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How to sound Spanish in English: questionnaire findings and implications for English-language original and dubbed fiction

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Abstract

In this article, I analyse the results of a questionnaire conducted in order to discern how to sound Spanish in English or, more precisely, how to be perceived as a native-Spanish speaker by native-English speakers. The study set out to determine the degree of specificity to which native-English speakers perceive foreign accents in English, in general, and Hispanic-accented English, in particular. The study also aimed to elucidate the key phonetic realisations that contribute to an accent being perceived particularly as such and whether that perception requires authenticity. The final main aim was to uncover the personality characteristics Anglophones associate with Hispanic-accented speakers. With regard to this last point, I delve into the concept of dialectal memes, which explain how social value is inextricably linked to and therefore indexed by accents, and test the hypothesis that memes exist. In addition to exploring answers to the questions at the core of these aims, I provide further analysis on tangential findings revealed in the participants' responses, such as the matter of whether celebrity or knowledge of a speaker's identity, e.g. Rafael Nadal or Penélope Cruz, generates perception bias. Ultimately, the analysis provided in this article aspires to elevate foreign varieties of English to pluricentric status in the Anglosphere, and to lay the grounds on which to posit that the most defining characteristic of these varieties is accent. In addition, I consider how the findings might inform fictional renditions of foreign accents in both original and dubbed versions.

Key words: foreign accents, native accents, linguistic variation, empirical study, perception study, questionnaire, audiovisual fiction, dubbed versions, English dubs, pluricentrism, non-dominant varieties, enregisterment, ethnolects, Hispanophones, Rafael Nadal, dialectal memes

Introduction

The notion that perceptions of cultural identity are, to a greater or lesser extent, shared by communities of speakers, can be explained by a theory of memetics: a meme is “a unit of cultural transmission” (Dawkins, 1976), which spreads cultural ideas from person to person, or from mind to mind, until they become culturally shared or “received” (Chesterman, 1997: 7). A more refined type of meme called a “dialectal meme” (Hayes 2019: 94) can be used to conceptualise those ideas specific to cultural identity that are inextricably linked to accents and other types of linguistic variation. For example, Received Pronunciation (RP), aka the Queen's English, has the common connotations of being Southern English although “supra-local” (Agha, 2003: 233) and spoken by those having received elite education more generally, and, at the time of writing, RP is also recognised as belonging to older generations. This means that phonetic realisations characterising the RP accent, such as *happy* pronounced, approximately, as *heppēh* i.e. /'hæp.i/ as /'hɛp.e/, trigger the RP dialectal meme in listeners, or viewers as it were. In light of their memetic qualities, which can be unpacked into fivefold meaning (diatopic, diastratic, diachronic, idiosyncratic, and ethnic signs), accents are often used in fictional audiovisual texts for characterisation, thereby consolidating, perpetuating and even creating dialectal memes, i.e. ‘enregistering’ (Agha 2003; 2007) the accents and linking them to social personae.

Nonetheless, the signs of a dialectal meme will not be identical in the mind of each and every individual. In fact, it can be considered that the similarity between and specificity of dialectal memes vary most notably according to language community, geography, generation or age bracket, and individual experience. This ideological range has been aptly illustrated by Wells (1982: 33) in relation to the working-class Scouse accent, which he claimed would “strike a Chicagoan primarily as being British, a Glaswegian as being English, an English southerner as being northern, an English northerner as being Liverpudlian, and a Liverpudlian as being working-class.” It should be acknowledged, however, that individual experience could render a Chicagoan, or indeed a non-native speaker of English who has had significant exposure to the Liverpool accent, more familiar with the nuances of working-class Scouse cultural identity than an English southerner who has had little or no exposure to it. In any case, the point to infer is that, on a basic level, cultural ideas are shared in communities of speakers and “the closer we get to home, the more refined are our perceptions (Wells *ibid.*: 33)”.

What can be said, then, for the perception of foreign accents in English? In our globalised world of migration, travel, technology and mass (social) media, and wherein the United States is political hegemon of the West—if not also dominant in Western popular culture—, English has grown exponentially. The English language has an enormous population of 1.35 billion speakers, when non-native speakers of English are taken into account (Szmigiera 2021). With that figure, English boasts the most speakers of any language worldwide (Szmigiera *ibid.*), despite ranking third—after Chinese and Spanish—in terms of native speakers, with a population of 379 million (McCarthy 2020). The role played by technology in the expansion of the Anglosphere is reflected in the ubiquity of English in cyberspace. English qualifies by a significant margin as the most commonly used language on the internet (Johnson 2021). In light of these data, it is unsurprising that foreign accents, i.e. accents belonging to the phonology of other languages, are omnipresent in the English language. Given that English enjoys the privilege of being *de facto* lingua franca, non-native (hereinafter ‘foreign’, to avoid potential ambiguity between native and non-native accents and their acronyms) accents in English are a reality and arguably constitute a variety of English in their own right, as an *ethnolect* or ‘*pluricentric*’, i.e. non-dominant, variety of the language.

Varieties of a language tend to feature dialect, observable in lexis and grammatical constructions, as well as accent. Elsewhere (see Hayes 2022b), I have argued that foreign accents are the most salient feature of foreign varieties of English. For instance, German speakers tend to have accents in English whose phonetic repertoire is distinguishable from any other variety of English and the characteristics of the repertoire are identifiably linked to the speakers’ native-language community (for example, see Edwards and Fuchs 2019, on German and Dutch varieties of English). This, along with considerations of intelligibility, might explain why in fictional texts accents, both native and foreign, take centre stage while dialect is either erased or diluted. Ranzato (2019) discussed this phenomenon in relation to the case of Cockney renditions scant on rhyming slang in audiovisual, original-version fiction. Similarly, in dubbed versions, such as the English dubs of Netflix’s Norwegian or Spanish series, the voice actors’ dialogues display flawless grammar and idiomacy and give emphasis instead to the foreign variety’s phonetic characteristics, i.e. accent.

Validating foreign varieties, or at least their accents, as recognisable varieties of the English language is pivotal in understanding why foreign accents do not ring cacophonously in the ears of native Anglophones when watching original or dubbed versions, or indeed when listening to people in real life. Furthermore, the fact that these accents are readily recognisable can explain how they have dialectal memes of their own in Anglophone communities. But to what extent are these accents actually

perceived in English-language contexts? How finely tuned are the ears of native Anglophones to the phonetic realisations of foreign accents in English and, if this native community of speakers can in fact identify the origins of foreign speakers, how detailed is their dialectal meme in comparison to other dialectal memes stored in their memories for accents native to English or indeed native to their homeland? To test the hypothesis that dialectal memes exist internally i.e. in our minds—as opposed to externally such as the use of accents in fictional texts for characterisation—I created a perception study focusing on a hypothetical Spanish meme, in particular, or, in other words, the cultural identity Anglophones associate with Castilian-Spanish-accented speakers of English.

