

Contents

Latin Pronunciation & ancient & modern Accents

Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

With counseling by Fernando Maggi

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O.

Preliminary observations on Latin pronunciation

o.1. Vowels ⁰

<i>i</i>	(<i>ī</i>) /i/ [i, i, ɪ], /CɪV/ [CɪV], /VijV/ [VijV], /#jV/ [#jV] ¹
	(<i>ī</i>) /i:/ [iː, iːC, iːV, iː, ɪ] ²
<i>e</i>	(<i>ĕ</i>) /e/ [ɛ, ɛ, ɛ]
	(<i>ē</i>) /e:/ [ɛː, ɛːC, ɛːV, ɛ, ɛ]
<i>a</i>	(<i>ă</i>) /a/ [ɐ, ɐ, ɐ]
	(<i>ā</i>) /a:/ [aː, aːC, aːV, a, ɐ]
<i>o</i>	(<i>ō</i>) /o/ [ɔ, ɔ, ɔ]
	(<i>ō</i>) /o:/ [oː, oːC, oːV, o, ɔ]
<i>u</i>	(<i>ū</i>) /u/ [ʊ, ʊ, ʊ], /CʊV/ [CʊV] ³
	(<i>ū</i>) /u:/ [uː, uːC, uːV, u, ʊ]
<i>y</i>	(<i>ÿ</i>) /y/ [ɣ, ɣ, ɣ] ⁴
	(<i>ÿ</i>) /y:/ [ɣː, ɣːC, ɣːV, ɣ, ɣ]
<i>æ</i>	(<i>æ</i>) /æ/ [ɛɐ, ɛɐ, ɛɐ]
<i>au</i>	(<i>au</i>) /au/ [ɛʊ, ɛʊ, ɛʊ]
<i>œ</i>	(<i>œ</i>) /œ/ [oɛ, ɔɛ, ɔɛ]
<i>ei</i>	/ei/ [ɛi, ɛi, ɛi] ⁵
<i>ei</i>	(<i>eī</i>) /ei:/ [ɛiː, ɛiː, ɛiː]
<i>eu</i>	/eu/ [ɛʊ, ɛʊ, ɛʊ]
<i>ou</i>	/ou/ [ɔʊ, ɔʊ, ɔʊ]
<i>ui</i>	/ui/ [ʊi, ʊi, ʊi]

⁰ This is a general presentation of the subject. The chapters after this one will provide fuller information and descriptions, which are more updated and systematized than any our previous treatises about Latin.

¹ *Audio* /'audio:/ [ˈvʊdɪo], *pejus* (much better than *peius*) /'peijus/ [ˈpɛijʊs], *etiam* /'etiam/ [ˈɛtɪɛ̃], *jam* (much better than *iam*) /'jam/ [ˈjɛ̃ŋ].

For metrical reasons, certain dictionaries and grammars, unfortunately, mark as ‘long’ the *short vowels* that precede *i* + a vowel, which –in reality– are /VijV/ [VijV], although often presented as /VjjV/, eg ‘*pēiūs*’ (for *pejus*). Of course, the barbarous

‘system’ of \sim & $\bar{}$, would not be fit, with something like ‘*pěĩūs*’ or ‘*pěĩūs*’, which would ‘produce’ things like /*peĩus*, *peĩjus*/ [pɛĩus, pɛĩjus]’!

² There is a phonetic difference in length between stressed ([ː]) and unstressed long vowels ([.]), including half-stressed vowels, [ː]): *ara* (abl.) /*a:ra*/ [ˈa:ra], cf *ara* (nom.) /*a:ra*/ [ˈa:rɐ].

The same is true, in spontaneous speech, when a long vowel is followed, in the *same syllable*, by a consonant (ie checked syllable), or a vowel, as seen (under note 5, below, ie just a longer syllable, not two, nor a hiatus!) for *aer*, *aeris* /*a:ɛr*, *a:ɛris*/ [ˈa:ɛr, ˈa:ɛris].

Perhaps in the fourth millennium (to be optimistic), they will definitely be recognized as monosyllabic, in spite of absurd grammatical diktats (only based on written vowels), ‘to be assigned to different morpho-syllables’.

Of course, in poetic speech, things are often pushed away from their real natural essence, for ‘stylistic’ reasons...

³ *Puer*, *puella* /*pueɾ*, *pu'ella*/ [pʊɛɾ, pʊ'ɛɫɐ]. But *quV*, *nguV* are /kw, ngw/ [k̥, ŋ̊] (fig 4.2.1 & fig 43).

⁴ These have rounded lips, generally used in Greek loans, and appear in the vocogram boxes just to the right of those of /i:, i/ [i(ː), ɪ] (fig 3.1.1).

⁵ There occur various vowel sequences, which are true phonetic diphthongs, even if phonemically we may prefer to consider them simply as sequences, just like consonant sequences.

The two more frequent sequences (in lexemes) are: *au* (‘*au*’) /au/ [ɛʊ] and *æ* (‘*æ*’) /æ/ [ɛɐ] (which is derived from archaic *ai* /ai/ [ɛi]; quite frequent as a desinential grammeme).

Instead, *œ* (‘*œ*’) /œ/ [œ] is rare; while *ei* /ei/ [ɛi], *eu* /eu/ [ɛʊ], *ui* /ui/ [ɥi] are decidedly rarer; even more so are *eī* /ei:/ [ɛiː], *yi* /yi/ [ɥiː], and *ou* /ou/ [ɔʊ], which only occurs lexically in the conjunction *prout*, although in phono-texts we also find -o V-, /o:ːV, oːːV/.

We can even find triphthongs formed by *-æ* + a vowel (at the beginning of a following word), /æːːV/, provided there are neither interruptions, nor stress increases on the initial vowel.

In cases like *æs*, *aeris* we have /*aes*, *aeris*/ [ˈɛɛs, ˈɛɛris] (short diphthongs, even if written as *aes*, *aeris*), while *aer*, *aeris* (often indicated as *aër*, *aëris*, to guarantee a visible difference) are, instead, /*a:ɛr*, *a:ɛris*/ [ˈa:ɛr, ˈa:ɛris] (long diphthongs), from Greek *ἀήρ* [ˈɛːɛr].

Also: *pœna* /*poena*/ [pɔɛnɐ] (short diphthong), but *poema*, *poematis* (or *poëma*, *poëmatis*) /*po'e:ma*, *po'e:matis*/ [pɔ'eːmɐ, pɔ'eːmɛtɪs] (real hiatuses because of their stress pattern) from Greek *ποίημα* [pɔiːɛ.mɐ].

We also have cases like *aunculus* /*a'unkulus*/ [ɛ'ʊŋkʊlus] (from *avunculus* /*a'wunkulus*/ [ɛ'wʊŋkʊlus]).

o.2. Consonants (shown in an ‘antiphonic’ alphabetical order, but see fig 4.0 for a more scientific treatment)

b	/b/ [b] ⁶
c, k	/k/ [k, k̥], ch /kh/ [kh, k̥h] ^{7, 19}
d	/d/ [d] ⁶
f	/f/ [f]
g	/g/ [g, g̊], /gN/ [ŋN, ŋ̊N] gn, gm ⁸ , and ngu + a vowel /ngw/ [ŋġ, ŋ̊ġ] ¹⁴
h	/h/ [h, h̥] ⁹
j	/j/ [j] ¹⁰
l	/l/ [l], l + a vowel /lV/ [lV], -l /l#/ [l̥#] (final, + a pause), l + a consonant /lC/ [l̥C], ll /ll/ [ll̥] ¹¹
m	/m/ [m], -m# or -m̥# (word- or syllable-final + pause/vowel/consonant) /Vŋ#/ [Ṽŋ̊, Ṽŋ̊, Ṽ] ¹²
n	/n/ [n], /VnC/ [VN≡C], but nf, ns /Vn̥f, Vn̥s/ [Ṽn̥̊f, Ṽn̥̊f, Ṽn̥̊s, Ṽn̥̊s, Ṽf, Ṽs] ¹³
p	/p/ [p], ph /ph/ [ph] ^{7, 20}
qu	/kw/ [k̥, k̥̊], and ngu+V /gw/ [ŋġ, ŋ̊ġ] ¹⁴
r	/r/ [r], rh /r(h)~(h)r/ ¹⁵
s	/s/ [s], s /s/ [z] + b, d, g /b, d, g/, or + m, n, r, l /m, n; r; l/, in neutral accents ^{16, 17}
t	/t/ [t], ti /tiV/ [tiV], th /th/ [th] ^{7, 20}
v	/w/ [w]
x	/ks/ [ks] ¹⁸
z	/z/ [z] ¹⁹

⁶ /b, d/ become /p, t/ [p, t] when followed by voiceless consonants: *urbs*, *obtusus*, *adpatruus* /'urps, op'tu:sus, at'patruus/ [ʔurps, op'tu:sus, at'pətru:sus], except for insistence (which produces strained realizations). Let us also see that /uu/ [ʊʊ] is a monotimbric diphthong, different from /u:/ [u(ː), ːu].

Of course, we have x /ks/ [ks], ie ‘cs’, as in *rex* /'re:ks/ [ˈreks]. In sentences, *ab*, *sub*, *ad* assimilate to following consonants, according to usual word formation rules (nowadays, crystallized in the current spelling of Latin texts).

This produces geminates, in fluent speech, with the possibility to keep their place of articulation before other stops or nasals.

However, voicing is lost before voiceless consonants: *ad portas* /ap'portas, at'p-/ [əp'pɔrtas], *ad quem* /ak'kwɛŋ, at'kwɛŋ/ [ək'k̥ɛŋ], *sub monte* /sum'monte, sub'm-/ [sʊm'mɔntɛ], *sub die* /sud'die:, sub'd-/ [sʊd'die], *sub fine morbi* /suffi:ne 'morbi:/ [sʊffine 'mɔrbi].

⁷ ‘Aspirated’ voiceless stop, actually the sequence /kh/ [kh, k̥h], mainly in Greek loans, as a phonostyleme (for φ /ph/ [ph], θ /th/ [th], χ /kh/ [kh], [k̥h] before front vowels, /i:, i/ [i(ː), i]).

Of two adjoining ‘aspirated’ stops, the first one loses its ‘aspiration’ (and, of course, belongs to the previous syllable): *phthisis* /ph'this/ [p̥'this].

⁸ In clear and precise (but pedantic) pronunciation, /gN/ (ie /g/ + nasal) can be [gN]. The highly controversial matter about [ɲn] and [gn], for *gn*, is simply a tiny realization difference for /gn/.

As a matter of fact, even in word-initial position in a phrase, we have [ɲn]: *tibi gnarigabo* /tibi(ː)gna:ri'ga:bo:/ [tɪbɪɲnari'gaabo, tɪbi-]. In addition, any form with *gn-* are mainly archaic: *nosco* /'no:sko:/ ['nosko] (← *gnosco*) –including the name *Gnaeus* /g'naeus/ [g'næus]– or, in any case, with variants in *n-*: (*g*)*naritas* /g'nari:tas/ [(g)'nari:tas], thus also /tibi(ː)na:ri'ga:bo:/ [tɪbɪnari'ga'bo, tɪbi-].

We equally have *tegmen* /'teɡmen/ ['teŋ-men], or ['teɡ-men] for insistence (more systematically so in *popular* speech). In *rural* speech, also ['teʔ-men]. For *ngu* see *g* and *qu* (and note 13).

⁹ Rather weak, even in preclassical age, and not rarely voiced; between vowels, by then = /θ/: *nihil* /'ni:l, 'nihil/ ['nɪɪɫ, 'nɪ(h)ɪɫ], *mihi* /'mi:ɪ/ ['mɪi, 'mii, ɪmi, ɔmi] (only pedantically ['mɪhi]).

¹⁰ Rather than more traditional, but misleading, *i*, it is better to systematically use *j* /j/ [j] (cf § 0.7-8, § 4.8, §8.1.2).

¹¹ Thus, velarized alveolar lateral, /l/ [ɭ], before a pause or a consonant. But /ll/ [ɭɭ] (where [ɭ] is *semivelarized*). In non-neutral pronunciation: /li:, li, lj/ [li(ː), ɭɪ, ɭj].

Up to the end of the preclassical age, [ɭ] also occurred before non-front vowels (including /a, a:/), as shown by *famulus* /'famulus/ [fəməulus; -ɫ] or *simulare* /simu'la:re/ [sɪmʊ'la:ɾe; -ɫ] (vs *familia* /fa'milia/ [fə'mɪlɪə] or *similis* /'similis/ [sɪmɪlɪs, -ɫɪ-]), where, by assimilation, the vowels which preceded [ɭ] had become back ones.

¹² *Word-finally*, either before a pause or a vowel beginning a following word, *m* simply nasalizes the vowels, [ĩ, ẽ, ẽ̃, õ, õ̃], in unstressed syllables, but becomes a sequence of a nasalized vocoid and a seminasal (pre)velar contoid, if stressed, [ĩ̃ŋ, ẽ̃̃ŋ, ẽ̃̃ŋ, õ̃̃ŋ, õ̃̃ŋ]. Let observe: *pulchrum est* [pʊɫkhr̃ũ(ɛ)st], *pulchra es* [pʊɫkhr̃ũ(ɛ)s].

Before a consonant (either word-final or word-internal), *m* is /ŋ(ʰ)C/ [ĩ̃ŋ, ẽ̃̃ŋ, ẽ̃̃ŋ]. The same before /f, s, j, w, h/ (even [ʔ] by emphasis). However, for crystallized words, which means (still) not perceived as true compounds, *m* + /m, p, b/ is [mm, mp, mb].

When followed by /r, l/, it is either dropped nasalizing the vowel, or completely assimilated. Let us just consider a couple of examples: *cum grano salis* /kuŋ'grano: 'salis/ [kũ'grano 'sɛlɪs], *cum libro* /kuŋ'libro:, kul'libro:/ [kũ'libro, kuɫ'libro] (including [kuɫ'libro]).

In addition to what already said, for *word-internal m*, before a following consonant, we have: *quamquam* /'kwɔŋkwɔŋ/ [k̃ɛ̃ŋk̃ɛ̃], *omnis* /'oŋnis/ [õ̃ŋnɪs]. In our phonemic transcriptions, we simplify a bit, using /Vŋ/ for nasal(ized) vowels, [ĩ̃ŋ, ẽ̃̃ŋ, ẽ̃̃ŋ], as already seen.

The same is done for /kw, gw/ [k̃, k̃; ĝ, ĝ] (with possible different realizations, as we will see).

¹³ Alveolar before a vowel, but homorganic to a following consonant, except for *nf* and *ns*, where nasalization occurs (as in the preceding case) and lengthening the syllable with [ŋ, ŋ̃], if stressed and becoming closed: *confero*, *constans*, *con-*

stantis, mens, mentis /'koŋfero:, 'koŋstans, koŋstantis, 'meŋs, 'mentis/ [ˈkõŋfɛro, ˈkõstɛs, kõstɛntis, ˈmɛŋs, ˈmɛntis].

Traditionally, for metrical reasons, by forcing things, given the very limited written possibilities, this fact is shown as ‘/V:/’, but also keeping *n*: ‘*cōnfērō, cōn-stāns, cōnstāntīs, mēns, mēntīs*’. This lets people think we may have ‘/ko:ŋfero:, 'ko:ŋsta:ŋs, ko:ŋstantis, 'me:ŋs, 'mentis/’, or [ˈkõːfɛro, ˈkõːstāːs, kõːstɛntis, ˈmɛːs, ˈmɛntis], where excessively long vowels, especially in unstressed syllables, are clearly surprising, at least in everyday language.

In word-final position, in phrases with *in, non*, we find that *n* /n/ assimilates not only to stops and nasals, but also to /j, w/ [ɲj, ŋw] (including /ni:, ni, nj/ [ɲi(ː), ɲi, ɲj], word-internally, in popular and rural speech).

However, it does not assimilate before /r, l/, as –on the contrary– it does in word-internal position.

Anyway, in popular and rural speech, such assimilations were frequent, if not normal, even before word-internal /r, l/.

Before a vowel, *n* remains /n/ [n], although it is not resyllabified with it, when stress is present, at least in careful pronunciation: *in agrum* /in'agruŋ/ [ɪn'ɛ-grũ] (but [ɪnɛg-rũ], in colloquial and broader accents, as popular and rural ones).

¹⁴ Labio-(pre)velar stops (cf fig 4.2.1): voiceless, *qui* /'kwɪ:/ [ˈkʷiː], or voiced, *languor* /'langwor/ [ˈlɛŋgɔr]; /gw/ [g̊] occurs only between /n/ and vowels different from /u/. However, in rural and popular speech, /kw, gw/ [k̚, k̚; g̚, g̊] were practically replaced by ‘/kθ, gθ/’ ie [k, g] (including [k, g], and even [ç, ʝ], before front vowels, in addition to /gm/ [gm, gm], and rural [ɣm, ɣm]).

¹⁵ Generally, an alveolar tap, [ɾ], both in stressed and unstressed syllables, with the possibility of either ‘aspiration’ [rh], or ‘preaspiration’ [hr], for *rh, ῥ*, in Greek loans, as a phonostyleme, in sophisticated accents.

¹⁶ *Disgregatio, Lesbos, asma* /disgre'gatio:, 'lesbos, 'a:sma/ [dɪzgrɛ'gatio, ˈlɛzbɔs, ˈazmɛ]. But *disjungo, transversus* /dis'jũgo:, traŋ'wersus/ [dɪs'jũgo, trɛs'wersus]. However, colloquially, also [dɪz'jũgo, trɛz'wersus].

¹⁷ Obviously, *sc* is always /sk/ [sk, sk̚]: *scio* /'skio:/ [sˈkio]. In rural speech, /s/ before any /C/ tended to become [ʃ, z; s̚, z̚] (prepalatal, or lamino-alveolar).

¹⁸ The change from /ks/ to /gz/ for *ex-* /eksV-/ [ɛksV-] decidedly belongs to periods after the classical age, while the change of (initial) *x-* /ks → s/ happened even later than in classical age, thus, it is equally a non-neutral peculiarity.

¹⁹ It generally occurs in Greek loans, as a phonostyleme (for ζ). Since, in addition to [z], it also had further possible intervocalic variants, [zz] and [dz] (not [dʒ], stopstricative), it is hardly surprising that in verse it could ‘lengthen syllables’.

In addition to what already indicated above, in *popular* and *rural* speech, any voiceless simple consonants, between any voiced phones (either vocoids, or contoids), tended to become lenis, [C̚], or half-voiced, [C̰̚].

Furthermore, again popular and rural speech, between vowels, often had the

continuous contoids shown in the table of consonants (in fig 4.8, & fig 4.9), including [z] for /r/ and [ʃ] for /l/ [ʎ] (to be seen in \mathfrak{G} 4).

²⁰ Let us observe that /ph, th, kh/ [ph; th; kh, kh/ are phono-stylemes for Greek loans with original φ, θ, χ /ph, th, kh/ [ph; th; kh, kh/. In popular or rural speech they were replaced by plain /p, t, k/ [p; t; k, k, c].

