# PHONETIC TRAPS FOR ROMANIAN SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN MEDICAL COMMUNICATION 

Patricia SERBAC<br>University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu-Mureş, Romania


#### Abstract

Communication in the medical field is often impaired because of mistakes made by Romanian speakers of English. Confusion may appear because of the differences in the phonological systems of the two languages. The tendency of some speakers to make pronunciation mistakes touches several areas: the reproducing of vowels and consonants, the accent and the segmentation of the string of sounds. The paper brings relevant examples of pronunciation traps which should be avoided. Correct pronunciation is important both in direct communication and in telemedicine.


Keywords: communication, pronunciation, phonological system, confusion, telemedicine.

## 1. Introduction

A good communication in the medical field is important in the practice of the medical profession and in research. It is crucial in the relationship between a therapist and his patient, namely in the conduct of the medical interview, which is the first and often the most relevant stage in finding the diagnosis. It is important also in the relationship between physicians when performing a medical activity together or when doing research.

This relationship can be established by direct communication but also by video chat systems and video conferencing applications, when the sound level may be not high enough or when other types of noise may appear on the communication channel.

And last but not least, a good pronunciation is crucial also in the relationship between man and gadgets, namely when using speech recognition systems, including healthcare IT. There are devices which do not work if they do not understand the audio commands. Glitches when using such gadgets are disturbing.

As telemedicine has increasingly developed lately, the main or the only means of expression in this type of communication is the voice. In such situations the phonetic component of language rises in importance. Telehealth practitioners speaking a foreign language must pay attention to phonetic traps which can disrupt the process of communication.

## 2. Phonetic traps

Romanian speakers of English are also prone to certain pronunciation mistakes. The first sources for confusion are the differences between the phonological systems of Standard Englishi and Standard Romanian. Another source can be the incomplete acquisition of phonological traits in certain words.

The tendency of some Romanian speakers to make pronunciation mistakes touches several areas: the reproduction of phonemes, the placement of the stress and the segmentation of the string of sounds. From these phenomena I have chosen only those relevant for the medical field, as the aim of this study is to make predictions for possible mistakes in the medical language. I give as examples medical terms or words of the common language that are very likely to appear in the medical text or discourse.

### 2.1. Differences in the phonological systems of the two languages

I am approaching this matter from the perspective of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) of Robert Lado (1957), as it is summarised and interpreted for the case of Romanian speakers of English by Elena Raluca Constantin (Constantin 2012, 131-148)." According to it, when the two languages are different, negative transfer would result. The speakers would choose the phoneme which is closest to their mother tongue.

In the following, minimal pairs from the medical language are presented to illustrate these phenomena. Their pronunciation is taken from or reconstructed with the help of the Macmillan Dictionary online and verified also in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary online.

### 2.1.1. The interdental fricatives

Thus, predictions can be made about the reproducing of the English interdentals.iii Romanians would chose the closest consonant either as the closest place of articulation, resulting in the dental stops (/t///d/), or as the manner of articulation, resulting in the dental fricatives (/s/, /z/) or labiodental fricatives (/f/).

| The English interdental fricatives |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and their possible reproduction with Romanian phonemes |  |  |  |
|  | labiodental | interdental | dental |
| Plosives |  |  | $/ \mathrm{t} / / \mathrm{/d} /$ |
| Fricatives | /f/ | $/ \theta /, / \mathbf{/} / \mathrm{ls} /, / \mathrm{z} /$ |  |

Table 1. The consonants

### 2.1.1.1. The fortis $/ \boldsymbol{\theta} /$ versus $/ \mathbf{s} /$, /t/, /f/

/ $\theta$ / versus /s/
A frequent appearance is the mistaking of $/ \theta / \mathrm{for} / \mathrm{s} /$. Thus, the "tenth vertebra" would become the "tense vertebra". The same, the mouth would become a mouse. iv It is difficult for veterinarians or for lovers of cats to make some sense out of phrases like "a cat with lesions on the mouse". The fun of the following joke told by Hartwig Eckert and William Barry is based on the same possible confusion: "How do mice save a drowning mouse? - By mouse to mouse resuscitation" (Eckert and Barry 2005, 95). The joke is part of the chapter about the difficulties of German speakers to pronounce the English interdentals (as the German language also lacks them), but is perfectly valid also for Romanian speakers.

