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A hierarchy of difficulties of English consonant clusters for Japanese students

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A HIERARCHY OF DIFFICULTIES OF
ENGLISH CONSONANT CLUSTERS
FOR JAPANESE STUDENTS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Speech
University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Tsutomu Saito
March 1969

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Among the various types of difficulties that students of a foreign language encounter, the most challenging ones seem to be those related to pronunciation. Phonetic difficulties have been frequently attributed to causes related to factors of non-linguistic nature, such as learning skills, cultural environment, ethnic background, and so forth. All these assumptions, of course, have never surpassed the stage of speculation and are irrelevant for linguistic description as well as for language education.

There is no doubt that the correct use of the sounds of a foreign language depends on the successful acquisition of new habits. The term "habit" in this particular case should be understood as adjustment to new linguistic behavior in order to carry out phonological rules that assign to sentences the correct pronunciation. The problem in the past has been that teachers of foreign languages have devoted too much time and effort to the development of the new habit without giving the student a reference frame other than simple imitation. The instructors, interested in re-adjusting the behavior of the students to the new linguistic situation, have neglected to explore the phonological structure of languages.

In order to arrive at an inventory of certain pronunciation difficulties that a speaker of Japanese may encounter in learning English, the phonological system of English and Japanese were focused phonotactically, for such an approach has been found by the writer appropriate to observe both phoneme- and sound arrangements, and therefore useful for ~~formulating phonemic as well as phonetic hierarchies of~~ difficulties. Furthermore, the phonotactic approach permits the observation of linguistic habits upon which the accurate pronunciation of a language depends. After several years of experience, the writer believes that endeavors to improve pronunciation should go beyond speculations about linguistic habits, and reach a reference frame, that is to say, a set of phonological rules, the function of which is to guide the student in the acquisition, perhaps also in the elimination, of various forms of linguistic behavior, in order to handle a foreign language as an efficient tool of communication.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this study was (1) the selection of consonant clusters of both English and Japanese; (2) the comparison and analysis of the clusters on the phonemic as well as phonetic level; and (3) the formulation of a hierarchy of difficulties encountered by the Japanese students in learning English consonant clusters.

Importance of the study. Although comparative analysis of the structures of English and Japanese has been made both on the phonetic and phonemic levels, a contrastive analysis on the phonotactic level between the two languages has not been thoroughly accomplished. Especially, to the best of this writer's knowledge, the formulation of the hierarchy of difficulties of English consonant clusters for the Japanese student has not yet been attempted. One possible approach to this problem could be from the statistical standpoint. However, the writer believes that "comparative phonotactics" between English and Japanese will lead to the formalization of a theoretical hierarchy of difficulties of consonant clusters.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Phonotactics. A branch of phonemics which covers the structural characteristics of phoneme sequences is called phonotactics.¹ The term was first introduced in 1954 by Robert P. Stockwell, who " . . . coined the term by analogy with the term 'tactics' itself as originally proposed by Bloomfield to refer to various arrangements at the syntactic

¹Archibald A. Hill, Introduction to Linguistic Structures: From Sound to Sentence in English (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1958), p. 68.

level."² In this paper the term "phonotactics" was used as the description of arrangement of phonological segments.

Intrasyllabic cluster and Intersyllabic cluster.

An intrasyllabic cluster is a consonant cluster which occurs within a syllable, e.g. [str-] as in street [strit]. An intersyllabic cluster is a cluster which occurs between syllables, e.g. [-s + tr-] as in mouse trap [maʊs + træp].

In spite of distributional differences of components between intrasyllabic and intersyllabic clusters, for practical purposes, it can be accepted that the sound components of these clusters are the result of similar processes of articulation.³ Therefore, any existing difference of articulatory nature between these two types of clusters was excluded throughout this paper.

²A personal letter from R. P. Stockwell in answering this writer's inquiry, May 16, 1968.

³Eugene T. McDonald, Articulation Testing and Treatment: A Sensory-Motor Approach (Pittsburgh: Stanwix House, Inc., 1964), pp. 117-8.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Phonological interference and contrastive structural analysis have been treated by many linguists from various points of view for more than twenty years; however, the following is a brief summary of only those works which are closely related to the present paper.

I. LITERATURE ON THE PHONOLOGICAL INTERFERENCE THEORY

The subject of interference in the process of learning a second language has been discussed in many books on general linguistics, under headings such as "speech mixture," "borrowing," "pidgin languages," "bilingualism," "foreign accents." However, the first book that approaches the subject at full length from the linguist's point of view is Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, by Uriel Weinreich.¹ According to the author, if two or more languages are used alternately by the same person, those languages are said to be in contact;² wherever there is contact, there arise certain problems on various levels of the

¹Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, NO. 1, 1953)

²Ibid., p. 1.

structure of a language. These problems are referred to as interference phenomena by Weinreich.³ He attempted to outline a model for the description of phonological interference in its various aspects. He defines phenomena of interference as "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact."⁴ According to the author phonological interference arises when a bilingual person realizes a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system, and in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language.⁵ Weinreich concludes that the problem of phonological interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language in terms of another.⁶

Weinreich draws up a contrastive description of two languages in contact and shows the differences and similarities between them. Since any difference in the structure of the languages is a potential source of interference, this contrastive description should enable the linguist to predict

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁶Ibid. p. 14

the linguistic behavior of bilingual persons.⁷

To explain the types of interference in phonemic systems, Weinreich compared the phonological systems of Romansh and Schwyzertütsh,⁸ and succeeded in establishing four different types of interference:

(1) Under-differentiation of phonemes occurs when two sounds of the secondary system whose counterparts are not distinguished in the primary system are confused.⁹

An example for such a confusion can be observed between English and Japanese: the English phoneme /z/¹⁰ and the cluster /dz/ are usually expressed by the Japanese speaker as /z/. The confusion becomes more prominent if it is taken into account that the Japanese /z/ has two allophones, namely, [z] and [dz].

$$\text{LII} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /z/ \\ /dz/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \text{LI} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /z/ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [z] \\ [dz] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$$

Using actual words, this can be illustrated as follows:

$$\text{E} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /k\underline{a}z/ \\ /k\underline{a}d\underline{z}/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \text{J} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /kaze/ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [k\underline{a}ze] \\ [k\underline{a}d\underline{z}e] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$$

⁷Einar Haugen, "Review of Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems by Uriel Weinreich," Language, 30:381, 1954.

⁸Romansh and Schwyzertütsh are dialects of the eastern part of Switzerland.

⁹Weinreich, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰For phonetic and phonemic symbols, see Chapter III of this paper; for special symbols, such as / /, see Appendix.

(2) Over-differentiation of phonemes involves the imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary system on the sounds of the secondary system, where they are not required.¹¹

The speaker of English may be prone to establish unneeded differences in Japanese: e.g. in English /j/ and /ʒ/ are two different phonemes, whereas in Japanese they become allophones of /j/.

$$\text{LII} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /j/ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [dʒ] \\ [ʒ] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \dashrightarrow \text{LI} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /j/ \\ /ʒ/ \end{array} \right\}$$

Using actual words, this can be illustrated as follows:

$$\text{J} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /juu/ \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [dʒuu] \\ [ʒuu] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \dashrightarrow \text{E} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /plejə/ \\ /pleʒə/ \end{array} \right\}$$

(3) Reinterpretation of distinctions occurs when the bilingual distinguishes phonemes of the secondary system by features which in that system are merely concomitant or redundant, but which are relevant in his primary system.¹²

This phenomenon can be observed in Japanese: the Japanese speaking person reinterprets the difference in vowel length which in English is redundant. The minimal pair /hiyt/ vs. /hit/ is interpreted as /hiito/ vs. /hitto/.

E heat /hiyt/ ---> J /hiito/

E hit /hit/ ---> J /hitto/

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

(4) Actual phone substitution, . . . applies to phonemes that are identically defined in two languages but whose normal pronunciation differs.¹³

This case can be observed in the substitution of the English phoneme /h/--this phoneme is identically defined in English as well as in Japanese--for an allophone [x] which is nonexistent in English; [x] is an allophone of the Japanese phoneme /h/ in the environment of __/i, y/.

LII /h/ ---> LI /h/ = [x] in env. __/i, y/

Using actual words, this can be illustrated as follows:

E /hiyt/ ---> J /hiito/ = [xiito]

It should be noted that Weinreich stressed that this classification was established not from the raw data directly, but from their phoneme analysis.¹⁴ He maintained that the greater the difference between the systems, the greater are the potential areas of interference.

Referring to the same problem, Einar Haugen stressed the importance of information concerning allophones and distribution in a contrastive description. He stated that a list of phonemes is of little value in predicting interference unless it is accompanied by a rather complete

¹³Weinreich, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁴Ibid.

statement of their distribution.¹⁵

Haugen established a general formula for the identification of allophones in the study of interference. A speaker of Spanish may substitute the final [n] of his own language for any of the following English sounds [-m], [-n], [-ŋ]. This particular case can be symbolized as follows:

$$E \begin{Bmatrix} -m \\ -n \\ -\eta \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow S \begin{Bmatrix} -n \end{Bmatrix}$$

Haugen proposed the name diaphonic for this relationship, since it transcends the limits of a single linguistic system.¹⁶ He also suggested the name diaphone for the identification of those sounds alien to the phonemic system of the language.¹⁷ According to this formula, the three English sounds listed above would all be diaphones of Spanish /n/ in the final position.¹⁸ Haugen's identification of sounds may be outlined as follows:¹⁹

- (1) Convergent identification--two or more phonemes

¹⁵Haugen, op. cit., p. 384.

¹⁶Einar Haugen, "Language Contact," Proceedings of the VIII International Congress of Linguistics (Oslo, 1958), p. 781.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

in one language are identified with one in another.

$$E \begin{Bmatrix} /l/ \\ /r/ \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow J \begin{Bmatrix} /r/ \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{as in} \quad E \begin{Bmatrix} /layt/ \\ /rayt/ \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow J \begin{Bmatrix} /raito/ \end{Bmatrix}$$

(2) Divergent identification--one phoneme is realized by more than one phoneme in the other language.

$$J \begin{Bmatrix} /a/ \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow E \begin{Bmatrix} /a/ \\ /æ/ \\ /ə/ \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{as in} \quad J \begin{Bmatrix} /hatto/ \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow E \begin{Bmatrix} /hat/ \\ /hæt/ \\ /hət/ \end{Bmatrix}$$

(3) Simple identification--the relation is one-to-one.

$$E /b/ \longrightarrow J /b/ \quad \text{as in} \quad E /bəs/ \longrightarrow J /basu/$$

A different approach to the same problem has been proposed by Robert Lado. According to him, procedures for the comparison and analysis of two sound systems may be presented in three steps: (1) linguistic analysis of sound systems, (2) comparison of sound systems, and (3) description of troublesome contrasts.²⁰

The first step consists of making a linguistic description of the sound system of the language to be learned and a similar description of the language of the learner.²¹

²⁰Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 12.

²¹Ibid.

The description of the sound systems should include relevant information of the phonetic features of the phonemes and their variants, as well as information of their distribution.²²

The second step is to compare these descriptions of sound systems in order to see if (1) the native language has a phonetically similar phoneme to one in the language to be learned, (2) the variants of the phonemes are similar in both languages, and (3) the phonemes and their variants are similarly distributed.²³

Robert Lado thinks that there is a hierarchy of difficulties in learning the sound system of a foreign language. The easiest sounds are those physically similar to those of the native language, structurally similar to them, and similarly distributed.²⁴ The hardest sounds, according to Lado, are those which do not occur in the native language, or which are structurally different, or which have a different distribution.²⁵

William G. Moulton did not neglect the importance of phonetics in establishing a contrastive analysis of two

²²Ibid., p. 13.

