

2. English

2.0. In this chapter we will deal with the American and British neutral accents (or ‹standard accents›). We will also make a teaching proposal for an ‹international› accent of English that could usefully be employed in pronunciation books and pronouncing dictionaries (and in common dictionaries, too), as well as in everyday teaching. The kind of transcription we use is *diaphonemic*, expressly devised for this kind of description, together with its corresponding *phonetic* and *phonotactic* transcriptions.

Furthermore, we will also consider the American and British ‹mediatic› accents (from non-local TV & radio), which are now as frequently heard as the neutral ones, in the news, in the movies, and in songs.

To conclude, we will describe (without going into great detail, mainly by using our usual accurate symbols and many diagrams) some other accents (with internal variations): those of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and England (for the latter we will give the traditional, affected, and Cockney accents). In a book in progress –*English Pronunciation*– we will deal with all the native accents of English all over the world (including many non-native accents), by working directly on a substantial number of recordings, as well.

2.1. It will be useful to list the correspondences between our diaphonemic symbols and the phonemic symbols used in recent dictionaries, and especially in the three current English pronouncing dictionaries (Longman, Cambridge, Oxford). These do not always agree for certain aspects, but we show them (between ‹ ›) after the diaphonemes, with examples.

Vowels

/i/ ‹/i, ɪ/› *lady* /'leɪdi/ [lɛɪdɪ]

/ɪ/ ‹/ɪ/› *bit* /'bɪt/ [bɪt]

/ɛ/ ‹/e, ɛ/› *let* /lɛt/ [lɛt]

/æ/ ‹/æ, a/› *hat* /hæt/ [hæt]

/ʌ/ ‹/ʌ, ə/› *hut* /hʌt/ [hʌt]^a [hɛt]^b

/ɒ/ ‹/ɔ, ɑ, ɒ/› *hot* /hɒt/ [hɑt]^a [hɒt]^b

/ʊ/ ‹/ʊ/› *book* /'bʊk/ [bɒk]

/u/ ‹/u, ʊ/› *influenza* /ɪnflu'enzə/ [ɪnflɪmu-'ɛnzə]^a [-ɛ]^b

/ə/ ‹/ə/› *another* /ə'nʌðə/ [ə'nʌðə]^a [ə'nɛð-ɛ]^b, *contain* /kən'teɪn/ [khuɪn'theɪn]

/ɑː/ ‹/ɑː, ɒ/› *spa* /'spɑː/ [spɑː]

/ɔː/ ‹/ɔː, ɔ/› *law* /lɔː/ [lɔː]^a [lɔː]^b

/iː/ ‹/iː, i/› *see* /'siː/ [srɪ]

/eɪ/ ‹/eɪ/› *day* /'deɪ/ [dɛɪ]

/aɛ/ ‹/aɪ, ʌɪ/› *fly* /'flaɛ/ [flaɔ]

/ɔɛ/ ‹/ɔɪ/› *boy* /'bɔɛ/ [bɔɔ]

/aɔ/ ‹/aʊ/› *cow* /'kaɔ/ [khaɔ]

/ɔʊ/ ‹/əʊ, oʊ/› *go* /'gɔʊ/ [gɔɔ]^a [gɔɔ]^b

/ʊu/ ‹/u, ʊ/› *who* /'hʊu/ [hɔu]^a [hɔu]^b

/ɪ/ ‹/ɪ, ə, ɪ, ɪ/› *wishes* /'wɪʃɪz/ [wɪʃɔz]^a [wɪʃɪz]^b

/æ/ ‹/æ, ɑː/› *last* /læst/ [læst]^a [lɑːst]^b

/ɑː/ ‹/ɑː, æ/› *pasta* /'pɑːstə/ [phɑːstə]^a [phæstə]^b

/ɒ/ ‹/ɒ, ɔː/› *song* /'sɒŋ/ [sɔːŋ]^a [sɒŋ]^b

/ɔː/ ‹/ɔː, ɔ/› *false* /'fɔːts/ [fɔːts, fɑts]^a [fɔts, fɒts]^b

/ə/ ‹/ʌɪ, ɜː, ɜɪ, əɪ, ə/› *hurry* /'hʌɪ/ [hɪɪ]^a [hɛɪ]^b

/əʊ/ </ɜɪ, əɪ, ɔɪ, ɜ:/> *furry* /'fɜ:ri/ [ˈfɪri]^a
[ˈfɜ:ri]^b

/əʊ/ </ɜɪ, əɪ, ɜɪ, əɪ, ɜ:/> *fur* /'fɜ:ɹ/ [ˈfɪɹ]^a
[ˈfɜ:ɹ]^b

/ɑ:ɹ/ </ɑɪ, ɑɪ/ > *car* /'kɑ:ɹ/ [ˈkha:ɹ]^a [ˈkha:ɹ]^b

/ɔ:ɹ/ </ɔɪ, ɔɪ/ > *door* /'dɔ:ɹ/ [ˈdɔ:ɹ]^a [ˈdɔ:ɹ]^b

/əʊ/ </əɪ, əɪ, əɪ, əɪ, ə/ > *wonder* /'wʌndəɹ/
[ˈwʌndɹ]^a [ˈwɛndɹɐ]^b

/iə/ </iə, iə, iə, iə, iə, iə, iə, iə/ >
happier /'hæpiə/ [ˈhæpiɹ]^a [ˈhæpiɐ]^b

/iə/ </iə, iə, iə, iə, iə, iə/ > *here* /'hiə/ [ˈhiɹ]^a [ˈhiɐ]^b

/eə/ </eə, eɪ, eɪ, eɪ, eə, eə, eə/ > *there*
/'ðeə/ [ˈðeɹ]^a [ˈðeɹɜ]^b

/uə/ </uə, uə, uə, uə, uə, uə/ > *moor*
/'muə/ [ˈmuɹ]^a [ˈmuɐ]^b (with further
pronunciations)

/uə/ </uə, uə, uə, uə, uə, uə, uə, uə/ >
rescuer /'reskjʊə/ [ˈreskjʊɹ]^a
[ˈreskjʊɐ]^b

/iə/ </iə, iə, iə, iə, iə, iə, iə/ > *seer*
/'siə/ [ˈsiɹ]^a [ˈsiɐ]^b

/eɪə/ </eɪə, eɪə, eɪə, eɪə, eɪə, eɪə/ >
player /'pleɪə/ [ˈphleɪɹ]^a [ˈphleɪɐ]^b

/æə/ </aɪə, aɪə, aɪə, aɪə, aɪə, aɪə, aɪə, aɪə/ >
liar /'laɪə/ [ˈlaɪɹ]^a [ˈlaɪɐ]^b

/ɔə/ </ɔɪə, ɔɪə, ɔɪə, ɔɪə, ɔɪə, ɔɪə/ >
employer /ɪm'plɔɪə/ [ɪm'phlɔɪɹ]^a [ɪm-
'phlɔɪɐ]^b

/aʊə/ </aʊə, aʊə, aʊə, aʊə, aʊə, aʊə/ >
tower /'taʊə/ [ˈtʰaʊɹ]^a [ˈtʰaʊɐ]^b

/ɔʊə/ </əʊə, əʊə, əʊə, əʊə, əʊə/ >
slower /'sləʊə/ [ˈslɔʊɹ]^a [ˈslɔʊɐ]^b

/uə/ </uə, uə, uə, uə, uə, uə/ > *doer*
/'dʊə/ [ˈdʊɹ]^a [ˈdʊɐ]^b

/ə/ </əɪ, əɪ, əɪ, ə/ > *wondering* /'wʌndə-
ɹɪŋ/ [ˈwʌndɹɪŋ, -ɹɪŋ]^a [ˈwɛndɹɪŋ,
-ɹɹɪŋ]^b

/iə/ </iə, iə, iə, iə/ > *hearing* /'hiəɪŋ/ [ˈhiɹ-
ɪŋ]^a [ˈhiɐɪŋ]^b

/eə/ </eə, eə, eə, eə/ > *caring* /'keəɪŋ/ [ˈkheɪɹ-
ɪŋ]^a [ˈkheɪɹɪŋ]^b

/uə/ </uə, uə, uə/ > *curing* /'kjʊəɪŋ/
[ˈkʰjʊɪŋ]^a [ˈkʰjʊɐɪŋ]^b (with f. pron.)

/ɛ/ </ə, e, e/ > *dictionary* /'dɪkʃənɛɹi/
[ˈdɪkʃɹɪɹi]^a [ˈdɪkʃɹɪɹi]^b

/ɔ:/ </ə, ɔ:/ > *repertory* /'rɛpəɪtɔ:ri/ [ˈrɛpɹ-
ɹɪtɔ:ri]^a [ˈrɛpɹɹɪ, -ɹɹɪ]^b

/ʊ/ </ʊ, ə, ə, ə/ > *regular* /'rɛgʊlə/ [ˈrɛg-
jələ]^a [ˈrɛgʊlə, -gʊlə]^b

Consonants

/m/ </m/ > *some* /'sʌm/ [ˈsʌmɹ]^a [ˈsɛmɹ]^b

/n/ </n/ > *sun* /'sʌn/ [ˈsʌnɹ]^a [ˈsɛnɹ]^b

/ŋ/ </ŋ/ > *sung* /'sʌŋ/ [ˈsʌŋɹ]^a [ˈsɛŋɹ]^b

/m/ </ə, ə, ə, ə/ > *rhythm* /'rɪðm/ [ˈrɪð-
mɹ]^a [ˈɹɹɹ]^b

/ŋ/ </ə, ə, ə, ə/ > *cotton* /'kɒtŋ/ [ˈkʰɑtŋ]^a
[ˈkʰɒɹɹ]^b

/p/ </p/ > *pack* /'pæk/ [ˈphæk]

/b/ </b/ > *back* /'bæk/ [ˈbæk]

/t/ </t/ > *two* /'tu/ [ˈtʰʊɹ]^a [ˈtʰɹɹ]^b

/d/ </d/ > *do* /'dʊ/ [ˈdʊɹ]^a [ˈdʊɹ]^b

/k/ </k/ > *came* /'keɪm/ [ˈkʰeɪm]

/g/ </g/ > *game* /'geɪm/ [ˈgɛɪm]

/tʃ/ </tʃ/ > *chain* /'tʃeɪn/ [ˈtʃʰeɪn]

/dʒ/ </dʒ/ > *Jane* /'dʒeɪn/ [ˈdʒɛɪn]

/f/ </f/ > *few* /'fju/ [ˈfjɹɹ]

/v/ </v/ > *view* /'vju/ [ˈvjɹɹ]

/θ/ </θ/ > *wreath* /'rɪθ/ [ˈrɪθɹ]^a [ˈrɪθɹ]^b

/ð/ </ð/ > *wreathe* /'rɪð/ [ˈrɪðɹ]^a [ˈrɪðɹ]^b

/s/ </s/ > *ice* /'aɪs/ [ˈaɪs]

/z/ </z/ > *eyes* /'aɪz/ [ˈaɪz]

/ʃ/ </ʃ/ > *dilution* /dɪ'lʊʃən/ [dɹɹɹɹɹɹɹ]^a
[dɹɹɹɹɹɹɹ]^b

/z/ </z/ > *delusion* /dɪ'lʊzən/ [dɹɹɹɹɹɹɹ]^a
[dɹɹɹɹɹɹɹ]^b

/r/ </r/ > *rate* /'reɪt/ [ˈrɛɹɹɹ]^a [ˈrɛɹɹɹ]^b

/j/ </j/ > *yate* /'jeɪt/ [ˈjɛɹɹɹ]

/w/ </w/ > *wait* /'weɪt/ [ˈwɛɹɹɹ]

/h/ </h/ > *hate* /'heɪt/ [ˈhɛɹɹɹ]

/l/ </l/ > *late* /'leɪt/ [ˈlɛɹɹɹ]

/t/ </t, t/ > *city* /'sɪti/ [ˈsuɹɹɹ]^a [ˈsɪtɹɹ]^b

/r/ </r, r/ > *car* /'kɑ:ɹ/ [ˈkʰɑ:ɹ]^a [ˈkʰɑ:ɹ]^b

/j/ </j, -/ > *new* /'nju/ [ˈnʊɹ]^a [ˈnjɹɹ]^b

/h/ </h, -/ > *when* /'hwen/ [ˈwɛnɹ; ˈhwɛnɹ;
ˈhɛnɹ]

/l/ </l/ > *lull* /'lʌl/ [ˈlʌtɹɹ]^a [ˈlʌtɹɹ]^b

/l/ </l/ > *little* /'lɪtəl/ [ˈlɪtɹɹ]^a [ˈlɪtɹɹ]^b

Vowels

2.1.1. English has a high number of vowel phonemes, so it may be advisable to subdivide them into groups, rather than keeping them all together. This is also useful to make easier comparisons with other languages, and to avoid possible confusions. The essential English vowel phonemes are: (short and long) *monophthongs* /ɪ, ε, æ, ɑ:, ʌ, ɒ, ɔ:, ʊ, ə:, ə/ and *diphthongs* /iɪ, eɪ, aɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ, ɔʊ, ʊʊ/. Furthermore, there are some *diaphonemes*: /æ:, ɑ:, ɒ:, ɔ:, ə:/, and unstressed /i, u, ɪ/ (plus some other possible devices). But, in the volume *English Pronunciations*, instead of /iɪ, ʊʊ; æ:, ɑ:, ɒ:, ɔ:, ə:/, we use /ii, uu; æ, ɑ:, ɒ, ɔ:, ə:/, which are more convenient.

We definitely prefer to deal with English pronunciation in a diaphonemic way. It is important to show especially what the American and British accents have in common, so that their structural differences are made clearer and more natural.

American monophthongs

2.1.2.1. fig 2.1 shows the American monophthongs (the British ones are given in fig 2.2). Let us start from the eight *black markers*, which indicate the realizations of the following eight vowel phonemes (in stressed or unstressed syllables): [ɪ] /ɪ/, [ɛ] /ɛ/, [æ] /æ/, [ɑ:] /ɑ:/, [ɒ] /ɒ/, [ʌ] /ʌ/, [ɔ:] /ɔ:/, [ʊ] /ʊ/. Although in the <mediatic> American accent (cf § 2.4.2.2) /ɑ:/ and /ɒ/ are often neutralized –because they can both be realized as [ɑ(:)]– in the neutral American accent we keep them apart, for three good reasons. Firstly, they are in actual fact different, even if chiefly only in terms of length. Furthermore, in this way we can keep a diaphonemic relation with the British neutral accent. And finally, this will help us in highlighting the characteristics of other accents, starting from comparable bases, although they are actually shared only by a minority of speakers. Let us stress, in fact, that a neutral pronunciation is always learned voluntarily.

Let us now illustrate the phonemes in fig 2.1. It must be recalled that the transcriptions, including phonemic ones, bear a stress mark, even for monosyllabic words, unless they are usually unstressed in sentences, like the preposition *in* /ɪn/ [ɪn], compared to the adverb *in* /ɪn/ [ɪn:], or to the noun *inn* /ɪn/ [ɪn:]: [hɪt] /hit/ *hit*, [jɛs] /jes/ *yes*, [mæn] /mæn/ *man*, [fɑ:ðɪ] /fɑ:ðə/ *father*, [lɒt] /lɒt/ *lot*, [rʌn:] /rʌn/ *run*, [lɔ:n] /lɔ:n/ *lawn*, [pʊt] /pʊt/ *put*.

For the sake of descriptive precision, although generally variations do not require different symbols, it is worthwhile to notice the taxophones of /ɪt, ɛt, æt, ʌt, ʊt/; please note the two that change their symbols as well, in comparison with [ɛ, ʌ]: [bɛt, hʌt] /bɛt, hʌt/ *bell, hull*.

2.1.2.2. The *grey markers* in the vocogram also show three variants of /ɪ, ʊ, ɔ:/ [ɪ, ʊ, ɔ:] (compared to normal [ɪ, ʊ, ɔ:]). They occur in (stressed or unstressed) syllables checked by /ɪ:/ [ɪ:] /ɪə:/, [(j)ʊ:] / (j)ʊə:/, [ɔ:] /ɔ:/ . There are no differences in terms of the nuclear element (or, perhaps, <nuclear> element) in [ɛ:] /ɛə:/, [ɑ:] /ɑ:/, because they coincide with the black markers for /ɛ, ɑ:/ [ɛ, ɑ:]. Instead, the

typical American realization of /ə:/ is through an intense contoid [ɪ̥], rather than a vocoid as in British pronunciation ([ɜ:]).

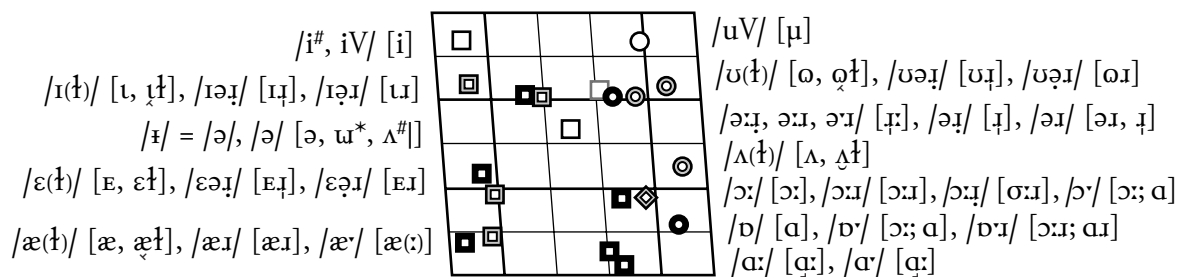
Examples: [ˈhɪɪ] /ˈhɪə/ *here*, [ˈphjʊɪ] /ˈpjʊə/ *pure*, [ˈdɔɪ] /ˈdɔə/ *door*, [ˈðeɪ] /ˈðeə/ *there*, [ˈfɑɪ] /ˈfɑə/ *far*, [ˈfɪɪ] /ˈfɪə/ *fur*. A possible pronunciation with [ɪ̥, ʊ̥] (instead of [ɪ, ʊ], for /ɪə, ʊə/) does not sound strange, although it is not the most frequently heard.

For /ɔ:/ (that is, before vowels: /ɔ:V/), the realization is [ɔ:] (different from /ɔ:/, marked by a grey marker): [ˈbɔ:ɪŋ]^a [-ɪ-]^b /ˈbɔ:ɪŋ/ *boring*. In American English the diaphonemic transcriptions /ɪə, eə, ʊə/ correspond to /ɪ, e, ʊ/, with their typical articulations shown by the black markers. By the way, the difference between /ɪə, eə, ʊə/ and /ɪ̥, e̥, ʊ̥/ (taken into consideration above) should be carefully noted. Here are a few examples: [ˈhɪɪŋ]^a [ˈhɪ̥ɪŋ]^b /ˈhɪ̥ɪŋ/ *hearing*, [ˈbeɪŋ]^a [ˈbe̥ɪŋ]^b /ˈbe̥ɪŋ/ *bearing*, [ˈdɔɪŋ]^a [ˈd̥jɔ̥ɪŋ]^b /ˈd̥jɔ̥ɪŋ/ *during*.

It must be also noticed that, in American pronunciation, the phonemic sequence /jʊə/ has the variant /jə:/ (more typically mediatic): [ˈphjʊɪ; ˈphjɪ] *pure* (the variant /jə:/ occurs for /jʊə, jʊə/, too): [ˈkɪjʊɪəs; ˈkɪjɪəs] *curious*, [ɪnˈdʊərəns; ˈd̥ɪr-əns] *endurance*, [ˈdɔɪŋ; ˈd̥ɪŋ] *during*. This is also true of other consonants with a <palatal> component: [ˈʃʊɪ; ˈʃɪ] /ˈʃʊə; ˈʃə:/ *sure*; but [ˈphʊɪ; -sɪ] /ˈpʊə; -sɪ/ *poor*.

The difference between [ˈmɔ:ɪŋ] /ˈmɔ:ɪŋ/ *morning* and [ˈmɔɪŋ, ˈmɔ:ɪŋ] *mourning* (which, by now, belongs only to <traditional> American pronunciation) is no longer neutral, nor is it modern, but simply regional. As a matter of fact, they are now both pronounced [ˈmɔ:ɪŋ] ([ˈmɔ:ɪŋ]^b) /ˈmɔ:ɪŋ/ (and the traditional pronunciation of *mourning* could be shown diaphonemically as </ˈmɔəɪŋ/ > or </ˈmɔ:ɪŋ/ >).

fig 2.1. American monophthongs.



2.1.2.3. The four *white markers* show the unstressed realizations of the remaining three phonemes: [i] /i/, [μ] /u/, [ə, ʌ] /ə/. They occur in the following contexts – /i/ at the end of lexemes: [ˈleɪdɪ(z)] /ˈleɪdɪ(z)/ *lady, ladies*, [ˈɛniθɪŋ] /ˈɛniθɪŋ/ *anything*, and before vowels: [ˈrɪæktɪ] /ˈrɪækt/ *react*; /u/ chiefly before vowels: [ˈsɪtʃuˈeɪʃən] /ˈsɪtʃuˈeɪʃən/ *situation*, [ˈtʊældʒi] /ˈtʊældʒi/ *to Algy*. A few words ending in *-ue* (*value, statue, virtue, issue, tissue*) may have a reduced variant, especially in a preintoneme, which might usefully be represented with the diaphoneme /u[#]/: [ˈvælju(u), ˈstætʃu(u)] /ˈvælju, ˈstætʃu/ *value, statue*.

Finally, /ə/ is the most frequent unstressed vowel phoneme of the English language (in particular American, Oceanian, and South African): [fəˈtɒɡrəfə] /fəˈtɒɡrəfə/ *photographer*. In words like [ˈsɒfə]^a [ˈsɒfə]^b /ˈsɒfə/ *sofa*, we can see that a

final /ə/ before a pause (even a short one), is realized as if it were the (unstressed) phoneme /ʌ/; however, if a pause is not there, this does not occur.

2.1.2.4. In certain types of diaphonemic transcription, it would certainly be better to use precisely this notation. Let us make this fact clear at once, with suitable examples in phonetic and (dia)phonemic transcriptions, in order to avoid any unintentional misunderstandings. In the plural, we have: [ˈsɒfəz̥]^a [ˈsɒfəz̥]^b /sɒfəz/ *sofas*, even when not in an intoneme: [hɪˈsɒfə wʊzˈɒʊt̥d̥, -fʊ wz̥]^a [həˈsɒfə wʊzˈɒʊt̥d̥, -fʊ wz̥]^b /həˈsɒfə wəzˈɒʊt̥d̥/ *her sofa was old* (cf § 2.1.3.4).

On the other hand, if we introduce even a simple continuative intoneme, with a short pause, we have: [ɪpwʊz(h)ɪˈsɒfəː ɰəpwʊzˈɒʊt̥d̥]^a [ɪpwʊz(h)əˈsɒfəː ɰəpwʊzˈɒʊt̥d̥]^b /ɪtwəz(h)əˈsɒfəː; ɰətwəzˈɒʊt̥d̥/ *it was her sofa that was old*.

Thus, this is what happens to /ə./, /ə?/, /ə;/ /ə/, (ie with intonemes and pauses of any length). The same is true, but only in the neutral British accent, of /ə./, /ə?/, /ə;/, /ə./, /ə./: [ˈdɪr̥v̥]^b /ˈdɪr̥v̥/ *dear*, [ˈsɛnd̥v̥]^b /ˈsɛnd̥v̥/ *sender*. Instead, for /ɛə./, the modern neutral pronunciation has [ɛɜː]: [ˈkɛr̥ɜː]^b /ˈkɛr̥ɜː/ *care*. One generation ago, it was [ˈkɛr̥v̥]^b; while, earlier than that, it was [ˈkɛr̥v̥]^b; still earlier, it was [ˈkɛr̥ʌ]^b; and before that, [ˈkɛr̥ʌ]^b – but let us close this micro-diachronic digression.

The second taxophone of /ə/, [ʊ], occurs in contact with /k, g, ŋ; w, ʔ/ (as they are velar, or at least have a velar component): [ˈbæk wˈgɛnː; -ɛːɪn] /ˈbæk əˈgɛ(ɪ)n/ *back again*, [kɪwɪnˈtɛɪn] /kənˈtɛɪn/ *contain*, [tɪhʊˈgɒːw̥]^a [-zːw̥]^b /təˈgɒː/ *to go*, [sɪŋ wˈsɔːŋ, ˈsɑːŋ]^a [-ɒːŋ]^b /sɪŋ əˈsɒːŋ/ *sing a song*, [ðʊˈwɪnːd̥] /ðəˈwɪnd/ *the wind*, [ˈɛɪndʒɪ, -dʒɪw̥] /ˈɛɪndʒɪ, -dʒɪw̥/ *angel*.

As can be seen from the vocograms, [ʊ] substantially is [ɔ] with no lip rounding (and the symbol itself makes this quite clear). However, in these cases [ə] could be used, without great problems, as is done by some native speakers. On the other hand, the correct articulation may be produced, spontaneously, even by foreigners, when they are able to adequately reproduce all the other phones that realize the English phonemes.

British monophthongs (and centering diphthongs)

2.1.3.1. Let us now consider the corresponding vocogram for the *British* accent (fig 2.2). Here we have nine *black markers* (for nine either stressed or unstressed phonemes): [ɪ] /ɪ/, [ɛ] /ɛ/, [æ] /æ/, [ɑː] /ɑː/, [ɒ] /ɒ/, [ɐ] /ʌ/, [ɔː] /ɔː/, [ɔ] /ʊ/, [ɜː] /ə./]. We find: [hɪt̥] /hɪt/ *hit*, [jɛs] /jɛs/ *yes*, [ˈmæn] /ˈmæn/ *man*, [ˈfɑːðv̥] /ˈfɑːðv̥/ *father*, [ˈfɑː] /ˈfɑː/ *far*, [ˈlɒt̥] /ˈlɒt/ *lot*, [ˈrʌnː] /ˈrʌn/ *run*, [ˈlɔːn] /ˈlɔːn/ *lawn*, [ˈdɔː] /ˈdɔː/ *door*, [ˈpʊt̥] /ˈpʊt/ *put*, and [ˈwɜːd̥] /ˈwɜːd̥/ *word* (for American English, of course, this last word was in the group of /ɪ/, as we have seen above). If we consider *farther*, /ˈfɑːðv̥/, we can see that it is pronounced exactly as *father*, [ˈfɑːðv̥] (with no /ɪ/ pronounced), while in American English both *r* /ɪ/ are realized: [ˈfɑːr̥ðv̥]. For an American pronunciation like [ˈfɑːðv̥], for *farther*, and other words, see below: *dissimilation* (§ 2.3.3.5).

Let us quickly add that even for [ɔː] /ɔː./, as in [ˈwɔː(z)] /ˈwɔː(z)/ *war(s)*, by now,

pronunciations like [ˈwɒsə, ˈwɒsɜz] are old-fashioned (or regional).

For /ɪ, ε, æ, ʌ, ʊ/ we have some modifications, with an actual change only for two of them: [ˈʌt, ˈhʌt] /æ, ʌt/ *Al, hull* (in comparison with [æ, ɐ]).

fig 2.2. British monophthongs.

/i [#] , iV/ [i]		/uV/ [u]
/ɪ/ [ɪ], /ɪt/ [ɪt]		/ʊ(ɪ)/ [ʊ, ʊt]
/ɛ/ = /ɪ/ [ɪ]		/ə(ɪ)/ [ə, ɜ*, ɜ#]
/ε(ɪ)/ [ε, ɛt]		/ɔ:/ [ɔ:], /ɔ:/ [ɔ:, ɔ]
/ʌ(ɪ)/ [ε, ʌt]		/ə:ɪ/ [ɜ:ɪ], /ə:ɪ/ [ɜ:ɪ], /ə:ɪ/ [ɜ:ɪ]
/æ(ɪ)/ [æ, ʌt], /æ:/ [ɑ:]		/ɒ/ [ɒ], /ɒ:/ [ɒ]
		/ɑ:/ [ɑ:], /ɑ:/ [æ]

2.1.3.2. For British English, /ɪə, ɛə, ʊə/ are given in fig 2.3: [ˈhɪvə] /ˈhɪə/ *here*, [ˈphjʊvə] /ˈpɜʊə/ *pure*, [ˈðɛɜ] /ˈðɛə/ *there*. We have already seen that in British English a simple vocoid, with no contoid, occurs in cases like [ˈfɜ:] /ˈfə:/ *fur*. It is to be noticed that, in this type of pronunciation, the phonemic sequence /jə/ is almost exclusively substituted with its variant /jɔ:/: [ˈphjɔ:] /ˈphjə/ *pure*, [ˈphɔ:] /ˈphə/ *poor*, [ˈʃɔ:] /ˈʃə/ *sure*.

It is curious to note that, in the British pronunciation of the sixties, a similar trend was very strong, but it soon stopped: [ˈphjɜ:] /ˈkɜjɜ:ɪəs, ɪndʒɜ:ɪəns, ˈdʒɜ:ɪŋ, ˈʃɜ:] *pure, curious, endurance, during, sure* (at that time, of course, the neutral pronunciation had [ɪV] </ɪV/ for modern [iV] /iV/: [ˈkɜjɜ:ɪəs], *curious*). Another curiosity is that, in the first half of the twentieth century, the same pronunciation [jɜ:] /jə:/ (which today no longer occurs, except as an old-fashioned variant) was a variant of /ɪə, ɛə/: [ˈdɪvə; ˈdʒɜ:] *dear*, [ˈhɪvə; ˈhɜ:] *here*, [ˈsɪnˈsɪvə; ˈsɜ:] *sincere*, [ˈkɜlɪəɪəns; ˈkɜlɜ:ɪəns] *clearance*; however, it still remains as a secondary variant in [ˈjɜvə; ˈjɜ:] *year*.

2.1.3.3. Also in the British accent, the four *white markers* show the realizations of the remaining phonemes, always in unstressed positions: [i] /i/, [u] /u/, [ə, ɜ] /ə/. They occur in the same contexts – /i/ at the end of a lexeme: [ˈleɪdɪ(z)] /ˈleɪdɪ(z)/ *lady, ladies*, [ˈɛniθɪŋ] /ˈɛniθɪŋ/ *anything*, and before a vowel: [ˈɪiˌækt] /ˈɪiˌækt/ *react*. /u/ occurs chiefly before vowels: [ˈsɪtʃuˌeɪʃən] /ˈsɪtʃuˌeɪʃən/ *situation*, [ˈtʌˌæltʃi] /tʌˌæltʃi/ *to Algy*. The possibility of finding /ˈvælju/ *value* (§ 2.1.2.3) is less common in British English.

Finally, /ə/ is the most frequent unstressed vowel phoneme in British English, too, also because of the vocalization of /ə, V:/: [fəˈtɒɡrəfɜz] /fəˈtɒɡrəfɜz/ *photographers* ([fəˈtɒɡrəfɜz]^a), [ˈrɪtʃərd] /ˈrɪtʃərd/ *Richard* ([ˈrɪtʃɪrd]^a), [ˈtəʊgə] /təʊgə/ *to go* ([ˈtəʊgə]^a). Of course, we also find [ɐ] /ə, ə/ (before pauses): [ˈsɒfə] /ˈsɒfə/ *sofa* ([ˈsɒfə]^a), [ˈɑftə] /ˈæftə/ *after* ([ˈæ(ˈ)ftə]^a).

2.1.3.4. However, in British pronunciation, /ə/ has another –rather important– taxophone, [ɜ]. Phonetically, it is the short version of /ə:/ [ɜ:], and occurs for /ə[#]/ followed by the grammemes /z[#], d[#]/, and for non-prepausal /ə[#]/ (while, if /ə[#]/ is final before a pause, it becomes [ɐ]).

So we find: [fɑːðɜːz] ([fɑːðɪz]^a) *fathers* and *father's*, [ˈɑːnsɜːd] ([ˈæ(ɹ)nsɪd]^a) *answered*; and [ðəˈpleɪzɜːməʊn; -ɜː; 'mɑːʊn] ([-ɪz; -ɪz; 'm-]^a) *the pleasure is mine*, [əˈneðɜː ˈgɜːl] ([-lɪðɪ ˈgɪːl, ˈgɪːl]^a) *another girl*.

In addition to /əɪ[#]/, this happens to non-prepausal /ə[#]/ as well (also in American English, generally only up to [ə], with no need to use [ɜ]): [ˈɹʰæːkɜː ˈkʰɜːʊt] ([-ə ˈkʰɜːʊt]^a) *alpaca coat* –so, as can be seen, [ɜ] occurs, even near a /k/ & c, instead of [ʊ], cf [ˈɹʰæːk ʊˈkʰɜːʊt] ([ʊˈkʰɜːʊt]^a) *I'll pack a coat* – but: [ˈɹʰæːkɜː] ([ˈæː ˈphæːkɜː]^a) *alpaca*.

However, even this taxophone can be represented by the usual realization of /ə/: [ə], as many native speakers do. As a matter of fact, compared to [ʊ], this other taxophone may be less important and almost exclusively limited to the British accent.

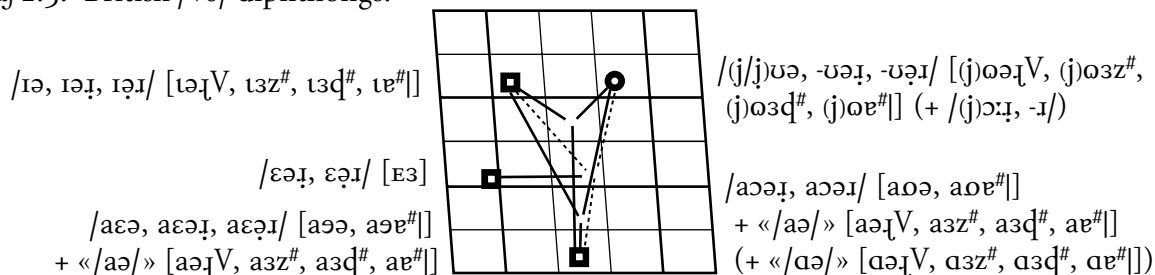
Both in *American* and in *British* English, but with a traditional or regional connotation, /i, u/ may be realized as if they were /ɪ, ʊ/: [ˈlɛɪdɪ(z)], [ˈɛɪθɪŋ], [ɪˈæːkɪ]^a [ɪˈæːkɪ]^b, [ˈsɪtʃɪˈeɪʃən]^a [-ʃɪ]^b, [ˈhɜːtʃɪ]^a [-ɹɹ]^b. A possible compromise is [ɪː] for /i/: [-dɪ(z)], [ɛɪθ], [ɪˈæːkɪ]^a, [-dɪ]^b. On the other hand, in American English /uV/ = /əwV/ is quite frequent, too: [ˈsɪtʃɪˈeɪʃən], [ˈsɪtʃɪˈwɛɪʃən], [ˈvæːlɪŋ], [ˈvæːljʊwɪŋ] ([ˈvæːljʊŋ]^b) /ˈvæːljʊŋ/ *valuing*, and [ˈɔːwV] = /əwV/ as well: [ˈfɔːlɔːwɪŋ], [ˈfɔːlɔːwɪŋ] ([ˈfɔːlɔːwɪŋ]^b) /ˈfɔːlɔːwɪŋ/ *following*, [ˈʃæːdɔːwɪ], [-dɔːwɪ] ([-dɔːwɪ]^b) /ˈʃæːdɔːwɪ/ *shadowy*.

2.1.3.5. It is useful to recall here (although this is also true of the preceding cases of /əɪ/) that, in neutral British pronunciation (as well as Oceanian and South African), the normal realization of /əɪ/ is [ə]: [pʰəˈfɔːmənɪs] /pʰəˈfɔːmənɪs/ *performance*, [ˈæːsəˈtʰeɪn] /ˈæːsəˈtʰeɪn/ *ascertain*, [həˈhɜːzbənd] /həˈhɜːzbənd/ *her husband*. Of course, this holds good unless in absolute final position before a pause, [eɪ], or final in a rhythm group, or with the grammemes /z[#], d[#]/, [z[#], ɜz[#], ɜd[#]]: [ˈhɪəɪŋ] /ˈhɪəɪŋ/ *hearing*, [ˈhɪːz wɪðˈjʊː] /ˈhɪəɪ wɪðˈjʊː/ *here with you*, [ˈbɜːz] /ˈbɪəɪz/ *beers*, [ˈhɪəɪ ənˈðɜːz] /ˈhɪəɪ ən(d)ˈðɜːz/ *here and there*.

The modern neutral British pronunciation of /ɛəɪ/ does not change any longer according to context, but it is always [ɛɜ] (with a strong tendency to a long monophthong, through [ɛɹ], up to <[ɛː]/ɛː>), as has, for a few generations, already happened to the previous </ɔəɪ/>: [ˈbɛːz(z)] /ˈbɛəɪ(z)/ *bear(s)*. For /ɑːɪ, əɪ, ɔːɪ/, as we have seen, /ɪ/ is lost and realized through a <zero> phone, [∅]: [ˈkʰɑː(z)] /ˈkɑːɪ(z)/ *car(s)*, [ˈfɜː(z)] /ˈfəɪ(z)/ *fur(s)*, [ˈdɔː(z)] /ˈdɔːɪ(z)/ *door(s)*.

In absolute final position and before pauses, we find: [ˈbɜː] /ˈbɪəɪ/ *beer*, [ˈkʰjɜː] (and [-jɜː]) /ˈkʰjəɪ/ *cure* and [ˈfəˈtɔːɡɹəˈfɜː] /ˈfəˈtɔːɡɹəˈfɜː/ *photographer*. But, if final in a rhythm group, we have: [əˈbɜːz fəˈmɹɪ] ([əˈbɜːz fəˈmɹɪ]^a) /əˈbɪəɪ fəˈmɹɪ/

fig 2.3. British /Və/ diphthongs.



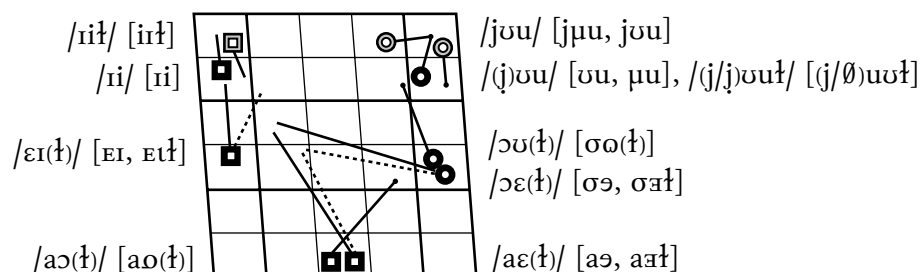
'mi:/ a beer for me, [ðæk'kɪjə'zɪ 'gɔːd, -jɜː 'z-] ([ðæk'kɪjɜː 'zɪ 'gɔːd, -jɜː 'z-]^a) /ðæt'kjʊə'zɪznt 'gʊd/ that cure isn't good, [ðəfə'tɒɡrəfɜː 'dɪdɪt] ([ðəfə'tɒɡrəfɜː 'dɪdɪt]^a) /ðəfə'tɒɡrəfɜː 'dɪdɪt/ the photographer did it.

Diphthongs

2.1.4.1. Let us now consider the seven phonemic diphthongs of American English. They have ten realizations, which are necessary for a good pronunciation (fig 2.4). The *black markers* stand for the seven phonemes, while the three *grey ones* show taxophones, or contextual variants. Meanwhile, we will see: [iɪ] /iɪ/, [ɛɪ] /ɛɪ/, [aə] /aɛ/, [ɔə] /ɔɛ/, [aɔ] /aɔ/, [σɔ] /ɔɔ/, [ɪu] /ɪu/: [tʰri] /'tri/ *tea*, [dɛɪ] /'deɪ/ *day*, [haɪ] /'haɪ/ *high*, [bɔɪ] /'bɔɪ/ *boy*, [naʊ] /'naʊ/ *now*, [gɔʊ] /'gɔʊ/ *go*, [hʊu] /'hʊu/ *who*. Besides, we need: [fiɪt] /'fiɪt/ *feel*, [jjuθ] /'jjuθ/ *youth*, [nju] /'nju/ *new*, [juɪt] /'juɪt/ *yule*, [khuɪt] /'khuɪt/ *cool*.

The other diphthongs, even if followed by /t/, do not change much their components, apart from those with front second elements; besides (except for /ɔɔ/, which has only /t/, in neutral pronunciation), they freely fluctuate between /t/ and /t̥/ (with a possible realization of /t̥/ as /ɔt̥/ [ʊt̥]): [sɛɪt] /'sɛɪt/ *sail*, [faɪt] /'faɪt/ *file*, [bɔɪt] /'bɔɪt/ *boil*, [faʊt] /'faʊt/ *fowl*; but only [sɔʊt] /'sɔʊt/ *soul*.

fig 2.4. American diphthongs.

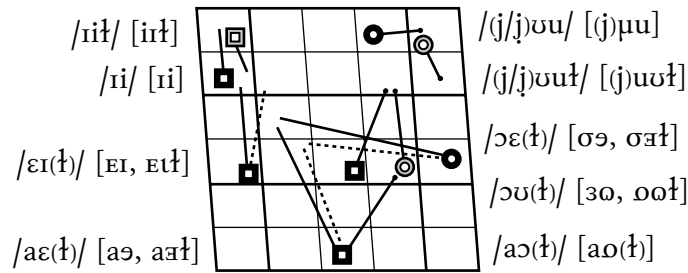


2.1.4.2. For the corresponding *British* diphthongs, we find seven fundamental types, plus six taxophones. The modern pronunciation differs only slightly from the more traditional one (and so there is little difference from the American one) for /iɪ, ɛɪ, aɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ/ and for /iɪt/, too, as can be seen better through a careful comparison between the British (fig 2.5) and the American (fig 2.4) vocograms. But there is a bigger difference for /ɪu, ɔɔ/ and /ɪuɪt, ɔɔt/. Indeed, we have: [tʰri] /'tri/ *tea*, [dɛɪ] /'deɪ/ *day*, [haɪ] /'haɪ/ *high*, [bɔɪ] /'bɔɪ/ *boy*, [naʊ] /'naʊ/ *now*, and also: [fiɪt] /'fiɪt/ *feel*, [sɛɪt] /'sɛɪt/ *sail*, [faɪt] /'faɪt/ *file*, [bɔɪt] /'bɔɪt/ *boil*, but only: [faʊt] /'faʊt/ *fowl*, [juɪt] /'juɪt/ *yule*, [khuɪt] /'khuɪt/ *cool*. We find then: [sɔʊt] /'sɔʊt/ *soul* and –above all– [sɜːɔ] /'sɜːɔ/ *so*, as well as: [jjuθ] /'jjuθ/ *youth*, [nju] /'nju/ *new*, [hju] /'hju/ *who* (/VVt/ can always be realized as /VVət/ [VVɪt]).

Of course, the most peculiar diphthong is /ɔɔ/ [ɜɜ], not followed by /t/: [nɜːɔ..

'dʒɔːt̩ · wɔːt̩ ˈɡɔːt̩.] /'nɔːt̩ · dʒɔːt̩ · wɔːnt̩ ˈɡɔːt̩./ *No, Joe won't go.* The first element of /ɔː/ is central and unrounded, [ɜɔ], while in American pronunciation it is back and rounded, [oʊ]: ['nɔːt̩ · dʒɔːt̩ · wɔːnt̩ ˈɡɔːt̩.]^a. In the British accent, at the beginning of the twentieth century, [oʊ] was widespread; until the fifties it was [oʊ], always with lip rounding, while [əʊ, ɜʊ], at that time, sounded rather affected.

fig 2.5. British diphthongs.



2.1.4.3. In the vocogram showing /ɪəɪ, ɛəɪ, (j)ʊəɪ/ (fig 2.3), there are also /æəɪ, aɔəɪ/. As a matter of fact, in a typical British pronunciation (besides remaining stable, as in American English), both can frequently reduce to </əəɪ/ > [əə] (and [əɐ]): [ˈfæəɜz̩, ˈfæəɐ] and [ˈfæːɜz̩, ˈfæːɐ] /ˈfæəɪ(z)/ *fire(s)*. Otherwise, /aɔəɪ/ can become </ɑːəɪ/ > [ɑːə] (and [ɑːɐ]), up to coincide with /ɑː(ɪ): [ˈtʰɑoʊz̩, ˈtʰɑoɐ], [ˈtʰɑːz̩, ˈtʰɑːɐ] (also [ˈtʰɑːz̩, ˈtʰɑːɐ], besides [ˈtʰɑː(z)]) /ˈtɑoəɪ(z)/ *tower(s)*.

In this kind of pronunciation (sometimes defined <smoothing>), even the rarer /ɛɪəɪ, ɜɛəɪ, ɔʊəɪ/ can always be lessened, respectively, to </ɛəɪ, ɜəɪ, əəɪ/ >. Thus </ɛəɪ/ > (up to coincide with /ɛəɪ/): [ˈlɛɪz̩, ˈlɛɐ], [ˈlɛːz̩, ˈlɛːɐ], [ˈlɛː(z)] (and also [ˈlɛː(z), ˈlɛː(z)]) /ˈlɛɪəɪ(z)/ *layer(s)*; </ɜəɪ/ > (up to coincide with the old </ɜəɪ/ >): [ɪmˈpʰlɔəz̩, -səɐ], [-sː(z), -sːɐ], /ɪmˈplɔəɪ(z)/ *employer(s)*; </əəɪ/ > (up to coincide with /əəɪ/): [ˈmɜʊz̩, ˈmɜɐ], [ˈmɜːz̩, ˈmɜːɐ], [ˈmɜː(z)] /ˈmɔʊəɪ(z)/ *mower(s)* (cf [ˈfæəɪ(z), ˈtʰɑoɪ(z), ˈlɛɪɪ(z), ɪmˈpʰlɔəɪ(z), ˈmɔəɪ(z)]^a).

2.1.4.4. In neutral (both *American* and *British*) pronunciation, /æɪ/ remains: [ˈmæɪɪ]^a [ˈmæɪɪ]^b /ˈmæɪɪ/ *marry*; different from [ˈmɛɪɪ]^a [ˈmɛɪɪ]^b /ˈmɛɪɪ/ *merry*. Besides, we have: [ˈstɑːɪɪ]^a [ˈstɑːɪɪ]^b /ˈstɑːɪɪ/ *starry*; [ˈsɔːɪɪ]^a [ˈsɔːɪɪ]^b /ˈsɔːɪɪ/ *sorry*; [ˈstɔːɪɪ]^a [ˈstɔːɪɪ]^b /ˈstɔːɪɪ/ *stor(e)y*.

The difference –only by now in traditional American pronunciation– between [ˈɔːɪɪ] /ˈɔːɪɪ/ *aural* and [ˈoːɪɪ] </ˈɔːɪɪ/ > (sometimes, represented as </ˈoːɪɪ/ > or, even, as in the misleading transcription </ˈɔːɪɪ/ >) *oral* is neither neutral, nor any longer modern: it is [ˈɔːɪɪ] for both. At most, sometimes (in both accents), one can resort to [ˈɔːɪɪ] for *oral*, in order to avoid ambiguities. But, for this very reason, not infrequently, people even say [ˈaɔːɪɪ] /ˈaɔːɪɪ/ *aural*).

Vowel diaphonemes

2.1.5.1. There is a difference, especially in British English, between [ˈfɜːɪɪ]^a [ˈfɜːɪɪ]^b /ˈfɜːɪɪ/ *furry* and [ˈhɜːɪɪ]^a [ˈhɜːɪɪ]^b /ˈhɜːɪɪ/ *hurry*, occurring in just a few words.

In a diaphonemic transcription, it is conveniently represented by /ə:/ ≠ /ə/, as we have just seen.

We must now also introduce the diaphoneme /ə:/, occurring in the context /Və:V/, especially in the set /Iə:V, eə:V, uə:V/ (corresponding to /Iə:, eə:, uə:/); more rarely it occurs in /aεə:V, aɔə:V, ɔεə:V/, as well.

Typically, in American English, /ə/ is dropped and realized as ⟨zero⟩; so we have: [ˈmɛɪi]^a [ˈmɛɪi]^b /ˈmɛə:ɪ/ *Mary* (consequently, in American pronunciation, it is the same as *merry*, and, in current and widespread pronunciation, which however is not neutral –but mediatic, cf § 2.4.2.2– the same goes for *marry*, too), [ˈkhlɪɹɪ]^a [ˈkhlɪɹɪ]^b /ˈkhlɪə:ɪ/ *clearing*, [ˈkhlɪɹɪ]^a [ˈkhlɪɹɪ]^b /ˈkhlɪə:ɪ/ *clear it*, [ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ]^a [ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ]^b /ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ/ *during*. Often, we have: [ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ]^a /ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ/ and [ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ]^b /ˈdʒɔ:ɹɪ/ (this example shows the diaphoneme /j/, too).

Therefore, in American English, [ˈspɪɹɪ, -ɹɪ] holds good both of /ˈspɪɹɪ/ *spirit* ([ˈspɪɹɪ, -ɹɪ] [ˈspɪɹɪ]^b), and of /ˈspɪə:ɪ/ *spear it* ([ˈspɪɹɪ, -ɹɪ] [ˈspɪə:ɪ]^b). On the other hand, some speakers may distinguish, saying: [ˈspɪɹɪ, -ɹɪ] /ˈspɪɹɪ/ and [ˈspɪɹɪ, -ɹɪ] /ˈspɪə:ɪ/. Furthermore: [ˈhɪɹɪ ənˈðɛ:ɹɪ]^a [ˈhɪɹɪ ənˈðɛ:ɹɪ]^b /ˈhɪə:ɪ ən(d)ˈðɛə:ɪ/ *here and there*.

2.1.5.2. When /ə/ is preceded by a consonant, it may be dropped (more frequently so in the British accent): [ˌɛləˈmɛn(ɪ)ə:ɪ, -nɪɹɪ]^a [ˌɛlɪˈmɛnɪɹɪ]^b /ɛlɪˈmɛnɪɹɪ/ *elementary*. With this kind of suffix, in American English, a secondary stress is kept, when it is preceded by an unstressed syllable: [ˈdɪkʃənɪ, -ənɪ]^a [ˈdɪkʃənɪ, -ənɪ]^b /ˈdɪkʃənɪ/ *dictionary*, [ˈkʌstəˈmɛɹɪ]^a [ˈkʌstəˈmɛɹɪ, -mɪɹɪ]^b /ˈkʌstəˈmɛɹɪ/ *customary*, [ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjələtɔ:ɹɪ]^a [ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjələtɔ:ɹɪ]^b /ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjələtɔ:ɹɪ/ *articulatory*. It may thus be convenient to use the diaphonemes /ɛ:, ɔ:/, as well. This is very economical, because it helps save some of the space given to transcriptions, especially in dictionaries, without renouncing precious information. For the last example given, there is a variant (chiefly British): [ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjələtɔ:ɹɪ]^b /ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjələtɔ:ɹɪ/).

Especially for *British* English, it may be useful to use the diaphoneme /ʊ/, to show the oscillation between (unstressed) /jə/ and /ju/ [jə, jʊ]: [ˈrɛɡjʊlə, -gʊlə] /ˈrɛɡjʊlə/ *regular*, [ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjələtɔ:ɹɪ, ɑ:ɹɪˈhɪkjʊlətɔ:ɹɪ] /-kjə-, -kjə-/, [ˈkʌstəˈmɛɹɪ, -mɪə-]; in American English, /jə/ definitely prevails.