Suppose a therapist would like to examine the thumb of a patient and would say: "I want to see the sum. Show me the sum!". What would the patient possibly think of, other than the doctor is interested in money? Or suppose (s)he would say "This leg is sick" instead of thick." Or suppose (s)he would try to say "this treatment is worth trying" and would fail into "this treatment is worse", this piece of advice which would have quite the opposite effect as the patient would think that the doctor does not recommend the treatment.vi The sentence "you are thin" could result into "you are [a] sin" and "have faith" into "have [a] face", which are nonsense messages. vii The same way, the thigh of a patient would become the sigh. Or suppose a psychiatrist wants to say that a patient is wrath. Instead, the message transmitted would be that the patient is Ross.viii Of course, Ross can also be wrath, but in psychiatry clinics there might also be other wrath patients, not only Ross.

The following minimal pairs are to be practised by practitioners of the medical field:

| /日/ | /s/ |
| :---: | :---: |
| tenth /ten ${ }^{\text {/ }}$ | tense /tens/ |
| mouth /mave/ | mouse /maus/ |
| thumb / $\theta \wedge \mathrm{m}$ / | sum /s^m/, some /s^m/ (the strong form) |
| thick / $\mathrm{IIk}^{\text {/ }}$ | sick /sik/ |
| worth /wz:(r) $\mathrm{\theta}^{\text {/ }}$ | worse /w3:(r)s/ |
| thin / $\mathrm{Im}^{\text {n/ }}$ | $\boldsymbol{\operatorname { s i n }} / \mathrm{sin}$ |
| faith /fei 0 / | face /feis/ |
| thigh / $\mathrm{BaI} /$ | sigh /sai/ |
| wrath /ro ${ }^{\text {/ }}$ | Ross /ros/ |

Table 2. Minimal pairs for $/ \theta /$ and $/ \mathrm{s} /$

## / $\theta$ / versus /t/

Another frequent appearance is the mistaking of $/ \theta /$ for $/ t /$. Thus, "three membranes" of the spinal cord of man become "tree membranes", a strange symbiosis between man and plants (!), and the "myelin sheath of nerves" becomes the "myelin sheet of nerves". In order to illustrate this possible change in meaning I give here contexts from the textbook English in Medicine. A Text Book for Doctors, Students in Medicine and Nurses of Viorica Dobrovici and loan Bostaca. The wrong, distorted sentences are marked with an asterisk:

| Medical context with the correct word | Medical context with the wrong word |
| :--- | :--- |
| three /ri:// <br> The brain and spinal cord are enclosed within <br> three membranes. (Dobrovici and Bostaca <br> 1999,28 ) | tree /tri:/ |
| *ithin brain and spinal cord are enclosed |  |
| sheath $/ \mathrm{f}: \theta /$ | sheet $/ \mathrm{fi}: / /$ |

The chief glycolipids are the cerebrosidea which occur in particularly in brain tissue and in myelin sheath of nerves. (Dobrovici and Bostaca 1999, 105)

* The chief glycolipids are the cerebrosidea which occur in particularly in brain tissue and in myelin sheet of nerves.

Table 3. Contexts for $/ \theta /$ and $/ \mathrm{t} /$
Unfortunately, death is a topic in hospitals, too. But some doctors and nurses transform it into a debt, and this may again hurt the feelings of patients and their beloved ones. Unless one wants to say, along with a Romanian poet, that "one death is anyhow our debt". . ${ }^{\text {x }}$

The same way, faith can transform into fate. "Have [a] fate" instead of "Have faith" is not meant to alleviate the emotions of the sick. ${ }^{\mathrm{x}}$

Suppose a doctor wants to say to a patient "I would like to examine your thigh". If (s)he does not pronounce the interdental correctly the result could be "I would like to examine your tie"(!).

The verb thrust may be mispronounced as trust. An indication given amongst ambulance and first-aid health practitioners, "Do not thrust the patient", would become "Do not trust the patient".

Another minimal pair differing only in the final consonant (interdental fricative and alveolar stop) is teeth - teat. Suppose a physician would transmit to another physician by Skype an indication like: "Take out the teeth!" / "Remove the teeth!" / "Operate the teeth!". If the pronunciation is wrong, the patient is at risk of losing another part of the body.

The noun therm (a unit for measuring heat) could be misunderstood as a term. The adjective thick in a sentence like "your blood is thick" could be understood as tick, which makes no sense.

