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# English PronunciationS The Pronunciation of English around the World 

 Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics \& Tonetics Method
## 1. International, American \& British neutral Accents

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## 1. On vowels $\&$ vocoids

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## A necessary introduction to vowel production and classification

1.1. As far as vowels are concerned, let us recall that from a phonetic point of view it is more convenient to use the term vocoids, while reserving the more traditional terms for phonemes and graphemes.
fig 1.1. Orograms of the four extreme points for vocoid articulations (with corresponding labiograms) and the vocogram. Note that rounded vocoids (such as [u]) have round markers, instead of square ones.

fig 1.1 will help to 'reconstruct' the typical modalities for the production and identification of vocoids, or vowel phones, which have three fundamental components that - concisely- are: the fronting and raising of the dorsum (or central part of the tongue), with different degrees of jaw opening, and different lip positions, since lip rounding doubles the number of all possible vocoids.
1.2. Let us notice that our vocogram is different from the currently official trapezoid, which we decided to abandon because of its partially unsatisfactory shape and conception (cf G 6-8 of our NPT, Natural Phonetics \& Tonetics, for more details and general information, as well).

Furthermore, it is very important to realize that the two low vocoids are -more realistically- $[\mathfrak{Z}, \alpha]$, not '[a, a]’ (as acoustic phonetics can easily show, as well).

Besides, the vocogram is subdivided in a considerable number of boxes, which
fig 1.2. All vocoids and their palatograms (including eight theoretical or less frequent ones).


|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Y | y | H | $\mu$ | U |
| Y | Y | 甘 | - | v |
| ( $\varnothing$ ) | Ø | $\Theta$ | 0 | 0 |
| (Q) | Q | B | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ |
| (œ) | œ | 20 | ○ | $\bigcirc$ |
| (œ) | © | 6 | 2 | D |
| 5 |  | $\begin{array}{r} 7 \\ \text { roun } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 8 \\ \text { ded } \end{array}$ | 9 |


| high (A) |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { lower-high (B) }\end{array}\right\}$ CLOSE |  |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { higher-mid (C) } \\ \text { lower-mid (D) }\end{array}\right\}$ MID |  |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { higher-low (E) } \\ \text { low (F) }\end{array}\right\}$ OPEN |  |

PALATOGRAMS

æ, æ, œ

renders it more precise a tool than the too generic official one (given at the end of the book); fig 1.2 shows the vocograms and palatograms of all our vocoids.
1.3. In addition, fig 1.3-4 will complete our general view, by providing all possible vocoids (both unrounded and rounded), again in orograms which contain a miniature vocogram, in order to help to see nuances and differences better. For half--rounded vocoids (some of which are certainly needed even for neutral American English, as for instance /e/before the diaphoneme / $\mathfrak{x}$ /, as in [hst:] /heq/ hull), cf fig 1.5 (some of the regional accents we will deal with can use half-rounded vocoids, too).
1.4. For vocoids, voicing is the normal type, so much so because voicelessness is considered to be the marked characteristic for vowels.

For the eight vocoids which appear without any grey background, and with symbols in brackets, no language has been found that uses them systematically, as yet. However, it is very important to consider them, too, because the official IPA system is too rough to be really useful.
fig 1.3. Orograms of unrounded (or spread, or normal) vocoids.

fig 1.4. Orograms of rounded vocoids.

fig 1.5. Comparisons between vocoid lip-positions (including different kinds of rounding).


# 5. The vowels of the 3 neutral accents 

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5.0. Starting again from the vowels of our diaphonemic transcription, we will now see systematically the characteristics of neutral American and British English, in relation to those of the International accent. The diphthongs are dealt with in G 7, although some reference has to be done to them in this chapter too (as we had to, already, previously).
5.1. English has a high number of vowel phonemes, so it is advisable to subdivide them into groups, rather than either keeping them all together or taking them one by one. This is also useful to make easier comparisons with other languages, and to avoid possible confusions.
5.2. The essential English vowel phonemes are:

diphthongs/ii, Et, aE, $\sigma \mathrm{E}, \mathrm{a} \mathrm{\sigma}, \sigma \rho, \mathrm{uu} /$.
5.3. It is important to note (cffig 5.1-3) that /ii, uu/ are true diphthongs (even in the International English pronunciation), although narrow ones, with second elements definitely more peripheral than their first elements, [ii, uu] 【i^iv, u^u×】. In American and British neutral pronunciations (as well as in the native-like International one), /ii, uu/ need two different symbols each: [ri, ${ }^{i /} a_{\mathcal{J}}, b_{\mu u}$ ].
5.4. In addition, there are some diaphonemes:
 portant, devices).
5.5. The former have the following realizations:
i/a [læst] b [la'st] /llost/ last
${ }^{i}$ ['phassfe] $a[$ 'phast $\Lambda$ ] $b$ ['phæste] /'pạstr/ pasta
i/b[10st] a [lorst] /lopst/ lost

5.6. In modern neutral (and International) pronunciations, $/ \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{u} /$ are used in words such as:

```
i'a['ve.i] b['ve_i] /'ve.i/ very
```


$i$ ['mfluəns] ${ }^{\prime} b$ ['ımfluəns] /'unfluəns/ influence.
5.7. The diaphoneme $/ \partial /$ stands for ${ }^{i / a}[\partial] / \partial /$ and $b[\mathrm{l}] / \mathrm{l} /$ (by normalizing its usage), as in:
${ }^{i}$ [haozəz] ${ }^{a}$ ['haozəz] $b$ ['haozız] /'haozə̣z/ houses.
5.8. We certainly prefer to deal with English pronunciation in a diaphonemic way. It is important to show especially what the International, American and British accents have in common, so that their structural differences are made clearer and more natural.
5.9. Front monophthongs/i, t, e, æ, æ/. Their realizations coincide for the three accents (International, American, and British) in that the same symbols are sufficient, except for British $/ \mathfrak{æ} /$, which corresponds to $/ \mathrm{a}: /$, rather than to $/ \mathfrak{x} /$ (while, in central-northern England, the situation is $|\mathfrak{X} /=| \mathfrak{x} /[\mathrm{a}$ ], with some differences).
5.10. They include three phonemes: /l, e, æ/:
/l/ [ı], i/alb[ht] /htt/ hit
/E/[ E$]$, i/arb[1 Et$] / \mathrm{le}_{\mathrm{E}} /$ let
|æ/ [æ], i'aıb['dzæ’z] /'dzæz/ jazz
fig 5.1. Front monophthongs (and two British centering diphthongs).

5.11. And three diaphonemes: |i, E, æ/:



5.12. Central monophthongs /a, ว̣, ə: ว̣, e, a :, a./. Here, there is more variation, even for some of the true phonemes; but especially for the diaphoneme /ad/, which is mostly found in words of foreign origin spelled with an $a$ (that is preferably /a:/, but can be / $x /$ as well, especially in British English).
fig 5.2. Central monophthongs (phonemes and diaphonemes).

5.13. Four phonemes, $/ \partial, \partial$ д, e, а:/:


$\mid \mathfrak{e} /{ }^{i / b}[\mathrm{e}]$ a $[\Lambda], \mathrm{i}^{i / b}[\mathrm{hef}]$ a $[\mathrm{h} \Lambda \dagger] / \mathrm{het} /$ but

5.14. And three diaphonemes, /ว̣, ว̣̌, à:/:



5.15. To be true, things are a little less simple than that, as far as the diaphoneme $/ \partial /$ is concerned. In fact, even in British English, we can have $|\partial|=\mid \partial /$, and $/ \partial /=/ / /$ in American English, as well - cf The socio-diaphoneme /ə $/$, G 8.
5.16. Back monophthongs/u, $\omega, \sigma:, \sigma:, \sigma, \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{o} /$. Their most peculiar characteristic regards the two lower elements; while / $\sigma: /$ shows variation according to words (spelled with $a u, a w$ ) and speakers (/ $\sigma /$, used in the suffix -ory, as well, alternating with $/ \partial, \partial \rho /)$.
fig 5.3. Back monophthongs (and one British centering diphthong).