Furthermore, [ʔ] could freely occur before vowels in word-initial position, after pause or in stressed syllable, especially for emphasis, /[#]V-/ [ʔV-]: ei! /[#]ei/ [ʔ^hɛi, ʔ^hɛi, ʔ^hɛɛi].

Let us add that words like *suavis*, *suesco* and *Suetonius* were generally treated differently in current language and in verse. Thus, /[#]swV-/ [ʃV-] was often changed into [sʊV-] for metrical ‘reasons’.

Latin spelling used in this book

o.3. In this book, we decided to use a more realistic Latin spelling, and –frankly– more ‘friendly’, although somewhat different from that more commonly used at school. Exactly for this reason, it is more advisable, not to be overcome by wild doubts, for people who are interested in the best possible phonic rendering of Latin, especially if completed by Natural Phonotactics.

As a matter of fact, besides using systematically v/V for /w/ [w] (instead of u/V, or u/U, also to avoid things like *uiuus*, for *vivus* /^hwi:rwus/ [ʔ^hwi:rwus], or *uiduus*, for *viduus* /^hwi:duus/ [ʔ^hwi:duus], or *uuula*, for *uvula* /^hu:rwula/ [ʔ^hu:rwulə] (term of a successive technical use, also phonetic, though not classical). We know that many people (also teachers) used to write -uos, -uom, to avoid -uus, -uum (or -VVS, -VVM). However, for -vus, -vum, it is much better to write V with a small letter, rather than to change them into more ‘archaic’ forms.

Even words like *mutuus*, *mutuum*, /^hmutuus, /^hmutuun/ [ʔ^hmutuʊs, ʔ^hmutuʊ] or *divus*, *divum* /^hdi:rwus, /^hdi:rwun/ [ʔ^hdi:rwʊs, ʔ^hdi:rwʊ], are much better than *diiuus*, *diiuum*, also avoiding saying [ʔ^hmutuʊs, ʔ^hmutuʊ] (not even [ʔ^hmutuʊs, ʔ^hmutuʊ]). Often, *Salustius* and *Cicero* used *quom*, for the conjunction, instead of a more common *cum* /^hkun/ [ʔ^hkʊn, kʊ, kʊ], to better distinguish it from the preposition (since, popularly, /kw/ became /k/).

o.4. Also for /j/ [j], we clearly prefer to write j/J (rather than the ambiguous i/I). These are the ‘famous’ *Ramist letters* (introduced by ‘*Petrus Ramus*’, ie *Pierre de la Ramée*, 1515-1572). But, we prefer to go even further, by replacing *au*, *ae*, *oe* (and *Au*, *Ae*, *Oe*, for /au, ae, oe/ [ɛʊ, ɛɛ, oe]) with *au*, *æ*, *œ* (and *AU*, *Æ*, *Œ*), as in: *cauda* /^hkauda/ [ʔ^hkɛʊdɛ], *Augustus* /au^hgustus/ [ɛʊ^hgustus], *æs* /^haes/ [ʔ^hɛɛs], *æris*, /^haeris/ [ʔ^hɛɛris], *Æneæ* /æ^hne:æ/ [ʔ^hɛɛ^hne:ɛɛ], *Œdipus* /^hoedipus/ [ʔ^hoeɛɛdipus], *pœna* /^hpoena/ [ʔ^hpoɛɛnɛ], *pœnalis* /^hpoena:lis/ [ʔ^hpoɛɛna:lis].

Besides, doing like this, it will not be necessary to use *äü*, *äë*, *öë* (and *Aü*, *Äë*, *Oë*) for /a^hu, a^hɛ:ɛ, o^hɛ:/ [æ, æɛ; œ^hɛ] (in those examples), &c. The same for shortened

forms like *aunculus* /a'unkulus/ [ɛ'ʊŋkʊlʊs] (from *avunculus* /a'wunkulus/ [ɛ'wʊŋkʊlʊs]), or Greek forms, like *aer*, *aeris* /'a:ɛ:r, 'a:ɛ:ris/ ['aɛr, 'aɛris], or *poema* /pɔ'e:ma/ [pɔ'e'mɛ].

All this is better than current mean expedients using ˘ and ˉ over the vowels, 'pretending' to indicate true phonemes, but remaining too inveigled in the same old spelling. As a matter of fact, by simply using poor written diacritics, we cannot do anything better (or really useful). The only serious conclusion: real phonic transcriptions are certainly needed...

o.5. Let us tell in advance clearly that the 'very famous' lengths of the Latin vowels, were 'exploited' particularly for poetical recitations, often accompanied on string and wind instruments. Actually, the long vowels, /V:/, were really [V˙] only in stressed open syllables, while they were simply [VC], in stressed closed syllables, or [ˌV(C)], in unstressed syllables (either closed or open).

Therefore, when some scholarly people 'enjoy' being histrionic, mostly nowadays, and for a word like *adeo* /'adeo:/, drawl something like '[a:deo:]' (or even '[a:deo:o]'), become utterly ridiculous.

Certainly, *æ* /ae/ and *œ* /oe/, were not reduced to monophthongs, at least in the classical time, although they were not much wide (as tongue movement), particularly in unstressed syllables in colloquial speech. Indeed, afterwards, they became real monophthongs, through successive reductions, also of length.

Instead, *au* /au/ [ɛʊ] (which was already articulatorily wider), remained practically unchanged for a longer time, before becoming, in successive times, a monophthong, [σ, ɔ], through [ɔɔ, ɔσ, ɔσ].

On the other hand, a committed physician or public administrator, could certainly have used 'technical' terms as *extrauterus* /ekstra'uterus/ [ɛkstrɛ'ʊtɛrʊs], *extrauterinus* /ekstraute'ri:nus/ [ɛkstrɛ'ʊtɛ'rɪ'nʊs], or *extraurbanus* /ekstraur'ba:nus/ [ɛkstrɛ'ʊr'bɑ'nʊs] (not with the diphthong *au* /au/ [ɛʊ]), or *extraurbanissimus* /ekstraurba'nissimus/ [ɛkstrɛ'ʊr'bɑ'nɪssɪmʊs] (in case 'solvable' by writing a hyphen after *extra-*, if *au* was not used when necessary).

o.6. Obviously, in phrases, also true (and undeniable) hiatuses may occur, as in *extra urbem*, *extra uterum* /ekstra'urbɛŋ, ekstra'uteruŋ/ [ɛkstrɑ'ʊrbɛ̃, ɛkstrɑ'ʊtɛrʊ̃]. However, in current (not slow) pronunciation, it is certainly possible to have, instead, [-rʊr-], with /a/ changing to the prevelar semi-approssimant, [ɣ], where [ɣʊ] is clearly not a 'diphthong'. As we should clearly know, by now, the only true diphthongs are formed by tautosyllabic vocoids, [VV, ˌVV, ˌVV], surely not by [VV, VV], nor [CV]!

There is also a linguistic curiosity about the handling of loan words. Indeed, for the *Chauchi/Cauci* (Germanic) people, /'khaukhi:, 'kauki:/ ['kʰɛʊkʰi, 'kʰɛʊki], we also find various spelling renderings, including *Cayci* /ka'y:ki:/ [ka'y'ki], probably depending on different ways of perceiving the term, by the Romans, in addition to geo-social (and communicative) differences by the people in question.

The true Latin language is (and certainly was) that of every-day life, not the affec-

ted one for ‘artistic’ and ‘poetical’ aims, as nowadays it happens for *opera*, or *rap* (just to give only a couple of extreme examples). Exactly for this very reason, in this book we will not deal with any metrical form. The language used in prose (literary, historical, or documentary) certainly falls within our purposes, without neglecting the language of every-day life (including colloquial, illiterate, or rural, as opposed to mannered accents).

o.7. But, back to /j/, let us consider when *j* has to be used, instead of *i*. In *Word-initial position*, when it is not actually /i/ (as in Greek words): *jam* /'jã/ [ʲjã], *juvenis* /'juwenis/ [ʲjuwenis], *jus* /'jus/ [ʲjus], *jussu* /'jussu:/ [ʲjussu], *jacto* /'jaktu:/ [ʲjaktu], *jecur* /'jekur/ [ʲjekur], *Julius* /'ju:lius/ [ʲju:lius], *Juppiter* /'juppiter/ [ʲjuppiter], but (Greek): *Iulus* /i'u:lus/ [i'u:lus], *Ionius* /i'onius/ [i'onius].

We know quite well that, especially in poetry, but also in current language, oscillations beteen /CiV/ [CiV] and /CjV/ [CjV] were quite frequent (as a matter of fact the Romance evolution surely preferred /CjV/, even for /CeV/).

Between true vowels, also when, to be true, it is [ij], not simply [j], after a diphthongized vowel, exactly with [ɪ], giving [ʲiV], which, mostly in metrical notations was ‘presented’, for instance, as in cases like ‘*āō*, *pēūs*’, disguised as /'a:jo:, 'pe:jus/, instead of *ajo* /'a:jo:/ [ʲa:jo], *pejus* /'pe:jus/ [ʲpe:jus].

Probably, sequences with /Vi/ [Vi] diphthongs, followed by /jV/ [jV], were not perceived clearly enough (as the Sanskrit ‘phono-grammarians’ might have done, instead). Indeed, this may explain possible double realizations.

A ‘practical solution’, and less unsuitable, consisted in producing [ʲjjo] and [ʲpe:jus], as a compromise, although somehow too ‘overplayed’. However, a language that wrote geminate consonants, by doubling letters, could –or should–have needed to use *-ii-*, as Cicero (and others) often did: *aio*, *peius*, *Pompeiii* (or, better still, introducing, at least *j*, in case also *jj*): *ajo*, *pejus*, *Pompe(j)i*. However, *-ii-*, *-iii-*, to be true, already announced [ʲa:jo, 'pe:jus] and [pɔm'pe:ji], although an ‘non-phonetic’ spelling was predominant: *aio*, *peius*, *Pompei(us)*.

Other examples: *major* /'ma:jo:/ [ʲma:jo], *hujus* /'huijus/ [ʲhuijus], *Pompejus* /pɔm'pe:jus/ [pɔm'pe:jus], *Gajus* /'gajus/ [ʲgajus], *Dejanira* /de:ja'ni:ra/ [de:je'ni:re].

o.8. Also in *combinations with prefixes* (ending in a consonant), we have *j* /j/ (even if, traditionally and ambiguously, *i* is still used): *abjectus* /ab'jektus/ [ɛb'jektus], *injectum* /in'jektu/ [ɪn'jektu], *subjectum* /sub'jektu/ [sɛb'jektu], *adjuvo* /'adjuvo:/ [ʲɛd-juwo], *conjungo* /kon'juŋgo:/ [kɔn'juŋgo], *disjungo* /dis'juŋgo:/ [dis'juŋgo], *subjungo* /sub'juŋgo:/ [sɛb'juŋgo], and even *subicio* /sub'jiko:/ [sɛb'jiko] (in addition to a more frequent *subicio* /su'bikio:/ [sɛb'ikio], by dissimilation and resyllabification, through /sub'ikio:/ [sɛb'ikio]).

Let us remind once again that, in metrics (but also currently, especially in colloquial speech), /i, j/ and /u, w/ often exchanged to ‘balance things’... On the other hand, (classical) Latino, in its evolution, changed, almost automatically, /iV, uV/ and /i'V, u'V/ into [jV, wV, 'jV, 'wV].

Let us add that there is no real need to also posit /ww/ (or, in case, /uw/) for

loans or exclamations. As a matter of fact, a trustworthy spelling is the more suitable device for possible variants, as in the following examples: *Evander* /eːwɑnder/ [eːwɛndɛr], *Euander* /euˈɑnder/ [ɛuˈɛndɛr], *Agave* /aːgɑːweː/ [ɛˈgɑːwe], *Agave* /aːgɑːweː/ [ɛˈgɑːwe], *Agave* /aːgɑːweː/ [ɛˈgɑːwe], *evoe!* /iːˈeːwoe, iːˈeːwoe/ [iːˈeːwoe, iːˈeːwoe], *euho!* /iːˈeuhoe, iːˈeuhoe/ [iːˈeuhoe, iːˈeuhoe].

o.9. *Acknowledgments*. Special thanks to Fernando Maggi, for his kind counseling over years, and for our own forthcoming *Latin Pronouncing Dictionary · Lexicon Latinæ Locutionis (LPD · LLL)*. In addition: Marco Cerini, Fritz Forkel, Renato Seibezzi, and Marco Zago.

Very sadly, both school and university teachers pay very little attention to the pronunciation of Latin, offending the ears of poor (interested) students, either with coarse or ridiculous ‘performances’.

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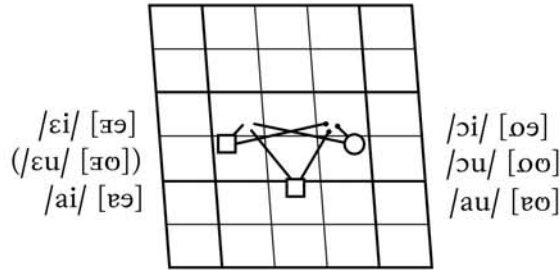
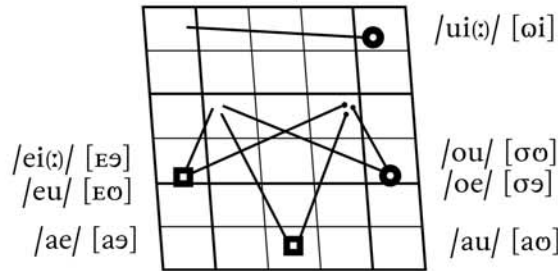
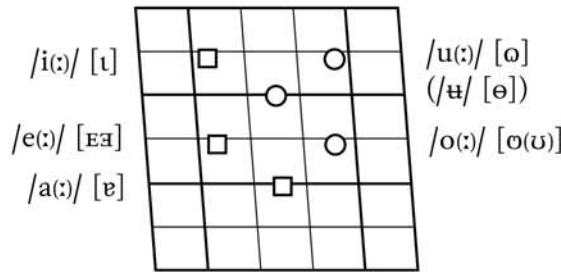
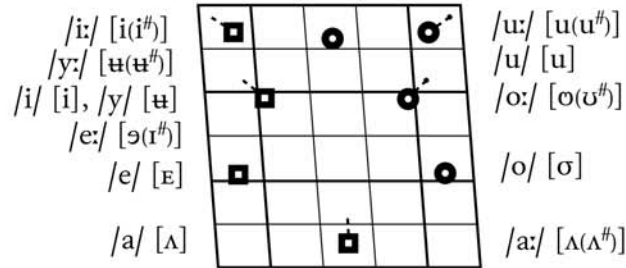
11. Diachoric (or regional) ancient phonopses (& map)

fig 11.0. Diachoric ancient phonopses: map.

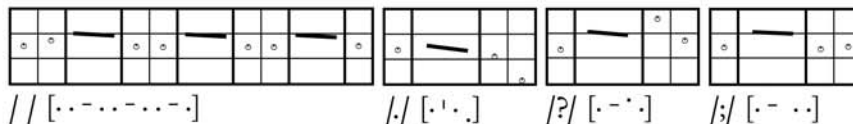


11.1. *Oscan* (Italic, IE) had the seven vowels, both short and long (the latter actually were narrow diphthongs), and the six diphthongs given (one was of lesser importance). Also, [n≡C] and /C/ ≠ /CC/, /s, r, l/ + /j/ were [ʃ, ʒ, ʝ].

fig 11.1. Diachoric ancient phonopses: Oscan Latin.

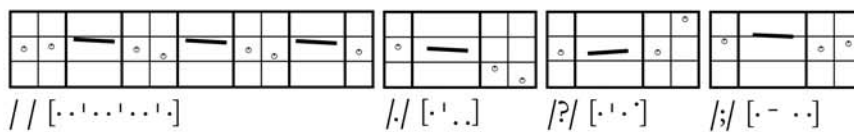
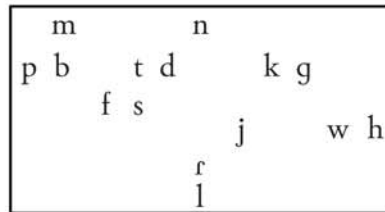
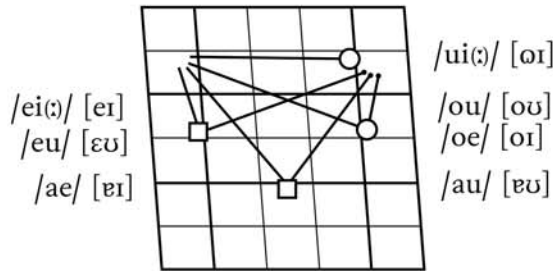
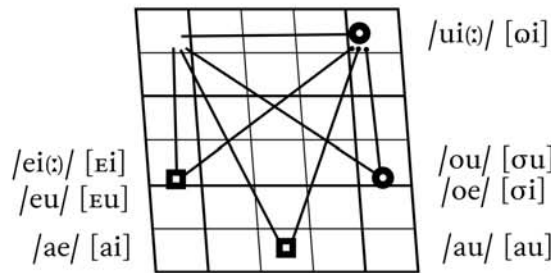
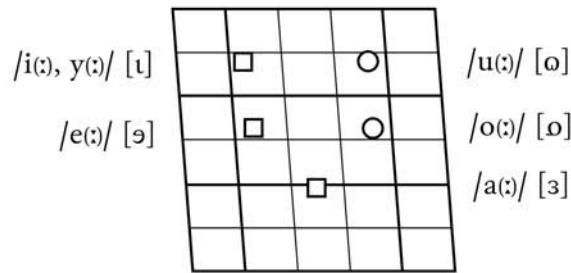
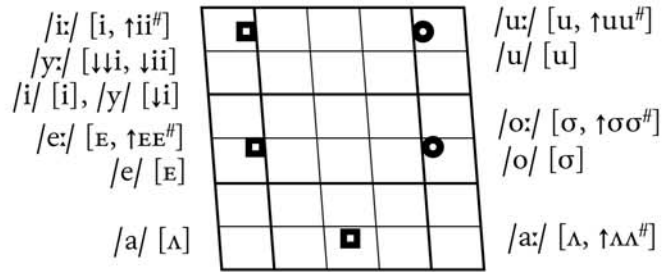


m	n	[ɲ]		
p	b	t	d	[t̪ d̪] [c ɟ] k g
ϕ [β]	s [z]	[ʃ ʒ]	[ç ʝ]	x [χ]
		r	[ʀ]	ω
		l	[l̥]	



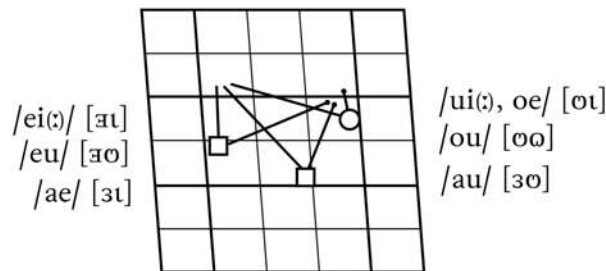
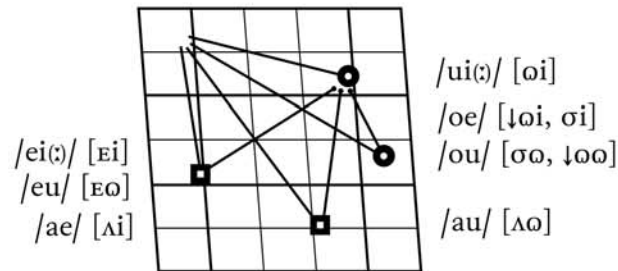
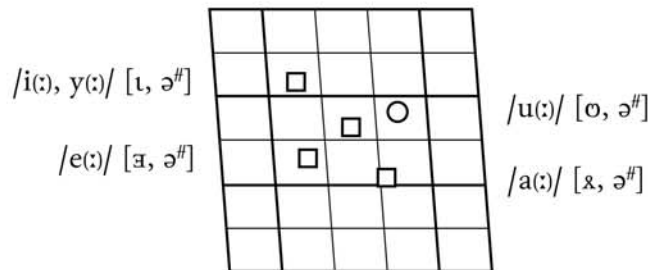
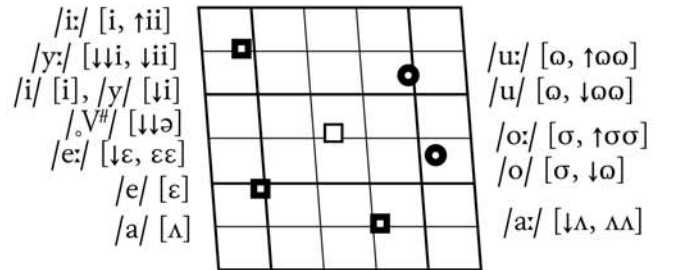
11.3. *Faliscan* (Italic, IE) had the five short vowels and six diphthongs given (one was of lesser importance), and [n≡C].

fig 11.3. Diachoric ancient phonopses: Faliscan Latin.