The botanical term pith could be mistakenly confounded with pit. Sentences like "do not eat the pith" or "you may eat the pith (of the orange)" would become weird with the noun pit instead, which is a term of botany, but also of anatomy, pathology and even zoology. ${ }^{\text {xi }}$

Mispronunciation can touch also the prepositions through and with, changing them into the adjective true and the noun wit. And perhaps too much wit in the medical discourse would make it more joyful than it is meant to be.

The following minimal pairs are recommended to be practised:

| /日/ | /t/ |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | tree /tri:/ |
| sheath /ji $\theta /$ | sheet /fi:t/ |
| death /de $/$ / | debt /det/ |
| faith /fer $\theta$ / | fate /fert/ |
| thigh / $\mathrm{Baz} /^{\text {/ }}$ | tie /tai/ |
| thrust /日rıst/ | trust /tr^st/ |
| teeth /ti: $\theta$ / | teat /ti:i/ |

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| therm／ $\mathrm{\theta}_{3}:(\mathrm{r}) \mathrm{m} /$ | term／t3：（r）m／ |
| :---: | :---: |
| thick／ Ik $^{\text {／}}$ | tick／trk／ |
| pith／pi ${ }^{\text {／}}$ | pit／prt／ |
| through／ rru：／ | true／tru：／ |
| with／wi 0 ／ | wit／wit／ |

Table 4．Minimal pairs for $/ \theta /$ and $/ t /$
Romanians failing to discriminate between the $/ \theta /$ and／t／may thus approximate the fricative by the Romanian／t／．It is true that the Romanian fortis stop／t／is dental and non－ aspirated，whereas the English／t／is alveolar，nevertheless it could be perceived by English native speakers as＂their＂／t／．
／ $\boldsymbol{\theta}$／versus／f／
A very rare，though possible，type of interference is the realization of $/ \theta /$ as the labiodental fricative／f／．Thus，words like three，thirst，and death become free，first，and deaf．The already mentioned sentence from the textbook of Viorica Dobrovici and loan Bostaca becomes＂＊The brain and spinal cord are enclosed within free membranes＂． Obviously，＂free membranes＂makes no sense．

| Medical context with the correct word | Medical context with the wrong word |
| :--- | :--- |
| three／Өri：／ | free／fri：／ |
| The brain and spinal cord are enclosed within | ＊The brain and spinal cord are enclosed |
| three membranes．（Dobrovici and Bostaca | within free membranes． |
| 1999，28） |  |

Table 5．Context for／$\theta$／and／f／
The practising of the following minimal pairs is recommendable：

| $/ \boldsymbol{\theta} /$ |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| three／日ri：／ | free／fri：／$/$ |
| thirst／日3：（r）st／ | first／fs：（r）st／ |
| death／de日／ | deaf／def／ |

Table 6．Minimal pairs for／$\theta /$ and／f／

## 2．1．1．2．The lenis／$\delta /$ versus $/ z /$ ，／d／

## ／d／versus／z／

The voiced interdental fricative can be pronounced by Romanian speakers as a voiced dental fricative．The verb to breathe，much used in the medical interview， becomes thus the noun breeze．And the preposition with，this time pronounced with the voiced interdental fricative，becomes the verb whizz．With them，the speaker produces nonsense sentences in the medical context．The＂lady with the scythe＂becomes thus the＂lady with the size＂and this does not make much sense，not even if we think at the sense of size as＂a type of glue used for making paper or cloth become stiff and shiny＂xii．

Nor do the following sentences have more sense: "*he has cut himself with the size by accident", "*he has fallen on the size".

| $/ \mathbf{/} /$ |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| breathe /bri:ð/ /z/ | breeze /bri:z/ |
| with /wið/ | whizz /wiz/ |
| scythe /saið/ | size /saiz/ |

Table 7. Minimal pairs for / $\delta /$ and $/ \mathrm{z} /$

## /d/ versus /d/

Another frequent possibility of adapting the English voiced interdental fricative to the Romanian phonological system is its pronunciation as the voiced dental stop.

The verb breathe becomes thus breed. A doctor listening to a patient's breathing often says things like "please, breathe". But the patient would be very astonished if (s)he heard "please, breed" instead.