My overarching aim in creating this study was to inform an understanding of what makes for convincing renditions of Spanish-accented English in original and dubbed versions. What piqued my interest in this question was and continues to be the so-called ‘foreignisation’¹ strategy that has been employed in some recent English dubs, such as Spanish-accented English in *La catedral del mar* (*Cathedral of the Sea*) (Frades 2018) on Netflix and in *El Cid* (*The Legend of El Cid*) (Alcantud et al 2020–present) on Amazon Prime Video, as well as in the English dubs of many Scandinavian—and to a lesser extent German and Dutch—series on Netflix, such as Norwegian-accented English in *Ragnarok* (Hagedorn et al 2020–present) and Danish-accented English in *The Rain* (Allen et al., 2018–2020). In the case of Scandinavian and Dutch series dubbed into English, the original actors revoiced the dubbed version in their natural accents in English which meant that, for the most part, accents were authentically Danish, Swedish, and so on. Nevertheless, some accents are notably British or American, given the actors’ high level of and acquired accents in English, which is typical, and therefore authentic, of Scandinavian English (Dutch and German English do not tend to present such features, except in isolated cases). That said, the fact that a dialect coach, Lia Evans Schulman, was involved in the English dubbing of *Ragnarok* suggests that at least some actors were in need of direction, whether that be to eradicate native-sounding English or to exaggerate naturally Norwegian-sounding English.

On the other hand, the English dubs of Spanish series have been revoiced into English by a new cast of voice actors from Spain, Latin America, and the US. Similarly, many of the voice actors performed in their natural accents as well as exaggerating their natural accents or relaxing their speech in English (see Hayes 2022a and 2022b). Furthermore, some voice actors with native English, who nevertheless have Hispanic heritage, did entirely fictitious renditions of Spanish-language-accented English. As I have discussed elsewhere (for example, in Hayes 2022a, in relation to the dubbing of *Fariña* aka *Cocaine Coast*), the overall result of this foreignisation approach is a Hispanic accent, or a medley of Hispanic accents, rather than Castilian-Spanish accents in English, which would more accurately reflect the source texts. In fact, Galician accents in Castilian Spanish would most accurately depict the reality of the source text in question (see Hayes 2022a in relation to the *Fariña* case study). Broadening the spectrum of revoiced versions, it is interesting to note that foreign accents are also characteristic of English voiceovers, which are typically used for localising or interpreting non-fiction. This can be observed in the voiceovers of documentaries on the BBC (Filmer 2019), foreign dialogues within English-original documentaries, foreign news reporters or correspondents on the BBC, and, occasionally, in the voiceovers of reality TV. As for the employment of foreign accents as standard in English-language original fiction, this is commonplace when

¹ Foreignisation is understood here as the translation strategy of conveying the foreign within a text, rather than Venuti’s ideology that first used the term to describe the identity of a text on the whole. Meanings surrounding this terminology are debated in Translation Studies.

narratives are set abroad in non-English-speaking countries but for which the production company and/or primary target audience are from English-speaking countries. Examples are Colombian-accented English in *Loving Pablo* (León de Aranoa 2017) and German-accented English in many WWII films such as in *Schindler's List* (Spielberg 1993). As regards the former, Spanish costars and spouses Penélope Cruz and Javier Bardem received dialect coaching for different regional Colombian accents (Bogotá vs. Medellín aka *paisa*, respectively) (Castillo 2018). Cruz's rendition is discussed in this article. Foreign accents are also used ubiquitously for individual characterisation in texts whose standard is a native variety of English, whether to avail of stereotypes, to single out someone's Otherness, or to represent a real-life person. In view of the foreignisation strategy in both dubs and original versions, the question of what Anglophones find to be convincingly and quintessentially Spanish seems pertinent in the fields of Translation Studies as well as Sociolinguistics.

Empirical study: questionnaire design

In order to determine whether a Spanish meme exists in the native-Anglophone community and, if so, what particularities are characteristic of said meme, I set up two questionnaires to survey (i) native and (ii) non-native English speakers' perceptions of the Spanish accent in English. For the sake of clarity, native-English speakers will be given the acronym NESs and non-native English speakers FSEs (foreign speakers of English). In this article, I focus on the results of the first questionnaire (NESs); however, some information is given in relation to the second questionnaire (FESs) for the purposes of comparison. Both questionnaires as well as the results of the first and the audios used in both can be found in the annexes in the external repository, ResearchGate, at the following link:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/360050815_How_to_sound_Spanish_in_English_questionnaire_findings_and_implications_for_English-language_original_and_dubbed_fiction

(scroll down and click on *Linked data* or *Supplementary resources*)

As regards the first questionnaire then, four main research questions were established as follows:

- 1) To what degree of specificity do NESs recognise native and foreign accents in English?
- 2) To what extent can NESs differentiate between Castilian-Spanish, Colombian, Greek, and Italian accents in English?
- 3) What personality characteristics do NESs tend to attribute to being Spanish?
- 4) To what extent is authenticity necessary in order for a speaker to be perceived as Spanish by NESs?

I created the questionnaire on SurveyGizmo.eu to ensure data remained in Europe, due to data protection requirements at UK universities, and because the platform enabled audio files to be incorporated into the questionnaires, which was paramount for surveying perceptions on accents. The questionnaire contained 11 core questions followed by four qualifier questions. The parallel questionnaire for FESs was identical apart from two extra qualifier questions at the end and the multiple-choice question option of *People from my country usually sound like this when they speak English* replaced *I speak with this accent* in part (c) of each of the 11 questions on different accents (see documents at link to annexes). The thinking behind changing the wording

for FSEs was to create a space for speakers who have lost their ‘foreign’ accent in English to attest to the provenance or authenticity of an accent on which they can likely opine with authority. Furthermore, I considered that participants might be reluctant to identify as speaking with a marked foreign accent due to any stigma they may have experienced in relation to foreign accents, whether in a learning or professional environment, indirectly or vicariously through media or in real life, or anywhere else. The accents used were four native-English accents, four non-native accents in English and three fictional renditions of non-native accents in English, including one entirely fictitious accent, as depicted in the table below:

#	Accent	Speaker	Public profile
1	New York City, Italian-American (US)	Robert De Niro	Actor
2	Dublin (Ireland)	Colin Farrell	Actor
3	Italian-accented English (Milan)	Valentina Ferragni	Influencer
4	Colombian-accented English (Medellín)	J Balvin	Music artist
5	Sheffield, Yorkshire (UK)	Sean Bean	Actor
6	Spanish-accented English (Mallorca)	Rafael Nadal	Tennis player
7	Colombian (Bogotá)-accented English by Spaniard (Madrid)	Penélope Cruz	Actress
8	Standard British English (SBE), i.e. southern and/or upper-class English (UK)	Edward Sault	Journalist (BBC South presenter)
9	Greek-accented English (Athens)	Alexis Tsipiras	Politician and former Prime Minister of Greece
10	Italian (generic)-accented English by Spaniard (Madrid)	Penélope Cruz	Actress
11	<i>Dornish</i> -accented English by SBE-speaking Anglophones with some knowledge of Spanish and Arabic, respectively.	Toby Sebastian and Alexander Siddig	Actors

Table 1. Accents and voices featured in the 11 audios in the questionnaire(s).

