STRESS IN THE ITALIAN DIALECT

OF BOVALINO MARINA (CALABRIA)

by

Antonio Graziano

B.A. (hons.), Simon Fraser University, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Modern Languages

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

August 1971

APPROVAL

Name: Antonio Graziano

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of Thesis: Stress in the Italian Dialect
                  of Bovalino Marina (Calabria).

Examining Committee:

             Chairman: Dr. J. Wahlgren

_____

              E.W. Roberts
              Senior Supervisor

_____

              B. Newton

_____

              F.H. Candelaria
              External Examiner
              Associate Professor
              Simon Fraser University

                         Date Approved: _____

(ii)

Abstract

This thesis is a description of certain aspects of the
phonology of the Italian dialect spoken in Bovalino Marina.
It covers six main areas:

1. The context of situation

2. The phonetics of the sound segments

3. The phonemes of the dialect

4. Segmental phonology

5. A discussion of the concept 'stress'.

6. Stress in specific 'grammatical categories'.

The context of situation provides the background of
human behaviour and environment so that the linguistic
study may be relevantly contextualized.

The data collected was transcribed in general articu-
latory phonetic terminology and the phonemes and allophones
described. A limited analysis of the segmental phonology
of the dialect provides:

a) A description of the distribution of the phonetic
   sound segments of the dialect occurring at root
   initial and root final position.

b) A description of the distribution of certain

phonological segments at root final position.

A major discussion of the concept 'stress' is considered and my own interpretation stated and utilized in the analysis of stress in the words of the dialect, which have been collated according to grammatical and structural criteria. The words in the specified categories are then analyzed for stress using the Word Stress Assignment Rule:

$$V \dashrightarrow \quad [+ \text{Stress}] \; / \; \rule{2cm}{0.4pt} \quad C_0^n V_0^n C_0^n \#$$

This simple rule predicts the position of stress in the words of the dialect.

DEDICATION

To my darling wife

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have neither sufficient words nor means to express my gratitude to Dr. Roberts for his unfailing assistance and guidance

For her patience and understanding while I collected my data, I thank my mother

Table of Contents

Introduction

The motivation for this thesis comes from a strong
interest in my own native dialect of Italian. As far as
I have been able to determine from my bibliographical research,
this dialect has not been previously linguistically examined.
Fortunately, I had native speakers to aid with the aggregation
of the words of the dialect and Dr. E. W. Roberts to direct
my analysis to a description of certain aspects - specifically
'stress' - of the phonology of the Italian dialect spoken
in Bovalino Marina.

The first section of the thesis introduces the context
of situation - this is a general geographic, political,
cultural and economic picture of the town of Bovalino Marina
and its inhabitants. This information supplies the back-
ground within which the linguistic study may be appropriately
and relevantly contextualized.

The recorded data, gleaned from a native informant
during my field research, is described phonetically defining
in generally articulatory phonetic terminology all the sound
segments that were found necessary to record as data in a
phonetic transcription. There is no orthographic system
for this dialect and consequently this description is the
only means of representation of the dialect.

A limited analysis of the segmental phonology of the

dialect describes the distribution of the phonetic sound segments of the dialect occurring at root initial and at root final position.

Next we proceed to a discussion of Saltarelli's treatment of stress and reject it. Then we suggest a particular interpretation of stress in relation to the data. This interpretation encompasses a discussion of stress as a feature of the unit 'word' predictable by rule.

The data is collated according to grammatical and structural criteria to facilitate the analysis of stress in the words of the dialect. The result of this analysis is a confirmation of the assumption that stress is a phonologically predictable feature. It is by using this analytical method, employing both grammatical and structural criteria, that an explanatory description of the position of stress in the words can be adequately provided.

MODERN ITALY
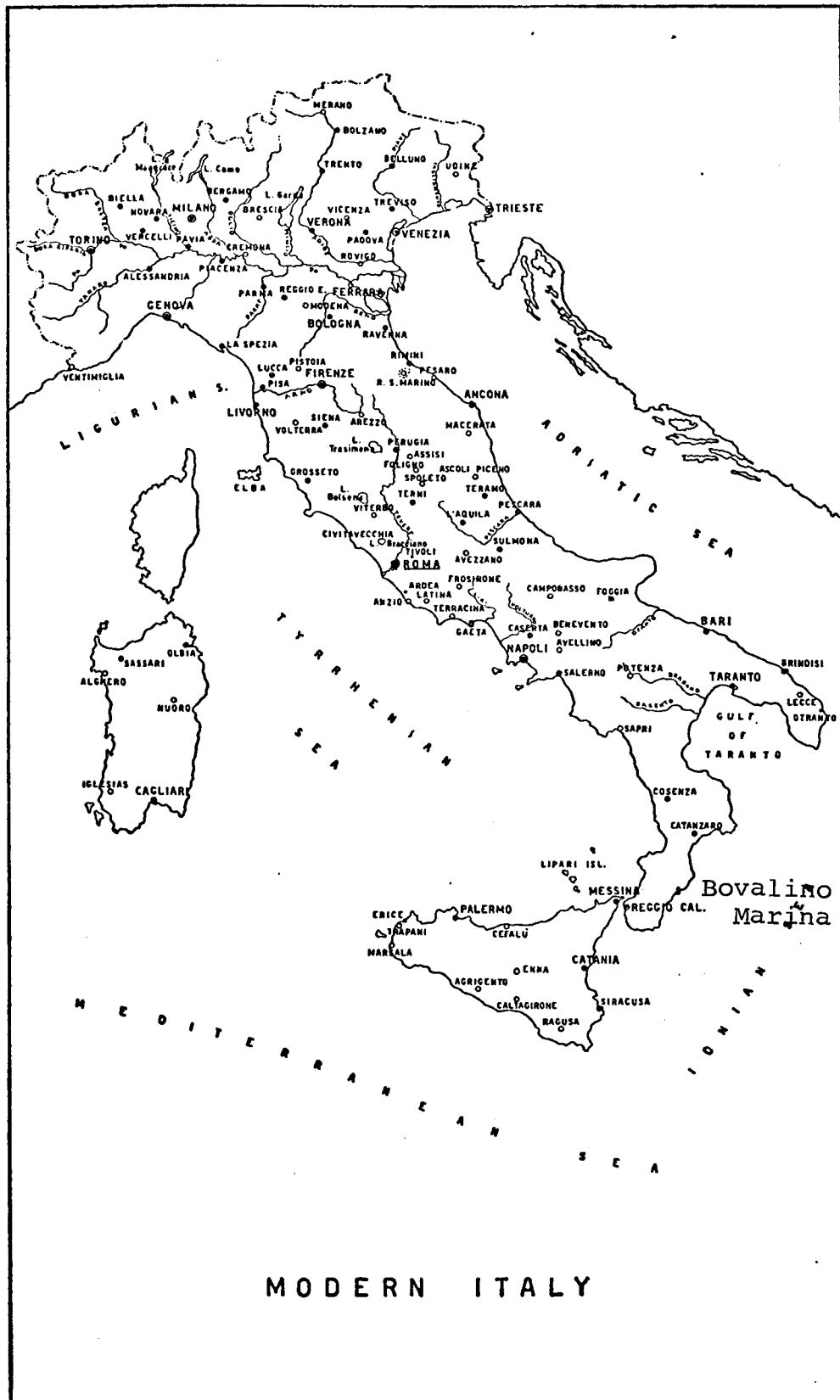
Context of Situation

I

Before discussing the aspects of the phonetics and phonology of the dialect of Bovalino Marina, some of the 'context of situation' - the region's geography, economic history, politics and culture - is described.

Bovalino Marina is situated on the Ionian coast at an altitude of eight meters above sea level with a population of 7,000, according to the census held in the sixties. It is ninety-two kilometers from Reggio Calabria, one of the more affluent and larger cities of the province, where most of the administrative offices are located. Reggio Calabria is the closest airport to Bovalino Marina; however, there is adequate and reliable train service between the two and other major towns; bus transportation between small towns and more remote areas is almost negligible because few people utilize this service. Automobile transportation used to be a luxury afforded by few, but in the latter half of the '60's, more people bought automobiles because loans were more readily available from the new finance companies. Formerly, banks were the only financial institutions and they were reluctant

to extend loans. When they did so, it was at exhorbitant interest rates. Though the number of automobile owners has increased, they still represent a relatively small minority.

Through increasing radio and television communication since the Second World War, the Calabresi gradually are becoming more aware of the mode of life in the rest of Italy. But contrary to the prevailing trend in other areas of Italy, commercial, industrial and capital investment has been minimal and relatively unsuccessful. This could perhaps be explained by the reluctance of the people in general to accept change, or to the external lack of incentive to innovate.

Bovalino Marina may still be largely regarded as isolated from the rest of Italy. Even in the Twentieth century, this province has remained relatively unchanged while the rest of Italy has been adapting to new phases of industrial development, culture, education and politics. Because of the basically feudal system which provided no incentive or opportunities for the acquisition of more than subsistence level living conditions, the ambitious had to emigrate to provide higher education and improved living conditions for their families.

The economic conditions of Bovalino Marina, as well as the rest of Calabria, are comparatively poor because of the minor industrial activities which contribute little to increasing revenue in this area. Agriculture is of major im-

portance - olive, grape, grain, citrus and flowers are the
primary crops. In the market, these crops bring little in-
come to the farmers, who have to live more or less at sub-
sistence level. The economic conditions are causally related
to the level of general education and vice versa. Methods
of farming are very inefficient and are unaided by modern
equipment and machinery. At one time, many co-operatives
were initiated as attempts to improve the existent, ineffi-
cient agricultural methods. However, the co-operatives were
forced to dissolve because the peasants refused all forms of
co-operative efforts, investments, and above all, they re-
jected any potential long range benefits.

The feudal political system reflects the economic and
intellectual stagnation of the populace; repeatedly, they
elect representatives from a higher socio-economic class
whose political objectives are not directed towards economic
and social development but rather keeping the majority, the
peasants, subservient to themselves.

Calabrian society is still clearly hierarchic and feudal.
The acquisition of a trade or land enables the individual to
ascend from 'braccianti' - labourer - to artisan, to noble,
to large proprietor. The existence of this stratified system
is also obvious in the forms of address. In the Calabrian
social structure the peasant is considered a 'cafuni' or a
'tamarru'; members of the higher class are considered 'signuri',

'signurinu', or 'galantomo', and at all times they are re-
spected and addressed as 'don' or 'vussignuria'. Those that
can afford to, and do, lead a comfortable life are the 'galant-
omini'. However, not all the rich belong to the 'noble' class
in the social stratification. Often this status can be a-
chieved by many different means, for one of the deciding factors
is external appearance. Money does not at all times provide
such a prestigious and valued title, for generally one is born
'galantomo' and will carry the qualifier 'don' or 'vussignuria'
simply as a matter of inheritance. However, one can become
a 'galantomo' by one's role in the community or by what one
manages to acquire. This generally applies to those with
influential occupations - priests, professors, doctors, and
other respected and valued professions. The more successful
farmers - 'massari i campu' - attempt to educate their sons,
enabling them to elevate themselves to the status of 'don'.

The poor will struggle all their lives so that these
more 'socially worthy' positions can be enjoyed by their
descendents. It is not uncommon for the head of a family to
sacrifice his property, livestock and any other possession
of value he may own, and demanding the same of the other
members of his family, so that the most intellectually
promising member of the family can obtain a 'lauria' i.e.
a university diploma. However, the success of these youths,
upon whom all the aspirations and hopes of families rest, is
not as secure as that of the privileged class. Even if the

sons of the poor manage to get their diplomas they still have to compete with those of socially higher classes for opportunities to fill valued positions and their success is continually restricted unless they prove exceptional in their field; then, their class is overlooked.

Above all and most detrimental to the development of the region, is the envious competitiveness existing among the peasants - neighbours or relatives - for a parcel of land that nonetheless would require a co-operative effort to yield any worthwhile profits.

On the other hand, among the higher class there exists no such disintegration - protection of their valued privileges and possessions from the lower, underprivileged class forces them into a cohesive group. Means of inter-communication between the social strata are very limited. The very people who climb the social ladder often disassociate themselves from their former class and their past circumstances.

Intellectual deprivation and illiteracy is the direct consequence of economic stagnation and cultural factors. The majority of women are not allowed to continue their schooling beyond the elementary level. Their primary interests are oriented to the mastering of certain agricultural knowledge and domestic skills.

Most of the education of a 'signurina' is preparation

for marriage, and the waiting period prior to this event is one of submission to parents and rigid restrictions of her activities, dictated by social mores. Very rarely does a girl contest the will of her parents on a marriage proposal. The girls are generally married between the ages of sixteen and eighteen to spouses who are roughly ten or more years their senior. At this age the male has more to offer materially and to parents he is, of course, a better match. This age difference is only one of the factors which hinders co-operative communication between husband and wife. And this inability to communicate is perpetuated by the separation of the sexes from early puberty; the life style of the male and female differ vastly.

To supplement their income, women often have to work outside the household. Most types of work suitable for the uneducated is seasonal in the field; the working day lasts from ten to twelve hours, excluding the time spent travelling to the site. The lunch break, only a few minutes long, is spent eating a meagre diet often of bread and cheese or olives.

A man's education comprises primarily training in his father's occupation, generally farming. Most boys, prior to the Second World War attended school irregularly until the age of twelve - being kept home to assist their fathers during periods of intense agricultural activity. However, since the

World War, the government imposed certain rigid laws so that every child must attend school to the age of fourteen.

Since 'Standard Italian' is transmitted only in the schools and church, contact with and use of it is limited; thus, it has interfered little with the dialect of Bovalino Marina. Not only the lack of formal education, but also the town's relative isolation and poverty, which in turn limits communication, has perpetuated the existence of the dialect peculiar to Bovalino Marina.

Compilation and recording of data

II

The native informant is my mother, a Calabrese, who has been residing in Cranbrook, B.C. since October 31, 1959. She is 55 years old and has Grade 5 education. She was selected as the informant because of her willingness to assist in recording the desired data. She has a thorough knowledge of the dialect spoken in Bovalino Marina, and of Standard Italian; her knowledge of English is very limited, encompassing largely "phatic communion" and a limited vocabulary of terms essential to coping with the everyday housewifely exchanges at the stores. Since her Italian phonology, and in particular the phonology of the dialect, had been "calcified" before she came into contact with English, the chances of any influence by the latter on her phonology are minimal.

The informant possessed all the desired qualifications: ethnic and native origin, extensive cultural, political, ideological and economic experience in that society. In addition, her present residence expedited the recording of data. And above all, she never questioned my "modus operandi"; she simply and patiently obeyed instructions.

The information relevant to the phonological description of the dialect is drawn from the compilation of approximately 5,000 words arranged systematically into monosyllabic, disyllabic, and tri-syllabic words. These words were read in Standard Italian with a pause after each word where the native informant supplied the corresponding word in the dialect, where there was one. A single recording session would generally last 1/2 to 1 hour, depending solely on the informant's endurance.

The recorded data was transcribed phonetically to an arbitrarily narrow degree using the I.P.A. system. Further systematization categorized the data into the main traditional grammatical parts of speech on the assumption that these classes may have bona fide linguistic relevance at a level of structure whose specification is beyond the scope of this thesis, i.e. in the grammar (syntax) and also for the phonological level. Should the latter turn out not to be the case, it would be a simple matter of "Love's Labour's Lost" here! On the other hand, if the analyst does not consider grammatical categories at the outset and then discovers that there is a relationship between grammatical classes and phonological structure, it would be much more difficult to rearrange the data to suit this situation, rather than simply to conflate it - as would be required if grammar turned out to be related to phonology, i.e. if the phonology turns out to be an autonomous level.