The same way, the scythe may become the side. The sentence "he has fallen on the scythe" may result into "he has fallen on the side". Other simple words that may appear in the medical context are those and thence, that can be mistaken with doze and dense.

| /d/ | /d/ |
| :---: | :---: |
| breathe /bri: 才/ | breed /bri:d/ |
| scythe /sarð/ | side /sard/ |
| those /סəəz/ | doze /dəuz/ |
| thence /סens/ | dense /dens/ |

Table 8. Minimal pairs for $/ \delta /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$
Beverly Collins and Inger Mees consider the dental fricative problem a widespread one and categorize it to category 2 of errors: "Errors which invoke irritation or amusement" (Collins and Mees 2013, 215). xiii

### 2.1.2. The lax vowels

Dumitru Chitoran explains the difference in quality and quantity of English and Romanian vowels, whereas the English ones are more marked as they are almost double in number and operate in the same phonetic space (Chițoran 1978, 186).

For the medical field, the terms and words with pronunciation difficulties contain especially the vowels /ı/ and /æ/. The vowel contrasts KIT-FLEECE and TRAP-DRESS are likely to be lost. Dumitru Chițoran predicts that Romanians will not be able to distinguish between tense and lax vowels and will assimilate them to one category:

| Romanian | i |  | e |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| English | i: | I | e | æ |

Table 9. The vowels /i/ and /e/ (Chițoran 1978, 184)

## /i/ versus /i:/

Thus, a word like sick/sik/ would be pronounced like seek /si:k/.xiv The following minimal pairs would be uttered identically: lid /lid/ - lead /li:d/, lip /lip/ - leap /li:p/, fist /fist/ - feast/fi:st/, fit /fit/ - feet/fi:t/, pill/pil/ - peel/pi:I/, dip /dip/ - deep /di:p/, pit/prt/ peat /pi:t/ and pip /pip/ - peep /pi:p/.xv Imagine a health professional would try to encourage a patient by telling him "I want you to live", "You have to live", or "You will live". A possible pronunciation mistake could distort the meaning of such sentences even into their opposites: "I want you to leave", "You have to leave [the hospital]" or "You will leave [this life]". Imagine a nutritionist would tell a patient "You may eat the deal" instead of "the dill". xvi An assertion like "You are ill" could sound like "You are [an] eel"xvii and "We have to fill this cavity" could sound like "We have to feel this cavity". "The patient's condition results from the hif" could be mispronounced and therefore misunderstood as "The patient's condition results from the heat"xviii, which could lead to errors of diagnosis and treatment. A patient may have a crick/krrk/, i.e. a sudden pain in the neck due to the muscles becoming stiff, but mispronunciation can transform it into a creak/kri:k/, i.e. a high noise made by something wooden when moving, or into a creek /kri:k/, i.e. a narrow stream or a narrow and long area of sea stretching into the land. ${ }^{\text {xix }}$

The lack of the ability to discriminate between the FLEECE and the KIT vowels makes words like beat and bit sound alike, as for instance when talking about the "beats of the heart" or the "bits of the heart".

| /I/ | /i:/ |
| :---: | :---: |
| sick /sik/ | seek /si:k/ |
| lid /IId/ | lead /li:d/ |
| lip /lip/ | leap /li:p/ |
| fist /fist/ | feast /fi:st/ |
| fit /fit/ | feet /fit/ |
| pill /pil/ | peel /pi:// |
| dip /dip/ | deep /di:p/ |
| pit /prt/ | peat /pi:t/ |
| pip /pip/ | peep /pi:p/ |
| live /Irv/ | leave /li:v/ |
| dill /dil/ | deal /di:l/ |
| ill/I/ | eel /i:1/ |
| fill /fil/ | feel /fil/ |
| hit /hrt/ | heat /hi:t/ |
| crick /krik/ | creek, creak /kri:k/ |
| bit/bit/ | beat /bi:t/ |

