Caribbean (cf. Aceto and Williams 2003 and numerous articles by Williams).

While many native speakers of TrE may be descendants of non-English-speaking immigrants with their parents having another first language (L1), their situation is similar to other descendants of immigrants in Second Diaspora countries, with only lexical items of ancestral ethnolects surviving in their speech (depending on how far back their ancestors immigrated), and possibly some prosodic influences that are also lexically encoded.

Variation in TrE may be linked to variables such as socio-economic background, age, gender, geographic origin and formal education (which in turn may be linked to class). To a lesser extent, ethnic background may influence certain pronunciations, particularly words from heritage or ancestral ethnolects. Some of these factors will be discussed in the next section.

Most native speakers of TrE, a minority group, also speak Trinidadian English Creole (TrEC) with varying degrees of competence, with both code-mixing and code-switching occurring. Native TrE speakers are likely to adapt TrEC pronunciations to TrE phonology rather than the other way around. Sometimes, however, TrEC may exert influence on TrE, with specific reference to stress patterns of lexical forms (see section on Prosody below). (TrEC is similar to non-standard varieties of TrE at the level of lexicon and to some extent phonology, but less so at the level of syntax. Non-standard TrE differs from standard TrE primarily at the level of phonology and some morphosyntax.[5]

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[5]   Non-standard TrE phonology, much like TrEC, includes TH-stopping, four vowel mergers of a) TRAP and BATH/START/PALM (the latter all merging to TRAP), b) LOT and STRUT (with *golf* sounding like *gulf, box* sounding like *bucks*,

Giegerich (1992: 43)[6] analyses three 'reference accents' of English—Received Pronunciation, Scottish English and General American—and notes that 'most (and possibly all) of the standard systems not discussed are historically related to one or more of the ones chosen here and are therefore similar to those.' Using Giegerich's choice of reference accents, TrE may be said to be consonantally like RP in that it is non-rhotic, but vocalically more similar to Scottish English, with relatively long pure close-mid vowels, with its own prosody. Different socio-historical reasons have been put forward for this, including the heavy influence of Spanish, French and especially French-lexicon Creole on early (19th century) Trinidadian speech varieties in general (Spanish-influenced French Creole and vice-versa), and English in particular (see Solomon 1993). (Rhotic Englishes from Barbados and elsewhere were also present in Trinidad in the 19th century, particularly the latter part, but do not appear to have influenced

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and *body* like *buddy,* with *hugs* being hypercorrected to *hogs*), c) CLOTH and NORTH/FORCE (with *boss* sounding like *horse*), d) NURSE and STRUT (with *nurse* sounding like *nuss*), 'excessive' palatalisation, such as of the second /p/ in *prepare*, fewer schwas, and phonotactic differences in syllable codas, all of which is the subject of another paper. Non-standard TrE, however, separates NEAR and SQUARE. It is entirely possible to hear discourse observing the grammar of standard English but the phonology of non-standard TrE and TrEC varieties. Non-standard TrE morphosyntax include double negation, double superlatives, adverbs and adjectives having the same forms, lack of inversion of both *yes/no* and *wh-* questions, and others listed by Kortmann as 'vernacular angloversals' (2010:407).

[6]   Giegerich's (1992: 45) choice of vowel phoneme symbols for RP differs from that of Wells 2000, especially /ɛ/ for Wells' /e/, /a/ for /æ/, and /e/ for /eɪ/ and /o/ for /əʊ/, and the open-mid to central diphthong /ɛə/, as well as Wells' long vowels /iː, uː, ɑː ɔː ɜː/ (no length in Giegerich's list). Roach also includes five triphthongs (2009: 18-19). See also Jenkins 2000.

Trinidadian English, at least at the level of rhoticity.) More research into the history of early Trinidadian English needs to be done in order to determine its origins and development.

Cruttenden (2001) considers the possibility of varieties besides RP and GA (such as Scottish) developing autonomy in the choice and use of phonemic symbols. This is a useful approach for national varieties of English (although it may appear to over-exaggerate relatively minor differences in a WSE or English as a global language approach). Where relevant, a similar approach towards autonomy is taken in this paper.

The transcription is based on the recorded speech of a teacher who has lived all her life in Trinidad, born in Siparia in the south, and having spent most of her adult life in the north-western suburban Port-of-Spain area of Diego Martin to which she emigrated from the southern city of San Fernando as a young adult. This speaker uses pronunciations that are characteristic of the middle class grouping of TrE speakers. (The middle class includes the lower middle, middle middle and upper middle classes. Other speakers of TrE are usually found in the upper classes. Anecdotal reports indicate that TrE was not restricted to the middle and upper classes in colonial times.)

A comparison will also be made between other related TrE accents, particularly the so-called 'Convent accent', and the accent of this study's speaker. This term usually refers to St. Joseph's Convent, Port-of-Spain, but has been extended to other branches of the same school, as well as Holy Name Convent, and other Catholic girls' schools which include the proper name 'Convent'.

Consonants

The consonant phoneme inventory of TrE includes three pairs of plosives, four pairs of fricatives and the glottal fricative /h/, one pair of affricates, three

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nasals and four approximants (three central and one lateral), as per many other varieties of English, except for others with more fricatives (Scottish English with two more) and others with fewer (some non-standard varieties of English without phonemic dental fricatives).

