3. Italian

3.0.1. This chapter will analyze *modern neutral Italian* pronunciation, keeping it separate from *traditional* pronunciation, which will be looked at later, in order to demonstrate the accepted and shared difference between them. However, this difference is not evident in dictionaries and grammar books, which is hardly surprising given the inertia and lack of dynamism shown by schools and obviously dictionaries and grammar books. They continue to perpetuate ‹conventional convictions›, a legacy from grammar books and dictionaries from the 1800's, without even doubting that things may have changed in the meantime... Endless plagiarizing, with very few innovations as far as orthoepy (*ie* pronunciation) is concerned. This can be seen in the way ‹càsa› for *casa*, *ie* /ˈkasa/ is still given. This is the traditional pronunciation, while the modern one has /ˈkaza/. Evidently, this shows a lack of attention for the phonic aspect of the language. It is also true that this kind of notation can, almost systematically, escape non-attentive dictionary-users, who can thus presume that when a dictionary reads ‹-s-› it means /z/. This case is not so serious as it coincides exactly with modern pronunciation; but what would happen for *-asi* in *qualsiasi*?

In the Zingarelli dictionary (‹carrying the year› 1997), the present writer has given two variants, indicated as *càṣa* (= /ˈkaza, -sa/), and many other words, increasing the double possibilities for /e, ɛ; o, ɔ; ʦ, ʣ/ as well, though not reaching the variety of pronunciation in *D�austPI*, with its *modern, traditional, acceptable, tolerated, slovenly, intentional* and *lofty* variants (explained in *MaPI*, as well).

However, before we even begin to deal with these ‹subtleties›, we will have to discredit a good few beliefs which are part of ‹common culture›, especially upheld by teachers (even language teachers, abroad too), perpetuated by society and schools worthy of the first millennium of our era...

Earlier we mentioned the pronunciation shown in dictionaries and grammar books, which, instead of depicting the actual reality, as can be perceived by merely paying attention with ‹open ears›, they are ‹easily› satisfied with using and reusing what has always been printed, without checking to verify if it is still in current use.

Unfortunately, the same happens in various brief guides to diction and pronunciation, that continue to proliferate, regardless of objective change (that one should be able to perceive or, above all, want to perceive). Even in books about linguistics, glottology, dialectology and in historical grammar books or text books or –even– descriptive grammars, one can find a continual perpetration, as if it were real, of what is unproposable as far as both vowels and consonants, or word-stress and co-gemination are concerned.

3.0.2.   That brings us to the sore points. Writing is (erroneously) considered a faithful indication of pronunciation; if *pronunciation* is looked at –at all– in teaching. More often than not it is *spelling* that is dealt with, relegating pronunciation to quite a secondary position or else, it is even considered bothersome. Indeed, very few people have a real perception of what exactly Italian pronunciation is (the same goes for any other language). The most common belief amongst ‹language workers›, *ie* language teachers, is that dealing with pronunciation is not part of their duties, as if it were an unrelated aspect, or just an added complication to their work.

Nevertheless, the first manifestation of language is exactly through sound, therefore through pronunciation. Only telepathy could possibly make pronunciation superfluous. Despite this, for the whole of the third millennium we will have to face this ‹problem› whether we like it or not… This being the case we should finally begin to look at it properly; no more pushing the problem aside, finding all kinds of excuses.

What is actually lacking here, is a ‹friendly› approach, one which is not misleading. As pronunciation is inevitable, at least for us common mortals, we have to learn to accept it for what it is: the objective and perceptible manifestation of language.

It is neither, therefore, a wicked invention, nor a task comparable to ‹Sisyphus’ efforts›; it is merely a part of the teaching–learning process of any language. In some languages spelling is (still) quite close to pronunciation, in others the gap is wider, to greater or lesser extents, due to natural linguistic evolution, which is unstoppable, whereas the written word is always left behind, like an eternal defeat, it never comes first.

However, schools and society consider it –instead– to be the real indication of pronunciation, when it is only a ‹rough and poor› way to render pronunciation. Indeed, its aim is not to indicate pronunciation, but more modestly, to permit the conservation of written documents independently from its pronunciation, so as to allow people, who know the language, to find the contents put in writing.