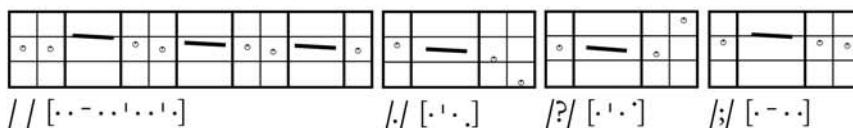


11.4. *Etruscan* (isolated) had five short vowels, including /ə/. It opposed voiceless and ‘aspirated’ stops, /C, Ch/. The phoneme /k/ was [c] before front vowels and [k] before /u/; /h/ behaved likewise: /h/ [h, ɦ, ʱ], but confusion often arose

fig 11.4. Diachoric ancient phonopses: Etruscan Latin.



m	n	[p]	[ŋ]
p ^h	t ^h	[c ^h]	k ^h [k ^h]
	ts		
	s	ʃ	
ϕ		[h] j	[ʱ] w h
	r	[ʃ]	
	l	[ʃ]	



between those taxophones and /ϕ/ [ϕ] (as also between /C/ and /Ch/), mainly due to differences between northern and southern areas. It had several vowel sequences (also with identical elements). Between vowels, the two sounds [j, w] could be found, which conveniently we could consider as phonemes, even though they were seemingly in complementary distribution. It had [n≡C]; [m, n̄, r̄, l̄] were possible realizations of /əN/ (sonants).

12. Diachoric (or regional) modern phonopses

How Latin is pronounced in some European Countries, today

12.1. In this chapter, we will deal with the typical Latin pronunciation in Europe (and America). Each accent will be presented by means of figures showing the *vowels* and *intonation* patterns. Our accents represent the different realities of the ecclesiastical pronunciation as generally used in the Countries that we will present. Indeed, anyone wanting to satisfactorily acquire the classical pronunciation (including the differences that we indicated) inevitably starts from one's local (and personal) habits.

Each accent is dealt with as a uniform entity, although personal and regional interferences are more or less certainly present, especially about intonation, but also as far as both vowels and main consonants are concerned, even for /r/ and /l/ and /h/. Also differences about the use of stress are not at all excluded, in the speech of less professional speakers, including great mistakes.

In addition, French speakers, for instance, may happen to highlight final syllables, while others, like Germans, Czechs, or Hungarians, may stress earlier syllables. Unwanted oscillations are quite possible, indeed. A word like *sæpe* /'sæpe/ ['sæpe], even in Latin international congresses, is often heard as [sa'ɛpe], or *muliebris* /mu'liebris/ [mu'liebris] as [mu'ljɛ'bris]!

The typical peculiarities shown in the figures of this chapter clearly occur, not only in the non-reconstructed accents, but also in the reconstructed one, of *restituta* pronunciation, which inevitably becomes more *prostituta* than expected and hoped for, even for fluent Latin speakers.

12.2. Indeed, especially for the vowels, the pronunciation used is hastily based mainly on *spelling*, rather than on actual long or short *phonemes*, which should have different timbres. Instead, also depending on syllable structures, their realizations are, practically, 'chosen' at random, rather than according to the real phonemes. This, unfortunately, happens in spite of theoretical 'rules' more or less clearly known.

When 'committed' speakers want to respect such rules, for instance about final unstressed /a:, o:/, they lengthen them too much, as [a:, o:] (even as [a:, o:]!), instead of plain and simple [a, o] (sufficiently different from [ɐ, ɔ], or from rural [ɜ,

o], fig 3.8). The same irritating result is found for /au/ [ɐʊ], when realized exactly as [au].

Even worse is the frequent case of final unstressed /æ/ [ɛɛ], when realized as [æ], which is terribly different from ‘national neutral’ [ʔə, ɜɜ] (cf fig 3.2), or colloquial [əə] (fig 3.4). For instance, having to listen to repeated [æ], in a phrase like *meæ novæ amicæ*, is extremely depressing, instead of more pleasant [mɛɜɜ'nɔwɜɜ 'mi:kɜɜ] (or with ‘international’ [ɛɛ]).

12.3. The ‘choice’ between *classical* and *ecclesiastical* pronunciation is not always satisfactory. As a matter of fact, often, apart from the more or less typical ‘alien’ peculiarities shown in our figures (instead of those of either international, or national Latin), often, even committed ‘experts’ fluctuate between the two ‘models’, although if their intention is to speak ‘classical’ Latin.

Of course, even in reading, and mostly in speaking off the cuff, it is not easy to always remember the phonemic length of each vowel, and use it adequately. Indeed, even in sound files expressly made for teaching pronunciation, such problems are quite frequent.

The phonopses of this chapter mostly ‘describe’ the local ‘versions’ of ecclesiastical Latin. We particularly show their main vowels and intonation patterns, which may be easily identified, and used to (try to) pass to the classical pronunciation of Latin. For the consonants, we will not show all their peculiarities in each phonopsis, but we will collectively indicate (and draw attention to) the main differences they exhibit, also because speakers may oscillate in different directions.

12.4. *Ecclesiastical Latin* is used in Vatican City. It is also subject to interferences from Asian and African languages, in addition to those from European Countries. However, it is mostly based on Italian Latin (cf 12.8), although with more ‘international’ choices, but, of course, not without more or less frequent interferences from one’s own mother tongues (and regional peculiarities).

A native speaker of a given language may be able to identify the region where certain ‘colleagues’ come from, as it happens with Esperanto, in international congresses.

However, ecclesiastical Latin is similar to Italian Latin, and indeed it should be pronounced exactly like it. However, in Vatican City, it is used by both Italian and foreign churchmen, friars, and monks. So, it undergoes several different interferences, not only by regional Italian accents, but also by different languages and their several regional accents, also including many different habits in speaking more or less different (academic) Latins, for each foreign language.

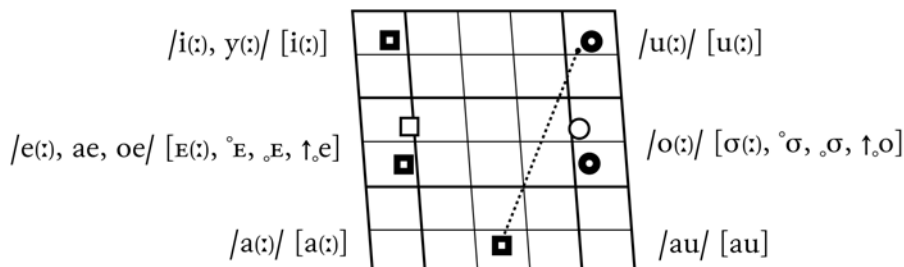
Thus, the ideally expected ‘pure’ pronunciation is very rarely heard, as for Italian Latin itself (cf § 12.8) and any other more or less academic Latin from other Countries.

12.5. Thus, fig 12.1 shows a more ‘international’ version of the vowel situation, especially as far as the e, o vowels are concerned, with less different timbres. Of course, the consonants should be realized as shown, for Italian Latin, shown in fig 12.2, but, in reality, more or less systematically, the following (and other) ‘devia-

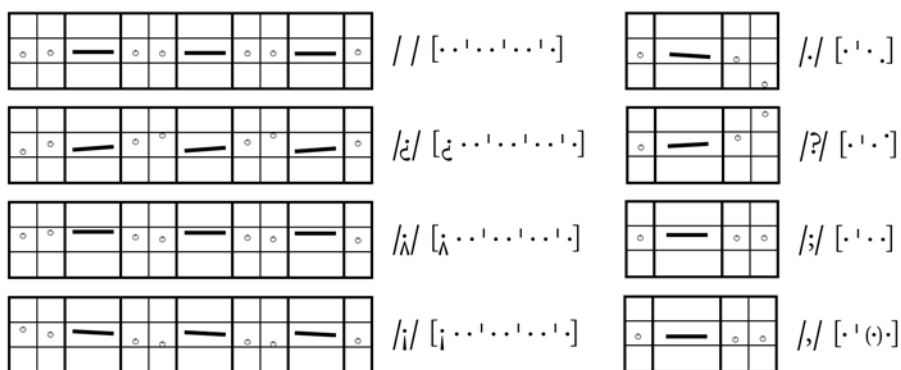
tions' certainly occur, unfortunately.

As for the *vowels*, of course, the exact timbres for *i* (and *y*), *e* (and *æ*, *œ*), *a*, *o*, *u*, used by different speakers correspond to those used in their different languages, with more or less different results.

fig 12.1. Ecclesiastical Latin.



m	[m]	[n]	n	[ɲ]	ɲ	[ŋ]	[ŋ]
p	b	t	d	tʃ	dʒ	[k	g]
	f	v	s	z	ʃ		
			ts	dʒ			
				r			w
			[l]	l	[ʃ]		



Thus, Romance and Slavonic languages usually have (excepting greater and worse differences): *i* /i(:)/ [i, ɪ], *e* /e(:)/ [E, ε, e], *a* /a(:)/ [a, ɐ, A], *o* /o(:)/ [σ, ɔ, o], *u* /u(:)/ [u, ʊ]. German & Hungarian speakers generally have *i* /i(:)/ [i(:), ɪ], *e* /e(:)/ [E(:), ε(:), e(:)], *a* /a(:)/ [a(:), A(:), a(:)] (even [ɒ(:)]), *o* /o(:)/ [σ(:), ɔ(:), o(:)], /u(:)/ [u(:), ʊ] (adding *æ* /ø(:)/ [ø(:), œ/ for German and other 'northern' European languages).

Not surprisingly, English can have the strangest possible realizations: *i* /i(:)/ (and /y(:)/) [ii, ɪi, ɪ] & [aə, əə, ɐə], *e* /e(:)/ [E, ε, e, EI] & [ii, ɪi], *a* /a(:)/ [a(:), a(:), ɐ, A] & [æ, EI], *o* /o(:)/ [σ(:), ɔ(:), o(:), ɒ] & [ɑ, σɔ, ʒɔ], *u* /u(:)/ [uu, ʊu, ʊ] & [ɐ, A, jʊu, jɪu], including [ə] for many unstressed vowels. Of course, also some English speakers (try to) use the classical pronunciation, as speakers from other Countries, as well.

12.6. In addition, different diphthongs are generally realized combining the available monophthongs (shown in the vocograms of our phonopses), with some possible surprise for given languages. As for the three canonical diphthongs, *æ* /ae/

[æ], œ /oe/ [oe], *au* /au/ [əʊ], we very often find both æ and œ realized as [e(ː), ɛ], or (mostly for some Germanic languages) œ [ø(ː), œ].

For *au*, many languages have some variants of [əʊ], although other languages may have it merged with *o* /o(ː)/, as French [o(ː), ə(ː)]. Besides, certain languages may *oscillate* between a couple of variants, either diphthongized or monophthongized. In our phonopses, such possibilities are shown.

12.7. As for the *consonants*, we will indicate *spelling* peculiarities, with the possible contoids that happen to be used in our accents. Most accents do not respect consonant gemination, contrary to Italian (which regionally may also use gemination for postvocalic [p; tʃ; dʒ; ʃ]). Especially Russian may present palatalized taxophones before front vowels. Thus:

b /b/ [b, p]: [b, β, p, ɸ];

c /k/ [k, k̄] before front vowels (including æ, œ): [tʃ, tʃ̄, ts, s, ʃ, ʃ̄, θ, c], notice [θ] for some Castilian accents; in further contexts, we have *c*: [k];

ci+V /k/ [kɪV] before front vowels (including æ, œ): [tʃj, tʃ̄j, cj, tsj, sj, ʃj, ʃ̄j, θj];

cc /kk/ [kk, k̄k, k̄k, k̄k̄]: [tʃtʃ, tʃ̄tʃ̄, ksts, kʃ, ks, kʃ, kʃ, kθ, ʃs, ʃ̄s, ʃ̄s, s, ʃ, ʃ̄];

ch /kh/ [kh, k̄h]: [k, k̄, kh, k̄h, ç, x, tʃ, tʃ̄];

d /d/ [d, t]: [d, ɖ, δ, ɖ], notice Spanish [δ];

f /f/ [f]: [f, ɸ, ɸ̄];

g /g/ [g, ɣ] before front vowels (including æ, œ): [ɖʒ, ɖʒ̄, ʒ, ʒ̄, ʒ̄, ɖʒ, ɖʒ̄, ʒ, ɣ, x, ʒ, χ, h]; in further contexts, we have *g*: [g, k];

gn /gn/ [ɣn, ɣ̄n]: [ɣ(ɣ), ɣ̄, ɣ̄n, ɣn, ɣ̄n];

h /h/ [h, h̄]: [θ, x, h, h̄, h̄, h̄] ([θ] = 'zero'; in *mihi, nihil* /-h-/ [-h-, -h̄-, -θ-]: [k, h, h̄, θ]);

j /j/ [j]: [j, j̄, j̄, ʒ, ʒ̄, ʒ̄, ɖʒ, x, χ];

k /k/ [k, k̄]: [k, k̄, kh, k̄h, c];

l /l/ [l, l̄, l̄]: [l, l̄, l̄, l̄];

m /m/ [m, ɱ]: [m, ɱ];

n /n/ [n, ɲ, ɲ, ɱ]: [n, ɲ, ɲ, ɲ, m, ɱ];

p /p/ [p]: [p, ph, p̄];

ph /ph/ [ph]: [p, ph, p̄];

qu /kw/ [k̄]: [kw, kv, kf, k, cɥ] (*ngu* /ngw/ [ɣ̄ḡ, ɣ̄ḡ, ɣ̄ḡ]: [ɣ̄gw, gv, g, ɣ̄ɥ]);

r (*rh*) /r/ [r]: [r, r̄, r̄, ʀ, ʀ̄, R, ɹ, ɹ̄, ʃ, θ];

s /s/ [s]: [s, ʃ, ʃ̄, z, z̄, z̄, #z];

sc /sk/ [sk̄] before front vowels (including *ae*, *oe*): [ʃ, ʃ̄, stʃ, sts, s, ʃ, ʃ̄, sθ];

t /t/ [t]: [t, t̄, t̄, t̄, t̄];

ti /ti/ [ti] + unstressed vowel: [ti, tsj, sj, ʃ];

th /th/ [th]: [t, t̄, th, t̄h, θ, t̄];

v /w/ [w]: [v, u, β, b, f, w, ω, ɣ];

x /ks/ [ks]: [ks, gz, s, ʃ, ʃ̄];

xc /ks/ [ks] before front vowels (including *ae*, *oe*): [kstʃ, kstʃ̄, ksts, ks, gz, s, ʃ, ʃ̄, sθ];

z /z/ [z, zz, dz]: [dz, dz̄, ts, gz, ks, z, θ];

in addition:

- i+a vowel /iV/ [iV]: [jV, iV];
- li+a vowel /liV/ [liV]: [liV, ljV, lV];
- ni+a vowel /niV/ [niV]: [niV, njV, nV];
- v between a consonant and a vowel /CuV/ [CuV]: [CwV, CuV, CɥV].

12.8. *Italian Latin* has only five vowels in stressed position, /i, ε, a, ɔ, u/, *eg* even *habere* or *Roma*, /ha'be:re, 'ro:ma/ [hə'be:re, 'rɔ:mə], became /a'be:re, 'rɔ:ma/ [a'be:re, 'rɔ:ma] (in spite of Italian etymological *avere* [a've:re], *Roma* ['rɔ:ma]).

Similarly to Italian, in unstressed syllables only [e, o] and [ɛ, σ] occur, with intermediate timbres, as a result of vowel adjustments of either half-opening (for Italian unstressed sentence final /e|, o|/) or half-closing (for de-stressed /°ε, °ɔ/), which is typical of neutral Italian pronunciation. Examples: *dico* /'di:kɔ:/ [di'ko] → [di:kσ], *erga omnes* /'erɡa: 'oŋne:s/ [ɛrɡa'ɔŋnes] → [ɛrɡa'ɔm:nes].

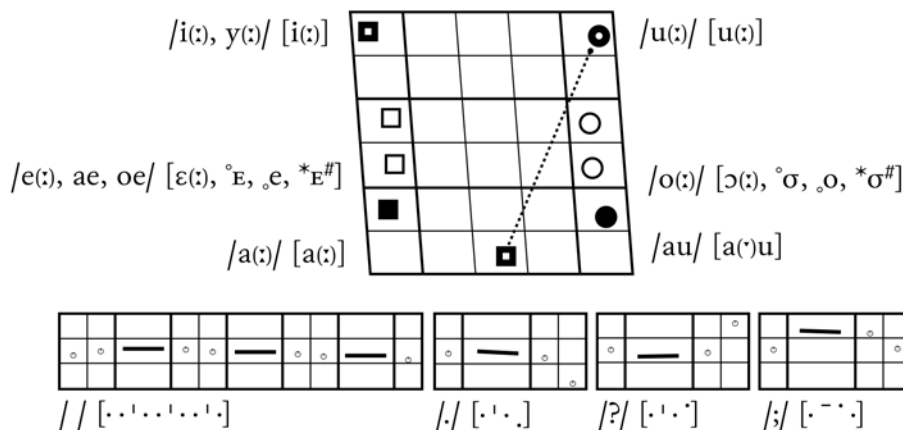
Length and the various vowel sequences also correspond to those found in neutral Italian, although with æ, œ /°ε, °ε, °e/. It preserves consonant *gemination*, homorganic [n≡C], but /mC/ [mC] (often, also /mC/ [n≡C]).