The consonants are illustrated below, in word-initial position in monosyllabic words, except for /ʒ/ (in a disyllabic word) and /ŋ/ (not possible initially in any variety of English). Note that /ʒ/ appears in word-initial position in TrE and TrEC words of French and Patois (internationally known as French Creole) origin, such as *jouvert* (a Carnival celebration) /ˈʒuːveː/ and *jene* 'nervous' /ˈʒɛneː/, as well as well-known French proper names such as Jean-Baptiste /ʒɑ̃baˈtiːst/ and other Jean- combinations.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosive	p b			t d			k g		
Affricate					ʧ ʤ				
Nasal	m			n			ŋ		
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h	
Approximant	(w)				ɹ	j			w
Lateral Approximant				l					

Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Trinidadian English

/pɪl/ *pill*   /dɪl/ *dill*   /ʧɪl/ *chill*

/bɪl/ *bill*   /kɪl/ *kill*   /ʤɪl/ Jill (a name)

/tɪl/ *till*   /gɪl/ *gill*   /mɪl/ *mill*

/nɪl/ *nil*	/ðɪs/ *this*	/hɪl/ *hill*
/kɪŋ/ *king*	/sɪl/ *sill*	/ɹɪp/ *rip*
/fɪl/ *fill*	/zɪp/ *zip*	/lɪp/ *lip*
/vaɪl/ *vile*	/ʃɪn/ *shin*	/jɛl/ *yell*
/θɪn/ *thin*	/ˈʒɑnɹə/ *genre*	/wɪl/ *will*

Rhoticity in TrE

As noted above, TrE is non-rhotic. There is evidence of both the intervocalic linking /ɹ/ across word boundaries among speakers of TrE (as in *after it*), as well as the intrusive /ɹ/ (as in '*Rosita[r] and Clementina*'), though the latter occurs less frequently than the former.

This lack of rhoticity is fairly consistent, except for 20th century Indic[7] lexical borrowings into TrE in which /ɹ/ is realised in syllable-final (coda) position, for example, *nagar* /nʌˈgɑːɹ/ ('city'), *mandir* /mʌnˈdiːɹ/ ('temple'), *oorni* /ˈuːɹniː/ ('Indian woman's headscarf') and *khurma* /ˈkuːɹmʌ/ ('a sweetmeat'), sometimes metathesised to /ˈkuːmɑːɹ/ (the latter pronunciation is also a proper name, Kumar). (The vowels that are normally long non-rhotically are not phonetically as long once followed by /ɹ/.)

Variation, however, is observed in the pronunciation of surnames of Indo-Trinidadians: Mahabir /mʌˈhabjʌ/ ~ /mʌhʌˈbiːɹ/, Rajkumar /ˈɹaʤkumɑː/ ~ /ˈɹaʤkumɑːɹ/, and Sarwan /ˈsɑːwan/ ~ /ˈsɑːɹwan/, all of Hindi origin. For the Indian surnames, those speakers who realise post-vocalic /ɹ/ in these surnames often do so out of a desire to sound more 'authentic,' that is, to consciously

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[7]   'Indic' refers to Indo-descendants, that is, Trinidadian or Tobagonian descendants of immigrants from India, whose forebears may have spoken languages as distinct from English and from each other as Indo-Aryan languages (Bhojpuri and Hindi/Urdu, among others) and Dravidian languages (such as Tamil and Telugu).

approximate both traditional Bhojpuri and modern Hindi as much as possible, as the rhotic versions appear closer to the actual Hindi pronunciation than the r-less forms. Similarly, the name Noor (an Arabic surname) is pronounced /nuːɹ/, sometimes /nɔː(ɹ)/, and /nɔː/, the latter for non-rhotic speakers, but is never pronounced */nuː/ or */nuə/.

Proper nouns of Romance (Spanish, French and Portuguese) origin are generally fully adapted to non-rhotic TrE, either through deletion of the post-vocalic rhotic consonant (that is, in the coda), replacement by the English /ɹ/, or lambdacism. Spanish names such as La Puerta may be pronounced as /laˈpwɛtʌ/, /laˈpwɛɹtʌ/ or even /laˈpwɛltʌ/ (as in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean influenced by Canary Islands Spanish), though the latter would be considered non-standard(ised). A not uncommon male first name, Robelto, is obviously modelled on Roberto. French words with pre-consonantal and word-final coda uvular consonants undergo systematic deletion in French Creole and in TrE and TrEC words of French and French Creole origin (c.f., *chardon bénit > chadon béni* 'blessed thistle, culantro'). One Portuguese word *carne vinha d'alhos* [kaʁnˈviɲadaʎuʒ] 'garlic pork' underwent lambdacism (and other processes) to become *calvinadage* [kalvɪnaˈdaʒ].

Certain socially-based (middle to upper middle class), school-based ('prestige' schools), gender-based (females) and age group-based (teenage) accents (crossing ethnic boundaries) are now showing a tendency, not consistent, to become semi-rhotic, with new rhotacisation of the TrE close-mid central vowel, largely from exposure to rhotic North American accents on television programmes and frequent travel to the US and Canada by members of a fairly large middle class. Trinidadians living in Jamaica have also been heard to rhotacise this vowel, supposedly for ease of communication (semi-rhotic Jamaican English always rhotacises its central vowel).

One such accent is the modern variety of the so-called 'Convent accent'. The 'accent' is not really a school-based phenomenon—it is actually a social

class accent, made public in a school context. It was possibly originally ethno/Euro-based, starting with a cross-section of Euro-Trinidadians, mostly Trinidadian French or Franco-Trinidadians.[8] The accent would have been taken up in the traditionally French Roman Catholic schools such as St Joseph's Convent where Roman Catholic French and other Euro-Trinidadians were traditionally students and later teachers.[9]

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[8]   Members of this heterogeneous group, of French descent or not, are known as French Creoles. The name is not to be confused with the international name 'French(-lexicon) Creole' that is used to designate the language known as Patois or Kwéyòl. There is now a small but significant drift away from the traditionally prestigious schools such as the Convents to the recently established private, fee-paying, so-called 'international' schools with foreign curricula and some foreign staff and students—American (ISPS, founded 1994), Canadian (Maple Leaf, founded 1994) and now British (founded 2006). The majority of children attending these newer schools are local children (85% and over in Maple Leaf, for example), usually coming from fairly well-circumstanced families.

