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5. Vowels & vocoids

5.1. As far as the vocalic elements are concerned, let us recall that from a phonetic point of view it is more convenient to use the term vocoids, while reserving the more traditional term vowels for phonemes and graphemes (or more generally).

Fig 5.1 will help to ‘reconstruct’ the typical modalities for the production and identification of vocoids, which have three fundamental components that – concisely – are: the fronting and raising of the dorsum (or central part of the tongue), with different degrees of jaw opening, and different lip positions (since adding lip rounding doubles the number of all possible vocoids).

5.2. Let us notice that our vocogram is different from the currently official trapezoid, which we decided to abandon because of its partially unsatisfactory shape and conception (for more details and general information, cf ch 8 of our NPT – Natural Phonetics & Tonetics— also on the canIPA website).

In addition, the vocogram is subdivided into a considerable number of boxes, 30, which renders it more precise a tool than the overly vague official one (which can be seen at the end of this book).

Furthermore, the two low vocoids are – more realistically – [æ, α], not ‘[a, a]’, corresponding to canIPA [a, a] (as acoustic phonetics can also easily prove).

Fig 5.1. Orograms of the four extreme points for vocoid articulations (with corresponding labio-grams) and the vocogram. Note that rounded vocoids (such as [u]) have round markers, instead of square ones.
5.3. In addition, fig 5.2-5 will complete our general view, by providing all possible vocoids (both unrounded and rounded), again in *vocograms* containing a miniature *vocogram*, representing differences and subtle nuances better.

fig 5.2. All vocoids and their palatograms.
The Germanic languages have quite complex vowel inventories, due to the large number of elements and mainly because vowel length is phonemic. This is true especially in comparison with the vowel inventories of Romance languages – and even more so with a few (relatively) exotic ones, like Arabic or Japanese.

Therefore, it is not useless to have a more general outlook of how vocoids are produced, which is going to prove particularly useful when dealing with peculiar, marginal, or local pronunciations.

5.4. For vocoids, voice is the normal type, so much so because voicelessness is considered to be a 'marked' rare characteristic for vowels.

Some of all the vocoids shown are much more used than some others. However, it is better to show all of them.

5.5. In order to facilitate the necessary comparisons, which are an essential part of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method, fig 5.6 shows the monophthongs and diphthongs of the neutral accents of British and American English.

They are presented in a simplified way, without their taxophones (but one can find all of them in our English Pronunciation & Accents). Note that the three white markers (in fig 5.6) stand for unstressed vocoids.

fig 5.3. Orograms of unrounded (or spread, or normal) vocoids.
fig 5.4. Orograms of rounded vocoids.

fig 5.5. Comparisons between vocoid lip positions (including different kinds of rounding).
5.6. Just to get a more general view of the use of vocograms, fig 5.7 shows the vocogram of a language with a remarkably simpler vowel inventory, such as Spanish, with only five monophthongs in stressed syllables – and diphthongs, combining some of the vowels with /i, u/. Of course, sequences as /ja, wa/ are no ‘diphthongs’ at all, being just the simple combination of a consonant with a vowel (not unlike /na, pa, sa, la/)! After all, *repetita iuvant*...
The vowels & diphthongs of international Russian

5.7. International Russian pronunciation features six (not just five) vowel phonemes (as shown in fig 5.8.1-3): /i, e, a, o, u, i/ realized as the following eight vocoids: [i], [e], [a, ə], [o], [u], [i]. Let us notice that [ə] occurs only unstressed, while [o] is mostly stressed.

Russian also has a number of diphthongs, which are formed by adding [i] to the other elements: [ii], [ei, e], [ai, a], [oi], [ui], [ii], as shown in the second vocogram in fig 5.8.3. Thus, this is no real problem, while the diphthongs of English (or German) are not biphonemic (by joining two existing vowels), but monophonemic.

fig 5.8.1. International Russian vowels: orograms & labiograms.

fig 5.8.2. International Russian vowels: palatograms.
International English has: /ii, ™¤, a™, aø, ø™, ø¨, uu/, realized exactly as [ii, ™¤, a™, aø, ø™, ø¨, uu], but neutral American (here given first when different) and British English have [Ii, ™I, aÙ, aÖ, øÙ, ø¨/'¨, Uu/¯u]. They have to be considered monophonemic because they vary incredibly in different (native) accents ([cf LC’s English Pronunciation & Accents]). Just to give a few examples, let us consider some typical English regional accents (choosing only one possibility for each) for /ii, ™¤, a™, aø, ø™, ø¨, uu/: London [ÈÛ, ÅÙ, ØÉ, EX, åP, o¤, È%], Scotland [ii, ee, æ/z/i, åi, ëi, oo, uu].

5.8. We will, now, see some examples for all (international) Russian vowel phonemes. When native-like realizations are actually different, they will be added, especially for some taxophones.

For /i, e, a, u, i/, including two important taxophones: идти [iťt’i], день [ʒlep], нет [nêt], рано [ɾaŋn’e], города [gשם’dæ], дом [dɔm], буду [bʊrdʊ], крысы [krɪ’si].

Examples for the diphthongs: кий [ciťj], синий [širjni], эй! [‘ei], копейка [kופeɪk’a], май [m’ai], чай [tʃai], война [vœ’næ], аэроплан [eFirep’lan], делайте [dɛlɛt’i], бой [boi], зарёй [zər’ʊj], жуй! [zęj], дюйм [djuim], уйти [ui’ti], выплойте! [vɪp-louj], выйти [vi’ti], бельй [ke’hi].

Russian can also have some diphthongs caused by juxtaposition, especially in loans, as in: кавыч [ku’tʃuk], радио [ɾa’djø, t-io], како [kæ’kae, t-ao], шоу [ʃøu] (also Шоу [ʃøu], for Shaw), нож-хай [nɔŋ’ʃai].
The vowels & diphthongs of native-like international Russian

5.9. In addition, fig 5.8.4 shows the native-like version of Russian (while neutral, traditional, and mediatic pronunciations are fully described in § 10-15).

The use of (good) transcriptions is fundamental for the natural phonetics method. Once people succeed in overcoming initial perplexity (and, perhaps, mistrust), it is obvious that it is not an additional useless toil. On the contrary, it allows to free oneself from the noxious dependence on spelling, and to clearly separate and distinguish the two levels.

Obviously, the fundamental (and truly linguistic) reality is the phonic one, although a misleading feeling is still prevailing that the genuine language is the one ambiguously indicated by (artificial) spelling. After all, do not illiterate people speak, or do not they?

It is also appropriate to clearly indicate the length of Russian vowels, not to inadequately assign them foreign peculiarities. In fact, for simple vowels, in stressed free syllable, either internal or final, we have half-long vocoids, as some examples have already shown: да [da], эпоха [ıp'ʊxə'], сын [sin], язык [ip'zık], красный [krasnii].

Consonant clusters can also have different divisions from other European languages, as, for instance, [dr] (shown below, and further combinations, either initial or internal, as /Cl/ [Cli]).

fig 5.8.4. International native-like Russian vowels (first shown all together) & diphthongs.
5. Vowels "vocoids"

It is fundamental to keep well in mind this fact, because Russian also has different length rules, as shown by the following examples: лампа [ˈlampə], город [ˈgorod], луна [ˈlunə], друг [ˈdruk], певчий дрозд [ˈpreʧjɪd ˈrɔst].

5.10. Looking again at Fig 5.8.4, let us consider the criteria we used to assign vowel taxophones: the first depends on the ‘interpalatal’ phonic context, representable as [CVĆ, CVi] (the second concerns unstressed syllables: [ ]). For the ‘interpalatal’ context, we do not have only /CeĆ, -i/ [CeĆ, -i], but also /CaĆ, -i/ [CaĆ, -i], /CoĆ, -i/ [CoĆ, -i], /CuĆ, -i/ [CuĆ, -i] (including /CiĆ, -i/ [CiĆ, Ći], which will be clearer after having also seen another case that we are about to deal with).

But, first, let us observe that the phoneme /i/ forms an ‘interpalatal’ context only with official diphthongs: [CVi]. In other cases, there is a different situation, as loanwords illustrate well: писанист [ˈpiʃniʃt], миллионер [miˈlionər].

Going back to taxophones, to have a precise idea of how they behave, it is sufficient to consider the examples, which will follow. Let us notice that /e/ [e] is articulated fronter and higher in the vocogram, ie [e].

The same also happens for /a/ [a], /o/ [o], /u/ [u], /i/ [i] (look at the five grey markers). In the last case, we find a fronter and higher articulation, but only slightly: [i] (the diacritic [·] indicates the direction of this movement: ‘northwest’).

In the case of /u/ [u], there is an almost inexistent movement, but its advancement is clear. Let us attentively observe that the phoneme /i/ does not occur in this context, since it is never preceded by [Ć], although there is the diphthong /ii/.

Here are the examples (with [tʃV] for [tV]): кий [ˈciː], синий [ˈɕiɾiː], эй! [ˈeɪ], копейка [ˈkopeike], май [ˈmaɪ], чай [ˈtʃai], война [ˈvoiŋa], аэроплан [ˈeirəplɐn], делайте [ˈdeɻɐiʃtʲ], бой [ˈboi], заря [ˈzɐɾъi], жуй! [ˈʑui], дуйм [ˈdjuim], уйти [ˈuiɐtʃʲ], выплойте! [ˈviplɐiʃtʲ], выйти [ˈviʃtʲ], белый [ˈbʲeɫʲi].

5.11. The second case of additional taxophones for ‘native-like international’ Russian pronunciation concerns, as already said, unstressed syllables. In fact, looking at the first vocogram in Fig 5.8.4, we can see three white markers, while in Fig 5.8.3 there was only one: /a/ [e].

Thus, /i/ [i] and /i/ [i] have to be added. They are always in unstressed syllables, with only one exception for /CiĆ/, even without stress, [ĆiĆ], because of the ‘inter-palatal’ context: синий [ˈɕiɾiː], делайте [ˈdeɻɐiʃtʲ], уйти [ˈuiɐtʃʲ], выплойте! [ˈviplɐiʃtʲ], выйти [ˈviʃtʲ], белый [ˈbʲeɫʲi]. Two more, from other sections: интонация [inˈtɔnəɕjə], крьсы [kˈrɨʃi].
For phonemic and phonetic transcriptions of Russian

5.12. A Russian phonemic system, which may not be completely abstract and uselessly mentalist, necessarily has six vocalic phonemes: /i, e, a, o, u, / (not only five, with a quick-change artist ‘/i/’). An even more useful transcription would also use (at least) three additional vowel symbols, [i, ı, ę], to be used in unstressed syllables.

Furthermore, it should be essential to also accurately avoid using phonemic sequences like /0 j/, replaced by (9) (of course with specific symbols). Inevitably, sequences like /0 i/ would become (9i), and (9I), when unstressed phonemes are accepted, including /j/. All this gives a far less enigmatic aspect in comparison with former more abstract transcriptions.

However, considering examples like день, здесь, сделать, телевидение, о естестве, in canIPA transcription of the modern neutral accent, we have: [děnʲ, z’deš, z’de’eʃt, ti’lil’vı-diɲi, ajįstiʃ’tve’] [’-tiʃ’tve’]. In a transcription that indicates international pronunciation, we have: [děn, z’deš, z’de’eʃt, ti’lil’vı-diɲi, ajįstiʃ’tve’] (or, if ‘native-like’, with only one difference: [ˌj], in the fourth case).

5.13. Should we want to systematically use a phonemic transcription, instead of a more useful phonetic one, it would be preferable to use: /d’en, z’d’es, z’d’elat, ti’lil’vı-diɲi, jiʃtist’ve/ rather than: ‘/d’en, z’d’es, z’d’elat, ti’lil’vı-diɲi, ajįstist’vje’.’

Of course, it is more useful and realistic, but it almost doubles the number of the phonemic symbols. The other one shown is not ‘scandalous’, and decidedly better than ‘official things’ like offIPA ‘/d’en/, z’d’es/, z’d’elat/, ti’lil’vı-diɲi/, ajįstist’int-’vj/’, which become impossible to read without problems. In fact, it seems quite obvious that an excess of [i] complicates readability (not little, indeed, and risking psychic health).

‘Simple’ transcriptions like ‘[d’en, z’d’es, z’d’elat, ti’lil’vı-diɲi]’ should decidedly be avoided—even with the so much boasted ‘[-ije]’ (more mediatic than neutral) in the Kovalev’s dictionary, with ‘transcription’ in its newer editions— and ‘[ajįstist’vje]’.

Clearly—since no good ‘phonexorcists’ can be found—we are more than ever against even possible ‘Soviet-like’ things (from which the preceding ‘gem’) has arisen), like: ’Đ’en’, z’Đ’es’, z’Đ’el’at’, ’t’l’iv’i’d’in’n’i, aįj’st’i’s’t’v’e. Certainly nobody will miss the ‘circus show’ of smaller superscript characters in some other examples.

Some remarks on ‘AvaneSoviet’ Russian vowels

5.14. These preliminary remarks are meant to be of help to those who ought to undergo certain readings by Avanesov (particularly 1972⁵, or others derived from his own ones) in order not to believe the same old Soviet tales (in this specific case, with no political, social, or humanitarian, reference), that still live on.

Concerning how to treat the vowels of Russian, let us carefully pass over cer-
tain exaggerations, but without ignoring real characteristics, as we will see, in particular, about traditional and mediatic pronunciations.

However, those who are not burning with curiosity, or are not obliged to use material from that ‘school of phonetics’, may completely skip these remarks. Anyway, we are here presenting something that might be useful to make the phonic situation of Russian vowels clear.

For international pronunciation, we only need 8 vocoids: \( [i, e, e, a, e, \sigma, u, i] \) (§ 5.8.3). For native-like international pronunciation, we have to use 13 symbols: \( [i, i, e, e, a, e, \sigma, u, m, i, i] \) (§ 5.8.4).

For modern neutral pronunciation, we need 16 (or 18) of them: \( [i, i; e, e; \sigma, u; i, i] \) (adding the intermediate \([\ddot{i}, \dddot{i}]\), if desired (§ 10.1).

For traditional neutral pronunciation, 25 symbols are needed (or 26, including an intermediate timbre, \([\dddot{a}]\)): \( [i, i, \ddot{a}, e, e, \sigma, a, e, e, \sigma, \sigma, \sigma, u, m, u, o, o, o, i, i, \ddot{a}, \dddot{a}] \) (§ 14.2).

For mediatic pronunciation (grounded on Moscow usage) we need 28 diﬀerent symbols (or 30, including intermediate \([\ddot{i}, \dddot{u}]\) (§ 15.3): \( [i, i, \ddot{a}, e, e, \sigma, a, a, a, \ddot{a}, a, \ddot{a}, \ddot{a}, i, i, \ddot{a}, \dddot{a}, \dddot{a}] \).

All this is indeed aimed at specifically showing the objective reality of our phonic facts, as one can easily verify, just by listening to some good sound material.

5.15. Instead, the Soviet fancy tales –concerning Russian vowels in stressed syllables– use 6 ‘fundamental symbols’ (although ‘pravdaly’ denying the very existence of the phoneme /i/): \( i, e, a, o, y, u \), corresponding to /i, e, a, o, u, i/ [i, e, a, o, u, i]. Besides, three more are used in unstressed syllables: \( b, \ddot{b}, \ddot{a} – i e [i, x, e] \).

Let us point out that, quite needlessly, \( b [i] \) has an absurd duplicate: \( \ddot{a}! \) The IPA value of \([\ddot{a}]\) is quite diﬀerent from \([i]\) (however, \( \ddot{a} \) is less improper, although too similar to some Cyrillic \( \ddot{a} \): IPA \([\ddot{a}]\), our \([v] \)). Some other authors, in fact, use \( \sigma, \ddot{a}, \dddot{a} \), respectively, for \([\ddot{x}, e] \), which are somewhat more faithful phonically.

But the use of Cyrillic graphemes as phonic symbols is even more misleading in books written in Western languages, especially if we consider \( u, y \) (that we intentionally show using characters not different from the Latin ones, instead of \( u, y, o u, u, y \), for instance).

5.16. However, let us go back to the ‘original’ author (Аванесов /avan’j’esaf/), who is ‘bizarrely peculiar’ indeed. However, he is not the only one, in the different national traditions, pretending to use phonic symbols by resorting to ordinary graphemes ‘disguised’ as phones and phonemes.

And, of course, several diacritics are added, which are quite prone to any kind of criticism in every way, both typographically and mnemonomically, in order to easily recognize and use them.

Therefore, among the various symbols, we also find: \( \dot{u} \) for /i/ in [CiCi, CiIi], [i(\ddot{a})], \( \dot{e} \) for /e/ in [CeCi, CeI], \( \ddot{e} \) for /e/ in [CeCi, CeI], with its transition (easily heard, or seen on spectrograms, if someone can not actually hear them) from a vocoid to a contoid, with a palatal coloring, some other times rendered as \( \ddot{a}u \).
But that is a clearly automatic and quite natural fact, which has no need at all to be shown. In fact, the timbre of ʒ/ʒu is not at all closer. But just an auditive (or acoustic) transition is present, indeed. It would almost be like wanting to ‘transcribe’ in Spanish ‘sw™jpo’, instead of [sw™po] for seño.

5.17. And now, we begin a sadly amusing trip to... the circus. As a matter of fact, certain authors resort even to ‘exponential’ magic—be it noted expressly—in ‘scientific works’. Thus, we find so-called ‘symbols’ as: ue /i/ [i], ɯə /i/ [i], eə /ʒ/ [ʒ] (for unstressed initial ə-). However, given this scientifically inconsistent principle, other authors use ɯe for ɯə /i/ [i], ɯə for ue /i/ [i], əu for eə /ʒ/ [ʒ], and eə for ɯə /i/ [i].

Arguably, superscripts spread in further cases of transition: to or from êa, êo, êy, also rendered as a, o, y, respectively. In fact, these have slightly different timbres in modern neutral pronunciation, too: (êa, êo, êy, respectively). In addition, we also find j̃a, j̃o, j̃y, which—in reality—is [ø] (with a semiaapproximant [ø], that occurs in y [ʊʊ] as well, in stressed syllables).

5.18. On the other hand, even though our authors do not mention it at all, we have a prevelar semiapproximant [tʼ], too. Still in stressed syllables, it occurs before /e, a, i/: [t̃e, t̃a, t̃i]. Seeing that, sometimes—as very able professional circus people—they use ŋe, for [צֶ(אָכָז)], at least to be consistent, they should also use ŋe (or æe), and æe, even before /C, ŋ/. In fact, by emphasis, in neutral pronunciation, we regularly have: [t̃e, t̃æ, t̃o, t̃u]. Therefore, they might perhaps use ŋe (or, better, æe), ŋa, ŋu for [t̃e, t̃a, t̃i] /e, a, i/, too.

519. Those authors who are brave enough to free themselves from Soviet fake phonetic symbols, and at least use affIPA symbols (rather imprecise and insufficient), can resort to ‘[i; e, e; æ, a; ø, œ; u; u; i]’, in stressed syllables. Or to ‘[i, i, œ]’, in unstressed syllables; while they oscillate between ‘[v; a; i; i; i]’, in pre-stressed syllables. These are pretonic, in the true sense of the word as stressed syllables, which—obviously—occur right in front of tonic and prothonic syllables, ie stressed syllables in tunes and protunes).

Arguably, those authors may use some or all of the official symbols just seen, in
spite of their obvious limitations. But, at least, people are not obliged to look for some expert medium, in order to find solutions that... do not solve anything.

Some other authors use hybrid symbols, among which ‘[y]’ for /i/ stands certainly out (due to an unduly clear influence by transliteration; and they do so for some consonants, as well).

5.20. Even within offIPA, transcriptions as ‘[ɛ; ɑ; ɔ; ə]’ and ‘[ɛ̆; ɑ̆; ɔ̆; ə̆; ʊ̆]’ are unsuitable, for two good reasons. First of all, because a notation as ‘[Ṽ; Vi]’ is clearly excessive, since it indicates mere acoustic transitions to following phones. It is decidedly misleading, although the superscript is there just to suggest a tendency or coloring, rather than a real vocoid. However, it is decidedly misleading.

Secondly, such transcriptions are not suitable because, as we have already seen, their phonic reality is not ‘[Ṽ; Vi]’ (and, least of all, ‘[Ṽ, Vi]’). Rather, it is: [i̯, i̥, ɪ̯a, ɔ̥, u̥] (and, in case, something more like ‘[i̯ɛ, ɛ̥e, ɔ̥a, ʊ̥σ, u̥u]’, where [ɔ, u] are consonantal – ie the semiapproximants [i, ʊ], to be true– and stress is on the real vocoids there.

Thus, we actually have [i̯i, i̥e, ɪ̯a, ɔ̥σ, u̥u] (as just shown), ie [CV], not [VV], nor [VV]. As we have already seen above, in modern neutral pronunciation, only by emphasis, do we have [i̯ɛe, ɪ̯ɛa, ɔ̥σσ], but [i̯ii, ɪ̯ii, ʊ̥uu], and [‘ÇeίÇ, ‘ÇαίÇ, ‘ÇοοÇ]).

Equally unsuitable (and, frankly, horrible for the eyes) are transcriptions like: ‘[i̯ɛ; ɛ̥i; i̯ɛi, ɛ̥ai; ɪ̯i, ɪ̥i; i̯u, i̥u]’ and ‘[i̯ɔ; ɔ̥i; ɪ̯ɔi, ɔ̥ɔi; ɪ̯u, ɔ̥u]’ or ‘[u̥ɔ, ʊ̥o; u̥u]’, again because the second superscripts, [Ṽ], simply indicates the acoustic transition to [Ç] or [C], which is perfectly automatic and natural.