Besides, the handy diaphonemes /ju, u/ may be useful, to show the fluctuation between [juˈnaɪt, jʊ-]^a [juˈnaɪt, jʊ-]^b /juˈnaɪt/ *unite*, [ˈstætʃu, -u]^a [-u, -u]^b /ˈstætʃu/ *statue*.

It is convenient to use the diaphoneme /ə/ in other contexts, too: [vəˈlæsəɪ, -sɪ]^a [vəˈlɒsəɪ, -sɪ]^b /vəˈlɒsəɪ/ *velocity*, [ˈnɒvəlɪst, -vɪst]^a [ˈnɒ-]^b /ˈnɒvəlɪst/ *novelist*, [ˈɡʌvɪnɪ, -vənɪ, -vɪnɪ]^a [ˈɡʌvɪnə, -vɪnə]^b /ˈɡʌvɪnə/ *governor*, &c.

2.1.5.3. Two other diaphonemes, /æ, ɒ/, are more important in distinguishing between the American and British modern neutral accents. The first, /æ/, shows the difference between /æ/^a (but it often behaves like a long monophthong ⟨æ:/⟩) and /ɑ:/^b (chiefly before /f, θ, s/ and before /NC/), as in: [ˈɡræ(ɪ)sp]^a [ˈɡrɑ:sp]^b /ˈɡræ:sp/ *grasp*, [ˈlæ(ɪ)st]^a [ˈlɑ:st]^b /ˈlæ:st/ *last*, [ˈphæ(ɪ)s]^a [ˈphɑ:s]^b /ˈpæ:s/ *pass*, [ˈhæ(ɪ)f]^a [ˈhɑ:f]^b /ˈhæ:f/ *half*, [ˈæ(ɪ)fɹɪ]^a [ˈɑ:fɹɪ]^b /ˈæ:ftə:ɪ/ *after*, [ˈphæ(ɪ)θ]^a [ˈphɑ:θ]^b /ˈpæ:θ/ *path*.

More examples are: [ˈdæ(ɹ)ns]^a [ˈdɑːns]^b /ˈdæns/ *dance*, [ˈplæ(ɹ)nt]^a [ˈplɑːnt]^b /ˈplænt/ *plant*, [ˈkɪæ(ɹ)nt]^a [ˈkɪɑːnt]^b /ˈkænt/ *can't*, [ɪgˈzæ(ɹ)mpl̩]^a [ɪgˈzɑːmpl̩]^b /ɪgˈzæmpl̩/ *example*, [kɪwˈmæːnd̩, -æ-]^a [-ɑːnd̩]^b /kəˈmæːnd/ *command*, [ˈæ(ɹ)nt]^a [ˈɑːnt]^b /ˈænt/ *aunt*; [ˈɪæ(ɹ)ðɪ]^a [ˈɪɑːðe]^b /ˈɪæðə/ *rather*, [məˈɪæːt̩]^a [-ɪɑːt̩]^b /məˈɪæːt̩/ *morale*, [bəˈnæ(ɹ)nəl]^a [bəˈnɑːnə]^b /bəˈnæːnə/ *banana*.

Even in British English, there are forms with /æ/: [ˈæsp] /ˈæsp/ *asp*, [ˈphænt] /ˈpænt/ *pant*, &c, of course, besides: [ˈbænd] /ˈbænd/ *band*, [ˈmæn] /ˈmæn/ *man*, [ˈmæθs] /ˈmæθs/ *maths*, &c.

2.1.5.4. The second of these diaphonemes, /ɒ/, shows the difference between /ɔː/^a (but /ɒ/^a occurs, too) and /ɒ/^b (in particular before /f, θ, s, ŋ, g/ and /rV/), as in: [ˈɔːf, ˈɔːf]^a [ˈɒf]^b /ˈɒf/ *off*, [ˈkɪlɔːθ, -ɑθ]^a [ˈkɪlɒθ]^b /ˈkɪlɔːθ/ *cloth*, [ˈlɔːs, ˈlɑːs]^a [ˈlɒs]^b /ˈlɔːs/ *loss*, [ˈlɔːst, ˈlɑːst]^a [ˈlɒst]^b /ˈlɔːst/ *lost*, [ˈsɔːŋ, ˈsɑːŋ]^a [ˈsɒŋ]^b /ˈsɔːŋ/ *song*, [ˈdɔːg, ˈdɑːg]^a [ˈdɒg]^b /ˈdɔːg/ *dog*, [ˈhɔːrəbəl, ˈhɑː-]^a [ˈhɒrəbəl]^b /ˈhɔːrəbəl/ *horrible*, [ˈɔːɪdʒən, ˈɑː-]^a [ˈɒɪdʒən]^b /ˈɔːɪdʒən/ *origin*, [ˈflɔːɪdə, ˈflɑː-]^a [ˈflɒɪdə]^b /ˈflɔːɪdə/ *Florida*, [ˈkɪwɔːɪt̩, ˈkɪwɑː-]^a [ˈkɪwɒɪt̩]^b /ˈkɪwɔːɪt̩/ *quarrel*, [ˈgɔːn, ˈgɑːn]^a [ˈgɒn]^b /ˈgɔːn/ *gone*.

But, for /ɒ/, there are even cases like: /ɒ/^a (but /ɔː/^a is to be preferred) /ɒ/^b, as in: [ˈsɑːɪ, ˈsɔːɪ]^a [ˈsɒɪ]^b /ˈsɔːɪ/ *sorry*, [ˈtʰəˈmɑːɪsɔː, -ɪmɔː-]^a [ˈtʰəˈmɒɪsɔː]^b /təˈmɔːɪsɔː/ *tomorrow*, [ˈwɑːtʃ, ˈwɔːtʃ]^a [ˈwɒtʃ]^b /ˈwɔːtʃ/ *watch*, [ˈfrɔːg, ˈfrɑːg]^a [ˈfrɒg]^b /ˈfrɔːg/ *frog*, [ˈtʃhɔːklət, ˈtʃhɑː-]^a [ˈtʃhɒklət]^b /ˈtʃhɔːklət/ *chocolate*, [ˈdɑːt, ˈdɔːt]^a and [ˈdɑːli, ˈdɔːli]^a [ˈdɒt, ˈdɒli]^b /ˈdɒt, ˈdɒli/ *doll(y)*, [ˈwɑːnt, ˈwɔːnt]^a [ˈwɒnt]^b /ˈwɔːnt/ *want*.

It is interesting to notice the peculiarity of [ˈwɔːɪt̩, ˈwɑːɪt̩]^a [ˈwɒɪt̩]^b /ˈwɔːɪt̩/ *water*. In England, [ˈwɒɪt̩] is no neutral pronunciation; it can be found most commonly in an area including Oxford and Reading. In a few words with /ɒf, ɒθ, ɒs, ɒft, ɒst/, even in British English, a minority pronunciation with /ɔː/ is possible, besides the preferred one with /ɒ/; they are: *off, cough, trough, broth, froth, cross, loss, toss, soft, croft, cost, frost, lost, oft, often, soften*.

2.1.5.5. There are another couple of diaphonemes, /ɑː, ɔː/, which are relatively less significant, because /ɑː/ is used especially in words of foreign origin, written with an *a*: [ˈpɑːstɑː]^a [ˈpɛstɛ]^b /ˈpɑːstə/ *pasta*, [ˌvɪɪt̩ˈnɑːm, -ɛɪ-]^a [ˌvɪɪt̩ˈnɑːm]^b /vɪɪt̩ˈnɑːm/ *Vietnam*.

While /ɔː/ occurs in particular in words written with *ausC, aunC, alC*: [ɔːˈstɪrɪ, ɑː-]^a [ɔːˈstɪrɪ, ɒ-]^b /ɔːˈstɪrɪ/ *austere*, [ˈhɔːnt, ˈhɑːnt]^a [ˈhɒnt]^b /ˈhɔːnt/ *haunt*, [ˈsɔːlt, ˈsɑːlt]^a [ˈsɒlt]^b /ˈsɔːlt/ *salt*. As the examples show, /ɔː/ concerns, above all, American English. On the other hand, /ɑː/ may present twofold possibilities, in both accents, according to words and to speakers.

The (socio)diaphoneme /ɪ/

2.1.6.1. The last vowel diaphoneme we must consider is /ɪ/ = /ə, ɪ/. This refers to the alternation in the realizations of /ɪ/: between /ə/ and /ɪ/. Clearly, /ə/ [ə] prevails in the *American* accent, while /ɪ/ [ɪ] prevails in the *British* one, even if things are a little more complicated. Indeed, in American English, too, there are cases of

/ɪ/ = /ɪ/, chiefly in a more refined and more conservative way of speaking. By the same token, in British English, there are cases of /ɪ/ = /ə/, chiefly in a less refined and more innovative way of speaking. So, we find a greater convergence at a more up-to-date and modern level.

Here are a few examples: [sə'vɪ:ɹ̩]^a [sɪ'vɪ:ɹ̩]^b /sɪ'vɪ:ɹ̩/ *severe*, [ˈɛksədʒənt̩]^a [ˈɛgz-]^b [-ɪdʒ-]^b /ˈɛksɪdʒənt̩, ˈɛgz-/ *exigent*, [ˌkʰɑmpɹɪə'hɛnʃən]^a [ˌkʰɑmpɹɪə'hɛnʃən]^b /kɑmpɹɪə'hɛnʃən/.

2.1.6.2. It may be a good idea to take stock of the situation about some (real or seeming) *suffixes* and *prefixes*, because we still find old-fashioned and outdated transcriptions, especially in bilingual dictionaries. The modern neutral pronunciation, British too, by now, has /ə/ (while /ɪ/ sounds quite pompous) in: *-ace* [ˈphæləs] /ˈpæləs/ *palace*; *-ate* [ˈtʃhɑklət̩]^a [ˈtʃhɑklət̩]^b /ˈtʃɒklət̩/ *chocolate*; *-ily* [ˈhæpəli] /ˈhæpəli/ *happily*; *-ity* [ˌkʰwɑn(ɪ)əɪ]^a [ˌkʰwɑnɹ̩t̩ɪ]^b /ˌkʰwɑnɹ̩t̩ɪ/ *quantity*.

When /-əɪ/ is preceded by /s/, it can often become /-sti/. So, a notation like /-səɪ/ includes both possibilities, while excluding that the two diaphonemes /ə, ɪ/ may work together, because of contextual incompatibilities. That means that, if /ə/ falls, then /ɪ/ automatically becomes /t/, because it is preceded by /s/): *necessity*, *university*, *velocity* /nə'sesəɪ, juːnɪ'vɜ:ɪsəɪ, və'lɒsəɪ/.

Besides, we have: *-less* [ˈhɒpləs]^a [ˈhɒpləs]^b /ˈhɒʊpləs/ *hopeless*; *-ness* [ˈgʊdnəs] /ˈgʊdnəs/ *goodness*. For *-ess*, /əs/ prevails, chiefly in American English, while in British English /ɪs/ is also possible (*actress*, *waitress*); in some cases, /ɛs/ too (*duchess*); for *princess*, we have: [ˈpɹɪnsəs, -ɛs]^a [pɹɪn'sɛs, ˈpɹɪnsɛs]^b. To end with, *-let* [ˈbɹɛɪslət̩]^a [ˈbɹɪ-]^b /ˈbɹɛɪslət̩/ *bracelet*; *-ret* [ˈskɑ:ɹlət̩]^a [ˈskɑ:lət̩]^b /ˈskɑ:ɹlət̩/ *scarlet*.

2.1.6.3. We have /ɪ/ (which means, mainly /ə/ in *American*, but /ɪ/ in *British* English) for: *-ed* [ˈweɪnəd̩]^a [ˈweɪɹ̩d̩]^b /ˈweɪɹ̩d̩/ *waited*; *-es* [ˈhɒɹ̩sɪz̩]^a [ˈhɒɹ̩sɪz̩]^b /ˈhɒɹ̩sɪz̩/ *horses*; *-est* [ˈbɪgɪst̩]^a [ˈbɪgɪst̩]^b /ˈbɪgɪst̩/ *biggest*; *-et* [ˈtɪkɪt̩]^a [-ɹ̩t̩]^b /ˈtɪkɪt̩/ *ticket*, [ˈvɛlvɪt̩]^a [ˈvɛlvɪt̩]^b /ˈvɛlvɪt̩/ *velvet* (but [ˌɪntrɪəs̩t̩, ˌɪn(ɪ)əɹ̩st̩]^a [ˌɪntrɪəs̩t̩, ˌɪntr̩əɹ̩st̩]^b /ˌɪntr̩əs̩t̩, ˌɪntr̩əɹ̩st̩/ *interest*); *-ite* [ˈɑpəzɪt̩, -s-]^a [ˈɑpəzɪt̩, -s-]^b /ˈɑpəzɪt̩, -s-/ *opposite*.

Besides: *-ice* [ˈɑfɪs, ɪ-]^a [ˈɑfɪs]^b /ˈɑfɪs/ *office*; *-ine* [ɪgˈzæmɪn]^a [-ɪn]^b /ɪgˈzæmɪn/ *examine*; *-ify* [ˈvɛɹɪfaɪ]^a [ˈvɛɹɪfaɪ]^b /ˈvɛɹɪfaɪ/ *verify*.

Furthermore: *be-* [bɪˈkʰɑmɪ:ɹ̩]^a [bɪˈkʰɛmɪ:ɹ̩]^b /bɪˈkʰɑmɪ/ *become*; *de-* [dɪˈmæ:nd̩, -æ:nd̩]^a [dɪˈmæ:nd̩]^b /dɪˈmæ:nd̩/ *demand* (but <de> /di-/: [dɪˈnɛɪt̩ɹ̩]^a [-t̩ɹ̩]^b /dɪˈnɛɪt̩ɹ̩/ *denature*); *pre-* [pɹɪəˈtʰɛn:ɹ̩]^a [pɹɪ-]^b /pɹɪˈtɛnd̩/ *pretend*; *re-* [rɪˈtʰaəɹ̩]^a [rɪ-]^b /rɪˈtʰaəɹ̩/ *retire* (but <re-> /ri-/: [rɪˈgɛɪn]^a [rɪ-]^b /rɪˈgɛɪn/ *regain*).

In words like *become*, *demand*, *pretend*, *retire*, *eleven*, we could add that /ɪ/ has a possible variant /i/ (or even /ii/). This, generally, belongs to a formal American pronunciation; while, the British one is at the opposite side. Therefore, it is safer to stick to what we have just said. Of course, everyone will decide for themselves, especially through the regular consultation of a reliable pronunciation dictionary (but it is much better to look up words, regularly, in more than one dictionary).

To end with, most internal *-e-*, *-i-* (in unchecked syllables), generally, have /ɪ/ (namely, as a trend, /ə/ in American and /ɪ/ in British pronunciation): [ˈɛlɪmɛnt̩]^a [ˈɛlɪmɛnt̩]^b /ˈɛlɪmɛnt̩/ *element*, [ˌɪnstɹ̩t̩ʃʊʊʃən]^a [ˌɪnstɹ̩t̩ʃʊʊʃən]^b /ɪnstɹ̩t̩ʃʊʊʃən/ *institution*.

2.1.6.4. On the contrary, regularly we have /ɪ/ in: *-ic(s)* [fə'nɛɪɪk(s)]^a [-tɪk(s)]^b /fə'nɛɪk(s)/ *phonetic(s)*; *-ical* [sə'tɪhɪɪkəl]^a [-ɪɪ]^b /sə'tɪɪkəl/ *satyrical*; *-ing* ['stændɪŋ] /'stændɪŋ/ *standing*; *-ship* [fɪɛnʃɪp]^a [fɪɪ]^b /fɪɛnʃɪp/ *friendship*; *-ive* [ɪn'tɛnsɪv] /ɪn'tɛnsɪv/ *intensive*.

This group includes: *-age* ['vɪlɪdʒ] /'vɪlɪdʒ/ *village*; *-ish* [ɪŋɡlɪʃ] /ɪŋɡlɪʃ/ *English*; *-ist* ['lɪŋɡwɪst] /'lɪŋɡwɪst/ *linguist*; *e-* and *i-* (at the beginning of words, in unchecked syllables): [ɪ'lɛvən] /ɪ'lɛvən/ *eleven*, [ɪ'tæljən] /ɪ'tæljən/ *Italian*; *im-* and *in-* (in checked syllables): [ɪm'pɔ:ɪtnt] [-ɔ:ɪ; -ɪtnt]^b /ɪm'pɔ:ɪtnt/ *important*, [ɪn'stɛd] /ɪn'stɛd/ *instead*. In some American pronunciations, all these words may have either /ɪ/ or /ə/.

As far as /ɛ/ is concerned, Oceanian and South African English are more like American English.

Usually, /ə/ is unstressed, being the weak vowel par excellence. There are two forms, however, that are very often heard even with stressed /ə/ (except in formal pronunciation): [tʃɪlɪdʒən, 'tʃɪwɪ-, 'tʃɪt-, 'tʃɪwɪt-]^a [-dɪ-]^b /tʃɪlɪdʒən, 'tʃɪwɪ-, 'tʃɪt-/ *children*, [dʒəznt, 'dʒznt, -nt] /dʒɒznt, 'dɒ-/ *doesn't* (this is given in an example in § 2.6.4, too). Let us consider also the possibility of <restressing> for emphasis, as in: *Oh, I didn't buy it: it wasn't the* ['ðri, 'ðəʔ] *dress, it was just a* [ɪ'ɛɪ, ɪəʔ] *dress* (example adapted from a phonetics newsgroup).

Consonants

2.2.0. At the beginning of this section, we will show the table of the consonantal articulations of (American and British) neutral English: fig 2.6. It is useful to make regular reference to it, in order to thoroughly understand the English consonantal system.

fig 1.9-15 show the orograms of all the contoids needed to describe English (and the other languages dealt with in *HPr*), including secondary, occasional, or regional variants, arranged according to their manner of articulation.

fig 3.6. Table of neutral English consonants.

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	velarized alveol.	postalveolar	postalveolar prot.	postalveopalatal protruded	prepalatal	palatal [postalveolariz.]	prevelar round.	velar	velar rounded	laryngeal
N	m	[m]	[n]	n					[ɲ]			ŋ		
K	p b		[t d]	t d	[t d] ^b							k g		[ʔ]
KS								tʃ dʒ						
X		f v	θ ð					ʃ ʒ						
S			s z	[ʃ z] ^a										
J				[ɹ]			[ɹ] ^b		j	ɹ ^a		w	h [ɦ]	
R				[ɹ]										
L				l	ɫ				[ɹ]					

/t/ [ɹ^a, ɹ^a, t^b], //l// /l, ɫ/ [ɪv, -ɹj, ɹj, ɫC, ɫ[#]], /ɹ/ [ɹ^a, ɹ^b]

Nasals

2.2.1.1. English has three *nasal* phonemes: /m, n, ŋ/. The velar phoneme does not occur at the beginning of English words, but it is normal in internal and final positions: [ˈneɪm] /ˈneɪm/ *name*, [ˈθuːn] /ˈθuːn/ *thin*, [ˈθɪŋ] /ˈθɪŋ/ *thing*, [ˈbæŋ] /ˈbæŋ/ *bang*, [bɪˈkʰɒmɪŋ]^a [bɪˈkʰɒmɪŋ]^b /bɪˈkʰɒmɪŋ/ *becoming*, [ˈsɪŋɪŋ] /ˈsɪŋɪŋ/ *singing*, [ˈlɔːŋ wɪˈɡɔː] /ˈlɔːŋ wɪˈɡɔː]^b /ˈlɔːŋ əˈɡɔː/ *long ago*, [ˈstɹɛŋ(k)θɪŋɪŋ]^a [ˈstɹɛŋ]^b /ˈstɹɛŋθɪŋɪŋ/ *strengthening*.

In unstressed syllables, after /t, d; θ, ð; s, z/, there is a typical intense (<syllabic>) realization of /n/ ([ŋ] /n̩/; after /θ, ð/, we find [ɲ]). It is definitely worthwhile to use it in (dia)phonemic transcriptions, as well, although clearly its origin is /ən/: [ˈkʰɑːtɪn, -ɪn]^a [ˈkʰɒtɪn, -ɪn]^b /ˈkɒtɪn/ *cotton*, [ˈwɒdɪn] /ˈwʊdɪn/ *wooden*, [ˈɪθn̩]^a [ˈɜːθn̩]^b [θn̩] /ˈɜːθn̩/ *earthen*, [ˈmɔːɪ ðn̩ˈðæɪ]^a [ˈmɔːɪ]^b [ðn̩-] /ˈmɔːɪ ðənˈðæt/ *more than that*, [ˈfæ(ɪ)sn̩]^a [ˈfɑːsn̩]^b /ˈfæːsn̩/ *fasten*, [ˈtʃhɔːzɪn̩]^a [ˈtʃhɜːzɪn̩]^b /ˈtʃɔːzɪn̩/ *chosen*. After /Ct, Cd/, it is best to use /ən/: [ˈwɪnstən] /ˈwɪnstən/ *Winston*, [ˈhɒldən]^a [ˈhɒɫ-]^b /ˈhɒɫdən/ *Holden*.

Furthermore, we have /əŋ/ (= [ən]^a [ŋ]^b) after /ʃ, ʒ/: [ˈpɹɪnənsiˈeɪʃən]^a [-e-, -ʃŋ]^b /ˈpɹɪnənsiˈeɪʃən/ *pronunciation*, [ˈpəːrɪzən]^a [-ɪzɪn̩]^b /pəˈrɪzən/ *Parisian*. In a preintoneme, [ən] can easily become [ŋ], chiefly after /ʃ, ʒ; tʃ, dʒ/.

After other consonants, /ən/ [ən, ʌn] is more usual: [ˈlʌntʃən]^a [ˈle-]^b /ˈlʌntʃən/ *luncheon*, [ˈrɛlɪdʒən]^a [ɹɪ-]^b /rɛlɪdʒən/ *religion*, [ˈrɪbən]^a [ɹɪbən]^b /ˈrɪbən/ *ribbon*, [ˈɒnɪən]^a [ˈɒnɪən]^b /ˈɒnɪən/ *onion*, [ˈteɪkən]^a /ˈteɪkən/ *taken*.

When speed is higher, especially in a preintoneme, we can go as far as [tʃŋ, dʒŋ; pŋ, bŋ; kŋ, ɡŋ]: [ˈlʌntʃən, -tʃŋ]^a [ˈle-]^b, [ˈrɛlɪdʒən, -dʒŋ]^a [ɹɪ-]^b, [ˈɔːpən, -pŋ]^a [ɜː-]^b /ɜːpən/ *open*, [ˈrɪbən, -bŋ]^a [ɹɪ-]^b, [ˈteɪkən, -kŋ], [ˈɔːɡən, -ɡŋ]^a [ɜː-]^b /ɜːɡən/ *organ*. On the other hand, when speed is lower, or for emphasis, /n̩/ can easily become [ən]: [ˈlɪsn̩, -sən] /ˈlɪsn̩/ *listen*.

Regularly, we have: [n(d)ən] /n(d)ən/: [ˈlɛnən] /ˈlɛnən/ *Lennon*, [ˈlʌndən]^a [ˈlɛn-]^b /ˈlʌndən/ *London*; but, [ˈwʌntən, -nɪn̩, -nɪən, ˈwɔːn-]^a [ˈwɒntən; -nɪn̩]^b /ˈwɒntən/ *wanton*.

2.2.1.2. *Assimilation* is very important, and it must not be neglected either in the description of languages, or in teaching and learning. Let us notice that, of the three English nasal phonemes, the two marked ones, /m, ŋ/, resist well; while, the unmarked one, /n/, undergoes several changes, contrary to what phonemic transcriptions generally seem to indicate.

However, proceeding in an organized manner, we have: [ˈdɪrɪmɪd]^a [ˈdɪ-]^b /ˈdɪrɪmɪd/ *dreamed*, [ˈdɪɪmɪt]^a [ˈdɪ-]^b /ˈdɪɪmɪt/ *dreamt*, [ˈsʌmɪtʰaɪmz]^a [ˈsɛm-]^b /ˈsʌmɪtʰaɪmz/ *sometimes*, [ˈseɪm ˈkʰaːnd]^a /ˈseɪm ˈkaːnd/ *same kind*, [səmˈdʒɛli] /səmˈdʒɛli/ *some jelly*, [ˈseɪm ˈvɔːs, -m ˈbɔːs] /ˈseɪm ˈvɔːs/ *same voice*, [ˈseɪm ˈfækt, -ŋp ˈf-, -m ˈfækt] /ˈseɪm ˈfækt/ *same fact*, [ˈkʰɒmfɪt, -ŋpɪf-, -mɔ-]^a [ˈkʰɒmfɪt, -ŋpɪf-, -mɔ-]^b /ˈkʰɒmfɪt/ *comfort*. As can be seen, only with labiodentals, /m/ shows a slight let-up, becoming labiodental, [m̪f; m̪pɪf], but this happens just in trivial cases from a lexical-semantic point of view. Otherwise, /f, v/ may become bilabial (constrictives): [mɸ, mβ].

Our examples also show that at present a homorganic (labiodental) stop may very often be inserted into the sequence [mf] (ie only with voiceless /f/); but a too frequent use is better avoided. This homorganic insertion can happen with other sequences too: [ˈwɔːɪmθ, -mpθ]^a [ˈwɔːɪm-]^b /ˈwɔːɪmθ/ *warmth*, [ˈɛmptɪ, ˈɛmpɪtɪ] /ˈɛmptɪ/ *empty*, [ˈsɪmsn̩, ˈsɪmpsn̩] /ˈsɪmsn̩/ *Sim(p)son*.

Even /ŋ/ resists well: [ˈɔːŋd̥, ˈɔːŋd̥]^a [ˈɔːŋd̥]^b /ˈɔːŋd̥/ *wronged*, [ˈwɪŋbæk] /ˈwɪŋbæk/ *wingback*. Only for the suffix *-ing* [ɪŋ] /ɪŋ/ (but at a non-neutral level, not to be followed), can we have /ɪn, ɪn, ɪ/: [ˈsɛlɪŋ; ↓-ɪn; ↓-ən] /ˈsɛlɪŋ/ *selling*. We can also find: [ˈlɛŋθ, -ŋkθ] /ˈlɛŋθ/ *length*, [ˈkɪŋstən] /ˈkɪnstən/ *Kingston*, [æŋˈzæəni, æŋg-]^a [-fi]^b /æŋˈzæəni/ *anxiety*, [ˈæŋʃəs, ˈæŋk-] /ˈæŋʃəs/ *anxious*.

2.2.1.3. On the contrary, except in a very accurate way of speaking (even too accurate!), /n/ assimilates to a following contoid: [ɪmˈblæk] /ɪmˈblæk/ *in black*, [ɪŋˈvæʃ] /ɪnˈvæʃ/ *invite*, [ɪŋˈfɛkt; ɪŋp-] /ɪnˈfɛkt/ *infect*, [ɪnðəˈbɒks, ɪnə-]^a [-ɒks]^b /ɪnðəˈbɒks/ *in the box*, [ˈtɛnθ; -ntθ] /ˈtɛnθ/ *tenth*, [ˈtɛns; -nts] /ˈtɛns/ *tense*, [ˈpɪnsɪ, -tsɪ]^a [-e]^b /ˈpɪnsɪ/ *pincer* (for [ɲ] see below).

For some time, /nzV/ has been simplified (but /ndzV/ can always be restored, according to current spelling): [ˈwɪnzɪ, -ndzɪ]^a [-e]^b /ˈwɪnzɪ/ *Windsor*, [ˈlɪnzi, -dzi] /ˈlɪnzi/ *Lindsey*. Even in /nz[#]/, a /d/ can be inserted: [ˈkɪlɛnz̥; -ndz̥] /ˈkɪlɛnz̥/ *cleanse*, [ˈkɪlɛnz̥ɪŋ, -ndz̥ɪŋ] /ˈkɪlɛnz̥ɪŋ/ *cleansing*. But this is less and less recommendable, specially with grammemes: [ɪˈtæljənz̥; -ndz̥; ə-] /ɪˈtæljənz̥, ə-/ *Italians*, [ˈdʒɔːnz̥; -ndz̥]^a [ˈdʒɔː-]^b /ˈdʒɔːnz̥/ *John's*.

Furthermore, we have [ɲ] (postalveopalatal, [ɲ]): [ɪnʃ] /ɪntʃ/ *inch*, [ɪnʃˈhæənɒ]^a [-e]^b /ɪnʃˈhæənə/ *in China*, [ˈɛɪnʃɪʃ] /ˈɛɪnʃɪʃ/ *angel*, [əˈtɛnʃən; -nʃən; -nʃən]^a [-nʃn̩; -nʃn̩; -nʃn̩]^b *attention*. But we find [ɲ] (prepalatal) before /j/ (if this is heterosyllabic): [kɪhəmˈpɪhænjən] /kəmˈpænjən/ *companion*, [ˈɒnjən]^a [-e]^b /ˈɒnjən/ *onion*.

Besides: [ˈhɛnɪi]^a [ˈhɛnɪi]^b /ˈhɛnɪi/ *Henry*, [ɪnˈtɪɪnsɪk]^a [ɪnˈtɪɪ-]^b /ɪnˈtɪɪnsɪk/ *intrinsic*, [ˈtɛn ˈgɜːlz̥; ˈgɜːlz̥]^a [ˈgɜːlz̥]^b /ˈtɛn ˈgɜːlz̥/ *ten girls*, &c. Also [ɪmˈwɪn(ɪ)ɪ]^a [-nɪe]^b /ɪmˈwɪn(ɪ)ɪ/ *in winter* should be noticed.

A better transcription for [ɲtʃ, ɲʒ, ɲʃ] would be [ɲtʃ, ɲʒ, ɲʃ], with [ɲ] – and even <[ɲ]> (for a <postalveopalatal stop>). It was stated above that dental [ɲ] could be represented with [n], as well, chiefly in [nð], because the simple fact that /nð/ has (dental) [ð] allows us to infer that we automatically have [ɲð], by assimilation.

On the contrary, a special symbol would be more important in [ɲɲ], to show that it is not [nn] (alveolar, but dental, coming from [ɲð] /nð/), as, for instance, in: [ɪnˈnɔːtɪaɪm]^a [-ɜːtɪ-]^b /ɪnˈnɔːtɪaɪm/ *in no time*. On the other hand, for some speakers, a less completely assimilated realization produces exactly [nn]. This is not very different auditorily, so more precise symbols could even be avoided, with no real drawbacks.

In lexical composition, as well as for the negative prefix *un-*, in a slow ^{or} careful way of speaking, people try to keep [n], while –currently– assimilation to the place of articulation of a following consonant is quite regular.

As an actual compromise, here we will show that it is possible to maintain an apical contact while adding a secondary coarticulation (with no full contact) – bilabial, [ɱ]; labiodental, [ɱ]; velar, [ɱ]: [ˌɒmbəˈlɪvəbɪ], ˌɒɱ-]^a [ɱɒɱ-, ɱɱ-]^b /ɒɱbɪ-

ˈli:vəbəl/ *unbelievable*, [ʌŋˈfri:ndli, ʌf-]^a [eŋˈfɪ-, eɪf-]^b /ʌŋˈfri:ndli/ *unfriendly*, [ʌŋ-
ˈɡreɪtfl̩, ʌf-, -ɪfl̩]^a [eŋˈɡɪ-, eɪf-, -ɪfl̩]^b /ʌŋˈɡreɪtfl̩/ *ungrateful*.

In all other cases, with less different coarticulations, assimilation (which is often considered less recommendable, on mere written and grammatical bases) is more elusive. It is therefore used spontaneously, though unconsciously.

To end, simplification is also possible, though less frequently than in the past, in cases like: [ˈsents; -ns] /ˈsents/ *cents*, [ˈphɑ:ndz; -nz] /ˈpɑ:ndz/ *pounds*, [ˈlʌntʃ; -nʃ]^a [ˈle-]^b /ˈlʌntʃ/ *lunch*, [ˈlʌntʃən; -nʃən]^a [ˈle-]^b /ˈlʌntʃən/ *luncheon*, [ˈɪvɛŋdʒ; -nɪʒ]^a [ˈɪ-]^b /ˈɪvɛndʒ/ *revenge*, [ˈeɪŋdʒ; -nɪʒ; -dʒwɪ, -ʒwɪ] /ˈeɪndʒ; -dʒə/ *angel*.

Stops

2.2.2.1. There are three diphonic pairs of *stops* (ie pairs of both a voiceless and a voiced articulation): /p, b; t, d; k, g/. Of course, /t, d/ are *alveolar* [t, d]: [tʰəˈdeɪ] /təˈdeɪ/ *today*, [ˈdɛstɪtʃuːt]^a [ˈdɛstɪtʃuːt]^b /ˈdɛstɪtʃuːt/ *destitute*. However, before /θ, ð; s, z/, /t, d/ become dental [t, d]: [ˈeɪθ] /ˈeɪθ/ *eighth*, [ˈwɪdθ] /ˈwɪdθ/ *width*, [ˈhæts] /ˈhæts/ *hats*, [ˈhɛdz] /ˈhɛdz/ *heads*.

On the contrary, before /ɹ/ [ɹ]^b, in British English, /t, d/ become postalveolar, always due to assimilation: [ˈtɹaɪə]^a [ˈtɹaɪə]^b /ˈtɹaɪə/ *try*, [ˈkʌntri]^a [ˈkʌntri]^b /ˈkʌntri/ *country*, [ˈdɹɪŋk]^a [ˈdɹɪŋk]^b /ˈdɹɪŋk/ *drink*.

For /tɹ, dɹ/, however, several pronunciations are possible, mostly with /t, d/ realized as stop-strictives (or <affricates>): in American English [tʰ(h)ɹ, dɹ; tʃ(h)ɹ, dʒɹ; tʃ(h)ɹ, dʒɹ]^a; in British English [tʰ(h)ɹ, dɹ; tʰ(h)ɹ, dɹ; tʃ(h)ɹ, dʒɹ; tʃ(h)ɹ, dʒɹ]^b. Furthermore, a (homorganic) constrictive realization is possible for /ɹ/ (which is then, respectively, alveolar or postalveolar rounded, [ʁ, ʁ̥]): [t(h)ʁ, dʁ]^a [t(h)ʁ̥, dʁ̥]^b. So: [ˈtɹaɪə, ˈtʃhɹ, ˈtʃhɹ, ˈtʃhɹ, ˈtʃhɹ]^a [ˈtɹaɪə, ˈtʃhɹ, ˈtʃhɹ, ˈtʃhɹ, ˈtʃhɹ]^b /ˈtɹaɪə/ *try*, [ˈkʌntri, ˈtʃri, ˈtʃri, ˈtʃri, ˈtʃri]^a [ˈkʌntri, ˈtʃri, ˈtʃri, ˈtʃri, ˈtʃri]^b /ˈkʌntri/ *country*, [ˈdɹɪŋk, ˈdɹɪ, ˈdʒɹ, ˈdʒɹ, ˈdʒɹ]^a [ˈdɹɪŋk, ˈdɹɪ, ˈdɹɪ, ˈdʒɹ, ˈdʒɹ]^b /ˈdɹɪŋk/ *drink*.

All these pronunciations are possible as neutral ones too, although opinions regarding their correctness may be influenced by spelling. On the other hand, from a structural point of view, /tʃɹ, dʒɹ/ could represent a fitting parallelism with /ʃɹ/, as in [ˈʃɹɪŋk]^a [ˈʃɹɪ]^b /ˈʃɹɪŋk/ *shrink*.

2.2.2.2. Some other transformations of /t, d/ are much more significant; indeed, although to foreigners [t, d] might seem more <marked>, actually, in the natives' phonological system, /t, d/ are an unmarked diphonic pair of stops (as happens to /n/ in comparison with /m, ŋ/). From an articulatory point of view, /t, d/ are liable to assimilation; not to <complicate> things, but rather to make them easier.

So, /t, d/, before /p, b, m, w/, generally, become [p, b]: [ˈðæpˈmæn] /ðætˈmæn/ *that man*, [ˈðæpˈbɔɪ] /ðætˈbɔɪ/ *that boy*, [ˈnɒp ˈwʌn]^a [ˈnɒp ˈwɛn]^b /ˈnɒt ˈwʌn/ *not one*; likewise, before /k, g/, they become [k, g]: [ˈwʌk kʌŋjəˈdʒuː, ˈwʌ-]^a [ˈwɒk kʌŋjəˈdʒuː]^b /ˈwɒt kənjəˈdʒuː/ *what can you do?*, [ˈðækˈgɪrl, -ɪrl]^a [-ɜ:rl]^b /ðætˈgɜ:rl/ *that girl*.

Even the rare sequences /pf, bv/ present some kind of assimilation (in one direction or in the other): [ˈkʰʌpʰɔʔ, -pʰɔʔ]^a [ˈkʰɛ-]^b /ˈkʰʌpʰɔʔ/ *cupful*, [ˈʌbβiəs, ˈʌβv-]^a [ˈv-]^b /ˈʌbβiəs/ *obvious*.

Prevelar articulations, which are automatic by coarticulation, need not be expressly written down: [ˈθɪŋkɪŋ, ˈgɛt] ([ˈθɪŋkɪŋ, ˈgɛt]) /ˈθɪŋkɪŋ, ˈgɛt/ *thinking, get*.

2.2.2.3. One fundamental thing, already seen in previous examples, which must not be neglected in learning and teaching, is that, in stressed syllables, initial /p, t, k/ are < aspirated > (unless they are preceded by /s/ in the same syllable and in a same lexeme), also after silence (even in an unstressed syllable) – [Ch] /C/: [tʰə-ˈdɛɪ] /təˈdeɪ/ *today*, [ˈpʰiːk] /ˈpiːk/ *peak* (but: [ˈspriːk] /ˈspriːk/ *speak*), [tʰeɪk] /ˈteɪk/ *take* (but we have: [ˈsteɪk] /ˈsteɪk/ *stake*), [ˈkʰeɪ-]^a [ˈkʰeɪ-]^b /ˈkeɪ-/ *care* (but: [ˈskeɪ-]^a [ˈskeɪ-]^b /ˈskeɪ-/ *scare*). Nevertheless, one should notice: [mɪsˈpʰɪn(ə)ɪd]^a [mɪs-ˈpʰɪn(ə)ɪd]^b /mɪsˈpʰɪn(ə)ɪd/ *misprinted* (with different phono-syllables and different morphemes).

American t /t/ [ɹ, ɹ]

2.2.3.1. An important characteristic of the neutral American accent (which is, however, not neutral in the British accent, although it is fairly widespread) regards /t/ which, in given contexts, is realized as a voiced alveolar flap, [ɹ] (which before [ɹ] is lateralized, as well, ie laterally contracted: [ɹ̠]).

But, let us see, first, when it remains a voiceless alveolar stop (though, in certain cases, it may become a laryngeal –or glottal– stop, [ʔ]).

In stressed (even <unaspirated>, in /st/) or in half-stressed syllable: [tʰɛn:] /ˈtɛn/ *ten*, [stɛm:] /ˈstɛm/ *stem*, [ɑːtʰɪkjələˈtɔːɹi]^a [ɑːtʰɪkjələˈtɔːɹi]^b /ɑːtʰɪkjələˈtɔːɹi/ *articulatory* (+ [ɑːtʰɪkjələˈɪtɔːɹi]^b /ɑːtʰɪkjələˈɪtɔːɹi/), [ˈɹʊm(ə)tɪzəm]^a [ˈɹʊm-]^b /ˈɹʊm(ə)tɪzəm/ *rheumatism*.

After a pause or after consonants (different from /n, ɹ, t/): [tʰəˈtʰeɪk] /təˈteɪk/ *to take*, [ˈæktɔːɹ]^a [-ɛ]^b /ˈæktəɹ/ *actor*, [ˈæ(ɹ)ftɔːɹ]^a [ˈɑːftɔːɹ]^b /ˈæftəɹ/ *after*, [ˈɛm(p)ti]^a [ˈɛm(p)-]^b /ˈɛm(p)-ti/ *empty*.

Before consonants: [tʰʃʌtɹni, -ɹni]^a [tʰʃɛtɹni, -ɹni]^b /tʰʃʌtɹni/ *Chutney*, [ˈpʰɒɔtɹi]^a [ˈpʰɒɔtɹi]^b /ˈpɒɔtɹi/ *poetry*, [ˈlɛɪtli, -ɹli]^a [ˈlɛɪtli]^b /ˈlɛɪtli/ *lately*, [əˈtʰlæn(ə)tɪk, əɹl-]^a [əˈtʰlæn(ə)tɪk, əɹl-]^b /əˈtʰlæn(ə)tɪk/ *Atlantic*.

It remains [t] even in words in -Vtic (with no secondary stress, too): [ˈlʊnəˈtɪk]^a [ˈlʊm-]^b /ˈlʊnəˈtɪk/ *lunatic*, [ˈpʰələtɪk]^a [ˈpʰɒ-]^b /ˈpʰələtɪk/ *politic*, [əˈɹɪθməˈtɪk]^a [ə-ˈɹɪθ-]^b /əˈɹɪθməˈtɪk/ *arithmetic*. It is the same even between /ɹ, t/ and /n/: [ˈnɔːtɹn, -ɹn]^a [ˈnɔːtɹn]^b /ˈnɔːtɹn/ *Norton*, [ˈhɪlɹn, -ɹn]^a [ˈhɪlɹn]^b /ˈhɪlɹn/ *Hilton*. Besides, we find: [ˈkʰlɪnɹən, -nɹn, -nɹn]^a [ˈkʰlɪnɹən; -nɹn]^b /ˈkʰlɪntən, -ntn/ *Clinton*.

2.2.3.2. Let us now turn to the contexts where /t/ [t] becomes /t/ [ɹ, ɹ], in normal (not slow, nor particularly careful) speaking.

Between a stressed (or unstressed) vowel and another vowel, or [ɹ, t]: [ˈbɛɪi]^a [ˈbɛɪi]^b /ˈbɛɪi/ *Betty*, [ˈviːnɔː]^a [ˈviːtɔː]^b /ˈviːtɔː/ *veto*, [ˈvɪzəˈbʌlɪi]^a [-əɹi]^b /ˈvɪzəˈbʌlɪ-əɹi/

tɪ/ *visibility*, [æɪə'mɪsɪtɪk]^a [æfə-]^b /æɪə'mɪsɪtɪk/ *atomistic*, [lɛɪtɪ]^a [lɛɪtɪ]^b /lɛtəɪ/ *letter*, [lɪtɪ]^a [lɪtɪ]^b /lɪtɪ/ *little*.

Between /n, ɪ, t/ and a vowel, or [ɪ, t] (remembering that, as our examples show, [ɪ, ɪ] may often be dropped after /n/, [n(ɪ), n(ɪ)]): [bæn(ɪ)əm]^a [bænɪəm]^b /bæntəm/ *bantam*, [wɪn(ɪ)ɪ]^a [wɪnɪɪ]^b /wɪntəɪ/ *winter*, [mæn(ɪ)tɪ]^a [mænɪtɪ]^b /mæntɪ/ *mantel*, [θɪrɪ]^a [θɜːrɪ]^b /θɜːrɪ/ *thirty*, [phɑːnɪ]^a [phɑːrɪ]^b /pɑːrɪ/ *party*, [ʃɛɪtɪ]^a [ʃɛɪtɪ]^b /ʃɛɪtəɪ/ *shelter*.

Even before a stressed vowel (provided it is heterosyllabic): [phə'theɪnɪsɔ, phə'reɪnɪsɔ]^a [phə'theɪtɜ, phə'reɪtɜ]^b /pə'teɪtɜ; pə'reɪtɜ/ *potato*, [ətɔ:tɪ]^a [ət'ho:tɪ]^b /ətɔ:tɪ, ə'tɔ:tɪ/ *at all* (it should be noted that there is a difference, between the two accents, for *at all*).

The sequences /nɪ, ɪt, tɪ/ may even have <fused> realizations, [ɪ, ɪ, ɪ]: [pheɪnɪŋ]^a /pɛɪnɪŋ/ *painting*, [phɑːrɪ]^a /pɑːrɪ/ *party*, [fɔːtɪ]^a /fɔːtɪ/ *faulty*.

However, in American English, when speed is reduced, or when more attention is paid to the way of speaking, /t/ [ɪ] becomes /t/ [ɪ]: [lɛɪtɪ]^a [lɛɪtɪ]^b /lɛtəɪ/ *letter*, [wɪn(ɪ)ɪ, -nɪɪ] /wɪntəɪ/ *winter*. The same goes, even in a normal manner of speaking, for /tɪ/: [ʃɛɪtɪ, -tɪɪ] /ʃɛɪtəɪ/ *shelter*, [ɔːtɪ, -tɪɪ, 'ɑt-] /ɔːtəɪ/ *alter*. This happens even to less common words, such as: [vɪnɪsɔ, -tɪsɔ] /vɪtɜ/ *veto*, [phleɪnɪsɔ, -tɪsɔ] /pleɪtɜ/ *Plato*, [dɪfɪɪnɪzɪzɪm, -tɪzɪzɪm] /drɪfɪtɪzɪzɪm/ *defeatism*.

Also in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa (and in towns in Wales and Ireland) /t/ is [ɪ, ɪ]; while, Scotland is well-known for /t/ → [ʔ], even between vowels and before [t] /t/ (and even before its typical pronunciation of [ər] /əɪ/). The same change, /t/ → [ʔ], occurs even in broad accents in England, in particular, in London, Birmingham, &c.

Unexplosion

2.2.4.1. Notably, in English, stops (both voiced and voiceless) are *unreleased*, chiefly after /V(m, n, ŋ, ɪ, t)/, before pauses or consonants. This means that their third phase (ie their off-glide) is inaudible, incomplete. It is useful to put the diacritic [̚] after a proper symbol, to show unreleased contoids, especially at first and, of course, when it is the subject in question, as here.

Therefore, (voiced or voiceless) stops are unreleased after (stressed or unstressed) vowels, even followed by homorganic N (/mp, mb; nt, nd; ŋk, ŋg/), or by /ɪ, t/. This holds good except in very slow or careful pronunciation.

Here are some examples, although it is to be remembered that, when single words are said in isolation, before a pause, it is more usual to produce (and let hear) the off-glide, indicated by [̚]: [bɑːb̚]^a [bɔːb̚]^b /bɔb/ *Bob*, [kʰɑp̚]^a [kʰɛp̚]^b /kʰɑp/ *cup*, [kʰæmp̚] /kæmp/ *camp*; [hæt̚] /hæt/ *hat*, [hænd̚] /hænd/ *hand*, [ɪɛd̚]^a [ɪɛd̚]^b /ɪɛd/ *red*, [ʃɔːt̚]^a [ʃɔːt̚]^b /ʃɔːt/ *short*, [fɔːt̚]^a [fɔːt̚]^b /fɔːt/ *fault*, [blæk̚] /blæk/ *black*, [bæŋk̚] /bæŋk/ *bank*, [dɪg̚] /dɪg/ *dig*. When said in isolation, as plain examples, before a pause, they *are* released: [bɑːb̚]^a [bɔːb̚]^b, [hænd̚]^a, [ʃɔːt̚]^a [ʃɔːt̚]^b, [bæŋk̚]^a, &c.

Before a consonant, they are unreleased: [ækt̚] /ækt/ *act*, [ækt̚ɪ]^a [-ɪ]^b /æktəɪ/ *actor*, [ɪɹb̚d̚]^a [ɪɹb̚d̚]^b /ɪɹbd/ *rubbed*, [æt̚kɪnsɪ, 'ækt̚k-] /æt̚kɪnsɪ/ *Atkinson*,

[bɛˈɡd̩] /bɛgd/ *begged*, [ˈstɑp̩t̩]^a [ˈstɒp̩t̩]^b /stɒpt/ *stopped*, [ˈhɑt̩ˌdɑɡ̩, -ɔːɡ̩, -ɪˌ]^a [ˈhɒt̩ˌdɒɡ̩, -ɪˌ]^b /hɒtdɒɡ/ *hotdog*, [ˈstɑp̩ˈdʊɪŋ]^a [ˈstɒp̩ˈdʊɪŋ]^b /stɒp ˈdʊɪŋ/ *stop doing*.

More examples: [ˈdʒæk ˈpiːl, -iːl] /ˈdʒæk ˈpiːl/ *Jack Peel*, [ˈbɔːb ˈɡɔːɔz̩]^a [ˈbɒːb ˈɡɜːɔz̩]^b /bɒb ˈɡɔʊz/ *Bob goes*, [ˈskɑːlənɔŋ]^a [ˈskɒl-]^b /ˈskɒtlənd/ *Scotland*, [ɪp̩ˈbaets; ɪp̩ˈb-] /ɪtˈbaets/ *it bites*, [ɪp̩ˈhɛɪks, ɪp̩ˈh-] /ɪtˈhɛɪks/ *it takes*, [ɪk̩ˈhæɪz; ɪp̩ˈkh-]^a [-ɪˌ]^b /ɪtˈkæɪz/ *it carries*.

Intermediate articulations are possible between the two extreme ones, above all when people pay special attention to their speech (although this must not lead us to think that these pronunciations are necessarily <better>). In fact, for /t, d/ (+ /p, b; k, g/, in addition to [pp, pb; b̥p, bb; kk, kg; ɡk, gg]), the alveolar contact can be maintained, by adding either a bilabial, [p̩, d̩], or a velar, [t̩, d̩], coarticulation. A bilabial or velar articulation is also possible, to which an alveolar coarticulation can be added: respectively [p, b̩] or [k, ɡ].

2.2.4.2. The so-called <nasal> and <lateral> *explosions* are included in this group. It is essential that transitions from /t, d/ to /n, ŋ; l, ɫ/ are direct, with no off-glide similar to <aspiration>, and even with no insertion of vocoids.

Therefore, we have: [ˈpɦɪp̩ˈni] /ˈpɦɪni/ *Pitney*, [ˈwɒd̩ˈŋ] /ˈwɒd̩ŋ/ *wooden*, [kɦɪmˌˈpɦɦɪp̩ˈli, -ɪˌ] /kəmˌˈpɦɦɪt̩li/ *completely*, [lɪt̩]^a [lɪt̩]^b /lɪt̩/ *little*, [ˈswɪnd̩ˈɫ̩] /ˈswɪnd̩ɫ̩/ *swindle*.

Laryngeal stop [ʔ]

2.2.5.1. It is a good thing to include the laryngeal (or glottal) stop [ʔ] in the symbols inventory of the English phonological system, even if, strictly speaking, there are no (classical) minimal pairs, in order to declare its phonological status. The fact is that it is important, too, to have [ʔ] from a descriptive and teaching point of view.

In the (American and British) neutral pronunciation [ʔ] is used, when there is some emphasis, before vowels, especially stressed ones: [ɪtsʔɔːf̩l̩]^a [-ʔɔː-]^b /ɪts(ʔ)ɔːf̩l̩/ *it's awful!* In British pronunciation, [ʔ] may be used even to avoid the insertion of a non-etymological /ɪ/ (<intrusive>, at the end of § 2.2.9.4): [lɔː ʔənˈɔːd̩ɔ] /lɔː ən(d)-ˈɔːd̩ɔ/ *law and order*, instead of the frequent [lɔːɪ ənˈɔːd̩ɔ] ([lɔː ənˈɔːɪd̩ɔ]^a).