[9]   St. Joseph's Convent is the oldest school in the country and was founded in 1836 by six French nuns of the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny. It was founded prior to the Anglicization campaign begun under Charles William Warner, Attorney General from 1844 to 1870, and Sir Henry McLeod, Governor from 1840 to1846, continuing under Sir Robert Keate, Governor from 1857 to 1864. The school programme later began to be anglicised in 1895. The once strong presence of Irish Catholic nuns from the same congregation and Irish student inmates in these schools in the early 1900s has contributed to the lay theory that their Irish accent may have been a contributor to the Convent accent. Those Irish accents, however, are rhotic. Increasing rhoticity is unlikely to have its roots in contact with Irish English, and far more likely to have its roots in the contact with rhotic North American varieties of English. This is a new development in a

In this accent, postvocalic use of the /ɹ/ following the close-mid central unrounded /əː/ (or a rhotacised [ə˞ː]) is increasingly becoming optional among the younger generations of Convent and other schoolgirls, sometimes in formal and conscious situations (see recent studies by Wooding 2000 and Akalloo et al. 2009). The study's speaker herself is Convent-educated, not Port-of-Spain but San Fernando, but does not have this modern Convent accent, very likely because French Creoles would not have been her social point of reference.[10] These developing but unstable features, however, are in increasing use among her children's and grandchildren's generations. Rhotacisation is largely restricted to this vowel /əː/ in stressed position (hardly ever in unstressed position, e.g., con ˈfirm vs ˈconfirmation), and rarely seems to occur following the back vowels /ɔː/ and /ɑː/ (see further discussion on vowels below). Almost full rhoticity may occur for singing or in singing accents (especially in rendering American and Jamaican popular songs and even some classical pieces), and the 'media accents' heard on television and radio (cf. Solomon 1993).

This 'Convent accent', as well as others, may also use some degree of intervocalic 't-flapping' lexically, across morpheme boundaries in words, such as *whatever* and *letting*, and sometimes across word boundaries in fixed expressions such as *but I don't believe it* and *let her go* (where the /ɹ/ is deleted), but not intervocalically in a monomorphemic word, as in *butter*.

Obstruents

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traditionally non-rhotic accent, and has spread far beyond the borders of these girls' convents.

[10]   This speaker is of mixed ethnicity and her Euro-background is Anglo-Irish, English and Spanish. Her non-Euro-background is Afro-Venezuelan, Afro-Tobagonian and Amerindian, and would have placed her outside the French and French Creole matrix.

TrE plosives are relatively less aspirated (shorter VOT) than for other English varieties, such as Irish English, especially those occurring in word-final position. Coda consonant clusters ending in alveolar plosives may be reduced or assimilated preceding other alveolar obstruents, as in 'and so' [an soː] in the transcribed passage below. The modern Convent accent generally uses dental or fronted alveolar instead of alveolar sibilants, such as [jas̪] for *yes*, giving a hissing effect.

TH-stopping may occur in the rapid speech of a standard TrE speaker, in informal and non-standard varieties of TrE, as well as the standard TrE speaker's use of TrEC.

The glottal stop [ʔ] generally occurs pre-vocalically for emphasis, in stressed syllables such as the interjection, 'Ow!' [ʔɒʊ], and inter-vocalically in other exclamations such as [eʔe]. It may also occur as an allophone of /t/, between a vowel and a nasal, as in the surname Seaton [ˈsiːʔn̩].

Palatalisation

Alveolars (oral and nasal stops—/t/, /d/, /n/—and the lateral /l/) are generally palatalised preceding the close back rounded vowel /u/. (Traditional homophones such as *tuna* and *tuner*, pronounced /ˈtjuːnʌ/ ~ /ˈtjuːnə/ seem to be undergoing a lexical separation among members of the under 30 age group. *Tuna* is now being pronounced /ˈtuːnʌ/ ~ /ˈtuːnə/ and *tuner* remains /ˈtjuːnʌ/ for all speakers.)

Palatalisation is not the case for the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ (as in some varieties of British English 'suit' /sjuːt/). This fricative is not typically palatalised in initial stressed syllables or monosyllabic words, but may be palatalised in stressed syllables in disyllabic words such as *pursuit* /pəˈsjuːt/ and *consume* /kʌnˈsjuːm/. The voiced alveolar fricative is also subject to this conditioning, for example, *resume* /ɹiˈzjuːm/.

The alveolar nasal /n/ is generally palatalised preceding the close back rounded vowel /uː/, as in *new* /ˈnjuː/ (and other such words like *newspaper*), *nutrient* /ˈnjuːtɹiʌnt/ and *numerous* /ˈnjuːmʌɹʌs/, but not *nuclear*. The alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is generally not palatalised before /uː/ (as in *absolutely* and *lucid*), but may be in words such as *lewd* /ˈljuːd/ and *lute* /ˈljuːt/ which may occur alternately without palatalisation.

Palatalised velar plosives do not occur in this speaker's speech (such as in *cat* /ˈkjat/ and *garden* /ˈgjaːdnˌ/) and are usually regarded as non-standard, or the result of influence from older or other varieties of (non-standardised) English and English Creole.

