

8. Russian

8.0.1. The Russian pronunciation given in this chapter is the modern neutral one, which is decidedly more relevant and less far from spelling (which we certainly cannot define as ‹friendly›, in particular for traditional pronunciation, which had an even greater number of inconsistencies).

In any case, we will show the differences between modern and traditional pronunciation as well (§ 8.3.2). The latter mostly coincides with the ‹old Moscow pronunciation›. We will also give other more recent variants, which may be found, in a more or less (un)systematic way, even among people believed to be ‹neutral› speakers, who can oscillate among modern, traditional, and ‹alternative› variants. However, modern neutral pronunciation is clearly definable and recognizable, and appreciable indeed, although frequently mixed with the other two types.

Furthermore, our own phonemic interpretation differs from Russian-inspired ones, because it looks more to concrete things than to (more) abstract ones, which are further away from the true linguistic intuition of native speakers, unless they are ‹deviated› by archaic Soviet preconceived patterns, to the point of accepting inappropriate solutions without questioning.

What is more, this analysis of ours is closer to the official writing, with obvious advantages which compensate for many other discordances between orthography and pronunciation.

Obviously, some other authors have preferred this kind of analysis, as Trofimov & Jones (1923), which we had not yet ‹discovered› at the time of our early interpretation, presented for the first time in 1975. We maintain it here, with some refinements (even phonetic ones, with respect to previous choices which turned out to coincide with those of Trofimov & Jones – with six vowel phonemes, although they treated even coronal –palatalized– consonants in a phoneme-like way).

Unfortunately and strangely, the structuring in Jones & Ward (1969) is of a ‹fanta-Soviet› type (given the direct involvement of Ward with the Soviet/Russian world and an unexplainable –to us– rethink on the part of Jones, who died two years before the publication of the book, about the adequacy of the 1923 analysis). Nevertheless, all in all, Jones & Ward’s book remains the best –extensive– treatise on the subject; it is decidedly better than the very heavy and (almost) unchanging Soviet and Russian productions.

Most examples we provide are taken from the various texts given in the bibliography, by retranscribing them (or transcribing them entirely, when they were only graphemic or partial). We always do this both phonetically and phonemically, according to our principles and methods.

Let us focus attention on another notational difference, as well: between our transcriptions (which are phonetically and phonemically *canIPA*) and the *offIPA* (which is official after the 1993/96 reform): [ˈdʒeɲ] /ˈdʒenj/ (/ˈdʒenj/*off*) день, [zˈdʒeɲ]

/z'djesj/ (/ʰz'djesj/ *off*) *здесь*, [z'dʒɛ'ɫɔtʂ] /z'djelatj/ (/ʰz'djɛlɔtj/ *off*) *сделатъ*, [ɫʂɪlʲi'vɪdʒɪ'nɪ(ɔɪ)] /tili'vidiniji/ (/tʲɪlʲɪ'vɪdʒɪ'nɪjɪ/ *off*) *телевидение*, [ɔjɪʂtʂɪst'ʲɛ'; -ɪʂtʂ'ʲɛ'] /ajɪstɪst'vje/ (/ajɪstɪst'ɪst'ɪvʲjɛ/ *off.t*, *ie* official and traditional) *о естестве*. It seems quite obvious to us that an excess of [j] is certainly harmful to readability too.

8.0.2. At the beginning, we think it useful to show the Cyrillic alphabet, both roman and italic. The latter especially, since the shape of some letters can be misleading at first, by comparison with the Roman (or Latin) ones typical of certain kinds of transliteration, which are given in brackets. It is not recommendable to use the ambiguous *ch* for /x/, since *kh* is decidedly more appropriate, while keeping *ch* for /tʃ/ (in case the most satisfying choice of using *č* /tʃ/ and *x* /x/ is not made).

For Cyrillic writing, it is important to pay particular attention to the roman ⟨в, е, н, р, с, у, х⟩, and the italic ⟨*e, u, n, p, c, m, y, x*⟩.

а, <i>a</i> (<i>a</i>) [ɫʲɑ] /'a/	с, <i>c</i> (<i>s</i>) [ɫʲɛs] /'es/
б, <i>b</i> (<i>b</i>) [bʲɛ] /'be/	т, <i>m</i> (<i>t</i>) [tʲɛ] /'te/
в, <i>v</i> (<i>v</i>) [vʲɛ] /'ve/	у, <i>y</i> (<i>u</i>) [ʷu] /'u/
г, <i>g</i> (<i>g</i>) [gʲɛ] /'ge/	ф, <i>φ</i> (<i>f</i>) [ɫʲɛf] /'ef/
д, <i>ð</i> (<i>d</i>) [dʲɛ] /'de/	х, <i>x</i> (<i>x, kh, h, ch!</i> [çr <i>u</i>]) [ɫʲɪxɑ] /'xa/
е, <i>e</i> (<i>e, je, ye</i>) [jɛ] /'je/	ц, <i>ɥ</i> (<i>c, ts</i>) [tsʲɛ] /'tse/
е/ë, <i>e/ë</i> (<i>ë, jo, yo</i>) [jɔ] /'jo/	ч, <i>u</i> (<i>č, ch</i>) [tʃʲɛ] /'tʃe/
ж, <i>ж</i> (<i>ž, zh</i>) [ʒʲɛ] /'ʒe/	ш, <i>ш</i> (<i>š, sh</i>) [ʂʲɛ] /'ʂa/
з, <i>z</i> (<i>z</i>) [zʲɛ] /'ze/	щ, <i>ш</i> (<i>šč, sch, shch</i>) [ʂʲɪʂɑ] /'ʂʂa/
и, <i>i</i> (<i>i</i>) [i] /'i/	ъ, <i>ʷ</i> (<i>ʷ</i>) [tʲɔɪrdɪz,nak, jɛɕ] /'tʲvjordɪz-nak, jɛr/ <i>твердый знак</i>
й, <i>ÿ</i> (<i>j, ÿ</i>) [ɪk'ɫʲatɫɔ(ɔɪ)] /'ɪk'ɫʲatɫɔj/ <i>и краткое</i>	ы, <i>ы</i> (<i>y, ÿ</i>) [ɪɪ, jɪ'ɫʲɪ] /'ɪ, jɪ'ɫʲɪ/
к, <i>k</i> (<i>k</i>) [kʲɪɑ] /'ka/	ь, <i>ʷ</i> (<i>ʷ</i>) [ɫʲmɔɫɪz,nak, ɫʲmɔɫɪɪ-, jɛɕ] /'mɔɫɪz,nak, ɫʲmɔɫɪɪ-, jɛrj/ <i>мягкий знак</i>
л, <i>l</i> (<i>l</i>) [ɫʲɛɫ, -ɫ] /'el/	э, <i>ə</i> (<i>e, è, è</i>) [ɫʲɛ, ɫʲɛɛbɛ'ɫʲɔtnɔ(ɔɪ)] /'ɛ, ɫʲɛɛbɛ'ɫʲɔtnɔj/ <i>э оборотное</i>
м, <i>m</i> (<i>m</i>) [ɫʲɛm] /'em/	ю, <i>ju</i> (<i>ju, yu</i>) [jɪ] /'ju/
н, <i>n</i> (<i>n</i>) [ɫʲɛn] /'en/	я, <i>y</i> (<i>ja, ya</i>) [jɑ] /'ja/
о, <i>o</i> (<i>o</i>) [ʷɔ] /'o/	
п, <i>p</i> (<i>p</i>) [pʲɛ] /'pe/	
р, <i>p</i> (<i>r</i>) [ɫʲɛɫ] /'er/	

8.0.3. In Russian, the normal phonetic syllabification, although not absolutely, considers that /r, l/ preceded by /C(j)/ are heterosyllabic, unless they are preceded by another C (as in [ɫɔtʂɛ'strɔdɔ] /afta'strɔdɔ/ *автострада* and other examples in the text). The same occurs for /Cj-jV/ [Ç-jV]: [kɛp'ɫʲɔn] /kap'lun/ *каплун*, [ʷutɫɔ] /'utra/ *утро*, [kvɔd'ɫʲat] /kvɔd'rat/ *квадрат*, [pɫɔk-ɫɔ] /'pɫɔkɫɔ/ *накля*, [ɫɛv'ɫʲɔɫɪ] /lav'ɫʲɔvɪj/ *лавровый*, [ʷɔɫɫɔ-ɫɔ] /'ɔxɫɔ/ *охрана*, [zɫɪɕ'jɔ] /zɫɪɕ'jɔ/ *зверье*. This may not be very surprising within words; but perhaps it could seem to be a bit strange in word-initial position. Actually, if we adequately consider not single words but the phrases and sentences which contain them, the logic behind this de-

cision is (almost) evident. In fact, if we listen carefully, this syllabification is generally confirmed, although it is possible to find contrary opinions: [tʲɪʲ] /tʲri/ *три*, [sʲpʷɔɪ̯] /sʲpor/ *спор*, [tʲɔɪ̯rdʲi] /tʲvjordʲi/ *твердый*, [i̯kʲɪʲatʲkʲɪ] /i̯kʲɪʲatʲkʲɪ/ *у крамкое*, [sʲtʲɪʲaʲh] /sʲtrax/ *страх*, [sʲpʲɪʲaf] /sʲplaf/ *сплав*.

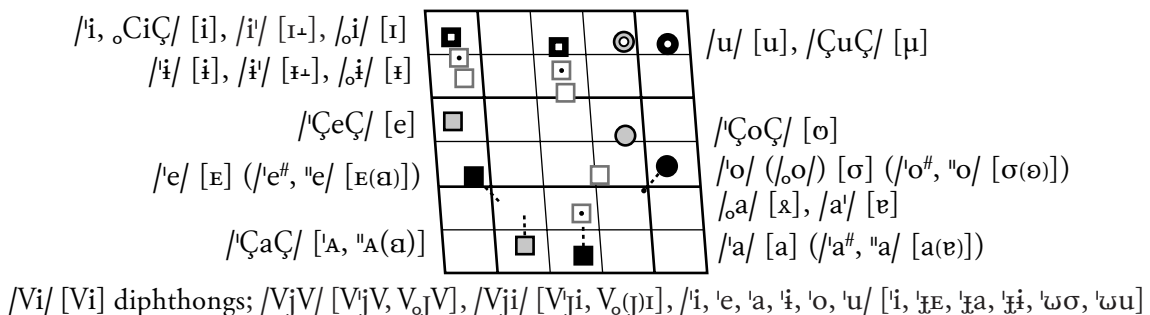
Vowels

8.1.1. Russian orthography is clearly based on morphological principles, which certainly privilege lexical and grammatical structures (even diachronically!) in comparison with phonic ones. The latter are considered more in the abstract, more in phonological terms, but still chiefly morphologically. Nevertheless, differently from most languages, in Russian orthography we find that the phonology of vowels and consonants is presented fairly «spontaneously», as felt by «naïve» speakers; not in the «sophisticated» way linguists do, with useless complications both for teaching and descriptive purposes.

Indeed, the Russian orthography uses *six vocalic graphemes* which correspond exactly to the number of vowel phonemes of this language: *u, ə, a, o, y, v* /i, e, a, o, u, i/ (clearly, *e, я, ё, ю* do not indicate «vowels», but sequences of /j/ + /e, a, o, u/, that is [j] or [ç] + [e, a, o, u], or [e, a, o, u] when they are also followed by ç = /ç, i/). By using these *six vowel phonemes* (obviously listed in a phonic order), *twenty-two consonant phonemes* (including /ʒ/) are sufficient, in contrast with over thirty (ie from thirty-three up to thirty-nine) used in other analyses, which persist in positing only five vowels. Of course, this –excessively– complicates both the whole phonological inventory and the relation between pronunciation and writing.

If a comparison is made, the choice is simple and even obvious. In fact, it seems to be more logical and natural to conclude by saying that, in Russian, C have taxophones which are «patalalized» by /i, j/, rather than to imagine some «soft» C which would («automatically») make the Russian speakers produce «soft(ened)» V, whereas «hard» C would make them produce «hard(ened)» V, by advancing the false excuse that «Russian-speaking people are unable to pronounce a clear *i* [i] sound after *k* [k]».

fig 8.1. Russian vowel elements.



In modern pronunciation, even the oddity of [cii#] /kii#/ («куи»), traditionally pronounced as «/kii/», disappears. Therefore, by definitively reversing the «prob-

lem), everything becomes simple. As a matter of fact, Russian-speaking people say [ci] and [ki] (in stressed syllables ['ci], ['kʲi]), since phonemically they are /ki, ki/ not </ci, ki/>; and the same is true of [oʲi, 'bʲi; oʲi, 'bʲi] /bi; bi/ (not </bʲi; bi/>), &c.

In addition, for /Cʲ#, CʲC/, the very spelling indicates /Cj/ through <Cʲ>, except in cases where the pronunciation changed centuries ago (whereas the orthography has remained unchanged, still keeping sequences such as *шʲ, жʲ*). Furthermore, there are (more or less incomplete) assimilations for /CCj/, which become [CʲCʲ], or [CʲCʲ], depending on the type of pronunciation – (more) modern or (more) traditional, as we will soon see (§ 8.3.2.0-11).

8.1.2. In stressed syllables, the six vowel phonemes are realized as the black markers shown in fig 8.1. Obviously, those with a white center also correspond to certain unstressed contexts that we will see later on: [tʲi] /tri/ *три*, [ʲeʲɪ] /'era/ *эра*, [kʲak] /'kak/ *как*, [tʲot] /'tot/ *том*, [ʲum] /'um/ *ум*, [bʲit] /'bit/ *быт*; besides, we also have: [tʲsɛʲ] /'tsɛx/ *цех*, [ʲak] /'ʲak/ *аг*, [ʲuk] /'ʲuk/ *жук*.

As some examples have already shown, there are some interesting differences in our phonetic transcriptions in comparison with phonemic ones, apart from symbol variations such as [ɛ] /e/, [o] /o/. While [i, ɪ] /i/ remain unchanged (except in the sequences [ji, jɪ] /oʲji/, which represent <u> after V, and <e> in unstressed syllables), the most important element is instead the prevelar semi-approximant [ɣ], occurring before stressed /e, a, ɪ/, and the velar rounded semi-approximant [w], before stressed /o, u/ (all of them preceded or not by a different C from /j, tʃ, ʃ, ʒ/). Therefore, the V which are different from /i/ are realized as sequences of [ɣ] + [ɛ, a, ɪ], or [w] + [o, u]; in particular this happens in stressed syllables, even in compounds and in sentences where distinct timbres occur; that is with /o, o/ too.

Obviously, [ɣ, w] are less <evident> than fully prevelar, or velar rounded, approximants, [j, w]; [w] occurs in English [wɪt, 'khwɪt, 'wɔ:(ɪ)] /wɪt, 'kwɪt, 'wɔ:(ɪ)/ *wit, quit, war*. It is to be noted that [ɣ, w] are quite different from a phonic zero, [∅] (although naïve Russian speakers would swear they cannot hear anything but [∅]), as in English [ɪt, 'kɪt, 'ɔ:(ɪ)] /ɪt, 'kɪt, 'ɔ:(ɪ)/ *it, kit, oar*. However, in unstressed syllables, the approximants [ɣ, w] do not occur, as will be clear from some examples given below.

It is important to explain from the very beginning the palatalizing function of the phonemes /i, j/ on the C which precede them. Thus we have to pre-empt, here, the triple division of the Russian C. We find <normal> C, which are *palatalizable*: /m, n; r; l/ [m, n; r, l], /p, b; t, d; k, g/ [p, b; t, d; k, g], /f, v; s, z; x/ [f, v; s, z; x]. Then there are the *palatal* ones, in the general sense that they have a real <palatal> component, in spite of their actual realizations: /j, tʃ, ʃ, ʒ/ [j, tʃ, ʃ, ʒ], /tʲ, dʲ, kʲ, gʲ/ [tʲ, dʲ, kʲ, gʲ]. Finally, we have *non-palatal* C: /ts, ʃ, ʒ/ [ts, ʃ, ʒ], which are never palatalized (although spelling sequences like <ju, ue, жʲ> exist: [ʲju] /ʲju/ *жу*). We must always keep in mind, then, that */tsi; ʃi, ʒi/ do not occur (any longer) but are substituted by /tsʲi; ʃʲi, ʒʲi/, in spite of historical writings with <u, u, ж> followed by <u, e, я, ю, в>.

8.1.3. After all, /i, j/ (and /tʃ, ʃ, ʒ/) would be sufficient to adequately explain how the Russian phonemic system works, which is so typical because of *palatali-*

zation. Therefore, we can represent (in general, as a functional category, especially in our concise phonemic formulae) those C which have a *palatal* component (ie [j] /j/, [tʃ] /tʃ/, [ʃ(ʎ)] /ʃ(ʎ)/, [ʒʒ] /ʒʒ/) by means of /Ç/. In our formulae, this also includes the typical diphthongs, [Vi] /Vi/ (Vü)), as if they were </Vj/), which is a more abstract representation, often used but not by us. In fact, our only concession to abstraction is the use of /Ç/ in our formulae, even for /Vi/. Another (more abstract) possibility, which is traditional and frequent in transliterations, would give //ʃtʃ// for /ʃ(ʎ)/.

So if <normal> C are followed by /i, j/, they are realized as <palatalized> (and absorb /j/): [m, n; ɱ; ɲ], [p, b; tʃ/tʃ, dʒ/dʒ; c, ɟ] ([tʃ, dʒ] occur before V and heterorganic C; [tʃ, dʒ] occur before homorganic C), [ɕ, ʝ; ʂ, ʐ; ɣ]; obviously, without the addition of the semi-approximants [ɕ, ʝ], before V.

Therefore, we have: [ˈmʲɪr] /ˈmir/ *мир*, [ˈvɔsɔʂɪm] /ˈvosimj/ *восемь*, [ˈnʲeˈbɔ] /ˈnjeba/ *небо*, [kɐnʲɪˈci] /kanjˈki/ *коньки*, [ˈrʲɪs] /ˈris/ *рис*, [ˈzɔrɔʂkɔ] /ˈzorjka/ *зорька*, [ˈkɔrɔʂ] /ˈkorj/ *корь*, [ˈlʲes] /ˈljes/ *лес*, [bɐlʲɪʂɔɪ] /baljˈʂoi/ *большой*, [ˈsɔlʲ] /ˈsolj/ *соль*, [ˈpʲelʲ] /ˈpjel/ *пел*, [ˈtɔrɔʂ] /ˈtorj/ *топь*, [ˈbʊst] /ˈbjust/ *бюст*, [ˈtʂɛˈtʲɔ] /ˈtjela/ *тело*, [ˈmʲatʂ] /ˈmatj/ *мать*, [ˈtʲlʲa] /ˈtlja/ *тля*, [ˈdʒɛˈtʲɪ] /ˈdjeti/ *дети*, [dʲvʲɛ, dʒˈ] /dʲvje/ *две*, [dʲlʲɪˈnʲɔ] /dliˈna/ *длина*, [ˈcʲɪt] /ˈkit/ *кит*, [mɐnʲɪˈcʲjʊɕ] /maniˈkjur/ *маникюр*, [ˈnɔʂɪ] /ˈnogi/ *ноги*, [ˈfʲɪˈnʲɪk] /ˈfinik/ *финик*, [kʲrɔʂɔʂ] /kroʂfj/ *кровь*, [ˈvʲɛʂ] /ˈvjesj/ *весь*, [ɔʂɛ] /ʂje/ *все* (also [ɔʂɔ] /ʂjo/ <всё>) [ˈgʊʂ] /ˈgusj/ *гусь*, [zʲɪˈmʲɔ] /ziˈma/ *зима*, [ˈtʲɪˈxʲɪj] /ˈtixii/ *тихий*.

Naturally, even [tʃ, tʃV, dʒ] /tʃ/, [ʃ(ʎ)] /ʃ(ʎ)/ (and [ʒʒ] /ʒʒ/) have the value of Ç: [ˈtʃɛk] /ˈtʃek/ *чек*, [xɐˈtʃʊ] /xatʃu/ *хочу*, [tʃlʲɛn] /tʃljen/ *член*, [ɐlˈtʃbʲɔ] /altʃba/ *алчба*, [ʃʲɪt] /ʃʲɪt/ *щит*, [ɪʃʲʊ] /iʃʲu/ *ищу*, [tɐˈvʲɔʂɪʃ(ʎ)] /taˈvarʲɪʃ(ʎ)/ *товарищ*.

The phoneme [ʒʒ] /ʒʒ/ is particular and typical only of a kind of traditional and old-fashioned pronunciation: [ˈvɔʂʒʒɪ] /ˈvoʒʒi/ *вожжи*, [ˈjɛʒʒʊ] /ˈjeʒʒu/ *езжу*. The most modern and recommendable pronunciation has [ʒʒ] /ʒʒ/, in almost all words: [ˈvɔʂʒʒɪ, ˈjɛʒʒʊ] /ˈvoʒʒi, ˈjeʒʒu/.

Initial /j/ is Ç par excellence, and even after V (keeping well in mind that <e, я, ё, ю> – being simply C + V sequences, not <diphthongs> – correspond to /j/ + /e, a, o, u/): [jɪzʲɪk] /jiˈzɪk/ *язык*, [ˈjɛlʲ] /ˈjel/ *ель*, [ˈja] /ˈja/ *я*, [ˈjɔʂ] /ˈjoʂ/ *ож*, [ˈjuk] /ˈjuk/ *юг*, [mɐˈja] /maˈja/ *моя*, [sɐˈjʊs] /saˈjus/ *союз*, [dʲvɔʂ(ʲ)ɪ] /dʲvoji/ *двое*, [ˈnɔʂˈvʲɔʂ] /ˈnovaja/ *новая*, [ˈʂɪˈnʲɪ(ʲ)ɪ] /ˈsiniji/ *синее*.

8.1.4. The four vowel phonemes /e, a, o, u/ may occur between Ç, and are realized closer or fronter, as indicated by the grey markers, [e, a, o, u] (again in fig 8.1): [ˈjelʲ] /ˈjelj/ *ель*, [ˈpʲatʂ] /ˈpjatj/ *пять*, [ˈtʃɔʂɔʂ] /ˈtjotja/ *тетя*, [tʃɪˈfʲak] /tjuˈfjak/ *тюфяк*.

The advancement and raising of /CɪÇ/ is decidedly more limited, [ɪː] (and, in the vocogram, there is no special marker different from the one for normal [i], so as not to render the figure too heavy): [ˈbʲɪtʂ] /ˈbitj/ *бить*.

On the contrary, /i/ does not occur in this context; and this phenomenon has cultivated the myth of the complementarity of [i, ɪ]. So they are grouped in the same phoneme, /i/, under the delusion that a <better> phonological system has been found – while it is exactly the contrary. <Deviant> schooling is hard to re-

move, especially in regard to official writing (with its known and less known problems) and <respelling>, which is even used in schools in addition to in <scientific> works, with phonemic ambitions. They would like to find –almost alchemist’s– solutions, by using complex formulae and esoteric iconograms (which we will be careful not to reproduce).