The first superscript, [V], on the other hand, just hints at the transition from [Ç] (including [j]) to a following vocoid. That transition is clear and audible (and, of course, visible on the spectrograms), both for [j] and the other (palatalized) con- toids, [Ç]. Thus, it must be explicitly indicated, as [j Vaughan] and [CV].

5.21. However, within canIPA symbols, instead, some use of superscripts does have a good reason, since it can conveniently show some peculiarities of the mediatic Russian accent (cf fig 15.4), where they actually stand for very short vocoids, not as mere automatic –and inevitable– acoustic transitions.

Further considerations on phonemic and phonetic symbols for Russian

5.22. It is easy, and simple, and natural, to (convincingly) demonstrate that Russian has six vowel phonemes, /i, i, u; e, σ; a/, not just five, /i, e, a, σ, u/. This language is famous for its numerous vowel taxophones, either in the neutral accent, or in the traditional or mediatic ones, with even more entities (as we will see below). So the actual Russian vowel inventory has two obvious groups /j/i, jɛ, ja, jσ, jʊ/ i, e, ɛ, ë, y, and /i, e, a, σ, u/ ɪ, e, a, o, ʊ. (Of course, /j Vaughan/ are not ‘diphthongs’, which would be /VV/, but normal /CV/ sequences.)
Native Russian speakers are naturally able to utter, even in isolation, and with no effort, these two phonemes, and the correspondent verbs, икать /ɨkɐtɨ/, international [ɨ-ikətɨ], neutral [ɨ-ikətɨ], and юкать /ykatɨ/ international [ɨ-ykɐtɨ], neutral [ɨ-ykətɨ], meaning ‘to produce the phoneme…’.

Other Slavic languages also have a sixth vowel phonemes (in a central or centralized position in the vocogram), too: /i/ [i] (Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish), /ɨ/ [ɨ] (Bulgarian, Macedonian), and two Romance languages, spoken in close areas, as well: /i/ [i] (together with a seventh vowel, /æ/ [x], Romanian, Moldavian).

As far as the Russian consonant phonemes and taxophones are concerned, it is also natural and easy to demonstrate that /j/ and /ɨ/ (with /i/) become [ç] by perfectly normal assimilation, in all possible positions (initial, internal, or final). This is obvious, for a language like Russian, with many consonantal clusters, but it is no real problem at all.

5.23. The Soviet fairy tale (actually, almost a joke) –as someone might put it– that Russian has two series of consonant phonemes, ‘hard’ and ‘soft’, is phonically ungrounded. And the very limit of all this is when students are ‘taught’ that the ‘soft’ consonants change a subsequent vowel into a ‘palatalized’ one.

This is patently against the Russian alphabet, with the graphemes which we saw above. For once that spelling is not fully absurd, ‘science’ would overturn rather clear things, just for ‘fun’, one could say.

On the other hand, for communicative purposes, ‘practical’ (native) teachers ‘explain’ that only the apical consonants are normally changed into ‘soft’ sounds, when followed by и, е, я, ё,ю (presented as a ‘typical Russian peculiarity’). Although this might somehow be sufficient to make a foreigner understood by native speakers, they are not even aware that what they actually utter are [ç] taxo-phones (not ‘/ç/’ phonemes), also with front or back consonants.

However, in a phonetic transcription, of course, accurate phonetic symbols are used, [ç], even if, from a phonemic point of view, we certainly have /Çj/. In fact, it would not be much convenient nor economical to use almost twice as many consonant phonemes than really necessary. The situation is clear and simple with 6 vowels and 19 consonants (and, of course, a number of /Çj/ and /jV/ sequences, in addition to more universal /CC/ clusters).

On the other hand, having whole correlations of /Ç/ and ‘/Ç/’ for almost all Russian consonants would also entail an excessive effort on the part of children learning the language, with inevitable delays. But, happily, it is not so. Instead, it is more than logical (and phono-logical, too) that the basic consonants are /Ç/, with all their possible realizations, [Ç, ç], including [ç], in the appropriate contexts.

If not trained in phonetics (and phonemics), native speakers may find it rather difficult and complicated to utter in isolation a ‘soft’ consonant, unless they succeed in imagining an adequate context as /Çj, Ci/ (with /Çj/ + /V/, or + /Ç/, or + /ş/).

5.24. However, native speakers certainly have instinctive awareness of their consonants in sequences with /j/ (as well as with a number of other /Ç/’s), rather
than a whole new series of ‘/Ç/’, for their actual [Ç]. This is a very useful device.

In fact, those speakers are even able to conceive and use /dz/ [dz], in loans such as джаз [dzas] ‘jazz’, or джип [dzip] ‘jeep’. Otherwise, without such an adaptation, any loan fully uttered in the Russian way (ie with ‘/dj/’) would be considered uneducated and popular, as [dzip]. Such a result depends on wrong and outdated graphemic ideas.

The seeming ‘nuisance’ of using vowel graphemes like я, е, ё, ю /ja, je, jo, ju/ (instead of ‘ъа, ъа, ъо, ъу’, or, a little more seriously, ‘ъа, ъа, ъо, ъу’) allows us to clearly understand that the true (ie phonemic) Russian consonants are simply the non-palatalized ones. In fact, the whole series of [Ç] consonants naturally derives from phonemic /Cj/ sequences. On the other hand, in practical transcriptions, we certainly use [Ç] symbols to show actual pronunciation in a more useful way (as we have already said).

Should the Russian palatalized (or ‘soft’) taxophones really be phonemes, Russian speakers would –happily– have no difficulty at all in using them in isolation, or –above all– in not using them when speaking foreign languages, with plain /C/ followed by /j/ or front vowels. As a matter of fact, in this way, Russian people could succesfully avoid being laughed at for things like visibility [vizəbləpɨ, -nɨ], uttered as [yɪzɪˈbɨliʃtɨ].

5.25. The kind of transcription we use for international Russian is an excellent compromise solution between a very accurate phonetic transcription and a ‘pure’ phonemic transcription, rather abstract, though realistic, but much less suitable for teaching/learning purposes. Of course, we are talking about actual neutral pronunciation, or also traditional, or mediatic pronunciations, respectively, 610-15, as we will soon see below.

However, for the sake of real science, we will now show the exact phonemic structure of Russian. Some people (and authors) think that its phonemic structure should use ‘clear’ symbols for all phones (and perhaps all taxophones), as if those were the real Russian phonemes. But such people mistake phonemics for phonetics (although they do not, generally, use fully satisfactory symbols).

In addition, as we said, it is highly surprising that most of those authors are not able to accept that Russian has six vowel phonemes (not only five). But, positing only five vowels with many useless ‘consonant phonemes’, as they do, means verging on the ridiculous either as fanaticism or even as incompetence. “at they o‡er and suggest is something merely phonetic (though not su‘cient), but with seri-ous phonemic defectiveness.

5.26. Thus, a true essential phonemic inventory only has the following 19 phonemes: /m, n; p, b, t, d, k, g; ts; f, v, s, z, sj; j, x; c, l/ [m, n; p, b, t, d, k, g; ts; f, v, s, z, sj; j, x; c, l]. Its most frequent /Cj/ sequences are: /mj, nj; pj, bj, tj, dj, kj, gj; fj, vj, sj, zj; xj; rj, lj/ [m, n; p, b, t, d, k, g; ts; f, v, s, z, sj; j, x; c, l], including the somehow questionable (as more abstract, though real) following two: /tsj, tsj/ [tʃ, tʃ]. A sequence like /tjj/ [tʃʃ], can also be used xenophonemically as [tsʃ, tsʃ].
5.27. For traditional Russian pronunciation, we also have to consider the phone [z(3)], which derives from a number of partially different sequences: /zq, sq, zq, zdj/ (with occasional [zd, zd] variants for the last). Clearly, all this in addition to six vowels /i, e, a, o, u, i/.

Of course, a more interlinguistic phonemic system (rather than the more than sufficient intralinguistic one, just seen) prefers having /tj, stjj/, instead of ‘/tsj, stsj/', and /z/, instead of ‘/z, zd/'.

Our compromise transcription, for international Russian pronunciation, gets over the ‘abstractness’ of the pure phonemic structure. In fact, we –rightly– use the following symbols (38): (m, M, n, N; p, P, b, b, t, d, q, c, g, j; ts, d', d'; [s, z, ñ, ñ, j, h; r, i; 1, ]).

As for the vowels, we have to use at least (8): [i; e, e; a, e; o; u; i] (cf fig 5.8.3, including the diphthongs, which are mere combinations of plain vowels with /-i/ [-i]; while fig 5.8.4 shows the native-like situation).

Some finer taxophones will certainly complete the inventory, which is necessary for a fully accurate description, as we did in various other chapters.

5.28. As we said above, to adequately transcribe neutral Russian pronunciation, we need many more accurate symbols – cf G 10-13.

The same is true of traditional pronunciation, with further different symbols: cf G 14, including the three following consonant symbols: [f], [q], [l] (or the variant shape [l], for the last), and [ts, d'/], more frequently than [t, d]').

The symbols of mediatic Russian pronunciation are shown and used in G 15. Instead of /C/ [C], more commonly, we find: [m, n; p, p; t, d; k, g; f, v; s, z; ñ; ts; s; ñ] (with normal [k, g, ñ]); and, rather than /C/ [C], we have: [m, n; p, p; t, d; k, g; f, v; s, z; ts, d'; ñ; r; ñ; j].

In unstressed syllables, or before consonants, or in word-final position, for /C/ [C], we find: [m, n, ñ, p, b; t, d; k, g; f, v; s, z; ts, d'; ñ; r; ñ; j].

On the other hand, in both stressed or unstressed syllables, for /Cj/ [C], we have: [m, n, ñ, p, b; t, d; k, g; f, v; s, z; ts, d'; ñ; r; ñ; j].
7.
The consonants of international Russian

Nasals (fig 7.1)

7.1.1. When the velum is lowered, the passage to the nasal cavity is opened, thus allowing expiratory air to escape from the nose. The result is the nasal manner of articulation, which is combined with a closure produced somewhere in the mouth (for the English nasal phonemes, /m, n, η/, the places are: bilabial, alveolar, and velar, as in man, king [ma'n, 'kɪŋ]).

However, these articulations should certainly not be called ‘stops’ (which is the manner covered in next section), since nasal sounds are continuous, not momentary. In fact, notwithstanding the closure in the oral channel, air can continuously escape through the nose, and the sound can be prolonged as long as expiratory air remains available.

7.1.2. Russian has only two nasal phonemes, /m, n/: мат'ь [ma't], том [tom], нос [nos], сон [son]. But it has a number of taxophones, due to contextual assimilation, like in English. In addition, it has the corresponding palatalized variants, which are typical of Russian. Besides, the nasal phonemes are coarticulated to a following contoid, as the examples will show (in spite of the fact that they are still described—and even prescribed—without assimilation, which sounds as pedantic, or at least very formal, although not foreign).

fig 7.1. International Russian: nasal phonemes & taxophones.
Consider the following examples for the taxophones: ритм [ритм], он плачет [онп'л'ат'ит], манго [м'ан'го], амфора [ам'ф'ора], канва [кан'ва], он вешает [онв'еш'а'ит], концерт [кон'ц'ер'т], странный [стр'ан'ни], нрав [н'рав], он ломает [онл'ом'а'ит], он кладет [онкл'ад'е'ит], кинжал [кин'жа'л], манго [м'ан'го], концертно [кон'ц'ер'тно].

Here are examples of the palatalized variants (either taxophonic or phonemic for /mj, nj/):
imbirì [имби'ри], menà [мен'а], semì [сем'и], semìà [сем'а'и], konvert [кон'вер'т], женщина [жен'шина], няня [н'яна], конь [кон'ь], песнь [пес'нь], раньше [ран'ся], интимный [инт'им'ни], кандидат [кан'ди'дат], тонкий [тон'кий].

7.1.3. We know that /n/ assimilation is quite natural (in Russian and other Slavic languages, too, in spite of different groundless opinions), although, especially in traditional pronunciation, there is a forced tendency to keep /n/ [н], mostly when the following consonants are very different articulatorily.

This can happen in words like канва [кан'ва], он плачет [онп'л'ат'ит], манго [м'ан'го]. Most probably it depends on a kind of schooling more oriented towards spelling than real pronunciation, like in clusters of stops, instead, where assimilation would be quite inappropriate in Slavic languages.

Something quite different happens in Romance languages, which readily assimilate, except French, where /νн/ sequences are marked in comparison with more typical /νν/ ones. Such assimilations are normal even in Portuguese, where phonemic /νν/ sequences are [νν], not [νν] (not [νν]!)

This is quite natural because in French /н/ is the non-marked nasal phoneme, while /м/ is the marked one. Thus, when /м/ is followed by (even very) different articoids, it remains unchanged, as some examples have shown – except if followed by /f, v/: [м'ф, м'в].

For sequences with (more) similar places of articulation, instead, assimilation is certainly current, because speakers (and teachers) are not generally aware of the differences, as with /мф, мв/. So, they are not even tempted to violate the nature of their language.

In Italian, assimilation is generally stronger, so that, for instance, from Latin /pt, kt/, as in septem, octo [септè, окто], we had /tt/ sette, otto [сетте, ottó] (and also set'tanta, ottanta [сеттанта, оTTанта]). In Russian, stop assimilation is not allowed, in fact even in oTхa [этсa], we do not have [этс], as we will see better in the discussion in § 7.8.

**Stops** (fig 7.2)

7.2.1. For the *stop manner of articulation*, the velum is raised (as in all of the manners which will follow, of course, except for the nasals, just seen), while a firm closure occurs.

International Russian has three phonemically contrasting pairs: /p, b; t, d; к, г/. Unlike in English, the voiceless elements /p, t, k/ have no ‘aspiration’ at the beginning of stressed syllables, and the voiced ones remain fully voiced.
Examples: пар [par], полип [pehip], бант [bant], тон [ton], дых [duh], кот [kot], лук [lyuk], гон [gon]. In addition, here are examples for the palatalized variants: петь [pet], лёт [lot], балка [balka], тюк [tuk], батка [batka], тыл [tyl], тя [tya], тема [tema], день [den], день [den], кит [cit], ткёт [tkot], губки [gubki], ноги [nogi] ‘feet’ (and [nogi] ‘of the foot’).

And: мир [mir], спутник [sputnik], Рига [riga], анекдот [anekdot]. Notice that [k, g] (occurring in tautosyllabic sequences /ikʃ, ik��, igCʃ/) are articulated in an intermediate (prevelar) position between [k, g] and [c, j], which in English occur before front vowels or /j/, as in cap, get [kʰæp, ˈget].

As can be seen, to ‘palatalize’ /p, b; t, d/ the dorsum is raised towards the palate—almost as for [j]—during the production of the normal articulation of the basic phones. Instead, for the ‘palatalized’ segments, the palatal stops are used, [c, j]; thus, changing place of articulation, which is fronter.

Stop-strictives (or ‘affricates’—fig 7.3)

7.3.1. English has just one (diphonic) pair of stopstrictive phonemes, /tʃ, dʒ/ [tʃ, dʒ] (British English): church [tʃɜːtʃ], judge [dʒuːdʒ]. Stopstrictives have a stop-like first half and a constrictive-like second half. And, of course, these two parts are homorganic—otherwise, one could not really speak of stopstrictives.

Consider, for instance, the sequences [ts, dz; tʃ, dʒ] (or, more accurately for French, [tʃ, dʒ]), such as, for example, cats, heads [kʰæts, hɛdz], and French patchouli, adjec-
tif [patʃuli, adʒektif], in comparison with (British) English patchouli [pɑtʃʊli, phæ-
ʃʊli] and adjective [ədʒiktɪv].

Stopstrictives are unitary phones, or ‘sounds’. In fact, they have a total duration which is comparable to that of any other single phones, like [p, t, f, k] or [s, z, x], not like the sum of two of them (as in [ts, ps, ks, kx]).

Stop-strictives (or ‘affricates’—fig 7.3)
Notice that, for segments, or phones, articulatory terms are preferable over auditory ones (and, of course, over acoustic ones, too), because they are much more adequate and clearer; as a matter of fact, generally, they are quite self-explanatory, if only they are accurate.

For this reason, we are happy to avoid the term ‘affricate’, in favor of a more descriptive and tangible (even verifiable) term, such as ‘prestopped constrictive’, which we will presently reduce to stop-strictive.

7.3.2. Russian has two stopstrictive phonemes, [ts, tʃ] (dental, and postalveopalatal non-protruded, while in English the pair /tʃ, ðʃ/ is protruded). Even in stressed syllables, they have no ‘aspiration’.

Examples: царь [tsaʁ], лице [litsaʁ], отвести [ɐtstuvstɪ], час [tʃas], хочу [hɐtʃu], лыч [lʊtʃ], точка [tʊtʃke], член [tʃlɐn], отчего [ɐtʃtɕoɡ]. Both /ts/ and /tʃ/ are phonetically voiced before voiced diphonic consonants (different from [v], which is almost an approximant): плака́рм [ptʁækɑrm], альба [ɐlʃba], мяч за поле [mɐdʒ ɐɾpoɫ].

Constrictives (or ‘fricatives’ – fig 7.4)

7.4.1. For the constrictive manner of articulation, the speaker brings the articulatory organs sufficiently close together that a noise of air friction is clearly audible, which however differs considerably in quality, depending upon the place of articulation.

For instance, English has four diphonic pairs of constrictives, ie [f, v; s, z; θ, ð; ʃ, ʒ], as in five, seize, this thing, ash, rouge [fɑɾi, sɪz, ðɪθɪŋ, ʃi, ʒu]. (British English).

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

7.4.2. The correct articulation of constrictives is also quite important in order to approach a genuine pronunciation of languages. English has /f, v; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/. Let us also notice that Russian /f, v/ are not full constrictives, but semi-constrictives, ie less noisy.

fig 7.4. International Russian: stop-strictives & taxophones (including English [f, v; ʃ, ʒ], for comparison).
Examples: за [za'], зев [zef], зима [z̞i'ma'], знать [z̞na'T], зов [zof], зонт [zon't], зре́лый [z̞'re-lîj].

Let us compare: сад [sat], зад [zat], собор [z̞e'bor], совет [z̞e'vet], зеб [z̞eb], зев [zef], соб [sog], бут зов [zof], суп [sup], зуб [zup], сяд [sut], зуд [zut]; весело [yîz'çîr'], (ему) весело [yîz'çîr'], коса [k'esa'], коза [k'ë'za'], раса [ra'se'], (ава) рaza [ra'ze].

Certain Russian speakers have dentalveolar [s, z], which are indicated only here (and 7.4), with possible oscillations. Besides, there are the palatalized taxophones: сеть [z̞et], осень [o'șin], всë [f'șor], весь [y'es], зять [zat], озеро [o'zîr', просьба [p'roz'be'], сделать [z'fe-'le't], изъять [iz'jat].

**Approximants** (fig 7.5)

7.5. The *approximant manner of articulation* is distinguished from the constric-
tive manner in that the articulatory organs are less close together, and, as a result, they produce a less apparent noise. In fact, this noise is mostly heard only in voice-
less approximants, while in voiced ones it is usually covered over by the voice pro-
duced by the vibration of the vocal folds.

English has three approximant phonemes /j, w, h/, as in *yes [jës], wet [weT], hat [hæT]*. Instead, international Russian has only one *approximant* phoneme: [j], (voiced) palatal, but it has a number of semi-approximants in native-like and neutral pronunciations, as we will see, not only for /j/, but also in other cases with no real correspondence to a true phoneme.

Here are some examples of /j/ [j]: я [ja], ютно [u'jutnå], твоё [tvë'øjô'], новая [nø'vøjå], нан [pøjî], вона [vø'jînå], воин [vø'jîn], в мае [v'majî], дело [di'lø'pijî], знание [z̞na'pijî].

7.6. International Russian has one phoneme of the ‘trill’ type, actually a tap, [r], which is similar to Spanish /ɾ/ [ɾ], as in *interpretar, caro [iŋre'petar, k'aro]*, not as in *carro, (la) radio [karro, (lar)'rə'djo]*. A realization like [ɾ] is sufficient for a fairly acceptable and easily comprehensible pronunciation of Russian. Of course, its palatal-
ized taxophone, [ɾ], must be added, including words in which we have [ɾC], not [ɾC], in addition to words with [ɾC], for /ɾC/.

Examples: рот [ɾot], нора [pø'ra'], хор [hør], рта [ɾta'], ржи [ɾ'zi'], бобр [bø-
br], театр [tʲətɐ], портить [pɔʁ̞tʲɪt], марля [mɐrˈlʲa]. And: решь [rʲetʃ], корень [kɔɾʲɪn], словарь [slɐˈvɐrʲ], борьба [bɐˈɾʲba], зорька [zɐˈɾʲkɐ], крюк [kʲuk].

However, the English phoneme corresponding to ᵣ is quite different, and with American and British differences (cf fig 7.6): red [rɪd, ˈɾɪd], carry [ˈkæri, -əri], far [fɑːr, ˈfɑːr], smart [ˈsmɑːrt, ˈsmɑrt]. It is very important not to use these English realizations, and mostly not to reduce [r] to a zero phone, [θ].

fig 7.6. International Russian: /r/ phoneme & taxophones (with possible trills, [r, ř], mostly used in emphatic speech), including English /ɹ/ for comparison: British [ɹ], American [ɻ].

Laterals (fig 7.6)

7.7. For the lateral manner of articulation, the tongue, while touching a point on the palatal vault, also contracts laterally, thereby permitting air to flow out by the sides of the tongue, for /l/ [l, ɻ] (alveolar and velarized alveolar), as in English lilt [lɪlt], or [ɻ, ɻ] (respectively, alveolar –again– and palatal), as in Castilian Spanish la calle [laˈkaʎe], or as in Italian figliola [fiʎˈʎɔːla]. Some varieties of English have [ɻ], or a semi-velarized [ɻ] alveolar, even before vowels; there can even be a velarized semi-lateral [ɻ], or the change into some (non-neutral) vocoids like [o], back-central higher-mid rounded, before consonants or pauses: lilt [lɪlt, ɻɪlt, ɻɪl]. In English, heterosyllabic /lj/ is [ɻ], as in million [ˈmɪljən].