Affrication

Free variation is observed in the realisation of the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ preceding the vowels /uː/ and /ɔː/. They may be realised as follows: /t/ → /tj/ ~ /ʧ/ (e.g., *tune* and Tuesday) and /d/ → /dj/ ~ /ʤ/ (e.g., *duty*). Heavy affrication in *tune* where the /t/ + /j/ sequence undergoes coalescent assimilation, giving [ʧuːn] (also a surname of Hindi origin, Choon) is usually considered non-standard and 'popular'.

In TrE, alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ preceding other vowels (historically close and so preserved in the orthography, but not in the pronunciation) became fully assimilated, and remained palatalised (and consequently affricated), even now that the vowel is no longer high. This is the case in words such as *furniture*, *nurture*, *picture*, *culture*, *mature*, etc. Affrication of retracted [t̠] before post-alveolar [ɹ̠] (also analysable as [ʧɹ̠]) also occurs in words such as *truck* and *tree*, and of [d̠] before post-alveolar [ɹ̠] (also analysable as [ʤɹ̠]), in words such as *drink* and *dread.* Heavy affrication in *drink* and *dread* where the /ɹ/ undergoes deletion, giving [ʤɪŋk] as in 'sweet drink' [ˈsiːʤɪŋk], and [ʤɛd] is usually considered non-standard. (In /ˈswiːtdɹɪŋk/, the /w/ is deleted in this example, reducing the complex onset to a simple one, and the syllable-final plosive /t/ is deleted before the affricate. In /dɹɛd/, the /ɹ/ may be deleted in the complex onset.)

Among some groups, however, notably native speakers of TrEC producing TrE, there seems to be depalatalisation and a movement away from this process of affrication, thereby producing *furniture*, *nurture*, *picture*, *culture*, *mature* as /ˈfəːnɪtjʌ/, /ˈnəːtjʌ/, /ˈpɪktjʌ/, /ˈkʌltjʌ/ and /mʌˈtjɔː/. The use of the vowel /ʌ/ rather than /ə/ in word-final position is a feature of a TrEC-influenced accent, with far less vowel unstressing.

Nasals

TrE has three nasals /m, n, ŋ/. Non-standard varieties of TrE are similar to others (see Watt and Allen 2003 for Tyneside English) in the use and distribution of the velar nasal. In non-standard TrE, this velar nasal occurs only in syllable-final position in lexical roots such as *thing*, *wrong*, *hang* (cf. Jensen 1993), but almost never appears in the suffix *-ing* which has two variants [ɪŋ] ~ [ɪn], for example, *singing, partying*, *laughing* and *dancing* [ˈsɪŋɪŋ] ~ [ˈsɪŋɪn], [ˈpɑːtijɪŋ] ~ [ˈpɑːtijɪn], [ˈlɑːfɪŋ] ~ [ˈlɑːfɪn] and [ˈdansɪŋ] ~ [ˈdansɪn].
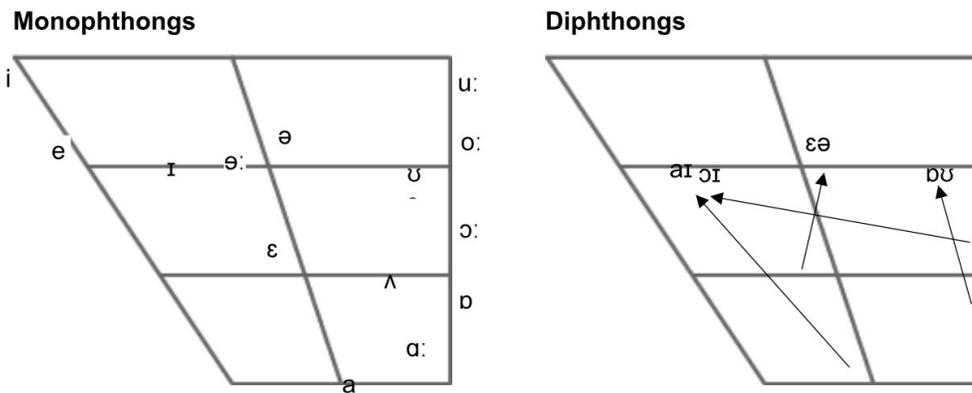
Vowels

Monophthongs   **Diphthongs**

Figure 1: Vowel phonemes of Trinidadian English

/ˈbiːt/ *beet* or *beat*

/ˈbɪt/ *bit*

/ˈbeːt/ *bait*

/ˈbɛt/ *bet*

/ˈbat/ *bat*

/ˈbəːt/ 'Bert' (a name)

/ˈbuːt/ *boot*

/ˈpʊt/ *put* [11]

/ˈboːt/ *boat*

/ˈbɔːt/ *bought*

/ˈbʌt/ *but*

/ˈbɒtl̩/ *bottle*

/ˈbɑːt/ 'Bart' (a name)

/ˈbaɪt/ *bite*

/ˈbɔɪ/ *boy*

/ˈbɒʊ/ *bough*

/ˈbɛə/ *beer*, *bear*, *bare*

/ˈbʌtə/ *butter*

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[11]   The word *butt* ('head butt') uses *the* /ʊ/ vowel.

TrE has eighteen vowel phonemes, including four diphthongs,[12] although /ɛə/ is frequently realised as [ɛː] (see note 14). (James and Youssef (2004: 516) refer to data in Ferreira 2003. That joint paper, however, counted each lexical set as a separate phoneme, ignoring five vowel mergers. The total was therefore twenty-two vowel phonemes, instead of the actual eighteen listed here and in Ferreira 2003.)