The reason for including native-English accents in a questionnaire whose aim was to discern how to sound Spanish in English was to test the degree of specificity in NESs’ perceptions of native and foreign accents in English, respectively. For the purposes of comparative analysis, three degrees of perceptual specificity were established: first-degree specificity refers to recognising the city or region a speaker is from; second-degree specificity denotes identifying the country a speaker is from; and third-degree specificity means the language community to which the speaker belongs has been identified. Logically, first-degree specificity implies second- and third-degree as well, whereas third degree implies that neither first- nor second-degree specificity has been perceived and, finally, second degree implies that third-degree has been perceived but first-degree has not. Where respondents answered, for example, “Spain”, for the Colombian accent in Audio 4, the response was recorded as third-degree specific given that the language community was correct while the country was not. It is also worth acknowledging that other types of meaning could be incorporated into the various degrees of specificity. For instance, in line with the quote by Wells previously cited, first-degree specificity could account for social class. Nevertheless, in this article the concept of specificity is interpreted in purely geographic terms.

The reasons for using both Spanish and Latin American accents—as opposed to Castilian-Spanish accents exclusively as the object of study—was, in turn, to discover the degree of specificity surrounding NESs’ perceptions of foreign accents in English

that are derived from different varieties of the Spanish language. Ultimately, the purpose of using linguistic variation in Spanish was to determine whether Castilian-Spanish accents tend to be perceived as such by NESs. The point of including an Italian and a Greek accent was due to the fact that, on the one hand, Italian and Spanish tend to be likened to one another in the Anglosphere as kindred foreign languages which are highly cognate. On the other hand, Greek speakers and Hispanophones share certain similar phonologies. Therefore, the aim of including these two accents among Spanish-language accents was to see whether any phonetic realisations could be isolated as being characteristic of Spaniards, from a NES's point of view. The motivation behind including fictional renditions of Italian and Colombian accents was to gauge whether authenticity impacted perceptions and whether traces of a Castilian-Spanish accent in these renditions led to a Castilian-Spanish perception of the accents. In addition, I was interested to discover whether the effort or lack thereof to emulate a regional-specific accent might impact the perception of fictional renditions, such as Penélope Cruz's Bogotá-specific Colombian rendition vs. a generic Spanish-inspired accent used in *Game of Thrones* (i.e. Audio 7 vs. Audio 11). Finally, the last audio features an entirely fictional accent from the region of *Dorne* imagined and brought to life in the HBO series *Game of Thrones* (Benioff and Weiss 2011–2019), which is the screen adaptation of the *A Song of Ice and Fire* (Martin 1996–2011) novels. The *Dornish* accent—as well as ethnicity, architecture, and climate—purports to be Spanish-inspired or, at the very least, influenced by Andalusia. Two speakers feature, whereas all other audios have just one, in light of the inconsistency across renditions and the intention to show more traits of the accent in question.

It is important to note that many of the questions included were in open-text format and there was no mention of the words 'Spanish', 'Spain', or similar, in any of the questions. Nor were there any contextual references to anything Hispanic in the audios themselves. This was a purposeful absence so as to avoid leading questions or, in the case of multiple-choice questions (MCQs), unduly biased answers. As regards Table 1 above, it is important to note that in this article I have labelled the audios with descriptions of the speakers and their language varieties, whereas this information was not provided to the participants in the questionnaire(s) themselves. The randomisation of the order in which the audios are positioned was also purposeful, in the aim of avoiding a logical progression of thought. For instance, this may have occurred were NES accents followed by FSE accents, or all Hispanophone accents grouped together. I also considered that by playing NES and FSE accents consecutively, respondents might apply the same level of scrutiny to FSE accents and try to determine the most precise location of the speaker, inasmuch as their perception allowed. The questionnaires were open for a period of three weeks at end of summer 2019 and there were 260 respondents in total: 126 NESs and 134 FSEs. As mentioned previously, in this article I focus on the findings from the NES questionnaire, referring to the FSE one only when it is relevant for the purposes comparison to further emphasise a point already made in relation to NESs. As regards the profile of NES participants, their nationalities are depicted in the pie chart below and the average age was 33.5, although it should be noted that the age of participants spanned from 18 to 90 with a strong presence of participants in their twenties. Furthermore, due to dissemination via professional and predominantly personal pathways, the majority of respondents were not what is commonly termed 'linguists' insofar as they had not specialised in languages during third-level education or in a work environment and many respondents spoke no language other than English or else spoke another language to a beginner's or intermediate level, while many other respondents spoke some languages at advanced level and some were bilingual in various languages.

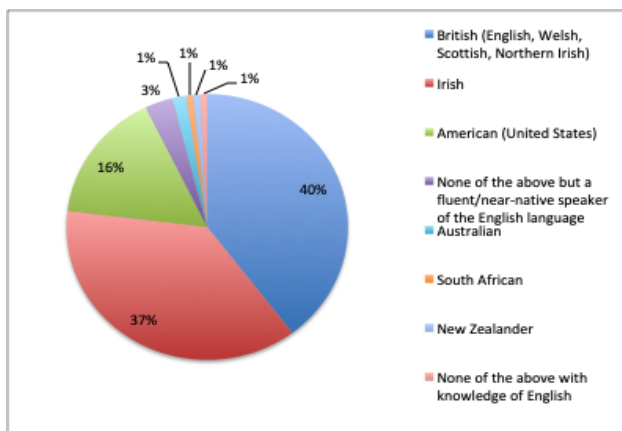


Figure 1. Profile of participants according to nationality

Findings

The answers participants provided lead to a plethora of findings; however, the findings I discuss in this article are those that contribute to answering the research questions outlined in the previous section, which ultimately have the objective of elucidating which phonetic or other characteristics lead to a Spanish perception of a speaker from a native-English speaker's point of view.

First finding: answer to Research Question 1

To what degree of specificity do NESs recognise native and foreign accents in English?