5.17. Three phonemes, $\mid \omega, \sigma_{x}, \mathrm{o} /:$
/o/ [ a ], [lok]/lok/ look

$/ \mathrm{p} /{ }^{i / b}[\mathrm{p}] a[\mathrm{a}], i / b[\mathrm{hof}]$ a [hat] /hot/ hot.
5.18. And four diaphonemes, $/ \mathrm{u}, \sigma, 0, \sigma, \mathrm{p} /$ :
$/ \mathrm{u} /{ }^{i}[\mathrm{u}]{ }^{\prime \prime} b[\mu],{ }^{i}\left[\mathrm{lmflu}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{Enze}\right] a\left[-\mu^{\prime} \mathrm{Enzs}\right] b\left[-\mu^{\prime} \mathrm{Enze}\right] /$ nflu'enza/ influenza



5.19. Here are further examples, to show some relevant taxophones of / $\mathrm{l}, \mathrm{E}, æ /$ followed by $/ \mathrm{t} /$ :

```
\(i\left[\mathrm{but}_{\mathrm{t}}\right] a^{\prime} b\left[\mathrm{buta}_{\mathrm{t}}\right] / \mathrm{b} \mathrm{u}_{\mathrm{t}} /\) Bill
\({ }^{i}\) [ beft\(] a[\mathrm{bcta}] b[\mathrm{betr}] / \mathrm{beq} /\) bell
```


5.20. The same three phonemes, /t, e, æ/, can be followed by $/ \mathrm{x} /$ too (ie $/ \mathrm{VIV} /$ ):

$i^{\prime} a[$ 'mesi $] b[$ 'me_ii] /'meni/ merry

5.21. While in neutral British pronunciation Mary, merry and marry are all different, respectively ${ }^{b}$ ['mes_fi, 'me.fi, 'mæ. ${ }_{i}$ ], in mediatic American pronunciation they are all the same $m a[\operatorname{lm} \tilde{\varepsilon} \pm i]$ (with a unique different vocoid, nasalized by the preceding $/ \mathrm{m} /$, and a uvularized $/ x /[\mp]$ ). International English and neutral American English, as well, have only two different pronunciations:
i/a ['mæлi] /'mæıi/ marry and
i/a['me.ii] both for /'meə..ii/ Mary and (as expected) for /'meni/ merry.
5.22. In addition, let us consider $/ \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{e}, \mathrm{\omega} /$ followed by /ə̣/ plus /I/ (ie /Vọ.IV/), giving /ıə., Еə̣, ■ə̣/, which in British English, are realized as centering diphthongs,





The variants of /tjoə̣IV, djoə̣. $\mathrm{V} /$ with ['thh- 'ds-] are possible in all three neutral accents, while /'ț̣uu-, 'dj̣uu-/ $\rightarrow$ /'ţuu-, 'dzuu-/, as in tube, dune, are only mediatic or local variants. As to /aı/ added to diphthongs, we will see below ( (К 11).
5.23. We will now see similar combinations, but with exchanged diaphonemes,

 corresponds to 'zero', in neutral British English, while in International English it is realized as a semi-approximant, [ I ]; or as a full approximant, [ I ], in neutral American English. So, we have:



5.24. This is also true of the /Viə! / sequences, /a:İ, $\sigma:!$
$i$ [khaix] a[kha:I] b[kha:] /ka:I! car


5.25. The diaphoneme /i/ occurs at the end of words or of first elements of compounds, and before Vs as well:
['hæpi]/hæpi/ happy



5.26. The diaphoneme $/ \mathrm{u} /$ only occurs before Vs , also with unstressed to (and into), which can have $/ \mathrm{u} /$ even at the end of phrases, before a pause (or even before Cs in slow, deliberate or emphatic speech); while it is possible to find / $\mathrm{t} / \mathrm{/}$ even before Vs as well, especially in American English. Thus we have:



$i\left[t h \partial '\right.$ 'sen:d] $a^{\prime} b[\dagger$ hə'sen:d; th $\mu-] /$ /ə'send/ to send.
5.27. We can use the diaphoneme / $\mathrm{u} /$ even in words ending in unstressed -ue (as in statue or value, besides /uu/), and in the reduced forms of completely unstressed do, who (rel.), you, before Vs. But, before pauses, unstressed you is $/ \mathrm{ju} /$ or (especially in International and American English) / jo/, as well:
${ }^{i}$ [aEf'†helj
5.28. Of course, it is scientifically unacceptable to list among the monophthongs the following two true diphthongs: /ii, uu/ [ii, uu] (still generally rendered as '/is, u:/'; and, in some books or dictionaries, even /Et, $\sigma \Omega /$ are sometimes shown as '/er, o:/'.

Not rarely, these four phonemes are shown as plain '/i, u, e, o/', together with '/a,
 uuə! / will be dealt with under the diphthongs, below ( $f(\mathfrak{F} 11$ ).

# 10. The diphthongs of the 3 neutral accents 

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10.1. Let us now consider the seven phonemic diphthongs of our three neutral accents.

Of course, in plain International English, we have one realization for each of the seven diphthongs. Let us notice, once again, that they are seven, not just five, as even most native-speaker phoneticians still seem to believe, in spite of clear and obvious evidence of the fact that/ii, uu/ are diphthongs, too.

This can be done even acoustically, for those who are not able to hear the sounds, or who rely too heavily on documented 'scientific' results, as if the results of a trained ear would just be a case of unexpected chance (something like 'what a lucky fluke!').
fig 10.1. Fronting diphthongs.

10.2. fig 10.1 shows the four fronting diphthongs, for the three accents. In place of the four expected realizations of plain International English, the American and British neutral accents (as well as the native-like International accent, of fig 5) have eight, more or less different, realizations, because we cannot absolutely ignore the taxophones before / $/$ //.

This might let one think that -after all- the type of (plain) International pronunciation is not a 'natural' one. But we have to state, once again, that it is far more natural than what most books on the phonetics of English still present.
10.3. The black markers and lines stand for the four phonemes, while the grey markers and broken lines show the additional taxophones, or contextual variants
 alb $[\sigma 9, \sigma \sharp\}] / \sigma E(\mathcal{T}) /:$
${ }^{i}$ ['fhiri, fiiit] alb['thri, 'fir $\ddagger$ ]/'tii, 'fii / tea, feel



10.4. fig 10.2 shows the three backing diphthongs, with ${ }^{i}[\mathrm{a} \mathrm{\sigma}(\boldsymbol{f})]{ }^{\mu} \mathrm{b}[\mathrm{ao}(\mathrm{f})] / \mathrm{a} \mathrm{\sigma}(\mp) /$,


For the American accent, we must show also the variant with exchanged possible realizations, since they vary quite freely, although it is better to use $[\mu \mathrm{u}]$ when fig 10.2. Backing diphthongs.

preceded by $/ \mathrm{j} /$, and $[\mathrm{vu}]$ in the other cases, including /juu/, which, in neutral American English, stands for plain /uu/; thus, we have ${ }^{i}$ [juu] ${ }^{a}[\mathrm{vu}]{ }^{b}[\mathrm{j} \mu \mathrm{u}] / \mathrm{juu} /$, and ${ }^{i}[\mathrm{juu}]{ }^{a}[\mathrm{j} \mu \mathrm{u}]{ }^{b}[\mathrm{j} \mu \mathrm{u}] / \mathrm{juu} /$ as in:

${ }^{i}[j u \mathrm{u}] a[\mathrm{j} \mu \mathrm{u}]{ }^{b}[\mathrm{j} \mathrm{\mu u}] / \mathrm{juu} /$ you.
10.5. In addition, for neutral British English, besides the expected [ $\mu \mathrm{u}$, uuł]
 back-central round first element occurring before [ 1 ] (which, as far as we know, no one else had clearly shown before, except for mediatic British / $\sigma 0_{\neq} /$[ $\quad \tau 0 \uparrow$ ] , given as '[pu]'). In fact, in British English, go starts as girl, rather than as goal: b['gz'0, 'gs:ł,

10.6. Thus, we have:


 who, cool, and:
 'juut/ cue, yule.
10.7. As we have already seen, the other diphthongs, even if followed by $/ \mathfrak{t} /$, do not change much their components, apart from those with front second elements; besides (except for / $\sigma 0 /$, which has only $/ \mathcal{I} /$, in neutral pronunciation), they freely





10.8. Let us notice that the modern neutral British pronunciation differs only slightly from the more traditional one (and so there is little difference from the American one) for /ii, $\mathrm{El}, \mathrm{aE}, \sigma \mathrm{E}, \mathrm{a} \mathrm{\sigma} /$ and even for $/ \mathrm{ii} /$ /, as can be seen better through a careful comparison between the British and the American vocograms.

Indeed, we have:

```
\({ }^{i}\) ['thiri] alb['thri] /'tii/ tea
```



```
\({ }^{i}\) [ha'e] \({ }^{a r b}\) [ha's] /hae/ high
```



```
\({ }^{i}[\) 'na' \(\sigma]\) abb['naoo] /'nao/ now, and also:
```





10.9. Thus, there is a bigger difference for /uu, $\sigma \sigma /$ and $/ u_{\ddagger}, \sigma \omega_{\ddagger} /$ (but only -at least- in what is considered to be neutral, which, of course, is different from mediatic):
${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ 'far $\left.\sigma_{\mp}\right]$ $a^{\prime} b$ ['farol] /'fa $\sigma_{£} /$ fowl

$i\left[\mathrm{khu}_{\uparrow}\right]$ a $b[$ khu'vł $] / \mathrm{kuu}_{\uparrow} /$ cool. We find then:

$i^{\prime} a\left[{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{s}^{\circ} \mathrm{O}\right]{ }^{\circ} b\left[\mathrm{'ss}^{\circ} \mathrm{O}\right] / \mathrm{s} \sigma \Omega /$ so, as well as:
${ }^{i}[$ 'juu $\theta]$ a $b[$ 'j $j u 0 \theta] /$ 'juu $\theta /$ youth
${ }^{i}[$ 'nju'u] $a[$ 'nช'u, 'n $\mu \mathrm{ru}] b[$ 'nj $\mu \mathbf{u} \mathbf{u}] /$ 'njuu/ new
${ }^{i}\left[\mathrm{hu} u\right.$ ] $a\left[\mathrm{~h} \mathrm{H}^{\prime} \mathrm{u}\right] b[\mathrm{~h} \mu \mathrm{u}] / \mathrm{huu} /$ who.
10.10. In slower speech, $/ V V_{\dagger}^{\dagger} /$-in an intoneme- can be realized as $/ V V \partial \ddagger /$ ${ }^{i}\left[\mathrm{VV}_{\ddagger}\right]{ }^{a \prime b}[\mathrm{VVuł}]$. While, in normal speech, $/ \mathrm{VV}_{\mathfrak{t}} /$-in a preintoneme- generally changes into $/ \mathrm{VV}_{£} /{ }^{i}\left[\mathrm{VV}_{£}\right]{ }^{\prime \prime b}[\mathrm{VVł}]$. Of course, this holds even more for those $/ \mathrm{VV}_{\mathrm{I}} /$ that currently become $\left[\mathrm{VV}_{\dagger}^{\dagger}\right]$ :

 al period

${ }^{i}$ [ae'firił 'go'd] arb[aง'fi'ıł 'go'd] /ae'fiiq 'god/ I feel good.
10.11. Of course, the most peculiar diphthong in the British accent is / $\sigma \omega /$ [30], whose first element is central and unrounded (if not followed by [ 1 ], where we find [ooł]); while in American pronunciation (and International, as well) it is back and rounded, $[\sigma \omega]$ :
 'goo./ No, Joe won't go.
10.12. In the British accent, at the beginning of the twentieth century, [oo] was widespread; until the fifties it was [о๐], always with lip rounding, while [ə๐, 30], at that time, sounded rather affected.