3.0.3.   The very act of confusing spelling with pronunciation, inevitably leads to interpretations and deductions which often have little to do with pronunciation. Let us now look at the ‹concrete facts›. When a person with no adequate reading into pronunciation is asked how many vowel phonemes there are in Italian, the answer is, inevitably (from teachers themselves onwards), five: *a, e, i, o, u*. This erroneous answer, results from the examination of the wrong object. For the Italian language the following procedure was undertaken: starting with the *alphabet* and excluding all consonants, obviously leaving only the five letters: *a, e, i, o, u*.

Clearly, the result is erroneous, because the calculation was reckoned on entities which have very little to do with pronunciation. LETTERS are *not* SOUNDS! In neutral Italian, the letters: *e* and *o*, each indicate two phonemes, that are –respectively– /e, ɛ/ and /o, ɔ/, which are ‹closed› and ‹open› *e* and *o*, like in *(se) corresse (piú velocemente)* ‹if she ran faster› with /e/ (‹é›), which is different from *(lei) cor-*

resse (i compiti) ‹she corrected the homework›, with /ɛ/ (‹è›), or in *(se) fosse (vero)* ‹if it were true› with /o/ (‹ó›), which differs from *(le) fosse (scavate)* ‹the dug graves›, with /ɔ/ (‹ò›). Therefore, there are *seven* Italian vowel phonemes: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u/.

Let us continue our ‹search› for the number of phonemes, looking at consonant phonemes. The automatic answer (from a person with normal schooling, without appropriate reading or consideration) is *sixteen*: *b, c, d, f, g, h, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v, z*. The very order of letters inevitably betrays the fact that the incredible figure of sixteen was reached by means of an arithmetical operation, using the alphabet, instead of actual sounds.

Hence, if you take the ‹Latin› alphabet, take away the five ‹Italian vowels› and the five ‹non-Italian consonants› (*j, k, w, x, y*), it seems logical to get to the ‹sad› list given above.

The number of phonemes in a language, however, cannot be obtained through spelling, but through the distinctive sounds of that language. Just to begin with, the list contains two letters which have nothing to do with Italian sounds: *q* is practically useless; and *h* is only a diacritic, it is necessary to distinguish *ha* from *a*, *ho* from *o*, *hanno* from *anno*, and also *chi* /ki*/ from *ci* /t͡ʃi°/, *ghiro* /ˈgiro/ from *giro* /ˈd͡ʒiro/; there is even a vowel difference between *ho* /ɔ*/ and *o* /o*/. Incidentally, we can but disapprove of the ‹method› used by those teachers who, worried only and exclusively about spelling (and not really understanding anything about the pronunciation of the language!) dictate things such as */hasˈkritto, hannostuˈdjato/ to students, for *ha scritto, hanno studiato* ‹he/she has written, they have studied›. The poor (selfish and dishonest) result of managing to obtain ‹correct› written tests –to show them off shamelessly– produces, instead, a much worse (and absurd) error in making pupils believe that above all, in formal situations, you really should say such ‹obscenities› as */hɔsˈkritto/ *ho scritto*, instead of the only possible and admissible version: /ɔsˈkritto/.

3.0.4. For the moment, let us say that there are 23 consonant phonemes in Italian and they are certainly not in alphabetical order, but in a phonic order, according to places and manners of articulation and phonation type, after having ‹discovered› them, not by graphic deduction, but by looking for opposites in *minimal pairs*, that contain two similar words, but with *one* different phoneme, which makes the meaning of the two words change, as seen with /ki*, t͡ʃi°/ and /ˈgiro, ˈd͡ʒiro/ (respectively *chi* and *ci, ghiro* and *giro*).

Furthermore, in the number of phonemes, we must bear in mind that the two graphemes *s* and *z* each have (as do *e, o*) two different phonemic values, as in *presento (una persona* ‹I introduce a person›, /preˈzɛnto/, from *presentare*) and *presento (un avvenimento* ‹I have a presentiment of an event›, /preˈsɛnto/, from *presentire, ɪe pre-sentire)* – in the same way we have *razza* (‹ray, spoke›: /ˈrad͡zd͡za/) and *razza* (‹race, breed›: /ˈrat͡st͡sa/)…

We must not forget other spelling ‹problems› that derive from the fact that Italian represents a transformation and evolution of Latin, which had a certain number of phonemes (obviously different from Italian, both phonically and numerical-

ly speaking, as can be seen in the phonosyntheses of *NPT/HPh*, 22.1-4 or from ₲
18 of *MᵃPI* [from 1999² onwards]).