The first finding was that the degree of perceptual specificity for foreign accents in English is reduced to language communities, whereas there was a greater level of specificity given for native-English accents. This means that where an Irish accent was perceived as being from Ireland, specifically, and from Dublin, more specifically again, Hispanic accents were matched to the correct country at best, but the greatest level of specificity generally achieved was that the accents belonged to a Spanish-speaking country, with little or no distinction made between Spain and Latin America, nor between Latin American countries themselves. According to this finding, then, it may not be necessary to sound Peninsular Spanish in English in order to be perceived as Spanish; rather, it is sufficient to sound Hispanic, generally. *Hispanic*, in this context is understood as encompassing the entirety of the Hispanophone world; not just Latin America. This finding is illustrated in the following data: more than double the degree of second-degree specificity, i.e. country, was achieved by respondents in relation to the Standard British English (SBE) accent in Question 8 (98.4%) in comparison to Question 6 on the Castilian-Spanish accent (43.7%). Furthermore, of those who perceived the SBE accent as British, 15.1% indicated the UK generally while the rest provided first-degree specificity, i.e. region or city, with 45.2% indicating England, 20.6% the South of England, and 19.1% London or another named city. By contrast, of the 43.7% of respondents to have answered Spain as the country of origin for the Spanish accent, only 5 respondents provided further specification, being Mallorca (x2), Manacor, The Canary Islands, and Northern Spain.

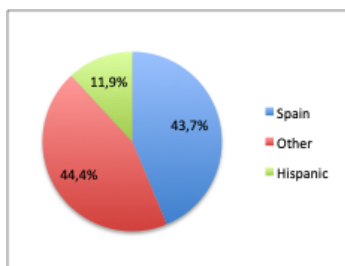


Figure 2. Question 6 on Castilian-Spanish accent

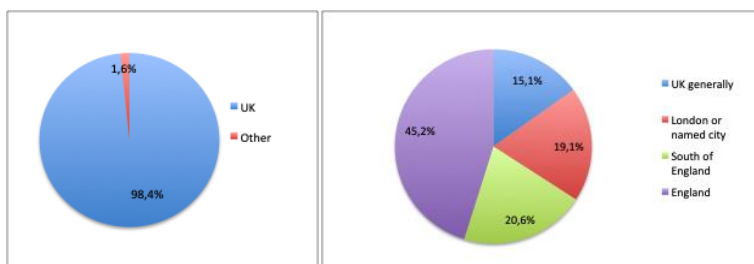


Figure 3. Question 8 on Standard British English accent

This Question 6 audio (Rafael Nadal) was the only one featuring a Hispanophone speaker for which respondents demonstrated a notable Castilian-Spanish perception. For example, the 43.7% of respondents to indicate Spain compares with less than 1% of respondents identifying “Colombia” in Audio 4. On the other hand, 48.4% recognised the Colombian accent as being Hispanic, i.e. third-degree specificity, which is approaching the 55.6% of respondents to have identified Audio 6 as Hispanic, albeit with Peninsular preference. Whereas these figures may initially suggest the respondents’ familiarity with the Castilian-Spanish accent in English, there are two other factors to bear in mind in light of their answers to other questions to do with the audio, beyond pinpointing location. First, 16.7% of respondents had selected the MCQ answer *I have recognised the speaker’s voice and know where s/he is from*, which is further exposed by the precise locations previously mentioned that respondents purportedly perceived. For instance, one respondent claimed to have heard an accent specific to Manacor, which is the precise hometown on the island of Mallorca where the speaker, Rafael Nadal, is from. Similarly, two other respondents answered “Mallorca”. And, finally, one respondent suggested The Canary Islands, which is particularly indicative of top-down perception insofar as the respondent in question had indicated s/he had recognised the speaker’s voice, which means they likely misremembered which island group in Spain the speaker belonged to (the Canaries vs. the Balearic Islands). This becomes even more likely when one considers that, on the one hand, the Spanish of Mallorca and the Canary Islands significantly differs from one another, and, on the other hand, a Manacor accent in English is unlikely to be notably distinct from any other Mallorcan one or, for that matter, any other accent derived from Mallorcan Catalan or Castilian Spanish. Therefore, celebrity bias was likely at play in the responses of the 16.7% that had recognised Nadal’s voice. However, it must also be taken into consideration that the Spanish elements of his accent triggered or confirmed these respondents’ suspicions that the speaker was in fact Nadal. These speculations are a reminder of an analyst’s inability to know a respondent’s intent, and therefore such reasoning, e.g. in relation to the

Canaries, is merely speculative. It should be noted that there is no mention of tennis in the Nadal audio.

The second factor that may have influenced the Spanish perception of Nadal's accent, beyond celebrity, is that his speech featured a significant number of phonetic realisations derived from the Spanish language, which can be consulted in Table 3 at the end of this document. The authentic Colombian accent in Audio 4, for instance, did not present as many of these characteristics, and it should be noted that Latin American Spanishes do not use the uvular fricative or *ceceo* i.e. lisp. In any case, only the former features in Nadal's dialogue. The Colombian audio does nonetheless display some intonation that is notably Colombian or even *paisa*, i.e. from Medellín specifically, as well as an American 'twang' and Americanisms, such as the pronunciation and lexical usage of *gonna*, which is characteristic of Latin American Englishes due to proximity to the US as their closest native-Anglophone region. Despite the possibility of celebrity bias, the point to take from the first finding is that perceptual specificity is generally reduced to third degree when foreign accents are in question, whereas first- and second-degree specificity are significantly more common than third degree in the case of native-English accents. This takeaway can be substantiated with some further examples. For instance, 100% of respondents identified the first audio as being a native speaker of English (first-degree specificity) and 99.2% indicated he was from the US (second-degree specificity), with 40.3% specifying New York and a further 12.1% suggesting somewhere bordering New York such as New England (first-degree specificity). These statistics then contrast with the likes of 72.6% (vs. 100%) of respondents perceiving Spaniard Penélope Cruz's Colombian accent in Audio 7 as Hispanophone and, within that percentage, 28.2% indicating provenance from Spain, 11.3% for Colombia, and 10% for Mexico.

With only 5.6% of respondents having answered *I have recognised the speaker's voice and know where s/he is from* for the audio with Cruz's Colombian rendition, it is interesting to note that the respondents tended towards a Spanish perception rather than a Colombian one, and the actress's dialect coaching led to a notably Colombian rendition, especially on a prosodic level, which is arguably the most defining characteristic of Colombian Spanish, among many other defining features but many of which would not be present in English (e.g. lexis). I considered that the popular Spanish perception—over Colombian—could be due to the actress's authentic accent filtering through the rendition, or due to the fact that 77% of respondents were from either the UK or Ireland where Spain is the most common reference point for Spanish, whereas 10% answered "Mexico" for Audio 7 and 15.9% of respondents were from the US where Mexico is the most common reference point for Spanish, followed by other Latin American countries. However, having analysed the results further, it transpired that American respondents (i.e. from the US) were not more likely than Europeans to answer "Mexico", which means that the Castilian-Spanish perception might owe to the presence of certain phonetic features or, alternatively, to their absence such as the lack of American-influenced pronunciation like in J Balvin's authentic Colombian accent in Audio 4. The frequency of a Mexican perception might then be the product of Hollywood and stereotypical portrayals of Mexicans as Spanish speakers in the US with American-English undertones in their speech. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, the reasoning behind participants' responses cannot be accurately analysed. Indeed, respondents themselves might not be aware of what has shaped their perceptions.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the vastness of the Hispanophone world facilitated the measure of perceptual specificity of the Castilian-Spanish accent,

whereas specificity was not as clear or comparable when respondents were surveyed on other foreign accents. This can be illustrated by the fact that when respondents answered on the Italian and Greek accents, they were more likely to achieve second-degree specificity by default despite having only perceived third-degree specificity, given that Italy is the most likely country to indicate if an Italian accent is perceived and Greece the most likely if Greek is perceived. This owes to the fact that non-dominant varieties of these languages, such as Swiss Italian or Cypriot Greek, are starkly more marginal than different varieties of the Spanish language.