Length is associated with the close and close-mid vowels /iː, eː, uː, oː/. Compensatory lengthening also occurs for the historically 'r'-coloured vowels, namely, close-mid central vowel /əː/[13] and two back vowels /ɔː, ɑː/ (except before /ɹ/ in words and names of Hindi, Arabic and Spanish origin—see discussion above). The rest of the vowels are relatively shorter. As in most varieties of English, the mid-central vowel, schwa /ə/, is used only in unstressed syllables, often inter-consonanantally following a voiceless obstruent in an unstressed syllable, such as [fəˈnɛtɪks], including sometimes word-finally where it is often interchangeable with the open-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ] (see section on Prosody below).[14] Vowels in unstressed position may be realised

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[12]   A fifth rising diphthong as in 'cure' [kɪɔ] might be proposed. This diphthong [ɪɔ], however, has relatively limited distribution and could be better analysed as [kʲɔː] or [kjɔː] with palatalisation of the /k/ being preserved before a now changed but historically high vowel, as reflected in the spelling. Another possible theory could be that [k] palatalises before [ɪ], producing [kjɪɔː] with [ɪ] undergoing deletion.

[13]   There is significant allophonic variation for the close-mid central vowel, particularly a rounded one following labial consonants, and rhotacisation, mentioned earlier.

[14]   Schwa also appears when the stress is shifted in hypercorrected forms such as [kəˈməːs] (analogised from [kəˈməːʃʌl]) 'commercial'), instead of

phonetically as non-phonemic schwa, occurring frequently in function words such as *the* /ðʌ/ or /ðiː/ → [ðə] (and *at* and *as*, etc., as in the passage below).

The following table shows TrE phonemes, using Wells' (1982) lexical sets, showing four vowel mergers as in the recordings. These include CLOTH and LOT /ɒ/, and PALM, BATH and START /ɑː/, and NORTH, FORCE, THOUGHT and CURE /ɔː/. TrE (but not TrEC or TrEC-influenced speakers of English) has lost the historical distinction between NEAR and SQUARE, in words such as *bear*, *bare* and *beer*, with a vowel merger towards the SQUARE vowel /ɛə/.

[ˈkɒməːs] 'commerce'. Other hypercorrections include [ˈgɑːðʌ] instead of [ˈgaðʌ], probably by analogy with [ˈfɑːðʌ].

	TrE Vowels	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
FLEECE	/iː/	453	2427
KIT	/ɪ/	517	2215
DRESS	/ɛ/	581	1706
FACE	/eː/	432	2385
TRAP	/a/	793	1472
GOOSE	/uː/	390	920
FOOT	/ʊ/	517	1112
GOAT	/oː/	454	857
NORTH	/ɔː/	666	857
FORCE		537	855
THOUGHT		537	918
CURE			
STRUT	/ʌ/	600	1257
LOT	/ɒ/	643	1109
CLOTH		601	1067
BATH	/ɑː/	728	1257
PALM		622	1215
START		707	1278
NURSE	/əː/	495	1998
commA	/ə/	469	1704
letter		648	1143

		F1 (Hz) Onset	F1 (Hz) Offset
NEAR	/ɛə/	461	534
SQUARE		636	744
PRICE	/aɪ/	609	425
CHOICE	/ɔɪ/	473	422
MOUTH	/ɒʊ/	555	491

Table 2: Wells' Lexical Sets

The quality of the open front vowel phoneme /a/[15] is generally more open than for most standard varieties of non-Caribbean Englishes (/æ/), sounding closer to Spanish and French [a] (Solomon 1993, Allsopp 2003, Roberts 2007 and Winer 2009). This vowel may be therefore realised as [æ̙], [a] or [ä]. This sometimes leads to confusion on the part of speakers of some North American English (AmE) dialects. Speakers of the latter may interpret TrE [sak] *sack* to be General AmE *sock* [sɑːk], both using open vowels (in TrE *sock* is [sɒk] and in AmE *sack* is [sæk]). It appears speakers of TrE group the front vowels [a] and [æ] into one open front phoneme /a/ (with two other distinct open and back vowels /ɑ/ and /ɒ/), while speakers of this (rhotic) AmE dialect generally correlate openness with backness, thus grouping the unrounded open vowels [ɑ] and [a] into the same phonemic back space as /ɑ/ (with at least one other distinct open vowel, the near-open /æ/). This is because the open and front TrE vowel is perceived as open and therefore back, and seems to be the reason for the common American (mis)interpretation of Trinidadian and indeed Caribbean *man* and *mango* [ˈmãn] and [ˈmãŋgo] as [ˈmãn] and [ˈmãŋgoʊ] (instead of the

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15   This vowel [a] is generally found before nasals in words such as *dance* and *example*, but may be replaced by [ɑː].

equivalent [ˈmæ̃n] and [ˈmæ̃ŋɡoʊ] using near-open vowels), the latter sometimes even pronounced by Americans as closer to open-mid back rounded /ɔ/, making 'mango' sound like 'mongo'.

There is generally no diphthongisation of the close-mid vowels /eː, oː/, except before another vowel, as in *saying* and *mower*, and in exclamations such as *ay(e)* /eɪ/ and *whoa* /woʊ/. These vowels may also be diphthongised as closing diphthongs /eɪ, oʊ/ in singing non-local songs and in the foreign-influenced media accents referred to above. Otherwise, they are almost never diphthongised and belong to the same International English phonemes /eɪ/ and /oʊ/, respectively, as described by Jenkins 2000. There is no phonemic distinction between [e(ː)], whether lengthened or not, and [eɪ], and between [o(ː)] and [oʊ]. The open-mid and open monophthongs /ɛ, ɔː, a, ɒ/ remain phonemically distinct from their respective closing diphthong counterparts, namely, /ɛ/ vs. /ɛə/[16], /ɔː/ vs. /ɔɪ/, /a/ vs. /aɪ/ and /ɒ/ vs. /ɒʊ/. One possible explanation is that the distance between open (-mid) and (near-)close is greater and more distinct auditorily, while the distance between close-mid and close is much smaller, so that the more prominent vowels in these two off-glides are preserved, with reduction or deletion of the less prominent vowels.

