## Contents

## Romanian Pronunciation \& Accents

## Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics \& Tonetics Method

o. A preliminary phonopsis

1. A general approach to Natural Phonetics

Vowels
Voicing
Consonants
Places of articulation
Manners of articulation
2. A general approach to Natural Tonetics

Prosodic elements
Stress
Sentence stress
Tones
Intonation
3. Vowels

Neutral Romanian vowels ( $\circlearrowleft$ two xenophonemes)
Mediatic peculiarities
4. Consonants

Neutral consonants
Nasals
Stops \& Stop-strictives (or 'affricates') \& Constrictives (or 'fricatives')
Approximants (or 'frictionless continuants')
Rhotics \& Laterals
Mediatic consonants
5. Structures

A peculia Romanian vowel
Connected speech
Length
Stress
Miscellanea for practice
6. Phonotonetically transcribed texts

Intonation patterns
The North Wind and the Sun
A short conversation
7. Regional accents

Romanian accent maps
Wallachia (Bucuresti)
Transylvania (Cluj)
Moldavia (Iassi)
Moldova (Chişinău)
Hungarian-Romanian (in eastern Transylvania)
Ukrainian-Romanian (in small northern areas and south-western Odessa)
8. Mini-phono-dictionary
9. Phonopses of 25 languages (for comparisons)

English
German \& Dutch
French \& Spanish
Portuguese ơ Italian
Russian \& Czech
Polish \& Bulgarian
Greek \& Hungarian
Albanian \& Finnish
Arabic \& Hebrew
Turkish \& Persian
Hindi \& Burmese
Vietnamese \& Chinese
Korean \&Japanese
Main consonant orograms
10. Annotated Bibliography

Official IPA chart

## 0.

## A preliminary phonopsis

o.1. Romanian is an Indo-European Romance language. It is here presented in a general way, although it will be soon described in a more thourough way, with all necessary figures, from $\mathbb{G} 3$ on.

It has the seven vowels shown in the vocograms (cffig 3.1); as we will see (\$5.1-5), for final $-i$, after a consonant, we also find $/ \frac{i}{\Delta}$ \# $/\left[\frac{i}{\Delta}\right]$, with a grammatical function, even in connected speech: Bucuresti /buku'refti/ [1buku'refti], buni /buni/ [burni], bun /bun/ ['bun]; and pom /'pom/ ['pom] 'tree', pomi /'pomi/ ['pormi] 'trees', /'pomii/ ['po'mi] pomii 'the trees'. Let us also see: $f i / \mathrm{fi} /[\mathrm{ffi}]$ 'to be', fii/'fii/ ['fii] 'children', fiii /'fiii/ ['firic 'the children'. Between a vowel and a pause we have /Vi/ [Vi].

It has two median approximants, $/ \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{w} /$, and two semi-approximants, $/ \mathrm{J}, w /$, which are phonemically distinctive, and can combine, producing / jwa, jwa, jwu, jwo/ se-


 coardă /'kwardə/ ['kward3], vreun /'vrjuun/ ['vrjuun], vreo /'vrjwo/ ['vrł $\mathrm{r}_{\mathrm{f}}$ ]; for oa, both [wa] and [wa] are possible, especially word-initially, although not recommendably.

For unstressed / $\mathrm{e},{ }_{\circ} \partial, \circ \mathrm{o} /$, the timbres $[\mathrm{e}, \partial, \mathrm{o}]$ are possible, sometimes even for $/ \mathrm{e}$, 'ə, 'o/, instead of more neutral $[\mathrm{E}, 3, \sigma]$.

We will see that, especially in mediatic or regional colloquial accents, for $/ \mathrm{CiV} /$ $[\mathrm{CiV}]$, either stressed or unstressed, we may have $[\mathrm{CiJV}]$ or $[\mathrm{CijV}]$ (different from $/ \mathrm{CjV} /[\mathrm{CjV}])$.

Before $/ \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{e} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{h} /$ are [ $\mathrm{c}, \underset{\mathrm{d}}{\mathrm{I}}, \mathrm{h}]$ (postpalatal, with [h] even after /i, e/; but normally, we have $/ \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{h} /[\mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{h}]$ ).

Mainly in mediatic or colloquial accents, voiced diphonic consonants (/b, d, g ; $\mathrm{d}_{3} ; \mathrm{v}, \mathrm{z}, \mathrm{3} /$ ) are partially devoiced when final; also sonants can be devoiced. Besides, there is [ $\mathrm{n} \equiv \mathrm{C}$ ] (ie $/ \mathrm{n} /$ is homorganic to a following consonant).
0.3. As will be seen later on, the interrogative protune has a different pattern.


o.4. Acknowledgments. Thanks to Maurizio Pugliese (who was initially planned to be a coauthor, but only made a preliminary rough phonic draft of the conversation of (6 6). In addition: Silvia Gallina, Maya Mevorah, Renato Seibezzi, and Daniele Vitali.

Sadly, we cannot say the same for several 'promising', but deeply disappointing, informants from Romania and Moldova and even for their... official (and... cultural) institutions.

2021/5/5<br>\{uciano Canepari [lu'ţarno ,kane'parri] University of Venice (Italy)<br>Natural Phonotonetics<br>natural.phonetics@gmail.com

## 1.

## A general approach to Natural Phonetics

1.0. In this introductory chapter, we will present the fundamental categories, with a simplified treatment limited to the most basic elements. These categories constitute the minimum necessary to proceed scientifically with phonetics.

In what will follow, every part will be gone into in greater depth and with added detail, helping the reader to arrive at a more complete knowledge of the subject.

## Vowels

1.1. The back of the tongue is the fundamental element in vowel production. It moves in two different directions: high-Low and forward-back. Consequently, the combination of these two elements produces a quadrilateral, which gives us the fundamental vocogram, used for showing-inside it- the positions of the vowels of a given language. On the left side of fig 1.1, there are three orograms indicating the zone of vocoid articulations; these orograms are steadily more schematic, moving downwards. The first, on top, is the most realistic, while the third, at the bottom, is a quadrilateral.

On the right-hand side of fig 1.1, the upper diagram is an orogram which shows the tongue: low and central, as in the pronunciation of $a[\mathrm{a}]$ in most languages. The upper outlines of the positions of $i[\mathrm{i}]$, high and front, and $u$ [ u$]$, high and васк, are also given - as they occur in most languages. The points are connected and contained in the white (or transparent) quadrilateral, which is given enlarged in the figure below (the vocogram, on the lower part of the right-hand side).
1.2. In the large quadrilateral, 11 vowels have been placed, shown by (square and round) markers. The round ones refer to vowels articulated with rounded lips, while the SQUARE ones naturally represent vowels with unrounded -either spread or neutral- lip position.

The symbols [ $\mathrm{i}, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{u}$ ] correspond to Spanish $i, a, u$, as in utilizar [u,tili ${ }^{1}$ ar] (or Italian utilità [ $\mathrm{u}, \mathrm{tili}$ 'ta]), while $[\mathrm{e}, \mathrm{o}]$ are the 'closed' vowels of Portuguese, as in $v \hat{e}$, povo ['ve, 'povu] (or Italian tre, sono ['tre, 'so:no]); [ $\varepsilon, ~ \supset]$ are the (stressed) 'open' vowels of Portuguese, as in $p e ́, p o ́[' p \varepsilon$, 'po] (or Italian sette, otto ['sst:te, 'rt:to]). Note also German Kamm, Tag ['kham, 'tha:k], viel, Kuh ['fi:l, khu:], and -but closerWeg, Boot, weg, Loch ['ve:k, boo:t, 'vek, lox]. The Italian words written corressi and
volto have two different meanings corresponding to two different pronunciations: (se) corressi ' (if) I ran’ [kor'res:si], and (io) corressi '(I) corrected’ [kor'res:si]; (il) volto '(the) face' ['vol:to], and (io) volto '(I) turn around' ['volito]. Consequently, the two graphemes $\langle e, o\rangle$ can each represent two different phonemes: $/ \mathrm{e}, \varepsilon /$ or $/ \mathrm{o}, ~ \rho /$.

The vowels of a number of languages are concisely shown in $\mathfrak{G} 10$. Our bibliography contains the books we produced (or intend to produce) to accurately describe a number of languages.
fig 1.1. The articulatory extent of vowel sounds.

1.3. fig 1.1 (the vocogram part) contains three more vowels /y, $\varnothing$, œ/, which are rounded, and for this reason have circular markers. These vowels are almost like /i, $e, \varepsilon /$ with lip rounding added. However, the tongue is a bit farther back than it is in $/ \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{e}, \varepsilon /$, and in fact, these rounded vowels are a little centralized in the vocograms. /y, ø, œ/ occur in many languages, such as French: lune, deux, seul [lyn, 'dø, 'sœl], or German: Füße, Öll, zwölf ['fy:sł, 'Pø:l, 'tsfœlf] (as well as in several Italian dialects, particularly Lombardian, Piedmontese, and Ligurian).

The first German example also has an instance of [ə], which is generically placed in the center, at the height of [e, $\varnothing$, o] (cf fig 1.1). However, '[ə]' has many different realizations in the different languages, which are better rendered with more appropriate symbols.

The symbol / //, (an uncurved apostrophe) placed immediately before a syllable, indicates stress. The chroneme, $/: /$, indicates distinctive lengthening of the preceding vowel - for example, in German there is a contrast between Stadt [' Itat ] 'city' and Staat ['ftait] 'State'. When the same symbol occurs in phonetic tranSCRIPTIONS (in brackets, [ ], instead of in Phonemic transcriptions, which are written between slashes, / /), it is called a chrone, and indicates length which is not distinctive.
1.4. An example of non-distinctive lengthening is that occurring in Italian word--internal stressed unchecked syllables: seme, solo ['serme, 'so:lo].

In conclusion, vowels consist of three fundamental elements: raising (of the tongue and jaw), advancing (of the back of the tongue), and lip rounding (or its absence).

As a first approach to the vowel phonemes of English, which are many more than in Spanish (5) or in Italian (7), we reproduce a simplified version of the vocograms of neutral British English, showing only its monophthongs ( $9+$ schwa
$\mid \partial /)$ and diphthongs ( 7 ), with no combinatory variant, and excluding centering diphthongs, as well (here). This is done to enable the comparison with other similar figures currently found in phonetics or linguistics textbooks. We also present them both in our own vocograms and in the official quadrilaterals (but keeping our symbols) for a quicker comparison (followed by both an actual and current application of offIPA criteria and symbols, too).
fig 1.2 Four versions of simplified monophthongs and diphthongs of neutral British English.


## Voicing

1.5. Voicing is the 'voice' given to vowels and certain consonants by the vibration of the vocal folds (which are located in the larynx).

Voicing can, therefore, be present or absent, giving rise to two main types of PHONATION: VOICED and voiceless consonants.

To give a few examples, the consonants present in man, ring, dig, jazz, these, lea-


The Spanish or Italian $/ \mathrm{n}, ~ K /$ are also voiced, and in neutral Italian pronunciation, they are always geminated between vowels, just like the consonants written doubled in the official orthography: sogno, foglio, mamma, babbo, oggi ['sonıno, 'fokiкo, 'mam:ma, 'bab:bo, 'odz:dzi].

However, in other languages, $/ \mathrm{n}, ~ K /$ are generally found without gemination, as in Spanish: mañana, calle [ma'na'na, 'ka`Ke], or Portuguese ninho, filho ['ni•nu, 'fi־Ku].
1.6. The other fundamental group of consonants is that of voiceless consonants, as seen in pack, teach, south, fish ['phæk, 'thrity, 'sao $\theta$, 'fif]. Of course, we have fishy ['fof-i], while in neutral Italian, $/ \mathbb{S} /$ is geminated between vowels: pesce ['pe $\left.\int: f e\right]$.

Gemination occurs even in foreign words adapted into Italian, such as the word cachet $\left.\left[\mathrm{ka} \int^{\prime}\right\} \varepsilon\right]$, which in French is $\left[\mathrm{ka}^{\prime} \int \varepsilon\right]$. It is interesting to note that Italians also pronounce the orthographic geminates of foreign languages as true phonic geminates, as in the English name Billy [bil:li], instead of ['bil-i].

Consonant gemination is distinctive in Italian, as the following examples demonstrate: cade, cadde ['ka:de, 'kad:de], tufo, tuffo ['tuifo, 'tuf:fo], nono, nonno ['ns:no, 'non:no], caro, carro [ka:ro, karro]. In neutral Italian, there is also gemination in cases such as è vero [Ev'verro], ho sonno [os'son:no], a casa [ak'kazza], blu mare [blum'marre], cosí forte [,kozifffr:te], tornerò domani [ttorne'rod do'ma:ni], città balneare [ $\mathrm{t} i \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{tab}$ balne'arre]. This kind of gemination is better defined as co-gemination.

## Consonants

1.7. We will now see how the consonants are produced. As we have seen, the articulation of vowels is determined by the back of the tongue, with its up/down movements (complemented by closing and opening of the jaw), as well as its front/back movements, and also by the possibility of lip rounding. With consonants, instead, the space available is greater. In fact, it extends from the lips all the way to the larynx (cffig 1.3).

In the table of fig 1.3, the names across the top are the main places of articulation, ranging from the lips to the larynx. The names to the left of the rows, instead, indicate the main manners of articulation. Intersections between the rows and columns can then produce various consonant sounds, and the number is often doubled due to the possibility of adding voicing (ie the voiced Phonation type).

All the British English consonant phonemes are given in the table, including the voiced elements forming diphonic pairs (given in parentheses). The consonants fig 1.3. Simplified table of consonant sounds.

[ n ; t, (d) ; r, R; K] also appear; these are not phonemes of English (and are therefore given in italics), but are very important in certain other languages, or as taxophones in words like cats [khæts] and heads ['herdz]. All of these articulations are given in fig 1.4-10 (and again, from another perspective, in fig 1.11-17).

## Places of articulation

1.8. Here we consider the most important places (or points) of articulation according to a structural and typological point of view (further on, we will see many more). The most external ones are bilabial ([m; p, b]), as in my pub [mas'pherb], and labiodental ([f, v]), as in five ['fa'ov]. These articulations are particularly easy to see (fig 1.4).
fig 1.4. Bilabial and labiodental articulations.

f (v)


Immediately afterwards, we encounter the places: dental ([t, d; $\theta, \partial ; \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{z}]$, fig
 American Spanish we have ['sorna]); alveolar ([n; f, q; r; l], fig 1.6), as in today [ $\dagger \partial^{\prime} \mathrm{d} \mathrm{E}^{\prime \prime}$ ], and Spanish or Italian rana, luna, Sp. ['ra'na, Ilu'na], It. ['ra:na, Iu:na].

In English, /t, d/ are alveolar (as we have already seen), as is Castilian Spanish $/ \mathrm{s} /$. In phonemic (or phonological) transcriptions, simpler symbols may be used: today /ta'der/, casas /'kasas/. However, in truly useful phonetic transcriptions, more precise symbols are to be used, [ $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d} ; \mathrm{s}]$ (although not official IPA).
fig 1.5. Dental articulations.
t (d)

$\theta$ (ð)

s (z)

fig 1.6. Alveolar articulations.

1.9. We, now, have the postalveolar place of articulation (fig 1.7), which is still farther back than the alveolar one. It occurs in British English rain ['EE'In]. It is quite clear that the British articulation is postalveolar (in spite of the misleading official term 'retroflex', which intends to mean the same thing, although saying it in a more complicated way).

However, in part because of a less clear official terminology, even British and American phoneticians often exchange the symbols, using [ $-\downarrow$ ] for the neutral

American $r$, which is not postalveolar, but a slightly postalveolarized prevelar approximant, that we indicate exactly with the symbol [I].

The following place of articulation, which officially (but very dangerously) is called 'postalveolar', naturally risks being confused with the preceding articulation (which is legitimately postalveolar) - a common fate with those who entrust their fate to overly simplistic definitions.
1.10. In reality, we have here a compound articulation. It is not merely postalVEOLAR, but also has two simultaneous articulatory components (ie coarticulations): one which is palatal and another which is labial.
fig 1.7 (on the right) shows the articulation of the (respectively, voiced and voiceless) consonants church, judge ['tyh ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{f}$, 'dzerd]. As can be seen, there is a point of contact, in the postalveolar zone, indicated in black (for reasons that we will soon see when we move on to manners of articulation), and a point of proximity of the articulatory organs (at the palate), as well as (fairly visible) protrusion of the lips.

The descriptions of this articulation are usually among the worst (and this goes for the MANNER as well). In fact, perhaps thinking to make things easier by (excessive) simplification, the articulation is often described as 'palatal' (as an alternative to 'postalveolar', already seen). In reality, its proper definition is postalveo-palatal protruded, precisely because each of its three components is fundamental.
1.11. For example, in Spanish, we encounter an articulation without lip protrusion, which is therefore simply postalveo-palatal. It is useful to indicate this slightly different articulation with a symbol of its own (as we have already mentioned, and will again). The symbol used is a suitably modified version of the one used for the articulation with lip protrusion, so that the relationship between the articulations is preserved in the symbols, without, however, confusing them together. In phonemic transcriptions, the more general symbols are employed in all cases, thus, we have Spanish chachachá / tfatfa'tfa/ [, that

Although it is more complex, this clearer definition surely helps the reader to fully understand the mechanism of its articulation; and the consequential knowledge and phonetic richness leads to much more satisfying practical results. In fact, phonetics should not be carried out unwillingly, proceeding only by memorization. Phonetics is an artistic science, and as such, should be 'savored' and 'lived' in the best and most creative way (as we have already pointed out in $\S 1.4$ ).
fig 1.7. Postalveolar and postalveopalatal protruded articulations.

1.12. We next come to the true palatal place of articulation (fig 1.8), as with
 Ke], or in Italian gnocco, paio, foglia ['nok:ko, 'pajo, 'fokiKa]. English has /j/ in yes, unit ['jes, 'juunt†].
fig 1.8. Palatal articulations.