Second finding: answer to Research Question 2

To what extent can NESs differentiate between Castilian-Spanish, Colombian, Greek, and Italian accents in English?

The second finding was the set of salient phonetic realisations that contributed to a Hispanic perception, which transpired to be the following four: the voiced dental fricative [ð] realisation of dental plosives /d/ and /t/, the uvular fricative or *jota* realisation of /h/, the alveolar trill (i.e. rolled /r/) or a tapped /r/, and the /s/ realisation of /z/. Although the *jota* belongs exclusively to Castilian Spanish, it qualified as Hispanic in general, according to Anglophones. Both the presence of Hispanic accents and of other foreign accents, namely Italian and Greek and fictional Italian and *Dornish*, contributed to the isolation of these phonetic characteristics, rendering them iconic in a ‘Spanish’ accent.

The process through which non-Hispanic-foreign accents in English informed this conclusion can be explained, in the first instance, in relation to Italian-accented English. Italian proved a largely enigmatic accent to native Anglophones, with many respondents perceiving Spanish as Italian (20.6%) and roughly half that amount perceiving Italian as Spanish (10.8%). The third-degree specificity success rate for Hispanic accents was also roughly double that of Italian: 27% of respondents perceived the Italian speaker in Audio 3 as having an Italian accent, in comparison to the likes of 43.7% perceiving the Spanish one as Spanish and 55.6% perceiving it as Hispanic (I am giving both second- and third-degree specificity here in light of the fact that Italian and its varieties might give rise to incidental second-degree specificity instead of third, as previously mentioned). Successful recognition of Hispanic accents was even further accentuated by percentages soaring to 72.6% of respondents perceiving the Colombian rendition by a Spaniard in Audio 7 as Hispanic. Anglophones therefore seem to have at least double the success rate in recognising Spanish-language-accented English in comparison with Italian-accented English. NESs’ lack of familiarity with the Italian accent was further highlighted against the FSE respondents’ answers, many of whom were in fact Italian (34.3%), and 44.4% of respondents to that questionnaire correctly identified the Italian accent, vs. the 27% of native-English speakers doing so. Furthermore, 20.6% of NESs perceived Audio 6 (Castilian-Spanish) as Italian, whereas 11.9% of non-natives did.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that native Anglophones anticipate an Italian accent will sound similar to a Spanish one. So the key to what a Spanish accent is to Anglophones lies in which iconic pronunciations are missing from the Italian audio. The most notable differences, although there are of course many more, are the lack of dental fricative realisation of /d/ and /t/ where Italophones differ from Hispanophones in having a very clear enunciation of these dentals similar to NESs, the lack of a uvular fricative realisation of /h/ replaced generally by /h/-dropping, the lack of /s/ realisation of /z/ or indeed /s/ realisation of /s/ (which is pronounced as /z/ instead), and absence of a trill or tap. The tapped /r/ features faintly only once in the Italian audio, whereas this would typically be a feature of Italian-accented English and just so happens not to occur frequently, most likely due to the speaker’s high level of English. On the other hand, the speaker does display many

other Italianisms, such as /h/-dropping and terminal epenthesis schwa (see Table 3 for more information); however, these phonetic realisations do not seem to be readily recognised by NESs as pertaining to Italian. Some features of Italian-accented English which differ from Hispanic-accented English, e.g. the pronunciation of /t/, may be partly responsible for Italian's being an enigmatic foreign accent to Anglophones. In other words, these realisations are too similar to NESs' pronunciations to stand out.

The importance of the trill or a tap and uvular fricative sound in particular, in order to trigger a Hispanic perception, was highlighted again by 14% of respondents perceiving the Greek speaker as Hispanophone and another 14% perceiving him as Italian. The Hispanic perception likely owes to two instances of uvular fricative (the Greek letter *Chi* [Xχ] and Spanish *jota* produce a very similar sound) and tapped /ɾ/. Furthermore, the respondents' perceptions hitherto discussed can inform the understanding of why an equal number of them (14%) might have perceived the Greek accent as Italian—Italian, more or less, means Spanish to a widespread Anglophone audience, at least insofar as accent is concerned.

It is also interesting to point out that the largest contingent of respondents for the fictional *Game of Thrones* accent answered Hispanophone (34.9%), which might have occurred due to trilled and tapped /ɾ/ and /s/ pronunciation of /z/. There are also vowel pronunciations (see Table 3) reminiscent of Spanish-accented English in the audio that could have impacted listeners' perceptions but I have relegated these to secondary importance given that they are not uniform across all Spanish-language accents in the questionnaire; rather, what these accents tend to have most notably in common with one another are the four consonant realisations outlined in this section as being the essence of Hispanic-accented English in the minds of native-English speakers. On this same vein, the similarities and differences between the different varieties of Spanish in the audios serve to substantiate claims on which phonetic realisations are responsible for triggering a Hispanic perception. The voiced dental fricative [ð] realisation of dental plosives /d/ and /t/ and trilled or tapped /ɾ/ seem to be a common denominator. It is also possible that certain vowel realisations such as the /o/ realisation of /u/ and elongated [ɔ:] for /əʊ/ and /ɒ/ have a part to play but further study would be required to confirm this. On the other hand, it seems that realisations that are stereotypical of a Spanish accent in English, such as the initial epenthesis /e/ before /s/ which is present in Audio 6 and is typically associated with Spanish speakers, are not required for an accent to be perceived as Hispanic, so long as other iconic realisations are present. As displayed in Table 3, though not limited to the elements therein, there are many more phonetic characteristics pertaining to Castilian-Spanish-accented English, yet some more salient to Anglophones than others.

In fact, many elements of accent in general and Hispanic accents in particular tend to go unnoticed, such as the Colombian intonation in J Balvin's dialogue and Penélope Cruz's rendition as well as the intonation in her Italian rendition. And whereas certain dialectal features of foreign varieties, such as Spaniards saying *no?* (from *¿no?*) as an interrogative at the end of an utterance, tend to be noticed by native Anglophones (a few respondents commented on this), much dialect is overlooked as being incorrect rather than being a key idiosyncratic element of a foreign variety. In the case of the Hispanic variety of English, examples of lexis are the interrogative *no?* as mentioned, as well as *in this moment* instead of *at the moment* or *right now*, *actually* instead of *at the moment* or *currently*, *besides* instead of *in addition* or *furthermore*, to name but a few. Some of these can be considered calques but that does not diminish the reality of their frequency of use. Further examples can be observed in the use of specific copulative verbs like *represents* or *constitutes* in the place of *is*, as vague copulative verbs are more characteristic of idiomatic English. Missing pronouns and prepositions are also features of the variety, such as *explain me* instead of *explain it to me*. Last but not least, syntax such as *I'm going to tidy a bit my room* instead of *I'm going to tidy*

my room a bit is also common in the variety. Some instances of this dialect can be observed in the audios used for the questionnaire analysed in this article, which can be played by downloading the annexed files at the link previously provided.