²³Ibid., p. 12.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

languages.²⁶ In his contrastive analysis of American English and German, Moulton made a careful and systematic comparison of the sounds of these two languages in order to point out similarities and differences of sounds in both systems, and in this way, to predict the possible errors the student would make in his attempt to learn German. Moulton believes that such a comparison may help the teacher explain why the learner makes those errors, and only when the cause of those mistakes has been discovered will it be possible to design useful corrective exercises.²⁷

Moulton grouped the errors made by American students of German in four major categories:²⁸

A. Phonemic errors.

Use of the wrong phoneme caused by the phonological habits of his native tongue: e.g.

G /x/---> E/k/ as in G /naxt/---> E /nakt/

B. Phonetic errors.

Use of the wrong sound caused by the phonetic habits of his native tongue: e.g.

²⁶William G. Moulton, The Sounds of English and German (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 5.

²⁷William G. Moulton, "Toward a Classification of Pronunciation Errors," Modern Language Journal, 40:101, 1962.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 101-2.

G [R] (uvular)---> E [r] (frictionless continuant)

as in

G [Rain]---> E [rain]

C. Allophonic errors.

Use of the wrong allophone caused by the habits of selection already established in his native tongue: e.g.

G [-VtV-]---> E [-VṭV-] (flap) as in

G [fa:ṭər]---> E [fa:t̥ər]

D. Distributional errors.

Use of the wrong phoneme caused by carrying over distributional habits of English into German: e.g.

G [ts-]---> E [z-] as in

G [tsu:]---> E [zu]

Robert P. Stockwell and J. Donald Bowen based the degree of difficulty to which the student of a foreign language is exposed on the phonemic distribution which leads the speaker to select the appropriate allophone.²⁹ According to Stockwell and Bowen, the principle involved in learning the use of an allophone in a foreign language is the same one on which the general process of learning is based, that is,

²⁹Robert P. Stockwell, and J. Donald Bowen, The Sounds of English and Spanish (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 9.

linguistic facts common to two different languages can be easily transferred from one language to the other. For example, the phonemes /m/, /n/, and /t/ in initial position may precede a vowel both in English and in Spanish, in which case there is, in Stockwell and Bowen's terminology, a "positive transfer,"³⁰ and therefore the difficulty is minimal.

The degree of difficulty may increase when the same phoneme in similar distribution is represented in the foreign language by a given allophone which will never occur in the source language. For example, the phoneme /d/ can be intervocalic both in English and in Spanish, but it is represented by two different allophones: e.g. the English word meadow has an intervocalic /d/ which is represented by the allophone [d]; on the other hand the same phoneme /d/ in the same distribution in Spanish is represented by the allophone [ð]. This situation is called by Stockwell and Bowen a "negative transfer,"³¹ which offers a greater degree of difficulty.

The maximum degree of difficulty, the "zero transfer"³² in the terminology of Stockwell and Bowen, may be observed in such cases in which the learner has to face a phoneme completely alien to his own language. The speaker tends to

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

select an acoustically similar sound to represent the alien phoneme. Such is the case of the velar voiceless fricative /x/ in Spanish. Wherever it occurs, the speaker of English tends to substitute it with the glottal /h/, which may in certain cases affect the identification of the word: e.g. the word S/xamas/ becomes E/hamas/.

To test the accuracy of the predicted hierarchies of difficulty based solely on theoretical basis, Eugène J. Brière conducted an experiment using specifically prepared materials in Arabic, French, and Vietnamese as target "language."³³ The purpose of the experiment was to expose the English speaking persons to a group of phonemes--twenty-four in all--which would present specific learning difficulties, and this would lead to formulate a hierarchy of difficulty.

From this study, Brière concluded that (1) phonemes of the target language closely related to the phonemes of the language spoken by the learner and represented by closely related allophones offer a minor degree of difficulty, and (2) prediction and statements about production of sounds based exclusively on phonemic analysis is inadequate, because descriptions and predictions about the acquisition of pronunciation skills require information concerning articulatory

³³Eugène J. Brière, "An Investigation of Phonological Interference," Language, 42:773-4, 1966.

features on the phonetic level.³⁴

The foregoing review shows clearly that the analysis of phonological interference exclusively from the theoretical point of view is inadequate. The description and the classification of the degree of difficulty in acquiring linguistic habits require a careful analysis of the phonetic level based on articulatory facts.

In conclusion, the comparison of sound systems in order to formulate a hierarchy of difficulties should be based on the distributional structure of phonemes as well as a set of allophones that represent those phonemes in a given distribution, and finally, the various articulatory adjustments that convert those allophones into sound waves which make up the perceptible level of language.

II. LITERATURE ON COMPARATIVE PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE.

A comparative analysis has been proposed by Masako Isshiki,³⁵ who based the comparison on (1) variants, i.e.

³⁴Ibid., p. 769.

³⁵Masako Isshiki, "A Comparative Analysis of the English and the Japanese Consonant Phonemes," Onsei no Kenkyuu (Study of Sounds), 8:391-416, 1957.

allophones and free variants, (2) features, i.e. the point and manner of articulation as well as voicing, and finally (3) the distribution of variants. Although Isshiki's comparative analysis does not offer the clarity expected in such an endeavor, it at least points out the instances of difficulty for Japanese learners of English, and suggests ways to select materials which can guide the learners effectively.

In Isshiki's opinion, the comparison of consonant clusters between Japanese and English requires a special attention because of the limited consonant clusters in Japanese.

Several characteristic difficulties faced by students in learning English have been extensively discussed by Franz Giet, who at the same time has proposed ways to overcome them.³⁶ Giet gathered informative materials from more than 1,700 Japanese college students using thirty minute test interviews for this purpose.

In order to find the characteristic difficulties above mentioned, Giet performed a careful analysis in four different areas; namely, phonemic, allophonic, phonetic, and distributional. He concluded that a Japanese student would find difficulties in pronouncing, for example, phonemes /v/, /f/, /θ/, /ð/, /l/, /r/, because these do not exist in

³⁶Franz Giet, "The Typical Difficulties of a Japanese Student in Pronouncing Foreign Sounds and How to Overcome Them," Onsei no Kenkyuu (Study of Sounds), 9:189-203, 1961.

Japanese. He also concluded that the Japanese student would find difficulties in using the English allophone /h/ in the environment __/i, y/, because in this environment the Japanese student uses exclusively the sound [x]. Thirdly, he found modifications of sounds; e.g. English sound [ʃ], which is characterized by lip-rounding, occurs in Japanese but without lip-rounding, which causes a different phonetic effect. Finally, he found that the Japanese student re-adjusts the pronunciation of certain English words by dropping a sound in a specific distribution: e.g. /w/ will never occur in the environment __/u/ in Japanese; therefore the English word woman [wumən] becomes [umən]. Giet also examined the consonant clusters [ts], [dz], [tr], [dr], which he calls affricates, and he believes they offer a certain degree of difficulty to Japanese students of English.³⁷

Giet did not try to formulate any hierarchy of difficulty, but did emphasize that the /n/ in the final position, e.g. in the word pen, or in the environment of /__ + fricative/, as in the word sense, is "the most difficult sound for the Japanese student."³⁸

The details about various kinds of difficulties that Japanese students of English usually encounter have also been

³⁷Ibid., pp. 193-200.

³⁸Ibid., p. 200.

discussed by Tsutomu Akamatsu, who attempted to formulate a hierarchy of difficulty based on the personal data obtained in his teaching English pronunciation to nearly three hundred students at a university in Tokyo.³⁹

In Akamatsu's report, the hierarchy of difficulty was determined according to the techniques required to teach the particular consonant as well as the extent of drills required for a student to acquire it. To be more specific, the consonants of what he calls "the first-degree of difficulty" are those the production of which requires the students

. . . to draw substantially not only on adequate descriptive explanations with the aid of diagrams showing the articulatory organs which participate in the formation of a consonant in question, but also on the tactile sensation in the oral cavity accompanying production of those consonants--the sensation which the students should commit to their tactual memory in such a manner that it may be actualized⁴⁰ when subsequently called on to form those consonants.

In treating the consonants of "the second-degree of difficulty," Akamatsu wrote:

. . . the students' malpronunciation may be rectified through adequate diagrammatical descriptions of the articulation organs for the consonants⁴¹ in question hand in hand through the mimicry method.

³⁹Tsutomu Akamatsu, "Some Observations in the Speech Clinic," Onsei no Kenkyuu (Study of Sounds), 11:31-60, 1965.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 35.

⁴¹Ibid.

Akamatsu's "first-degree-difficulty consonants" include [z], [r], [n], [tr], [dr], [dz], ([tr], [dr], and [dz] are treated as affricates); the "second-degree-difficulty consonants" are [p], [t], [k], [θ], [ʃ], [l].⁴² According to Akamatsu [f], [v] and [ʃ] are either nonexistent or obsolescent in present-day Japanese, and cause the students relatively minor trouble.⁴³ The remaining English consonants, [b], [d], [g], [s], [z], [h], [tʃ], [dʒ], [ts], [m], and [ŋ], are presumably fairly easy for the students because approximate counterparts exist in Japanese.

A comparison of the phonological systems of English and Japanese, including segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, has been made by Akira Ota.⁴⁴ In regard to segmental phonemes, Ota's opinion is that the comparison of phonemic inventories of the two languages alone is not enough; the distribution of phonemes, phonetic features--not only of distinctive function but also of phonetic nature--of phonemes, allophones and their distribution should also be considered.⁴⁵

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., p. 34, also p. 37.

⁴⁴Akira Ota, "Nichi-Eigo no Ontaikei no Hikaku (A Comparative Study of the Japanese and English Sound System)," Nichi-Eigo no Hikaku (Comparative Study of Japanese and English) (Tokyo: Kenkyuusha, 1965), pp. 3-40.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 21.

Ota's contrastive analysis of the phonological systems of English and Japanese shows not only these differences between the two languages, but also the possible problems that may arise in learning English because of the structural differences. For the presentation of the various problems Ota adopted Moulton's system of classification, namely, (A) Phonemic, (B) Phonetic, (C) Allophonic, and (D) Distributional.⁴⁶ Here is an illustration of Ota's treatment of some problems:⁴⁷

A. Phonemic.

$$E \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ʒ/ \\ /z/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow J \left\{ /z/ \right\} \quad \text{as in} \quad E \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /sayʒ/ \\ /sayz/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow J \left\{ /saizu/ \right\}$$

B. Phonetic.

$$E [n] \longrightarrow J [ɲ] \quad \text{in env. } _ /i/ \quad \text{as in} \quad E [ni] \longrightarrow J [ɲii]$$

C. Allophonic.

$$E \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /zy/ \\ /j/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow J \left\{ [dʒ] \right\} \quad \text{in env. } _ /uw/ \quad \text{as in}$$

$$E \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /zyuws/ \\ /juws/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow J \left\{ [dʒuus] \right\}$$

⁴⁶See pp. 13-14.

⁴⁷Ota, op. cit., pp. 28-32.

D. Distributional.

E /CC/ --> J Ø as in E /treyn/ --> J /toreiN/

From the above outline Ota concludes that phonemically speaking, there are no clusters in Japanese. This relevant fact--interesting in comparing Japanese with English--will be explained later in this paper.