TrE has no triphthongs. Words like *fire* and *power* are generally pronounced as two syllables.

Vowel characteristics of the 'Convent accent' include lowered front vowels. Examples of lowered front vowels include [ˈtwanti] or [ˈtwante] for /ˈtwɛnti/ *twenty* and [ˈmaləni] for /ˈmɛləni/ Melanie (a name). This variety also makes use of extra or compensatory length in vowels such as /ɑː/ and /əː/ which are historically 'r' coloured in other varieties, in a way that other varieties of TrE do not (see the discussion on rhoticity above).

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[16]   The vowel [ɛː] is an variant of the diphthong phoneme /ɛə/ and not the vowel phoneme /ɛ/. It appears in rapid, connected speech, while the diphthong generally appears in careful, citation forms.

Nasalised Vowels

Nasalised vowels are found in words of French and Patois (French Creole) origins such as *kouyon* ('stupid') [ɔ̃] and *piquan* ('thorn') [ɑ̃], and those personal and place names of French origin or influenced by French and Patois pronunciations.

Proper names, including toponyms, of French origin continue to be pronounced with nasalised vowels, and examples include Voisin [vwaˈzɛ̃], Barcant [ˈbɑːkɑ̃], and Besson [ˈbɛsɔ̃].[17] Nasalised vowels also appear in the Spanish place name San Juan [sã wɔ̃] or [sɛ̃ wɛ̃], which could be the influence of French Creole or some varieties of Venezuelan Spanish. Some speakers, however, might now include a nasal stop after an originally nasalised vowel in San Juan [san wɔn] and a street name (also the name of a 1982 Carnival band by Peter Minshall) such as 'Papillon' ('butterfly') [ˈpapijɔ̃] > [ˈpapijɔn] (and the reading pronunciation [pəˈpɪlʌn]).

The word *soukouyan* [ˈsukujã] ('a skin-shedding, blood-sucking witch who appears to her victims as a ball of fire'), of Fulfulde or Soninke origin,[18] is usually thought to have French Creole origin because of the nasalised vowel [ɑ̃] in final position.

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[17]   Also, for [ɛ̃]: Touss<u>aint</u>; for [ɑ̃]: Coussem<u>ent</u>, Fr<u>an</u>çois, J<u>ean</u>-Baptiste, L<u>ange</u>, Laur<u>ent</u>, Le G<u>en</u>dre, Meliz<u>an</u>, Rost<u>ant</u>; and for [ɔ̃]: Boiss<u>on</u> and Louis<u>on</u>.

[18] According to Winer (2009: 838), the Fulfulde etymon is *sukunyãdyo* and the Soninke is *sukunya* ('sorcerers, eaters of human beings'). In the case of Fulfulde, the word contains a nasal vowel, and in the Soninke case the word contains a nasal, probably influencing the following vowel. It is more than likely that the already existing nasalised vowel was simply preserved by French Creole borrowers of the word, fitting into the phonological structure of the borrowing language.

The vowel in the question or negative particle [ɛ̃] is also nasalised, and the vowel in the word *kyaan* [ã ː] (< English *can't*) is usually nasalised and lengthened (it may remain lengthened but not nasalised in another version *kyah* [a ː]).

Prosodic Features

Stress patterns in questions and statements differ in TrE from other varieties, except notably for southern Welsh English and Indian English, hence the frequent comparison of Trinidadian English with these two varieties, since for all three questions often end in a rising pitch, as do statements. These varieties also exhibit F0 alignment patterns in which the post-stress syllable may have as strong phonetic elements as the stressed syllable. This can cause problems for non-speakers of these dialects who hear peak prominences in apparently competing positions. In comparing L1 Caribbean English with L2 Indian English, Cruttenden (1997: 137) says the following:

> In both cases, speakers use a rhythm which is considerably different from other types of English, because it makes very much less use of reduced syllables; in both cases speakers have many words which differ from other dialects in their stress patterns; in both cases it is said that nucleus placement is not as moveable as it is in other dialects, that it is generally fixed on the last stress, and that […] there is no de-accenting for old information; and that contrast is indicated by pitch height rather than by using a different nucleus placement or a different nuclear tone. Furthermore it is reported for both areas that the most common nuclear tone is a rise-fall (and hence Indian English is often reported as sounding like Welsh English).

As Cruttenden describes generally for Caribbean English, the prosodic nature of an individual variety like Trinidadian English is largely the result of its rhythmic properties manifested through syllable length variations, and its patterns of stress assignment, as well as its intonational structure.

Rhythm

Wells (1982: 573) correctly argues that despite sounding evenly stressed, there is no real syllable timing and that the relatively lesser use of syllable reduction in syllable and stress alternation compared to other varieties of English gives a perceptual effect of having equal syllable length. Roberts (2007: 32) and Crystal (2003: 344), however, counter argue that West Indian varieties of English display syllable timing with syllables having equal length, with no vowel reduction or use of the schwa in unstressed syllables.

The dichotomy between syllable-timed and stress-timed is in fact a relative rather than absolute one (cf. Pamies Bertrán, 1999; Ramus et al 2003). In relative terms, TrE can be considered to be overall more syllable-timed than many British Englishes; however, it may be less syllable-timed than other languages, e.g., Spanish. The study's speaker shows a definite tendency towards stress-timing in the reading of 'The North Wind and the Sun,' but in casual, informal speech may actually vary.