2.2.5.2. Furthermore, even in neutral pronunciation, before consonants, we often have /t/ → [ʔ]: [ˈskɑʔlənɔŋ]^a [ˈskɒʔ-]^b, [ɪp̩ˈbaets], [ɪp̩ˈhɛɪks], [ɪp̩ˈkɦæɪz̩]^a [-ɪˌ]^b (adjusting some examples just seen).

In a more systematic way, proceeding by groups, this occurs with vowels (chiefly, but not necessarily, stressed; and even with interspersed sonants, /m, n, ŋ, ɹ, ɫ/), before /m, n, ŋ; l, ɹ; j, w/: [ˈnaɪt̩ˌmɛɹ̩, -p-, -ɪˌ]^a [-ɛːɜː]^b /ˈnaɪtmɛɹ̩/ *nightmare*, [ˈnɑt̩ ˈnaʊ, -ɪˌ]^a [ˈnɒt̩-]^b /nɒt ˈnaʊ/ *not now*, [ˈnɑt̩ ˈjɛt̩, ˈnɑt̩]^a [ˈnɒt̩-]^b /nɒt ˈjɛt/ *not yet* (also [ˈnɑt̩ˌjɛt̩, nɒ-, -ɛɪ]^a [ˈnɒt̩ˌjɛt̩, nɛ-, -ɛɪ]^b), [ˈlɛɪt̩li, -ɪˌ] /ˈlɛɪt̩li/ *late*.

Before /t, d; t̩, d̩/: [ˈɡɛt̩ ˈdɑːɒn, -ɪˌ] /ɡɛt̩ ˈdɑːɒn/ *get down*, [ˈɡɪɛɪt̩ ˈdʒɔːk, -ɪˌ]^a [ˈɡɪt̩-, -ɜːk]^b /ɡɪɛɪt̩ ˈdʒɔːk/ *great joke*. Also before /p, b; k, g; f, v; θ, ð; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/: [ˈfɒp̩bɔːt̩,

-ʔ-, -t-]^a [-ɔ:tɪ]^b /'fʊtbɔ:tɪ/ *football*, [ˈkʰækgʌt, -ʔ-, -t-]^a [-e-]^b /'kætɡʌt/ *catgut*, [ˈaʊt ðeɪ, -ʔ]^a [-eɪɪ]^b /'aʊt ðeɪ/ *out there*, [ˈnʌtʃeɪ, -ʔ-]^a [ˈnʌtʃeɪ, -ʔ-]^b /'nʌtʃeɪ/ *nutshell*.

Let us also notice: [aə'kʰæ(ɪ)nɪ ('dʊuɪ), -nʔ-, -n (-ə-, -ʔ)]^a [-ɑ:n- (-muɪ, -ʔ)]^b /æ-'kæ:nt ('dʊuɪ)/ *I can't (do it)*, [wi'wɔʊnt ('dʊuɪ), -nʔ-, -n (-ə-, -ʔ)]^a [-ɜʊn- (-muɪ, -ʔ)]^b /wi'wɔʊnt ('dʊuɪ)/ *we won't (do it)*. In absolute final position, [ʔ] is not used, except for /ɪt, ət/, and this only in informal speech: [wi'wʌnt, -ɔ:nɪ]^a [-ɔ:nɪ]^b /wi'wɔʊnt/ *we want*, [wi'wʌn(ɪ)ɪ, -əɪ, -ʔ]^a [-ɔ:nɪɪ, -ɪ]^b /wi'wɔʊntɪ/ *we want it*, [ˈtʰɪkət, -ʔ]^a [-ɪ, -ɪ]^b /'tɪkɪt/ *ticket*.

However, the change /t/ → [ʔ] is less frequent before /h/: [ˈeɪt ˈhæts; -ʔ] /ˈeɪt ˈhæts/ *eight hats*. It sometimes occurs in /Vtɪn/: [ˈkʰɑtɪn, -ʔn]^a [ˈkʰɔtɪn; -ʔn]^b /'kɔtɪn/ *cotton*. In /ntɪn/, it is more frequent (but it is only possible with /ɪ, ɪ/): [ˈskɪæntɪn, -ʔn, -(ɪ)ən]^a [ˈskɪæntɪn; -ʔn]^b /'skɪæntɪn/ *Scranton*, [ˈkʰlɪntɪn, -ʔn, -tən]^a [ˈkʰlɪntɪn; -ʔn]^b /'klɪntɪn/ *Clinton*, [ˈeɪtɪn, -ʔn, -ɪən]^a [ˈeɪtɪn, -tən; -ʔn]^b /'klɪntɪn/ *Elton*.

/t/ → [ʔ] is no neutral pronunciation, before /V, əɪ, ɪ/: [ˈbeɪɪ]^a [ˈbeɪɪ]^b /'betɪ/ *Betty*, [ˈbeɪɪ]^a [ˈbeɪɪ]^b /'betɪ/ *better*, [ˈlɪtɪ]^a [ˈlɪtɪ]^b /'lɪtɪ/ *little* ([ˈlɪbeɪɪ], [ˈlɪbeɪɪ]^a, [ˈlɪbeɪɪ]^b, [ˈlɪtɪ]). Nevertheless, it can occur in /t^hV/: [ˈnɑtɪvən, ˈnɑtɪ-, ˈnɑtɪ-]^a [ˈnɔ-]^b /nɔtɪvən/ *not even*. It is accepted even for *it*, before a pause: [ˈtʰeɪkɪt, -ɪ] /'teɪkɪt/ *take it*.

Whereas, it is possible, for /p/, (only) before /p, b/, and for /k/, (only) before /k, g/ (otherwise, it is not neutral): [ˈsɔʊp ˈphaʊdɪ, -ʔ]^a [ˈsɜʊ-, -dɪ]^b /'sɔʊp ˈpaʊdɪ/ *soap powder*, [ˈbʊkˌkheɪs, -ʔkʰ-] /'bʊkkheɪs/ *bookcase*, [ˈbæk ˈɡɑ:ɪdɪ, -ʔ]^a [ˈɡɑ:ɪdɪ]^b /'bæk ˈɡɑ:ɪdɪ/ *back garden*.

British glottalization

2.2.6.1. As far as *British* pronunciation is concerned, we must report the ⟨glottalization⟩ of /p, t, k/, before a pause or a consonant. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was only occasional, but it is now very widespread, often, even among fine neutral speakers.

Naturally, there are gradations, both in intensity and in frequency. It is therefore not really necessary to introduce glottalization into pronunciation. However, its complete avoidance may sound too accurate or even pretentious.

In any case, it might be more advisable to restrict it to the first level, ie to simultaneous glottalization, or real glottalization (or ⟨synglottalization⟩). Consequently, while a stop –[C]– is being articulated, at the same time, a laryngeal (or glottal) stop –[ʔ]– is produced. This is *not* added *before* the contoid –[ʔC]– giving two phones (or two segments), but is simply coarticulated with that –[C̣]– so that this additional closure is not too intrusive: [p̣, ṭ, ḳ].

Here are some examples, showing the absence or presence of synglottalization: [ˈpʰɪp, ˈpʰɪp̣] /'pi:p/ *peep*, [ˈhɔt, ˈhɔṭ] /'hɔt/ *hot*, [ˈbæk, ˈbæḳ] /'bæk/ *back*.

Furthermore, before contoids: [ˈækṭ, ˈækṭ] /'ækt/ *act*, [ˈækṭeɪ, ˈækṭeɪ] /'æktɪ/ *actor*, [ˈæṭkɪnsɪ, ˈæṭkɪ-, ˈækṭkɪ-, ˈækṭkɪ-] /'æṭkɪnsɪ/ *Atkinson*, [ˈhɔṭ, ˈdɔg̣, -ʔ-, ˈhɔṭ-] /'hɔt-dɔg/ *hotdog*, [ˈstɔp̣, ˈdɔmuɪ, ˈstɔp̣] /'stɔp ˈdɔmuɪ/ *stop doing*.

More examples: [ˈdʒæḳ ˈpʰɪrɪṭ, ˈdʒæḳ, -ɪṭ] /'dʒæk ˈpi:t/ *Jack Peel*, [ɪp̣ˈbaets, ɪp̣-, ɪp̣-, ɪṭ-, ɪṭ-, -ts] /ɪtˈbaets/ *it bites*, [ɪṭˈtʰeɪks, ɪṭ-, ɪṭ-, -ks] /ɪtˈteɪks/ *it takes*, [ɪḳˈkʰæɪẓ, ɪḳ-]

ɪˈ-; ɪˈ-] /ɪtˈkæɪz/ *it carries*, [ˈskɒtˈlænd, ˈskɒtˈ-] /ˈskɒtlænd/ *Scotland*, [ˈtɒpˌmɔːst, -pˌm-] /ˈtɒpmɔːst/ *topmost*, [ˈpʰeɪˌni, -fˌni] /ˈpʰatni/ *Putney*.

Still more examples: [ˈpʰeɪtɪˌ, -fˌ] /ˈpetɪt/ *petrol*, [ˈiːkwɪ, -kʷ-] /ˈiːkwɪ/ *equal*, [ˈpɒpjələ, -pˌj-] /ˈpɒpjələ/ *popular*, [ɪkˈsæɪtɪd, ɪkˈ-] /ɪkˈsæɪtɪd/ *excited*, [ˈbetz, -ts] /ˈbetz/ *bets*, [ˈbeɪts, -ts] /ˈbeɪts/ *belts*, [ˈbents, -ts] /ˈbents/ *bents*, [ˈwɪks, -ks] /ˈwɪks/ *wicks*, [ˈwɪks, -ks] /ˈwɪks/ *Wilkes*, [ˈwɪŋks, -ks] /ˈwɪŋks/ *winks*.

For the substitution of /t/ with [ʔ] cf § 2.2.5.2.

2.2.6.2. A stronger degree of glottalization is the <glottal reinforcement>, ie producing [ʔ] just before /p, t, k/: [ʔp, ʔt, ʔk] (therefore, <preglottalization>). This is more evident and cumbersome since we have two segments, two phones, even if the laryngeal stop is unreleased, while, in these cases, /p, t, k/ are actually released: [[ʔp*, ʔt*, ʔk*]] before pauses (but not before contoids, in a sentence).

Let us see, now, our examples (in progression): [ˈpʰiːp, ˈpʰiːp̚, ˈpʰiːp̚] /ˈpiːp/ *peep*, [ˈhɒt, ˈhɒt̚, ˈhɒt̚] /ˈhɒt/ *hot*, [ˈbæk, ˈbæk̚, ˈbæk̚] /ˈbæk/ *back*.

Before contoids: [ˈækt̚, ˈækt̚, ˈækt̚] /ˈækt/ *act*, [ˈækt̚, ˈækt̚, ˈækt̚] /ˈækt̚/ *actor*, [ˈætkɪnsn̩, ˈætk̚-, ˈætk̚-, ˈætk̚-, ˈætk̚-, ˈætk̚-] /ˈætkɪnsn̩/ *Atkinson*, [ˈhɒt̚, ˈhɒt̚, ˈhɒt̚] /ˈhɒtdɒg/ *hotdog*, [ˈstɒp̚, ˈstɒp̚, ˈstɒp̚] /ˈstɒp̚/ *stop doing*.

Finally: [ˈdʒæk̚ ˈpʰiːt̚, ˈdʒæk̚, ˈdʒæk̚, -iːt̚] /ˈdʒæk̚ ˈpiːt̚/ *Jack Peel*, [ˌp̚baets, ɪp̚-, ɪp̚-; ɪˈ-; ɪˈ-, ɪˈ-, -ts; -ts] /ɪˈbaets/ *it bites*, [ɪˈt̚heɪks, ɪˈ-, ɪˈ-, -ks; -ks] /ɪˈt̚heɪks/ *it takes*, [ɪkˈkʰæɪz, ɪkˈ-, ɪkˈ-; ɪˈ-; ɪˈ-ɪˈ-] /ɪtˈkæɪz/ *it carries*, [ˈskɒtˈlænd, ˈskɒt̚-, ˈskɒt̚-] /ˈskɒtlænd/ *Scotland*, [ˈtɒpˌmɔːst, -pˌm-, -pˌm-] /ˈtɒpmɔːst/ *topmost*, [ˈpʰeɪˌni, -fˌni, -fˌni] /ˈpʰatni/ *Putney*.

And: [ˈpʰeɪtɪˌ, -fˌ, -fˌ] /ˈpetɪt/ *petrol*, [ˈiːkwɪ, -kʷ-, -kʷ-] /ˈiːkwɪ/ *equal*, [ˈpɒpjələ, -pˌj-, -pˌj-] /ˈpɒpjələ/ *popular*, [ɪkˈsæɪtɪd, ɪkˈ-, ɪkˈ-] /ɪkˈsæɪtɪd/ *excited*, [ˈbetz, -ts, -ts] /ˈbetz/ *bets*, [ˈbeɪts, -ts, -ts] /ˈbeɪts/ *belts*, [ˈbents, -ts, -ts] /ˈbents/ *bents*, [ˈwɪks, -ks, -ks] /ˈwɪks/ *wicks*, [ˈwɪks, -ks, -ks] /ˈwɪks/ *Wilkes*, [ˈwɪŋks, -ks, -ks] /ˈwɪŋks/ *winks*.

The <replacement> of /t/ by [ʔ] has been dealt with above (§ 2.2.5.2).

Lenitions

2.2.6.3. In quick informal speech, in British pronunciation, simple /p, b; t, d; k, g/, before unstressed vowels may be weakened, and transformed into constrictive phones (more or less tense, while the two apical ones are *slit* constrictives, different from the more usual *grooved* constrictives, [s, z]), [ɸ, β; ɹ, ʁ; x, ɣ]: [ˈpʰeɪp̚z, ˈpʰeɪβ̚z] /ˈpeɪp̚z/ *papers*, [ˈrʌβ̚, ˈrʌβ̚] /ˈrʌb̚/ *rubber*, [ˈlɛt̚, ˈlɛt̚] /ˈlɛt̚/ *letter*, [ˈfeɪd̚, ˈfeɪd̚] /ˈfeɪd̚/ *fading*, [ˈbeɪk̚, ˈbeɪk̚] /ˈbeɪk̚/ *baker*, [ˈdɪŋ̚, ˈdɪŋ̚] /ˈdɪŋ̚/ *digging*.

In American pronunciation, one possible lenition is just a partial voicing of /p, k/, [p̚, b̚; k̚, ɡ̚]: [ˈpʰeɪp̚z, -p̚z, -b̚z] /ˈpeɪp̚z/ *papers*, [ˈbeɪk̚, -k̚, -ɡ̚] /ˈbeɪk̚/ *baker*. A further variation of /t/ = /t̚/ = [ɿ, ɿ], may be [ɿ, ɿ; ɿ̚, ɿ̚] ([partially] devoiced or [totally] voiceless): [ˈbet̚i, -i, -i, -i] /ˈbet̚i/ *Betty*, [ˈlɛt̚, -t̚, -t̚, -t̚] /ˈlɛt̚/ *letter*.

In American English, the change /d/ → [ɿ, ɿ] is also frequent: [ˈlæd̚, ɿ̚] /ˈlæd̚/

əɪ/ *ladder* (cf [læɪɪ] /læɪəɪ/ *latter*, which may have a slight difference in duration, [ˌ] – shorter than a semi-chrone, [ˌ]), [ɪəəɪɪ; ɪəəɪɪ] /ɪəəɪəɪ/ *rider* (cf [ɪəəɪɪ] /ɪəəɪəɪ/ *writer*), [bɛɪɪ; bɛ.ɪɪ] /bɛɪɪ/ *beddy* (cf [bɛɪɪ] /bɛɪɪ/ *Betty*). However, such a pronunciation may not be considered neutral, though very widespread, but only ⟨mediatic⟩.

Another (and neutral) way to keep a difference, partially recovers the voicelessness of /t/: [læɪɪ; ɪəəɪɪ; bɛɪɪ], or –better still– totally: [læɪɪ; ɪəəɪɪ; bɛɪɪ] (as mentioned and illustrated above), with no lengthening of the vocoid before /d/ [ɪ, ɪ].

In informal *British* pronunciation, chiefly in monosyllables of low semantic value, /t[#]V/ may be realized as [ɪ]: [tʰu.ɡɛɪtə'pʰɪ.ɛzɪt, -ɪ.ɛɪə-] /təɡɛɪtə'pʰɪ.ɛzɪt/ *to get a present*, [ɡɒtə'mætʃ, ɡɒɪə-] /ɡɒtə'mætʃ/ *got a match*, [kʰwəɪtə'bɪtə'tʰɪ.æfɪk, kʰwəɪəbɪtə-] /kʰwəɪtə'bɪtə'tʰɪ.æfɪk/ *quite a bit of traffic*, [ɪtə'kɔːtəmi] /ɪtə'kɔːtəmi/ *it occurred to me*, [sɔːtə'ɔːtəb, sɔːɪtə-] /sɔːtə'ɔːtəb/ *sort of job*, [wɒt ə'pʰɪtɪ, wɒɪ ə-] /wɒtə'pʰɪtɪ/ *what a pity*, [nɒt ɜnli'ðɪs, nɒɪ ɜn-] /nɒtɜnli'ðɪs/ *not only this*, [bət'ɔːlsoʊ ðæt, bət-] /bət'ɔːlsoʊ ðæt/ *but also that*, [bətə'ɔːlsoʊ, bətə-] /bətə'ɔːlsoʊ/ *but I do*.

Stop-strictives (or ⟨affricates⟩)

2.2.7.1. English has just one (diphonic) pair of stopstrictives, [tʃ, dʒ] /tʃ, dʒ/. For segments, or phones, articulatory terms are preferred over auditory ones (and, of course, acoustic ones), because they are much more adequate and clear, generally self-explanatory.

For this reason, we are happy to avoid ⟨affricate⟩, in favor of a more descriptive and tangible (even checkable) term, such as *prestopped constrictive*, which we will presently reduce to *stop-strictive*, after explaining that they are unitary phones, or ⟨sounds⟩, in that they have a total duration comparable to that of any other single phone, like [p, t, ʃ, k] or [f, s, ʒ, x], not like the sum of two of them (as in [ts, kx]).

In addition, they must be homorganic (ie produced at the same place of articulation). So, the first half of a stop-strictive consonantal phone is a short stop, while its second half is a short ⟨fricative⟩ one (or, better, a constrictive one). The place of articulation is determined by the second component, to which the first one is just a mere closure, correctly at the same place (even if no actual stop phone exists at that place, in any real language).

The simpler and more convenient way to symbolize stop-strictive phones is by means of two ⟨monographed⟩ symbols. Of course, the second one is the more specific, so the first can be a looser one, because its only function is to show a closure, which may be generically labial, pre-lingual or post-lingual. For this reason, the stop phases of the various possible stop-strictive phones, are sufficiently shown by using simply [p, b; t, d; k, g].

As we said, the only (diphonic) pair of stop-strictives of the English language is [tʃ, dʒ] /tʃ, dʒ/. In stressed syllables (or after pauses, even in the rare cases of unstressed syllable, as in *Chaucerian*), /tʃ/ is ⟨aspirated⟩, as /p, t, k/ are (although most

native phoneticians do not say that, in the least): [ˈtʃhʌmni] /ˈtʃɪmni/ *chimney*.

Usually, /tʃ, dʒ/ have (a slight) labial protrusion, and, most often, they are articulated with the tongue tip in a high position (but we need not really use special symbols, such as [tʃ̠, dʒ̠]).

Besides, /dʒ/ (as any other voiced phoneme in diphonic pairs) is partially devoiced before a pause or before a voiceless consonant: [ˈdʒʌdʒ̥]ᵃ [ˈdʒv̥dʒ̥]ᵇ /ˈdʒʌdʒ/ *judge*.

While English stops are very often inaudibly released, English /tʃ, dʒ/ always show an audible plosion, even when they occur before themselves (notice that we prefer to mark this plosion only here, by means of [C*]): [ˈwʌtʃ* ˈkheɪfli; ˈwɔːtʃ*]ᵃ [ˈwɒtʃ* ˈkheɪfli]ᵇ /ˈwɒtʃ ˈkeəfəli/ *watch carefully*, [ˈwɪtʃ* ˈtʃhriːz; ˈhʌtʃ*; ˈhw-] /ˈhɪwɪtʃ ˈtʃiːz/ *which cheese*, [əˈlɑːɪdʒ* ˈtʃhɜːtʃ]ᵃ [əˈlɑːɪdʒ* ˈtʃhɜːtʃ]ᵇ /əˈlɑːɪdʒ ˈtʃəːtʃ/ *a large church*.

The only possible reduction may be in changing the first stop-strictive with the corresponding constrictive (⟨fricative⟩) one, [ʃ, ʒ]: [ˈwʃ ˈtʃhriːz; ˈhʃ; ˈhw-], [əˈlɑːɪʒ ˈtʃhɜːtʃ]ᵃ [əˈlɑːɪʒ ˈtʃhɜːtʃ]ᵇ. This can also occur with /ndʒ, ntʃ/ before /tʃ, dʒ/ (seen that /ndʒ, ntʃ/ have a less frequent variant /nʒ, nʃ/): [ˈɔːrɒndʒ ˈdʒʊs, -nʒ, ˈɑː-]ᵃ [ˈɔːrɒndʒ ˈdʒʊs, -nʒ]ᵇ /ˈɔːrɒndʒ ˈdʒʊs/ *orange juice*.

For British English, we must add that /tʃ/, as well as /p, t, k/, can show the two kind of glottalization we saw (§ 2.2.6.1-2), with the same frequency and degree of advisability. But, for /tʃ/, it occurs even before vowels: [ˈfɛtʃ, ˈfɛtʃ̠, ˈfɛtʃ̠] /ˈfɛtʃ/ *fetch*, [ˈbɛntʃ, -ntʃ̠, -ntʃ̠] /ˈbɛntʃ/ *bench*, [ˈsɜːtʃt̚, -tʃ̠, -tʃ̠] /ˈsɜːtʃt/ *searched*, [ˈsɜːtʃmi, -tʃ̠mi, -tʃ̠mi] /ˈsɜːtʃmi/ *search me*, [ˈfɛtʃɪt̚, -tʃ̠ɪt̚, -tʃ̠ɪt̚] /ˈfɛtʃɪt/ *fetch it*, [ˈtɪtʃt̚, -tʃ̠t̚, -tʃ̠t̚] /ˈtɪtʃt̚/ *teacher*.

Finally, chiefly in British English, /tʃ/ may become [tʃ̠], before a pause or a C: [ˈfɛtʃ̠, ˈbɛntʃ̠, ˈsɜːtʃ̠t̚, ˈsɜːtʃ̠mi] (examples we have already seen) and [ˈkætʃ̠; ˈkætʃ̠] /ˈkætʃ/ *catch*, [ɛ̠ˈwɪtʃ̠ ˈbʊk.; ɛ̠ˈwɪtʃ̠ ˈbʊk.] /ˈwɪtʃ̠ ˈbʊk/ *which book?*

Constrictives (or ⟨fricatives⟩)

2.2.8.1. Also for this manner of articulation (as for the stop-strictive one, rather than ⟨affricate⟩), we prefer to use an articulatory term, because of its greater clarity.

There are four (diphonic) pairs, /f, v; θ, ð; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/ [f, v; θ, ð; s, z; ʃ, ʒ]. For /f, v/ readers are referred to what has been said about /pf, bv/ (§ 2.2.2.2). We now add some examples that show the frequent reduction or dropping of /v/: [əˈkʰæ(ʷ)m bəˈlriːvɪðæt̚, -iʊð-, -ið-]ᵃ [-ɑːm bɪ-]ᵇ /əˈkʰænt̚ bɪˈliːvɪðæt̚/ *I can't believe that*, [ˈɡɪvmi ˈfaəv̥, ˈɡʊmi, ˈɡʊmi] /ˈɡɪvmi ˈfaɛv/ *give me five!*, [əv̥ˈʃɔːtnd̚ɪt̚, əv̥-, əv̥-]ᵃ [-ɔːt̚-]ᵇ /əv̥ˈʃɔːtnd̚ɪt̚/ *I've shortened it* (in spite of an information loss in comparison with *I shortened it*), [ð̠ɛːˈlɑːəvz ɪˈtʰeɪəb̠t̚, -əvz, -əz, ð̠-]ᵃ [ð̠ɛː-, əˈtʰeɪ-]ᵇ /ð̠ɛːˈlɑːəvz əˈtʰeɪ-ɪb̠t̚/ *their lives are terrible* (in spite of the ambiguity with *their lies are terrible*), [ˈfɔːɪ ˈfaəv̥ ˈsɪks ˈsevn̩ ˈeɪt̚; ˈfaəv̥ ˈsɪk ˈsebn̩; ˈfaəv̥ ˈsɪk ˈsem̩]ᵃ [ˈfɔː-]ᵇ /ˈfɔːɪ ˈfaɛv ˈsɪks ˈsevn̩ ˈeɪt̚/ *...four, five, six, seven, eight...* And, let us note: [ˈdʒɛf ˈpɪt̚, ˈfaəv̥ ˈbɪts] /ˈdʒɛf ˈpɪt̚, ˈfaɛv ˈbɪts/ *Jeff Pit, five bits*.

/θ, ð/ are slit dental (whereas in American English a ⟨prodental⟩ or ⟨interdental⟩

articulation is possible, perhaps more often indeed, which may be transcribed with [θ, ð]; however, since their auditory impression is not very different, the official symbols, [θ, ð], may be sufficient. It is important for foreigners to acquire this slit articulation well: [ˈθɪŋk] /ˈθɪŋk/ *think*, [ˈðɪs] /ˈðɪs/ *this*, [ˈwɪð] /ˈwɪð/ *with*. When a sentence begins with a more or less pleonastic *I think*, generally, a semi-constrictive /θ/ is used: [ˌθɪŋk]ᵃ [ɐ]ᵇ; the same can occur for the /#ð/, [ð], of grammemes: *the, this...*

Besides, in quick informal speech, /#ð/ in forms such as *the, that, this, both* is normally assimilated: [ˈwʌts zəˈtʰɑːm, ˈwʌts]ᵃ [ˈwɒts]ᵇ /ˈwɒts ðəˈtʰæm/ *what's the time?*, [ˈwʌts ˈzætʃ, ˈwʌts]ᵃ [ˈwɒts]ᵇ /ˈwɒts ðæt/ *what's that?*, [ˈbɔs əˈsædz]ᵃ [ˈbɔs]ᵇ /ˈbɔs θəˈsædz/ *both sides*, [hɪzðwˈweɪtɪ, hɪzðw-, hɪzɪw-]ᵃ [-tʃ]ᵇ /hɪzðəˈweɪtɪ/ *he's the waiter*, [ɪnðəˈmɔːnɪŋ, ɪnðə-, ɪnə-]ᵃ [-sɪn-]ᵇ /ɪnðəˈmɔːnɪŋ/ *in the morning*, [ɔːt ðəˈtʰɑːm, ɔːtðə-, ɔːtə-]ᵃ [ˈɔːt]ᵇ /ɔːt ðəˈtʰæm/ *all the time*.

2.2.8.2. /s, z/ are grooved dental constrictives, usually pronounced with the tip of the tongue raised, ie <denti-alveolar>, so that they could be transcribed with [s, z], especially for comparative purposes, in order to emphasize the difference between [s, z], pronounced with the tip of the tongue lowered. On the other hand, native speakers themselves may indifferently have one articulation or another, even vacillating, so the plain symbols can safely be used: [ˈseɪm] /ˈseɪm/ *same*, [ˈɹɔzəz]ᵃ [ˈɹɔzɪz]ᵇ /ˈɹɔzɪz/ *roses*, [ˈsɪzɪz]ᵃ [ˈsɪzɪz]ᵇ /ˈsɪzɪz/ *scissors*.

For word-initial *sm-*, *sn-*, *sl-* (as well as for the non-autochthonous *sr-*), /s/ [s] is normal (contrary to some other languages): [ˈsmɔːt]ᵃ [ˈsmɔːt]ᵇ /ˈsmɔːt/ *small*, [ˈsneɪk] /ˈsneɪk/ *snake*, [ˈsli:p] /ˈsli:p/ *sleep* ([ˌsɪnɪˈlɑːŋkə, sɪ-, ʃɪnɪ-]ᵃ [-æŋkə]ᵇ /sɪnɪˈlɑːŋkə, sɪ-, ʃɪnɪ-/ *Sri Lanka*).

For *dis-* followed by a voiced stop, there are several possibilities, both phonetic and phonemic: [dɪsbəˈlriːv, -sb-] /dɪsbəˈlriːv/ *disbelieve*, [dɪsˈdʒeɪn, -sɟ-, -zɟ-, -zɟ-, -st-] /dɪsˈdʒeɪn, -zɟ-, -st-/ *disdain*, [dɪsˈgʌst, -sɟ-, -zɟ-, -zɟ-, -sk-]ᵃ [-est]ᵇ /dɪsˈgʌst, -zɟ-, -sk-/ *disgust*, [dɪsˈgɑːʒ, -sɟ-, -zɟ-, -zɟ-, -sk-] /dɪsˈgɑːʒ, -zɟ-, -sk-/ *disguise*.

Let us now observe (but only here) that /s, z/ preceded by one or more consonants, are usually articulated as (dental/denti-alveolar) approximants, [s, z], rather than as constrictives: [ˈʃɑps]ᵃ [ˈʃɑps]ᵇ /ˈʃɑps/ *shops*, [ˈθæŋks] /ˈθæŋks/ *thanks*, [ˈbɛtʃz]ᵃ [ˈbɛtʃz]ᵇ /ˈbɛtʃz/ *bells*, [ˈhændz] /ˈhændz/ *hands*. But it is sufficient to transcribe: [ˈʃɑps]ᵃ [ˈʃɑps]ᵇ, [ˈθæŋks, ˈbɛtʃz, ˈhændz]ᵃ [ˈbɛtʃz]ᵇ.

In American English, the sequences /ɪs, ɪz/ are realized as [ɪs, ɪz] (with alveolar constrictives): [ˈfɪrst] /ˈfɛːɪst/ *first*, [ˈpɜːrs] /ˈpɜːɪs/ *purse*, [hɜːˈskɜːɪt] /hɜːˈskɜːɪt/ *her skirt*, [fɜːˈsmɔːt ˈpɜːɪp] /fɜːˈsmɔːt ˈpɜːɪp/ *for small people*, [ˈdɔːz] /ˈdɔːɪz/ *doors*, [ˈfɜːz] /ˈfɜːɪz/ *furs*. In British English, /sɪ, zɪ/ generally become [sɪ, zɪ]: [ˈnjuːzɪrɪl] /ˈnjuːzɪrɪl/ *newsreel*.

More often, /ʃ ʒ/ are produced with the tip of the tongue raised, ie as <apico-postalveo-palatal rounded> contoids, so that more suitable symbols, contrastively, could be [ʃ, ʒ]. But, as several natives pronounce them with the tip of the tongue lowered, [ʃ, ʒ] will be sufficient. The most important thing to keep in mind is that they have a certain degree of lip protrusion (indeed, they must be labeled as *protruded*): [ˈʃɪp] /ˈʃɪp/ *ship*, [ˈplɛʒɪ]ᵃ [-ɐ]ᵇ /ˈplɛʒɪ/ *pleasure*.

For /s, z/, too, assimilation is rather important. As a matter of fact, /s, z/ → [ʃ, ʒ]

[ʃ, ʒ] before /s/; tʃ, dʒ; j/: [ðɪʃʃɑp]^a [-ɒp]^b /ðɪsʃɒp/ *this shop*, [ðɪʃdʒɑ:ɪ]^a [-ɑ:]^b /ðɪs-
 'dʒɑ:ɪ/ *this jar*, [ðɪʃjɪrɪ]^a [-rɪ]^b /ðɪs'jɪəɪ/ *this year*, [ðɪɪzʃʊuz]^a [-mʊz]^b /ðɪɪzʃʊuz/ *these*
shoes, [hæzʃi, hæʃʃi] /hæzʃi/ *has she?*; even /stʃ/ → [ʃtʃ] is possible: [khwɛstʃən, -ʃtʃ-]
 /'kwɛstʃən/ *question*.

Generally, with *you, your*, there is a complete fusion between elements: [aə'mɪʃɹ, -
 μ]^a [aə'mɪʃμ; -ɐ]^b /aɛ'mɪsju/ *I miss you*, [hɪ'nɪɪd ʒɪ'hɛɪp, -dʒ ɪ; -ʊɪ]^a [zə'hɛɪp, -dʒ ə;
 -σ-]^b /hɪ'nɪɪdz ʒɪ:hɛɪp/ *he needs your help*, [əzə'seɪ, ʒə; æ-, -μ-] /æzju'seɪ/ *as you say*.
 Let us also consider: [ə'zɛɪ; æ-] /æz'jɛt/ *as yet*. (Making use of diaphonemes like /æ,
 ɜ:/ may help in reducing the space of a phonemic transcription, chiefly in a dic-
 tionary.)

Approximants

2.2.9.0. In order to present the important components of this particular man-
 ner of articulation in a simple way, we will proceed by specific categories.

English *r* /ɹ/ [ɹ]^a [ɹ̥]^b (& /r/)

2.2.9.1. The English </r/ > phoneme is completely different from that of most
 languages, which have alveolar trills or taps [r, ɾ]. It is thus extremely important
 to use a different symbol for English *r*, even at a phonemic level: /ɹ/. 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 rela-
 tively higher intrinsic timbre than the British.

Once and for all, it is of paramount importance to establish the exact articula-
 tion of both kinds of approximants. Unfortunately, except in very few cases, even
 among native English phoneticians, there exists odd and perhaps too-traditional
 ideas about the precise nature and articulation of /ɹ/, which are not based on real
 analyses of sounds and accurate kinesthesia as well. 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.

2.2.9.2. It is proved that the American /ɹ/ is a prevelar approximant, with a very
 slight –and (almost) uninfluential– raising of the tip of the tongue towards the
 postalveolar region. Instead, the British sound is decidedly postalveolar, [ɹ̥], 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 IPA official point of view). It is actually an
 apico-postalveolar articulation.

It will be very important to observe the orograms of these two approximants
 very carefully (fig 1.13.3). Both of them are laterally contracted, just as real lateral
 phones, 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 ar-

ticulations of their typical timbre, which is so similar (in these two approximant phones), even though their actual articulations are relatively very different.

In addition, both [ɹ] and [ɹ̥] show a certain amount of lip rounding (more evident in stressed syllables), which –changing both towards a duller timbre– contributes in making them less different auditorily, while remaining articulatorily rather different.

2.2.9.3. Once the exact articulations are clear, it is easy to understand why, for /tɹ, dɹ/, the British pronunciation regularly undergoes assimilation, giving [tɹ̥, dɹ̥]. On the other hand, the fact that the auditory impression is so similar for these two types of phones, may explain why, even in the American pronunciation, [tɹ, dɹ] can be used, besides the more usual ones, [tɹ̥, dɹ̥].

Certainly, it is very strange that the majority of phoneticians (even native ones) keep on using the symbol [ɹ] to hint at the American type, which is far from being postalveolar. By the way, the term *postalveolar* corresponds to the official one <retroflex>, 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 modification. But, as is well known, good kinesthetic, auditory (and even acoustic) skills are not the same for all people...

Up to now, we have seen several examples of /ɹ/ [ɹ]^a [ɹ̥]^b, and several others will follow. Let us remember only that our diaphonemic transcription rigorously distinguishes between /ɹ/, which is always pronounced in the two accents, and /ɹ̥/, which is pronounced, as such, only in American English. As a matter of fact, in British English, /ɹ̥/ corresponds to <zero>, as *r* is pronounced only before vowels: [ɹ̥ɹ̥]^a [ɹ̥ʊɹ̥]^b /ɹ̥ɹ̥ə/ *rear*, [ɹ̥ɹ̥]^a [ɹ̥ɹ̥ɜː]^b /ɹ̥ɹ̥ɛə/ *rare*, [ɹ̥ɹ̥ɹ̥]^a [ɹ̥ɹ̥ɹ̥]^b /ɹ̥ɹ̥ɹ̥/ *roar*.

In American pronunciation, /əɹ/, preceded by vowels or consonants, is realized as [ɹ̥]. It is the same even for /əɹ̥/ (and, by and large, for /əɹ/); /əɹ̥, əɹ, əɹ/ are realized as [ɹ̥]: [ˈmɹ̥d̥ɹ̥]^a [ˈmɹ̥d̥ɹ̥]^b /ˈmɹ̥d̥ɹ̥ə/ *murder*, [ˈmɹ̥d̥ɹ̥ɹ̥]^a [ˈmɹ̥d̥ɹ̥ɹ̥]^b /ˈmɹ̥d̥ɹ̥ɹ̥ə/ *murderer*. Also [əɹ, əɹ]^a, for [ɹ, ɹ̥]^a are acceptable, even if less frequent.

2.2.9.4. However, /ɹ̥/ 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 /ɹ̥/ becomes /ɹ/ [ɹ̥]: [ðwɹ̥kɦɑːɹ̥ əɹ̥əvɹ̥d̥]^a [ðwɹ̥kɦɑːɹ̥ əɹ̥əvɹ̥d̥]^b /ðəˈkɦɑːɹ̥ əɹ̥əvɹ̥d̥/ *the car arrived*, [ˈtɦeɪk ˈkɦeɹ̥ əvɹ̥jɹ̥ˈsɛɪf, -jɹ̥ɹ̥]^a [ˈtɦeɪk ˈkɦeɹ̥ɜː əvɹ̥jɹ̥ˈsɛɪf, -jɹ̥-]^b /ˈtɦeɪk ˈkɦeɹ̥ əvɹ̥jɹ̥ˈsɛɪf/ *take care of yourself*.

On the other hand, on the analogy of word-final /əɹ, ɪə, eə, uə, ɔː, ɑː/, very frequently, also final /ə, ɪə, uə, ɔː, ɑː/ are realized as the previous ones, even if no etymological *r* is present in their spelling: [ðɪəəˈdɪə(ʔ)əvɪf; -ɪəəvɪf] /ðɪəəˈdɪə(ʔ)əvɪf/ *the idea of it*, [ˈɪləəzə ˈɛɪɪs; -zəɪ ˈɛɪɪs] /ˈɪləəzə ˈɛɪɪs/ *Eliza Ellis*, [ˈdʒɹɪɪbɪɪ ˈʃɔː ˈɑːs(k)ɹ̥; -sɹ̥ɹ̥] /ˈdʒɹɪɪbɪɪ ˈʃɔː ˈɑːs(k)ɹ̥/ *G. B. Shaw asked*.

This use is very widespread, chiefly for /əɹ̥/, 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 a broad New Zealand accent, /ɪ/ is [ɛ̃], instead of [ɪ], usual also in neutral New Zealand English. As in American English (except in typical Southern, Eastern, and Black accents) and Canadian English, also Irish English (in the whole island) has /ɪ/ = /ɪ/. The same goes both for an area in 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 /ɪ, ɪ/ = [ɪ].

As a speech defect, /ɪ/ is realized as a labiodental [ʋ]. 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).

The other approximants

2.2.9.5. The voiced palatal approximant, /j/ [j], has no particular characteristics. It is therefore more interesting to talk about the diaphoneme /j/, that –restricting ourselves to the two neutral accents– distinguishes American English from British English, because, between /n, t, d/ and /ʊ, ʊ/, in ⟨non-weak⟩ syllables (ie those with primary or secondary stress), in American pronunciation /j/ becomes ⟨zero⟩.

This means that, in American English, /njʊ(u), tjʊ(u), djʊ(u)/ correspond to /tʊ(u), dʊ(u), nʊ(u)/, while, in British English, they are /njʊ(u), tjʊ(u), djʊ(u)/: [ˈnʊu]^a [ˈnjɹu]^b *new*, [ˈhʊʊb]^a [ˈhɹjɹʊb]^b /ˈtjʊʊb/ *tube*, [ˈdʊʊk]^a [ˈdɹjɹʊk]^b /ˈdjʊʊk/ *duke*.

It is true that, in American pronunciation, one can even find [ˈnjɹu, ˈhɹjɹʊb, ˈdɹjɹʊk] and even a compromise realization, [ˈnɹu, ˈhɹɹʊb, ˈdɹʊk]. However, the more usual pronunciation has [ʊ], even if [ˈdʊu] may happen to correspond to both /dʊ/ *do* and /djʊ/ *due*, &c.

In *you* and *your*, due to the assimilation of /j/ to preceding /t, d/, there are noteworthy expressions such as: [ˈdʊʊntʃʌ, -ɹ]^a [ˈdʊʊntʃɹ; -ɹ]^b /ˈdʊʊntʃu, -ə/ *don't you?*, [ˈwʊʊntʃʌ, -ɹ]^a [-ɹ; -ɹ]^b /ˈwʊʊntʃu, -ə/ *wouldn't you?*, [ˈkʰʊʊʒʌ, -ɹ]^a [-ɹ; -ɹ]^b /ˈkʰʊʊʒu, -ə/ *could you?*, [ˈdɪʊʒɪ ˈbɪlðɪ ˈɡɔʊ, -ʒɪ]^a [ˈdɪʊʒɪ ˈbɪɹðɪ ˈɡɔʊ; -ʒɪ]^b /ˈdɪʊʒɪ ˈbɪlðɪ ˈɡɔʊ/ *did your brother go?* For the assimilation to preceding /s, z/, see above (§ 2.2.4).

Although rarely, English phonotactics presents sequences such as: [ˈjɪp] /ˈjɪp/ *yip*, [ˈjɪst] /ˈjɪst/ *yeast*. Before /i/, /j/ may be realized as a semi-constrictive contoid, [j̥], which is stronger than [j]: [ˈj̥ɪst]. On the other hand, in unstressed syllables, /j/ [j] may lessen, up to a semi-approximant, [ɹ]: [ˈnɛb-jələs] /ˈnɛbjələs/ *nebulous*.

2.2.9.6. The velar rounded approximant, [w] /w/, has no particular characteristics, apart from such rare sequences as in: [ˈwʊʊd] /ˈwʊʊd/ *wood*, [ˈwʊʊndɔʊ]^a [ˈwɹʊndɔʊ]^b /ˈwʊʊndɪd/ *wounded*. Before /ʊ/, /w/ may be realized as a semi-constrictive contoid, [w̥]: [ˈw̥ʊʊ-]^a [ˈwɹʊʊ-]^b; while, in unstressed syllables, it may lessen, up to a semi-approximant, [ʋ]: [ˈwɹɹɔʊt] /wɹɹɔʊt/ *without*. It is important to remember that /w/ has a strong bilabial component, which causes changes in the realization of preceding /n, t, d/: [ˈkʰæp,wɔʊk, -ɹ-, -ɹ]^a [-wɔʊk]^b /ˈkæt,wɔʊk/ *catwalk*, [ˈkʰɔʊm-

wɔːt, -n-]^a [ˈkɒm.wɔːt, -n-]^b /ˈkɔːɪn.wɔːt/ *Cornwall*.

By now, the sequence /hw/ [w, ʰw, hw] has only a secondary role, which (at least in theory) allows us to distinguish words beginning with *wh-* from those with a simple *w-*. It is to be said that such a distinction is no longer neutral; it can still be found either as a voluntary effort, or –chiefly– in some non-urban American pronunciations or in some northern British ones: [ˈwɪtʃ] /ˈwɪtʃ/ *witch*, [ˈwɪtʃ; ˈhɪtʃ; ˈhwɪtʃ] /ˈhwɪtʃ/ *which*; [ˈwɛt] /ˈwɛt/ *wet*, [ˈwɛt; ˈhɛt; ˈhwɛt] /ˈhwɛt/ *whet*.

This distinction is more stable in Scotland, Ireland (including Ulster) and in New Zealand. For /hj/, we can have [hɟ, ʰ]: [ˈhɟɪ.ʊdʒ, ʰɟ-, ʰ-] /ˈhɟɪ.ʊdʒ/ *huge*; whereas [j] is acceptable only in American pronunciation.

2.2.9.7. The last English approximant (although too many phoneticians –even native speakers– insist in classifying it as a constrictive) is [h] /h/. It occurs before vowels and –between voiced sounds– it can become voiced: [ˈhæt] /ˈhæt/ *hat*, [ˈhʊ.ʊ]^a [ˈhʊ.ʊ]^b /ˈhʊ.ʊ/ *who*, [pɪ.ʰhæps, pɪ.ʰhæps]^a [pɪ.ʰ-]^b /pɪ.ʰhæps/ *perhaps*, [bɪ.ʰhænd, -h-]^a [bɪ-]^b /bɪ.ʰhænd/ *behind*.

In British (and Welsh and Australian) uneducated pronunciation, /h/ often becomes ⟨zero⟩, /θ/: ⟨ˈθæt, ˈθʊ.ʊ⟩, *hat, who*, &c. However, it must be clearly stated that in non-emphatic grammemes (not occurring after a pause) the change /[#]h/ → /θ/ is quite normal: [ˈtɛlɪm] /ˈtɛlɪm/ *tell him*, [ˈtɛɪkɪ]^a [ˈtɛɪkɪ]^b /ˈtɛɪkɪ/ *take her* (very different from [ˈtɛɪtː ˈhɪmː]^a [ˈtɛɪtː ˈhɪmː]^b /ˈtɛɪtː ˈhɪm/ *tell HIM!*, [ˈtɛɪk ˈhɪtː]^a [ˈtɛɪk ˈhɪtː]^b /ˈtɛɪk ˈhɪtː/ *take HER!*).

On the other hand, in comparison with Romance languages, we must emphasize the importance of ⟨aspiration⟩ for /p, t, k, tʃ/, at the very beginning of stressed syllables (and even of unstressed syllables after pauses), including second elements of compounds: [təˈtɛɪk] /təˈtɛɪk/ *to take*, [tɛɪtːtɛɪtː]^a [tɛɪ-]^b /tɛɪtːtɛɪtː/ *telltale* (but [ˈstɛɪk] /ˈstɛɪk/ *stake*).

Laterals

2.2.10.1. The only lateral English phoneme, from a strict intraphonemic point of view, is //l// [l, ɫ], with two very important taxophones, or contextual allophones (together with others, by coarticulation, as we will see). In actual fact, given their considerable importance, from a descriptive and teaching point of view, our diaphonemic transcription makes use of /l, ɫ/ (instead of a more abstract /l/ –which is decidedly less ⟨interphonemic⟩– for /ɫ/). There is one caveat: although we have decided to include /ɫ/ among our diaphonemic symbols, this does not imply that we consider it a real phoneme, as no opposition exists in English between /ɫ/ and /l/. It is simply a very useful guide for foreigners to make a safe and straightforward choice between them. On the other hand, in an almost neutral pronunciation, certain speakers may present cases such as: [ˈkɒdɫɪŋ]^a [ˈkɒɪ-]^b /ˈkɒdɪŋ/ *codling* and [ˈkɒdɫɪŋ]^a [ˈkɒɪ-]^b, besides [-dɫɪŋ, -dɪɪŋ, -dɫɪŋ] /ˈkɒdɪŋ/ *coddling*, including [-dɫɪŋ], which unifies different pronunciations into one.

Traditional transcriptions excessively hide many characteristics, including the

difference between [ɫ, ɭ], and the actual fact that, before (a heterosyllabic) /j/, not only does [ɫ] not occur (as, instead, it does before any other consonants), but it is prepalatal, [ɭ], [ˈmɪɫjən]. In other contexts, it is alveolar, [ɭ], as in: [ˈlʊsəʃ]^a [ˈlɪu-, ˈljɪu-]^b /ˈlʊsəʃ, ˈlj-/ *leucite*. Even between a stressed short vowel and another vowel, which makes one syllable with /l/, in the neutral (American or British) pronunciation, [ɭ] (not [ɫ]) is used: [ˈfɑl-i]^a [ˈfɒl-i]^b /ˈfɒli/ *folly*, [ˈfɑl-ɔɔ]^a [ˈfɒl-ɜɔ]^b /ˈfɒləʊ/ *follow*, [ˈtʃɛl-ɪm] /ˈtɛlɪm/ *tell him*, [ˈfiɪlɪt] /ˈfiɪlɪt/ *feel it*, [ˈfɔ:l ˈaɔt]^a [ˈfɔ:l]^b /ˈfɔ:l ˈaɔt/ *fall out*, [ˈbɪl ˈɛvənz] /ˈbɪl ˈɛvənz/ *Bill Evans*.

2.2.10.2. Their distribution is in any case rather simple, once it has been clearly explained. As we have said, in diaphonemic transcriptions, it is convenient to use the two primary symbols, /l, ɫ/; although (to be precise) it would be useful to use at least four symbols, [l, ɭ, ɫ, ɬ] (besides [ɫ] in British [and British-like] pronunciation, before /ɹ, tɹ, dɹ/), in addition to three intense ones, [ɭ, ɫ, ɬ]. Furthermore, at least in specific descriptions, the taxophones with dental contact, [ɭ, ɬ], should be indicated, and also those with lip-rounding after V or C which have a labial component): [ɭ, ɭ̠, ɫ, ɫ̠, ɬ; ɭ̠, ɬ̠]. Especially the coarticulation of labialization is automatic; therefore, it is necessary to mark it only where it is being explained, in order to draw attention to the phenomenon.

Before V, we regularly have /l/ [ɭ]: [ˈlri:v] /ˈlri:v/ *leave*, [ˈlæ(ɹ)st]^a [ˈlɹst]^b /ˈlæst/ *last*, [ˈlɒk] /ˈlɒk/ *look*, [ˈlɔːn] /ˈlɔːn/ *loin*. To be rigorous, lip-rounding also occurs before rounded V, by coarticulation: [ɭ̠ɒk, ˈɭ̠ɔːn]; however, a special symbol –like [ɭ̠]– is not needed, since it is absolutely inevitable to prepare the lips for the rounded vocoids that follow, within the syllable.

In fact, an articulation of /l/ without lip-rounding, [ɭ], would somehow be perceived as something <strange>, exactly as for /k, g/ followed either by front V or by /j/, or else by rounded V or by /w/: the articulations [k̠, g̠] and [k̠, ɡ̠], respectively, are natural and automatic: [ˈkɪt] [ˈkɪt] /ˈkɪt/ *kit*, [ˈɡɛt] [ˈɡɛt] /ˈɡɛt/ *get*, [ˈkɪjɹub̠] [ˈkɪjɹub̠] /ˈkɪjɹub̠/ *cube*, [ˈkɔːɹ] [ˈkɔːɹ] [-ɔː]^b /ˈkɔːɹ/ *core*, [ˈɡʊs] [ˈɡʊs]^a [ˈɡʊs] [ˈɡʊs] /ˈɡʊs/ *goose*, [ˈkwæʃ] [ˈkwæʃ] /ˈkwæʃ/ *quite*.

Therefore, in particular for /ɫ̠/, an <objective> pronunciation, obtained by juxtaposing /p/ and /ɫ̠/, for instance, would produce an effect that may perplex native speakers. Strictly speaking, in fact, [pɫ̠] would have something less in comparison with the genuine [pɫ̠], as in [ˈphɪpɫ̠] [ˈphɪpɫ̠] /ˈpɪpɫ̠/ *people*.