Further research on the impact of dialect would help to shed more light on the role played by accent in linguistic perception. Nonetheless, I would like to posit that Anglophones are more perceptive to accent than dialect and the tendency to dilute or erase dialect altogether in fictional audiovisual texts can serve to support this claim. It can also be considered that the use of accent devoid of dialect has led to the enregisterment of foreign varieties without dialect on screen, though viewers may have contact with authentic versions of the variety in real-life settings and may take note of its dialectal features. As far as the respondents were concerned, dialect did not have much of a bearing on their perceptions. In part (c) of each question, which asked participants what made them determine the accent, *the way words are pronounced* (i.e. accent) was the most popular response by a long margin across all audios, followed by intonation, whereas *the kind of words used* (i.e. dialect) was selected at a low rate and was selected much less frequently in responses to foreign-accent audios in comparison to responses to native-accent audios. It is worth mentioning that the meaning of *intonation* could have been described more clearly in lay terms as an answer option, like with accent and dialect, in light of the fact that many participants may have interpreted the semi-specialised term as meaning *tone*. In any case, though, there is subjectivity involved in a participant's perception of his or her own perception.

Third finding: answer to Research Question 3

What personality characteristics do NESs tend to attribute to being Spanish?

The questionnaire participants were asked to choose as many adjectives as they thought described the personality of an accent from a list of 24 options. Some adjectives chosen were inspired by Sociolinguistics research carried out already (such as *pleasant* and *correct* from Cramer 2016, and *unpleasant* and *unrefined/uncouth* as corollary antitheses). With a view to strengthening and homogenising the participants' comprehension and conceptualisation of the adjectives, approximate antonyms were placed side by side in two columns on the questionnaire, such that *apathetic* featured across from *passionate* and *neutral* across from *exotic*, and so on (see link to annexes). The use of binaries could be criticised in case they led to the feeling that at least one of each antonym had to be chosen; however, one of each pair was not selected, which suggests answers were not notably influenced in this way.

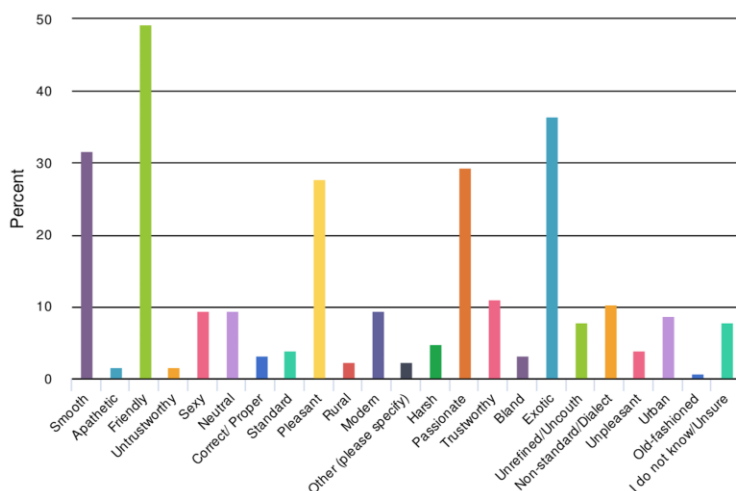


Figure 4. Response to Question 6, part (b), in relation to adjectives

The same top adjectives featured across all authentic and fictional Hispanic accents: smooth, exotic, passionate, friendly, and pleasant. The plausibility of the existence of dialectal memes became more likely when I counted the amount of adjectives chosen by respondents to describe the accents. As presented in Table 2 below, there were almost systematically—exceptions are discussed further on—more adjectives chosen for native-English accents than for foreign ones, and given the much higher level of accuracy amongst respondents in identifying native accents, it would follow that their perceptions were conditioned by pre-existing ideas associated with speakers of the familiar accents versus a lack of certainty regarding the foreign accents and therefore hesitation to assign as many characteristics to a guessed perception. Logically, if perception were a bottom-up process and no dialectal memes were consulted—albeit subconsciously—along the way, there should be the same amount of adjectives, approximately, used to describe all accents. This point can be further illustrated by referencing responses on the FSE parallel questionnaire, given that less than 400 adjectives were chosen for each of the foreign-accent audios, whereas more than 460 were given for each native-English accent, reaching 516 in the case of Audio 8. It seems that the Standard British accent in Audio 8 led to a significant increase in certainty by respondents, as illustrated in their higher success rates in identifying the accent and giving further information on its provenance, and this certainty meant all of the memetic signs they associated with the accent were engaged in their minds. There was an especially high response rate for *standard* and *correct/proper*.

It is worth pointing out that more adjectives were selected for native accents as participants worked their way through the questionnaire and settled into the types of questions asked. However, the same tendency is not observed in relation to foreign accents. An exception to the observation that native accents were described in more detail is the case of Audio 10. The adjectives *sexy*, *exotic*, and *passionate*, skyrocketed, in that order, for this audio, and it is plausible that the increase of these terms in particular is due to the content of the audio, which is taken from a romantic scene in a film, and to the emotional tone of the speaker and intimate acoustics (it is clear two people are speaking in private and in close proximity to one another). The same observation can be made for Audio 7, for which the same adjectives experienced an increase in selection and the audio almost crossed the 400-adjective threshold reflective of perceptions on native-English accents. In Audio 7, the content is also

romantic, although not to the same extent, the tone is emotional, and the text is fictional. It must be acknowledged that tone and content could have confirmed participants' suspicions, unduly influenced their perceptions, or, alternatively, not had any relevant influence on their perception. It is important to note that the speaker is the same in both, namely Penélope Cruz, although her voice is not easily recognisable in Audio 10, whereas it is more recognisable, as pointed out by some respondents, in Audio 7. It is also worth considering whether male or female voices are more often associated with certain adjectives as well as whether the gender and/or sexual orientation of respondents would impact their perception on one or the other. The insight gained in gathering responses on adjectives sheds light on how to *be* or *behave* in order to be perceived as Spanish or Hispanic in English, rather than how to sound.

Native accents	Foreign accents
Audio 1: NYC 406	Audio 3: Italian 392
Audio 2: Dublin 439	Audio 4: Colombian 370
Audio 5: Sheffield 449	Audio 6: Castilian-Spanish 352
Audio 8: Southern English 475	Audio 7: Colombian by Spaniard 399
-	Audio 9: Greek 326
-	Audio 10: Italian by Spaniard 418
-	Audio 11: <i>Dornish</i> 354

Table 2. Total number of adjectives provided by all NES respondents

Fourth finding: answer to Research Question 4

To what extent is authenticity necessary in order for a speaker to be perceived as Spanish by NESs?