The sound segments in the recorded isolates

III

The following is a phonetic description of the sound seg-
ments that are necessary to describe the data collected. It
also describes the distribution of these sound segments where
it is considered relevant or interesting. The description is
divided into seven sections - this is done for taxonomic con-
venience and should not be taken to have any deep linguistic
or theoretical implications. The depth of detail is arbitrary,
relative to my impression of adequacy to the needs of this
thesis.

CONSONANTS

The description of the consonants will comprise generally
the description of the parameters of[1]:

   a)   Manner of articulation, including the state of the
       velum

   b)   Place of articulation

   c)   State of the vocal cords (glottis), primarily "voicing"

   d)   Consonant length

   e)   Vowel length

PLOSIVES

These consonants are produced by a temporary but complete closure of the oral air passage, and the raising of the velum. The air is momentarily compressed behind the point of articulation and on releasing the closure, i.e. when the active and the passive articulators are no longer in contact, a "plosive" sound is produced.[2] The plosive consonants in the dialect generally have two consistent features in common:

1. Distributional - no plosive or indeed any other consonant may appear at word final position except in words which are considered to be "learned"[3], e.g. sport, juventus. Note that here we are making a phonetic distributional statement when we state that consonants do not occur finally; however, we may have to postulate final consonants at a deeper phonological level.

2. Phonetic - at word initial position these consonants are generally relatively non-aspirated; elsewhere the voiceless stops are proportionately aspirated. The aspiration feature tends to either partially or completely devoice the vowel that follows it, especially in word final position. The devoicing takes place when the consonant preceding the vowel that becomes devoiced is either long or it is the last member of a consonant cluster - in either case this

consonant must be voiceless. Until otherwise specified, only vocalic length will be marked in the examples. After long vowels, simple consonants will be short if the vowel is stressed. After short unstressed vowels, simple consonants will be relatively shorter and after stressed short vowels simple consonants will be long. For example:

[temp^{h}ṳ]	-	time
[at:^{h}ṳ]	-	act
[fit:^{h}ṳ]	-	tight, dense
[art^{h}ṳ]	-	tall

Henceforth, this devoicing feature will not be marked in the examples except where relevant to the discussion.

The plosive consonants are:

[p]   - voiceless bilabial stop

[pi:ru]	-	pear
[ti:pu]	-	type

[b]   - voiced bilabial stop

[bɔ:na][4]	-	good, well
[ne:bja]	-	fog

[t]   - voiceless dental stop

[tempu]	-	weather, time
[suta]	-	under

[d]   - voiced dental plosive

[da:ri]	-	to give
[lordu]	-	soiled, dirty

T A B L E   I

CONSONANTS OF THE DIALECT OF BOVALINO MARINA

(Broad Transcription)

CONSONANTS	Bi-Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental & Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
PLOSIVE	p b		t d			c ɟ	k g	ʔ
NASAL	m	ɱ	n			ɲ	ŋ	
LATERAL NON-FRICATIVE			l	ɭ		ʎ		
ROLLED			r					
FRICATIVE		f v	ʒ s z		ʃ	ç ɉʐ *	ɣ	
FRICTIONLESS CONTINUANT	w					j	(w)	

OTHER SOUNDS : ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ

* ɉ is used as the symbol for the fricative to distinguish it from the semi-consonant

[c]   - voiced palatal stop

    [co:vu]   -   nail

    [unca:tu]   -   inflated

[ɟ]   - voiced palatal stop

    [ɟi:ru]   -   dormouse

    [unɟa]   -   finger nail

[k]   - voiceless velar stop

    [kornu]   -   horn

    [aŋko:ra]   -   still, yet

[g]   - voiced velar stop, it may occur only after
           another consonant, i.e. it may not occur
           neither at word initial nor at word final
           position.

    [largu]   -   wide

[ʔ]   - this sound segment is realized when the vocal
           cords assume momentarily a close position, thus
           interrupting completely the air stream of the
           glottis. This sound segment may occur only at
           word boundaries - pre or intervocalically.

NASAL CONSONANTS

These consonants are produced without any velic closure.
By having the velum lowered, the air stream is directed through
the nasal cavity with a simultaneous oral closure. When the
speech apparatus assumes the above described position the
feature of nasalization extends generally to more than just

nasal consonants; that is, it may influence the following
and/or preceding vowel, thus producing degrees of a nasal-
ized vowel or it may influence the following consonant thus
yielding a prenasalized consonant or it may influence the
following consonant yielding a nasal released consonant.
The nasal consonants are:

    [m]   - voiced bilabial nasal

        [ma:nu]   -   hand

        [ca:mu]   -   I call

    [m]   - voiced labio-dental nasal

        [ɱfernu][5]   -   hell

    [n]   - voiced dental nasal

        [nana]   -   grandmother

        [ma:nu]   -   hand

    [ɲ]   - voiced palatal nasal

        [ɲoki]   -   gnocchi

        [kuɲo:mi]   -   last name

    [ŋ]   - voiced velar nasal

        [ŋkuntra:ri] -   to meet

        [aŋko:ra]   -   yet, still

The nasal consonants at word initial position when they com-
bine with another consonant to form a cluster or when they
are single consonants but phonetically long, are said to be
syllabic in this dialect. For example:

        [ndavi:ri]   -   to have

        [namura:tu] -   in love

All nasal consonants are generally voiced.

FRICATIVES

These consonants are produced when the active articulator and the passive articulator are close to one another but do not quite make contact, thus as air is forced through an almost obstructed vocal tract perceptible friction is produced. These consonants are:

[f]   - voiceless labio-dental fricative
    [fi:ni]   -   end
    [sufá]   -   sofa

[v]   - voiced labio-dental fricative
    [vi:nu]   -   wine
    [ndivi:nu]   -   I guess

[ẕ]   - voiced alveolar fricative
    [aẕiʎu]   -   to him

[s]-   - voiceless dental fricative
    [suta]   -   under
    [ri:su]   -   rice

[z]   - voiced dental fricative
    [zbaju]   -   mistake
    [dizdeɲu]   -   disdain

[ʃ]   - voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
    [ʃia:ri]   -   to ski
    [neʃi:ri]   -   to be born

[ç]   - voiceless palatal fricative
    [çu:ri]   -   flower
    [çuça:ri]   -   to blow

[ɣ]   - voiced velar fricative - it cannot be preceded
    nor followed by another consonant.
    [ɣu:ɉa]   -   needle
    [aɣoni:a]   -   agony

AFFRICATES

These sound units may be regarded as consonantal clusters comprising a plosive consonant followed by a fricative consonant. These sound segments are:

    [ts]   - voiceless affricate
            [tsi:u]   -   uncle
            [vitsju]   -   vice

    [dz]   - voiced affricate
            [dzo:na]   -   zone
            [mendzu]   -   half

    [tʃ]   - voiceless affricate
            [tʃi:na]   -   China
            [dʒu:dətʃi]   -   judge

    [dʒ]   - voiced affricate
            [dʒu:dətsi]   -   judge
            [aɣadʒu]   -   slowly

LIQUIDS[6]

These segments have both consonantal and vocalic characteristics. The characterizing features of these sounds are:

1. High degree of aperture, but it is not as much as that for the production of glides, or vowels.

2. A slight degree of friction may be present in the uttering of the sounds represented by these consonants.

3. This group comprises laterals and "rolled" sounds.

LATERALS

These consonants are the resulting sounds produced by obstructing the centre of the vocal tract of the alveolar ridge and allowing the air stream to filter over the side(s) of the tongue. All lateral consonants are voiced - they are the following:

[l]   - voiced dental lateral
    [la:na]   -   wool
    [pa:la]   -   shovel

[ļ]   - voiced post-alveolar - slightly palatalized and differing from the pure palatal. It may occur either at word initial or at word medial position, but it must be followed either by a high or mid-high front vowel segment.
    [ļibru]   -   book
    [ta:vəļi]   -   tables

[ʎ]   - voiced palatal lateral
    [ʎa]   -   there
    [iʎa]   -   she

The dental lateral is the only lateral which may be preceded by another consonant to form a cluster in learned words. In this dialect it cannot follow a dental consonant, nor does it occur pre-consonantly - except in a learned word, e.g. [atlanti] , [atleta] , [apoplesja].

The position of the phonetic symbols represent schematic areas and are not to be taken as absolute relative to the cardinal vowel system. The vowels are described in the following ways:

1. The position of the highest point of the tongue in the vertical dimension of the oral cavity.

2. The position of the highest point of the tongue in the horizontal dimension of the oral cavity.

3. Vowel length

4. Voice.

The vertical descriptive positions of the tongue are:

1. Close

2. Half-close

3. Half-open

4. Open

The horizontal positions of the tongue in relation to the oral cavity are:

1. Front

2. Central

3. Back

The horizontal and the vertical dimensions only are not adequate for the description of vowels - the posture of the lips is another feature to be accounted:

1. Rounded

2. Unrounded

ROLLED

These consonants are the resulting sound from a rapid series of occlusions, between the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge.

[r]   - voiced alveolar rolled
     [ka:ru]   -   expensive, dear
     [rusːu]   -   red

VOWELS

Vowels are the product of air escaping through the vocal tract with the least restricted passage, generally with voicing and no friction:

> "*a voiced sound in forming which the air issues in a continuous stream through the pharynx and mouth, there being no obstruction and no narrowing such as would cause audible friction.*" [7]

The vowels in the dialect of Bovalino Marina are: [i], [e], [a], [o], [u], [ə] - and can be represented diagrammatically. The position of the vowels in the diagram represent the highest point of the tongue -

VOWELS
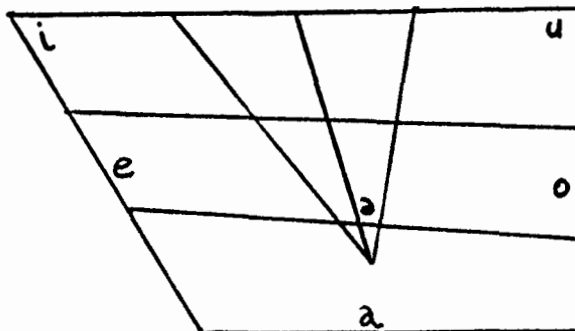
The vowels may be phonetically described thus:

    [i]   - close front unrounded or non-labialized; it

                can occur in all positions, that is, initial,

                medial and final

[iⱴa]	-	she
[iⱴi]	-	they
[l̦i:ra]	-	lira

    [e]   - half-close front unrounded, this vowel may

                occur in all positions:

[e:ra]	-	he was
[peⱬi]	-	foot
[cafe][8]	-	coffee

    [a]   - open, central to front and unrounded

[an:u]	-	year
[ka:ni]	-	dog
[iⱴa]	-	she

    [o]   - half-close back rounded vowel:

[ortu]	-	yard, garden
[po:ku]	-	little

    [u]   - close back rounded vowel

[unɟa]	-	(finger) nail
[lunta:nu]	-	far
[sonu]	-	sleep

    [ə]   - central vowel, it may occur phonetically at

                word medial position only:

[ofrənu]	-	they offer

All the vowels in unstressed positions have the character-istic of centralisation.

DIPHTHONGS

These sounds are the result of the movement of vocal or-
gans from the assumed position for the production of one vowel
toward the position required for the production of another
vowel. Thus, they form a sequence of two vocalic sounds, of
which only one is syllabic.

DIPHTHONGS	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[-a:i]	[ma:i]	never
[-a:u]	[kanta:u]	he sang
[-i:a]	[ofri:a]	I offered
[-i:u]	[ofri:u]	he offered
[-ɔ:i]	[tɔ:i]	yours
[-wa]	[wardja]	guard
[-e:u]	[me:u]	mine
[-e:i]	[se:i]	six
[-wi]	[wi:ɣa]	guide

GLIDES[9]

The glides in the dialect are:

[w]   - voiced labial glide, it may occur either at
          word initial or at word medial position:

    [warda]   -   he looks
    [kwandu]   -   when

[j]   - voiced palatal glide, it may occur either at
          word initial or at word medial position:

- 26 -

[ja:mu]   -   we go
[leji:ti]   -   you read

SEGMENTAL LENGTH

There are both so-called phonetically long and short
vowels and consonants. All vowels may be either short or
long but only certain consonants may be long:

CONSONANT	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[p:]	[cupʰ:u]	poplar
[t:]	[tutʰ:ḁ]	all
[k:]	[takʰ:u]	heel
[m:]	[mam:a]	mother
[n:]	[nan:a]	grandmother
[f:]	[af:endi]	he offends
[s:]	[rus:u]	red
[l:]	[pal:a]	ball
[r:]	[ter:a]	land
[c:]	[mac:a]	stain
[ç:]	[çuç:u]	breath
[ʒ:]	[maʒ:a]	sweater
[ʎ:]	[paʲeʎ:a]	frying pan
[ts:]	[vits:ju]	vice
[dz:]	[aridz:o:na]	Arizona
[tʃ:]	[vitʃ:i:nu]	near
[dʒ:]	[aʲadʒ:u]	slowly

The length of the vowels and consonants is dependent on the
segmental sequence of these sounds. A long vowel may be
followed by a long consonant but a long consonant cannot be
followed by a long vowel. Here we will use - except where
specified - vowel length as the non-predictable factor,
making consonant length predictable.

SYLLABLE

Although the term 'syllable' is not used to any signifi-
cant extent in our approach to phonology here, we can say the
following about it in order to make clearer the syntagmatic
relationship between consonants and vowels within the word.

In Standard Italian, there is a structure such that
open syllables are preferred so that CVCV is interpreted
as a sequence of two *open* syllables on impressionistic
grounds. In this dialect, the converse seems to be the case
- there seems to be a tendency towards or preference for
closed syllables. Compare:

STANDARD ITALIAN	DIALECT
[ba-la:re]	[bal-a:ri]
[parla:re]	[pal-a:ri]

This gives the impression that the consonants in the un-
stressed syllables are longer than they are in Standard
Italian.

Section III: Footnotes

1   The phonetic framework employed here is generally that
     set out by The Principles of the International Phonetic
     Association, Department of Phonetics, University College,
     London, W.C. 1.

2   The description of the phenomena - physiological and
     phonetic - that take place for the production of the
     consonants classified under each category of the manner
     of articulation is similar to that found in Elements
     of General Phonetics, David Abercrombie

3   This feature is in fact common to all consonants -
     consonants generally occur either at word initial or
     at word medial position.   Note that stress is marked
     in the phonetic transcription only when it does not
     occur on the penultimate vowel phonetically.

4   There seems to be a very close relationship in the vowel
     quality in words.   For example:
     [bɔ:na]   - well, good   [bonu]   - good
     [lɔ:rda] - soiled (fem.)   [lordu] - soiled (masc.)
     [kɔ:rna] - horns   [kornu] - horn
     [fɛr:a]   - tools   [fer:u] - iron
     The first vowel in the above examples is relatively
     open whenever it is followed by an open vowel, and it
     is relatively closed when it is followed by a close
     vowel, i.e. there is in the dialect a form of vowel
     harmony.

5   The pronunciation of this word as [mfernu] is typical
     of the more literate speakers, and [mpernu] of the less
     literate ones.