As a matter of fact, classical Latin did not have /ʧ, ʤ/, which are still expressed
by *ci, gi* in Italian (because Latin /ki, gi/ were transformed in time using the palatal
[ci, ɟi] of imperial Latin, to [ʧi, ʤi] of medieval Latin [as well as clerical and aca-
demic Latin in Italy]). Therefore, Italian has to then render /ki, gi/ with *chi, ghi*.
Similarly, Latin did not have /ʃ, ɲ, ʎ/ or even /ts, ʣ/, so in Latin, *amicitia* was /a-
miːˈkitia/ [ˌɐmiˈkɪtɪɐ] not /amiˈʧitstsja/ as in Italian, and in Italian clerical and aca-
demic Latin (whereas in [clerical and academic] Latin in other countries, the
phonic result –obviously– depends on the pronunciation of their national lan-
guages); hence, Italian spelling resorts to *sc(i), gn, gl(i)*, and *z* for /ts, ʣ/, as they
are new phonemes, foreign to classical Latin.

Furthermore, one must not believe everything that is –unfortunately– pub-
lished; as a matter of fact, neutral Italian does not have vowels reduced to schwa,
not even in unstressed syllables, [ə] (or [ɜ, ɐ], ₲ § 11.19 of *NPT/HPh*; nor to [ɪ, ɵ,
ɜ, ɐ, ɔ, ʊ, ʉ], that are –all– regional pronunciations), nor assimilations such as
‹/ss/› –actually, [sθ]– for /st/ (like in *questo*), and /CC/ for /rC/ (*giorno*), that are
very regional; nor /CwjV/ like ‹[CɥjV]› (*continuiamo*), which is not even Italian
(although some Italian [!] authors tried to pass it off as Italian). Obviously, in spon-
taneous speech, one can stammer or muffle some sounds, but we certainly do not
get [ə, ɥ], &c; the only real possibilities for a neutral ‹reduction› of vocoids are ex-
plained in *fig* 10.11 of *NPT/HPh* (since in neutral pronunciation, one never has a
full [ə], not even in cases such as /ˈsum, ˈfrak/ *sum* (Lat.), *frac* (Fr.), which are
[ˈfrakːₓ, ˈsumːₓ], where [ₓ] at the most, stands for [ə]; while, most coarticulation for
/wj/ can consist of ⟦wɪ⟧ (provelar rounded + postpalatal approximants, instead of
canonical velar rounded + palatal approximants, [wj]).

Vowels

3.1.1. As examined in § 3.0.3., for the *five* graphemes *a, e, i, o, u*, neutral Italian
has *seven* vowel phonemes, /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u/, realized by *nine* taxophones, [i, e, ᴇ,
ɛ, a, ɔ, ɵ, o, u], as can be seen in *fig* 3.1. Before presenting the examples, we will
analyze the two taxophones which are seemingly foreign to the ‹harmony› of the
seven phonemes, *ie*: [ᴇ, ɵ].

The most ‹intriguing› aspect is that it deals with the pronunciation on the basis
of different principles of both /ɛ, ɔ/ and /e, o/. In the first case we have the manifes-
tation of *half-closing*, in fact, starting with /ɛ, ɔ/ we get to [ᴇ, ɵ], when there is no
longer a primary –or strong– stress, as is the case for the first elements of compound
words from independent lexemes: [ˌprᴇndiˈsoːle] /prɛndiˈsole/ *prendisole*, [bᴇŋˈke]
/bɛnˈke*/ *benché*, [ˌkɵpriˈlɛtːto] /kɔpriˈlɛtto/ *copriletto*, [pɵiˈke] /pɔiˈke*/ *poiché*.