Non-native English speakers had the option to select *People from my country usually sound like this when they speak English* in part (c) of each question as an explanation for what impacted their answer. The authentic Spanish and Italian accents received the highest ratings for this answer option, with 15.7% selecting the option for Audio 6 (authentic Spanish) and 16.4% selecting it for Audio 3 (authentic Italian), which compares with 11.2% choosing the option for Audio 7 (Colombian rendition by a Spaniard) and only 1.5% for Audio 10 (Italian rendition by a Spaniard). As previously mentioned, the largest cohorts of respondents on the FSE questionnaire were from Italy and Spain: 34.3% from Italy and 37.3% from a Hispanophone country with the three largest contingents from Spain (23.1%), Colombia (5.2%), and Mexico (3.7%).

An interesting asymmetry arose between the fictional Colombian, Italian, and *Dornish* accents receiving very low ratings for authenticity by non-native English speakers yet still raking in significant percentages as being perceived as Hispanic, especially by the native-English speakers, who presented ratings almost twice as high as non-natives in each case of a fictional accent, i.e. a rendition. For example, the fictional Italian accent in Audio 10 was perceived by 44% of NESs as Hispanic and by 24.8% as from Spain, while 22.4% of respondents perceived it as Italian, and yet on the FSE questionnaire Spaniards and Italians combined amounted to a total of 1.5% of respondents answering *People from my country usually sound like this when they speak English*. Furthermore, over double the amount of NESs perceived the *Dornish* accent as Hispanic in comparison to FSEs: 34.9% vs. 15.7%.

This finding suggests that authenticity is not crucial in order for a Hispanic perception to be experienced by Anglophones. The question of whether natives of the language in which a foreign accent finds its origins are the best authority on which to judge authenticity is itself a point worth researching. Nevertheless, these respondents' success rates in identifying the only authentic accents in the questionnaire do inspire confidence in this method of assessing authenticity.

Limitations

The limitations, many of which have been touched upon throughout the article, of the questionnaires and the conclusions that can be drawn from them must be made clear, and can be used to inform the design of future empirical studies surveying the perceptions surrounding accent. First of all, there was a variety of fiction and non-fiction in the audios and it transpired the more emotive tone in the fictional texts might have impacted respondents' perceptions of the accents in question. Furthermore, it is possible that the use of female or male voices could have influenced perceptions, for which reason it would be useful to include both for each accent under study and, indeed, various female and male voices with the same accent and from a diversity of age demographics. Despite the fact that celebrity bias can come into play in the perception of an accent, this point proved useful in tracing the perception mechanism and understanding the memetic, top-down process in action.

Whereas there was great diversity in the ages of participants, there was a strong predominance of participants in their twenties and the qualities people associate with linguistic varieties is a function of diachronic experience. Similarly, the largest cohorts of respondents were from the UK and Ireland, followed by the US, and then small numbers from other Anglophone regions. This means that the responses are ultimately most representative of the UK and Ireland, which invokes the Wellsian observation mentioned in the introduction to this article, describing how ideas about accents and cultural identity are determined largely diatopically. As for layout, on the one hand, the usage of open-text answer boxes instead of MCQs for many questions made room for more objectivity in respondents' answers. On the other hand, however, it complicated the analysis given that an analyst cannot always be clear on the depth of an answer provided, e.g. a respondent indicating "England" may have meant the UK, or vice versa. This ambiguity came into play in the case of a respondent indicating "The Canary Islands" for Audio 6, as discussed. Typos in open-text answers also made analysis more cumbersome, e.g. "Columbia" for "Colombia". Analysis was also complicated in combined MCQ-open text answers, whereby, for example, having selected *A NON-English-speaking country*, a respondent then proceeded to specify "New York". These were corrected when calculating statistics. A final point to note is that audios were used without videos. This enabled research into the perception of accents in the least corrupted way possible, though limitations and undue influences have been outlined. Nevertheless, an audiovisual text may have also shed light on the impact of physical appearance, ethnicity, dress, and setting on the perception of accent. These elements of multimodal, audiovisual texts could make for an interesting follow-on study and the findings from this exclusively audio-based study could be used as a benchmark against which to interpret perceptions of visuals.

Conclusions

In conclusion, in order to be perceived as Spanish in English, it suffices to sound Hispanic, more generally. Furthermore, it is not necessary to display the full array of phonetic realisations pertaining to a foreign accent in order for the accent to be correctly identified. Rather, it is more important that the iconic traits of the accent feature, which in the case of Hispanic accents in English have been elucidated as the dental fricative [ð] realisation of /d/ and /t/, trilled and/or tapped /r/, the uvular fricative realisation of /h/, and the /s/ realisation of /z/. The fact that a unique and defined phonetic repertoire is recognisable as belonging to native-Spanish speakers in English is suggestive of the reality that different varieties of Spanish together constitute a single variety of English (see Hayes 2022b for more on this). Adopting a

persona and/or speech quality befitting of the top adjectives (*passionate, friendly, pleasant, exotic and smooth*) used most commonly to describe Hispanic accents might also lead to a Hispanic perception. This reality and the fact that respondents provided more adjectives to describe accents they could recognise lend credence to the existence of dialectal memes. Celebrity also has a bearing on whether an accent will be perceived as Hispanic—an audience is more likely to think a speaker sounds Spanish if they already know s/he is. Lastly, the authenticity levels required to be perceived as Spanish by an English-speaking audience are low. This last point can serve to explain why, in the likes of the English dub of Galician-Spanish series *Fariña* (*Cocaine Coast*) earlier mentioned, an eclectic medley of pan-Hispanophone accents (Spanish, Latin American, and Latin-American-inspired renditions by Hispanic Americans) leads native-Anglophone viewers to a generically Hispanic perception, rather than a geographically nuanced one. Furthermore, the finding on third-degree perceptual specificity serves to justify the loss of a source text's geographic specificity in original or dubbed versions. From this point of view, we can forgive the disappearance of Galician or even Peninsular-Spanish specificity in the English dub of *Fariña* (*Cocaine Coast*). And we can regret that, even if the accents helped the actors to enter into their roles, Cruz and Bardem's efforts at regional-Colombian accents in *Loving Pablo* may well have fallen on unattuned ears and been unappreciated. Finally, I would like to suggest that the findings discussed in this article be considered a celebration of the Hispanic variety of the English language—a *how to* as opposed to a *how not to* sound Spanish, or Hispanic, in English.