6   This is not an I.P.A. term but it is used here for
     convenience.

7   Daniel Jones, An Outline of English Phonetics, Cambridge,
     W. Heffer and Sons Ltd., 1964, p. 23.

8   The stressed vowels at word final position tend to be
     open.

9   This is not an I.P.A. term but it is used for convenience.

The Phonemes of the dialect of Bovalino Marina

IV

"*A PHONEME is a class of phonetically similar sounds, contrasting and mutually exclusive with all similar classes in the language. The individual sounds which compose a phoneme are its ALLOPHONES, ..., there may be considerable nondistinctive differences between allophones in different positions.*" [1]

The consonant phonemes and their distribution:

/p,b/   DIALECT   ENGLISH

        [pala]   he speaks

        [bala]   he dances

        [ku:pu]   dark

        [ku:bu]   cubic

ALLOPHONES

At word initial position, the voiceless stop is relatively unaspirated; when it occurs elsewhere and it is either phonetically long or the last element of a consonant cluster, it is markedly aspirated. This aspiration devoices especially the following word final vowel. The devoicing of the vowel may be partial to complete depending on the degree of aspiration of the preceding consonant and speech tempo.

/t,d/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[to:ta]	Tota (girl's name)
	[do:ta]	dowry
	[ka:tu]	pail
	[ka:ðu]	I fall
	[vinti]	twenty
	[vindi]	he sells
	[art^hu]	tall
	[kardu]	warm

The /d/ intervocally has a fricative allophone [ð] as in [kaðu]. As a member of a consonant cluster it retains the features of a voiced stop. The allophone of the phoneme /d/ cannot be a member of a consonant cluster. The phoneme /t/, when it is a member of a consonant cluster, or is phonetically long, or it occurs at word final position, it becomes aspirated thus devoicing the following vowel, i.e.

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[kot:^hu̥]	cooked
	[vent^hu̥]	wind
	[sport^h]	sport
	[ka:t^hu̥]	pail

/c,ɟ/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[ca:ra]	clear
	[ɟa:ra]	gravel
	[maca]	stain
	[maɟa]	sweater

/c,k/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[ca:ra]	clear
	[ka:ra]	dear

/c,k/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[maca]	stain
	[ɣunca]	he inflates
	[tʃiŋku]	five
	[spa:ku]	string, twine

Basically /c,k/ have a similar distribution, except that /k/ at word medial position can be phonetically long or short whereas /c/ can only be phonetically long at word medial position.

/ɣ,ɟ/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[laɟu]	the garlic
	[laɣu]	lake
	[ɟa:ra]	gravel
	[ɣa:ra]	race

The phoneme /ɣ/ has the allophone [g]:

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[largu]	wide
	[loŋgu]	long

The allophone [g] can only occur in a consonant cluster and at word medial position, and /ɣ/ cannot be a member of a consonant cluster. Neither /ɣ/ nor [g] can be phonetically long.

These two consonants cannot form part of a consonant cluster.

/m,n/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[ma:nu]	hand
	[na:nu]	midget
	[la:ma]	blade
	[la:na]	wool

The /m/ has the allophone [ɱ] in some people's speech - in the speech of better educated people the word 'inferno' - hell, is pronounced [ɱfernu] whereas in the speech of those with less formal education the same word is pronounced [mpernu]. Note that the allocation of [ɱ] to /m/ and [ŋ] as in [loŋgu] to /n/ is arbitrary in the tradition of standard phonemics.

/n,ɲ/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[vi:na]	vein
	[viɲa]	vineyard
	[ɲoki]	gnocchi
	[noti]	night

The phoneme /n/ has the allophone [ŋ] occuring before velars i.e. [longu] - long.

/l,ʎ/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[mo:la]	molar
	[moʎa]	soft
	[la:na]	wool
	[ʎa]	there

The /l/ has the allophone [ḽ] - it occurs before close and mid-close front vowels, i.e.

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[ḽitru]	litre
	[bi:ḽəku]	scale
	[ḽepru]	rabbit
	[fiḽetu]	back

/l,r/	[lusu]	luxury
	[rusu]	red

/l,r/	DIALECT	ENGLISH
	[mu:lu]	mule
	[mu:ru]	wall
/f,v/	[fi:nu]	I finish
	[vi:nu]	wine
/s,ʃ/	[ʃorta]	diarrhoea
	[sorta]	kind
	[ka:sa]	house
	[ka:ʃa]	trunk
/c,ʝ/	[canku]	side
	[ʝanku]	white
/tʃ, dʝ/	[tʃi:na]	China
	[dʝi:na]	Gina
/ts, dz/	[ritsu]	curly
	[ridza]	stalk (broccoli)

Consonant phonemes: [p, b, t, d, c, j, k, ɣ, m, n, ɲ, l, ʎ, r, f, v, s, ʃ, ç, ʝ, w].

Note that the alternation [d] [ð], [ɣ] [g], [l] [ḷ] are in complementary distribution.

The Vowel Phonemes

/i,e,a,o,u/	[pitsu]	edge
	[petsu]	piece
	[patʃu]	mad
	[potsu]	I can
	[putsu]	well

The phonemes /i/, /a/, /u/ can occur at all positions, stress-
ed or unstressed, but /e/ and /o/ cannot occur at word final
position unless they are stressed.

The vowel phonemes have the following general allophonic
features - that they are laxer and more open when they are
unstressed and non-final than they are when unstressed and
final. Long vowels occur only in stressed positions and
short vowels in this position are tenser than elsewhere.

[ə] Central rounded unstressed

　　[kamə ra]　　　　　　　　　　　　　room

The vowel [ə] has a peculiar status even from a phonemic
point of view - no real contrast can be found for it.
Probably, however, a phonemicist would indicate /ə/ within
the inventory of vowel phonemes.

VOWEL LENGTH

/u,u:/	[tu:ta]	coveralls
	[tuta]	all
/e,e:/	[ve:ru]	true
	[veru]	boar
/o,o:/	[ko:ta]	share, quota
	[kota]	cooked
/i,i:/	[vi:ni]	veins
	[vini]	he came
/a,a:/	[pa:la]	shovel
	[pala]	he speaks

Whether it is vocalic or consonantal length that is treated as distinctive, certain unavoidable problems arise. If vowel length is treated as distinctive a contrast of vocalic length is evidenced only before voiceless consonants and nasals, in <u>stressed</u> syllables but not before voiced stops and voiced fricatives in the same context. And if consonantal length is treated as the distinctive feature, there are contrasts of consonantal length of voiceless consonants, nasals, and liquids after stressed vowels, but not of voiced stops and voiced fricatives.

Section IV: Footnote

1   B. Bloch and G.L. Trager, Outline of Linguistic Analysis,
      Baltimore, 1942, p.40.

SEGMENTAL DISTRIBUTION: A partial statement

V

This section attempts to:

1. Analyze the distribution of the consonants at root

    initial and at root final position.

2. Make descriptive statements concerning the distribution

    and phonetic relationships of these segments.

In the distributional analysis, both the order of occurrence
of the sound segments and their inter-relationships are considered
to be of great importance.   It is assumed that the phonetic and the
phonological features evident in the following examples will provide
sufficient data to make statements applicable to the entire phono-
logy of the linguistic system of the dialect.

The analysis of the distribution of the consonants will be
limited to root initial and to root final position.   Though limited,
it will suffice to enable observations to be made about certain
given aspects of the phonology.

The following is the distributional data:

<u>C</u>   ROOT INITIAL POSITION

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[p]	[paku]	package
[b]	[bela]	beautiful
[t]	[taku]	heel (shoe)
[d]	[disku]	record
[c]	[ca:ru]	clear
[ɟ]	[ɟa:ra]	gravel
[k]	[ka:ni]	dog
[m]	[ma:nu]	hand
[n]	[na:su]	nose
[ɲ]	[ɲorna]	dawns
[l]	[labru]	lip
[ɭ]	[ɭi:ɲa]	wood
[ʎ]	[ʎa]	there
[r]	[raʳju]	radio
[f]	[fa:mi]	hunger
[v]	[vi:na]	vein
[s]	[si:ra]	evening
[ʃ]	[ʃindi:ri]	to descend
[ç]	[çaŋku]	side
[ɣ]	[ɣaʎu]	rooster
[w]	[wi:ɣa]	guide
[j]	[jaŋku]	white
[ts]	[tsopu]	limp

<u>C</u>   ROOT INITIAL POSITION

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[dz]	[dze:ru]	zero
[dʒ]	[dʒisu]	chalk
[tʃ]	[tʃentu]	hundred

<u>CC</u>   ROOT INITIAL POSITION

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[pr]	[pri:mu]	first
[br]	[bratsu]	arm
[bl]	[blu]	blue
[tr]	[truku]	trick
[tj]	[tja:na]	claypot
[dr]	[dritu]	straight
[dj]	[dja:vɔlu]	devil
[kr]	[kra:pa]	goat
[kw]	[kwintu]	fifth
[mp]	[mpe:ru]	empire
[mb]	[mbi:tu]	invitation
[nt]	[ntornu]	around
[nd]	[ndavi:ri]	to have
[nts]	[ntse:mi]	together
[nc]	[ncostru]	ink
[nɟ]	[nɟuti]	swallows (he)
[ntʃ]	[ntʃensu]	incense
[ŋk]	[ŋkuntra]	encounters
[ŋg]	[ŋgana]	deceives
[ŋw]	[ŋwanti]	gloves
[gr]	[griɣu]	grasshopper
[fj]	[fjama]	flame
[fr]	[frisku]	fresh
[vj]	[vjadzu]	trip
[sp]	[specu]	mirror
[st]	[stiʎa]	star

CC   ROOT INITIAL POSITION

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[sc]	[scu:ma]	foam
[sk]	[ski:na]	spine
[zm]	[zma:nja]	craving
[zn]	[znelu]	slender
[zv]	[zvertu]	quick
[zb]	[zbotʃa:ri]	to blossom
[pj]	[pja:nu]	piano
[bj]	[bjonda]	blonde
[zw]	[zwardu]	look

Matrix of CC clusters at Root Initial Position

First element

	p	b	t	d	c	j	k	g	m	n	ŋ	ɲ	f	s	z	v
p									x					x		
b									x						x	
t										x				x		
d										x						
c										x				x		
ɟ										x						
k											x			x		
g											x					
m															x	
n															x	
l		x														
r	x	x	x	x			x					x				
f																
v															x	
j	x	x	x	x								x			x	
w							x				x			x		
t										x						
ts										x						

Second Element

CCC	ROOT INITIAL POSITION	
	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[mpj]	[mpjeɣa:tu]	employed
[mbr]	[mbroɟa:ri]	to swindle
[mpr]	[mpresta:ri]	to lend
[mbl]	[mbloka:ri]	to block
[spr]	[spremi:ri]	to squeeze
[str]	[stritu]	narrow
[skr]	[skrivi:ri]	to write
[ntr]	[ntrojta:ri]	to collect
[ŋgr]	[ŋgra:tu]	greedy
[ŋgl]	[ŋgle:si]	English
[zgr]	[zgrana:ri]	to devour
[zdr]	[zdraja:ri]	to lay down
[spj]	[spjeɣa:ri]	to explain
[ndj]	[ndja:nu]	Indian

Matrix of CCC clusters at Root Initial Position

	m	s	n	ŋ	z		
p	j,r	j,r					
b	l,r						
t		r	r				
k		r		r			
g				l,r	r		
d			j		r		

First element   -   on the horizontal line
Second element   -   on the vertical line
Third element   -   in the aquares

Root final position: Single consonants

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[p]	[ti:pu]	type
[b]	[ku:bu]	cubic
[t]	[tu:ta]	coveralls
[ʔ]	[ka:ʔu]	I fall
[c]	[ocu]	eye
[j]	[a:ɉu]	garlic
[k]	[spa:ku]	string, twine
[ɣ]	[la:ɣu]	lake
[m]	[la:ma]	blade
[n]	[la:na]	wool
[ɲ]	[va:ɲu]	bath
[l]	[pa:la]	shovel
[ɭ]	[pa:ɭi]	poles
[ʎ]	[paʎi]	bells
[r]	[ve:ru]	true
[f]	[bufa]	frog
[v]	[co:vu]	nail
[s]	[pi:su]	weight
[ʃ]	[ka:ʃa]	trunk
[c]	[cucu]	I blow (breathe)
[ʑ]	[leʑu]	I read
[ts]	[vitsju]	vice
[tʃ]	[kotʃi]	he cooks
[dz]	[ridza]	stalk
[dʑ]	[aʔadʑu]	slowly

Root final position: <u>CC</u> clusters

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[pr]	[apru]	I open
[br]	[labru]	lip
[tr]	[vitru]	glass
[kw]	[akwa]	water
[mp]	[tempu]	time
[mb]	[trumba]	trumpet
[nt]	[kwantu]	how much
[nd]	[unda]	wave
[ndʒ]	[kandʒu]	I change
[nts]	[antsi]	instead
[ndz]	[mendzu]	half
[ntʃ]	[ŋkumintʃa]	he starts
[ŋk]	[jaŋku]	white
[ŋg]	[loŋgu]	long
[ŋw]	[liŋwa]	tongue
[gr]	[agru]	sour
[fr]	[ofru]	I offer
[ft]	[nafta]	naphtha
[bj]	[nebja]	fog
[vj]	[bivju]	quandary
[rp]	[korpu]	blow
[rb]	[arba]	down
[rt]	[artu]	tall
[rd]	[kardu]	warm
[rc]	[torcu]	press
[rk]	[arku]	arc
[rg]	[largu]	wide
[rm]	[parma]	palm
[rn]	[karni]	meat
[rl]	[perla]	pearl
[fj]	[fifja]	fear

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[rv]	[nervi]	nerves
[rs]	[korsu]	course
[rd]	[ordʒu]	barley
[rts]	[urtsu]	bear
[rt]	[kartʃi]	kick
[rdz]	[burdza]	purse
[sp]	[raspa]	rasp
[st]	[posta]	post office
[sc]	[risca]	he risks
[sk]	[vosku]	woods
[lb]	[album]	album
[zm]	[azma]	asthma
[bj]	[dubju]	doubt

Matrix of root final CC clusters

	p	b	t	d	k	m	n	ŋ	g	f	v	r	s	z	l
p						x						x	x		
b						x						x			x
t							x					x	x		
d							x					x			
c												x	x		
j̃															
k								x				x	x		
g								x				x			
m												x		x	
n												x			
l												x			
r	x		x	x	x				x	x					
f												x			
v												x			
s							x					x			
j		x									x				
w							x	x							
dz							x					x			
ts							x					x			
dz							x					x			
t							x					x			

First element - horizontal axis

Second element - vertical axis

Matrix of root final CCC clusters

	m	s	n	r				
p	j r			r				
b	j r							
t		r	r					
k								
g								
d			j r					
m				j				
ts			j					

First element   -   horizontal axis
Second element   -   vertical axis
Third element   -   in the squares

Root final CCC clusters

	DIALECT	ENGLISH
[mpj]	[ampju]	ample
[mpr]	[sempri]	always
[mbr]	[sembra]	seems
[spr]	[aspru]	sour
[str]	[destra]	right
[ntr]	[kuntra]	against
[ndr]	[andrea]	Andrea
[mbj]	[kambju]	truck
[ntsj]	[silentsju]	silence
[rmj]	[risparmju]	saving
[ndj]	[ntʃendju]	fire

The preceding data provides evidence that the phono-
logical structure of this linguistic system has the follow-

ing consonant structure at root initial:

1. $\emptyset$

2. C

3. CC

4. CCC

An identical structure exists for the consonants at inter-vocalic position. The single consonants at initial position are generally impressionistically short; at intervocalic position, however, single consonants may be either phonetic-ally short or long. This quantitative feature is phonemic, e.g. [tuta] - overalls   [tut:a] - all

     [nana] - midget   [nan:a] - grandmother

There seems to be a reciprocal influence between the conson-ants and the vowels - whenever the vowel is short the follow-ing consonant is long and vice versa.