~~Ota mentioned very briefly how difficult or easy the perception and production of new or unfamiliar segments or combination of them was for the Japanese student of English, but did not attempt to formulate a hierarchy of difficulties among them.~~

The difficulties that the Japanese student of English usually encounters have been carefully discussed in articles and books related with language education in Japan. The structural differences between English and Japanese that prevent the Japanese student of English from acquiring acceptable pronunciation have been constantly discussed, not only by Japanese phoneticians but also by language experts outside Japan. Although contrastive analysis of English and Japanese has been performed both on the phonetic and phonemic levels, no remarkable effort has been made to establish statistically a hierarchy of difficulties. Furthermore, a contrastive phonotactic analysis of Japanese and

English has not been thoroughly accomplished. It is the opinion of this writer that a contrastive analysis based on phonotactic facts can lead to formulate a logical hierarchy of difficulties which will guide the student in his endeavor to learn an accurate pronunciation of English.

CHAPTER III

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

This chapter includes listings of vowel and consonant phonemes of English as well as of Japanese. Each phoneme is listed together with its allophones, with the exception of the vowel phonemes of English. Articulatory features of each allophone are indicated by various diacritical marks or by absence of them. Information related to articulatory features of an allophone is necessary whenever a Japanese student of English has to learn consonant clusters.

The present inventory is by no means exhaustive; several allophones--not pertinent to the present discussion--have been excluded.¹ However, information concerning the listed allophones, their distribution and articulation, necessary for a phonotactic contrast of English and Japanese, and for detecting the causes of difficulties in dealing with phonotactic system of English, are included in the inventory.

I. LIST OF ENGLISH PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

A. English Vowels and Vowel Nuclei.

¹For further information, see George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, An Outline of English Structure (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1957), pp. 29-35, also p. 90.

All the English vowels and vowel nuclei needed in the present discussion are shown below. Articulatory features of each vowel which are not relevant to the present discussion have been excluded.

Phonemic symbols	Phonetic symbols	Key words
/i _y /	[i]	beat
/i/	[ɪ]	bit
/e _y /	[eɪ]	late
/e/	[ɛ]	bet
/æ/	[æ]	bat
/a/	[a]	f <u>a</u> ther
/ɔ/	[ɔ]	b <u>o</u> ught
/ow/	[oʊ]	bo <u>o</u> t
/u/	[ʊ]	fo <u>o</u> t
/uw/	[u]	bo <u>o</u> t
/ə/	[ə]	<u>a</u> b <u>o</u> ve
/ay/	[aɪ]	bi <u>t</u> e
/aw/	[aʊ]	bo <u>u</u> t
/ɔy/	[ɔɪ]	vo <u>i</u> ce

B. English Consonants.

/p/ the class of voiceless bilabial stops:

- ✓ [p^h] aspirated /p/: in env. #__V̆ pad
- ✓ [p^l] unreleased /p/: in env. __/p, b,
t, d, k, g, č, ĵ/ lamppost
- [p̚] nasal plosion: in env. __/n, m/ topmost
-
- ✓ [p] unaspirated /p/: in env. /s/ __V,
and elsewhere spot

/b/ the class of voiced bilabial stops:

- [b^h] aspirated /b/: in env. #__V̆ bag
- ✓ [b^l] unreleased /b/: in env. __/p, b,
t, d, k, g, č, ĵ/ obtain
- [b̚] nasal plosion: in env. __/n, m/ ribbon
- ✓ [b̥] devoiced /b/: in env. __#, __C̥ absurd
- ✓ [b] unaspirated /b/: elsewhere rubber

/t/ the class of voiceless alveolar stops:

- ✓ [t^h] aspirated /t/: in env. #__V̆ take
- ✓ [t^l] unreleased /t/: in env. __/p, b,
t, d, k, g, č, ĵ/ outpost
- [t̚] nasal plosion: in env. __/n, m/ cotton
- [t̚^l] lateral plosion: in env. __/l/ little
- [t̪] dental /t/: in env. __/θ, ð/ eighth
- [t̚^w] bilabialized /t/: in env. __/w/ between

[t̠]	retracted /t/: in env. ___/r/	<u>tree</u>
✓ [t̚]	voiced /t/: ^{FWP} in env. ʋ__V	<u>water</u>
✓ [t]	unaspirated /t/: in env. /s/___V, and elsewhere	<u>stop</u>

/d/ the class of voiced alveolar stops:

[dʰ]	aspirated /d/: in env. #__ʋ	<u>day</u>
✓ [d̠]	unreleased /d/: in env. ___/p, b, t, d, k, g, ʃ, ʒ/	<u>bedtime</u>
✓ [d̃]	nasal plosion: in env. ___/n, m/	<u>sudden</u>
✓ [d̚]	lateral plosion: in env. ___/l/	<u>middle</u>
✓ [d̪]	dental /d/: in env. ___/θ, ð/	<u>width</u>
[d̪]	bilabialized /d/: in env. ___/w/	<u>dwell</u>
[d̠]	retracted /d/: in env. ___/r/	<u>dry</u>
✓ [d̥]	devoiced /d/: in env. ___#, ___ç	<u>road</u>
✓ [d]	unaspirated /d/: elsewhere	<u>leader</u>

/k/ the class of voiceless velar stops:

✓ [kʰ]	aspirated /k/: in env. #__ʋ	<u>come</u>
✓ [k̠]	unreleased /k/: in env. ___/p, b, t, d, k, g, ʃ, ʒ/	<u>picture</u>
[k̃]	nasal plosion: in env. ___/n, m/	<u>acknowledge</u>
[k̪]	bilabialized /k/: in env. ___/w/	<u>queen</u>
✓ [k]	unaspirated /k/: in env. /s/___V, and elsewhere	<u>skin</u>

/g/ the class of voiced velar stops:

- [g^h] aspirated /g/: in env. #__V go
- ✓ [g^ʷ] unreleased /g/: in env. __/p, b,
t, d, k, g, ʃ, ʒ/ rugby
- [g̃] nasal plosion: in env. __/n, m/ ignore
- [g̥] bilabialized /g/: in env. __/w/ language
- ✓ [ḡ] devocalized /g/: in env. __#, __ç dog
- ✓ [g] unaspirated /g/: elsewhere eager

/f/ the class of voiceless labiodental fricatives:

- ✓ [f] feet

/v/ the class of voiced labiodental fricatives:

- ✓ [v] devocalized /v/: in env. __# leave
- ✓ [v] elsewhere veal

/θ/ the class of voiceless interdental fricatives:

- [θ̠] retracted /θ/: in env. __/r/ three
- ✓ [θ] elsewhere thick

/ð/ the class of voiced interdental fricatives:

- [ð̠] retracted /ð/: in env. __/r/ brethren
- [ð̄] devocalized /ð/: in env. __# with
- ✓ [ð] elsewhere brother

/s/ the class of voiceless alveolar fricatives:

- [s̥] bilabialized /s/: in env. __/w/ swear
- ✓ [s] elsewhere sit

/z/ the class of voiced alveolar fricatives:

- [ʒ] bilabialized /z/: in env. ___/w/ Oswald
 ✓ [z̥] devocalized /z/: in env. ___# buzz
 ✓ [z] elsewhere easy

/ʃ/ the class of voiceless alveopalatal fricatives:

- ✓ [ʃ] sheet

/ʒ/ the class of voiced alveopalatal fricatives:

- [ʒ̥] devocalized /ʒ/: in env. ___# rouge
 ✓ [ʒ] elsewhere pleasure

/h/ the class of voiceless glottal fricatives:

- ✓ [ɦ] voiced glottal fricative: in env.
 V__V behind
 [x] prevelar fricative: in env. ___/y/ human
 ✓ [h] elsewhere hen

^{ch}
/tʃ/ the class of voiceless alveopalatal affricates:

- ✓ [tʃ] *aspirated* cheese

/j/ the class of voiced alveopalatal affricates:

- [dʒ̥] devocalized /j/: in env. ___# judge
 ✓ [dʒ] elsewhere jest

/m/ the class of voiced bilabial nasals:

- [m̥] labio-dental /m/: in env. ___/f, v/ comfort
 ✓ [m] syllabic /m/: rhythm

✓ [ŋ] devocalized /m/: in env. C__ smoke

✓ [m] elsewhere meal

/n/ the class of voiced alveolar nasals:

[ɲ] lateral plosion: in env. __/l/ tunnel

[ɲ] bilabialized /n/: in env. __/w/ unwanted

[ɲ] retracted /n/: in env. __/r/ Henry

✓ [ɲ] syllabic /n/: cotton

[ɲ] palatalized /n/: in env. __/y/ news

✓ [ɲ] devocalized /n/: in env. C__ snow

✓ [n] elsewhere net

/ŋ/ the class of voiced velar nasals:

[ŋ] syllabic /ŋ/: bacon

✓ [ŋ] devocalized /ŋ/: in env. __#, __C distinct

✓ [ŋ] elsewhere singer

/l/ the class of voiced alveolar laterals:

[ɭ] bilabialized /l/: in env. __/w/ always

✓ [ɭ] dark /l/: in env. __#, __C full

✓ [ɭ] syllabic /l/: middle

✓ [ɭ] devocalized /l/: in env. C__ plea

✓ [l] elsewhere late

/r/ the class of voiced frictionless ^{app}continuant:

[ɹ] fricative /r/: in env. /t, d/___ dress

[ɹ̥] flapped /r/: in env. V__V very

✓ [ɾ] devocalized /r/: in env. C__ cream

✓ [r] elsewhere road

/w/ the class of voiced bilabial semivowels:

✓ [w] devocalized /w/: in env. C__ queen

✓ [w] elsewhere wet

(aspiral more imp than other)

/y/ the class of voiced alveopalatal semivowels:

✓ [ɥ] devocalized /y/: in env. C__ cue

✓ [y] elsewhere yard

/#/ the class of pauses:

[#] before all phonemes except /ŋ, ʒ/

II. LIST OF JAPANESE PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

A. Japanese Vowels.

/i/ the class of high front vowels:

[I] devocalized /i/: after /p, k, ʃ, h, ʧ/ and
before /p, t, k, s, ʃ, h, ʧ/, in free variation with

[i]. e.g. kita [kɪta] 'north'

[ĩ] nasalized /i/: before or after /N/. e.g.

jishin [dʒiʃĩŋ] 'earthquake'

[i] elsewhere. e.g. ie [ie] 'house'

/e/ the class of mid-front vowels:

- [E] devocalized /e/: in rapid speech, before /p, t, k/ and after /p, t, k/, in free variation with [e]. e.g. tetenashigo [tEtenašino] 'orphan'
- [ĕ] nasalized /e/: before or after /N/. e.g. enpitsu [ĕmpɪcu] 'pencil'
- [e] elsewhere. e.g. e [e] 'picture'

/a/ the class of low vowels:

- [A] devocalized /a/: in rapid speech, before /p, t, k/ and after /p, t, k/, in free variation with [a]. e.g. takai [tAkai] 'high'
- [ǣ] nasalized /a/: before or after /N/. e.g. hanbun [hǣmbũŋ] 'half'
- [a] elsewhere. e.g. asa [asa] 'morning'

/o/ the class of mid-back vowels:

- [O] devocalized /o/: in rapid speech, before /p, t, k/ and after /p, t, k/, in free variation with [o]. e.g. kokoro [kOkoro] 'heart'
- [ō] nasalized /o/: before or after /N/. e.g. hon [hōŋ] 'book'
- [o] elsewhere. e.g. oka [oka] 'hill'

/u/ the class of high back vowels:

- [U] devocalized /u/: after /p, t, k, s, š, h, č/ and before /p, t, k, s, š, h, č/, in free

- variation with [u]. e.g. kusa [kUsa] 'grass'
- [ũ] nasalized /u/: before or after /N/. e.g.
bunka [bũŋka] 'culture'
- [u] elsewhere. e.g. ue [ue] 'up'

B. Japanese Consonants.

/p/ the class of voiceless bilabial stops:

- [p̚] unreleased syllabic /p/: before /p/. e.g.
ippai [ip̚pai] 'one cup'
- [p] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. pen [pẽŋ]
 'pen'