In mediatic British pronunciation, we have $/ \sigma \omega(\mathfrak{f}) /[\varepsilon \omega, \partial v(\mathfrak{f})]$ (cffig 55.2).

# 13. On consonants \& contoids 

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13.0. Even for the consonants of English we follow a more scientific terminology, which defines the consonantal phones as contoids, while reserving the more traditional term (precisely consonant) for phonemes and graphemes, in addition to more general expositions. We will now see how the contoids are produced.

As we have already seen, the articulation of vowels is determined by the back of the tongue, with its up/down movements (complemented by closing and opening the jaw), as well as its front/back movements, and also by the possibility of lip rounding.

With contoids, instead, the space available is greater. In fact, it extends from the lips all the way to the larynx (cffig 13.1). Of course, for more details and general information the reader can see our book Natural Phonetics \& Tonetics (or its earlier version A Handbook of Phonetics).


```
(lower) lip
(upper) lip
(upper) teeth
alveoli
postalveoli
4 pre-palate
palate
pre-velum
velum
uvula
pharynx
tip (or apex, of the tongue)
lamina (or blade, of the tongue)
10-1 corona (of the tongue)
12 dorsum ([pre-, medium-, post-])
12+ radix (root of the tongue)
1 3 \text { glottis (passage into the larynx)}
    1 = vocal folds(or 'vocal cords')
    3= arytenoids
1 4 \text { epiglottis (covers the trachea)}
15 nasal cavity
```

13.1. The consonants of the three neutral accents of English are given in the table of fig 13.2. It shows all the phonemes and diaphonemes, and the different taxophones, as well, including some less frequent ones, which are important, however, for a native--like pronunciation of English.
fig 13.2. The consonantal phonemes and diaphonemes (/m, n, j; p, b, t, t, q, k, g; tf, d; f, v, $\left.\theta, ð, s, z, \int, \mathcal{Z} ; \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{w}, \mathrm{w}, \mathrm{h} ; 1, \mathrm{f} /\right)$ of neutral International, American, and British English (with their normal taxophones, between [], and special taxophones, between $\llbracket \rrbracket$ ).

13.2. In the table of fig 13.2 ( $c f f i g 15.1$ ), the names across the top are the principal places of articulation, ranging from the lips to the larynx, as already said. The signs on the left of the rows, instead, indicate the principal manners of articulation. Intersections between the rows and columns can then produce various contoid sounds, and the number is often doubled due to the possibility of adding voicing (ie the voiced phonation type - cf $\$ 4.1 \cdot 7-12$ ).

All the contoids of the three neutral accents of English (ie International, American, and British) are given in the table and shown in the following chapters (including the voiced and voiceless elements, which form diphonic pairs).

The other contoids, ie those which are typical of different accents, will be shown where they are dealt with (in the chapters on Territorial Accents).

## Places and manners of articulation

13.3. The three fundamental components for the production and identification of contoids are: manners and places of articulation, and phonation types.

The latter are extremely useful for contoids, since - depending on whether voicing is present or not- they double their number, for distinctive -or phonemic- purposes, as often happens with $\left[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d} ; \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}_{3} ; \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{v}\right] / \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{d} ; \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}_{3} ; \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{v} /$, which then form diphonic pairs, which are distinguished only by the different type of phonation.
13.4. The seven fundamental manners of articulation are: nasal, stop, stop-strictive, constrictive, approximant, flap (and tap within trill), lateral.

Traditionally (in spite of actual and objective difficulties, instead of the clearer ar-
ticulatory terms that we use), some terms of auditory origin, are still widespread, such as 'affricate' for stop-strictive or 'fricative' for constrictive.

Although neutral English has no actual trill contoid, it does have a couple of flaps, $[1, \downarrow]$, which belong to this group, naturally, and are very typical especially of the American accent.
13.5. In addition to the various fundamental orograms given in the next chapters, a series of different useful diagrams are shown in fig 13.3-5 (labiograms, dorsograms, and palatograms), in order to give further important articulatory information on some of the main phones (including a few which are not part of neutral English accents). The readers should inspect them very carefully, checking their own characteristics in a mirror.
fig 13.3. Different kinds of labiograms for some important phones.


$\int 3, t y d 3$

w, u

fig 13.4. Some dorsograms for some important phones.
fig 13.5. Some palatograms for some important phones.


S Z


t


# 14. Phonation types \& positions of the glottis 

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14.1. fig 41.1 shows the glottis (which is the space between the vocal folds) and the positions adopted during the phonation types we are interested in. In addition to normal breathing, we have a complete stoppage (ie the stop contoid, [?], which technically can be neither voiced nor voiceless, but has more affinities with the latter type, and will schematically be represented by laryngoids as lessness ([f], $]$ ) and voicing ([v], П). Furthermore, we also find lenis (or lenited) voicelessness and voicing (respectively [f, v. v , 目, ఈ), and mixed phonation (or balf-voicing, [v], with three schematic icons, which we will shortly see), where half of the interested phone is voiced, while the other half is voiceless.

Generally, the 'choice' -between the three of them- depends on context: after a pause (or silence) or a voiceless consonant, the first half is still voiceless; whereas the second half, which is in contact with voiced phones, is voiced: ( $\square$ ), as in German: Bett/[bet/ [ $\left.{ }_{\circ} \mathrm{bet}\right]$.
fig 14.1. Phonation types and positions of the glottis (and their laryngoids).


Instead，before a pause or a voiceless consonant，the two halves are exchanged： （■），as in English：bed／ $1 \mathrm{bed} /\left[\mathrm{be}^{\prime} \mathrm{d}\right]$ ．

14．2．On the other hand，within words or phrases／sentences，between voiced phones，the central part is the voiceless one，whereas the two margins（each one for a fourth of the total duration）are voiced：（ $\square$ ），as in some American pronuncia－ tions：［＇hæpi，＇hæbí；＇enii，＇enioi；＇phakut，＇phag̊ut］／hæpi，＇Eṭ̣i，＇pokə̣｜／happy，eighty， pocket．In $₫ 4 \cdot 1 \cdot 7^{-12}$ of $N P T / H P h$ ，we have explained how to verify and check if ＇voice＇is present or not，depending on vocal－fold vibrations during the produc－ tions of phones．We have added several particulars in fig 14．1，where there are two peculiar phonation types，too：creak（ paraphonic usages，expressing social or regional characteristics．

14．3．The devoicing of voiced diphonic consonants（／b，d，g；d；v，ð，z， $3 /$ ），be－ fore pauses or before voiceless consonants（＇postdevoicing＇），is very important：

```
\(i^{\prime} b\) ['bob] a ['barb] /bob/ Bob, ['dæ'd] /'qæd/ dad
```




```
['dæ'd 'thoktt] /'dæd 'toktt/ dad took it.
```

14．4．Of less importance is their devoicing after pauses or after voiceless con－ sonants（＇predevoicing＇），which is slighter，too．It is true that for some speakers it is as strong as postdevoicing，but it is usually less evident，and we need not mark it in our transcriptions－although they could be shown by means of a dot under a symbol：$[\mathrm{b}, \mathrm{z}]$（or above：$[\dot{\mathrm{g}}, \dot{\mathrm{j}}]$ ）：
ilb［＇ḅorb］a［bacrob］／bob／Bob，\＆c．
14．5．A dot could be used even after＇aspirated＇$/ \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{t} /$ ，but we will do that only here，because［ h ］is sufficient：

$i$［＇khwaet］${ }^{\prime} b$［＇khwas†］【＇khwasๆ】／kwaet／quite．
14．6．It is the same also for the other voiceless consonants（although their de－ voicing is only slight，and therefore usually it need not be marked）：

${ }^{i}$［＇snoxi］$a[$＇sno：x］$b[$＇sno：］［＇sṇ－】／＇sno：！̣／snore．
fig 14．2．Some exemplifications of different phonation types．