Table 10. Minimal pairs for /I/ and /i:/
/æ/ versus /e/
The English TRAP vowel is often pronounced by Romanians like the closer DRESS vowel, as many cannot sense the vowel quality. Words like bad/bæd/ and bed /bed/ may be pronounced identically, which creates confusion between a "bad condition" "bed condition". Or between "bedside nurses" and "bad side nurses", i.e. "nurses on the bad side", where the listener could only wonder, what those might be. A sentence like "He was bitten by a gnaf" could become "He was bitten by a nef" thus causing nonsense because, obviously, nets do not bite. ${ }^{\times x}$ Dad/dæd/could be dead/ded/, "killed" by a mere mispronunciation, $\times$ xi and the "patient pack initiative" could lose its judicial value and become the "patient peck initiative", i.e. the initiative of the patient to peck or to give a quick light kiss ${ }^{\text {xxii. }}$ A band /bænd/, a narrow circular object, like in "lap band surgery", "gastric band surgery" could become a bend /bend/, i.e. a curve or an exercise movement in which the patient moves the body.xxiii

| $/ æ /$ |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| bad $/ \mathrm{b}$ /ed/ | bed /bed/ |
| gnat /næt/ | net/net/ |
| dad /dæd/ | dead /ded/ |
| pack /pæk/ | peck/pek/ |
| band /bænd/ | bend /bend/ |

Table 11. Minimal pairs for /æ/ and /e/
Beverly Collins and Inger Mees consider the widespread confusion of crucial phonemic contrasts like $/ \mathrm{r}-\mathrm{i}: /$ and $/ æ-\mathrm{e} /$ the most severe of all types of errors. They belong to category 1: "Errors leading to potential breakdown of intelligibility" (Collins and Mees 2013, 215).

### 2.1.3. Conclusions concerning the differences in the phonological systems

The tendencies of mispronouncing the English phonemes by Romanian speakers in the medical field can be summarised as follows:

- $/ \mathrm{e} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{s} \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{It} /$, $\mathrm{f} / \mathrm{l}$
- $\quad / \mathrm{d} / \rightarrow \mid \mathbf{z} /, / \mathrm{d} /$
- $\mathrm{II} / \rightarrow \mathrm{i}: /$
- |æ/ $\rightarrow$ le/


### 2.2. Wrong, incomplete acquisition of vowels

The adjective egressive /i:'gresiv/ is derived from the verb egress /i:'gres/ "(very formal) the action of leaving a place"xxiv. As it is a word that Romanians learners of English might not encounter often, they might not know its pronunciation and mistakenly interpret the letter $e$ as a written sign for the phoneme $ә$. The result would be another word: aggressive /ə'gresiv/. Thus, "the pulmonic egressive airstream mechanism"xxv could become "the pulmonic aggressive airstream mechanism".

### 2.3. False stress

The stress could be a problem for Romanians as they wouldn't expect this suprasegmental feature to be distinctive in the case of some minimal pairs that may appear in the medical field. If a Romanian wrongly places the stress in the verb to digest on the first syllable, (s)he would actually say "a summation of articles". xxvi Let us imagine that a patient has with a beauty spot and a physician tells her "you have a beauty spof" i.e. "picturesque face", so she understands it as a compliment or as a neutral sentence with no connection to the discussion. And what could happen if patients followed the advice of a physician saying, instead of "eat green stuff", i.e. "eat green vegetables", "eat green stuff", i.e. "eat anything that is green"! When referring to the brains, Romanian physicians should put the stress on the first syllable, grey-matter, otherwise the result would be grey matter, i.e. anything grey. ${ }^{\text {xxvii }}$

| medical term | common word |
| :--- | :--- |
| digest /dar'dzest/ '(about the stomach) to <br> change food into substances that the body <br> needs' | digest /'dar dzest/ 'summation of articles' |
| beauty spot /'bju:ti ,spdt/ 'patch on the face' | beauty spot / bju:ti 'spdt/ 'picturesque face' |
| green stuff /'gri:n st^f/ 'green vegetables' | green stuff /gri:n 'st^f/ 'anything green' |
| grey-matter /'grei ,mætə(r)/ 'brains' | grey matter /grei 'mætə(r)/ 'anything grey' |

Table 12. Minimal pairs - the stress
Homographs have different pronunciations and therefore different meanings, such as invalid /nn'vælıd/ 'not legally effective' and invalid /'invəlid/ 'ill, injured, especially permanently' (Collins and Mees 2013, 19). The Romanian noun and adjective invalid is stressed on the last syllable, this is why Romanians could be tempted to stress the English word on the second syllable, thus obtaining the common word or the legal term. The medical term in the English language has the stress on the first syllable.

| medical term |  | common word |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| invalid /'Invəlid/ 'ill, injured, especially <br> permanently' | invalid /In'vælid/ 'not legally effective' |  |