2.2.10.3. It is important to notice that, for postvocalic and tautosyllabic l, after rounded V, in the various languages, labial coarticulation regularly occurs; therefore, it need not be marked, as instead we are doing here. Before heterosyllabic /j/, we find [ɭ] (and [ɭ̠]): [ˈmɪɫjən] /ˈmɪɫjən/ *million*, [ˈbʊɫjən] [ˈbʊɫjən] /ˈbʊɫjən/ *bullion*, [ˈɔːɹ jəˈnɪd̠]^a [ˈɔːɹ]^b [-ɹ] /ˈɔːɹ jəˈnɪd̠/ *all you need*; before /θ, ð; ts, dz/, we have [ɫ, ɬ], [ɫ]: [ˈfɪɫθi] [ˈfɪɫθi] /ˈfɪɫθi/ *filthy*, [ˈɔːɹ ðəˈtʰaːɪm]^a [ˈɔːɹ]^b [ˈɔːɹ ðəˈtʰaːɪm]^a [ˈɔːɹ]^b /ˈɔːɹ ðəˈtʰaːɪm/ *all the time*, [ˈbɛɫts]^a [ˈbɛɫts]^b [ˈbɛɫts]^a [ˈbɛɫts]^b /ˈbɛɫts/ *belts*, [ˈfɔːɹts]^a [ˈfɔːɹts]^b [-ɹts] /ˈfɔːɹts/ *faults*. With /θ, ð/ + /l/, we have [ɭ] (dental, but not velarized): [ˈɔːmɪnθ ˈleɪt]^a [ˈɔːmɪnθ-]^b [-nθ ˈleɪt] /ˈɔːmɪnθ ˈleɪt/ *a month late*, [ˈwɪðˈlʌv]^a [-ɛv]^b [ˈwɪðˈlʌv] /ˈwɪðˈlʌv/ *with love*. In British English, before /ɹ, tɹ, dɹ/, it is realized

as postalveolar, [ʃ, ʒ]: [ʃhɪtʃdɪən]^a [ʃhɪtʃdɪən]^b [ʃhɪt-]^b /ʃhɪtʃdɪən/ *children*, [ɔʃt-ɪɛdɪ]^a [ɔʃt-ɪɛdɪ]^b [ɔʃt-]^a [ɔʃt-]^b /ɔʃtɪɛdɪ/ *already*.

Before pauses, or another C, we have [ʃ, ʒ]: [bɪt-] /bɪt/ *bill*, [bɪtʃ] /bɪtʃ/ *built*, [hʌt-]^a [hʌt-]^b /hʌt/ *hull*, [fɔʃt-]^a [fɔʃt-]^b [-t] /fɔʃt/ *fall*, [fɔʃtʃk]^a [fɔʃtʃk]^b [-tʃk] /fɔʃtʃk/ *Falk*. In the case of words with /tN[#]/, we generally find nasalization: [kɦɪt-ɪn] [kɦɪt-ɪn] /kɦɪt-ɪn/ *kiln*, [ɛt-ɪm]^a [ɛt-ɪm]^b [-t-ɪm] /ɛt-ɪm/ *elm*.

When /t[#]/ and a word-initial V meet with no pause between, we have [l, ɫ]: [fɪlɪt] /fɪlɪt/ *feel it*, [ɔʃt-ɪɛdɪ]^a [ɔʃt-ɪɛdɪ]^b [ɔʃt-]^a [ɔʃt-]^b /ɔʃt-ɪɛdɪ/ *all over*.

As far as intense *l* is concerned, [l̥], we find lip-rounding after C with a labial component, /m, p, b; f, v; tʃ, dʒ; ʃ, ʒ; ɹ, w/. In addition, before V within words, we have [l̥, ɫ̥]: [kɦɔdɫɪŋ]^a [kɦɔdɫɪ-]^b /kɦɔdɫɪŋ/ *coddling* (cf the beginning of § 2.2.10.1), [tʃɪɒmbɫɪŋ]^a [tʃɪɒ-]^b [-bɫɪŋ] /tʃɪɒmbɫɪŋ/ *trumbling*. However, before V belonging to a following word, a semi-velarized alveolar articulation is found, [ʃ, ʒ] (even before front V): [lɪtɪ ɪtəli]^a [lɪtɪ ɪtəli]^b [lɪtɪ]^a [lɪtɪ]^b /lɪtɪ ɪtəli/ *Little Italy*, [pɦɪɪpɫ ɪɪŋ]^a [pɦɪɪpɫ-]^b /pɦɪɪpɫ ɪɪŋ/ *people eating*. Lastly, before a pause or a C, we have [ʃ, ʒ]: [lɪtɪ]^a [lɪtɪ]^b /lɪtɪ/ *little*, [ʌŋkɫ]^a [ʌŋk-]^b /ʌŋkɫ/ *uncle*, [tɦeɪbɫ]^a [-bɫ] /tɦeɪbɫ/ *table*, [ɔʃtɪ]^a [ɔʃt-]^b [-tɪ] /ɔʃtɪ/ *awful*. After /θ, ð/, the contact is dental: [bɛnθɫ]^a [bɛnθɫ]^b /bɛnθɫ/ *benthal*.

Often, many transcriptions present sequences of /əɪV/, because they refer to slow or careful speech: [nəvəlɪst]^a [nɒ-]^b /nɒvəlɪst/ *novelist*, [bəlɪrɪv] /bəlɪrɪv/ *believe*, [pɦəɪlɪs] /pɦəɪlɪs/ *police*, [kɦwɪlɪʒən]^a [-ʒn]^b /kɦwɪlɪʒən/ *collision*; currently, though, we find: [nəvəlɪst]^a [nɒ-]^b, [bɪrɪv], [pɦɪɪs], [kɦwɪlɪʒən]^a [-ʒn]^b. It is interesting to compare the following forms, which generally maintain a slight difference of syllabic structure, in comparison with the cases previously seen: [blɪtʃ] /blɪtʃ/ *bleach*, [pɦlɪz] /pɦlɪz/ *please*.

2.2.10.4. We will now report, though not recommend, the frequent insertion of a homorganic stop before /θ, s, ʃ/ (not /t/) preceded by /t/: [fɪtθi; -tθi] [-tθi] /fɪtθi/ *filthy*, [fɔʃts; -tʃs, fɔʃt-]^a [fɔʃts; -tʃs, fɔʃt-]^b [-tʃs] /fɔʃts/ *false*, [wɛtʃ; -tʃ, -tʃ]^a [wɛtʃ; -tʃ, -tʃ]^b /wɛtʃ/ *Welsh*. This occurs with /z/, as well, but more rarely: [bɛtʃz; -tʃz]^a [bɛtʃz; -tʃz]^b /bɛtʃz/ *bells*, [fɪrɪtʃ; -tʃz, fɪrɪt-] /fɪrɪtʃ/ *feels*. On the other hand, the reverse simplification may be heard, too, as in: [fɪrɪtʃz; -tʃz, fɪrɪt-] [-tʃz] /fɪrɪtʃz/ *fields*, [bɛtʃs, -tʃs]^a [bɛtʃs, -tʃs]^b [-tʃs] /bɛtʃs/ *belts*. Especially when there are possible ambiguities (and grammemes {-s, -'s}), spelling is better respected.

In non-neutral American pronunciation, /l/ can be realized as [ɫ] (sometimes even [t]) before V or /j/. This can also occur in New Zealand, in northern Wales, but most of all in Scotland. On the other hand, in Ireland, in South Africa, and in southern Wales, usually, [l] may be heard, even before C or pauses.

Other less systematic differences

2.2.11.1. Finally, there are some more or less isolated words, which are pronounced differently in the two neutral accents. Others often show both pronunciations. In American pronunciation, word-initial syllables are commonly full, ie

not pronounced with /ə/: /vɛɪ'keɪʃən/^a /və-/^b *vacation*, /nɔʊ'vembəɪ/^a /nə-/^b *november*. Even the article *a* often has a full timbre (which could sound too formal in British pronunciation): /ðəɪzə'gʊd ɪnɪzŋ, -zeɪ-/^a /-zə-/^b *there's a good reason*.

Furthermore, bisyllabic verbs in *-ate*, more frequently in American English, bear initial stress: /'dɪktɛɪt, -tɛɪt/^a /-tɛɪt/^b *dictate*, /'væbɪɛɪt/^a /-bɪɛɪt/^b *vibrate*. The suffix *-ile* is /-əɪ/; -æɪ/^a /-æɪ/^b: /'hɒstəɪt/ [hɑstɪt, -æɪt]^a [hɒstæɪt]^b *hostile* (and *mobile* as well), /'fɛɪtəɪt/ [fɪrɪt; -æɪt]^a [fɛɪtæɪt]^b *fertile*, /'mɪsəɪt/ [mɪsɪt]^a [mɪsæɪt]^b *missile* (and *reptile*, *sterile*). But we have: /'dɒsɪt; -æɪt/^a /'dɒsæɪt, 'dɒsæɪt/^b *docile* and /'dʒuːvənɪt, -ənæɪt/^a /-ənæɪt, -ənɪt/^b *juvenile*. We also find: /'pɹɔ-/^a /'pɹɔʊ-/^b *pro-*: /'pɹɔsɛsɪŋ, -ə-/^a /'pɹɔʊ-, 'pɹɔ-/^b *processing*, /'pɹɔɡɹɛs, -əs/^a /'pɹɔʊ-, 'pɹɔ-/^b *progress* (but: /'pɹɔʊ-ɡɹæm/ *program*^a, *-mme*^b).

To end with, let us see: /sɪvəlɪ'zeɪʃən; -ləɛ-/^a /-ləɛ-, -lɪ-/^b *civilization*, /'kæpɪlɛɪɪ/^a /kə'pɪləɪɪ/^b *capillary*, /'kɔɪləɪɪ, 'kɔ-/^a /kə'ɔləɪɪ/^b *corollary*, /'læbɔɪətɔɪɪ/^a /lə'bɔɪətɔɪɪ/^b *laboratory*, /'nɔʊbləɪ, -bɔ-, -bə-/^a ['nɔʊbləɪ, -bəɪ, -bəɪ]^a /-ɔ-, -ə-/^b ['nɔʊbləɪ, -bəɪ]^b *nobody* (and *any-*, *every-*, *some-*). Let us also notice this (seemingly <curious>) word: <'aɛəɪn/^a ['aɛɪn, 'aːɪn]^a <'aɛəɪn/^b ['aəɪn]^b *iron*.

2.2.11.2. Here is a collection of over 100 interesting cases, which we present exceptionally in alphabetic order, giving current spelling first. However, we must be aware that, not infrequently, speakers of one of the two accents (*a* and *b*) use pronunciations shown for the other accent. For single words, this is quite obvious:

<i>address (an)</i> /'ædɪɛs, ə'dɪɛs/ ^a /ə'd-/ ^b	<i>chirrup</i> /'tʃɔɪrɪp, 'tʃɪɪ-/ ^a /'tʃɪɪ-/ ^b
<i>advertisement</i> /ædvəɪ'tæɪzmənt, 'æ-, əd'vəɪ'tɪsmənt, -ɪz-/ ^a /əd'vəɪɪ-/ ^b	<i>cigarette</i> /'sɪɡəɪɛt, -ɪɛt/ ^a /-ɪɛt/ ^b
<i>agave</i> /ə'gɑːvɪ/ ^a /ə'gɛɪvɪ, -ɑː-, 'æɡɛɪv/ ^b	<i>circumstances</i> /'sɜːɪkəmstænsɪz, -tə-/ ^a /-tə-, -tə-, -tɑː-/ ^b
<i>albino</i> /æ'tɪbəɪnɔʊ/ ^a /'bɪɪ-/ ^b	<i>clerk</i> /'kɪləɪk/ ^a /'kɪləɪk/ ^b
<i>American</i> [ə'mɛɪɪkwən, ə'mɪɹw-] ^a [ə-'mɛɪkwən] ^b	<i>comrade</i> /'kɒmɪæd, -ɪd/ ^a /-ɪɪd, -ɪd, 'kɒm-/ ^b
<i>anti-</i> /æntɪə-, -ɪ-/ ^a /-ɪ-/ ^b	<i>consommé</i> /kɒnsə'mɛɪ, 'kɒnsə'mɛɪ/ ^a /kən'sɒmɛɪ, 'kɒnsə-/ ^b
<i>apparatus</i> /æpəɪ'rætəs/ ^a /-æt-, -ɛɪt-/ ^b	<i>controversy</i> /'kɒntɹɔvɜːɪsɪ/ ^a /'kɒn-, kən'tɹɔvɜːɪsɪ/ ^b
<i>artisan</i> /'ɑːɪtɪzən/ ^a /ɑːɪtɪ'zæn, 'ɑːɪtɪzæn/ ^b	<i>cordial</i> /'kɔɪdɪəl/ ^a /-dɪ-/ ^b
<i>ate</i> /'ɛɪt/ ^a /'ɛt, 'ɛɪt/ ^b	<i>coupé</i> /kʊp'eɪ/ ^a /'kʊp'eɪ/ ^b
<i>ballet</i> /bæ'lɛɪ/ ^a /'bæɪɪ/ ^b	<i>creek</i> /'kɹɪɪk, 'kɹɪk/ ^a /'kɹɪɪk/ ^b
<i>because</i> /bɪ'kɒz, -ɔːz/ ^a /-ɔːz/ ^b	<i>cuckoo</i> /'kʊkʊʊ, 'kʊ-/ ^a /'kʊkʊʊ/ ^b
<i>Berkshire</i> /'bɜːɪkʃɪəɪ, -ʃəɪ/ ^a /'bɜːɪkʃəɪ, -ɪəɪ/ ^b	<i>data</i> /'deɪtə, -æ-, -ɑː-/ ^a /-ɛɪ-, -ɑː-/ ^b
<i>beta</i> /'bɛɪtə/ ^a /'bɪɪtə/ ^b	<i>démodé</i> /deɪmɔː'dɛɪ/ ^a /deɪ'mɔːdɛɪ/ ^b
<i>cabaret</i> /kæbə'reɪ/ ^a /'kæbə'reɪ/ ^b	<i>derby</i> /'dɜːɪbɪ/ ^a /'dɑːɪbɪ/ ^b
<i>cadre</i> /'kædɪ, 'kɑː-, -ɛɪ/ ^a /'kɑːdɪ, -dɪə, 'kɛɪ-/ ^b	<i>deterrent</i> /dɪ'tɜːɪənt, -ɛɪ-/ ^a /-ɛɪ-/ ^b
<i>centenary</i> /sən'tɛnəɪ, 'sɛntənəɪ/ ^a /-tɪnəɪ, -tɛ-/ ^b	<i>doctrinal</i> /'dɒktɹɪnəl/ ^a /dɒktɹɪə-, 'dɒk-/ ^b
<i>charade</i> /ʃə'reɪd/ ^a /-ɑːd/ ^b	<i>drama</i> /'drɑːmə, 'dɪə-/ ^a /'drɑː-/ ^b
<i>chassis</i> /'ʃæɪsɪ, 'tʃ-, -sɪs/ ^a /'ʃæɪsɪ/ ^b	<i>dynasty</i> /'daɛnəstɪ/ ^a /'dɪ-, 'dæɛ-/ ^b
	<i>either</i> /'iɪðəɪ; 'æɛ-/ ^a /'æɛ-, 'ɪɪ-/ ^b

- erase* /ɪ'reɪs/^a /-z/^b
figure /'fɪɡjə/^a /'fɪɡə/^b
financier /fæ'næn'siə/, -nən-, f'næn-siə/, fæ-/^a /fæ'næn-, fɪ-/^b (just one stress pattern)
fracas /'frækəs, 'frɛɪ-/^a /'frækɑ:/^b
from /'frʌm, 'frɒm/^a /'frɒm/^b
garage /gə'rɑ:z, -dʒ/^a /'gæ.rɑ:z, -dʒ, -ɪdʒ/^b
harass /hə'reɪs, 'hæ.ræs/^a /'hæ-, hə-/^b
herb /'hɜ:b; 'ɜ:b/^a /'h-/^b
hero /'hɪrəʊ, 'hɪr-/^a /'hɪə-/^b
humble /'(h)ʌmbəl/^a /'h-/^b
humo(u)r /'hju:mə/, 'j-/^a /'hj-/^b
idea /æ'di:ə/^a /æ'diə/^b
idyll /'æɪdɪ/^a /'æ-, ɪ-/^b
inquiry /'ɪŋkwəri, -'kwæɪ-/^a /'kwæɪ-/^b
isolate /'æsələɪt; ɪ-/^a /'æ-/^b
khaki /'kɑ:ki, 'kæ-/^a /'kɑ:/^b
lasso /'læsəʊ, -ʊ, lə'ssu/^a /lə'ssu, lə-, 'læsəʊ/^b
leisure /'li:ʒə/, 'le-/^a /'le-/^b
lever /'levə/, 'li-/^a /'li-/^b
lieutenant /'lu:tənənt/^a /left-, ləft-/^b
margarine /'mɑ:rdʒəri:n, -əri:n/^a /mɑ:rdʒəri:n, 'mɑ:rdʒəri:n, -gə-/^b
massage /mə'sɑ:z, -dʒ/^a /'mæsɑ:z, -dʒ/^b
melancholy /'meləŋkəli/^a /-əli-, -əli/^b
migraine /'maegreɪn/^a /'mae-, 'mi-, 'mi-/^b
miscellany /mɪsə'leɪni/^a /mɪ'selə-, mɪsə-'leɪ-/^b
multi- /mʌltə-, -i-/^a /-i-/^b
mustache (mou-) /'mʌstæʃ, mə'st-/^a /mə'stɑ:ʃ, mʊ-/^b
neither /'ni:ðə; 'næ-/^a /'næ-, 'ni-/^b
nougat /'nu:gət/^a /'nu:gɑ:, 'nʌgət/^b
of /'ɒv, 'ɒv/^a /'ɒv/^b
omega /'ɔv'megə, -eɪ-, -i-/^a /'ɔv'mɪgə/^b
omicron /'ɒmɪkrɒn, 'ɔv-/^a /'ɔv'mæ-'krɒn, -ən, 'ɒmɪkrɒn/^b
on /ɒn, ɔ:n/^a /ɒn/^b
patriot /'peɪtriət/^a /'peɪ-, 'pæ-/^b
plateau /plə'təʊ/^a /'plætəʊ/^b
premier /prɛ'miə/, 'pri-, 'pɛ-/^a /'pɛ-, 'pri-/^b
- princess* /'prɪnsəs, -əs/^a /'prɪn'ses, 'prɪn-səs/^b
privacy /'praɪvəsi/^a /'praɪ-, 'praɪ-/^b
puma /'pu:mə, 'pju-/^a /'pju-/^b
quinine /'kwɪneɪn, -nɪn/^a /'kwɪ'nɪn, 'kwɪnɪn/^b
rather /'ræðə; ɪl-/^a ['ræ(ɹ)ðə, ɪl-]^a /'ræ-/^b ['ræðe]^b
ration /'reɪʃən, -eɪ-/^a /'ræ-/^b
record (a) /'rɛkərd/^a /'rɛkɔ:rd/^b
veille /'veɪli/^a /'væ-, 've-/^b
schedule /'skedʒl/^a /'ʃedʒu:l, 'sk-/^b
semi- /semaɪ-, -i-/^a /-i-/^b
shone /'ʃəʊn/^a /'ʃɒn/^b
simultaneous /sɪmʌl'teɪniəs/^a /'sɪm-/^b
sojourn /'sɔ:dʒəɪn/^a /'sɒdʒə(ɹ)ɪn, 'sɒ-/^b
solder /'sɒdə, 'sɔ:/^a /'sɔʊt-, 'sɒt-/^b
spinach /'spɪnɪʃ/^a /-dʒ, -tʃ/^b
squirrel /'skwɜ:rl; -ɪr-/^a /-ɪr-/^b
stewardess /'stju:ədɪs/^a /'stj-, '-des/^b
stirrup /'stɜ:rəp; -ɪr-/^a /-ɪr-/^b
stratum /'strɪɪtəm, -æ-/^a ['strɪɪnəm, -æ-]^a ['strɪɪtəm, -eɪ-]^b
subaltern /sə'bɔ:tərn/^a /'sʌb-/^b
suggest /sə'dʒest, səg'dʒ-/^a /sə'dʒ-/^b
syrup /'sɜ:rəp, 'sɪr-/^a /'sɪr-/^b
tomato /tə'meɪtəʊ/^a /-ɑ:/^b
tourniquet /'tu:ɪŋkɪt, -əɪ-/^a /'tu:ɪŋ-'keɪ, -ɔɪ-/^b
trachea /'treɪkiə/^a /'treɪ-, tɪə'kiə/^b
trait /'treɪt/^a /'treɪ-, t/^b
upon /ə'pʌn, -ɒn, -ɔ:n/^a /-ɒn/^b
vase /'veɪs, -z/^a /'vɑ:z/^b
water /'wɔ:tə; 'wɒ-/^a /'wɔ:z-/^b
what /'wɒt, 'wɒt; 'hw-/^a /'wɒt; 'hw-/^b
wigwam /'wɪgwɒm, -ɔ:m]^a [-æm]^b
wrath /'ræθ/^a /'rɒθ, 'rɔ:θ/^b
xerox /'zi:əks, 'ziɪr-/^a /'ziə-, 'zeɪ-/^b
yogurt, -ourt, -gh- /'jɔ:gəɪt/^a /'jɒ-, 'jɔ-, -ʊəɪt/^b
Z /'zi:/^a /'zed/^b
zebra /'zi:bɪə/^a /'ze-, 'zi-/^b
zenith /'zi:nɪθ; 'ze-/^a /'ze-/^b
zero /'zi:əʊ, 'ziɪr-/^a /'ziə-/^b.

There is an additional short list of words that in American English may often have also /ɔ:/ [ɔ:]^a, besides the more usual /ɒ/ [ɑ]^a [ɒ]^b: *chocolate, doll, dolly, dolphin, god, golf, gone, mock, on, resolve, revolver, rolf, solvate, solve, stomp, swamp.*

Structures

2.3.0. In this section, we will deal with various macro-segmental aspects, including intonation.

Unstressed syllables and <reduced forms>

2.3.1.1. As can be seen from many of the previous transcriptions, English unstressed syllables almost always have /ə, ɪ, ɪ/: [mə'nɑ:ənəs]^a [-nɒtə-]^b /mə'nɒtənəs/ *monotonous*, [pʰɪə'ven(ɪ)ədʒ]^a [pʰɪ'vɛntɪdʒ]^b /pʰɪ'ventɪd/ *prevented*, ['ɛdɪtəɪz]^a [-tɪtʒ]^b /'ɛdɪtəɪz/ *editors*, ['mɪnəsɪtɪ]^a [-ɪstɪv]^b /'mɪnɪstəɪ/ *minister*. On the contrary, in foreign accents of English, unstressed syllables too often show full vowels.

Indeed, many vowels (and consonants) may disappear entirely in comparison with spelling, as in: [ˈkʰʌmɪfəbəl, -fɪ-, -fɪ-, -mɪ-]^a [-vɛmfətə-, -fɪə-, -fə-, -mɪə-]^b /ˈkʌnfəɪtəbəl, -mf-/ *comfortable*, [ˈmɑ:ɹɡjət, -tət]^a [ˈmɑ:ɹɡjət, -tət]^b /ˈmɑ:ɹɡjət/ *Margaret*, [ˌju:niːvɜ:səti, -sɪti]^a [-vɜ:sətɪ, -sɪti]^b /ˌju:niːvɜ:səti/ *university*.

However, not all unstressed syllables have vowel reduction or fall: [ˈkʰʌmɛnt]^a [ˈkʰɒ-]^b /ˈkɒmɛnt/ *comment*, [ˈæsfɔ:tɪ, -ɑ:tɪ]^a /ˈæsfɔ:tɪ, -ɑ:tɪ/ [-Aɪt, -ɑ:tɪ]^b /ˈæsfæɪt, -ɑ:tɪ/ *asphalt*, [ˈkʰɔ:pən; ˈkʰj-]^a [ˈkʰɔ:pən]^b /ˈkɔ:pən/ *coupon*.

Only regular consultation of a pronunciation dictionary (or, better, dictionaries) can give the exact structure of words and sentences, in English as in any other language.

In English sentences, respect of the reduction, or weakening, of many grammemes (or functional words) is vital: articles, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary and modal verbs, some pronouns and some other forms. There are not many *reduced forms* (using a clearer term than the traditional one <weak forms>) – about eighty – but they are the most frequent ones. They are listed below (with examples), in alphabetical order, for easy consultation.

2.3.1.2. The examples given illustrate various elements simultaneously. It is worthwhile to observe them very carefully and to consider all the variants given (but only in phonetic transcription, for the sake of space, in a very economical way, while full transcriptions would have been more monotonous, and would not be able to show the same things with precision):

- a*: [ə'lɛɪtɪ]^a [-tɪv]^b *a letter*, [ə'mæn] *a man*, [w'gɑ:ə] *a guy*, [ɪnɪ'waɪt] *in a while*, [ə'ju:niɪtɪ]^a [-tɪ]^b *a unit*, [ə'nɛɪm] *a name*;
am: [æm'wɛl:^a [-ɛɪ:^b *I'm well*, [æm'faɪn] *I'm fine*, [æm'g'æɪd, æm-, æŋ-] *I'm glad*, [əməs'ɪŋ, -ɑ:ŋ, æ-]^a [-ɪŋ]^b *am I wrong?*;
an: [ən'æpəl] *an apple*, [ˈgɑ: ən'aɪs, kʰɪɪm, -tɪ-]^a [ˈgɒ-, -ɪ-]^b *got an ice cream?*, [ən-

- 'ɑ:ɪm]^a [ən'ɑ:ɪm]^b *an arm*, [ən'eɪɪm] *an aim*;
and: [ən'dɛn:, ɪ-] *and then*, [ˈbrɛd ɪm'bʌtə]^a [ˈbrɛd ɪm'bʌtə]^b *bread and butter*,
 [ˈbɒb ɪk'heɪt]^a [ˈbɒb]^b *Bob and Kate*, [jɪu ən'aə, əndɪ-] *you and I*;
any: [ɪzðɪ'eni 'bɪeɪd, -ðeɪ-]^a [-ðəɪ-, 'bɪ-, -ðeɪ-]^b *is there any bread?*, [ˈhævən'tʃu 'gʌ
 ɪni'mɔ:ɪ, əni-, -t ɪi, -t ni, -ʔ ɪi, -ʔ ni, -tʃu]^a [ˈgɒt, -ʔ]^b *haven't you got any
 more?*;
are: [ðɪrɪz ɪ'jʊɪz, ɪ'jʊɪz]^a [ə'jɔ:z; ə'jɔ:z]^b *these are yours*, [ɑɪju'weɪt, ɪju-, ɪju-;
 ,ɑɪ-]^a [ɑɪju'weɪt, əju-, əju-; ,ɑɪ-]^b *are you well?*; but notice *how are you?* [ˈhɑ:
 'ɑɪju] [-'ɑɪju] (since [ˈhɑ:ɔ ɪ'ju:u] [ə-] would be contrastive);
as: [əzə'mæɪɪ əv'fækt, zə-, v'f-, əf-]^a [-'mæfəɪ-, -tɪ-]^b *as a matter of fact*, [əzɪ'seɪd,
 əʃɪ-] *as she said*, [dʒʌst əz'gʊd, dʒəstə-]^a [ˈdʒe-]^b *just as good*, [ˈnɒt sɔʊ'laɪt ə
 zɪ'p'loʊks, sə-, -aɪt sɪ-, -fɪ-]^a [ˈnɒt sɜ:ɔ-]^b *not so light as it looks*;
at: [ətðə'theɪbɪ, əɪðə-] *at the table*, [əɪ'lɪst, əfɪ-] *at least*, [ʊk'khlɛɪ, əɪ'k-] *at
 Clay*, [əp'wɜ:k, əɪ'w-, əf'w-]^a [-ɜ:k]^b *at work*;
be: [bi'gʊd] *be good!*, [ˈleɪp bi'mɪɪ, -ɪ; -tɪ]^a [ˈleɪt-]^b *let it be me*, [ə'wɔ:m(p) bi-
 'lɔ:ŋ, ʌ-, -ɑ:ŋ]^a [-ɜ:ɔ-, e-, -ɔ:ŋ]^b *I won't be long*;
been: [æbbɪnɪ'weɪ, -bɛn-; -bən-, əd-; əə-; əhə-]^a [-bɪn-, -bɪn-]^b *I had been
 away (I'd)*;
but: [bət'dɛn:, bəɪ-] *but then*, [bʊk'gɔ:ɔ, bəɪ-]^a [-ɜ:ɔ]^b *but go*, [bəp'bɪli, bəɪ-] *but
 Billy*;
by: [bæ'ɔ:ɪmɪnz, bʌə-, bʌ-]^a [-ɔ:ɪ, bɛə-, bɛ-]^b *by all means*, [ˈsɔ:ɔtɪd bæðə'pha:ɔnd,
 bʌə-, bə-]^a [ˈsɜ:ɔt-, bɛ-, bə-]^b *sold by the pound*;
can: [kʰwɪnə'hævɪt] *can I have it?*, [wɪkɪ'plheɪ, -kʰwɪn-] *we can play*, [jʊkɪ-
 'gɔ:ɔ, -kʰwɪ-, jɪ-]^a [-ɜ:ɔ]^b *you can go*;
could: [ðæk kʊd'fʊu, -ɪ, -tɪ]^a [-mʊ]^b *that could do*, [wɪkʊb'meɪkɪt, -dɪm-] *we
 could make it*;
did: [dɪdɪ'steɪ 'lɔ:ŋgɪ, dɪdɪ-, -ɑ:ŋ-]^a [-ɔ:ŋgɪ]^b *did he stay longer?*, [ˈwɛn dɪdɪ'khlɑ:mɪ,
 dɪdɪ-, dɪ-]^a [-ɛmɪ]^b *when did he come?*, [ˈhɑ:ɔ dɪdɪ'ri:nɔ:ɔ, də-, dɪ-]^a [-ɜ:ɔ]^b *how
 did she know?*, [ˈhɑ:ɔ dɪdɪk'gɔ:ɔ, dɪt-, dɪ-, də-, -ɪg-, -fɪg-]^a [-ɜ:ɔ]^b *how did it
 go?*, [ˈhɑ:ɔ dɪdɪ'laɪkɪt, də-, dɪdɪ-, dɪ-] *how did they like it?*, [ˈweɪɪ dɪdɪ'gɔ:ɔ,
 -m-, -dɪ-, dɪ-, dɪ-]^a [ˈweɪɪ, -ɜ:ɔ]^b *where did you go?*;
do: [dʒə'nɔ:ɔt, dʒɪ-, dɪ-]^a [-ɜ:ɔ]^b *do you know it? (d'you)*, [ˈweɪɪ dʒɪ'khiɪpɪt, dʒɪ-,
 dɪ-; dɪ-]^a [ˈweɪɪ]^b *where do you keep it? (d'you)*, [ˈsɔ:ɔ dɪ'wɪɪ, dɪ-]^a [ˈsɜ:ɔ]^b *so
 do we*, [ˈweɪɪ dɪdɪ'li:vɪ, dɪ-]^a [ˈweɪɪ]^b *where do they live?*, [ˈwʌɪ dʒɪ'wʌnt, -jɪ-,
 dɪ-, dɪ-, dɪ-, 'wʌ-, -ɪ-, -ɔ:nɪ]^a [ˈwɔ:nɪ]^b *what do you want?*, [dɪmɑ:ɪ'tʃɪldɪn
 'gɔ:ɔ]^a [dɪmɑ:ɪ'tʃɪldɪn 'gɜ:ɔ]^b *do our children go?*;
does: [dɛzɪ'wɜ:k, -ɪ'w-, -f'w-]^a [-'wɜ:k]^b *does it work?*, [ˈwʌɪdɛzɪ 'mɪɪn, -tdzɪ, -tsɪ-
 -ɪ-, 'wʌ-]^a [ˈwɔ-]^b *what does he mean? (what's)*, [ˈwɛn dɛzɪ'fʊuɪt, 'wɛn zɪ-]^a
 [-dɪuɪt]^b *when does she do it? (when's)*, [ˈhɑ:ɔ dɛzɪ'p'loʊk, dzɪ-, zɪ-, -tɪ'loʊk] *how
 does it look? (how's)*;
for: [ˈlɔ:kɪt, -fɪtɪ]^a [-fɪtɪ, -fɪtɪ; -fɔ:tɪ]^b *look for it*, [ˈsteɪ fɪ'wɪk, -fɪw-]^a [-fɪw-,
 -fɪw-, -fɪw-]^b *stay for a week*, [ɪtsfɪ'jɪu]^a [ɪtsfɪ'jɪu, -fɪ-, -fɪ-]^b *it's for you*;
from: [fɪəm'sku:ɪ]^a [fɪəm-]^b *from school*, [fɪm'deɪ]^a [fɪm'deɪ]^b *from there*, [ˈweɪɪ
 'ɑɪjəfɪɪm, -ɑm; -jɪ-, wɛɪɪ]^a [ˈweɪɪ 'ɑɪjəfɪɪm, -jɪ-, wɛɪɪ-]^b *where are you from?*;
had: [hədə'sɪnɪt, hæ-] *had I seen it*, [ðeɪəd'fɑ:əd, ðeɪd-; -ɪhəd-] *they had died*

- (*they'd*), [uəbbun'dʌn:, -dʌ-, -ɛn-, -ən-, ɪhə-]^a [ɪfə-, -ɪn-, -iɪn-, -ɛn:]^b *it had been done (it'd)*, [ðə'mæn wɒg'gɔ:n, əd-, -ɑ:n]^a [-ɔ:n]^b *the man had gone*, [ʃi'hæd tə-'stɛɪ, -æɪ] /ʃi'hæd tə'stɛɪ/ *she had to stay* (+ [-æɪ ə-]^a [-æɪ ə-]^b /-æɪ ə-/);
- has*: [hæzi'gɔ:n, hæ-, -ɑ:n]^a [-ɔ:n]^b *has he gone?*, [ʃiz'dʌn:, ʃiəz-, ʃihəz-]^a [-ɛn:]^b *she has done (she's)*, [ɪts'bʌn:, ɪəz-, ɪhəz-]^a [ɪts-, -rɪn-, -ɪn:, ɪfəz-]^b *it has been (it's)*, [dʒɔ:ɪdʒ əz'kʰlɑ:m:, əs-, -dʒ hə-]^a [dʒɔ:dʒ-, -ɛm:]^b *George has come*, [hi'hæz tə-'stɛɪ, -æɪ] *he has to stay*;
- have*: [həv'əsiɪnɪf, hæ-, -jʌ-] *have you seen it?*, [ðɛɪv'gɔ:n, -ɑ:n; ðɛɪə-, -hə-]^a [-ɔ:n]^b *they have gone (they've)*, [wi'v'kʰlɑ:m:, -fɪk-, wiə-, wi'hə-]^a [-ɛm:]^b *we have come (we've)*, [wi'hæv tə'stɛɪ, -æɪ] /wi'hæv tə'stɛɪ/ *we have to stay*, [jə'sʊdəv, jʌ-, -æv, -hæv] *you should have*, [jə'sʊdə 'dʌn:, -v, -əv, jʌ-]^a [-ɛn:]^b *you should have done (should've)* + [-'kʰə-, -'wə-, -'mɑ:st-^a/-ɛ-^b, -'meɪ-, -'məʊ-^a/-f-^b] *could, would, must, may, might*;
- he*: [hi'wɛnt] *he went*, ['wɛni 'sɔ:ɪf, wɛ-, wɪ-]^a ['sɔ:ɪf]^b *when he saw it*, ['hæzi] *has he?*;
- her*: [hɪ'ɑ:əz]^a [həɪ-]^b *her eyes*, [tʰɛɪɪ]^a [-ɛ]^b *tell her*, [gɪvɪ tʰæɪ]^a [-əɪz-, -ə hə-]^b *give her her hat*, [tʰɪmɪ'mʌðɪ, tʰəhɪ-, tʰw-]^a [tʰəhə'mɛðɛ, tʰɪz-, tʰɪə-, tʰw-]^b *to her mother*;
- him*: [ə'sɔ:ɪm; -əm]^a [-ɔ:ɪm]^b *I saw him*, [ɪɛɪm 'ɪn:, -əm; -ɪn]^a [ɪɛɪ-]^b *let him in*;
- his*: [hɪz'pʰɛn:] *his pen*, [hi'tʰɒk ɪz'bʊk] *he took his book*, [hɪz'jʌuθ] *his youth*;
- I*: [ə'sɪri, ə-]^a [ə-, ɛə-]^b *I see*, [æɪ'tʰeɪk, ʌt-, -t-, -wɪt-, -wɪt-]^a [æɪt-, ʌt-, -t-, -wɪt-; -wɪt-]^b *I will take (I'll)*, ['hɑ:ɔ kɪdʒə'stɛɪ, -ʌ-, -ə-]^a [-əə-, -ɛ-, -ə-]^b *how could I stay?*;
- if*: [ɪfə'meɪ, əf-, f-] *if I may*, [ɪfjə'seɪsɔw, əf-, f-, -m-]^a [-zɔw]^b *if you say so*, [ɪf'nɔɪ fɪ'jʌu, əf-, f-, -f-]^a [-nɔɪ fə-]^b *if not for you*;
- in*: [ɪn'lʌndən]^a [-ɛ-]^b *in London*, [ɪn'pʰæɪəs]^a [-ɪs]^b *in Paris*, [ɪn'kʰænədə]^a [-ɛ]^b *in Canada*, [hi'sæɪ ɪndə'tʃheɪ, ɪnnə-, ɪnnə; -ɪ nðə-, -ɪ nənə-]^a [-æɪ, -ɛz]^b *he sat in the chair*, [ɪ'breɪkɪ ɪn'tʰu:; -ɪ n-]^a [ɪ-, -ɪ, -m-]^b *break it in two*, [ə-mʌnə'hɪri, ʌ-, -mənə-, əəm-]^a [-ɛɪ, ɛ-]^b *I am in a hurry (I'm)*;
- is*: [ɪzɪ'jʌu, -fj-, zɪ-] *is it you?*, [ɪts'mɪri; ɪz-]^a [ɪts-, ɪz-]^b *it is me (it's)*, [ɪ'kʰɪmz 'hɪri; -m ɪ-]^a [hɪvɛ]^b *Kim is here (Kim's)*, [ðɪs ɪzə'fa:ən 'dɛɪ, ðɪs zə-, ðɪs sə-] *this is a fine day*, [ɪ'sɔz ɪzə'næs 'wʊmən, ɪ'sɔz zə-, ɪ'sɔz zə-]^a [ɪz'ɔz]^b *Rose is a nice woman*, [ðɪs'dɪʃ ɪz'wæɪt, z-, s-, ðəs-] *this dish is white*;
- it*: [ɪzɪ'tʰru:u, əz-, z-, -fɪ-]^a [-tʰru:u, -fɪ-]^b *is it true?*, [ɪts'ɔ:t 'raɪt, ts-, s-, ɪz-]^a [-ɔ:t 'ɪ-, ɪz-]^b *it is all right (it's)*, [jɛs ɪ'ɪz; jɛs'tɪz]^a [ɪ'ɪz; jɛs'tɪz]^b *yes it is*, [tʰeɪkɪt, -wɪt]^a [-ɪt]^b *take it*, [ɪtʰɪw'gʊd 'θɪŋ, fɪ-, ɪpwɪt-, ɪpwɪt-]^a [ɪfɪ-]^b *it will be a good thing (it'll)*, [uəbbi'næs, fɪw-, -dʌ-, ɪpw-, ɪpw-]^a [ɪfə-, ...]^b *it would be nice (it'd)*;
- its*: [ɪts'tʰeɪl] *its tail*, [ɪf'hæd ɪts'tʰi:θ ɪ'brʊkɪn, əts-]^a [ɪbɪzɔ-]^b *it had its teeth broken*;
- just*: [əv'dʒʌs(t)'si:ɪnɪm, -dʒəs-] [-dʒɛ-, -dʒə-]^b *I have just seen him (I've)*, [ʃiz'dʒʌs'gɔ:n ɪ'wɛɪ, -əs-, -ɑ:n]^a [-ɛ-, -ə-, -ɔ:n]^b *she has just gone away (she's)*, [dʒʌs'læk ɪz'sʌn:, dʒəs-, -fɪ-]^a [dʒɛs-, -ɛn:]^b *just like his son*;
- many*: [mɛni 'bɔ:z] *many boys*, [hɑ:ɔ mɛni'mɔ:ɪ, mɛni-, mni-]^a [-ɔ:ɪ]^b *how many more?*;

- may*: [jəmeɪ'æ(ː)skɪ, jμ-; -mi-]^a [-ɑ'skɛ]^b *you may ask her*, [wɪmeɪ'gɔː; -mɪ-]^a [-ɜːɔ]^b *we may go*, [ʃɪmeɪ'steɪ; -mə-] *she may stay*;
- me*: [hɪkħɔːtʃbmi, -dʒmi]^a [-ɔːt-]^b *he called me*, [ʃɔːmi ðuː'weɪ]^a [ʃɜːmi]^b *show me the way*;
- must*: [əməs'gɔː; -mʃ-, ʌə-]^a [eə-, -ɜːɔ]^b *I must go*, [ɪpməsbi'dʌn; ɪ-]^a [-ɛn:]^b *it must be done*, [ʃɪməs'pʰeɪ] *she must pay*;
- my*: [məə'hɛːd, mʌə-, mʌ-]^a [mɛə-, mɛ-]^b *my head*, [nɑːt ʃəməə'nɒlɪdʒ, -ʌə-, -ʌ-, -ə-; -ɪ-; -i-, -ɪ-]^a [nɒ-, -eə-, -e-]^b *not to my knowledge*;
- no*: [nɔːwɔːmɔː dʒuː'ə; nə-]^a [nɜːwɔːmɔː; nə-]^b *no more do I*, [nɔːwɔːdɪ 'niːz; nμ-]^a [nɜːwɔːdɪ ɪ-; nμ-]^b *no other reason*, [ɪtsnɔːwɔːd; -nə-]^a [-ɜːwɔː; -nə-]^b *it's no good*;
- nor*: [nɪɪðɪfɪs nɔː'fɪʃ, nɪ-; nɒə-]^a [nɒəðə-, nɔː-, nə-; nɪi-]^b *neither fish nor flesh*, [nɪɪðɪ'hɪri nɪ'ə; nɔː-; nɒə-]^a [nɒəðə-, nɒɪ-, nɔːɪ-; nɪi-]^b *neither he nor I*;
- not, n't*: [ɪ'ɪzɪnɪ]^a [ɪ'ɪ-]^b *it isn't*, [ə'wɔːnɪ, ʌ-]^a [e-, -ɜːɔnɪ]^b *I won't*, [hɪ'dʌzɪnɪ, -dʒə-]^a [-e-, -dʒə-]^b *he doesn't*, [wɪ'dɔːm 'pʰleɪ]^a [-ɜːwɔː-]^b *we don't play*, [ɪ'ɪzɪ 'gɔːd]^a [ɪ'ɪ-]^b *it isn't good*, [ɪ'ɪzɪ, -nɪ] *isn't he?*, [ɪ'ɪzɪ, -nɪ] *isn't it?*, [hɪ'jμsɪn-ɪjμ] *he used not to*;
- of*: [ðə'fɪfθ əv'meɪ, ɪ'm-] *the fifth of May*, [w'kħɒp əv'tʰɪri, -əɪ-, -fɪ-]^a [-ep]^b *a cup of tea*, [fɪrst əv'ɔːt, ɪ-]^a [fɜː-, -ɔːt]^b *first of all*;
- on* (the most reduced form only occurs when no ambiguity with *in* is possible): [ʌpɔːnðə'bɒks, -ən-; -ən-, -nən-]^a [epɒ-, -ɒks]^b *up on the box*, [ɪtsɔːmmaə'saːd, -əm-, -mʌə-; -mə-; ɪɪz-]^a [-ɒm-, -mɛə-; ɪɪz-]^b *it is on my side (it's)*, [wʌɪən ɪ'θ, 'wɒ-, -ɔːn, -ən]^a [wɒtʃən 'ɜːθ, -ɒn]^b *what on earth!*;
- once*: [wʌns'mɔː, wʌn-]^a [wɛns'mɔː, wʌn-]^b *once more (= again)* – [wʌns'mɔː]^a [wɛns'mɔː]^b *once more (= one more time)*;
- one(s)* (the form without /w/ may be judged as dialectal or regional): [ə'biɔːwʌn, -wʌn; -wɪn]^a [-we-]^b *a big one*, [ðætswɔːb,wʌn, -wʌn, -d-; -dən; -dɪ; ðæɪzə-]^a [-we-; ðæɪzə-]^b *that is a good one (that's)*, [wʌn'ɔːtwɪz 'hɔːps, wɪ-, -ɪz, -eɪz, -ɔːw-]^a [wɛn'ɔːtwɪz 'hɜːps, -wɪz, eɪz-, -ɔːw-]^b *one always hopes*, [ðɔːwɪ'naəs,wʌnz, -wʌnz; -sənz]^a [ðɜːwɪz-, -we-; -sənz]^b *those are nice ones*;
- or*: [tʰə'deɪ ɪ'ə'mɔːɪsɔː, ɔːɪ-; -maɪ-]^a [əɪ-, ɔːɪ-, -ɔːɪz]^b *today or tomorrow*, [tʰɪ'ʊ ɪ'θɪri 'pʰaːndz; ɔːɪ-]^a [tʰɪ'ʊ ɔː-, əθ-, -ɪ-]^b *two or three pounds*, [ɪ'eɪs]^a [əɪ'eɪs]^b *or else*;
- our*: [ɑː'skuːl]^a [ɑː-]^b *our school*, [ðɪɪzɪ'pʰɛnz]^a [-zɪɪ-]^b *these are our pens*;
- per*: [fɪftɪ pɪ'sent]^a [pə-]^b *fifty per cent*, [faɪv pɪ'semp pɪ'ænəm, -mɪ-, -nɪ]^a [pə's-, pɪ'æ-]^b *five per cent per annum*;
- shall* (in American English it is a stylistic choice): [ʃælə'tʰeɪkɪt, -ʌə-]^a [ʃələ'tʰeɪkɪt, ʃləə-, -eə-, -e-]^b *shall I take it?*, [əʃtɪ'dʊu, æt-, ʌt-]^a [-ɪ'u, ʌt-]^b *I shall do*, [ʃtʰwɪ'gɔː, ʃwɪ-, ʃwi-]^a [-ɜːwɔː]^b *shall we go?*;
- she*: [ʃɪ'wenɪ] *she went*, [ʃɪ'hæzɪjμ, -sɪjμ] *she has to*, [hæznɪ, -nɪ] *hasn't she?*;
- should*: [ʃə'dɪkħɒmɪ]^a [-ɛmɪ-]^b *should he come*, [jəʃə'dɪ'ɔːɪt, jμ-]^a [-dɪ'ɔːɪt]^b *you should do it*, [əʃwɪ'gɔːnəʊ, -ʃg-, -ə'dɪ'g-, ʌ-]^a [-ɜːwɔː-, e-]^b *I should go now*, [əʃə'dɪ'θɪŋksɔː, -ʃt-, ʌ-]^a [e-, -ɜːwɔː]^b *I should think so*, [ðəɪ'wɪ'kħɒm 'aɔt, -ə'dɪ-, -ɪ'kħ-]^a [-ɪ-; -e-]^b *that he should come out*;
- sir*: [jɛsɪ, -s-]^a [-e-]^b *yes, sir*, [nɔːwɪ]^a [nɜːwɪ]^b *no, sir*, [sɪ'dʒɒn]^a [sə'dʒɒn]^b *Sir John*, [sɪ'ælfɪd]^a [sɪ'ælfɪd]^b *Sir Alfred*, [sɪ'fħaɪtɪz, -aɪtɪz]^a [sə'fħaɪtɪz, sɜ-,

- ʃ-] ^b *Sir Charles*;
- so*: [ˈnɑt sɔwˈgɔd əzɪpˈwɔːz, sɪˈtʃ, -ɑːz, -əp-, -tʃ] ^a [ˈnɒt sɜːw-, -ɔːz, sɪˈtʃ] ^b *not so good as it was*, [ɪtsˈnɑt sɔwˈfɑːn ʃəˈdeɪ, sə-, ts-, s; ɪɪz-] ^a [-ɒt sɜːw; ɪɪz-] ^b *it is not so fine today (it's)*, [ˈnɑt sɔwˈɔːld; sɪ-] ^a [ˈnɒt sɜːwˈɔːld; sɪ-] ^b *not so old*, [ˈɛvɪ sɔwˈmeni, sə-] ^a [-ə sɜːw-] ^b /ˈɛvɪ sɔwˈmeni/ *ever so many*;
- some* (determ.): [wɪdʒəˈlaək smˈʃri, səm-] *would you like some tea?*, [dʒɪwˈwɑn səˈmɔː, səm-, dʒɪ-, ˈwɔː-] ^a [-wɒ-, -ɔː-] ^b *do you want some more?*, [əˈhævɪsəm] ^a [-əm] ^b *I have some*;
- St., Saint*: [seɪmˈphɪi, -mpˈh-] ^a [smˈphɪi, sum-, seɪm-] ^b *St. Peter*, [seɪŋˈkhlɛɪ, -ŋkˈkh-] ^a [sɪˈkhlɛɪ, sɪŋ-, seɪŋ-] ^b *St. Clair*, [seɪn(ɪ)ˈænθəni, -tʃ-] ^a [snˈtʃænθəni, sɪn-, seɪn-, -θ-] ^b *St. Anthony*;
- such*: [sʌtʃəˈphɪːsn; sə-] ^a [sɛtʃəˈphɜːsn; sə-] ^b *such a person*, [sʌtʃəˈθɪŋ; sə-] ^a [sɛ-; sə-] ^b *such a thing*;
- than*: [ˈmɔːɪ ðŋðæf] ^a [ˈmɔːɪ] ^b *more than that*, [ʃɪzˈfæni ðŋˈmeɪ, ʃɪs; ʃɪ-] ^a [-nə, -ɛzɪ] ^b *she is finer than Mary (she's)*, [ɪtsˈlɛs ðənənˈɪntʃ, nən, ts-; ɪɪz-] ^a [; ɪɪz-] ^b *it is less than an inch (it's)*, [ðætsˈmɔːɪ ðənəˈhæv; ənɪ; ðæɪz-] ^a [-ɔː; -ɔːɪ ənɪ; ðæɪz-] ^b *that is more than I have (that's)*;
- that* (conj. & rel. pron.): [ˈnɑt ðəɪpˈmæɪz, ˈnɑt, -ɪˈm-, -ɪˈm-] ^a [ˈnɒ-, ðəɪ-, -tʃz] ^b *not that it matters*, [ˈsɪrɪn ðəɪpˈnɔwðæf, ðəɪʃə, ðəɪʃə, ðəɪʃə, -ɪ-] *seen that you know that*; [ðəˈdeɪ (ðəp)wɪˈmeɪ] *the day (that) we met*;
- the*: [ðəˈbɒk] *the book*, [ðəˈmæn] *the man*, [ðəˈjɛt, ðɪj-, ðɪj-] ^a [-ɛt] ^b *the yell*; [ðɪˈɛnɪdʒ] *the end*, [ðɪˈlæðɪˈdeɪ] ^a [ðɪˈvðə] ^b *the other day*, [ðəˈhiːt; ðɪ-] *the heat*, [ˈwʌts ðəˈtʃaːm, zə-, ˈwɑː-; ɪɪz-] ^a [ˈwɒ-; -ɪz-] ^b *what is the time? (what's)*, [ɪzðwˈkæt ˈðeɪ, ɪzə-, ɪzə-, -ɪ] ^a [-ɛz] ^b *is the cat there?*, [ɪndəˈhɑːs, ɪnə-, ɪnə-] *in the house*, [wɪˈweɪ fɪəməðəˈsɪti, -ðɪs-] ^a [fɪ-, -ɪ] ^b /əˈweɪ fɪəməðəˈsɪti/ *away from the city*;
- their*: [ðeɪˈbɔt ðeɪˈbɔt; ðɪ-] ^a [-ɔt ðeɪˈbɔt, ðɜː; ðə-] ^b *they bought their boat*, [əˈhɑːs əvðeɪˈɔw; -ðɪ-, vð-, əð-] ^a [-ɛzɪˈzɔw; -ðəɪ-] ^b *a house of their own*;
- them*: [wɪˈsɔðəm, -ðm, -ɔəm] ^a [-sɔ-, -səm] ^b *we saw them*, [ɡɪvðəm, -ðm, -vəm, -vɪŋ] *give them*;
- then*: [ˈsuːp ˈfɪːst ðeɪˈtʃɪkən, ðə-] ^a [ˈsuːp ˈfɜː-, -kɪn] ^b *soup first then chicken*, [əˈmaəkɡɔw; bəɪðeɪnɪˈɡen; əˈmaɪ ˈnɑt, -ðən-, ɪ-, -tʃɪ-] ^a [-ɜw; -ɒt] ^b *I might go but then again I might not*, [ðeɪˈæ(ɪ)ftɪ əˈtʃaːm, ðən-] ^a [-ˈɑftə ə-, -tʃə ˈtʃ-] ^b *then after a time...*;
- there* (exist.): [ðeɪˈmeni, ðeɪ-, ðɪ-, ðɪ-] ^a [ðeɪzə-, ðɜːzə-, ðəɪzə-, ðɪzə-] ^b *there are many*, [ðeɪzəˈlɑt, ðɪ-] ^a [ðeɪzəˈlɒt, ðɜː-, ðə-] ^b *there is a lot*, [ˈhævɪŋðeɪ, -ɪ] ^a [-v] ^b *haven't there?*;
- they*: [ð(e)ɪˈdeɪ] ^a [ðeɪˈdeɪ] ^b *they are there*, [wɛndəɪˈwɛnt; ðe-; ðɪ-] *when they went*, [ðe(ɪ)ˈseɪ; ðe(ɪ)ˈtʃ-; -wɪt-] *they will say (they'll)*;
- this*: [ðɪˈsɪvɪnɪŋ, ðəs-, ðəˈs-] *this evening*, [ðɪˈspɛn; ðəs-] *this pen*, [ɪndɪˈweɪ, ɪn-ɪ-; nɪ-; -əs-] *in this way*, [ɔːnðɪˈtʃeɪbɪt, -nɪ-, ɪ-; -əs-] ^a [ɒ-] ^b *on this table*, [ˈwʌts ˈðɪs, -ɪs, -s, ˈzɪs, ˈsɪs, ˈwɑː-; ɪɪz-] ^a [ˈwɒ-; -ɪz-] ^b *what is this? (what's)*;
- till*: [ˈweɪt ˈtɪlɪˈkɒmz, ɪlɪ-] ^a [-ɛmz] ^b *wait till he comes*, [tʃɪtˈtʃuːzdeɪ, ɪtʃ-, -ɪ] ^a [ˈtʃɪju-] ^b *till tuesday*;
- time(s)*: [ðəˈfɪːtʃaːm əˈwɛntðeɪ, -sɪləm, -sɪləm, -sɪləm, -nɪ-, -nɪ-] ^a [-zɪs-, -əəm,