In fig 8.1, three <potential> phonetic diphthongs, [ɛa, aɐ, σə], are also given, which can substitute [ɛʲ, aʲ, σʲ] (with an <interpalatal> variant, [Aɐ], for [Aʲ]). They occur mainly in intonemes, in unchecked (final or internal) syllables: [φʲʂɛʲ, φʲʂɛa; -σʲ, -σə] /ʲsʲje; -jə/ *все*, [ʲʃɛʲhʲ, ʲʃɛaʲhʲ] /ʲɛxa/ *эхо*, [ʲdʲaʲ, ʲdʲaɐ] /ʲda/ *да*, [ʲʃaʲtʲɔm, ʲʃaɐtʲɔm] /ʲatam/ *атом*, [ʲdʲɔʲdʲɔ, ʲdʲɔaɐdʲɔ] /ʲdʲadʲa/ *дядя*, [ʲdʲnɔσʲ, ʲdʲnɔσə] /ʲdʲno/ *дно*, [ʲgɔσʲtʲɔs, ʲgɔσətʲɔs] /ʲgɔlas/ *голас*. They also occur for emphasis, in which case they are longer; thus we have in unchecked syllables [ɛʲa; aʲɐ; Aʲa; σʲə]: [φʲʂɛʲa; -σʲə] /ʲsʲje; -jə/ *все*, [ʲʃɛʲaʲhʲ] /ʲɛxa/ *эхо*, [ʲdʲaʲaʲ] /ʲda/ *да*, [ʲʃaʲaʲtʲɔm] /ʲatam/ *атом*, [ʲdʲɔʲaʲdʲɔ] /ʲdʲadʲa/ *дядя*, [ʲdʲnɔσʲə] /ʲdʲno/ *дно*, [ʲgɔσʲətʲɔs] /ʲgɔlas/ *голас*; and in checked syllables [ɛa; aɐ; Aa; σə]: [ʲnɛaʲt] /ʲnjet/ *нет!*, [ʲʒʲaʲaʲ] /ʲʒalʲ/ *жаль!*, [ʲpʲaʲaʲtʲ] /ʲpʲatʲ/ *пят!*, [ʲdʲɔσəɔm] /ʲdom/ *дом!*

8.1.5. Russian also has some <official> diphthongs, all with a front second element /Vi/ [Vi]. Here we will consider those occurring in stressed syllables: [ʲcii] /ʲkii/ *кий*, [ʲpeitʲɪ] /ʲpʲeiti/ *нейте*, [ʲmʲai] /ʲmai/ *май*, [ʲtʲʲai] /ʲtʲai/ *чай*, [ʲbɔsi] /ʲboi/ *бой*, [ʲzɛʲtʲɔi] /ʲzɑʲtʲɔi/ *зарей*, [ʲdʲuitʲɪ] /ʲduiti/ *дуйте*, [ʲdʲʲim] /ʲdʲuim/ *дуйм*, [ʲvʲiɪdu] /ʲviidu/ *выйду*. As can be seen, the orthography uses <й> for diphthongs <consecrated> by grammar. However, mainly in loanwords, others occur, as <ау>: [ʲʃaust] /ʲfaust/ *Фауст*.

In unstressed syllables, we have (again with [Vi]): [ʲuʲii] /ʲulʲii/ *улей*, [ʲtʲʲiʲkɔsɔfsci] /ʲtʲʲiʲkɔfskii/ *Чайковский*, [ʲtɛiʲgʲaʲ] /ʲtaiʲga/ *тайга*, [ʲdʲɛʲtʲɔitʲɪ] /ʲdʲelaiti/ *делайте*, [ʲuiʲdʲuʲ] /ʲuiʲdu/ *уйду*, [ʲdʲʲimʲmɔsɔfks] /ʲdʲuiʲmɔfska/ *дуймовка*, [ʲbʲɛʲtʲɪ] /ʲbjelii/ *белый*.

Instead, purely graphemic <diphthongs> like <иу, ия, еи, ее, ае, ая, аю, ое, ые> do not correspond at all to *phono-diphthongs*, except when the semi-approximant (which is shown in round brackets, [V(ɥ)V]) falls completely. In this case, however, if the last vocalic element is /i/, the phone [ɪ] is maintained (instead of having [i], as in phonemic diphthongs, unless it is followed –in sentences– by [ʧ] or /i/): [ʲvʲitʲʲaiʲi(ɥ)ɪ, vʲɪ-] /ʲviʲtalijɪ, vʲi-/ *в Италии*, [ʲvrɛʲsʲi(ɥ)ɪ] /ʲvrɑsʲsijɪ/ *в России*, [ʲlʲiʲlʲi(ɥ)ɔ] /ʲlʲilʲija/ *лилия*, [ʲmuʲzɛ(ɥ)ɪ] /ʲmuʲzjeji/ *музей-ее* (cf [ʲmuʲzɛi] /ʲmuʲzjei/ *музей*), [ʲvʲʂɛɲɪ(ɥ)ɪ] /ʲɑʲsjennijɪ/ *осеннее*, [ʲvʲmɑ(ɥ)ɪ] /ʲvʲmajɪ/ *в мае*, [ʲnʲirʲuʲʃʲimʲɔjɔ] /ʲnʲiruʲʃimajɑ/ *нерушимая*, [ʲznʲɔjʲu] /ʲznajʲu/ *знаю*, [ʲnɔσʲvʲɔ(ɥ)ɪ] /ʲnɔvʲajɪ/ *новое*, [ʲjuʲznʲɪ(ɥ)ɪ] /ʲjuʲznijɪ/ *южные*.

The following examples are bisyllabic: [ʲpʲɛʲwʲuk] /ʲpaʲuk/ *наук*, [ʲmɛʲjʲi] /ʲmaʲji/ *мои*, [ʲpʲɛʲtʲɪ] /ʲpaʲet/ *поэт*, [ʲduʲtʲɪ] /ʲduʲelʲj/ *дуэль*.

8.1.6. As far as V in *unstressed syllables* are concerned, in addition to what we have already seen in some examples, in modern pronunciation we have (cf § 8.3.2, for <traditional> and <alternative> pronunciations): [ɪ, ɔɪ, ɔiʧ] /i/ (including [ɔʲii] /Cii/ – thus, /ɔi/ is [i] when it is followed by [ʧ] or by /i/, even in sentences, with-

out a pause), [e', #_oe, _oa] /a/, [u] /u/, [ɤ', _oɤ] /i/: [tɕi'si] /tɕi'si/ *часы*, [pi'tɕi] /pi'ti/ *пя-ти*, [jɪzɪ'kɕa] /jɪzɪ'ka/ *языка*, [e'bɕi'tɕii] /a'bitɕii/ *обычай*, [jɪrɛ'tɕaɕ] /jɪra'laɕ/ *ера-лаш*, [pɪɕimil'i] /pɪrimili/ *перемели*, [ɪlɪk'tɕi'tɕistvɔ] /ilɪk'tɕi'stva/ *электричест-во*, [pɔ'ɔɕɪ] /pɔli/ *поле*; [gɔ'ɔvɕa] /gɔla'va/ *голова*, [ɛvɛŋ'gɕaɕt, -ɔ'g-] /avan'gɔrt/ *авангард*, [k'rɕasnɔɕ] /k'rɕasnaja/ *красная*; [u'ɔɕk] /u'ɔk/ *урок*, [d'ɔɕmu] /d'o-mu/ *дому*, [ɕu'dɕa] /ɕju'da/ *сюда*, [ɕu'su'kɕtɕ] /ɕju'sjukatɕ/ *сюсюкать*; [tɕɪvɪl'ɪzɕa'tɕɪɔ] /tɕivɪlɪzatsɪja/ *цивилизация*, [ɕɪ'nɕa] /ɕɪ'na/ *жена*, [d'ɕi'ɕɪ] /d'ɪri/ *дыры*.

For ⟨я⟩ in unstressed syllables (and for ⟨Ça⟩ too), it is important to explain that neutral pronunciation has only /i/, whereas a transversal use of [ɜ, ə] (or even [ɔ, e] /_oa/) is very widespread, although decidedly non-neutral. This occurs both in traditional and alternative pronunciation (and indeed even for speakers who are neutral, one way or another!). This can occur both within lexemes, and in inflected forms with {я+C} consonantal endings (influenced by the forms ending in -я, with /_oa/, [Çɔ, jɔ]).

Thus we have: [pɪ'tɔɕ, ↓pɜt-, ↓pɛt-] /pit'no/ *пятно*, [jɪ'zɕik, ↓jɜ-, ↓jɔ-] /jɪ'zɕik/ *яз-ык*, [jɪzɪ'ci, ↓jɜ-, ↓jɔ-] /jɪzɪ'ki/ *языки*, [pɔ'gɪl'ɪdɕɛɕ, ↓ɪ-ə-, ↓ɪ-e-] /pɔ'gɪl'djel/ *погледел*, [nɕa'tɕɪt, ↓tɕɜt, ↓tɕɔt] /nɕa'tɕit/ *начат*, [e'bɕi'tɕii, ↓tɕɜi, ↓tɕɔi] /a'bitɕii/ *обычай*, [k'ɔɕɪmɪt, ↓mɜt, ↓mɔt] /k'ɔɕɪmit/ *кормят*, [dɕɛ'tɕɪm, ↓tɕɜm, ↓tɕɔm] /dɕɛ'tɕim/ *де-тям*, [zɕa'ɪnɪ, ↓zɕɜ, ↓zɕɔ] /zɕa'nɪl/ *занял*, [bɪspɪ'tɕi pɔtɕ, ↓bɜspɛ'tɕi pɔtɕ, ↓pɛ'tɕi] /bis-pɪ'ti pɜatɕ/ *без пяти пять*. (Please note the variants of -ик, as well: [s'pɔɕɪɪk, ↓pɜk, ↓pɔk] /s'pɔɕɪɪk/ *спутник*.)

⟨Normal⟩ traditional pronunciation, for (pretonic) ⟨e', я', Ça'⟩ (ie occurring in syllables immediately before the stressed or *tonic* one in a intoneme) has ⟨/_oe/⟩ [ɤ', ə+Ç], which correspond to modern pronunciation /_oi/ [ɪ, iÇ]: [bɪspɛ'tɕi pɔtɕ]^t, as also happens in: [bɪ'ɕɔzɔ]^m [bɜ-]^t /bɪ'rjoza/ *береза*.

In vowel sequences which contain /_oa/, we generally find an extension of the use of [e]: [vɛɛb-rɛ'zɕatɕ] /vaabra'zɕatɕ/ *воображать*, [nɛu'gɕat] /nau'gɔt/ *наугад*, [pɛɛd-nɛ'mɔu] /pɔadna'mu/ *по одному*, [nɛɛstrɛ'vɕaɕh] /naastra'vɔx/ *на островах*, [uɛd-nɛ'vɔɕ] /uadna'vo/ *у одного*, [sɛu'tɕas(t)vɔvɔɕ] /sau'tɕas(t)vavɔl/ *соучаствовал*, [sɛɛt'vɛs(t)vɔvɔɕ] /saat'vɕes(t)vavatɕ/ *соответствовать*.

Consonants

8.2. The phonemic structuring we prefer for Russian only has *twenty-two consonant phonemes* (including /ʒʒ/), which combine with the six vowels, as we have already seen in the previous sections. Here we will systematically consider Russian C's according to their manners of articulation.

Let us observe that no voiced diphonic C occurs before a pause or a voiceless C: [bɔɕp] /bɔp/ *боб*, [mɔɕk] /mɔsk/ *мозг*, [tɕɔɕpɕɪ] /tɕɔpki/ *трубки*, [ɔɕɛ'dɔu] /fsa'du/ *в саду*. In addition, no voiceless C occurs before a diphonic voiced C (/v/ is a bit particular, cf § 8.3.1.7): [z'bɕɪtɕ] /z'bitɕ/ *сбыть*, [zɔɕɪ'ɕɪ] /zɔɕɪ'ɕ/ *с горы*.

Finally, in general, son(or)ants are partially devoiced before either voiceless C or pauses; usually, between a voiceless C and a pause, they become voiceless, unless they become intense, in which case they are voiced or half-voiced (according

to their phonic context): [ʒɪr] /'zɪr/ *жир*, [r'ta] /r'ta/ *рта*, [karta] /'karta/ *карта*, [bɔbɔr] /'bɔbɔr/ *бобр*, [d'nɛpɔr] /d'nɛpɔr/ *Днепр*.

The table in fig 8.2 shows the consonantal articulations of Russian, which are necessary for an appropriate pronunciation of this language.

Instead, fig 1.9-15 show the orograms of all the contoids treated in the chapters of this book, by grouping them according to manners of articulation, including secondary, occasional, or regional variants, for the 12 languages dealt with. This way of displaying them makes the necessary comparisons between different languages more straightforward.

fig 8.2. Table of Russian consonants.

	bilabial	labio-palatal	labiodental	palatalized labiodental	dental	alveolar	velarized alveolar	postalveo-palatal	velariz. postalveo-pal. protruded (non-pr.*)	prepalatal	palatal	prevelar	velar	velar rounded	laryngeal
N	m	[m]	[m]	[m]	[n]	n	[n]	[ɲ]*	[ɲ]	[ɲ]	[ɲ]		[ŋ]		
K	p b	[p b]			t d				[t̚ d̚]	[c ɟ]	[c ɟ]		k g		
KS					ts [dʒ]		tʃ [dʒ]		[tʃ dʒ]						
X	[ɸ β]		f v	[f ɣ]											
S					s z		ʃ [ʒ]	ʃ ʒ	[ʃ ʒ]		[j j]		[ɣ]		
J										[h]	j [j]	[ɣ]	[h]	[ɯ]	(ɦ)
R						r				[r]					
L							ɭ			[ɭ]	[ɭ]				

/tʃ; ʃ; ʒ; x; r; l/ [tʃ; ʃ; ʒ; h; r; l]; /m, n; r; l/+ [m, h; r; ɭ, ɭ] + [[ɲ, ɲ, ɲ, ɲ, ɲ]]

Nasals

8.2.1. Russian has only two nasal phonemes, /m, n/, with various taxophones, especially for the latter. Thus: /m/ [m, m̥, m̄, m̄̃] and /n/ [n, n̥, n̄, n̄̃, n̄̃̃, n̄̃̃̃, n̄̃̃̃̃, n̄̃̃̃̃̃, n̄̃̃̃̃̃̃] (more specific symbols like [[n, n̄, n̄̃]] are not necessary, but –as we will shortly see– [ɲ, ɲ̄, ɲ̄̃] can be used, for a less-assimilated kind of coarticulation, which maintains their front lingual contact –alveolar/prepalatal– while adding a secondary articulation with no contact: bilabial, labiodental, velar).

For /m/: [m̄ɪa'm̄ɪ] /'mama/ *мама*, [l̄ɪa'm̄ɪ] /'lampɪ/ *лампа*, [n̄ɔs'm̄ɪ] /'norm/ *норм*, [r̄it̄m̄, r̄it̄m̄̃] /'ritm/ *ритм*, [r̄if̄m̄, r̄if̄m̄̃] /'rifm/ *рифм*, [m̄'n̄ɔs̄i] /m'noi/ *мно́й*, [m̄'h̄ɪa] /m'xa/ *мха*, [m̄ḡl̄ɪa] /m̄ḡla/ *мгла*, [m̄'ik] /'mik/ *миг*, [m̄at̄ɕ] /m'jatj/ *мять*, [ʃem̄] /'sjemj/ *семь*, [im̄'bir̄j] /im'birj/ *имбирь*, [am̄'vɔn] /am'von/ *амфон*, [am̄'fara] /am'fara/ *амфора*. /m/ can occur before heterorganic C: [m̄ḡl̄ɪa] /m'gla/ *мгла*, [m̄'n̄ɔs̄i] /m'noi/ *мно́й*, [m̄'h̄ɪa] /m'xa/ *мха*; however, for /mj/, and /m/ + /i/, we regularly have [m̄]: [m̄ir̄] /'mir/ *мир*, [ʃem̄] /'sjemj/ *семь*.

For /n/: [ɔm̄'bir̄jɔt, ɔm̄'ɪ-] /ombirjot, on-/ *он берет*, [kɔm̄'v̄ɪa, -n̄'v-] /kan'va/ *канва*, [an̄'fas, n̄'ɪ-] /an'fas/ *анфас*, [n̄'ɔs] /'nos/ *нос*, [n̄'raf] /n'raf/ *нрав*, [kɔ'm̄ɪand̄ɪ] /ka'mandi/ *команде*, [n̄it̄ɕ] /'nitj/ *нить*, [kɔn̄j] /'konj/ *конь*, [b̄ip̄'z̄in̄j]

/bin'zin/ бензин, [b̥ɤrɐ'b̥ʲɪɹ̩ŋʲik] /barabənʃik/ барабанищик, [sɪɹ̩'z̩ɪɹ̩] /kin'z̩al/ кинжал, [r̩ɹ̩ɹ̩'ʃi:] /'ranjʃi/ раньше, [t'wɔɹ̩cii, -ŋ̩c; -ŋ̩kɪ, -ŋ̩kɪ] /'tonkii/ тонкий, [b̥ʲɪɹ̩ŋk, -ŋ̩k] /'bank/ банк.

Thus, /nC, n[#]C/ regularly assimilate. Also /nj/ becomes [ŋ], but then it keeps its phonetic autonomy (even as a phonemic sequence, with a distinctive value), without neutralizations before other C. It must be said, though, as we have already seen from some examples, that –especially because of spelling influence (and mainly in less colloquial and more traditional pronunciation)– a complex coarticulated way of pronouncing is widespread, with partial assimilation: [ɱb, ɱv, ŋ̩c, ŋ̩k] &c, which would try to maintain <[nb, nv, ŋc, ŋk]> &c. In these cases, people oscillate considerably; but, on the other hand, should it be important to emphasize a kind of pronunciation with heterorganic [[nC]], the orthography would use ⟨нъ⟩, at least within words; but it does not do so...

Stops

8.2.2. There are three diphonic pairs which do not oppose before a pause or a voiceless C: /p, b; t, d; k, g/ [p, p̥, b, b̥; t, t̥, ɸ, d, d̥, ɸ; k, c, g, ɸ]. The actual articulation of <palatalized> /t, d/ is *prepalatal* which are stopstrictives, but stops before homorganic (or similar) C. Sometimes, we find [t̥] before pauses as well): [p'wɔt] /'pot/ пот, [t'wɔp] /'lop/ лоб, [p'et̥ʃ] /'pjet̥ʃ/ пещь, [t'wɔp̥] /'top̥j/ топь, [g'wɔt̥up̥] /'gɔlup̥j/ голубь, [b̥ʲɪt̥] /'bit̥/ быт, [e'b̥ʲɛt̥ɹ̩m̥] /a'betam/ об этом, [b̥ʲit̥ʃ] /'bit̥j/ бить; [t'rwut] /t'rut/ трут, [e't̥s̥ɹ̩ɹ̩] /at'tsa/ отца, [t'kɔu̯] /t'ku/ тку, [v̥it̥] /'vit̥/ вид, [t̥ʃ'm̥ʲɹ̩] /t̥j'ma/ тьма, [t̥ʃ'wɔu̯] /t̥j'fu/ тьфу!, [p̥it̥l̥j̩a, p̥it-, p̥et̥-l̥j̩] /p̥it̥l̥ja, p̥jet̥l̥ja/ петля, [r̥ɐ'b̥wɔt̥ɹ̩ɹ̩k] /ra'botnik/ работник, [e't̥ʃ̩j̩ot̥] /at't̥ʃ̩ot̥/ отчет, [d̥wɔp̥] /'dup̥/ дуб, [t'wɔd̥z̩ɪ] /'tod̥z̩ɪ/ тот же, [d̥ʒ̩ɹ̩] /'d̥jenj/ день, [d̥n̩a] /d̥n̩ja/ дня, [p'wɔd̥l̥ɪ] /'podli/ подле, [d̥v̩eɹ̩] /d̥v̩jerj/ дверь, [k̥ɹ̩ak] /'k̥ak/ как, [p̥ɹ̩akt̥] /'p̥akt/ пакт, [l̥j̩ok] /'lj̩ok/ лег, [k̥ɹ̩ɛt̥ɹ̩mu] /'k̥et̥ɹ̩mu/ к этому, [sɪɹ̩ɹ̩c̩j̩ɔɹ̩] /kias'kj̩ɔɹ/ киоскер, [ʒ̩ɹ̩cii] /'ʒ̩ɹ̩cii/ гибкий, [g'wɔt̥] /'got/ год, [g'n̩wɔt̥ʃ] /g'n̩ut̥j/ гнуть, [n̩e'ʒ̩ɹ̩] /na'ʒ̩ɹ̩/ ноги.

Stopstrictives

8.2.3. Russian has two voiceless stopstrictive phonemes, /t̥, t̥ʃ/, but four realizations, by voicing assimilation (in addition to the palatalized variants of /t, d/, [t̥, d̥], which we have already seen in § 8.2.2). Besides, before a stressed V –different from /i/– /t̥ʃ/ is [t̥ʃ̩]: [t̥s̩ɹ̩k̩t̩, -t̩] /'t̩s̩ɹ̩k̩l/ цикл, [e't̩ʃ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩] /a't̩ʃ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩/ отец, [b̥ʲɹ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩t̩s̩ɹ̩] /brat̩s̩ɹ̩ɹ̩/ братца, [p̥l̩ɹ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩d̩z̩d̩ɹ̩ɹ̩m̩] /pl̩ɹ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩d̩ɹ̩ɹ̩m̩/ плацдарм; [u't̩ʃ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩t̩ɹ̩l̩] /u't̩ʃ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩l̩/ учитель, [t̩ʃ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩s̩] /t̩ʃ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩s̩/ час, [p̩l̩ɹ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩t̩ʃ̩ɹ̩] /p̩l̩ɹ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩t̩ʃ̩ɹ̩/ плечо, [t̩wɔt̩ʃ̩] /t̩wɔt̩ʃ̩/ луч, [t̩ʃ̩l̩ɹ̩ɹ̩] /t̩ʃ̩l̩ɹ̩ɹ̩/ член, [n̩ɹ̩ɹ̩ɹ̩d̩z̩d̩ɹ̩ɹ̩f̩] /nat̩ʃ̩d̩ɹ̩ɹ̩f̩/ начдив.

Constrictives

8.2.4. For the time being, let us introduce the three constrictive diphonic pairs, [f, ɸ; φ; v, ʏ, β] /f, v/, [s, ʂ; z, ʐ] /s, z/, [ɣ, ʒ] /ɣ, ʒ/; apart from the palatalized taxophones (of the first two pairs, but not of the last one), the labiodentals have a bilabial realization when they do not precede either /j, r, l/ or V (including the voiced approximants –[ɣ, ʏ]– which are added, from a phonetic point of view, in front of stressed vocoids): [ˈfɔsɒŋ] /ˈfon/ *фон*, [ˈrɔsɒf] /ˈrof/ *ров*, [ˈvɔftɐˈmɪtʃat] /aftaˈmat/ *автомат*, [ˈfʲilʲmɪ] /fʲilʲmi/ *в фильме*, [ˈvɛɸf] /ˈvjerfj/ *верфь*, [ˈvɔsɒk] /ˈvolk/ *волк*, [ɣˈkʲaβɜɣ] /ɣˈkavɜɣ/ *шкаф же*, [ˈsɔsɒŋ] /ˈson/ *сон*, [rɐˈsʲa] /raˈsa/ *роса*.