Phonology: Specific Aspects

VI

Now that we have provided a conspectus of the phonetic and phonemic (broad transcriptional) picture of the dialect, we shall proceed to discuss the concept of stress as being one of the main topics of this thesis, as specified in the statement of the study.[1]

STRESS: Preliminaries

The term 'stress' as used in this thesis, will correspond mainly to the concept of stress as has been described by D.B. Fry.[2] Whenever the term stress is used in this linguistic description, it refers to an impressionistic, relative or psychological aspect of speech sound analysis. This psychological or impressionistic aspect may correlate with at least four other impressionistic features, individually or compositely, namely: length, loudness, pitch and vowel quality - whose general physical correlates may be: duration, intensity, fundamental frequency and formant

structure. Note however, that experimental evidence indicates that such correlations are not necessarily one-to-one. Moreover, a one-to-one correspondence does not necessarily have to exist between the articulatory and the perceptual aspects of the processes of linguistic communication, although we leave this as an open question.

Thus the operational framework in this linguistic investigation of stress as well as of the other segmental aspects of the dialect is not of an instrumental type, but is rather based on the impressionistic aspect. Consequently any subsequent use of the term 'stress' will involve the general impressionistic phonetic terms such as: length, loudness, pitch and quality.

LENGTH

Stress is intimately related with the feature of 'segmental length'. It can be thought of as 'affecting' certain length variations of consonants and vowels; in the dialect however, such differences of length cannot generally be found where voiced stops and voiced fricatives are involved.

The variation in length of sound segments implies that there are impressionistic phonetic quantitative differences of notional time - between a phonetically 'long' and 'short' vowel or consonant. The length feature which is directly

related with stress is closely related to the phonemic
feature of length in the sense that contrast of length
(of vowels or consonants) occurs *only* in stressed syllables.

The length of the sound segments is generally predict-
able; it generally depends on the phonological structure of
the word. As was said earlier, phonemic contrast of length
was allocated to the vowels in stressed syllables. Of course
phonetic contrasts of length can be handled as contrasts in
tenseness so that segmental length becomes generally predict-
able.

LOUDNESS

Generally this refers to the amount of force which is
used to thrust out the air from the lungs; thus giving the
impression that the sound uttered with the greatest degree
of force is the loudest.

PITCH

This feature may correlate largely with the tensing of
the vocal cords - it is generally perceived as a feature in
the speech continuum. Its degree is constantly fluctuating
within given pitch patterns according to the particular
linguistic system. It is determined by the frequency of
vibration of the vocal cords - that is, the higher the

frequency, the higher the pitch.

In this thesis, however, I am not directly concerned with pitch phenomena since I am dealing with word phonology and pitch is not a distinctive feature at the word level of this linguistic system.

VOWEL QUALITY

Vowel quality is directly dependent on and defined by:
1. The shape given to the vocal tract by the movements of the active articulators.
2. The position of the tongue in the mouth and throat.
3. The shape of the lips.

A more detailed discussion of the factors determining vowel quality will be found on page 24. For the present discussion of stress the relevant vocalic quality is that stress vowels are generally more peripheral while unstressed vowels are centralized.

Many linguists define stress as a phoneme-size isolate. By doing this, they ignore the fact that stress is a syntagmatic, e.g. syllable or word feature, i.e. that it is a feature of units longer than a phoneme.

There are given variations of stress in words which can be specified by rule. However, although a rule may be formulated in such a way that it 'assigns' stress to a particular

segment of the word structure, this is merely a device to indicate that stress culminates 'around' and not absolutely 'at' the specified segment and it is not the property of it solely but a property of the unit to which the rule applies - generally, in this thesis, the unit WORD.

Thus the stress rule (or rules) that we shall establish in this analysis will be a 'word stress rule', which will indicate that stress is a feature of the whole word unit and not simply part of it. In order to specify the perceivable variations of stress in a word, a series of ordered iterative rules may have to be established.

The data in this thesis comprises:

1. The words of the dialect which are constant glosses of words from Standard Italian found in an Italian dictionary.[3]

2. Verb conjugations, nominal, and pronominal declensions, adjectival, adverbial, and other paradigms.

These items possess many phonetic, possibly also phonological, features in common, one of which is 'stress'.

Since many of the other Indo-European languages have regularly predictable word stress,[4] it is assumed reasonable to attempt an examination of the data in order to demonstrate that stress in the dialect is also a factor (of lexical structure) predictable by a rule of stress assignment, and that this rule is a very 'simple' one. This can be done

provided certain criteria are accepted amongst which is the one that grammatical information may be complementary to pure-ly phonemic or phonetic information.

We postulate a <u>Word Stress Assignment Rule</u>

$$V \longrightarrow [+ \text{ Stress}] / \underline{\hspace{2cm}} C_o^n V_o^n C_o^n \#$$

on the assumption that it assigns 'penultimate' stress phonologically to words. Then the question, "What kind of words will this rule account for?" is posed. It accounts for:

1. All words that impressionistically have penultimate stress.

2. Words comprising phonologically or phonetically more than one syllable.

3. All words which are monosyllabic but unstressed.

The rule as it stands, does not seem to account for words which have a phonological structure: <u>stressed monosyllables.</u>

The above cases <u>exclude</u> the use of emphatic stress be-cause this specific use and position of stress is not within the scope of the postulated rule. That is to say, we regard 'emphatic stress' as being something more like a 'morpheme' than a phonological rule.

It may seem on cursory examination that stressing or un-stressing can be predicted in relation to grammatical classes, i.e. certain monosyllabic prepositions are unstressed. How-

ever, prepositions like 'kuntra' or 'suta' or 'supra' will
not be predicted except by the use of the phonological rule.
The data has been divided into grammatical classes so that
certain phonetic/phonological phenomena that may be linked to
grammatical classes may be made more immediately clear.

In order to make this rule totally applicable without
complicating it by adding several sub-parts which may have
to be conjunctively or disjunctively ordered, this simple
rule is retained and other available linguistic devices, such
as ellipsis or anaptyxis, are examined to see if and how they
can contribute to the simplicity or generality of this rule.

Moreover, when children learn to speak they generally
acquire stress, rhythmic, intonation and pitch patterns
relatively quickly but this ability is lost or this ability
consistently decreases as they get older. It is also
generally the case that when one learns a foreign language,
usually the last phonetic/phonological feature one loses
is 'accent', i.e. stress patterns, pitch patterns, etc.
These are extremely 'strong' aspects of linguistic perform-
ance and they constitute bona fide reasons for seeking to make
the above rule as general as possible.

Thus the hypothesis is made that this will yield greater
generality about the segmental structure of the words. Note
that impressionistic strong stress may be caused 'by several
different things'; one of which would be segmental length.

Another cause is the morphological structure of some
words, such as that of [kun:ui] which gives the impression
that there is a kind of strong stress on the [u]. This
impression of strong stress, however, is not as strong as
that on the penultimate syllable and is due to the phono-
logical structure of this word - the double consonant has
to be accounted for morphologically as a kind of gemination.

The tri-syllabic words different from the [kun:u:i]
type and typified by [aŋkora] seem to have a different stress
pattern. Therefore the latter must be accounted for by
making the Stress Rule operate iteratively from right to left,
right through the word in such a way that it stresses trocha-
ically i.e. unstressed - stressed . . . $\stackrel{\smash{\vee}}{V}\,\acute{V}\,\stackrel{\smash{\vee}}{V}$

The first application of this rule to a word enclosed
between word boundaries yields: the ultimate syllable -
weak stress, the penultimate syllable - the strongest stress,
and the ante-penultimate - unstressed, unless it has a
morphological structure of the type [kun:u:i].

The words that consist of four syllables, whatever
morphological structure they may have, will have a stronger
stress on the first syllable than the second, and the fourth;
and be most strongly stressed on the third syllable: $V_2 V_3 V_1 V_4$

This accounts for the first syllable of a quadrisyllabic
word being more weakly stressed than the penultimate syllable

although it is stronger than the second and the fourth syllable and for the last syllable being weaker than the second from the left. Note that in the pre-penultimate, the second syllable sounds <u>weaker</u> than the last.

Thus in this thesis, it is assumed that there are good motivations for hypothesizing that word stress in the dialect is a feature that is generally predictable by a phonological rule of a <u>simple</u> kind. An attempt will be made to handle as much as possible of the word data in terms of a single penultimate stress assignment rule to allow the minimum number of <u>phonological</u> exceptions to this rule whether they be of a native or non-native provenance historically. This is done by maximally exploiting the available means; for example, by postulating segmental/morphophonemic elements where necessary or by predicting segments elsewhere in order to achieve generally the conditions required for the application of the simplest form of the stress assignment rule for words. The main reasons previously stated for this are as follows:

1. An examination of different languages and phonological theories suggest strongly that word stress is generally best regarded as a predictable feature, i.e. statable by a relatively simple rule. There is of course, the issue of the form and simplicity of such a rule which may be related to:

   a) the number of symbols used.

   b) whether the rule involves conjunctive or

disjunctive ordered subparts, i.e. whether the rule is a conflation of, in some sense, subrules or whether it is a simple rule involving neither conjunctively or disjunctively ordered sub-parts.

2. Intuition: It is generally felt that Italian and certainly the dialect are penultimate (for words) languages. This obviously correlates with the statistical predominance of words, however defined, so stressed in the language.

3. Language specific reasons: The primary analysis of the data seems to indicate that the relationship between stress, consonantal and vocalic length, general systematic phonemic relationships, etc. can be stated with maximal generality when stress is regarded as being totally predictable. This yields greater symmetry both of structure and distribution and a clear specification of the function and status of natural processes such as anaptyxis and ellipsis which are regarded as complementary phonetic/phonological functions in specifiable contexts. This is what is required of a theory.

4. The data as mentioned under 2 above, provides the motivation for the general assumption of the placement of stress by rule on the so-called penultimate syllable or vowel. However, there are cases in the data where stress 'occurs' on the prepenultimate

and on the ultimate syllable and, of course the
so-called monosyllables may be both stressed and
unstressed 'words' which seem to cause certain
problems on the surface. But it is hypothesized
than an attempt should be made to make stress
phonologically predictable in such a way that it
falls on the position correlative with phonological
penultimate position generally.

Saltarelli (1970) provides an analysis of the position of stress in the words of the Italian language (with particular reference to the linguistic system of Montecatini). There are in the language, according to him, stressed and unstressed words. The criterion used by him to decide whether a word is stressed or unstressed is the presence of primary stress in a so-called 'stress group'.

Saltarelli's reasons for using such an approach are best summed up by his own conclusion of what his predecessors had understood by the term 'stress' and how it should be analyzed:

> ".... stress is not 'locally determined' in the physical sounds by a strictly phonetic criterion. One cannot listen to a certain vowel and determine whether it is stressed or unstressed independently of a context and of a definition (A) according to which the most intense (or highest) of two or more vowels is assigned the primary stress. Thus to recognize stress one needs in addition to the sounds a definition and the correct word boundaries. We shall see that additional knowledge seems to be required in Italian phonemics. In fact the context in which the definition could be applied is minimally two vowels. Yet we find that certain bisyllables are termed 'unstressed' and some monosyllables are termed 'stressed'. This implies an additional definition (B) of pro- and en-'clitics': any word is said to be stressed or unstressed according to whether (in combination with other words in a 'stress group') it carries or does not carry the primary stress. Definitions (A) - (B) are both used in phonological descriptions, yet they intersect contrastively. Thus it seems that stress is characterized by higher grammatical definitions and not by a strictly phonetic criterion." [5]

And by his own understanding of the notion 'stress':

> "1. Stress is identified in speech sounds as intensity or pitch of vowels.

2. *Primary stress is recognized by definition.*
    a) It is that of the most intense or highest
        of two or more vowels in the same uninterrupted
        sequence of speech sounds, and
    b) this sequence must be a 'stress group'.

3. *Monosyllables or longer words are defined as stressed*
    or unstressed according to whether they ever carry
    the primary stress in 'stress groups'."   6

Saltarelli's notion of stress does not differ consider-

ably from his interpretation of the notion of stress held by

his predecessors. It is not with the similarities or dis-

similarities of these views that I am concerned; rather, it

is section (2) (b) and (3) that I would like to question.

A stress group may comprise more than one word. If the

stress group is composed of a so-called unstressed word and

a stressed word, then the placement of stress on one word and

not the other, is determined grammatically. But the unstress-

ed word in one grammatical context may carry the primary stress

in an alternate context depending on the syntactic and seman-

tic structure. This fact is not discussed by Saltarelli.

According to Saltarelli's three statements, which

summarize his interpretation of the term 'stress' and the

procedure for its analysis:

"(1) *Stress is identified in speech sounds as intensity*
      or pitch of vowels.

(2) *Primary stress is recognized by definition.*
     (a) It is that of the most intense or highest
          of two or more vowels in the same uninter-
          rupted sequence of speech sounds, and
     (b) this sequence must be a 'stress group'."

(3) *Monosyllables or longer words are defined as*
     stressed or unstressed according to whether they   7
     ever carry the primary stress in 'stress groups'."

By using this approach, an adequate analysis of stress would have to encompass the recording and analysis of all possible syntactic-semantic stress groups. But his analysis of stress in the words of the Italian language does not account for all possible structures in stress groups.

In certain so-called stress groups, the words which have been characterized by Saltarelli as unstressed actually do carry primary stress - these instances are where the so-called unstressed word is used emphatically or in other contexts. Emphatic stress has to be accounted for, either by stated omission or by rule - this Saltarelli fails to do - I account for it by stated omission.

Saltarelli classified the words of the Italian language which he termed 'stressed' under three main types:

1. Type   I: Ultimate

2. Type   II: Penultimate

3. Type III: Antepenultimate

In order to assign stress to these types of words Saltarelli postulated the following rules:

"*Rule (A): Assign PS to penultimate in the case of affixes +et+, + ɛl+, ...*

Rule (B): Assign PS to antepenultimate if penultimate is short.

Rule (C): Assign PS to penultimate of remaining words.

Rule (D): Assign PS to the ultimate vowel if the word (a) ends in /ɛ/,/ɔ/,/u/ (b) is 3rd person singular Preterit (c) belongs to the class of exceptions N: astracan,..." [8]

Saltarelli argued against a biunique approach between systematic phonetics and systematic phonemics in analyzing stress, but he makes use of rules, as will be pointed out, that have a certain arbitrary degree and kind of 'biuniqueness'.[9] His Rule (A) is largely biunique with morphophonological classes, i.e. particular suffixes. His Rule (B) is also to an arbitrary degree biunique with phonetic conditions without a specification of how <u>explanatory</u> this is. Rule (C) is also biunique with phonetic conditions and the same criticism can be levelled against it. And Rule (D) is biunique with highly specific phonetic and grammatical subclasses.

The question here is "Does Saltarelli reject the bi-uniqueness principle only between the levels of systematic phonetics and systematic phonemics or does he reject the biuniqueness concept as a general linguistic principle?" He specifically rejected biuniqueness between the two above mentioned levels although he prectices it to an arbitrary and unexplanatory and unexplained degree. However, if he rejects biuniqueness as a linguistic principle, then the question is "Why should it be accepted in one instance and rejected in another without justification?" It is however, clearly evident that there is a certain degree and kind of biuniqueness between phonetics/phonology and grammar and it could advantageously be used in the analysis of stress. The issue is such which cannot be pursued here - the one of

biuniqueness between grammar (the Non-interpretative component) and phonology (the Interpretative component), i.e. what is the degree of autonomousness of phonology, etc.

In my analysis of the position of stress in the words of the dialect of Bovalino Marina I will deal only with the position of stress in the words and not with what Saltarelli called 'stress group'. However, it may be necessary to consider certain words not as isolates but in their syntactic relationships. The criteria used in this analysis are not solely phonetic but also maximally general morphological, syntactic, and even semantic when relevant.