It rigorously has intervocalic s /VzV/; z is /dz/, and *ti* (with unstressed *i*, followed by a vowel) is /tsjV/, *eg* *otium* /'o:tiuŋ/ [o'tiũ] → [ɔts:tsjum_{*}] (the example shows both self-gemination, shared by /dz/, and /j/, *pisces* [pi'sjɛm_{*}], and /p/, *lignum* [li'ɲum_{*}], and audible release, even for /m[#]/, indicated by [_{*}], as can be seen).

But, unstressed *ti* /ti/ [ti] is [ti, tj], when preceded by *s, t, x* /s, t, ks/: *bestia* /'bestiə/ [bɛstɪə] → [bɛstja], *Cottius* /'kottius/ [kɔttius] → [kɔt:tjus], *mixtio* /'miktio:/ [mi'ks-tio] → [mi'kstjo]. Again *ti* /ti/ [ti] when stressed: *totius* /to'tius/ [to'tius] → [to'trus], or in names of Greek origin: *Miltiades* /mil'tiades/ [mi'tiædes] → [mil'tiades]. For *c, g*, before front vowels, we have /tʃ, dʒ/: *Cyrus* ['tʃi:rus], different from *Chiron* ['ki:rɔn].

Let us observe that our transcriptions accurately and clearly follow what we have just said, in spite of cases like *habere* and *Roma* seen above. Unfortunately, however, Italian speakers, even university Latin teachers, too often, pronounce Latin not exactly as it should be, according to what we have just said, but by mortifying its pronunciation with regional habits, both for the phonemes and intonation (including, often, stress patterns).

fig 12.2. Italian. Latin.



Besides, there are three Slavonic languages: Russian, Polish, Czech, followed by a group of other Slavonic languages, mostly representing former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Lastly, we present Albanian, Gheg, and Greek.

fig 12.3. German Latin.

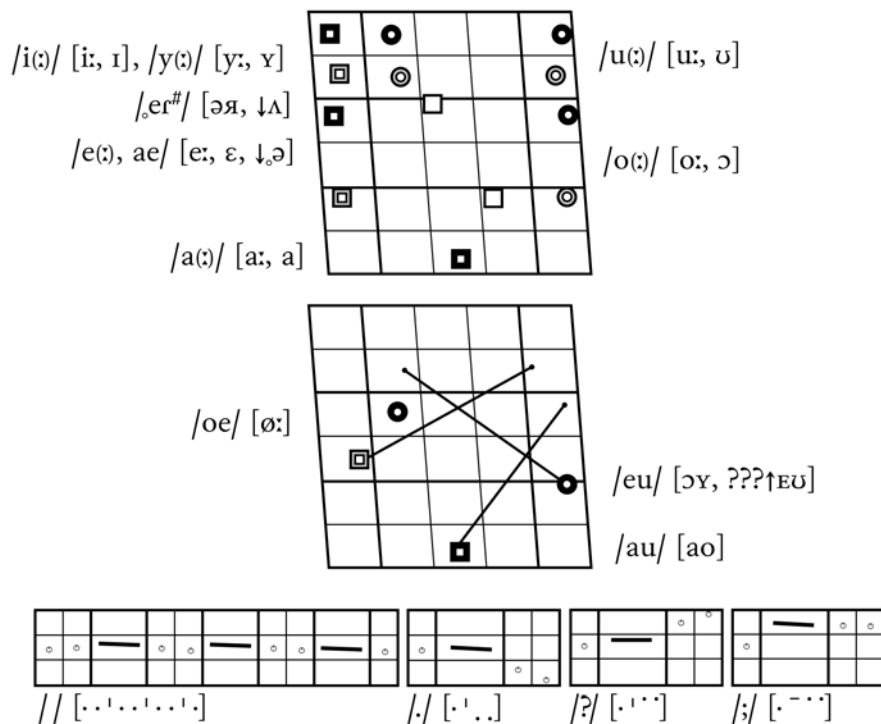


fig 12.4. Dutch & Flemish Latin.

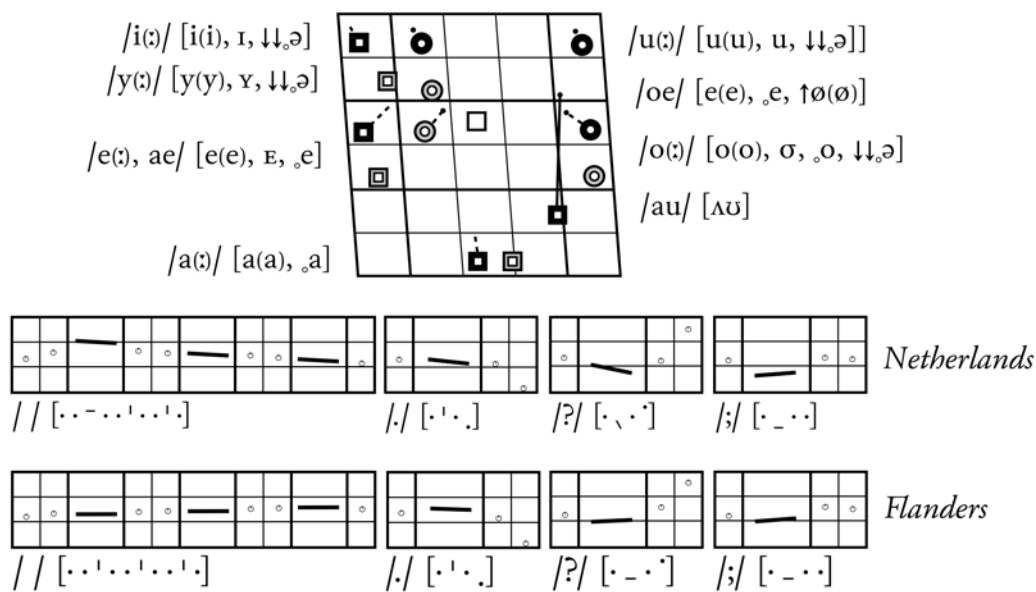


fig 12.5. Danish Latin.

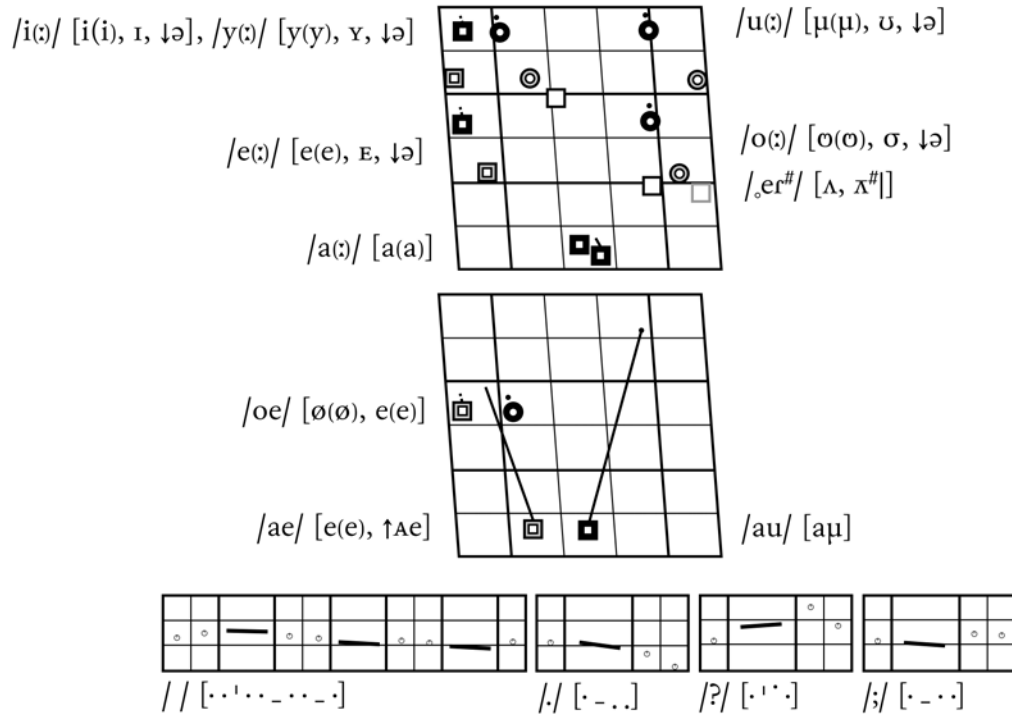


fig 12.6. Swedish Latin.

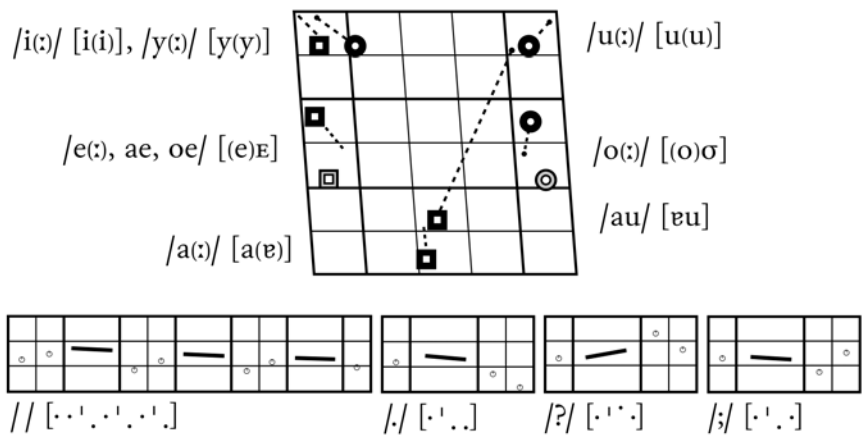


fig 12.7. Norwegian Latin.

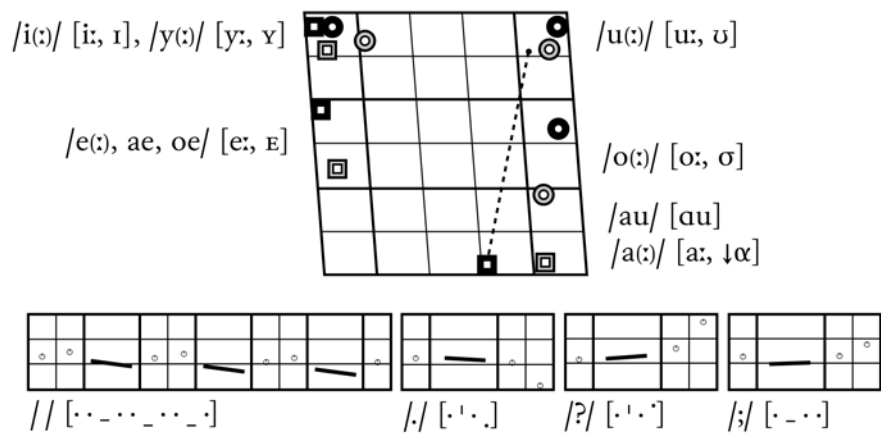


fig 12.9. Spanish Latin.

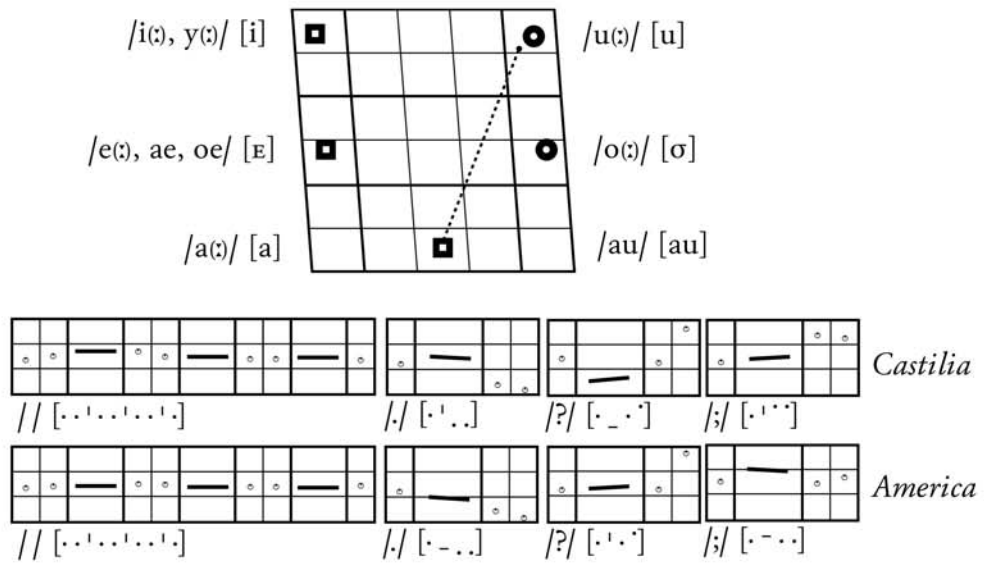


fig 12.10. Catalan Latin.

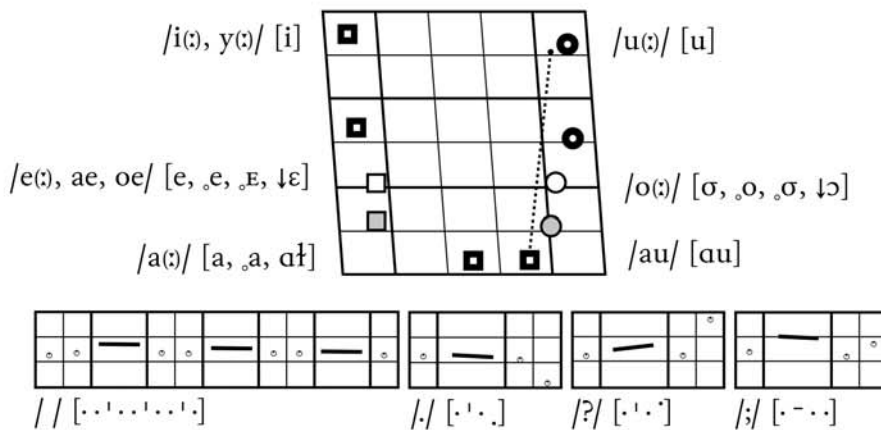


fig 12.11. Portuguese Latin (with [ṼN#, ṼNC]).

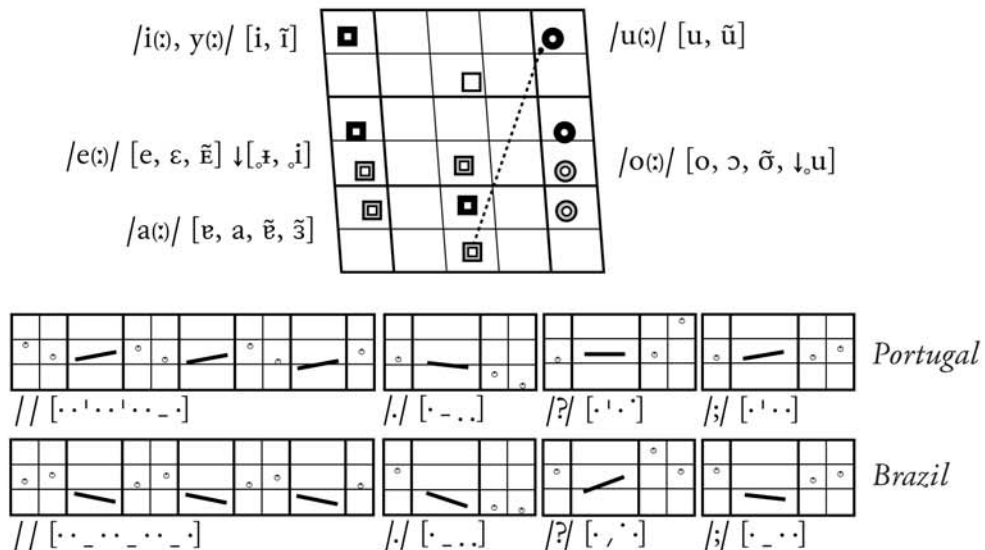


fig 12.14. Lettish Latin.

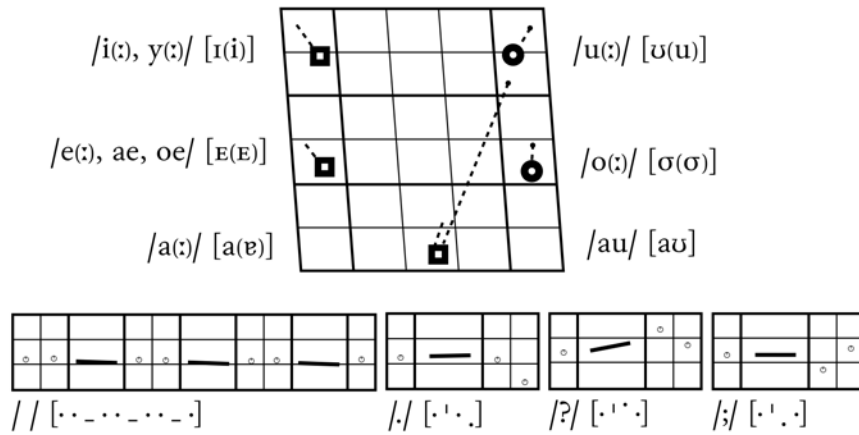


fig 12.15. Lithuanian Latin.

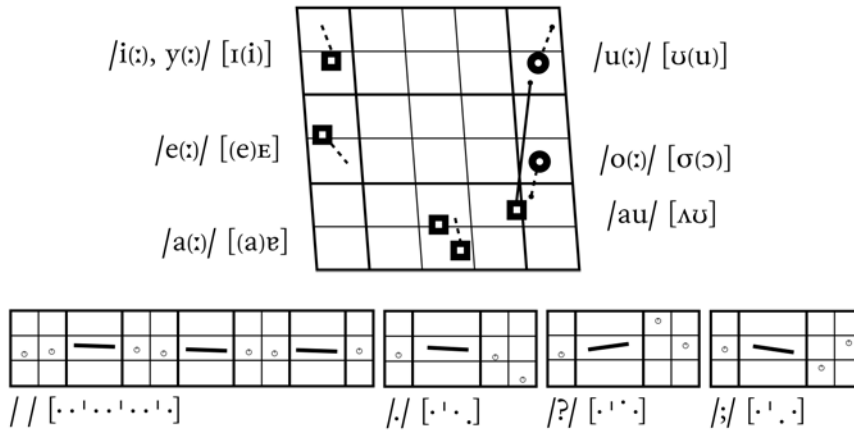


fig 12.16. Finnish Latin.