Table 13. Homographs - the stress

### 2.4. False segmenting of the string of sounds

Another source of errors is the false segmenting of the string of sounds, and thus result other words than those intended.

| 1 word | 2 words |
| :--- | :--- |
| incise /in'saiz/ | in size /in saiz/ |
| incite /in'sart/ | in site /in sart/ |

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| larynx /'ærınks/ | lair, rinks /leə(r)/, /rıjks/ |
| :---: | :---: |
| mountaineer /, maunti'nie(r)/ | mountain, ear /'mauntin/, /ıə(r)/ |
| inhale /in'heil/ | in, hale /in/, /heil/ |
| assault /ə'ss:It/ | a, salt /ə/, /ss:It/ |
| allowed/ə laud/ | a, loud/ə/, /lavd/ |
| catgut /'kætg t / | cat gut /kæt g^t/ |

Table 14. Segmenting the string of sounds
The verb incise /in'saiz/ means "to cut into the body with a sharp knife"xxviii. But a too long break when uttering it makes it in size/in saiz/, e.g. "After six months the tumour had doubled in size."xxix. The same way, the verb incite/rn'sart/ "to encourage people to be violent or commit crimes by making them angry or excited"xxx, may become in site /in sart/ „a particular place in the body"..xxi

The larynx is "the organ in your throat that contains your vocal cords, which produce sounds" and not a lair + rinks. ${ }^{x x x i}$ A mountaineer is not a mountain ear, i.e. the ear of a mountain.xxxiii Similarly, inhale is not in + hale, assault is not $a+$ salt, and allowed is not a + loud.

A catgut /'kætg^t/, a "strong string made from animals' intestines, used for making the strings of musical instruments"xxxiv is neither a cat + a gut, nor a cat gut, that could be interpreted as the gut of a cat, the gut from a cat. All over the world surgeons use catgut prepared from sheep intestines to suture incisions resulted from surgeries. Viorica Dobrovici and Ioan Bostaca teach notions about catgut in the chapter "Drugs of the Protein Group": "Catgut is prepared from sheep intestines. [...] Catgut (collagen) is made up of innumerable fine filaments and is used for internal sutures, because it is gradually digested in the tissues." (Dobrovici and Bostaca 1999, 267); "In medicine, it is used as an absorbable and ligature material" (Dobrovici and Bostaca 1999, 268). But if a Romanian surgeon pronounces it like cat gut, colleagues could understand that cat intestines are used instead and would perhaps wonder about this "original" technique!

## 3. Conclusions

So, direct communication and telemedicine communication can be seriously affected by pronunciation mistakes. Let us hope that situations like the ones described above, if they ever happen, remain just funny situations and the initial misunderstanding is solved by repeating the sentence more times and by understanding the correct meaning of the words in context. Even if the phonetic mistake added to a medical term does not produce words with another meaning, it still creates discomfort.

No wonder pronunciation gadgets have appeared on the market: "The SayMedicine mobile app (iPhone - \$4.99) audibly pronounces medical terms to help doctors and students prevent embarrassment when they encounter a new term. It also allows searching for more info on terms using eMedicine, Google, and Wikipedia." ${ }^{\text {xxxv }}$

Romanians with professions in the medical field who have to use the English language must not neglect the pronunciation, in order to speak in an intelligible way. This
is why this synthesis of the most vulnerable points of pronunciation of words from the medical vocabulary could be useful to them in their attempt to achieve a near native Standard English pronunciation.

Unfortunately neglected, phonetics helps to fulfilling communication needs in the medical field.