International Russian has only one lateral phoneme, /ɻ/ [ɻ], with its palatalized taxophone [ɻ]. Certain speakers can have a velarized dental articulation (cf fig 7.7).

Examples: мук [ˈmuk], акыла [ˈakɯlʲa], мол [ˈmʊl], солдат [ˈsoldat], волшебный [ˈvolʃebnɨj]; and люк [ˈluk], пуда [ˈpʊdə], моль [ˈmolʲ]; even before [t] we have [ɻ]: молча [ˈmʊlʲtʃɐ] (but не обольщать [ˈbɐlʲʃɐt], for /ɻj/).

fig 7.7. International Russian: lateral phoneme & taxophones [& English variants [l, ɻ]].
Considerations on some articulatory differences

7.8.1. We have already seen examples of the taxophones of /m, r, l/, and in particular those of /n/. Let us, now, consider some further peculiar sequences, with interesting taxophones: отца [et’sa:], Заходцы [z‘hodtsi], чадцы [t‘atsi], отыв [ot‘iz], худыш [‘hudsi], от жены [v‘zeni], отжить [v‘ziti], лётчик [l‘ttik]; оттепель [ot‘tipi], отецъ [et‘sati] (some speakers have [tt], instead of [t‘]).

Notice that sequences phonemically formed by /t/ followed by grooved stop-strictives are realized as stop contoids, which are homorganic to the following contoids, but are not fully assimilated to them. In fact, these are slit stops, [t, d; t’, d’; t, d], not grooved ones as, for instance, in Italian pozzo [po tts:so], rozzo [ro dz:zo] (or faccio [fa ts:to], oggi [og gi]).

These first unreleased parts of the Italian geminates are grooved as their released second parts are. Instead, in Italian rottó [rot ttó], there is a slit for both [t]’s, but a groove for both [ts]’s. And it is absurd to claim that [tts, t‘t‘] are absurd transcriptions. In fact, they are [tts, t‘t‘], just like [tt], or [t‘t‘], or [m‘m] (with unreleased first elements); certainly not anything like (truly absurdly) [ts, ts, t, t, t, t, ts, ts, t, t, t, t, t, m, m] (with released first elements).

7.8.2. Let us add that the transitions from a preceding vocoid to even unreleased [t’, ts’, t‘] are perceptibly different, if one listens to them carefully. Thus, there is no real reason for having to mark those contoids in a particular way (either with a diacritic, or with special symbols).

Fig 7.8 shows the difference between the hold stage of [t, d] and [ts, dz]. The latter are clearly grooved, even during their stop stage. This is quite a natural fact, which is fairly easily perceived during the transition from a preceding vocoid to the contoid in question.

In fact, the groove is certainly not a kind of open pipe, as the orogram shows, since the curved line does not reach the apex. Besides, the actual contact by the apex is not exactly the same for [t] and [ts], as shown.

In earlier books we (ie LC) did not think it necessary to explain this quite natural fact. But, seeing how difficult it is to make people realize this obvious fact, fig 7.8 was drawn on purpose.

Fig 7.8. Comparison between dental (slit) stops [t, d] and (grooved) stop-strictives [ts, dz]. Let us notice that the orogram of the latter pair shows that the sides of the tongue are raised, because of the groove.
The realization of /ts, dz/ as [ts, dz] (i.e., [t, s, d, z]) is a typical regional pronunciation of practically almost all Northern Italian native speakers. In fact, even if they either also speak their local dialect or only the deriving regional form of Italian, they do not realize the difference with true /ts, dz/ [ts, dz]. Also phoneticians seem not to be able to do so.

A similar thing happens to English native speakers (including phoneticians), when they confuse alveolar flaps, [r], as in Betty [bɛəri], and taps, [r], as in old-fashioned Berry [bɛəri] (or Spanish caro [kaɾo], or Italian caro [kaɾo]).

The same is true, when they confuse (and, practically, exchange) a postalveolar British-like [r] and a prevelar American-like [r], as in Berry [bɛəri] and [bɛəri], respectively (cf fig 7.6).

7.8.3. Even in Russian, we also find sequences similar to (neutral) Italian ones, i.e. with grooved first parts, when they correspond to /tʃ/ (which is grooved even when homorganically assimilated to a following consonant, and clearly different from the slit ones, as in otca [ɔtca], seen above): муче [muʂɪ], Не плач, Женя! [ɲɛpʰaŋk ˈzɛŋjə].

In fact, when Russian speakers utter Italian words like pazzo, pazzia, which are [paʦʦo, paʦʦiə], they actually produce [paʦʦə, paʦʦiə].

Should someone use net-с, we would hear [ɲɛtɛs], which is different from both [tts] and [ts]! Let us also consider a case of marked non-assimilation, as in a word like подъезда [pɔdʲɛst], in which /d/ is not influenced by the following /j/, as even spelling successfully shows. In fact, we have /dːj/ [dʒ], not /dj/ [d].

‘Native-like international’ Russian consonants

7.9.1. Of course, a transcription of normal international Russian (i.e., not its native-like variant) could use fewer symbols, as it does for the vowels, which have only two additional taxophones (as in the table of fig 6.1).

This could be done especially for similar contoids (as it already does for /j/ [j, ɭ]), such as [n, ɳ; n, ɭ; k, ɡ; ɭ, ɭ], which are quite logically rather similar. But, exactly for this reason, they can certainly be of help, instead of creating problems.

Therefore, notice that all the taxophones included in the table of fig 7.9 might seem to be a complication, especially for foreigners. However, they certainly contribute to render pronunciation simpler and more natural.

7.9.2. Briefly, let us see the most important differences between the consonants of ‘international’ pronunciation, seen up to now, and those of ‘native-like international’ pronunciation. This presents fewer simplification and, of course, is closer to neutral pronunciation, given in § 10-13.

In fact, in the table of fig 7.9, there are more contoids than those sufficient for simple international Russian (cf fig 6.1).

Let us start with [tʃ, ɭʃ], which occur before vowels, or finally, while [t, ɭ] occur...
before consonants: дёти [dʲetʲɪ]. Besides, we indicate the important semi-approximants, [ɬ, ɭ], which, both in neutral and native-like international Russian, occur before stressed vowels: эхо [ɛxə], да [da], вол [vɔl], пусь [purʲ]. Besides, [ɬ], which occurs between vowels in unstressed syllables (instead of simple international [j]): новая [nʲʊˈvɐja], делаю [dʲela⁠ju], известне [izˈwestʲɪnʲe].

7. The consonants of international Russian

### Fig 7.9. International Russian: native-like contoids.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Bilabio-palatal</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Labiodento-palatal</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Dento-velar</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-velar</th>
<th>Post-alveo-velar</th>
<th>Prepalatal</th>
<th>Prevelar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Velo-labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[m̪]</td>
<td>[m̞]</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n̪]</td>
<td>[ŋ̪]</td>
<td>[ŋ̞]</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>[ŋ̪]</td>
<td>[ŋ̞]</td>
<td>[ŋ̞]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td>[p b̪]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>[t d̪]</td>
<td>[t̪]</td>
<td>[t̞]</td>
<td>[t̞]</td>
<td>[t d̪]</td>
<td>[t̞]</td>
<td>[t̞]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f v</td>
<td>[f v̪]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>[s z̪]</td>
<td>[s̪]</td>
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<td>[s̞]</td>
<td>[s z̪]</td>
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<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>[r̪]</td>
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<td>[r̞]</td>
<td>[r̞]</td>
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<td>[r̞]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10.
Neutral pronunciation: vowels

10.1. In ġ 6-9 (modern) neutral Russian pronunciation will be described accurately, in order to refine one’s own pronunciation of Russian, so that it may coincide with that of neutral native speakers.

Unfortunately, Russian spelling is clearly based on morphonological principles, which decisely prefer lexical and grammatical structures (even diachronic!), instead of phonic ones. These last are considered in a more abstract way, more phonemically, but with a prevailing morphologic aspect.

However, Russian spelling presents rather ‘spontaneously’ vocalic and consonantal phonemics, right as ‘naïve’ speakers can perceive it. Not as ‘sofisticated’ linguists often do, with unfruitful complications.

In fact, Russian spelling basically uses six vowel graphemes, which correspond exactly to the real number of vowel phonemes: и, э, а, о, у, ю /i, e, a, o, u, i/. Obviously, е, я, ё, io do not indicate ‘vowels’, but sequences of /j/ + /e, a, o, u/, realized as [j] or [ъ] + [e, a, o, u] – or with ‘interpalatal’ vocoids, [e, a, o, u], which occur between [j, ъ, i], including diphthongs, [vi].

These six vowel phonemes (obviously, displayed in a phonic order), 22 consonantal phonemes would be sufficient (possibly including traditional [ъ], nowadays replaced by [з, ʐ]), against more than 30 –from 33 till 39– phonemes of other analyses. Thus, persisting in using only five vowels, both the whole phonemic inventory and the relation between pronunciation and spelling are uselessly complicated.

By comparing our phonemic system with all others, the choice is simple and even obvious. In fact, it seems to be more logical and natural to conclude by saying that Russian consonants have ‘palatalized’ taxophones. These are caused by /i, j/, rather than having to imagine some ‘soft’ consonants, which would make Russian speakers –automatically– produce some ‘soft’ vowels, while ‘hard’ consonants would make the speakers produce ‘hard’ vowels. All this, under the false pretext that ‘Russian speakers are unable to produce a clear i [i] after k [k] (such a mis-belief has been proven wrong so many times).

However, by this time, it is better to avoid using purely phonemic transcriptions. On the contrary, it is far better to use anything that can help to definitively seize the Russian phonic system. Therefore, it is always better to use more symbols rather than fewer. Obviously, this is even more important in more meticulous chapters.
10.2. Modern neutral Russian pronunciation has lost the weird oddity of -кий traditionally pronounced as ‘[kip]’, which nowadays is -quite naturally- [cip]. Thus, by definitely reversing the ‘problem’, things become simpler. In fact, Russian speakers say [ci] and [ki] (in stressed syllable [ci], [kip]), because phonemically they are /ki, ki/ not ‘/ci, ki/’. The same for [hi, bi; br, bi] /bi; bi/ (not ‘/bi; bi/’), &c. But, often, people do not know exactly what they utter, as when they persist in claiming that for Ольга, Ol’ga, ‘we do not say [ɔ̞lɡA], we say… [ɔ̞lɡA]’!

Furthermore, for /Ч#, ÇÇ/, spelling itself indicates /Č/, using Ҫь, except cases in which pronunciation has changed, long ago, but spelling remains the same, keeping graphic sequences like шь, жь, for [ʃ, ʒ], international [ʃ, ʒ]. In addition, there are certain more or less incomplete assimilations, with [CC], or [ÇÇ], depending on the kind of pronunciation (more) modern or (more) traditional, as we will see (cf Г 14).

\[fig 10.1. (Modern) Neutral Russian: vowels. First, all together; afterwards, by couples.\]
10.3. In stressed syllables, the six vowel phonemes are realized as indicated by the black markers in fig 10.1 (obviously, the black ones with a white center also correspond to unstressed contexts, which we will see afterwards): 

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
/i/ & [i, \text{ji}] & /u/ & [\text{wu}] \\
/i/ & [\text{ti}] & /\sigma/ & [\text{\&\textw}} \\
/e/ & [\text{te, \text{t\texte}}] & /\sigma/ & [\text{\&\text\&\textw}} \\
/a/ & [\text{ta, \text{t\texte}}] & /u/ & [\text{\&\textw}} \\
/\text{\&}\text{C}, \text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}, \text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}, \text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}] & /u/ & [\text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}] \\
/\text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}, \text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \&\&}} \\
/a/ & [\text{\&}} & /u/ & [\text{u, \&\&}} \\
/\text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \&\&}} \\
/\text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \&\&}} \\
\end{array}
\]

next to [\text{C}]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
/i/ & [\text{Ct}, \text{\&\textt}} & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/i/ & [\text{t}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/a/ & [\text{\&\textv, \&\textv}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/\text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/\text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
\end{array}
\]

pre-stressed

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
/i/ & [\text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}, \text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/i/ & [\text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/a/ & [\text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
/\text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}, \text{\&}\text{\&}] & /u/ & [\text{u, \text{\&\textt}}] \\
\end{array}
\]

unstressed

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
/i/ & [\text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}, \text{\&}\text{\&}\text{C}] & /i/ & [\text{i}] \\
/i/ & [\text{\&\textt}} & /i/ & [\text{i}] \\
/a/ & [\text{x}] & /\sigma/ & [\sigma] \\
\end{array}
\]

While /i/ [i, i] remains unchanged (except in /ji/ [\text{ji}, \text{ji}], which also represents e in unstressed syllables), the most important element, instead, is the insertion of the prevelar semiapproximant [\text{i}] before stressed [e, a, i], and of the velar rounded semiapproximant [\text{\&}] before stressed [\sigma, u]. All of them are preceded by a consonant different from [j, \text{t}, \text{\textt}], and possible traditional [\text{\&}].

Thus, in stressed syllables, the vowels that are different from /i/ are realized as sequences of [\text{i}] + [e, a, i], or of [\text{\&}] + [\sigma, u].

Obviously, the semiapproximants [\text{i}, \text{\&}] are less 'evident' than (full) approximants, such as the prevelar [\text{i}] (not included in fig 10.2, because it does not occur
in Russian), and the velar rounded approximant [w]. In English, [w] occurs in *wet* [wɛt], *quit* [kwɪt], but [ɭ, ʊ] are quite another thing, also in comparison with a phonic zero, [θ] (although 'linguistically naïve' Russian speakers may be convinced to hear exactly [θ]).

In Russian, we have: ёра [ʲɛrɐ] (already seen), каНт [kɐnt], тоТ [tɔt], уни-към [ʊrɨkъm]. However, in unstressed syllables, the semiaapproximant [ɭ, ʊ] do not occur, as we will see in examples to come.

It is important to also explain, from the start, the palatalizing function that the phonemes /i, j/ have on the consonants which precede them.

But we have to anticipate, here, the triple division of Russian consonants. In fact, there are 'normal' consonants, which can be *palatalized* [m, mʲ; n, nʲ; r, rʲ; ɭ, ɭʲ], [p, pʲ; b, ɓ; t, tʲ; d, dʲ; k, c; ɡ, ɭ], [f, fʲ; v, ɣ; s, ʂ; z, ʐ; ɭ, ɭʲ].

Besides, there are true *palatal* consonants (with an actual palatal element): [ɭ, ɭʲ; ɭ, ɭʲ; ɭ, ɭʲ; ɭ, ɭʲ]. In addition, there are non-palatal consonants: [ts; ʐ, ʐ], which are never palatalized (in spite of spelling sequences like (уɪ, ɰе, ɭь): [ʂju] шюо).

We must always keep in mind, therefore, that ‘[tsi; ʂɭ, ʐɭ]’ do nor occur any longer in contemporary Russian. They are substituted by [tsi, ts; ʂɭ, ʐɭ; ʐɭ, ʐɭ], in spite of historical spellings with ѱ, ѱ, ɭ followed by и, е, я, ё, ю, б.

10.4. Let us look at fig 10.3-5 to well understand the role of the (semi)approximants they show, inspecting accurately fig 10.3.

fig 10.3. (Modern) Neutral Russian: vowels (preceded by approximant & semi-approximants).
Fig 10.4 shows first two approximants, [j, w] (respectively, palatal and velar rounded): English *yet* [jɛt], *win* [wɪn:], and Russian *явный* [jaˈvnjɪ].

The double arrows on the dorsum indicate that, tendentially, these are mobile contoids during their production, not static ones, like vocoids. In fact, the contoids are distinguished from [i, u] mostly because of this characteristic, in addition to a shorter emission. They could be indicated by means of [i, u] (but it is not worthwhile).

The bottom row gives three semi-approximants [j, i, w] (respectively, palatal, prevelar, and velar rounded). Continuing the parallel between [j, w] and [i, u], also [j, i, w] correspond to [ɛ, ə, ɔ] (again, it is not worthwhile to use vowels with a diaritical sign).

Instead, Fig 10.5 shows the five vocoids [i, e, a, o, u] which, in stressed syllables, are preceded by [i, w]: [ɪi̯, ˈɪe, ˈɪa], [ʊʊ̯, ˈʊw]. In the corresponding orograms, we have superimposed the dotted line which refers to the dorsum during the production of [i] o [w], as a starting point at the beginning of the production of the sequences [ɪi̯, ˈɪe, ˈɪa], [ʊʊ̯, ˈʊw].

Fig 10.6. (Modern) Neutral Russian: vowels in /je, ji/ sequences.
As can easily be seen, for [tɕ], passing from the contoid to the vocoid, the mandible and dorsum are raised: сын [tɕɪn], юрик [tɕɪrik]. For [tɕ], instead, there is a slight forward lowering (but certainly also the tongue-lamina position is important, since it distinguishes clearly the two phones, perceptively different): хеест [tɕɛst], ёра [tɕɛta]. On the other hand, for [xa], there is a considerable general vertical lowering: да [dça], да [tɡat].

Passing to the two back vocoids, for [ɯɔ], we have a slight lowering of the mandible, dorsum and lower lip: кот [kɯɔt], ось [ɯɔs]. Instead, for [ɯu], the mandible and dorsum are raised, in addition to the backing of the dorsum and a stronger lip rounding: тут [tɯut], ухо [ɯɤx].

10.5. Let see, now, fig 10.6, which shows, on the left, the stressed syllables [jeC, je(C)]. As can be seen, the first one occurs in ‘interpalatal’ contexts, and, passing to the vocoid, it has some lowering of the dorsum and mandible, slightly more considerable for [je(C)]: есть [jeʃt], ект [ジェス].

On the right, instead, we see the corresponding unstressed situation again for е (and also я): [jiC, ji(C)] (but [tjɪЦ, tjiC]). For both sequences, the mandible, dorsum and lower lip are raised, obviously more strongly for [i], which is higher: едины́й [jɪf̥tɕɪɲɪ], естество́ [jɪʃtɕɪʃʊ́r], явле́я [jiʃtɕɪɲa], язы́к [jɪtɕɪk], старая́ [ʃtaɾɪʃʃ], белое́ [bε̝tɕɪɲi], красивье́ [krɛʃˈɪɲi], известие́ [izˈɡɛʃtɕɪɲi].

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Obviously, also [tɕ, ŋɪʃ, dʊ} /tɕ, ŋɪʃ, dʊ}/ count as [C]: (and traditional [з̞э] /з̞э/), as well: чек [tɕɪʃk], хочу́ [ŋɪʃˈɪmu], член [tɕɪˈɛn], альба́ [ŋɪʃˈɪna], щит [tɕɪt], ищу́ [tɕɪˈuˈɪ], товари́ш [tɕɪˈʃtɕɪɲɪ].

The phoneme [з̞э] /з̞э/ is less important, and typical of an outdated and traditional kind of pronunciation: вожжы́ [вʊʂ̞э], ежку́ [jeʃ̞u]. More modern and more recommendable pronunciation has [tɕɪ] /tɕɪ/, in almost all words: вʊʂ̞э, jeʃ̞u.

Let us observe that initial [j], or after a vowel, corresponds to [C] par excellence (keeping well in mind that е, я, ё, ю, count as [j]+[е, е], [j]+[а, а], [j]+[о, о], [j]+[у, у]. In fact, they are simply [jV] sequences, certainly not ‘diphthongs’, since the only possible diphthongs, in natural phonetics, can just be [VV] – not even [VV] or [VV]): язы́к [jɪtɕɪk], ел [tɕɪt], я [ja], ёж [jɪʃ], юр [juk], моя́ [mʊjʃ], сою́з [sʊjʊʃ], двое́ [dʊʃʊj], нова́я [nʊʃʊjʃ], синее́ [ʃ̞ɪɲɪ].

10.7. Five vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/, can occur between palatal(ized) contoids, [C]. They are realized as closer for frontier, as shown by the grey markers, [i, e, a, o, u]
10. Neutral pronunciation: vowels

(fig 10.1): бить [ˈbitɕ], ель [ˈjel], пято [ˈpatɕ], тетя [ˈtɕotɕ], тюфяк [ˈtɕufjak].

Instead, /i/ does not occur either in this context, nor in word-initial position. But we find э [ˈiː] in mediatic pronunciation, [ˈiː, ˈi] in neutral pronunciation. Such a phenomenon originated the myth of the complementarity of [i, i], thus gathered into a single phoneme ‘/i/’, with the false delusion about a ‘better’ phonemic system – when the opposite is true.

It is not easy to correct ‘diverted’ schooling, especially when official spelling is concerned (with all its problems, either well known or not) and ‘para-spelling’, used both in schools and in ‘scientific’ books, with phonemic ambitions (almost alchemic, with complex formulae and esoteric iconograms (which we will be careful not to report).

The first vocogram of fig 10.1 also gives three ‘potential’ phonetic diphthongs, [ea, ae, øø], which can replace [e, a, ø] (with their ‘interpalatal’ variants, [ɛ, a, œ], for [e, a, œ]), mostly in tunes, in free syllables, either final or internal: вce [fse, fsə], bцев [fsə, fsə], эхо [ˈfseɾ, ˈfse], da [ˈdəa, ˈdəe], атом [ˈjatəm, ˈjatəm], деть [ˈfseɾi, ˈfseɾi], дядя [ˈfəldə, ˈfəldə], дно [ˈdənə, ˈdənə], голос [ˈɡloɕ, ˈɡloɕ], тетя [ˈtɕotɕ, ˈtɕotɕ].