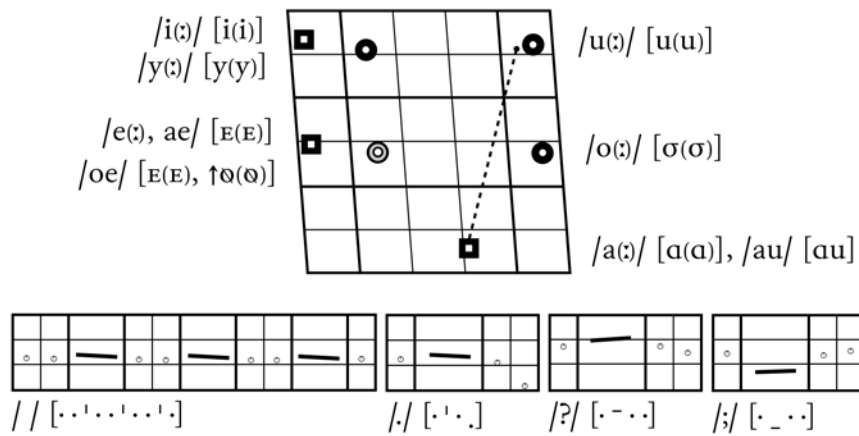


fig 12.19. Russian Latin.

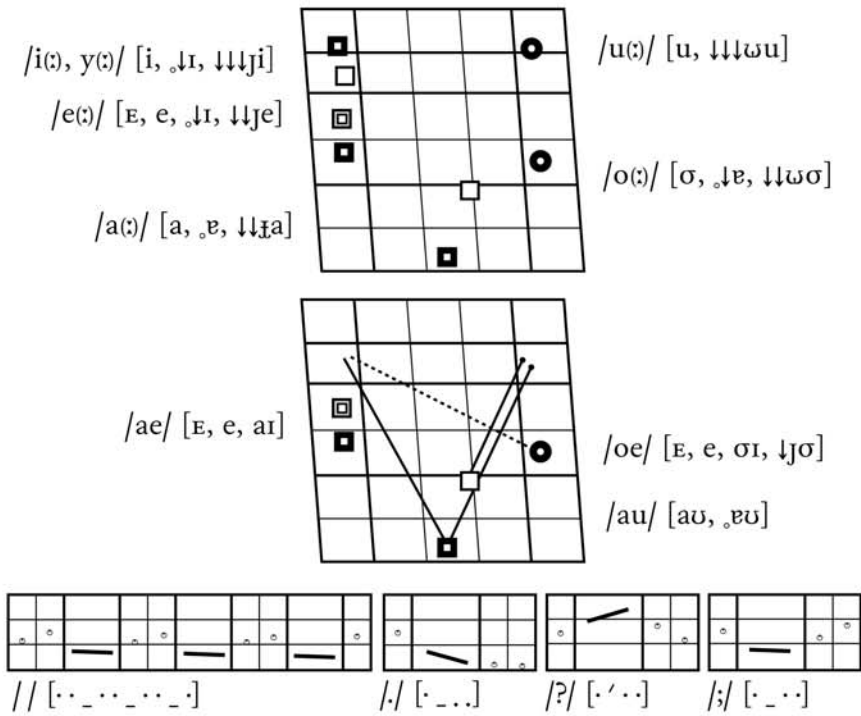


fig 12.20. Polish Latin.

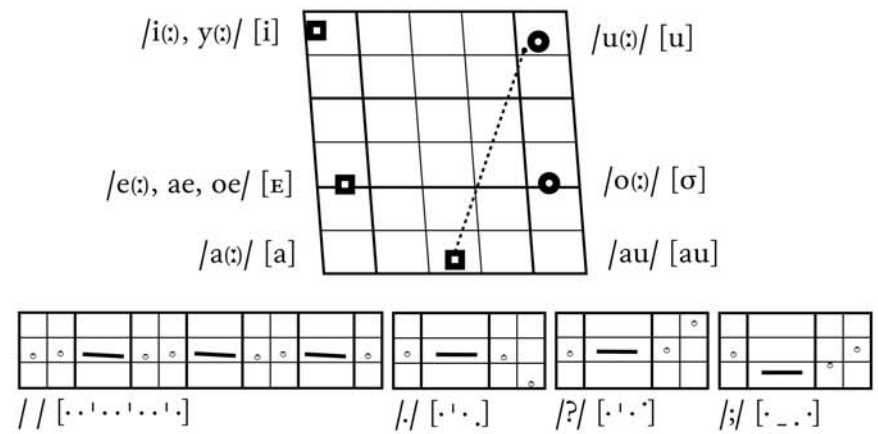


fig 12.21. Czech Latin.

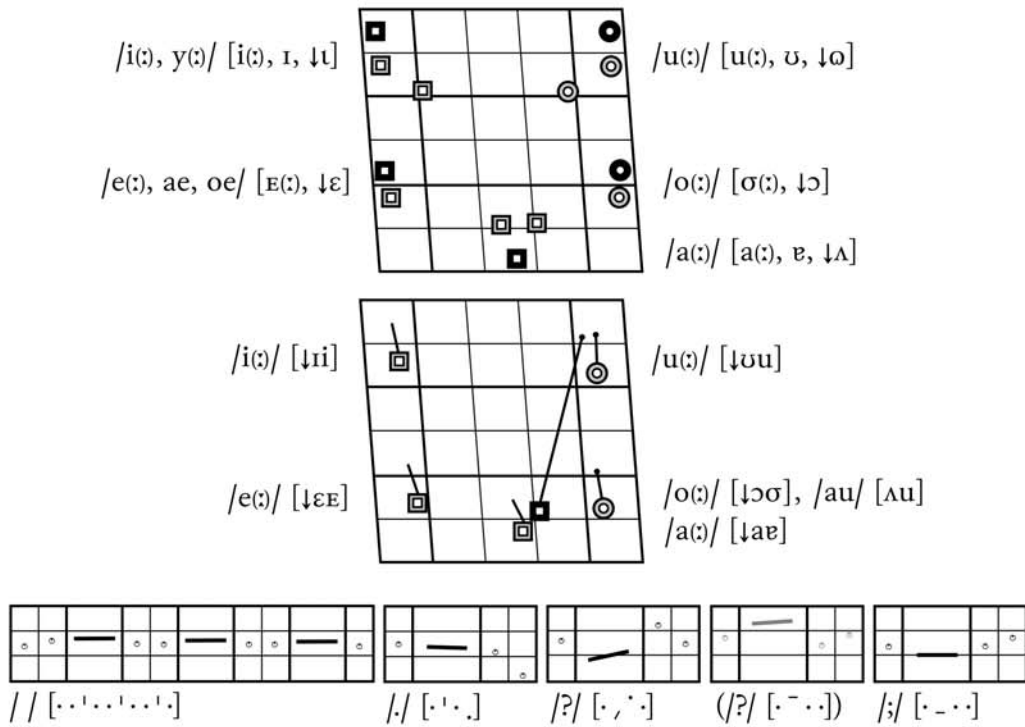


fig 12.22. Southern Slavonic Latin.

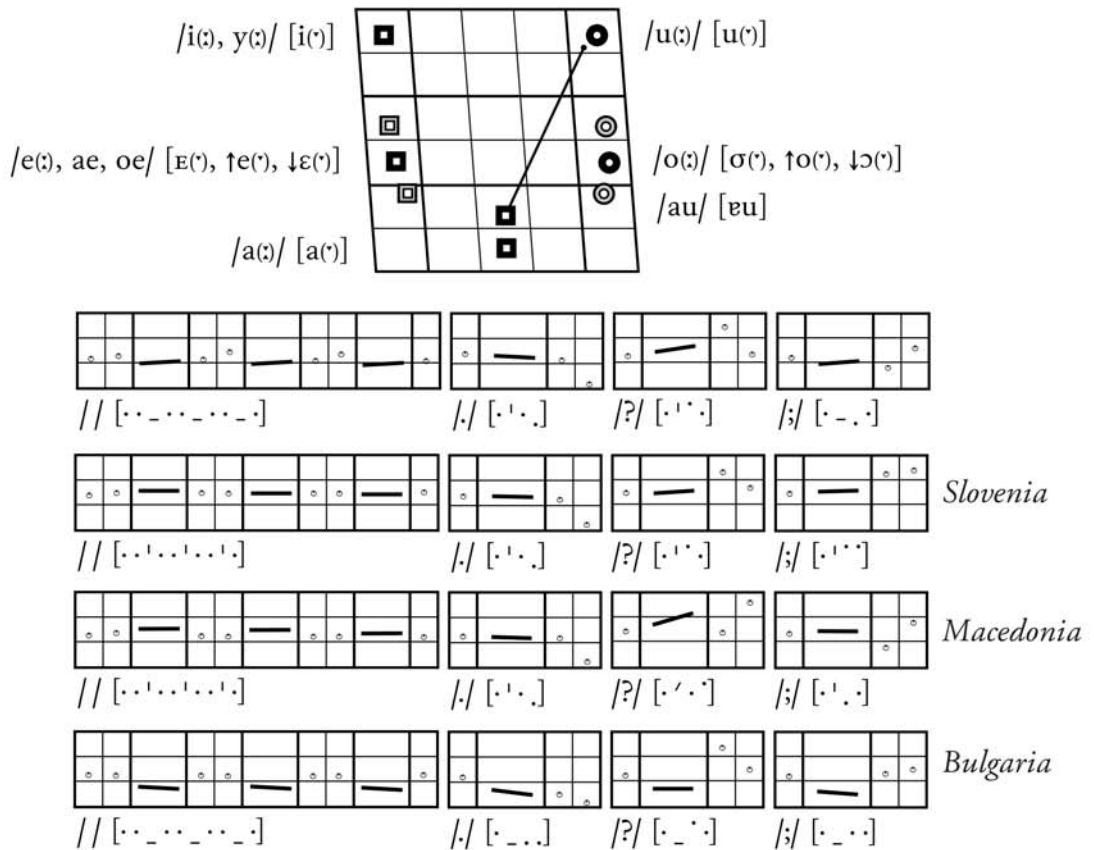


fig 12.23. Albanian Latin.

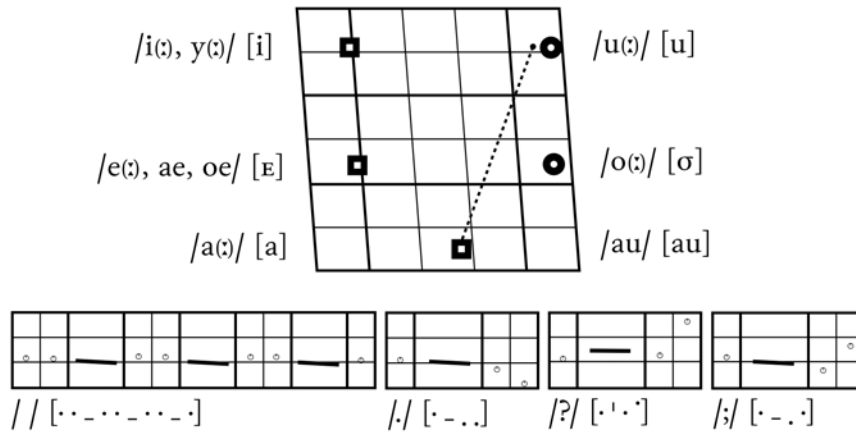


fig 12.24. Gheg Latin.

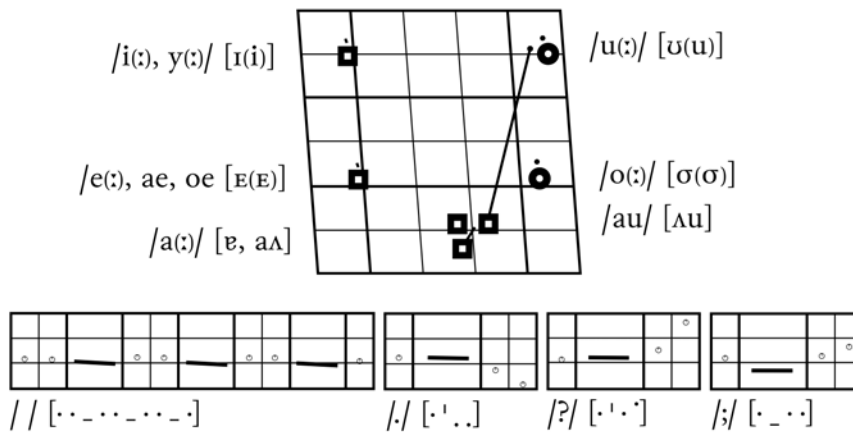
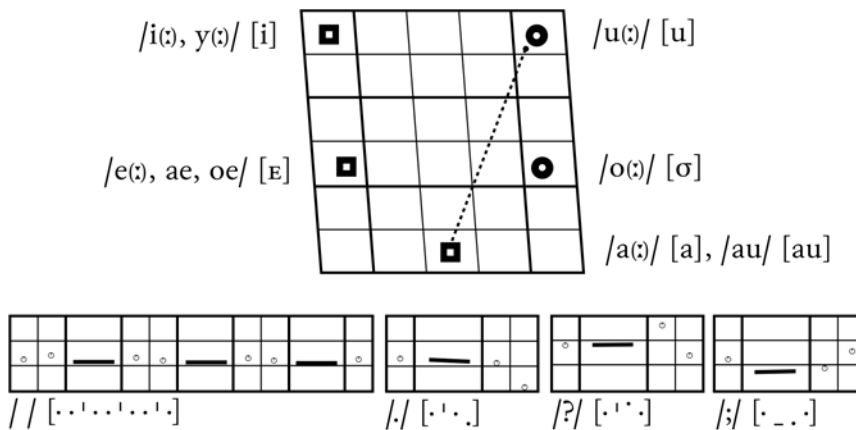


fig 12.25. Greek Latin.



Comparison between three important kinds of pronunciation for Latin

12.9. Let us go back to the *IPA* text seen at the beginning of Ch 7. We will repeat it in its classical pronunciation, adding the ecclesiastical (and the Italian one, which it derives from), for useful comparisons. Of course, any interested reader may retranscribe it according to one's own traditional experience.

Olim inter se Aquilo et Sol uter fortior esset certabant, cum viatorem quendam pænula amictum procedentem conspexerunt; atque ipsorum fortiores existimandum esse consenserunt, qui efficeret ut viator ille pænulam deponeret.

Aquilo autem vehementissime furere coepit; sed, quo fortiores flatus emittebat, eo artius viator se circumdabat pænula; tandem, viribus destitutus, propositum suum omisit. Tum Sol cælum clarissima luce illustravit; mox vero viator, calore victus, pænulam exiit. Itaque Aquilo, quamvis invite, confessus est solem esse fortiores.

Tibi placuit fabula? Libetne eam repetere?

Classical pronunciation

[l'o:lĩ· ɪ̯ɪntɛr'se·] 'ɛ̃kɪloet· 'soł· |'u:tef· 'fɔrtiɔ· l'ɛsɛt·] kɛr'ta'bɛnt·; kũwia'to:rɛ̃ ɪ̃kɛndɛ̃· | l'pɛnʊlaɐ̃ 'miktũ·, pɾokɛ'dɛntɛ̃·; kɔ̃spɛk'sɛ:rʊnt· | 'ɛt̃kɛ· | ip'so:rũ·, fɔrti'o:rɛ̃·; ɛk'sistɪ'mɛndũ· | 'ɛsɛ·, kɔ̃sɛ̃'sɛ:rʊnt· | 'kwi·; ʌ̃ffɪkɛrɛt·; |'u:twi'a'tɔ· l'ɪllɛ·; |'pɛnʊlɛ̃· dɛ'pɔ:nɛrɛt·||

'ɛ̃kɪlo· l'ɛutɛ̃·; |wɛɛmɛn'tissimɛ· 'fu:rɛrɛ·, l'koɛpit·; |'sɛt· +kɔ:fɔrti'o:rɛs· +flatu·, sɛmit'tɛ'bɛt· | ɛo'ɛrtiʊs·, wi'a'tɔr·, sɛkɪr'kũɳdɛbɛt· 'pɛnʊla· | 'tɛndɛ̃· l'wi:rɪbus·, dɛstɪ'tutus·; | pɾɔ'pɔsɪtũ· l'sũ·, |s'mɪ'sɪt·|| l'tũŋ· 'soł·; |kɛɛlũ· l'kla'rɪssɪma |'lu:kɛ·, |ɪllus'trawɪt· |'mɔks· l'wɛro·, |wi'a'tɔr· l'kɛ'lo:rɛ̃ ~wɪktus·; | ʌ̃'pɛnʊlɛ̃·; ʌ̃'ɛksɪt·|| ~ɪtɛkɛ· 'ɛ̃kɪlo·; |l'kũŋwi sɪŋ~wɪtɛ·; | kɔ̃'fɛssʊ· l'sɛst·; | ʌ̃'so:lɛ̃·, ɛsɛsɛfɔrti'o:rɛ̃·||

ɛ̃|tɪbɪ'plɛkɪt· ɛ̃|fa'bʊlə· | ɛ̃|lɪ'bɛtne ɛ̃|ɛ̃rɛ'pɛtɛrɛ·||].

Ecclesiastical pronunciation

[l'o:lɪm· ɪ̯ɪntɛr'se·] 'a'kwɪlo· ɛt'sol· |'u:tef· 'fɔrtsjɔf· l'ɛsɛt·] tʃɛr'ta:bant·; |kũmvi'a'tɔ:rɛm |'kwɛndam· | l'pɛ'nulaa 'miktum·, |pɾɔtʃɛ'dɛntɛm·; | kɔnsɛpɛk'sɛ:rʊnt· | 'atkwe·; | ip'sɔ:rʊm· fɔr'tsjɔ'rɛm·; | ɛgzɪstɪ'mandum· l'ɛsɛ·, |kɔnsɛn'sɛ:rʊnt· | 'kwɪ· ʌ̃ffɪ'tʃɛrɛt·; | ut'vi'a'tɔf· l'ɪllɛ·; |'pɛ'nulaa· dɛ'pɔ'nɛrɛt·||

'a'kwɪlo· l'autɛm·; |wɛɛmɛn'tissimɛ· 'fu:rɛrɛ·, l'tʃɛ'pɪt·; |'sɛd· kwɔfɔr'tsjɔ'rɛs·, 'flatus·, ɛmɪt'tɛ'bat· | ɛo'artsjʊs·, vi'a'tɔf·, sɛtʃɪr'kũmdabat· 'pɛ'nula· | 'tandɛm· l'vɪ:rɪbus·, dɛstɪ'tutus·; | pɾɔ'pɔzɪtʊm· l'suum·, |s'mɪ'zɪt·|| l'tum· 'sol·; |tʃɛ'lum· l'kla'rɪssɪma |'lu:tʃɛ· |ɪllus'trawɪt· |'mɔks· l'vɛ'rɔ·, |vi'a'tɔf· l'ka'lɔ'rɛ̃ ~wɪktus·; | ʌ̃'pɛ'nulam·; ʌ̃'ɛgzɪt·|| ~ɪtakwe· 'a'kwɪlo·; |l'kwamvis |ɪŋ~vɪtɛ·; | kɔm'fɛssʊs· l'ɛst·; | ʌ̃'so:lɛm·, ɛsɛsɛfɔr'tsjɔ'rɛm·||

ɛ̃|tɪbɪ 'plakwɪt· ɛ̃|fa'bʊla· | ɛ̃|lɪ'bɛtne ɛ̃|ɛamɛ'rɛ'pɛtɛrɛ·||].