More examples: [ʂˈnɛk] /sˈnjek/ *снег*, [ˈɔsɒʂ] /ˈosj/ *ось*, [ˈzɔup] /ˈzup/ *зуб*, [zˈɫɔsɪ] /zˈloi/ *злой*, [zˈbɛɸɪm] /zˈbjelim/ *с белым*, [rˈzɔm] /rˈzjum/ *изюм*, [bɪzˈdʲɪtʃei] /bizˈditʃei/ *без детей*; [ɣˈɣɛʂɜɣ] /ɣˈfestj/ *шесть*, [ˈɫɔsɒɣ] /ˈloɣ/ *ложь*, [ɜˈɣɛst] /ˈzest/ *жест*, [ɜˈdʲatɜ] /ɜˈdatj/ *ждать*, [ɣɐˈzɔu] /xaˈzu/ *кожу*.

Lastly, there is another –quite particular– voiceless constrictive, [ɣ̥(ɫ)] /ɣ̥(ɫ)/, which is lengthened before /V/, and has a traditional variant constituted by the corresponding constrictive followed by the (sometimes very weak) stopstricture, [ɣ̥(ɫ)]. This is more complicated and not at all necessary in modern pronunciation (indeed, as we have already said, it more aptly belongs to traditional pronunciation). Before a stressed V (when different from /i/), a [j] is inserted: [ɣ̥(ɫ)it]^m [ɣ̥(ɫ)it]^t /ɣ̥(ɫ)it/ *шум*, [pɐɣ̥(ɫ)ʲaˈdɜ]^m [pɐɣ̥(ɫ)ʲɪ]^t /paɣ̥(ɫ)ʲada/ *пошуда*, [ˈbɔsɒɣ̥(ɫ)]^m [-ɣ̥(ɫ)]^t /ˈborɣ̥(ɫ)/ *борщ*.

The possible sequence [ɣ̥(ɫ)] /ɣ̥(ɫ)/ is different –but quite normal indeed– as in: [ɣ̥(ɫ)ɛm] /ɣ̥(ɫ)ɛm/ *с чем* (cf § 8.3.2.5).

Approximants

8.2.5.1. From a phonemic point of view, Russian has two approximants. Palatal /j/, which is realized as fully palatal either before a stressed V, [jV], or in initial position in a rhythm group before a (stressed or unstressed) V, [#jV]. Instead, /j/ is realized as a palatal semi-approximant after a (stressed or unstressed) V before another unstressed V: [V_σjV] (and also in [Vjɪ], for /Vʲi/ ⟨Vu⟩: [mɐˈjɪ] /maˈji/ *моя*); after C, it changes the sequence into a ⟨palatalized⟩ C, /Cj/ [C̣] (cf § 8.1.2-3): [jˈatɜ] /ˈjatj/ *ять*, [jɪˈvɪtɜ] /jɪˈvitj/ *явить*, [mɜjˈkɔfscii] /majɪˈkofskii/ *Маяковский*, [bɐɣ̥(ɫ)ʲaˈɣ̥(ɫ)] /balʲɣ̥(ɫ)ʲaja/ *большая*.

For emphasis, or precision, we can have [j] → [j̥] (semi-constrictive) and, respectively, [j] → [j̥]. However, it is more important to note that, in non-slow speech, the /ijV, Vji/ sequences are realized as [iV, Vi]: [ɣ̥(ɫ)ɪmɪjɜ, -mɪɜ] /ˈarmija/ *армия*, [mɐˈjɪ, mɐˈi] /maˈji/ *моя*. Sometimes, even in /VjV/ [VjV] sequences (without /i/), it is not easy to adequately perceive [j̥], especially in fast speech: [bɐɣ̥(ɫ)ʲaˈɣ̥(ɫ), -a(ɣ̥)ɜ] (above all in preintonemes).

8.2.5.2. Current Russian orthography still presents some old-fashioned ways of writing ⟨ш, ж, щ⟩ followed by ⟨е, я, ё, ю, у⟩, and even by ⟨ь⟩. But in these cases, nowadays, the value of those V is /e, a, o, u, i/ (obviously, ⟨ё⟩ is only used in dic-

tionaries and teaching texts): [ʲtɕɛɣ] /ʲtɕex/ *цех*, [ʲʃɔɫk] /ʲʃolk/ *шелк*, [pɤɤʃɔʋt] /pɤɤʃɔʋt/ *парашиют*, [ʲtɕɪɾk] /ʲtɕɪɾk/ *цирк*, [ʲʒɪtɕ] /ʲʒɪtɕ/ *жить*, [ʲʌɔʃ] /ʲʌɔʃ/ *ложь*.

However, they can be followed by /j/ [j] inserted before the V (and in writing ⟨ъ⟩ appears too): [ʲjɔt] /ʲjɔt/ *шьет*, [ʲju] /ʲju/ *шью*, [ʲʌɔʒju] /ʲʌɔʒju/ *ложью*.

Besides, the palatal approximant can occur after [ʃ], too, then it is phonemically geminated /jj/, and may have a distinctive value: [sɪɾʲjɔ] /sɪɾʲjɔ/ *сырье*, [pʲju] /pʲju/ *пью*, [dʒʲaʋɤʃ] /dʒʲaʋɤʃ/ *дьавол*, [vʲjut] /vʲjut/ *вьют*, [ɪɫʲjɪtɕ] /ɪɫʲjɪtɕ/ *Ильич*. Even /sjj, zjj/ can occur, but indicated with ⟨ъ⟩ (although not always, as in *свежиться*, given at the end of this section): [sʲjɛʰɤtɕ] /sʲjɛʰɤtɕ/ *свежеться*, [ɪzʲjɤtɕ] /ɪzʲjɤtɕ/ *изъять*.

The same occurs for /ʃj/: [ʲʃja] /ʲʃja/ *чья* (cf [ʲʃjat] /ʲʃjat/ *чад*, where the difference is clear also because of the different syllabic structure). The /ljj, njj/ sequences are realized as [ɫj, ɲj] (or even [lj, nj], which are already sufficiently different): [ɫʲjɔt] /ɫʲjɔt/ ⟨s/he pours⟩ *льет* (cf [ʲɔt] /ʲɔt/ ⟨ice⟩ *лед* or ⟨flight⟩ *лет*), [ɫʲju] /ɫʲju/ *лью*, [vɾɛɾʲjɔ] /vɾɛɾʲjɔ/ *вренье*, [svɪɾʲja] /svɪɾʲja/ *свинья*.

There are even cases where a [C] remains separated and uninfluenced by a following /j/; thus, if no stress sign is already present, it is necessary and sufficient to introduce a hyphen in the phonemic transcription (as the orthography uses ⟨ъ⟩): [ɛbʲjɛʰɤtɕ] /ɛbʲjɛʰɤtɕ/ *объехать*, [sʲjɔʒɪtɕɤ] /sʲjɔʒɪtɕɤ/ *свежиться*, [dʲvɤʰjɤʀusnɪ] /dʲvɤʰjɤʀusnɪ/ *двухъярусный*, [tɾɤnsʲjɪβɾɛʲpɛɪsciɪ] /tɾɤnsʲjɪvɾɛʲpɛɪsciɪ/ *трансевропейский*, [mɛʒʲjɤʀusnɪ] /mɛʒʲjɤʀusnɪ/ *межъярусный*.

8.2.5.3. The other approximant, /x/, in spite of its (constrictive) official symbol, is realized as [h, ɣ] (voiceless, velar or palatal, respectively); in addition, by assimilation to a following voiced C, we have [ɣ], (velar) semi-constrictive, which differs from the (less evident and less intrusive) non-phonemic element [ɣ̥], automatically inserted before /e, a, i/ in the typical and genuine pronunciation (as happens with [ɔ], before /o, u/, cf § 8.1.2): [ʰɤʋɤʒɪ] /ʰɤʋɤʒɪ/ *хуже*, [ʰmɔɔh] /ʰmɔɔh/ *мох*, [ʰɪt-ɾɪ] /ʰɪtɾɪ/ *хитрый*, [gɾɛʋɔɣʒɪ] /gɾɛʋɔɣʒɪ/ *горох же*.

Thus, phonetically, Russian has six approximant (or semi-approximant) phones: [j, ɹ] /j/; [h, ɣ] /x/; [ɣ̥, ɔ] /θ/, and two semi-constrictives: [ɣ] /x/ and [j] (a possible variant of /j/, cf § 8.2.5.1).

⟨Trills⟩

8.2.6. In the Russian phonemic system we find only one ⟨trill⟩ phoneme, which is realized either as an alveolar, [r], or a prepalatal, [ɾ], *tap* – according to contexts. For emphasis, or speaking in a slow and clear way, as in teaching, it is possible to hear the corresponding trills, [r, ɾ], which may be used in these situations. But, for a good pronunciation, these are not necessary; instead, it is more important to respect the normal degrees of devoicing (cf § 8.3.1.7): [rɤat] /rɤat/ *рад*, [pɾɤɤʀk] /pɾɤɤʀk/ *парк*, [pɾɔtɾ, -tɾ] /pɾjɔtɾ/ *Петр*, [ɾɪs] /ɾɪs/ *рис*, [ɾat] /ɾjat/ *ряд*, [fɛʰnɤɤʀ] /faʰnɤɤʀ/ *фонарь*, [sɪɾʲtɕabɾ, -bɾ] /sɪɾʲtɕabɾj/ *сентябрь*, [vɪhɾ, -hɾ] /vɪxɾj/ *вихрь*, [ʌɔbɾɤs] /ʌɔbɾɤs/ *образ*, [ɤad-ɾɪs] /ɤadɾɪs/ *адрес*.

Laterals

8.2.7. There is only one lateral phoneme, /l/, with three taxophones, [ɫ, ɭ, ʌ] (independently of devoicing – cf § 8.3.1.7); [ɫ] is a velarized alveolar, but it becomes (velarized) dental (which is possible to transcribe with [ɫ̪]), by assimilation before /t, d; ts; s, z/: [ɫ̪ɪʒɪ] /liʒi/ лыжи, [sʲɫɔsʲvɔ] /sʲlova/ слово, [dʲɫuɫ] /dʲul/ дул, [iɡɫ, iʁɡɫ] /iɡl/ игл, [sʲmʲɪsʲɫ, -sʲɫ] /sʲmʲɪsʲl/ смысл, [lʲiʲtsɔ] /lʲitsa/ лица, [ʒɪɫɫ] /ʒɪɫl/ жаль, [tʲɫɔɫkɔ] /tʲɫɔlkɔ/ только, [pʲɫɔɫmɔ] /pʲɫɔɫma/ пальма, [rʲɫubʲɫ, -bʲɫ] /rʲublʲ/ рубль, [mʲɪsʲɫ, -sʲɫ] /mʲɪsʲl/ мысль, [pʲɫɔɫlʲitɔ] /pʲɔɫlʲitra/ пол-литра (here, lexical compounding shows how it prevails against phonology, since /l+l/ remain separated, [ɫ̪ɫ̪], instead of fusing into [ɫ̪ɫ̪]), [ɫʲjuɫ] /lʲjuɫ/ льют. Some speakers can have a velarized dental (or denti-alveolar) [ɫ̪] in any case, instead of velarized alveolar, not only before dental articulations.

Structures

8.3. In these sections we will deal above all with the differences between the phonic structure and writing, which inevitably presents «surprises», since pronunciation changes, whereas orthography remains unchanging, except for official reforms (which however are always insufficient and partial, as those of Peter the Great [1708-1710], the Academy of Sciences [1735, 1738, 1758], and Lenin [1917] – [lʲeɲɪn] /lʲjenin/ Ленин). We will treat some different distributions of certain phonemes, in the formation of Russian words.

Taxophonics

8.3.1.1. Let us start by contrasting some (similar, but not identical) structures, which foreigners are likely to confuse, thus compromising what they say.

Russian grammar considers the division into *grapho-syllables* to be quite flexible, for instance: /sʲɪsʲtra/ [sʲɪsʲtrʲɪɔ] *се-стра, сес-тра, сест-ра*. Thus, it is quite surprising that for the division into *phono-syllables*, instead, the prevailing approach perseveres in proposing (or imposing) */sʲɪ'stra/, cf § 8.0.3).

In the case of graphic geminates, for instance, we have: *Анна* /'anna/, but phonetically [ʲanːɔ].

8.3.1.2. Obviously, Russian has its particular phonotactics (ie the grouping of phonemes). We will give some examples of different structures: [vʲɔɫkɔ] /vʲotka/ водка, [ɡ'dʒɛ] /ɡ'dʒe/ где, [sʲvʲɔdʒbɔ] /sʲvʲɔdʒba/ свадьба, [tkʲɪɫ] /tkʲɪtʲ/ ткачи, [ɐpʲɪɫkɔtʲ] /ɐpʲɪɫkɔtʲ/ обначатъ, [pʲtʲɪtsɔ] /pʲtʲitsa/ птица, [pʲɪtʲnɔ] /pʲɪtʲno/ пятно, [sʲpʲɫuɫɲɪk] /sʲpʲutɲɪk/ спутник, [pʲɪtʲɫɔ, pʲɪt-, pʲeɫ-ɫɔ] /pʲɪtʲɫɔ, pʲjetʲɫɔ/ петля, [pʲɛdʲmʲɔtkɔ] /pʲɛdʲmʲɔtkɔ/ подметка, [ʂtʲɛp] /ʂtʲɛpʲ/ степь, [tkʲnʲɔutʲ] /tkʲnʲutʲ/ ткнуть, [dʒʲɔut] /dʒʲut/ джут, [bʲɔutʲskɔ] /bʲutʲjka/ будь-ка, [tʲɛɫ; tʲɥ-] /tʲɛɫʲ/ Тверь, [tʲɫɔ] /tʲɫɔ/ тля, [dʲɥɛ; dʒʲɥɛ] /dʲɥɛ/ две, [dʲɫɔ] /dʲɫɔ/ дня, [kʲɥɛɫ-ɫɥ] /kʲɥɛɫɫɥ/ кверху, [ʲkʲɫɔɫ] /ʲkʲɫɔɫ/ шкура, [kʲɫɔʂtʲ] /kʲɫɔʂtʲ/ класть, [tʲɫɔʂtʲ]

/kʲaxta/ *Кяхта*, [tʲcʲot] /tkjot/ *ткет*, [φs'kωσ'ɤ] /fs'kori/ *вскоре*, [φtʲsɪ'nutʲ] /fti-nutʲ/ *втянуть*, [pɛɤtʲfɛl] /partʲfɛlj/ *портфель*, [ɤ'vɔtʲ] /v'vɔl/ *ввел*, [ɤ'jɔt] /v'jɔt/ *вьет*, [cju'ɤgu, kju-] /kʲjugu/ *к югу*, [k'nɪ'ɤx] /k'nɪga/ *книга*, [βz'ɤlʲat] /vz'ɤlʲat/ *взгляд*. In traditional (and traditional-like) pronunciation, the palatalization of /k, ɤ/ also spreads to cases such as the last two: [k'nɪ'ɤx]^m [c'nɪ-]^t /k'nɪga/ *книга*, [βz'ɤlʲat]^m [-jʲlʲat]^t /vz'ɤlʲat/ *взгляд*.

More examples: [s'rʲɤ'zʲu] /srazu/ *сразу*, [s'prʲɤ'vɤx] /s'prava/ *справа*, [βzʲɤftɤx] /zaftra/ *завтра*, [zɤɤtʲjɔk] /zra'tʲjɔk/ *зрачок*, [φʲsɤ'ciɪ] /f'sjakii/ *всякий*, [sʲjɛtʲ] /sj-jel/ *свел*, [βzʲɤtʲ] /v'zʲɤtʲ/ *взять*, [zʲlʲɪtsʲɤx] /z'lɪtsʲɤsʲa/ *злится*, [z'dʲzɛ'ɤtʲ] /z'dʲɤlʲɤtʲ/ *сделать*, [druʲzʲjɤ] /druzʲjʲa/ *друзья*, [ʲjju-] /ʲjju/ *ию*, [ɤtʲfɛ'ɤtʲ] /atʲfɤ'ɤgatʲ/ *отшагать*, [z'dʲɤtʲ] /z'dʲɤtʲ/ *ждать*, [z'dʲɔt] /z'dʲɔt/ *ждет*, [zʲzʲɤtʲ] /zʲzʲɤtʲ/ *сжать*, [tʲʲɤtʲɤnɤ] /tʲʲɤtʲɤnɤ/ *тщетно*, [hʲlʲɔʲʲɪ] /x'lʲjɔʲʲɪ/ *хлестче*, [ɪfʲʲɔʲʲkɤ] /ɪfʲʲɔʲʲkɤ/ *из шелка*, [ʲʲtʲɪhɪ] /stɪ'xɪ/ *стихи*, [hʲvɔst] /x'vost/ *хвост*, [ɤs'tsvɛt] /ras'tsvɛt/ *расцвет*, [tʲlʲɛn] /tʲlʲɛn/ *член*, [kɛp'tʲjɔ'nɪ] /kap'tʲjɔnɪ/ *копченый*, [tʲɤzʲɤmɛɤnɤ] /tʲɤzʲɤmɛɤnɤ/ *чрезмерно*, [ɤtʲʲɪ'vɔ] /attʲʲi'vo/ *отчего*, [tʲmʲɤ] /tʲjma/ *тьма*.

Some further examples: [m'ɤlʲɤ] /m'ɤla/ *мгла*, [m'nɔɔɪ] /m'noi/ *мною*, [mʲlʲɤtʲʲɪ] /mʲlatʲʲɪ/ *младший*, [m'ɤnɪ(j)ɪ] /m'nɛnɪ(j)ɪ/ *мнение*, [mʲʲɛnɪ(j)ɪ] /mʲʲɛnɪ(j)ɪ/ *мнение*, [m'rʲɤ'mɤ] /m'rʲɤmar/ *мрамор*, [mʲtʲjatsʲɤx] /mʲtʲjatsʲɤsʲa/ *мчатся*, [ɤɤlʲɪzɤ, -zɤ] /ɤɤlʲɪzɤ/ *реализм*, [dʲɤɤfɤɤɤm, -ɤm] /dʲɤɤfɤɤɤm/ *диафрагма*, [ɤɤdʲɤm, -dʲɤm] /v'jɛdʲɤm/ *ведьм*, [d'rʲɤhɪm, -hɪm] /d'rʲɤxɤm/ *драхм*, [mɛ'sɪts] /mɛsɪts/ *месяц*, [φ'rʲɤɤm] /f'prɛɤmɪj/ *впрямь*, [kʲɤzʲɤn, -zʲɤn] /kʲɤzʲɤnɪj/ *казнь*, [pɛʲʲɤn, -ʲʲɤn] /pɛʲʲɤnɪj/ *песнь*, [lʲbʲɤ] /lʲba/ *лба*, [lʲɤtʲ] /lʲgatʲ/ *лгать*, [ɪ'ɤlʲ] /ɪ'ɤlʲ/ *изл*, [rʲɪhɪ, -hɪ] /rʲɪxɪ/ *рыхл*, [bʲlʲɛdnɪ] /bʲlʲɛdnɪj/ *бледный*, [ʲlʲɤpɤ] /ʲlʲɤpɤ/ *шляпа*, [rʲtʲɤ] /rʲta/ *рта*, [rʲzʲɪ] /rʲzʲɪ/ *ржи*, [rʲɤnɪ(j)ɪ] /rʲvɛnɪ(j)ɪ/ *рвение*, [nɛɤɤ, -ɤɤ] /nɛɤɤ/ *негр*, [φpɪ'ɤtʲ] /f'pɪrʲɔtʲ/ *вперед*, [rʲjɤnɤstʲ] /rʲjɤnɤstʲ/ *рьяность*, [β'nɔutʲ, -tʲ] /v'nɔutʲ/ *внутри*. Finally, let us also observe: [φspɫɛk'nɔutʲ] /fsplak'nɔutʲ/ *всплакнуть*.

8.3.1.3. Generally, in Russian (but not necessarily, as for instance in quick pronunciation) stops and stopstrictives, in heterorganic sequences, are audibly released ([C**C*]), whereas those in homorganic sequences are inaudibly released ([C*C*]; only here we will use the special diacritics): [kɛ'rɔpɫkɤ] /ka'ɤpɫka/ *коробка*, [pʲtʲɪtsʲɤ] /pʲtʲɪtsʲa/ *птица*, [kupʲtsʲu] /kupʲtsʲu/ *купица*, [ɤɔtʲpʲusk] /ɤɔtʲpʲusk/ *отпуск*, [tʲkʲɤtʲ] /tʲkatʲ/ *ткач*, [ʲʲjɔtʲkɤ] /ʲʲjɔtʲka/ *щетка*, [ɤd'ɤgatʲkɤ] /ad'ɤgatʲka/ *отгадка*, [s'vɤdʲɤbɤ] /s'vɤdʲɤbɤ/ *свадьба*, [φsɪɤ'dɤ] /fsɪɤ'dɤ/ *всегда*, [ɤdʲɤ] /ɤdʲɤ/ *где*, [pɤdʲmɔtʲkɤ] /padʲmɔtʲka/ *подметка*, [zɤtʲmɛnɪ(j)ɪ] /zatʲmɛnɪ(j)ɪ/ *затмение*, [lʲɪbʲnɔtʲ] /lʲɪbʲnɔtʲ/ *гибнуть*, [kʲnɪ'ɤx] /kʲnɪga/ *книга*, [sɪdʲmɔɔɪ] /sɪdʲmɔɔɪ/ *седьмой*, [dʲɤ'ɤɤ, dʲɤ'ɤɤ] /dʲvɛɤɤ/ *дверь*, [kɛɤ'dɤ] /kaɤ'dɤ/ *когда*, [tʲɔɤbɪ] /tʲjɔɤbɪ/ *тек бы*.

More: [pɪtʲnɔ] /pɪtʲno/ *пятно*, [bɛdʲnɪ] /bɛdʲnɪj/ *бедный*, [vɤɤɤ'ɤnɪk] /varatʲnɪk/ *воротник*, [pɪtʲlʲɤ, pɪtʲ-, pɛtʲlʲɤ] /pɪtʲlʲɤ, pɛtʲlʲɤ/ *петля*, [futʲlʲɤ] /futʲlʲɤ/ *футляр*. In addition: [ɤpʲɤtʲkɤtʲ] /apʲɤtʲkatʲ/ *обначать*, [ɤtʲɤ'ɤ] /atʲtʲɤda/ *оттуда*, [ɤtʲɤ'ɤ] /atʲtsʲa/ *отца*, [ɤtʲɤ'ɤ] /attʲɪnʲul/ *оттянул*, [ɤtʲɤ'ɤ] /atʲsʲudɤ/ *отсюда* (also [ɤtʲɤ-], and even [ɤtʲɤ-] /atʲsu-), [ɤtʲɤ'ɤ] /attʲʲi'vo/ *отчего* (phonemic geminates –and similar homorganic sequences– are realized as phonetic geminates with a limited duration of the second element: [[C*C*]]).