- eəm, -em, -əm]^b *the first time I went there*, [θɪrɪtʰaɪmz ˈfɔːɪ tʰweɪtɪ, -tʌ-, -tʌ-, -tə]^a [θɪ-, ˈfɔːɪ ə-, -eə-, -e-, -ə-, -eɪtɪ]^b *three times four are twelve*;
- to*: [tʰəˈlʌndən]^a [-e-]^b *to London*, [tʰəˈskuːl] *to school*, [tʰɪŋɡlənɔ̃, tʰwɪ-] *to England*, [tʰəˈjʊu, tʰuː-, tʰiː-] *to you*, [tʰɪˈæːn] *to Ann*, [ˈkʰʌmɪtɪ, -tɪ]^a [ˈkʰem-]^b *come to it*, [jəˈhævɪtɪ, -ftɪ, jɪ-] *you have to*, [tʰwɪˈɡɪvɪ] *to give*, [tʰwɪˈwɪnɪ, tʰɪ-] *to win*, [tʰɪˈtɪ; tʰə-]^a [; tʰəˈtɪ]^b *to eat*, [tʰɪˈvɪtɪ, -ɑ-; tʰə-]^a [; tʰəˈɔ̃fɪ]^b *to offer* – for *to*, before consonants, [ə, ɪ] can be very short; and, before voiceless consonants, they are often devoiced: [tʰɛn tʰəˈfaːvɪ] *ten to five*;
- up*: [ˈmɛɪkʌp jɪˈmɑːndɔ̃, jʊtɪ; -wɪ-]^a [-ɛpɪə-, -jɔː-, -wɪ-]^b *make up your mind*, [ðɪzˈwʌn ʌpˈðɛɪ; ɛpɪ; ðɪz-]^a [ðəzˈwɛn ɛpˈðɛɪ; ɛpɪ; ðəɪz-]^b *there is one up there (there's)*;
- upon*: [ˈwʌn ɛpɔːnəˈnʌðɪ, ɛpɑ-, ɛpʌ-, ɛpə-]^a [ˈwɛn ɛpɔːnəˈnɛðɛ, ɛpə-]^b *one upon another*, [ˈlɑːn ɛpɔːnˈlɑːn, -pɑ-, -pʌ-, -pə-]^a [-pɔː-, -pə-]^b *line upon line*;
- us*: [tʰɛləs] *tell us*, [lɛtsˈɡɔːw, lɛts-, lɛs-]^a [-zˈwɔ̃]^b *let's go!* – but: [ˈlɛɪsˈɡɔːw]^a [ˈlɛt-əsˈɡɔːw]^b *let us go*;
- was*: [əwɪzˈwɔːŋ, -ɑːŋ]^a [-ɪpɪŋ]^b *I was wrong*, [hɪwzəˈfɪɛnɔ̃]^a [-ɪ-]^b *he was a friend*;
- we*: [wɪˈmɛɪ] *we may*, [ˈɑːɪntɪwɪ, -mpwɪ, -mɪwɪ]^a [ˈɑːn-, ˈɑːm-]^b *aren't we?*;
- were*: [ðɛɪwɪˈtɪː]^a [-wɪɪ-]^b *they were ill*, [wɪjəˈðɛɪ, -jɪ-]^a [wɪ-, -ɛɪ]^b *were you there?*;
- what*: [ˈsrɪ wʌtjəvˈdʌnɪ, wɑ-, wɪ-, -tʃ-, -tʃ-, -mɪv-; hw-; hɪ-; -jɪ-; jɪhə-]^a [wɔː-, wɛ-, ...]^b *see what you have done! (you've)*, [hɪˈnʊu wʌɪˈwʌn(ɪ)ɔ̃, wɑ-, wɪ-, -wɔːn-; hw-; hɪ-]^a [-nɪjɪu wɔ̃tɪˈwɔ̃ntɪɔ̃, wɛ-, ...]^b *he knew what he wanted*, [wʌtjəˈsɛɪɪŋ, -jɪ, wɑ-, wɪ-; hw-; hɪ-; -ɛɪŋ]^a [wɔ̃tə-, ...]^b *what are you saying? (what're)*, [wʌtjəˈsɛɪ, -tʃə, -tʃə, -tʃə, -tʃə, -tʃə, -mɪ, wɑ-, wɪ-; hw-; hɪ-]^a [wɔː-, ...]^b *what do you say? (d'you)*, [wʌtjəˈdʊu, -tʃə, -tʃə, -tʃə, -tʃə, wʌtjə-, wʌtjə-, -mɪ, wɑ-, wɪ-; hw-; hɪ-]^a [wɔː-, ...]^b *what do you do? (d'you)*;
- when* (not interr.): [əmwɛnəˈsɔːtɪ, ɪwɪ-, -nə-]^a [-ɔː-]^b *and when I saw it...*, [sɔwɛnɪjəˈgɛɪ ˈðɛɪ, -wɪ-, -tɪ]^a [sɔw-, -ɛɪ]^b *so when you get there...*;
- where* (not interr.): [ðəˈphlɛɪs wɛɪˈwɪzɪˈfaːɔ̃, wɪ-]^a [wɛɪɪ-, wɪɪ-]^b *the place where he was found*, [wɪˈkʰʌntɪ wɛɪˈphɪɪpɪˈsɪŋ, wɪ-]^a [-ɛɪɪɪ wɛɪ-, wɪ-]^b *a country where people sing*;
- who*: [ðəˈmæn ɪˈdɪdɪtɪ, hɪ-] *the man who did it*;
- will*: [ˈðæɪt ˈdʊu; ˈðæpɪtɪ; -tɪ]^a [-tɪ ˈdʊu, ...]^b *that will do (that'll)*, [jɪtˈsrɪ, jɔt-, jɪt-, jɪwɪtɪ; jɪwɪtɪ] *you will see (you'll)*, [wɪlɪpˈwɪk, -ɪw-, -tɪw-; wɪl-]^a [-zˈk]^b *will it work?*, [ɪtˈbɪmɪrɪ; ɪwɪtɪ; ɪwɪtɪ]^a [ɪtɪ-]^b *it will be me (it'll)*, [dʒɑːm wɪtˈbɪhɪrɪ, -n ɪbɪ-]^a [dʒɔː-, -ɪvɪ]^b *John will be here (John'll)*, [ðəˈtʃhɪtɪ (w)ɪtˈbɪfɔtɪ, wɪtɪ]^a [-zˈtɪ]^b *the church will be full*;
- would*: [wɪdɪpɪˈgɔdɪ, -ɪb-, -ɪb-] *would it be good?*, [ðɛɪdˈdʊu; ðɛɪdɪdɪ; -wɪdɪ]^a [-ɪu]^b *they would do (they'd)*, [hɪˈgʰkʰʌmɪ, -dɪk-; hɪwɪgɪ; hɪdɪ; hɪwɪ-]^a [-ɛmɪ]^b *he would come (he'd)*, [ɪəbɪˈnæs, -dɪb-; ɪwɪwɪ; ɪwɪwɪ]^a [ɪtə-]^b *it would be nice (it'd)*, [dʒɪm wɪdˈsɛɪsɔw, -n əd-]^a [-zɔw]^b *Jean would say so*;
- you*: [ɪjəˈdʊu, -jɪ-]^a [-ɪu]^b *if you do*, [æɪtˈtʰɛɪɪl, -jɪ, ʌtɪ; æwɪtɪ; æwɪtɪ]^a ...[-jɪ, ʌtɪ]^b *I will tell you (I'll)*, [θæŋkɪjɪ, -jɪ]^a [-jɪ]^b *thank you*, [ˈɑːɪntɪjɪ, -ɪ]^a [ˈɑːɪntɪjɪ]^b *aren't you?*, [ˈdɪdɪtɪ ˈsrɪ, -tɪ, -ɪtɪ] *didn't you see?*, [ˈdɪdɪtɪ ˈkʰwɪtɪ, -ɪ,

-nʃ-, -n j-] *didn't you quit?*;
your: [jɪ'phleɪs, juː, jɔː] ^a [jə-, jɔː-] ^b *your place*, [wɒlʃɪ'neɪm, -ʊ-, -ɔː-, -tsʃ-,
 -tsj-, wɑː-, -ɪz-, -ɪzj-] ^a [wɒ-, -ə-, -ɔː-, -tʃz-, -tʃzj-] ^b *what is your name?*
 (*what's*).

2.3.1.3. When prepositions become <postpositions>, they have full vowels: [hʊː u ɪju'weɪnɪŋfɔː, -jɪ-] ^a [əj-, -tʃɪfɔː] ^b *who are you waiting for?*, [weɪɪ ju'kham-
 ɪŋfɪɪm, -əm, -jɪ-] ^a [weɪɪ əju'khemɪŋfɪɪm] ^b *where are you coming from?*, [wɒt sɪ'lɒkɪŋæf,
 'wɒl ɪzi-, 'wɑː-] ^a [wɒt si-, -tʃ ɪzi-] ^b *what is he looking at?*

And when a preposition is followed by an unstressed pronoun, there are two possibilities, according to rhythm and speaking rate (or tempo): [hi'weɪnɒdʒfɪju, -jɪ,
 -fɔːɪɪ] ^a [hi'weɪnɒdʒfɪju, -fɔːɪju] ^b *he waited for you*, [wɪ'lɒkɪŋɪ, -ŋæ-] ^a [wɪ'lɒkɪŋɪ-
 tʃe, -æfɪ] ^b *we're looking at her*.

Of course, with emphasis, things change: [wɪ'lɒkɪŋ wɪ'hɪː| 'nɒl əf'hɪmː] ^a [wɪ'lɒkɪŋ
 wɪ'hɪː| 'nɒt əf'hɪmː] ^b *we're looking at HER, not at HIM*, [æ'dʒuːnɒ] ^a [æ-
 'dʒuːnɒ] ^b *I DO know*.

The forms beginning by *h-*, after a pause, never lose initial /h/: [hi'nɔːwz] ^a
 [-ɜːwz] ^b *he knows*, [həvjə'srɪnɪ, hæ-, -jɪ-] ^a [-e] ^b *have you seen her?*, [hɪ'ɑːɪju, -jɪ] ^a
 [-ɑː-
 ju] ^b *who are you?*, &c.

2.3.1.4. Here we will make some examples of compounds with reduced second elements, especially in British English: [stɹɔːbeɪɪ] ^a [stɹɔːbɪ, -bɪ] ^b *strawBERRY* /bɛɪ/ (in particular with monosyllabic roots, cf § 2.3.5), [kʰɒlbɪd] ^a [kʰɛbəd] ^b *cupBOARD*, [weɪkʷɪm] ^a [weɪ-] ^b *wELCOME*, [sʌndɛɪ, -dɪ] ^a [sɛn-] ^b *SUNDAY* (often /dɛɪ/ in an intoneme, but /dɪ/ in a preintoneme, </dɛɪ/ >);

[pɪɪɪbɔː] ^a [-təbɪ, -bɪ] ^b *PeterBOROUGH* /bɔːɪ/, [ɛdəmbeɪɪ] ^a [-ɪmbɪ, -bɪ] ^b *EdinBURGH* /bɔːɪ/, [nɪuːbeɪɪ] ^a [nɪjuːbɪ, -bɪ] ^b *NewBURY* /bɛɪ/ (in particular with monosyllabic roots, cf § 2.3.5), [lesɪɪ] ^a [lesɪ] ^b *Leicester*, [wɒstɪɪ] ^a [wɒstɪ] ^b *Worcester*, [nɔːfɒk] ^a [nɔːfɒk] ^b *Norfolk*, [ɒksfɔːd] ^a [ɒksfɔːd] ^b *Oxford*;

[kʰæsəm] *CASHAM*, [dʒɹəm] ^a [dʒɹəm] ^b *DurHAM* /əɪ/ and [kʰɒnɪŋhəm] ^a [kʰɛn-
 ɪŋhəm] ^b *CunningHAM* /həm/, [ɪŋlænd] *ENGLAND*, [phɒsmən] ^a [phɒs-] ^b *postMAN*, [dʒɛn(ə)lmən] ^a [-nɪt-] ^b *gentlemen*, [sɛɪməni] ^a [sɛɪməni] ^b *ceremony* /-məni/, [pɪlməθ] *Plymouth*;

[sɔːspʰæn] ^a [sɔːspʰæn] ^b *saucePAN* /pæn/, [nɒnsɛns, -sɛns] ^a [nɒnsɛns] ^b *nonsense* /-sɛns/, [jɔːkʃɪɪ, -ɪ] ^a [jɔːkʃɪ, -ɪ] ^b *YorkSHIRE* /-ɪɪ/, [hændsəm] *handsOME*, [hɛndɪ-
 sən] ^a [-dɛ-] ^b *Henderson*, [fɒkstɛn, -stɛn] ^a [fɒkstɛn] ^b *FolkeSTONE* /-stɔːn/.

Furthermore: [laɪbɪɪ, -bɪɪ, -bɪ, -bɪ] ^a [laɪbɪɪ, -bɪɪ, bɪ, -bɪ] ^b *library*, [kʰɒstəmɛɪ] ^a [kʰɛstəmɛɪ, -əmɪ, -əmɪ] ^b *customARY*, [dɪɪektɪɪ, -tɪ, -tɪ, dɪɪ] ^a
 [dɪɪektɪɪ, -tɪ, -tɪ, dɪɪ] ^b *directORY*, [dɔːmɛɪtɪ] ^a [dɔːmɛɪtɪ, -tɪ] ^b *dormitory*.

Taxophonics

2.3.2.1. From the examples given thus far, the use of *phonetic duration* for the various English phones will be sufficiently clear. However, we will summarize its

characteristics. In stressed syllables, the long vowels (/ɑ:, ɔ:, ə:/, and the possible long ones from the diaphonemes /ɑ:, æ:, ɔ:, ə:/) as well as the diphthongs (/ɪi, eɪ, aɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ, ɔʊ, ʊu/) undergo a little shortening – *half-shortening*, indeed: from [V:, V·V] to [V, VV]– when they are followed, within the same word or rhythm group, by at least one of the following three elements: (1) a *voiceless consonant*, or (2) an *unstressed vowel* (and that changes them into diphthongs or triphthongs, [VV, VVV]), or (3) a whole *unstressed syllable*. The second elements of compounds have secondary-stressed syllables; so they have no influence on length.

Therefore, we have: ['phleɪ] /'pleɪ/ *play*, ['phleɪz] /'pleɪz/ *plays*, ['phleɪd] /'pleɪd/ *played*, ['phleɪbæk] /'pleɪbæk/ *playback*, but ['phleɪŋ] (or, possibly, ['phleɪŋ]) /'pleɪŋ/ *playing*, ['phleɪɹ]^a [-e]^b /'pleɪɹ/ *player*, ['phleɪəbəl] /'pleɪəbəl/ *playable*, and ['phleɪt] /'pleɪt/ *plate*, ['phleɪts] /'pleɪts/ *plates*, ['phleɪnəd]^a [-tɪd]^b /'pleɪtɪd/ *plated*, ['phleɪnɪŋ]^a [-tɪŋ]^b /'pleɪtɪŋ/ *plating*, ['peɪnt] /'peɪnt/ *paint*.

Equally: ['kɑ:ɹ]^a [-ɑ:]^b /'kɑ:ɹ/ *car*, ['kɑ:ɹz]^a [-ɑ:z]^b /'kɑ:ɹz/ *cars*, ['kɑ:ɹd]^a [-ɑ:d]^b /'kɑ:ɹd/ *card*, ['kɑ:ɹdɔ:bɔ:d]^a [-bɔ:b-]^a /'kɑ:ɹdɔ:bɔ:d/ *cardboard*, but: ['kɑ:ɹt]^a [-ɑ:t]^b /'kɑ:ɹt/ *cart*, ['kɑ:ɹbən]^a [-ɑ:b-]^b /'kɑ:ɹbən/ *carbon*, ['kɑ:ɹdɪŋ]^a [-ɑ:d-]^b /'kɑ:ɹdɪŋ/ *carding*, ['kæ(ɹ)nɪt]^a [-ɑ:nɪt]^b /'kæ(ɹ)nɪt/ *can't*.

Besides, also unstressed or half-stressed syllables shorten, as seen in *cardboard* (a true compound, as to *cupboard* /'kʌbɔ:d/, that is crystallized, by now, so that a more suitable spelling for the latter could certainly be <*cubbard*>): [phɑ:ɹ'tɪsəpənt]^a (also [phɪ-]^a) [-ɑ:tɪsɪpənt]^b /pɑ:ɹ'tɪsɪpənt/ *participant*, [phɑ:ɹ'tɪsəpeɪt]^a (also [phɪ-]^a) [-ɑ:tɪsɪpeɪt]^b /pɑ:ɹ'tɪsɪpeɪt/ *participate*, ['meɪdɪ] /'meɪdɪ/ *Mayday*. Besides: ['weɪspɛɪpəbæ(ɹ)skɪt]^a [-əbæ(ɹ)skɪt]^b /'weɪspɛɪpəbæ(ɹ)skɪt/ *wastepaper basket*.

These degrees of length hold good both in intonemes and preintonemes.

2.3.2.2. For the English stressed vowels (/ɪ, ε, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ/), there is another interesting fact about phonetic length. In syllables checked by final voiced consonants, occurring in diphonic pairs (ie /b, d, g, dʒ; v, ð, z, ʒ/), short stressed vowels undergo a little lengthening – *half-lengthening*, indeed: from [V] to [V:]– ['lɪd] /'lɪd/ *lid* (but ['lɪt] /'lɪt/ *lit*), ['mæd] /'mæd/ *mad* (but ['mæt] /'mæt/ *mat*), ['bʌz]^a /'bʌz]^b /'bʌz/ *buzz* (but ['bʌs]^a /'bʌs]^b /'bʌs/ *bus*). These degrees of length hold good even in both intonemes and preintonemes.

On the other hand, when final stressed syllables are checked by an isolated voiced consonant (ie not forming a diphonic pair – that is /m, n, ŋ; ʔ/), instead of the vocoid, the contoid is a little lengthened (but only in intonemes, before pauses): ['tɛn:] /'tɛn/ *ten*, ['jʌŋ:]^a /'jʌŋ:]^b /'jʌŋ/ *young*, ['bɔ:l:] /'bɔ:l/ *bull* (but ['bɔ:l] /'bɔ:l/ *bullhorn*), [ðə'bɔ:l] /ðə'bɔ:l/ *the bull ran*).

In both accents, though, there is an exception to the exception, insofar as /æ, ɒ/ are half-lengthened (in a preintoneme, too), instead of a following contoid: ['dʒɔ:n]^a /'dʒɔ:n]^b /'dʒɔ:n/ *John*, ['bæŋ] /'bæŋ/ *bang*, ['hænd] /'hænd/ *hand*.

In the sequences /ɪə, eə, uə/, the first element is half-lengthened, both in intonemes and preintonemes; this occurs before vowels as well, if final in rhythm groups: ['hɪɹ]^a /'hɪɹ]^b /'hɪə/ *here*, [ðeɹ]^a /ðeɹ]^b /ðeə/ *there*, ['phjʊɹ, 'phjɹ]^a /'phjʊə, 'phjɔ:]^b /'pjʊə/ *pure*, ['hɪɹ ən'deɹ]^a /'hɪə ən'deɹ]^b /'hɪə ən(d)ðeə/ *here and there*.

We should notice that, in American English, /ɪə, eə, uə/ followed by vowels,

within words or rhythm groups, become ⟨/ɪ, ɛ, ʊ/⟩: [ˈspɪɪt] both for /ˈspɪəɪt/ [ˈspɪəɪt]^b *spear it* and for /ˈspɪɪt/ [ˈspɪɪt]^b *spirit*, [ˈhɪɪŋ]^a [ˈhɪəɪŋ]^b /ˈhɪəɪŋ/ *hearing*.

2.3.2.3. Even as far as (partial) *devoicing* is concerned, the examples thus far will have already been a clear general survey. A short summary is, however, useful, because there are also some particular remarks to be made, only here, even if we need not mark them all in our transcriptions.

The devoicing of voiced diphonic consonants (/b, d, g; ɟ; v, ð, z, ʒ/), before pauses or before voiceless consonants (⟨*postdevoicing*⟩), is very important: [ˈbɑːb]^a [ˈbɒːb]^b /ˈbɒb/ *Bob*, [ˈdæːd]^a [ˈdæd]^b /ˈdæd/ *dad*, [ˈdʒʌːdʒ]^a [ˈdʒɛːdʒ]^b /ˈdʒʌdʒ/ *judge*, [ˈvɜːv]^a [ˈvɜːv]^b /ˈvɜːv/ *verve*; [ˈbɑːb ˈsɛːz]^a [ˈbɒːb ˈsɛz]^b /ˈbɒb ˈsɛz/ *Bob says*, [ˈdæːd ˈtʊkɪt]^a [ˈdæd ˈtʊkɪt]^b /ˈdæd ˈtʊkɪt/ *dad took it*.

Of less importance is their devoicing after pauses or after voiceless consonants (⟨*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: [ḅ, ẓ] (or above: [ḡ, ḑ]): [ˈbɑːḅ]^a [ˈbɒːḅ]^b /ˈbɒb/ *Bob*, &c.

A dot could be used even after ⟨*aspirated*⟩ /p, t, k, tʃ/, but we will do that only here, because [h] is sufficient: [ˈphlɛɪ] /ˈpleɪ/ *play*, [ˈkhwæɪ] /ˈkwaɪt/ *quite*. It is the same also for the other voiceless consonants (although their devoicing is only slight, and therefore usually it need not be marked): [ˈfjʊu] /ˈfjuu/ *few*, [ˈθɪɪt]^a [ˈθɪːt]^b /ˈθɪt/ *threat*, [ˈsnɔːɪ]^a [ˈsnɔːɪ]^b /ˈsnɔːɪ/ *snore*.

Everyday-speech simplifications

2.3.3.1. In normal –non-slow– speech certain articulatory simplifications are quite normal. In particular, /t, d/, between C, are easily dropped: [ˈmɔːsli]^a [ˈmɔː-]^b /ˈmɔːsli/ *mostly*, [ˈhænsəm] /ˈhændsəm/ *handsome*, [ˈpɒstmən]^a [-ɔ-]^b /ˈpɒstmən/ *postman*, [ˈpɜːfɪkli]^a [-ɜːf-]^b /ˈpɜːfɪkli/ *perfectly*, [ˈnɛks ˈdeɪ]^a /ˈnɛkst ˈdeɪ/ *next day*, [ˈfɜːθɪŋ]^a [ˈfɜːs]^b /ˈfɜːst ˈθɪŋ/ *first thing*, [ˈmæʃ pəˈtɛɪtəʊz]^a [-tɜʊz]^b /ˈmæʃt pəˈtɛɪtəʊz/ *mashed potatoes*.

This simplification occurs for /sts/, as well: [ˈphɔːsts, -sɪs, -ss]^a [ˈphɜː-]^b /ˈpɒsts/ *posts*, [ˈtɛsts, -sɪs, -ss] /ˈtɛsts/ *tests*, [ˈtɛkst sɪˈlɛkʃən, -ks s-, sɪˈtɛ-]^a [-ʃn]^b /ˈtɛkst sɪˈlɛkʃən/ *text selection*.

Besides: [ˈmʊv ˈbæk]^a [ˈmʊv]^b /ˈmʊvd ˈbæk/ *moved back*, [ˈlʊk ˈlæk] /ˈlʊkt ˈlæk/ *looked like*, [ˈɪɪtʃmi]^a [ɪ-]^b /ˈɪɪtʃtmi/ *reached me*, [ˈtɒld ˈbɒb]^a [ˈtɒld ˈbɒːb]^b /ˈtɒld ˈbɒb/ *told Bob*, [ˈkɛpt ˈkwaɪt] /ˈkɛpt ˈkwaɪt/ *kept quiet*.

In addition to simplifications, there are assimilations: [ˈhæm ˈmeɪd]^a [-n ˈm-] /ˈhænd ˈmeɪd/ *handmade*, [ˈkloʊz ˈʃɔp, -z]^a [-ɜːz ˈʃɔp]^b /ˈkloʊzd ˈʃɔp/ *closed shop*, [ˈkɛn ˈgɔʊ, -n]^a [-ɔŋ ˈgɔʊ]^b /ˈkænt ˈgɔʊ/ *can't go*.

Even for vowels, simplifications are frequent: [ˈgeɪ ˈɪŋ, -ɔŋ]^a [ˈgeɪ ˈɪŋ]^b /ˈgeɪ ˈɪŋ/ *get along*, [ˈæfɜː ˈaɪwɪl]^a [ˈæfɜː ˈaɪ-]^b /ˈæfɜː ˈaɪwɪl/ *after a while*, [ˈtɜːfɪk]^a [tɜː-]^b /ˈtɜːfɪk/ *terrific*, [ˈæbəlɪv] /ˈæbəlɪv/ *I believe*, [ˈðɜːpəlɪs] /ˈðɜːpəlɪs/ *the police*.

And there are combinations, too: [lɪt̪ɪəli, -rə-] ^a [lɪt̪ɪəli, -t̪ɪə-] ^b /lɪt̪ɪəli/ *literally*, [phɪt̪ɪkjuəlɪ, -kju-, -kli] ^a [phə-, -kjələ-, -kjələ-] ^b /pət̪ɪkjuəlɪ/ *particularly*, [phɪəbli, -bb-, -bəb-, phɪəli] ^a [ˈphɪə-] ^b /ˈpɪəbəlɪ/ *probably*.

2.3.3.2. In vowel combinations, within words or sentences, several simplifications are possible: [ˈseɪɪŋ, ˈseɪɪŋ] /ˈseɪɪŋ/ *saying*, [ˈʃoʊɪŋ, ˈʃoʊɪŋ] ^a [-zɪŋ, -zɪŋ] ^b /ˈʃoʊɪŋ/ *showing*, [ˈsiːɪŋ, ˈsiːɪŋ] /ˈsiːɪŋ/ *seeing*, [əˈnɔɪɪŋ, -səɪŋ] /əˈnɔɪɪŋ/ *annoying*.

Besides: [ˈdɪəɪt̪, -əɪt̪] ^a [ˈdɪ-] ^b /ˈdɪəɪt̪/ *dry it*, [ðeɪɪt̪, ðeɪɪt̪] /ðeɪɪt̪/ *they eat*, [ˈseɪɪt̪, ˈseɪɪt̪] /ˈseɪɪt̪/ *say it*, [ˈnaː ənˈðeɪn, ˈnaːo] /ˈnaː ən(d)ðeɪn/ *now and then*, [ˈbɔɪ əŋˈɡɪrl, -ɪrl̪] ^a [-zrl̪] ^b /ˈbɔɪ ən(d)ɡɪrl̪/ *boy and girl*, [ˈɡɔɪ əˈweɪ, ˈɡɔɪ] ^a [ˈɡɜːo, ˈɡɜː] ^b /ˈɡɜːo əˈweɪ/ *go away*, [ˈɡɔɪ əˈn, ˈɡɔɪ, ˈɔːn] ^a [ˈɡɜːo ˈɔːn, ˈɡɜː] ^b /ˈɡɜːo ˈɔːn/ *go on*.

Here are some other frequent cases that it is good to know: [ˈæktʃəli, ˈæktʃəli, -ʃli; æktʃi] /ˈæktʃəli/ *actually*, [ˈsɪr̪nli, -ɪr̪-, sɪr̪ni] ^a [ˈsɜː-] ^b /ˈsɜːr̪nli/ *certainly*, [dɪr̪ɪktli, dɪr̪ɪktli] ^a [dɪr̪-, dɪr̪-] ^b /dɪr̪ɪktli/ *directly*, [ˈiːzli, ˈiːzli] /ˈiːzli/ *easily*, [ɪɡzæktli, ˈgzæktli] /ɪɡzæktli/ *exactly*, [ˈveɪɪˈɡʊd, vɪɪ-] ^a [ˈveɪɪ-, vɪɪ-] ^b /ˈveɪɪ ˈɡʊd/ *very good*, [θæŋ(k)s vɪɪˈmʌtʃ] ^a [vɪɪˈmɛtʃ] ^b /θæŋks vɪɪˈmʌtʃ/ *thanks very much*, [θæŋkju, -jʌ, ˈhæ-, ˈŋkju, ˈk-kju] ([ˈkˈkju]) /θæŋkju/ *thank you*.

Others: [bʌkəz, pɪk-, kɪh-, ˈkɪhəz; bʌkɪhəz; -ɔːz; -ɑːz] ^a [-ˈkɪhəz; -ɔːz] ^b /bɪˈkɔːz/ *because*, [ˈnɪt̪ɪl, ʌn-] ^a [ɛn-] ^b /ʌnˈtɪl/ *until*, [ˈnɪles, ʌn-] ^a [ɛn-] ^b /ʌnˈles/ *unless*, [əˈnʌf, nɪ-] ^a [-ɛf, nɪ-] ^b /ɪˈnʌf/ *enough*, [ˈjɛsɪndɪd] /jɛs ɪnˈdɪd/ *yes indeed*, [əˈvɪkɪsɪs, əf- f-, k-] ^a [-ɔːs] ^b /əˈvɪkɪsɪs/ *of course*, [əˈzjuːzɪ, ˈzɪ-, ˈzɪwɪ, əˈzɪ-, ˈzɪj-] /əˈzjuːzɪwɪ/ *as usual*, [pɪˈhæps, -hæ-, pɪhæ-, phæ-] ^a [phə-, pɪh-] ^b /pəˈhæps/ *perhaps*.

2.3.3.3. Some other cases: [wʌt, wɪt, wʌ (ʌt̪t̪hɛljʌwʌt̪, -ʔ)] ^a [(ʌt̪-, -ɔ-)] ^b /wɛt, wɔt, wɪt/ *well*, (I'll tell you what), [fɪˈsɔnliəˈkɪhɔd, -ni-] ^a [-zɔ-, -ɛ-] ^b /fɪˈsɔnliəˈkʊd/ *if only I could*, [ˈskjuːzmi, ɪk-] /ɪkˈskjuːzmi/ *excuse me!*, [baɪbaɪ, bʌ-, bə-, baɪbaɪ] ^a [bɛ-] ^b /baɪbaɪ/ *bye-bye*, [ɡʊbbaɪ, ɡʊb-, ɡʊ-, ɡʊ-; -dɪb-, ˈbaɪ] /ɡʊdˈbaɪ/ *goodbye*, [ɡʊbˈmɔɪnɪŋ, ɡʊb-, ɡʊ-, ɡʊ-; -dɪm-, ˈmɔɪnɪŋ] ^a [-ɔɪn-, ˈmɔɪn-] ^b /ɡʊdˈmɔɪnɪŋ/ *good morning*.

Besides: [jɛs, jɛhs, jɛh, jɛs, jɛə, jɛɪ, ˈjɛ, ˈjɛs], and [jɛʌ, jɛʌ, jɛ, jɛ] ^a [-ɛ] ^b, [jɛw, jɛp, jɛp, jɛp, ˈjɛʌ] ^a [-ɛp, -ɛp, -ɛ] ^b /jɛs; jɛə; jɛp; jɛp/ *yes!*, [ˈnɔɪ, ˈnɔɪ, ˈnɔɪ] ^a [ˈnɜː-] ^b /ˈnɔɪ/ *no!*, [ɔːt̪ɪr̪aɪt̪, ɔː-, -ʔ] ^a [ɔːt̪-, ɔː-] ^b /ɔːt̪ɪr̪aɪt̪/ *all right*, [kɪwɪnˈaɪn, ˈɔːn] ^a [-ɔɪn-] ^b /kɪwɪnˈaɪn/ *come on!*, [kɪwɪnˈɪn] /kɪwɪnˈɪn/ *come in!*, [kɪwɪnˈɪ, -hɪ-] ^a [-ɪ] ^b /kɪwɪnˈɪ/ *come here!*

More examples: [sɪt̪ˈdaʊn, sɪ-, sɪt̪-] /sɪt̪ˈdaʊn/ *sit down*, [ʌdɪnˈstɔ, ədɪnˈstɔ] ^a [ɛdɪnˈzɔ, ədɪnˈzɔ] ^b /ədɪnˈstɔ(t)ˈnɔ/ *I don't know*, [ʌdɪnˈstɔ, ədɪnˈstɔ] ^a [ɛdɪnˈzɔ, ədɪnˈzɔ] ^b /ədɪnˈstɔ(t)ˈnɔ/ *I didn't know*, [ʌˈspɛktsɔ, əɪk-] ^a [ɛˈspɛktsɔ] ^b /æɪkˈspɛktsɔ/ *I expect so*, [əˈspɔz, ʌsə-] ^a [-zɔz, ɛsə-] ^b /əˈspɔz/ *I suppose*, [ʌˈθɪŋk jɪr̪aɪt̪, -ŋɪ] ^a [ɛ-, jɪr̪-] ^b /əˈθɪŋk jɪr̪aɪt̪/ *I think you're right*.

Finally: [əŋɡwənˈdʊt̪, ɛŋw-; -ɡɔwən-, -ʌ-, -ɔ-, -ɑ-, -ət̪] ^a [ɛ-, -mʊt̪; -ɡɔwən-, -ɛ-, -ɔ-, -ɔ-] ^b /əŋɡwənˈdʊt̪; -ɡɔwən-; -ɡɔwɪnət̪-/ *I'm going to do it (gonna do it)*, [hɪzɡwɪnˈædɪt̪; -ɡɔwən-, -ʌ-, -ɔ-, -ɑ-, -ət̪] ^a [-ɡɔwən-, -ɛ-, -ɔ-, -ɔ-] ^b /hɪzɡwɪnˈædɪt̪; -ɔw-; -ɡɔwɪnət̪-/ *he's going to add it*, [wɪwɪnˈəseɪ, -wɔ-, -nɪ-, -nɪ-] ^a [-wɔ-] ^b /wɪwɪnˈəseɪ/ *we want to say (wanna)*, [wɪwɪnˈɪt̪, -wɔ-, -nɪ-] ^a [-ɔnɪ-] ^b /wɪwɪnˈɪt̪/ *we want to eat*, [ˈsʌmθɪŋ dɪfɪr̪ənt, ˈsʌmpɪ] ^a [ˈsɛm-, -ɪnɪt̪, ˈsɛmpɪ] ^b /ˈsʌmθɪŋ dɪfɪr̪ənt/ *something different*,

[fʊlˈfɪl, fʊl, fɔ, fə] /fʊlˈfɪl/ *fulfill*, [ɪŋˈvɑːɪən.mən.t̩, -əm.mə-, -əm-, -ə.ɪ.mə-, ɛ-, ə]^a [-ɪ.ən.m-, -ɪ.əm.mə-, -ɪ.əm-, -ə.ə.mə-, -ə.mə-, ɛ-, ə]^b /ɪnˈvɑːɪən.mən.t̩, ɛ-, ə/ *environment*, [ˈɡʌ.vɪ.nmə.n.t̩, -vɪ.m-, -vəm-, -vɪ-, -vɪ-; -bɪ-; -mɪ-]^a [ˈɡʌ.vən.m-, -vəmm-, -vəm-, -vɪ-, -vɪ-; -bɪ-; -mɪ-]^b /ˈɡʌ.vən.mən.t̩/ *government*.

American English has, too: [ˈkændɪ.də.ɪt, ˈkænə-, -dət] /ˈkændɪ.də.ɪt, -dət/ *candidate*, [æ.n.t̩.ɑː.k.tɪk, æn-, æn-, -ɑː.t̩.k] /æ.n.t̩.ɑː.k.tɪk/ *antarctic*.

2.3.3.4. It is important to know that, in English, phonic syllabification generally follows morphemic divisions. This allows some slight differences to be maintained that Romance languages, instead, usually lose: [əˈneɪm] /əˈneɪm/ *a name*, [ənˈeɪm] /ənˈeɪm/ *an aim*; [əˈnæɪsɔw ˈsɑːn]^a [-ɪ.ɜw]^b /əˈnæɪsɔw ˈsɑːn/ *a narrow sign*, [ənˈæɪsɔw ˈsɑːn]^a [-ɪ.ɜw]^b /ənˈæɪsɔw ˈsɑːn/ *an arrow sign*.

In addition, let us note: [ˈwaɪə ˈtʃʊz] ^a [-mʊz]^b /ˈwaɪə ˈtʃʊz/ *why choose*, [ˈwaɪt ˈʃʊz] ^a [-mʊz]^b /ˈwaɪt ˈʃʊz/ *white shoes*; [məʊˈtʃeɪn]^a [-tʃeɪn]^b /məʊˈtʃeɪn/ *my train*, [ˈmaɪt ˈteɪn, -ɪ]^a [t̩-]^b /ˈmaɪt ˈteɪn/ *might rain*; [əˈblæk ˈtʃaɪ] /əˈblæk ˈtʃaɪ/ *a black tie*, [əˈblæk ˈaɪ] /əˈblæk ˈaɪ/ *a blacked eye*.

Forms like [mɪsˈspeɪl]^a [-ɛɪ]^b /mɪsˈspeɪl/ *misspell* and [mɪsˈsmɪθ] /mɪsˈsmɪθ/ *Miss Smith* may seem a bit strange. Indeed, as consonants often fall between others, so, in less slow manners of speaking, even [mɪsˈpeɪl, mɪsˈsmɪθ]^a [-ɛɪ]^b occur.

For British English, the following examples are usual, too: [sɔwˈbɪg wɪˈmæn, sə-]^b /sɔwˈbɪg əˈmæn/ *so big a man*, [əˈbɪgɜ ˈmæn]^b /əˈbɪgɜː ˈmæn/ *a bigger man*; [laɪt əˈfaɪə]^b /laɪt əˈfaɪə/ *light a fire*, [əˈlaɪtɜ ˈfaɪə]^b /əˈlaɪtɜː ˈfaɪə/ *a lighter fire*; [ɪtsəzˈweɪt ˈtəweɪt]^b /ɪtsəzˈweɪt təˈweɪt/ *it's as well to wait*, [hɪz wɪˈteɪtɜ ˈtəweɪt]^b /hɪz wɪˈteɪtɜː ˈtəweɪt/ *he's a welterweight*.

Let us add an important remark about the syllabic structure regarding /VCV/, which has /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ/, even preceded by /j, w, ɪ, l/, or with final /ŋ, ʃ/. Although we will not mark it systematically, but only here (as it would be an almost useless increase in weight of our transcriptions), it is worthwhile knowing that a single consonant and the preceding short stressed vowel belong to the same syllable: [ˈlɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈlɪ-ɛ]^b /ˈlɪtɜ/ *litter*, [ˈbɛ-ɪ]^a [ˈbɛ-ɛ]^b /ˈbɛgɜ/ *letter*, [ˈphæk-ɪ]^a [ˈphæk-ɛ]^b /ˈpækɜ/ *packer*, [ˈkʰɛɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈkʰɛɪ-ɛ]^b /ˈkʰɛɪɜ/ *cutter*, [ˈhɔɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈhɔɪ-ɛ]^b /ˈhɔɪɜ/ *hotter*, [ˈlɔk-ɪ]^a [ˈlɔk-ɛ]^b /ˈlɔkɜ/ *looker*, [ˈsɛɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈsɛɪ-ɛ]^b /ˈsɛɪɜ/ *seller*, [ˈkʰeɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈkʰeɪ-ɪɛ]^b /ˈkʰeɪɜ/ *carrier*, [ˈskæn-ɪ]^a [ˈskæn-ɛ]^b /ˈskænɜ/ *scanner*.

More examples: [ˈɪɹn-ɪŋ]^a [ˈɪɹn-ɪŋ]^b /ˈɪɹnɪŋ/ *running*, [ˈlʌv-ɪŋ]^a [ˈlʌv-ɪŋ]^b /ˈlʌvɪŋ/ *loving*, [ˈmʌɪ-ŋ, ˈmʌɪ-ŋ]^a [ˈmɛɪ-ŋ, ˈmɛɪ-ŋ]^b /ˈmʌɪŋ/ *mutton*, [ˈkʰɑɪ-ŋ, ˈkʰɑɪ-ŋ]^a [ˈkʰɔɪ-ŋ, ˈkʰɔɪ-ŋ]^b /ˈkʰɔɪŋ/ *cotton*, [ˈlɪs-ŋ] /ˈlɪsɪŋ/ *listen*, [ˈmɪd-ɪ] /ˈmɪdɪ/ *middle*, [ˈmeɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈmeɪ-ɪ]^b /ˈmeɪɪ/ *metal*, [ˈdɛv-ɪ] /ˈdɛvɪ/ *devil*, [ˈmeɪ-ɪk]^a [ˈmeɪ-ɪk]^b /ˈmeɪɪk/ *metric*, [ˈæk-ɜɪɪ]^a [ˈæk-ɜɪɪɪ]^b /ˈækɜɪɪɪ/ *accurate*, [ˈɹɔk-wɪ]^a [ˈɹɔk-wɪ]^b /ˈɹɔkwɪ/ *Rockwell*, [ˈɹɔk-li]^a [ˈɹɔk-li]^b /ˈɹɔkli/ *Rockley*, [ˈɹɪp-li]^a [ˈɹɪp-li]^b /ˈɹɪpli/ *Ripley*.

On the contrary, stressed long vowels and diphthongs belong to different syllables as to following single consonants: [ˈnɔː-ɪ]^a [ˈnɔː-ɪ]^b /ˈnɔːɪ/ *naughty*, [ˈnʊ-ɪŋ]^a [ˈnʊ-ɪŋ]^b /ˈnʊɪŋ/ *Newton*, [ˈleɪ-ɪ]^a [ˈleɪ-ɪɪ]^b /ˈleɪɪɪ/ *later*, [ˈbeɪ-ɪkɪŋ] /ˈbeɪkɪŋ/ *baking*, [ˈi-ɪkwɪ] /ˈiɪkwɪ/ *equal*, [ˈnʊ-ɪɪɪ]^a [ˈnʊ-ɪɪɪɪ]^b /ˈnʊɪɪɪɪ/ *neutral*, [ˈɹæ-ɪpli]^a [ˈɹæ-ɪpli]^b /ˈɹæɪpli/ *ripely*.

American dissimilation of *r*

2.3.3.5. To simplify the articulation of words and rhythm groups with two /ɹ/'s, American pronunciation can have variants with /θ/ for the first /ɹ/, although not very frequently, even in stressed syllables: [ˈfɑːɹðɹ, ˈfɑːθɹ] /ˈfɑːɹðɹ/ *farther*, [ˈfɪːðɹ, ˈfəːθɹ] /ˈfɪːðɹ/ *further*, [ˈɔːɹdɹ, ˈɔːθɹ] /ˈɔːɹdɹ/ *order*, [ˈmɪːɹdɹ, ˈməːθɹ] /ˈmɪːɹdɹ/ *murder*, [ˈkʰɔːɹnɹ, ˈkʰɔːθɹ] /ˈkʰɔːɹnɹ/ *corner*, [θɹˈmɑːmɹ, θəː] /θɹˈmɑːmɹ/ *thermometer*, [ˈfɔːɹwɹd, ˈfɔːθwɹd] /ˈfɔːɹwɹd/ *forward*, [ˈfɔːɹwɹd, ˈfɔːθwɹd] /ˈfɔːɹwɹd/ *foreword*, [sɹˈpɹɪəz, səː] /sɹˈpɹɪəz/ *surprise*, [ˈɡʌvɹnɹ, -vənɹ, -vnɹ] /ˈɡʌvɹnɹ/ *governor*, [pɹɪˈtɪkjʊləɹ, pɹəː] /pɹɪˈtɪkjʊləɹ/ *particular*.

Also: [ˈkʰæn(ɹ)ɹbɹi, -əb-] ([ˈkʰænɹəbɹi, -bɹi, -bɹi] ^b) /ˈkænɹəbɹi/ *Canterbury*, [ˈwɔːɹbɹi, -ɹə-, ˈwɑː-] ([ˈwɔːɹəbɹi, -bɹi, -bɹi] ^b) /ˈwɔːɹəbɹi/ *Waterbury*, [ˈɑːɹbɹn, ˈɑːə-] /ˈɒtəɹbɹn/ *Otterburn*, [ˈbɹnɹd, ˈbəː-, bɹˈnɑːɹd, bəː-] /ˈbɹnɹd, bɹˈnɑːɹd/ *Bernard*, [ˈkʰæɹpɹlɹ, -ɹə-] /ˈkæɹpɹlɹ/ *caterpillar*, [ˈɛːdɹbɹi, -dɹ-] ([ˈɛːdɹəbɹi, -əbɹi, -bɹi] ^b) /ˈɛːdɹəbɹi/ *elderberry*, [ˈɹɛzɹvɹwɑːɹ, -zɹ-; -vɹwɹ] /ˈɹɛzɹvɹwɑːɹ/ *reservoir*, [ˈnɔːɹθɹp, ˈnɔːθ-] /ˈnɔːɹθɹp/ *Northrup*, [ˈsʌdɹnɹ, ˈsʌðɹnɹ] /ˈsʌðɹnɹ/ *Southerner*, [ˈmɹdɹɹ, -dɹɹ, ˈmɹd-] /ˈmɹdɹɹ/ *murderer*, [ˈnɔːɹdɹnɹ, ˈnɔːɹðɹnɹ, ˈnɔːðɹnɹ] /ˈnɔːɹdɹnɹ/ *Northerner*.

Less systematically, dissimilation is possible even in rhythm groups: [hɹˈhɑːɹt, həː] /hɹˈhɑːɹt/ *her heart*, [jɹˈmɹsɹ, jəː] /jɹˈmɹsɹ/ *your mercy*, [ɑːɹˈpɔːɹtʃ, ɑːː] /ɑːɹˈpɔːɹtʃ/ *our porch*, [ðɹɪˈfɹmz, ðɹəː, ðɹ-, ðəː] /ðɹɪˈfɹmz/ *their firms*, [ðɹɪˈdɹɹi, ðɹəː, ðɹ-, ðəː] /ðɹɪˈdɹɹi/ *they're dirty*, [fɹˈwɹd, fəː] /fɹˈwɹd/ *for word*, [ɔːɹˈhɹɹ, ɔːː, ɹ-, əː, ˈhɹ-] /ɔːɹˈhɹɹ, əːː/ *or here*.

In addition to /ɹ/, the following examples will show dissimilation for /ɹ/ (which is used in British pronunciation too, due to a kind of simplification, even by analogy): [ˈlɑːbɹi, -bɹi, -bɹi, -bɹi, -bɹ-, -bəː] ^a [ˈlɑːbɹəɹi, -bɹi, bɹi, -bɹi, -bəɹi] ^b /ˈlɑːbɹi/ *library*, [ˈfɛbɹuɹi, -bɹi, -bɹi, -bɹi, -bɹ-, -bəː] ^a [ˈfɛbɹuəɹi, -ɹuɹi, -bɹi, bɹi, -bɹi, -bɹuɹi, -bɹəː] ^b /ˈfɛbɹuɹi, -bɹu-/ *February*, [ˈsɛkɹɹi, -kɹ-] ^a [ˈsɛkɹəɹi, -əɹi, -kɹ-] ^b /ˈsɛkɹəɹi/ *secretary*.

In addition: [stɹˈnɑːɡɹɹ, -ɡɹ-] ^a [-ɔːɡɹ-; -ɡɹ-] ^b /stɹˈnɑːɡɹɹ/ *stenographer*, [fəˈtɹɑːɡɹɹ, -ɡɹ-] ^a [-ɔːɡɹəɹ; -ɡɹ-] ^b /fəˈtɹɑːɡɹɹ/ *photographer*, [pɹɪˈfɛsɹ, pɹəː; pɹɹ-] ^a [pɹɪˈfɛsə; pɹəː] ^b /pɹɪˈfɛsɹ/ *professor*, [pɹɪˈnɑːnsɹiˈɛɹʃn; pɹəː; pɹɹ-] ^a [pɹɪˈnɑːnsiˈɛɹʃn; pɹəː] ^b /pɹɪˈnɑːnsiˈɛɹʃn/ *pronunciation*, [pɹɪˈpɹæɹɹɹ, pɹəː; ˈpɹɹɹɹ, ˈpɹɹɹɹ-] ^a [pɹɪˈpɹæɹɹɹ, pɹɹəː; pɹəː] ^b /pɹɪˈpɹæɹɹɹ; ˈpɹɹɹɹɹɹ/ *preparatory*.