# 15. The consonants of English 

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15.1. As to consonants, suffice to say that [?] is acceptable for $/ \mathrm{t} /$ and that [1] may be good for $/ t!/$, mainly after vowels, while, after $/ \mathrm{n}, \underset{\mathrm{I}}{\mathrm{I}} \mathrm{t} /,[\mathrm{f}]$ is the most recommendable phone:


$i[' \dagger$ hwenti] $a[$ '†hwen(1)i] $b[$ '†hwen $\dagger \mathrm{i}] /$ 'Twenṭi/ twenty.
15.2. In American English, /ṭ/ [1] becomes [q] (laterally contracted, by assimilation) before $/ \partial_{1} /\left[\begin{array}{l}\square\end{array}\right]$; there is a slight difference between [1] and [ $\downarrow$ ], and, especially in native-like international English, [ ${ }^{2}$ ] can usefully be added to the inventory of

15.3. For $r$, we systematically have: $\left|\mathrm{I} /{ }^{i}[\mathrm{I}],\right| \mathrm{I} /{ }^{i}[\mathrm{x}]$. The semi-approximant, $[\mathrm{x}]$, is lighter than the typical approximant, $[\mathrm{I}]$, and is placed in an intermediate auditory and articulatory position. In fact, the sequence [әr] may sound like [ ${ }_{\uparrow}$ ] to American ears, and even like [ə] to British ears (provided it is not final before a pause, where we have $\left.{ }^{b}[\mathrm{e} \mid]\right)$ :

```
i['nev\partialr]] a['nevr] ] b['neve] /'nevə!/ never, or
i['nev\partialr. 'sirin] a['nevf! 'srim] b ['nev3 'srin]/'nevoṛ 'siin/ never seen, but
```

fig 15.1. Consonantal elements of English (cf fig 13.2).

|  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{\text { Ü }}{\sigma} \\ & \stackrel{y}{0} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\stackrel{\text { \% }}{\substack{8 \\>}}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N | m | [m] | [r] |  |  | $[\eta]^{6}$ |  | [r] | [n] |  |  | $\eta$ |  |  |
| K | pb |  | [t d] | Id |  | [t d] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | d |  |  |  |  | k g |  |  |
| K |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| X |  | f v | $\theta$ б |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| S |  |  | s z |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| R |  |  |  | [112 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ] |  |  |  |  |  |  | I.\|. [f] |  |  | h |
| L |  |  |  |  | $\pm[1 \mid 1]$ |  |  |  | [1] |  |  |  |  |  |

 never in my life.
15.4. The auditory timbre of British $\left[\begin{array}{r}-\end{array}\right]$ is not very different from [ I ], and to many native speakers -both American and British-actually they sound 'the same', although they are quite different articulatorily, although, of course, they are both laterally contracted and rounded. To be true, it is possible to feel the difference, even because $\left.{ }_{[-}\right]$has a lower auditory timbre than $[\mathrm{I}]$.
 or even $\left[\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{I}}, \mathrm{d}_{\mathrm{z}}\right]$, without intrinsic lip-protrusion, just as in $[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{q}]$. They are possible, and quite acceptable, neutral pronunciations, in American and British English, too; although we still show only their 'expected' forms, by simply implying the two additional ones:

15.6. Of course, 'foreign' $[\mathrm{tr}, \mathrm{dr} ; \mathrm{tr}, \mathrm{dr} ; \mathrm{tr}, \mathrm{dr} ; \mathrm{ts}, \mathrm{ds} ; \mathrm{tt}, \mathrm{d} \mathrm{f}] \& \mathrm{c}$ are not suitable, although they, generally, do not actually prevent communication.

For $/ \mathfrak{t}, \dot{t} /$, it is better to actually use $[\mathfrak{q}, \dot{\dagger}]$ (semi-lateral, ie with no full contact, cf fig 15.2.3), which, articulatorily, are decidedly simpler than [ $[$, $\ddagger$ ] (in case, even $[\uparrow, \dagger]$-velar semi-lateral- can be used, which, auditorily, are certainly better than 'foreign' $[1,1] \& c)$.

Undoubtedly, plain [w] realizes/w/ (which we could even drop definitely, were it not for its possible regional, or social, or personal usage; although it is clearly shown in the spelling):
${ }^{i}$ ['wen:] arb['wen:; luen:] /'wen/ when.
fig 15.2. Some important consonant orograms.

1. The taxophones of $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{t}]$ and $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{c}], a[1, \mathrm{q}]$.



2. The taxophones of $/ 1 /[1]$ and $/ \mathrm{f} /[\mathrm{f}, 1]$. Besides, $[1]]+\left[{ }_{\mathrm{H}}^{\mathrm{j}}\right]$.

(1)


15.7. Actually, today, ${ }^{a b}$ ['hwen:, 'luen:] are rather marked, either as provincial /rustic, or as posh/affected 'choices', except, perhaps, mostly in Scotland and New Zealand.

In the international accent, $/ \mathrm{j} /$ is better treated as $/ \mathrm{j} /$ - although both $/ \mathrm{t} \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{d} \mathrm{j} /$ and $/ \mathrm{tj}, \mathrm{dj} /$ may become $/ \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{d}_{3} /$, too (mostly, in mediatic or local accents), even if this can cause some spelling problems, to both foreigners and native speakers. For American English, in addition to /juu/ [vu], we show the possible variant/j̣uu/ $\rightarrow$ [ $\mu \mathrm{u}$ ], as well:


${ }^{i}[$ 'njuru $][$ 'nưu, 'n $\mu \mathbf{u}] b\left[{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{nj} \mu \mathrm{u}\right] /$ 'nj̣uu/ new.
15.8. The plain 'international' kind of English pronunciation is a simplified model, which aims to only one articulatory phone for each phoneme or diaphoneme. But, there is a certain freedom as to the use of basic contoids and vocoids, especially in the case of $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{r}]$, as we have already seen.

Of course, the 'aspiration' of $/ \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{t} /$ and the partial devoicing of voiced diphonic contoids (before pauses or voiceless $C$ ) are very important. In fact, in a diaphonemic kind of transcription, we might as well imagine to show 'aspiration' as a phonemic sequence, just as we do from a phonetic point of view (at least in stressed syllables, with no preceding tautosyllabic $/ \mathrm{s} /$, by reusing $/ \mathrm{h} /$ ):

15.9. Naturally, postpausal 'aspiration' is less important; so it would not be really necessary to show it diaphonemically. But it is up to transcribers to decide whether to choose one type or the other, depending on their (teaching) purposes. However, it is better to follow a general and coherent model, such as:

 -be-, -bo-| to take somebody to the station.
15.10. The chart also shows some taxophones, which occur by automatic assimilation to the following consonants:
[hændz] 【-ndz】/hændz/ hands
[benty] [-nty]/bents/ bench



# 18. Flapped $t$ (not only American) 

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18.1. An important characteristic of the neutral American accent (which, however, is not neutral in the British accent, although it is fairly widespread now) regards $/ \mathrm{t} /$ that, in given contexts, is realized as a voiced alveolar flap, [1] (which, before [ $\left.{ }_{\dagger}\right]$ ], is equally lateralized, as well, ie laterally contracted: [ $\left.{ }_{\eta}\right]$ ).
fig 18.1-2 show both these contoids, [1, $]$, which are actual flaps and in clear contrast with the plain tap, [r], as in Spanish [karo]/'karo/ caro 'expensive; dear'.

As a matter of fact, [1] is quite another contoid in comparison with [r], although most textbooks in phonetics still keep on confusing them, mixing them up, as though they were the same thing.

Too often, even the terminology currently used is inadequate and inappropriately mixed up, or even completely reversed, by calling 'taps' what are clearly flaps, and vice versa.
18.2. Thus, we feel obliged to explain how things actually are. So we will treat in detail their exact nature, by starting from the simpler sound, the alveolar tap, [r], although it does not belong to English proper, except for the typical Scottish accent (and traditional and affected British English, of (万56-57), where, however, it stands for another phoneme, ie /I/, as in ['vers 'faar] /'veni 'faut/ very far, instead of ${ }^{i}$ ['verii 'fair] ${ }^{a}$ ['veri 'fa:I] $b$ ['vefi i'far].

In fact, the tap is produced by a single (generally light) contact between the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge (or alveoli), made directly as a rapid strike, as illustrated in fig 18.1, which shows [ $\mathrm{r}, \mathrm{1}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{l}]$ in this order. It is fairly clear that [r] only consists of one simple action.

In fig 18.2, we can see again [r] and the typical alveolar trill, [r] (with two strikes), in a way, the tap may be considered as a part (or a half) of a trill, with just one strike, as in Italian ['rairo] /'raro/ raro 'rare'. If the trill is lengthened, as in Spanish ['ra'ro] /'raco/ raro 'rare' again or ['karroo]/karroo/ carro 'car' (or Italian ['karroo] /karro/ carro 'cart'), where we have three strikes for [re], and four strikes altogether in [ $\mathrm{rr}: \mathrm{rar}$ ]: one for $[\mathrm{r}]$ and three for $[\mathrm{r}]$; of course, for three strikes, $[\mathrm{r}]$ would
fig 18.1. Orograms of $[1, \downarrow]$ in comparison with $[\mathrm{r}, \mathrm{l}]$.

be more appropriate, but we know that for the eye it is certainly better to use [r].
Perhaps, it is not here the proper place to explain that, unfortunately, the traditional Hispanic symbol, $\bar{r}$, is too often inserted even in IPA transcriptions, giving things like $\bar{r} a ́ r o ~ a n d ~ k a ́ r o, ~ i n s t e a d ~ o f ~ a c t u a l ~ a n d ~ m o r e ~ r e a l i s t i c ~[' r a a r o, ~ k a r r o o] . ~$ But we think that these things must be said loud and clear.
18.3. Going back to fig 18.1, let us now consider the flap, [1], which consists of three parts, although it is a very quick and short sound: first, the tip is drawn back, behind the alveolar ridge; secondly, there is a tapping during its movement forwards, with a light strike when passing from behind to a front position of rest. fig 18.2 shows the three phases more clearly.
fig 18.2. Comparisons between $[1, ~]$ and $[\mathrm{r}, \mathrm{r}]$.