These diphthongs also occur for emphasis, then becoming even longer. So, in free syllables, we find [eə, eɪ; aɪ, œɪ; œø, œø]: вce [ˈfseɾi], вцев [ˈfseɾi], эхо [ˈfseɾi], da [ˈdəa], атом [ˈjatəm], деть [ˈfseɾi], дядя [ˈfəldə], дно [ˈdənə], голос [ˈɡloɕ], тетя [ˈtɕotɕ]. In checked syllables, [ea, eɪ; aɪ, œɪ; œø, œø]: нет! [ˈnestar], день [ˈfənjar], пято [ˈpatɕ], дом! [ˈdənə], Эль [ˈjolj].

10.8. Russian also has some ‘official’ diphthongs (cf fig 10.7), with a high front second element /V/ [Vi]. Here are some examples in stressed syllables: кий [ˈkij], нейте [ˈnejtɕ], май [ˈmajj], чай [ˈtɕajj], бой [ˈbɔj], зарёй [ˈzaroij], дуйте [ˈdujte], дюйм [ˈdjim], выйдя [ˈvidjuda]. As can be seen, their spelling uses -и, for the diphthongs that grammar recognizes. We always have [Vi], even in unstressed syllables: улей [ˈuljii], Чайковский [ˈtɕajkofskii, ˈtɕi-], тайга [ˈtaijga], делайте [ˈdelajtɕi], уйду [ˈuijdu], дюймовка [ˈdjimofka], белый [ˈbejli].

However, especially in loans, we find further diphthongs, as in: радио [ˈrædjo], т-ио, Фауст [ˈfaust], кассет [ˈkasjet], како [ˈka:kə], нов-хай [ˈnovɜhaj], шоу [ˈʃoju] (also Шоу [ˈʃou], for Shaw).

Surely, such purely graphic ill-defined ‘diphthongs’ as ии, ия, еи, ee, ae, ay, ои, we do not correspond to phono-diphthongs. In fact, they are true bisyllabic sequences [ˈoVj], with an unstressed last syllable and the preceding one either stressed or not: в Италии [ˈiˈtalij], в России [ˈroɕij], в мире [ˈmiːɾ], музеи [ˈmuːzʲi], осенний [ˈsɛnʲi], в маке [ˈmakʲi], нерушимая [ˈneruʃiˈmaŋ], знаю [ˈzɕiŋ], новое [ˈnovation], южные [ˈjuʐʲi].

In quick pronunciation, when at least one of the two [V] is /i/ [i, j], rather regularly, [j] can be dropped, independently from the kind of structure it may have. However, normally, a possible semichrone [j] remains: [ˈiˈtalij], [ˈroɕij], [ˈiˈli], музеи [ˈmuːzʲi] and [ˈsɛnʲi], в мае [ˈmakʲi], нерушимая [ˈneruʃiˈmaŋ], знаю [ˈzɕiŋ], новое [ˈnovation], южные [ˈjuʐʲi].
As these last transcriptions show, also [-i^3] remains, without becoming [-i^2], as if they were true phonemic diphthongs (unless [-i^3] is followed, in a sentence, by [Ç] or [i, i], thus, becoming, [-i^2], by assimilation): спелое яблоко [s'pe'xji 'jab-l'kox] ‘ripe apple’.

Obviously, also examples like the following are bisyllabic: мон [m'oni], пак [p'oxuk], поэт [p'e'et], душь [du'xe]. They would be bisyllabic even if uttered with no [j] (in quick pronunciation), or without [x, o] (in international pronunciation).

Let us add, instead, that the unstressed endings [ii] -ий/-ей and [ii] -ый (and -ий/-ей), in quick speech, in protunes (but not in tunes), tend to become monophthongs with [i, i], respectively: синий [ši'pni], синий платок [ši'pni p'etox] ‘blue handkerchief’; синий [ši'pni], синий скатерть [ši'pis k'x'atxirtsg] ‘of the blue tablecloth’; малый [m'aloi], Малый Театр [m'alox ts'atr, ts'atx] ‘Small Theater’.
10.9. As for vowels in unstressed syllables, in addition to what some examples have already shown, in modern pronunciation we have (for 'traditional' and 'mediatic' pronunciations of § 10-11): [t', t, i_] /i/ (including [ı_] – thus, /i/ is [i], when followed by [Ç] or /i/, even in sentences, with no pause), [ɛ, ɐ, ɐ] /a/, [u] /u/, [t', i, i] /i/.

In the first vocogram of § 10.1, the markers corresponding to [t', t] (pretonic, or prestressed, that is immediately followed by a stressed syllable) have a small dot in their center and the corresponding symbols have adequate diacritics: in fact, they are higher than other [i, ɐ] (or prestressed, that is immediately followed by a stressed syllable) have a small dot

Here are some examples: часы [t'ış'-], пяты [p'ış'-], языка [j'ız'-], обычай [e'ı'-], ералаш [j'ı'-], перемели [pi'ın'-], электричество [i'ık'-], ноле [pw'o'-], голова [g'ı'-], банк [b'ı'-], красная [k'ı'-], или [u'ı'-], дома [d'ı'-], чтобы [ı'-], изобразить [ı'-], цивилизация [ı'-], жена [ı'-], амы [ı'-].

For я in unstressed syllable (also for a preceded by [Ç]), it is important to explain that neutral pronunciation has only /i/. In addition, there is a transversal use of [i, ɐ], which is definitely non-neutral (or even [ɐ, ɐ] /a/), occurring either in traditional or mediatic pronunciation (also for neutral speakers, one way or another!).

This can happen either within lexemes or in inflected forms with consonantal ending grammemes (я+С, Çа+С, due to undue influence by forms with the ending grammeme -и°, with /ja/ [Çа, ı]),. Let us reassert that the pronoun я never reduces to /i/, differently from для (preposition), which can even become [d'ı', d'ı'Ç].

Thus, we have: пято [p'ıs'-, ı'-]; язык [j'ı'-, ı'-, i'-]; языки [j'ı'-, i'-, i_-]; поглядел [p'ın'-, ı'-, i'-]; начат [n'ı'-, ı'-, i'-]; обычай [e'ı'-, i'-, i'-]; коррелят [k'ı'-, ı'-, i'-]; детям [d'ı'-, i'-]; знак [ı'-]; без пяты пять [ı'-, ı'-, ı'-]; без пяти пять [ı'-, ı'-, ı'-]. Let us also notice the variants for -и: спутник [ıp'ın'-, ı'-, i'-].

‘Normal’ traditional pronunciation, for э'я, Çа (pretonic or prestressed), has /e'/ [ə', ɐÇ], which corresponds to modern pronunciation (or, simply, neutral pronunciation) with /i/ [ı, i_;] (для пяты пять [ı'-, ı'-]; as it also happens in: берёза [ı'-]. Such a phenomenon is called еканье [ı'-ı'-ı'-].

For vowel sequences that include /a/, generally, the use of [ɐ] is extended: воблажать [ęp'ı'-], наряд [n'ı'-], по одному [ıp'-]; на островах [ıp'-], и одного [ıp'-], сопутствовал [ıp'ı'-], сопутствовали [ıp'ı'-, ı'-].
11. Neutral pronunciation: consonants

11.1. Let us notice that diphonic consonants do not occur before pauses or unvoiced consonants. In fact, they necessarily become unvoiced: боб [bʊˈɔr], мозг [ˈmɔsɡ], трубы [ˈtrʉˈbʉsi], в саду [fəˈdʉui].

In addition, unvoiced consonants can not occur before diphonic voiced consonants (/j/ is somehow particular, as it functions almost as an approximant, thus non-diphonic, cf § 12.8-13): сбыть [ˈzbɨˈtɨ], с горы [zɡɐˈɾɨ].

The only articulations that can occur in devoiced contexts, without losing their voiceness, are sonants (or sonorants). In general, they are partially devoiced before unvoiced consonants or before a pause.

However, they usually become unvoiced phones, between unvoiced consonants and pauses, unless they become intense (‘syllabic’). In this case, they are voiced or half-voiced (always depending on phonic contexts): жир [ˈʐɨr], рта [ˈɾtɐ], карта [ˈkɐrtɐ], бобр [ˈbʊərbɐ, ˈbʊərˈbɐ], Днепр [ˈdʲnepr, ˈdʲnepr].

The table of fig 11.1 gives the consonant articulations of Russian. They are necessary for an adequate pronunciation of that language. Instead, fig 11.2-8 show the orograms, gathered by articulation manners. They provide all necessary contoids for the (modern) neutral pronunciation of Russian. They are also present in the table of fig 11.1.

fig 11.1. (Modern) Neutral Russian: consonants.
The same figures also contain the orograms of the English articulations that differ from the Russian ones, only for some nuances (to be carefully checked), in particular: [k, ɡ] (prevelar) before front vowels or [j], instead of [c, ɟ] (palatal); [tʃ, ʃ; t, ʒ], all with lip protrusion, rather than without or with different articulations; [f, v] constrictive, instead of semi-constrictive.

**Nasals (fig 11.2)**

11.2. By rights, Russian has only two nasal phonemes, /m, n/, with a nummer of taxophones, mostly for the second one, including palatalized variants. Thus: /m/ [m, m, n, n] and /n/ [m, m, n, n, n, n, n, n]. In addition, we can use [t, n, n; t, t], for a less assimilated kind of coarticulation, which keeps a front tongue contact –alveolar/prepalatal– while adding secondary articulations, with no full contacts: bilabial, labiodental, velar).

For /m/: *mama* [ˈmamə], *lama* [ˈɬamə], *norm* [ˈnɔrəm], *рит* [ˈrɨtʲn, ˈrɨtʲn], *риф* [ˈrɨfʲm, ˈrɨfʲm], *мног* [ˈmʲnɔɡʲ], *мха* [ˈmʲxa'], *мгла* [ˈmʲgʲa'], *мир* [ˈmʲir], *мять* [ˈmʲatʲ], *семь* [ˈse̞mʲ], *имбирь* [ˈimʲibirʲ], *амбон* [ˈɐ̞mʲnɔʂ], *амфора* [ˈɐ̞mʲfərə].

Besides, /m/ can occur before heterorganic consonants: *мгла* [ˈmʲgʲa'], *мног* [ˈmʲnɔɡʲ], *мха* [ˈmʲxa']. However, for ‘/mj/’ and ‘/m+i/’, we regularly have [m]: *мир* [ˈmʲir], *семь* [ˈse̞mʲ] (already seen).

For /n/: *он берет* [ˈon bʲerʲet], *канва* [ˈkʲanˈva'], *анфас* [ɐ̞nˈfas, ɐ̞n-], *нос* [ˈnɔs], *контара* [kʲontɐˈɾa], *прав* [ˈprʲaf], *команда* [komˈanda], *нить* [ˈnʲitʲ], *конь* [ˈkʲonʲ], *бензин* [ˈbʲɛznʲ], *барабанчик* [bɐˈrabɐnʲɪk], *княжал* [kʲnʲˈɡa], *раньше* [ˈɾanʲʂɐ], *тонкий* [ˈtɔnʲki], *песнь* [ˈpʲesʲnʲ, ˈpʲesnʲ].

Thus, /nC, n*ːC/ are regularly assimilated. Also ‘/nj/’ become [ɲ], which keeps...
its phonetic autonomy (belonging to a phonemic sequence, with distinctive validity), without becoming neutralized before other consonants.

But we have to state, as some examples have shown, that —mainly for graphic reasons (especially in less colloquial and more traditional pronunciation)— a complex coarticulated pronunciation is widespread, with partial assimilation. Thus, we have [trb, n⁸, ñc, ñk] &c, as an attempt to keep ‘[nb, n⁸, nc, nk]’ &c.

Speakers oscillate very much, in such cases. However, should someone want to emphasize a kind of pronunciation with heterorganic (n⁰), spelling might make use of n⁶, at least inside words (in spite of etymology). But, it is difficult to convince people to accept useful and practical things.

11.3. There are three diphonic pairs, whose elements do not oppose distinctively before a pause or a (voiced or voiceless) consonant: /p, b; t, d; k, g/ [p, p, b, b; t, ţ, t, d, ţ, d, ţ; k, c, g, j]. The normal articulation of ‘palatalized’ /t, d/ is prepalatal and stop-strictive, but stop before homorganic consonants (or alike; sometimes, [ɭ] can also occur before pauses).

Examples: pot [pøt], lob [løp], pexi [‘pEx], topi [‘tøp], golubì [‘gjøu], byt [b<…t], ob ètom [å‘b<…t], bitì [‘bi⁄], trut [‘tRjut], otca [åq‘q], tku [‘kkJu;], vidj [‘Vit], bët [‘bet], žìku [‘zIk], podle [‘pøjø], dverì [d’VEÌ], kak [‘kak], pakt [‘pAkt], lër [‘lok], k èto-mu [‘køtomu], knosćér [cieś‘cjoj], gibkiy [‘hipcij], roq [‘gøst], gøtb [‘gøntj], nógi [‘nøj].

11.4. Russian has two stop-strictive phonemes, which are voiceless, /ts, ţʃ/. But there are four realizations, by voice assimilation (in addition to the palatalized variants of /t, d/, [ts, ţʃ], already seen in § 11.3).

Besides, before stressed vowels, other than /i/, /iʃ/ is [ɭʃ]: yikl [tɕIklt, tɕIkɭt], otrey [øtʃets], bratya [bɾjattsia], plavrârm [plɕɛd‘ɭarm]; uñitjel [uʃ‘iʃiɭ], čac [tʃas], plëchvo [pɭiʃjøː], lûch [ɭʊtʃ], plën [ɭʃøn], nacàiiv [nɕɛd‘ɕf].
Constrictives (or ‘fricatives’) & semi-constrictives (fig 11.5)

11.5. For the time being, let us introduce the five diphonic pairs of constrictives and semi-constrictives, \([f, \, f; \, v, \, y], \, [s, \, s; \, z, \, \check{z}], \, [\check{g}, \, \check{g}],\) and the voiceless \([\check{h}, \, \check{h}].\)

Among these, the first and last (actually, the slit ones, or ‘ungrooved’): \([f, \, f; \, v, \, y]\) –& \([\check{h}, \, \check{h}],\) respectively, velar and palatal, voiceless– are semi-constrictive, rather than fully constrictive. Thus, they are less strong and less noisy: fon \([f\text{f} \, \check{f}n],\) rov \([R\text{f} \, \check{f}f],\) avtomat \([\check{f}f\text{f} \, \check{f}t\check{f}m],\) верфь \([y\text{f} \, \check{f}f],\) воак \([\check{f}w\text{f}h],\) хуже \([\check{w}u\text{f} \, \check{w}t],\) мок \([\check{w}w\text{f}h],\) хитрый \([\check{h}t\check{f}h].\)

Let us observe that, in горох же \([q\text{w}\text{w}q\text{w}t],\) by assimilation to a following voiced consonant, we have \([y],\) (voiced) velar semi-constrictive, instead of \([\check{h}],\) (voiceless). This phone, \([y],\) is different from the non-phonemic element \([\check{f}].\) This last is a semi-approximant: less evident and less obtrusive, which is automatically inserted before \(/e, \, a, \, i/\) in natural and typical pronunciation. The same happens with \([\check{w}],\) before \(/\sigma, \, u/,\) of § 6.3.

Instead, grooved phones, \([s, \, s; \, z, \, \check{z}]\) and \([\check{g}, \, \check{g}],\) are fully constrictive: сох \([s\text{w}h],\) роса \([r\text{w}h\text{a}],\) снег \([\check{w}h\text{ek}],\) ося \([\check{w}h\text{g}],\) зуб \([z\text{w}hp],\) злой \([z\text{w}w\text{h}],\) с белым \([z\text{w}e\text{w}h\text{m}],\) изюм \([i\text{w}h\text{m}],\) без детей \([b\text{w}z\text{f}\text{w}t\text{e}i],\) шесть \([\check{w}z\text{f}\text{w}t\text{e}],\) ложь \([\check{w}w\text{g}],\) шкаф же \([\check{w}k\text{w}z\text{f}\text{w}t\text{e}],\) жест \([\check{w}z\text{f}\text{e}t],\) ждать \([\check{w}d\text{w}z\text{f}],\) хожу \([\check{w}z\text{f}\text{w}u].\)

Lastly, we have another voiceless constrictive, quite particular, \([i\check{i}], \, /i\check{i}/,\) which is lengthened before \(/\check{v}/.\) It also has a traditional phono-variant, formed by the constrictive followed by the corresponding stop-strictive, sometimes very weak, \([i\check{i}].\) It is more complicated and not needed in modern pronunciation.

Before a stressed vowel, different from \(/i/,\) a \([\check{i}]/\) is inserted: цыт \([m\text{f}l\text{f}t],\) т\([f\text{f}\text{w}l\text{f}t],\) по-

fig 11.5. (Modern) Neutral Russian: constrictive consonants.
Approximants (fig 11.6)

11.6. Russian has the typical palatal approximant /j/, which is realized as a true approximant before stressed vowels, [jV]. The same occurs in initial position in a rhythm group before vowels, either stressed or unstressed, [jV].

However, it is realized as a palatal semi-approximant, between (either stressed or not) vowels and an unstressed one, [jV]. After consonants the sequence is transformed into a ‘palatalized’ consonant, [ɶ] (cf § 6.3.4): мон [mepj], ять [jatš], явить [jëjitš], Маяковский [majkoʃči], больная [be|ʃa|j].

For emphasis, or for precision, we can have [j] — [i] (semi-constrictive) and, respectively, [j] — [j]. However, it is more important to notice that, in non-slow speech, normally, /ijV, Vji/ sequences are realized as [iV, Vi]: армия [jarmija, -mija], мон [mepj, mepj]

It may happen that in /VjV/ [VjV] sequences (with no /i/), it is not easy to perceive [j] well, mainly when speaking quickly: большая [be|ʃa|j], -a'я (mostly in protunes).

11.7. In Russian spelling, we also find ш, ж, ү (due to outdated graphic situations) even followed by е, я, ё, ю, и (and by ъ, as well). But, in such cases, nowadays, those vowels correspond to /e, a, ю, i/ (generally, ё is only used in dictionaries and teaching books): щек [tʃɛŋ], шёлк [ʃɔʃk], парашют [parajʃut], цирк [tɕirk], жить [tʃitʃ], ложь [ʃoʃ].

However, those consonantal elements may be followed by [j] (and, in spelling, also ъ occurs). [j] precedes vowels: шёлк [ʃoʃ], шёлк [ʃul], ложь [ʃoʃju].

In addition, the palatal approximant can also occur after [ɶ], and it may also have distinctive power: сырё [ʃirʲə], плю [pju], дьявол [dʲavɬ], выют [yʃut], Ильич [ilʲitʃ]. [j], [ɶ] can also be found, but indicated by ъ (although not systematically, as in съёжиться, put at the end of this section): съехать [ʃɨŋxats], изъять [izjatš].

The same happens for [ɶj]: чья [tʃja] (cf чад [tʃat] and нщи [nʃur]). Let us also observe that [j] is a different case, since it is inserted after [ɶ, ʃ] in stressed syllables. Its difference can also be noted because of its different syllabic structure.

fig 11.6. (Modern) Neutral Russian: (semi)approximant consonants.
Normally, [lj, nj] sequences are realized as [λj, νj] (although they may also remain [lj, nj], which are sufficiently different from plain [l, n]): λёт [λjot] ‘he/she pores’ (cf [lot] either for лёд ‘ice’, or лёт ‘flight’), лью [λju], вранье [νrενjг], свиная [νjипjа] (cf копы [κπα]).

There are also cases where that [C] remains separated and unaffected by [j] that follows: объехать [объетс], съезжаться [σεςθσ], двухъярусный [двухъярусный], трансъевропейский [трансъевропейский], межъярусный [межъярусный] (indicated by ъ, which can also occur between [s, z] and [j], as shown by some examples already seen). Notice that [ъ] is intermediate between [l] and [j], mostly used in lexical compounds.

In more general phonemic transcriptions, with /Cj/ instead of /C/, it would be necessary and sufficient to add a hyphen in a phonemic transcription (as spelling makes use of ъ), if a stress symbol is not present.

Lastly, in modern Russian, we also have [fi, γ] for the ‘/h/ phonostyleme in exclamations (and onomatopoeias): ара! [fiха, γиха] ‘a/ha/’.

We have already seen the typical and characteristic semi-approximants [j, ь, ω] (although not phonemic, cf § 10.4-6 and § 11.6).

**Rhotics** (fig 11.7)

11.8. For this articulation manner, in Russian, we find two taps: alveolar [r] and prepalatal [r] (with a single contact between the tongue and the alveoli or the prepalate, respectively). For emphasis, or when speaking slowly and clearly, as in teaching, it is possible to use trill variants, [r, r] (with two, or even three, quick contacts).

Nevertheless, for a good pronunciation, they are not necessary. Instead, it is more important to respect normal devoicing (cf § 8.8-13): рад [ræt], парк [pærk], Пётр [pætr, pæt], пись [пись], прад [прад], фонарь [фонарь], сентября [сентябрь], лифт [лизфт, лизф], образ [ʔəb-ʔəs], адрес [ʔæd-ʔəs].

![fig 11.7. (Modern) Neutral Russian: consonants.](image)

**Laterals** (fig 11.8)

11.9. Passing to the lateral articulation manner, we find the typical [l], velarized alveolar, which is alveolar with velar coarticulation, produced by raising the tongue postdorsum.

Furthermore, [l] becomes velarized dental, [̢] by assimilation, in front of [t, d;
ts; s, z]: солдат [sɐ'l/dat], лыжи [ɬ'jɨ-ɬɨ], слово [s'ɫ dispose], дуал [dɯu'l], игла [iqɬ, 'iqɬ], смысл [s'miʃst, s'miʃst]。

Certain speakers may use, in all contexts, [̚] the velarized dental or dentialveolar phones, instead of an alveolar one, not only before dental articulations.