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[^0]point for identifying types of errors and the aim of my paper is restricted to pointing out problems Romanian speakers of English may face.
iii The term interdental is used as well as here, like in the works of Dumitru Chițoran (Chițoran 1978, 203) and of Elena Raluca Constantin (Constantin 2012, 138), though British linguists use the term dental. As Peter Ladefoged and lan Maddieson show, these fricatives are dental at most of the BE speakers and interdental at most of the AE speakers (Ladefoged and Maddieson 2008, 143). Hartwig Eckert and William Barry use the term postdental (Eckert and Barry 2005, 87).
${ }^{\text {iv }}$ The minimal pair mouth - mouse is cited also in Chitoran and Pârlog 1989, 71.
${ }^{v}$ The minimal pair thick - sick also appears on the website Shiporsheep.com for online pronunciation practice (http://www.shiporsheep.com/page28.html).
vi The minimal pair worth - worse also appears on the website Shiporsheep.com (http://www.shiporsheep.com/page28.html).
vii The pairs thin - sin and faith - face are also given by Chitoran and Petri 1977, 87.
viii The minimal pair wrath - Ross also appears at Chițoran and Pârlog 1989, 198 and on http://www.shiporsheep.com/page28.html.
${ }^{\text {ix }}$ Approximate translation of the verse "cu-o moarte tot suntem datori". The poet is George Coșbuc (Coșbuc 1994, 61. See the volume Fire de tort, republished in Timișoara: Editura Helicon, 1994).
${ }^{\times}$The minimal pair faith - fate is mentioned by Chițoran and Petri 1977, 87.
${ }^{\text {xi }}$ A short look on The Free Dictionary provides one with the plenty of meanings of pit as a term in the field of medicine and of biology in general (http://www.thefreedictionary.com/pit).
xii The last sense is from the MacMillan dictionary
(http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/size_1).
xiii An encouragement for Romanian learners (but not a reason to give up!) could be the fact that some of these phenomena exist also in some varieties of English. Many Cockney speakers have th-fronting, i.e. the realization of dental fricatives as labio-dental ones (Collins and Mees 2013, 169; Eckert and Barry 2005, 88). $T h$-stopping, i.e. replacing dental fricatives by stops, can be heard in Southern Irish English and many speakers in Liverpool and in New York, in Indian English, Sierra Leone. In the West Country (the south-west of England) some speakers replace the initial / $/ \mathrm{/}$ by /d/ (Collins and Mees 2013, 180, 184, 189, 195, 199 and respectively 171).
xiv This minimal pair is mentioned also by Constantin 2012, 396.
${ }^{\text {xv }}$ The minimal pairs lip - leap, fist - feast, fit - feet, pill - peel and dip - deep are mentioned also by Chițoran and Petri 1977, 60.
xxi The minimal pairs live - leave and dill - deal are mentioned also by Chițoran and Petri 1977, 60. The pair live - leave can be practised also at http://www.shiporsheep.com/page1.html.
xvii The pair ill - eel is indicated also by Elena Raluca Constantin (Constantin 2013, 389) and by the website Shiporsheep (http://www.shiporsheep.com/page1.html).
xvii The pair hit - heat can be practised at http://www.shiporsheep.com/page1.html, too.
xix The pair crick - creek and its relevance for the medical context is sensed in the book of Victoria Fromkin (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2002, 286).
${ }^{\times x}$ The pair gnat - net is recommended for practising also on http://www.shiporsheep.com/page3.html and by Chitioran and Petri 1977, 61.
${ }^{\text {xxi }}$ The pair dad - dead is mentioned by Eckert ad Barry 2005, 19 and by Chitoran and Petri 1977, 61.
xxii The pair pack - peck is mentioned by Eckert and Barry 2005, 20 and by Chiṭoran and Petri 1977, 61.
xxiii The pair band - bend is also to be found in the book of Eckert and Barry 2005, 20.
xxiv http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/egress.
xxv The text sample comes from Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2002, 241, from a paragraph about the description of speech production.
xxvi This minimal pair is mentioned by Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2002, 259.
xxvii The last three minimal pairs are mentioned by Chiṭoran 1978, 275.
xxviii http://www.macmillandictionary.com/thesaurus/british/incise\#incise_5.
xxix http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/size.
xxx http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/incite.
xxxi http://www.macmillandictionary.com/thesaurus/british/site\#site_16.
xxxi This example appears in a different context at Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2002, 240: "the larynx (often referred to as the "voice box", and pronounced "lair + rinks").".
xxxiii Hartwig Eckert and William Barry categorize these as homophones (Eckert and Barry 2005, 183).
xxxiv http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/catgut.
xxxv http://histalkmobile.com/news-12611/.


[^0]:    i Standard Southern British English is basically meant here by this.
    ${ }^{i i}$ I will not enter further details and discuss here the distinctions between the strong and weak version of the CAH (described by Constantin 2012, 131-132), though I prefer the weak version, i.e. I do not exclude also other causes for pronunciation mistakes. Neither will I refer to other theoretical models for the acquisition of L2 phonology or to the experimental data results of Elena Raluca Constantin. Like her I see CAH as a starting