The other case regards the manifestation of *half-opening*, because starting with
/e, o/ we –again– get to [ᴇ, ɵ]. This happens in /e, o/ endings after stressed sylla-
bles, when the stressed vowel is /i, u/, as in: [ˈviːvᴇ, ˈviːvɵ] /ˈvive, ˈvivo/ *vive, vivo*,
[ˈkuːʧᴇ, ˈkuːʧɵ] /ˈkuʧe, ˈkuʧo/ *cuce, cucio*. Moreover, in an intoneme, the same can

also occur for /'e-o#/: ['veːdo, -dσ] /'vedo/ *vedo* (but not for /'o-e#/: ['doːve] /'dove/ *dove*). What remains to be said, as can be guessed (and confirmation is always precious), is that this happens with a final *C* too: ['riːdɛr, 'riːdσn] /'rider/ *rider(e)*, *ridon(o)*, ['ipːsilσn, 'suːtσr] /'ipsilon, 'sutor/ *ipsilon, sutor* (Lat.). There are however, other less regular cases which are dealt with in § 3.3 of *MᵃPI*.

Let us take a look at some examples of the seven vowel phonemes: ['viːni] /'vini/ *vini*, ['seːte] /'sete/ *sete*, ['sɛtːte] /'sɛtte/ *sette*, ['raːna] /'rana/ *rana*, ['ɔtːto] /'ɔtto/ *otto*, ['sotːto] /'sotto/ *sotto*, [kulˈtuːra] /kulˈtura/ *cultura*. Clearly, /j, w/ are not vowels, but (approximant) consonants, as in: ['pju] /'pju*/ *più*, ['kjɛːdo] /'kjɛdo/ *chiedo*, ['kwa] /'kwa*/ *qua*, ['bwɔːno] /'bwɔno/ *buono*. It is equally true that /ju, jɛ, wa, wɔ/ &c are not ‹diphthongs› at all (cf § 3.1.2) but simply sequences of *CV*, like /su, tɛ, va, nɔ/, &c.

fig 3.1. Italian monophthongs.

Diphthongs

3.1.2. Italian grammar books put a lot of effort into complicating what is, in fact, quite simple. Indeed, instead of the three very common structures, *ie* the *real diphthong* (['VV, ˌVV, ₒVV]), the *hiatus* ([VˈV, VˌV]) and the *heterophonic sequence* ([CV], *eg*, [jV], [wV], and the like), they continue to consider only two of them: ‹diphthong› (with fusion: ‹syneresis›) and ‹hiatus› (with separation: ‹dieresis›), but with strained interpretations of medieval origin, of a graphic-grammatical and graphic-metric nature. In fact, ‹semi-vowels› or ‹semi-consonants› do not exist: they are merely an ‹incredibly successful› magic trick!

As a matter of fact (unless one expects to do ‹magic› in phonetics using graphic--grammatical categories), it is phonetically absurd to speak about a ‹diphthong› for [⁽ⁱ⁾jV, ⁽ᵘ⁾wV] (['pjɛːno] /'pjɛno/ *pieno*, ['gwanːto] /'gwanto/ *guanto*), as only [⁽ⁱ⁾Vi, ⁽ᵘ⁾Vu] (['fai] /'fai/ *fai*, ['paˑuza] /'pauza/ *pausa*) are real diphthongs, as any sequence of ['VV, ˌVV, ₒVV] (['aˑuto] /'auto/ *auto*, [auˈtɛnːtiko] /auˈtentiko/ *autentico*).

It is equally absurd to speak about ‹hiatus› for [ⁱV, ᵘV], as only [iˈV, uˈV] are real hiatuses, as any other sequence like [VˈV, VˌV] ([paˈuːra] /paˈura/ *paura*), compared to [pauˈroːzo] /pauˈrozo/ *pauroso*, a real diphthong. Hence, one cannot believe literature that only uses two categories (*ie* diphthong and hiatus) and, what is more, they dangerously mix them up to a point where they include –in ‹diphthongs›– the heterophonic sequences (/jV, wV/), and –in ‹hiatuses›– the real diphthongs (as in ['maˑi, 'tʃaˑo, 'bɔˑa] /'mai, 'tʃao, 'bɔa/ *mai, ciao, boa*... – cf § 1.4.4).

3.1.3. Thus, in languages like Italian, diphthongs are vowel sequences, which are more or less common, formed by a combination of the seven vowel phonemes and nine taxophones (/i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u/ [i, e, ᴇ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ɤ, o, u]), that writing tidily reproposes without the problems presented –for example– by Germanic languages. These really do have monophonemic diphthongs, because, in different accents they vary as to their realizations, independently from monophthongs (and more than monophthongs do), and also because they have varied historical spellings.