But we also have a prepalatal lateral, [ɫ], still independently from devoicing (cf § 12.8-13): лица [li'tsa], жаль [ɬ'jala], только [tʊo'kɑ], пальма [pala'ma], рубль [rʊub], тау'б], мысль [mɪʃš, mɪʃš], пол-литра [pɪs'lɪtr-]<br>

Furthermore, there is a palatal taxophone, [ɫ], which occurs before heterosyllabic [j]: почта́лон [почтальон], лью́т [ʟju't].

**Fig 11.8.** (Modern) Neutral Russian: consonants.
12. Neutral pronunciation: structures

12.1. In this section, we will mainly deal with differences between Russian phonetic structure and spelling. Inevitably, there are surprises, because pronunciation continually changes, while spelling remains unchanged, except for official reforms. In any case, reforms are always insufficient and partial, as those by Peter the Great (1708-1710), the Academy of Sciences (1735, 1738, 1758), and Lenin (Ленин [L'ěnin] 1917).

We will also deal with some different distributions of various phonemes, in the formation of Russian words.

12.2. Normal phonic syllabication, in Russian (although not absolute), considers even sequences of one [C] + [I] (sonant, ie nasal, rhotic, or lateral) to be heterosyllabic, as we will certainly see. (Here, ‘I’ has nothing to do with cyrillic ‘I’; It is only the general symbol of sonant contoids.)

Obviously, in [CI] Russian clusters, this also happens with ‘palatalized’ consonants. Thus, with [r, f; t, l] (beside with [m, p; n, ʰ]), when they are preceded by [C, Ç] (either ‘normal’ or ‘palatalized’ consonants), provided they are simple: пака [pʰak-a], утро [uwort-ɾa], охра [oхра-ɾa], токмо [towk-me], вечно [yeч-nx].

With sonants, this heterosyllabic division takes place all the same, even when the two semiapproximant contoids [ʃ, ʒ] are present. We have to use them for native kinds of pronunciation before stressed vowels (although we did not do so for international pronunciation): квадрат [kʰaɾ'drát], хлыст [h'lyst], каплун [kɐplu'n], лавровый [lɐvrov'yi].

However, we find a more regular syllabication, if these sequences are preceded by another consonant, as in автострада [af-tes'tɾAda'-ɾa], Александра [ɐlësk'andɾa]. With other consonantal clusters, it is not so: Москва [msk'va].

The palatalized sonant contoids [m, p, ʰ, ɾ] followed by [j] are also heterosyllabic: семья [ʃim'ja], врацье [v'rja', v'ɾj', j], бульон [b'u'l'jɔn], зверь [z'var'j]. Otherwise, [j] and the other approximants, [j, ɾ, ʍ], are not separated from the contoid that precedes them (except when ʰ is present, as we saw).

This may not seem to be strange within words. But, perhaps, putting the stress symbol between consonants, in word-initial position, at least, might seem strange: три [t'ɾj], спор [sp'ɔr], твёрдый [tv'ør'dhI], страх [str'ãh], сплав [sp'ľaf] – or [str'ãh, sp'ľaf], depending on actual contexts. However, if we consider carefully, not single
words, but the sentences where they are, everything becomes logical (almost) spontaneously.

On the other hand, if we listen attentivey, such syllabifications are confirmed, generally, in the most real accents (in spite of opposite phonemic opinions). Therefore: цветной сплав [tɕɪtʰnʲɨwɔɪsp ʰצא] и краткое [ɪk'kʲatʲkʲɪ]. Regarding graphic and phonetic geminates, we have, for instance: А-на, phonically [ɪnənəx].

12.3. Russian has particular phoneme clusters, obviously, as for instance: водка [vʲʊˈotkə], где [ɡʲˈfeɾ], свадьба [svʲaˈdʲba], ткач [t͡ɕaɬ], обпакать [ɐpˈʃatʲkatsʲ], птица [pʲɪˈtsʲɪtsʲ], пято [pʲɪˈtʲnou], спинник [sˈpʲumʲnʲɪk], петля [pʲɪtʲˈla], рет [∥ret-], подмётка [pʲodˈmʲotkə], степень [ɕtʲeˈpʲenʲ], джури [dʒuˈry], бука [bʊˈtʃʊkə], Тверь [tʲeˈrʲi], там [tɐm], две [dɐˈvʲe]; д fry, д ня [d ˈfyʲr], д ня [d ˈfyʲr].

More examples: кверч [kʲɐrʲtɕ], шкура [ʂkʊˈtʃɨ], класс [kʲˈtʃastɕ], Кякта [ɕjaˈntɕ], ткет [tɕeˈtɕot], вскоре [fskʊˈɾʲot], втянут [tɕɪnʲˈut], портфель [pʲeɾˈfʲelʲ], ввёл [vɐˈvʲe]; вьёт [vʲeˈt], к уго [ɕjuˈɡu, kʲiˈru], книга [kʲiˈɲɡə], вязать [vʲɨˈɡlat],

In traditional pronunciation, the palatalization of /k/ г/ also includes examples like the next two: книга mɐ[kʲɪˈɲɡə] tɕiˈɲɡʲot], вязать mɐ[vʲɨˈɡlat] tɕiˈɲɡʲot].

Further examples: сраzu [sɐˈʐu], справа [sɐˈpɐvɐ], завтра [zɐˈfra], зрачок [zrʲuˈtʃok], всякий [fʲasʲˈɕi], съел [sʲeˈt], взят [vʲəˈt], злится [fʲiˈtʲitsʲ], сделать [ʃeˈtʃʲet], дружба [duˈʐʲa], шлю [ʃjuˈɾʲi], отшагать [ʁeˈʃʲagat], ждать [ʁeˈdʲat], ждёт [ʁeˈdʲot], сжать [ʃeˈtʃʲat].

More: туже [tɕuˈje], хлёстче [ɕlʲoˈɕɪ], из шёлка [ɨʃˈɡʊnkat], стихи [ɕiˈtɕi'), хвост [hʲʊˈʃtɕ], расчвет [ɾɐsˈɕuˈje], член [tɕlen], кончёный [kʲtɕˈʃoɲʲ], чрезмерно [tɕr젠ˈmʲeɲ], отчего [ʁeˈtɕwʲo], тьма [tɕˈma].

Still further examples: миля [mʲɪˈɫja], мной [mʲnˈwɔi], малый [mʲatʃʲi], мнение [mʲnʲɐˈɲi], мешене [mʲnʲɐˈɲ], мрамор [mʲ raging], мчаться [mʲtɕatʃʲs], реализм [ɐˈɾʲiˈzʲim], миф [mʲuf], мифа, главный [bʲɪˈdʲenʲ], шляпа [ʂlaˈpa], юта [tɕuˈtja], ржиг [rʲiˈɡʲi], рвение [ʁeˈɲʲi], непр [ɕɡr, ɕɡr], вперёд [ʁiˈtɕot], рьяность [ʁjaˈnʲnʲ], внушать [vʲɨˈnʊtɐ], внушать [vʲɨˈnʊtɐ].

Let us end with: [ʃpʲefˈkʲnʊwʊts] всплакнуть.

12.4. Generally, in Russian (but not necessarily, as for instance in quick speech), stops and stopsticnic sequences in heterorganic sequences have audible solutions, [C,C], while those in homorganic sequences have non-audible ones, [CC]. Only here we will use the adequate diacritics: коробка [kɐrˈbɔrk], птица [p,ːtʲɪtsʲ], кунё [kʊˈnʲe], отпых [ʊtˈpʌsk], ткач [t,ːkɑt], щётка [ʃɪtʃ,ːk], отгадка [ɐdˈɡat-k], свадьба [svʲaˈdʲba], всесторонний [fɪˈʂɨn,ˈdɑ], где [ɡ,ːfʲe], подмётка [pʲodˈmʲotk], затмене [zɐt,ˈmʲenʲ], гибнуть [tʃiˈɲuɲt], низ [kʲɪˈɲɡ], седьмой [ɕɪf,ˈʃмo], дверь [d,ˈye], ф,ˈye], когда [kɐn,ˈdɑ], тёк бы [tʃʊɡ,b].

Море: пятно [pʲɪˈtʲnou], больной [bɐˈnʲnʲ], воротник [vɐrˈtʲnʲik], петля [pʲɪtˈla], рет [∥ret-], фугтлар [fuˈtʃʊlɾ]. And: обпакать [ɐpˈʃatʲkatsʲ], оттуда [ɐtˈtuds-]
12. Neutral pronunciation: structures

12.5. In addition to /ts, tʃ/ [ts, dz; tʃ(y), dʒ], there are sequences like [ts, dz; tʃ, dʒ] (but, generally, [ts, dz] become /ts/ and [dʒ], except in composition, especially with prefixes): отсылаю [etʃ̥təŋə], подсказала [petʃ̥wɔʂə], напомныр [nep̥t̪m̥n̥t̪r̥], опредье [wʊd-ziŋ], подсаголобок [pædʒ̥olɔbʊk], надзор [næd̥zʊr], отшельник [etʃ̥ɛlɪŋk], обетшальный [əbɛtʃ̥'ɔlɪŋ], поджигать [pædʒ̥ɪŋt̪at̪], тот же [tɔʊdʒ̥ɪ], ажигани [ɑʒɪŋgɪ].

More: городской [ɡuɾdskʊɨ, -tsk-], советский [sɔvɛtskʊɨ, -tsk-], купаться [kʊpˈʃ̥atst rak, -atsl], детство [dɛtstvə, -st-] (only in careful pronunciation, we can find the last variants shown, with [ts], mostly by graphic influence). Let us notice the differences between [ʃ, ʃɪ, ʃj], in: вёл [ˈʃyl], ввёл [ˈʃyl], в ёлку [vˈʃylku, ˈʃø-].

This last one, [ʃj], can easily become [ʃ] – but they may remain distinct, in careful speech, especially if (more) traditional.

12.6. Nowadays, by influence of basic forms with non-palatalizing ending, like лампа [ˈləmpə], бомба [ˈbʊmbə], we also have лампе [ˈləmpɨ], бомбе [bʊmbe]. Traditional pronunciation had [ˈləmpɨ, ˈbʊmbe].

In any case, usually, we have: имбири [ɪmˈbɪri], амбиция [əmˈbɪsjə].

12.7. Consonantic gemination is phonemic, even if limited and realized as simple phonic lengthenings, in quicker pronunciation, unless it is felt to be important to maintain a difference (in the last two examples, [n] corresponds to [ŋ]) swіtt [swɪt̪], and світні [swɨtn̥], or подержанный [pɐdɛrɜŋˈaŋ], and подержанный [pɐdɛrɜŋˈaŋ].

Such a lengthening occurs only in word-initial position (even after a pause) or between vowels: в феврале [fɛˈvɐpɾalɛ], ссыла́ть [sɨˈʃ̥ətst r], излека [izˈʃ̥ətst r], скать [ʃ̥ətst r], жужжать [ʃ̥uʃ̥ətst r], данные [ˈdʌŋn̥], отпепель [wʊtʃɪpɪ], забульте [zɐˈʃ̥ʊrtʊ], отдельный [ɐʃ̥ˈdɛləŋ], отдых [ˈwʊdɨ]. Let us also notice масс [məs’.]

For /ʃʃ/ [ʃʃ], we have: цит [ˈʃʃɪt], нын [ˈʃʃɪn̥], борщ [ˈbʊrʃ], товарищи [təˈvɐrʃɪˈʃ̥]. So: after a consonant, it is short; if final after a vowel, it is also short (or slightly geminated).

Voicing degrees

12.8. As some examples have shown, the voiced diphonic consonantal phonemes are replaced by the correspondent voiceless ones, before a pause, or before voiceless consonants: дру́г [dɾʊk], вода [wʊtʃk], без колебаний [ʃɨskklɪrˈbaŋi].

On the contrary, the voiceless phonemes are replaced by the correspondent voiced ones (or by voiced phones, in case of /ts, tʃ/ [dz, dʒ]), before a voiced diphon-
ic consonant: 
Aнeкдoт [ɐnʲɪkˈdʊt], Афгaнистан [ɐfɡɐˈnistʲɑn], к дoмy [ɡˈdʊrˈmu], oтeй bыл [ɐtˈsɐɨdən]

However, б /v/ alone is not sufficient to make a preceding voiceless consonant to become voiced. In fact, it has to be followed by a voiced diphonic consonant (like /z, d, g/ and palatalized variants): от влaдa [ɐvlʲɪdə] (бут oт влaсти [ɐvlʲɪˈastʲɪ]), к бoмe [ɡˈvʲɪˈɾɪtʲ] (бут к бoмy [kʲnʊˈʁɪkʊ], к бaм [kʲˈzam]).

The only voiced consonants that occur before a pause, or before voiceless consonants, are the Russian sonants, [m, n, r, l] and their palatalized versions, even if partially devoiced, unless they are preceded by voiceless consonants. In such cases, they become completely devoiced; but only partially if they are intense, or ‘syllabic’: тaм [ˈtʰam], смoтр [ˈsmʊr̩t͡ɕ], тeмп [ˈtemp], лeсти́лъ [ˈlʲstiːl].

Let us insist that this devoicing is not complete—and it need not be— if the preceding consonant is voiced. The important thing is that, before a pause, no kind of [a] should be uttered. Thus, phona­tion has to be stopped before the consonant hold is completed.

Another—rather useful—expedient to indicate this fact could be to use the dia­critic for ‘non-release’ [ˀ], in order to avoid adding a non-phonemic vocoid, [a]. This happens by actually stopping any articulation. But, among native speakers, it is less frequent.

12.9. Even un­stressed vowels (between voiceless consonants or between them and a pause) can become devoiced, but less frequently than consonants, and mostly in quick speech. Therefore, we will show them only here (and only with partial devoicing): вы­ стaвкa [vʲɪstɐˈfkɑ, -tɐˈkɑ], пoтoмy чto [pɐˈtʲemʊˈʂɪtɕ, pɐˈtɛ]-, дeвышeк [dɐˈvʲɪsɨk].

This also happens for /i/ ћ in diphthongs, before a pause (even if preceded by a voiced vowel, rather than a voiceless consonant). The same is also true of vowels only followed by voiceless consonants: зyмнyй [zimʲɪˈɪ], чyпeй [tʃɪˈpʲɛj]. This also happens in stressed syllables (before a pause): мyзeй [mʊˈzʲej], тpамвaй [tɾɐmvɐj].

12.10. Let us observe that voiced diphonic con­toids—[b, ʜ; d, Ɇ; ʒ, ɡ; v, ɣ; z, ʒ; Ȝ]—become voiceless (even in consonant clusters), if followed by a pause: гpоb [ɡˈrʊp], oстров [ˈostrɐˈf], плaг [pˈlɐg], мyж [mʊˈʐ], мoрoз [mɐˈrʊs], мoзг [mɐˈzɡ], гpоэдь [ɡˈpɐozʲt͡ɕ], пoээд [pɐozˈjɪst].

The same happens before voiceless con­toids: пoбoк [pɐbɐk], лaвка [lɐˈfɐk], нoгtи [nʊˈʊɡtɨ], рeдкo [rʲeˈtɨk], лoжкa [lɐˈʊɡkə], рeзкo [rʲeskə], прoсyбa [pɐˈsʊbə], oттoнyтъ [ɐtˈtʊnɨt], oтдaлъ [ɐtˈdʊl], тaтyкъ [tɐˈtʊk], вoкзaлъ [vɐˈkʊl].

Voiceless con­toids remain voiceless before voiced con­sonants—[m, ɱ; n, ɳ; r, ɭ; ɭ, ɭ; Ѭ, ѫ; ɟ, ɡ]—including [j, й] /ˈj/, and before [v, ɣ] (which behave as con­sonants, as if they were approx­i­mants, [ˈv, ɣ]): слaвa [sɭɐˈva], сменa [smɐnˈa], свeт [ˈʃʲet], кнyгa [kɐˈŋɡə], съестъ [sʲɛˈʃt], вкaс [kʲɐs], пpaвo [pɐˈvɐ].

12.11. In the combination of words, or of rhythm groups, the diphonic con­toids which became voiceless, because word-final, remain voiceless even before voiced con­toids: oбeд гoтoв [ɐˈbet ɡɐˈtʊf], стoлб дyма [stɐˈbɐ ˈdɪmɐ].
Generally, in such contexts (i.e., before other voiced diphonic contoids, occurring at the beginning of rhythm groups or of words with primary stress), the voiced constrictives [z, õ] remain voiced: мұж донма [tмуэддмэй], образ дрьга [об-рьзэд рьгэ].

Furthermore, all contoids occurring at the end of words or of rhythm groups become voiceless before any voiceless contoid (not only before voiceless constrictives), but also before [v, y, j] and before vocoids, inside rhythm groups as well.

Examples: κάμβ καμβάνικοβ [кзув дуэддмэйкэф], нเข้มд сабоб [нютсэбоси], патохат «Москва» [патээвдос тьэквя], боэ новоштей [вьос нвээсштэй], беть вэли [вэт ёё], 'вэтзф], парад войск [пытаэт вьоиск], гоэ усшехо [гьоэт усээшэф].

On the contrary, inside words, before voiced contoids, including [v, y, j], voiced contoids remain so: облако [вос-лакэ], водный [восэнйи], подвал [редвээй], обьём [эбжом].

12.12. Instead, between words belonging to different rhythm groups, voiceless contoids followed by voiced contoids remain voiceless (although voiceless constrictives may become half-voiced): как долго [кзак эддэжэ], будет завтра [буэжэф тафта], у вас был [вьээбэй], -з-б-, весь город [вьэс эээштэт].

Yet, often, in current non-slow pronunciation, we find voicing assimilation within rhythm groups, as in: как долго [кзак эддэжэ], будет завтра [буэжэф тафта], у вас был [вьээбэй], весь город [вьээшштэт].

Russian grammemes (in particular prepositions), when they are in the same rhythm group, have full assimilation of their final element, like within a word: от города [эддэштэдэ], от села [етсзэя, э], под дубом [реддуэум], под столом [патаствээм].

Prepositions ending in a voiceless constrictive (but represented by voiced grapheme) become voiced before voiced contoids, including [v, y, j]; the same before vocoids: об этом [эбэгтэй], под лампой [пэддэампэй], над вами [недээампи], из роман [изэээмэн], из ямы [ипээмн].

The following prepositions are exceptionally pronounced voiceless, not only before voiceless contoids, but also voiced ones, including [v, y, j], the same also before vocoids: близ [блзэ], блес, близэй, близэй (with a homorganic [и] ), вокруг [вэкэрэукэ], против [протэйфэй], напротив [нипрээфэй], сквозь [сквээзэй], including the particles ведь [ьэтээ; тэтеэ], уж [эуээ].

Examples: близ реки [блэзээцэй], вокруг него [вэкэрэукээвээ], напротив улицы [нипрээфэйвээ], уж у дома [уэдуэээтэй], что-ж негодует человек [эвээ эвээдшээвээ эвээнэком], ведь я говорил об этом! [ьэтээз юетээ эбэгтэй].

12.13. The same as for близ also happens with бес [бээс, бээс, бээс, -эз, бээсэй, бээсэй], из [йэс, эс, -эз, ээсэй, ээсэй], через [йээсэй, -ээсэй, -ээсэй], which have [эз, ээз] before a homorganic initial soft consonant, [ээз].

At the beginning of Russian words, it is possible to regularly find clusters of voiced contoids with [ээз]: значок [зэнэээжэк], здорово [здэээшэй], значение [зэнэээшэпэй]. The same with other voiced contoids: власть [энээшэй], глядеть [эли-
12.14. Graphically geminate consonants (and щ) are phonetically short before pauses or consonants: грамм [g'рам], ванн [в'ан], джинн [д'жин], класс [к'lass], плащ [п'лащ], программный [програм'нн], русский [т'уссий], грушка [г'рушк], мощный [мо'шнн].

More often, however, graphically geminate consonants can be realized as slightly geminates or consonants (and щ) in lexemes: accented [ев'ен', ванна [в'аннн], касса [к'асснн], тонна [то'снн].

12.15. In half-quick speech, unstressed syllables are reduced (in particular non-initial pre-stressed and non-final post-stressed ones), especially in contact with [л, й, ы]: помолодел [пьма'ледел], панте-, памите-, молодожены [мла'дознн, мла'дизн], похоронить [ра'гетп', ра'ге, ра'ге-], караулить [каре'лу-й, кер', кер'-], парикмахер [п'ркмахер, п'рк-], таракан [та'ракан, тр-, тре-], молокосос [моло'косос, моло'кес, моло'кес], голосовать [галос'вата', галосе, галосе-], парашютист [пара'шютист, пара'шутист, пара'шутист], белесый [би'ле', би'ле, би'ле-].

Others: молоко [мл'кнн, млнн], хорошо [хоро'шнн, хоро'-], дороговатый [доржн', дор-], зеленоватый [зелен'вата', зелне, зелне-], передовой [пред'вовй, прєде-, прєде-], перевернуть [пре'вернут, пре'вну, пре'вну-], администривный [админис'тритивнй, -нс-, -нс-], инициатива [ини'циатива, интнс, интнс-], инициал [ини'циал, интнс, интнс].

More: щипикотка [щипик'отка, -щипик'отка], судорога [судо'рога, -дрога], притик [п'ритик, -п'ритик, -п'ритик].
12.16. Forming words and phrases, with prefixes and prepositions, we find several vowel clusters, which are rather exceptional in Russian. Being mainly pre-stress positions, reductions are frequent: no-anglinski [пенгалисци, пенаг, певаг-], засветь [зевет'из, зев'-], на окне [небкне', неб'-], вообще [вебреб', веб'-], соответственно [светиетстваваст', свет', тваств', тваств', тваств'], на одной [недниуо', нед'-], заострить [зестриг', зест'-], соотносить [светнеси', свет', сест'], соображение [себреб-вебеїпи', се', се', се'-], видоусловление [вебуслови', веб', веб'].