Again in fig 18.2, we can see [ $]$ ], as well, whose middle phase is laterally contracted (which is indicated by the arrow), just as in the lateral [1] (given in fig 18.1). This should make the relation clear between these different but similar contoids.

Perhaps, this could even make clear why so many phoneticians (to say nothing of phonologists or general linguists) still treat $[r, 1, \eta]$ as if they were just one and the same sound. Instead, at least in American English (and in native-like International English, as well), $[1\rceil$,$] are different from [ [\mathrm{l}$ :
i/a[beti, -ii] b[beti] /beti/ Betty

18.4. But, let us see, first, when we have /t/, which remains a voiceless alveolar stop (though, in certain cases, it may become a laryngeal -or 'glottal'- stop, [ [ ] ]), instead of the diaphoneme $/ \mathrm{t} / /^{i}[\dagger, 1]^{a}\left[1,1, \tau^{b}[\dagger \dagger\right.$. Our (diaphonemic) transcriptions are a convenient guide.

There is $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{t}]$ in stressed (even 'unaspirated' because in the sequence /'st/) or in half-stressed syllable:
[then:] /'ten/ ten
['stem:] /'stem/ stem



18.5. There is $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{f}]$ after a pause, or after consonants (different from $/ \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{f} /$ ), too:



['Em(p) i] ]/Em(p) i/ empty.
18.6. Before heterosyllabic consonants, we have $/ t /[t, r]$ (of course, in ${ }^{i}[$ 'phoooz

${ }_{i}{ }^{\prime} b[$ 'tgherni, -Pni] a['thatni, -Pni] /'tyrni/ Chutney


18.7. It is the same ( $/ \mathrm{f} /[\mathrm{f}, \mathrm{P}]$ again) even after $/ \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{f} /$ before $/ \mathrm{n} /$ :


18.8. It remains $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{t}]$ even in words in -Vtic (even with no secondary stress):
${ }^{i}$ [luunətık] a[lvu-] $b[1 \mu \mathrm{u}-] /$ luunərtk/ lunatic


18.9. Besides, we find:

18.10. Let us now turn to the contexts where /t/ [t] becomes $/ t /[1, \downarrow]$, in normal speaking (neither slow, nor particularly careful; otherwise, we have [ $\dagger$ ], as we will see below).

We find / $\mathrm{t} /[1\rceil$,$] between a stressed (or unstressed) vowel and another unstressed$ vowel, or $[\mathfrak{\ddagger}, \dot{\dagger}]$ (but also with a stressed vowel, if heterosyllabic):
${ }^{i}$ [betio --ii] a['beni] b['beti] /beți/ Betty

${ }^{i}$ [vızə'buləəi, -vi] a[-əvi] b[-әti] /vzzə'buləṭi/ visibility





 bering that, as our examples show, $[1\rceil$,$] may often be dropped after / \mathrm{n} /$, $[\mathrm{n}(1), \mathrm{n}(\mathrm{p})])$ :
${ }^{i}{ }^{\prime}\left[\right.$ [bænfəm] ${ }^{a}[$ bæn(1)əm] /bænṭəm/bantam





18.12. Again, we have $/ t / /[1\rceil$,$] before a stressed vowel (provided it is heterosyllabic):$
 ṭos/potato

18.13. In American English (especially mediatic), the sequences /nṭ, It , $\mathrm{x} \uparrow /$ / may also have 'fused' realizations, [ $1, ~ 1, ~ 飞]$ (which we show only here):
ma['phẽ̃̃̃̃̃!] /'pentụu/ painting
ma['pha"i] /'pautuil party
ma['fээıi] /'forxṭi/ faulty.
fig 18.3. Orograms of [ $1, \downarrow$ ] in comparison with [ q$]$ (velarized) and [ĩ] (nasalized).

18.14. However, in American English, when speed is reduced, or when more attention is paid to the way of speaking, $/ \mathrm{t} /[1, \downarrow]$ become $/ \mathrm{t} /[\mathrm{t}]$ :
i[beti, beni] a[beai, beti] b[beti]/beți/ Betty
${ }^{i}$ ['†hwenti] a['†hwen(1)i, -nti] $b$ ['†hwenti] /'twenṭi/ twenty


18.15. The same goes, even in a normal manner of speaking, for $/ \mathrm{xt} /$ :


18.16. This happens even to less common words, such as:



18.17. $/ \mathrm{t} /$ is [1] also in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa (and in towns in Wales, and $/ \underset{t}{t} /[1, \downarrow]$ in towns in Ireland); while, Scotland is well-known for $/ t \cdot / \rightarrow$ [?], even between vowels and before $/ \dot{\ddagger} /[\mathfrak{j}, \downarrow]$ (and even before its typical pronunciation of $\left./ \partial_{\partial!} /[\partial r]\right)$. The same change, $/ \mathrm{t} / \rightarrow[\mathrm{r}]$, including $/ \mathrm{t} / \rightarrow[1]$ as well, occurs in broad accents in England, too, in particular, in London, Birmingham, \&c.

# 26. The 'whole truth' on English $r$ 

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26.1. The English '/r/' phoneme is completely different from that of most languages, which have alveolar contoids: [r] (trill), [r] (tap), while other languages have uvular contoids: [R] (trill), [ b ] (constrictive), [ y$]$ (approximant), just to name a few.

Thus, it is extremely important to use a different symbol for English $r$, even at a phonemic level: $/ \mathrm{I} /$. Furthermore, American and British English have two quite different articulations, although -from an auditory point of view- the impression is quite similar. However, there are some perceptible differences: suffice to say that the American type has a relatively higher intrinsic timbre than the British.

Even International English $r$ is alike, since it has both the approximant type, [I], before vowels, and the semi-approximant, [r], as well, which is similar, though weaker, and is used before consonants or pauses.
26.2. Once and for all, it is of paramount importance to establish the exact articulation of both kinds of approximants (and semi-approximant).

Unfortunately, except in very few cases, even among native English phoneticians, there exist odd and perhaps too traditional ideas about the precise nature and articulation of $/ x /$, which are not based either on real analyses of sounds or accurate kinesthesia.

It is true that the American $r$ is articulated in a backer position than the British one, but its retraction refers to the dorsum not to the tip of the tongue.
26.3. It is proved that the American $/ x /$ is a prevelar approximant, $[\mathrm{I}$ ], with a very slight raising of the tip of the tongue towards the postalveolar region. But it is (almost) uninfluential, and practically unavoidable, because it is caused by the lateral contraction, which is typical of both American (\& International) and British /x/, as we will see.

On the contrary, the British sound is decidedly postalveolar, $\left[\begin{array}{l}-\end{array}\right]$, in the specific meaning of an area after the alveolar one, approached by the tip of the tongue (not


by the lamina，as in the unsatisfactory IPA official point of view）．It is actually an apico－postalveolar articulation．

26．4．It will be very important to observe the orograms of these two approxi－ mants very carefully（fig 26．1）．As we have already said，both of them are laterally contracted，just as real lateral contoids，but there is no contact with the roof of the mouth（as，instead，with real laterals）．

The absence of such a lateral contraction would simply deprive these articula－ tions of their typical timbre，which is so similar（in these phones），even though their actual articulations are relatively very different．

In addition，both $[\mathrm{I}]$ and $[\uparrow]$ show a certain amount of lip rounding（more ev－ ident in stressed syllables and，for［ I ］，in prenuclear position），but less than for［w］． Thus，by changing both［I］and $[\uparrow]$ towards a duller timbre，it contributes in mak－ ing them less different auditorily，while remaining articulatorily rather different． By coarticulation，a preceding consonant is somewhat rounded，as well．However， it would be a sort of complication wanting to use different symbols for unround－ ed，or less rounded，postnuclear $[\mathrm{I}]$（and international $[\mathrm{r}]$ ），which could be $[\underline{\underline{I}}, \underline{\mathrm{I}}$ ］； but，if intense，$\left[\begin{array}{l}1 \\ \underline{1}, ~ \\ ⿺ 𠃊 ⿻ 丷 木 斤\end{array}\right]$ ．

26．5．Once the exact articulations are clear，it is easy to understand why，for $/ \mathrm{t} \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{d}_{\mathrm{I}} /$ ，the British pronunciation regularly undergoes assimilation，giving［ $\mathrm{t}(\mathrm{h}) \mathrm{t}$ ， $\left.\mathbb{d}_{-}\right]$．On the other hand，the fact that the auditory impression is so similar for these two types of phones，may explain why，even in American pronunciation，［ $\mathrm{t}(\mathrm{h}) \mathrm{t}$ ， $\left.\mathrm{d}_{-}\right]$can be used，besides the more usual ones，$\left[\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{h}) \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{d}_{\mathrm{I}}\right]$ ．In International pronun－ ciation，we have $\left[\mathrm{f}(\mathrm{h}) \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{d}_{3} \mathrm{I}\right]$ ，as in many accents，and even in the neutral ones：