8.3.1.4. In addition to /ts, tʃ/ [ts, dz; tʃ(j), dʒ], we also find sequences like /ts, dz; tʃ, dʒ/ [ts, dz; tʃ, dʒ] (but generally /ts, dz/ [ts, dz] become /ts/ ([ts] and [dz]), except in compounding, especially with prefixes): [ɐtsɪʔʲɪʲaʲu] /atsɪʔʲaʲu/ *отсылаю*, [pɐtsʲʔʲuʲʂɪʔʲ] /patsʲʔʲal/ *подслушал*, [nɐtsʲmʔʲotr, -tʃʲ] /natsʲmotr/ *надсмотр*, [ʔʲodzɪʔʲ] /ʔʲodzɪʔʲ/ *отзыв*, [pɪdzɪgɐʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪʔʲk] /padzagaʔʲlovak/ *подзаголовок*, [nɐdʲzʔʲʔʲ] /nadʲzʔʲʔʲ/ *надзор*, [ɐtʃʲɪɛʔʲɪʔʲɪk] /atʃʲɛʔʲɪʔʲɪk/ *отшельник*, [ɐbʲvʲɪtʃʲɪʔʲʲɪ] /abʲvʲɪtʃʲɪʔʲʲɪ/ *ответшальный*, [pɪdzɪʔʲgɪʔʲʂ] /padzɪʔʲgatʃ/ *поджигать*, [ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ] /ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ/ *тот же*, [dʲʒʔʲʔʲɪ] /dʲʒʔʲʔʲɪ/ *джунгли*; [gɪrɐtsʲkʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ, -tsʲk-] /garatsʲkʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ/ *городской*, [sɐʲvɛtsʲɪi, -tʂɪ-] /saʲvjɛtsʲkʲi/ *советский*, [kuʔʲpʲʂʲʔʲʂɪ, -atsʲ] /kuʔʲpatʲʂʲʔʲʂɪ, -atsʲ/ *купать-ся*, [dʲʒɛtʲstvɪ, -tʂɪ-] /dʲdʒɛtʲstva/ *детство* (only in careful speech the variants given after a comma are possible, and are due above all to the influence of spelling). Let us notice the differences between /vj, vvj, v-j/ [ʲ, vʲ, vj], in: [ʲʔʲʔʲ] /ʲʔʲʔʲ/ *вел*, [ʲʲʲʔʲʔʲ] /ʲʲʲʔʲʔʲ/ *ввел*, [vʲʔʲʔʲku, ʲʔʲʔʲ-] /vʲʔʲʔʲku/ *в елку*; [vʲ] easily becomes [ʲ]. However, they can remain distinct in careful speech – above all in (the most) traditional one.

8.3.1.5. Nowadays, the basic forms with non-palatalizing endings, such as [ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ] /ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ/ *лампа*, [ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ] /ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ/ *бомба*, make people produce even [ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ] /ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ/ *лампе*, [ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ] /ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ/ *бомбе*, whereas in traditional pronunciation [ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ, ʔʲʔʲʔʲʂɪ] were normal. In any case, we always find: [ɪmʲbʲɪʔʲʲ] /imʲbʲɪʔʲʲ/ *имбирь*, [ɐmʲbʲɪʔʲʲʂɪ] /amʲbʲɪʔʲʲʂɪ/ *амбуция*.

8.3.1.6. Consonant *gemination* is phonemic, even though it is realized as a simple –fairly limited– phonetic lengthening, which may be absent in fast(er) speech, unless it is thought important to keep the difference (in the last two examples /n/ [n] corresponds to *нн*): [ʃʲʲɪʔʲʲ] /ʃʲʲɪʔʲʲ/ *шить* and [ʃʲʲʲɪʔʲʲ] /ʃʲʲʲɪʔʲʲ/ *сшить*, or [pɐdʲʒɛʔʲʲʲɪ] /paʔʲdʲʒɛʔʲʲʲɪ/ *подержанный* and [pɐdʲʒɛʔʲʲʲɪ] /paʔʲdʲʒɛʔʲʲʲɪ/ *поддержанный*.

This kind of lengthening only occurs in word-initial position (even after a pause) or between V: [ʔʲʲɪv-ʔʲʲɪʔʲʲ] /ʔʲʲɪvraʔʲʲje/ *в феврале*, [sʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʔʲʲ] /ssʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʔʲʲ/ *ссылать*, [ɪʒʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ɪʒʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʒʲʲɪ/ *изжога*, [ʒʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ʒʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʒʲʲɪ/ *сжать*, [ʒʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ʒʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʒʲʲɪʒʲʲɪ/ *жужжать*, [dʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /dʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʲʲɪ/ *данные*, [ʔʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ʔʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʔʲʲɪ/ *оттпель*, [zɐʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /zaʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪbut(j)-tʲɪ/ *забудьте*, [ɐdʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /adʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʲʲɪ/ *отдельный*, [ʔʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ʔʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʔʲʲɪ/ *отдых*.

For /ʃʲ(ʃ)/ [ʃʲ(ʃ)] we have: [ʃʲʲɪʔʲʲ] /ʃʲʲɪʔʲʲ/ *шут*, [ɪʃʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ɪʃʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *шуту*, [ʔʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ʔʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʔʲʲɪ/ *борщ*, [tɐʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /taʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪʔʲʲɪ/ *товарищ*; thus, after C, it is short; when final after V, it is short (or slightly geminated).

8.3.1.7. As we have seen from various examples, the Russian voiced diphonic phonemes are substituted by the corresponding voiceless ones, before a pause, or before voiceless C: [dʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /dʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *друг*, [ʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /ʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *водка*, [bʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /bʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *без колебаний*. On the contrary, the voiceless phonemes are substituted by the corresponding voiced ones (or by voiced *phones*, in the case of /ts, tʃ/ [dz, dʒ]), before a voiced diphonic C: [ɐnʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /anʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *анекдот*, [ɐbʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /abʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *Авганистан*, [gʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /gʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *к дому*, [ɐtʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ] /atʲʲʲʲʲʲʲɪ/ *отец был*.

However, ⟨*в*⟩ /v/ alone is not sufficient to change a preceding voiceless C into a

voiced one; in fact, it has to be followed by a voiced diphonic consonant (such as /z, d, g/): [vɛdʙʲzɡlʲaˈdɤ] /advʲzɡlʲjada/ *от взгляда* (but [vɛˈvʲʲʂʲʂʲɪ] /atʲvlasti/ *от власти*), [ɡʙdɐˈvʲe] /ɡvdaˈvje/ *κ вдове* (but [kʙˈnʊuˈku] /kvˈnuku/ *κ внуку*, [kˈvʲam] /kˈvam/ *κ вам*).

The only voiced C to occur before a pause, or before voiceless C, are sonants, /m, n, r, l/ (even if partially devoiced, unless they are preceded by voiceless C, in which case they are fully devoiced; but only partially so if they are intense): [ˈtʲʂam] /ˈtam/ *там*, [sˈmʊɔtrɐ, -tʲɪ] /sˈmotr/ *смотри*, [ˈtʲʂɛmp] /ˈtemp/ *темп*, [ʲʂtʲɪtʲʂ] /ʲʂtʲɪtʲʂ/ *льститъ*. It is useful to insist on the fact that this kind of devoicing is not –and it must not be– complete, if the previous C is voiced. Before a pause, it is important not to pronounce a kind of [ə] – so phonation must stop before the hold of the C in question is completed. Another fairly useful device to show this fact could consist in using a <non-explosion> diacritic [̚], in order to counter the fact that a non-phonemic [ə] is added, by actually halting the articulation. But this is less frequent among native speakers.

Even unstressed V (between voiceless C, or between these and a pause) may be devoiced, but less frequently than C, and above all in fast speech. Thus we will mark them only here (and with only partial devoicing): [ˈvʲʲʂtʲɔfkɤ, -tʲɔfkɤ] /ˈvʲʲʂtʲɔfkɤ/ *выставка*, [pʲʂtɐˈmʊuʲʂtɤ, pʲʂtɐ-] /pʲʂtɐˈmʊʂtɤ/ *потому что*, [ˈdʲʂɐvʊʲʂʲk] /ˈdʲʂɐvʊʲʂʲk/ *девушек*. This may happen to /i/ (<й>) in diphthongs as well, before a pause (although a [voiced] V may precede, instead of a voiceless C), as well as to V exclusively followed by voiceless C: [ˈzʲimnʲɪ] /ˈzimnii/ *зимний*, [ˈtʲʂɛrʲɪp] /ˈtʲʂɛrʲɪp/ *череп*. This also occurs in stressed syllables (before a pause): [muˈzʲeɪ̚] /muˈzʲeɪ̚/ *музей*, [trɐmˈvʲaj̚] /tramˈvai/ *трамвай*.

8.3.1.8. Written geminate C (and <щ>) are phonically short before a pause or before a C: [ɡˈrʲʂam] /ɡˈram/ *грамм*, [ˈvʲʂan] /ˈvan/ *ванн*, [dʲʂʲʂɪn] /dʲʂʲʂɪn/ *джинн*, [kˈlʲʂas] /kˈlas/ *класс*, [pˈlʲʂaʂ] /pˈlaʂ/ *плащ*, [pʲrɛɡˈrʲʂamnʲɪ] /pʲragˈramnʲɪ/ *программный*, [ˈrʊscʲɪ] /ˈruskʲɪ/ *русский*, [ɡˈrʊpʲkɤ] /ɡˈrupka/ *группка*, [ˈmʊʂnʲɪ] /ˈmoʂnʲɪ/ *мощный*.

Within lexemes, written geminate C can be realized as phonetically slightly geminated C, [C^C]: [ɐsˈsɐˈnʲʂans] /assaˈnans/ *ассонанс*, [ˈvʲʂanˈnɤ] /ˈvanna/ *ванна*, [kˈkʲʂasˈsɤ] /kassa/ *касса*, [ˈtʲɔnˈnɤ] /ˈtonna/ *тонна*.

However, more often CC are pronounced short: [ɐtʲʂɪsˈtʲʂat] /atʲʂɪsˈtat/ *аттестат*, [bɐˈlʲɔn] /baˈlon/ *баллон*, [bɐˈʂɛɪn] /baˈsʲɛɪn/ *бассейн*, [ɡrɐˈmʲʂʲʂɪkɤ] /ɡraˈmatʲʂɪkɤ/ *грамматика*, [dʲʂɪʂɪˈrʊʂfʲkɤ] /dʲrʲʂɪˈrofʲkɤ/ *дрессировка*, [ɪˈlʲʂʲʂɪjɤ] /ɪˈlʲʂʲʂɪjɤ/ *иллюзия*, [kɤˈlʲʂɪkˈtʲʂɪf] /kalʲɪkˈtʲʂɪf/ *коллектив*, [mʲɪlʲɪˈmʲɛtʲʂ, -tʲʂ] /mʲɪlʲɪˈmʲɛtʲʂ/ *миллиметр*, [ɐkʊˈpʲʂʲʂɪjɤ] /akuˈpʲʂʲʂɪjɤ/ *оккупация*, [pʲrɐˈlʲʂɪlʲɪj] /pʲaraˈlʲʂɪlʲɪj/ *параллель*, [pʲɪˈrʊn] /pʲiˈron/ *перрон*, [rʲɪʂɪˈʂʲɔr] /rʲɪʂɪˈsʲɔr/ *режиссер*, [ˈtʲʂɛˈnʲɪs] /ˈtenʲɪs/ *теннис*, [tʲʂɪrʲɪˈtʲɔʂɪˈrʲɪjɤ] /tʲɪrʲɪˈtʲɔrʲɪjɤ/ *территория*, [trɐˈlʲʂɪbʲʂ] /traˈlʲʂɪbʲʂ/ *троллейбус*, [ɪˈʂɛnʲʂɪjɤ] /ɪˈsʲɛnʲʂɪjɤ/ *эссенция*, [ɪˈfʲɛkt] /ɪˈfʲɛkt/ *эффект*.

8.3.1.9. In mid-fast speech, unstressed syllables are reduced (in particular the non-initial ones occurring immediately before a stress, or the final ones after a stress), especially near /r, l/: [pʲʂˈmʲʂʲʂɪˈdʲʂɪʂ, pʲʂˈmʲʂʲʂɪ-, pʲʂˈmʲʂʲʂɪ-] /pʲʂˈmʲʂʲʂɪˈdʲʂɪʂ/ *помоло-*

дел, [mɛtɛdɛ'zɔsɔnɪ, mɛtɛdɛ-, mɛtɛdɛ-] /malada'zoni/ *молодожены*, [pɛhɛrɛ'nitɕ, pɛhɛrɛ-, pɛhɛrɛ-] /paxara'nitj/ *похоронить*, [kɛrɛ'wu'litɕ, kɛrɛ'w-, kɛrɛ'w-] /kara'ulitj/ *караулить*, [kɛrɛn'tɕiŋ, kɛrɛn-, kɛrɛn-] /karan'tin/ *карантин*, [pɛrɛk'mɛʃɛ'hiɕ, pɛrɛk-, pɛrɛk-] /parik'maxir/ *парикмахер*, [tɛrɛk'ʃan, trɛ-, trɛ-] /tara'kan/ *таракан*, [mɛtɛkɛ'sɔs, mɛtɛkɛ-, mɛtɛkɛ-] /malaka'sos/ *молокосос*, [ɔtɛsɛ'vɛʃɛtɕ, ɔtɛsɛ-, ɔtɛsɛ-] /galasa'vatj/ *голосовать*, [pɛrɛʃu'tɕist, pɛrɛʃu-, pɛrɛʃu-] /paraʃu'tist/ *парашиютист*, [bɪlɪsɛ'vatɪi, bɪlɪsɛ-, bɪlɪsɛ-] /bilisa'vatii/ *белесоватый*.

Other examples: [dɛrɛɔɔ'vɛʃɛtɪi, dɛrɛɔɔ-, dɛrɛɔɔ-] /daraga'vatii/ *дороговатый*, [zɪlɪnɛ'vatɪi, zɪlɪnɛ-, zɪlɪnɛ-] /zilina'vatii/ *зеленоватый*, [pɪrɪdɛ'vɔsɪ, pɪrɪdɛ-, pɪrɪdɛ-] /pirida'voi/ *передовой*, [pɪrɪvɪr'nɔʊtɕ, pɪrɪvɪr-, pɪrɪvɪr-] /pirivir'nutj/ *перевернуть*, [ɛdmi'nɪstrɛ'tɕiβnɪi, nɪs-, nɪs-] /administrativnii/ *административный*, [ɪnɪtsɪɛ'tɕi'vɛ, ɪnɪtsɪɛ-, ɪnɪtsɪɛ-] /initsiativa/ *инициатива*, [ɪnɪtsɪɛ'tɕɔ, ɪnɪtsɪɛ-, ɪnɪtsɪɛ-] /initsial/ *инициал*.

More: [ʃɪkɛtɛkɛ, -ɛtɛkɛ, -ɛtɛkɛ] /ʃɪkalatka/ *щиколотка*, [sɔw'dɛrɔɔ, -dɛrɔɔ, -dɛrɔɔ] /sudaraga/ *судорога*, [pɪrɪtɛkɛ, -tɛkɛ, -tɛkɛ] /pɪritalaka/ *притолока*, [ʃɛvɛrɛnɛk, -vɛrɛnɛk, -vɛrɛnɛk] /ʃavaranak/ *жаворонок*, [hɔs'tɛdnɛ, -stɛdnɛ, -stɛdnɛ] /xoladna/ *холодно*, [z'dɛlɛlɛ, -ɛlɛlɛ, -ɛlɛlɛ, -ɛlɛlɛ, z'dɛlɛ-] /z'djelala/ *сделала*, [ɛbɪzɛ'tɕɪstɪvɛ, -tɕɪstɪvɛ, -tɕɪstɪvɛ, -tɕɪstɪvɛ, -atɕstɪvɛ] /abɪzɛtiljstɪvɛ/ *обязательство*, [dɛstɛ'tɛtɕnɛ, -atɕnɛ, -atɕnɛ] /dɛstɛ'tɛtɕnɛ/ *достаточно*, [mɪnɔw'tɛtɕkɛ, -tɕkɛ, -tɕkɛ] /mi'nutatɕka/ *минуточка*, [nɔ'vɛvɛ, -vɛvɛ, -vɛvɛ] /nɔvɛvɛ/ *нового*, [f'sɔvɛvɛ, -vɛvɛ, -vɛvɛ] /f'sovɪvatj/ *всовывать*, [dɛ'mɔvɛvɛ, -vɛvɛ, -vɛvɛ] /dɛ'mɔvɛvɛ/ *домового*, [ʃɛstɪ'vɛvɛ, -i'vɛvɛ, -i'vɛvɛ; -ʃɪ-] /ʃɛstɪ'livɛvɛ/ *счастливого*, [nɛk'lɔvɛvɛtɕ, -stɪvɛvɛ, -stɪvɛvɛ] /nɛk'lɔvɪvatɕsa/ *наклеиваться*, [zɛʃpɛk'lɔvɛvɛtɕ, -vɛvɛtɕ, -vɛvɛtɕ] /zɛʃpɛk'lɔvɪvatj/ *защипать*, [tɕɛrɛstɪvɛvɛtɕ, -tɪvɛvɛtɕ, -tɪvɛvɛtɕ] /tɕɛrɛstɪvɛvatj/ *царствовать*.

8.3.1.10. In the formation of words, phrases, and sentences –with prefixes or prepositions– there are various particular clusters of V's, which otherwise would not be normal in Russian. There are frequent reductions, since these positions are mainly those before a stress: [pɛɛŋg'liɪsci, pɛŋg-, nɛg-] /pɛɛŋg'liɪski/ *по-английски*, [zɛɛ'letɕ, zɛɛ-] /zɛɛ'letj/ *заалеть*, [nɛɛk'nɛ, nɛk-] /nɛɛk'nɛ/ *на окне*, [vɛɛp'ʃɛ, vɛɛp-] /vɛɛp'ʃɛ/ *вообще*, [sɛɛt'vɛtɕstɪvɛvɛtɕ, sɛt-, tɪvɛvɛtɕ, -tɪvɛvɛtɕ] /sɛɛt'vɛtɕstɪvɛvatj/ *соответствовать*, [nɛɛd'nɔsɪ, nɛd-] /nɛɛd'nɔi/ *на одной*, [zɛɛstɕitɕ, zɛs-] /zɛɛstɕitj/ *заострить*, [sɛɛtɛnɛ'sitɕ, sɛt-, sɛt-] /sɛɛtɛnɛ'sitj/ *соотносить*, [sɛɛb-rɛ'ʃɛrɪnɪ(j)ɪ, sɛb-, sɛb-] /sɛɛbrɛ'ʃɛrɪnɪ(j)ɪ/ *соображение*, [vɛɛduʃɪβ'ɛrɪnɪ(j)ɪ, vɛ-, vɛ-] /vɛɛduʃɪβ'ɛrɪnɪ(j)ɪ/ *воодушевление*.

More: [vɪɛlɛn'tɕɛlɪ, vɪɛlɛn-] /vɪɛlɛn'tɕɛlɪ/ *виолончель*, [spɪtsɪ'ʃɛɪnɪ, -tɕɛɪ-] /spɪtsɪ'ʃɛɪnɪ/ *специальный*, [sɛtsɪɛ'lɪzm, -tɕɛ-, -zɪm] /sɛtsɪɛ'lɪzm/ *социализм*, [nɪɛdnɛk'rɛʃɛtɪnɪ, nɪɛdnɛ-, nɪɛdnɛ-] /nɪɛdnɛk'rɛʃɛtɪnɪ/ *неоднократный*, [nɪɛbɪk'nɛ'vɛnɪi, nɪɛ-, nɪɛ-] /nɪɛbɪk'nɛ'vɛnɪi/ *необыкновенный*, [nɪ(j)ɪz'vɛsnɛ, nɪz-] /nɪ(j)ɪz'vɛsnɛ/ *неизвестно*, [nɛuɔɔ'ɔk, nɛuɔ-, nɛuɔ-] /nɛuɔɔ'ɔk/ *на угол*, [nɛuɔɔ'vɔɔrɪ, nɛuɔ-, nɛuɔ-] /nɛuɔɔ'vɔɔrɪ/ *по уговору*, [uɛdvɛ'kɛtɛ, uɛdvɛ-, uɛdvɛ-] /uɛdvɛ'kɛtɛ/ *у адвоката*, [uɛɔɔ'ɔdɛ, uɛɔɔ-, uɛɔɔ-] /uɛɔɔ'ɔdɛ/ *у огорода*, [pɛɪm'nɛʃɛm, pɛɪm-, pɛɪm-, pɛɪm-] /pɛɪm'nɛʃɛm/ *по именам*.

8.3.1.11. Some personal pronouns have reduced forms: [tʃi'ba, tʃi'ja, tʃia, tʃe, tʃa] /ti'bja/ *тебя*, [tʃi'be, tʃi'je, tʃie, tʃi] /ti'bje/ *тебе*, [vʲas, vas, ves, vas] /'vas/ *вас*, [vʲam, vam, vem, vam] /'vam/ *вам*, [ʲa tʃi'be'dʲam, ʲa tʃi'dʲam] /ʲa ti'bje 'dam/ *я тебе дам*, [ʲa vam'dʲam, ʲa vam'dʲam] /ʲa 'vam 'dam/ *я вам дам*.