Besides: вилованель [јиївезеп'ие', јиївез'-], специальный [сптив'ие', -тёа'-], социализм [сатсвеиз', -тёб', -тём], неоднократный [непднеќтати', нипк', нип'], необыкновенный [небивкнеїп'и', пир', пир'], неизвестно [нїївезен', пир']

12.17. Some personal pronouns have reduced form: тебя [тіїра', тіїра', тія, ті', тік], тебя [тіре', тіре', тіе', ті'], вас [віас', віас', віас', віас'], вами [віам', віам', вім', вім'], я тебя [я тіїдам', я тіїдам'], я вами [я віамдам', я вімдам']

Certain numerals also have reduced forms (we only provide their models, which are also fit for other similar ones): десяти [фіїдсп', фіїдсп'], одиннадцатый [вьфіїнаддати', вьнаддати', вьнаддати', вьнаддати'], двадцатый [дывастд', дывастд', дывастд', дывастд'], двадцать [дивастид', дивастид', дивастид', дивастид']


And: Анна Михайловна [анна михайлова', анна михайлова', анна михайлова', анна михайлова'], Александр Александрович [александрович', александрович', александрович', александрович']
12.19. Currently (ie not in slow and precise speech, but quicker and colloquial), /j/ - e, y - is reduced to /i/: emy [imwu]; i-, egi [igii, i-], являться [inats, ivats, inats], неесественно. [iijesstinyx, ijesetyx; jesseyx-]

Generally, /ij/ - /'i/' (cf § 11.6): вития [itishy, -tshy, -tsiy], армия [zarniya, -nix, -nix], приотиться [rijitsiyx, ri-], приятнее [rijatni, rijarni], жизнь [zitye, -tse', бытию [bshiyu, btsiyu].

Furthermore, still currently, we have [Cj] - [Cj, C], and [iiCV] - [iCV] (although considered rather uneducated): перебой [pijivowsi, pijivowsi], бычачих [bpijatsi, -yas], казышю [kzjpi, kzappi, kaga, kag], любовью [lvoigui, lvoagi], шеиц [yitiq, yiy, yiy], действительно [fiistiytsinx, fiit; fiisti; fiit].

For prepositions + /jV/, we also have /ov/: в его доме [vyvo 'dowsmi, vno], с японрами [sjpronsxmi, sjrosmi.]. However, by now, pronunciations like the following are rather widespread: [yivo 'dowsmi, sjrosmxmi], even: к иогу [cjggu], instead of 'kjiqgu. Also notice ничего [nifikvov, -i'vso, -i'so].

12.20. In traditional pronunciation, /u// (i-) preceded, in sentences, by a consonant (different from /q, i, C, u, t,), becomes /i/ (less systematically with /k, g, x, /, so we also find /k, g, / (preveral) + [i, ]). However, in modern pronunciation, we have /i/, with [c, j, /] (palatal) + [i, ]).

Thus: смех и горе "[smeh igosmi] [sjme igosmi, i-], к Игорю "[cijami] [kipi, kpi-]. дым идет "[dami fiot] [mi], от Ивлиеви "[etivii] [ati], и по-вар "[kjodi 'rovny] [ti-], он издох бы "[wopsiz'dowo] [wopsiz, -s], с Иваном "[wipjatnam] [si-], к Ивану "[cjvan] [ki-], товариши Иван "[tjvan] [ti].

Traditionally, Италия, ie Italia ‘Italy’ is realized likewise, so that, also for Alitalia (ie Ali ‘Wings’ + Italia), we have: [-li, -li] rather than /n/.[-1].

Still in traditional pronunciation, also /i/ /l- preceded, in sentences, by a consonant (different from /q, j, C, u, t,...), becomes /i/ /l-

However, in (modern) neutral pronunciation, we decided have only /l/ /l- (and, mainly in mediatic pronunciation, /j/ /l-), both in absolute initial position, and with a preceding word-final consonant, [C-]: от элеватора "[etl] [etl] [etl], "[etl] [etl], м /etl/.

Respectively, in absolute initial position, we find: элеватор "[l] [etl] [etl], m /etl/., эпоха "[igowsx] [i-] m /i-.

For the non-autochthonous Эйзенштеин, we have: [izi] [izis], and с Эй-зенштейном [zizis], [zi].
14. Comparisons between pronunciations: neutral and traditional

14.0. This chapter helps to know and recognize the peculiar differences between (modern) neutral pronunciation and traditional (neutral). Obviously, we do not pretend that people actively learn these peculiarities, but that they may be able to recognize and classify them, when they happen to hear them from native speakers. Besides, not to complicate too much the text and its reading, we do not always provide examples for all the versions that we are dealing with. The readers will certainly be able to complete the task.

There is an undeniably poor general knowledge about Russian pronunciation, both among native speakers and foreigners, although we are referring mainly to ‘experts’. Furthermore, there are both different methods for describing, transcribing, and evaluating, and different applications and criteria.

As we have already told in advance, even official ‘model’ speakers (also broadcasting company members), oscillate between more or less neutral or traditional (and mediatic) pronunciations. Probably, this also depends on lack of specific information, for convenient comparisons and choices, also considering the kind of ‘transcription’ we find in (even official and ‘scientific’) handbooks and dictionaries (i.e. a simple and banal graphemic ‘respelling’ – in a word, ‘Soviet graphonics’).

However, what we have described (in 0 10-13) is legitimately (modern) neutral Russian pronunciation, which is more and more establishing and spreading. In fact, it is also less distant from spelling.

We are going to report the differences which are more typical of traditional pronunciation, in accordance with the ‘old Moscow pronunciation’. That was acquired orally, including its ‘strange’ exceptions, which made it different – in some respects — from that of Saint Petersburg, which is generally closer to spelling, but not in a banal and slavish way.

14.1. The peculiarities of traditional pronunciation concern mainly its vowels, and to a lesser degree consonants and intonation (as we will indicate). On the other hand, the peculiarities of mediatic pronunciation turn out to regard the consonants, in addition to vowels and intonation.

As far as consonants are concerned, we will use their orograms, in order to highlight articulatory differences, guiding us with different symbols. Since there are fewer consonantal differences, in comparison with (modern) neutral pronunciation,
let us have a look fig 14.1, where we compare the realizations of the phonemes /ɣ, ʁ/ (adding the orograms of [ʃ, ʒ; ʃʲ, dʒ], postalveopalatal).

fig 14.1. Traditional (Neutral) Russian: comparisons between similar contoids.

In fact, in traditional pronunciation, instead of [ɣ, ʁ; ı] (even if alternating with the others). The main difference, as can be seen from the orograms, is that instead of a velarized apico-postalveolar diphonic pair [ɣ, ʁ] (with lip-rounding), we have the velarized lamino-postalveolar pair [ʃ, ʒ] (with lip-protrusion).

In addition, instead of a velarized alveolar [ı], more often we find the uvularized alveolar [l] (which we show by means of this symbol, more immediately distinguishable from a more legitimate [l], with a reversed diacritic, more appropriate when in correlation with other uvularized contoids, as in Arabic).

The contoids [ʃ, ʒ; ı] require a stronger articulatory effort, and auditorily they sound a little darker than [ɣ, ʁ; ı]. Examples: шить [ʃɪt'], шаль [ʃal'], пищ [pi'ʃu'], лож [lo've], шьёт [ʃ'ot'], сывать [ʃ'ot'], шесть [ʃ'st'], Саша [ʃa've], мышь [mi'ʃ'], жить [ʒɪt'], жар [ʒar'], хожу [ŋa'ʃwu'], кока [ŋa've], гараж [ga'ʃaj] 'garage', в гараже [ŋa'ʃaj], жёлт [ʃ'ot'], сжать [ʒa't].

Besides, in traditional pronunciation, for the phoneme /ʃ/, we generally find the sequence /ʃ/ /ʃ/ [ʃ', ʃV, ʃV, ʃ'] (see fig 14.1): щека [ʃ'ek'], щит [ʃ'it', ʃ'it], ишу [i'ʃu', i'ʃu'], счастье [ʃa'stj], переписчик [pi'pi'ʃik] (the suffix -чik is not considered to imply a separation), борщ [bɔr'sh], товариш [ta'vɒryʃ]. In general, in Moscow, the realization [ʃ] has always prevailed, which is more agile and convenient also in modern neutral pronunciation (against the use found in Saint Petersburg, with /ʃ/', cf § 16.4).

14.2. However, in neutral pronunciation, we also have [ʃ'], [ʃ'], when a clear morphemic boundary is present, which is also shown in its spelling, with c', c', ш', ж', ст', з', н, never щ: с чем [ʃ'tʃem], из чего [ʃ'tʃo'. The we have /ʃ/ or /ʃ/: веснушчатый [vɛn'ʃuʃ'ti], гортаный [ɡɔrt'na's], бороздчатый [bɔr'za'sti], ш', [ʃ'].

But, between a lexeme and a suffix, we generally have [ʃ] /ʃ/: извозчик [iz'vo'ʃik], перебежчик [pi'pi'ʃik], жестче [ʒa've]. Between a prefix and a lexeme, [ʃ] /ʃ/ is more frequent: бесчеловечный [bi'ʃu'veʃn], исполнитель [i'ʃu'sni't'], расчищаться [rak'ʃu'sni'ʃa].

In words used more frequently, and in those with prefix that is no longer felt to separate, usually we have [ʃ] /ʃ/: расческа [ræʃ'oska], счастье [ʃa'stj], счёт [ʃ'ot], исчез [ʃ'yes].
The phoneme /ɔː/ [ɔ̞] is more typical of traditional pronunciation than of the neutral one. This phoneme occurs in few words, and only inside a lexeme: жокёт /tʃɔkɔt/, ежжо /tʃɛzo/, ужжат /uʒʒət/, пожже /pɔʒʒə/. For the derivatives of дожждь /tʃuʃdь/, we have: дожжден /tʃuʃdьt/, дожжный /tʃuʃdьnь/, дожжный /tʃuʃdьnь/. For the derivatives of дожждь /tʃuʃdь/, we have: дожжжен /tʃuʃdьt/, дожжный /tʃuʃdьnь/, дожжный /tʃuʃdьnь/.

14.3. Let us pass, now, to 14.2-3, with the vocograms of traditional pronunciation, which have to be carefully compared with 5.8.3 (international pronunciation), 5.8.4 (native-like international) and 10.1 (neutral).

We can immediately notice (as some transcribed examples have already shown) that, in ‘interpalatal’ contexts, traditional pronunciation has some clearly fronter and closer vocalic articulations (cf fig 14.2, even if their symbols [i, e] are the same, but they stand for [i, ë]: битъ [bিঃ], ель [jel], пять [pats], тётя [tɔtɔ], людь [lɔdь], тюфяк [tɛfdfь].

Traditional pronunciation presents –although no longer systematically– the phenomenon called ekante ([jɛkɒnt̪̊] ekань), which has the double phonemic sequence /je/, also with unstressed taxophones, that do not become /i/. For instance: леса /lɛsa/ ‘scaffold’ (cf лиса /lɪsa/ ‘fox’), предать /prɛdət̪̊/ ‘to betray’ (cf придать /prɪdət̪̊/ ‘to add’), частота /ʃɪstaʃ̪̊a/ ‘frequency’ (cf чистота /ʃɪstaʃ̪̊a/ ‘cutness’).

fig 14.2. Traditional (Neutral) Russian: vowels.
Furthermore: екание ‘[je’køpa]’, кладей ‘[kla’dæfi]’, спелое ‘[spe’læja]’ (but not for -ая: старая ‘[stak’tæja]’), несу ‘[næswu]’, сенема ‘[sæmænæ]’, языч ‘[jæz’hik]’, патак ‘[pa’tæk]’, пяти ‘[pa’tæji]’, чась ‘[tʃæs’i]’, площад ‘[plæd’ø]’.

Let us also observe: cerodna ‘[sju’nɔdru]’ ‘[sju’nɔdru]’ and a different treatment in cerodna венером ‘[sju’nɔdru ˈve’nərəm]’ ‘[sju’nɔdru ˈve’nərəm]’.

14.4. Here are some examples with the ending -е: поле ‘[põl’si]’ ‘[-o’la]’, море ‘[mɔ’re]’ ‘[-ɔ’ra]’, вене ‘[vé’nø]’ ‘[-tø]’, жилище ‘[zil’lø]’ ‘[zil’lø]’, здание ‘[z’dʒæni]’ ‘[z’dʒæni]’; синего ‘[s’in’gi]’ ‘[-pa’vi]’, синему ‘[s’in’mi]’ ‘[-pi’mi]’, в синем ‘[s’in’mi]’ ‘[-pi’mi]’; злой ‘[zlyø]’ ‘[-ɔ’ra]’ (cf злой ‘[zlyø]’ ‘[-oi]’), злы ‘[z’lø]’ ‘[z’lø]’; такое ‘[tæk’o’ra]’ ‘[ta’køra]’, такие ‘[tæ’c’i]’ ‘[ta’c’i]’, лебяжье ‘[li’bø’zjø]’ ‘[-la’zjø]’, волье ‘[vol’ø]’ ‘[-tø]’; двое ‘[dvo’ø]’ ‘[-ɔ’ra]’, трое ‘[tro’ø]’ ‘[-ɔ’ra]’; спелое ‘[spe’lø]’ ‘[spe’lø]’, вернее ‘[ve’nø]’ ‘[ve’nø]’.

Also with -ем, -ев, -ес: унителем ‘[ju’ni’ti’lem]’ ‘[ju’ni’ti’lem]’, плачем ‘[plæ’ti’lem]’ ‘[plæ’ti’lem]’, жилищем ‘[zil’lø]’ ‘[zil’lø]’, медведем ‘[mid’ved’em]’ ‘[mid’ved’em]’, братьев ‘[bra’ti’jø]’ ‘[bra’ti’jø]’, шилев ‘[šil’lø]’ ‘[šil’lø]’, вынес ‘[va’nø]’ ‘[va’nø]’. And with -ами/-ами: каплями ‘[kapi’lemi]’ ‘[-’lemi]’, медведями ‘[mid’ved’em]’ ‘[mid’ved’em]’, тучами ‘[tu’kø]’ ‘[tu’kø]’, рошами ‘[ro’lø]’ ‘[ro’lø].

Obviously, by considering modern neutral pronunciation and spelling, when listening to speakers who use the vocoid [æ], it could seem to be logical to assign
it to /j/. But, now, we know well what it is about.

More than a few examples have already shown that if stressed /a, œ, u/ are preceded or followed by a palatalizing phone (instead of being both preceded and followed by palatalizing phones), they have intermediate realizations between the interpalatal ones, [a, œ, u], and the non-interpalatal, [a, œ, u], ie [a, œ, œ]: вяс [ŋas], жаль [ŋal], ёж [ŋoj], вонь [ŋonj], люк [ŋuk], гысь [ŋusę].

Besides, notice that for /u/ (contrary to neutral use, which has only two high vowels, [u, ʊ], even in unstressed syllable) there are three different timbres [CoC, CoC, CoC, CɛC] (in pretonic syllables, it has high taxophones, as in unstressed syllables): улолок [ʊŋa'ŋok], побеседуйте [rɔubitì], деревню [dɛrɛ'ŋọ], слюдной [sli'dii], рука [rubka], сюда [si'da], утте [u'ttë].

Let us only add that /e/, in non-interpalatal contexts, is realized in the lower and backer part in its box in the vocogram, [ɛ-]: эра [ɛ'ɾa], бо [bọ].

14.5. fig 14.2 shows that for unrounded high pretonic /i, i/, traditional pronunciation has a closer realization than the modern one. Rounded /u/ is open in all unstressed positions, except –again– in the pretonic one (cf fig 14.2): /i, ɨ, u/ t[i, ɨ, u] n[i, ɨ, u]; абрікос t[ɛbri'kos] n[-i-], быки t[bi'ci] n[bi-], уже t[u'zey:] n[u'zey:]. Pretonic /a/ is t[a] n[a]: улолок t[ʊŋa'ŋok] n[ʊŋɛt].

We have already seen, and with examples, that traditional pronunciation also has, more typically, ‘/e/’ [ə] for pretonic e, я (including ça, ћа, but not for и, which has /i/ [i]). In neutral pronunciation, they all have /i/ [i, iː]: делить t[dɛ'liʃ] n[di'liʃ], нести t[ɲe'sti] n[ɲe'sti], тракти t[tʁak'ti] n[tʁak'ti], часы t[u'zii] n[u'zii].

Let us reconsider, then, лица t[li'sa] n[lisa] and леса t[lɛ'sa] n[lɛsa]. In the context /ɪ/, only one other (modern) neutral phoneme occurs, /u/ [u, ʊ]: сюда t[ʊŋdza] n[ʊŋdu'a], любить t[u'biʃ] n[u'biʃ].

In traditional pronunciation, for e, after /s, z, ʒ/, we find /i#/ t[zi]: якуше n[ŋu'ʃe] t[ŋuʃe], хуже n[ŋu'ʃe] t[ŋuʃe], солнице n[swɔniʃ] t[swɔniʃ].

14.6. Adjectives ending in -кый, -гий, -хий, in traditional pronunciation have /ii/ [ii], but also [si] (usually rendered with ‘/ai/’, as if it were /ai/ [si], although it is slightly different, cf fig 8.1). They are preceded by [k, ɡ, ɦ], instead of the neutral realization with /ii/ [ii, iː, ɨi] (according to spelling): звонкий t[swɔŋki], -кі, -кі, n[-Êsii, -Êsii], стропий t[stʁɔp'jii, -zii] n[-zii], тихий t[tsi'ʃi, -zii] n[-zii].

Nowadays, such traditional pronunciation sounds non-neutral, or lofty and outdated. The verbs in -вать also have this treatment: помалкивать t[pamɔ'ka'vaʃt], натягивать t[pamɔ'tʃa'givatš] n[pamɔ'tʃa'givatš], помахивать t[pamɔ'ja'na'vaʃt] n[pamɔ'ja'na'vaʃt].

For unstressed endings with -Bien, neutral pronunciation has -ий /ii/ [ii], -ей /ii/ [ii], -ый /ii/ [ii], -ой /ai/ [xi]. Traditional pronunciation has ‘/ei/’ [si] for -ен, and ‘/i/’ [i, iː, iː] for -й, often described as neutralization of both the first two (and in modern neutral pronunciation it is like that, /ii/ [ii]) and of the second two (but, we have: n[gi] t[ni, iː, ɨi] vs n[iː] t[ŋu'ʃi, ʊzii, ʊzii, ʊzii], трудный n[tʁu'dnii] t[t-ni, -iː, ɬ-zi], трудной n[tʁu'dnii].
Neutral pronunciation, for pretonic ша, жа, юа (in case, also with о), has /Ca/ [Ca], while traditional pronunciation has /Ci/ [Ci] (which is nowadays old-fashioned): ша́рт "[ʃərt] [ʃi-], жа́ра "[ʒərt] [ʒi-], двадцать "[dʌktəst] [ts-ı̯st].
However, some words are still frequently pronounced with a kind of traditional pronunciation even by tendentially modern speakers: жакёт, жасмѝн, жаве́ль, бешма́ель, лоша́дь (even if postonic: два́дцать, три́дцать).

14.7. Among greater differences with spelling, for traditional pronunciation, we find the unstressed verbal endings -ят, -ятый, which have /u/ (nowadays rightly considered lofty or non-neutral) instead of neutral pronunciation, with /iC(V)/: хода́т "[nɔdət] [nɨdət], строи́ций "[stɾȯi̯ist] [stɾȯi̯ist].

Another traditional pronunciation by now non-neutral, which can be heard (this time with an exchanged timbre), concerns forms like до́брою "[dɔsob'-go'; 1'-yo], синюю "[sɨp'-xo; 1'-xo], думающий "[dumähîj'i] [dumähîj'i].

Traditional pronunciation, in addition to commoner timbres, has (non-pretonic initial) /a/ for /a/ [v] and (final) /a/ for /a/ [x]: однорог "[ədnə'ɾo'; ədnə-], подног /[pɔdznæ] [n-nx].

14.8. As we have seen, in Russian (even neutral), by voice assimilation, we find [ɟ] (voiced semi-constrictive) for /ŋ/: он и́дох бы́ "[nɔŋiz'dɔsɔ'bi] [l'ɔniz-] (for this combination of [Ct], the compromise [əniz-] is also possible).

In some particular words, traditional pronunciation also has: Бора "[bɔ̝v'ɡe] [n'v'ɡa], господь "[ɡap'sovt] [n'ɡap'sovt], биостальтер "[bʲis'tal'ɡeɪt] [n'bjis'-ɡal'shɪ]. (furthermore, with a true palatal constrictive, we find /gi/ "[ɡa'ɡe'] [ɡa'-], Бор "[bɔ̝v'ɡa] [n'v'ɡa].

The same happens for the following forms, which still may persist in neutral pronunciation: Бор "[bɔ̝v'sh] [n'-k], Господи! "[ɡap'sovt] [n'ɡ-]. Soon enough, [ɟ], for /ɡ/, is bound to disappear completely (followed by /zn/ = [nə], ژ/ [nə], ژ/ [nə], as already seen).

For the preposition к, followed by ғ-, we have: ғ королю "[ɡ'gərəz'kəl'du] [n'ɡərəz'-kəl'du]. Lastly, even in neutral pronunciation, we have [ŋ, ɡ] for the phonostylisteme "[h/ in exclamations (and onomatopoeias): ара! [a'ɾa', ə'ɾa'] /a'ha'.