No definition of the term 'word' will be provided other than that which emerges from its use in the description. This analytic approach is not without its problems.

Section VI: Footnotes

1   See page 1

2   D.B. Fry,"Experiments in the Perception of Stress",
     Language and Speech I, 1958, pp. 126 - 152.

3   Mario Garzanti, ed., Grande Dizionario Inglese-Italiano,
     Italiano-Inglese, 1964.

4   Welsh - stress predictable on the penultimate syllable.
     Czech - stress predictable at word initial position.

5   Mario Saltarelli, A Phonology of Italian in a Generative
     Grammar, Mouton 1970, The Hague Paris, p. 32

6   Ibid. p. 32

7   Ibid. p. 32

8   Ibid. pp. 34 - 35

9   Noam Chomsky, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, Mouton,
     The Hague, 1964.

Stress in Word Phonology

VII

The data recorded shows that most words are stressed on the (phonetic) penultimate syllable. On the assumption that the biuniqueness, invariance, and linearity relationships between 'phonetics' and 'phonology' should be involved only when necessary[1], we shall attempt to generalize this penultimate stress rule to cover all the data, thus making stress totally predictable. The rule will be of the following form:

WORD STRESS ASSIGNMENT RULE

$$V \longrightarrow [+ \text{Stress}] \ / \ \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \ C_o^n V_o^n C_o^n \#$$

Explanation of the integers is given below.

There are cases however, where certain words in the dialect are seemingly not consistent with the structural requirements of the Word Stress Assignment Rule (W.S.A.R.) as stated. Of course, these words _may_ be regarded as exceptions to the stress rule and as a result the statement of stress assignment in the dialect would have to be more complex. For example:

a)   There would be a list of exceptions, or

b)   The W.S.A.R. would have to be expanded to contain

further subparts which would be conjunctively or

disjunctively ordered.[2]

On the other hand, the <u>generalization</u> of the W.S.A.R.

may be achieved by the process of postulation of certain

morphophonemic segments or the establishment of phonological

processes in such a way that the <u>seemingly</u> exceptional words

'obey' or are 'made to obey' the <u>simplest</u> form of the W.S.A.R.

as stated above. The consequences of this procedure are:

a)   It requires certain phonetic-phonological processes

such as <u>anaptyxis</u> be employed, which of course, have

to be justified by other considerations and motivations

such as generality of distribution, i.e. most economical

use of the feature of phonemic system/inventory, etc.

Thus in order to bring as many as possible (preferably

all) of the seeming exceptions within the scope of the

simple form of the W.S.A.R. above, it will be necessary

to utilize and examine more fully other complementary

means of linguistic analysis at our disposal, such as

the examination of the distribution and contrast,

structural generalization, e.g. the establishment of

basic forms, etc.

b)   It may "complicate" the phonological segmental structure

of the dialect at a level which is near to systematic

phonemics, in that it may give rise, for example to

consonant clusters that do not possess a one-to-one

correspondence to the phonetic data. That is, it may

become 'complicated' by deviating from the principles

of biuniqueness, invariance, and linearity. According

to Chomsky and Halle, these principles are not required

- are not even a desired feature of a phonological model

-although the degree of such remaining in the model

(involving the linking of systematic phonemic and

systematic phonetic levels) is not clear.

c)   It may involve what seems to be a complication due to

the necessity of postulating a /∅/ i.e. ZERO term for

consonant and vowel elements.

> "However, the postulation of ZERO elements is regarded
> as a direct consequence of any serious search for gen-
> erality."   3

This statement by Roberts can be compared with that

by W.S. Allen:

> "we may not have succeeded yet in clearly stating
> the conditions in which it is legitimate to speak
> of the presence of an element."   4

> "To this one might add the suggestion that in no
> particular case is it essential to employ the
> concept at all; and that its use arises only from
> the requirements of generalization."   5

Since generality is largely coterminous with a concept of

explanatory adequacy (See Roberts' Consonant and Vowel:

A Re-examination, 1971), the seeming complexity generated

by bringing exceptions within the operational bounds of

the form of the stress rule as stated above by using other

kinds of linguistic processes such as anaptyxis seems well

motivated in that it extends generality even though it appar-
ently is at the expense of biuniqueness, invariance, and
linearity, and now of the Naturalness Condition (Postal 1968).
Also, as will be seen later, such a procedure will have the
advantage of 'filling in' so-called gaps in the phonological
distributional structure in the language. The vocalic ele-
ment that is generated by an anaptyxis rule does not give rise
to consonant clusters nor to vocalic clusters which are evi-
denced in the phonetic data: e.g. vis-a-vis [barbəru] [biləku],
[kaləbru].   [rbr], [-lk-], and [lbr] do not occur as phonetic
consonant clusters. The postulation of anaptyctic processes
gives rise only to clusters which are not evidenced in the
phonetic data. Note that morpheme boundaries may be very
important in such cases.

We then assume that, in our search for maximum generality,
an attempt to establish the simplest form of the W.S.A.R.
is well motivated. Many difficulties arise as a result of
the assumption which concerns largely the nature of so-
called 'zero' elements but these difficulties arise to be
explained rather than to constitute an *a-priori* reason for
rejecting the use of 'zero' and the implied search for max-
imum generality. (See Roberts' Phonology 1)

It is also evident that in the dialect, particular prob-
lems arise that raise the question whether the Word Stress
Assignment Rule is the only means of generating 'stress'.

There are instances where <u>stress</u> seems to be an automatic
consequence of the syntactic structure of a sentence but
this need not be covered by the <u>Word</u> Stress Assignment Rule.
For example, every 'monosyllabic' utterance or sentence
must have primary stress. Thus, 'unstressed' words are
stressed when uttered in isolation as a consequence of
this general condition. That is, in [kupatri] - with
father, the [ku] is unstressed in this instance (unless
emphasised) but if it were used in isolation, it would carry
primary stress. Therefore, there may be two factors to be
considered:

1. The impression of stress within words.

2. Stress which is assigned as a consequence of syntactic
    properties.

In this thesis we are specifically dealing with word
stress as an isolate. But there are reasons to consider
word stress in relation to the grammatical category involved,
and its syntactic structure. The morphology in terms of
segmental structure of verbal paradigms may be shown to differ
from the morphological structure of nominal paradigms. The
morphological structure of the verbal paradigms is more
complex than that of the nominal class. Therefore, this
shows that there may be a close correlation between gram-
matical categories and segmental structure. It will be
hypothesized that even given this relationship between the
category verb and the morphophonemic structure, the Word

Stress Assignment Rule will still apply in its simplest form although other rules such as anaptyxis, or ellipsis, etc. may have to be used in ways specific to nominal as opposed to verbal categories, thus making clear the morphophonological differences between these grammatical categories.

Only in this way can a definitive and explanatory account of seeming (i.e. surface) exceptions be provided and a clarification of the nature of the concept of identity and identification be given in phonology specifically and in linguistics at large.

It may be said that stress in the dialect is phonemic: that is, it has the potential of distinguishing words that have the same phonemic structure but with different grammatical functions according to the position of stress. The syntactic and morphological structure is of crucial importance here:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[lavá:ti]	washed
[lávəti]	wash yourself
[pákʰi]	packages
[pakʰí]	why, because

However, a generative approach using postulated basic forms, grammatical information and Phonological rules will account for and predict these stress patterns.

Section VII: Footnotes

1   Compare Kiparsky, 1968.   Compare also Chomsky and
     Halle 1968, p. 168.

2   Noam Chomsky, "Some General Properties of Phonological
     Rules", Language, Vol. 43, 1967, pp. 102 - 129.

3   E.W. Roberts, Mimeo, S.F.U. 1970.

4   W. Hass, T.S.P., 1954, p. 77 No. 1.

5   W.S. Allen,"Zero and Panini, Indian Linguistics 16, 1955.

STRESS: Nouns

VIII

In the noun forms, as in the words of certain other grammatical categories, the position of stress is predictable, i.e. on the phonological penultimate syllable. The noun forms may be phonetically:

    1. Monosyllabic[1]

    2. Polysyllabic

If the W.S.A.R. is to demonstrate that there is stress on the phonetically monosyllabic nominal forms, phonologically polysyllabic forms must be postulated. These are exemplified by the following:

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
$/re + C_o V_o C_o/$	king

$$V \dashrightarrow \text{[+ Stress]} \quad / \text{———} \quad C_o^n V_o^n C_o^n \#$$

The phonetic realization of the postulated phonological segments, i.e. $/C_o V_o C_o/$ is $[\emptyset]$. Therefore, there seems no need to have any deletion rules to delete something

that is phonetically nothing in order to arrive at the
phonetic or spoken form: i.e. where biuniqueness exists,
it may be left unstated.

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[re]	king

It should be noted [e] can only occur at word final position
when it is stressed and by postulating /re+CVC/, [e] is not
at word final position. Further specification for the post-
ulated /CVC/ other than [ø] may emerge as a consequence of
further examination of morphophonemic alternations, so that
-CVC = øøø at the present stage of analysis can be taken as
a 'temporary' or intermediate stage of phonological repres-
entation relevant here. That is if [re] is to be related
morphophonemically by Phonological rules to 'regale', then
/reg-i/ may be postulated as the basic form and gi⟶ ø ø.

The phonetically polysyllabic nouns which are not stress-
ed on the penultimate syllable are classified under three
main groups according to their phonetic (and syllabic)
structure. For the forms in the first group it was also
found necessary to postulate the segments /-CVC/ at the
end of the spoken forms. For example:

Group I. Phonetically, finally stressed:
Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/bonta+$C_oV_oC_o$/	goodness

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/t∫ita+$C_oV_oC_o$/	city
/karita+$C_oV_oC_o$/	charity
/virtu+$C_oV_oC_o$/	virtue
/kafe+$C_oV_oC_o$/	coffee
/kumo+$C_oV_oC_o$/	dresser
/raɣu+$C_oV_oC_o$/	stew

Word Stress Assignment Rule

The postulated elements /+$C_oV_oC_o$/ in the above examples have a [∅] phonetic realization; therefore the spoken forms are:

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[bonta]	goodness
[t∫ita]	city
[karita]	charity
[virtu]	virtue
[kafe]	coffee
[kumo]	dresser
[raɣu]	stew

Note that the monosyllabic nouns and the first group of the polysyllabic nouns represent a class of nouns which do not overtly decline for number or gender - the plural form of the above cited nouns is phonetically identical to that of the singular form. The only differentiating element is the determiner:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[u#re]	the king
[i#re]	the kings
[a#t∫it^{h}a]	the city

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[i#tʃitʰa]	the cities
[a#virtu]	the virtue
[i#virtu]	the virtues

* # represents a word boundary

Group II. This group of polysyllabic nouns may be exemp-
lified by the following:

PHONOLOGICAL	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/bilku/	[biləku]	scale
/kalbru/	[kaləbru]	calibre
/aŋkra/	[aŋkəra]	anchor
/kamra/	[kaməra]	room
/arbru/	[arbəru]	tree
/komprtʃi/	[komprətʃi]	accomplice
/kredtu/	[kredətu]	credit
/komku/	[koməku]	comic
/tʃimtʃi/	[tʃimətʃi]	flee
/barbru/	[barbəru]	barbaric

Anaptyxis Rule

The anaptyxis rule inserts a vocalic element between the
two consonants whose sequence does not exist in the dialect's
phonetic system of consonant clusters. Thus the spoken
forms yielded are:

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[biləku]	scale
[kaləbru]	calibre

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ankɔra]	anchor
[kamɔra]	room
[arbɔru]	tree
[komprɔtʃi]	accomplice
[kredɔtu]	credit
[komɔku]	comic
[tʃimɔtʃi]	flee
[barbɔru]	barbaric

The anaptyctic vowel can generally be represented phonetically by [ɔ], though it may vary in quality. The qualitative difference of the anaptyctic vowel may vary according to:

    1.   Speech tempo

    2.   The phonetic or phonological contexts

    3.   The level of literacy of the speaker

Speech tempo is defined as the relative speed with which a person speaks. In this particular case the faster the native informant utters the above words the more likely the vowel is to be a [ɔ].

Under 3 it is assumed that the level of literacy of the speakers of this dialect influences the quality of the anaptyctic vowel and of the other vowels in the dialect's linguistic system. The anaptyctic vowel in any of the above mentioned words, when uttered at a slow tempo, may for literate speakers be similar in quality to the vowel in the corresponding place of the written word in Standard Italian and show a one-to-one correspondence between the 'letter' used in the spelling and its most common phonetic realisation, i.e. {i} = [i], {a} = [a], etc.

Therefore, the phonology may be affected by the strength of the <u>visual aspect</u> of the corresponding written Italian word. This raises the question of how to handle the effect of spelling pronunciation and still maintain phonological generality.

Dr. E.W. Roberts has suggested that this feature could be treated as a kind of 'optico-phonetic' appendage to the phonological component proper which may change values supplied by phonological rules. Thus, an anaptyctic vowel that is predictable generally as a [ə] type, may be given <u>phonologic-ally</u> unpredictable qualities by the 'optical' appendage to the phonological component, e.g.

		Spelling S.I.	Dialect
[ə] --> [i]	as in [arbitru]	arbitro	[arbətru]
[ə] --> [a]	as in [barbaru]	barbaro	[barbəru]

Under 2 a schematic representation of the possible vari-
ations of [ə] may be given:

High
↑
|
Spread Front ←——————— ə ———————→ Back Rounded
|
↓
Low
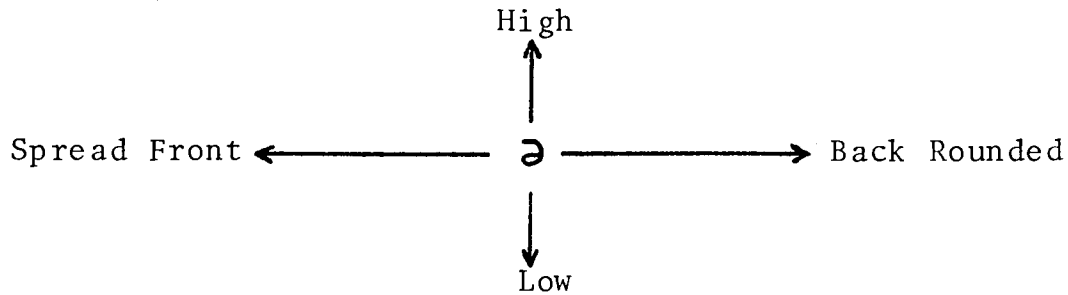
The quality of the anaptyctic vowel is determined by the

preceding consonant or consonants and is predictable.

For example, if the preceding consonant is a labial or a

velar, the vowel quality of the anaptyctic vowel may vary

from [ə] to [u], i.e. [amikevuli]

[panikulu]

[arburu]

If the preceding consonant is a dental, or the affricate

[tʃ], then the anaptyctic vowel may vary from [ə] to [i],

i.e.   [novesimu]

[cinisimu]

[detʃimu]

Its quality may be also determined by the preceding stressed

vowel, i.e. [biliku]

[kimika]

[kalabru]

Section VIII: Footnotes

1   Note that <u>all</u> Nouns are stressed but the W.S.A.R.
     phonological rule is required to generate the correct
     <u>place</u> of stress.

STRESS: Adjectives

IX

In order to describe the position of stress in the adjectives it was necessary to classify all the adjectival forms according to their so-called syllabic structure, their morphemic structure and their grammatical function. When these forms are classified according to their syllabic structure, they sub-divide into two major groups:

1. Monosyllabic

2. Polysyllabic:

    a) disyllabic

    b) other than disyllabic

The monosyllabic adjectives are of the following type:

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[blu]	blue

The form [blu] seems to be an exception:

1. In relation to the Word Stress Assignment Rule, it is always a stressed phonetically monosyllabic structure.

2. In relation to its consonant cluster which generally

at word initial position [bl] 'becomes' [bj-], i.e.