1.13. We also have the velar place (fig 1.9). The velar nasal, $/ \mathfrak{y} /$, is a phoneme in English (occurring between vowels as well): sing, singing ['sıj', 'sıy-ı $/$. . Moreover, there are the velar stops, $/ \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g} /$, also with their prevelar taxophones, occurring before palatal vocoids (or [j]), as in cat, get [khæt, 'get]. In Spanish and Italian, [ y ] only occurs as a contextual variant (ie taxophone) of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$, as in Sp. congreso /kon'greso/ [koŋ'gre'so] or It. congresso /kon'gresso/ [koŋ'gres:so].
fig 1.9. Velar articulations.

1.14. Adding lip rounding (as in [u]), we obtain the velar rounded place of articulation (fig 1.10, on the left), as in /w/ in wit, one ['wı†, 'wen:], or in Spanish cuatro ['kwa'tro], or Italian uomo ['wo:mo].
fig 1.10. Velar rounded, uvular, and laryngeal articulations.

1.15. Farther back, we find the uvular place (fig 1.0, in the middle), which we will exemplify with the voiced trill, $[\mathrm{R}]$. It may advisable to use this symbol in phonemic transcriptions of French and German, even though the most frequent actual realization in these languages is not a trill (as will be seen later on). The purpose of this choice of a phonemic symbol is to make it particularly evident that the articulation is uvular (and not alveolar, [r], or postalveolar, $[-]$ ): French rare /'ra:г/ ['вагя], and German rein /'raen/ ['ваеп]. Let us observe that [к] is a constrictive, while [ u$]$ is an approximant: progressively weaker than $[\mathrm{R}]$.

The last place of articulation (in this simplified table) is the LARyNGEAL place, most commonly represented by /h/ (fig 1.10, on the right), as in English hat ['hæt], and German Hans ['hars].

## Manners of articulation

1.16. Now, in order to fully master the table of fig 1.3 (which can be pictured mentally as well, since it is fairly simple - though new to those who have never done phonetics), we will move on to the seven fundamental manners of articuLATION, using the same consonants, but from this opposing perspective.

The place and the manner of articulation are two of the three components constituting the consonants - the third is the type of phonation, particularly the distinction voiced vs voiceless.

We will now move through the table, from the top downwards, so that we can see these manners of articulation. The presentation will follow a quite precise physiological and articulatory logic, as we shall see.
1.17. Nasal (1). Lowering the velum, we open the passage to the nasal cavity, thus allowing expiratory air to escape from the nose. The result is the nasal manner of articulation, which is combined with a closure produced somewhere in the mouth (in this table, in the bilabial, alveolar, palatal, or velar places).

However, these articulations should certainly not be called 'stops' (the next manner that we will consider), since nasal sounds are continuous, not momentary. Notwithstanding the closure in the oral channel, air can continuously escape through the nose, and the sound can be prolonged as long as expiratory air remains available.

The nasal consonants we have considered are [ $\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}$ ] in English man, singing ['mæّn, 'sıyıŋ], or in Spanish mar, no, caña, tengo ['mar, 'no, ka'ja, 'tengo], or in Italian mai, no, ragno, lungo ['mari, 'no, 'rap:jo, luy:go], and they are voiced. We group them together in fig 1.11 so that it can be easily seen that the velum is lowered in all of them.
fig 1.11. Nasal articulations.

1.18. Stop (2). If, instead, the velum is raised (as in all the manners which follow), and a closure occurs, we have the stop manner of articulation (fig 1.12). Here we have voiced and voiceless consonants, as in [p, b; t, d; t, d; k, g; k, g]: pen, Ben; two, do; cot, got ['phen:, 'ben:; ' 'h $\mu \mathrm{u}$, 'quru; 'khøt, 'got]; and [t, d] diente (Sp.) ['djentte]; dente (It.) ['derrite].

In all the figures given to illustrate the manners of articulation, the reader should pay particular attention to what they have in common (even between different places of articulation) - these common features are precisely the characteristics of the manner in question.
1.19. Constrictive (3). For now, it will be convenient to skip the manner which is 'halfway' between the preceding manner and this one (and indicated in the table as $2+3$, since it results from a combination of those two manners in a single sound - the reason will be seen shortly).

We therefore come to the constrictive manner of articulation, characterized by the speaker bringing the articulatory organs sufficiently close together that there is an audible noise of air friction. The constrictive manner is characterized by this friction, which however differs quite a bit in sound, depending upon the
fig 1.12. Stop articulations.
p (b)

t (d)

I (d)

k (g)

place of articulation. In the table of fig 1.3, we have four diphonic pairs of constrictives (which appear in fig 1.13), ie [f, v; s, z; $\theta, ð ; \int, 3$ ], as in five, seize, this
 pair consists of voiceless and voiced elements, sharing the same place and manner of articulation.

The term constrictive is clearer and more appropriate, since it is articulatory in nature, and therefore easier to put into concrete relationship with the production of the sounds in question. However, due to a sort of pernicious inertia, the term 'fricative' is still more common (the term is auditory and semantically much less transparent).
fig 1.13. Constrictive articulations.

1.20. Stopstrictive $(2+3)$. The combination of manners 2 and 3 produces the sTOPSTRICTIVE manner, which naturally derives from stop + constrictive. The more common term 'affricate' is not articulatory, but rather auditory, and therefore less evident and less easily concretized.

Instead, the new term stopstrictive immediately communicates the exact nature of the sound by virtue of its compound structure: the sound is composed of a first part which is incomplete, firmly joined to a second part, which characterizes it.

In the table, we have one diphonic pair of stopstrictives, $\left[\mathrm{t} f, \mathrm{~d}_{3}\right]$, as in match, age ['mæt ${ }^{2}$, 'E'Id5]. The mechanism is a combination of the stop manner (2) and the constrictive manner (3), with a total length corresponding to that of a single segment, not to the sum of two segments. A duration equivalent to that of two segments is found instead in SEQUENCEs / ts, dz; t $\int$, $\mathrm{d}_{3} /$, such as, for example, cats, heads ['khæts, 'herdz], or French patchouli, adjectif [pat $\int \mu^{\prime} 1 \mathrm{i},{ }_{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{ad}_{3} \mathrm{Ek}^{\prime}$ ţif].

It is important to pay careful attention to the distinction between the stopstrictive symbols, $\left[\mathrm{t} \mathrm{d}_{3}\right.$ ], which are monograms, and the symbols for sequences, $/ \mathrm{t} \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{d}_{3} /$, which are similar, but clearly not identical. For instance, in English, we have patchouli, ['phætf-əli, pə'fh $\mu \mathrm{uli} /$ and adjective, agent ['ædzəktıv, 'EIdzənt]. The two successive phases of the articulation are, in fact, homorganic (ie produced in the same place of articulation). What occurs here is the combination of two different manners: the first half is a stop, corresponding in place of articulation to the constriction of the second half.
1.21. The best symbols for indicating stopstrictives are monograms, as [ $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}_{3}$ ], which make three fundamental points quite clear: that the sound is a single
sound, and not two sounds in sequence (even though it is composed of two distinct phases), with the normal duration of one segment.

In fact, for instance, in Italian it is possible to have phonemic oppositions such as the one between mogio 'downcast' and moggio 'bushel': /'modzo, 'modydzo/ ['mordzo, 'modz:dzo], and homorganic, as was mentioned above - it is therefore not a simple combination of [ $\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}$ ] with $[\mathrm{S}, 3]$, as can unfortunately be read in certain linguistics texts (and even phonetics texts!).

In fig 1.14, the first phase is marked in black, while the second one is in grey (as with all the other articulations). The first phase is the stop phase, and the second is the constrictive one, with the articulatory organs close together, but without occlusion of the passage of air. The two diagrams on the right-hand side of fig 1.14 show the mechanism from another point of view: that of palatograms.
fig 1.14. Stopstrictive articulations.

1.22. Comparing the orogram of $\left[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}_{3}\right]$ with that of $\left[\int, 3\right]$ (fig 1.13), it is possible to see the difference between the constrictives and the stopstrictives, at least for the case of the postalveopalatal (protruded) place of articulation.

Both of these, in our figures, contain a horizontal line at the bottom, which by convention represents the noise common to the two manners. Instead, a curved line, at the height of the blade, represents (also by convention) a longitudinal groove.

This groove is formed between the blade of the tongue and the part of the palatal vault that it approaches and partially touches. It is through the groove that air escapes, causing the hissing noises which characterize these GROOVED SOUNDS.
1.23. Approximant (4). The next manner, following the table of fig 1.3, is the approximant manner. It is distinguished from the constrictive manner (3) because the articulatory organs are less close together, and as a result, they produce a less apparent noise. In fact, this noise is mostly heard only in the voiceless sounds, while in the voiced ones it is usually 'covered over' by the voicing produced by vocal-fold vibration.
fig 1.15 gives the orograms of $[\tau, j, w]$, in which the amount of space between the back of the tongue and the palatal vault is clearly visible. In the orthographic systems of different languages, $[\mathrm{j}, \mathrm{w}]$ are found written both with 'vowel' graphemes and 'consonant' graphemes: use, yes, quite, wet ['juus, 'jes, 'khwast, 'wet] in Italian, ieri, uomo ['jerri, 'wormo]. Both are voiced.

In the table of fig 1.3 (and fig 1.15, on the right), we have [h], as well. Although it is mostly foreign to the Romance languages, it is nevertheless very important in many other languages: English hut ['hef], German Hut [hutt]. It is voiceless, and produced in the glottis by opening the arytenoids. Therefore, it usuallt has no oral articulation of its own (except for coarticulation).
fig 1.15. Approximant articulations.
Ł


1.24. Trill (5). The second to last manner in the table is the Trill manner. It regards sounds which produce a pair of rapid tapping contacts of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge, in the case of [r] in Italian rana ['ra:na], or of the uvula against the postdorsum, as in the [R] theoretically possible for French rue ['Ry] or German Rast ['rast].

In Spanish, the alveolar trill is typically longer: rana ['r:ana] (sometimes we find '/'rranal', or, on the contrary, simply perro '/'pero/', for real ['perroo], as opposed to pero '/'pero/' ['perso]. Both are voiced, and both are shown in fig 1.16, where the tapping contacts are indicated schematically by the dark balls, and more concretely by the dashed outlines (more easily visible in the magnified versions on the sides).

Later on, we will also encounter 'trills' with only one tapping contact (these are called TAPS). It will be seen, in any case, that the grapheme $r$ does not represent a strong or weak trill at all, in many languages, but rather a constrictive or an approximant, in most cases (which we will see adequately, when necessary).
fig 1.16. Trill articulations.


1.25. Lateral (6). The last manner is the lateral one, in which the tongue, while touching a point on the palatal vault, contracts laterally, thereby permitting air to pass out by the sides of the tongue.
fig 1.17 shows the laterals $[1, K]$, as in lily [lul-i], or in Castilian Spanish calle [ka`Ke], or Italian luglio [1uKiKo]. English and many other languages do not have any $[K]$ sound, but rather a velarized alveolar [ 1 ], as in fulfil [fol'fut:].
fig 1.17. Lateral articulations.


## 2.

## A general approach to Natural Tonetics

## Prosodic elements

2.1. While speaking of the vowels (\$1.2), we have already mentioned the distinct role that segment duration (also called Length or Quantity) can have in certain languages.

Normally, the chroneme, /:/, is placed after a vowel when it is necessary to indicate length (as we have seen in $\$ 1.2$, in the case of German Stadt ['Jtat] 'city' and Staat ['Sta:t] 'State').

At times, differences in duration are combined with differences in timbre, as we find, again in German, with offen ['rofm'], Ofen ['Roofm'].

Duration can also be associated with diphthongization, as in English bee, two [bri, ' $\uparrow \mathrm{h} \mu \mathrm{u} \mathrm{u}$ ]. Too often, these last examples are still transcribed '[bis, tui]', as if they were actually long monophthongs (and, unfortunately, they are also often transcribed without a stress mark, as if monosyllables could not be either stressed or unstressed).
2.2. PHONEMIC LENGTH of consonants is better indicated by doubling, or more technically geminating the symbol. This is especially true of languages such as Italian, where -phonetically as well- the consonants in question are truly geminate, extending over two different syllables ([CC], and not merely 'lengthened' consonants, [C:]): vanno, detto, faccio, passo, carro, gallo ['van:no, 'det:to, 'fatf:tfo, 'pas:so, kar:ro, 'gal:lo].

It is thus important to avoid transcriptions such as '/'van:o, 'det:o, 'fatf:o, 'pasio, karıo, 'gal:o]' (or, even worse, '/'fat:So/'). Let us also note English: penknife, bookcase, this seat ['phen_nasf, 'bok,kers, ðıs'siif].
phonetic length (which is not distinctive) of single elements, whether vowels or consonants, is marked with the chrone, [:], or with the semi-chrone, [r] (when less duration is present): English car, card, cart, cardigan [khar, kha:d, kha't, khadıgən], sea, seed, seat, seeding ['sri, 'srid, 'sri申, 'sriqıy].

## Stress

2.3. Word stress (as well as that of rhythm groups, or stress groups - the first term is preferable) is marked by ['] in front of the syllable in question: finally ['fas-
nəli] (and certainly not in front of the stressed vowel, '[f'aonəli]', nor above the vowel, '[fásnəli]'. Secondary stress, which is weaker (and generally, phonetic and not phonemic, ie without distinctive value), is denoted by [1]: dynamite ['quanə-


Especially in Romance studies, terminological inertia has dragged obviously unscientific names through time from the Roman era to the present, and so we must insist, once again, that 'tonic' is completely inappropriate in the sense of stressed.

The word tonic clearly refers to the tone (pitch) of a syllable, not to its stress. The Romans took their terminology for syllable prominence from Greek, where prominence was tonal (determined by pitch, in addition to inevitable intensity), even though, in Latin, prominence was intensive, stress-based. All terms of this sort without scientific foundation should be rigorously avoided, since they cannot fail to produce dangerous conceptual misunderstandings.
2.4. In the case of stress position, it is also good to use scientific and objective terminology. We will therefore speak of final-Stressed words (stressed on the last syllable, rather than 'oxytone'), ie with stress on the last syllable: ago, again, re-


Spanish terminó, convoy, tendría, tomar [termi'no, kom'boi, ten'dria, to'mar]. Italian: partirà, partirai, ferrovia, Manin [parti'ra, parti'ra'i, ferro'via, ma'nini].

Next we have penultimate-stressed words (stressed on the last but one syllable, better than 'paroxytone'): apparent, deductive, evolution [ə'phæ.fən†, də'dektıv, ${ }_{\text {, }} \mathrm{Eval} \mu \mathrm{hu} \mathrm{n}$ ] or [riva-].

Spanish: termino, mañana, hermoso [ter'mi'no, ma'na'na, er'mo'so], Italian: ritorno, domani, principi 'principles' (also written princípi) [ri'tornno, do'mani, priņ'ţi:pi] (different from principi 'princes', also written príncipi); prepenultimatestressed ones (stressed on the last but two syllable, better than 'proparoxytone'): dedicate, cumbersome, curiosity ['ded ${ }^{\prime}$ khert, khembəsm, khjoəfi'bsəri].

Spanish: término, régimen, regímenes ['termino, 'rieximen, re'xi-menes], Italian: ritornano, domenica, termino, fabbrica [ri'tor:nano, do'me:nika, 'ter:mino, 'fabıbrika].

Much less frequently, we encounter words stressed on the fourth to last syllable: prosecutor, definitely ['ph.\{dsə,khjoโe, 'defənətli].

Italian: terminano, fabbricalo ['ter:mina,no, 'fab:brika,lo]; on the FIFTH TO LAST: cumulatively, positivism [khjuumjəla,tıvli, -1 leitıvli, 'phoz-ətıvızm], Italian: fabbricamelo ['fab:brikame,lo].

And on the sixth to last as in the very rare Italian form fabbricamicelo 'build it for me there, or by means of that, or out of that' ['fab:brika,mitfelo] (actually, a form made up purposely as an example, just to set a linguistic record).

## Sentence stress

2.5. It is advisable to consider as Sentence stress, or ictus, every case of word stress which remains stressed in sentence context, and does not become reduced. When stress reduction actually occurs, it is a phonetic (rather than a phonemic)
phenomenon, as in Italian tre gatti 'three cats' [treg'gat:t], where the isolated ['tre] loses its stress when placed in a rhythm group.

In English such a reduction does not occur; as a matter of fact, we can easily
 khæts '£æn 'aot].

It is preferable to avoid using the term 'sentence stress' to refer to the sentence focus; this last notion refers to the word, or words (and therefore concepts), which in a given utterance are communicatively more prominent. In fact, they are highlighted by virtue of being new to the conversation (as opposed to being already given, or known).
2.6. Sentence stress and focus are in fact two distinct attributes, although they are not necessarily incompatible. In fact, they can both be present in the last stress group, even though this possibility is statistically the least frequent: I never said that was true [aэ'nev-ə 'sed 'ஓæp wəz'th. $\left.\downarrow \mu^{\prime} \mathrm{u} ..\right]$. Or, in Italian, Non ho mai detto che questo fosse vero 'I never said that was true' [no,nommai'detto kek,kwesto,fosse've:ro.]].

In practice, it is much more probable that the sentences above would be said as

 [no,nommai"det:to kek,kwesto,fosse've:ro•], or also [nonom'maidetto . kek,kwestofosse"ve:ro•.」]).

Therefore, a concrete utterance (which is sufficiently long) will have multiple ictuses, ie protonic syllables and one or more tonic syllables (in the rigorous sense of stressed syllables in the tune).

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

The sentence These are the new co-workers of my neighbor Roberta [„ðrizəðə'nju'u
 ple highlights.


 วvmas'nerbe. $\left.\imath^{\prime} \mathrm{b} 3^{\prime} \dagger \mathrm{e} ..\right]$. Notice the importance of the continuative tune [.], even without a short pause [!] (or longer: [|]).
2.7. Of course, similar subdivisions are possible for the corresponding Italian sentence, too: Questi sono i nuovi colleghi della mia vicina Roberta: [,kwesti,sonoi'nwo'vi kolle:gi• ,della,miavi'tfirna ro'ber:ta•], or also [,kwesti,sonoi'nworvi kolle:gi• ,della,miavi'tfirna co'ber:ta.], or possibly [kwesti,sonoi'nwo'vi kolle:gi., della,miavi'tfiina• ro'ber:ta•.], or else also [,kwesti,sonoi'nworvi kolle:gi , della,miavi'tfinna ro'ber:ta.].