Certainly，it is very strange that the majority of phoneticians（even native ones） keep on using the symbol $[\downarrow]$ to hint at the neutral American type，which is far from being postaveolar．By the way，the term postalveolar corresponds to the official＇retroflex＇one，which picturesquely tries hard to pass itself off as a real point of articulation，while，in fact，it is－at most－just a very peculiar articulatory modi－ fication．But，as is well known，good kinesthetic，auditory（and even acoustic） skills are not the same for all people．．．

26．6．In the previous chapters，we have seen several examples of $/ \mathrm{I} /{ }^{i}[\mathrm{I}, \mathrm{x}] a[\mathrm{I}]$ $\left.b_{[-\downarrow}\right]$ ，and several others will follow．Let us remember only that our diaphonemic transcription rigorously distinguishes between $/ \mathrm{I} /$ ，which is always pronounced in all accents of English，and $/ \underset{\square}{ } /$ ，which is pronounced，as such，only in American and International English（with a slight difference，though）．As a matter of fact，in British English，$/ \underset{\mid}{ } /$ corresponds to＇zero＇，as $r$ is pronounced only before vowels：



```
i['І\sigma:I] ]['І\sigma:I] b['Ł\sigma:] /'І\sigma:ب/ roar.
```

26.7. In American pronunciation, /ə! / /, preceded by vowels or consonants, is realized as $[\mathrm{I}]$. It is the same for $/ \mathrm{\partial l}_{\mathrm{I}} /$ (and, by and large, for $/ \partial_{\mathrm{I}} /$ ), too, which occur
 $\partial: I]$, for ${ }^{a}\left[\begin{array}{l}I_{f}, \ldots \\ I_{1}\end{array}\right]$, are acceptable, as well, even if less frequent).

In International English, we find [I] before vowels, but the weaker taxophone, [r], before consonants or pauses; besides, /zi!/ and/ə:I, ạ: / are generally realized as [әхг] and [әгx], respectively:


26.8. In normal American speech, /VV $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{I}} /$ (in a preintoneme) generally changes into ${ }^{a}\left[V_{V I}\right]$ (for British English of (F 11):

 'โaбәı әv'lendən/ the Tower of London

 /ə'рабə!̣z əv'da:!̣knəs/ the powers of darkness.
26.9. However, $/ \underset{\text { IT/ }}{\text { / i }}$ is pronounced, even in British English, when it occurs final in a rhythm group before a following rhythm-group initial vowel (and there is no intervening pause, not even a short one). In this way, the two words are bound together, and $/ \underset{I}{I} /$ becomes $/ x /[-\tau]$ :
 car arrived


26.10. On the other hand, in British English again, on the analogy of word-
 as the previous ones, as well, even if no etymological $r$ is present in their spelling:
 idea of it

 'auskt/ G. B. Shaw asked.
26.11. This British use is very widespread, chiefly for $\left|\partial^{\#}\right|$, although good speakers try to avoid it, but many others use it airily, even teaching it to foreigners (who should avoid it, unless they are very fluent and have a very good command of British English).

In mediatic American English, we have a uvularized [ I ], ie [ $\ddagger$ ]. In a broad New Zealand accent, $/ x /$ is a velarized version of $[\tau]$, ie [₹] (however, neutral New--Zealand English has [〒]).

In addition to American English (except in typical Southern, Eastern, and Black accents) and Canadian English, also Irish English (in the whole island) has $|\underline{Y}|=|x|$.

The same goes both for a small area of the South Island in New Zealand and for the West Country in the southwest of England (as well as for some more limited areas in the North of England).

A typical Scottish accent, usually, has $/ \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{I} /=[\mathrm{r}]$ (though, too often, it is still described as a trill, ' $[r]$ ').
26.12. As a speech defect, $\left.\right|_{I} /$ is realized as a labiodental [ $v$ ]. This is so widespread, especially in Great Britain, that someone considers it to be normal (all the more so because it is frequent in the mediatic British accent).

Another defective realization is $\mid x / \rightarrow[w]$, similar to [w] (cf fig 26.2), which can cause some communication problems, though not exactly alike:
['witg] /'witg/ witch

26.13. Besides [ $\mathrm{I}, \mathrm{L}, \mathrm{f}]$ ], given again for better comparisons with the other variants, fig 26.2 shows $[\ddagger, \ldots, v]$. In addition, it shows $a[\hat{\xi}] b[\hat{\xi}]$, which can occur in the sequences $/ \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{I}}, \mathrm{q}_{\mathrm{I}} /$ (as seen in $\$ 17 \cdot 7-10$ ), and $[\mathrm{r}]$, as well.
26.14. In traditional British pronunciation, we find $/ \bar{x} /\left[\mathrm{f}, \mathrm{Vr} \mathrm{V}, \theta_{\mathrm{r}}, \chi_{\mathrm{r}}, \mathrm{pr}, \mathrm{br}\right.$, $\mathrm{kr}, \mathrm{gr}]$, as in affected British pronunciation, where we also have ['VvV], and even $\left[V_{[ } \mathrm{V}\right]$ (voiced postalveolar tap) $\left[\mathrm{V}_{4 \mathrm{~L}} \mathrm{~V}\right]$ (voiced provelar semiapproximant), in some frequent words such as: very, terrible, sorry, tomorrow.
fig 26.2. Various taxophones for English $/ \mathrm{I}$, IT/ (see text).


# 30．Reduced forms 

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30．The examples given illustrate various elements simultaneously．It is worth－ while to observe them very carefully and to consider all the variants given（general－ ly with no phonemic transcription）．Especially for American and British transcrip－ tions，it should be kept in mind that some identical variants are generally implied in successive transcriptions，passing from the International to the American and British accents，unless there is a serious risk of ambiguity，otherwise，it would be much harder to read comfortably（in the examples given，we will ignore／ $\mathrm{w} / \mathrm{wh}$－）：

［ว＇mæn］a man

${ }^{i}$［ınə＇wa＇${ }^{\prime}$ ］${ }^{\prime \prime} b$［ınu＇wa＇gł］in a while

$i$［⿰习＇nE＇ım］$a^{\prime} b$［ว＇ne＇Im］a name；

［［aEm＇fa＇en］$a^{\prime} b$［aэm＇fa＇on］I＇m fine
i［aEm＇glæ＇d］a ${ }^{\prime \prime}$［aэm＇glæ＇d，aэm－，aэn－］I＇m glad

an：${ }^{i}$［әn＇æр $\left.{ }_{\dagger}^{\prime}\right]{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} b\left[\right.$ n＇æpł $\left.{ }^{\prime}\right]$ an apple
 got an ice cream？
${ }^{i}$［วn＇aum］${ }^{a}$［วn＇a：ım］${ }^{b}$［วn＇a：m］an arm
${ }^{i}$［วn＇E＇ Em ］$a^{\prime} b$［วn＇E＇Im］an aim；
and：［ən＇皆：n－n－］and then

［［＇borb j＇khett］$a$［＇ba＇b j＇khert］$b$［＇borb j＇khert］Bob and Kate

 any bread？
 ＇mous，－ $\mathrm{f} \mu \mathrm{\mu}]$ \＆c $b[-\mathrm{t} \mathrm{f} \mathrm{L}$＇gdt，$-\mathrm{t}[\mu]$ \＆c haven＇t you got any more？；

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 $\left.\partial_{-}^{-},-t_{-}-\right]$\&c as a matter of fact
[ $\partial{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{j} \mathrm{j}$ 'se'd, $\left.\partial \int \mathrm{Ji} \mathrm{i}\right]$ as she said

 $b$ ['not s3o-] \&c not so light as it looks;




be: [bi'gord] be good!

 been: ${ }^{i}$ [aebbınə'we't; -bən-, -db-; aeə-; -hə-] a [aงbbınu'we'I, -ben-; -bən-, a9d-; aэว-; aงhə-] b[-bun-, -brin-] \&c I had been away (I'd)
 -bm-, -brin-, - Pn n \& \& he has been beaten (he's);
but: [bət'ðen:, bər-] but then

${ }^{i}$ [bəP'bıli, bəp-] a'b[bəp'buli, bəP-] but Billy;

 be-, ba-] sold by the pound;

${ }^{i}$ [wikm'phlert] ${ }^{\prime \prime} b$ [wikm'phle'r, -kum-] we can play

 could do
${ }^{i}$ [wikəb'meıkı $\uparrow$, - ${ }^{\prime}$ 'm-] ${ }^{\prime \prime} b$ [wikub'merkı $\uparrow$, - ${ }^{\prime}$ 'm-] we could make it;

${ }^{i}$ ['wen didilkhem:, ddi-, di-] ${ }^{[ }[-\Lambda \mathrm{mi}]{ }^{b}[-\mathrm{emv}]$ when did he come?


i['ha'o dıdðeılaekıt, də-, ddð-, dð-] aıb ['hao dıdðеılas-] how did they like it?