All in all, we can see that dissimilation mostly occurs with: [ɹ] /ɹ/, usually, in stressed syllables (where, even if /ɹ/ is not pronounced, words do not become ambiguous, because the vowel timbre alone is distinctive; see the examples above), and with: [ɹ] /əɹ/ in unstressed syllables: *surprise, particular, caterpillar, governor, thermometer...*

Morphological remark

2.3.3.6. Now, thanks to transcriptions (which do not hide reality, as spelling does) we will resolve a widespread problem for foreigners – knowing which pronunciation to use for the grammemes {-ed; -(e)s; -'s, -s'}

Simply, we have:

/d/ [d] after voiced phonemes (ie vowels, diphthongs, and voiced consonants, except the very /d/): /'pleɪd/ *played*, /'hʌɪd/ *hurried*, /'bɑːɪd/ *barred*, /'ɪlɒd/ *rubbed*, /'dʒʌdʒd/ *judged*, /'plænd/ *planned*;

/t/ [t] after voiceless consonants (except the very /t/): /'stɒpt/ *stopped*, /'wɒʃt/ *washed*, /'swɪtʃt/ *switched*, /'læft/ *laughed*;

/ɪd/ [əd]^a [ɪd]^b after /t, d/, in order to be able to pronounce them: /'weɪtɪd/ *waited*, /'niːɪd/ *needed*, /'stɑːtɪd/ *started*.

Finally, we have:

/z/ [z] after voiced phonemes (ie vowels, diphthongs, and voiced consonants, except the grooved ones, /z, ʒ, dʒ/): /'gɔːz/ *goes*, /'flaɪz/ *flies*, /'deɪz/ *days*, /'leɪdɪz/ *ladies*, /'ɪlɒbz/ *rubs*, /'weɪvz/ *waves*, /'plænz/ *plans*, /'dʒɒnz/ *John's*, /'rɪtʃəɪdz/ *Richard's*;

/s/ [s] after voiceless consonants (except the grooved ones, /s, ʃ, tʃ/): /'tɒps/ *tops*, /'waɪtɪs/ *writes*, /'breɪθs/ *breaths*, /'dʒɛfs/ *Jeff's*, /'mæpɪərənts/ *my parents*';

/ɪz/ [əz]^a [ɪz]^b after /s, z; ʃ, ʒ; tʃ, dʒ/, in order to be able to pronounce them: /'kɪsɪz/ *kisses*, /'ɹɔːzɪz/ *roses*, /'dɪʃɪz/ *dishes*, /'swɪtʃɪz/ *switches*, /'æksɪz/ *axes*, /'tʃɑːlɪzɪz/ *Charles's*.

Stress

2.3.4.1. We know that (the position of) stress may be distinctive, in English: /'ɪmpɔːtɪ/ ^a [-ɔːtɪ]^b *import* (noun, adj.), /ɪm'phɔːtɪ/ ^a [-ɔːtɪ]^b *import* (verb); /'prezɪntɪ/ ^a [-ɪntɪ]^b *present* (noun, adj.), /prezɪnt/ ^a [pɪntɪ]^b *present* (verb).

English sentences usually keep the stresses of their words well, even in lexical monosyllables, while grammatical monosyllables lack any stress (as, in general, do polysyllabic unstressed syllables): /'sæmz 'bɔːt 'θɪrɪ 'nɔːu 'smɔːl 'blæk 'kætɪz/ ^a /'bɔːt 'θɪrɪ 'nɪju 'smɔːtɪ/ ^b *Sam has bought three new small black cats*; but we have: /nɪðɪ wɜːə'lɑːɪdʒ 'kheɪə'ɒd ɪ'phiːpɪ/ ^a [-wɜːə'lɑːɪdʒɪz]^b *and there was a large crowd of people*, /bɪ'ɪtsɪdʒə'gɪeɪəsɪ um'phɔːtɪnɪs, -ɪnɪz/ ^a /bə'tɪ-, 'gɪeɪtɪ-, -ɪtɪ/ ^b *but it's of the greatest importance*.

However, in long words (and in sentences as well), many syllables with full vowels generally receive secondary stresses (especially when they occur near unstressed and reduced syllables): /'ɒvɪ'ɛstɪ'meɪtɪ/ ^a /ɒvɪ'ɛstɪtɪ/ ^b *overestimate*, /vɪzə'bɪləɪti/ ^a [-tɪ]^b *visibility*, /'pɪpən'dɪkjə'læɪəti/ ^a /pɪpən-, -tɪ/ ^b *perpendicularity*, /'rɛkɪg'nəɪz/ ^a /rɛ-/^b *recognize*, /'mɛksɪkɔː/ ^a [-ɔː]^b *Mexico*.

In compounds, the more frequent structure is ['\$,\$] (more rarely ['\$,\$]: /fɪf'tɪn/ *fifteen*). Sometimes, even ['\$,\$] occurs, as in <collocations> (or occasional –or free–compounds, which are, then, modifiable): /'blæk'bɜːd/ ^a [-ɜːdɪ]^b *blackbird* (but /'blæk 'bɜːdɪ/ ^a /'bɜːdɪ/ ^b *black bird*), /'bɒl'dɒg, -ɪg/ ^a [-ɪgɪ]^b *bulldog*.

Of course, there are also many instances like: /'ɪŋɡlɪʃ'tɪtʃɪ/ ^a [-ɪtʃɪ]^b *English teacher* <a teacher of English> and /'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'tɪtʃɪ/ ^a [-ɪtʃɪ]^b *English teacher* <a teacher who is English>.

2.3.4.2. Let us now consider compounds such as *first class* (noun and adverb) and *first-class* (adjective), and the collocation *first class*, in a sentence like *that was the first class to be considered*. From a phonetic point of view, they are alike: [fɪʃs(t) 'khlæ(ɾ)s]^a [fɪʃs(t) 'khlɔ:s]^b; however, from a phonemic point of view, and for teaching and lexicographical purposes as well, it could be very useful to distinguish them as: /fə:ɪst'klæ:s/ (compounds: </'\$\$/ >) and /fə:ɪst 'klæ:s/ (collocation: </'\$ '\$/ >).

Besides, patterns are flexibly structured. As a matter of fact, we have: [fɪf'tɦrɪn] *fifteen* and [pɦeɪdʒ fɪf'tɦrɪn] *page fifteen*, but [fɪf'tɦɪm pɦeɪdʒəz]^a [-ɪz]^b *fifteen pages*; [bɪə'n(d) 'nɔ:u]^a [nɪj'u]^b *brandnew*, but [ə'bɪə'n(d) nɔ:u kʌm'pɦɪju:ɪ]^a [-nɪju:u, -fɛ]^b *a brandnew computer*.

Moreover: [sɛkʌn(d) 'hæ:nɔ] *secondhand*, but [sɛkʌn,hænd ˈkɦlɔ:(ð)z]^a [-zɔ:(ð)z]^b *secondhand clothes*; and [ð(ɛ)ɪ'ɔ:t sɛkʌn'hæ:nɔ]^a [ðɛzɪ'ɔ:t]^b *they're all secondhand*; also [æftɪ'nɔ:un]^a [ɑ:ftɪ'nɔ:un]^b *afternoon* and [gɔdæftɪ'nɔ:un, gɔdɪ, gʌdɪ]^a [gɔdɑ:ftɪ'nɔ:un, gɔdɪ, gʌdɪ]^b *good afternoon*, but [æftɪ'nɔ:un 'ɦrɪɪ]^a [ɑ:ftɪ'nɔ:un 'ɦrɪɪ]^b *afternoon tea*.

A few cases can vary according to speech rate, but also whether they occur in intonemes or preintonemes, as well as according to personal choices. Here, we will make use of different degrees of intermediate stress, too, which (without an emphatic one, [ˈ]) are, in descending order: [ˌ], [ˌˌ], [ˌˌˌ], [ˌˌˌˌ], [ˌˌˌˌˌ]. It is worthwhile observing nuances carefully: [dɛmən'stɹɪɪʃən 'ɛksɪsæzəz, dɛmən,s-, -sɹɪɪʃən,ɛksɪsæzəz]^a [-sɹɪɪʃn 'ɛksəsæzɪz]...^b *demonstration exercises*, [elə'veɪɪɪ 'ɑ:pɪɪɪɪ, elə'veɪɪɪɑ:pɪɪɪɪɪ, elə'veɪɪɪɑ:pɪɪɪɪɪ]^a [-fəɪ 'ɔ:pəɪɪɪɪ]...^b *elevator operator*, [lɑ:ɹ'haɔs kɦɪɪɪɪ, lɑ:ɹ'haɔs,kɦɪɪɪɪ, lɑ:ɹ'haɔs,kɦɪɪɪɪ]^a [-v]...^b *lighthouse keeper*; let us notice: [lɑ:ɹ 'haɔs,kɦɪɪɪɪ]^a [-v]^b *light housekeeper*.

2.3.4.3. To feel certain about the stress patterns of compounds, it is necessary to look them up in reliable dictionaries. But pronunciation dictionaries are not always the best choice, for this aspect, although, of course, they have to be consulted. We willingly recommend the Random House dictionaries which, for secondary stress, are almost perfect; of course, the stress patterns shown are American ones, but, in general, they may hold good even for British English, which, in the meanwhile, may have added ^{or} kept some other possible variants (mainly collocation-like, rather than compound-like, so less useful ones: *weekend*, *icecream*, *New York*, *New Zealand*, *New Hampshire*...).

In addition, the Oxford <Advanced Learner's> dictionaries show the <marked> cases of primary stress in several lexical collocations (which are quite unpredictable, above all for foreigners).

In (dia)phonemic transcriptions such as ours, the most typical and numerous compounds are shown with a single primary stress /'\$\$/; the secondary one is easily recoverable, because the second lexeme necessarily bears a secondary stress.

Vice versa, most dictionaries printed in the USA include secondary stress, </'\$\$/ >; but usually the non-IPA symbols they use put stresses *after* stressed syllables, unfortunately, not *before*, and simply through a difference in thickness (which, sometimes, is not evident enough, even with both of them *in præsentia*); as a matter of fact, we happen to find, eg <*in scrib*> instead of /ɪn'skrɪæb/ *inscribe* and <*vizə bill*>

tē› for /vɪzə'bɪləti/ [vɪzə'bʊləi]^a [-əʃi]^b *visibility*. But some American dictionaries are misleading, because they mark secondary stress for most unstressed syllables bearing full vowels.

Regrettably, mainly dictionaries published in the UK (even pronouncing dictionaries) do not use secondary stress wisely enough. As a matter of fact, a collocation like [ˈsɛntɹɪʃ ˈhi:ɪŋ]^a [-tɹ-, -ʃɪŋ]^b /ˈsɛntɹɪʃ ˈhi:ɪŋ/ *central heating* is, usually, represented as */sɛntrəl ˈhi:ɪŋ/, exactly like [ˌsɛntɹɪəlɪstɪk]^a [-tɹ-]^b /sɛntɹɪəlɪstɪk/ *centralistic* (their */sɛntrəlɪstɪk/).

However, the more they mark the better, even when things are predictable, provided they do so in an exact and accurate way. Indeed, teaching transcriptions, especially for beginners, should show several characteristics, with no absurd and groundless fear that they may confuse. In reality, too simple a transcription is less useful and, sometimes, misleading.

2.3.4.4. As regards diaphonemic transcriptions in compounds with suffixes, it is sufficient to know which of them are always *non(half)stressable* (<|_o\$|>) and which are prosodically *(half)stressable* (<|_(o)\$|>). As a matter of fact, the others, that have full vowels, are always *(half)stressable* (<|_(o)\$|>). In addition to those with /ə, əɪ, ɪ/, the following are always unstressed: /-ɪk, -ɪks, -ɪŋ, -ɪʃ, -ɪst, -ɪv, -fɪʃ/ *-ic, -ics, -ing, -ish, -ist, -ive, -phil*: /ˈɪɛtəɪk, ˈpɒlətɪks, ˈlɪŋgəɪŋ, ˈjeləʊɪʃ, ˈnɒvəlɪst, dɪˈskɹɪptɪv, ˈæŋɡləfɪʃ/ *rhetoric, politics, lingering, yellowish, novelist, descriptive, anglophil* (for *-phile*, we have /-fæɪʃ, -fɪʃ/).

Instead, the following are *half-stressed* (if preceded by an unstressed syllable), but *unstressed* (if preceded by a stressed syllable): /-hʊd, -ɪzəm, -æɪt, -æɪz, -ʃɪp, -ʃuʊʃ/ *-hood, -ism, -ite, -ize (-ise), -ship, -ule*: /ˈwʊmən[]hʊd/ *womanhood* (≠ /ˈtʃæɪt(d)hʊd/ *childhood*), /ˈtɛɪə[]ɪzəm/ *terrorism* (≠ /ˈbʊdɪzəm, ˈbʊu-/ *Buddhism*), /ˈtɹɒtski[]æɪt/ *Trotskyite* (≠ /ˈsʌɪfæɪt/ *sulfite*), /ˈkɹɪtɪ[]sæɪz/ *criticize* (but /ˈbæptæɪz/ *baptize*, in addition to /bæpˈtæɪz/), /ˈskɒləɪ[]ʃɪp/ *scholarship* (≠ /ˈfɪɛn(d)ʃɪp/ *friendship*), /ˈmɒlɪ[]kjʊʊʃ/ *molecule* (≠ /ˈɡlɒbjʊʊʃ/ *globule*).

Intonation

2.3.5. As far as intonation is concerned, close observation of the tonograms for preintonemes and intonemes (fig 2.7-8) of both accents is sufficient. Technically, we talk about *intonation groups* (or *tone groups*, for short), which are generally composed of a first part, the *preintoneme*, and a second, or *intoneme*. The latter is the most important for conveying pragmatic meanings, such as *statement, question, &c.* It is common knowledge that these structures depend on *orthology* (ie expressive speech) and semantics. These will produce particular effects, but always within usual primary intonation patterns, which are flexible, though systematic. An added <complication> is *paraphonics* (which marks attitudes, moods, feelings and social roles). All this is typical of any common messages, even in every-day simple conversation:

/./: [aɒvˈdʒʌs(p) ˈbɔ:ɪ əˈnʊ:u ˈdɪkʃənɪ.ɪ.]^a [aɒvˈdʒʌs(p) ˈbɔ:ɪ əˈnɪjʊ:u ˈdɪkʃənɪ.ɪ.]^b /aɒv-

'dʒʌst 'bɔ:t ə'njʊu 'dɪkʃnɛrɪ./ *I've just bought a new dictionary.*

/?: [ɛdʒə'spi:k 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'wɛt:; ɛdʒə-]^a [ɛdʒə'spi:k 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ 'wɛt:; ɛdʒə-]^b /ɛdʒə'spi:k 'ɪŋ-
glɪʃ 'wɛt?/ *Do you speak English well?*

/:/ [jʊkən'hæv 'stɹɔ:bɛrɪz· ɪ'blʊbɛrɪz.]^a [jʊkən'hæv 'stɹɔ'bɪz· ɔ'blʊbɪz.]^b
/jʊkən'hæv 'stɹɔ:bɛrɪz; ɔ'ɪ'blʊbɛrɪz./ *You can have strawberries or blueberries.*

2.3.6. There are several and quite varied *question tags*, or *tag questions*, in English, while, other languages generally have fixed formulas. In the English language, they are morphologically determined (by modifying auxiliary and modal verbs and changing their positive/negative polarity). They have two different functions: *confirmations* of somebody's suppositions (by means of conclusive intonemes), or actual *questions*, to really ask something, for lack of any certainty.

Let us see a few examples: *It's cold today, isn't it?* or *You're American, aren't you?* or *They aren't well, are they?* For *confirmation*, we will have: /ɪtskɔʊd tədeɪ. ɛ'ɪsn(t)-
ɪt./, /jə'æ'mɛɪkən. ɛ'ɑ:ntʃu./, /ðeɪ'ɑ:nt 'wɛl. ɛ'ɑ:ðeɪ./; while, for *information*: /ɪts-
'kɔʊd tədeɪ. ɛ'ɪsn(t)ɪt?/, /jə'æ'mɛɪkən. ɛ'ɑ:ntʃu?/, /ðeɪ'ɑ:nt 'wɛl. ɛ'ɑ:ðeɪ?/.

fig 2.7. American intonation.

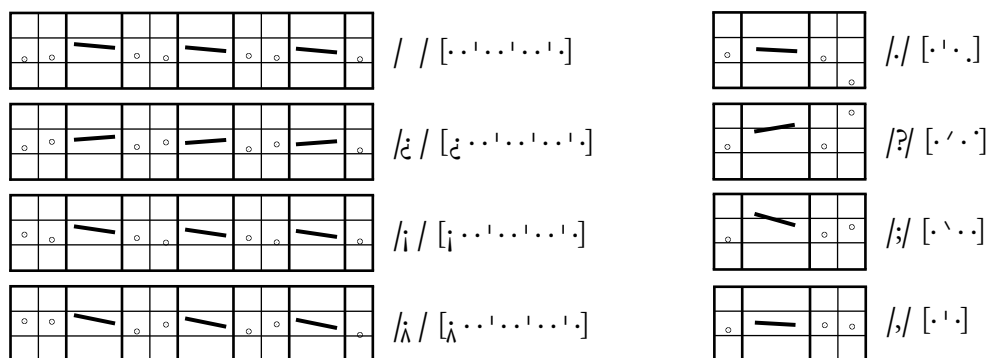
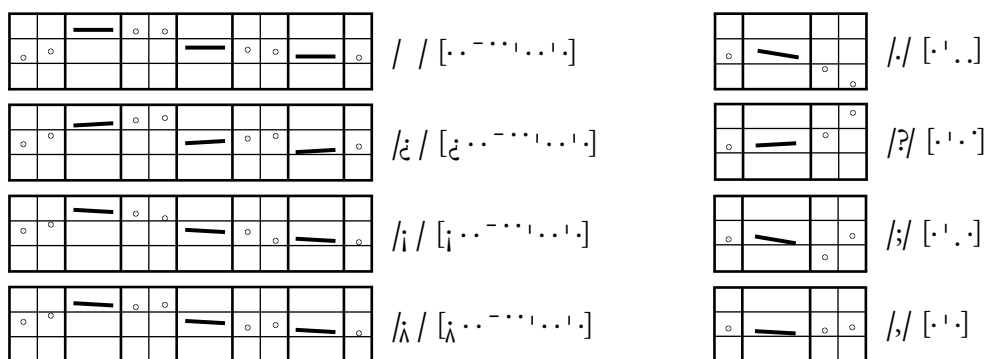


fig 2.8. British intonation.



Other accents

2.4.0. This section is likely to be very important for descriptive and communicative purposes, as it deals with pronunciations going beyond the neutral accents.

◁International▷ neutral accent

2.4.1.1. As a teaching application for foreigners, the proposal of an ◁international▷ accent seems to be welcome and useful. It will certainly have more real advantages than learning without a method, in a wild and uncontrolled way, and acquiring elements of both neutral accents, together with many personal (and regional) peculiarities and interferences due to spelling inconsistencies.

Things will become simpler and more straightforward, when, at long last, a dictionary with diaphonemic transcriptions is available. The ◁international▷ accent is mainly based on the CNN pronunciation, which covers the whole globe. Although it is slightly more American-like, which is the more widespread accent and also the less diverging –if possible– from current spelling, still it is not too American. Of course, we are referring to newsreaders, not to local correspondents, who in certain cases may even be speaking English as a second language.

Indeed, it simplifies actual complexities of real accents, above all the British one, eliminating unnecessary and unwanted distinctions (not shown by spelling, among other things), to recover a more organic and general situation. All this is done, starting from actual pronunciations, which, moreover, lack any connotations that can be easily localized. Many singers and actors use it.

So, roughly, this international pronunciation is intermediate between the American and British neutral pronunciations. Besides, it does not sound ◁strange▷ to any native speaker. It simply is more ◁organized▷, but with no undue or far-fetched exaggerations.

2.4.1.2. Starting from our diaphonemic transcription, the international accent is obtained mainly by bringing the diaphonemes /æ, ɑ; ɒ, ɔ; ə, ɪ/ to their most natural ◁matrices▷ (/æ, ɑ; ɒ, ɔ; ə, ɪ/ [æ, ɑ; ɒ, ɔ; ə, ɪ]), ie more traditional and widespread, as well as less apart from spelling, as we have already said. In this way, we can simplify the hard task of foreigners, who –unfortunately– are forced to ◁learn▷ from spelling. Actually, our modern-language teaching is still in a pitiful condition as far as pronunciation is concerned, as it is often completely neglected.

Thus, we have: [læst]ⁱ [læ(ɔ)st]^a [lɑst]^b /læst/ *last*, [phɑstʃe]ⁱ [phɑstʃʌ]^a [phæstʃe]^b /pɑstə/ *pasta*, [sɒɪ]ⁱ [sɑɪ; sɔ-]^a [sɒɪ]^b /sɒɪ/ *sorry*, [lɒst]ⁱ [lɔst, lɑ-]^a [lɒst]^b /lɒst/ *lost*, [fɔʃs]ⁱ (see below for [ʃ], which is a semi-lateral contoid, with no real contact) [fɔʃs, fɑ-]^a [fɔʃs, fɒ-]^b /fɔʃs/ *false*, [dɪʃəz]ⁱ [dɪʃəz]^a [dɪʃɪz]^b /dɪʃɪz/ *dishes*, [wɒntʃəd]ⁱ [wɒn(ɪ)əd]^a [wɔ-]^b [wɒntʃɪd]^b /wɒntʃɪd/ *wanted*, [həɪ]ⁱ [hɪɪ]^a [hɛɪ]^b /həɪ/ *hurry*. fig 2.9-10 give the vocalic articulations of the ◁international▷ English accent.

2.4.1.3. As for unstressed syllables with possible full timbres, the international pronunciation, instead, has the less prominent ones, even if not extreme ([ɪ] is a semi-approximant, fig 1.13.3): [ɪɛgʒəlɪ]ⁱ /ɪɛgʒəlɪ/ *regular* [dɪkʃənɪ]ⁱ /dɪkʃənɪ/ *dictionary*, [dɔɪmətɔɪ]ⁱ /dɔɪmətɔɪ/ *dormitory*. Thus, for /t, d/ + / (V)ɪ/, </tʃɪ, dʒɪ/ are preferable (as many native speakers do themselves, all over the world).

fig 2.9 shows that the ◁international▷ phonemes /ʌ, ɒ, ɔ, u/ are [ɐ, ɒ, ɔ, u]:

fig 2.9. International monophthongs.

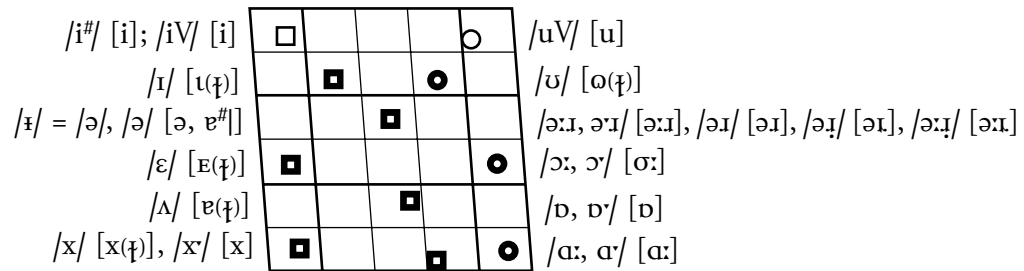
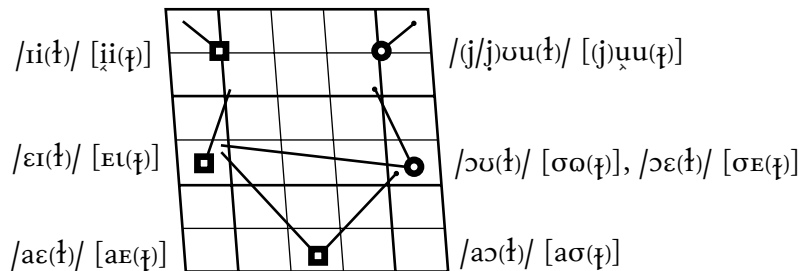


fig 2.10. International diphthongs.



[hɛɪ]ⁱ [hʌɪ]^a [hɛɪ]^b /hʌɪ/ *hut*, [hɒɪ]ⁱ [hɑɪ]^a [hɒɪ]^b /hɒɪ/ *hot*, [sɔ:]ⁱ [sɔ:]^a [sɔ:]^b /sɔ:/ *saw*, [sɪtʃu'eɪʃən]ⁱ [sɪtʃu'eɪʃən]^a [sɪtʃu'eɪʃən]^b /sɪtʃu'eɪʃən/ *situation*.

For /ə:ɪ/, we have [ə:ɪ]: [wə:ɪd]ⁱ [wɜ:ɪd]^a [wɜ:ɪd]^b /wə:ɪd/ *word*; for /əɪ, əɪ/ [ə:ɪ]: [hə:ɪ]ⁱ [hɜ:ɪ]^a [hɜ:ɪ]^b /hə:ɪ/ *hurry*; for /əɪ/, in unstressed syllables, we find [əɪ]: [brʌðəɪ(z)]ⁱ [brʌðɪ(z)]^a [-ɪ(z)]^a [-ɪ(z)]^b /brʌðəɪ(z)/ *brother(s)*.

For /ɪəɪ, εəɪ, ʊəɪ/ we have [Vəɪ]: [hɪvəɪ]ⁱ [hɪvɪ]^a [hɪvɪ]^b /hɪəɪ/ *hear*, [ðɛvəɪ]ⁱ [ðɛvɪ]^a [ðɛvɪ]^b /ðɛvəɪ/ *there*, [pʰɔvəɪ]ⁱ [pʰɔvɪ]^a [pʰɔvɪ]^b /pʰɔvəɪ/ *poor*; and for /ɪəɪ, εəɪ, ʊəɪ/ we have [ɪəɪ, εɪ, ʊəɪ]: [hɪəɪ]ⁱ [hɪəɪ]^a [hɪəɪ]^b /hɪəɪ/ *hearing*, [mɛɪɪ]ⁱ [mɛɪɪ]^a [mɛɜɪɪ]^b /mɛəɪ/ *Mary*, [dʒɪəɪ]ⁱ [dʒɪəɪ]^a [dʒɪəɪ]^b /dʒɪəɪ/ *during*.

2.4.1.4. As to diphthongs, it is sufficient to notice: /ii, ʊu, ɔʊ/ [ii, ʊu, ɔʊ] (notice that [ii, ʊu] are diphthongs, although very narrow): [tʰɪɪ]ⁱ [tʰɪɪ]^{a/b} /tʰɪɪ/ *tea*, [fɪjʊ]ⁱ [fɪjʊ]^{a/b} /fɪjʊ/ *few*, [tʰuɪ]ⁱ [tʰuɪ]^a [tʰuɪ]^b /tʰuɪ/ *two*, [nɔʊ]ⁱ [nɔʊ]^a [nɔʊ]^b /nɔʊ/ *no*. Besides, for /aε, ɔε/, a second element like [εɜ] is enough (cf fig 2.10, to avoid introducing/learning another vocoid; so much so that a pronunciation with [εɜ] is much better than <foreign> *[ai, ɔi], and it is near the native one): [gəɛ]ⁱ [gəɛ]^{a/b} /gəɛ/ *guy*, [bɔɛ]ⁱ [bɔɛ]^{a/b} /bɔɛ/ *boy*. Little has to be said about /εɪ, aɔ/: [dɛɪ]ⁱ [dɛɪ]^{a/b} /dɛɪ/ *day*, [nəʊ]ⁱ [nəʊ]^{a/b} /nəʊ/ *now*.

Neither the [ɪ] taxophone of /ə/ near velars, nor other taxophones of /ɪ, ε, ə, ʊ; ʌ, ii, ʊu; εɪ, aε, ɔε/ + /ɪ, ɪ/ are necessary, but their use makes one's pronunciation more <authentic>, although this <international> model is already definitely more realistic than those offered in so many textbooks, even by English-speaking phoneticians (where, among other thing, </i:, u:/> are still indicated). Thus, taxophones like [ɪ; ɪ-, εɪ-, əɪ-, ʊɪ-, ʌɪ-, ii, ʊu; aɛ, ɔɛ] (but [εɪ, εɪ]) can really change one's pronunciation from simple <international> (for foreigners) into <native international> pronunciation. Instead, the use of [i:, u:] clearly indicates either a *non* <native-like> pronunciation, or one which is regional or socially inappropriate.

For /t, t̥/, it is better to use [t̟, t̟̥] (semilateral, fig 1.15.1), which, articulatorily, are decidedly simpler than [t̪, t̪̥] (in case, even velar can be used –velar semilateral [t̟, t̟̥]– which, auditorily, are decidedly better than [l, l̥]).

As for consonants, suffice to say that [ʔ] is acceptable for /t/ (§ 2.2.2.4) and that [ɹ] may be good for /t̪/, mainly after vowels, while, [t̟] is more recommendable, after /n, ɹ, t̪/: [ˈbɛt̟i, -ɪ]ⁱ [ˈbɛɪi]^a [ˈbɛt̟i]^b /ˈbɛt̟i/ *Betty*, [ˈt̟hwɛnɪ]ⁱ [ˈt̟hwɛn(ɪ)i]^a [ˈt̟hwɛnɪ]^b /ˈt̟wɛnti/ *twenty*.

Thus, for *r*, we have: /ɹ/ [ɹ], /ɹ/ [ɹ]. Besides, /h̥w/ simply corresponds to /w/: [ˈwɛnɪ]ⁱ /ˈh̥wɛn/ *when*, and /j/ to /j/: [ˈt̟ɟʊn]ⁱ /ˈt̟jʊn/ *tune*, [ˈd̟jʊn]ⁱ /ˈd̟jʊn/ *dune*, [ˈn̟jʊ]ⁱ /ˈn̟jʊ/ *new*.

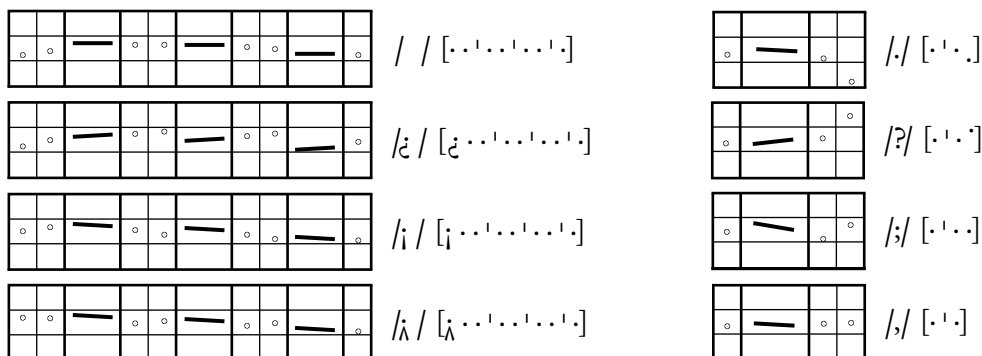
The intonation of <international> English has a restrained and more general movement, as can be seen from fig 2.11 (although the first stressed syllable in a pre-intoneme could be half-high, [˨̩], instead of just raised mid).

2.4.1.5. Both the <RP> and the American models have some problems of social acceptability. <RP>, though still very widely used, both in the BBC news and in some kinds of British *sitcom* and movies, has always had a strong connotation of artificial affectation, which makes it disagreeable to many native speakers. RP is generally associated with a <high> social position (eg members of the aristocracy, of the higher clergy or military ranks, Tory MP's, prestigious university professors, &c), and a certain age group (over 50 years of age). Clothing, too, should be sufficiently formal, to be suitable for the RP accent. If these conditions are lacking –ie for common natives– the British neutral accent could prove to be definitely inappropriate.

It is to be said that, paradoxically, even an impersonation of an RP speaker (even only partially successful, especially if belonging to certain particular varieties) may give rise to negative feelings from British listeners belonging to the middle or working class. Indeed, these people might find a few snobbish phonetic traits, easily recognizable as marked ones, even if mixed with foreign traits, especially if the speakers are young(er).

Against these (empirically checked) difficulties, it might be better to choose the American neutral accent. This is certainly recommendable to learners in North America, but not in the British Isles, where most people would consider it inappropriate.

fig 2.11. International intonation.



We reckon that this dilemma may be faced, in a practical and diplomatic way, aiming at acquiring an ‹international› accent, which –although it might seem to be ‹nobody’s accent›– would have none of the possible negative connotations of the two mediatic accents (we will be dealing with below), or even of the two national neutral ones (which some people seem to consider ‹nobody’s accent›, as well, since –in both nations– only about 3% of native speakers actually use them).

‹Mediatic› accents

2.4.2.0. In addition to the two neutral accents, the American and the British ones, and to the international accent, we believe it is important to show the two kinds of accent actually used by American and British native speakers. Naturally, ‹mediatic› pronunciations are often used by North-American people in the mid-western states, and by English people in the southeastern counties, respectively, as well as by most spoken-word mass media (ie radio and television) that do not use the neutral accents nor more local ones.

Therefore, fig 2.12-18 (which speak for themselves) must be carefully analyzed, comparing them with the neutral ones, in order to capture the differences, which are sometimes not slight! In ordinary people’s opinion, mainly if their own pronunciation is directly concerned, these mediatic accents are thought to be less peculiar than the neutral ones.

On the other hand, as everyone knows, neutral pronunciation –in percentage terms– is used the least by native speakers; but, it is the one generally aimed at by advanced foreign learners, except for more or less frequent interferences, especially from their mother tongue, and individual peculiarities.

For this reason, we do not hesitate to show these actual realities, although we will not get to the point of recommending an active usage by foreigners. On the contrary, a passive usage is certainly welcome, to really understand native speakers, when they talk... ‹as they can›. Actually, this happens every day, all over the world, because school and society usually ignore (good) pronunciation.

However, as these mediatic pronunciations are really very widespread, and often considered as ‹almost› neutral (or, at least, less affected and less artificial than the neutral accent), many people would be willing to declare them to be neutral. They would do so, on the one hand, in opposition to pronunciations which are more recognizable as local ones, and, on the other hand, to an ‹unsubstantial› neutral kind of pronunciation... It is no rare fact that some ‹mediatic› speakers fluctuate towards the neutral type (or away from it), for some words.

Here we wish to briefly draw attention to some details, with reference only to the respective (American or British) variant, for a direct (‹internal›) comparison. In the light of what has been seen so far, it will not be difficult to find the corresponding neutral forms of the other accent. On the contrary, it will be a very useful exercise.

◁Mediatic▷ American English pronunciation

2.4.2.1. Traditionally it was called ◁General American accent▷, since it is different from the stereotyped accents of New York City, and Eastern New England, or of the Great Lakes (ie Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, Superior), or the South (either the ◁Deep South▷ and its variants, or its mountains, ie Appalachia, Ozarks), or of the American Blacks.

2.4.2.2. As can be seen from fig 2.12, /ɪ, ʊ, ε/ are [ə, ʊ, ε]: [ˈhəʊt]^{m.a} [ˈhɪt]^a /hit/ *hit*, [ˈphʊʒt]^{m.a} [ˈphɒt]^a /pʊt/ *put*, [ˈlɛːɡ]^{m.a} [ˈlɛːɡ]^a /lɛg/ *leg* (let us also note [ˈfɪl]^{m.a} [ˈfɪl]^a /fɪl/ *fill*, [ˈfʊl]^{m.a} [ˈfʊl]^a /fʊl/ *full*); whereas, /ɪə, ʊə, ɔ:/ are [ɪə, ʊə, ɔ:]: [ˈhɪrɪ]^{m.a} [ˈhɪrɪ]^a /hɪrɪ/ *here*, [ˈpʰɔːrɪ]^{m.a} [ˈpʰɔːrɪ]^a /pʰɔːrɪ/ *poor*, [ˈwɔːl]^{m.a} [ˈwɔːl]^a /wɔːl/ *wall*, [ˈsɔː]^{m.a} [ˈsɔː]^a /sɔː/ *saw* (instead, /ɔː, ɔː/ are slightly raised). Equally, in /^(ɪ)ɪŋ/ it has, (more) often, [ɪ] (sometimes [i] too, cf fig 2.14): [ˈsɪŋɪŋ]^{m.a} [ˈsɪŋɪŋ]^a /sɪŋɪŋ/ *singing*.

In addition, /u/ is frontier, [ʊ]: [ˌsɪtʃuˈeɪʃən]^{m.a} [ˌsɪtʃuˈeɪʃən]^a /sɪtʃuˈeɪʃən/ *situation*; /ʌ/ is frontier and higher, [ɘ] (and in /ʌt/ it is rounded, [oʊ]): [ˈhʌt]^{m.a} [ˈhʌt]^a /hʌt/ *hut*, [ˈhʊl]^{m.a} [ˈhʊl]^a /hʌl/ *hull*. There are some further slight modifications which however do not change the phonetic symbols.

Let us rather talk about /æ/, which is diphthongized, [æa]: [ˈphæast]^{m.a} [ˈphæ(ə)st]^a /pæst/ *past*, as well as /æN/ [ɛ̃N] (which is considerably raised and nasalized, too): [ˈmɛ̃n]^{m.a} [ˈmæ̃n]^a /mæn/ *man*, [ˈɛ̃nəm]^{m.a} [ˈæ̃nəm]^a /ænɪm/ *animal*, [ˈfɛ̃nɪhæstɪk]^{m.a} [ˈfænɪhæstɪk]^a /fænɪtæstɪk/ *fantastic*, [ˈθɛ̃ŋkjʊ, -jʌ]^{m.a} [ˈθæ̃ŋkjʊ, -jə]^a /θæŋkjʊ, -jə/ *thank you*.

Some phonemes neutralize, which leads to the merging into [ˈmɛ̃ɪ] for /mɛɪ, mɛəɪ, mæɪ/ *merry, Mary, marry*. In addition, /ɒ/ merges into /ɔ/ or /ɔː/, generally as in American neutral pronunciation: [ˈsɔːrɪ]^{m.a} [ˈsɔːrɪ]^a /sɒrɪ/ *sorry*, [ˈsɔːŋ]^{m.a} [ˈsɔːŋ]^a /sɒŋ/ *song*.

We also find the neutralization of /ɑ:/ and /ɒ/ into [ɑ(ː)], including /ɑː, ɑː/, with an oscillating phonetic length: [ɑː, ɑː, ɑ]. Generally, in monosyllables (or in final-stressed words), we have [ɑː], when absolutely final or followed by voiced C: [ˈbɑːb, ˈnɑːd, ˈspɑː, ˈbrɑː, ˈfɑː, ˈkɑːd]^{m.a} [ˈbɑːb, ˈnɑːd, ˈspɑː, ˈbrɑː, ˈfɑː, ˈkɑːd]^a /bɒb, ˈnɒd; ˈspɑː, ˈbrɑː, ˈfɑː, ˈkɑːd/ *Bob, nod, spa, bra, far, card*. However, we have [ɑ], when followed by voiceless C: [ˈstɑp, ˈhɑt, ˈʃɑk]^{m.a} [ˈstɑp, ˈhɑt, ˈʃɑk]^a /stɒp, ˈhɒt, ˈʃɒk/ *stop, hot, shock*.

In bisyllables (or penultimate-stressed words) we find [ɑː] in intonemes, but [ɑ] in preintonemes: [ˈfɑːðɜ, ˈfɑːðɜ, ˈbɑːðɜ, ˈhɑːrɪ ˈmɑːli, ˈkɑːrɪ, ˈphɑːpi, ˈdɑːgmɛ]^{m.a} [ˈfɑːɪðɜ, ˈfɑːðɜ; ˈbɑːðɜ, ˈhɑːrɪ, ˈmɑːli, ˈkɑːrɪ, ˈphɑːpi, ˈdɑːgmɛ]^a /fɑːɪðɜ, ˈfɑːðɜ; ˈbɒðɜ, ˈhɒtɜ, ˈmɒli, ˈpɒpi, ˈdɒgmɛ/ *farther, father, bother, hotter, Molly, cotton, poppy, dogma*; [ˈhɑːrɪ ʌnˈhɑːrɪ]^{m.a} [ˈhɑːrɪ ɛnˈhɑːrɪ]^a /hɒtɜ ɛn(d)hɒtɜ/ *hotter and hotter*, [ˈhɑːrɪ ʌnˈhɑːrɪ]^{m.a} [ˈhɑːrɪ ɛnˈhɑːrɪ]^a /hɑːɪdɜ ɛn(d)hɑːɪdɜ/ *harder and harder*.

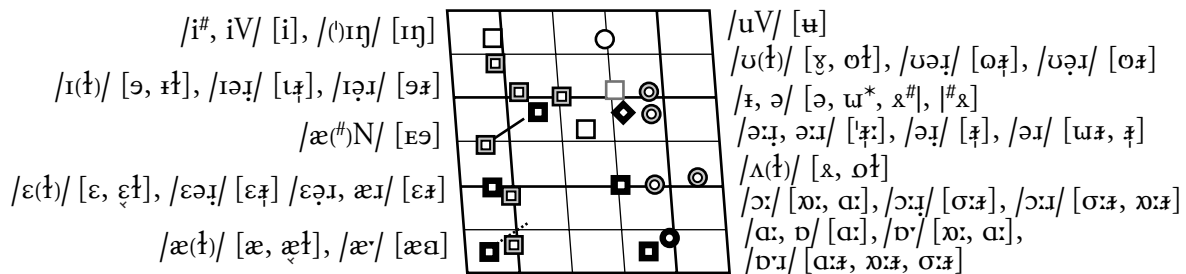
On the contrary, in plurisyllables (or in prepenultimate-stressed words) we have [ɑ]: [ˈdɑkɪjɛmɛnt, ˈphəlɪtɪks, ˈdɑgmɛtɪst, ˈkɑːdɪgɪn]^{m.a} [ˈdɑkɪjɛmɛnt, ˈphəlɪtɪks, ˈdɑgmɛtɪst; ˈkɑːɪdɪgɪn]^a /ˈdɒkɪjɛmɛnt, ˈpɒlɪtɪks, ˈdɒgmɛtɪst; ˈkɑːɪdɪgɪn/ *document, politics, dogmatist, cardigan*.

As can be seen from fig 2.12, the articulation of [ɔː] and [ɑː] is mainly distin-

guished by labialization (which is slight since the two vocoids are low). Thus many speakers can unify them (but, productively $\%_{or}$ perceptively, things are rather complex and oscillating) by also obtaining [sɑːɹi, sɑːŋ]^{m.a} ([sɑːɹi]^a /sɒɹi/ *sorry*, [sɔːŋ]^a /sɒŋ/ *song*), all the more so because, for /ɔː/, some <intermediate> articulations between /ɔː/ and /ɑː/ are decidedly common: [ɔɑ], as in [sɔːŋ, sɔːŋ]^{m.a} /sɒŋ/ *song* and [sɔː, sɔːɑ]^{m.a} /sɔː/ *saw*.

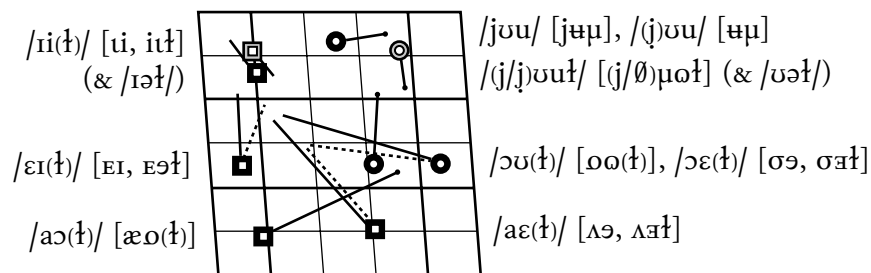
Besides, we have /ə/ [ɚ]^{m.a} (</ʌ/ɹ>), not only when final before a pause, but even after a pause, even if near velar(ized) C, where –in the neutral accent– we find [ʊ]^a: [s'phɪlʌə] /ə'plæ/ *apply*, [s'saɪə] /ə'saɪd/ *aside*, [s'thɛmpt] /ə'tɛmpt/ *attempt*, [s'bɔːtɛɪn] /ə'b'tɛɪn/ *obtain*, [s'ɔːlɔːn] /ə'lɔːn/ *alone*, [s'gɔː] /ə'gɔː/ *ago*, [s'wɛɪ] /ə'wɛɪ/ *away*, [s'æːrɔːnd] /ə'rɔːnd/ *around*, [s'kɪhɜː] /ə'kɪhɜː/ *occur*.

fig 2.12. Mediatic American monophthongs.



2.4.2.3. fig 2.13 gives the diphthongs. Let us observe the differences for /iɪ, æɛ, aɔ, ɔʊ, (j)ʊ, ʊʊ/ [iɪ, ʌə, æɔ, ɔɔ, (j)ɜ, ɜɜ]^{m.a} [iɪ, aə, aɔ, ɔɔ, ʊ, jɜ, ʊʊ]^a: [bɪɪ]^{m.a} [brɪ]^a /bɪɪ/ *bee*, [gɪə]^{m.a} [gɪə]^a /gɪə/ *guy*, [dɔːn]^{m.a} [dɔːn]^a /dɔːn/ *down*, [nɔːn]^{m.a} [nɔːn]^a /nɔː/ *no*, [tɜɜ]^{m.a} [tɜɜ]^a /tɜɜ/ *two*, [nɜɜ]^{m.a} [nɜɜ]^a /nɜɜ/ *new*, [fjɜɜ]^{m.a} [fjɜɜ]^a /fjɜɜ/ *fuel*.

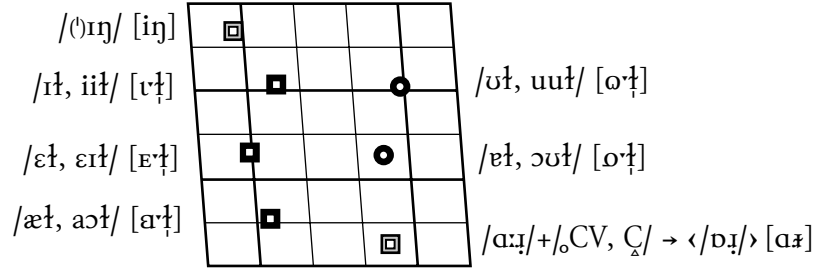
fig 2.13. Mediatic American diphthongs.



2.4.2.4. As far as V are concerned, then, we have to pay attention to frequent neutralizations (+ /t/), which however can present oscillations depending on words or speakers. In extreme cases, which are not at all rare indeed, we can find: [fɪt]^{m.a} both for [fɪt]^a /fɪt/ *fill* and [fɪɪt], [fɪɪt]^a /fɪɪt/ *feel*; [wɛt]^{m.a} both for [wɛt]^a /wɛt/ *well* and [wɛɪt], [wɛɪt]^a /wɛɪt/ *wale*; [væɪt]^{m.a} both for [væɪt]^a /væɪt/ *Val* and [væɔt], [væɔt]^a /væɔt/ *vowel*; also [fɔt]^{m.a} both for [fɔt]^a /fɔt/ *full* and [fɔʊt], [fɔʊt]^a /fɔʊt/ *fool*, and [gɔt]^{m.a} both for [gɔt]^a /gɔt/ *gull* and [gɔɔt]^a /gɔɔt/ *goal*. Two

further variants are fairly frequent, which produce: /ɪŋ/ [iŋ], /ɑːɪ̯C̥, ɑːɪ̯oCV/ [ɑɜ̃]: [ˈkhiŋ, ˈsiŋiŋ]^{m.a} for [ˈkhiŋ, ˈsiŋiŋ]^a /ˈkiŋ, ˈsiŋiŋ/ *king, singing* and [ˈphaɜ̃k, ˈkhaɜ̃ɪ̯ɜ̃]^{m.a} for [ˈphaɜ̃k, ˈkhaɜ̃ɪ̯ɜ̃]^a /ˈpaɜ̃k, ˈkaɜ̃ɪ̯ɜ̃/ *park, carter, darling*.

fig 2.14. Mediatic American neutralizations (and two further possible variants).



2.4.2.5. As far as C are concerned, keeping in mind that these observations are general (and not absolutely <obligatory> for all speakers ^{or} words) and that our transcriptions are <normalized>, let us say that for /l(j)Vɪ/ we have [ɪ(j)Vɪ]: [ɪɪɪ]^{m.a} [ɪɪɪ]^a /ˈliɪɪ/ *lilt*, [ɪɔɪ]^{m.a} [ɪɔɪ]^a /ˈliɔɪ/ *lull*, [ˈmiɪjɔ̃n]^{m.a} [ˈmiɪjɔ̃n]^a /ˈmiɪljən/ *million*, [ˈnɑ̃vɪwɪst]^{m.a} [ˈnɑ̃vɪwɪst]^a /ˈnɑ̃vɪwɪst/ *novelist*.

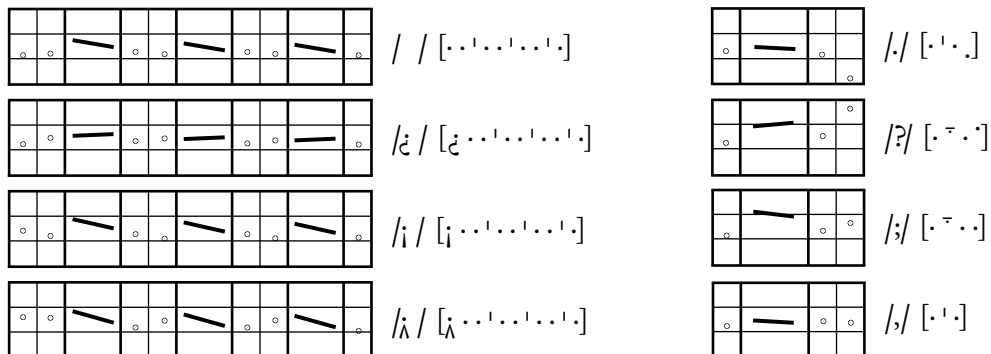
Besides, /ɪ/ has a uvularized velar rounded articulation, which is darker (or <harder>): [ɪɜ̃ɪ]^{m.a} [ɪɜ̃ɪ]^a /ˈriɜ̃ɪ/ *rear*, [ɪɜ̃ɪɜ̃]^{m.a} [ɪɜ̃ɪɜ̃]^a /ˈroɜ̃ɪ/ *roar*, [ˈwɜ̃niɜ̃]^{m.a} [ˈwɜ̃niɜ̃]^a /ˈwiɜ̃niɜ̃/ *winner*. Please note that generally [ɜ̃] exerts on /ə/ the same retracting and raising effect of /k, ɡ, ŋ; ɫ, w/: [ˈhɜ̃wɜ̃ɛ̃ɪ̃n]^{m.a} [ˈhɜ̃wɜ̃ɛ̃ɪ̃n]^a /təˈɪɛɪn/ *to rain*.