In traditional pronunciation, /k, ɡ/ are [ŋ, ɡ] before stops: то́рд "[torɗ'] [n'torɗ'], к то́рд "[k'torɗ'] [ŋ'torɗ'], к кому "[ŋka'mu'] [ŋk'k-]. For -r, before the ending -кий, and its derivatives, we have [c, k; ɡ, ɡ]: мя́гкод "[maŋk'kə] [ŋmaŋk'-kə], мя́гкому "[ŋmaŋk'kənu] [ŋmaŋk'-kənu], мя́гкоди "[ŋmaŋk'kədi] [ŋmaŋk'-kədi], лёккод "[lɐŋk'kədi] [lɐŋk'-kədi], лёккод "[lɐŋk'kədi] [lɐŋk'-kədi], лёккод "[lɐŋk'kədi] [lɐŋk'-kədi]. But [k] will prevail, even if it is often still considered rather non-neutral.

In fact, for instance, for тя́гча́йший, we already find [tɕɪk'tɕaiši] [tɕi-], и for отя́гчить, [ɕik'tɕaiši], [tɕi-]. In тկ sequences, we have: кото́ р "[kɔtɔ'r] [ŋ'kɔtɔ'], ното́р "[nɔtɔ'r] [ŋ'ntɔ'], лёо́т "[lɐnt] [lɐnt], лёо́т "[lɐnt] [lɐnt].

The pronoun вто́ро is always "[ʃtɔwɔ], as in its compounds, except in нёво [n'ʃtɔ-tx]; while нёво can have two pronunciations: [n'ʃtɔwɔ; n'ʃtɔwɔ]. Besides, щ is /š/ in feminin patronymic: Вера Ильинична [ˈvʲerə iˈɫɨnʲiŋna], and in: конечно [kɐ-]
14. Comparisons between pronunciations: neutral and traditional

14.9. In traditional pronunciation, the consonants that precede ‘soft’ consonants have stronger palatalization than in neutral pronunciation: [защ-щина] instead of [зет-, пи]. The graphic sequence ъ in traditional pronunciation of common words; in neutral pronunciation, it stand for /ъ/, even if, some words have both pronunciations. However, generally we have: [луш-кузня] /луш-кузня/, лабочник /лабочник/. The graphic sequence ун stands for /ъ/, in traditional pronunciation of common words; in neutral pronunciation, it stand for /ъ/, even if, some words have both pronunciations. However, generally we have: [луш-кузня] /луш-кузня/, лабочник /лабочник/.

In traditional pronunciation, concerning homorganic phonemes (except т), some words have stronger palatalization than in neutral pronunciation: 

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For heterorganic phonemes, indirect palatalization is no longer current: 

14.10. Let us notice the differences between modern and traditional pronunciation, concerning /г/: термин /гэrim/, терпят /гэрит/, Сержия /гэрия/, вербъ /грэли/, серви /грэли/ - [эры], термин /гэрия/, усердие /гэсэрия/, жердь /жэрдъ/, стерлядь /гэстэли/, верси /грэси/, сверзился /грэцишь/.

Even in traditional pronunciation, as in the neutral one, we have [г] after [явCV] (with non-front vowels): партия /гартия/, орде /ордэ/, дурнё /дарну/, марля /марё/ - [эры], курсе /курэ/- [эры]. The same happens after unstressed vowels (even if front ones): вертеть /ыгэртэ/, сервзис /ыгрызис/ - [эры], верзила /ыгэрзэлъ/, зернистый /ыгэрзэлъ/ - [эры].

Consonants + [ь] are not palatalized: время /вэрыма/, фрека /эрыка/, портрет /пэртрет/, хандрит /энэдишь/, презрит /энэдишь/.

Traditional pronunciation, for the reflexive ending in -ся, -сь, has [с] (not [с]).
except in gerunds with stress on their final syllable: боя́ть `[ba'jaʃ] n[be'jaʃ]
(against соби́раться `[sa'bri'jar]s` n[-'bjar-]`). In neutral pronunciation, instead, reflexives have [j], except for third persons (in -тся) and infinitives (in -ться) with /tsa/, -tsta/: несётся [nʲo'stsəb]s, кладётся [klɐ'dɐtsəb]s, учиться [utu'isəb]s.

In particular, front consonant or other consonants undergo ‘palatalization’ by assimilation, even in neutral pronunciation: мостик [mostrytsik], лесник [lišnik], уздечка [uş-'dzetık], работник [rɐbobotnik], одни [u'phi], банщик [bɐnšik].

Both pronunciations are possible, before [j], after [r], or in prefixes, or in word-initial position (palatalization is more traditional): петя́ n[pi'tja], пий, 'пе-ля́ t['pe-li], ослик n[oslik], -j] t[osli], толстяк n[tolstjak, -jas] t[tolstjak], мёрз- нет [mërznit, -ja], стена n[stena], -jas] t[stena], здесь́ [z'ješ, z'ja], снег [sneg, şn-], расти́рать n[rasti'tar, -jas] t[rasti'tar], n[pɐ'f isArray, -fi] поднесь t[pɐ'fis].

14.11. The pronouns их, им, ими are regularly [i't, i'j, i'; i'm, i'm, i'm], while traditionally they had exceptional pronunciations (for n] with /j/, by analogy with ero [ˈjeɾo], емь [e'm] (but, by now, it is non-neutral or lofty).

Traditional pronunciation strongly defended that Cığ was CHj: в Италии t[çi'ja], и Ире́ t[kçi'ja], and distinguished them from Виталию t[vi'talı'jio], и Пе́рвые t[pi'veRı]. However, native speakers, spontaneously, render things natural, by eliminating affections, so that nowadays ‘palatalized’ pronunciation prevails decidedly for both pairs of examples, surely also due to spelling.

Therefore, all this further demonstrates that Russian really has six vowel phonemes, even suggested by spelling (with the only problem of reductions in unstressed syllables, complicated by historical changes).

Purists (obviously!) keep on considering non-neutral this spontaneous pronunciation. Certainly, they shall change their mind, soon.

14.12. Official spelling keeps a number of letters which do not correspond (any longer) to actual sounds. The commoner case regards т, ь between other consonants: местный [me'sni], участника́ [u'tʃjasnik], шествует [ʃʲe'ʃut], тургестский [tɕ'ɾeskii, -tsii], крепь [krep'], под узду [pɾɐ'dutʃ], голодны [gɐ'lan-tsi], сердце [šerţs], сердечно [šerţ'sek], поздно [pɐ'dn], праздник [pi'ja-ɲik], случайный [ʃifs'tisjik, -jis], советский [sɐw'os'kii, -jis], гигантский [ɡi'gantsi; -nts], голландский [ɡɐ'lan-ski; -nts], голландка [ɡɐ'lanška, -nska, -ntska], по-голландски [pɐ'gulandski, -nska].

But, now, in certain words, the written consonants are being realized: бедна [ˈbezdna], звёздный [z'joz'dn], костлявый [kostl'av], -y]-, постать [pɐ'stיוš], извёстка [iz'još], мостик [mостик], поездка [pɐ'još], жесткий [ʐistki].

In other words, there is correspondence between spelling and pronunciation: студенка [stu'denka], официантка [ɐfis'antka].

Further particular cases: солнце [sɐl'sn], цвество [tʃu'st], тысяча [tɕ'ɾik, tɕ'ɾik, -tsi, -tysh], сейчас [ɕi'sh], сидит, сидят, сидят /s'ʃas/ (meaning ‘now, immediately’), ложкуйста [pɐ'ʃus], позла́тита, позла́та, позла́тта, позла́тта, позла́тта, позла́тта, позла́тта, позла́тта.
As a useful reminder, and as an exercise (therefore, in our examples, we only write the accents), we can say that 

$t = ( )$ in the following graphic sequences:

- stìd
- stl
- stn
- sts
- stsk (this last one is /sk/):
- westìdes@tì
- nev£stka
- westn\dcatì
- izv£stnyj
- westìs%t

Besides, the sequences ts, ds correspond to /ts/, in the pronominal ending -t(ь)с: смеётся [smëjot'sь], смяётся [smëjatsь]. The same when т, д are followed by the endings -ский, -ство, -ствие: детский [det'skii], отсутствие [ot'soutstyi], производство [proizvodstvo], следствие [sledstvie, s't-].

Lastly, in the genitive endings -ого and -его, г stands for /v/: белого [be'lo'gь], его [je'go']. So, the strangeness of сёгодня [s'ëgod'nya] ‘today’ (= ‘of this day’) is only seeming.

14.13. fig 14.4 shows the tonograms of traditional pronunciation. They have to be attentively compared with all the others already seen, including English: 6 8, 6 13, 6 15. The marked tunes will be evident (with semi-high conclusive pretonic) and low protonic syllables.

fig 14.4. Traditional (Neutral) Russian: intonation.

\[ 
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
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& & & & & & & \\
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\end{array} \]
15. Comparisons between pronunciations: neutral and mediatic

15.1. *Mediatic* pronunciation is something newer: it appeared more recently, being freer to manifest itself, but not necessarily better. It may also share some peculiarities with traditional pronunciation, although it also has some correspondences with (modern) neutral pronunciation: after all, it is the ‘same’ language.

However, it is not even a regional pronunciation, although it may have some correspondences with regional or uneducated pronunciations. We are dealing with a kind of pronunciation with oscillations between various possibilities, as already said, which is mainly used by people who did not succeed in acquiring neutral pronunciation, even if they work in (official) broadcasting.

Even teaching recordings, although specifically done for pronunciation, more or less frequently, present such oscillations.

![Mediatic Russian: some consonants, including labialized & velarized ones.](image-url)
Mediatic pronunciation is not absolutely positive, although it is more used than the very neutral one, or even more than the traditional one. In fact, since it does not require strong commitment or diligence, it is easier to achieve (by native speakers).

For this reason, a growing number of Russian-speaking people (and of ‘Soviet-ized people’, too) use it. They may also consider it to be a real neutral pronunciation, since it also include some current peculiarities both of Moscow and Saint Petersburg (but different from neutral ones), with variants and oscillations.

Let us add that mediatic pronunciation prefers not to shorten geminate consonants, which remain [CČ] instead of [CC]. Or else, it reduces them completely, even between vowels (except [ʃ, tʃ]): данные [danənʲə, 'danənʲə], отдельный [otʲˈdeľnʲjɪ, otʲˈdeľnʲɪ, otʲˈdeľnʲɪ].

Besides, it prefers keeping sonant consonants voiced, even in final position, or if followed by voiceless contoid: лень [ˈlʲenʲ], мир [ˈmir], душ [ˈduʃ].

15.2. In addition, as far as consonants are concerned, Russian mediatic pronunciation, from an auditive point of view, may give the impression of being less peculiar, even if more variable and less stable. But, from an articulatory point of view, it requires more combined nuances.

In fact, although in unstressed syllables it generally presents more normal contoids, in stressed syllables, it merges into single phones the peculiarities which are
determined by the following combinations [Ç, ÇΩ].

But, let us proceed in an orderly manner, by analyzing 15.1-2 well. Before stressed syllables, instead of [Ç], more often we find: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; h; ñ; e; f]. Instead of [ÇΩ], we have: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; h; ñ; e; f]. On the other hand, in unstressed syllables, or before consonants, or word-finally, for [Ç], we find: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; ñ; e; f].

For [Ç], either in stressed or unstressed syllables, we have: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; h; ñ; e; f]. Instead of [ÇΩ], we have: [û, ù; π, ∫; †, ∂; Ü, Ÿ; â, ã; Í; ª; /]. On the other hand, in unstressed syllables, or before consonants, or word-finally, for [Ç], we find: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; ñ; e; f].

For [9], either in stressed or unstressed syllables, we have: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; h; ñ; e; f; ò; ¥; Ã; k, g; h; v; fi, Ë; h; º; ®; l; /]. Instead of [9Ω], we have: [û, ù; π, ∫; †, ∂; Ü, Ÿ; â, ã; Í; ª; /]. On the other hand, in unstressed syllables, or before consonants, or word-finally, for [Ç], we find: [m, n; p, b; t, d; k, g; f; s; z; h; ñ; e; f].

Now, let us also look at 15.3, which shows the vocograms of mediatic pronunciation. Obviously, they have to be compared with all other vocograms already seen in 3, 10, and 14).

15.3. Here are some examples: мрамор [m'mar'mor], мать [m'at], палка [pal'ka], мок [mok], матъ [mät], концерт [konz'ert], она [Ona'], нос [nos'], нить [nít'], канва [kan'va], тонкий [tönc'ii], банк [ban'k].

And: лоб [lob], пыль [píl], пот [pot], пел [pel'], обмен [ab'men], база [bazla], бок [bok], бьёт [bjet], пот [pot], там [tam], тут [tut], ток [tök], одно [ad'ño], дама [d'am'a], дуб [dup], день [fen'], как [kak], кукла [kuk'la], кит [cit], гора [gar'ga'], газ [gas], год [got'], гений [jen'pi'].
15.4. Let us add § 15.4, since more marked mediatic pronunciation presents an interesting peculiarity regarding vowels in stressed syllables. In fact, they are narrow diphthongs with rather weak second elements (however, present), which we show only here.

Besides, they have different realizations depending on the kind of contoid which follows them: [C] or [Cl]). Anyway, they are always different from true phonemic diphthongs (and from diphthongs produced by juxtaposing vocalic elements).

The first vocogram in § 15.4 shows the results of [VC]: лить [i'li't], книги [ik'pi'-j], ель [i'jel], дети [i'jete], мама [i'mama'], пять [i'pi't'], шесть [i'se'st'], семь [i'sem'], тетя [i'tëta], люди [i'lydi], тюфяк [i'tyfak].

The second vocogram in § 15.4 gives the results of [VC]: кит [i'cilt], пиво [i'pivo], ем [i'jem], дело [i'delo], цел [i'tsël], это [i'tsto], вяз [i'vays], тяга [i'tyga].

fig 15.4. Mediatic Russian: vowel variants.
15. Comparisons between pronunciations: neutral and mediatic

[ɪ'tvɛ̄ŋa], шар [ɪ'ʃark, ɪ'ʃaɛk], мама [ɪ'ma'ma, ɪɪ'ma'ma], дом [ɪ'dom, ɪɪ'dom],
ворон [ɪ'vɔr̩tn, ɪɪ'vɔr̩tn], ёрш [ɪ'jœʃt, ɪɪ'jœʃt], нёбо [ɪ'ŋo'bla, ɪɪ'ŋo'bla], тут
[ɪ'tut, ɪɪ'tut], аба [ɪ'ɪvœba], люк [ɪ'ɪuk, ɪɪ'ɪuk], тюнер [ɪ'ɪ̝u'ne̝r, ɪɪ̝u'ne̝r],
дым [ɪ'dɪ̝m], тыла [ɪ'ɪ̝l].

15.5. For unstressed endings, with -Vи, neutral pronunciation has -иь /i/ [ii],
-ей /ii/ [ii], -ый /ii/ [ni], -ой /ai/ [xi]. Mediatic pronunciation has -ей [ai] ‘/ei/’
(and, usually, also -ый [ai] ‘/ai/’), often described as neutralization of the first two
(as it actually is in modern neutral pronunciation) and even of the second two
(but, we have: n[hi] m[ai] vs n/m[xi], respectively): синий [ʃi̝p̩i], улей n[ʊ̝vi]i
m[ʊ̝vi], трудный n[ɪ̝vʊ̝d̩ni] m[ɪ̝vʊ̝dni], трудной n[ɪ̝vʊ̝d̩nɪ] m[ɪ̝vʊ̝d̩nɪ].

15.6. Neutral pronunciation has /i, #ji, Vji/ for e (in unstressed syllables) and /i/ for e (in initial position). In all these cases, mediatic pronunciation can have,
strengthened by spelling, [э, ə, ə̆] /e/ (also /i/ i [i, ə] for ə̆).

Examples: etаж [m'staʃ], тет-а-эт /ɪt'etæt/, берёза [m'βer'øza] n[βer'øza], берёзё-
ный m[βer'øzɔni] n[βer'øzɔni], семена m[ɡer'mena] n[ɡer'mena], перелом m[ɡer-
мен] n[ɡer'men], перел м[ɡer'ak] n[mak], обязательна m[ɡer'øza'na] n[ɡer'øza-
т̩na], вытереть m[ɡer'øt̩r̩] n[ɡer'øt̩r̩], более m[ɡer'øza] n[ɡer'øza], более m[ɡø'ak] n[ɡø'ak].

Obviously, for unstressed и, even if word-initial, we regularly have m[ɪ], i [ɪ, i]:
i̝di m[ɪ̝di] n[ɪ̝di], извините! m[ɪ̝zɪ̝ni] n[ɪ̝zɪ̝ni].

Mediatic pronunciation, for Vи /Vji/, also presents forms like: mono m[ma'ji],
маки m[ma'ji] /ma'ji/, &c.

Furthermore, it also has frequent reduction of /Vji/ to [Vji, Vя] (for -Vi, in-
cluding [Vя, Va] for -Ve), also /Vja/ [Vja, Va] (for -Ya): музеи [mʊ̝zɐi, ʊ̝zɐi],
спокойный [spa'ko̝jɐi, -ə, -ɐ], быстрее [bɪ̝strɐe, -ə], травяя [trɐ̝'vɐ̝ja-
т̩əm, -ə̆m], аудитория [ɑ̝ʊ̝ditɔ̝'ri̝ja, -t̩, -t̩], новое [nʊ̝vʊ̝d̩, -ə], новая [nʊ̝vʊ̝d̩a, -a],
dо свидания [dʊ̝zɪ̝'dɐ̝ni̝, -ɐ̝v, -ɐ̝].

As some transcriptions have already shown, for /вэ, ʊ̝v/, we find more rounded
taxophones, [ɔ, ʊ; ʊ̝, ʊ̝̃] (cf Г 23): оба [ʊ̝vβa], ось [ʊ̝vš], ум [ʊ̝m], гусь [̝m].

15.7. For /i/, neutral pronunciation has [i], while mediatic pronunciation also
has opener variants, [ə, ʃ] (this last one is less recommendable): бытовой m[βɔt̩-
ˈvɔi] n[βɔt̩ˈvɔi], выходить m[βɔt̩ˈd̩ɪt] n[βɔt̩ˈd̩ɪt], вымыл m[vʊ̝mə] [Vɪ̝mɪ̝], опять m[ɡɐ́ta] n[ɡɐ́ta], животное m[ɡɪvʊ̝tnɐ̝j] n[ɡɪvʊ̝tnɐ̝j].

As we have already said, these timbres of /i/ [ə, ʃ] are similar enough to that
of /a/ [ə, ʃ] (the last one occurs in contact with bilabial, and velar or velarized
contoids). So, it is easy to consider them to be the same sound, and declare their
neutralization.

However, usually, there is a difference, especially if we consider their variants,
all the more so that actual confusions are few, even in spelling, except resounding
cases of native speakers poorly educated, or of foreigners phonically untrained.
15.8. For /u/, mediatic pronunciation has [u, ʊ, ɨ, ɨː, .Ui]: кувыркаться [kuvyrˈAppointment], суматоха [sumɐˈtəxon], замужем [zɐmuˈʐem], коммодике [kəmˈmodɪkɛ], имеющи- cя [iˈmeəˈʑiʃə, ɨː ɐn ɪˈmeəˈʑiʃə], сюда [suˈdə] 
Neutral pronunciation, for pretonic ωа, жа, ژа (in case, also with o), has /Ca/ [Ca], while traditional pronunciation has /Ci/ [Ci] (by now outdated): ваги [vɐˈɡi] 't[ɨː], жара [ˈzɐɹɐ] 't[ɨː], двадцати [dɐvɐˈtɕa] 't[-tsɐtɕi].
However, certain words are still frequently pronounced with traditional pronunciation, even by tendentially modern speakers: жакет, жасмин, жавель, бешамель, лошадей (even if post-tonic: двадцать, тридцать).
In general, for such sequences, a compromise mediatic pronunciation is possible, with [z, ə] for /i/: ваги [vɐˈɡi] 't[ɨː], жара [ˈzɐɹɐ] 't[ɨː], двадцати [dɐvɐˈtɕa] 't[-tsɐtɕi]. It is also the same for pretonic ωе, же, ژе (even with -o); but, in neutral pronunciation, we have /i/ = [ɨ]: шептать [ʃɐprˈtɕat], жена [ˈzɐnə], цена [tɕənə],

15.9. fig 15.5 shows the diphthongs (with taxophones).

fig 15.5. Mediatic Russian: diphthongs.

[Diagram with symbols for /iː, ɨː, ɨ, ɪ, ɨː, ɪː/]

15.10. Let us add, for information and useful comparisons, some terminations, with some colloquial reductions. They also include some mediatic or traditional phonotactic deviations, with some phonemes exchanged (here we also use ';/Ci, ɨː/):
15. Comparisons between pronunciations: neutral and mediatic

15.11 To complete our comparisons of different pronunciations, we also provide fig 15.6, which shows mediatic tonograms. As always, they should be seen carefully together with all others provided in preceding chapters: 8, 13, 14.
16. 
Regional accents

General introduction

16.01. Map 16.0 shows the main administrative divisions of the vast territory belonging to present-day Russia, extending from eastern Europe to northeastern Asia.

fig 16.0. Map of Russian administrative main divisions.

16.02. Map 16.1 shows the dialectal situation of European Russia in the years around 1950. The midwestern part of the territory was divided by Soviet dialectologists into three parts, with native speakers. The central one, including Moscow, gave origin to the official pattern of the pronunciation of Russian.

It is a compromise between the typical northern and southern patterns, which have precise characteristics that determined the kinds of Russian pronunciation recognized as belonging to these areas, as we will see soon.