${ }^{i}$ ['weər. d弓ə'khiiptt, d弓u-, dj-; dəj-] a ['we'f ḑu'khrip-] b['we'3] where do you keep it? (d'you)



'wont] \&c what do you want?
 children go?;

$i$ ['wotdəzi 'mirin, -tdzi, -tsi-, -r-] $a$ ['wa-, 'wa-, 'mrin] $b$ ['wo-] what does he mean? (what's)







 -j $\mu-$, ,WE3 $\left.\mathrm{f}_{-}\right]$where are you from?;
had: ${ }^{i}$ [hədaE'siintt, hæ-, -tr] alb[-as'sni-] had I seen it

 ทวә-, -nn', -rin', -en:] it had been done (it'd)

 stay;
has: ilb [həzi'gd'n, hæ-] a[-om, -arn] has he gone?
iノ [ [iz'qen:, Siəz-; fihəz-] a [-'dın:] she has done (she's)


${ }^{i}$ [hi'hæz fว'sfert, -æs] a'b[-E'I] he has to stay;
have: ${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ həvjə'siinıt, hæ-, -ju-, -ti] ${ }^{a \prime b}[-1 s i n-,-j \mu-]$ have you seen it?
 have gone (they've)
${ }^{a}$ [wiv'khem:, -fk-; wiə-; wihə-] $a[-\Lambda \mathrm{m}:] b[-\mathrm{em}:]$ we have come (we've)

${ }^{i}$ [jə'fodəv, ju-, -æv, -hæv] ${ }^{\prime \prime} b[j ə-, j \mu-]$ you should have

${ }^{i}$ [jə'khodə 'se'd, -ү, -əv, ju-] a'b[jp-] you could have said (could've)



he: [hi'went] he went
 ['hæzi] has he?;



 †hws-, †h $\mu$ hว-] to her mother;


his: [hız'phen:] hispen
[hi'thok u'bok] he took his book
${ }^{i}[$ hızjuu $\theta]{ }^{\prime \prime} b[-\mathrm{j} \mu \mathrm{u} \theta]$ his youth;

 I will take (I'll)
 stay?;


 -t] if not for you;
in: ${ }^{i / b}[$ nnlendən] a[-1 $n \mathrm{n}-]$ in London
${ }^{i}$ [ım'phæıəs $]$ a [-Ius $] b[-\mathrm{fts}]$ in Paris
$i / b[$ け1khænəde $]$ a $[-\Lambda]$ in Canada
 $b\left[-æ 1,-\mathrm{E}^{\prime} 3\right]$ \&c he sat in the chair

 am in a hurry (I'm);




 \&c Rose is a nice woman
${ }^{i}$ [Øıs'qu $1 z^{\prime} w a{ }^{\prime} \dagger, \mathrm{z}^{-}, \mathrm{s}^{\prime}$, Әәs-] $a^{\prime \prime} b[-\mathrm{as} \dagger]$ this dish is white;

 -'ox; titz-] it is all right (it's)

i['therkıt, -әt, -- ] a ['therkıt, -ut, -२] b['therkıt, -२] take it
 thł-] $b$ [tt-, nt-] \&c it will be a good thing (it'll)
 (it'd);

 'b $\left.{ }^{2} 30 \mathrm{kun}\right]$ it had its teeth broken;
 seen him (I've)
 just gone away (she's)


${ }^{i}$ [ha'o meni'mosi, məni-, mni-, mni-] ${ }^{[ }\left[\right.$haro, -'moxi ${ }^{b}[$-mox] how many more?;


${ }^{i}[$ [imet'sfer $]$ ab [ [imer'sIEI; -mə-] she may stay;
me: ${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ hikh $\left.{ }^{\top} \ddagger \mathrm{bmi},-\mathrm{dmi}\right] a\left[-\mathrm{r}^{2}-\right]^{b}\left[-\mathrm{\sigma}^{2}-\right]$ he called me

 might leave
 ว'f3.ロn, mes-] might I use your phone?;

 it must be love); ${ }^{i}\left[\mathrm{im} \mathrm{ims}^{\prime} \mathrm{ph}{ }^{*}{ }^{\prime}\right]{ }^{a \prime b}\left[-\mathrm{Er}^{r}\right]$ she must pay;
my: ${ }^{i}$ [mae'hed, mes-, me-] $a$ [masherd, mss-, ms-] $b$ [mas'hed, mes-, me-] my head
 trma9'nolıdु, -es-, -e-] \&c not to my knowledge;


$i^{i \prime a}[$ ttsnoo'go'd; -nə-] $b[-30-;$-nə-] it's no good;
 na-; nni-] neither fish nor flesh
 no ti; nii-] neither he nor I;

${ }^{i}[$ aE'woont, $\mathrm{e}-] a[$ as'wonnt, $\mathrm{A}-] b[\mathrm{e}-,-3 \mathrm{Bnt}]$ I won't



['zzni, -nti] isn't he?
['zznıर, -nıt] isn't it?
${ }^{i}$ [hijuusn,tu] arb $[$ hijpusn,tp] he used not to
 sc I don't know (dunno)
${ }^{i}$ [aE, doont'ma'end, e-, -mp'm-, -m'm-, -m'm-, -dn'm-, -dm'm-, -dəm-, -də'm-] $a$ [aэ-




on (the most reduced form, [n], only occurs when no ambiguity with in is possible): i/b[^eponðə'boks; -ən-, -nnə-] a [^^pənðə'baks, -an-; -ən-, -nnə-] up on the box


 earth!;
once: ${ }^{i}[$ wens'mox. wən- $]$ [wnns'moxi, wun- $]{ }^{b}$ [wens'mox, wun- $]$ once more (= again) $-{ }^{i}[$ wens'moxi $]$ [wnns'mo:I] ${ }^{b}[$ wens'mox: once more ( $=$ one more time);
one(s) (the form without / w/ may be judged as dialectal or regional): ${ }^{i}\left[{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{b} \mathrm{b}^{\prime} \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{wen}\right.$, - wən] ${ }^{a}$ [ว'bugiwnn, -wun; -un] ${ }^{b}$ [-wen, -wun; -un] a big one
 $b[-w e-;, \partial æ \dagger เ z ว-,-1-]$ \&c that is a good one (that's)
 $b$ [wen'ołłwiz 'h3ops, wว-, -uz, eiz-, - $\sigma^{\prime}$ w-] one always hopes
 $-\mathrm{s}_{1} \mathrm{we}$-, -swunz; -sənz] those are nice ones;
 today or tomorrow
 two or three pounds



per: ${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ 'fffti pri'sent] ${ }^{\prime}$ [pI-] $b$ [pa-] fifty per cent
 per cent per annum;
shall (in American English it is a stylistic choice, with less reduced forms): $i\left[\int \ni \mathrm{lae}-\right.$
 -t ] shall I take it?


she: [ [j'went] she went
$i\left[\int \mathrm{i} h æ z f \mathrm{u},-\mathrm{stu}\right]$ a $b[-\mathrm{f} \mu]$ she has to
['hæznfi, $\left.-\mathrm{n}_{1} \mathrm{f} \int \mathrm{i},-\mathrm{n} f \int \mathrm{i},-\mathrm{n} \mathrm{t} \mathrm{fi}\right]$ hasn't she?;
should: ${ }^{i / b}\left[\int \partial \mathrm{dilkhem}\right]$ a $[-\Lambda \mathrm{m}]$ should he come



 that he should come out;
sir: ${ }^{i}[$ jjessər., $-\mathrm{s}-] a[-\boldsymbol{\tau}] \quad b[-\mathrm{e}]$ yes, sir
${ }_{i}$ ['noosər] $]$ ['noos.] $] b$ ['n3ose] no, sir



 $b$ ['not s3a-, - Dr z, sur' ${ }^{\circ}$ - \&c not so good as it was
 nutz-] $b$ [-vt s3o-; t fiz-, nntz-] \&c it is not so fine today (it's)


some (determ.): ${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ wəd弓əlaek sm'†hiri, səm-] ${ }^{\prime \prime} b[$ wudzəlask sm'†hri, səm-] would you like some tea?
${ }^{i}$ [djə'wbn sə'ma:I, dju-, səm-, -nt, -nて] a [dju'wan sə'ma:I, -'wə'-, dju-, səm-, -nt, -nr] $b[-\mathrm{wd}-,-\sigma \mathrm{c}]$ \&c do you want some more?