As we have seen, a *N* nasalizes the following *V*. It often also nasalizes the preceding *V* (as we indicate). Even intense *C* in contact are nasalized. When we find syllables with /(*V*)V/ + /mp[#], nt[#], ŋk[#]/, we very frequently have [(*Ṽ*)*Ṽ*] + [mɔ̃p, nɔ̃p] [ɔ̃k, ŋɔ̃k] (which are too often described simply as <[*Ṽ*C]> *à la française*): [ˈkhiɛ̃ɔ̃mɔ̃p]^{m.a} [ˈkhiɛ̃ɔ̃mɔ̃p]^a /ˈkæmp/ *camp*, [ˈstɛ̃ɔ̃mɔ̃p]^{m.a} [ˈstɛ̃ɔ̃mɔ̃p]^a /ˈstɔ̃mp/ *stump*, [ˈkhiɛ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃, -nɔ̃p]^{m.a} [ˈkhiɛ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃]^a /ˈkænt/ *can't*, [ˈdɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃, -nɔ̃p]^{m.a} [ˈdɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃]^a /ˈdɔ̃nt/ *don't*, [ˈθiɪ̃ŋɔ̃k]^{m.a} [ˈθiɪ̃ŋɔ̃k]^a /ˈθiŋk/ *think*, [ˈdɛ̃ɛ̃ŋɔ̃k]^{m.a} [ˈdɛ̃ɛ̃ŋɔ̃k]^a /ˈdɛ̃ɛ̃ŋk/ *drank*.

/ɪ/ behaves as in neutral American pronunciation, but often this use spreads to /d/ as well, so that [ɪɜ̃ɪ]^{m.a} can represent either [ɪɜ̃ɪ]^a /ˈlɛɪtəɪ/ *latter* or [ɪɛ̃dɪ]^a /ˈlɛdɪ/ *ladder*; [ˈɛ̃nɜ̃ɪ̃sɪ̃ɛ̃ɔ̃nd̃, ɛ̃nɜ̃ɪ̃ɜ̃]^{m.a} [ˈɛ̃nɜ̃ɪ̃sɪ̃ɛ̃ɔ̃nd̃]^a /ˈɛ̃nɜ̃ɪ̃sɪ̃ɛ̃ɔ̃nd̃/ *understand*.

The same goes for /j/ → [∅], as seen in *new*; and it is also possible to have /h̃w/:

fig 2.15. Mediatic American intonation.



[ˈwɛn:, ˈhʊ-, ˈhʷ-]^{m.a} [ˈwɛn:; ˈhʊ-; ˈhʷ-]^a /ˈhʷɛn/ *when*.

There is a tendency to slightly shorten stressed final vowels and diphthongs, which we will only mark here, because they oscillate (by indicating /ɔ:, ɑ:/ as doublings, [VV]^{m.a}, for [V·V]^a): [ˈsi:] /ˈsi:/ *see*, [ˈtʰʌɪ] /ˈtʰu:/ *two*, [ˈdɛɪ] /ˈdɛɪ/ *day*, [ˈɡoʊ] /ˈɡɔ:/ *go*, [ˈhaɪ] /ˈhaɛ/ *high*, [ˈnaʊ] /ˈnaɔ/ *now*, [ˈbɔɪ] /ˈbɔɛ/ *boy*, [ˈspɑ:] /ˈspɑ:/ *spa*, [ˈsɔ:] /ˈsɔ:/ *saw* (also [ˈsɔɑ, ˈsɑɑ]).

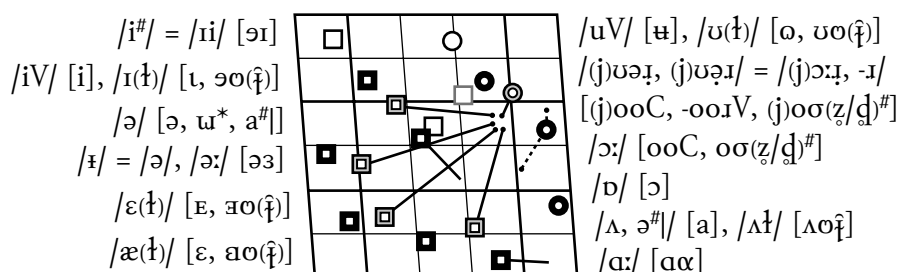
◀Mediatic▶ British English pronunciation

2.4.3.1. Journalists love to call it ◀Estuary English▶, in reference to the Thames estuary, but it is not limited to this area, since –from the south-eastern coasts of England– it surely stretches to Cambridge, Oxford, and Southampton, too. Of course, the direct influence of London is real, especially on the ◀new towns▶ (such as Milton Keynes /ˈmɪltən ˈkiːnz/, in northern Buckinghamshire, 1967), which have been built since 1946, each one planned as an autonomous whole (with factories, houses, shops, &c), in order to decentralize masses of populations, particularly from London.

However, in general, the South-East has always shared –to a lesser or greater extent– the London-type pronunciation characteristics. Thus, this accent rather than ◀spreading▶ has been ◀emerging▶ more and more, with the actual recognition of its existence.

Many speakers find that this accent is more genuine and authentic, in comparison with traditional ◀RP▶ (◀Received Pronunciation▶), which used to be the symbol of the prestigious and expensive –and definitely private– ◀Public Schools▶, such as Eton, Harrow, and Winchester. ◀RP▶ –/ˈɑ:ˌpɪi/– is also known as ◀BBC English▶, because it was used by the BBC right from the beginning (1927 [and television, 1932]). But today it can be mainly heard only on international transmissions of the ◀BBC World Service▶ radio broadcastings and the ◀BBC World▶ television broadcastings, since most English people –who do not use it– find it to be too affected and élitist.

fig 2.16. Mediatic British monophthongs.



Therefore, foreigners must be familiar with the mediatic British accent too, but with no real need to actually use it. However, often, the native speakers' conception of this accent is subjective and contrasting. In fact, if on the one hand they may consider it to be neutral, or almost neutral, with respect to ◀common▶ peo-

ple, when <public> people are concerned –as politicians are– the same pronunciation can be defined as <Cockney>, that is very dialectal (and hardly appropriate). But we do know that linguistic opinions are very colorful and personal.

2.4.3.2. As can be seen from fig 2.16, /æ, ɒ, ɔ:/ are higher, [ɛ, ɔ, ɒ]. The last one is doubled (since it moves upwards slightly), or diphthongized (downwards) when lexeme final, or followed by the /z#, d#/ [oo(d)/z#] grammemes. Also /ɛ/ is higher, though remaining within its own box, [ɛ+] (to be better distinguished from /æ/ [ɛ]): [ˈ(h)ɛɹtʃ]m.b [ˈhæɹtʃ]b /ˈhæt/ *hat*, [ˈɹɔk]m.b [ˈɹɔk]b /ˈɹɔk/ *rock*, [ˈlɔːn]m.b [ˈlɔːn]b /ˈlɔːn/ *lawn*, [ˈlɔː]m.b [ˈlɔː]b /ˈlɔː/ *law*, [ˈmɔː]m.b [ˈmɔː]b /ˈmɔː/ *more*, [ˈlɔːz]m.b [ˈlɔːz]b /ˈlɔːz/ *laws*, [ˈphɔːd]m.b [ˈphɔːd]b /ˈpɔːd/ *pored*. In the vocogram, the diphthongs due to the vocalization of /t/ are marked in grey: /ɪt, ɛt, æt, ʌt, ut/. Note the different symbols: [ˈbɛɹ(ɸ)]m.b [ˈbɪt:]b /ˈbɪt/ *bill*, [ˈbɛɹ(ɸ)]m.b [ˈbɛt:]b /ˈbɛt/ *bell*, [ˈɹɔ(ɸ)]m.b [ˈɹɔt:]b /ˈɹɔt/ *Al*, [ˈkɦɹɔ(ɸ)ɹtʃ]m.b [ˈkɦɹɔt:]b /ˈkɦɹɔt/ *cult*, [ˈbɔ(ɸ)]m.b [ˈbɔt:]b /ˈbɔt/ *bull*.

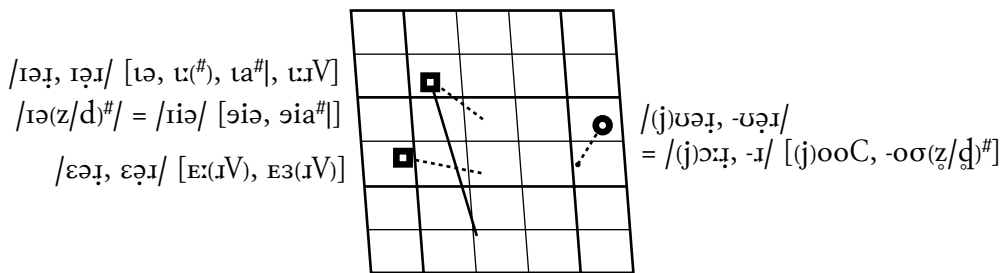
Those who systematically realize /æ/ as [ʌ] are influenced by a sort of strategy in reaction to the mediatic (and Cockney proper) closer articulation, which is realized as [ɛ], but it does not belong to neutral pronunciation. In addition, it can cause confusion with /ʌ/, not neutralization (as some think), since these realizations are uttered by different speakers, not the same, although in the same places.

Besides, /u/ is fronter, [u]: [ˈsɪtʃuˈeɪʃən]m.b [ˈsɪtʃuˈeɪʃn]b /sɪtʃuˈeɪʃən/ *situation*; /ʌ, ə(ɪ)/ are lower (and fronter), [aː]: [ˈbʌɹtʃə]m.b [ˈbɛɹtʃə]b /ˈbʌɹtʃə/ *butter*, [ˈbɪə]m.b [ˈbɪɹ]b /ˈbɪə/ *beer*; whereas, /ɔː, ɑː(ɪ)/ are diphthongized, [əɜ, ɑɑ]: [ˈfɜːz]m.b [ˈfɜːz]b /ˈfɜːz/ *fur(s)*, [ˈkɦɑːz]m.b [ˈkɦɑːz]b /ˈkɦɑːz/ *car(s)*.

2.4.3.3. fig 2.17 gives us the positions of /ɪəɪ, ɪəɪ; ɛəɪ, ɛəɪ/. We have just seen /ɪəɪ/ (*beer*); instead, for /ɪəɪ/ (and /ɪəɪ, ɪəɪ/ not before pauses) more often we have [ɪ]: [ˈ(h)ɪɹɪn, -ɪə-]m.b [ˈhɪəɪɪn]b /ˈhɪəɪɪn/ *hearing*, [ˈ(h)ɪɹ ɛnˈðɛɪ, -ɪə-, -ɛːz]m.b [ˈhɪɹ ɛnˈðɛɪz]b /ˈhɪəɪ ɛn(d)ðɛəɪ/ *here and there*, [ˈ(h)ɪː ˈkɦɹɔz ɔːsɹn, ˈ(h)ɪːz, ˈ(h)ɪː-, ˈ(h)ɪəː]m.b [ˈhɪːz ˈkɦɹɔz ɔːsɹn, ˈhɪəː]b /ˈhɪəɪ ˈkɦɹɔz ɔːsɹn/ *here comes the sun*. It is to be noted that even /ɛəɪ, ɛəɪ/ are more often long monophthongs than narrow diphthongs: [ˈmɛɪəɪ, ˈmɛɪz-]m.b [ˈmɛɪzɪ]b /ˈmɛəɪ/ *Mary* (beside *there*, just seen); /ʊəɪ/ practically becomes /ɔːɪ/: [ˈphɔː]m.b [ˈphɔː, ˈphɔːɹ]b /ˈpʊəɪ/ *poor*.

Generally, in this accent, for /VVə/ sequences we have [VVə, VVa]: [ˈsɛəɪə]m.b [ˈsɪəɪə]b /ˈsɛəɪə/ *seer* (and also [aɹdɹəɪə]m.b [aɹdɹəɪə]b /aɹdɹəɪə/ *idea*), [ˈdɦɹə]m.b [ˈdɦɹə]b

fig 2.17. Mediatic British /Və/ diphthongs.



/aɛəɪ/ [aɛə, aɛəʰ], /aɔəɪ/ [aɔə, aɔəʰ], /ɛɪəɪ/ [ɛɪə, ɛɪəʰ], /ɔːʊəɪ/ [ɔːə, ɔːəʰ], /ɔːɛəɪ/ [ɔːə, ɔːəʰ], /iəɪ/ [ɪə, ɪəʰ, ɪɹV], /ʊəɪ/ [ʊə, ʊəʰ, ʊɹV], /ɑːɪ/ [ɑɑ] + </ɑːɹ/ > [ɑɑə, ɑɑəʰ], /VVəɪV/ [VV(ə)ɹV]

/ˈdʊə/ *doer*. In addition: [ˈplɪɪə]^{m.b} [ˈplɪɪɛ]^b /ˈplɪɪə/ *player*, [ˈfaəə]^{m.b} [ˈfaəɛ]^b /ˈfaəə/ *fire*, [ˈtʃhæəə]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhæəɛ]^b /ˈtaəə/ *tower*, and even: [ˈgɔəə]^{m.b} [ˈgɔəɛ]^b /ˈgɔəə/ *goer*, [ɪmˈplɒəə]^{m.b} [ɪmˈplɒəɛ]^b /ɪmˈplɒəə/ *employer* (all with /-əɪz/ [-əz]).

For [ˈfɑːə]^{m.b} [ˈfɑːɛ]^b /ˈfɑːə/ *far*, [ˈkħɑːəz]^{m.b} [ˈkħɑːəzɛ]^b /ˈkɑːəz/ *cars* it is also possible to have </fɑːəɪ, ˈkɑːəɪz/ > [ˈfɑːə, ˈkħɑːəz]^{m.b}.

2.4.3.4. fig 2.18 shows that there is a more retracted first element for /iɪ, iɪ̯, əɛ/, iɛ [əɪ, iɪ̯, əɛ]: [ˈbɛɪ]^{m.b} [ˈbɪɪ]^b /ˈbi/ *bee*, [ˈtʃhɑːəm]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɑːəm]^b /ˈtaɛm/ *time*. The first element is lower and backer for /ɛɪ, ɔʊ/ (this last one is unrounded too, when not followed by /t/, as in neutral British pronunciation), [əɪ, əʊ]: [ˈdɛɪ]^{m.b} [ˈdɛɪ]^b /ˈdeɪ/ *day*, [ˈgɔːɔ]^{m.b} [ˈgɔːɔ]^b /ˈgɔʊ/ *go* ([ˈgɔːʊ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈgɔːɔt]^b /ˈgɔʊt/ *goal*). The first element is fronter for /aɔ, ʊu/, [æʊ, ʊu] (besides, /ʊu/ is [ʊu(ɸ)]): [ˈtʃhæːʊn]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɑːʊn]^b /ˈtaʊn/ *town*, [ˈtʃhɜːu]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɜːu]^b /ˈtu/ *two*, [ˈtʃhɜːuɔ]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɜːuɔ]^b /ˈtʃuɔ/ *tube*, [ˈfjuːʊ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈfjuːʊt]^b /ˈfjuːt/ *fuel*; whereas, the first element is higher for /ɔɛ/ [oə]: [ˈbɔːə]^{m.b} [ˈbɔːə]^b /ˈbɔɛ/ *boy*.

For the diphthongs with front second elements, there are some remarkable triphthongs which derive from the vocalization of /t/ (and realized with or without [ɸ]); /iɪ̯, ɛɪ̯, əɛ̯, ɔɛ̯/ [ɪʊ(ɸ), əʊ(ɸ), əʊ(ɸ), oʊ(ɸ)]: [ˈhiɪ̯(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈhiɪ̯(ɸ)]^b /ˈhiɪ̯/ *heel*, [ˈɪiʊ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈɪiʊ(ɸ)]^b /ˈɪiʊ/ *rail*, [ˈfaʊ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈfaʊ(ɸ)]^b /ˈfaɛ̯/ *file*, [ˈoʊ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈoʊ(ɸ)]^b /ˈɔɛ̯/ *oil*.

In (n)either the American-like pronunciation prevails: [ˈ(n)ɛɪðə; -əɛ]^{m.b} [ˈ(n)əðɛ; -ɪɪ]^b. Generally, /i/ is realized as if it were /iɪ/ (and in the prefix /Cɪ-/ as well): [ˈɪɪˈɛɪktɪ]^{m.b} [ˈɪɪˈæktɪ]^b /ˈɪɪˈækt/ *react*, [ˈsɪɪˈtɪ]^{m.b} [ˈsɪɪˈtɪ]^b /ˈsɪɪˈtɪ/ *city*, [ˈɪɪˈgɑːɪd]^{m.b} [ˈɪɪˈgɑːɪd]^b /ˈɪɪˈgɑːɪd/ *regard*. For /əɪ(C)#/ [ɜ] is more frequent (thus, we have an extension of what happens in neutral pronunciation for /əɪ(z/d)#/): [ˈlɛɪpɜɪd]^{m.b} [ˈlɛpɜɪd]^b /ˈlɛpɜɪd/ *leopard*.

Seeing that native phoneticians continue to overlook phonetic particulars, we add some sociolinguistic variants for several phonemes (drawing from our archives for the description of regional accents) for now without adding figures, and within the limits of the seven most typical diphthongs.

As regards what we have said above, we also provide the transcription of both the most marked variants (<broader>, <[ɹ]>), and the least marked ones (more <refined>), that is more controlled, <[ɹ]>: /iɪ/ [əɪ, ɪɪ, ɪɪ̯], /ɛɪ/ [əɪ, ɪɛɪ, ɪɛɪ], /əɛ/ [əɛ, ɪɔɛ, ɪɔɛ], /aɔ/ [æʊ, ɪʌʊ], /ɔɛ/ [oə, ɪʊ], /ɔʊ/ [ɔʊ, ɔʊ(ɸ)], /ʊu/ [ʊu, ɪu], /aɛ/ [əɛ, əɛ(ɸ)].

fig 2.18. Mediatic British diphthongs.

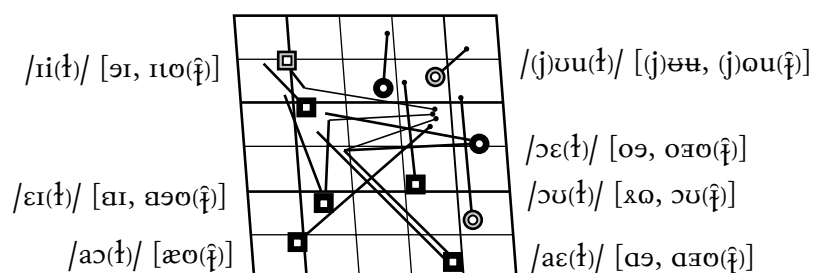
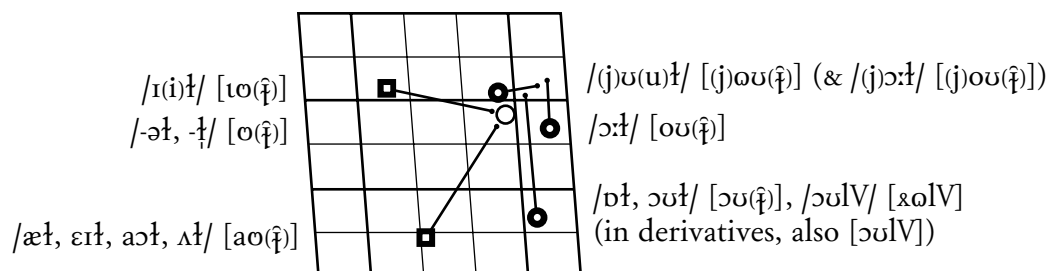


fig 2.19. Mediatic British neutralizations.



2.4.3.5. Even for <mediatic> British English, neutralizations are frequent before /ʌ/ (although less frequent than in Cockney, the typical and popular –and less educated– dialect and accent of the East End of London). In fact, cf fig 2.19, we often find [ʃrɒ(ɸ)]^{m.b} both for [ʃɪʌ]^b /ʃɪʌ/ *fill* and [ʃɪɪʌ]^b /ʃɪɪʌ/ *feel*; in addition, [ʰ(h)ɑɔ(ɸ)]^{m.b} both for [ʰhæʌ]^b /ʰhæʌ/ *Hal* and [ʰhɛɪʌ]^b /ʰhɛɪʌ/ *hail*, and both for [ʰhɑɔʌ]^b /ʰhɑɔʌ/ *howl* and [ʰhʌʌ]^b /ʰhʌʌ/ *Hull*, as well. Besides, we find [dɔʌ(ɸ)]^{m.b} both for [dɒʌ]^b /dɒʌ/ *doll* and [dɔʌʌ]^b /dɔʌʌ/ *dole*; and [fɔʌ(ɸ)]^{m.b} both for [fɒʌ]^b /fɒʌ/ *full* and [fʊʌʌ]^b /fʊʌʌ/ *fool* (the last one is possible for [fɔʌ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [fɔʌʌ]^b /fɔʌʌ/ *fall* too). (We will deal with [ɸ] shortly.)

2.4.3.6. For the consonants, the strong preglottalization of /p, k, tʃ/ must not be forgotten as it practically occurs in all the cases indicated in § 2.2.6.1-2 & § 2.2.7.1; in addition, it is important to mention the massive substitution of /t/ with [ɾ], in all the cases indicated in § 2.2.5.2; whereas we can say that, generally, [tʃ] replaces [t] /t, t/ of neutral pronunciation. Therefore: [dɔʌɔp]^{m.b} [dɔʌɔp]^b /dɔʌɔp/ *drop*, [dɔʌɔptʃ]^{m.b} [dɔʌɔptʃ]^b /dɔʌɔpt/ *dropped*, [pʰɛɾk]^{m.b} [pʰæk]^b /pæk/ *pack*, [pʰɛɾktʃ]^{m.b} [pʰæktʃ]^b /pækt/ *packed*, [ɪɾɪtʃ, -ɾɪ]^{m.b} [ɪɪtʃ, -ɾɪ]^b /ɪɪtʃ/ *reach*, [ɪɾɪtʃtʃ, -ɾɪtʃ]^{m.b} [ɪɪtʃtʃ, -ɾɪtʃ]^b /ɪɪtʃtʃ/ *reached*, [ɪɾɪtʃsɪ]^{m.b} [ɪɾɪtʃsɪ]^b /ɪɾɪtʃsɪ/ *writer*; [fɔʌbɔʌ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [fɔʌbɔʌ, -ɾ-, -t-]^b /fɔʌbɔʌ/ *football*, [gɛɾ dæʌɔn]^{m.b} [gɛɾ dæʌɔn, -ɾ]^b /gɛɾ dæʌɔn/ *get down*, [lɪɾlɪɪ]^{m.b} [lɪɪlɪ, -ɾlɪ]^b /lɪɪlɪ/ *late*, [tʃhɑɔɾtʃ]^{m.b} [tʃhɑɔɾtʃ]^b /tʃhɑɔɾtʃ/ *tart*, [tʃhɛstʃsɪ, -stʃsɪ]^{m.b} [tʃhɛstʃsɪ]^b /tʃhɛstʃsɪ/ *tester*.

The preglottalization of /p, t, k/ (and of /tʃ/, as in neutral British English) also occurs between V, both within words and in sentences: [pʰɛɾpɪ]^{m.b} [pʰɛpɪ]^b /pɛpɪ/ *pepper*, [bɛɾtʃsɪ]^{m.b} [bɛtʃsɪ]^b /bɛtʃsɪ/ *better*, [bɪɾkɪ]^{m.b} [bɛɪkɪ]^b /bɛɪkɪ/ *baker*, [lɛɾtʃɪtʃ, -ɪɾ]^{m.b} [lɛɪtʃ, -ɪɾ]^b /lɛɪtʃ/ *let it*. In the /st, stʃ/ sequences, there is the possible variant /s/ [s] (by further assimilating to the following contoid, which is typical of broader accents): [stʃɔʌp, stʃ-]^{m.b} [stɔʌp]^b /stɔʌp/ *stop*, [stʃɪɾɪndʒ, stʃɪ-, stʃɪ-]^{m.b} [stɪɾɪndʒ]^b /stɪɾɪndʒ/ *strange*, [kʰwɛstʃən, -stʃ-, -stʃən, -stʃən]^{m.b} [kʰwɛstʃən, -stʃən]^b /kʰwɛstʃən, -stʃ-/ *question*.

For /tʃ/, [ɪ] can occur, too: [pʰɪɾtʃɪ, pʰɪɪɪ; tʃhɛnɾtʃɪ, -ɛnɪɪ]^{m.b} [pʰɪɪtʃɪ, tʃhɛnɾɪ]^b /pɪɪtʃɪ, twɛntɪ/ *pretty, twenty*. Even [ɪɾɪ] (in addition to [ɪɾtʃən, -ɪ]): [kʰlɪnɾɪ, ɛɔ(ɸ)ɾɪ, bɛɔɾɪ]^{m.b} [kʰlɪnɾɪ, ɛɪtɾɪ, bɛɔɾɪ]^b /kʰlɪntən, ɛɪtən, bɛɔɾtən/ *Clin-ton, Elton, Burton*.

Besides, we find [ɪn] for the grammeme {-ing}: [ɪɾɔɪn, ɪɾɔ-]^{m.b} [ɪɾɔɪn]^b /ɪɾɔɪn/ *rolling*; this example also shows the oscillation for /ɔʌ/ before /V/, under the in-

fluence of /ɔʊt/ [ɔʊ(ɸ)]^{m.b} [oʊt]^b, whereas in non-derivatives the normal realization occurs: [ˈphɔlə]^{m.b} [ˈphɔlə]^b /ˈpɔlə/ *polar*. It is possible to have /ŋk/ in: [ˈsəmθɪŋk, ˈɛnəθɪŋk]^{m.b} [ˈsɛmθɪŋ, ˈɛniθɪŋ]^b /ˈsʌmθɪŋ, ˈɛniθɪŋ/ *something, anything*.

From the examples, one can notice that the most frequent realization of /ɹ/ is not postalveolar rounded ([ɹ], as in neutral pronunciation), but (postalveolarized) pre-velar rounded ([ɹ̠], corresponding to the neutral American articulation). But there are also four further quite frequent variants: the labiodental, [ʋ], and its combinations with other articulations, labiodental rounded, [ʋ̠], velarized labiodental, [ʋ̠̠], and postalveolarized labiodental, [ʋ̠̠̠]: [ɹəɪəˈɪŋdʒ, ʋəɪəˈv-, ʋ̠əɪəˈv-, ʋ̠̠əɪəˈv-]^{m.b} [ɹ̠əɪəˈɪŋdʒ]^b /ɹ̠əɪəˈɪŋdʒ/ *rearrange*. In the case of /tɹ, dɹ/, a realization which corresponds to the neutral articulation is possible: [ˈtʃhɪəɪn, -v-, -v̠-, -v̠̠-, -v̠̠̠-]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɪəɪn]^b /ˈtɹɪəɪn/ *train*, [ˈdɹɪŋk, -v-, -v̠-, -v̠̠-, -v̠̠̠-]^{m.b} [ˈdɹ̠ɪŋk]^b /ˈdɹ̠ɪŋk/ *drink*.

Very frequently, a non-etymological /ɹ/ is inserted: [ɑəˈsoʊɪt]^{m.b} [ɑəˈsɔɹɪt]^b /ɑəˈsɔɹɪt/ *I saw it*, even in cases like: [ɑɜəwɔvəˈɹɜːd, -əˈhɜːd]^{m.b} [ɑɜəwɔvəˈhɜːd]^b /ɑɜəwɔvəˈhɜːd/ *I overheard*.

2.4.3.7. Our examples have already shown that one of the most evident characteristics, which is socially stigmatized, is the <zero> realization of /h/ (→ [∅]): [ˈ(h)ɑː]^{m.b} [ˈhɑː]^b /ˈhɑː/ *high*. Consequently, even hypercorrections are frequent, as happens with the name of the letter *h* (not without a certain <internal> logic): [ˈ(h)ɑɪt]^{m.b} [ˈɛɪt]^b /ˈɛɪt/. On the other hand, the reduced form of *him* is less frequent: [ˈtʃhæʊ(ɸ)hɪm]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɛlɪm]^b /ˈtɛlɪm/ *tell him*; equally for the reduced form of *a*: [ɑɪmɛn]^{m.b} [əˈmæːn]^b /əˈmæːn/ *a man*. Also for /Cən[#]/, a less reduced form is more frequent: [pɪnɑnsiˈeɪʃən, ˈdʒɛɪksən]^{m.b} [pɪnɑnsiˈeɪʃn, ˈdʒæksn]^b /pɪnɑnsiˈeɪʃən, ˈdʒæksən/ *pronunciation, Jackson*.

The sequences /tj, dj, nj/ have the peculiarity of typically corresponding to /tʃ, dʒ/ and [ɹ]: [ˈtʃhɜːn]^{m.b} [ˈtʃhɜːn]^b /ˈtʃhɜːn/ *tune*, [ˈdʒɜːn]^{m.b} [ˈdʒɜːn]^b /ˈdʒɜːn/ *dune*, [ˈnɜːn]^{m.b} [ˈnɜːn]^b /ˈnɜːn/ *new* (in Cockney we actually find [ˈnɜːn] ≡ /ˈnɜːn/). Occasionally, /θ, ð/ can become /f/ and /[#]d, v/ respectively (which is a typical Cockney pronunciation, and can be heard even on the borders of the <Estuary> area [and in further –mostly metropolitan– areas, which have been influenced by this accent]): [θɹɪ, ɸɹ-]^{m.b} [θɹɪ]^b /θɹɪ/ *three*, [ðɪs, ɸɪ-]^{m.b} [ðɪs]^b /ðɪs/ *this*, [ˈmɑðə, -və]^{m.b} [ˈmæðə]^b /ˈmʌðə/ *mother*.

2.4.3.8. There is nothing to say about /l/, while for /ɹ/ there is a typical <vocalization> of [ɹ̠, ɹ̠̠] which become [o] (fig 2.19), after V or C, as many examples have already shown (particularly those of the neutralization before /ɹ/). The lateralized velar rounded approximant [ɹ̠] (in brackets in the figure) indicates a less marked pronunciation, where the lateralized contoid is added to the vocalization, [o], in order to try to attenuate this characteristic, which is often socially stigmatized. So, we can find [ɹ̠], without lip-rounding, as a kind of halfway compromise.

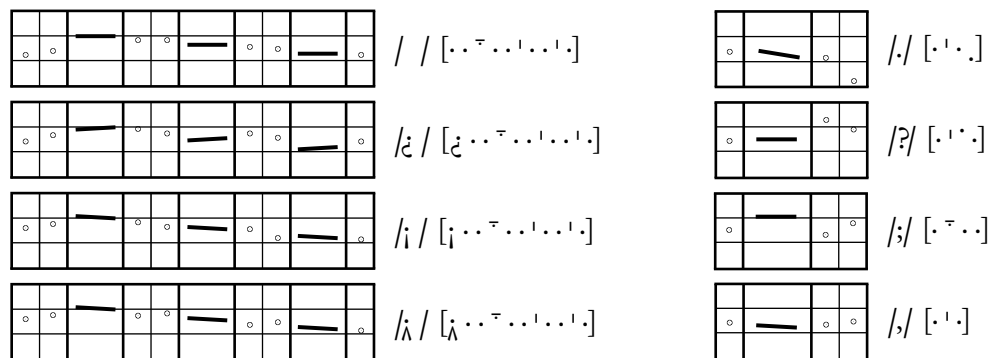
Here are some examples, to complete the survey: [ˈlɪtʃə(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈlɪtʃ̠]^b /ˈlɪtʃ̠/ *little*, [ˈphɪpə(ɸ)]^{m.b} [ˈphɪp̠]^b /ˈpɪp̠/ *people*, [ˈdɛvə(ɸ)z]^{m.b} [ˈdɛv̠z]^b /ˈdɛv̠z/ *devils*, [ˈmɪl(ɸ)k]^{m.b} [ˈmɪl̠k]^b /ˈmɪl̠k/ *milk*, [ˈwɔlə(ɸ)ɹtʃə]^{m.b} [ˈwɔlə̠tʃə]^b /ˈwɔlə̠tʃə/ *Walter*, [ˈdʒɛnə(ɸ)mən]^{m.b} [ˈdʒɛn̠tʃmən]^b /ˈdʒɛn̠tʃmən/ *gentleman*. Finally, [aŋkələɪz]

bɜːtʃ, -əh-]^{m.b} [ˌɛŋkɪˈhɜːbət]^b /ˈʌŋkɪˈhɜːbət/ *uncle Herbert*, where we can see the normal kind of prevocalic *l* ([l]), and the intense one, again prevocalic: [ˈnɒvəlɪstʃ, -ʃtʃ]^{m.b} [ˈnɒvəlɪst]^b /ˈnɒvəlɪst/ *novelist*.

2.4.3.9. In cases like the following, we often find secondary stresses: [ˈdɪkʃənɛɪ.ɪ.ɪ, ˈsemətɪ.ɪ.ɪ, ˈdɒmətɪ.ɪ.ɪ]^{m.b} [ˈdɪkʃən.ɪ, ˈsemɪtɪ.ɪ, ˈdɒmɪtɪ.ɪ]^b /ˈdɪkʃənɛ.ɪ, ˈsemɪtɛ.ɪ, ˈdɒmɪtɔː.ɪ/ *dictionary, cemetery, dormitory*.

Regarding intonation, we have to say that the pitch of the first stressed syllable and of the following internal unstressed syllables in a preintoneme is less high than in the neutral pronunciation, as can be seen from fig 2.20. The suspensive intoneme is more similar to the American one; and, often, the interrogative intoneme, besides being as in neutral British English, can be rising-falling (again in fig 2.20, where we show only the different type): [ɛdʒəˈspɪrɪk ˈɪŋɡlɪʃ ˈwɜːoʊ(ɪ)]^{m.b} [ɛdʒəˈspɪrɪk ˈɪŋɡlɪʃ ˈwɛɪː, ɛdʒə-]^b *Do you speak English well?*

fig 2.20. Mediatic British intonation.



Text

2.5.0. The story *The North Wind and the Sun* (by Aesop) follows. It is given in five different (<normalized>) versions. In fact, they systematically and coherently present the most typical characteristics, which are acknowledged as peculiar. We start with the American and British versions in (neutral) English, which is the first step of the phonetic method. The international version follows together with the two mediatic versions of American and British English.

In the other chapters of the book, for each language dealt with, at least *two* kinds of *foreign pronunciations* are given: first the *foreign pronunciation of English*, and lastly the *British English pronunciation of the foreign language* in question, according to the same principles. The speakers are supposed to be neutral speakers of their own language, fluent in English (after prolonged contact with native speakers, but with no help from the phonetic method), who have adequately learned the relative prominences, but who substantially use segments (vowels & consonants) and intonation elements, which are typical of neutral English (although, of course, a neutral accent is not so common). Obviously, the same principle is valid for the foreign pronunciations of English, given first. Sometimes further accents have been added as can be seen in the correspondent chapters.

Graphemic text

2.5.2.0. *The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a travel(l)er came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the travel(l)er take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other.*

Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the travel(l)er fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the travel(l)er took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

Did you like the story? Do you want to hear it again?

Neutral American pronunciation

2.5.2.1. [ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪn:d̩ əndðə'sʌn: wɪdɪ'spɹjʊuɪŋ 'wɪtʃ wɪzðə'stɹɔ:ŋɡɹ̩.] 'wɛn ə'tʃɪævl̩: 'kheɪm ə'ɒŋ. l̩'jæpɪ unə'wɔ:m 'khlɒk̩.] ðeɪw'gɹɪd̩: ðətðə'wʌn mɪ'fɪs swk'sɪɪdɪd̩. um'meɪkɪŋ ðə'tʃɪævl̩: 'tʃeɪk ɪz'khlɒk 'ɔf. | ʃɒbbɪkʌn'sɪdɪd̩ "stɹɔ:ŋɡɹ̩ ðəndɪ'æd̩:]]

'ðɛn: ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪm: 'blɪ'u. əz'hɑ:d̩. əzɪ'khwɔ:d̩.] bətðə'mɔ:ɪ i'blɪ'u. | ðə'mɔ:ɪ 'khlɒsli. dɪdðə'tʃɪævl̩: 'fɔ:ɔtɪd̩ ɪz'khlɒk wɪ'ɑɒndɪm. | l̩ən(d)ə'ɹlæ'stɹɪ: ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪŋ: 'geɪv 'ʌp ðiə'tʃɛmpɪ.]] l̩'ðɛn: | ðə'sʌn 'ʃɔ:n 'ɑɔt. l̩'wɔ:mli. | ən'tmɪdɪə'fɪ: | ðə'tʃɪævl̩ 'tʃɒk 'ɔf. | ɪz'khlɒk.]] l̩'n'sɔ: | ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪn:d̩: wɪzə'bla:əd̩z ʃwkwɪŋ'fɛs | ðətðə'sʌn: wɪzðə'stɹɔ:ŋɡɹ̩. | əvðə'tʃɪ'u.]]

ɹdɪd̩zə'læk: ɹðə'stɹɪ: | ɹd̩jɪ'wɒn (ɹ)ə'hɪuɪ w'geɪn:]]]]

Neutral British pronunciation

2.5.2.2. [ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪn:d̩ əndðə'sɛn: wɒdɪ'spɹjʊuɪŋ 'wɪtʃ wɪzðə'stɹɔ:ŋɡɛ.] 'wɛn ə'tʃɪævl̩z. 'kheɪm ə'ɒŋ. l̩'jæpɪ unə'wɔ:m 'khlɒk̩.] ðeɪw'gɹɪd̩: ðətðə'wɛn mɪ'fɪs swk'sɪɪdɪd̩. um'meɪkɪŋ ðə'tʃɪævl̩z. 'tʃeɪk ɪz'khlɒk 'ɒf. | ʃɒbbɪkʌn'sɪdɪd̩ "stɹɔ:ŋɡɛ ðəndɪ'ɛðɛ.]]

'ðɛn: ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪm: 'blɪ'u. əz'hɑ:d̩. əzɪ'khwɔ:d̩.] bətðə'mɔ:ɪ i'blɪ'u. | ðə'mɔ:ɪ 'khlɒsli. dɪdðə'tʃɪævl̩: 'fɔ:ɔtɪd̩ ɪz'khlɒk wɪ'ɑɒndɪm. | l̩ən(d)ə'ɹlæ'stɹɪ: ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪŋ: 'geɪv 'ɛp ðiə'tʃɛmpɪ.]] l̩'ðɛn: | ðə'sɛn 'ʃɒn 'ɑɔt. l̩'wɔ:mli. | ən'tmɪdɪə'fɪ: | ðə'tʃɪævl̩z 'tʃɒk 'ɒf. | ɪz'khlɒk.]] l̩'n'sɔ: | ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪn:d̩: wɪzə'bla:əd̩z ʃwkwɪŋ'fɛs | ðətðə'sɛn: wɪzðə'stɹɔ:ŋɡɛ. | əvðə'tʃɪ'u.]]

ɹdɪd̩zɪ'læk: ɹðə'stɹɪ: | ɹd̩jɪ'wɒn ʃə'hɪəɪt w'geɪn:]]]]

◁ International ▷ English pronunciation

2.5.2.3. [ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪn:dʌ əndə'se:n wəɪdʌ'spɜ:ju:ʃɪŋ 'wɪtʃ wəzðə'stʃɪŋgəɪ.] 'wɛn ə'tʃhɪævləɪ 'kheɪm ə'lɔ:ŋ ɪ'jæpʃ unə'wɔ:ɪm 'khlɔɔk.ɹ] ðeɪlə'gɹi:ɪd: ðətðə'wɛn u'fə:ɪs sək'si:ɪdəd. um'meɪkɪŋ ðə'tʃhɪævləɪ 'fheɪk ɪz'khlɔɔk 'ɒf.ɹ] ʃɒbbɪkən'sɪdəɪdʒ "stʃɪŋgəɪ ðəndɪ'eðəɪ.]]

ðɛn: ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪm: 'blu:u əz'hɑ:ɪd əzi'khwɔ:ɹ.] bətðə'mɔ:ɪ i'blu:u. | ðə'mɔ:ɪ 'khlɔɔsli. ɹɪdðə'tʃhɪævləɪ: 'fɔ:ɔtɹɪd ɪz'khlɔɔk ə'ɪɑsɒndɪm. | ɪən(d)ə'p'læstʃ:ɪ: ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪŋ: 'gɹeɪv 'ɛp ðiə'tʃhɛmpʃ.]] ɪðɛn:ɹ] ðə'sɛn 'ʃɔ:ɔn 'ɑɔʃ. ɪ'wɔ:ɪmli.ɹ] ənʉ'mi:ɪdɪə'li: ɹðə'tʃhɪævləɪ 'fhwɔk 'ɒf. ɹɪz'khlɔɔk.]] ɪn'sɔ:ɔɹ] ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɪn:dʌ wəzə'blɑ:ɛdʒ ʃəkəŋ'fɛs. | ðətðə'se:n. wzðə'stʃɪŋgəɪ. ɪəvðə'tʃhu:u.]]

ɹɪdɪdʒə'læk: ɹðə'stʃɔ:ɪi | ɹdʒu'wɔn ʃə'hɪɪt ə'gɛn:''']]

◁ Mediativ ▷ American pronunciation

2.5.2.4. [ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɛn:dʌ əndə'sɛn: wəɪdʌ'spɜ:ju:ɹiŋ 'wɛtʃ wɪzðə'stʃɪŋgəɪ.] 'wɛn ə'tʃhɪævləɪ 'kheɪm ũ'ɹɔ:ŋ ɪ'jæpʃ ənʉ'wɔ:ɪm 'khlɔɔk.ɹ] ðeɪlə'gɹi:ɪd: ðətðə'wɛn ʉ'fə:ɪs sək'si:ɪdəd. əm'meɪkɪŋ ðə'tʃhɪævləɪ 'fheɪk əz'khlɔɔk 'ɒf.ɹ] ʃɒbbɪkʉn'səɹɪdʒ "stʃɪŋgəɪ ðəndɪ'eðəɪ.]]

ðɛn: ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɛm: 'blɛ:ɹ əz'hɑ:ɪd əzi'khwɔ:ɹ.] bətðə'mɔ:ɪ i'blɛ:ɹ. | ðə'mɔ:ɪ 'khlɔɔsli. ɹɪdðə'tʃhɪævləɪ: 'fɔ:ɔtɹɪd əz'khlɔɔk w'æðɔndɪm. | ɪən(d)ə'p'læstʃ:ɪ: ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɛŋ: 'gɹeɪv 'ɛp ðiə'tʃhɛmpʃ.]] ɪðɛn:ɹ] ðə'sɛn 'ʃɔ:ɔn 'æɔʃ. ɪ'wɔ:ɪmli.ɹ] ənə'mi:ɪdɪə'li: ɹðə'tʃhɪævləɪ 'fhwɔk 'ɒf. ɹɪz'khlɔɔk.]] ɪn'sɔ:ɔɹ] ðə'nɔ:ɪθ 'wɛn:dʌ wɪzə'blɑ:ɛdʒ ʃəkʉŋ'fɛs. | ðətðə'sɛn: wzðə'stʃɪŋgəɪ. ɪəvðə'tʃhɛ:ɹ.]]

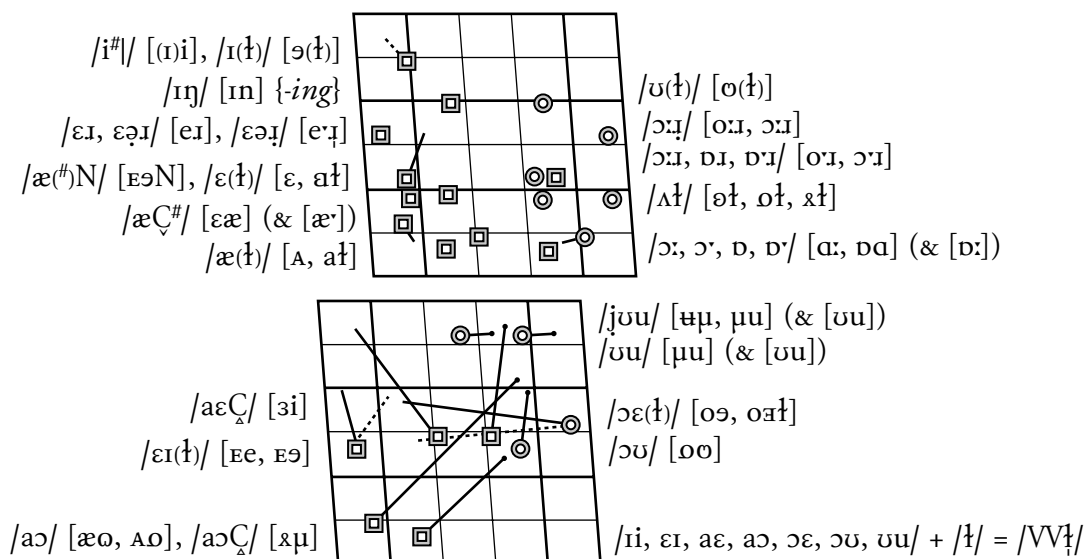
ɹɪdɪdʒw'ɹlæk: ɹðə'stʃɔ:ɪi | ɹdʒu'wɛn ə'hə:əɹ w'gɛn:''']]

◁ Mediativ ▷ British pronunciation

2.5.2.5. [ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪn:dʌ əndə'san: wɪdʌ'spɜ:ju:ɹtʃɪŋ 'wɪtʃ wɪzðə'stʃɪŋgəɪ.] 'wɛn ə'tʃhɪɛvlɜ: 'kheɪm ə'lɔ:ŋ ɪ'ɹeɹptʃ unə'wɔ:ɔm 'khlɔɔk.ɹ] ðeɪlə'gɹeɪɪd: ðə'ðw: 'wan ʉ'fə:ɪs sɪ'k'seɪɪdɪd. um'maɪkɪŋ ðə'tʃhɪɛvlɜ: 'tʃhaɪk ɪz'khlɔɔk 'ɒf.ɹ] ʃɒbbɪkʉn'sɪdʒɹ "stʃɪŋgəɪ ðəndɪ'ɑðə.]]

ðɛn: ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪm: 'blɛ:ɹ əz'(h)ɑ:ɪd əzi'khwɔ:ɹ.] bətðə'mɔ:ɪ i'blɛ:ɹ. | ðə'mɔ:ɪ 'khlɔɔsləɪ. ɹɪdðə'tʃhɪɛvlə: 'fɔ:ɔtɹɪd ɪz'khlɔɔk w'ɹæsɒndɪm. | ɪən(d)ə'p'lɑ:ɛstʃ:ɪ: ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪŋ: 'gɹeɪv 'ɑ:ɹp ðiə'tʃhɛmɹptʃ.]] ɪðɛn:ɹ] ðə'san 'ʃɔn 'æɔʃ. ɪ'wɔ:ɔmləɪ.ɹ] ənʉ'meɪdʒə'leɪ: ɹðə'tʃhɪɛvlɜ 'tʃhwɔk 'ɒf. ɹɪz'khlɔɔk.]] ɪn'sɔ:ɔɹ] ðə'nɔ:θ 'wɪn:dʌ wɪzə'blɑ:ɛdʒ ʃwɹ'kʉŋ'fɛs. | ðə'ðə'san: wzðə'stʃɪŋgəɪ. ɪəvðə'tʃhɛ:ɹ.]]

ɹɪdɪdʒə'læk: ɹðə'stʃɔ:ɪi | ɹdʒu'wɔn ʃə'hɪɪt w'gɛn:''']]

Current and mediatic variants

/naɛt, 'aɔt/ *night, out*. There are neutral and non-neutral taxophones for many vowels and diphthongs + /ʰ/. The neutral ones which change phones are: /æʰ, ʌʰ, ʊʰ; ɪʰ, εʰ, aɛʰ, ɔɛʰ, ʊuʰ; the others are /ɪʰ, εʰ/ and /ʌʰ/ with other variants; in addition to a possible insertion of [w] before /ʰ/. As far as phoneme distribution is concerned, certain words are pronounced with <British> vowel elements, others with <American> ones. For the consonants, the use is similar to the American one.

In *current* and *mediatic* pronunciations (given in the second set of vocograms), we find that hypercorrection can produce /jʊu/ for /ʊu/ (*noon, too, do...*), due to the fact that, for /jʊu/, careful speakers prefer /jʊu/, after /n, t, d/. In addition, we find the nasalization of /VN#, VN#/ [VÑ#, VÑ#], even in /V#N/ (above all for /æ/); lastly, for /l/, we have [ʰV], in these kinds of pronunciations.

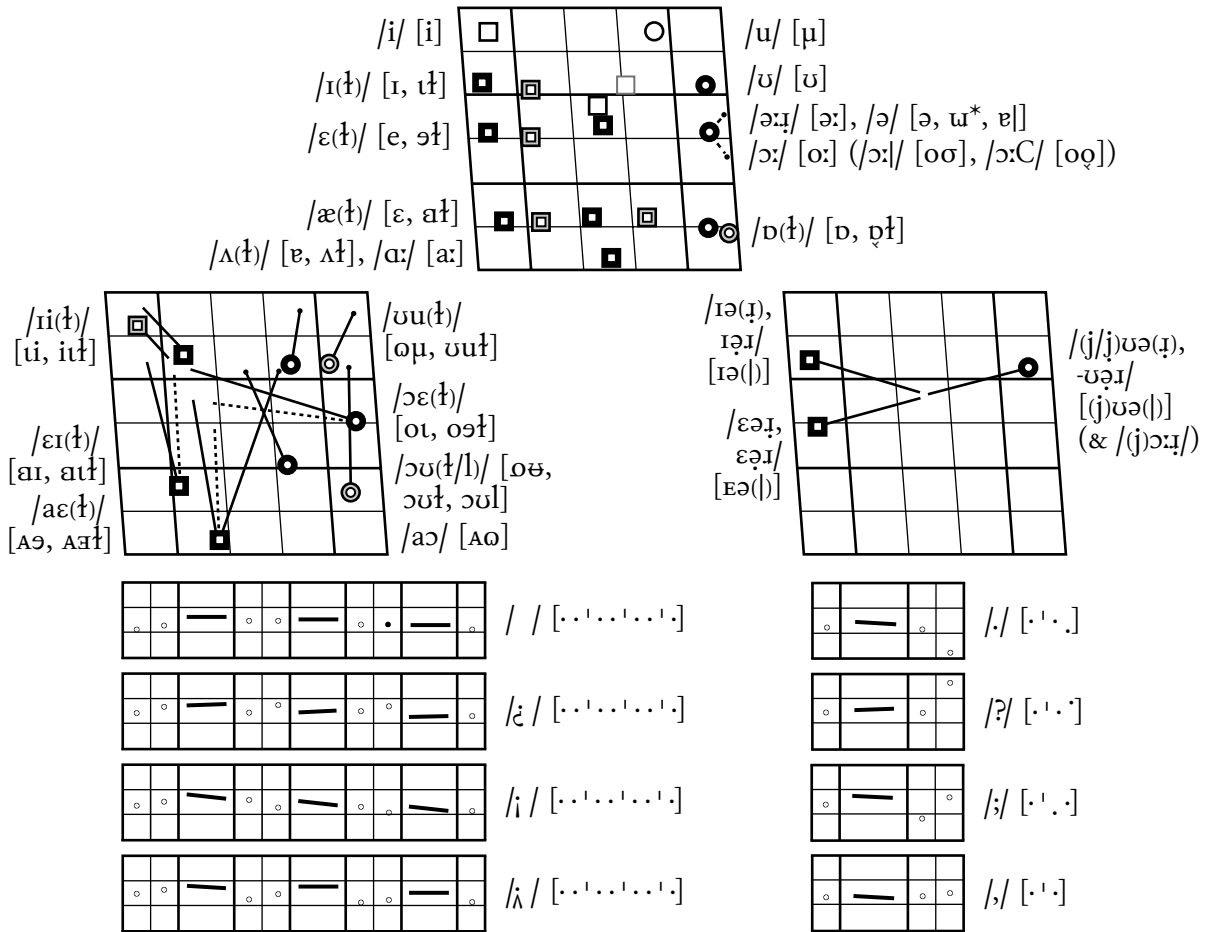
Australian English pronunciation

2.6.2. We present four different accents separately: neutral (<cultivated Australian>, in the first three vocograms, which is used by a limited number of speakers, who have learned it intentionally, as happens for all neutral accents).