[blonda] → [bjonda].

3. It does not decline or obey the laws of agreement,

either of gender or number.

There seems to be several ways of accounting for this form.

Two of them are:

1. We can postulate the polysyllabic form /blu+CVC/,

and thus the W.S.A.R. can apply and stress the

penultimate syllable. There would not be a need

for more rules, e.g. deletion rules to yield the

spoken form, for the phonetic realization of the

postulated /+CVC/ is [ø].

2. It can be assumed that stress is not a feature of

the vocalic element only but rather that it extends

to elements preceding and following the so-called

stressed vowel. Thus there is good motivation to

postulate /b+V+lu/ or /bVluCVC/ as the phonological

form of [blu].

This is the converse of conflating consonant clusters by

phonologically postulating a vowel but phonetically we have

brought the consonants together. The postulated /+V+/ is

to be considered as vocalicity only, i.e. = zero. The

vocalicity cannot be given the identification of any of

the vowel phonemes of the dialect, that is, it cannot be

either [i],[e], [o], [u], [a], since they contrast here.

If specification of the vocalicity necessary can be repre-

sented by [ə] or [∅]. The presence of the vocalicity seems
to be indicated and well motivated by the juxtaposition of
[b] and [l]. A low phonetic rule would then have to be
applied to define the change from [b∅l] → [bl]. This pro-
cess can be exemplified thus:

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/b+V+lu+CVC/	blue

1. Word Stress Assignment Rule

The phonetic realization of /+CVC/ is [∅], therefore there is
no need for rules to delete the postulated /+CVC/.

/V/ = morphophoneme

/V/ -------→ [∅] thus [b∅l] ---- [bl]

[b∅lu∅∅∅] -------→ [blu]

The qualifier [cu] also seems to be an exception to
the principles already established:

1. It does not overtly decline or obey the laws of
   agreement.

2. In certain specifiable syntactic functions it is
   stressed and in others it is unstressed.

This form is unstressed whenever it is used as a simple
quantifier function and is stressed when used as an indefinite
nominal. If [cu] precedes the nominal form it quantifies,
then it is unstressed. For example:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
#voju#cu#pani#	I want more bread

Note its function as a quantifier-adverb used with adjectives
where it is also unstressed, e.g.

DIALECT	ENGLISH
#kiʎa#e#cu#bel:a#	That one is more beautiful

If the form [cu] does not precede an overt word which it
modifies, then it is stressed, e.g.

DIALECT	ENGLISH
#voju#cu#	I want more
#dam:i#cu#	Give me more

We postulate that the stressed [cu] has the structure
/cu+CVC/.

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies as stresses [cu-]. Again
there is no need for rules to 'delete' the /+CVC/ for the
phonetic realization is generally $\emptyset$. Note that /CVC/ (- ([$\emptyset$])
here can be regarded as having the morphological function or
status of a nominal suffix.

The disyllabic adjectives are exemplified by the follow-
ing:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[kardu]	warm
[bo:nu]	good
[va:ʃu]	low
[artu]	tall
[rusu]	red

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies quite simply in these
cases.

The polysyllabic adjectives other than the disyllabic ones may be further subdivided according to their morphemic structure:

1. Root + participial morpheme + gender/number morpheme

2. Root + a) adjectival comparative degree morpheme
          b) adjectival superlative degree morpheme

3. Root + gender/number morpheme (simple, non-derived adjectival forms).

The adjectival forms composed of the combination of a root morpheme plus a participial morpheme plus a gender/number morpheme marker are of the following type:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[barbu:tu]	bearded
[vaɲa:tu]	wet
[lava:tu]	washed
[warda:tu]	watched

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies without complication. The forms classified under 2. (a) require that the analysis of stress be done on <u>postulated</u> structures, which after the application of the Anaptyxis Rule will yield the corresponding spoken forms:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/amabli/	amiable
/amikevli/	friendly
/pjatʃevli/	likeable
/lavabli/	washable

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II Anaptyxis Rule

The anaptyctic vowel in the above examples is of a [ə] to
[ʋ] type. Its insertion in the environment VC — CV yields
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad$ [b] [l]
the spoken forms:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[amabəli]	amiable
[amikevəli]	friendly
[pjatʃevəli]	likable
[lavabəli]	washable

And the forms classified under 2. (b) are of the following
type:

BASIC FORM	ENGLISH
/amarismu/	bitterest
/artismu/	tallest
/cinismu/	fullest

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   Anaptyxis Rule - this yields the spoken forms:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[amarisəmu]	bitterest
[artisəmu]	tallest
[cinisəmu]	fullest

The third group of adjectives typifies the simple, non-derived
forms which are composed of a root morpheme or stem and a
gender/number morpheme. The type of phonological structures
postulated for this class of adjectival forms are:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/barbru/	barbaric
/fimna/	female

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II Anaptyxis Rule

This yields the spoken forms:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[barbɘru]	barbaric
[fimɘna]	female

Note [m] is quite long as expected.

The sequence of [1] + consonant found in Standard Italian words generally becomes [r] + consonant in the spoken forms of the dialect. For example:

DIALECT	STANDARD ITALIAN
[kardu]	[kaldo]
[artu]	[alto]
[kartʃi]	[kaltʃe]
[arbɘru]	[albero]

Though the phonetic sequence of [1] + consonant does not exist in the phonetic representation of the words of the dialect, it does however exist in the postulated basic forms:

DIALECT	PHONETIC	ENGLISH
/bilku/	[bilɔku]	scale
/kolku/	[kolɘku]	cholic

Thus the phonology of the postulated forms differs in certain given manners from the spoken forms, i.e. in the consonant clusters. Note the older morphological forms of these: /kol + ik/ , /bil + ik/ where /ik/ was obviously a suffix.

The result of certain phonological or sound change rules may be the <u>deletion</u> of certain morpheme boundaries so that they may no longer be functional.

STRESS: The numerical forms

X

The cardinal numerical forms are stressed on the penultimate syllable. Thus [unu], [dui], [kwat^{h}ru], [tʃiŋku], [sei], etc. are regularly stressed. Phonetically, there are both so-called monosyllabic and polysyllabic numerical forms. For the monosyllabic phonetic forms we postulate phonologically polysyllabic forms. That is:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/tri+CVC/	three

i.e. effectively [tri] may be thought of as /trii/ with a generalized structure /triC$_0$iC$_0$/ or even /triC$_0$V$_0$C$_0$/ but /trii/ is better for accounting for [triʒətʃi].

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies and /i+i/ ⟶ [i]

The disyllabic forms are regularly stressed on the penultimate syllable:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[unu]	one
[dui]	two
[kwat^{h}ru]	four
[tʃiŋku]	five

- 91 -

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[sei]	six
[set^{h}i]	seven
[ot^{h}u]	eight
[novi]	nine
[detʃi]	ten

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule applies.

The polysyllabic forms other than the disyllabic ones can be said to be (morphemically) compound. This class of forms may be subdivided into two subclasses:

1. Numerical forms from eleven to sixteen whose morphemic structure is: modified + modifier.

2. Numerical forms from seventeen to nineteen whose morphemic structure is: modifier + modified by Readjustment Rule. The modifier is 'deci' which is converted to   [-DVtʃi]   by a Readjustment Rule for compounds and this is [dətʃi] for 1. and [ditʃa-] for 2.

The former subclass will be described by postulating the following forms:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/undVtʃi/	eleven
/dudVtʃi/	twelve
/tridVtʃi/	thirteen
/kwat:ordVtʃi/	fourteen
/kwindVtʃi/	fifteen
/sidVtʃi/	sixteen

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies. Note that obviously

there are many morphophonological issues involved in the numerals which I cannot go into here.

The forms pertaining to the latter of the subdivisions seem to have the opposite morpheme sequence in their structure:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ditʃaset^{h}i]	seventeen
[ditʃot^{h}u]	eighteen
[ditʃanovi]	nineteen

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule applies.

The ordinal numerical forms will also be described according to their morphemic structure:

1.   Simple forms

2.   Compound forms

The simple forms are of the following type and are few in number:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[primu]	first
[sekundu]	second
[tertsu]	third
[kwartu]	fourth
[kwintu]	fifth
[sestu]	sixth
[ot^{h}a:vu]	eight

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies here. Other phonological issues are not dealt with here.

The ordinals for 'seventh', 'ninth', and 'tenth' which are morphologically different are also simple relative to the W.S.A.R. and also require the Anaptyxis Rule.

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/setmu/	seventh
/novesmu/	ninth
/detʃmu/	tenth
/unditʃesmu/	eleventh
/kwinditʃesmu/	fifteenth
/vintesmu/	twentieth

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   Anaptyxis Rule

The anaptyctic vowel is of an [ə] type. The application of the Anaptyxis Rule yields the spoken forms:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[setʰəmu]	seventh
[novesəmu]	ninth
[detʃəmu]	tenth
[unditʃesəmu]	eleventh
[kwinditʃesəmu]	fifteenth
[vintesəmu]	twentieth

STRESS: Adverbs

XI

The analysis of stress in the adverbial forms is similar to that of the adjectives. The adverbs differ from nouns and from most adjectives by not overtly declining or obeying the laws of agreement for gender and number. The adverbial forms are of the following type:

1. Monosyllabic

2. Polysyllabic: a) positive degree
                  b) superlative degree

For the phonetically monosyllabic forms the following struct-ures are postulated to exemplify this class:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/cu-CVC/	more
/dʒa-CVC/	already
/ka-CVC/	here
/ʎa-CVC/	there

The /-CVC/ that has been postulated here may be simply morpho-phonemic or morphological, i.e. /-CVC/ = [∅] may be adverbial suffixes.

I Word Stress Assignment Rule applies.

The spoken forms of the above structures are:

DIALECT   ENGLISH

[cu]   more
[dʒa]   already
[ka]   here
[ʎa]   there

The polysyllabic adverbial forms in the positive degree are
of the following type:

DIALECT   ENGLISH

[ma:li]   bad
[bɔ:na]   well
[fatʃirmenti]   easily
[ca:nu]   slow
[sempri]   always

Word Stress Assignment Rule applies.

For the superlative degree, the following adverbial forms
are postulated:

DIALECT   ENGLISH

/fortismu/   strongest
/malismu/   worst, very bad
/fatʃiʎismu/   easiest

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II Anaptyxis Rule

After the application of the anaptyxis rule a [ə] type of
vowel is generated between the [s] and the [m] . The spoken
forms are:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[fortisəmu]	strongest
[malisəmu]	worst, very bad
[fatʃilisəmu]	easiest, very easy

The anaptyctic vowel seems to be necessary in such position not only from the stress assignment point of view but also from the phonetic point of view. That is, any sibilant whenever it forms a cluster it must assimilate, either by becoming voiced or voiceless according to the other consonantal element. Therefore, had the anaptyctic vowel not been there the [s] would have had to become [z] because of the [m], e.g. as in [zmanja] - a great desire (for something), [azma] - asthma. Compare [fantazma] and [fantastəku].

Phonological consonant clusters

XII

In the analysis of the position of stress it was nec-
essary to postulate certain phonological structures to
generate the position of stress in the word. By doing this,
certain phonological consonant clusters emerged which are
not evidenced in the phonetics of the data. These are:

Phonological consonant clusters at root final position

/-CC-/

/bl/	/amabli/	lovable
/bt/	/sabtu/	Saturday
/dt/	/jidtu/	finger
/t^{h}l/	/barat^{h}lu/	pot
/t^{h}m/	/at^{h}mu/	instant
/kl/	/artiklu/	article
/kn/	/joknu/	they play
/lk/	/bilku/	scale
/mk/	/komku/	comic
/mr/	/kamra/	room
/mt /	/tʝimtʃi/	flee
/nm/	/anma/	soul
/mn/	/fimna/	female
/vt/	/lavti/	wash yourself
/vl/	/tavlu/	table

/-CC-/

/vn/	/kantavnu/	they were singing
/tʃm/	/detʃmu/	tenth
/sm/	/cinismu/	fullest

Phonological consonant clusters at root final position

/-CCC-/

/mbl/	/bumbla/	container (clay)
/mprt/	/komprtʃi/	accomplice
/nnr/	/tennru/	tender
/ŋkr/	/aŋkra/	anchor
/ntn/	/kantnu/	they sing
/ntl/	/tirantla/	spider
/ŋgl/	/aŋglu/	angle
/nds/	/brindsi/	toast
/lbr/	/kakbru/	calibre
/skl/	/masklu/	male
/stt/	/kusttu/	cost
/stv/	/vintʃistvu/	you won
/rbr/	/arbru/	tree
/rdn/	/perdnu/	they lose
/rtn/	/portnu/	they bring
/rkl/	/tʃirklu/	circle
/rft/	/forftʃi/	scissors

/-CCCC-/

| /rbtr/ | /arbtru/ | referee |

Some of these clusters will be divided up by morpheme boundaries and as such are not phonological clusters, e.g. /port+nu/, /vintʃist+vu/.

The preceding is not an exhaustive account of all the
phonological clusters necessary to describe the data; but,
it demonstrates certain given differences between phonetics
and phonology. Its limitations are also apparent in the
omission of the explanation of certain sound changes, i.e.
[fjam:a], [ʂuri], [ʂumara], etc. Some of these clusters
will be divided up by morpheme boundaries and as such are
not phonological clusters, e.g. /port+nu/, /vintʃist+vu/.

ANALYSIS OF THE VERB: A partial statement

XIII

This analysis incorporates a discussion of the position
of stress in the verb forms, and a partial morphophonemic
statement. As with the other grammatical categories, in
the analysis of the verb forms, stress is considered a pre-
dictable feature.

In order to achieve a satisfactory analysis of stress
in the verbs, a morphophonemic examination of the data is
absolutely necessary. This examination postulates on prin-
cipled grounds certain specific segments within the structure
of the word forms in order to:

a) Locate conditions where the W.S.A.R. applies

b) Generalize the structure of the verbal paradigms
    so that surface form variations will be statable,
    i.e. predictable by rule.

Thus the hypothesis that the morphemic shape of the elements
marking tense and aspectual characteristics of these verbs
show a phonological similarity in their composition seems
a reasonable one, i.e. its basic elements postulated belong

to a particular phonetic-phonological class or intersection of features.

CONJUGATIONS

In the verb system of the dialect there are two main verb conjugations that may be distinguished by the quality of the penultimate vowel which corresponds to the thematic vowel:

1. /+a+ri/

2. /+i+ri/

The /+/ is used here to mark morpheme boundary.