In any case, the elements highlighted can also be grammemes, in cases such as
 (with are highlighted), or even [ðə,njцu] (with new destressed, but with my highlighted, ['ma`o], for some particular reason). Quite the same for Italian (and other languages).

Some kind of attenuation can occur in parts of the sentence rendered 'parenthet-
 of afterthought. Again, similar possibilities occur in the Italian example given: [della,miavi'tfina rober:ta..] della mia vicina Roberta.

## Tones

2.8. Certain languages have distinctive tones; these are called, logically enough, tonemes. Distinctive tones imply that when the pitch of a syllable changes, its meaning can change, as well. Let us look at, for example, the three basic ton(em)es of the African language Yoruba (ef fig 2.1): ró, ro, rò /'ro, 'ro, _ro/'to drape, to till, to think'.
fig 2.1. The three Yoruba tonemes.

$1 / /^{-1}\left[{ }^{-}\right]\langle \rangle$


In fig 2.2, the four ton(em)es of Mandarin Chinese are shown: mā, má, mă, mà $/^{-} \mathrm{ma}$, 'ma, ,ma, 'ma/ 'mother, hemp, horse, to curse'. Of course, in our book Chinese Pronunciation $\mathcal{E}$ Accents, all possible variants are clearly shown.
fig 2.2 .
The four (Mandarin) Chinese tonemes.

$\left.2\right|^{\prime \prime}\left[\begin{array}{ll}{[1]}\end{array}{ }^{\prime}\right\rangle$

$$
3 \mid, \|[]]\langle v\rangle
$$

$$
4 \text { Y }[1]\langle\curlywedge\rangle
$$

Examining these fairly simple examples, it becomes clear that the graphic signs used are capable of referring to (quite) different tonetic realities in different languages.

## Intonation

2.9. We will now concisely introduce the bare essentials of intonation. In fact, all languages have their own intonation systems, and phonetics should therefore not be treated without examining intonation, as well. Unfortunately, it is often left out entirely, even in descriptions of particular languages or in transcriptions of sentences or passages! A notably bad example of this omission is given by the 'official manual' of the International Phonetic Association: Handbook of the International Phonetic Association: A Guide to the Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet (found in the bibliography).

In every language the three marked tunes (/. ? ;/) and the unmarked protune (the normal / /, without a special symbol) should be clearly indicated with appropriate symbols (both on a phonetic, or rather, tonetic level, and on a phonemic, or толemic one). The tune involves the final stressed syllable of an utterance and the syllables around it (cf fig 2.3), while the protune is what is found
before the tune in the same intonation group (cffig 2.3, on the right). In the example his cousin's name is Bartholomew [huzkheznz 'nerm izba'日ol-əmjpu..], the tune is constituted by the full name of Bartholomew, while the protune is everything prior to it: his cousin's name is...

The example of Bartholomew is particularly interesting because it allows us to consider the four ideal components of a tune: the pretonic syllable (Bar-), the tonic syllable (-thol-), and the two posttonic ones (-omew).

The pronunciation of this example normally provides a reasonably adequate realization of the schematic tonal movements shown in fig 2.3 (which besides the unmarked protune and the three marked tunes, give the important interrogative protune, $\mid \dot{j} /$, which is marked, and the continuative intoneme, $||-$, which is unmarked).
2.10. If the example were his cousin's name is Dick [hz'kheznz 'nerm zz'qk...], the tune would be is Dick. The tonic and posttonic syllables would consist of only one syllable (Dick). In consequence, the ideal movement shown in the diagrams (for the case with four syllables) would be compressed, not just horizontally, but inevitably in terms of the vertical range, as well. When only one syllable is present (as in the answer to a question like what is his cousin's name? - Dick), the result is a fusion of the expected pitch patterns which maintains the characteristic movements, but in an attenuated form.

The intonation schemes of the British school were among the few to have some practical use; but precisely for the reasons considered here (and in general), they are sometimes decidedly excessive. In fact, for [.'..] or [.1.•] (ff fig 2.3), they give diagrams like $\bar{\rrbracket}$ or $\bar{J}$ when there is only one short voiced element: for example for [r] in Dick - if the result were truly as extended as their diagrams show, it would rather sound like a police siren!
fig 2.3. The four protunes and tunes of neutral British English.

2.11. The protune and the tune taken together form an intonation group more usefully called tuning. We use examples such as My favorite dictionary, or That patient thinks he's Giuseppe Verdi, to show that the parts of an intonation group do not necessarily respect word boundaries. In fact, the tunes in these utterances are, respectively: [.əə'qikfniti..] and [i'veəqi..] (-rite dictionary and -pe Verdi).

djuu'sep] (My favo- and That patient thinks he's Giusep-). The full examples are:


It will be seen that our transcriptions are not subdivided pedantically along word boundaries. That practice is still quite common (in the best case, motivated by hopes of helping the reader). It is much more useful to subdivide transcriptions into rhythm groups, as we have done, instead of giving things (and symbols) like '['みæt iz 'mar 'fervrət 'drkjənri]'.

Or '['Əæt 'perfnt ' $\theta_{1} 1$ ks hi:z dyu'sepi 'veadi]', where the stresses and some un-reduced forms (for current reduced forms or 'weak forms') are also unnatural (ie in the cases of ' $/ \mathrm{rz}$ 'mar/' in the first example and '/hizz/', at least, in the second, which are weakened in normal speech, both articulatorily and prosodically).
2.12. Another (not unimportant!) counsel regards the fact that 'sounds have no capitals'; note that, for other reasons, the traditional orthographies of languages such as Arabic and Hindi, and Chinese and Japanese as well, have no capital letters. Children can easily tell that there is no phonic difference between smith and Smith, or between Italian franco and Franco - both of the English examples are pronounced exclusively ['smı $\theta$ ], and the Italian ones are both pronounced ['fray:ko].

And yet, even in textbooks, all too often we find (printed, as well) atrocities such as '[D3u'sepi 'Veadi]' and also '/'Mar/' absurdly derived from writing conventions! The 'transcription' of $M y$ is given with a capital letter, because it is the first word in the sentence! Moreover, the transcription of Giuseppe uses a capital letter because the word is a proper name, and the result is an inappropriate and ambiguous digram, $D_{3}$, instead of a slightly less forced $D 3$, which would at least represent the unity of the sound [d3] better.
2.13. fig 2.4 will be a useful explanatory tool in order to understand more explicitly the use of tonograms (given that we are not all musicians or singers, for whom the analogy with a musical score is obvious). Let us observe, then, the graphemic text, to which we have given the form of the intonation curve. Normally this curve is shown with the lines and dots of tonograms, but here we have used a more 'intuitive' approach.
fig 2.4. An iconic way to introduce people to intonation.


We show just four examples, based on the segment see you on Saturday (in neutral British pronunciation), expressly to compare them with $\bar{\square}$ and $\overline{\bar{J}}$, seen above. These examples contrast pairwise: a conclusive utterance is contrasted with an interrogative one (of a total question), and a suspensive utterance with a continuative one.
2.14. In the case of the last two sentences, the semantic importance of what follows (given in parentheses) is fundamental, whether it is expressed out loud, or instead remains implicit. In any case, the suspensive tune is characterized by decidedly greater and more immediate anticipation, while this is lacking with the continuative. This difference, and certainly not their syntax, explains the difference in intonation between the third and fourth examples.

Applying the movements of the three tunes to a slightly different example, we see that in neutral (better than 'standard') British English, the conclusive tune is falling (/./ [-' . .]), of the type shown in fig 2.3: Christian ['kh.fıstfon..] (and also in three examples in fig 2.4).

The interrogative tune is rising (/?/ [ [ ' • • ]), as in the question Christian? [kh.tıs$\mathrm{t} \ddagger \mathrm{n} \cdot{ }^{\circ}$. The third tune, the suspensive, is used to create a sort of anticipation, or 'suspense'. In neutral British pronunciation, it is falling-rising, /;/[. '. $\cdot]$ : Although his name's Christian, -[kh. tst Ən.] - he's no good Christian at all.
2.15. In fig 2.3 (as well as in the second example of fig 2,4), we have the interrogative protune, $\mid \dot{\delta} /$, as well. This protune is a modification of the normal protune, and it anticipates on the rhythmic-group syllables of the protune the characteristic movement of the interrogative tune (although in an attenuated form).

Obviously, in the part specifically dedicated to the topic, we will be more explicit and more exhaustive. Here, we remark only that the interrogative protune is the same in all types of questions, whether these are total questions, like Is his cousin's name Christian?, or partial ones (containing a question word, such as why, when, who, how...), such as Why is his cousin's name Christian?

We must warn the reader that, contrary to what grammar books and writing--based teaching imply, not all questions have an interrogative tune, nor should they.

In fact, partial questions, in order to sound truly natural and authentic, should be pronounced with a conclusive tune (or at most, with the unmarked continuative tune, with pitch in the mid band, which will be seen in greater detail later on): Why is his name Christian? [¿ंwasız (h)ız'ne'rm kh.tıstfən..] (or ['kh.tstyən•], with a continuative tune).
2.16. Let us conclude this chapter by drawing attention, again, to fig 2.3. The left bottom part of it shows two more protunes and their typical movements. The imperative one, $\mid \mathrm{i} /$, and the emphatic one, $\mid \mathrm{i} /$, which do not need any explanation.

## 3. <br> Vowels

## Neutral Romanian vowels (and two xenophonemes)

3.1. Systematically, fig 3.1 shows the vowels of neutral Romanian, in stressed and untressed syllables, including two xenophonemes, $/ \mathrm{y}, \varnothing /[\mathrm{y}, \mathrm{Q}]$ (with possible unstressed [øø], as also /e, ə, o/ [E, 3, б] may be [ $\left.\mathrm{e},{ }_{\circ} \partial,{ }_{\circ} \mathrm{o}\right]$, though not necessarily).
fig 3.1.1. Neutral Romanian vowels.

fig 3.1.2. Neutral Romanian vowels: orograms.

3.4. Examples for the vowels: iris ['iris], elev [Elev], amar [a'mar], ocol [ $\left.\sigma^{\prime} \mathrm{kol}\right]$, uluc [u'luk], fără ['fзrз], vârî [vi'‘‘‘] (and two xenophonemes: tul ['tyl], bleu ['bla].
fig 3.1.3. Neutral Romanian vowels: palatograms.

e

(y)



(ø)

(Q)

ə

0

E
3


a

fig 3.1.4. Neutral Romanian vowels: labiograms.



(ø) 0


3
(Q)

a

3.5. In fig 3.2.1, let us observe attentively the small articulatory differences (which remain within the same vocogram box and use the same symbol) for the taxophones of /a/ [a]. They are so used, when preceded by the (semi)approximants: /ja, Ja/ [ja, ja] (ia, ea), /wa, wa/ [wa, wa] (ua, uea; oa), even combined as /jwa, jwa/ (ioa, eoa), and /jvu, јwo/ [f̂u, $\hat{\mathrm{t} \sigma} \sigma$ ] (ioa, eoa).

Besides, fig 3.2.2 shows the orograms of the eight (semi)approximants, both in isolation and in combination.
fig 3.2.1. Neutral Romanian realizations of /CV/ sequences, recklessly called 'diphthongs', simply because they are spelled using vowel letters.

3.6. In addition, fig 3.3.1 gives the true Romanian diphthongs in stressed and untressed syllables (while the sequences just seen are decidedly not 'diphthongs', but /CV/ structures).
fig 3.2.2. The (semi)approximants shown by themselves, and in usual combination with vowels.


Besides, fig 3.3 .2 shows seven further true diphthongs, which, in turn, are not at all 'hiatuses' (pace traditional -or rather dinosaurian- grammarians and phonologists)!

For the diphthongs we have: mii ['mii], fu ['fiu], lei [llei], rai ['rai], greu ['greu] (not different from leucit [leu'ffit], in spite of different useless 'opinions' and 'notations'), sau ['sau] (not different from saună ['saun3]), oi ['oi], ou ['ou], pui ['pui], continuи [kon'tirnuu] (and menuи [me'nuu], as a possible variant of meniu [me'niu, me'nju]), răi ['rsi], rău ['rsu], câine ['kiine], râu ['riu]. Let us notice: eu ['eu] (phil.) different from eu ['jeu, jeu] (pron.), which may become [jषu, jou, jo, 角 $\sigma, \mathfrak{f} u]$.
fig 3.3.1. Neutral Romanian true diphthongs (not 'hiatuses'), in stressed and unstressed syllables.

fig 3．3．2．Further neutral Romanian diphthongs：$/ \mathrm{iV}, \mathrm{uV} \mid$ ．


3．7．Anachronistically and antiscientifically，we continue to find，in books and dictionaries，a nonexistent difference between $/ \mathrm{Vi}, \mathrm{Vu} /[\mathrm{Vi}, \mathrm{Vu}]$ ，real diphthongs， and supposed alien＇／Vi，Vu／［Vi，Vu］＇．

And what is more，in the third millennium，we are forced to see an even worse （and frankly offensive）oddity like＇／ $\mathrm{iV}, \mathrm{uV}, \mathrm{eV}, \mathrm{oV} /[\mathrm{i} V, \mathrm{uV}, \mathrm{e} V, \mathrm{oV}]$＇，called＇diph－ thongs＇，for clear and outstanding $/ \mathrm{jV}, \mathrm{wV} /[\mathrm{jV}, \mathrm{wV}]$ sequences（of a consonant and a vowel），spelled $i a, u a$ ，and $/ \mathrm{J} \mathrm{V}, 屯 \mathrm{~V} /[\mathrm{JV}, 屯 \mathrm{~V}]$ ，spelled $e a, o a$ ，which we are going to see immediately（also in fig 3．2．1－2），including their combination：／jwa，jwa／［ja， まa］，spelled ioa，eoa，and［ $\hat{\mathrm{f} u}, \hat{\mathrm{f}} \sigma$ ］，spelled eu，eo．

3．8．Examples for the sequences just explained：biată［bjatz］，beată［bjatz］（but

 foarte［＇fwarte］，două［＇do＇w3］，plouând［plo＇wind］，ioanit［iwa＇nit］．

Again，misled by written vocalic sequences of three or four elements，we are served up the existence of＇triphthongs＇（and even＇tetraphthongs＇），which are sim－ ply sequences of true vowels and real（semi）approximants（even in polysyllabic words），for monosyllabic structures．

For example：ia－i［＇jai］，iau［＇jau］，beau［＇bjau］，iei［＇jei］，eu［＇jeu］（seen above with many variants），$i$－oi da［joi＇da］，rusoaică［ru＇swaik3］，socoteai［ssoko＇tjai］；in－ cluding bisyllabic structures，like：maiou［majou］，rouăi［＇rowsi］，inşeuai［ìnffe－ ＇wai］，inșeuau［ingfe＇wau］．

3．9．Let us take careful note that not all ea，oa，eo，eoa sequences have the／CV／ phonic sequences（and combinations）just seen．As a matter of fact，we have：nea ／＇nja／［＇nja］，balnear／balne＇ar／［balne＇ar］，oameni／＇wameni／［＇sarmeni］，voalat／voa－



As can be seen，usually，traditional words have the／CV／structure，while more recent，and more lofty words，including loans，generally have／ VV ，＇ $\mathrm{VV}, \mathrm{V} / \mathrm{V} /$ struc－ tures．Alternation between the two types is also possible，at least for some words and phrases．

At the end of $\mathrm{G}_{5} 5$ ，see some miscellaneous examples of these and other realiza－ tions in connected speech（of neutral and mediatic accents），which may happen to be heard during any normal conversation．

## Mediatic peculiarities

3.10. In mediatic (or even quick colloquial, though not really neutral pronunciation), especially in originally older Romanian words, vowels in initial (mostly stressed position) are often preceded by demi-semi-approximants (ie weaker semiap-
 ăst ['モаst], ambră ['モambrs], om ['wom], ulm ['wulm].

The third vocogram of fig 3.4.1 also shows the taxophones of $/ \partial /\left[\varepsilon,{ }_{3}\right]$, including those that possibly occur by vowel harmony: $[ง, \partial, 8, \pm, \mathfrak{e}, \Omega]$ as in insignă, însă, insultă, eră, caznă, modă, respectively, and fără.

Let us also look well, on the fourth vocogram, at the many taxophones corresponding to /Ja/ [JA, JA, Ja, Ja], but also [ÇA, Ça], and even [Ca, ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{Ca}$ ], instead of neutral [Ja]. Also notice /wa/ [wa, ûa, wa, ûa], but also [Co, Co, ${ }_{\circ} \mathrm{Co},{ }_{\circ} \mathrm{Co}$ ], and even [ $4, ~ C a]$ (in the fifth vocogram), instead of neutral [wa].

It is easy and useful, for the reader, to carefully transform the appropriate neutral examples, already seen, into the corresponding mediatic ones, in order to compare the two accents well, for convenient practice.
fig 3.4.1. Mediatic Romanian vowels.

3.11. Besides, in well-established Romanian words, mostly in colloquial or mediatic accents, /Vi, Vu/ diphthongs (including true or supposed hiatuses), become
fig 3.4.2. Mediatic Romanian diphthongs.

$\left[\mathrm{V}^{(1)}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{V}, \mathrm{V}^{(1)} \mathrm{WV}\right]$ sequences: fii ['fisi], familie [fa'milije], cailor [kajuilor], oilor ['ఠ‘oilor], aur ['a'wur], râul ['ri'wul], lua [lu'wa], suavitate [su,wavi'ta'te], apropia [apropi'sa], stiut [fti'wut], find [fi'sind], copiilor [ko'pivilor], liceele [li't $\mathcal{E}_{\mathrm{E} \cdot \mathrm{JElE}}$ ], alcool [alko'wol], pleoape [ple'ta'pe] (in addition to 'normal' [ple'tape]), creioane [kere'tane] (in addition to 'normal' [kre'jarne]).