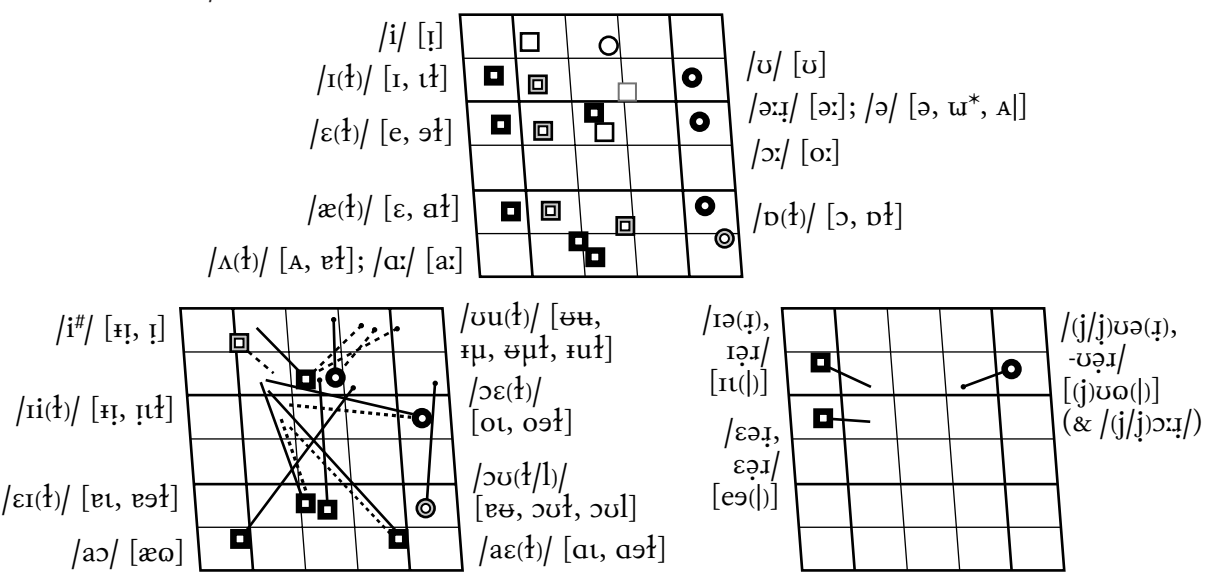
The *mediatic* accent (<general Australian>, in the second series of three vocograms, typical of mass media and many speakers), the *broad* accent (<broad Australian> in the third series of three vocograms, typical of uneducated people, which is heavily nasalized, too), and also the *affected* accent (<modified Australian>, in the fourth series of three vocograms, used by a very small group of élite speakers, who aim at imitating traditional or affected British pronunciation, which is considered to be too mannered and unacceptable).

For each accent, we will first see the monophthongs (given in the first vocogram), moving then to the diphthongs, and lastly to centering diphthongs (in the third vocogram; in this case, the peculiarities of broad accents are quite evident). For /ɛ/, we regularly have /ə/, except in affected pronunciations.

Neutral accent | <Cultivated Australian E.>



Mediatic accent | <General Australian E.>



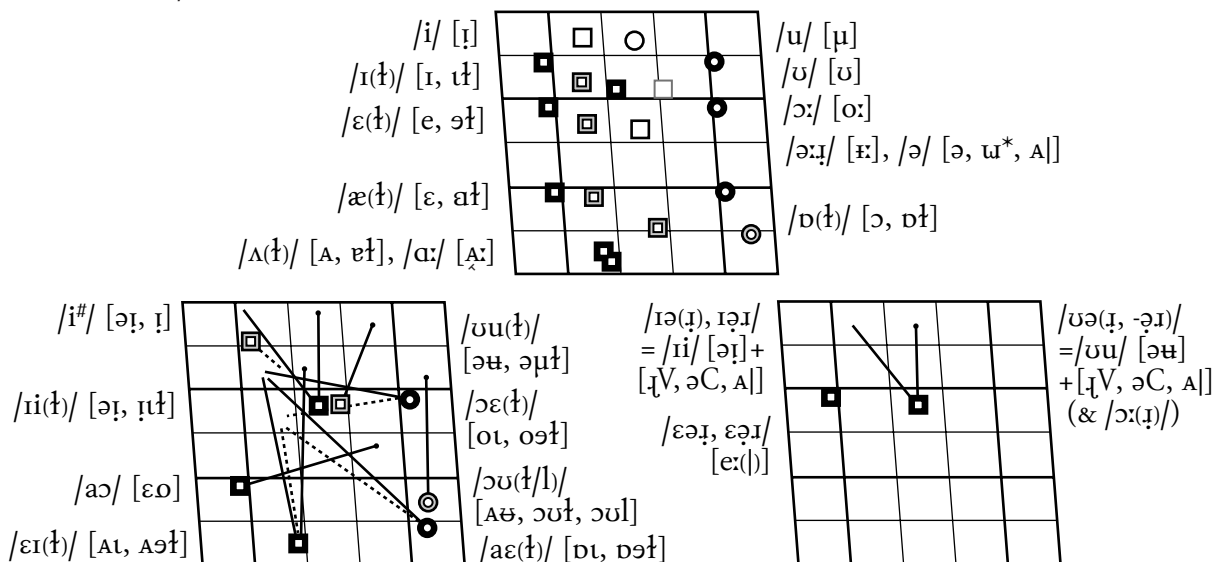
The most typical characteristic (similar to mediatic British and Cockney pronunciations) consists in a wider pronunciation of the diphthongs /iɪ, εɪ, æɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ, ɔʊ, ʊu/, as can be seen from the respective vocograms (in addition to [ɪ, e] for /ɪ, ε/, since, only in affected pronunciations, can we find [ɛɪ] for /ε/). The diapho-

neme /ɪ/ follows British use (although some young Australians, especially females, who live abroad, present a fluctuating and non-neutral use of [ɪ]). Let us notice (and very well too) the various taxophones + /t̚/.

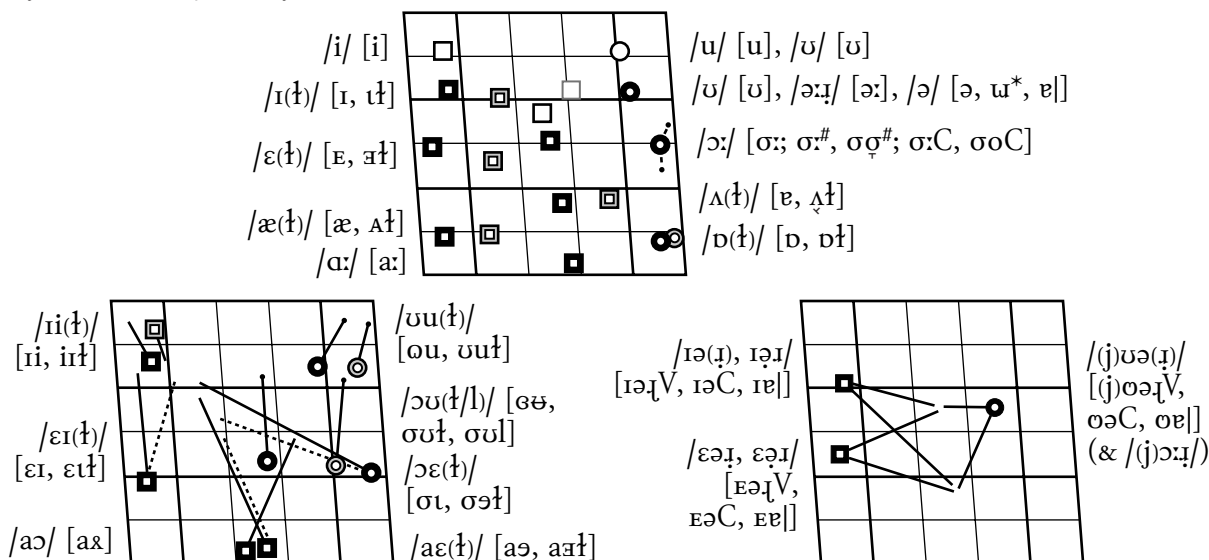
We systematically find </ɔʊlV/ > (whereas in Cockney and in mediatic British English minimal pairs occur such as </ʌʊlV/ > ≠ </ɔʊlV/ >, as *polar*). Occasionally, we can have </ɔ:əɪ/ >, for /ɔ:ɪ/ (either </ɔ:r/ >, or </ɔ:r/ >). Except in neutral pronunciation, for the /ii, eɪ, æ, ɔɛ/ diphthongs, we have [VV̥t̚, VV̥t̚]; besides, / (V)Və̥t̚/ [(V)Vʊt̚, (V)V̥t̚], without vocalizations (with [t̚, t̚], after phones with labial component).

The diaphoneme /t̚/ has [ɹ], as in American English. For /Ct̚#, Cə̥t̚#, neutral pronunciation has [Ct̚#, Cʊt̚#]; thus, it has [IV̥t̚], without vocalizations (which are present, though, in broad pronunciations). It is possible to hear a non-neutral pronunciation with /l/ [t̚], for *l + -y, -ie, -ing, -er...* (grammemes [or even pseudo-grammemes] added to /t̚#/).

Broad accent / <Broad Australian E. >



Affected accent / <Modified Australian E. >

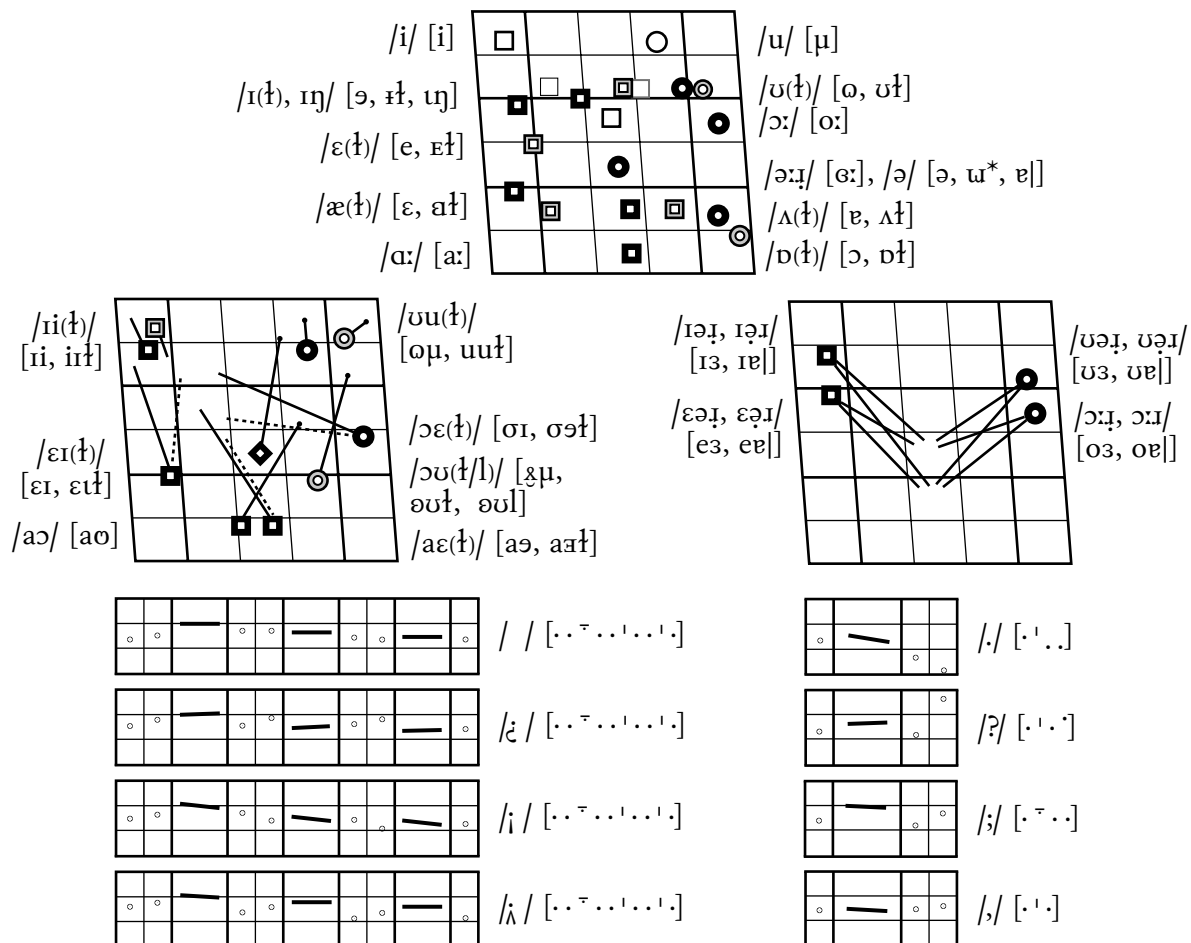


New Zealand English pronunciation

2.6.3. In addition to the neutral accent, with three vocograms (the first three), we present the mediatic accent (whose centering diphthongs [fourth and fifth vocograms] correspond to the neutral ones) and the broad accent (whose monophthongs [sixth and seventh vocograms] correspond to the neutral ones, whereas the centering diphthongs are peculiar, including the unification of /εəɪ, εəɪ/ with /ɪəɪ, ɪəɪ/, and the possible unification of /ʊəɪ, ʊəɪ/ with /ɔɪ, ɔɪ/). Thus, for /εəɪ/ [eɪ, eɪ, eɪɪ] (even in less neutral speech, the timbre is always [e]: [eɪ, eɪ]). For /ɪɪ/ we have [əɪ; ɪɪ, ɪɪ]; whereas, for /ɪəɪ/, [ɪɪ, ɪɪɪ]; for *idea*: /æ'driə/.

/æɪ/ [εɪ; Eɪ] is always distinct (in all accents). Occasionally, we can find </ɔɪəɪ/>, for /ɔɪ/ (both </ɔɪr/>, and </or/>). The triphthongs are not attenuated into diphthongs. Even in neutral pronunciation, we have /ɪŋ/ [ɪŋ] (not </əŋ, ɪŋ/>). In New Zealand, /æ*, ɑ/ = /ɑ:/, /ɒ*, ɔ/ = /ɒ/, /ɪ/ = /ə, ↑ɪ/ (ie /ɪ/ is only an intentional choice); *finish* /'fɪnɪʃ/ [ʰfɪnəʃ; ʰfɪnɪʃ], *visit* /'vɪzɪt/ [ʰvɪzəʃ, ʰvɪzəʃ].

The most typical characteristic consists in [ə, e] for /ɪ, ε/, in neutral pronunciation (but [ɪ, ɪ], in the other accents), in addition to the pronunciation of the diphthongs /ɪi, εɪ, æɛ, ɔɛ, aɔ, ɔʊ, ʊu/ (which is similar to the Australian, mediatic British, and Cockney accents), as can be seen from the respective vocograms. Besides, /əɪ, ɪəɪ/ is rounded, [ə:, ɪ:] (or only partially so, [əə, ɪɪ]), in the other pronunciation kinds).



We systematically find </ɔʊlV/ > (whereas in Cockney and in mediatic British English there are minimal pairs with </ʌʊlV/ > ≠ </ɔʊlV/ >, as in *polar*). The reader is invited to carefully observe the numerous taxophones + /t/, both neutral and non-neutral.

In non-neutral pronunciation, there are more or less regular vowel *neutralizations* ^{or} *mergers* (realized as in the given vocograms; those appearing in round brackets occur less often): *normal* – /iɪt, ɪt/ → /ɪt/ (/iɪt/); /iɪəɪ, ɪəɪ/ → /iɪəɪ/ (/ɪəɪ/); /ɔʊt(C/#); ɒt(C/#) → /ɔʊ/ (/ɒ/); *frequent* – /ɪəɪ, ɛəɪ/ → /iɪəɪ/ (/ɪəɪ, ɛəɪ/); /ɪəɪ, ɛəɪ/ → /iɪ/ (/ɪəɪ, ɛɪ/); /ɛəɪ, ɛɪ/ → /ɛɪ/; /ɛl, æl; ɛt, æt/ → /ɛt; æt/; /æt, aɔt/ → /æt, aɔt/; /ɒt, ʌt/ → /ɒt/ (/ɔʊt/); /ʊt, uɪt/ → /ʊt/ (/uɪt/); /ɔɪ, uəɪ/ → /ɔɪ/.

The following are *occasional*: / (j)ʊəɪ, əɪ/ → /əɪ/; /ɪt, ʊt/ → /ʊt/; /ɪt, ʌt/ → /ʌt/; /aɔ, ɑ:/ → /ɑ:/. In addition, non-neutral pronunciation can have, for *own*, </ɔʊən/ > and the diphthonging of /ɛ, æ/, particularly frequent for /VN(C)/. Currently, *women* is pronounced like its singular form.

/t, t/ (and /p, k, tʃ/) behave as in American English (without glottalization; but, between V, they can behave as in British English, with continuous –non-occlusive–realizations of /p, t, k/). Neutral pronunciation regularly has linking /ɪ/, but avoids linking when no etymological /ɪ/ occurs.

Generally, reduced forms are less frequent and less systematic. Tendentially, there is no systematic reduction of *you, her*; more often (even unstressed) *been* has its full form: /brɪn/. In cases such as *affect, effect* and *allusion, illusion*, above all in less neutral pronunciations, for *a*, we have /æ/ [ɛɹ]; for *i, e*, /ɪ, ɛ, ə/, we have [ɜɹ]. Frequently [ɜɹ] occurs for the article *a*, too.

For *-ary, -ery, &c*, the American stressing is frequent, but neutral pronunciation prefers the British one.

Traditional British English pronunciation

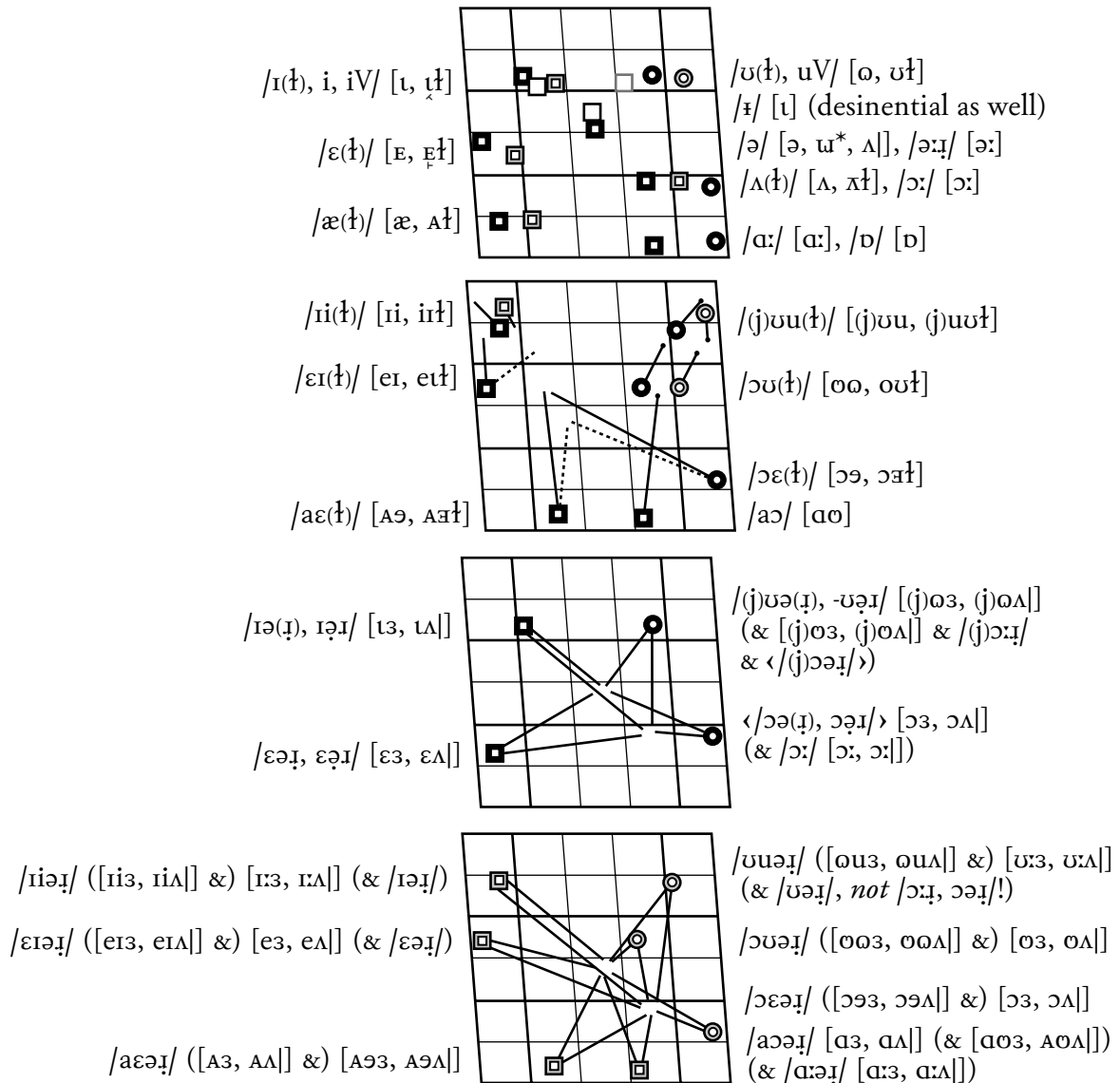
2.6.4. This is the classic pronunciation known as RP (*Received Pronunciation*), which was the only one to be admitted by the BBC up to one or two generations ago, with narrow /iɪ, ɛɪ, ɔʊ, ʊu/ [ɪɪ, ɛɪ, ɔʊ, ʊu], and /aɛ, aɔ, ɔɛ/ with well distinguished first elements, [ʌə, ɑʊ, ɔə] (and diametrically opposed to the mediatic realizations, [aə, æʊ, oə]). It has no glottalization of /p, t, k, tʃ/ (not even [ʔC], nor [Ĉ]), with the only possible occurrence of [ʔ] for /t/, before sonants: ['skɒʔlændʒ, 'skɒʔlændʒ] *Scotland*). Let us notice carefully the taxophones of the short vowels and diphthongs with front first elements before /t/.

In addition, it has /ɪ[#]V/ only when it is etymological and spelt as *r* (in which case, it rather has [ʔV]), except in informal or colloquial speech, at times). Besides, </tj, dj, sj, zj, θj/ > are highly frequent, as in ['khwɛstʃən, -stʃən; 'sjʊpɹ, 'sʊu-], *question, super* (with [ʃ ʒ, ʃj ʒj] only in colloquial or informal pronunciation, for /'kwɛstʃən, 'sʊpɹəɪ/ ['khwɛstʃən, 'sɹupɹɛ]); /ɒt, -θ, -s, -ft, -st/ = /ɔ:/ [ɔ:] (as in ['ɔ:t, 'lɔ:st] *off, lost*, for /ɒt, 'lɔ:st/ ['ɒt, 'lɔ:st]); /ɪ/ [ɪ, 'VɪV, θɹ, ðɹ, pɹ, bɹ, kɹ, gɹ].

It invariably presents [-ɪŋ] /-ɪŋ/; it has [h, Ø] for /[#]h/ *hotel*, and [Ø] in reduced forms with #*h* and in *-ham#*; /h^w/ [w], ['wɛn:] *when*; in addition, unstressed *my* is

/_omaə, _omi, _omə/; besides, /_oei, _oɔʊ/ are [ɛ, ɒ] before [ɪ]: *vacation, november*; /ɔʊ/ is [ɒ] in compounds when it is at the end of the first lexeme (even if separated): *window sill*. For *ar*, </aʌ/ > [aʌ] is possible; even </ɔəɪ/ > for /ɔ:ɪ/. Finally, it has [VɜɪV] for /VəɪV, VəɪV/, and [ɪ] for /i[#], iV/: [ˈkhaɪ, ˈkhaʌ, ˈmɔ:ʌ, ˈmɛɜɪ, -ɪ] /ˈkaɪ, ˈmɔ:ɪ, ˈmɛəɪ/ *car, more, Mary*.

Triphthong attenuation is very frequent (but less than in affected pronunciation or in Cockney), even between word, also for /VV[#]ɔ:ɪ/: [ˈfʌʌ, ˈfʌ; əʊpɪˈdʒɔɪ, ʌɪp-] /ˈfæəɪ, æɪnɪˈdʒɔɪt/ *fire, I enjoy it*. Substantially, its intonation patterns correspond to the neutral ones; with the conclusive and suspensive intonemes, a creaky phonation type is very frequent.



Affected British English pronunciation

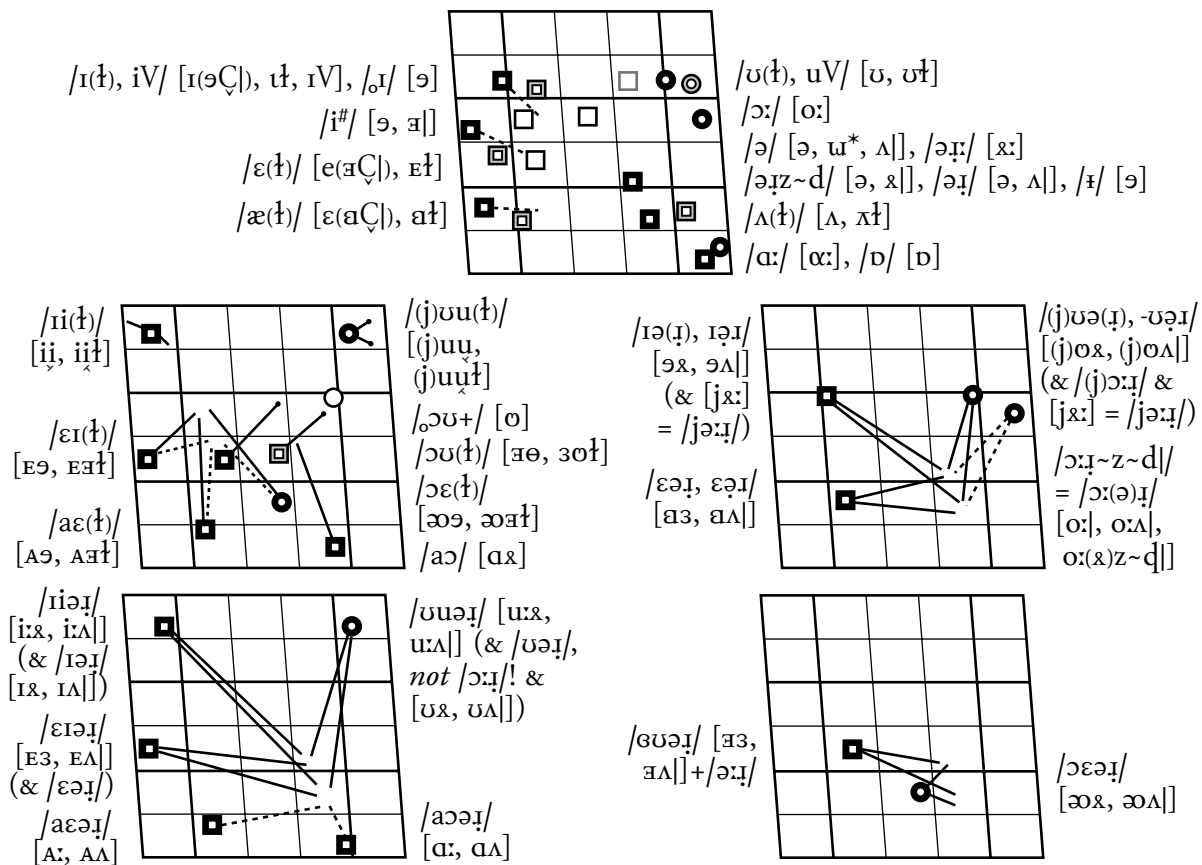
2.6.5. It can be flaunted by aristocrats and people of high social, religious, and cultural standings. But it is generally thought of as too affected. It is characterized

by more peripheral /ɪ, ʊ/, ie [ɪ, ʊ] (instead of [ɪ, ʊ]); but they are more centralized in /ɪə, ɪə; eə, eə; uə, uə/ [ɛə, əɪ; əɛ, əɪ; ʊə, ʊə] [ɛə, əɪ; əɛ, əɪ; ʊə, ʊə]; it presents /VəɪV/ [VɛɪV], and [ə] for /ə[#]/, as well: [ˈmæɪə] *Mary*.

When the phoneme /ɪ/ is fully unstressed, it is [ə], as /i[#]/ too (instead of [i]), and, before pauses, it even becomes [ɛ]: [ˈvɪzəˈbʊləʃə, -ʃɛ]; it has /-ɪŋ/ [-ən, əŋ]; also /ɛ/ is [ə], as many /ə/ are, as well.

Besides, /ɛ, æ/ are closer [e, ɛ]; when /ɪ, ɛ, æ/ are final, in stressed checked syllables ending in voiced C before a pause, they diphthongize as [ɪə, eə, ɛə]: [ˈbɪrɔ̃, ˈweəb, ˈbeəɔ̃] *big, web, bad*.

/əɪ, əɛ; ʌ; ɑː/ are backer, [ɛ, ʌ, ɑː] (and the last one occurs more frequently than in neutral pronunciation); for *ar*, </ɑː/ > [ɑː] is possible. The diphthongs are considerably narrow and have particular timbres, mainly /iɪ, uɪ/ [ii, uu] and /aɔ, ɔɛ, ɔʊ/ [ɑɛ, əə, əə] (and [ɜʊ], for [ɪi, ɪu, aɔ, ɔə, ɜʊ] and [oʊ]). For short vowels and for diphthongs with front first elements, there are taxophones requiring different symbols.



It has no glottalization of /p, t, k, tʃ/ (ie neither [ʔC], nor [C̰]); with the only possible occurrence of [ʔ] for /t/, before sonants: [ˈskɒʔlənɔ̃, ˈskɒʔlənɔ̃] *Scotland*); </tj, dj, sj, zj, θj/ > are fairly frequent, as in [ˈkhwɛstʃən, -stʃən; ˈsjuːpɪ, ˈsuu-], *question, super* (with [ʃ ʒ, ʒ ʒ] only in colloquial or informal pronunciation, for [ˈkhwɛstʃən, ˈsuːpəɪ/ [ˈkhwɛstʃən, ˈsjuːpəɪ]); /vʃ, -θ, -s, -ft, -st/ = /ɔ:/ [o:], in addition to /ɒ/ [ɒ] in some words, today, but *off* maintains /ɔ:/.

/ɪ/ [ɪ, ɪV, θɪ, ðɪ, ɪ/ [ɪ, ɪV, θɪ, ðɪ, pɪ, bɪ, kɪ, gɪ] (also [ɪV], and even [ɪV],

ʋ_ɥV] in some frequent words: *very, terrible, sorry, tomorrow*); non-written and non-etymological /ɹ[#]V/ is frequent. Often, the ⟨aspiration⟩ of /p, t, k, tʃ/ is very weak (contrary to Cockney usage). In addition, it has [∅] for /[#]h/ *hotel*; /h_w/ [w], [ˈweən] *when*; unstressed *my* is /_omɪ, _omə/; /-ɔʊ/ is [o] in compounds when it is at the end of the first lexeme (even if separated): *window sill*.

Triphthong attenuation is extremely frequent (as in Cockney), even between words, also for /VV[#]ɪ/: [ˈfAːʌ, ˈfAː; Aəɪnˈdʒəʊɪʃ, Aɪn-] /ˈfæɛəɪ, æɪnˈdʒɔɪt/ *fire, I enjoy it*. Substantially, its intonation patterns correspond to the neutral ones; with the conclusive and suspensive intonemes, the creaky phonation type is very frequent; paraphonic pitch expansion is typical; in intonemes, syllables are lengthened.

Cockney pronunciation (London)

2.6.6. Most typically, it is the speech of the working-class of *the East End* of London, which includes the harbor. The main vocalic characteristics reside in its diphthongs, which we present in the second vocogram, while in the third vocogram we add both the *less* broad variants (°, seven) and the *broadest* ones (*, two [with grey edges]). Frequently, speakers can fluctuate between these three types: /iɪ/ [əɪ, ɪɪ°], /εɪ/ [Aə, ɛɪ°], /æɪ/ [ɒɛ, ɛɪ°], /aɔ/ [εɜ, æɜ°, Aɐ*] (the last variant, which is generally ⟨described⟩ as ⟨[æː, aː]⟩, is the most narrow diphthong of all), /ɔɛ/ [oɪ, oɪ°], /ɔʊ/ [əʊ, əʊ°, ɐɜ*], /ʊu/ [əu, ɪu°]. Usually, the diaphoneme /ɪ/ is /ɪ/ [ɪ].

For the monophthongs, the most evident characteristics –in addition to some timbres– are contextual diphthongizations. In fact, in the most typical and broad accent, /ε, æ, ɒ/ occurring in stressed monosyllables in (bi)checked syllables –ie with /C[#], CC[#]/– are pronounced [ɛɪ, ɛə, ɔɪ]. For the first two phonemes, this fact is particularly clear with /n, nd, t, d; ŋ, k, ks, g/ (although /t/ = [ʔ]) and with other voiced C (but also with voiceless ones), as in: [ˈdʒɛəɔɪ] /ˈdæd/ *dad* (for [ˈdæɪd]).

Something similar happens to /ɔ:(ɪ)/, which most typically is [oʊ] (although in a less broad pronunciation it is [oː]), as in [ˈlɔːʊn, ˈwɔːʊə, ˈstɔːʊɪ] /ˈlɔːn, ˈwɔːɪ, ˈstɔːɪ/ *lawn, water, story* (for [ˈlɔːn, ˈwɔːɪ, ˈstɔːɪ]). In an intermediate accent as in the less broad one, in all positions, we always find [oː, oʊ], respectively; instead, in the most typical and broadest, we find [oʊA], when in word-final position before pauses.

However, in final position, within sentences, or with the grammemes /z[#], d[#]/, we have [oʊz]: [ˈpɒhɔːz] *paw, pore, pour, poor* (for [ˈphɔːz] /ˈpɔːz, ˈpɔːɪ/, and [ˈphɔːz, -ɔːz] /ˈpɔːɪ, -ɔːɪ/ for the last one [following the most international phonemic order]); [ˈpɒhɔːzɪ] *paws, pores, pours, poor's* (for [ˈphɔːzɪ] /ˈpɔːz, ˈpɔːɪz/, and [ˈphɔːzɪ, -ɔːzɪ] /ˈpɔːɪz, -ɔːɪz/).

/ɔː/ occurs more frequently (and the same is true of traditional and affected pronunciations) than in the neutral accent, especially for /ɒ/: [ˈoʊf, ˈkxhlɔʊf, ˈkxhɔʊs] /ˈɒf, ˈklɒθ, ˈkrɒs/ *off, cloth, cross*. Even /əːɪ/ can be diphthongized [əː, əːɪ]; and also the timbres of /ɑː, ʌ/ are quite remarkable (for /ə(ɪ)[#]/, too): [ˈkxhɑː, -ɒː*, ˈfəːvɑ, ˈfəːz-] /ˈkɑːɪ, ˈfəːɪðəɪ/ *car, further*. The vowels which are followed by nasal consonants (and often those which are preceded by nasals, too) are nasalized (as is the diph-

/iV/ [i], /i/ = /ii/ [əi]
 /ɪ(ʰ)/ [ɪ, ʊ, ɔ], /ɜ/ [ɪ]
 /ɛ(ʰ)/ [ɛ(ɪC), ɛɔ] ([ɛ]°)
 /əɪ/ [əɪ] & [əɜ]
 /æ(ʰ)/ [ɛ(əC), əɔ] ([ɛ]°)
 /ʌ(ʰ)/ [ʌ, əɔ]

/uV/ [u], /ʊ(ʰ)/ [ɔ, ʊɔ, ɔɔ]
 /ə/ [ə, ʊ*, ʌ]
 /ɔ:/ [ou] ([o:]°) ([ouə + z/d, ouʌ, ouɪV] = /ʊə/)
 /ɒ/ [ɔ(σC)] ([ɔ]°)
 /ɑ:/ [ɑ:] ([ɔ:]*)

/ii(ʰ)/ [əi, ʊɔ]
 /aɔ/ [ɛɜ]
 /ɛɪ(ʰ)/ [ʌə, ʌəɔ]

/ɜ/ [ɜɪ]°
 /ɛɪ/ [əɪ]°
 /ɔɪ/ [əɔ]°
 /aɔ/ [æɜ]° ([ʌɜ]*)

/j)ʊu(ʰ)/ [(j)əu, (j)ɪəɔ]
 /ɜɛ(ʰ)/ [oi, oəɔ]

/j)ii(ʰ)/ [(j)ɪu, (j)əu]°
 /j)ʊu/ [(j)əu, (j)ɪu]°
 /ɜɛ/ [əɔ]°
 /aɛ/ [ɑɔ]°

/ɪəɪ/ [ɪɜ, ɪ*, ɪʌ]
 /ɪəɪ/ [ɪɪV]
 /ɛəɪ/ [ɛɜ, ɛ*, ɛʌ]
 /ɛəɪ/ [ɛɪV]

/j)ʊəɪ/ [(j)ʊɜ, -ʊ*, -ʊʌ]
 /j)ʊəɪ/ [(j)ʊɪV] & /j)ɔɪ/ [(j)ɔɪV]

/aɔəɪ/ [ɛɜ, ɛʌ]

/aɛəɪ/ [ɔɜ, ɔʌ] & [ɔɛɜ, ɔɛʌ]
 /ɛəɪ/ [ɔɜ]

/ɪəɪ/ [ɪɜ, ɪ*, ɪʌ, ɪɪV]*
 /ɛəɪ/ [ɛɜ, ɛ*, ɛʌ, ɛɪV]*

/j)ʊəɪ/ [(j)ʊɜ, -ʊ*, -ʊʌ, -ʊɪV]* = /j)ɔɪ/ [(j)ɔɪV]*

/aɔəɪ/ [ʌɜ]* & [ʌɛɜ, ʌɛʌ]*

/aɛəɪ/ [ɔɜ, ɔʌ]*

/aɔəɪ/ [æɜɜ, æʌʌ]° & [əɜ, əʌ]°

/aɛəɪ/ [ɑɜɜ, ɑʌʌ]° & [ɑɜ, ɑʌ]°

/ɪəɪ/ [ɪɜ, ɪ*, ɪʌ, ɪɪV]°
 /ɛəɪ/ [ɛɜ, ɛ*, ɛʌ, ɛɪV]°

/j)ʊəɪ/ [(j)ʊɜ, (j)ɔ*, (j)ʌ, (j)ɔɪV]° = /j)ɔɪ/ [(j)ɔɪV]°

thong /aɔ/, quite often independently from context). For the grammeme /ɪŋ/ we have [ɪn, ɛn, ɲ]; and, for *-thing*, [-fɪŋɹk] is frequent: [ˈmðɪn, ˈsɒmfɪŋɹk, ˈɛnɔɪfɪŋɹk]

/ˈmaɛn, ˈsʌmθɪŋ, ˈɛnɪθɪŋ/ *mine, something, anything*.

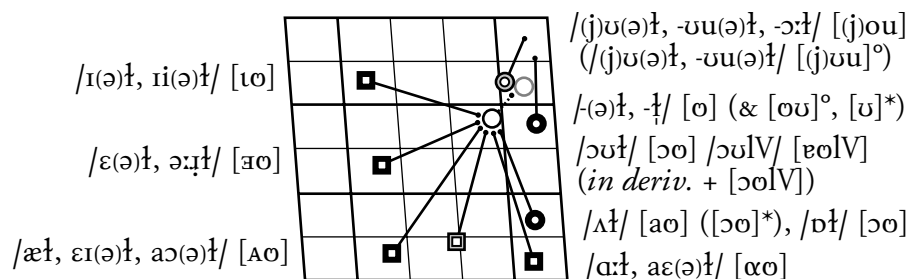
The fourth and fifth vocograms show the realizations of /ɪəɪ, ɪəɪ; ɛəɪ, ɛəɪ; (j)ʊəɪ, -əɪ; æəɪ, æəɪ; əəɪ, əəɪ/ (often /ɪʊ-/ becomes /ɪɔ:-/); instead, the sixth and seventh vocograms show the broadest variants, whereas the eighth to the tenth vocograms give the least broad variants.

In addition, we have: /ɛɪəɪ, -əɪ/ [AA; Aəɜ, AəA]* [ɛɪɜ, ɛɪA]; [ɔɜ, ɔA]°, /ɔʊəɪ, -əɪ/ [ɛɜ, ɛA]; [əɜ, əA]* [əəɜ, əəA]°, /ɔɛəɪ, -əɪ/ [Oɪɜ, OɪA]* [Oəɜ, OəA]° [Oɜ, Oɪ], /ɪɪəɪ, -əɪ/ [ɪɜ, ɪA]; [əɪɜ, əɪA]* [ɦɪɜ, ɦɪA]°, /ʊʊəɪ, -əɪ/ [Oɜ, Oɪ]; [əɦɜ, əɦA], /ɪəɪ, -əɪ/ [ɪɜ, ɪʰ, ɪA], ɪʊV]°, /ɛəɪ, -əɪ/ [ɛɜ, ɛʰ, ɛA], ɛʊV]°, /ʊəɪ, -əɪ/ [Oɜ, Oʰ, Oɪ], OʊV]° (thus, as /ɪɔ:-/ [ɪɔ:-]).

We will now consider, in the last vocogram, the many (and typical) neutralizations of /V(V)/ + /t/, which is vocalized into [ʊ] (in broader pronunciations, we find [u], while in less broad ones, [ʊu], which we do not mark): /ɪt, ɪət, ɪɪt, ɪɪət/ [ɪʊ], /ɛt, ɛət, ɛɪt, ɛɪət/ [ɛʊ], /ɛɪt, æt, ət, əət/ [Aʊ], /ɬt/ [Aʊ, ʊʊ*] (in the broadest accent, the diphthong may coincide with /ɔʊV/ [ʊʊV], when it is lexeme-internal), /ɔt, ɔət, ɔɪt, ɔɪət/ [Aʊ], /ɔt, ɔt/ [ɔʊ] (in derivatives of /ɔʊt/ we find [ɔʊV], instead of [ʊʊV], exactly as in mediatic pronunciation), /ɪt, -ət, -ut, -uət, -ɔt/ [(j)ou] (for /ɪt, -ət, -ut, -uət/, we also find a less broad realization, [(j)uu]°).

For /ɔt, ɔət/, we have [oəʊ] (even in less broad accents); for /-ət, -t, -t/ we have [ʊ] (and [u]*, [ʊu]°); *-el, -al* and *'ll*, after vowels, can be slightly lengthened [ʊː, ʊː°] (and the same is true of /-ət, -t/). For /-ətʰV, -tʰV, -tʰV/, we find [ʊV, ʊV*], *uncle Herbert* (⟨'Erbert⟩) [ɪŋkəl'ɜbət(ʰ)].

In the first two vocograms, we have marked in grey also five V and five VV, which before /t/ may not undergo the typical neutralization shown in the last vocogram.



As far as C are concerned, the most typical characteristic refers to /p, t, k, tʃ/, which are typically preglottalized, [p̚, t̚, k̚, tʃ̚], even [p̚, t̚, k̚], in all cases where in the British accent synglottalization is possible (cf § 2.2.6.1-2, § 2.2.7.1), or where in mediatic British English preglottalization occurs (cf § 2.4.3.6). Even for the phonetic realizations we find some differences. In fact, in the most typical and broadest pronunciations, /p, t, k/ are realized as the corresponding stopstrictives: [p̚p̚, t̚t̚, k̚k̚], even ⟨aspirated⟩ (in the normal contexts expected for neutral pronunciation, too): [p̚p̚h, t̚t̚h, k̚k̚h] (which can give the impression of stronger ⟨aspiration⟩). However, the most typical and broad element is the substitution of /t, t/ with [ʔ] in all the cases seen in § 2.2.5.2, but with further typifying contexts (ie except before a tautosyllabic stressed nucleus, or after pauses, or after /s/, [t̚h, t̚h, t̚s, t̚s]).

Examples: [ˈbʌʔə] /ˈbʌt̚əɪ/ *butter*, [ˈwɔʊʔə] /ˈwɔʊt̚əɪ/ *water*, [ˈkxhɔʔn] /ˈkɔt̚n/ *cotton*, [ˈsɪʔn] /ˈsɪt̚n/ *sitting*, [ˈbɔʔm] /ˈbɔt̚əm/ *bottom*, [ˈbɜʔn] /ˈbɜt̚n/ *Burton*, [ˈʌʊʔn]

/ɛltŋ/ *Elton*, [kxhl̩nʔŋ] /klɪntən/ *Clinton*, [lɪʔ] /lɪt̩/ *little*, [p̥p̥hɔːʔn̩, -ɔːʔ-] /pɑːɪtnəɪ/ *partner*, [sɛʔp̥p̥ɪɪl̩] /sɛpəˌɪətli/ *separately*, [lɔːʔs] /lɒts/ *lots*.

More examples: [p̥p̥hãñʔA, -nʔA, -nA, -nɪA, -nʔʔA] /pɛɪnt̩əɪ/ *painter*, [p̥p̥hãñ-ʔɪʔ, -nʔɪʔ, -nɪʔ, -nɪʔ, -nʔʔɪʔ] /pɛɪnt̩ɪt/ *paint it*, [wouʔA] /wɔːt̩t̩əɪ/ *Walter*, [ouʔɪʔ, -ʔɪʔ, -ɪʔ, -ʔʔɪʔ] /hɔːt̩t̩ɪt/ *halt it*, [ʔʔɔʔɪʔ, -ʔɪʔ, -ɪʔ, -ʔʔɪʔ] /stɑːɪt̩ɪt/ *start it*, [ɪʔɪʔ, ɪʔɪʔ, ɪʔɪʔ, ɪʔʔɪʔ] /hɪt̩ɪt/ *hit it*, [ə'lɪʔ ɪʔ ɛ'bãʔA] /ə'lɪt̩ ɪʔ ɛv'ɪbãt̩əɪ/ *a little bit of butter*, [p̥p̥hɔʔ 'ãʔp̥p̥] /pʊt̩ 'ãp/ *put up*, [p̥p̥hɔʔɪʔ 'ãʔp̥p̥] /pʊt̩ɪt̩ 'ãp/ *put it up*.

In less broad pronunciations, an incomplete, attenuated stop is possible: [ʔ], which is less <invasive>; the vocoid preceding [ʔ] can even be laryngealized, whereas [ʔ] can become <zero>, especially before another vocoid (adding, however, the creaky phonation type), [VʔV → VʔV → V̥ʔV → V̥V]: [ə'lɪʔ ɪʔ ɛ'bãA]. Generally, forms such as *lill* [lɪʔ] /lɪt̩/ and *little* [lɪʔ, lɪʔ, lɪʔ] /lɪt̩/ maintain some differences even if the latter is actually pronounced in this way; as a matter of fact, in addition to the creaky phonation type, /t̩/ is often lengthened (at least in an intoneme).

Before V (even if derived from /t̩/, and even between words), also a less broad variant, [ɪ], is possible (or even [ʔʔ] in <elegant> speech, which we do not indicate). It is also possible for [nɪ] to become [n]; here we will report the relevant examples, without spelling, following the order in which they are given above (including *water* and *Walter*): [ɪbãA, 'wouA, 'sɪñ, ɪbãm, 'lɪʔ], [p̥p̥hãñɪA, -nA; p̥p̥hãñɪʔ, -nɪʔ], [wouA, 'ouɪʔ, ʔʔɔʔɪʔ, ɪʔɪʔ, ə'lɪʔ ɪʔ ɛ'bãA, p̥p̥hɔʔ 'ãʔp̥p̥, p̥p̥hɔʔ-ɪ 'ãʔp̥p̥].

Other consonants can become [ʔ], especially /p, k/: [ʔʔɔʔm] /stɒpɪŋ/ *stopping*, [fɪlɪʔ ɪbãʔɪʔ] /fɪlɪp 'læktɪt/ *Philip liked it*, [kxhɔʔnəɪ] /kɒkni/ *Cockney*. In a previous example, we have seen that typically /d/ becomes stopstrictive, [dʔ]; besides, commonly, /Vd/ is realized as [Vʔ], when it is word-final and followed by C or V, and in the grammeme sequence {-dn't} /-dnt̩/, as well: [ɪbɪɛʔm 'bãʔA] /bɪɛdn̩ 'bãt̩əɪ/ *bread and butter*, [gɔʔ ɪbɔːʔ] /gʊd ɪbɔː/ *good boy*, [vɛdʔɪʔ(ʔʔ)] /æ'dɪdnt̩/ *I didn't*.

For /st, stɪ, st̩/, broad pronunciations have [ʔʔ, ʔt̩, ʔt̩]: [ʔʔAʔ] /stɛɪ/ *stay*, [ʔt̩ɔʔŋ] /stɒŋ/ *strong*, [kxwhɛʔt̩ʔn, -t̩ŋ] /kwɛst̩ʔn/ *question*. In broad pronunciations, /θ, ð/ become /f, v/; however, there are many intermediate nuances, including the realizations of normal pronunciation: [f, v; ʔ, v; ʔ, ɔ; θ, ɔ; θ, ɔ]. More often, /#ð/ can be realized as [θ, ɔ, d, d]: [ɪs'ɛɪs ɪz'mɪñ, ɔɪs-, dɪs-, dɪs-] /ðɪs'haʊs ɪz'mæɪn/ *this house is mine*. As we have seen, the typical realization of /h/ is [θ], which is a stigmatized pronunciation, and therefore can lead many speakers to hypercorrecting: [hɛɪʔ(ʔ)] /ɪt/ *eat*. For /nj, tj, dj/, the typical Cockney pronunciation has no /j/, but, in less broad pronunciations, mediatic-like types are possible, as well: [nɔʔ, 'nɪʔ, 'nɪʔ, 'nɪʔ] /nɪʔu/ *new*, [t̩hɔʔ-ñ, t̩hɪñ, t̩hɪñ, t̩hɔʔ-ñ, t̩hɪñ, t̩hɔʔ-ñ] /t̩ʔuɪn/ *tune*, [d̩ʔuɪkx, d̩ʔuɪkx, d̩ʔuɪk, d̩ʔuɪk, d̩ʔuɪk, d̩ʔuɪk] /d̩ʔuɪk/ *duke*.

Triphthong attenuation is extremely frequent, even between words, also for /VV#ɪ/: [fɔʔA, 'fɔʔA; dɪn'dʒoɪt̩, ɔɪn-] /fæɛɪ, æɪn'dʒɔɪt̩/ *fire, I enjoy it*. Substantially, its intonation patterns correspond to the neutral ones. For (n)either we generally find /iɪ/.