Italian pronunciation

[l'ɔ:li· ɪ̯mɪntɛr'sɛ·] 'a:kwɪloɛt· 'sɔ:l· |'u:tef· 'fɔr:tsjo· l'rɛs:ɛt·] tʃɛr'ta:bant·; |kũmvi'a'tɔ:rɛm |'kwɛn:dam· | l'pɛ'nula 'mɪk:tum·, |pɾɔtʃɛ'dɛn:tem·; | kɔnsɛpɛk'sɛ:rʊnt· | 'at:kwe·; | ip-

'sɔ:rʉŋ·for'tsɔ:rɛm·| egzisti'ma:ndu· ɿ'mɛ:sɛ·|konse'n'sɛ:rʉnt·| 'kwi·ʌ'effi:tʃɛrɛt·| ɿutvi-
'a:to· ɿ'ril:lɛ·| 'pɛ:nula· de'pɔ:nɛrɛt·||

'a:kwilo· ɿ'arutɛŋ·| ɿveemen'tis:simɛ· ɿ'urɛrɛ· ɿ'tʃɛ:pit·| 'sɛd·kwofor'tsɔ:rɛs· ɿ'flatus·
,ɛmit'tɛ:bat·| ɛo'ar:tsɔ:juz· vi'a:toɾ· ɿɛtʃi'r'ku:ndabat· 'pɛ:nula·| 'ta:ndɛŋ· ɿ'vi:rɪbuz· ɿdesti-
-tu:tus·| pro'pɔ:zitʉn· ɿ'su'u·| mo'mizit·|| ɿ'tum:·| 'sɔ:l·| 'tʃɛ:lʉŋ· ɿklarissima ɿ'lu:tʃɛil·| lus-
'traxit·| 'mɔks· ɿ've:ro·| vi'a:toɾ· ɿka'lɔ're ɿvik:tus·| ɿ'pɛ:nula· ɿ'mɛg:zɔ:wit·|| ɿi:takwe· 'a:
kwilo·| ɿ'kwamvi sim· ɿvite·| kom'fɛs:su· ɿ'sɛ:sɪt·| ɿ'sɔ:lɛm· ɿɛsɛfor'tsɔ:rɛm·|||
ɿ'ti:bi ɿ'pla:kwit· ɿ'fabula·| ɿli'βɛtne ɿɛamrɛ'pɛ:tɛrɛ·||].

13.

Phonopses of 26 modern languages (for comparisons)

13.1. 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.

13.2. 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, Galician, Italian, Russian, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew.

13.3. 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.

13.4. 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 13.27.1-7 give a number of orograms of the contoids which are necessary to facilitate the comparison between different languages.

13.5. 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 13.4. French.

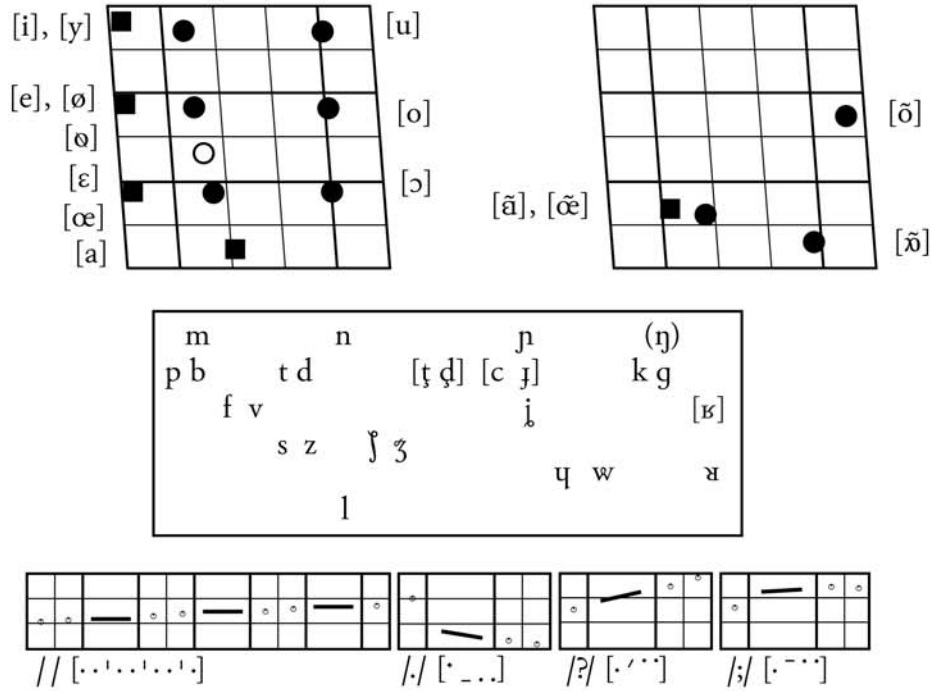


fig 13.5. Spanish.

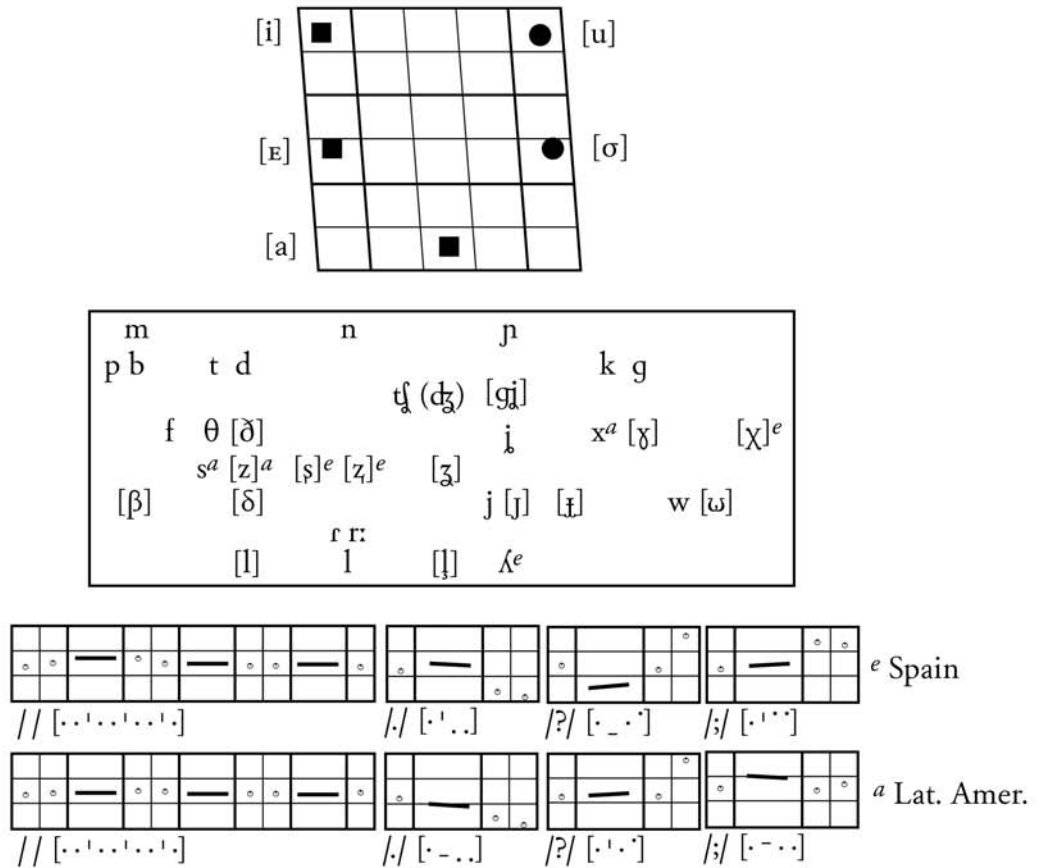


fig 13.8. Romanian.

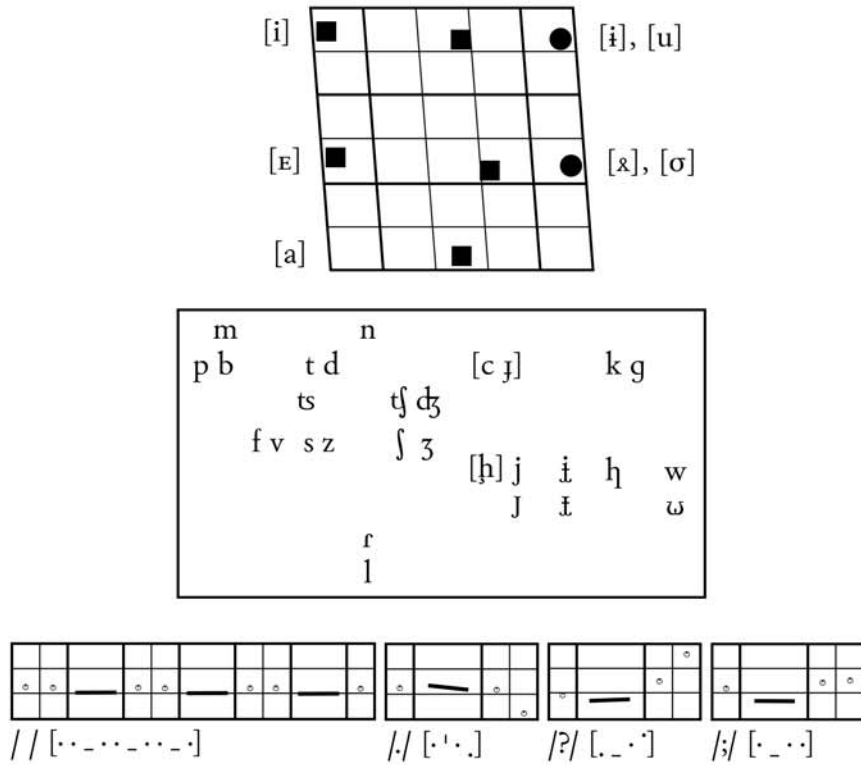


fig 13.9. Russian.

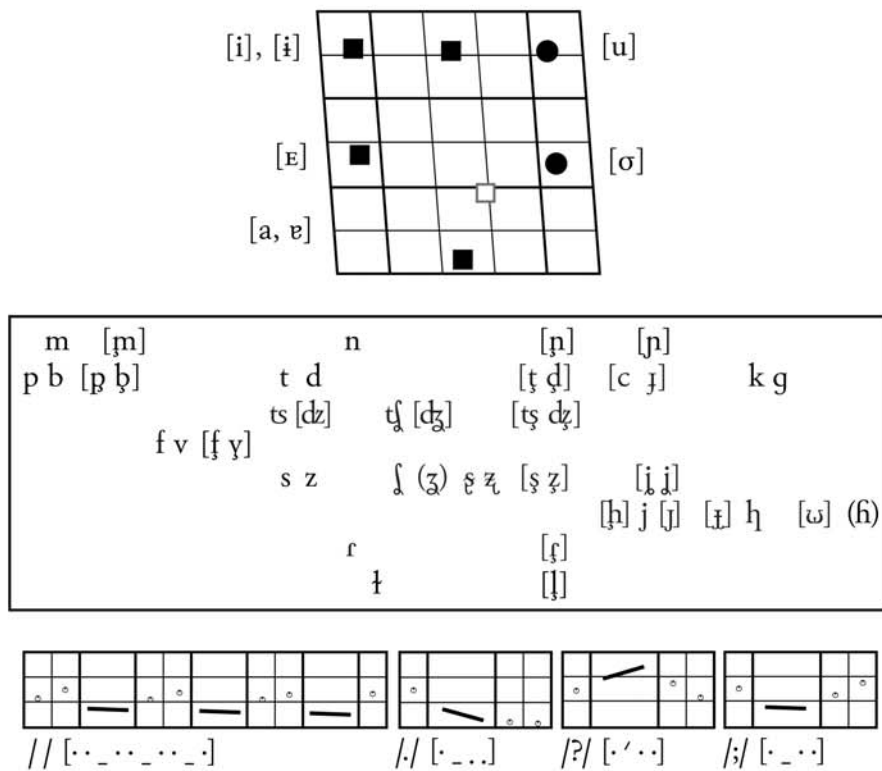


fig 13.10. Czech.

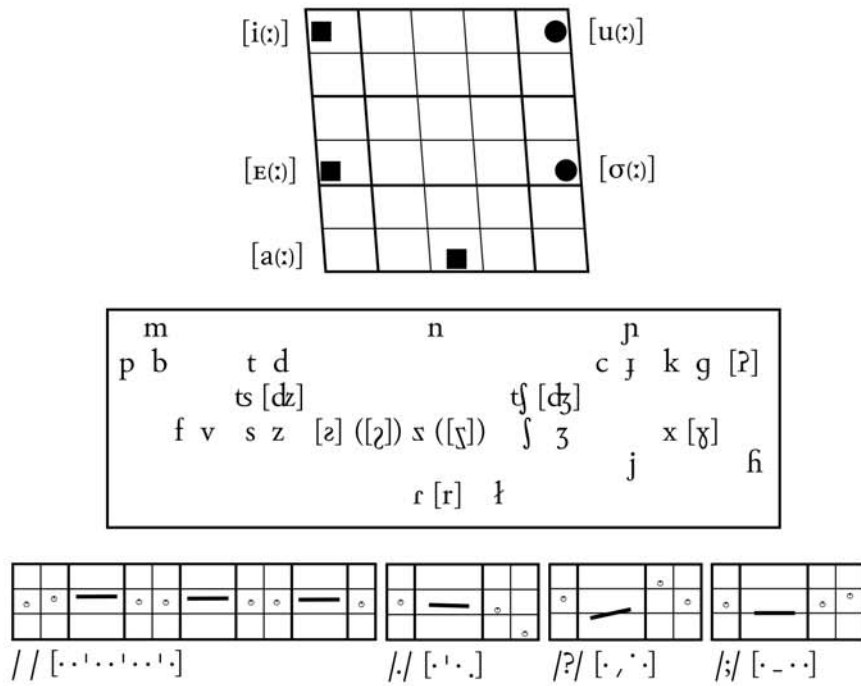


fig 13.11. Polish.

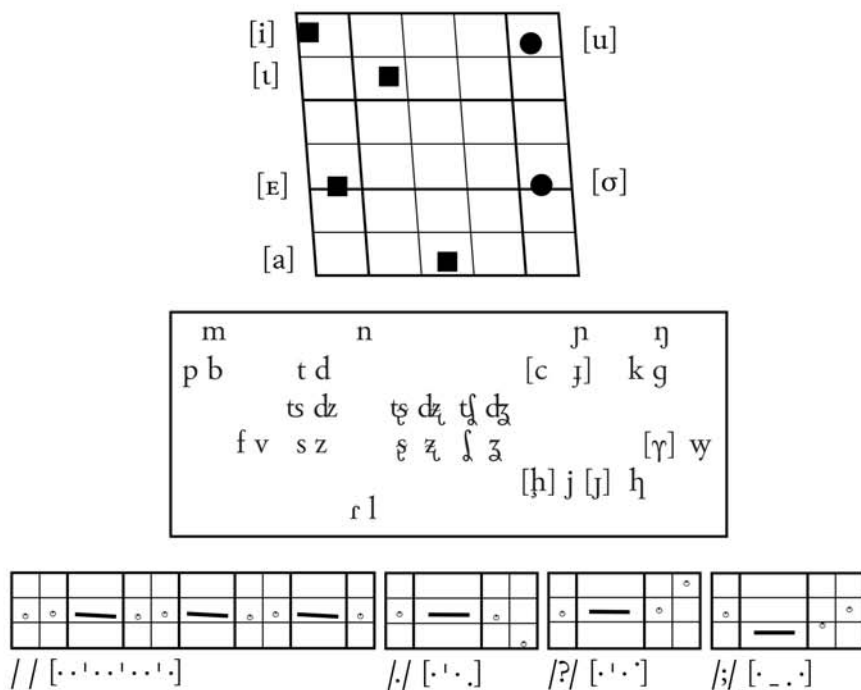


fig 13.12. Bulgarian.

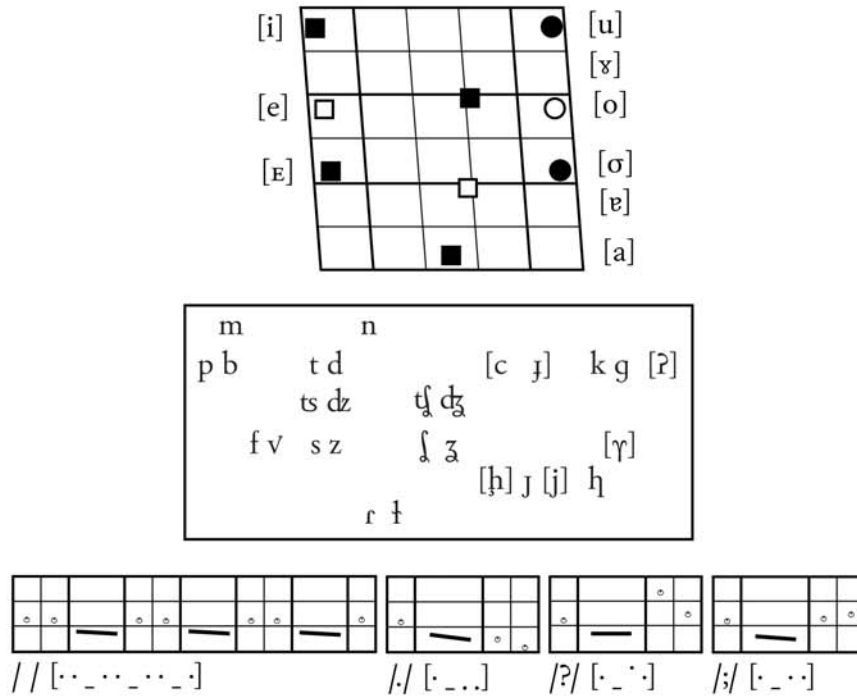


fig 13.13. Greek.

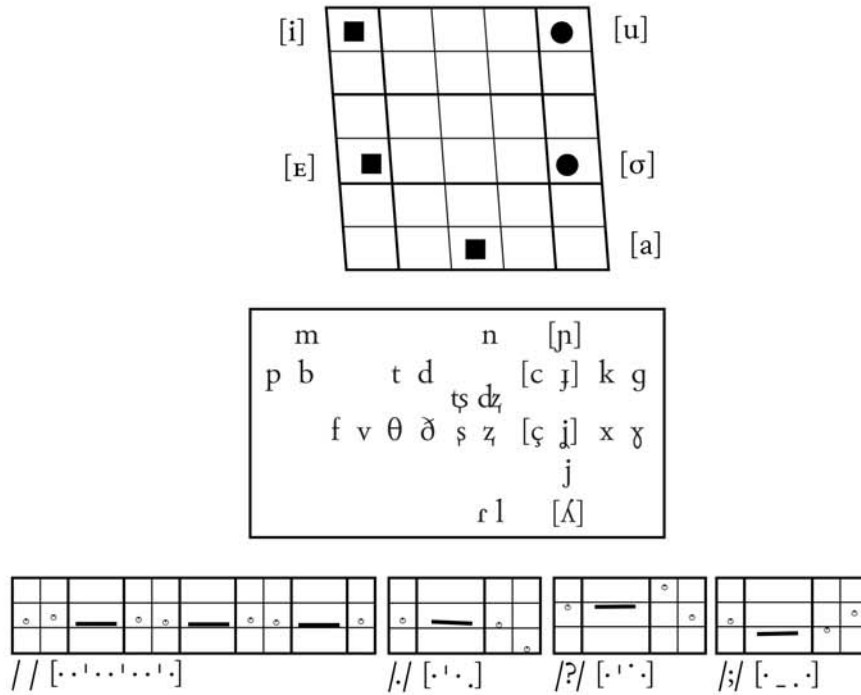


fig 13.14. Hungarian.