/b/ the class of voiced bilabial stops:

- [b] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. bin [bĩŋ]
 'bottle'

/t/ the class of voiceless dental stops, or voiceless dental or denti-alveolar affricates:

- [t̚] voiceless dental stop: before /e, a, o/. e.g.
te [t̚e] 'hand'
- [t̚̚] unreleased syllabic /t/: before [t̚]. e.g.
itto [it̚̚to] 'one horse'
- [c] voiceless dental or denti-alveolar affricate:
 before /u/. e.g. tsuri [cuʃi] 'fishing'
- [ç̚] syllabic /t/: before [c]. e.g. ittsu
 [iç̚cu] 'one letter'

/d/ the class of voiced dental stops:

[d] before /e, a, o/. e.g. doko [doko] 'where'

/k/ the class of voiceless velar stops:

[k̚] unreleased syllabic /k/: before /k/. e.g.

kekka [kek̚ka] 'result'

[k] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. ki [ki]

'tree'

/g/ the class of voiced velar stops:

[g] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. gikei [gikee]

'brother-in-law'

/s/ the class of voiceless fricatives:

[ɕ] syllabic /s/: before pause and /s/. e.g.

issatsu [iɕacu] 'one book'

[s] before vowels except /i/. e.g. san [sãɲ]

'three'

/z/ the class of voiced alveolar fricatives:

[z] before vowels except /i/. e.g. kaze [kaze]

'wind'

[dz] alveolar affricate: before vowels except /i/,

in free variation with [z]. e.g. kaze [kadze]

'wind'

/ɕ/ the class of voiceless alveopalatal fricatives:

[ʃ̣] syllabic /ʃ/: before pause and /ʃ/. e.g.

zāṣshi [zaʃ̣ʃi] 'magazine'

[ʃ] before vowels. e.g. shashin [ʃaʃʃɪŋ] 'picture'

/h/ the class of voiceless glottals, or bilabial fricatives,
or prevelar fricatives:

[ɦ] voiced glottal: between vowels. e.g. ohayoo

[oɦayoo] 'good morning'

[ɸ] bilabial fricative: before /u/, in free variation

with [h]. e.g. hurui [ɸuɾui] 'old'

[x] prevelar fricative: before /i, y/. e.g. hi

[xi] 'fire'

[h] voiceless glottal: before /e, a, o, u/. e.g.

henka [hẽŋka] 'change'

/č/ the class of voiceless alveopalatal affricates:

[tʃ̣ʰ] unreleased syllabic /č/: before /č/. e.g.

icchi [itʃ̣ʰtʃi] 'agreement'

[tʃ] before vowels. e.g. kuchi [kUtʃi] 'mouth'

/ǰ/ the class of voiced alveopalatal affricates or voiced
prepalatal fricatives:

[dʒ] voiced alveopalatal affricates: before vowels.

e.g. jishin [dʒiʃʃɪŋ] 'earthquake'

[ʒ] voiced alveopalatal fricative: before vowels,

in free variation with [dʒ]. e.g. jishin

[ʒiʃʃɪŋ] 'earthquake'

/m/ the class of bilabial nasals:

[m] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. mimi [mimi]
'ear'

/n/ the class of dental nasals:

[n̪] before /e, a, o, u/. e.g. nashi [naʃi]
'pear'

[ɲ] voiced palatal nasal: before /i, y/. e.g.
gyuunyuu [gyuunyuu] 'milk'

/ŋ/ the class of voiced velar nasals:

[ŋ] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. kaigi [kaiŋi]
'conference'

/N/ the class of syllabic nasals:

[m̩] voiced bilabial syllabic /N/: before /p, b, m/.
e.g. konban [kõmbãṃ] 'this evening'

[n̪̩] voiced dental syllabic nasals: before /t, d, r,
z, n, ʃ, ʒ/. e.g. minna [minna] 'everybody'

[ŋ̩] voiced velar syllabic nasal: before /k, g, ŋ/.
e.g. bunka [bũŋka] 'culture'

[ŋ̥] voiced velar half-nasal: before /e, a, i, o, u,
s, ʃ, h, w, y/, and /#/. e.g. san [sãṃ]
'three'

/r/ the class of voiced flaps:

[ɾ] before /i, e, a, o, u, y/. e.g. roku [ɾoku]
'six'

/w/ the class of non-syllabic high back semivowels:

[w] after vowels, /N/, and /#/ and before /a/.

e.g. wakai [wakai] 'young'

/y/ the class of non-syllabic high front semivowels:

[y] after vowels, and /p, b, k, g, h, m, n, ŋ, N, r/

and before /a, o, u/. e.g. heya [heya] 'room'

/#/ the class of pauses:

[#] before all phonemes except /ŋ/, and after /i, e,

a, o, u, N/. e.g. isu [#isu#] 'chair'

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SYLLABLE IN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

Learners of a foreign language seem to have the tendency of transferring their habit of syllabic division of their own language into a foreign one, perhaps because in some languages the syllabic structure conditions the phonetic shape of the sentence, or perhaps because the concept of syllable varies from language to language. For example, when a Japanese speaks English, he divides the sentence into the segments that reflect the syllabic structure of his own language, but do not match the syllabic division of the English utterance. It is therefore necessary for comparative purposes to establish the differences of syllabic structures between English and Japanese.

The central part of an English syllable is a vocalic nucleus, simple or followed by a glide, sometimes linked to a consonant environment or sometimes not, as it can be observed in the following examples:

	Linked to consonant	Not linked to consonant
Vowel nucleus + glide	<u>bait</u> /beyt/	<u>I</u> /ay/
Vowel nucleus - glide	<u>bet</u> /bet/	<u>a</u> /ə/

In Japanese, on the other hand, the syllable must be defined in terms of relative duration: e.g. the words Nippon and sayonara, which present a noticeable difference between their segmental length, are uttered in the same amount of time.

In English, the consonant environment to which the vowel nucleus of a syllable is linked is a phonotactic arrangement, which prevents the Japanese student from interpreting properly the syllable sequence in English utterances.

I. SYLLABIC COMPONENTS OF ENGLISH

A. Vocalic Nucleus and Consonant Environment.

As it was stated in the preceding section, the present paper is not concerned with the components of the vocalic nucleus but with the consonant environment, that is, the phonotactic arrangements of consonant phonemes to which the nucleus is linked.

The following is a chart of the various phonotactic arrangements of consonant phonemes which constitute the environment of the syllable nucleus.

	Examples	
/C/ (rare)	/ŋ/	' <u>n</u> ' (as in <u>bread</u> ' <u>n</u> ' <u>butter</u>)
/V/	/ə/	<u>a</u>
/CV/	/ðə/	<u>the</u>

/c ^c v/	/stey/	<u>stay</u>
/vc/	/in/	<u>in</u>
/vc ^c /	/ɪŋk/	<u>ink</u>
/cvc/	/ðæt/	<u>that</u>
/c ^c vc/	/step/	<u>step</u>
/cvc ^c /	/miks/	<u>mix</u>
/c ^c vc ^c /	/glimpst/	<u>glimpsed</u>

B. English Consonant Clusters.

The inventory of the possible consonant cluster in English can not be exhausted because of the constant increase of English vocabulary and the marked divergencies of pronunciation due, among others, to cultural factors.

From the practical and educational point of view, a listing of clusters should be established according to the frequency of occurrence in actual utterances. Therefore, a listing should give priority of selection to /st/ instead of /sθ/, for /st/ occurs 699 times in a 72,210-phoneme utterance, whereas /sθ/ occurs only once.¹

This paper presents fifty consonant clusters selected on the basis of their high frequency of occurrence in the

¹P. B. Denes, "On the Statistics of Spoken English," The Journal of the Acoustic Society of America, 35:892-904, 1963.

language,² and they are shown in Table I. This table includes only two member clusters. Clusters of three members $C_1 C_2 C_3$ were separated into $C_1 C_2$ and $C_2 C_3$ and counted separately. A four member cluster $C_1 C_2 C_3 C_4$ was considered as $C_1 C_2 + C_2 C_3 + C_3 C_4$, and each two member cluster was counted respectively; and so forth.

The segmentation of longer clusters into two member ones coincides with the actual teaching situation of English clusters, because longer clusters can best be taught by expanding shorter ones: e.g. rang - rank - rankle - rankles ([ræŋ] - [ræŋk] - [ræŋkl] - [ræŋklz]). Since every consonant sound is the result of a single set of adjustments of the speech mechanism, it is natural for a student to encounter some difficulty when two consonants come together and form an unfamiliar cluster, especially when one of the consonants is a new challenging sound for the student.³ Difficulties may increase when three or four or even five consonants come together to form a cluster.

Discussion concerning distribution of consonant clusters within a word seems to be irrelevant at this point and will be taken into consideration in Chapter V. Rules of

²Ibid.

³Halvor P. Hansen, and Lulu Hayes Pierce, Speak to Learn (Stockton: University of the Pacific Press, 1966), p. 23.

TABLE I
 FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF CONSONANT
 CLUSTERS IN ENGLISH

Order	Conso- nant clusters	Occur- rence fre- quency	Percen- tage	--Cumulative--	
				Occur- rence fre- quency	Percen- tage
1	nt	804	10.63	—	—
2	nd	760	10.05	1564	20.68
3	st	699	9.24	2263	29.92
4	ns	260	3.44	2523	33.36
5	ks	238	3.14	2761	36.50
6	tr	171	2.26	2932	38.76
7	pr	160	2.11	3092	40.87
8	pl	155	2.05	3247	42.92
9	tl	150	1.98	3397	44.90
10	kt	148	1.95	3545	46.85
11	ts	145	1.92	3690	48.77
12	bl	139	1.84	3829	50.61
13	ŋk	137	1.81	3966	52.42
14	fr	124	1.64	4090	54.06
15	dn	114	1.51	4202	55.57
16	kw	110	1.45	4314	57.02
17	ʃn	110	1.45	4424	58.47
18	sp	103	1.36	4527	59.83

TABLE I (continued)

Order	Conso- nant clusters	Occur- rence fre- quency	Percen- tage	--Cumulative--	
				Occur- rence fre- quency	Percen- tage
19	kl	103	1.36	4630	61.19
20	zn	96	1.27	4726	62.46
21	ld	92	1.22	4818	63.68
22	gr	89	1.18	4907	64.86
23	nl	87	1.15	4994	66.01
24	sk	87	1.15	5081	67.16
25	dz	82	1.08	5163	68.24
26	nz	79	1.04	5242	69.28
27	mp	75	1.00	5317	70.28
28	ft	68	0.90	5385	71.18
29	br	66	0.87	5451	72.05
30	vn	62	0.82	5513	72.87
31	mz	60	0.79	5573	73.66
32	dy	58	0.77	5631	74.43
33	fl	55	0.73	5686	75.16
34	sn	49	0.65	5735	75.81
35	tn	48	0.63	5783	76.44
36	mb	47	0.62	5830	77.06
37	sl	46	0.61	5876	77.67
38	lf	45	0.60	5921	78.27

TABLE I (continued)

Order	Conso- nant clusters	Occur- rence fre- quency	Percen- tage	--Cumulative--	
				Occur- rence fre- quency	Percen- tage
39	lt	42	0.56	5963	78.83
40	lm	42	0.56	6005	79.39
41	θr	42	0.56	6047	79.97
42	dr	41	0.54	6088	80.49
43	pt	41	0.54	6129	81.03
44	ny	40	0.53	6169	81.56
45	ps	40	0.53	6209	82.09
46	ŋz	40	0.53	6249	82.62
47	sm	37	0.49	6286	83.11
48	šl	37	0.49	6323	83.60
49	d1	36	0.48	6359	84.08
50	ky	35	0.46	6394	84.54
51 } } 206	others	1170	15.46	7564	100.00

consonant patterning--phonotactic laws--are not in the scope of this study. This section is concerned only with the types of consonant clusters which actually occur frequently in English.