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Table 3. Salient phonetic realisations of the variety of English featuring in each of the 11 accents on the questionnaire, with additional information provided in relation to Hispanophone and Italian accents

#	Accent	Phonetic realisations
1	New York City, Italian American Speaker: Robert De Niro (actor)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rhotic /r/: nightmare - [ð] realisation of /d/ and /t/ (Switching alveolar plosives for near dental fricatives): Doesn't, time, disgraceful - Elongated /e/ realisation of /æ/: nightmare - Yod-dropping [u:] realisation of [ju:]: stupid, new - Schwa realisation/non-rhoticity of final and pre-consonant /r/: years, bother
2	Dublin-Irish Speaker: Colin Farrell (actor)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rhoticity: Actor, for - Halfway strut vowel /ʊ/ (almost towards /ɔ:/): months, fun - 'Th' realisation always as ð and not θ: months - Schwa realisations of vowels/elisions: for, was - Front onset of /au/: round [ræʊnd] - [f] realisation of /t/: lot - /ɔ:/ realised almost as /ɑ:/: tallest - Dialect: meself
3	Italian-accented English Valentina Ferragni (influencer)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terminal Epenthesis schwa sound on words for which the final phoneme to be pronounced is a consonant (lingering added vowel/'e instable'): barefoot, delicate - /h/ dropping (non-aspirated /h/): Hundred, hydrated, her - /t/ realised as [i:]: Wind, different - /y/ as [i:]: hydrated - ð and θ realisation as /v/, /f/, /d/, or /t/ (unlike Spaniards due to [ð] and [θ] <i>ceceo</i> and dental fricative [ð] of /d/ and /t/): Think, the, something - Aspirated apical alveolar stop /t/ realisation (like Anglophone natives and unlike Hispanophones with dental fricative): totally - /z/ realisation of /z/ and of intervocal /s/ (like Anglophone natives and unlike Hispanophones): easy - Closed Italian /o/ sound which sounds similar to English short /o/ or [ɒ] (open Italian /o/ should be used in <i>totally</i> but closed /o/ used in Italian <i>totalmente</i> is carried over) (Spanish has one /o/ sound only, which sounds similar to English [ɔ:] and Italian open /o/, so in English they use this for long and short /o/ sounds whereas Italians use both open/long and closed/short /o/, although not always in the 'right'/standard place as is this case): totally - No initial epenthesis /e/ before /s/ (like Anglophone natives and unlike Hispanophones): Skin, sleeping,

		<p>summer, something</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intonation: totally different
4	<p>Colombian-accented English</p> <p>Speaker: J Balvin (music artist)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intonation: Achieve your dreams, work for them, go - /ð/ realisation of /d/ and /t/: do (x2), start, God - /ð/ realisation of /ð/ and /θ/ (due to no <i>ceceo</i>): think - /y/ realised as /dʒ/ does not feature (this is emblematic of Colombian Spanish but results suggest it would not ring as such to non-Hispanophone Anglophones) - Colombian intonation: Achieve your dreams, you know, work for them, He's gonna give you the energy to make it happen but don't think that he's gonna go out and record for you... do the promo. - Americanisms in dialect: gonna, gotta - Missing preposition: Praying God
5	<p>Yorkshire (Sheffield)</p> <p>Speaker: Sean Bean (actor)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - /h/ dropping: head, happy - Strut vowels /ʊ/: Good, pub, goodness, love - Short vowel /æ/ path - Varying pronunciations of [ɔ:] sound in North such as /ʊə/, /oə/, /ɒ:/ and even a rhotic /ɔ:r/. does not feature - /z/ realisation of /s/: us - Rolled/Trilled rhotic /r/ (generational trait): brilliant - Long monophthongs [o:]: local, ago - Long monophthongs [e:]: played - /i/ and /e/ realised as [e:]: Really, civilizations, played - Dialect: 'me' for possessive 'my'
6	<p>Spanish-accented English</p> <p>Speaker: Rafael Nadal (tennis player)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - /s/ realisation of /z/: There is, kids, was - /i:/ realisation of /i/: It's, studying, this - 'jota' [x] realisation of /h/: happy, here - [θ] realisation of /d/ and /t/ (Switching alveolar plosives for almost dental fricatives): important - /d/ realisation of /ð/ and /θ/: there's - /o/ realisation of /u/: Studying, hundred, lucky - Rhotic rolled /r/ (alveolar trill) (r): Thirty, important, proud - Rhoticity /r/: There, are - Pronunciation of 'ed' at end of past-tense verbs: changed - /ŋk/ realisation of velar nasal /ŋ/: Growing, young, studying - Near /g/ pronunciation of /c/ (less plosive than native Anglophones): camera - Almost /b/ pronunciation of /p/ (less plosive than native Anglophones): proud - [θ] realisation like native (UK) Anglophones (due to <i>ceceo</i> e.g. paz, cereza): think - [ð] realisation like native (UK) Anglophones (due to other <i>ceceo</i> e.g. juzgado, hazlo): this - Elongated [ɔ:] realisation: growing - Initial epenthesis /e/ before /s/: stuff - /v/ realised as /b/: does not feature - /j/ and /g/+i/e realised as /y/: does not feature

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dialectal inclusion of ¿no? after statements: We are already 130 kids... (from Spanish 'somos' and 'ya'); and the possessive use of preposition 'of' instead of apostrophe-s construction in 'fault of the camera'
7	<p>Colombian by Spaniard</p> <p>Speaker: Penélope Cruz (actress)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - /d/ realisation of /ð/ and /θ/ widow - Rhotic rolled /r/: tricks - Elongated [ɔ:] realisation job - Strong /dʒ/ realisation job - /y/ realised as /dʒ/ does not feature - Intonation: And I'm the only woman who has ever loved you without expecting anything in return
8	<p>Standard British English (SBE) i.e. southern England</p> <p>Speaker: Edward Sault (BBC South presenter)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-rhoticity: Certainly, colour, darker, artist - Notably aspirated initial /t/: Artist, times, take - Yod-coalescence: does not feature - No strut vowel: /ʌ/ realisation: much
9	<p>Greek</p> <p>Speaker: Alexis Tsipras (politician and former Prime Minister)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [X] realisation of /h/, High, height - Rhoticity, Percent, quarter - Rhotic rolled /r/ Figures - Long /e/ realisation of short /e/ decade - Dialectal 2017/2018 (two thousand seventeen: no 'and', Used in US English but perhaps a mistake here)
10	<p>Italian by Spaniard</p> <p>Speaker: Penélope Cruz (actress)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Terminal Epenthesis schwa sound on words for which the final phoneme to be pronounced is a consonant (Lingering added vowel/ 'e instable'): mine - /h/ dropping: Hers - Intonation: I never know if it's hers or mine
11	<p>Dornish from <i>Game of Thrones</i> i.e. fictional Spanish/Mediterranean</p> <p>Characters: Princes Doran and Trystane Martell</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - /o/ realisation of /u/: lucky - /s/ realisation of /z/: please - Rhotic rolled /r/: mercy, father, free - /æ/ realisation of /ɑ:/: father