Certain numbers have reduced forms too (although we only provide the models, which are used for similar forms as well): [dʲiʃi'tʃi, dʲiʃtʃi] /disi'ti/ *десяти*, [e'dʲi'nʲatsʲtʃ, -nʲatsʲtʃ, -nʲatsʲtʃ] /a'dinatʲtsatʃ/ *одинадцать*, [e'dʲi'nʲatsʲtʃtʃi, -nʲatsʲtʃtʃi, -nʲatsʲtʃi, -nʲatsʲtʃi] /a'dinatʲtsatʃi/ *одинадцатый*, [dʲvʲatsʲtʃ, dʲvʲatsʲtʃ, dʲvʲatsʲtʃ] /dʲvatʲtsatʃ/ *двадцать*, [dʲvʲatsʲtʃtʃi, dʲvʲatsʲtʃtʃi, dʲvatʲtʃi, dʲvetʲtʃi] /dʲvatʲtsatʃi/ *двадцати*, [pʲidʲtʃi'sat, pʲidʲtʃi, pʲi(tʃi)] /pʲidʲtʃi'sat/ *пятнадцать*, [pʲi'tʃi'dʲiʃtʃi, -tʃi'dʲiʃtʃi, -tʃi(tʃi)ʃtʃi] /pʲi'tidʲisiti/ *пятидесяти*, [ʃiʒdʲi'sat, ʃiʒi, ʃi] /ʃiʒdʲi'sat/ *шестьдесят*, [ʃiʒtʃi'dʲiʃtʃi, -tʃi'dʲiʃtʃi, -tʃi(tʃi)ʃtʃi] /ʃiʒtʲidʲisiti/ *шестьдесят*, [ʃem'dʲiʃtʃ, ʃemʃtʃ] /ʃjemdisʲatʃ/ *семьдесят*, [ʃi'mi'dʲiʃtʃi, -mi'dʲiʃtʃi, -mi(tʃi)ʃtʃi] /si'midʲisiti/ *семидесяти*, [vʲosʃim'dʲiʃtʃ, vʲosʃimʃtʃ, vʲos(tʃi)ʃtʃ] /'vosimjdisʲatʃ/ *восемьдесят*, [veʃmi'dʲiʃtʃi, -mi'dʲiʃtʃi, -mi(tʃi)ʃtʃi] /vasjmidʲisiti/ *восемидесяти*.

8.3.1.12. First and patronymic names are usually reduced by frequent use, more than by particular phonemic rules: [ʷosʲipʲavʲitʃ, -ʃipʲitʃ, -ʃipʲitʃ, -osʲpʲavʲitʃ, -osʲpʲitʃ, -osʲpʲitʃ] /'osipavʲitʃ/ *Осипович*, [be'fʲisʲavʲitʃ, -fʲiʃvʲitʃ, -fʲiʃvʲitʃ, -fʲisʲitʃ, -fʲitʃ, -fʲitʃ] /ba'risavʲitʃ/ *Борисович*, [pʲavʲlavʲitʃ, pʲavʲlavʲitʃ, -avʲitʃ, -avʲitʃ, -a'itʃ, -a'itʃ, -a'itʃ, -a'itʃ] /pʲavʲlavʲitʃ/ *Павлович*, [elʲik'sʲandrʲavʲitʃ, -andrʲavʲitʃ, -andrʲavʲitʃ, -andrʲitʃ, -andrʲitʃ, -a'itʃ, -a'itʃ, -a'itʃ, -a'itʃ] /alik'sʲandrʲavʲitʃ/ *Александрович*, [vlʲe'dʲimʲirʲavʲnʲa, -mʲirʲavʲnʲa, -mʲirʲavʲnʲa, -mʲirʲavʲnʲa] /vlʲe'dʲimʲirʲavʲnʲa/ *Владимировна*, [fʲodʲarʲavʲnʲa, -dʲarʲavʲnʲa, -dʲarʲavʲnʲa, -dʲarʲavʲnʲa] /fʲodʲarʲavʲnʲa/ *Федоровна*, [ba'risavʲnʲa, -risavʲnʲa, -risavʲnʲa] /ba'risavʲnʲa/ *Борисовна*, [ka'rʲne(tʃi)ʲvʲnʲa, -rʲneʲvʲnʲa] /ka'rʲneʲvʲnʲa/ *Корнеевна*, [fe'dʲze(tʃi)ʲvʲnʲa, -dʲzeʲvʲnʲa, -dʲzeʲvʲnʲa] /fa'dʲzeʲvʲnʲa/ *Фадеевна*, [pʲerʲfʲirʲijʲvʲnʲa, -fʲirʲijʲvʲnʲa, -fʲirʲijʲvʲnʲa, -fʲirʲijʲvʲnʲa] /pʲerʲfʲirʲijʲvʲnʲa/ *Порфирьевна*, [sʲe'ye'ʲlʲijʲvʲnʲa, -ye'ʲlʲijʲvʲnʲa, -ye'ʲlʲijʲvʲnʲa, -ye'ʲlʲijʲvʲnʲa] /sa'vʲjelʲijʲvʲnʲa/ *Савельевна*.

In addition: [ʲanʲa mʲi'xailʲavʲnʲa, -ʲanʲa, -ʲanʲa, -ʲanʲa] /'anna mi'xailʲavʲnʲa/ *Анна Михайловна*, [elʲik'sʲandrʲelʲik'sʲandrʲavʲitʃ, elʲik'sʲandrʲelʲik'sʲandrʲitʃ, ʲik'sʲandrʲelʲik'sʲandrʲitʃ, ʲik'sʲandrʲelʲik'sʲandrʲitʃ, ʲik'sʲanʲ ʲik'sʲandrʲitʃ, ʲik'sʲanʲ ʲik'sʲandrʲitʃ] /alik'sʲandrʲelik'sʲandrʲavʲitʃ/ *Александр Александрович*, [kanʲstʲan'tinʲ isa'akʲavʲitʃ, -tʃi'ni-, kanʲstʲan'tinʲ isa'akʲavʲitʃ] /kanʲstʲan'tinʲ isa'akʲavʲitʃ/ *Константин Исаакович*, [pʲavʲilʲ i'vanʲavʲitʃ, -vi li-, -vʲanʲitʃ, pʲavʲilʲ i'vanʲavʲitʃ] /pʲavʲilʲ i'vanʲavʲitʃ/ *Павел Иванович*.

8.3.1.13. Currently, /ji/ ⟨e, я⟩ becomes /i/: [jʲimʲu, i-] /jʲimʲu/ *ему*, [jʲiʒi, i-] /jʲiʒi/ *ежи*, [jʲivʲʲatsʲtʃ, ivʲʲatsʲtʃ, ivʲʲatsʲtʃ] /jʲivʲʲatʲtsa/ *являются*, [ni(tʃi)ʲʃtʃestʲvʲinnʲa, ni'tʃestʲvʲinnʲa; -tʃestʲvʲinnʲa] /niʲʃtʲestʲvʲinnʲa/ *нестественно*.

In general, /ijV/ → ⟨/iV/⟩ (cf § 8.2.5.1): [vi'tʃiʲa, -tʃiʲa, -tʃiʲa] /vi'tʃiʲa/ *вития*, [ʲarʲmʲiʲa, -mʲiʲa, -mʲiʲa] /'armʲiʲa/ *армия*, [pʲriju'tʲitʲtsa, pʲriju-] /pʲriju'tʲitʲtsa/ *приютиться*, [pʲri'ʲatʲnʲiʲ, pʲri'ʲatʲnʲiʲ] /pʲri'ʲatʲnʲiʲ/ *приятнее*, [ʒiti'ʲje, -tʃi'ʲe] /ʒiti'ʲje/ *житие*, [bʲitʃi'ju, bʲitʃi'ju] /'bitʃi'ju/ *бытию*.

Besides, usually /CjV/ → ⟨/CjV/⟩ and /iV/ → ⟨/iV/⟩: [pʲirʲjivʲoʲi, pʲirʲjivʲoʲi] /pʲirʲjivʲoʲi/ *перьевои*, [bʲitʲʲatʲʲix, -a'ʲitʲʲix] /bʲitʲʲatʲʲix/ *бычачьих*, [kʲazʲnʲju, kʲazʲnʲju, kʲazʲnʲju] /'kazʲnʲju/ *казню*, [ʲubʲosʲju, ʲubʲosʲju] /ʲubʲosʲju/ *любовью*, [ʲyʲi'tʃaʲ, ʲyʲi'tʃaʲ, ʲyʲi'tʃaʲ]

/ʃviitʂar/ *швейцар*, [dʒiistʲvʲiʲtʂilʲnɤ, dʒɪst-; dʒiistʂ-; dʒistʂ-] /diistʲvʲitʲilʲnɤ/ *действительно*.

In the case of prepositions + /oV/, we have /oθV/ too: [vʲiʲvʲɔʂ ʲdʲɔʂʲmɪ, vʲvʲɔʂ] /vʲiʲvo ʲdomi/ *в его доме*, [sʲjʲpʲɔʂɔʂʲɤmɪ, sʲpʲɔʂɔ-] /sʲjʲpʲɔʂʲami/ *с японцами*; however, by now we frequently hear: [vʲiʲvʲɔʂ ʲdʲɔʂʲmɪ, ʂʲjʲpʲɔʂɔʂʲɤmɪ], and also: [ʲcʲjuʲgu] /ʲkʲjuʲgu/ *к югу*, instead of [ʲkʲjuʲgu].

8.3.1.14. In traditional pronunciation, /[#]o/ ⟨u-⟩ preceded in sentences by C (which is different from /tʃ, ʃ, Cj/ ⟨u, u, ть...⟩) becomes /i/ (less systematically so in the case of /k, g, x/, thus we also find [k, g, h] + [i, o]). However, in modern pronunciation /i/ remains unchanged, even without changing the C (ie, not [ʒ]), but with /k, g, x/ [c, ʃ, h] + [i, o]): [sʲmɛ ʲhʲiʲgʲɔʂʲɪ]^m [ʂʲmɛ ʲhʲiʲgʲɔʂʲɪz, ʲhʲi-]^t /sʲmjɛx i-ʲgori/ *смех и горе*, [ʲcʲiʲgʲɤʲʃu]^m [ʲkʲɪ-; ʲkʲjɪ-]^t /ʲkʲiʲgʲɤʲʃu/ *к Игорю*, [ʲdʲɪ mɪʲdʒɔt]^m [mɪ-]^t /ʲdʲim iʲdʒot/ *дым идет*, [vʲtʲjɪvʲiʲ(ʲ)ɪvʲɤ]^m [aʲtʲɪv-]^t /aʲtʲivʲliʲjɪvɤ/ *от Ивлиева*, [ʲkʲɔʂ tʲpʲɔʂʲvʲɤʲʃ]^m [tʲi-]^t /ʲkʲot iʲpʲɔvɤr/ *кот и повар*, [ʲɔʂɔʲɪzʲdʲɔʂʲbʲɪ]^m [ʲɔʂɔʲɪz-]^t /ɔʲn-izʲdʲɔx-bʲi/ *он издох бы*, [ʲʂʲiʲvʲɤʲnɤm]^m [sʲi-]^t /sʲiʲvɤnɤm/ *с Иваном*, [ʲcʲiʲvʲɤʲnɤ]^m [kʲi-; kʲi-]^t /kʲiʲvɤnɤ/ *к Ивану*, [tʲɛʲvʲɤʲʃiʲʃ ʲiʲvʲɤʲnɔ]^m [-ʃ ʲɤi-]^t /tʲɛʲvɤʲʃiʲʃ ʲiʲvɤn/ *товарищ Иван*.

Traditionally, *Italia*, ie *Италия*, behaves in the same way, so much so that even for *Alitalia* (ie *Ali* ⟨Wings⟩ + *Italia*), we have: [-ʲtʲɪ-, ʲtʲɪ-]^t rather than [-ʲɪ-]^m.

Again in traditional pronunciation, even /[#]o/ ⟨ə-⟩ preceded in sentences by C (which is different from /tʃ, ʃ, Cj/ ⟨u, u, ть...⟩), becomes /i/, although it often remains /i/. In modern pronunciation, instead, we have [ɪ] /o/ (and, above all in alternative pronunciation, [ɛ] ⟨/e/⟩), both in absolute initial position and when preceded by C[#]: [vʲtʲɪʲiʲvʲɤʲtʲɤʲʃ, vʲtʲɪ-]^m [vʲtʲɪ-; vʲtʲɪ-]^t /atʲ-ɪliʲvɤtɤrɤ/ *от элеватора*. In absolute initial position we find respectively: [ʲɪʲiʲvʲɤʲtʲɤʲʃ]^m [ɛ-, ɛ-]^a [ʲɪ-; ʲɪ-]^t /ɪliʲvɤtɤrɤ, ɪ-/ *элеватора*, [ʲpʲɔʂʲhʲɤ]^m [ɛ-, ɛ-]^a [ʲɪ-, ɪ-]^t /iʲpʲɔxɤ, ɪ-/ *эпоха*.

For the non-autoctonous *Эйзенштейн*, we have: [ʲɛiʲzʲiʲʃʲtʲɛiʲn, ɪ-, -zɛ-] /eizɪʃʲtʲɛinʲ, i-, -ze-/; and [ʲsɛiʲzʲiʲʃʲtʲɛiʲnɤ, sɪz-, sɪz-, -ɛɪ-] /seizɪʃʲtʲɛinɤm, si-, -ze-/ *с Эйзенштейном*.

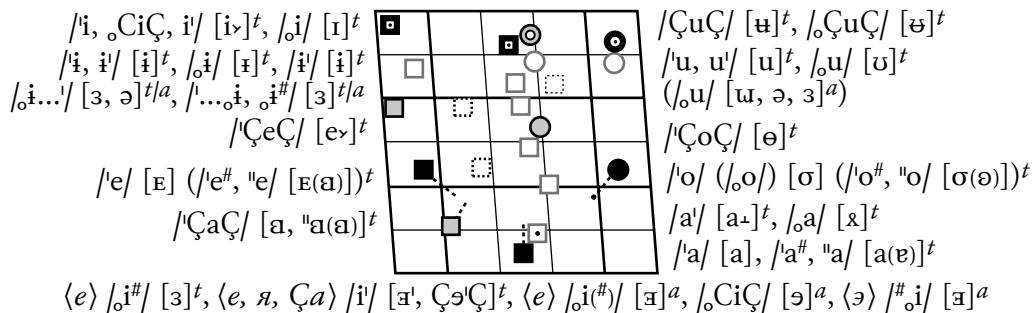
Pronunciation variants: ⟨modern⟩, ⟨traditional⟩ and ⟨alternative⟩

8.3.2.0. It is undeniable that Russian pronunciation is in general poorly known, both by native and foreign speakers, even if we refer to ⟨experts⟩. In addition, there are different methods of description and evaluation, apart from dissimilar applications of different criteria on the subject. As we have already said, even official ⟨model⟩ speakers, of the official radio and television broadcasting corporation too, fluctuate between more or less modern or traditional pronunciations (or alternative as well), most probably because of the lack of specific information, too. Thus comparisons and convenient choices are difficult to make, since the kind of ⟨transcription⟩ used in handbooks and dictionaries (even in official and ⟨scientific⟩ ones) is nothing but a graphemic respelling mixed with a few other signs.

However, and with very good reasons, what has been described thus far, belongs to ⟨modern neutral⟩ Russian pronunciation, which is more and more accepted and

widespread (and also relatively less far away from spelling). We will now indicate the differences which mainly fall within <traditional> pronunciation, according to the <old Moscow pronunciation> which was acquired orally. It used to include some <strange> exceptions, which in some respect contributed to differentiate it from (St) Petersburg pronunciation, generally closer to orthography. Since then, this city has been called Petrograd, then Leningrad and now Saint Petersburg: so to say <rename it and you'll get over it!>.

fig 8.3. Vowel elements of traditional (and alternative) Russian.



8.3.2.1. In <interpalatal> contexts, traditional pronunciation presents decidedly fronter and closer articulations (cf fig 8.3 & § 8.1.4, although the symbols [i, e] are <identical>, but stand for [i>, e>]): [bʲitɕ] /bitj/ *битъ*, [jɛ] /jelj/ *ель*, [pʲatɕ] /pʲatj/ *пяť*, [tɕəʔtɕ] /tɕotjə/ *тетя*, [tɕʊfʌk] /tɕuʲfjak/ *тюфяк*.

In *pre-tonic* syllables (ie immediately preceding a stressed syllable), traditional pronunciation has closer realizations than the modern ones for unrounded /i, i/. Instead, the rounded /u/ is opener in all unstressed positions, except –again– for *pre-tonic* syllables (cf fig 8.3, again): /i, i, u/ [i, i, u]^t [ɪ, ɪ, u]^m: [ɛbʲɪ'kɔs]^t [-ɪ-]^m /abri'kos/ *абрикос*, [bʲi'ciɪ]^t [bɪ-]^m /bʲi'ki/ *быки*, [u'zʲɛɪ]^{t/m} /u'zʲe/ *уже*. Pre-tonic /a/ is [a]^t [ɐ]^m: [ʊgʌ'tɔk]^t [ʊgɐ-]^m /uga'lɔk/ *уголок*.

Most typically, traditional pronunciation also has </e/ > [ɛ, ə+Ç] for pretonic <e, я> (including <ча, ща>, excepting <у>, which has /i/ [i>]). All of these in modern pronunciation have /i/ [ɪ, i+Ç]): [dʒə'litɕ]^t [dʒi'litɕ]^m /dʲilitj/ *делитъ*, [nəʂ'tɕiɪ]^t [niʂ'tɕiɪ]^m /nis'ti/ *нести*, [tɕəʂ'tɕiɪ]^t [tɕiʂ'tɕiɪ]^m /tris'ti/ *трясти*, [tɕʲɛ'sʲiɪ]^t [tɕʲi'sʲiɪ]^m /tɕʲi'si/ *часы*. Let us thus consider [li'sʲɛɪ]^t [li'sʲɛɪ]^m /li'sa/ *лиса* and [li'sʲɛɪ]^{t/a} [li'sʲɛɪ]^m /li'sa/ *леса*. In /Ç- / contexts, only another modern phoneme occurs, /u/ [u, ʊ]: [ɕu'dʲɛɪ]^{m/t} /ɕju'da/ *сюда*, [lʲu'bʲitɕ]^m [lʲu'bʲitɕ]^t /lju'bitj/ *любитъ*.

Modern pronunciation has /i, #ji, Vji/ for <e> in unstressed syllables, and /i/ for (initial) <#ə>. In all these cases, <alternative> pronunciation, strengthened by orthography, can have </e/ > [ɛ, əÇ]: [bʲɛ'ɪʂɔzɔ]^a [bʲi-]^m /bʲi'rjoza/ *береза*, [bʲɛ'ɪʂɔzɔnɪ]^a [bʲi'ɪr-]^m /biri'zɔnɪi/ *береженный*, [ɕə'mɛ'nɛɪ]^a [ɕi'mi-]^m /simi'na/ *семена*, [pɛ'ɪʂɔzɔmɛ'i]^a [pɪ'ɪʂɔzɔmɛ'i-]^m /pirimili/ *перемели*, [bʲɛ'ɪʂɔzɔ]^a [-ɪk]^m /bʲerik/ *берег*, [ɛbʲi'zʲɛɪ'tɕɔnɔ]^a [-tɕiɪ-]^m /abʲizatɪljna/ *обязательна*, [vʲɪ'tɕɛ'ɪʂɔzɔ]^a [-tɕi'ɪʂɔzɔ]^m /vʲitiritj/ *выте- реть*, [ɛ'tɕɔʂɔ, ɛ-]^a [ɪ'tɕɔʂɔ]^m /i'tɕɔʂɔ/ *этаж*, [mɔ'ɪʂɔzɔ]^a [-ɕɜ]^t [-ɪ]^m /'mori/ *море*, [pɔ'ɪʂɔ-]^a [-ɕɜ]^t [-ɪ]^m /'polji/ *поле* (for <e^{##} is particularly frequent for neutral grammatical gender).

8.3.2.2. Modern pronunciation has [o̞] for /o̞i/, whereas alternative (and often traditional) pronunciation presents opener variants, [ə, ɜ]. Most frequently, we find [ə]^{a/t} before a stress; [ɜ]^{a/t} after it; and [ə]^a [ɜ]^t in absolute final position: [bə'ta'vɔsi]^t [bətə-]^a [bɪtə-]^m /bita'voi/ *бытовой*, [və'hə'dʒits]^t [və'hɛ-]^a [vɪ'hɛ-]^m /vixə'ditj/ *выходить*, [vɪ'ɪmɜtɕ]^t [-mɪtɕ]^m /'vimi/ *вымыл*, [ʷɔ'pɜtɜ]^t [-pɜtə]^a [-pɪtɪ]^m /'opiti/ *опыты*, [ʒi'vɔɔtnɜjɜ]^t [-nɜjə, -jɜ]^a [ʒi'vɔɔtnɜ(j)ɪ]^m /ʒi'vɔtnaji/ *животное*.

As we have already said, the timbres of /o̞i/ [ə, ɜ] are fairly similar to those of /o̞a/ [ɔ], thus it is easy to think of them as the same sound and to declare their neutralization (as quite a few authors have done). Actually, in general, there is such a difference, so that they are rarely confused, even in spelling, except for evident cases of poor education.

For ⟨e[#]⟩, in traditional pronunciation we often find [ɜ[#]]^t even for /o̞i[#]/ (in addition to /o̞i[#]/, most surprisingly, as we have seen at the end of § 8.3.2.1): [ʲʷʊtʲɕɪ]^m [-ɜ]^t /ʲʷʊtʲɕi/ *лучше*, [ʲhʷʊʒɪ]^m [-ɜ]^t /xʊʒi/ *хуже*. Here we may actually speak of possible neutralization between /o̞i[#]/ and /o̞i[#]/, which was more typical in former times.

For /o̞u/, alternative pronunciation may have [Cɯ, Cə, Cɜ; ʒɘ, ʒɪ, ʒəʒ, ʒiʒ] (in fig 8.3, [ɯ] is indicated by a thin broken line and glossed in brackets): [kʷvɜɜʲkʲɪtɕɪtɕɪ]^m [kə-, kɜ-]^a [kʷvɪɪ-]^m /kʷvɪr'katɕtɕa/ *кувыркается*, [sʊmɛ'tʷɔɕ'hɜ, sə-, sɜ-]^a [sʊ-]^m /suma'toxa/ *суматоха*, [ʲzɪ'ɑmʊʒɜm, -mə-, -mɜ-]^a [-ʊʒɪm]^m /zamuʒim/ *замужем*, [kɜmɛɪ'ɕjɛ, -ɪmi-]^a [-ɪmɪni-]^m /kamjuni'kje/ *коммунике*, [ɪ'mɛjəʃʲiisɜ, -(j)ɪ-]^a [-jɪ-]^m /i'mjejʊʃʲiisja/ *имеющийся*, [ʒɛ'dʒɪ, ʒɪ-]^a [ʒɪ-]^m /sju'da/ *сюда*.

In traditional pronunciation, we can even find: [ɪmid'ye'dʒɜɪmi]^t [ɪmid'ye'dʒɪmi]^m /mid'vjedimi/ *медведями*, [ɪmid'ye'dʒɜm]^t [ɪmid'ye'dʒim]^m /mid'vjedim/ *медведем*, [vɪ'ɪɪɜs]^t [-ɪs]^m /'viniɕ/ *вынес*; and, on the other hand, also: [ʒi'vɔɔɪɪ]^t [ʒɪ'vɔɔɪɪ]^m /si'vodnɜjɜ/ *сегодня*.

8.3.2.3. Adjectives ending in *-кий, -гий, -хий*, in traditional pronunciation have /ii/ [ɪi], but also [zi] (usually rendered as ⟨/əj/⟩, as if it were [xi] /o̞ai/ [while being slightly different, cf fig 8.1]), when they are preceded by [k, g, h], instead of the modern rendering as /ii/ [cii, jii, hii] (according to spelling): [z'vɔɔɪkɪ, -kɜi, -ɲk-]^t [ɲcii, ɲcii]^m /z'vonkii/ *звонкий*, [st'ɾɔɔgɪ, -gɜi]^t [-jii]^m /st'rogii/ *строгий*, [tɕi'hɪ, -hɜi]^t [-hii]^m /tixii/ *тихий*.