Therefore for Italian, it seems pointless –in this chapter– to make a list of diphthongs, of very different frequency; it would be appropriate however, to look at § 8.26 of *NPT*/*HPh* (as well as § 5.1.2-3 of *MᵃPI*).

By forcing (and violating) reality, grammar and metrics continue to call, above all, /jɛ, wɔ/ ‹ascendant diphthongs›, because they derive from the Latin /ɛ, ɔ/ (ě, ŏ), and they find they need to have to ‹invent› (as the best lawyer for the worst criminals) fictitious realities, like ‹semi-consonants› and ‹semi-vowels›.

These seem to be nearly cinematographic special effects, that make one believe one is facing something real, but which is completely invented! If phantaphonetics –or virtual phonetics– is not our aim, then sequences like [jV, wV] are –naturally– part of /(C)CV/ groups, as in /ˈfjanko, ˈfranko; ˈgwado, ˈgrado; ˈtwɔno, ˈtrɔno; ˈgjande, ˈgrande, ˈglande/ *fianco, franco*; *guado, grado*; *tuono, trono*; *ghiande, grande, glande*. Paradigmatically, /j, w/ are in opposition with /C/, clearly not with /V/ and can under no circumstance belong to vowel groups.

Even ‹semi-vowels› are a truly distorted reality and have been invented to try to explain (but they are only deceived into trying to explain) what has no need of explanations. Indeed, what need do normal diphthongs, like /ai, au/, have for alibis to defend themselves from grammatical and metric fanaticism, so as to demonstrate that they constitute one syllable and not two: [ˈmaˑi, ˈkaˑu(to)] /ˈmai, ˈkau(to)/ *mai, cau(to)*?

Even /ia/ is a –monosyllabic– diphthong, as in [ˈmiˑa] /ˈmia/ *mia*. It is evident, in the same way as the Earth is round and rotates around the Sun; and yet, it has not been at all easy for it to be accepted...! The *diphthong, hiatus*, and /CV/-*sequence* matter, is much simpler: one does not have to be a scientist; all it takes is observation and thought (using both ears)! Yet... there is no change! Let us trustingly refer to § 5.1.2-3 of *MᵃPI* as well.

Consonants

3.2.0. *fig* 3.2 shows the table of the neutral Italian consonant articulations, including their taxophones ([ɱ, ɲ, ŋ; ɾ; ɫ]), which are necessary for satisfactory pronunciation.

Instead, *fig* 1.9-15 gives orograms, grouped by manners of articulation of all contoids given in the chapters of this volume, even as secondary, occasional or regional variants of the 12 languages dealt with.

fig 3.2. Table of Italian consonants.

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	postalveo-‑palatal	postalveo-pal-atal protruded	palatal	velar	velar rounded
N	m	[m̩]	[n]	n	[n̩]		ɲ	[ŋ]	
K	p b		t d					k g	
KS			ts dz			tʃ dʒ			
X		f v							
S			s z			ʃ (ʒ)			
J							j		w
R				r|[ɾ]					
L			[l]	l	[l̩]		ʎ		

Nasals

3.2.1. There are three nasal phonemes, /m, n, ɲ/ [m, n, ɲ], and four taxophones, for /n/, that can be rendered by three supplementary symbols [m̩, n̩, ŋ] (a fourth symbol, ⟦n̪⟧, in front of /t, d; ts, dz; s/, can be useful to bring attention to the assimilation, from alveolar to dental, even if the difference, though real, is less important than in other cases): [ˈmamːma] /ˈmamma/ *mamma*, [ˈmaːma] /ˈmama/ *m'ama*, [ˈnɔnːno] /ˈnɔnno/ *nonno*, [ˈnɔːno] /ˈnɔno/ *nono*, [ˈbaɲːɲo] /ˈbaɲɲo/ *bagno*, [perˈɲɔkːki] /perˈɲɔkki/ *per gnocchi*, [ˈtom̩fo] /ˈtonfo/ *tonfo*, [ˈdɛnːte] /ˈdɛnte/ *dente*, [ˈfraɲːdʒa] /ˈfrandʒa/ *frangia*, [ˈfaŋːgo] /ˈfango/ *fango*.