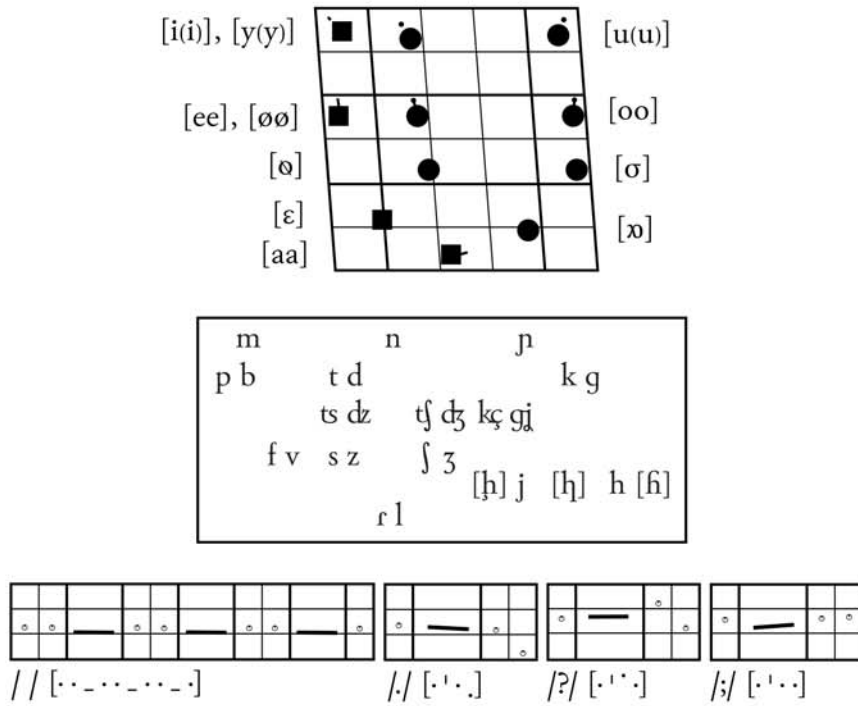


fig 13.15. Albanian.

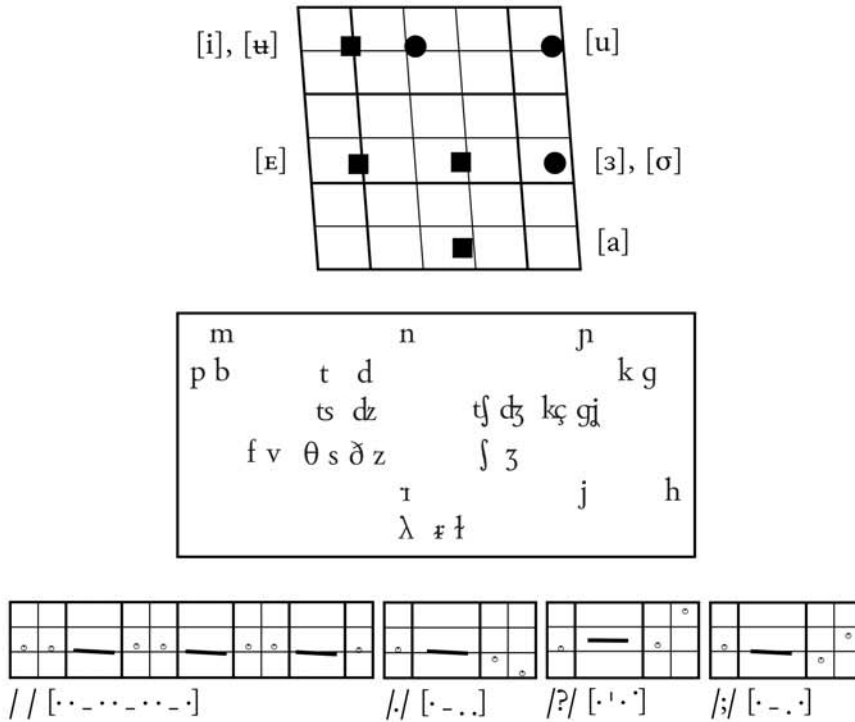


fig 13.20. Persian.

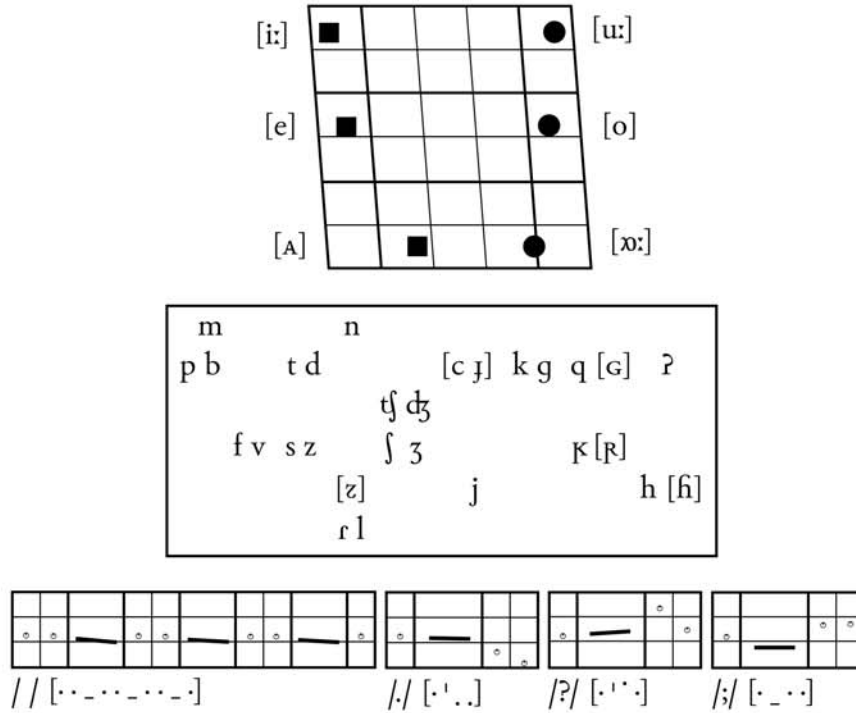


fig 13.21. Hindi.

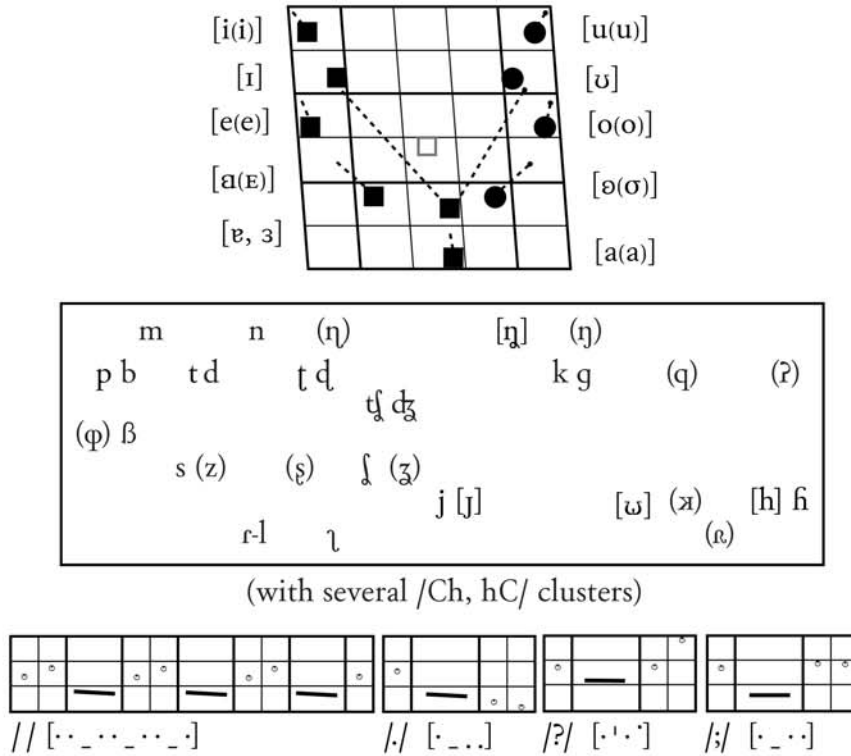


fig 13.22. Vietnamese.

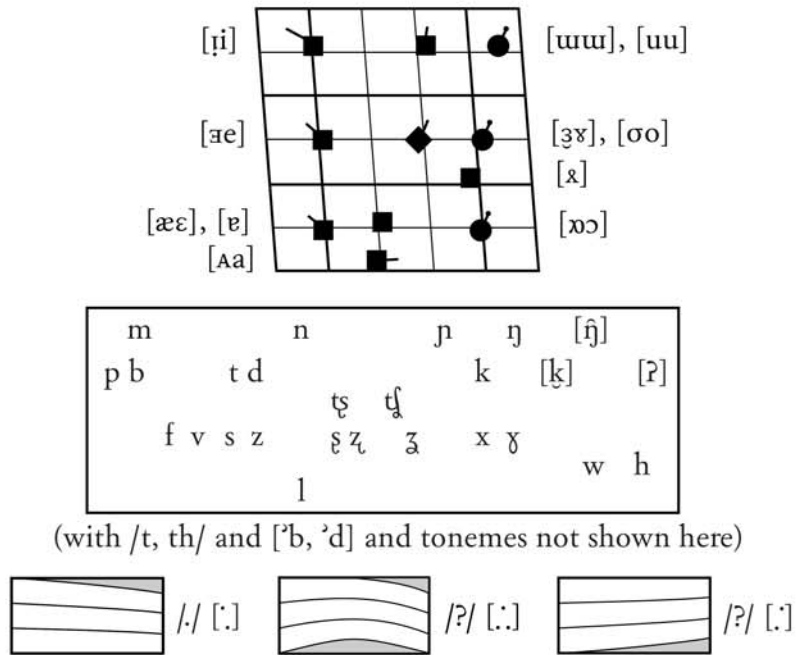


fig 13.23. Burmese.

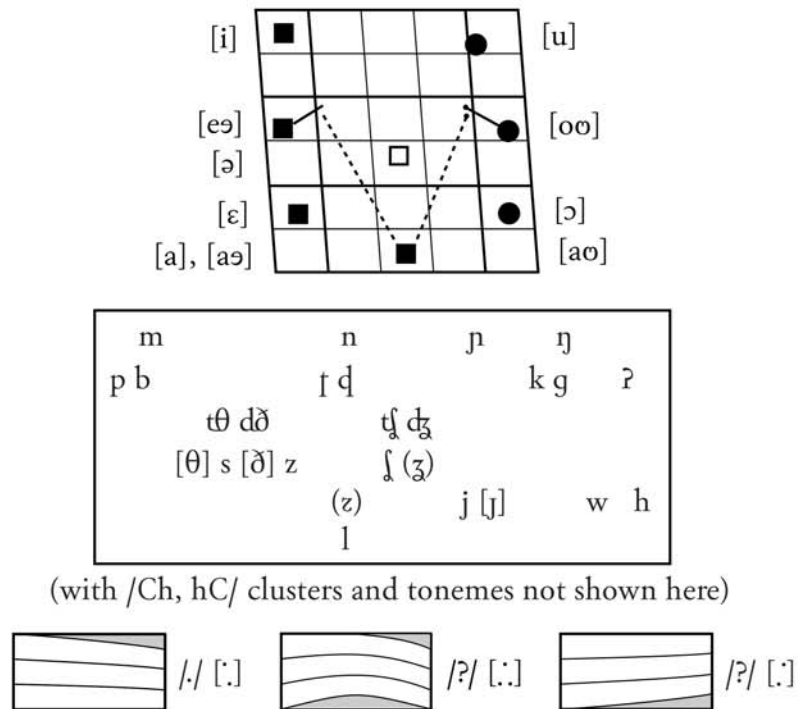
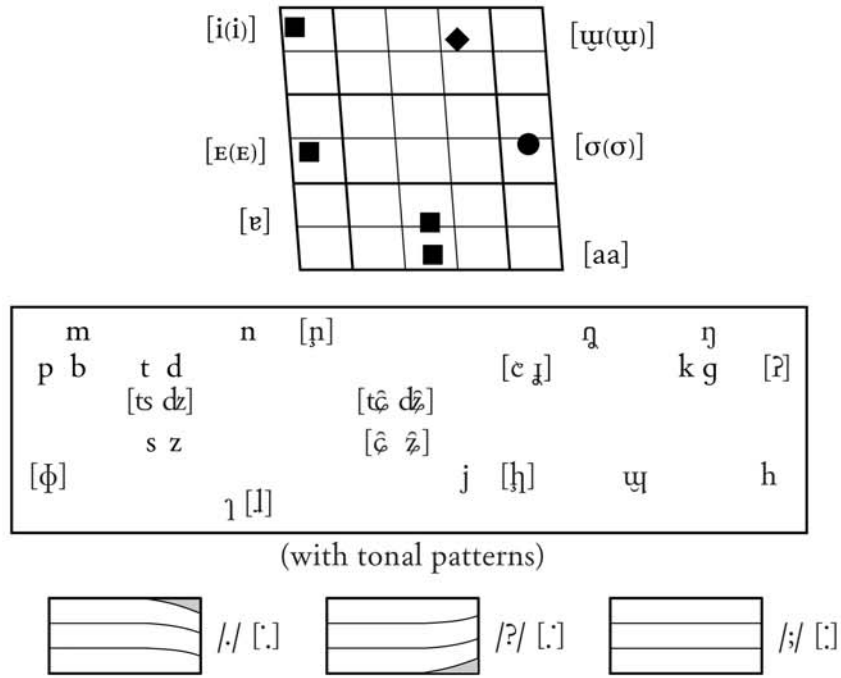


fig 13.26. Japanese.



Main consonant ograms

fig 13.27.1. Main nasals.

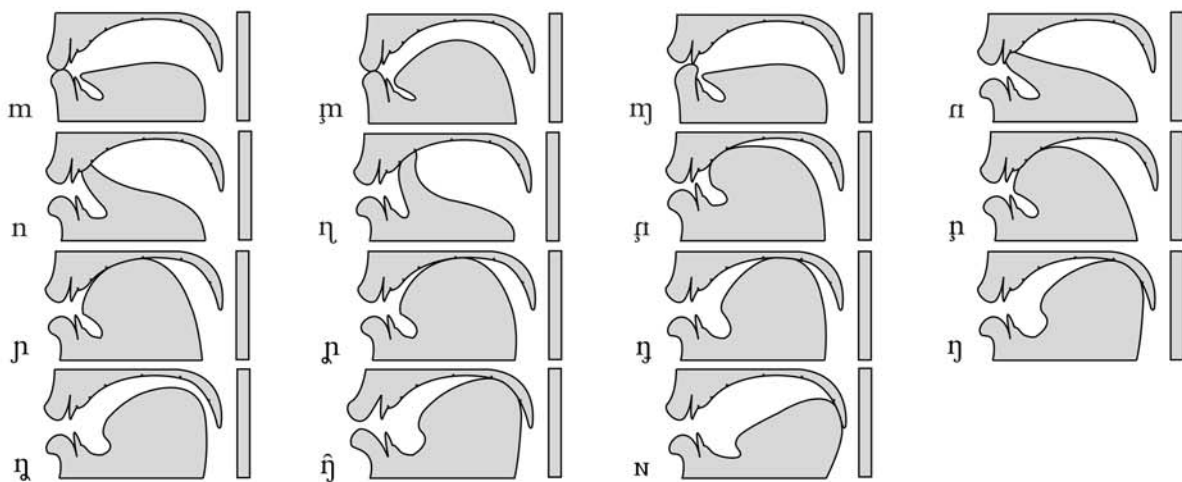


fig 13.27.2. Main stops.

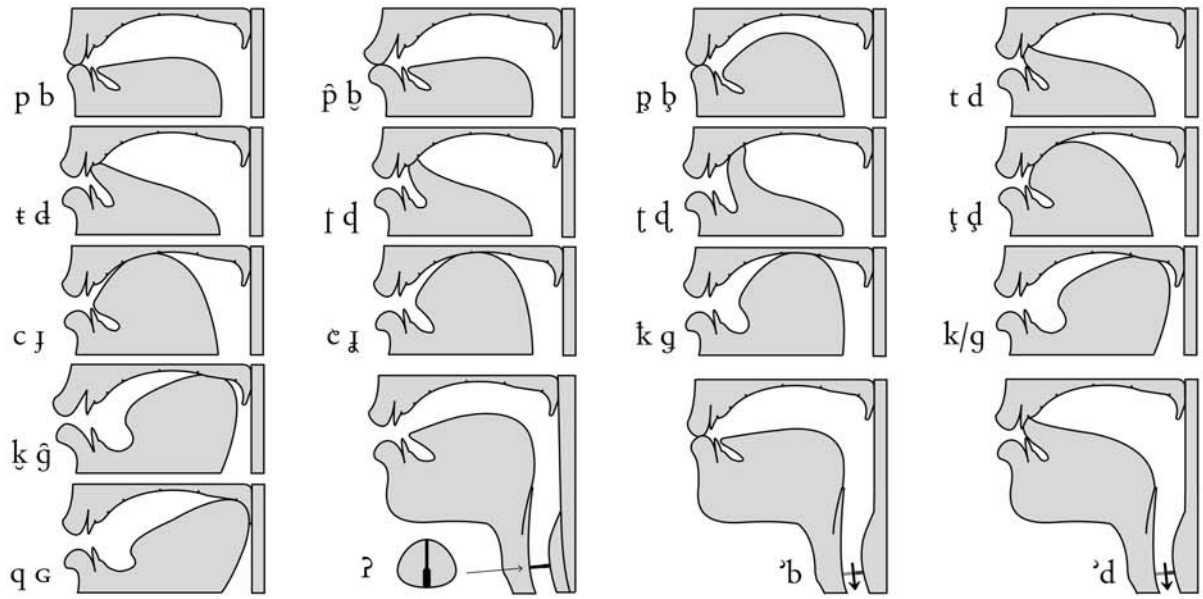


fig 13.27.3. Main stop-strictives (or 'affricates').