It is interesting to notice that, in addition to such patterns, which change /VV/ structures into / VCV/ ones, by inserting (demi)(semi) approximants between vowels, even the opposite trend is typical of the mediatic (and some regional) accents. Thus, for /iV/, we very often find / $\mathrm{jV} /$ : italian [i,tali'an; ;italjan], palie ['palie; -lie], ziar [ziar; 'zjar], paria ['paria; - rja], țiuitură [.tsiuiturz3; tsjui-], iniţial [initsi'al; ini'tsjal].
3.12. In mediatic and certain regional accents, any vowel in contact with a nasal consonant (either before or after, and more so between them) may be more or less nasalized: dânsa ['díasa], pânza ['píaza], mână ['mĩn3], mâl ['míl].

Especially for / $\mathrm{iNC} /$ sequences, in addition to [ $\mathfrak{\mathrm { q } N C}$ ], we can certainly have (and more often so) also [NC], besides [ $\mathfrak{f} \mathrm{NX}$ ] (ie a seminasal followed by a constrictive), too. With other vowels, /VNC/, we have [ $\left.\mathrm{V}^{N} \mathrm{X}, \mathrm{VNC}\right]$, besides [ṼNC, $\left.\tilde{\mathrm{V}} \mathrm{NX}\right]$ ([V] seminasalized, $[\tilde{V}]$ fully nasalized, mainly in broader accents, including /VNR, VNL/

3.13. Final vowels, between a voiceless consonant and a pause, especially in mediatic or regional accents, may often be partially devoiced, [CQ|]: paste ['paste, -tE잉] casa [ka'sa, -sal], lupu [lu'pu, -pu].

The same may happen to (semi) approximant + vowel sequences: vulpea ['vulpJa, -pjoal|], generatie [jEnE'ra'tsje, -tojel]. Also within words, between voiceless consonants: câteva [kite'va, kì-], societate [ssoffie'tarte, sc-], suferință [sufe'rints3, sul-], aritmetica [arit'metika, -ti-], clasicism [klasi'tfism, -siol.].
fig 3．4．3．All Romanian dorsal（demi）（semi）approximants：orograms．

（J）


（ H ）

（x）

（u）


（4）

（ч）

（H）

fig 3．4．4．Mediatic Romanian dorsal（demi）（semi）approximants：palatograms．

$\dot{\mathrm{i}} \hat{\mathrm{f}}$（ㅍ）

J

玉主（サ）

（4 氏̂）

（w）


（J）

（土）

fig 3．4．5．Mediatic Romanian dorsal（demi）（semi）approximants：labiograms．



（ч） $\mathrm{w} \rightarrow$
£

$\hat{\text { 而 }}$

（ q ）

（u）

（घ）

（J）

（土）

（w）

3.14. In loans, we can find: yearling ['j3rling], tweeter ['twirter], western ['westEfn], walkman 'wokmen].

However, another peculiarity of mediatic Romanian pronunciation, as can be seen by carefully looking mostly at the vocograms of fig 3.4.1, is the great variability of the realizations of each vowel phoneme, even if in our examples we insisted mainly on the differences concerning the consonants.
fig 3.4.6. Mediatic Romanian dorsal (demi)(semi)approximants on a vocogram.

fig 3.4.7. Another way of showing neutral and mediatic Romanian dorsal (-)approximants.

Neutral Romanian


Additional neutral


Additional mediatic Romanian

3.15. The vocogram in fig 3.4 .8 shows the Romanian vowels fit for an international' accent of the language. They are sufficient for foreigners who want to speak Romanian in a committed and respectful way. Let us notice carefully that, instead of 7 vowel phonemes, here, we have 9 of them. But this is no useless or bizarre complication, since also (non-neutral) native speakers happen to use / $\mathrm{J} /$ [a] and /wa/ [ e ].
fig 3.4.8. 'International' Romanian vowels.


## 4. <br> Consonants

4.1. The table in fig 4.1 presents the consonants of neutral Romanian with their taxophones, especially numerous for the two nasal phonemes, $/ \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n} /[\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{n}$,
 guages or other accents, for comparison (also for all next consonant sets provided below).
fig 4.1. Table of neutral Romanian consonants.

fig 4.2. Romanian consonants: nasals.

4.2. fig 4.3-4 show the stop and stopstrictive phones that realize the Romanian phonemes of these classes. Let us notice that the generic phonemic symbols for $/ \mathrm{t}$, $d_{3} /$ are better represented by slightly retracted contoids, [ $\mathrm{t} f, \mathrm{~d}_{5}$ ] (in comparison with those of most other languages).

Let us also notice that the postpalatal taxophones of $/ \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g} /[\mathrm{C}, \underset{⿺}{\mathrm{\Sigma}}$ ] are often represented by means of the less precise official palatal symbols, [c, f]. A weak(er) laryngeal stop is not a phoneme, but it may be used, especially for emphasis mostly before stressed vowels.
fig 4.3. Romanian consonants: stops.

fig 4.4. Romanian consonants: stopstrictives.
ts (dz)


4.3. fig 4.5 presents the constrictives phonemes and taxophones of Romanian. We find: /f, v; s, z; $\int, 3 /[f, v ; s, z ; f, 3]$ (let us notice, again, that $/ \int, 3 /$ are $[f, 3]$, slightly retracted, as also $/ \mathrm{f}$, $\mathrm{d}_{3} /$ are $\left[\mathrm{tf}, \mathrm{d}_{5}\right]$ ). We also find $/ \mathrm{h} /[\mathrm{h}$, h] (cf fig 4.5: as a phoneme it is probably better to use a generic symbol like $/ \mathrm{h} /$, rather than ' $/ \mathrm{h} /$ ')
fig 4.5. Romanian consonants: approximants (different from those in fig 3.2.2 \& fig 3.4.3-7).

together with the laryngeal (semi)approximants, $[\mathrm{h}, \mathrm{h} ; \mathrm{h}, \mathrm{h}]$, more typical of other languages, for necessary comparisons.

The other (semi) approximants, that we have already seen in fig 3.2.2, are here presented together with other sets, occurring in other languages or accents (fig 3.4.3). Besides, we show them under different perspectives, as well, to better clarify their real nature (fig 3.4-4-7).

Of course, the (semi) approximants already seen in $\mathrm{G}_{3}$, in connection with the vowels forming peculiar Romanian /CV/ sequences (blindly and deafly called 'diphthongs'), belong to this consonantal type, although they were better dealt with there.
4.4. fig 4.6 and fig 4.7 present the rhotic and the lateral phonemes of Romanian: $/ \mathrm{f}, 1 /$, with their taxophones and other kinds, too, for useful comparisons.
fig 4.6. Romanian consonants: rhotic, $/ \mathrm{r} /[\mathrm{r}]$ ( \& possible [r], including others, for comparisons).


(f)

(ғ)

fig 4.7. Romanian consonants: lateral /1/ (with taxophones, [1, [, [, , ] ], \& others, for comparisons).

( 1 )

(太)

4.5. Examples for the consonants: măr ['m3r], cum ['kum], amfibiu [am'firbju], conversa [komver'sa], nor ['nor], an ['an], dentar [den'tar], incert [iģ'tfert], din ieri [ding'jeril], inchizitor [in,eizi'tor], include [iŋlklu'de], branhie ['braŋhiie; -iJe], prunc ['pruyk], gong ['goŋg].

In a kind of pronunciation that may sound too formal, even for modern neutral accents, instead of $/ \mathrm{n} \equiv \mathrm{C} /$ (ie homorganic / $\mathrm{n} /$ to a following consonant) we can often find [nC] (with any consonant after /n/), as in: angajat /anga'zat/ [aŋga'zat, anga-].

On the other hand, in broader mediatic (or regional) accents, we also find the
nasalization of the vowel in /VNC/ sequences, including a progressive weakening of the nasal element, including its dropping: [aŋŋga-, angaa-, ãnga-, ãga-].
4.6. More examples: pal ['pal], cap [kap], bun ['bun], cub [kub], tact ['takt], do ['do], rod ['rod], cal ['kal], rac ['rak], chel ['cel], vechi ['ve'ceid], gol ['gol], rog ['rog], ghid ['ijd], unghi ['u


And: salt ['salt], cos ['kos], zar ['zar], roz ['roz], sold [fold], cos [kof], jar ['zar], Cluj [kluz], ham ['ham], vahat [rahat], vlah ['vlah], hrib [hrib], hi! ['ihi', vlahi ['vlaḩị], vai ['raiol], far ['far], lin [lin], wal ['mal], alt ['alt], calcit [kal'ţit], destul ieșit [destul]-jefit].
4.7. Especially in mediatic (or regional) pronunciation, all voiced consonants (either diphonic or sonant) are more or less devoiced in final position, before a pause, or in contact with a voiceless consonant (either before or after). Here we will use [C]], although they may also remain intentionally voiced, or become voiceless, too.

Examples: alb ['alb], abces [ab'ffes], absurd [ab'surd], pe când se... [pekindse], slăbind pe... [zala'binddpe], crez că... ['krezka], văz cu... ['vaz̧ku], totdeauna [tod'djauna,
 -km-], groaznic de mare ['grvazniğ de'mare], loc deschis [log̊ des'cis, -k d.-], fac bine [fag̊bine, -kbid], colț de piatră [kolto dé'pjatro, -dy d-].
4.8. For word-initial $s$, followed by a sonant or diphonic voiced consonant, we use $[\mathrm{z}]$, although in spontaneous speech $[\mathrm{z}]$ prevail, while spelling may lead speakers to 'prefer' [s]: smalt, [z'malts], snop [z'nop], slab [zilab], svon [z'voñ]. Let us notice: socialism [ssoffialism, -zm;-tjja-]. Let us also notice (with oscillations as for $s$-):

fig 4.8. Table of mediatic Romanian consonants.


Seen the different possibilities, in neutral Romanian pronunciation, it is better to follow spelling indications, using preferably voiced or voicelss contoids as they appear.
4.9. The table in fig 4.8 gives the contoids of the mediatic Romanian accent. We have already seen in their orograms in this chapter, although palatalized contoids, [Ç] (and rounded ones, [C], more typical of some regional accents) are not present in the table.

## 5. Structures

## A peculiar Romanian vowel

5.1. Romanian has a peculiar kind of pronunciation concerning what its old--fashioned traditional orthography mostly represents as a word-final unstressed -i $\mid \mathrm{i}_{\mathrm{a}}{ }^{\#}$ |, to indicate plural forms of nouns or adjectives, and of verb singular persons.

It is very important to carefully consider examples like the following ones: pom /pom/ [pom] (tree), pomi /pomi/ [pormi] (trees), pomii/'pomi/ ['pomi] the (trees). The last two words are bisyllabic (in spite of bewildering opinions by 'distinguished' grammarians and phonologists, who happen to call it 'asyllabic $i$ ' or 'short $i$ '): [ $\mathrm{p} \sigma^{{ }^{H}} \mathrm{mil}_{\mathrm{d}}$ ] and ['po ${ }^{4} \mathrm{mi}^{\mathrm{m}}$ ].
5.2. It is clear that even [omid is a syllable (in all intents and purposes), although it may seem not to be so, due to its 'exceptionally' voiceless vocoid, [i]. This cannot be denied. However, it must be said that $\left[\begin{array}{l}i\end{array}\right]$ is present in tunes, and in words uttered isolated as single examples, of course.

In addition, this 'word-final' $-i \sum_{\frac{i}{\#}} /$ is kept in compounds with câteși-, fieşi-, oares $s i$, ori-, as well, as in: câteșitrei [kiteffitcrei], fiesicicare [fieffikare], oareșicum [ısarefjikum], orice [,ori'tGE], oricare [,orikare].

In tunes, especially when followed by a pause, the $/ \mathrm{Vi}^{\#} /$ diphthongs generally are $\left[\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{i}}\right]$, rather, or more often, than $\left[\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{i}}\right]$, although $\left[\mathrm{Vi}_{\mathrm{i}}\right]$ may occur, as well. While, in protunes, they are mostly [Vi], even if immediately followed by voiceless consonants.
5.3. Some examples (with mediatic variants, too): Bucuresti [buku're[ti, fti],




 voi [vo'i] (verb, but voi ['voi] pronoun), sui [su'i] (infin., but sui ['sui] pres.), viile
 ịm-, ṃ-], îmi dă [imịi'ds, im'-, ịm-, ṃ-].
5.4. It is true that, in quick speech, or in mediatic or regional accents, instead of [ $\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{i}}$ ], we may also have [Ç] (as already shown, by fusion of the two elements,
producing a non-syllabic phonetic structure): [,buku'fe[ţ, -şţ], nădejdi [n3'dezḑ,

 -gd], flori ['florri; -ff], ani ['a'ni; 'aņ], speli [s'pe'li; -lु].

However, the real phonemic structure remains $/ \mathrm{Ci}_{\mathrm{i}} /$, not '/Ç/' (pace Petrovici)!


5.5. Notice that the weakly stressed word și ('and') keeps a fully voiced vocoid, [.fi]. The same is true of final sequences of $/ \mathrm{C} /+/ \mathrm{ri}, \mathrm{li} /:$ acri ['akri], codri ['k ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{dri}$ ], afli ['afli]. In addition, we also find [ $\left.\mathrm{i}^{\ddagger}\right]$ in words and names of old foreign origin: tanti ['tanti], Rosetti [ro'se'ti].

## Connected speech

5.6. Words belonging to a given rhythm group undergo certain fusions, due to assimilation and elision, including some stress reductions. Some elisions may be shown in spelling, too, by means of an apostrophe. For instance, we have: mă a văzut $\rightarrow$ m'a văzut [mava'zut], vă întreabă $\rightarrow$ vă 'ntreabă [vзn'trja'b3], te-a văzut $\rightarrow$ [.tjava'zut], calul e frumos ['kalu , 1 jefru'mos $\rightarrow$ 'kalui fru'mos],

Usually, grammemes like $m a ̆, v \breve{a}, s e, s \breve{a}, c a ̆$ are commonly subject to elision, when followed by a vowel, especially $a$-: m'ajută [ma'zu't3], s'apucă [sa'pu'k3], v'a văzut [,vavs'zut]. The negative nu is included (although it is generally stressed): n'a văzut [navs'zut].
5.7. Before $o$-, $u$-, or stressed $a$-, elision is rarer: se află, s'a- ['sjafl3, 'sa-], să aibă,
 vă o dă, v’o dă [vз $\left.\sigma^{\prime} \mathrm{d} 3, \mathrm{v} \mathrm{\sigma}-\right]$, să o dea, s’o dea [s3 $\sigma^{\prime} \mathrm{d} \mathrm{a}$, sб-], că o dă [k3 $\left.{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{d} 3, \mathrm{k} \mathrm{\sigma}-\right]$, se umple, s’um- [sE'umple, 'sum-], inncă odată [ì $\ddagger$ k3o'da't3, -ko-]; nu află, n'a- ['nu,afl3, 'na'fl3], nu oprește, n’o- ['nuoprefte, 'no'prefte], n'o laudă ['nollaud3], nu uraşte ['nuu,rafte].

Normally, before $i$-, $e$-, $\hat{\imath}$-, elision does not occur: mă imită [msi'mi'ts], că examinează [k3Ek,sami'nja`zz], se imaginează [sei,mazi'nja`zz], să intre [s3iintre], mă iartă [m3'jart3], and: nu imită ['nui,mit3],
5.8. The imperative unstressed final $-\breve{a}$, followed by the pronoun $o$, is regularly dropped: laud'o [laudg]. Before vowels, dintru and întru are shortened: intr-una [in'tru'na].

Final vowels are often dropped before identical or similar vowels: in vărăuna asta [ìmv3,rsu'nasta], poman aia ['porma,naja], including cases like: culcus,(ul) unui balaur [kulkufunui balaur], cu urechile [ku(u)'re'cile].

Before the grammemes e, ea, ei, el, eu, ele, [jЕ, ja, jЕi, jEl, jEu, $\left.{ }_{\mathrm{jE}} \mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{E}}\right]$, and era,

final $-i$ is dropped: mi-e [mje], $t, i-e[t s j e]$, și eu [fjeu], d'apoi eu ['da'po,jeu], nu mai e greu ['nu maje'greu].
5.9. Let us observe that, in phrases and sentences, for rhythmical reasons, we
 too. More rarely, also este, ești [jes,te, jefti] are possible.

Although spelling does not change, the initial $\hat{\imath}$ - of the preposition $\hat{i n}$ and of the prefixes in- $\hat{\imath} m$ - may be dropped after any final vowels (which do not fall): să întrebe [s3n'tce'be], mă (vă, că) intrebeabă [m3n'trja'b3, v-, k-], se inșală [senffaliz], si încet [fing'tfet], si eu in voe [fjeum'vo'je]. Also with a dropped article: omul inncercat ['סmuçı $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{E} \text { Er'kat] }}$, omul îşi mai spuse ['omufi mais'pu'se].
5.10. In rhythm groups, final unstressed $-i$, followed by initial $e$-, $a$-, $o$-, $u$-, becomes $[\mathrm{jE}, \mathrm{ja}, \mathrm{j} \sigma, \mathrm{ju}]$, while final -e plus $a$-, $o$ - becomes [Ja, $\mathrm{£} \sigma$ ]. Besides, the combinations $-o a$ - and $-i u$ - are fused into [ $w a, \hat{\mathrm{f}} \mathrm{u}]$ mostly in quicker speech.

Examples: mi-anunță [mja'nunts3], ți-anunță [tsja'nunts3], și-anunță [fja'nuntss], mi-a dat [mja'dat], ti-a dat [tsja'dat], si-a dat [fja'dat], și unde ['fjunde], mi-o dă [mjo'd3], si-o dă [fjo'd3], te ajută [tja'zu't3], ne ajută [nja'zu't3], le ajută [1Ja'zu't3], te-a (ne-


And: de acolo [dja'ko'lo], pe aici [pJa'irtfi; pa'], de acesta [dJa'tfesta], găteste-te a-

 o vezi [ре'karf̂́ $\sigma$ 've'zil ].
5.11. Although less frequently, we can also have: pe om ['p̂̂om], se opinti [1sfَ̂-
 de'trup], a imitat [aimi'tat], a urît [au'rit], ne-a urît [njau'cit].