Nowadays, this traditional pronunciation sounds non-neutral, or lofty. Also verbs in *-ивать* behave in this way: [pa'mɪʲaʲkɪvɜtɕ]^t [pɛ'mɪʲaʲkɪvɜtɕ]^m /pa'malkivatj/ *помалкивать*, [na'tɕa'gɪvɜtɕ]^t [nɛ'tɕa'gɪvɜtɕ]^m /na'tjagivatj/ *натягивать*, [pa'mɪʲa'hɪvɜtɕ]^t [pɛ'mɪʲa'hɪvɜtɕ]^m /pa'maxivatj/ *помахивать*.

For unstressed endings with *-Vь*, modern pronunciation has [ii] /ii/ *-ий*, [ii] /ii/ *-ей*, [ɪi] /ii/ *-ый*, [xi] /ai/ *-ой*; the traditional one has ⟨/əi/⟩ [zi] for *-ый*, and the alternative one has ⟨/ei/⟩ [əi] for *-ей* (and, in general, also ⟨/əi/⟩ [zi] *-ый*). These are often described as neutralization between the first two (and it is the same in modern pronunciation) or between the second two (but we have: [ɪi]^m/[zi]^a vs [xi]): [ʃɪ'ɪii] /'sinii/ *синий*, [ʷʊ'ɪii]^m [ʷʊ'ɪəi]^a /'ulii/ *улей*, [t'ɾʊdnɪi]^m [-nɜi]^t /t'ɾudnii/ *трудный*, [t'ɾʊdnɪi] /t'ɾudnai/ *трудной*.

For pretonic *ша, жа, ца* (even with ⟨o⟩), modern pronunciation has /Ca/ [Cɛ], whereas the traditional one had /Ci/ [Ci] (which is now lofty): [ʃɛ'jɪ]^m [ʃɪ-]^t /ʃa'gi/

шаги, [ʒɐ'rʲɪa]^m [ʒi-]^t /ʒara/ *жара*, [dʲvɪxʲtsʲɐ'tʲɪ]^m [-tsʲi-]^t /dvatʲtsa'ti/ *двадцати*. However, for certain words the traditional type of pronunciation is still frequent: *жакёт*, *жасмин*, *жавель*, *бешамель*, *двадцать*, *тридцать*, *лошадёй*. In general, these sequences even have an alternative pronunciation with [ɜ, ə] for /i/; the same occurs in pretonic *ше*, *же*, *це* as well (even with ⟨o⟩). But modern pronunciation has /i/ = [ɪ]: [ʃɪp'tʲɪatʲɕ] /ʃɪp'tatj/ *шептать*, [ʒɪ'nʲɪa] /ʒi'na/ *жена*, [tsɪ'nʲɪa] /tsi'na/ *цена*.

8.3.2.4. Among the greatest differences in comparison with orthography, in traditional pronunciation, we find unstressed verbal endings *-ят*, *-ящий*, which have /u/ (that however nowadays is rightly considered to be lofty or non-neutral) instead of /o(C)[#], /i\$/ in modern pronunciation: [ʲhʷoɪdʲʊt]^t [ʲhʷoɪdʲɪt]^m /'xodʲat/ *ходят*, [s'trʷoɪ'ʃɕʲii]^t [s'trʷoɪ(ɲ)ʲʃɕʲii]^m /s'trojʲiʃʲii/ *строящий*.

Another non-neutral pronunciation, which is possible to hear (this time with the opposite timbre), concerns feminine nouns such as [dʲɔɔb-ruju; ↓-ɪju] /'dobruju/ *добрую*, [ʲsɪ'njuju; ↓-i(ɲ)u] /'sinjuju/ *синюю*.

Traditional pronunciation can have [ɤ] for (non-pretonic initial) /[#]o/ [ɐ] and [ɐ] for (final) /o[#]/ [ɤ]: [ɤdnɐ'vʷoɪ]^t [ɐd-]^m /adna'vo/ *одного*, [pʷoɪznɐ]^t [-nɤ]^m /'pozna/ *поздно*.

8.3.2.5. Traditional pronunciation has [ʃʲɪ]^t (or, as we have already said, [ʃʲɪ]^t or [ʃʲɪ]^t) for [ʃʲi, vʲʃʲi, ʃʲi]^m /ʃʲi/, but in Moscow the latter –more agile– pronunciation has always prevailed: [ʃʲi'kʲɪa]^t [ʃʲi-]^m /ʃʲi'ka/ *щека*, [ta'vɪa'riʃʲɪ]^t [tɐ'vɪa'riʃʲɪ]^m /ta'va'riʃʲɪ/ *товарищ*. Contrary to the most frequent transliteration type (šć), the grapheme ⟨ш⟩ might seem to suggest a closer articulatory relation with ⟨ш⟩ [ʃ] /ʃ/; and indeed a constrictive pronunciation is decidedly more recommendable: [ʃʲɪʃʲɪʃʲɪ] /ʃʲɪʃʲɪʃʲɪ/ *счастье*, [pɪ'ʃɪ'pɪʃʲɪk] /pɪ'pɪʃʲɪk/ *переписчик* (the *-чик* suffix is not interpreted as a separation element).

However, in modern pronunciation also [ʃʲɪ] /ʃʲɪ/ is normal, when a clear morphemic boundary –which is shown in writing too– is present, with ⟨сч, зч, шч, жч, стч, здч⟩, never ⟨ш⟩: [ʃʲɪʃʲɪɐm] /ʃʲɪʃʲɪɐm/ *с чем*, [ɪʃʲɪ'vʷoɪ] /iʃʲɪ'vo/ *из чего*. /ʃʲɪ/ or /ʃʲɪ/ occurs in: [vɪs'nʷʊʃʲɪtʲi, -ʃʲɪ-] /vis'nʷʊʃʲɪtʲi, -ʃʲɪ-/ *веснушчатый*, [bɐ'rʷoʃʲɪtʲi, -ʃʲɪ-] /bɐ'rʷoʃʲɪtʲi, -ʃʲɪ-/ *бороздчатый*.

But, between a lexeme and a *suffix*, we generally find [ʃʲɪ] /ʃʲɪ/: [ɪz'vʷoʃʲɪk] /iz'voʃʲɪk/ *извозчик*, [pɪ'ʃɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪk] /pɪ'ʃɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪk/ *перебежчик*, [ʲʒoʃʲɪ] /'ʒoʃʲɪ/ *жестче*. Between a *prefix* and a lexeme, [ʃʲɪ] /ʃʲɪ/ is most frequent: [bɪʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ] /biʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ/ *бесчеловечный*, [ɪʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ] /iʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ/ *исчерпнуть*, [rɪʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ] /rɪʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ/ *расчихаться*. In most commonly used words and when a prefix is no longer thought of as something separated, we usually find [ʃʲɪ] /ʃʲɪ/: [rɪʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ] /rɪʃʲɪ'ʃʲɪ'ʂɐʃʲɪ/ *расческа*, [ʃʲɪʃʲɪʃʲɪ] /ʃʲɪʃʲɪʃʲɪ/ *счастье*, [ʃʲɪʃʲɪt] /ʃʲɪʃʲɪt/ *счет*, [ɪʃʲɪʃʲɪ] /iʃʲɪʃʲɪ/ *исчез*.

Finally, the phoneme /ʒʒ/ [ʒʒ] (which occurs in few words and only within lexemes) is more typical of traditional than modern pronunciation: [ʒʒʲot]^t [ʒʒʲot]^m /ʒʒʲot/ *жжет*, [ʲjɛʒʒʲu]^t [ʲjɛʒʒʲu]^m /ʲjɛʒʒʲu/ *езжу*, [ɪʋ(ɲ)ʲʒʒʲatʲɕ]^t [ɪʋ(ɲ)ʲʒʒʲatʲɕ]^m /ʊʲʒʒʲatʲɕ/ *уезжатъ*, [pʷoʃʒʒʲɪ]^t [pʷoʃʒʒʲɪ]^m /'pozʒʒʲɪ/ *позже*; for derivative forms of [dʲɔɪʃʲɪ]^t [dʲɔɪʃʲɪ]^m /'doʃʲɪ, 'doʃʲɪ/ *дождь*, we have: [dʲɔɪʃʒʒʲɪk]^t [dʲoʒʒʲɪk/ [dʲɔɪʃʒʒʲɪk]^m

/ˈdoʒdik/, *дождик*, [daʒˈziː]^t /daʒˈzi/ [dɐʒˈdʒiː]^m /daʒˈdi/ *дожди*, [daʒˈzʲjom̩]^t /daʒˈzjom/ [dɐʒˈdʒjom̩]^m /daʒˈdʲjom/ *дождем*.

8.3.2.6. As we have seen, in (even modern) Russian, by voicing assimilation, we have (a voiced semi-constrictive) [ɣ] for /x/: [ʷɔɪɪzˈdɔɪɪbɪ]^m [ʷɔɪɪz-]^t /ɔɪɪzˈdɔxbi/ *он издох бы*. In a few words belonging to a particular area, traditional pronunciation has: [ʲbɔɪɪɣɪ]^t [ʲbɔɪɪɣɪ]^m /ʲboga/ *Боза*, [ɣasˈpɔɪɪtɕ]^t [ɣesˈpɔɪɪtɕ]^m /gasˈpɔtj/ *господь*, [buzˈɣɪaɪˈtɕɪɪ]^t [buzˈɣɪaɪˈtɕɪɪ]^m /bjuzˈgaljtir/ *бюстгальтер* (besides, /gi/ [jɪ]^t, with a true constrictive): [aˈbɔɪɪɣɪ]^t [ɐˈbɔɪɪɪ]^m /aˈbogi/ *о Бозе*). The same occurs for the following forms, which still remain the same even in modern pronunciation: [ʲbɔɪɪh]^t [-h, -k]^m /ʲbox, -k/ *Боз*, [ɣɔɪɪspɪɪdʒɪ]^t [ɣ-, ɣ-]^m /ˈgospadi/ *Господу!*; however, it is thought that before long, [ɣ] for /g/ will eventually disappear completely (followed by /ʒʒ/ → /ʒʒ, ʒd/, as we have seen).

For the preposition *κ*, followed by *z-*, we have: [ɣˈgɔɪɪɪdʒu]^t [gˈgɔɪɪɪdu]^m /gˈgo-radu/ *κ городу*. Lastly, also in modern Russian we find [h, ɣ] for the </h/ > *phonostyleme* in exclamations and onomatopoeic words: [ɐˈhɪa, ɐˈɣɪa] </aˈha/ > *ага!*

In traditional pronunciation /k, g/ are [h, ɣ] before stops: [taɣˈdʒɪa]^t [tɐgˈdʒɪa]^m /tagˈda/ *тогда*, [hˈtɔɪɪ]^t [ktɔɪɪ]^m /kˈto/ *кто*, [hkaˈmɔɪɪ]^t [kkaˈmɔɪɪ]^m /kkaˈmu/ *κ кому*. For *-z*, before the ending *-кий*, and derivatives, we have [c, k; h, h]: [ˈmascii]^m, [ˈmahkɪi]^t /ˈmjakkii, ↑-xkii/ *мягкий*, [ˈmakˈxmu]^m, [ˈmahkˈxmu]^t /ˈmjakkamu, ↑-xk-/ *мягкому*, [ˈlɔskɪi]^m, [↑-hk-]^t /ˈljokkii, ↑-xk-/ *легкий*, [ˈmaktɕɪi]^m, [↑-htɕɪi]^t /ˈmjaktɕi, ↑-xtɕi/ *мягче*, [ˈlɔscii]^m, [↑ˈlɔshkɪi]^t /ˈljokkii, ↑-xkii/ *легкий*, [ˈlɛktɕɪi]^m [↑ˈlɛhtɕɪi]^t /ˈljektɕi, ↑-xtɕi/ *легче*. But [k] will prevail, even though it is often still considered to be a non-neutral pronunciation. In fact, for instance, *тягчайший* is already [tɕɪkˈtɕɪɪɪɪ, ↓tɕɪh-] /tikˈtɕɪɪɪɪ/, and *отягчить* is [ɐtɕɪkˈtɕɪtɕ, ↓hˈtɕ-] /atikˈtɕɪtɕ/. In *z*, *κκ* sequences we have: [ˈkɔskɕɪi]^m [-hɕɪi]^t /ˈkokti/ *когти*, [ˈnɔskɕɪi]^m [-hɕɪi]^t /ˈnokti/ *ногти*, [ˈdʒɔskɕɪi]^m [-hɕɪi]^t /ˈdjoktɕa/ *дегтя*.

The pronoun *что* is always [ɕˈtɔɪɪ] /ɕˈto/, as its compounds are, except *ничто* [ˈnɛtɕɪa] /ˈnjetɕta/; whereas *ничто* can have two pronunciations: [nɪɕˈtɔɪɪ; nɪtɕˈtɔɪɪ] /nɪɕˈto; nɪtɕˈto/. In addition, <ч> stands for /ʃ/ in feminine patronymic names: [ˈvɛɪɪ ɪˈlʲjɪnɪɕna] /ˈvɛɪɪ ɪljɪnɪɕna/ *Вера Ильинична*, and in: [kɐˈnɛɕna] /kaˈnɛɕna/ *конечно*, [nɐˈrɔɕna] /naˈrɔɕna/ *нарочно*, [sˈkɔɪɪnɪi] /sˈkuɕnɪi/ *скучный*, [jɪˈ(j)ɪɕnɪtsɪa] /jɪjɪɕnɪtsa/ *яичница*.

The graphemic sequence *чн* used to be /ʃn/, in the traditional pronunciation of common words. In modern pronunciation, we have /tɕn/, even though for some words both pronunciations are used. However, in general, we find: [ʲbɔɪɪˈtɕɕnɪɪɪ]^m [-ɕn-]^t /ˈbulatɕnaja/ *булочная*, [ˈlɪaˈvɪtɕnɪk]^m [-ɕn-]^t /ˈlavatɕnik/ *лавочник*, [mɐˈtɕɕɔɪɪnɪi]^m [maˈtɕɕɔɪɪnɪi]^t /maˈlotɕnɪi/ *молочный*.

8.3.2.7. In traditional pronunciation, the C's that precede Ç (ie palatal or palatalized C) are more consistently palatalized than in modern pronunciation: [zatsˈmɛnɪ(j)ɪ]^t [zɐt-]^m /zatˈmjenɪji/ *затмение*, [sˈkɔɪɪp̆ɪ]^t [sˈkɔɪɪp̆ɪ]^m /sˈkɔɪɪp̆ɪ/ *скорбь*, [ˈtɕɕɛɕɪɪ]^t [ˈtɕɕɛɕɪɪ]^m /ˈtɕɕɛɕɪɪ/ *черты*.

More: [ˈdʒɛɕɪi]^t [ˈdʒɛɕɪi]^m /ˈdʒɛɕki/ *девки*, [ˈdʒɛɕɪi]^t [dɕ-]^m /dˈvɛɪɪɪ/ *дверь*, [tɕˈmɪn̆ɪ]^t [tɕˈmɪn̆ɪ]^m /tˈmɪn/ *тмин*, [ˈdʒɪmɪt-ɕɪi]^t [dɕˈm-]^m /dˈmɪtɪi/ *Дмитрий*, [ɕˈmɛɕ-

nɤ]ᵀ [s'ʲmɛ-]ᵐ /s'mjɛna/ *смена*, [s'ʲmɛfʲtɕ]ᵀ [s'ʲmɛfʲtɕ]ᵐ /s'mjɛrtʲ/ *смерть*, [s'ʲpʲi'nʲɤ]ᵀ [s'ʲpʲi-]ᵐ /spʲin'a/ *спина*, [s'ʲfʲɛ'rɤ]ᵀ [s'ʲfʲɛ-]ᵐ /s'fʲɛra/ *сфера*, [s'ʲyɛt]ᵀ [s'ʲyɛt]ᵐ /s'vjɛt/ *свет*, [c'ʲnʲi'gɤ]ᵀ [k'ʲnʲi-]ᵐ /k'nʲiga/ *книга*, [pʲɤsʲɤtsʲi'alʲizʲmʲ]ᵀ [-fʲɛ'lʲizʲmʲ]ᵐ /pʲɤsʲɤtsʲi'alʲizʲmʲ/ *при социализме*. A pronunciation with a generalized palatalization, although quite widespread, is not at all neutral: [kɤmu'nʲizʲm, -'zʲm, -mᵐ-; ↓-zʲm]ᵀ [kɤmu-]ᵐ /kamu'nʲizʲm, -mm-/ *коммунизм*. Not even in traditional pronunciation is /l/ palatalized by assimilation: [mɔsʲtʲɤ] /'mɔlvʲi/ *молве*, nor by gemination: [pɔsʲtʲit-rɤ] /'pɔl'litra/ *пол-литра*.

Traditional palatalization is more tenacious within words than at the beginning: [nɤsʲyʲi'nʲɤ'tʲɤ]ᵀ [nɤsʲyʲi'nʲɤ'tʲɤ]ᵐ /nasvi'nʲɤ'tʲɤtʲɤ/ *насвинячить*, [sʲyʲi'nʲɤ, sʲy-]ᵀ [sʲyʲi'nʲɤ]ᵐ /svʲinjʲɤ/ *свинья*.

In addition, palatalization due to assimilation is normal, even in modern pronunciation, for homorganic phonemes (except for /l, r/), although a pronunciation without palatalization is spreading. In fact, it further shows that a phonemic approach like the one adopted here is more useful: [fʲɛstʲ, -stʲ] /'fʲɛstʲ/ *шесть*, [kɛsʲ'ʲnɛtʲ, -sʲn-] /kasʲ'nɛtʲ/ *коснеть*, [sʲtʲɛp, sʲtʲɛ-] /sʲtʲɛpʲ/ *стеня*, [zʲ'dʲɛsʲ, zʲ'dʲɛ-] /zʲ'dʲɛsʲ/ *здесь*, [sʲmʲisʲtʲɤ, sʲmʲisʲtʲɤ] /smʲisʲtʲɤ/ *смести*.

For heterorganic phonemes, indirect palatalization is no longer current: [izʲ'bʲɛ]ᵐ [izʲ'bʲɛ]ᵀ /izʲ'bʲɛ/ *избе*, [rɛzʲmʲɤtʲɤ]ᵐ [rɛzʲmʲɤtʲɤ]ᵀ /razʲmʲɤtʲɤ/ *размять*, [sʲmʲɛh]ᵐ [sʲmʲɛh]ᵀ /s'mjɛx/ *смех*. When palatalization is required, spelling shows it too: [fʲizʲ'bʲɛ] /rizʲjʲbʲɛ/ *резьбе*, [vɛzʲ'mʲi] /vazʲjʲmi/ *возьми*, [tʲisʲsʲmʲɛ] /tisʲjʲmʲɛ/ *тесме*.

8.3.2.8. Please, note the differences between modern and traditional pronunciation, as far as /rʲ/ is concerned: [tʲɛrʲmʲɤ]ᵐ [tʲɛrʲmʲɤ]ᵀ /'tʲɛrmin/ *термин*, [tʲɛrʲpʲit]ᵐ [tʲɛrʲpʲit]ᵀ /tʲɛr'pʲit/ *тернит*, [sʲɛrʲbʲi(j)ɤ]ᵐ [sʲɛrʲbʲi-]ᵀ /sʲɛrʲbʲija/ *Сербия*, [ʲvɛrʲfʲ]ᵐ [ʲvɛrʲfʲ]ᵀ /'vɛrʲfʲ/ *верфь*, [tʲɛrʲvʲi]ᵐ [-fʲvʲi]ᵀ /'tʲɛrvi/ *черви*, [tʲɛrʲnʲi(j)ɤ]ᵐ [tʲɛrʲnʲi-]ᵀ /'tʲɛrni(j)i/ *терние*, [ʲzʲɛrʲdʲ]ᵐ [-fʲzʲdʲ]ᵀ /'zʲɛrtʲ/ *жердь*, [uʲsʲɛrʲdʲi(j)ɤ]ᵐ [-ɛrʲdʲi(j)ɤ, -(j)ɤ]ᵀ /uʲsʲɛrʲdʲiji/ *усердие*, [sʲtʲɛrʲlʲitʲɤ]ᵐ [-ɛrʲlʲitʲɤ]ᵀ /sʲtʲɛrʲlʲitʲɤ/ *стерлядь*, [ʲvɛrʲsʲija]ᵐ [ʲvɛrʲsʲi-]ᵀ /'vɛrʲsʲija/ *версия*, [sʲvɛrʲzʲilʲsʲɤ]ᵐ [sʲvɛrʲzʲilʲsʲɤ]ᵀ /sʲvɛrʲzʲilʲsʲɤ/ *сверзился*, [kɛ'mʲɛrʲtʲɤʲɤ]ᵐ [ka'mʲɛrʲtʲɤʲɤ]ᵀ /ka'mʲɛrʲtʲɤʲɤ/ *коммерческий*.

Even in traditional pronunciation, as in the modern one, we find [rʲ] after [ʲCV] (with non-front V): [pʲɤrʲtʲɤ(j)ɤ] /'pʲɤrʲtʲɤ/ *партия*, [ʲɔrdʲɤrʲ] /'ɔrdʲɤrʲ/ *ордер*, [dʲɔurnʲ] [-zʲ]ᵀ /dʲurnʲ/ *дурне*, [mʲɤrʲlʲɤ] /'mʲɤrʲlʲɤ/ *марля*, [kʲɔursʲi] [-zʲ]ᵀ /kʲursʲi/ *курсе*. The same occurs after unstressed V (even if they are front ones): [ʲvʲɛrʲtʲɤ] /vʲɛrʲtʲɤ/ *вертеть*, [sʲirʲvʲis] /sʲirʲvʲis/ *сервис*, [ʲvʲɛrʲzʲilʲɤ] /vʲɛrʲzʲilʲɤ/ *верзила*, [zʲirʲnʲistʲɤ] /zʲirʲnʲistʲɤ/ *зернистый*.

C + [ʲ] are not palatalized: [vʲɛrʲmʲɤ] /vʲɛrʲmʲɤ/ *время*, [fʲɛskʲɤ] /fʲɛskʲɤ/ *фреска*, [pʲɛrʲtʲɛt] /pʲɛrʲtʲɛt/ *портрет*, [xʲɛnʲdʲrʲitʲɤ] /xʲɛnʲdʲrʲitʲɤ/ *хандруить*, [pʲrʲizʲrʲit] /pʲrʲizʲrʲit/ *презрит*.