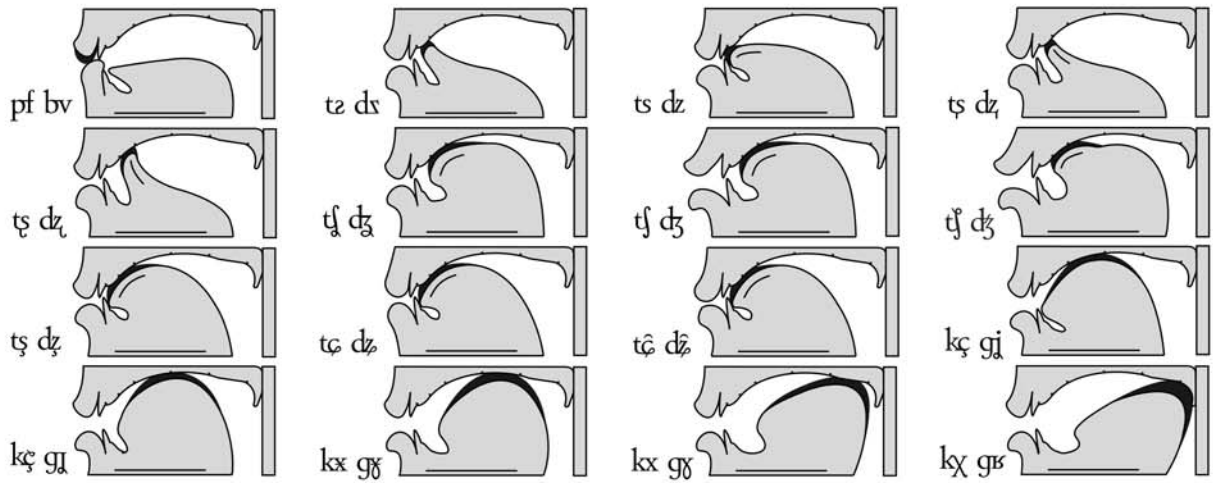


fig 13.27.4. Main constrictives (or 'fricatives').

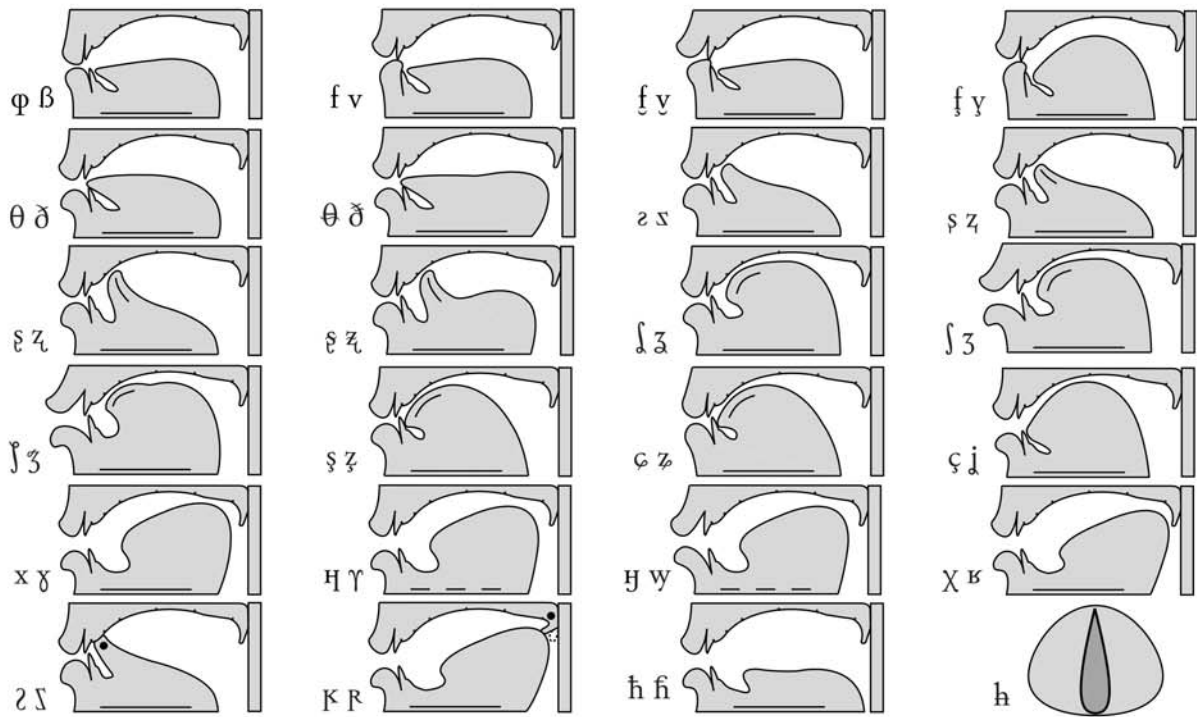


fig 13.27.5. Main approximants (and semi-approximants).

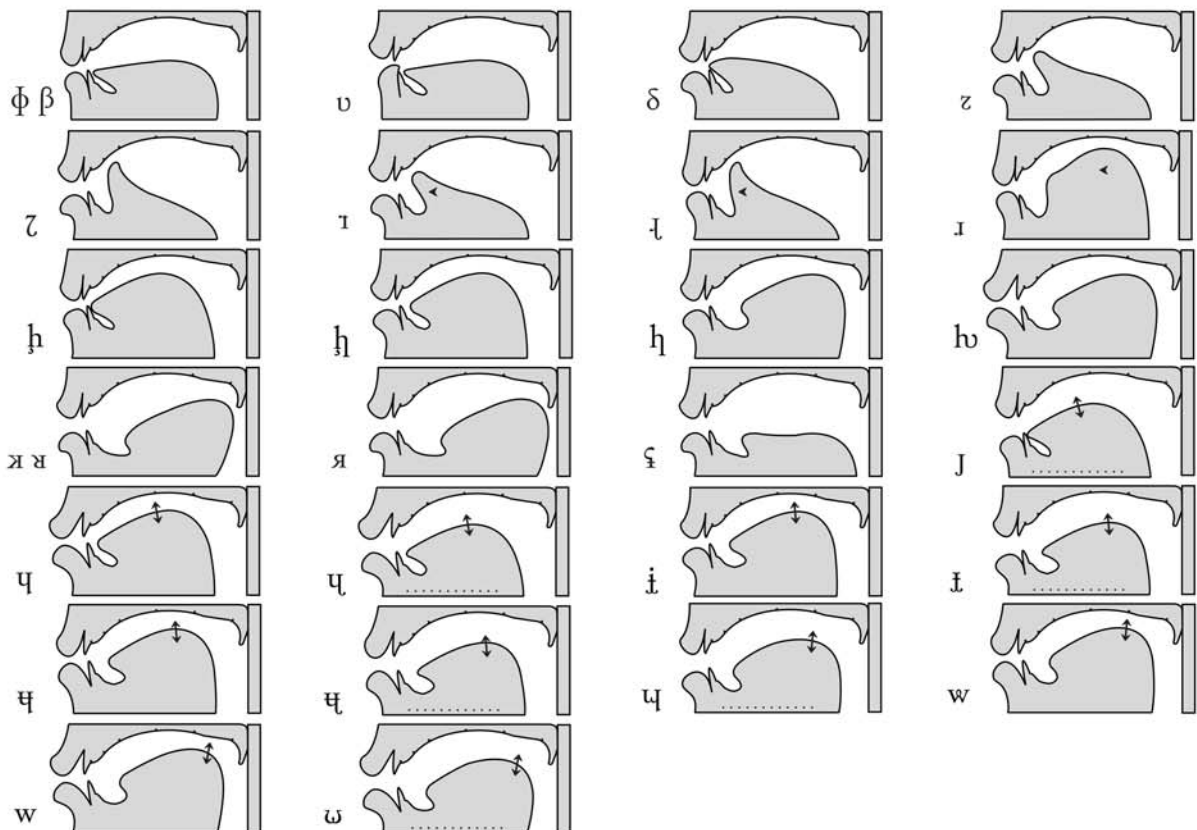


fig 13.27.6. Main 'rhotics'.

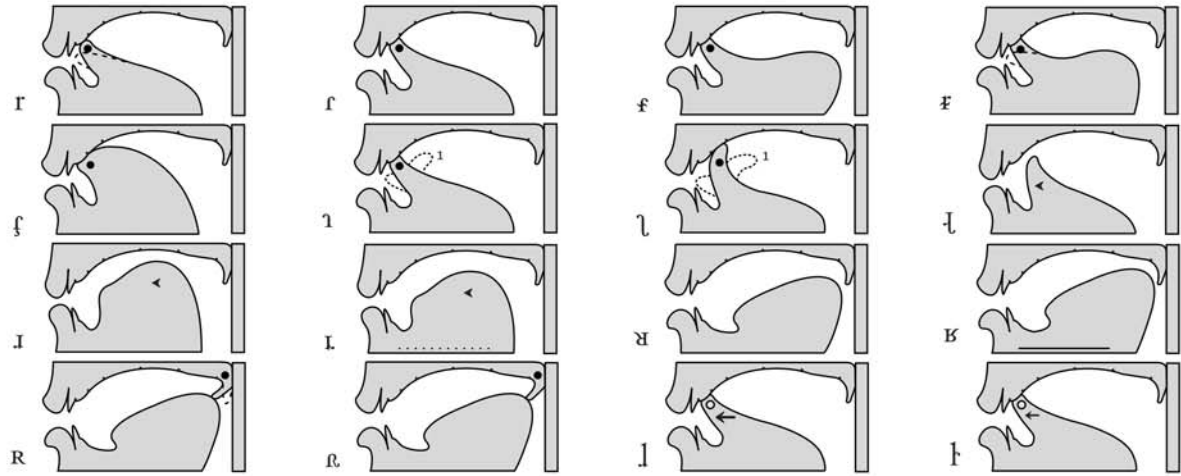
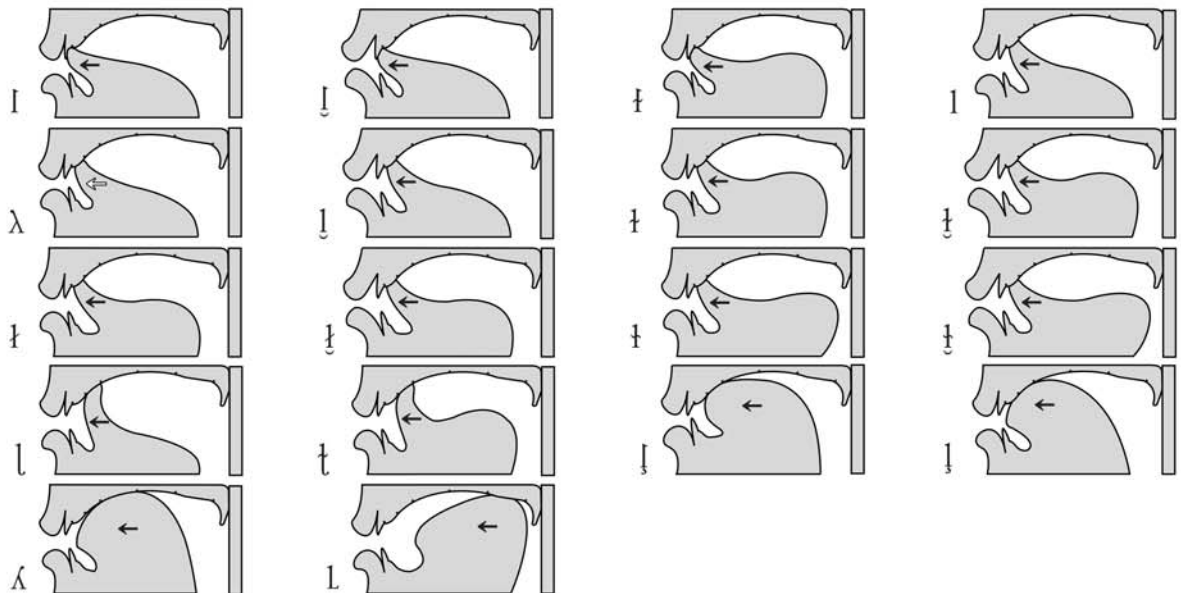


fig 13.27.7. Main laterals.



14.

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.

Unfortunately, none of them succeeded in actually freeing themselves from the incredible confusion between ‘syllable’ and ‘mora’. Thus, they continue mixing up phonic and graphic matters. Of course, less useful (or, rather, useless) books and articles do not appear here.

In addition, even none of the titles listed here indicate, systematically and fully, vowel quantities, as if they were not important, including frequent differences.

- ADAMS, J.N. (2013) *Social Variation and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: CUP; a very thick book with nothing new, just a collection of what is known and well-known, even more deeply, still with the incredible fairy-tale section about ‘diphthongs and hiatuses’, with a ‘promising’ but very disappointing and highly misleading title; non-IPA.
- ALLEN, W.S. (1978²) *Vox latina*. Cambridge: CUP; sufficient as a start, but not as satisfactory as some ‘older’ treatises and grammars; non-IPA.
- BERNARDI PERINI, G. (2010⁵) *L’accento latino*. Bologna: Pàtron; non-IPA, somehow indicating stresses and vowel quantities, but Italian *é/è* used at random.
- BETTS, G. (1986) *Teach yourself Latin*. Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton; non-IPA, but indicating stresses and vowel quantities, somehow.
- BOLDRINI, S. (2004) *Fondamenti di prosodia e metrica latina*. Roma: Carocci.
- 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.
- CALONGHI, F. (1950) *Dizionario latino italiano*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- CANEPARI, L. (1983) *Phonetic Notation | La notazione fonetica*. Venezia: Cafoscarina; with 2 enclosed audiocassettes; almost *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, also 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, also 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 dell’italiano – 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*.
 - (2007²) *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 *canIPA* 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.
 - (2016²) *English Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom; with more than 200 different accents [L1: 121 native with variants], bilingual [L2: 63], foreign [LS: 30]; *canIPA*.
 - (2016²) *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 & Accents*. München: Lincom; communicative, neutral, mediatic, traditional, international pronunciations, with regional and border-

- ing accents; *canIPA*.
- (2020) *Ancient Greek Pronunciation & Modern Accents*. München: Lincom; including diachronic stages and some modern European accents; *canIPA*.
- (2020) *Sanskrit Pronunciation & Modern Accents*. München: Lincom; including some diachronic stages and modern Indian accents; *canIPA*.
- (forth.) *Italian pronouncing dictionary*. Rome: Aracne; updated and expanded full version of the 2000/2009 *DíPI* 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*.
- & — (2017²) *Chinese Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom; neutral and mediatic Mandarin, with 10 regional and Taiwanese accents; *canIPA*.
- & — (2020²) *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*.
- & MIOTTI, R. (forth.) *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. (2017²) *Japanese Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom; neutral, mediatic and international pronunciations, and 20 regional accents; *canIPA*.
- & — (2018) *Japanese Pronouncing Dictionary. From Transliteration to Phonotactics*. München: Lincom; *canIPA*.
- & PUGLIESE, M. (2020) *Galician Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom (neutral, mediatic and regional accents; *canIPA*).
- & — (2021) *Romanian Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom; neutral and regional accents; *canIPA*.
- & SHARMA, G. (2017²) *Hindi Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom (neutral, mediatic and international pronunciations, and 16 regional accents; *canIPA*).
- & VITALI, D. (2018) *Russian Pronunciation & Accents*. München: Lincom; neutral, 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 unsuccessful updating; *IPA*.
- CHAPMAN, W.H. *et alii* (1988³) *Introduction to Practical Phonetics*. Horsleys Green: Summer Institute of Linguistics; substantially *IPA*.
- CLACKSON, J. (2011 ed) *A Companion to the Latin Language*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

- CSEER, A. (2020) *The Phonology of Classical Latin*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell; not complete and still grammar-dependent for 'hiatuses & diphthongs', IPA, but with /aj/ for æ, &c.
- DAITZ, S.G. (1984) *The Pronunciation and Reading of Classical Latin*. London: Norton; booklet and cassette with cartoon-like effect, and not without phonomistakes; only listed IPA.
- Dictionnaire Latin-Français* (2014) Chennevières-sur-Marne: Assimil; 14000 entries, with vowel quantities and, wisely, j for /j/, v for /w/, but not au, æ, œ for /ɛʊ, ɛe, oe/.
- Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (2015⁷, 1962¹) 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 /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.
- GEORGES, C.E. & CALONGHI, F. (1896) *Dizionario della lingua latina*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier; with j and v, but not æ, œ, nor au.
- HALE, W.G. & BUCK, C.D. (1903) *A Latin Grammar*. Alabama: UAP; much better than so many recent books.
- 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.
- JONES, D. (1956) *Cardinal Vowels*. London: Linguaphone Institute; 2 [78 rpm] records with booklet; now face A of both records are downloadable; IPA.
- (1967³) *The Phoneme: its Nature and Use*. Cambridge: Heffer; still better than so many more or less recent productions, woolily trying to deal with this serious subject, denying it; IPA.
- KENT, R.G. (1945³) *The Sounds of Latin*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America; with some almost natural-phonetics presentations.
- LAVIER, J. (1980) *The Phonetic Description of Voice Quality*. Cambridge: CUP; with a non-enclosed audiocassette; IPA.
- Le Latin* (2015) Chennevières-sur-Marne: Assimil; some pseudo-phonetic transcrip-

- tions, with almost unreadable notes, for unprofessional color printing.
- LINDSAY, W.M. (1894) *The Latin Language*. Oxford: OUP; still much better than so many 'modern' books.
- MABILIA, V. & Mastandrea, P. (2000) *Il primo latino*. Bologna: Zanichelli; marks non-penultimate stress by means of `.
- MAGGI, F. & CANEPARI L. (forth.) *Latin Pronouncing Dictionary · Lexicon Latinæ Locutionis*. Rome: Aracne; presented and realized according to useful phonic principles, rather than morphological ones; *can*IPA.
- MIOTTI, R. & CANEPARI, L. (forth.) *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*; *can*IPA.
- & — (forth.) *Spanish Pronouncing Dictionary/Diccionario de pronunciación española*. München: Lincom; *can*IPA.
- MIR, J. & Calvano, P. (1986) *Nuovo vocabolario della lingua latina*. Milano: Mondadori-ELI; marks many stresses by means of ' or ˘, but not without mistakes.
- Oxford Latin Desk Dictionary* (2005). Oxford: OUP; indicates long vowels by means of macrons, although not always or not always correctly, v for /w/, but not j, au, æ, œ for /j, ɛʊ, ɛe, oe/, no IPA.
- Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968). Oxford: OUP; not as useful and complete as it should be, indicates long vowels by means of macrons, although not always, besides with u, i, au, ae, oe for v, j, au, æ, œ /w, j, ɛʊ, ɛe, oe/, no IPA.
- SMALLEY, W.A. (1964²) *Manual of Articulatory Phonetics*. Terrytown (NY): Practical Anthropology; with 33 non-enclosed [18 cm, 19 cm/s] reels, lasting 32 hours; non-IPA.
- STURTEVANT, E.H. (1920) *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*. Chicago: UCP; still interesting and useful.
- THOMAS, J.M.C. *et alii* (1976) *Initiation à la phonétique* ['Introduction to Phonetics']. Paris: PUF; completed by the vinyl record BOUQUIAUX *et alii*; expanded IPA.
- VENDRYES, J. (1902) *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'intensité initiale en latin*. Paris: Klincksieck; with passages from various authors, both Latin and modern on the subject, but not convincing about a 'musical' accent.
- ZAGO, M. (1998) *La pronuncia e l'intonazione della lingua latina: una proposta*. Venice University graduation thesis guided by L. Canepari; some of its texts have been retranscribed for the present book.