In addition: i-anunță [ja'nunts3], i-ajută [ja'zu't3], $i$-a dat [ja'dat], $i$-o dă [jo'd3], dă-i ['d3i], laudă-i [laud3i], nu-i dă [nui'd3], nu-i laudă [nuilaud3], mi-i dă [mii'd3], ni-i dă [nii'd3].

Also: $e$ and $e(s t e)$, after a unstressed vowel, may simply become /Vi/ (even in their spelling, with -i): viața-i frumoasă ['vjatsai fru'mwa's3], calu-i frumos ['kalui fru'mos] (or calul eleste), nu-i bun ['nui,bun], că-i e(ste) greu up to: [k3i'greu], nu-i veni ['nuive,ni, 'nui ve'ni].

For mi-a (t,i-a, și-a) dat, we have either [mja'dat, tsja-, fja-] or [mJa'dat, tsja-, fja-].
 'd3, itş'd3], nu-ți dă ['nu'tili, $\mathrm{d}_{3}$ ].
5.12. Certain numbers have alternative forms, with -sprezece [-sprezetfe] reduced to $\left[-s p r e t f_{\mathrm{E}},-s p t f_{\mathrm{E}}, f \mathrm{fpt} f_{\mathrm{E}}\right]$ (up to the spelling $-s p c e$ ): 11-unspre (ze)ce ['ursprezet $f_{\mathrm{E}}$,
 'unfpe], 15 - cin(ci)sprezece, cinspe ['ffirstfisprezzetfe, 'tfirisprezetfe, 'tfirffpe], 18 optsprezece, optîspe, opspe ['op(t)sprezet $f_{\mathrm{E}}$, 'optif $\mathrm{fpe}^{\prime}$, $\left.\sigma \mathrm{p} f \mathrm{pe}\right]$,

 și doi ['t£inctfef'doí, -z'doid.

For -zeci si preceded by a vowel, we can also find it reduced to [f, 3 ], as in: $21-$ douăzeci şi unu ['dow3(ze) fu'nu], 22 - douăzeci și doi ['d $\sigma w 3(\mathrm{zE}) f$ 'doí, -(ze)z].

In addition, we can also find 100 - sute ['su'te] reduced to [ste], as in: 201 -două sute (s,i) unu ['d $\sigma w 3_{1}$ sute ( fi$)^{\prime} \mathrm{u} \cdot \mathrm{nu}$, 'd $\left.\sigma w 3 s t e ~ f u \cdot n u\right]$, and 101 o sută unu [ $\sigma^{\prime}$ 'suts 'u'nu, 'ost3 'u'nu].
5.13. Numbers are particularly subject to change stress patterns and undergo further reductions. For instance, we have 20 - douăzeci [ $1 \mathrm{~d} \sigma \mathrm{w} \mathbf{z}^{\prime} \mathrm{ze}$ 'f $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{i}}$ ], or 30 - treize-
 si s, sase ['treizetfi fiffarse].

## Length

5.14. Vowels in stressed free (or open) syllables are half-long, in word-internal position, when they occur in a tune.

Otherwise, they are short, ie in protunes or in word-final position (and in checked -or closed- syllables): casă ['ka's3], care ['ka're], capră ['ka’prs], cablu [ka'blu], ca [ka], cas ['kaf], caz [kaz], car [kar], cant [kant], calm [kalm], calma [kalma], cazma [kaz'ma], catâr [ka'tìr], catarg [ka'targ], castor ['kastor], carte ['karte].

Mainly nasal consonants may occur geminated (even in speech): innnoi [innori; $-{ }^{-} \mathrm{si}$ ], din nou [din'nou].

## Stress

5.15. In Romanian words, the position of phonic stress is often rather different from that of other Romance languages. It is more like in French even when a last syllable is still present.

Here, we list a number or such word, for useful comparisons, by simply putting an acute accent over the stressed vowel: academié, barométru, candíd, capsúlă, catédra, celúlă, cinemá, comedíe, dialóg, dificil, elíce, evadáre, extáz, fertíl, funébru, genéză, gratuít, imobíl, inedit, inutíl, labíl, microfón, neútru, nomád, orgán, paramétru, parantéză, pendúl, pijamá, postúm, prológ, prototíp, rugină, satelit, satir, sinoním, telefón, tragedie, umíl, utíl, vertébră, zodiác.
5.16. As Romanian stress is (theoretically) free to fall on any of the last four syllables, it obviously can provide minimal pairs, with different meanings.

Thus, we happen to find: ácele (needles), acéle (those, f.), cópii [ $\left.{ }^{k} \sigma \cdot \mathrm{pi}\right]$ (copies),
 (bad), imóbil (still), imobíl (building), módele (the fashions), modéle (models), úmbrele (the shadows), umbréle (umbrellas), cântă [kinit3] ([he] sings), cântă [kịn'tz]
([he] sang), sună ['su'nз] ([he] plays), sună [su'n3] ([he] played), \&c.
Let us consider: móbilă (piece of furniture), mobílă (movable), and mobilă (legal term) [mo'bills, 'morbils].

Also: coréctor (a person), corectór (a device), diréctor (a person), directór (adj.), but: profesor [pro'fe'sor, profe'sor], facsimil [fak'si'mil, faksi'mil], \&c. For februarie and ianuarie, in addition to normal [febru'arie, janu'arie], we also hear ['ferbruarje, 'janu, arje], also interesant [intere'sant] and ['interesant], more in mediatic accents.
5.17. Infinitives (except those in $-e$ ) are stressed on their last vowel (which does not have any written accent at all): a suna [asu'na], a vedea [ave'dja], a citi [atffiti], but: $a$ trece [a'trert $f_{\mathrm{E}}$ ]; let us also consider the infinitive a mobila [a,mobila]).
5.18. The stress patterns of lexical compounds, generally has a primary stress on the prominent syllable of its second element: antiinflamator [1antiimfflama'tor], telejurnal [,telezur'nal], so much so when they have forms like: mașină de spălat [mafina ,despallat], suport de umbrelă [su'port deum'bre'l3; dqum-].

However, compounds with first elements cât-, fie-, ori-, oriși-, oare-, oareș $i$-, veri-, and second elements -care, -când, -ce, -cine, -cum, -unde, -va, have a main stress on the second element, as in: câtva, câteva, câțiva [kit'va, kite'va, kitsì̀ va] (but also [kitva, 'kiteva, kitsiva], for what we are about to say).
5.19. For longer compounds, in addition to the more usual structure with main stress on the second element, may have an intermediate stress between primary and secondary ([i]), on the first element, giving [ ${ }^{\prime}$ ']. However, depending on the semantic importance a speaker gives to the each element, we can also find the pattern [ ${ }^{1}$ ], or even [ ${ }^{1}$ ].

Words with such a behavior are, for instance: cât(e)va, câțiva, fiecare, oarecine, oareșicine, orice, orişicum. When such words are followed by one with stress on the first syllable, more often the more prominent syllable is in their first element, as in: óricare lúcru, órice lúcru. The same is valid for precum ['pre‘kum, pre'kum].
5.20. Further words, which oscillate for stress in phrases and sentences (even with a rhythm secondary stress instead of a primary one), are: aşa, ăsta. Besides, acolo and inncolo have [-' $\left.\sigma^{\prime} 1 \sigma\right]$ (but also $\left[-\sigma^{\prime} \mathrm{l} \sigma\right]$ ), while dincolo is ['dink $\left.\sigma l \sigma\right]$ (but also [din'k $\left.{ }^{\prime} 1 \sigma\right]$ ). In addition: (d)apoi [(d)a'poi] (more rarely ['(d)arpoi]). Also: suntem ['surtem, sun'tem] (and [-in-], including [-n-], not only if unstressed). Verb end-
 also have $/-$ em, - etti/ (given their infinitive form with unstressed $/-\mathrm{e} /$ ).
5.21. The negative $n u$ and the interrogative $c e$ are generally stressed, ['], while a following word in their rhythmic group are []:
nu face ['nu'fat $f_{\mathrm{E}}$ ], nu tăceți ['nu't3, $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{E}} \mathrm{tsi} \mathrm{i}$ ], nu știu ['nuftiu], nu mai sunt la Bu cureşti ['numai,sunt la,buku'cefti, -sintt, sqt-], eu sunt numai la București [jeusunt 'nu'mai la,buku'cefti, -si̊nt, satt-], nu sunt bolnav ['nu ,suntbol'nav, sinnt-, ,ştt-], ce

However, in negative questions, we find: nu face? [¿, ${ }^{\prime}$
 'karte fru'mwars3].
5.22. When $n u$ or $c e$ are immediately followed by a vowel, they are elided, but the phrase stress remains on the newly formed phonic syllable: n'aveți ['na'vetsi] ce-aveți? ['ं'fa'vetsi].

Let us also notice: nu-i bun ['nui,bun] (where -i corresponds to este [jeste]). Also $s \breve{a}$ may follow the same stress pattern (examples fully retranscribed from Lombard 1935, as may others): să mergem la judecată! [ $\dot{i} 33^{\prime} \mathrm{merd}_{5 \mathrm{Em}}$, lazude'ka't3], să mergem dacă vrei, la judecată! ['s3,merdzem ,dak3'verì | , lazude'ka't3]. Also notice: cel mai

5.23. In very quick and broad speech, more mediatic or regional than neutral, $/ i, e /$, after sibilant and shibilant consonants, /ts, s, z; tf, dz, $\int, z /$, may become [ $[$, z$]$, preceded by an asterisk in the vocogram of fig 5, which also shows that unstressed /e, ə, o; a/ may become $[\mathbf{I}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{\mho} ; \mathfrak{e}]$.
fig 5. Possible vowel variants in quicker and broader speech.

/el [r]
/ $\mathrm{e} /[\mathrm{a}]$


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mid \mathrm{o} /[\mathrm{r}] \\
& \mathrm{oo} /[\mathrm{v}]
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
1 \mathrm{a} /[\mathrm{e}]
$$

## Miscellanea for practice

5.24. Here, we present some miscellaneous examples of some current realizations, which can be heard when listening to native speakers, either neutral or mediatic. Besides, some of these examples show that, in rhythm groups, $/ \mathrm{C}^{\#} \mathrm{~V} /$ are $\left[{ }^{H} \mathrm{CV}\right]$ :




Nicolae [nikolae; -a'Je], idea [i'deJa], idee [i'dee; i'de'Je], luni [lu'ni], lunii [lurni],


 lupiş], îi închid us, [ín'cí 'du'fa];
cestilalți ['ffeftililaltsid], fieșicare [fieffik kare], orișicare [orififikare], orișicine [,orifili'ffine], oriunde [, $\sigma$ ri'undel











 [ab'sent, ap'sent]; se (pron.) [se, se, s3, sə].
fiul profesorului ['fiu(l) profe'sor(u)lui], dar vino [dar'vino, da'vi-], astfel ['as(t)$\mathrm{fell}^{2}$, altceva ['alttfeva, 'alt $f_{\mathrm{E}}$ ]; pot să plec ['po(t) 's3 'plek].
nu ştiu ['nuftiiu, ,tju], uliu ['ulju, -liu], ulii ['uli, -liij], uli ['ulid], căsoaiei [kz'swa-
 studiu [s'tu'dju, -diu], giulgiu ['‘̧uld dुu, -djju], Giurgiu ['dgurḑu, -djju];
neaferind [neafe'rind], neînchipuindu-şi [neitycipu'indufí, nenci-], nevăzut [nE-


unde e prăjitură? [e'undeje ıprзziturr3:J] or [e'undei deiprszitur3]; mă tem kă vine




## 6. <br> Intonation <br> \& transcribed texts

## Intonation patterns

6.1. fig 6.1 shows the four protunes and four tunes of neutral Romanian intonation, while fig 6.2 highlights the main differences of the mediatic accent.
fig 6.1. Neutral Romanian intonation patterns.

fig 6.2. Mediatic Romanian intonation patterns.

6.2. The following set of sentences illustrates the patterns.

Mi-ar plăcea să vorbesc bine românește.
Știm ce vrei să spui.
Multumesc mult.
Ce crezi despre asta?
Cum te simți azi?
Unde mergem?

## Vorbessti românestste? <br> Fratele tău o ințelege? <br> El vine mâine?

Dacă nu poţi veni sâmbătă, am incurcat-o.
Când am ajuns la gară, trenul plecase deja.
Mergem cu autobuzul sau pe jos?
Sunt: una, două, trei, patru, cinci.
Sunt: una, două, trei, patru, cinci...
Dacă nu poți veni sâmbătă, nu e nicio problemă.
Mergem cu autobuzul, cu trenul sau cu masina?
Acesta este un dictionar foarte util.
Acesta este un dicționar foarte util.
Acesta este un dicționar foarte util.
Acesta este un dictionar foarte util.
Acesta este un dictionar foarte util.
$N u$, spuse, nu am făcut-o.
Desigur, dragă.
Desigur, dragă, mâine vei primi un cadou.
Desigur, dragă. Mâine vei primi un cadou.
Ca să spun drept, spuse, nu sunt in totalitate sigur.
Dragă, nu-ți aminteşti că am văzut filmul acesta săptămâna trecută?
De ce ai spus „nu-mi pasă", mă intreb, dacă e adevărat contrariul?
[mjarpl__fa ssvor_besk _bine romi'nefte:
f-timtfe vevei sss'pui.
multsu_mesk 'mult.
¿ ¿tE-krezí ,des'prjasta.
d-kum te'simtsí 'azi.
¿-unde 'merdjem:
¿Vor-beftia romi_nefte:
¿-frateletsu, ofinte_le ${ }^{\text {d }} \mathrm{d}_{5}$ :
¿jelvine _mine:
_dark3 _nu_potsị ve_ni _simb3,t3.| a,minkurkart $\sigma$.
_kírda ma-zurs la_garz.|_trénul plekaree. „de'za.」
¿-merdzem ,kuauto_buzul•• disaupe'zos:


_da'k3 nu_potsí ve_ni 'simb3,ts:' _ _nuje _nirffo pro'ble'ma:



a-YEEsta jesteun,diktsio_nar."-fwarteu till.
a-f festa jesteun,diktsio_nar _fuarteu- 'til.
a_t $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{E}} \mathrm{sta}$, jesteun,diktsio_nar $\cdot$ 'fwarteu "til.
'nu.: is'pu'se.ji -nuam f3'ku'to.
de'siggur: i 'drag 3 .」

de'sigur.: 'dra'g3..| 'mine 'veipri-miuy ka'dou.



(I'd like to speak Romanian well.
We know what you mean.
Thank you very much.
What do you think about it?
How are you feeling today?
Where are we going?
Can you speak Romanian?
Does your brother understand it?
Is he coming tomorrow?
If you can't come on Saturday, we'll be in trouble.
When I arrived at the station, the train had gone.
Shall we go by bus, or on foot?
There are one, two, three, four, five.
If you can't come on Saturday, there's no problem.
Are you going by bus, by train, or by car?
This is a very useful dictionary.
This is a very useful dictionary.
This is a very useful dictionary.
This is a very useful dictionary.
This is a very useful dictionary.
No, he said, I haven't done it.
Of course, my dear.
Of course, my dear. You'll have it tomorrow.
Of course, my dear, you'll have it tomorrow.
As a matter of fact, he said, I'm not at all sure.
Don't you remember, dear, we saw that movie last week?
Why did you say 'I don't mind', I wonder, when the opposite is true?)

## The North Wind and the Sun

6.3. The following text is habitually used by the International Phonetic Association (IPA) to illustrate the pronunciation of different languages and accents. Here is its non literal English version.

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveler came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveler 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 traveler fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveler 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?
6.4. There follows the Romanian version, in canIPA phonotonetic transcription.

Vântul și soarele se certau, fiecare pretinzând că el era cel mai puternic, când ei văzură venind un călător ìmbrăcat cu paltonul. Ei se ințeleseră că acela dintre ei, care va izbuti să-l dezbrace pe călător de palton, va firecunoscut ca cel mai puternic.

Deci vântul de nord începu să sufle cu toată puterea; dar cu cât sufla mai tare, cu atât călătorul îşi strângea mai tare paltonul, atât de bine, încât la urmă vântul renunță să-l scoată. Atunci soarele incepu să strălucească, și in curând călătorul, inncălzit, își scoase singur paltonul. Astfel vântul recunoscu că soarele era cel mai puternic dintre ei doi.

Ți-a plăcut istorioara? Vrei să ți-o povestesc încă o dată?


 'kut.; ka, $f_{E}$ lmaipu'ternik. ||



 _swarele ,jeratfel,maipu'ternik., dintrejei'doii.|
 mediatic pronunciation, istorioara/isto'rjwara/ is [isto'rjara].

## A short conversation

6.5. Let us end with this text.

Bună ziua. Spuneţi, ce doriţi?

(Hello. Tell me, what d'you want?)
Bună ziua. As vrea să fac o excursie prin țară.
[buns 'zi'w3:| a3'vrja sзłakoeks kursie prin'tsarc3.] (med. [-ws:] [-sje])
(Hello. I'd like to go on a trip around the country)
Știți unde anume?
[ ${ }^{(d ' t}$ tits(i) 'undea 'nu'me:] (med. [-dja])
(Do you know where precisely?)
Nu știu exact. Dumneavoastră ce credeți?
[nuftiuek 'sakt:| ¿,dumnja'vwastra โEEkre'detil
(No, I don't know exactly. What do you think?)
Dacă vreți la mare, avem camere la trei hoteluri bune in Neptun.
['dak3 'vrestis la_maree.l avem'kamere la'trei hơteluris bu'ne: in'neptun:] (med. [n'-])
(If you want to go to the seaside, we have rooms in three good hotels in Neptun)
As, prefera la Mamaia, dacă e posibil. Dar aş sta la mare numai 4 zile, fiindcă aș vrea să ajung și la munte, și dacă am timp, şi in delta Dunării.
[afpre'fera , lama'maja..| dakзjepo'sirbil.|, daraf'ta la'mare nu,mai'patru 'zille.| 'fiig

(I'd prefer Mamaia, if possible. But I only want to stay four days at the seaside, because I'd like to go the mountains, as well, and the Danube Delta if I have time)
Dacă vreți, puteți lua un bilet in circuit.