The fifty consonant clusters to be handled in this paper represent about eighty-five per cent of the 7,564 occurrences of the consonant clusters in a 72,210-phoneme utterance. For educational purposes, it seems sufficient to limit the number of clusters to the above mentioned percentage (84.54 per cent).

II. SYLLABIC COMPONENTS OF JAPANESE

It was stated previously that the main concern of this paper is the consonant clusters that accompany the vowel nucleus. If a syllabic pattern similar to the English one shown on page 40 is proposed for Japanese, the following type of phonemic syllables can be established. It is important to notice that in the chart below, item (1) is a syllabic consonant, similar to English 'n' as in bread 'n' butter, item (2) is a single vowel, similar to English a /ə/, item (3) is a consonant + a vowel, similar to English the /ðə/, and finally item (4) is a consonant + a semivowel + a vowel, similar to English cue /kyuw/. As it can be observed the consonant environments are not in themselves clusters of a

length comparable to that of glimpsed /gl + i + mpst/.

- (1) /C/ e.g. /N/
 (un /NN/ [ŋŋ] 'yes')
- (2) /V/ e.g. /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/
 (i /i/ [i] 'stomach')
- (3) /CV/ e.g. /ki/, /ke/, /ka/, /ko/, /ku/
 (ki /ki/ [ki] 'tree')
- (4) /CyV/ e.g. /kya/, /kyo/, /kyu/
 (kyaku /kyaku/ [kyaku] 'guest')

A. Japanese Consonant Clusters.

The preceding statements do not mean that Japanese is a language devoided of consonant clusters. As a matter of fact, clusters may be observed intersyllabically distributed on the phonemic level: e.g. ando /a-N-do/ 'relief'. To understand this fact it is necessary to explain the nature of the Japanese syllable and the possible occurrence of sequences of syllables.

Japanese syllables are all open syllables except when the syllabic phoneme /N/ occurs, or when syllabic allophones of voiceless consonant phonemes occur; e.g. [ik̚¹koo] /i-k-ko-o/ 'a party'. The syllabic lengthening takes place in the first half of the geminated consonants when two identical consonants occur in the intervocalic positions. The

total distribution of the geminate consonant in Japanese is as follows:

/-(C)V-p-pV-/	e.g. <u>ippai</u>	[ip ¹ pai]	'one cup'
/-(C)V-t-tV-/	<u>itto</u>	[it ¹ too]	'one horse'
/-(C)V-t-tu-/	<u>ittsu</u>	[iç ¹ cuu]	'one letter'
/-(C)V-k-kV-/	<u>kekka</u>	[kek ¹ ka]	'result'
/-(C)V-s-sV-/	<u>issatsu</u>	[iççacu]	'one book'
/-(C)V-š-šV-/	<u>zasshi</u>	[zašš ¹ i]	'magazine'
/-(C)V-č-čV-/	<u>icchi</u>	[itš ¹ tš ¹ i]	'agreement'

As the chart of geminate consonants of Japanese shows, /CCV/ is counted as two syllables; the first /C/ forms one syllable, and /CV/ forms another. The main difference of the consonant clustering between Japanese and English is that in the first language, the clustering is intersyllabic, and in the second intrasyllabic.⁴

Syllabic type /CyV/ (Consonant-Semivowel-Vowel) presents a peculiar distribution in Japanese. The distribution of /__yV/ type syllable can be formulated as follows:

⁴Cf. p. 4 of this paper.

		Examples	
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ /p/ \\ /b/ \\ /k/ \\ /g/ \\ /h/ \\ /m/ \\ /n/ \\ /ŋ/ \\ /r/ \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} /y/ \\ /a/ \\ /o/ \\ /u/ \end{array} \right\}$	/ya-ma/	'mountain'
		/ha-p-pya-ku/	'eight hundred'
		/byo-o-i-N/	'hospital'
		/kyu-u/	'nine'
		/hyo-o/	'list'
		/mya--ku/	'pulse'
		/gyu-u-nyu-u/	'milk'
		/saN-ŋyo-o/	'industry'
		/šo-o-rya-ku/	'omission'

Returning to the syllable structure, it should be noted that in Japanese, non-syllabic consonants are always followed by a vowel, since they do not occur in the final position. Consonants which can stand alone include the syllabic phoneme /N/, and seven syllabic allophones of voiceless consonants whose distributions have been already described in this chapter.⁵ These facts show clearly that there can be no true intrasyllabic consonant cluster in Japanese, when those four types of syllable are distributed one after another.

However, since all four syllabic types can occur in initial, medial, and final position, the following combinations which produce many intersyllabic consonant clusters

⁵cf. p. 48.

are possible.

A. /-N-CV-/

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. | /-N-pV-/
<u>sanpo</u> | /saNpo/ | [sãmpo] | 'walking' |
| 2. | /-N-bV-/
<u>shinbun</u> | /šiNbuN/ | [šĩmbũŋ] | 'newspaper' |
| 3. | /-N-tV-/
<u>hontoo</u> | /hoNtoo/ | [hõntoo] | 'really' |
| 3' | /-N-tu-/
<u>santsuu</u> | /saNtuu/ | [sãncuu] | 'three letters' |
| 4. | /-N-dV-/
<u>kondo</u> | /koNdo/ | [kõndo] | 'this time' |
| 5. | /-N-kV-/
<u>bunka</u> | /buNka/ | [bũŋka] | 'culture' |
| 6. | /-N-gV-/
<u>bangohan</u> | /baNgohaN/ | [bãŋgohãŋ] | 'supper' |
| 7. | /-N-sV-/
<u>sensoo</u> | /seNsoo/ | [sẽpsoo] | 'war' |
| 8. | /-N-zV-/
<u>anzu</u> | /aNzu/ | [ãndzu] | 'apricot' |
| 9. | /-N-šV-/
<u>konshuu</u> | /koNšuu/ | [kõŋšuu] | 'this week' |
| 10. | /-N-hV-/
<u>hanhan</u> | /haNhaN/ | [hãŋhãŋ] | 'half and half' |
| 11. | /-N-čV-/
<u>banchi</u> | /baNči/ | [bãntši] | 'house number' |
| 12. | /-N-ǰV-/
<u>sanjuu</u> | /saNǰuu/ | [sãndžuu] | 'thirty' |
| 13. | /-N-mV-/
<u>sanman</u> | /saNmaN/ | [sãmmãŋ] | 'thirty thousand' |
| 14. | /-N-nV-/
<u>minna</u> | /miNna/ | [mĩnnã] | 'everybody' |
| 15. | /-N-ŋV-/
<u>sangatsu</u> | /saNŋatu/ | [sãŋŋãcu] | 'March' |
| 16. | /-N-rV-/
<u>shinrai</u> | /šiNrai/ | [šĩŋrai] | 'reliance' |
| 17. | /-N-wV-/
<u>shinwa</u> | /šiNwa/ | [šĩŋwa] | 'mythology' |
| 18. | /-N-yV-/
<u>konyaku</u> | /koNyaku/ | [kõpyaku] | 'engagement' |

B. /-N-CyV-/

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. | /-N-pyV-/
<u>nanpyooyoo</u> | /naNpyooyoo/ | [nãmpyooyoc] | 'Antarctic Ocean' |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|

2. /-N-byV-/ sanbyaku /saNbyaku/ [sãmbɯyaku] 'three hundred'
3. /-N-kyV-/ kankyaku /kaNkyaku/ [kãŋkyaku] 'audience'
4. /-N-gyV-/ (This sequence does not occur.)
5. /-N-hyV-/ jikanhyoo /ʃikaNhyoo/ [dʒikãŋhyoo] 'timetable'
6. /-N-myV-/ sanmyaku /saNmyaku/ [sãmmyaku] 'mountain chain'
7. /-N-nyV-/ hunnyuu /huNnyuu/ [ɸũnnyuu] 'powdered milk'
8. /-N-ŋyV-/ sangyoo /saNŋyoo/ [sãŋnyoo] 'industry'
9. /-N-ryV-/ shinryaku /ʃiNryaku/ [ʃĩnryaku] 'invasion'

Only these forty-three intersyllabic clusters can occur in Japanese on the phonemic level.

B. Vowel Devocalization and Consonant Rearrangement.

During the production of a devocalized vowel, the glottis is not closed.⁶ This articulatory fact causes the vowel in question to lose its vocal quality; e.g. /suteru/ ---> [sUteru] ---> [steru].

The devocalization originates a new arrangement of segments. The sequence of segments [sut-] by devocalization is rearranged into [st-]. It is important to note that in spite of the devocalization, the syllable boundary /su-te-ru/ is maintained as [s-te-ru]. This fact permits the

⁶Mieko Shimizu Han, "Unvoicing of Vowels in Japanese," Onsei no Kenkyuu (Study of Sounds), 10:82-3, 1962.

establishment of a new set of intersyllabic clusters which needs careful explanation.

Under certain circumstances, the Japanese voiced vowels [i], [e], [a], [o] and [u] are replaced by the corresponding devocalized (voiceless) allophones [I], [E], [A], [O], and [U]. The study of this phenomenon in relation to the phonological structure of Japanese is of importance, since the different interpretation of devocalization of vowels causes a difference in the analysis of the total phonological system of Japanese.⁷ The phenomenon has been noted by many linguists and interpreted in various ways. Samuel E. Martin, for instance, treated these devocalized vowels as separate phonemes.⁸ Bernard Bloch did not consider the devocalized vowels as separate phonemes, but as allophones.⁹ Since devocalized vowels do not contrast with voiced counterparts and they can be accounted for in terms of environment, it can be said that devocalized vowels are allophones of the corresponding vowel phonemes.

The phenomenon of the devocalization has been

⁷Ibid., p. 81.

⁸Samuel E. Martin, "Morphophonemics of Standard Colloquial Japanese," Language (Supplement, Language Dissertation No. 47), 28:12, 1952.

⁹Bernard Bloch, "Studies in Colloquial Japanese IV: Phonemics," Language, 26:86-125, 1950.

described in detail by Mieko Shimizu Han, who believes that the following factors are involved in this phenomenon:¹⁰ (1) the duration of vowels, (2) tempo, (3) pitch-accent, and (4) neighboring sounds. According to Han, when the other conditions are the same, the ratio of duration among the five Japanese vowels is as follows:¹¹

/u/	1.00
/i/	1.17
/o/	1.26
/e/	1.37
/a/	1.44

Of these vowels, the two shortest vowels /u/ and /i/ are devoiced in the same environment and at the same tempo more readily than the other vowels /a/, /e/, /o/. Of the two vowels /i/ and /u/, the vowel /u/ is more readily devoiced than /i/. The other vowels /a/, /e/, and /o/ are not devoiced at normal tempo.¹²

According to Han, "the tempo of speech played an important part in the phenomenon of unvoicing. If the tempo is rapid, the vowels /i/ and /u/ are more readily unvoiced;

¹⁰Han, op. cit., p. 81.

¹¹Mieko Shimizu Han, "The Feature of Duration in Japanese," Onsei no Kenkyuu (Study of Sounds), 10:67, 1962.

¹²Mieko Shimizu Han, "Unvoicing of Vowels in Japanese," p. 84.

naturally in the slow tempo unvoicing is less frequent."¹³

As to the effect of pitch-accent on the devocalization of vowels, Han found that "/i/ and /u/ between voiceless consonants are unvoiced in general, when they occur anywhere except in a high pitched syllable." e.g.