Wilson (2007), in one of the few acoustic studies of the issue, examined the phonetic correlates of utterance-final pitch prominence in TrE, and found that TrE speakers tend to have syllables of roughly equal length whether they are prominent or not. Durational ratios were also similar between tokens in which one type of prominence was perceived as greater than the other, suggesting that duration is not a significant factor in TrE prominence. This prominence is achieved, rather, primarily through pitch changes with less frequent variation in duration and intensity.

Stress

  The phonological basis of stress assignment in TrE is another distinctive aspect of the variety. Though there is great inter- and intra-speaker variation in productions of words, largely due to the sociolinguistic closeness of TrEC, there is a clearly distinct phonological system. In parametric terms (Hayes 1995), TrE exhibits patterns of formation of left-headed feet built from right to left. TrE is a quantity-based system with a distinction between heavy and light syllables in which heavy syllables tend to attract and anchor stress, while light syllables do not. It also appears to have highly ranked final syllable extrametricality which is rarely superseded by the demands of syllable weight. Main stress in TrE falls on the leftmost or only syllable in a word with closed syllables, with syllables containing a long vowel or diphthong having metrical weight. For example, the TrE word *karailee* /kʌˈɹaɪliː/ ('a cultivated vine and its fruit' < Bhojpuri/Hindi *kareli/karela*), consists of a light CV syllable, followed by a heavy CVV syllable and the final CV syllable. The penult therefore has the most metrical weight and serves as a locus for the assignment of stress.

  Solomon (1993: 37) claims that there is an apparent backwards shift from the TrE position in main stress in monomorphemic words. Examples of these include the TrE production of words like *cashier* /ˈkaʃʌ/ and *brochure* /ˈbɹoːʃʌ/, the latter like British English. Other examples include TrEC (and non-standard TrE) pronunciations of *police* produced as /ˈpoːliːs/[19], and *balloon* /ˈbaluːn/*, canal* /ˈkanal/ *and duress* /ˈdjuːɹɛs/ by some speakers (usually those influenced by TrEC, which may have been influenced by French and French Creole, or those speakers influenced by non-standard TrE). These represent a subset of disyllabic items that receive final primary syllable stress in Standard English (SE) but often receive initial stress by Trinidadian speakers as the result of the

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[19] This pronunciation of *police* is not unique to non-standard TrE and TrEC as it is attested in several non-standard varieties of English, for example, African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

application of different stress rules that exist in TrEC or non-standard TrE. These types of words, however, are subject to a great deal of variation within and among Trinidadian speakers, with some producing them with TrE final stress and some with TrEC initial stress. These patterns are also seen with longer words. It is also not uncommon among TrEC speakers to pronounce words like *character*, *orchestra* and *faculty* with penultimate stress, as some speakers assign prominence to the heavy syllable while others assign initial stress according to the lexicalised position.

The subset of verbs is also interesting since they are considered in TrE (and other varieties of standard English) to have a different pattern of stress assignment from nouns and adjectives (Chomsky & Halle 1968; Hammond 1999). In connected speech, verbs like *neglect*, *respect* and *invite* are often produced with initial stress by TrEC speakers when speaking TrE. The production of these words is also undoubtedly affected by the fact that the initial syllable does not display the vowel reduction that is typical of other English varieties, although the schwa is present elsewhere in TrE.

That there is limited or no vowel reduction in TrE can be considered from an acoustic-phonetic perspective where vowel reduction is due to acoustic changes in vowel quality. These changes are more or less salient in languages depending on how strongly other acoustic correlates affect prominence. In TrE it can be argued that pitch is the most salient factor, while vowel quality and its closely related correlate duration are of less importance, thus the lack of vowel reduction. This of course is consistent with descriptions of the language as being relatively syllable timed.

Finally, this word-initial stress pattern is demonstrated in TrE words that are of non-English origin, which display a unified stress pattern despite etymology, e.g., *mamaguy* /ˈmamagaɪ/ ('to flatter someone' < Spanish *mamar gallo*), *battimamzelle* /ˈbatiːmamzɛl/ ('a dragonfly or damselfly' < French *battre* + *mam'selle*), *lahay* /ˈlaheː/ ('to skylark' < possibly Kikongo) and *aguinaldo*

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/ˈagwiːnaldoː/, also pronounced /agwiːˈnaldoː/ ('a type of Christmas carol sung in Spanish' < Spanish *aguinaldo*), which can be analysed in terms of final syllable extrametricality, with stress assigned to the heavy syllable, and main stress congruent with the left edge of the word as well as secondary stress closer to the right edge.

Intonation

In terms of intonational structure, TrE again appears to be heavily influenced by prosodic patterns found in TrEC (Drayton 2006, 2007). Following Beckman (2006), the intonational phonology of TrE will be described in terms of the inventory of tunes, and the alignment of these tunes to the syllable string. TrE has both pitch accents and boundary tones. The most common pitch accent is the L*, a falling pitch accent typically found on the stressed syllables in broad focus declaratives (cf. Solomon c. 1994). For example, in a declarative utterance with broad focus 'Mary wants yam', there may be L* accents on Mary and on *yam* before a final boundary tone which may be low for a declarative or high for a question.

A   [Mary] [wants yam.]
     L* H   L* H L%
b.   [Mary] [wants yam:]
     L* H   L* H H%

Figure 2: Example of an intonation pattern in Trinidadian English

This common L* accent found in TrE is distinct from the bitonal falling pitch H+L* found in Jamaican, for example, in which there is a fall from an F0

peak that occurs within or just before the syllable. The pitch accent in TrE is a clear fall aligned throughout the syllable with a trough aligned with the nucleus. Other pitch accents which may exist in TrE include the L+H* attested to in the speech of some English Creole speakers (Gooden, Drayton and Beckman, 2009), and an H* which is the prevalent pitch accent in British and American English.