(If you want, you can get a round ticket)
Adică cum?
[a'diks kum.]
(How does that work?)
Un bilet in circuit inseamnă că e valabil pe tot timpul călătoriei dumneavoastră. Și puteți să întrerupeți călătoria unde doriṭi. Deci ați putea merge mai întâi la mare; de acolo in deltă şi apoi ați putea merge undeva la munte.


 'va la'munte:]
(A round ticket is valid for the whole of your journey. You can make stops along the way as you wish. So you could go first to the seaside; then to the Delta and then on to somewhere in the mountains)

Da, sună bine. Și cam cât costă în total? ['da:.| 'sunz bine:| ¿fikam kittkost3in tơ'tal.]
(Yes that sounds good. How much does it cost?)
Depinde de unde plecați şi de cât timp staţi.

(It depends when you leave and how long the trip lasts)
Bine, deci cât ar costa dacă aş sta 4 zile la Mamaia? Apoi 3 zile in deltă, s,i o săptămână la munte?
['binnel ¿,detfikítar kos'ta da,kafs'ta:' 'patru 'zile ,lama_maja‥|' capopi'trei 'zilein _deltz.| ¿fior,s3ptz'mina la'munter.]
(Fine. How much would it be if I stay four days in Mamaia? Then three days in the Delta, and a week in the mountains?)

La Mamaia ați putea să stați sau la hotelul Internațional, sau la Perla. O cameră cu un singur pat și cu baie costă saizeci de euro pe noapte. Cazarea in deltă este de obicei la familii locale. În schimb la munte, la Sinaia, puteți să stați la un hotel bun. Toate camerele au incăllire centrală, baie sau dus. Hotelul are și bar, și restaurant și discotecă, chiar și sală de gimnastică.
[lama'majaa: ,atsipu'ta ssi'ta'tsis. saulaho'telu linternatsjo_nal••| saula'perla:|| $\sigma$ 'kamers kuur'siggur _pat-| fiku'baje:' kosta fai'zetfi (faizefi, -zz-) de'euro pe'nuapte:| ka'zaraain 'deltz zestedeobi'tEi lafa'mili lo'kale:| incs'cim bla_munte.;'

 fi'sal3,dedfim'nastik3.]
(In Mamaia you could stay at the Hotel International or at the Hotel Perla. A single room with a bath costs 60 euros per night. In the Delta you would usually stay with local families. In the mountains, on the other hand, in Sinaia, you can stay at a good hotel. All the rooms have central heating and a bath or shower. The hotel also has a bar, a restaurant, a disco and even a gym)
Știți cumva dacă este aproape de telecabină sau de telescaun? Aș vrea să văd peisajul.
 'vзd pei'sazzul.]
(Do you know whether it's close to the cable car or chain lift? I would like to see the surroundings)
Nu știu exact; dar pot să aflu până mâine.

(I don't know for certain; but I can find by tomorrow)
Mulțumesc. Atunci revin mâine.
[multsu'mesk:] a'turgrtyi. ce'vim 'minne:]
(Thank you. Then, I'll come back tomorrow).

## 7.

## Regional accents

## Romanian accent maps

7.0. The maps in fig 7.0 present the three major areas (top map, including Moldova): Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia.

The bottom map shows: T(ransylvania), W(allachia), M(oldavia), and MR (ie Moldova Republic), H (ie the Hungarian enclave in Transylvania), and U (ie the two Ukranian areas on the North and the eastern one in Odessa, Ukraine), with mixed speakers.
fig 7.0. Romanian regional accents.

7.1. The three autochthonous regional accents of Romania (Wallachia, Transylvania, Moldavia), may generally present all which is typical of the mediatic accent for the consonants, often adding further peculiarities, as a more frequent use of /r/ [r], and / $\mathrm{s} /[\mathrm{dz}]$, by voice assimilation.

The same is also true for the vowels, in addition to what is shown in their figures, including / $\mathrm{Ja}, \mathrm{v} /[\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{o}]$ \&c. In addition to typical regional vocalic peculiarities, also the fundamental intonation patterns are shown in their figures.
7.2. $/ \mathrm{Ci} /[\mathrm{Ci}]$ may be intense, $[\mathrm{C}]$, not only with sonants, but also with stops and others, in addition to being palatalized (and intense, too). $/ \mathrm{CjV} /$ may be [ÇV]. Consonants followed by front vowels may be palatalized, or else labialized, if followed by rounded vowels.
/l/ may be half-velarized, [ $\ddagger$ ], especially in syllable-final position, mostly in Wallachia and Moldavia. Final $/ \mathrm{om}^{\#} /$ may be $\left.\left[\mathrm{mu}, \mathrm{m}_{1}\right] . / \mathrm{t}\right\}, d_{3}, \int, 3 /$ may be $\left[\mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}_{3}, \int, 3\right.$, in addition to $[t f, d z, f, z]$.

The sonants in final position, before a pause (or a voiceless consonant), may be fully devoiced, or not. The constrictives may be semiconstrictive. Also $/ \mathrm{h} /[\mathrm{h}, \mathrm{h}]$, may be semiconstrictive; but $/ \# \mathrm{~h} /$ may become $[\mathrm{h}]$ or [Ø]. The stops are audibly uttered, when followed by another stop or a pause, $\left[\mathrm{C}_{*} \mathrm{C}_{*}\right]$ (also sonants and other consonants may do so, in such contexts).
7.3. Especially in Transylvania, but also elsewhere, vowels in stressed syllable may be [ $\mathrm{V}^{-}$], even in checked syllables or in final position.

Vowels followed by palatalized $/ \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{h} /$ (especially if in syllable or word final position), /VC/ may become [VIC].

## Wallachia

fig 7.1.1. Romanian regional accents: Wallachia vowels.

fig 7.1.2. Romanian regional accents: Wallachia diphthongs.

fig 7.1.3. Romanian regional accents: Wallachia main intonation patterns.


## Transylvania

fig 7.2.1. Romanian regional accents: Transylvania vowels \& diphthongs.

fig 7.2.2. Romanian regional accents: Transylvania main intonation patterns.


## Moldavia

fig 7.3.1. Romanian regional accents: Moldavia vowels \& diphthongs.

fig 7.3.2. Romanian regional accents: Moldavia main intonation patterns.


/./ [ $[-\cdot$.
/?/ [ $\left.\cdot \square^{\cdots} \cdot\right]$

/| [.........]

## Moldova

7.4. In Moldova, in addition to most mediatic and regional Romanian peculiarities, we find: /l/ [l, ł]; /C/ before front vowels, /i, e/, may be typically, and frequently, [Ç]: [m, p, b̧, f̧, y, ņ, f̧, f̧, ļ; ţ, ḑ, c, f, ţ, ḑ̧, ş, z̧; ḩ]. Sometimes, they are [ $\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{J}}$ ] (even in trenul ['tre'nul, 'tŗE'-, 'trje']). Word-initially, /e-/ is practically '/je/' even in euro, Europa, Elena, elefant.

There is possible confusion between/ja, ja/ [Cja, Ça] and /wa, wa/ [Cwa, C.a]; [ $\mathrm{V} \cdot \mathrm{C}]$ (including strategies for distinguishing/ja, wa/, by changing them into [iJa, usa], even [ija, u'sa]). Besides, /h/ [ $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{H}$ ] (semiconstrictive); but also $/ \mathrm{j} /[\mathrm{j}] ; / \mathrm{t}$, d $\mathrm{d}_{3}$,
 tion, $/ \mathrm{t} ; \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{z} /$ may be $[\mathrm{t} ; \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{z}]$ (with semiconstrictive elements). Instead of demi--semi-approximants [J, £, w], before initial (or between) vowels, true semi-approximants may appear, $[\mathrm{J}, \mathrm{£}, \mathrm{e}]$. The position of stress in words may be different, as in: arípă, instead of áripă.
fig 7.4.1. Romanian regional accents: Moldova vowels \& diphthongs.

fig 7.4.2. Romanian regional accents: Moldova main intonation patterns.


## Hungarian enclave

7.5. The Hungarian-Romanian accent is frequently advanced: mátematic, própaganda (instead of matemátic, propagánda) or élementar, apróximativ, rómân (instead of elementár, aproximativ, român). Very frequently, we have /r/ [r]. There are problems in distinguishing between $\breve{a}$ and $\hat{a}$.

There is possible confusion between $/ \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{J} /$ and $/ \mathrm{w}, w /$, including $/ \mathrm{ja}$, Ja/ [CJa, Ça] and /wa, wa/ [Cwa, Ca]; ['V•C], in addition to [e'a, o'a] for/Ja, wa/./t], dz, $\int, 3 /$ may
 sible, mainly with /?/.
fig 7.5.1. Romanian regional accents: Hungarian-Romanian vowels \& diphthongs.

/uu/ [uu] /iv/ [uu]
/ou/ [ou]
/ $\partial \mathrm{u} /[\mathrm{Lu}]$
/au/ [au]
fig 7.5.2. Romanian regional accents: Hungarian-Romanian main intonation patterns.


## Ukrainian enclaves

7.6. The Ukranian-Romanian accent has: /l/ [ $1, \mathrm{l}]$; /C/ [Ç] before $/ \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{e} /$ or $/ \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{J} /$ :
 and there is possible confusion between / ja, Ja/ [CJa, Ça] and/wa, wa/ [Cua, Ça], in addition to [e'a, o'a] for $/ \mathrm{Ja}, \mathrm{wa} / . / \mathrm{Ca} /$ mai possibly become $\left[\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{f}}\right]$; $/ \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{v} /$ are main$l y[f, v]$ (semiconstrictive). There is a strong presence of $\left[{ }^{\#} \tau\right]+/ u, o / . / t f, d_{3}, \int, 3 /$ may be $\left[t \mathbb{L}, \mathbb{d}_{z}, ~ 反, z\right]$. There are problemes in distinguishing between $\breve{a}$ and $\hat{a}$.
fig 7.6.1. Romanian regional accents: Ukrainian-Romanian vowels \& diphthongs.

fig 7.6.2. Romanian regional accents: Ukrainian-Romanian main intonation patterns.


| $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ | $\cdot \cdot \cdot$ |  | $\cdot$ |  | $\cdot$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\cdot$ |  | $\cdot$ |  | $\cdot$ | - | $\cdot$ |

## 8.

## Mini-phono-dictionary

A

## B

Aaron 'aron
Abrud abrud
Ada Kaleh 'ada kale
Adam addam
Adamclisi adamkli'si
Adjud ad'zud
Agârbiceanu agirbi'tfarnu
Agerpres adjer'pres
Aiud ajud
Alba Iulia 'alba ju'lia
Alecsandri aleksan'dri
Alecu alleku
Alexandrescu aleksan'dresku
Alexandru alek'sandru
Aman 'a man, a'man
Andreescu andrejesesku
Anghel 'aŋぬ
Anina a'nina
Antim an'tim
Antonescu anto'nesku
Arad a'rad
Ardeal ar'djal
Arges 'ardzef
Argetoianu $\operatorname{ardzet\sigma 'janu~}$
Arghezi ar'қе"i
Aristia aris'tia
Aron 'arcon, a'ron
Asachi a'sacei
Averescu ave'resku
Azuga a'zu'ga

Baba 'baba
Babadag baba'dag
Babes 'ba'bef
Bacău balkзu
Baconsky bakonsei
Bacovia bako via
Bahlui bahlui
Baia Mare 'baja 'mare
Baia Sprie 'bajas 'prie
Balcic ball'tfik
Balta balta
ban 'ban
Banat ba'nat
bani bani
Barac ba'rak
Barbilian barbili'an
Barbu barbu
Bariț 'barcits
Barițiu 'baritsiu
Basarab basa'rab
Basarabescu basara'besku
Basarabescu basara'besku
Basarabia basa'rabia
Bazargic 'ba'zardzik
Băicoi bзikovi
Băile Herculane 'bzile herku'lane
Băilești bzillefti
Bălăceanu bsls'tfannu
Bălcescu bs['ţEsku
Bălți 'b3Itsi
Bănățeanu b3ns'tJjarnu

Băneasa b3'nja'sa
Bănulescu b3nullesku
Bărăgan bзrz'gan
Bărnutiz bsr'nu'tiu
Bârlad birlad
Bârsan bitrsan
Bechetu be'ertu
Beius bejuf
Beldiman beldi'man
Beniuc beni'uk
Bibescu bibesku
Bihor bihor
Bistrita 'bistritsa
Blaga 'blaga
Blaj 'blaz
Blandiana blandi'ana
Bogdan bog'dan
Bogza bogza
Boian bơjan
Boldesti bol'defti
Boliac bo liak
Bolintineanu bolinti'njanu
Borsa 'borfa
Borsec 'borsek
Botez bo'tez
Botosani botoffani
Brad brad
Brasov brafov
Brăila brзíla
Bräleanu brsilljanu
Brăiloiu brsilloju
Brătescu br3'tesku
Brătianu brsti'arnu
Brâncoveanu brigko'vjarnu
Brâncusi brin"kufi
Breaza 'brjaza
Breazul brjazul
Breban breban
Bucegi bu'f $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{E}} \mathrm{d}_{5 \mathrm{I}}^{\mathrm{i}}$
Bucovina buko'vina
Bucuresti buku'refti
Budai 'budai
Buhuși bu'hufí
Виzău bu'zзu

Byck bik
C

Cabul kahul
Calafat kala'fat
Cantacuzino kantaku'zino
Cantemir kante'mir
Caracal ka'rakal
Caragață kara'gartss
Caragea kara'cka
Caragiale kara'djarle
Caransebes karar'sebef
Caras 'karaf
Carei ka'rei
Carp karp
Carpati kar'parti
Cartojan kartózan
Catargiu katar'dyiu
Cavarna ka'varna
Cazaban kazaban
Călăraşi kzlu'rafi
Călimah ksli'mah
Căliman ksli'man
Călimaneşti k3lim ${ }^{\prime}$ neftit
Călinescu k3li'nesku
Câmpeni kim'peni
Câmpia Turzii kìm'pia 'turzi
Câmpina kimpina
Câmpulung kimpulung
Cârlova kirlo va
Ceausesccu tfaufesku
Celibidache $\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{E}} \mathrm{libi}$ 'daree
Cerna' 'ferna
Cernăuți terns'u'tsi
Cernavodă tferna'vơd3
Cetatea Albă tEE'tatja 'albs
Chendi 'eendi
Chilia cilia
Chişinău cifín3u
Chiva 'eiva
Chivu 'eiva
Christea kristja
Cibin tfibin

Cibinul tfibinul
D
Cihac tfi'hak
Cioran tforan
Cipariu tfi'pariu
Cârlova kirllorva
Cisnădie tfizns'die
Ciuc 'ffuk
Cloşca klofka
Cluj kluz
Coandă ikwands
Codlea $\mathrm{k}_{\mathrm{k}} \mathrm{dl}_{\mathrm{Ja}}$
Codreanu ko'drjanu
Comănești koms'nefti
Conachi ko'narei
Constanța korrs'tantsa
Constantin konstan'tin
Constantinescu konstanti'nesku
Corabia ko'rarbia
Coresi ko'ressi
Corneliu kor'ne liu
Cos,buc koz'buk
Costache kos'taree
Costantinescu kostanti'nesku
Costin kos'tin
Cotnari kot'nari
Cotrubaş kotru'baf
Cotruş ko'truf
Covasna ko'vazna
Crainic krainik
Craiova krajo'va
Crasna krazna
Creangă $\mathrm{kcja} \mathrm{\eta g} 3$
Cristea kristja
Criș krif
Crişan krifan
Crişana krifarna
Crişul Alb 'krifu lalb
Crişul Negru kriful 'ne'gru
Cucuteni kuku'terni
Cugir ku'ḑir
Curtea de Arges, 'kurtja de'ardzef
Cuza 'ku'za

Daniel dani'El
David 'da'vid
Davila davila
Dâmbovița 'dimbovitsa
Dănăilă dзnз'i•l3
Dej 'de3
Delavrancea dela'vraņtffa
Densusianu densufi'ánu
Deva'de'va
Dimitrie di'mirtrie
Dinu 'dinnu
Dobrogea do'brordza
Dobrogeanu dobro'dzanu
Doină 'doin3
Dolj 'dols
Donici 'dorniffi
Dorohoi doro'hoi
Dosofteiu dosof'te'ju
Dracul'drakul
Dracula dra'kula
Dragoslav dragozlav
Drăgănești dragz'nefti
Drăgăsani drsga'sani
Drăgoiu drs'gorju
Drobeta dro'be'ta
Duca 'duka
Dumitrescu dumi'tresku
Dumitriu dumi'triu
Dumitru du'mi'tru
Dunăre 'du'n3re
Dunărea 'du'nзrja

Eforie efo'rie
Eftimiu Efti'miu
Eliade Eli'ade
Elisabeta Elisa'be'ta
Emil E'mil
Eminescu emi'nesku
Eminovici E'mirnovitfi

Enescu E＇nesku
F

Făgăraș fзgз＇raf
Fälticeni falti＇tferni
Fetești fe＇tefti
Filiași fili＇a•fi
Filimon fili＇mon
Filipescu fili＇pesku
Focșani fok＇fani
Gafencu ga＇feyku
Galaction galakti＇on
Galați gala＇tsi
Gane＇ga＇ne
Gaster＇gaster
Găesti g3＇jefti
Gârla Mare＇girla＇marce
Gârleanu girllja nu
Georgescu dzor＇dzesku
Gheorghe＇£огぁ⿺
Gheorghiu ょбгқぇ
Gheorghiu Dej ょог＇ぇи＇de3
Gherea＇ıE＇fja
Gherla＇£
Ghiață＇＇ェa’ts
Ghica＇ıika
Giurgeni dgur＇dzerni
Giurgiu＇dgurdzu
Glina＇gli＇na
Goga＇go＇ga
Golescu golesku
Golestan goles＇tan
Gorj＇garz
Grigore gri＇gore
Grigorescu grigo＇resku
Groza＇gro＇za
Gumelnița gu＇melnitsa
Gura Humorului＇gura hu＇morrului