For reflexive forms (in *-ся, -сь*), traditional pronunciation has /s/ (not /sj/), except for final-stressed gerunds: [baʲjʲɤsʲ]ᵀ [bɛʲjʲɤsʲ]ᵐ /baʲjʲɤsʲ/ *боясь* (against [sʲɤbʲi'rʲɤjʲɤsʲ]ᵀ [-bʲi-]ᵐ /sʲɤbʲi'rʲɤjʲɤsʲ/ *собираясь*). On the contrary, in modern pronunciation reflexive verbs have /sj/ [ʲsʲ], except in the third person (in *-тся*) and infinitives (in *-ться*): [nʲiʲsʲɔtsʲɤ] /nʲiʲsʲɔtsʲɤ, -tsʲɤ/ *несется*, [kʲlɛ'dʲɔutsʲɤ] /kʲlɛ'dʲɔutsʲɤ, -tsʲɤ/ *кладутся*, [uʲtʲɤtsʲɤ] /uʲtʲɤtsʲɤ, -tsʲɤ/ *учится*.

In particular, front-lingual C undergo «palatalization» by assimilation, in modern pronunciation too: [ˈmʷosʲʲɪk] /ˈmostik/ *мостик*, [lʲɪʂˈnʲɪk] /lʲɪʂˈnʲɪk/ *лесник*, [uzˈdʒetʲkɐ] /uzˈdʒetʲka/ *уздечка*, [rɐˈbʷosʲʲnʲɪk] /rɐˈbotnik/ *работник*, [ɐdˈnʲɪ] /adˈni/ *одни*, [ˈbʲaŋʲɪk] /ˈbanʲɪk/ *банщик*. Before [j], after [t, r], or in prefixed words, or in word-initial position, both pronunciations occur (though «palatalization» is more traditional): [pʲɪtʲlʲa, pʲɪt-, pʲɛt-ɫɐ]^m [pɐt-, pʲɛt-]^t /pʲɪtʲlʲa, pʲjetlʲa/ *петля*, [ˈʷosʲʲɪk, -ʂɫ-] /ˈoslik/ *ослик*, [tɐʂˈsʲʲak, -ʂʲʲ-]^m [tɐʂˈsʲʲ-]^t /tɐʂˈsʲʲak/ *толстяк*, [ˈmʷosʲʲɪt, -zʲɪ-] /ˈmjorznit/ *мерзнет*, [sʲʲɪˈnʲɪa, ʂʲʲ-]^m [ʂʲʲɪ-]^t /stiˈna/ *стена*, [zˈdʒɐʂ, zˈdʒ-] /zˈdʒes/ *здесь*, [sʲʲnʲɛk, ʂʲʲn-] /sʲʲnʲɛk/ *снег*, [rɐʂˈsʲʲɪtʲɐʂ, -ʂʲʲɪ-]^m [-ʂʲʲɪ-]^t /rastʲɪˈratʲj/ *растурать*, [pɐdˈnʲos, -dʲn-]^m [pɐdˈnʲ-]^t /pɐdˈnʲos/ *поднес*.

8.3.2.9. The pronouns *их*, *им*, *ими* are more regularly /ix, im, ˈimi/ [iʰ, ih, ih; ˈim, im, im; ˈimɪ, imɪ, imɪ], whereas traditionally they had an exceptional pronunciation (for ⟨[#]u⟩) with /ji/, by analogy with *его* /jiˈvo/, *ему* /jiˈmu/ (but today this is lofty, or non-neutral).

A stronghold of traditional pronunciation had ⟨C[#]u⟩ as /C[#]i/: [vʲɪˈtʲɪaˈli(j)ʊ]^t /vʲɪˈtaliju/ *в Италию*, [ˈkʲɪrʲɪ]^t /ˈkʲiri/ *κ Ире*, by distinguishing them from [vʲɪˈtʲɪaˈli(j)ʊ]^t /vʲɪˈtaliju/ *Виталию*, [ˈcʲɪrʲɪ]^t /ˈkʲiri/ *Куре*. However, native speakers spontaneously make things natural, by eliminating artifices, thus today a «palatalized» pronunciation prevails in both pairs of examples, without doubt because of orthography too. This is a further demonstration that Russian actually has *six vowel phonemes*, indicated in spelling (with the only problem of unstressed-syllable reductions and historical changes). Purists (of course!) still consider this spontaneous pronunciation non-neutral, but they will have to change their minds sooner or later. As a matter of fact, a well-balanced position gives: /ˈkʲiri, ˈkʲiri/ (where ↑ indicates a kind of «intentional» pronunciation – used because «it should be used»).

8.3.2.10. Official Russian orthography maintains quite a few letters which do not correspond (any longer) to actual sounds. The most common case is that of ⟨m, d⟩ between other C: [ˈmʲɛsnʲɪ] /ˈmjesnʲɪ/ *местный*, [uˈtʲʲasʲʲnʲɪk] /uˈtʲʲasʲʲnik/ *участник*, [ʃʲɪsˈʷot] /ʃʲɪsˈsot/ *шестьсот*, [tuˈrʲɪssʲɪi, -stʲɪi] /tuˈrʲɪssʲkʲi, -stʲkʲi/ *турецкий*, [kʲrʲɪsˈtʲʲa] /kʲrʲɪsˈtsa/ *крестца*, [pɐdʲusˈtʲʲɪ] /pɐdʲusˈtsi/ *под уздцы*, [gɐˈtʲʲaŋʲtsʲɪ] /gɐˈlantsʲɪ/ *голландцы*, [ʂɐˈdʲɪtʲɪ] /ʂjertʲɪ/ *сердце*, [ʂɪrˈtʲʲɪʃkɐ] /sʲɪrˈtʲʲɪʃka/ *сердчишко*, [pʷosʲʲznɐ] /ˈpʷozna/ *поздно*, [pʲrɐˈzʲʲnʲɪk] /pʲrɐznʲɪk/ *праздник*, [ʂʲɪsˈlʲɪʃtʲʲɪk, ʂʲɪʂ-] /ʂʲɪsˈlʲɪʃtʲʲɪk/ *счастличик*, [ˈʷosʲʲɪʂlʲɪvʲɪ, -vʲɪʂ-] /ˈsovislʲɪvʲɪ/ *совестливый*, [gʲɪˈgʲaŋʲsʲɪi, -ŋʲtsʲɪ-] /gʲɪˈgʲansʲkʲi/ *гигантский*, [gɐˈtʲʲaŋʲsʲɪi, -ŋʲtsʲɪi] /gɐˈlansʲkʲi/ *голландский*, [gɐˈtʲʲaŋʲkɐ, -ŋʲkɐ] /gɐˈlanka/ *голландка*, [ʂɐtˈlʲaŋʲkɐ, -ŋʲkɐ] /ʂɐtˈlʲanka/ *шотландка*.

Nowadays, indeed, in certain words the graphic C can be restored: [ˈbʲɛz(d)nɐ] /ˈbʲjez(d)na/ *бездна*, [zˈvʲosʲ(d)nʲɪ] /zˈvʲjʲosʲ(d)nʲɪ/ *звездный*, [kɐs(t)ˈlʲaˈvʲnʲɪ, -ʂ(t)ˈlʲ-] /kas(t)-ˈlʲjavʲnʲɪ/ *костлявый*, [pɐs(t)ˈlʲatʲʂ] /pas(t)ˈlatʲj/ *постлать*, [ɪzˈvʲosʲ(t)kɐ] /izˈvʲjʲosʲ(t)ka/ *известка*, [mɐs(t)ˈcʲɪ] /mas(t)ˈki/ *мостки*, [pɐˈjɛs(t)kɐ] /paˈjes(t)ka/ *поездка*, [ˈʷosʲ(t)-cʲɪi] /ˈʷosʲ(t)kʲi/ *жесткий*.

Other words show correspondence between writing and pronunciation: [stuˈdʒɐntkɐ] /stuˈdʲjɛntka/ *студентка*, [ɐˈfʲɪtsʲɪˈantkɐ] /afʲɪtsʲɪˈantka/ *официантка*.

Some other particular cases: [ˈsɔnɔtsɪ] /ˈsontsi/ *солнце*, [ˈtʃʊstʌ] /ˈtʃustva/ *чувство*, [ˈtʃiːʃitʃɪ, ˈtʃiːʃlɪ] /ˈtʃiːtʃa/ *тысяча*, [ʃiˈtʃʌs, ʃlɪʃas, ʃas] /siˈtʃas/ *сейчас* (in the sense of <now, at once>), [pɐˈzʲɪaˈtʊstɪ, -aˈtʲstɪ, -aˈtʲstɪ, bʲz-] /paˈzʌlusta, -l(i)sta/ *пожалуйста*, [zˈdʲrʌstvʲiʦɪ, -astʲi-, -asʲtʲɪ, -aʲstʲɪ, zˈdʲrʌstʲɪ, zaʲ] /zˈdrastvuiti/ *здравствуйте*.

As a useful reminder, and as a drill (thus in the examples we only mark stress, through accents), we can say that <т> → [θ] in the graphic sequences <стд, стьд, стл, стн, стс, стск> (the last one is /sk/): *шестьдесятъ, невѣстка, счастливый, шестна́дцать, извѣстный, шестьсо́т* /ʃiːsɔt/, *тури́стский*; <д> → [θ] in <здк, здн>: *поѣздка, прáздник, пóздно*.

Besides, the sequences <тс, дс> correspond to /ts/, in the pronominal endings -т(ь)ся: [smiˈjɔtsʌ] /smiˈjotsta/ *смеется*, [smiˈjatsʌ] /smiˈjatsta/ *смеяться*, and when <т, д> are followed by the endings -ский, -ство, -ствие: [dʒɛtsɪi] /dʒetskii/ *детский*, [ɐˈtʃʊstʲvi(ɹ)ɪ] /atʃustviji/ *отсутствие*, [prɛ(ɹ)ɪzˈvɔstʲvɪ] /prajizˈvostvʌ/ *производство*, [ʃlɛtʲvi(ɹ)ɪ, sl-] /slɛtʲviji/ *следствие*.

Lastly, in the genitive endings -ого, -его, <з> corresponds to /v/: [ˈbɛˈtʲɔvɪ] /ˈbjelava/ *белого*, [jɪˈvɔ] /jiˈvo/ *его*. Thus the oddity of [ʃɪˈvɔdɔɹɪ] /siˈvodnja/ *сегодня* <today> (= <of this day>) is only seeming.

8.3.2.11. Here we will present the differences between modern and traditional pronunciation, in reference to poststress-syllable V, with /oɪ/ [ɜ] for /i/ (<e>, generally described as </ə/>, exactly like /o/, of unstressed <a, o>, greatly falsifying phonetic reality). The –transcribed or retranscribed– examples are taken from Shapiro (1968).

Nominative and accusative singular of neuter nouns, -e: [ˈpɔɪ] /ˈpɔli/ *поле*, [ˈmɔɪ] /ˈmɔri/ *море*, [ˈvɛtʲɪ] /ˈvjetʲi/ *вече*, [ʒɪˈlʲiʃɪ] /ʒiˈlʲiʃi/ *жилище*, [zˈdʲani] /zˈdani/ *здание*.

Genitive, dative, and locative singular of nouns and adjectives, -e: [ˈʃiːɪvɪ] /-ɪvɪ/ *сине́го*, [ˈʃiːɪvɪ] /-ɪvɪ/ *сине́му*, [ˈʃiːɪvɪ] /-ɪvɪ/ *в сине́м*.

Nominative and accusative, singular and plural, of neuter adjectives and pronouns, -e: [zˈlɔɪ] /zˈlɔji/ *злое*, [zˈlʲi] /zˈlʲi/ *злые*, [tɛˈkɔɪ] /taˈkɔɪ/ *такое*, [tɛˈkɔɪ] /taˈkɔɪ/ *такое*, [lʲiˈbʲazʲɪ] /-jɜ/ *лѣбѣжѣ*, [ˈvɔɪ] /-vɔɪ/ *волчѣ*.

Collective numerals, -e: [dˈvɔɪ] /-vɔɪ/ *двое*, [tɹɔɪ] /-vɔɪ/ *трое*.

Comparatives, -ee: [smiˈlʲeɪ] /ʃmiˈlʲeɪ/ *смелее*, [vɪrˈnɛɪ] /vɪrˈnɛɪ/ *вернее*.

Instrumental singular non-feminine and genitive plural, -ем, -ев: [uˈtʃitʲɪm] /-zɪm/ *учителем*, [pʲlʲatʲɪm] /-zɪm/ *плачем*, [ʒɪˈlʲiʃɪm] /ʒiˈlʲiʃɪm/ *жилищем*, [brʲatʲɪm] /-zɪm/ *братьев*, [ʃɪˈlʲjɪf] /-zɪm/ *шильев*.

Instrumental of plural nouns, -ами: [kʌpˈlʲimɪ] /-zɪmɪ/ *каплями*, [tʃʊˈtʲimɪ] /-zɪmɪ/ *тучами*, [rɔʃˈɪmɪ] /-zɪmɪ/ *рощами*.

Stress

8.3.3.1. As far as the actual stress force is concerned on the various syllables of words in Russian sentences, we have to make the situation clear since –on this aspect too– confused and misleading ideas freely circulate. As a matter of fact, the *prominence* of a certain syllable does not necessarily coincide with its *stress(ing)*. As is well-known, prominence (which makes a given syllable stand out from nearby ones) is not constituted by stress alone. Rather it is a complex play of stress force, length, pitch, and timbres of the various segments of the syllables.

Now, in Russian, the vocoids in a pre-tonic syllable (ie the one that immediately precedes the stressed –or *tonic*– syllable in a rhythm group, that is the <first pre-tonic> in Russian texts) are articulated in a fairly clear and distinct way, although slightly less so than in stressed syllables. This fact is most evident for /a/, as a matter of fact we have for instance: [gʌtʲvʲɔʌ] /gala'va/ *голова*.

Nevertheless, we must not confuse a vowel timbre with the degree of stress, since for rhythmic reasons a secondary stress falls on the first syllable of a word, not on the second one. Each syllable has a peculiar prominence: [gʌ] because of rhythmic stress (in spite of a decidedly more attenuated timbre – less peripheral in the vocogram); [tʲv] because of its semi-attenuated timbre and a significantly different pitch from that of the tonic (syllable) which follows it, although not marked by a particular symbol (cf fig 8.4). Lastly, [vʲɔʌ] is prominent because of primary stress, a full timbre, and a half-lengthening too (in unchecked syllable, in addition to the insertion of [ʲ]).

All too often, even in specific handbooks, we come across statements which claim that the pretonic syllable, [tʲv], would have the second degree of stress, whereas all the others are weaker, above all those after the stress. However, in [stʲɔʌrʌʒɔ] /st'araja/ *старая*, for the last two syllables, we have a timbre attenuation (as for [gʌ]) and a stress weakening (as for [tʲv]), which might make them seem one degree lower in comparison with the other two – but it is not so. Their weakening –if any– is due to the fact that, generally, words given as examples are considered to occur in an intoneme (even if unintentionally), with a consequent reduction of articulatory and intonational intensity on posttonic syllables.

8.3.3.2. In Russian words, stress undergoes variations – even determined by grammar. In fact, the different paradigms (of nouns, adjectives, and verbs) are certainly difficult, especially for foreigners, who can laboriously find assistance in grammars and dictionaries.

Here are some examples of *distinctive* stress (ie phonemic minimal pairs): [rʌu'ci] /ruki/ <hands> and [ru'ci] /ru'ki/ <of the hand> *руки*, [ʲat'ʌs] /'atlas/ <atlas> and [vʲt'ʲɔʌs] /at'las/ <satin> *атлас*, [mʌu'kʌ] /'muka/ <torment> and [mu'kʌ] /mu'ka/ <flour> *мука*, [pʲɔʌ'ʲitʲ] /'paritj/ <to steam> and [pʲɔʌ'ʲitʲ] /pa'ritj/ <to plane> *парить*, [pʲɔʌ'ʲu] /'parju/ <I steam> and [pʲɔʌ'ʲu] /pa'riu/ <I plane> *парю*.

The following are sub-minimal pairs (phonemically), but equally functional (linguistically): [ʌ'ʌʌʌʌ] /'organ/ <organization> and [vʲr'gʲɔʌ] /ar'gan/ <organ> *орган*, [s'vʌʌʌʌ] /s'voistva/ <characteristic> and [svʲeist'vʌ] /svaist'vo/ <property>

свойство, [ʒʲaːmʲɔk] /ʒamak/ <castle> and [zɐˈmɔsk] /zaˈmɔk/ <lock> *замок*, [krʲɔʂʲu] /kroju/ <I cover> and [krɐˈju] /kraˈju/ <I cut (a dress)> *крою*, [pʲɔstʲɔm] /ˈpotam/ <sweat (instrumental case)> and [pɐˈtɔm] /paˈtom/ <then> *потом*, [ʲuːʒɪ] /uːʒi/ <narrower> and [uˈʒɪɐ] /uːʒe/ <already> *уже*, [ˈhʲaɔs] /ˈxaos/ <confusion> and [hʲɐˈwɔs; ˈhʲaɔs] /xaˈos; ˈxaos/ <chaos> *хаос*, [pʲɪʂʲɪnʲutɕ] /ˈpaxnutj/ <to smell> and [pɐhˈnʲutɕ] /paxˈnutj/ <to blow> *пахнуть*.

Let us now consider some cases where the stress variation is between neutral and <dialectal> or <slangy> pronunciation: [dɐˈbʲɪtɕʲa] /daˈbʲɪtɕʲa/ and [ˈdɔsˌbʲɪtɕʲa]^d /ˈdɔbʲɪtɕʲa/ *добыча*, [ɐbʲlʲɪkˈtɕʲɪtɕ] /ablʲɪkˈtɕʲɪtɕ/ and [ɐbʲlʲɛkˈtɕʲɪtɕ]^d /ablʲɛkˈtɕʲɪtɕ/ *облегчить*, [mʲɪlʲɪˈmʲɛtɕ, -tɕ] /mʲɪlʲɪˈmjɛtɕ/ and [mʲɪlʲɪˈmʲɪtɕ, -tɕ]^d /mʲɪlʲɪˈmʲɪtɕ/ *миллиметр*; or between neutral and <uneducated> pronunciation: [krɐˈʂɪˈvʲɪ(ɲ)ɪ] /kraˈsʲɪvʲɪ/ and [krɪʂˈʂɪˈvʲɪ(ɲ)ɪ]^p /krasiˈvʲeji/ *красивее*, [zvɐˈnʲɪʂ] /zvaˈnʲɪʂ/ and [zˈvɔsˌnʲɪʂ]^p /zˈvoniʂ/ *звонишь*.

Otherwise, the difference may be of literary stylistic levels, such as a <folk> one (used in traditional tales and stories): [mʲɔˈtɐˈdʒɛts] /malaˈdʒɛts/ and [ˈmɔsˌtɐˈdʒɪts]^f /ˈmoladits/ *молодец*, [dʒɪˈvʲɪtsʲɔ] /diˈvʲɪtsa/ and [ˈdʒɛˈvʲɪtsʲɔ]^f /ˈdʒevʲɪtsa/ *девица*, [ʂɪˈrʲɪbˌˈrɔs] /siribˈro/ and [ʂɛˈrʲɪbˌˈrʲɔs]^f /ʂjeribra/ *серебро*, [ˈʂɔsˌtɕʲɔvʲɪ] /ˈʂolkavʲɪ/ and [ʂɪˈtɕˌˈkɔsˌvʲɪ]^f /ʂilˈkovʲɪ/ *шелковый*, [ˈsʲɪʂˌhʲɔrʲnʲɪ] /ˈsaxarnʲɪ/ and [sɐˈhʲɪʂˌhʲɔrʲnʲɪ]^f /saˈxarnʲɪ/ *сахарный*, [bʲɔgɐˈtʲɪʂ] /baɡaˈtʲɪrj/ and [bɐˈgʲɪʂˌtʲɪʂ]^f /baˈɡatʲɪrj/ *богатырь*; or a <lofty> level: [ˈnʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪtʲɪ] /ˈnatɕʲɪtʲɪ/ and [nɐˈtɕʲɪʂˌtʲɪtʲɪ]^a /naˈtɕʲatʲɪ/ *начатый*, [ˈɪzbrʲɔnʲnʲɪ] /ˈizbrannʲɪ/ and [ɪzbrʲɪʂˌtʲɪtʲɪ]^a /izbrannʲɪ/ *избранный*, [ˈlʲubʲɪʂʲɪ] /lʲubʲɪʂʲɪ/ and [ˈlʲubʲɔʂʲɪ]^a /lʲubʲɔʂʲɪ/ *любящий*, [xˈvʲɪʂʲɪ] /xˈvalʲɪʂʲɪ/ and [xvʲɐˈlʲɔʂʲɪ]^a /xvaˈlʲɔʂʲɪ/ *хвалящий*, [mʲɪʂˌlʲɛnʲɪ(ɲ)ɪ] /mʲɪʂˌlʲɛnʲɪ/ and [ˈmʲɪʂˌlʲɪnʲɪ(ɲ)ɪ]^a /mʲɪʂˌlʲɪnʲɪ/ *мышление*.

Lastly, we also find cases of *double* neutral stress(ing): [ˈtʲvɔsˌrʲɔk, tʲvɐˈrɔsk] /tʲvɔrak, tʲvɔrok/ *творог*, [ˈɪnʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪ, ˈɪnʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪ] /ˈinatɕʲɪ, ˈinatɕʲɪ/ *иначе*, [ˈwɔsˌbʲuh, ɐˈbʲɔuh] /ˈobux, aˈbux/ *обух*, [pʲrʲɔsˌbʲɪʂ, pʲrɐˈbʲɪʂ] /pʲrobil, pʲrabʲil/ *пробил*.

By considering paradigm variation too, we can see: [ˈdʒɛˈrʲɪvʲɔ] /ˈdʒeriva/ *дерево*, [dʒɪˈrʲɛvʲjɔ] /diˈrʲɛvʲjɔ/ *деревья*, [ˈdʒɪˈrʲɪvʲɔ] /dirʲɪva/ *деревя*; including less recommendable pronunciations (which appear after <;>), or are marked as <wrong> in pronunciation dictionaries (here marked with <↓> only in phonetic transcriptions): [ˈwɔsˌdʲɔtɕʲɪ, ɐdˈdʲɔtɕʲɪ] /ˈoddal, adˈdal/ *отдал*, [ɐdˌdʲɛˈtɕʲɪ, ˈwɔsˌdʲɔtɕʲɪ, ˈɐdˌdʲɛˈtɕʲɪ] /addala/ *отдала*, [ˈwɔsˌdʲɔtɕʲɪ, ɐdˈdʲɛˈtɕʲɪ; ɐdˌdʲɛˈtɕʲɪ] /ˈoddala, adˈdala/ *отдало*, [ˈwɔsˌdʲɔtɕʲɪ, ɐdˌdʲɛˈtɕʲɪ] /ˈoddali, adˈdali/ *отдали*.