/kikukoto/	<u>k</u> Ikukoto	'to listen'
	kik <u>U</u> koto	'with Kikuko', ¹⁴

Devocalization does not occur in the following environments:

(a)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /C/ \\ /#/ \end{array} \right\}$	—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /C/ \\ /V/ \end{array} \right\}$	(b)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /C/ \\ /V/ \end{array} \right\}$	—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /C/ \\ /#/ \end{array} \right\}$
-----	--	---	--	-----	--	---	--

Examples:	/C__C/	[sub <u>e</u> ru]	'slide'
	/C__V/	[š <u>i</u> o]	'salt'
	/#__C/	[# <u>u</u> de]	'arm'
	/#__V/	[# <u>u</u> o]	'fish'
	/C__C/	[bu <u>t</u> a]	'pig'
	/C__#/	[hanabi <u>i</u> #]	'firework'
	/V__C/	[ka <u>i</u> ko]	'silkworm'
	/V__#/	[naja <u>i</u> #]	'long'

Devocalization occurs only when both neighboring

¹³Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 85-6.

sounds are voiceless consonants, i.e. in the environment of C_C . Voiceless consonants in Japanese are [p], [t], [k], [s], [ʃ], [h], [ϕ], [x], [c] (= [ts]), and [tʃ], and the possibility of the occurrence of these consonants with [I] and [U] are limited to the following combinations:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /p/ \\ /t/ \\ /k/ \\ /s/ \\ /ʃ/ \\ /h/ \\ /ϕ/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [I] \\ [U] \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /p/ \\ /t/ \\ /k/ \\ /s/ \\ /ʃ/ \\ /h/ \\ /ϕ/ \end{array} \right\}$$

As illustrated in the inventory of allophones in the previous chapter (pp. 34-38), /t/ becomes [c] (= [ts]) in the environment $_ /u/$; /t/ does not occur in the environment $_ /i/$; /s/ does not occur in the environment $_ /i/$; /h/ becomes [ϕ] in the environment $_ /u/$, [x] in the environment $_ /i/$. This distribution can be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} /i/, /u/ \rightarrow [I], [U] \text{ in env.} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [x] + /i/ \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [c] \\ [s] \\ [\phi] \end{array} \right\} + /u/ \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [p] \\ [k] \\ [ʃ] \\ [tʃ] \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /i/ \\ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [x] \\ [h] \\ [c] \\ [s] \\ [\phi] \\ [t] \\ [p] \\ [k] \\ [ʃ] \\ [tʃ] \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples:

<u>hihan</u>	/hihaN/	[xIhãŋ]	'criticism'
<u>sanpuku</u>	/saNpuku/	[sãmpUku]	'hillside'
<u>kishi</u>	/kiši/	[kIši]	'shore'
<u>kushi</u>	/kuši/	[kUši]	'comb'
<u>shita</u>	/šita/	[šIta]	'below'
<u>chikaku</u>	/čikaku/	[tšIkaku]	'near'
<u>tsuchi</u>	/tuči/	[cUtši]	'soil'
<u>supootsu</u>	/supootu/	[sUpoocu]	'sport'
<u>hutsuka</u>	/hutuka/	[ϕUcuka]	'two days'

C. Vowel Elision.

The phenomenon of vowel elision is preceded by the phenomenon of vowel devocalization. The elision of a vowel is conditioned by the following factors: (1) tempo, (2) pitch-accent, and (3) some consonant environment, e.g. fricative + /u/ + stop.

(1) Tempo.

In rapid speech, the difference between [šs] as in issatsu [išsacu] 'one book' and [sUs] as in susumu [sUsumu] 'advance' is sometimes not clear.

(2) Pitch-accent.

A low pitched /su/--syllable in the final position is usually heard as [š] even at normal tempo. For instance, the

endings of such words as gasu /gasu/ 'gas' and dasu /dasu/ 'take out' are heard as [gas] or [das] respectively.

In the instances explained in (1) and (2) above, the duration of the vowel /u/ is reduced to such an extent that an untrained ear may perceive it as elided. However, there are some sequences of /CVC/ where even a trained ear can not detect the existence of the devocalized vowel, as is explained in the following paragraphs.

(3) Some consonant environment.

One of Japan's leading linguists, Shiro Hattori, stated that in the Tokyo dialect, the natural pronunciation of suteru /suteru/ 'abandon' and shiteru /šiteru/ 'be doing' are [steru] and [šteru] respectively, and that between the voiceless consonants, there is not any devocalized vowel, but complete elision of vowel sound.¹⁵

According to Akira Ota, in rapid speech /u/ and /i/ of the first syllables of suki 'like' and shiki 'ceremony' are sometimes elided.¹⁶

Samuel E. Martin made the following remarks:¹⁷

¹⁵Shiro Hattori, Gengogaku no Hoohoo (General Linguistics) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), p. 316.

¹⁶Akira Ota, "Nichi-Eigo no Ontaiki no Hikaku (A Comparative Study of the Japanese and English Sound Systems)," Nichi-Eigo no Hikaku (Comparative Study of Japanese and English) (Tokyo: Kenkyuusha, 1965), p. 19.

¹⁷Martin, op. cit., p. 14.

Instead of the replacement by a corresponding unvoiced vowel, the vowel /i/ and /u/ are sometimes replaced by zero,

This zero replacement is especially common with various forms of the polite verb -masu and the polite copula desu. Examples: /iides/ 'it is good,' /anatadeska/ 'is it you?,' /inudešta/ 'it was a dog.' Replacement between /s/ or /š/ and /t/ is almost universal:¹⁸

Generally speaking, when one of the surrounding voiceless consonants is a stop, e.g. /t/, or an affricate, e.g. /č/, and the other is a fricative, e.g. /s/, the vowel between them is more likely to be elided, especially when the vowel is /u/; and thus there appear some consonant sequences as shown below:

<u>arupusu</u>	/arupusu/	[aʃ <u>upsu</u>]	'Alps'
<u>kushi</u>	/kuši/	[k <u>ši</u>]	'comb'
<u>shutai</u>	/šutai/	[<u>štai</u>]	'subject'
<u>shukaku</u>	/šukaku/	[<u>škaku</u>]	'nominative case'
<u>supai</u>	/supai/	[<u>spai</u>]	'spy'
<u>suki</u>	/suki/	[<u>ski</u>]	'like'
<u>suteru</u>	/suteru/	[<u>steʃu</u>]	'abandon'
<u>hutatsu</u>	/hutatu/	[<u>ɸtacu</u>]	'two'

The above sequences and others of the /CVC/ pattern, in which an untrained ear, or in some cases even a trained one can not perceive the existence of vowels, are considered

¹⁸In this quotation the bars / /, and underlines are not in the original.

intersyllabic consonant clusters which occur only on the phonetic level of Japanese. The existence of these "phonemic" as well as "phonetic" consonant clusters in Japanese is worth recognizing in the preparation of efficient teaching materials for English consonant clusters.

CHAPTER V

FORMULATION OF HIERARCHY OF DIFFICULTIES

In order to formulate a hierarchy of difficulties in learning English consonant clusters, it is necessary to know the type and the degree of difference and similarity between the consonant clusters of the two languages. For this purpose, fifty English consonant clusters¹ and their Japanese counterparts² are listed for comparison in this chapter (Figure 1 and 2). These parallel listings exhibit structural as well as articulatory differences and similarities between English and Japanese consonant clusters, and are expected to make possible the prediction of phonological interference as well as degree of difficulty. In order to determine the exact articulatory differences between the two languages, examples of consonant clusters are also transcribed in terms of allophones.

Information regarding the distribution of clusters (initial, medial, final) does not appear in the listings, because the distribution of Japanese consonant clusters can

¹These clusters were chosen on the basis of the frequency of occurrence. Cf. p. 46.

²These Japanese clusters were obtained by structural analysis of the Japanese syllable. Cf. Chapter IV of this paper.

FIGURE 1

LIST OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE CONSONANT CLUSTERS (I)

No.	Cluster	English	Examples	Japanese
1	pt	[æp ^h t]	<u>apt</u>	-
2	ps	[æɫps]	<u>Alps</u>	[aɫɸpsu] 'Alps'
3	pl	[pɫeɪ]	<u>play</u>	-
4	pr	[pɾeɪ]	<u>pray</u>	-
5	bl	[bleɪm]	<u>blame</u>	-
6	br	[brɛd]	<u>bread</u>	-
7	ts	[k ^h æts]	<u>cats</u>	[kacu]=[kats <u>u</u>] 'to win'
8	tn	[bɒt _n]	<u>button</u>	-
9	tl	[bɒt _l]	<u>bottle</u>	-
10	tr	[tɾu]	<u>true</u>	-
11	dz	[k ^h adz]	<u>cards</u>	[dzen] 'Zen'
12	dn	[sɒd _n]	<u>sudden</u>	-
13	dl	[mɪd _l]	<u>middle</u>	-
14	dr	[dɾaɪ]	<u>dry</u>	-
15	dy	[dyu]	<u>dew</u>	*[adyuu] 'good-bye'
16	kt	[æk ^h t]	<u>act</u>	-
17	ks	[t ^h æks]	<u>tax</u>	[ksu ^h i] 'medicine'
18	kl	[kɫu]	<u>clue</u>	-
19	kw	[kwɪn]	<u>queen</u>	-
20	ky	[kyu]	<u>cue</u>	[kyuu] 'nine'

FIGURE 1 (continued)

No.	Cluster	English	Examples	Japanese	
21	gr	[grɪn]	<u>green</u>	-	
22	ft	[æftə]	<u>after</u>	-	
23	fl	[fleɪm]	<u>flame</u>	-	
24	fr	[fri]	<u>free</u>	-	
25	vn	[ivn]	<u>even</u>	-	
26	θr	[θri]	<u>three</u>	-	
27	sp	[spun]	<u>spoon</u>	[spuun]	'spoon'
28	st	[stɛp]	<u>step</u>	[steʃu]	'abandon'
29	sk	[ski]	<u>ski</u>	[skii]	'ski'
30	sm	[smɔɪ]	<u>small</u>	-	
31	sn	[snəʊ]	<u>snow</u>	-	
32	sl	[slɪp]	<u>sleep</u>	-	
33	zn	[prɪzn]	<u>prison</u>	-	
34	ʃn	[kəʃn]	<u>caution</u>	-	
35	ʃl	[speʃl]	<u>special</u>	-	
36	mp	[pʰɛmp]	<u>pump</u>	[pompu]	'pump'
37	mb	[kəmbaɪn]	<u>combine</u>	[ʃɪmbuŋ]	'newspaper'
38	mz	[tʰɛmz]	<u>Thames</u>	-	
39	nt	[tʰɛnt]	<u>tent</u>	[sentoo]	'battle'
40	nd	[ænd]	<u>and</u>	[ando]	'relief'
41	ns	[sɛns]	<u>sense</u>	-	

FIGURE 1 (continued)

No.	Cluster	English	Examples	Japanese	
42	nz	[branz]	<u>bronze</u>	**[andzu]	'apricot'
43	nl	[tɒnl]	<u>tunnel</u>	-	
44	ny	[nyuz]	<u>news</u>	-	
45	ŋk	[bæŋk]	<u>bank</u>	[bun̄ka]	'culture'
46	ŋz	[rɪŋz]	<u>rings</u>	-	
47	lt	[hɔlt]	<u>halt</u>	-	
48	ld	[oʊld]	<u>old</u>	-	
49	lf	[sɛlf]	<u>self</u>	-	
50	lm	[fiɫm]	<u>film</u>	-	

* In Japanese [dy] occurs only in loan words.