Verbs belonging to the /+a:+ri/ conjugation are exemplified by the following:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[lav+a:+ri]	to wash
[arts+a:+ri]	to raise, to lift
[wiδ+a:+ri]	to guide
[lavur+a:+ri]	to work
[jok+a:+ri]	to play
[kant+a:+ri]	to sing

Verbs belonging to the /+i:+ri/ conjugation are of the following type:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[fin+i:+ri]	to finish
[kus+i:+ri]	to sew
[sent+i:+ri]	to hear
[ven+i:ri]	to come

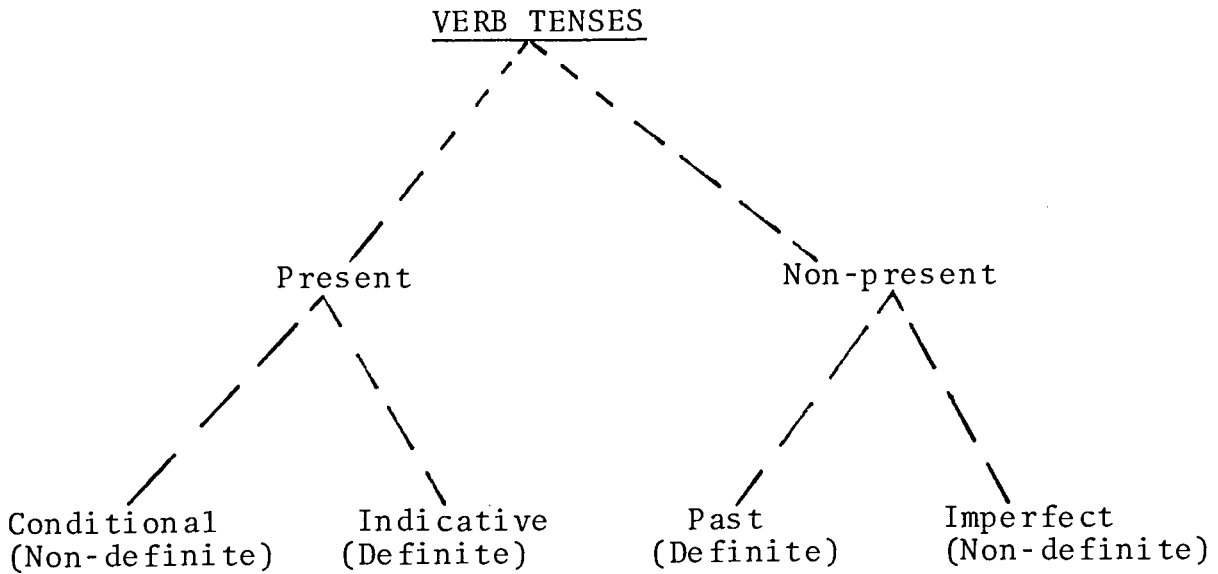| DIALECT	ENGLISH
[kaɗ+i:ri]	to fall
[sap+i:+ri]	to know
[voʎ+i:+ri]	to want

THE VERB TENSES

The verb tenses of the dialect are:

1. Present

2. Imperfect

3. Past definite

4. Present Conditional

5. Past Conditional - this consists of the same paradigm of the present conditional of the verb 'to hear' or 'to be' plus a past participle.

The number of conjugated tenses and moods in the dialect may seem a reduction in comparison with the verb system of Standard Italian. Although fewer inflected verb tenses exist in the dialect, the verb system compensates by an extensive use of 'periphrastic' tenses (not discussed in this thesis), i.e. past conditional. Thus to express certain time relations, adverbial modifiers are often used:

[vaju palakwa domani] - I will go for the water tomorrow

[vaji e statuniti u prosimu anu] - he will go to the U.S. next year

The dialect's verb system may be represented thus:

VERB TENSES

Present   Non-present

Conditional   Indicative   Past   Imperfect
(Non-definite)   (Definite)   (Definite)   (Non-definite)

The morphophonemic elements postulated to mark the different tenses are as follows:

      Present Indicative: /ø/

      Imperfect Indicative: /u/

      Past Definite: /x/

      Present Conditional: /ɣ/

Of note is that these morphophonemic elements all belong to one class of sounds:

Present Definite	/ø/ -	+grave -voice
Past Indefinite	/u/ -	+grave -voice
Past Definite	/x/ -	+grave -voice
Present Indefinite	/ɣ/ -	+grave -voice

This allows a situation of <u>congruence</u> to be maintained between grammar and phonology.

The Past Conditional consists of the Present Conditional
forms of either 'to be' or 'to have' plus a past participle.

Present   Non-Present

Non-definite   Past definite

{ to be }   Past participle
{ to have }   [-utu]
[y]
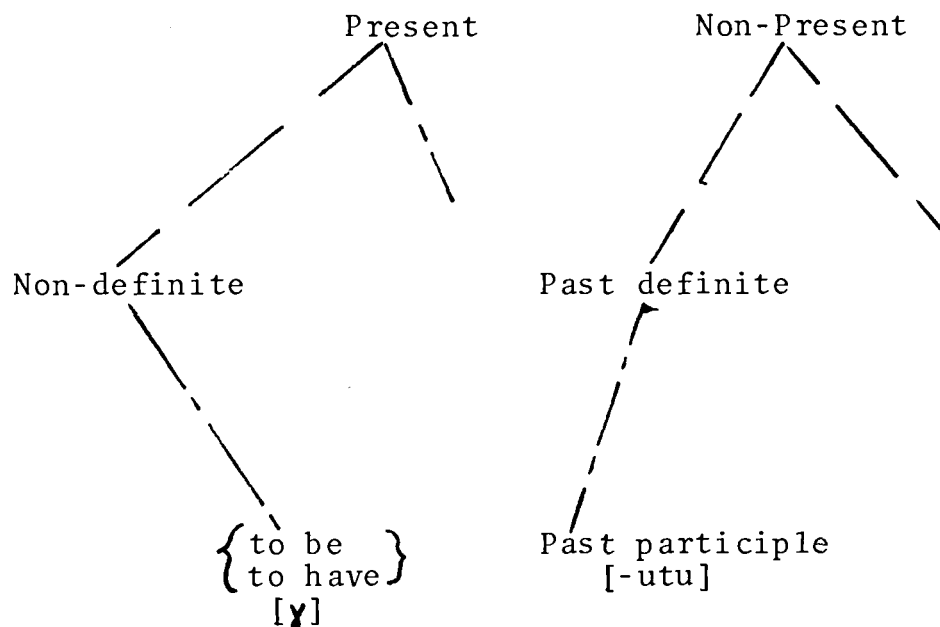
STRESS: Verbs

As predicted by the Word Stress Assignment Rule, the
position of stress in the verb forms is on the phonologically
penultimate syllable or vowel. The infinitive verb forms may
be analysed as:

1. The spoken or surface forms to which the W.S.A.R.
    applies without adding or deleting morphophonemic
    elements.

2. Those verb forms to which morphophonemic segments
    have to be added or deleted before the W.S.A.R. can
    apply. The verb forms characterized by 1. are
    stressed on the thematic vowel - the penultimate

syllable:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[lava:ri]	to wash
[kusi:ri]	to sew
[veni:ri]	to come
[poti:ri]	to be able
[vindi:ri]	to sell

The W.S.A.R. applies.

And group 2. is characterized by only one infinitive verb for which a phonological form is postulated so that the W.S.A.R. applies:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/es+ri/	to be

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule applies.

II Anaptyxis Rule - this yields the spoken form: /sr/ -→ /sVr/

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[esəri]	to be

This verb does not seem to have a thematic vowel, and the quality of the anaptyctic vowel is quite close. A complete analysis of the paradigm of the verb 'to be'[1] may require the postulation of a different basic form for the root and subsequently different phonological rules, i.e. to relate the /s/ found in the form [suɲu] - I am - to the /s/ of [est]

- he is, etc.

THE VERB TENSES

Present Indicative

The verb: [porta:ri] - to bring

Phonetic form:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[portu]	I bring
[porti]	you bring
[porta]	he brings
[porta:mu]	we bring
[porta:ti]	you bring
[portɔnu]	they bring

Postulated form:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/port+a+u/	I bring
/port+a+i/	you bring
/port+a+a/	he brings
/port+a+mu/	we bring
/port+a+ti/	you bring
/port+a+un/	they bring

The postulated structure of the verb forms:

Verb root   +   Thematic vowel /a/   +   Inflectional ending.

The thematic vowel has been postulated as a consistent ele-
ment of the basic form of the verb paradigm here because its
presence in certain phonetic forms suggests that it is best
treated as a regular and consistent part of the postulated

basic or phonological form, i.e. it does not appear in some

phonetic or surface forms of the verb because of certain

phonological processes, e.g. assimilation, deletion, etc.

II   Thematic Vowel Assimilation Rule

$$[\partial] \text{------------} \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{qualities} \\ a/i \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{qualities} \\ \text{Them. vowel} \end{bmatrix} \text{----} \quad \#$$

III   Ellipsis Rule

$$V \text{-------} \rightarrow \quad [\phi] \quad / \quad \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \quad V\#$$

IV   Metathesis Rule

$$\begin{matrix} V & - & [n] & \# \text{-----------} \rightarrow & [n] & + & V \\ 1 & & 2 & & 2 & & 1 \end{matrix}$$

i.e. /portun/ -----------> /portnu/

V   Anaptyxis Rule

$$[\phi] \text{--------------------} \rightarrow [\partial] \ / \ \underset{[r]}{C} \ \underset{[t]}{C} \text{-----------} \underset{[n]}{C}$$

This rule yields [port∂nu]

The verb [ofri:ri]   -   to offer

Present Indicative:

Spoken :

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ofru]	I offer
[ofri]	you offer
[ofri]	he offers

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ofri:mu]	we offer
[ofri:ti]	you offer
[ofrᶿnu]	they offer

In the postulated form of this verb, the thematic vowel has been postulated in all the forms of the paradigm:

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/ofr+i+u/	I offer
/ofr+i+i/	you offer
/ofr+i+ᶿ/	he offers
/ofr+i+mu/	we offer
/ofr+i+ti/	you offer
/ofr+i+un/	they offer

I   Assimilation Rule

    /ofri/ ----------------➤ /ofrii/

II   Ellipsis Rule

    [i] ----------------➤ [∅] / ———— Vowel

    Yielding:

          /ofriu/ --------➤ [ofru]

          /ofrii/ --------➤ [ofri]

          /ofriun/ ------➤ [ofrun]

III Word Stress Assignment Rule

IV   Metathesis Rule

    /ofrun/ -----------➤ /ofrnu/

V   Anaptyxis Rule - it yields the spoken form:

/ofrnu/ ---------> [ofrənu]

The verb: [poti:ri] - to be able

Present Indicative

This verb is generally labelled irregular in handbooks of

Standard Italian because its alternations seem much more

complex than other 'regular' verbs.

Spoken form:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[potsu]	I am able, I can
[po:i]	you are able
[po:ti]	he is able
[poti:mu]	we are able
[poti:ti]	you are able
[pon:u]	they are able

The postulated form of this verb paradigm is:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/pot+i+u/	I am able
/pot+i+is/	you are able
/pot+i+ət/	he is able
/pot+i+mu/	we are able
/pot+i+ti/	you are able
/pot+i+un/	they are able

This verb shows irregularities, vis-a-vis consonantal alterna-

tions. For the second and third person singular, basic forms

have to be postulated in order to account for the presence

or absence of root final /t/. That is, /-s/# and /-t/#

respectively. Ordering of the following rules is crucial.

I   Affrication Rule

$$[t] \longrightarrow [ts] \;/\; \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \begin{bmatrix} i \\ +high \\ +front \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} u \\ +high \\ -front \end{bmatrix} \#$$

This exludes the third person plural.

II   Deletion Rule

$$[t] \longrightarrow [\emptyset] \;/\; \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \; V \; V \; \begin{bmatrix} +Cons. \\ +Cont. \\ +coronal \\ \vdots \end{bmatrix} \#$$

$$[\dot{s}]$$

/pot+i+is/ -------------> /po+i+is/

III Thematic Vowel Assimilation Rule

$$[\partial] \longrightarrow [i] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix} i \\ Them \\ Vowel \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} C \#$$

/pot+i+∂t/ --------------> /pot+i+it/

IV   Ellipsis Rule

$$V \longrightarrow [\emptyset] \;/\; \underline{\hspace{2cm}} V \; (C) \#$$

This rule yields:

/potsu/   /potimu/

/pois/   /potiti/

/potit/   /potun/

V   Word Stress Assignment Rule

VI   Consonant Deletion Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Cons. \\ -Nasl \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\emptyset] \;/\; \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \#$$

Giving: /po:i/   The length of the vowel is predictable

/po:ti/

The ordering of Rules V and VI is not essential.

VII Metathesis Rule

   /potun/ - - - - - - - - ➤ /potnu/

VIII Consonant Assimilation Rule

   /t+n/ - - - ➤ /nn/ / V ——— V#
   /potnu/ - - - - - - - - - ➤ /ponnu/

The Imperfect Indicative

Spoken form:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[porta:vu]	I used to bring
[porta:vi]	you used to bring
[porta:va]	he used to bring
[porta:umu]	we used to bring
[porta:uvu]	you used to bring
[portavənu]	they used to bring

Postulated form:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/port+a+w+u/	I used to bring
/port+a+w+i/	you used to bring
/port+a+w+a/	he used to bring
/port+a+w+mu/	we used to bring
/port+a+w+vu/	you used to bring
/port+a+w+un/	they used to bring

The structure of this verb tense is:
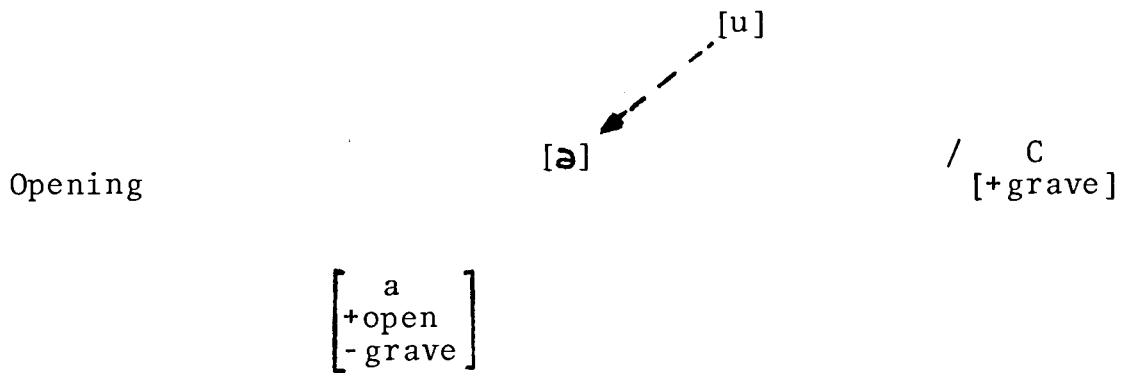
Verb Root + Thematic Vowel + tense marker + Inflectional
                                                  ending.

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   Consonantalization Rule

$$/ \overset{\text{u}}{\underset{\wedge}{\text{}}} / \text{-----------} \rightarrow \text{ v / V ---- V}$$

Thus [a] + [u] + C ------> [au/aə]. Note that the free variation between the u and the can be explained to a certain extent by the following diagram:

Opening

[u]

[ə]   /   C
                            [+grave]

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{a} \\ +\text{open} \\ -\text{grave} \end{bmatrix}$$

IV   Metathesis Rule

/portavun/   ----------->   /portavnu/

V   Anaptyxis Rule

/portavnu/   ----------->   /portavənu/

The verb: [ofri:ri] - to offer

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ofri:a]	I used to offer
[ofri:vi]	you used to offer
[ofri:a]	he used to offer

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ofre:mu]	we used to offer
[ofri:uvu]	you used to offer
[ofre:nu]	they used to offer

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/ofr+i:+u̯+a/	I used to offer
/ofr+i:+u̯+i/	you used to offer
/ofr+i:+u̯+a/	he used to offer
/ofr+i:+u̯+mu/	we used to offer
/ofr+i:+u̯+vu/	you used to offer
/ofr+i:+u̯+un/	they used to offer

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   Deletion Rule

$$[\underset{\sim}{u̯}] \dashrightarrow [\emptyset] \;/\; \underset{[close]}{V} \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \underset{[open]}{V}$$

III   Consonantalization Rule

$$[\underset{\sim}{u̯}] \dashrightarrow [v] \;/\; \underset{\begin{bmatrix}+close\\+front\end{bmatrix}}{V} \underline{\hspace{1.5cm}} \underset{\begin{bmatrix}+close\\+front\end{bmatrix}}{V}$$

IV   Metathesis Rule

/ofri:uun/ $\dashrightarrow$ /ofriunu/

V   Vowel Opening Rule

$$\begin{bmatrix}V\\+close\\-grave\end{bmatrix} + [u] \dashrightarrow [e:] \;/\; \underline{\hspace{1.5cm}} \underset{[nasal]}{C}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix}i\\+close\\-grave\end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix}u\\+close\\+grave\end{bmatrix} \;/\; [+nasal]$$

$$\downarrow \qquad\qquad\qquad \downarrow$$

[e]   ([ə] ⤺--) [o]

Thus: /ofri:umu/ ---------→ /ofre:mu/

       /ofri:unu/ ---------→ /ofre:nu/

When the thematic vowel of the verb is [a] , the first person singular of the inflectional ending of the imperfect indicative is [u] , and if the thematic vowel is [i] the inflectional ending for the first person singular is <u>predict-able</u> [a].