8.3.3.3. In compounds, every element (before the last one, which firmly maintains its primary stress, /| [ˈ]) tends to keep a certain degree of stress, which we will mark with /_{||}/ [ˈ] (or [ˌ], if in contact with [ˈ], corresponding to a possible rhythmic stress). Even the vocalic timbre is firmly maintained, with no neutralizations, which are typical of unstressed syllables): [sʲɔmʲɛ_{||}ʂtʲɔstrɐˈjɛˈnʲɪ(ɲ)ɪ] /sama_{||}lʲɔtastraˈjɛˈnʲɪ/ *самолетостроение*, [kɐ_{||}tʲɔsˌfʲɪlʲɪkɐˈpʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪ] /ka_{||}tʲɔfʲɪlʲɪkaˈpalka/ *картофелекнопалка*, [bʲɔsˌtʲrɔvɐˈdʲɪk] /_{||}bortpravadˈnik/ *бортпроводник*, [sʲpʲɔsˌtʲkrʲuˈʒɔsk] /sʲpʲɔrtkrʲuˈʒok/ *спорткружок*, [a_{||}ɐra_{||}fʲɔsˌtɐʂˌnʲɪˈmʲɔk] /a_{||}ɐra_{||}fʲɔtasˈnimak/ *аэрофотоснимок*, [ɪ_{||}lʲɛktrɔ_{||}pʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪdʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪ] /ɪ_{||}lʲɛktrɔ_{||}parapadagriˈvatil/ *электроноподогреватель*, [gʲɔsˌɪzˈdʲɪt, -sɪ] /gʲɔsˌɪzˈdat/ *Госиздат*, [mʲɔsˌzˈbʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪ, mʲɔsˌ-ɕk] /_{||}mɔzˈbank, _{||}mos-/ *Мосбанк*, [ɪkˈrʲɪʂˌtɕʲɪ(ɲ)ɪ] /ɪkˈratkajɪ/ *и краткое*, [pʲrʲɔsˌtɕʲɪ

'sʃa' /_{||}pol'tʃi'sa/ *полчаса*, [pʁɔsʲtʲgɔsʲdɤ] /_{||}pol'goda/ *полгода* (but [pʁɔsʲtʲdʒiɲ] /_{||}pol'dinj/ *полдень* has to be noted).

8.3.3.4. Obviously, in actual sentences there are unstressed words too. Mostly they are functional monosyllables (not lexical ones) such as prepositions, conjunctions, and some particles: [ɛtstɛ'tʃa' /atsta'la/ *от стола*, [pɤdɛk'nɔsʲm] /padak'nom/ *под окном*, [kɛm'nɛ' /kam'nje/ *ко мне*, [b'rɛtʃɤsʲ-jɤ i'sɔstrɛ' /b'ratʃja i'sjostri' /*братья и сестры*, [niz'nɛ'ajʊ /niz'naju/ *не знаю*, [skɛ'ʒi'kɤ /ska'ʒika/ *скажи-ка*, [ʁɔsʲɤʒi' /'onʒi' /*он же*, [pɤ'i'dʒɔtʲ-lɪ /pɤ'i'djotli/ *придет ли*.

Also pronouns and monosyllabic adjectives can be destressed: [mɔsʲib'rɛ'at /moib'rat/ *мой брат*, [z'dʒɛsʲɔsʲ, -ɤn] /z'djesj-on, -an/ *здесь он*, [ku'dʒa vɪb'i'ʒi'tʃi' /ku'da vɪb'i'ʒiti/ *куда вы бежите*, [vi'si'junʲ, ʲɛ- /visji'junj/ *весь июнь*; also *это*: [k'tɔsʲ ɛtɛz'dʒɛ'tʃɤ, itɛ- /k'to etaz'djelal, i- /*кто это сделал*, [vɔsʲnɔsʲ, -ɤn] /'vɔnon, -an/ *вон он*, [vɔsʲ'tɔut, vɛ- /vot'tut, va- /*вот тут*, [vɔsʲnɔ'tɤm, vɛ- /von'tam, va- /*вон там*, [ɔsʲnɔ'nɛ'atʲ /onz'nal/ *он знал*, [ʃtɔsʲɔsʲnɔ'tɤm, ʃtɛɔsʲ- /ʃtoon'tam, ʃtao- /*что он там*, [nɔsʲɔsʲm'bɪ'i'tɤm, -n'b-, nɛɔsʲ- /noom'biltam, -n'b-, nao- /*но он был там*, [tek'vɔsʲ /tak'vot/ *так вот* (conjunction, whereas the adverb *так* does not reduce), [ʁɔsʲn dɛ'ja' /'on da'ja/ *он да я* (a conjunction again, whereas *да*, the adverb <yes> is generally stressed [dʒa']; finally: [i'mɔ ɤdʒbɪ'ʃ'tɔ /i'mu xadʒbɪ'ʃ'to/ *ему хотъ бы что*.

Here is a list of the most frequent (functional) monosyllables with reduced forms (realized with unstressed vowel taxophones, required by the context): *бы, был, вы, вам, весь, да, как, ли, мне, мы, не, ни, об, он, от, по, под, семь, то, ты*. The pronoun *я* <I> can be reduced immediately after a stressed V: [mɛ'gu jɤpɤyɪ'dʒɤtʃ /ma'gu jɤpɤvɪ'datʃ/ *могу я повидать*, [g'dʒɛ jɤmɛ'gu pɤtʲu'tʃitʃ /g'dje jɤma'gu palu'tʃitʃ/ *где я могу получить*, [kɛg'dʒa jɤnɛ'tʃɪ'nɛ'atʲ /kag'da janatʃɪ'nal/ *когда я начинал*.

However, monosyllables can be more independent about vowel timbre than unstressed syllables in polysyllables. Consider, for instance: [vɔsʲrɤn] /'voran/ *ворон* and [vɔsʲ-ɔsʲn] /'voron/ *вор он*, [tʃi'lɪ'sʃa' /tili'sa/ *телеса* and [tʃɛ'lɪ'sʃa' /tjelɪ'sa/ *те леса*, [jis'nɛi' /jis'njei/ *ясней* and [jɛs'nɛi' /jas'njei/ *я с ней*.

8.3.3.5. On the contrary, certain prepositions and monosyllabic particles can receive a rhythm-group stress, when the word which follows them has the original stress on the first syllable: [bʲɛzvi'stʃi' /bʲjezvisti/ *без вести*, [pʁɔsʲd-rucɪ' /'podruki/ *под руки*, [nɛ'bɪ'lɤ' /'njebɪla/ *не было*, [pʁɔsʲ-tɪ' /'potri/ *по три*, [nɛ'pɤ'pɤ' /'napal/ *на пол*, [nɛ'gɤ'gɤ' /'nagaru/ *на гору*, [nɛ'pɤ'stʃɪnu' /'nastinu/ *на стену*, [zɤ'gɤ'gɤ'dɤm, -gɤ'ɤd-, -gɤ'ɤd- /'zagaradam/ *за городом*, [rɤz'dʒi'lɪtʃ' nɛ'adɤvɤ, -lɪdʒ'n- /razdɪ'litʃ' /'nadva/ *разделить на два*, [pʁɔsʲdnɤsɤm] /'podnasam/ *под носом*, [zɤ'nɤs' /'zanas/ *за нос*, [ʁɔsʲtʃɪsu' /'otʃtʃisu/ *от часу*, [pʁɔsʲtɤpɤlɤm] /'potpalam/ *под полом*, [jɤpɤtʃɪ'fatʲ jɪvɔsʲ'izyɪdu' /jɤpatɪ'rʃjal jɪvɔ'izvidu/ *я потерял его из виду*, [i'mu zɤ'sɤ'ɤk] /i'mu zɤsarak/ *ему за сорок*, [pɛm'nɔsʲ'ʒɪtʃ ʃɛɲ] nɛ'pɤ'pɪtʃ /pam'nɔʒɪtʃ' sʲjemj' /'napitʃ/ *помножить семь на пять*.

Also the negative particles *не, ни*, which are generally unstressed, may have this structure, above all with the verb *быть*, [bɪ'tʃɪ' /'bitʃ/, <to be>: [jɪ'vɔsʲtɤm

'nɛ'bɨɫ] /ji'vo-tam 'nɛbɨla/ *его там не было*, [ɔnɔtɕam'nɛ'zɨɫ] /on-tam'nɛzɨl/ *он там не жил*.

Here are the prepositions that can have this stress pattern (most typical of colloquial speech): *без, во, до, за, из, на, о/об, от, по, под, при*. However, it is not sufficient that the noun or number that follows is stressed on its first syllable, as happens, for instance, in: [ɔmpɔɫɛzɨɫk'nɨ'ɡu nɛst'ɔɫ, ɔɔɔ-] /ompala'zɨl knɨgu nastɔl, on-/ *он положил книгу на стол*, [ɛnɛ'sɛɫɨɫ nɛst'ɔuɫ] /ana'sjela nastul/ *она села на стул*.

The exact application depends on actual usage, without being possible to provide a precise and absolute rule. A serious pronouncing dictionary, with real transcriptions (at least in official *IPA*), ought to show these forms accurately.

Intonation

8.3.4. fig 8.4 shows the preintonemes and intonemes of neutral Russian – then we just give some illustrative examples, to use for comparisons:

/./: [ɛɫɨ mɔɔiɫɨ bɨ'mɨi kɔmpɔzɨ'tɨɫ] /'ɛta moi-lju'bimɨi kɔmpa'zɨtar./ *Это мой любимый композитор*.

/?/: [ɛvɨ jɨ'vɔ'vidɨli?] /ɛ'talɨk'ko?, -x'ko?/ *Вы его видели?, Это легко?*

/;/: [jɛɫɨɫ ɔɔɔpɨɫɛɫ ɟɛ'tɨɫɨɫ jɔnɔpɨ'ɫɔu jɨ'vɔɔɛɫɛ ɫɔu..] /'jɛsli on-nɨat'vɟɛtɨt; jɔ-nɔpɨ'ɫɔu jɨ'vɔɔɛɫɛɫɨ/ *Если он не ответит, я напишу его отцу*.

«Elliptic questions» (ie those without a verb) have the pattern /ɛ ;/: [ɛaɨɟzɨɫɔ'mɨnɨ-ɨ] /ɛaɨɟzɨ'mɨnɨ;/ *А экзамены?*

fig 8.4. Russian preintonemes and intonemes.



Text

8.4.0. The transcribed passage, *The North Wind and the Sun*, gives the neutral accent; as always, according to the phonetic method, first comes the English text (cf § 2.5.2.0) with a broad Russian accent, then the Russian translation, with neutral pronunciation; then follows the «traditional» accent (not recommendable any

longer today).

At the end, as usual, the version showing the English pronunciation of Russian is given; it represents the habits of neutral British speakers, fluent in Russian (after prolonged contact with native speakers, but with no help from the phonetic method), who have adequately learned the relative prominences, but who substantially use segmental and intonation elements which are typical of neutral Russian (although, of course, a neutral accent is not so common). Obviously, the same principle is valid for the foreign pronunciations of English, given first.

Speakers of American English could prepare their own version both of the Russian pronunciation of English and of their pronunciation of Russian, as an excellent exercise, by listening to native speakers, best of all after recording them. Of course, speakers of *other languages* could do the same thing. The author would be happy to receive their transcriptions and recordings, both in case of help –should they need it– and to make their contribution known to others (possibly in our website on *canIPA Natural Phonetics* – cf § 0.12).

Russian pronunciation (of English)

8.4.1. [dʒɪ_nwɔrt 'yɪnt·endɐ'swɔn·ɪjɐrdʒɪs_pu'tʃɪŋk_ɪtʃ vɔzdʒɪst_ɾwɔŋgɐf.]_ɹɛn
 ɐt_ɾɪavɫɐɾ·_ɕɛm ɐ'twɔŋk·_ɫɾɪp ɕɪnɐ_ɹwɔɾmk_ɫwɔk.ɹ| dʒɛɐg'ɪt: dɔdʒɪ_vwɔn
 ɥu_ɕɛɾst sɐk'ʃɪ'dʒɪtʃ·ɪp_mɛ'ɕɪŋ dʒɪt'ɾɪavɫɐɾ_ɫɕɛc ɥɪsk_ɫwɔk_ɔɕf·| ʃudɥɪkɛn_ʃɪ'dɔɾt
 _strwɔŋgɐɾ,dɔndʒɪ_ɔɕ'dɐɾ.ɹ||

'dʒɛɾ· dʒɪ_nwɔrt 'yɪnt·_bɫwɔ· ɐ'sɥɛɾt· ɐʃɥɪ_kwɔt.ɹ| bɔdʒɪ_mwɔɾ ɥɪb_ɫwɔɹ·| dʒɪ-
 _mwɔɾk 'ɫwɔʃɹɪ· dʒɪdʒɪt'ɾɪavɫɐɾ: _ɾwɔɫt ɥɪsk_ɫwɔk ɐ_ɾɪaʊpɫɕɥɪm.ɹ| ɫɔntɐt'ɫɛɾst: dʒɪ-
 _nwɔrt 'yɪnt·_ɹɛv_ɔɾp dʒɪɐ_ɫɕɛmpt.ɹ|| ɫ'dʒɛɾ·ɹ| dʒɪ_swɔn_ɕwɔn_ɔut.._ɫvwɔɾmɫɹ.ɹ| ɐɹ-
 dʒɪ'mɪ'dʒɪtʃɹ: ɹdʒɪt_ɾɪavɫɐɾ_ɫwɔk_ɔɕf.. ɹɥɪsk_ɫwɔk.ɹ|| ɫɐnt'swɔɹ·ɹ| dʒɪ_nwɔrt 'yɪnt·vɔzɛb-
 _ɫɫɪɪtʃ tʊkɛŋ'ɕɛs·| dɔdʒɪ_swɔn.. vɔzdʒɪst_ɾwɔŋgɐɾ.. ɫɐvdʒɪ_ɫwɔɹ..ɹ||

ɕdʒɪdʒɪ'ɫɫɪk· ɕdʒɪst'wɔɾɹɹ| ɕdʒɪv_ɹwɔn tʊ_ɥɪ'ɹɪt ɐ'ɹɛn·ɹ||]

Russian text

8.4.2. *Однажды северный ветер и солнце спорили, кто из них сильнее. Как раз в это время они заметили закутанного в плащ путника, идущего по дороге, и порешили, что тот из них будет считаться самым сильным, кому раньше удастся заставить путника снять плащ.*

Тут северный ветер принялся дуть изо всех сил; но чем сильнее он дул, тем сильнее кутался путник в свой плащ; так что в конце концов северный ветер должен был от своей задачи отказаться. Тогда засияло солнышко, путник понемногу отогрелся и вскоре снял свой плащ. Таким образом, северный ветер вынужден был признать, что солнце сильнее его.

Тебе понравилась сказка? Повторить ее?

Modern Russian pronunciation

8.4.3. [əd'nʲaʒdɨ̄ ʃɛ'yɪrni 'yɛ'tsɪr 'rʂwɔntsɨ̄: s_pwɔ'fɪlɪ̄· k_twɔɪz.nɪh ʃɪl_nei.] kek_rʲas_vʲɛ'tɔv_fɛ'mɔ· e_ni zɛ'mɛ'tsɪlɪ̄· zɛ_kwɔ'tɔnɔvɔɔp 'pʲtʲaʃ·_pɔuʲnɪkɔ.. ɪ_dwɔʃɪvɔ pɔdɛ'rɔwɔ'ʒɪ̄ ɪpɔ'fɪ_fʲɪ'ɪ̄· | ʃ'twɔ·_twɔt ɪz_nɪɣ_bwɔ'dʒɪt· ʃɪ_tʲatsʲɔ_sʲa'mɪm ʃɪl_nɪm· | kɛ,mu'rʲaʃɔ'fɨ̄ u'dʲastsɔ: zɛs_tʲa'yɪtʃ_pɔuʲnɪkɔ· | ʃ_nats_pʲtʲaʃ.. ||

_twɔt 'ʃɛ'yɪrni·_yɛ'tsɪr·_pʲɪnɪtʲ_sʲa' 'dɔuts· | ɪzɛɔ_ʃɛh_ʃɪtʲ.. || ɪ_nwɔ_tʃɪɛm ʃɪl_nei wɔn_dwɔtʲ· |_tʃɛm ʃɪl'nei·_kɔw'tɔʃsɔ 'pɔuʲnɪk· ɔs,vwɔɪ_pʲtʲaʃ.. || takʃ'twɔ: | ɪɔkɛn_tʃɛ kɛn_tʃwɔf· | | _ʃɛ'yɪrni_yɛ'tsɪr·: 'dɔstʲɪm_bɪtʲ· | ɛtsvɛ_jei zɛ_dʲa'tʃɪ̄· ɛtkɛ_zʲatsʲɔ.. || tɛg_dʲa_zɔʃɪ_ja'tɔ_s_wɔt'nɪʃkɔ· |_pɔuʲnɪk· ɪpɔ'nɪm'nwɔ'ɣu· | ɛtɛg_fɛtʲsɔ· | ɪɔs_kwɔ'fɪ ʃ_natʲ svwɔɪp_tʲaʃ.. || tɛ_cɪm_wɔb_rɔzɔm·: _ʃɛ'yɪrni 'yɛ'tsɪr·_vʲɪ'nuʒdʒɪm_bɪtʲ· pʲɪz_nats· ʃ'tɔ_s_wɔntsɨ̄.. ʃɪl_nei.. ɪɪ_vwɔ'.. ||

çtʃɪ_bɛ pɛn'rʲa'yɪtʲɔs· çs_kʲaskɔ | çpɔɔtɛ'fɪtʃɪ.(ɪ)ɔ· || |]

Traditional Russian pronunciation

8.4.4. [ad'nʲaʒdɔ· ʃɛ'yɪrni 'yɛ'tsɪr 'i'swɔntsɔ: s_pwɔ'fɪlɪ̄· k_twɔɪz.nɪh ʃɪl_nei.] kak_rʲas_vʲɛ'tɔv_fɛ'mɔ· a_ni za'mɛ'tsɪlɪ̄· za_kwɔ'tɔnɔvɔɔp 'pʲtʲaʃʲ·_pɔuʲnɪkɔ.. ɪ_dwɔʃɪvɔ pɔdɛ'rɔwɔ'ʒɪ̄ ɪpɔ'fɪ_fʲɪ'ɪ̄· | ʃ'twɔ·_twɔt ɪz_nɪɣ_bwɔ'dʒɪt· ʃɪ_tʲatsʲɔ_sʲa'mɪm ʃɪl_nɪm· | kɛ,mu'rʲaʃɔ'fɨ̄ u'dʲastsɔ: zas_tʲa'yɪtʃ_pɔuʲnɪkɔ· | ʃ_nats_pʲtʲaʃʲ.. ||

_twɔt 'ʃɛ'yɪrni·_yɛ'tsɪr·_pʲɪnɪtʲ_sʲa' 'dɔuts· | ɪzɔɔ_ʃɛh_ʃɪtʲ.. || ɪ_nwɔ_tʃɪɛm ʃɪl_nei wɔn_dwɔtʲ· |_tʃɛm ʃɪl'nei·_kɔw'tɔʃsɔ 'pɔuʲnɪk· ɔs,vwɔɪp_tʲaʃʲ.. || takʃ'twɔ: | ɪɔkɔn_tʃɛ kɔn_tʃwɔf· | | _ʃɛ'yɪrni_yɛ'tsɪr·: 'dɔstʲɪm_bɪtʲ· | ɛtsva_jei za_dʲa'tʃɪ̄· ɛtkɔ_zʲatsʲɔ.. || tag_dʲa_zɔʃɪ_ja'tɔ_s_wɔt'nɪʃkɔ· |_pɔuʲnɪk· ɪpɔ'nɪm'nwɔ'ɣu· | ɛtag_fɛtʲsɔ· | ɪɔs_kwɔ'fɪ ʃ_natʲ svwɔɪp_tʲaʃʲ.. || ta_cɪm_wɔb_rɔzɔm·: _ʃɛ'yɪrni 'yɛ'tsɪr·_vʲɪ'nuʒdʒɪm_bɪtʲ· pʲɪz_nats· ʃ'tɔ_s_wɔntsɔ.. ʃɪl_nei.. ɪɪ_vwɔ'.. ||

çtʃɪ_bɛ pan'rʲa'yɪtʲɔs· çs_kʲaskɔ | çpɔɔtɛ'fɪtʃɪ.(ɪ)ɔ· || |]

English pronunciation of Russian

8.4.5. [əd'nɑːʒdə· sɪˈɛvɪəni vɪˈɛtʃɪə 'tʂwɔntse: 'spɔːʒli· kˈtʃhɜːw ɪzˈnɪx sɪtˈneɪ.] khɛkˌɹɑːs 'vɛfə ɹɪˈɛmjɛ· əˈnɹɪ zəmiˈɛtsli· zəˈkɦuʃəˈnəvəɣ 'phlɑːʃ· 'phɦuʃnɪkɛ.. ɪˌdɦuʃɪvə pəˈdʒɔːɣɪ̄ ɪpəˌʃɪːli· | 'ʃtʂwɔˌ ˈtʃhɜːw ɪzˈnɪx 'bɦudzɪʃ ʃɪˈtʃɑːtsə 'sɑːməm 'sɪtˌniəm· | kɦuˈmɔˌɹɑːnʃə ɔˈdɑːstse: zɛsˈtʃɑːvɪts 'phɦuʃnɪkɛ· | ˌsnɑːts 'phlɑːʃ.. ||

ˈtʃɦuʃ sɪˈɛvɪəni· pɦɹɪnɪtˈsɑː 'dɦuʃts | ɪzəfsɪˈɛx 'sɪtʲ.. || ɪ_nɜːwˌtʃɦɛm sɪtˈneɪ ɜˈnˌdɦuʃtʲ· | tɪˈɛm sɪtˌniˈɛɪˌ ˈkɦuʃtʲətsə 'phɦuʃnɪk· fəsvəˈphlɑːʃ.. || ˈtʃɦɛkˈʃtʂwɔ: ɪˈfkwɔnˈtseɪ kwɔnˈtsɔf· | | sɪˈɛvɪəni vɪˈɛtʃɪə: 'dɔˈtʃzəmbɪtʲ | ɛtsvəˌjeɪ zəˈdɑːtʃɪ· ɛˈfkwɔˈzɑːtse.. || ˈtʃɦwɔˌdɑː

zəsi'ɑlə 'sɑ'fnəʃkə: | 'phmuʃnuk· ɹpənum'nɔgmu· ɹɛʃwɔɟi'ɛʃsɪə: | tʃ'skɑʃi sni'ɑʃ snə-
 'phlɑʃ.. || ʃhɑ'khrim 'ɔbɟəzəm: : si'ɛvɪənii vi'ɛʃjə· 'vɜ'nmuɜ(d)zɪmbɪʃ· pɟiz'nɑʃts·
 ʃʃɔ'sɑntɕə.. stʃni'ɛɪ.. ɹi'vɜ'ɑ.. ||

ɟtsɪbɪ'ɛɪ pənɟɑrvləʃ: ɟ'skɑ'skə | ɟphɛftə'ɟitsɪɜ' || |]