The Russian language was brought outside the three areas shown in map 16.1 not only by native speakers belonging to them but also by several others, mostly
from Ukraine and Belarus. These last ones spoke cognate languages in addition to forms of Russian that they were compelled to acquire. The same happened when Saint Petersburg was founded in 1703, with people who were brought there, whether willingly or not, from other parts of (European) Russia.

This practice was already well established around 1400-1500, when the highly irresponsible trend to expansion by most major European powers began, using their far from democratic ways, as history sadly testifies. Also the megalomaniac Russian leaders transported and deported, beyond the Ural Mountains, slaves and condemned persons, together with unscrupulous wheeler dealers, and… teachers.

16.03. Therefore, the Russian language was brought to the eastern parts of actual European Russia and northern Asia. Thus, outside the restricted area shown
in map 16.1, it is not possible to find original Russian residents, like the populations who used to live there since ancient times, through generations.

The current Russian speakers are descendants of immigrants, who arrived there centuries ago. But they are not the original peoples, like those who still may remain in those vast areas, especially in the country.

All this means that most Russian speakers have no really inherited local accents, unless we consider the mingled ones brought there by their own ancestors, in more or less recent times. Therefore, it is not really possible to find actual traditional accents derived from local dialects. This is why there are considerably very large areas where we can find kinds of Russian accents, which are not very different from one another, having quite similar characteristics.

Fig 16.2. Map of actual European Russian accents, with place names. It includes militarily re-occupied Kabardino-Balkaria and Chechnia, after brief illusions of freedom.
16.04. But, of course, this does not mean that Russian has no regional accents, as we will show in the following chapters of this book. Thus, map 16.2 shows the

fig 16.3. Russian regional accents.

fig 16.4. Map of Russian accents found in Asia, with place names.
pronunciation situation that we found in European Russia. By carefully compar-
ing it with map 16.1, things are certainly clearer.

In addition, map 16.3 shows the accent situation from European to Asiatic Russia, while map 16.4 highlights what can be found in Asia. Of course, in rural areas, there may still be segregated people, who may have no real command of Russian, not only in Asia.

Some necessary preliminary remarks

16.05. As we will see, outside the area shown in fig 16.2, where the current modern accents of Russian have been formed, a kind of previous ‘norm’ has also contributed to the formation of the regional accents in eastern European Russia and Asia.

The main characteristic lies in what is known as екане, еканé, [je-kapi]. This means that unstressed e does not become /i/, but remains /e/, which we indicate as /e/ [e, e, э]. For instance in предать [pre’dat, pr-] (and in the very word itself: [je-kapi, -e]). This is an older kind of pronunciation, also belonging to the regional accent of Saint Petersburg, which sometimes was presented as a neutral accent.

That realization contrasts with that of a word like придать [prídat], while in modern neutral Russian both words are pronounced alike: [prídat]. In fact, this is a comparatively newer kind of pronunciation, called икане, иканé, [ïkapi].

16.06. Еканé can also occur for unstressed (not word final) я: частота [tʃësta’ta’], against чистота [tʃistëta’], for example. Again, both words are alike in the (modern) neutral accent of Russian: [tʃistëta’]. Чайковкий is also pronounced likewise: [tʃëikòfsci, tʃ-e-], instead of neutral [tʃëikòfsci, tʃi-].

More rarely, especially the Russian accents used by some bilingual speakers outside the Russian territory, can even exhibit якане, яканé, [jakepi]. This can happen when words like частота or Чайковкий are realized as [tʃëstëta’] and [tʃëikòfsci].

Alongside with иканé, there is another (more) recent neutral characteristic called акане, аканé, [arkæpi]. It consists in reducing unstressed о to /a/ [a], as in молоко [molóko], or хорошо [horeçø].

Regional accents which do not apply аканé, more typically the broadest northern ones, use a further characteristic, called окане, оканé, [ɔkepi]. It consists in not reducing unstressed о to /a/ [a], but keeping it as /o/ [o, ø]. Thus, they can exhibit pronunciations like молоко [molóko], or хорошо [hòroçø].

It is important not to think that this may be a kind of vowel harmony, due to the stressed /o/, as examples like дома [doma], ходить [hødït], or небо [nèbo] demonstrate. In northern accents, they may certainly be [doma’, ходить [hødït], and небо [nèbo].

16.07. Further real communication problems, for regional accents, can surely be caused by palatalized consonants, [C]. In fact, instead of true palatalized contoids, they can be realized as sequences like [C], especially before vocoids, or even as simple [C], not only before front vocoids (where misunderstanding is less likely). Both
realizations are also possible before contoids, or silence, ie pauses, more riskily.

Of course, such renderings, especially [C], are quite different from the expected neutral ones. Besides, they actually complicate communication.

Furthermore, in certain regional accents, the timbres of the vocoids in /CVC/ and /CVi/ sequences may change little, or not at all.

Since the behavior of modern Russian /ts, ʂ, ʐ, ŋ/ phonemes is quite peculiar, both functionally and articulatorily, they can inevitably constitute a real communication problem for many regional accents. Not only because /ts, ʂ, ʐ/ are never followed by /i/ (nowadays), but also because a contrast between /ʂ/ and /ŋ/ is not common in many languages, which generally have only one kind of /ŋ/, mainly realized as [ʃ, ʃ].
Central Russia: Moscow

16.4. The vowels and intonation patterns of this accent are shown in fig 16.4. It has /ə/ [ə, i, u, a, o, ò, ò], /ɛ/ [ɛ, ɛ, ɛ, ɛ], /æ/ [æ, ä, ə], and /ʌ/ [ʌ, ʌ, ʌ, ʌ]. In addition, it can also have /a/ [a, ə, ə, ə], and /ɔ/ [ɔ, ɔ, ɔ, ɔ] (semitonalized). All these peculiarities are more typical of the Moscow conurbation than of the rest of the area shown in fig 16.2.

As for the consonants, let us consider mainly /q, ç/ [q, ç, ç, ç, ç], /z/ [z, z, z, z, z], /ç/ [ç, ç, ç, ç, ç], /ã/ [ã, ã, ã, ã, ã], and /m/ [m, m, m, m, m]. In addition, we also find [Ç, Ç, Ç, Ç, Ç]. Practically never /kto, ɛto/ but /ftσ, ðtɛ/ for kto, vto (the latter being, now, current neutral Russian).

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**fig 16.4.** Moscow accent: vowels, diphthongs, and intonation patterns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i, ÇiÇ, ç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[e, ÇeÇ, ç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[æ, i, ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>[ʌ, ə, ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[ɔ, ə, ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a, ə, ð, ÇaÇ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i, u, i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>[ii, Çii]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ei/</td>
<td>[ei, Çei]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u, Çu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oi/</td>
<td>[oi, Çoi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>[ai, Çai]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation Pattern</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
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<td>/</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Northwestern Russia: Saint Petersburg

16.5.1. For this accent, which sometimes was presented as neutral, we will be more complete, to also show how any other sections can certainly be expanded. Furthermore, a number of examples could be usefully added, adapting them from those given in Ó 5, Ô 7, Ô 10-12, Ô 14-15.

Thus, the Russian pronunciation found in Saint Petersburg is shown in fig 16.5. The first vocogram gives the basic vowel inventory, which has monotimbric diphthongs ([ii, ee, uu]), or narrow ones ([æ, ø, ui]), in stressed free internal syllables (/N/ [W]/); but often [eC].

fig 16.5. Saint Petersburg accent: vowels, diphthongs, and intonation patterns.
In unstressed syllables we have /i, i/ [i, u, u], /e/ [e] (including ekan’e in pre-stressed or unstressed final position, /f/ [e, e’]; o Петербурге [epitserburje]); and /a/ [e, e’, e’, e’, 3] (ie [e] in pre-stressed, or unstressed absolutely initial, or unstressed final position, but [e] in unstressed internal position). In addition, /je, je/ and /Vje, Vje/ can behave as /f, f’e/ and /f, Vf/ (or /f’je, f’je; Vje, Vje/). Notice that /e/, stands for ekan’e realizations. In words ending in unstressed -ia, we find either [ia] or [ie], as well, and frequently /VjeV]/ [VV].

Arguably, the diphthongs are a combination of these phonemes with /i/: [ii, uii, ui; ei, oi; ai, ei, ai] (basic accent, with appropriate adjustments for the more typical one).

The second vocogram shows these same realizations, but with added taxophones. Notice those occurring in interpalatalized contexts (/tÇ-C, given in grey, in particular [A, o, u]); also unstressed /i/ [i] (even if pre-stressed or final), /i/ [i], and typical /f/ [e, 3, i], but /i, i, i]. For completely unstressed /a/, we find [C, iC].

Also before /i/ we can find plain contoids (C) for front or back consonant phonemes in lighter accents, but palatalized ones (C) in more typical accents, even in lighter accents, before apical (‘central’) consonants. In both kinds of accent, we have palatalized taxophones with /je, je/.

16.5.2. As for the consonants, let us notice that generally no approximant, [x, w], occurs after non-palatal(ized) contoids, but that before stressed /o, u/, labialized or velarized contoids may occur (C) t[C, C]) in the typical accent, more or less as in mediatic Russian pronunciation (f G 15) while, in a lighter accent, plain contoids are usual (C)). Before stressed /i, a/ we generally find [C, iC].

Also before /i/ we can find plain contoids (C) for front or back consonant phonemes in lighter accents, but palatalized ones (C) in more typical accents, even in lighter accents, before apical (‘central’) consonants. In both kinds of accent, we have palatalized taxophones with /je, je/.

Regularly, adjectives in -kiy have [kii, iCii], as in (modern) neutral pronunciation – with [Cii], against traditional [kii] (similarly for -giy, -xiy, of course). However, we often find [C] in /Ci, Cj/”. In addition, we find /Clj, Cnj/ [Çl, Çp].

Thus, we find the following series [m, n; p, b; t; k, g; k, g; ts, dz; f, v; s, z; 3, t8, 3, t8; h; i, t], [m, p; p; b; t; k, g; c, ç; ts; dz; f; y; s, z; 3, t8, 3, t8; h; i, t], [m, n; p, b; t; d; s, z; f; v; s, z; 3, t8, 3, t8; h; i, t], [m, n; p, b; t; d; s, z; f; v; s, z; 3, t8, 3, t8; h; i, t].

In addition, let us notice that the endings -cbl, -cya and -tcya have [s, ts]; cv, cw, uz have [t, s] rather than [s], while intervocalic /f/ can frequently be [s, s]; ek [33, t33]; mh, uh tend to be [xn, xN], respectively, and что, кто, никто [tCto, kCto, niktCto] (in addition to /sCto, xto, nikhCto/).

Usually, consonant clusters tend not to be reduced: ци, цtk, цт; тск, стск; зн; while, word-final [m; p, b; f, y] can typically be /m; p, b; f, v]. [CÇ] clusters, are less frequent than usually; and /tst, znst/ tend to become one single phone, [s] (since /Cst/ become /θ/). Before front vowels or /j/, we can typically find /ts/ [ts, ts]: об итальянце [obitaLëtCse, t-nts].

The intonation patterns are shown in the tonograms.
Maps 17.0.1-2 show the areas of eastern Europe and southwestern Asia, where formerly Sovietized nations lie. Those peoples were obliged to speak Russian,
mainly unwillingly (as they are now free to declare), and pronouncing it with their peculiar accents, which we will describe in this chapter. Thus, Russian was learnt through both imposition and spelling. Certainly not the best way to learn a foreign language.

Besides, these maps also show the languages which are spoken in such countries. The phonopses showing the pronunciation of those very languages can be found in 17 & 19 of L.C’s book *Natural Phonetics & Tonetics*.
17. Post-Soviet country accents

Ukraine

17.1. The vowels and intonation patterns of this accent are shown in fig 17.1. It has four raised and fronted taxophones occurring between [C]; vowel length, in stressed
syllables, is invariably [VW], as shown, whatever the context, even in checked syllables by more than one consonant. In addition, more typically, vowels in stressed syllables checked by [Č] are [VtČ] or [VW(ıt)Č].

As for the consonants, we find [Č] realized as [Čj], with possible prepalatal variants, [p, t, ɬ, s, ż, ʃ], but also with occasional /Cj]/ [ıC], in opposition to plain consonants, realized as [C, Çj, Çw]. In addition, we have /f, ʋ/ [f, ʋ; ɸ, ѱ; ɸ, ĵ], /g, ż/ [g, ż; ʃ, ʒ]; /l/ [ɬ, õ, ç, š(β)]; /tʃ/ [ts, ź]; /l/ [l, ɬ, l] and frequently [ţ, ţ, uţ, ıC, ĵC, uC], in opposition to [l, ɭ, l]. Besides, in [Çk, Çg] sequences, we often have [Çc, Çj], while, in broader accents, we can have /g/ [uɡ, ĩ].

Voiced diphonic consonants, when final or before voiceless consonants, remain voiced (or are only partially devoiced, or fully devoiced only in milder accents); at any rate, sequences of diphonic consonants undergo voicing assimilation to the second element, especially within words.
18.

Foreign accents of Russian and pronunciation teaching methods

18.1. This short chapter deals with the Soviet (now Russian, but without improvements) method of teaching Russian pronunciation. In fact, its essence is *listen and repeat! and... listen and repeat!! and... listen and repeat!!!* It closely resembles the ‘method’ of communist China.

Thus, learners unsystematically acquire a number of phones, both vocalic and consonantal, which, somehow, are added to the phones of the (regional) accent of their own languages.

Of course, the ‘bombarded’ learners try to do their best with all those piled up phones. However, they use them haphazardly: sometimes they succeed in using the right ones, or something close to them. So, at first, the learners seem to have (perfectly) grasped the phonic structure of Russian.

18.2. Nevertheless, after a few sentences (if not just after a few words more), some phones of their mother-tongue accent suddenly appear, mixed together with some expected ones. Unfortunately, even the proper taxophones (as, for instance, those of interpalatalized contexts) appear, but often in wrong contexts, and vice versa.

In addition, spelling plays nasty tricks on unlucky learners. In fact, old *ekan’e* habits are strengthened by the way words are written and even by too many native teachers, who still use them. Often, such teachers think it useful to highlight morphological differences, especially for grammemes.

Also *я* (or the grapheme a preceded by [Ç] /Çj/) continually misleads, as for the common and frequently used word *язык* [jɪzɪk], which is reduced to ′[jaˈʐɪk, jaˈʐɪk] (or to [j-] with any other vocoid comprised in the cells within the area shown in the last vocogram of fig 18.1), or better to [jɪˈʐɪk, jɪˈʐɪk]. Any occasional and cursory observations, provided in books or by teachers, do not generally win over spelling.

18.3. Now, let us have a careful look at fig 18.1, which resembles a quadrilateral found in the Net, which is derived from fig 26 on p. 55 of Trofimov & Jones’s book (see Bibliography). However, those two figures also include, in the /e/ phoneme, the unstressed taxophone of the /i/ phoneme, [i]. But this is a mistake, because such [i] represents an *unstressed* collocation belonging to the Cyrillic grapheme *е*.

The figure found in the net also comprises, in the same /e/ phoneme, [a], which is a taxophone of /i/, belonging to the older kind of Russian pronunciation.
18.4. Going back to our vocogram (in fig 18.1), notice that, after a global sight, the six vowel phonemes are given separately. The six vocograms generically show the taxophones which are needed in the native-like international pronunciation of Russian. They are part of the six larger areas, which include the most frequent realizations of the six phonemes by different foreign learners.

As said, curiously enough, these areas are similar to those in the figure(s) discussed above. However, they, actually, comprise most realizations by different foreign speakers, according to their own phonic systems. But, as already stated, they also include actual Russian taxophones, which are either correctly or incorrectly used (see fig 5.2 for the collocation of our IPA symbols).

fig 18.1. International native-like Russian: the areas involved in the realization of the six vowel phonemes & their taxophones.
18.5. Of course, foreigners who have learned better tend to use more the native-like international vocoids shown, or at least those of simpler international Russian. This one is mainly shared with a number of European and Asian accents outside the original core area of the Russian dialects shown in fig 16.1. Eight vocoids are sufficient for a convincing pronunciation, provided it is coherent enough: [i], [e, e], [a, ə], [o], [u], [i].

However, usually, most foreigners unwittingly alternate between their own personal phones and the Russian ones, producing different performances. Thus, there are different degrees of understanding, more or less satisfactory, also due to different lexical and morphologic & syntactic abilities.

18.6. Keeping distinct /i/ and /j/ is usually a problematic and oscillating matter for most foreigners, in spite of spelling (with its undeniable dilemmas), especially for those foreigners who have no phoneme between /i/ and /u/ (apart from possible /y/, which has nothing to do with Cyrillic й).

So, oscillations between /i/ and /j/ (and vice versa) are quite common. In addition, for stressed /i/, we often find [i] or [i] (or an intermediate [j]) preceded by some approximants. In worst cases, such approximants are [w, w], which are too precise, and excessive for Russian.

A little better can be [u], or somewhat better [u]. While [u, u] could be almost appropriate, the correct [i] is rather rare. For stressed /a/, the typical [a] is practically unused by foreigners.

18.7. Another (bigger) problem regards the grapheme о, which many foreigners (although fewer than for е) realize, according to spelling, as /о/ even in more or less frequent unstressed syllables, where it stands for (unstressed) /a/.

In stressed syllables, /о/ can have ‘committed’ realizations with preceding [w, w-], followed by some ‘choice’ of vocoids between those shown in fig 18.1. But these are excessive for Russian, which has [о-] before /u, о/.

18.8. As for the consonants, the main problem for foreigners consists in how to realize [ц]. Generally, even at advanced levels of practice in speaking Russian, [ц] consonants are substituted by [ч, ч], mostly before vowels. In fact, before consonants or pauses, their (always oscillating) realizations tend to be simply [ч], rather than rarer [ч, ч]. In such contexts, real [ц] are extremely rare, but they are not more favored before vowels. In addition, many foreigners also use [чч] sequences for [чч].

18.9. Even for non-palatalized consonants things are not better. In fact, their ‘preferred’ realizations are simply plain [ч]. Only occasionally, and oscillating, can we find something like [ч, ч].

The phonemes /ʃ, щ/ are particularly problematic, and tend to be realized as the more similar (or less different) phonemes of the speakers’ languages (and personal variants). In addition, the phoneme /j/ should be realized differently from /ʃ/, al-
though many languages do not have such an opposition. Thus, very many foreigners do not distinguish them.

18.10. The precise timbre of /r, l/ should not be important for simple communication, provided they are somehow different from their palatalized versions, if present. So, [l] may not be absolutely necessary. However, uvular or velar r’s are certainly not fit for Russian, although some native speaker do have some kind of ‘back’ r. This means that, communicatively, the precise quality of r is not very important.

Other consonants should be realized in a similar way to Russian use. However, sequences of different diphasic consonants, instead of assimilating the Russian way for voicing, remain as they are written. In final position, before a pause, voiced diphasic consonants, for many foreigners remain fully, or partially, voiced, differently from what happens in Russian.

18.11. The Soviet/Russian pronunciation method also has some effects on intonation learning. Of course, poorer learners do not change their personal and regional patterns, in the least. Thus, they keep on speaking Russian (and other languages, as well) systematically as if speaking to their fellow countrymen.

Those among them who have absorbed the ‘Soviet method’ better just unsystematically add two changes to their original patterns. As fig 18.2 shows, these two ‘improvements’ consist in alternatingly adding just a tonetic raise on the prestressed syllable in conclusive tunes, /./ [$$]-, and lowering to the mid tone the ending syllable of their interrogative tune, /?/ [-$].

18.12. This can produce an auditory effect similar, but certainly not identical, to the real Russian patterns. In fact, all the rest remains unchanged as when speaking their regional mother-tongue language.

Their protunes, and suspensive tune (;/), do not usually change at all, while their conclusive and interrogative tunes are modified by just adding the two changes seen above — cf fig 18.2. Actually, all the blank syllables in the tonograms stand for any correspondent syllables in the typical speech of any foreigners.

18.13. The supposed ‘magic’ consists, then, in uttering a higher syllable before the stressed one in the conclusive tune, and in adding a lowering (to the mid tone, sometimes even a little lower) by deforming their habitual tonetic movements.

Thus, for instance, an interrogative tune like [$$-$$] (which is one of the most widespread in the world) becomes something like [$$-$$].

Likewise, a tune like [$$-$$] (which is the other most common type in the world) either remains substantially unchanged or becomes something like [$$-$$] (or [$$-$$]).

18.14. Again, at first, this effect may sound rather convincing, but it is not actually so. In fact, a number of native Russian speakers may find it monotonous, if not even offensive.
Of course, the phonetic and tonetic method can certainly be of real help, by showing exactly the intonation patterns of both (neutral) Russian and those of any different learners.

Thus, accurate comparisons will show even the more or less tiny differences. Once these are shown and known, it is easier to acquire the desired patterns, of course with appropriate training sessions.

18.15. It is sad to have to admit that the ‘Soviet phonetic method’ has proved to be unsuccessful, in spite of time and energies spent, notwithstanding some favorable—not fully qualified—opinions.
23. Orogram collection

All contoids dealt with in the book are shown here, including three palatograms shown at the end of fig 23.8, and four overrounded vocoids, given just below, fig 23.1.

fig 23.1. Special overrounded vocoids.

fig 23.2. Nasals & seminasals.
fig 23.3. Stops & some slightly different ones.

fig 23.4. Stop-strictives (or ‘affricates’) & semi-stop-strictives.
23. Orogram collection

fig 23.5. Constrictives (or ‘fricatives’) & semi-constrictives.
Fig 23.6. Approximants & semi-approximants (see also fig 3.4).
fig 23.7. Rhotics: trills, taps, flaps, &c.

fig 23.8. Laterals & semi-laterals, &c.
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