Hamangia hamaņ＇dzia
Harghita har＇īita
Haskil＇hascil
Hasdeu haz＇deu
Hateg＇ha＇tseg
Hârşova hìrfova
Heliade heli＇a de
Hodos，＇ho＇dof
Hogas＇ $1 \sigma^{\prime} \mathrm{gaf}$
boră＇$\downarrow \sigma$＇r3
hore＇ $\mathrm{h}^{\mathrm{Cre}}$
Horezu ho＇re＇zu
Horia＇horria
Hotin ho＇tin
Hrisanide hrisa＇ni－de
Huedin huje＇din
Hunedoara hune＇dwara
Hurmuzachi hurmu＇zarei
Huși huffi

Iacob＇jarkob
Ialomița jalomitsa
Iași＇jafi
Ibrăileanu ibrsilja nu
Ieremia jée＇mia
Ilfov＇ilforv
Iliescu ili＇esku
Ioan＇ tan （／jwan／）
Ion＇jon
Ionel jo＇nel
Ionescu jo＇nesku
Iordan＇jordan
Iorga jorga
Iosif＇ $\mathrm{j} \sigma \cdot{ }^{\prime}$ sif
Isaccea i＇saktfa
Ismail izma＇il
Ispirescu ispi＇resku
Istrati is＇trati
Istria＇istria

| J | Marea Neagră 'marja 'nja'grs Marghiloman margilo'man |
| :---: | :---: |
| Jebel ${ }^{\text {E }}$ 'bel | Matei ma'tei |
| Jebeleanu zebeljarnu | Maurer 'maurer |
| Jimbolia zim'borlia | Mavrocordat mavrokor'dat |
| Jiu'ziu | Măcin ms'tfin |
| Junimea zu'nirmJa | Mănescu m3'nesku |
|  | Medgidia meddzi'dia |
|  | Medias 'me'diaf, -i'af |
| K | Mehadia me'hardia |
|  | Miercurea Ciuc 'mjerkurja 'tfuk |
| Kogălniceanu kog3lni'farnu | Mihăescu mih3'jesku |
|  | Mihai mihai |
|  | Mihail mihat |
| $L$ | Mihalache mihala ${ }^{\text {cee }}$ |
|  | Mihalovici mi'halovitfi |
| Lahovari laho'vari | Minovici 'min'ovit $\mathrm{f}_{\stackrel{1}{1}}$ |
| Lazăr la'z3r | Minulescu minulesku |
| Lăzăreanu l3zz'rja`nu | Mircea 'mirtfa |
| Leonid leo'nid | Mirea 'mirja |
| leu leu | Miron 'miron; -'ron |
| Levaditi leva'dirti | Mironescu miro'nesku |
| Lipatti li'parti | Mizil mi'zil |
| Lipova lipoova | Moineşti moi'nefti |
| Liviu livviu | Moldova mol'd ${ }^{\cdot} \cdot{ }^{*}$ |
| Lovinescu lovi'nesku | Moldovenesc moldove'nesk |
| Luca Iu'ka | Moldoviţa moldo'vitsa |
| Luchian lu'ean | Morariu mo'ra'riu |
| Luduș lu duf | Moravița mo'ravitsa |
| Lugoj lu'goz | Movilă mo'vil3 |
| Lupeni lu'peni | Munca 'mujka |
| Lupescu lu'pesku | Munteanu mun'tjarnu |
|  | Muntenia mun'ternia |
|  | Muntii Apuseni 'muntsi apu'serni |
| M | Mureş 'muref |
|  | Muscel mus't $\}_{\mathrm{E}} 1$ |
| Macedonski matfe'donsei |  |
| Maior 'major |  |
| Maiorescu majo'resku | $N$ |
| Mamaia ma'maja |  |
| Mangalia maj'galia | Napoca na'po'ka |
| Maniu ma'niu | Nădlac n3dlak |
| Manoilescu manoilesku | Năsăud n3s3'ud |
| Maramures, mara'mu'ref | Năvodari n3vo'darsi |

Neculce nEkult $f_{\mathrm{E}}$
Negoiul ne'gojul
Negru Vodă 'negru 'vo'd3
Negruzzi ne'gru'tsi
Nenitescu neni'tesku
Nicolae nikolaje
Niculae nikulaje
Niculescu nikulesku
Nistru'nistru
Nucet nu'fet

## O

Ocna Mures ' 'okna 'mu'ref
Ocnele 'rknele
Octavian oktavi'an
Odobescu odo'besku
Odorhei odor'hei
Odorheiul Secuiesc odor'hEjul sekujesk
Olt 'olt
Oltenia olternia
Oltenița olte'nitsa
Onciul'onıtful
Oradea or'radja
Oravița oraraitsa $^{\prime}$
Orăşstie orafttie
Oraşul Stalin o'rafuls 'talin
Orhei orlhzi
Orşova 'orfova
Otescu ब'tesku $^{\text {I }}$
Otomani oto'mani
Oțelul Ros, u o'selul 'rofu
Ovid G'vid

Pallady paladidi,-i
Panait panait
Pascani pafkani
Pauker 'paueer
Pavelescu pavelesku
Pârvan pir'van

Perlea 'perlja
Petică'petikz
Petraşcu pe'trafku
Petrescu pettresku
Petrila pétrila
Petroasa pe'truasa
Petrosani petrofani
Petroseni petroferni
Petrovici 'petroviffi
Petru 'petru
Philippide fili'pide
Piatra 'pjartra
Piatra Mare 'pjatra 'mare
Piatra Neamt' 'pjatra 'njamts
Pietroasa pje'trwa'sa
Pillat pilat
Pitesti pi'tefti
Ploesti plójefti
Ploiesti plojjefti
Pop'pop
Рореsси po'pesku
Popovici 'porpovif $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{i}}$
Popp 'pop
Porțile de Fier 'portsile defi'er
Prahova 'prarhova
Preda 'preda
Predeal pre'djal
Prut 'prut
Pucioasa pu'fuarsa
Puscariu puflkariu
Putna 'putna

Racovița 'rakovitsa
Racoviță 'rakovits 3
Radu 'ra'du
Razelm ra'zelm
Rădăuți rзds'u'ti
Rădescu ra'desku
Rădulescu гзdulesku
Rebreanu rebrjarnu
Reghin 'rej in

Resitca 'refitsa
Retezat rete'zat
Râmnic 'rimnik
Râmnicu Sărat 'rimniku s3'rat
Râmnicu Vâlcea 'rimniku 'viļ ffa
Râşnov 'rifnove
Rodna 'rodna
Roman 'ro'man
România romi'nia
Rompres rom'pres
Rosetti r $\sigma^{\prime}$ 'se'ti
Roşiori rofi'ori
Roşiorii de Vede rofi'ori de've'de

## $S$

Săcueni s3ku'jerni
Sadoveanu sado'vjarnu
Sahia sa!hia
Salonta salonta
Sarmizegetusa sarmized ${ }_{5}$ E'tu'sa
Satu Mare 'satu 'marce
Săcele $\mathrm{s}^{\prime} \mathrm{t} \oint_{\mathrm{E}}{ }^{\cdot} 1 \mathrm{E}$
Sălaj s3llaz
Sânnicolau Marc snnnikollau 'mark
Scânteia skinn'teja
Sebastian sebas'tjan, -i'an
Sebes 'se'bef
Securitate sekuri'ta'te
Segarcea SE'gartfa
Semănătorul SEm3n3'torcul
Sfântu Gheorghe s'fịntu '£ $\sigma$ бूЕ
Sibiu sibiu
Sighet 'si' ${ }^{2} \mathrm{Et}$
Sighetu Marmației 'siぬEtu marma'tsiei
Sighișoara sigifwara
Silistra silistra
Sima 'si'ma
Simeria si'meria
Simion simi'on
Șimleu Silvaniei fimleu sil'va`niei
Sinaia si'naja
Siret si'cet

Slănic sla'nik
Slatina slatina
Slavici slavit $f_{\underset{⿺}{1}}$
Slobozia slobc'zia
Solca 'solka
Somes' 'so'mef
Sorescu so'resku
Sovata so'varta
Stalin stalin
Stamatu sta'martu
Stan stan
Stancu s'taŋku
Stănescu st3'nesku
Stere stere
Stoica stoika
Strehaia stréhaja
Sturdza s'turdza
Suceava su'ffa'va
Sulina sulinna

Șiria fi'ria
STefan f'tefan

Tătărăscu t3t3'rzsku
Tătărescu t3t3'resku
Târgovişte tir'gơvifte
Târgu Jiu 'tirgu 'giu
Târgu Mures 'tirgu 'mu'ref
Târgu Neamt 'titrgu 'njamts
Târgu Ocna 'tirgu 'okna
Târgu Secuiesc 'tirgu seku'jesk
Târnava 'tìnava
Târnăveni tìrns'veni
Techirghiol 'te'iid $\sigma 1$
Tecuci tekurti
Teleorman teleor'man
Teodoreanu teod $\sigma^{\prime}$ 'janu
Tighina ti'jina

| Timiş 'tirmif | Văcărescu vзk3'resku |
| :---: | :---: |
| Timişoara timifuara | Văcăresti v3k3'refti |
| Timoteiu timo'teju | Vădastra va'dastra |
| Tisa 'ti'sa | Vede 've'de |
| Titu 'tirtu | Vedea 'VE'dJa |
| Titulescu titulesku | Viața Românească vi'atsa somi'njask3 |
| Topârceanu topir'tfarnu | Victor 'viktor |
| Toplita 'toplitsa | Vieru 'vjersu |
| Transilvania trarsil'varnia | Vâlcea 'vit tf a |
| Trotuş 'tro'tuf | Vintilă vin'till3 |
| Tulcea 'tultfa | Vișeu vilfeu |
| Turda 'turda | Vişeu de Jos viffeu de'zos |
| Turnu Măgurele 'turnu magu'ce'le | Vişeu de Sus vifeu de'sus |
| Turnu Severin 'turnu seve'rin | Viseul vifeul |
| Turtucaia turtukaja | Vlad'vlad |
|  | Vladimirescu vladimi'cesku |
|  | Vlahuta vla'hu'tsa |
| $T$ | Vlaicu 'vlaiku |
|  | Vlăhița vl3'hirtsa |
| Țara Bârsei 'tsara 'birsei | Voiculescu voikulesku |
| T, epes, 'tse'pef | Voronca vo'roŋka |
|  | Voronet, voro'nets |
|  | Vrancea 'vraçitfa |
| $U$ |  |
| Ureche u'se'ce | X |
| Ursuleac ursulj Jak |  |
| Urziceni uczi'ferni | Xenopol kse'no'pol |
| V | Z |
| Valahia valahia | Zaharia zaha'ria |
| Valea 'valja | Zalău zalsu |
| Valea lui Mihai 'valja luimi'hai | Zamfirescu zamfi'resku |
| Valea Vișeului 'valja vi'feului | Zărnesti zar'nefti |
| Varlaam varla'am | Zeani 'zjani |
| Vasile va'sile | Zeletin zele'tin |
| Vaslui vaslui, vaz- | Zimnicea 'zimnitfa |
| Vatra Dornei 'vatra 'dornei | Zlatna zlatna |

## 9.

## Phonopses of 25

## languages (for comparisons)

9.1. According to the phonetic method, the pronunciation of another language is done contrastively, by comparing the characteristics of the language to be studied and those of one's own mother tongue.

For the latter, at least its neutral accent is presented, although in a simplified way. In fact, only the diphthongs which are not just simple combinations of existing phonemes are here shown, possibly as independent phonemes, often with unpredictable realizations. In more complete books (with specific teaching purposes), also the regional accents of both languages are presented.
9.2. However, in this book it is not possible to provide everything and for several languages. The books already published (and those in preparation, indicated in the bibliography), which belong to the series $X$ Pronunciation \& Accents, are thought to be useful. They are on: English, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Russian, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew.
9.3. Therefore, here, we will at least provide the iconic phonopses of 26 languages, as for their vowels, consonants and intonation, a little simplified (but still more accurate than what can be found in so many other books). They are derived from those books or from Handbook of Pronunciation and Natural Phonetics \& Tonetics, where much more can be found in comparison with what has been provided here. In fact, here, for tonal languages, we have also omitted their tonemes, while showing their marked tunes, with further simplifications.
9.4. Thus, it will be useful to carefully compare the phonopses of one's own language (and also those of other languages one wants to know), to see directly what is similar or different. In the indicated books, there are more than 300 such phonopses. fig 9.27.1-7 give a number of orograms of the contoids which are necessary to facilitate the comparison between different languages.
9.5. Symbols given between [] are important taxophones (or combinatory variants), while those between () are possible additional phonemes or xenophonemes. Since we do not consider clusters like / Ch/ as unitary phonemes in possible opposition to simple /C/, they do not appear in the consonant tables provided.
fig 9.1. English.



fig 9.2. German.



fig 9.3. Dutch.



fig 9.4. French.

[ $\mathfrak{a}],[\tilde{\propto}]$



fig 9.5. Spanish.



fig 9.6. Portuguese.



fig 9.7. Italian.

fig 9.8. Russian.



fig 9.9. Czech.



fig 9.10. Polish.



fig 9.11. Bulgarian.



fig 9.12. Greek.

fig 9.13. Hungarian.



fig 9.14. Albanian.



fig 9.15. Finnish.

fig 9.16. Arabic.

fig 9.17. Hebrew.



fig 9.18. Turkish.



fig 9.19. Persian.



fig 9.20. Hindi.


|  |
| :---: |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |


fig 9.21. Vietnamese.

fig 9.22. Burmese.

(with /Ch, $\mathrm{hC} /$ clusters and tonemes not shown here)

fig 9.23. Chinese.


(with complex voicing ant tonemes not shown here)

fig 9.24. Korean.


(with/Ch, C?/ clusters and complex voicing)

fug 9.25. Japanese.



## Main consonant orograms

fig 9.26.1. Main nasals.

fig 9.26.2. Main stops.

fig 9.26.3. Main stop-strictives (or 'affricates').

fig 9.26.4. Main constrictives (or 'fricatives').

fig 9.26.5. Main approximants (and semi-approximants).

fig 9.26.6. Main 'rhotics'.

fig 9.26.7. Main laterals.


## 10.

## Annotated Bibliography

A number of our examples have been taken from some of the few titles listed in this Bibliography, but they have been retranscribed (or transcribed, if needed), following our canIPA method, also adapting their spelling, following its reform rules or adding it, if not present.

Unfortunately, even in Romania, books and articles are too often published using $s$ and $t$, instead of $s$ and $t$.

We call 'Romanian IPA' the IPA version traditionally used by a number of authors for transcribing this language, often in italic, rather than in plain Roman character, as
 used [ $\overline{\varepsilon a}, \widehat{\jmath a}, \widehat{\varnothing}]$ ] (more recently [ea, oa, eod, or [ea, oa, eo]), instead of [ja, wa, ¥б], and


Let us play particular attention to the practically useless (and misleading) letter $\hat{a}$, sillily reintroduced into the alphabet, which represents the same phoneme as $\hat{\imath}: / \bar{i} /[\mathfrak{j}]$. The only excuse for keeping it is that some family names may have one or the other grapheme, to identify them. Nowadays, in common words, $\hat{a}$ is only used in word--middle position.

Back to phonic symbols, unfortunately (and incredibly, indeed!), the very unnatural (and really brutal) idea of considering only graphic vowel sequences (as if they actually were something to rely on for 'higher' phonic debates) is hard to be defeated and ultimately clarefied scientifically.

Arguably, it should be naturally obvious (for anyone who may be considered to be a 'rational being') that spelling is a notorious 'antedeluvian' and insulting offense... It is sadly true that even certain 'phonological' lucubrations are not better than that, when they absurdly rely on spelling, without any hesitation.

Therefore, only /VV, VV/ [VV, VV] may be true diphthongs, while both / $\mathrm{V}^{V} /[\mathrm{V} V]$ and /CV/ [CV] are not, even if poorly written using only 'vowel letters'! Traditional learning is certainly culpable for that, unless people can really manage to 'think with their own heads'. Let us hope for the best (for them, too)!

Of course, many less useful (or, rather, useless) books and articles do not appear here. We certainly do not indicate anything written by Emil Petrovici, because of his highly unnatural 'phonemics', with the normal Romanian consonant phonemes 'accompanied' by three more or less absurd series of 'consonants': 'palatalized', 'labialized', and 'labio-palatalized', for 72 consonantal 'phonemes'!

It is true that we use four dorsal (semi-)approximant phonemes, $/ \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{j} ; \mathrm{w}, \mathrm{u} /[\mathrm{j}, \mathrm{j} ; \mathrm{w}$, w], also combined as $/ \mathfrak{j u s}, \mathrm{Jv} /$ to give $[\hat{\mathrm{f}}, \mathfrak{j}, \hat{\mathrm{f}}, \mathrm{f}]$, for neutral pronunciation (and seven more, for mediatic pronunciation). But this is done exactly for the opposite reason, ie to provide surer transcriptions, and to clearly distinguish, for instance, between leac / $1 \mathrm{Jak} /\left[{ }^{[ } \mathrm{Jak}\right]$ and leal /le'al/ [le'al], without resorting to less clear and more circus-like things as: ‘[lleak], [leák], [leák], [leák]', for the first!

Let us add: ea /ja/ [ja, Ja, Je, ${ }^{\mathrm{Je}}$ ]! But, even if speakers oscillate much (neutral ones, too, in colloquial speech), without those approximant and semiapproximant symbols, it would not be possible to describe exactly the real pronunciation of Romanian, including the mediatic and regional accents, which must not be confused or ignored.

As for the pronunciation of Names, unfortunately, none of the three titles indicates them (except very occasionally), which is a serius problem (although Îndreptar lists Greek and Latin names, indicating their accents). However, Tătaru's and the Academia's dictionaries, for common words, almost provide acceptable 'solutions', although and because their lists are heterogeneous, including the pronunciations provided, not rarely different.

Around the World, there are many 'inverted' publishers, who continue to produce 'inverted' books, ie those irritating 'things' with the title on their spine written from bottom to top, instead of from top to bottom (with consequent absurd and tiresome neck exercises, when looking through the books on library shelves).

So, when a (seriously made) book is put on a table with its front cover up, the title is seen regularly, on the spine appearing in a complete logical and natural way. Unfortunately, it seems that such a practice is not the 'preferred' one by Romanian publishers (and too many others, as well)!