The analysis of the verb paradigms for [poti:ri] , and [vindi:ri] would be repetitive to that of [ofri:ri], and are therefore omitted.

The Past Definite

The verb: [porta:ri] - to bring

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[porta:i]	I brought
[portasti]	you brought
[porta:u]	he brought
[portam:a]	we brought
[portastəvu]	you brought
[porta:ru]	they brought

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/port+a+x+i/	I brought
/port+a+x+ti/	you brought
/port+a+x+u/	he brought
/port+a+x+ma/	we brought
/port+a+x+t+vu/	you brought
/port+a+x+un/	they brought

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   /x/ --------> [∅] / V ——— V#

      /x/ -------> [∅] / V ———[nasal]

Although the /x/ ------> [∅], it nevertheless 'acts' as a consonant which assimilates with the following one making it phonetically long, and the preceding vowel short. This consonant place does more than fill in a phonetic gap - it functions as a morphophoneme.

In the present tense -   /+a+mu/ ---------/a:mu/

In the past definite tense - /+a+x+ma/ -------/am:a/

Thus the /x/ is a marker of tense. In the present indicative tense there is no overt tense marker; thus, the dialect's verb tense system can be characterized as 'plus present' and 'minus present'.

III /x/ -------> [s] / ——— [Voiceless]
                            [stop   ]
                              [t]

Thus: /portaxti/ --------> /portasti/

             /portaxtvu/ -------> /portastvu/

IV   Rhotacism Rule

      /x/ ----------> [r] / V —— V [+nasal] #

This would in turn 'bleed' the metathesis rule[2] and yield:

      /portaxun/ ------->/porta:run/

The phonetic processes involved for the /x/ to become /r/ can be postulated to be thus:

[x] -------> [ʃ] --------->[s]-------->[z]-------->[r]

V   Ellipsis Rule

   C ---------→ [∅] / — #

   /portarun/ --------→ /porta:ru/

VI   Anaptyxis Rule

   /portastvu/ -------→ [portastəvu]

Similar rules will describe the past definite tense of the
verb [ofri:ri] therefore it will be omitted here.

The verb: [poti:ri] - to be able

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[poti]	I have been able
[potisti]	you have been able
[poti]	he has been able
[potima]	we have been able
[potistəvu]	you have been able
[potəru]	they have been able

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/pot+i+x+i/	I have been able
/pot+i+x+ti/	you have been able
/pot+i+x+i/	he has been able
/pot+i+x+ma/	we have been able
/pot+i+x+t+vu/	you have been able
/pot+i+x+un/	they have been able

I   Ellipsis Rule

   /x/ -----→ [∅] / V ———— V#

/potixi/ ------------→ /potii/

/x/ -------------→ [∅] / ——————— $\begin{matrix} C \\ \text{[nasal]} \end{matrix}$ #

/potixma/ ---------------→ /potim:a/

/i/ -------------------→ [∅] /——————— [i]

/potii/ ---------------→ /poti/

II   Rhotacism Rule

/x/ -----→ [r] / V ——————— $\begin{matrix} V\ C \\ \text{[nasal]} \end{matrix}$ #

This rule directly influences the thematic vowel /i/ by re-
ducing it to /∅/ or to ə provided that the preceding con-
sonant is /t/. This /t/ is strongly aspirated and devoices
the following vowel yielding /potrun/ or /pot run/. The
W.S.A.R. will assign stress neither to /∅/ nor to /ə/ and
so stress falls on the /o/.

III   Word Stress Assignment Rule

IV   /x/ -------→ [s] / ——————— $\begin{matrix} C \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{voiceless} \\ \text{stop} \\ t \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$

    /potixti/ --------→ /potisti/

    /potixtvu/ -------→ /potistvu/

V   Ellipsis Rule

    /potistvu/ ---------→ /potistəvu/

The verb: [ofri:ri] - to offer

Spoken:

| DIALECT | ENGLISH |
| [ofri:a] | I offered |

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ofristi]	you offered
[ofri:u]	he offered
[ofrima]	we offered
[ofristɔvu]	you offered
[ofri:ru]	they offered

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/ofr+i+x+a/	I offered
/ofr+i+x+ti/	you offered
/ofr+i+x+u/	he offered
/ofr+i+x+ma/	we offered
/ofr+i+x+tvu/	you offered
/ofr+i+x+ʋn/	they offered

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   Ellipsis Rule

/x/ ----------➤ [∅] / V —— V#

giving: /ofrixa/ -----➤ /ofria/

               /ofrixu/ ------➤ /ofriu/

but this does not apply to /ofriʋn/

III   /x/ ----------➤ [s] / —— $\begin{bmatrix} C \\ \text{voiceless} \\ \text{stop} \\ t \end{bmatrix}$

/potixti/ ----------➤ /potisti/

/potixtvu/ --------➤ /potistvu/

IV   /x/ ----------➤ [∅] / —— $\begin{matrix} C \\ \text{[nasal]} \end{matrix}$

/ofrixma/ ----------➤ /ofrim:a/

V   Rhotacism Rule

/x/ --------> [r] / V —— V   C   #
                                   [nasal]

/ofrixun/ ------------> /ofrirun/

VI   Ellipsis Rule

C ---------> [∅] / —— #

/ofrirun/ ---------> /ofriru/

VII   Anaptyxis Rule

/ofristvu/ ---------> [ofristəvu]

Present Conditional

The verb: [portari] - to bring

Spoken:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[portaria]	I would bring
[portarisi]	you would bring
[portaria]	he would bring
[portare:mu]	we would bring
[portarisvu]	you would bring
[portare:nu]	they would bring

Postulated:

DIALECT	ENGLISH
/port+a+r+i+ɣ+a/	I would bring
/port+a+r+i+ɣ+si/	you would bring
/port+a+r+i+ɣ+a/	he would bring
/port+a+r+i+ɣ+mu/	we would bring
/port+a+r+i+ɣ+svu/	you would bring
/port+a+r+i+ɣ+un/	they would bring

I   Word Stress Assignment Rule

II   /ɣ/ ----------> [∅] / V ——— V#

giving: [portar:ia], [portar:ia] for the first and

and third person singular.

III /ɣ/ --------------> [s] / ——— [s] ; [ss] -----[s:]

[portariɣsi] ------------> [portar:is:i]

[portar:iɣsvu] ----------> [portar:is:vu]

IV   Anaptyxis Rule

[portar:is:vu] ------------> [portar:is:əvu]

V   [i] + [ɣ] + C [nasal] --------> [e:]

giving: [portar:e:mu]

          [portar:e:nu]

Rules based on similar methods of analysis will adequately describe the position of stress in all the other verbs existing in the dialect.

The Past Conditional

Spoken:

Auxiliary - [esəri] - to be

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[sar:ia furtunatu]	I would have been lucky
[sar:is:i furtunatu]	you would have been lucky
[sar:ia furtunatu]	he would have been lucky
[sar:emu furtunati]	we would have been lucky
[sar:is:əvu furtunati]	you would have been lucky
[sar:enu furtunati]	they would have been lucky

Spoken:

Auxiliary: [ndaviri] - to have

DIALECT	ENGLISH
[ndavir:ia fat^h:u]	I would have done
[ndavir:is:i fat^h:u]	you would have done
[ndavir:ia fat^h:u]	he would have done
[ndavir:e:mu fat^h:u]	we would have done
[ndavir:is:ɘvu fat^h:u]	you would have done
[ndavir:e:nu fat^h:u]	they would have done

The Past Conditional is composed of the present conditional of either the verb [esɘri] - to be, or the verb [ndavi:ri] - to have, plus the past participial form of any other verb. The so-called auxiliary verb would operate with the same rules as those used to describe stress in the Present Conditional verb paradigm above. And the second part of the verb paradigm or the so-called 'participial' needs only the application of the Word Stress Assignment Rule.

The verbs [esɘri] - to be and [ndavi:ri] - to have, will not be described here. Their structure is very complex and would require several rules for an adequate description. However, it may be assumed that the paradigms of these two verbs would also be stressed on the phonologically penultimate syllable - complying with the Word Stress Assignment Rule.

Section XIII: Footnotes

`1   Not provided in this thesis

2   B. Newton, <u>Ordering Paradoxes in Phonology</u>,
       Simon Fraser Univ.   1970

Epilogue

In concluding this analysis, I would like to affirm
that stress in the words of the dialect spoken in Bovalino
Marina is indeed predictable by a very simple phonological
rule. But in the process of this analysis, what seemed at
the beginning to be a straightforward exercise turned into
a maze of considerable complexity which arose in trying
to demonstrate the predictability of stress. These com-
plexities arose out of the search for maximum generality -
in order to cover and to explain what on the surface seemed
to be exceptions. Ultimately these problems were resolved
by the use of a 'generative' type of analytical method
which allowed us to postulate on necessarily justifiable
grounds certain morphophonemic segments; and also we were
able to employ phonological processes such as ellipsis and
anaptyxis in order to make the seeming exceptions obey the
W.S.A.R.

In our analysis we have excluded certain grammatical
categories such as prepositions and pronouns. These gram-
matical classes would have required a more detailed study
involving the analysis of syntactic, semantic, and other

relationships which limitations of time and space have forced
us to exclude. We have also excluded the analysis of the verb
paradigms 'to be' and 'to have' - these would have required
somewhat more complex rules than was needed for the analysis
of the other verbs.

As the title of the thesis states, we discuss only
'certain' aspects of the phonology of the dialect. Limited
as the analysis may be we can confidently say that we have
provided an adequate description of the phonetic make-up of
the sound segments necessary for the recording of the data,
and their distribution respectively; also, a description of
the position of stress in the words belonging to the main
grammatical categories: the nouns, the adjectives, the adverbs
and the verbs.

Though the concentration of this thesis was on the analy-
sis of stress, we have also succeeded in providing the dialect,
which has no orthographic system, with a phonemic inventory
and phonetic representation. This may serve at some later
time as data for a study of linguistic change and dialect
relationships within the scope of a comprehensive examination
of the various attested forms of Italian.

A comprehensive analysis of the dialect would entail
an examination of levels such as the following:

1. The phonological aspects not discussed in this
   thesis.

2. The morphological level

3. The syntactic level

4. The semantic level

These I leave to other scholars, whose desire is to pursue studies which involve a great deal of challenge. Whatever linguistic level is to be the subject of research it will undoubtedly be of tremendous interest and rewarding in the revelation of certain linguistic phenomena which certainly merit the attention of today's linguists before this dialect disappears as a ".... consequence of progress in ...." communication and technology.

Selected Bibliography

Abercrombie, David. Elements of General Phonetics
          Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago 1967.

Agard, F.B. & Di Pietro, R.J. The Sounds of English &
          Italian. The Univ. of Chicago Press 1965.

Agard, F.B. "Stress in Four Romance Languages", Glossa 1
          (1967): 150-200

Bach, Emmon. An Introduction to Transformational Grammars
          New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1968.

Battisti, G. "Ancora sulla grecita in Calabria", A.S.C.L.
          Rome (1933): 67-95.

Bloch, B & Trager, G.L. Outline of Linguistic Analysis
          Baltimore, Md., Pub. by Linguistic Society of
          America, 1942.

Bloomfield, L. "A set of postulates for the science of
          language", Reprinted in M. Joos (ed.), Readings
          in Linguistics. Chicago, Chicago Univ. Press 1966.

Bloomfield, L. Language New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
          1933.

Chomsky, Noam. Current issues in Linguistic Theory, Mouton,
          The Hague 1964.

Chomsky, Noam. "Some general properties of phonological
          rules", Language 43, (1967): 102-128.

Chomsky, Noam. Morphophonemics of Modern Hebrew 1951
          Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Chomsky, N. & Halle, M. "Some controversial questions in
          phonological theory", Journal of Linguistics 1: (1965):
          97-138.

Chomsky, N. & Halle, M. The Sound Pattern of English
          Harper & Row, Publishers, New York 1968.

Elcock, W.D. The Romance Languages.
          London, Faber & Faber 1960.

Firth, J.R. Papers in Linguistics 1934 - 1951
        London, Oxford University Press 1957.

Fry, D.B. "Experiments in the Perception of Stress".
        Language and Speech 1 (1958): 126-152.

Fry, D.B. "Duration and Intensity as Physical Correlates
        of Linguistic Stress", Journal of the Accoustical
        Society of America, 27 (1955): 765-777.

Hall, Robert, Jr. Descriptive grammar of Italian
        Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press 1948.

Hall, Robert, Jr. "Structural sketches 1", French
        Language Monograph No. 24 Baltimore 1949.

Halle, M. "The strategy of phonemics", Word 10 (1954):
        197-209.

Halle, M. The sound pattern of Russian, Mouton
        The Hague 1959.

Halle, M. "Phonology in a generative grammar"
        Word 18 (1962): 54-72

Harms, R.T. Introduction to phonological theory.
        Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall 1968.

Hockett, C.F. "A system of descriptive phonology"
        Language 18 (1942): 3-21.

Hockett, C.F. A manual of phonology, Baltimore,
        Waverly Press 1955.

Jakobson, R., G. Fant, & M. Halle. Preliminaries
        to speech analysis, Cambridge, Massachusetts
        Institute of Technology 1963.

Jones, D. The Phoneme. Its nature and use. 2nd ed.
        Cambridge, Heffer & Sons 1962.

Jones, D. An outline of English Phonetics
        Cambridge, Heffer & Sons 1964.

Joos, M. Readings In Linguistics. The development of
        descriptive linguistics in America since 1925
        Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press 1966.

Kiparsky, P. "Linguistic universals and linguistic change"
        in E. Bach and R. Harms (eds.), Universals in lin-
        guistic theory. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1968.

Malmberg, B. Phonetics New York,
        Dover Publications 1963.

Mayriat, Jean and others, ed., La Calabre
        Paris 1960.

Pike, K.L. "Grammatical Prerequisites to Phonemic Analysis",
        Word 3 (1947): 155-172.

Pike, K.L. "More on Grammatical Prerequisites"
        Word 8 (1952): 106-121.

Postal, P.M. Aspects of phonological theory
        New York, Harper & Row 1968.

Pulgram, Ernst. The Tongues of Italy: Prehistory and
        History Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press 1958.

Roberts, E.W. Mimeo 1970 S.F.U.

Robins, R.H. General Linguistics: An introductory survey
        Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press 1965.

Saltarelli, M. A Phonology of Italian in a Generative
        Grammar. Mouton, The Hague 1970.

Saltarelli, M. "Romance Dialectology and Generative
        Grammar", Orbis, 15 (1966): 51-59.