** In Japanese /z/ becomes [dz] in the environment of [n]___; in English, in rapid speech [nz] and [ndz] are often difficult to differentiate. Therefore the Japanese [ndz] is considered to be the counterpart of English [nz].

be generalized as follows:

1. Japanese clusters never occur in the final position, because all of them are intersyllabic clusters except /consonant + semivowel/ sequence, e.g. /ky-/, /by-/, and /ny-/ which can not occur in the final position either. Therefore any English cluster in the final position is presumably equally difficult for the Japanese learners of English.

2. Whenever there is a Japanese counterpart for an English cluster, the Japanese counterpart always occurs wherever the English cluster occurs, except in the final position. What matters, then, as far as the initial and medial positions are concerned, is whether a Japanese counterpart for an English cluster exists or not.

The following factors should be taken into consideration in formulating a hierarchy of difficulties: (I) the existence or nonexistence of Japanese counterparts of English consonant clusters, (II) articulatory features which are unfamiliar to the Japanese student.

I. HIERARCHY OF DIFFICULTIES BASED ON PHONEMIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO LANGUAGES

The relationship between English and Japanese consonant clusters can be classified into the following five types:

Type 1. The English consonant cluster consists of two components either of which does not exist in Japanese: e.g.

E [-CC-] ---> J ∅∅ as in [flæg], [seɪf]

Type 2. One of the components of the English consonant cluster does not exist in Japanese: e.g.

E [-CC-] ---> J [-C∅-] or [-∅C-] as in

E [hɒlt], [pleɪ], [ɪvɪ]

Type 3. Both components of the English consonant cluster do exist in Japanese, but their phonotactic behavior in English differs from that in Japanese.

Type 3 has three subtypes in Japanese.

a) There occurs a vowel between the consonant components: e.g.

E [-CC-] ---> J [-CVC-] as in

E [preɪ] ---> J [puɾei]

b) There occurs a devocalized vowel between the consonants: e.g.

E [-CC-] ---> J [-CVC-] as in

E [æpʰt] ---> J [apʉto-]

In this subtype, in the English cluster there is an incomplete plosion, i.e. [-pʰt-], whereas the Japanese sequence is of an open transition, that is,

there is a weak devocalized vowel between the two voiceless consonants,³ e.g. [-pUt-].

- c) A particular allophone used in an English cluster is different from the one used in the Japanese counterpart: e.g.

E [-ns-] ---> J [-ɲs] as in

E [sɛns] ---> J [sɛɲsu]

Type 4. The English cluster has a similar Japanese counterpart: e.g.

E [-CC-] ---> J [-CC-] as in

E [stɛp] ---> J [stɛɲu]

Type 5. An English cluster corresponds to a Japanese affricate: e.g.

E [-CC-] ---> J [-C-] as in

E [kæts] ---> J [kæɲ] = [kætsu]

The fifty English consonant clusters are classified as follows on the basis of the preceding phonemic information, that is, on the basis of presence or absence of one or two phonemic components of the cluster on the part of Japanese.

Type 1. (two clusters)

[fɪ], [ɪf]

³Kenneth L. Pike, Phonemics (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1947), p. 252.

Type 2. (fifteen clusters)

[ft], [fr]; [lt], [lm]; [pl], [bl], [tl], [dl]; [ld],
[nl], [kl], [sl], [ʃl]; [vn]; [θr]

Type 3. (eighteen clusters)

a) [pt], [kt]

b) [pr], [br], [tr], [dr], [gr]; [tn], [dn], [sn], [zn],
[ʃn]; [sm]; [mz]; [ɲz]; [kw]

c) [ny]; [ns]

Type 4. (thirteen clusters)

[ps], [ks]; [dy], [ky]; [sp], [st], [sk]; [mp], [mb];
[nt], [nd]; [ɲk]; [dz]

Type 5. (two clusters)

[ts] (= [c]); [nz] (= [ndz])

If other factors are not taken into consideration, the degree of difficulties of these five types of clusters can be established as follows:

1. The clusters of Type 1 are the most difficult for the Japanese learners of English, because both of its members are entirely new to the students, and therefore there is no "transfer" that can facilitate the learning process.

2. The clusters of Type 2 are less difficult than Type 1, because only one of the components of the cluster is a phoneme which is unfamiliar to the student, and the other

is a sound which exists in Japanese.

3. The clusters of Type 3 are easier than Type 2, because the phonemic components of English consonant clusters of Type 3 all exist in Japanese. None the less, clusters of this type require further adjustments of articulatory nature as well as a selection of appropriate allophones.

4. The clusters of Type 4 and of Type 5 are the easiest to acquire, because they have similar counterparts.⁴

The above hierarchy, formulated according to phonemic factors, may be of theoretical significance as well as applicable in teaching beginners who have not yet been introduced systematically to the intricacies of the phonemic system of English.

II. HIERARCHY OF DIFFICULTIES BASED ON ARTICULATORY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO LANGUAGES

The hierarchy of difficulties formulated from the standpoint of phonemic data is of course different from that formulated from the standpoint of articulatory features. In this case, the differences and similarities in articulatory features between English and Japanese are taken into consideration. In other words, those articulatory features

⁴These fifteen clusters of Types 4 and 5 represent 44.80 per cent of 7,564 consonant clusters. See pp. 43-46.

which are unfamiliar to the Japanese students of English will naturally be difficult for them to acquire; consequently, any English consonant cluster which needs such an unfamiliar articulatory adjustment in its pronunciation should be more difficult for the student than the one which does not need such an adjustment, even if the student is able to pronounce those phonemic components of English in isolation correctly.

Therefore, in the following discussion, it is assumed that the student who is able to pronounce English consonants in isolation reasonably well is not necessarily able to pronounce the same consonants when they appear in clusters.

If the previous assumption is accepted, the thirty-five consonant clusters of English, the counterparts of which do not exist in Japanese, can be rearranged as indicated in Figure 2.

As can be inferred from the list (Figure 2), there is a marked difference between the English pronunciation of the consonant clusters and that of the Japanese counterparts. English consonants form a close transition⁵ in a cluster, i.e. there is no vowel sound between them; whereas in Japanese they form, in most cases, an open transition. This is due mainly to the difference between English syllable structure and that of Japanese.

⁵Pike, loc. cit.

FIGURE 2

LIST OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE CONSONANT CLUSTERS (II)

No.	Cluster	Examples	English pronunciation	Japanese approximate pronunciation
1	pt	<u>apt</u>	[æp ^ɾ t]	[æpUt(ə)]
2	pl	<u>play</u>	[p ^h l _ɔ eɪ]	[pələɪ]
3	pr	<u>pray</u>	[p ^h r _ɛ i]	[pərəi]
4	bl	<u>blame</u>	[bleɪm]	[bəleɪm(ə)]
5	br	<u>bread</u>	[bræd]	[bəred(ə)]
6	tn	<u>button</u>	[bʌt _n n̩]	[bátəŋ]
7	tl	<u>bottle</u>	[bat _l l̩]	[batəl]
8	tr	<u>true</u>	[t _r u]	[təru]
9	dn	<u>sudden</u>	[sʌd _n n̩]	[sədən]
10	dl	<u>middle</u>	[mɪd _l l̩]	[mɪdəl]
11	dr	<u>dry</u>	[d _r ai]	[dərai]
12	kt	<u>act</u>	[æk ^ɾ t]	[ækUt(ə)]
13	kl	<u>clue</u>	[k ^h l _u]	[kəlu]
14	kw	<u>queen</u>	[k ^h w _ɪ n̩]	[kəwɪŋ]
15	gr	<u>green</u>	[grɪn]	[gəriŋ]
16	ft	<u>after</u>	[æftə]	[æftə]
17	fl	<u>flame</u>	[flɛɪm]	[fələɪm]
18	fr	<u>free</u>	[fri]	[fəri]
19	vn	<u>even</u>	[iv _n n̩]	[ivən]
20	θr	<u>three</u>	[θ ^ɾ ri]	[θəri]

FIGURE 2 (continued)

No.	Cluster	Examples	English pronunciation	Japanese approximate pronunciation
21	sm	<u>small</u>	[smɔɫ]	[səmɔl]
22	sn	<u>snow</u>	[snəʊ]	[sənəʊ]
23	sl	<u>sleep</u>	[slɪp]	[səlɪp(ə)]
24	zn	<u>prisoner</u>	[pʰrɪznə]	[pərɪznənə]
25	ʃn	<u>caution</u>	[kʰɔʃn]	[kɔʃən]
26	ʃl	<u>special</u>	[speʃɫ]	[speʃəl]
27	mz	<u>Thames</u>	[tɛmz]	[tɛməz(ʊ)]
28	ns	<u>sense</u>	[sens]	[sens]
29	nl	<u>tunnel</u>	[tʰɛnɫ]	[tánəl]
30	ny	<u>news</u>	[nyuz]*	[ɲuz(ə)]
31	ɲz	<u>rings</u>	[rɪɲz]	[rɪɲəz(ə)]
32	lt	<u>halt</u>	[hɔɫt]	[hɔɫt(ə)]
33	ld	<u>old</u>	[oʊɫd]	[oʊɫd(ə)]
34	lf	<u>self</u>	[sɛɫf]	[sɛɫ(ə)f(ə)]
35	lm	<u>film</u>	[frɫm]	[fɪɫ(ə)m(ə)]

* If the student is expected to pronounce [ɲuz] or [nuz] for news, they are not treated as a cluster any more.

English clusters can be classified in seven groups according to articulatory characteristics:

1. Inaudible release of stops preceding other stops or affricates.

In a cluster of two stops, e.g. /p/ + /t/, or a stop and an affricate, e.g. /t/ + /ʃ/, either within a word or at word boundaries, the first stop has no audible release:⁶ e.g.

apt [pʰ] + [t]

act [kʰ] + [t]

great joke [tʰ] + [dʒ]

This feature is not too difficult for the Japanese student to acquire, because the same kind of release is found in his native tongue, namely the incomplete plosion of geminate consonants,⁷ e.g. [pʰp] as in ippai 'one cup,' where the release of the first stop is delayed until the release of the second.

2. Nasal release of stops followed by a homorganic nasal, especially /t, d/ + /n/.

When a stop is followed by the homorganic nasal consonant, the release of air is normally effected not by a

⁶A. C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1962), p. 151.

⁷See p. 48.

removal of the oral closure, which is retained, but by the escape of the compressed air through the nasal passage, opened by the lowering of the soft palate for the nasal consonant:⁸ e.g.

button [t̥] + [ŋ]

sudden [d̥] + [ŋ]

This quick lowering action of the soft palate may be significant for linguistic communication, or simply be a consequence of biological needs, namely the necessity of clearing the naso-pharyngeal passage for breathing in case of a cold. When this very movement of the velum is fully recognized by the student objectively and with the tactual sensation, the acquisition of the nasal plosion in clusters such as [-t̥n-] or [-d̥n-] will not be too difficult.

3. Lateral release of /t, d/ + /l/.

In the homorganic sequences /t/ + /l/ and /d/ + /l/, /t/ and /d/ are normally released laterally, i.e. one or both sides of the tongue are lowered to allow the air to escape. The tongue-tip contact persists:⁹ e.g.

bottle [t̥] + [l]

middle [d̥] + [l]

⁸Gimson, op. cit., p. 152.

⁹Ibid., p. 153.

The cluster [-nl-] as in tunnel, does not have the same plosion as in [-t̚l-] or [-d̚l-]. However, the point of articulation and the transition from one consonant to the other in [-n̥l-] is so similar to those in [-t̚l-] or [-d̚l-] that they could be regarded as members of the same category. Lateral plosion as explained above does not exist in Japanese, therefore it presents a great difficulty in learning how to produce it.