TrE has boundary tones which mark the hierarchy of the prosodic structure. These include the L% and H% which mark the end of an intonational phrase (IP), with the L% typically occurring in declarative utterances, and the H% marking question forms, as in other varieties of SE. However, while many varieties of SE have been analysed as having an intermediate structure marked by phrase accents (Beckman 2006), TrE often closely resembles its TrEC counterpart, which has been analysed as having Accentual Phrases (Drayton 2006, 2007), as seen in languages like French and Korean. The Accentual Phrase (AP) consists of a prosodic word and associated function words, and has a single L* phrase accent aligned to the stressed syllable of the prosodic word, with H tones marking the edges of the phrase, a pattern also attested to in Indian English (Pickering and Wiltshire 2000). It is this alternation of H tones and L* pitch accents that gives the so-called lilting quality noted in TrE speakers. Moreover, the H tone that marks the end of the AP is so ubiquitous that it is often not subsumed under the demands of the higher level prosodic constituent, the IP, but surfaces even in final positions resulting in the often noted high final prominence, or rising intonation of TrE speakers and the apparent disconnect between stress and high pitch. Furthermore, the AP is characterised by a fall in pitch that is aligned late in the constituent, a later fall than that noted for other SE speakers (Wilson 2007). This pattern of H and L tones marking APs is also maintained in cases of narrow focus, which is marked with a greater pitch displacement in the boundary tone and possibly the preceding pitch accent.

Figure 3 below shows an example of an intonational phrase in Trinidadian English as taken from the Illustrative Passage ("The North Wind and the Sun").
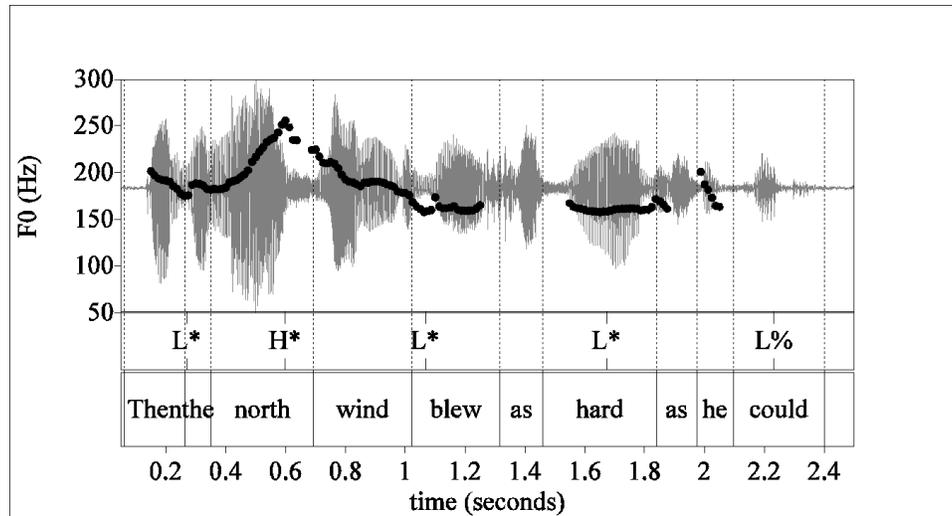

Figure 3: An intonational phrase in Trinidadian English

A final critical issue in the discussion of the prosodic features of TrE is the variation inherent in the system. Wilson (2007) noted greater variation in the speech of TrE speakers than for British English speakers in her experimental study. This variation was largely in the F0 excursion, with TrE speakers showing a wider pitch range in the high and low peaks. In particular, there was considerable variation towards the end of the IP, the boundary area noted above where the intermediate level AP interacts directly with higher level intonational boundary demands. Wilson (2007) suggests that post-nuclear prominence may be a sociolinguistic variable in TrE, with the negotiation of the final AP/IP boundary interface reflective of variables such as education, ethnicity, geography and general social networks, as well as speaker awareness of relative stigmatisation of certain prosodic features.

Illustrative Passage in Transcription

TrE

[ðə ˈnɔːθ ˈwɪnd an ðə ˈsʌn wəˈ ˈɑːgjuːɪŋ ʌˈbɒʊt wɪʧ ʌv ðɛm wʌz ðə ˈsʧɹɒŋʌ |
wɛn ʌ ˈʧɹavlə keːm ʌˈlɒŋ ɹapt ɪn ʌ wɔːm klɒːk || ðeː ʌˈgɹiːd ðat ðə wɒn huː
fəːst sʌkˈsiːdɪd ɪn ˈmeːkɪŋ ðə ˈʧɹavlə teːk ɒf hɪz klɒːk ʃʊd bi kənˈsɪdʌd
ˈsʧɹɒŋʌ ðən ðə ˈʌðə || ðɛn ðə ˈnɔːθ ˈwɪnd ˈbluː əz ˈhɑːd əz hi kəd | bʌt ðə
ˈhɑːdə hi bluː | ðə mɔː ˈklɒːsli dɪd ðə ˈʧɹavlə fɔːld hɪz ˈklɒːk ʌˈɹɒʊnd hɪm |
and ət lɑːst ðə nɔːθ wɪnd geːv ʌp ðə əˈtɛmpt || ðɛn də sʌn ʃɒn ɒʊt ˈwɔːmli | ənd
iˈmiːʤɪtli ðə ˈʧɹavlə tʊk ɒf hɪz klɒːk || an soː ðə ˈnɔːθ ˈwɪnd wʌz ʌˈblaɪʤd tə
kənˈfɛs ðat ðə sʌn wʌz ðə ˈsʧɹɒŋʌ əv ðə tuː]

The North Wind and the Sun were arguing about which of them was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the harder he blew, the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him, and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

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ENDNOTES