St, Saint (less reduced in American English) : ${ }^{i}[$ sm'phiitəı, - -əə., sım-, seım-] $a[$ seım'phii $\left.\eta_{+},-\mathrm{mp}^{\prime} \mathrm{ph}-\right] b$ [sm'phrite, stm-, serm-] St Peter

 St Anthony;



 finer than Mary (she's)
 inch (it's)
 ðәne-, -б:




${ }^{i}\left[\partial^{\prime} \mathrm{d}^{\prime} \mathrm{I}\right.$ (Әəр) wi'met] ${ }^{\prime} b$ [ $\left.\mathrm{E}^{\prime}\right]$ the day (that) we met;
the: [ðə'bok] the book
[ðə'mæn] the man

[ði'en:d; ðә'Ren:d] the end


 $-\mathrm{nz-}$ ] what is the time? (what's)

${ }^{i}$ [unðə'haos, unாə-, unnə-] $a b[$-haos] \&c in the house
 away from the city;
 bought their boat



['gıvðәm, -ðm, -vəm, -vmं] give them ('em);
 ðЕn'ţhıkın, ðən--] soup first then chicken

 then again I might not
 then after a time...;
 $\left.\imath^{\circ}, \partial_{[ } \partial_{-}\right]$there are many


 (they're)

 (they'll);

[ðıs'pheni; ðәs-] this pen


 what is this? (what's);
till: $i\left[\right.$ wett tlilikhem:z, $\left.\mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{l}} \mathrm{l}\right]$ ] $a[\mathrm{wert},-\mathrm{nm}: \mathrm{z}]$ \&c ${ }^{b}[-\mathrm{em}: \mathrm{z}]$ \&c wait till he comes


 the first time I went there...
 $-\uparrow \wedge \mathrm{m},-\mathrm{f} \mathrm{m}]{ }^{b}\left[\theta_{-}\right.$, , 'fot $\left.\partial,-\mathrm{eg} \mathrm{m},-\mathrm{em},-\mathrm{zm},-\mathrm{Et} \mathrm{v}\right]$ three times four are twelve;
to: ${ }^{i / b}\left[\right.$ thəlendən ${ }^{a}[-\Lambda]$ to London
${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ tha'sku'u ${ }_{\ddagger}{ }^{\text {a/b }}[$-uvł] to school
${ }^{i}$ [fhu'ınglond, 'thwl-] ab [fh $\mu$-] \&c to England

${ }^{i}$ [thu'æ'n] ${ }^{a \prime b}[$ [h $h$-] to Ann
${ }^{i}[$ khemfut, -fwt$]{ }^{a}[\mathrm{kh} \wedge \mathrm{m}]$ \& ${ }^{b}[$ [khem- $]$ \&c come to it
${ }^{i}[\mathrm{j} \ngtr \mathrm{hæv} \mathrm{f} \mathrm{u},-\mathrm{ffu}, \mathrm{ju}-]{ }^{a \prime b}[\mathrm{j} \ni, \mathrm{j} \mu-,-\mu]$ you have to
${ }^{i}[$ fha'grv $] ~ a b[$ [thu- $]$ to give
${ }^{i}$ [thə'wun:, fhu-] ab [fhur-, fhu-] to win

 before consonants, $[\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{u}]$ can be very short, $[\mathrm{c}, \mathrm{u}]$ :

 nants, they are often partially or completely devoiced, [a, un; ą, un]:


 -up-] make up your mind
 әр-; дә.ıiz-] there is one up there (there's);
 әррnə'neðе, әрәn-] one upon another
 us: ['thelos] tell us
 ' $\mathrm{g} 3^{\circ} 0,-\mathrm{-}$-] let us go;



${ }^{i}$ ['c.nntwi, -mpwi, -mpwi] a['cx-] $[$ ['r-] aren't we?;



 done! (you've)
${ }^{i}$ [hi'njuu wdi'wdnfəd, wə-, fi-] a [hi'nช̛u wsil'wan(1)əd, wa-, wu-, -'wən-; hw-; $\mathrm{b}-]{ }^{b}[$-njuru wdti'wnntıd, we-, -ii-] \&c he knew what he wanted
 $-12-]$ \&c what are you saying? (what're)
 $-\mathrm{d} \partial \mathrm{a},-\mu$, wa-, wu-; hw-; ho-] b[wd-] \&c what do you say? (d'you)

 what do you do? (d'you);

$\left.-\mathrm{n} \partial^{\prime}-\right] b\left[-\sigma^{-}-,-\mathrm{ne}{ }^{-}\right]$\&c and when I saw it...
 $b\left[{ }^{5} 30-,-\mathrm{E}^{\prime} 3\right]$ \&c so when you get there...;
 hw-; ho-] ${ }^{b}$ [-EIS wesfiti, wu.ti-] the place where he was found
 ${ }^{b}[-\mathrm{ent} \mathrm{ti}$ wes-, wu-] a country where people sing;


 will do (that'll)

 work?
 (it'll)
 be here (John'll)
 will be full;
would: [wadıpbi'go'd, -- $\mathrm{Pb}-$, - $\mathrm{fb}-]$ a ${ }^{\prime}$ [wuq-] would it be good?
 (they'd)
i [hig̊'khem:, -dik-; hiəgْ; hiəd-; hiwə-] a[hig̊khım:, -d'k-; hiwg̊; hiəd-; hiwu-] b[-mm:] \&c he would come (he'd)
 sc it would be nice (it'd)
 say so;
you: ${ }^{i}\left[\right.$ [fja'qu'u, -ju-] ${ }^{a}$ [rfjo'quru, $\left.-\mathrm{j} \mu-\right]{ }^{b}\left[-\mu^{\prime} \mathrm{u}\right]$ \&c if you do
 \&c I will tell you (I'll)
${ }^{[ }[\theta æ ŋ \mathrm{kju},-\mathrm{je}] a[' \theta æ \eta \mathrm{kj} \mu,-\mathrm{j} \Lambda] b[-\mathrm{j} \mu]$ thank you





 (what's).

## 35. Sentence stress

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35.1. It is advisable to consider as sentence stress (or ictus), every case of word stress which remains stressed in sentence context, and does not become reduced. Generally, English does not reduce its ictuses; as a matter of fact, we can easily have examples such as the following (please, note that in phonotonemic transcriptions, the symbols /,; ./ indicate intonation, not just a separation of example words, together with $/$ ?/ and $/ \dot{c} i j /$, which are less ambiguous at first):



/'Əen, 'Өnii 'naes 'blæk 'kæts, 'ıæn 'aot.//
Then three nice black cats ran out.
35.2. It is preferable to avoid using the term 'sentence stress' to refer to the sentence focus; this last notion refers to the word, or words (and therefore concepts), which in a given utterance are communicatively more prominent; in fact, they are highlighted by virtue of being new to the conversation (as opposed to being already given, or known).

Sentence stress and focus are in fact two distinct attributes, although they are not necessarily incompatible. In fact, they can both be present in the last stress group, even though this possibility is statistically the least frequent:
i [ae'nevər. 'se'd. 'ðæp wəz̊'th


/aE'nevə!̣ 'sed, 'ðæ† wəz'†ıuu/
I never said that was true.
35.3. In practice, it is much more probable that the sentences above would be said as follows (although we leave with readers the task of making their own phonotonetic transcriptions):
/ae'nevəさ̣ 'seq, 'Әæ! wəz"†ıuu./ or:
/aE"nevə! ! 'sed, 'ðæ! wəz'†ıuu./ or better:

I never said that was true.

35．4．Therefore，a concrete utterance（which is sufficiently long）will have mul－ tiple ictuses－ie protonic syllables and one or more tonic syllables（in the rigorous sense of stressed syllables，respectively，in the preintoneme or in the intoneme）．

At the same time，the utterance can even have one or more points which are communicatively highlighted（ie the sentence foci／＇foosae，－kae，－kii），and these are generally expressed by different proportions of stress and pitch．

35．5．The sentence These are the new co－workers of my neighbor Roberta／ðiizə！̣ðə－
 multiple highlights．We can therefore encounter：




These are the new co－workers of my neighbor Roberta．
35．6．In any case，the elements highlighted can be grammemes，as well，in case of particular contrasts．With the examples above，we can have：
／＇ðiiz，əب̣ðə＇nj̣uu ko
 even：
 with my highlighted，for some particular reason）．

35．7．Some kind of attenuation can occur in parts of the sentence rendered＇par－ enthetical＇，as in the following example，which is spoken as a sort of afterthought：
／เəvmaE＇neıbəさ̣ ıə＇bəェب̣ṭə．」／
of my neighbor Roberta．
35．8．In idiomatic use，we find that given word sequences，which can also occur in their literal sense，present outwardly＇strange＇（or marked）stressing．In fact，gram－ memes，or qualifiers，are brought out instead of the lexemes that accompany them， because these last are destressed（here shown by means of $/_{1} /$ ，which becomes dis－ tinctive）．

More often，we find the sequence grammeme＋attenuated lexeme，as in：
／for！＇wen，$\theta$ ıy］for one thing
／onði＇eðә， $\mathrm{h} æ \mathrm{nd} /$ on the other hand
／baE＇noo，miinz／by no means
／baE＇Gitmiinz／by all means
／əṭ＇Eni，IEtT／at any rate
／in＇eni，khets／in any case
／un＇eniọ，vent／in any event
／n＇ðæṭə，vent／in that event
／on＇ðæ！sko：！／on that score
／n＇nootaem／in no time
／nðəっlọy，ren／in the long run
／（iivən）ə†ðว＇bestəv，
35．9．Some other times，instead，we find attenuated lexeme＋accentuated gram－ meme，as in：
／＇ae noon＂wdt／I know what
／＇ðæ†s ə，baoṭ＂t｜／that＇s about it
／＇fænsi＂ðæt／fancy that！
35．10．Thus，idiomatic stressing gives a particular meaning，to certain lexical col－ locations，which is not literally predictable．On the contrary，in the literal sense， their stress is the＇normal＇one，which is predictable from the syntactic order of their words，each one bearing its usual meaning，as for：
／un＇ðæt ọ＇vent／in that event
／baE＇бif＇miinz／by all means
／ pn Øi＇セðəさ！＇hænd／on the other hand
／＇ðæ！s ə＇baoṭt｜that＇s about it．