4. Devocalization of a voiced consonant, as in play [p^h] + [l̥].

In the consonant sequence /voiceless + voiced/ as in the word snow [sn̥ou], the voiced consonant [n] seems to lose --at least partially--its vocal quality, in contact with the preceding voiceless sound [s]. The devocalized [n̥] regains its original quality as the transition to the next vowel occurs. This process could be transcribed as follows: [sn̥nou] or [sn̥ou]. There are eight clusters of this type in the list (Figure 2): e.g.

<u>play</u>	[p ^h l̥eɪ]
<u>pray</u>	[p ^h r̥eɪ]
<u>true</u>	[t̥ɹu]
<u>clue</u>	[k ^h l̥u]
<u>queen</u>	[k ^h w̥ɪn]
<u>small</u>	[sm̥ɔl]
<u>snow</u>	[sn̥ou]
<u>sleep</u>	[sl̥ɪp]

In the preceding list, there is a [-kw̥-] cluster in which not only the devocalized /w/ is used, but also a lip-rounded variant of /k/ is used under the influence of /w/. Since the lip-rounding of the semivowel /w/ in Japanese is not as marked as in English, and /w/ only occurs before /a/ in Japanese, this protrusion of lips in the articulation of /k/ is very effective in enforcing the proper lip-rounding of English /w/, especially when /w/ precedes vowels other than /a/, as in queen [k^hw̥in], queer [k^hw̥iə], quote [k^hw̥out], and so forth.

To master this kind of transition is a fairly difficult task for the Japanese student, because such a transition does not exist in his native language. However, it is useful to teach students to use partly devocalized consonants, because the successful use of those consonants prevents the students from inserting an unnecessary vowel between the two consonants in a cluster, e.g. [p^hl̥eɪ] instead of [p̥eɪɪ] for play, or [t̥ʃu] instead of [t̥əʃu] for true.

5. Modification of the point of articulation of sounds in sequence.

In clusters such as /tr/, /dr/ and /θr/, as in the words true, dry, and three respectively, the phonemes /t/, /d/ and /θ/ under the influence of the subsequent component of the cluster--/r/ in this particular case--are expressed by retracted variants, as in:

true [tʃu]

dry [dʒaɪ]

three [θɹi]

Clusters [-tʃ-] and [-dʒ-] are difficult for the Japanese student, because (1) the Japanese /t/ and /d/ are usually pronounced with dental articulation, whereas in [tʃ] or [dʒ], /t/ and /d/ are post-alveolar under the influence of /r/ which has post-alveolar articulation; (2) the allophone of /r/ used in these clusters is a voiced fricative [ʒ], or voiceless fricative [ç], the counterpart of which in Japanese is a flap [ɺ]. Only after the above differences have been clearly perceived is the student able to acquire an acceptable pronunciation of these clusters.

Finally, [θɹ] presents a situation a little different. Since the Japanese student can use his own [ɺ] (flap) sound in the cluster, his main concern is to avoid the insertion of a vowel between the consonants.

6. Different allophones in similar distribution.

Allophones used in particular consonant clusters of English are different from those used in similar clusters of Japanese: e.g.

sense E [sɛns] ---> J [sɛns]

new E [nyu] ---> J [ɲyu]

These and other similar clusters are extremely difficult for the Japanese student, because the correct

pronunciation of clusters such as [ns] and [ny] requires the acquisition of a new phonetic habit, namely the use of the allophone [n] before /s/ and /y/ respectively, in order to avoid pronunciations such as [sens] and [nyu] (= [ɲu]).

7. Segment adjoining clusters.

Segment adjoining clusters should be understood as those phonotactic arrangements which do not generate any articulatory modification.

a) The cluster [ft], as in after, does not present a major difficulty of pronunciation, because a similar phonotactic arrangement occurs in Japanese as the result of the [U] elision,¹⁰ e.g. [ɸUt] → [ɸt]. It is of course clear that the labio-dental feature is not present in [ɸt], but the replacement of [ɸ] for [f] works almost automatically, probably because of a related articulation process.

b) The correct phonetic production of adjoining segments such as any of the stops /p/, /b/, /k/, /g/, and the lateral /l/ or the frictionless continuant /r/ requires a rather simple adjustment, namely the avoidance of an unnecessary vowel segment the Japanese student is prone to insert between the two consonants involved in these types of clusters.

An effective technique for the correct pronunciation

¹⁰See pp. 56-58.

of the English clusters above mentioned has been proposed, among others, by L. A. Hill:

" . . . , one can get the students to try putting their tongues and lips in the position for the next element in the cluster while they are holding the stop for the plosive, or even before they make the stop. Thus, when they release the plosive, their organs of speech will already be in the position for the next part of the cluster, and an intrusive /ə/ can be avoided."¹¹

c) Clusters [ɫt] as in halt, and [ɫd] as in old, will be easy to acquire because of their homorganic components.

d) In treating clusters [vŋ] as in even, [ʃŋ] as in caution, and [ʃl] as in special, the student can use the alternate pronunciation of those clusters which have an intrusive /ə/ between the two consonants, e.g.

[ivən] instead of [ivŋ]

[kəʃən] instead of [kəʃŋ]

[spɛʃəl] instead of [spɛʃl]

However, if the student is expected to pronounce these clusters without inserting a vowel between the two consonants, the difficulties involved in such pronunciations are similar to those treated in the following section.

e) The five clusters listed below, together with an illustrative example, do not offer the student any special

¹¹L. A. Hill, "Final Clusters in English," English Language Teaching, 17:171, 1963.

difficulty.

[mz]	<u>Thames</u>
[ŋz]	<u>rings</u>
[fl]	<u>flag</u>
[ɫf]	<u>self</u>
[ɫm]	<u>film</u>

In the preceding clusters, there is not any particular feature to be learned. Nevertheless, the student must get used to faster transition from consonant to consonant to prevent his inserting a vowel between them.

The hierarchy of difficulties--the subject matter of this chapter--is formulated in terms of articulation, distribution and allophones (Figure 3).

An objection may arise concerning the classification of [ns] and [ny] as the most difficult clusters in English, because it seems difficult to decide which process of adjustment is easier for learners, to learn a completely new set of articulatory features, or to eliminate phonetic habits of the student's native tongue. Although a definite answer has not been given to this question, the experience of this writer acquired in the correction of the English pronunciation of a few thousand college students in several universities in Tokyo, has demonstrated that the English cluster [ns] and similar ones of the type /n/ + fricative, are the most difficult phonotactic arrangements for the Japanese

FIGURE 3

HIERARCHY OF DIFFICULTY
OF ENGLISH CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Difficulty		Articulatory features	Clusters
Magnitude	Order		
I	1	Allophone difference	ns ny
	2	Lateral release	t̚l d̚l n̚l
	3	Modification of point of articulation	t̚ɹ d̚ɹ
	4	Nasal release	t̚n̚ d̚n̚
	5	Devocalization	p̚l̚ p̚r̚ k̚l̚ k̚w̚ s̚m̚ s̚n̚ s̚l̚
II	6	Inaudible release	p̚ʔt̚ k̚ʔt̚
	7	Different transition	bl br gr fr vn ʃn ʃl fl ɹf fm mz ɲz θr zn
	8	Homorganic articulation	ɹt ɹd
III	9	Positive transfer of phonetic habit	ft
	10	(Common clusters)	dz nz dy mp mb nt nd ŋk ps ks ky sp st sk ts

student of English. Further, the experience of the writer has found confirmation in reports published by Akamatsu¹² and Giet.¹³ Both linguists agree that the phonetic habit the Japanese speaking person develops in English can be attributed to the persistent use of Japanese allophones.

The cluster [dz] needs a more detailed explanation. The English cluster [dz] occurs only in the final position, as in cards, whereas the Japanese affricate [dz] never occurs in the final position. Due to this distributional difference, the cluster [dz] presents a certain degree of difficulty to the Japanese speakers of English. Nevertheless, this degree of difficulty is not exclusive to this particular cluster, because there are other clusters which do not occur in the final position, and therefore are difficult.¹⁴ This means that as far as the degree of difficulty is concerned, the cluster [dz] should be handled in the same manner as any other clusters regardless of their distribution.

As was pointed out before, any English clusters in the final position are presumably equally difficult for the Japanese learners of English. However, English clusters [ks], [ps], and [ts], the counterparts of which exist in Japanese,

¹²Tsutomu Akamatsu, "Some Observations in the Speech Clinic," Onsei no Kenkyuu (Study of Sounds), 11:44, 1965.

¹³Cf. p. 19 of this paper.

¹⁴Cf. p. 64 of this paper.

seem to be exceptions, because the vowel sound in the Japanese syllable /su/ in final position is likely to be elided when the /su/ syllable is not high-pitched. Thus, the Japanese student of English will have less difficulty in pronouncing clusters such as [ks] as in box, [ps] as in Alps, [ts] as in cats, than other consonant clusters.

The hierarchy of difficulties of English consonant clusters for the speakers of Japanese, formulated in terms of the differences of articulation, distribution, and allophones in the two languages, is applicable to those students who have mastered English segmental phonemes in isolation, and whose ideal is the acquisition of an almost-native pronunciation. Tests based on this hierarchy of difficulties should reveal the audiolingual proficiency in English of Japanese speakers.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I. SUMMARY

The hierarchies of difficulties of English consonant clusters formulated in this paper were based on a contrastive analysis of the phonotactic systems of English and Japanese.

The fifty English consonant clusters, selected on the basis of their high frequency of occurrence, were compared with their Japanese counterparts, which were obtained by structural analysis of the syllable. The hierarchy of difficulties on the phonemic level was formulated according to the presence or absence of phonemic components of English clusters in the Japanese phonemic system. On the other hand, the hierarchy of difficulties on the phonetic level was formulated on the basis of differences and similarities of allophones, distribution, and articulatory features between the two languages.

II. CONCLUSION

The following two kinds of hierarchy of difficulties of English consonant clusters have been formulated:

A. A Hierarchy of Difficulties based on the Phonemic Difference between the Two Languages.

Order of difficulty	Clusters
1.	fl lf
2.	ft fr lt ld lm pl bl tl dl nl kl sl šl vn θr
3.	pt kt pr br tr dr gr tn dn sn zn šn sm ŋz kw ny ns
4.	ps ks dy ky sp st sk mp mb nt nd ŋk dz ts nz

B. A Hierarchy of Difficulties based on the Articulatory Difference between the Two Languages.

Difficulty		Clusters
Magni- tude	Order	
	1.	ns ny
I	2.	tl dl nl
	3.	tr dr
	4.	tn dn
	5.	pl pr kl kw sm sn sl
II	6.	pt kt
	7.	bl br gr fr vn šn šl
		fl lf fm mz ŋz θr zn
	8.	lt ld
III	9.	ft
	10.	dz nz dy mp mb nt nd
		ŋk ps ks ky sp st sk ts

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A P P E N D I X

SPECIAL SYMBOLS

- / / Symbols within / / represent phonemes.
- [] Symbols within [] represent allophones.
- LI means "the language of the learner" or "the source language."
- LII means "the language to be learned" or "the target language."
- E [x], J /y/, etc.: Capital letters immediately preceding phonemic or allophonic descriptions represent various languages: e.g. E = English, G = German, J = Japanese, and S = Spanish.
- > is read as "becomes."
- in env. means "in the environment of."
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} X \\ Y \end{array} \right\}$ indicates a choice between X and Y.
- $\left[\begin{array}{l} X \\ Y \end{array} \right]$ indicates that X and Y are allophones of a phoneme.
- V means vowel.
- ∅ means devocalized vowel.
- C means consonant.
- ᶑ means voiced consonant.
- ᶒ means voiceless consonant.
- C^c means consonant cluster.
- ᶔ means syllabic consonant.
- ∅ means "the corresponding segment is missing in the structure of the language."