Academia română ( $2005^{2}$ ) Dicționarul ortografic, ortoepic, ssi morfologic al limbii române. București: Univers Enciclopedic; less 'ortoepic' than promised, and with no real transcriptions, but strange 'respelling': in a word, unreliable stuff from the other millennium (or worse)!
Bouquiaux, L. et alii (1976) Initiation à la phonétique. Paris: Puf/orstom; a vinyl record to be used in connection with Thomas et alii; expanded IPA.
Canepari, L. (1983) Phonetic Notation / La notazione fonetica. Venezia: Cafoscarina; with 2 enclosed audiocassettes; almost ${ }^{\text {canIPA. }}$

- (19863) Italiano standard e pronunce regionali ['Standard and Regional Italian Pronunciations']. Padua: Cleup; with 2 enclosed audiocassettes, the second one is about regional pronunciations, aslo downloadable from our canipa.net website; almost canIPA.
- (2000/2009) Dizionario di pronuncia italiana ['Italian Pronouncing Dictionary']. Bologna: Zanichelli; 60,000 forms with transcription and pronunciation variants, which correspond at least to 180,000 actual words; with many variants and degrees of acceptability: modern neutral, traditional neutral, acceptable, tolerated, slovenly, intentional and lofty; canIPA.
- (20042) Manuale di pronuncia italiana ['Handbook of Italian Pronunciation']. Bologna: Zanichelli; with 2 enclosed audiocassettes, aslo downloadable from our canipa.net website; it introduces modern neutral pronunciation, in addition to the traditional one, besides other types, including 22 regional koinés; canIPA.
- (2007) Pronunce straniere dellitaliano - ProSIt ['Foreign Pronunciations of Italian']. München, Lincom; precise descriptions of the foreign accents of 43 language groups, not only European, with intonation and more or less marked internal variants; canIPA.
- $\left(2007^{2}\right)$ A Handbook of Pronunciation. English, Italian, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Arabic, Hindi, Chinese, Japanese, Esperanto. München: Lincom; canIPA transcriptions, as in this book.
- (2007) Natural Phonetics \& Tonetics. Articulatory, auditory, and functional. München: Lincom; updated edition of previous title; the first part gives a complete presentation of the can IPA method and symbolization; while, the second part provides accurate phonosyntheses of 241 living languages and 71 dead ones; on our website, the latter are 81, freely downloadable.
- (2016 ${ }^{2}$ ) English Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; with more than 200 different accents [L1: 121 native with variants], bilingual [L2: 63], foreign [Ls: 30]; canIPA.
- (2016 ${ }^{2}$ ) German Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic, traditional, international, regional and foreign accents, not only in Germany, Austria and Switzerland; canIPA.
- (2017) French Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic, traditional, international, regional and foreign accents, not only in France; canIPA.
- (2017) Portuguese Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic, traditional, and international pronunciations, 22 regional and several foreign accents; canIPA.
- (2018) Italian Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, traditional, mediatic pronunciations, with 22 regional and 43 foreign accents, not only European, with intonation and more or less marked internal variants and subvariants, with further chapters on Italian dialects, Latin and other diachronic stages, and many downloadable sound files from our canipa.net website; canIPA.
- (2019) Hebrew Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; international, neutral, mediatic, traditional pronunciations, with Jerusalem and five 'ethnic' accents, including 40 'return-regional' accents, and a couple of diachronic stages, with counseling by Maya Mevorah; canIPA.
- (2020) Greek Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; international, neutral, mediatic, traditional pronunciations, regional accents, including diachronic stages, with a chapter on Ancient Greek; canIPA.
- (2020) Persian Pronunciation \&゙ Accents. München: Lincom; communicative, neutral, mediatic, traditional, international pronunciations, with regional and bordering accents; canIPA.
- (2021) Ancient Greek Pronunciation © 'Modern’ Accents. München: Lincom; classical neutral pronunciation, with 'modern' western accents ; canIPA.
- (2021) Latin Pronunciation $\mathcal{E}$ Ancient $\mathcal{E} \mathcal{V}^{2}$ Modern Accents. München: Lincom; with different ancient accents and 'modern' national ones; canIPA.
- (2021) Sanskrit Pronunciation \& 'Modern' Accents. München: Lincom; classical neutral pronunciation, with 'modern' regional accents in the Indian subcontinent; canIPA.
- (forth.) Italian Pronouncing Dictionary / Dizionario di pronuncia italiana. Rome: Aracne; updated and expanded full version of the 2000/2009 DiPI edition; canIPA.
— \& Balzi, F. (2016) Turkish Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic and international pronunciations, and regional accents; canIPA.
- \& Cerini, M. (2016²) Dutch \& Afrikaans Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic, traditional, international, and regional accents, not only in the Netherlands, Flanders, and South Africa; canIPA.
- \& - (2017 $\left.{ }^{2}\right)$ Chinese Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral and mediatic Mandarin, with 10 regional and Taiwanese accents; canIPA.
$-\&-\left(2020^{2}\right)$ Arabic Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral and mediatic accents, including 'regionational' accents; with contributions from Maurizio Pugliese; canIPA.
- \& Giovannelli, B. (20124) La buona pronuncia italiana del terzo millennio ['Good Italian Pronunciation for the Third Millennium']. Rome: Aracne; neutral pronunciation, with a CD containing recordings, also downloadable from the canipa.net website; canIPA.
— \& Maggi, F. (forth.) Latin Pronouncing Dictionary. Rome: Aracne; presented and realized according to useful phonic principles; canIPA.
— \& Miotтı, R. (2021) Spanish Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic, traditional, international, and regional accents, not only in Spain and Latin America; English version corresponding to Miotti \& Canepari's Pronunciación y acentos del español; canIPA.
— \& Miscio, F. (2017 ${ }^{2}$ ) Japanese Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic and international pronunciations, and 20 regional accents; canIPA.
- (2018) Japanese Pronouncing Dictionary. From Transliteration to Phonotonetics. München: Lincom; canIPA.
— \& Pugliese, M. (2018) A note on MBG pronunciation: 'multicultural Berlin German', in the canipa.net site; canIPA.
— \& - (2018) A note on MLE pronunciation: 'multicultural London English', in the canipa.net site; canIPA.
— \& - (2018) A note on MPF pronunciation: 'multicultural Paris French', in the canipa.net site; canIPA.
— \& - (2019) Finnish Pronunciation, in the canipa.net site; canIPA.
— \& - (2020) Welsh Pronunciation, in the canipa.net site; canIPA.
- \& - (2021) Galician Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, traditional, mediatic pronunciations, and regional accents; canIPA.
- \& Sharma, G. $\left(2017^{2}\right)$ Hindi Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic and international pronunciations, and 16 regional accents; canIPA.
- \& Vitali, D. (2018) Russian Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neu-
tral, mediatic, traditional, international, and some regional accents; canIPA.
Catford, J.C. (1988) A Practical Introduction to Phonetics. Oxford: Clarendon Press; guided drills to develop phonetic kinesthesia, to be performed accurately, step by step; however, the 2001 edition should be avoided because of too many technical problems during its unsuccesful updating; IPA.
Cazacu, B. et alii (1939) A course in contemporary Romanian. București: Editura di-


Chapman, W.H. et alii $\left(1988^{3}\right)$ Introduction to Practical Phonetics. Horsleys Green: Summer Institute of Linguistics; substantially IPA.
Chitoran, I. (2002) The Phonology of Romanian. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter; an optimality phonanistic book, rather than phonemic, on an extremely limited monothematic subject which gives only a very partial and idiosyncratic view on a part of what the title promises and should provide, besides, mixing up neutral and mediatic pronunciations; no spelling at all, but only a sort of 'transcription'.
Daniliuc, L. \& Daniliuc, R. (2000) Descriptive Romanian Grammar. München: Lincom; with loony 'Romanian' IPA.
DASCĂLU, L. (1989) Intonation et prosodie, in Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik: Rumänisch. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 7-13; non-IPA.
Deletant, D. \& Alexandrescu, Y. (1989) Teach Yourself Romanian. London: Hodder \& Stoughton; pseudo-phonetics, but with an audiocassette.
Duden Aussprachewörterbuch (2015 $\left.{ }^{7}, 1962^{1}\right)$ Berlin: Dudenverlag; the 'DUDEN 6'; also gives person, family, and place names belonging to various languages, with their original pronunciation, but unfortunately, with intralinguistic rather than interlinguistic transcriptions, and sometimes in an outdated style; IPA, with /a, a:/, but/r/, however, now, at last, it accepts '/ r -'vocalization' also after short vowels, although it continues using only $/ \mathrm{r} /$; nothing on intonation, and a very short section on reduced forms; IPA.

However, its first edition was our best 'friend' during school time, bringing there interesting books on languages and phonetics, rather than the boring expected ones, not to waste precious time. Among the preferred books there were various Linguaphone courses - set up by renowned phoneticians and also recorded by selected radio speakers- which had a whole disc out of sixteen devoted to the phonetics of the language taught, with full IPA transcriptions of the various examples, accurately chosen to show the phonic structure; later on, we used those same lists, adequately completed, also for our studies on the different accents, including the social, regional, and foreign ones. Unfortunately, after the sixties, those courses became like all others, practically with no attention to phonetics.
Graur, A. \& Rosetti, A. (1938) Esquisse d'une phonologie du roumain, in Bulletin de Linguistique, 5-29; non-IPA.
Gönczöl-Davies, R. \& Deletant, D. ( $2002^{3}$ ) Colloquail Romanian. London: Routledge; pseudo-phonetics, but with mp 3 files.
Handbook of the International Phonetic Association (1999). Cambridge: C. Univ. Press; although it should be a reliable and advisable guide for transcribing and describing the pronunciation of languages, it honestly cannot be considered such; IPA.

Haudricourt, A.G. \& Thomas, J.M.C. (1976) La notation des langues. Phonétique et phonologie ['Language notation. Phonetics and phonology']. Paris: Inst. Géographique National; with 2 enclosed vinyl records; adapted IPA.
Îndreptar otografic, ortoepic și de punctuație (1971). București: EARSR; no transcriptions at all.
Jones, D. (1956) Cardinal Vowels. London: Linguaphone Institute; 2 [ 78 rpm ] records with booklet; now face a of both records are downloadable; IPA.

- $\left(1967^{3}\right)$ The Phoneme: its Nature and Use. Cambridge: Heffer; still better than so many more or less recent productions (which woolily try to deal with this serious and important subject, but only ridiculing it, continually 'inventing' absurd phonological theories); IPA.
Laver, J. (1980) The Phonetic Description of Voice Quality. Cambridge: CUP; with a non-enclosed audiocassette; IPA.
Lombard, A. (1936) La prononciation du roumaine. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 104-176: Lundequist; very interesting, but with 'peculiar' phonetic concepts and symbols, and not always 'neutral' pronunciation.
- (1974) La langue roumaine. Paris: Klincksieck; words are written in a kind of 'phono--spelling', rather than according to the official spelling, often with accents over vowels, $\dot{i}, \dot{e}, a ́ a, o ́, ~ u ́$, including $\hat{\imath}, \hat{a}, \stackrel{a}{a}$, and other diacritics under them, $\underset{\sim}{i}, e, o, u$, and $-i$, interesting, but with 'peculiar' phonetic concepts and symbols, and not always 'neutral' pronunciation; wisely its title does not mention 'grammar', being much better than common grammars, especially recent ones, because it focuses special attention to pronunciation and phonetics, even if still using 'diphthongs and triphthongs' based on spelling rather than actual speech, ie on written vowels, instead of real sounds: true consonants are different from vowels.
Miotti, R. \& Canepari, L. (2021) Pronunciación y acentos del español ['Spanish Pronunciation \& Accents']. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic, traditional, international, and regional accents, not only in Spain and Latin America; Spanish version of Canepari \& Miotti’s Spanish Pronunciation \& Accents; canIPA.
- \& - (forth.) Catalan Pronunciation \& Accents. München: Lincom; neutral, and mediatic pronunciations, with regional accents; canIPA.
— \& - (forth.) Spanish Pronouncing Dictionary/Diccionario de pronunciación española. München: Lincom; canIPA.
Sarli, M. (2014 ${ }^{2}$ ) Romanian Grammar. Helsinki: Books on Demand; interesting though with 'Romanian' IPA, with [e, o, i, Cj, g] for [J, w, £, i, Ci,, g$] \ldots$
Smalley, W.A. (1964 ${ }^{2}$ ) Manual of Articulatory Phonetics. Terrytown (ny): Practical Anthropology; with 33 non-enclosed [ $18 \mathrm{~cm}, 19 \mathrm{~cm} / \mathrm{s}]$ reels, lasting 32 hours; non-IPA.
Tagliavini, C. (1923) Grammatica della lingua rumena. Heidelberg: Gros; meritorious for using IPA for every word, although of the 'Roumanian' kind, but insufficiently explained.
Tâtaru, A. (1978) The Pronunciation of Romanian and English. Frankfurt: Haag--Herchen; badly type-and-hand-written 'Romanian' IPA.
- (1999²) Dicționar de pronunţare a limbii române. Cluj-Napoca: Clusium; 'Romanian' $I P A$, with mixed fonts of different style and dimension, and exactly $\left[{ }^{\mathrm{e}},{ }^{\mathrm{o}}, \mathrm{C}^{\mathrm{i}}\right]$
for $[J, w, C i]$, and $[k, g, h, g]$ for $[c, f, h, g] \llbracket \mathcal{C}, \underset{d}{ }, h, g \rrbracket ;$ lists only certain common words, with no Names.
Thomas, J.M.C. et alii (1976) Initiation à la phonétique ['Introduction to Phonetics']. Paris: PUF; completed by the vinyl record by Bouquiaux et alii; expanded IPA.
Vasiliu, E. (1989) Fonétique et phonématique, in Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik: Rumänisch. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1-7; non-IPA.

INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET
(official: 1993, corrected in 1996, and updated in 2005)
CONSONANT (PULMONIC)
(\{u@)

|  | Bilabial | Labiodent. | Dental | Alveolar | Postalveol. | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Pharyng. | Glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Plosive | p b |  |  | t d |  | t d | C f | $\mathrm{k} \quad \mathrm{g}$ | q G |  | ? |
| Nasal | m | m |  | n |  | $\eta$ | j | ך | N |  |  |
| Trill | в |  |  | r |  |  |  |  | R |  |  |
| Tap or Flap |  | V |  | r |  | l |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fricative | $\phi \quad \beta$ | f v | $\theta$ ð | s z | $\int 3$ | S Z | ç j | x 8 | X $\quad$ ¢ | ћ | h h |
| Lateral fric. |  |  |  | $\pm 13$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approxim. |  | $v$ |  | I |  | Ł | j | 凹 |  |  |  |
| Lateral app. |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | K | L |  |  |  |

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right is voiced. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

| Clicks | Voiced implosives | Ejectives |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 〇 Bilabial | G Bilabial | ' as in: |
| \| Dental | d Dental/alveol. | p' Bilabial |
| ! (Post)alveolar | f Palatal | t' Dental/alveol. |
| \# Palatoalveolar | G Velar | k' Velar |
| \|| Alveol. lateral | G Uvular | s' Alveol. fricat. |

VOWELS

TONES \& WORD ACCENTS

|  |  | LEVEL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ó | or | Extra-high |
| ó | - | High |
| $\overline{\mathrm{O}}$ | - | Mid |
| ò | - | Low |
| Ö | - | Extra-low |

$\uparrow$ Downstep (relative)
$\downarrow$ Upstep (relative)

6 Voiceless alveolo-palatal fric.
Zo Voiced alveolo-palatal fric.
I Voiced alveolar lateral flap
Ђ Simultaneous $\int$ and x
ts Affricates and double articulat.
Ep can be represented by two sym-
kp bols joined by a tie bar if necess.


Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right (and $v$ ) is rounded.

OTHER SYMBOLS w Voiced labil velar app. H Voiceless epiglottal fric.
$\ddagger$ Voiced epiglottal fric.
P Epiglottal plosive
, Global rise
contour
ǒ or $\Lambda$ Rising
ô $V$ Falling
ó 1 High rising
ò $\lambda$ Low rising
ô ๆ Rising-falling
v Global fall

DIACRITICS (Diacritics can be placed above a symbol with a descender, eg $\dot{\eta}$ )

|  | Voiceless | d | - |  | Breathy voiced | $\bigcirc$ |  | Dental |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Voiced | t | S |  | Creaky voiced | b |  | Apical |  |
| h | Aspirated |  | $\mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{h}}$ |  | Linguolabial | t d |  | Laminal |  |
|  | More rounded | ? | $\bigcirc$ | w | Labialized | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{w}}$ |  | Nasalized |  |
|  | Less rounded | ? | $\bigcirc$ | J | Palatalized | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{d}^{\text {j }}$ | n | Nasal release |  |
| $+$ | Advanced | + | $\bigcirc$ | $\gamma$ | Velarized | $\mathrm{t}^{\gamma} \mathrm{d}^{8}$ | 1 | Lateral release |  |
|  | Retracted | e | $\underline{1}$ |  | Pharyngealized | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {¢ }} \mathrm{d}^{\text {¢ }}$ | ' | No audibile rel |  |
| $\cdots$ | Centralized | ë | ö |  | Velarized or pharyngealized $\ddagger \ddagger$ |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mid-centralized | ê | ${ }^{\times}$ |  | Raised | e (w = voiced labial-velar fricative) |  |  |  |
|  | Syllabic | n | $\dagger$ |  | Lowered | e̦ ( x = voiceless velar approximant) |  |  |  |
|  | Non-syllabic | e | O |  | Advanced Tongue Root e̦ $_{\text {e }}^{0}$ |  |  |  |  |
|  | Rhotacized | $\bigcirc$ | a |  | Retracted Tongue Root |  |  |  |  |

SUPRASEGMENTALS
1 Primary stress
, Secondary stress: founə'trfən
: Long a:

- Half-long $\mathrm{a}^{*}$
$\checkmark$ Extra-short ă
. Syllable break: ıi.ækt
| Minor (foot) group
|| Major (intonation) gr.
- $\underset{\text { break) }}{\text { Linking (absence of a }}$
$\infty$