In neutral Italian, /ɲ/ is self-geminant (cf § 3.3.1.5.): [ˈsoɲːɲo, loɲˈɲɔːmo] /ˈsoɲɲo, loɲˈɲɔmo/ *sogno, lo gnomo*. We can observe that the self-geminant /ɲ/ is in opposition to geminates, as in [ˈsoɲːɲo] /ˈsoɲɲo/ *sogno* and [ˈsonːno] /ˈsonno/ *sonno*, but not simple C ([ˈsoːno] /ˈsono/ *sono*); the minimal pair is between the first two examples, not the third.

In order to closely examine the manifestation of nasal assimilation in neutral Italian, a whole series of nouns could be shown (beginning with all possible C, cf § 3.4 of *MᵃPI*), preceded by [kon] /kon/ *con* ‹with›, but we will limit ourselves to [komˈmarːko] /komˈmarko/ *con Marco* and to the improbable [koɲˈɲɛˑo] /koɲˈɲɛo/ *con Gneo* (a rare male name, even in ancient Rome).

Various problems (not only with consonants, but with vowels and intonation, too) deriving from various regional pronunciations are examined in some chapters of *MᵃPI*, as well. We can now briefly mention the fact that, very often, in the north of Italy, the sequences of /nC/ are not homorganic by assimilation, but have a velar articulation, [ŋ], or semi-prevelar (without full contact), [ŋ̈], as in [ˌuŋbaŋˈbiːnɔ, ˌuŋbaŋ̈ˈbiːnɔ] (concentrating, here, only on the nasals, because the actual regional differences, doubtlessly, also regard other C, many V, the type of phonation, the syllabic structure and the intonation), for neutral [ˌumbamˈbiːnɔ] /umbamˈbino/ *un bambino*.

In the same way, in the north, /ɲ/ is very often not self-geminant: [ˈsɔːɲo, ˈsoːɲo;

lo'ɲɔːmo]; but, generally, /ɲ, nj/ are confused with something intermediate, which we show quite generally here: [kaŋˈpaˑɲ̟ja, kaŋ̟-] which stands both for /kamˈpanja/ *Campania* and for /kamˈpaɲɲa/ *campagna.* In central areas, /nj/ becomes [ɲ] (but in this case not self-geminant): [anˈtɔːɲo] /anˈtɔnjo/ *Antonio,* [aɲˈɲɛnːto] /anˈnjɛnto/ *anniento.*

Stops

3.2.2. Italian has three diphonic pairs of stops, /p, b; t, d; k, g/ [p, b; t, d; k, g]: [perˈbɛːne] /perˈbɛne/ *per bene,* [tiˈdɔ] /tiˈdɔ*/ *ti do,* [koɲˈgwaʎːʎo] /konˈgwaʎʎo/ *conguaglio.* Although before a front *V* –and in front of /j/– /k, g/ are realized as prevelar, it is not necessary to systematically use the special symbols ⟦k, g⟧: [ˌkjakkjeˈraːɾe] /kjakkjeˈrare/ *chiacchierare,* [ˈkikːkɔ] /ˈkikko/ *chicco,* [ˈgɛŋˈga] /ˈgɛnga/ *ghenga.*

The greatest regional problem concerning stops is provided in the ‹gorgia toscana› (ie ‹Tuscan throat›) and in the ‹central-southern voicing›, which will be examined in general terms (also because there are differences between areas; but for more precise details, various chapters of *MᵃPI* can be consulted). Therefore, the following gives just a general idea: [ˌihaɸiˈɟ̞aːni] /ikapiˈtani/ *i capitani* and [ˈtʃiŋg̊we imˈbu̥nːd̥ɔ] /ˈtʃinkwe imˈpunto/ *cinque in punto.*

Stopstrictives

3.2.3. There are two diphonic pairs, dental and postalveopalatal protruded, /ʦ, ʣ; ʧ, ʤ/ [ʦ, ʣ; ʧ, ʤ]: [ˈdanːʦa, ˈpjaʦːʦa] /ˈdantsa, ˈpjatstsa/ *danza, piazza,* [ˈʣɔːna, aʣˈʣɔːto] /ˈʣɔna, aʣˈʣɔto/ *zona, azoto,* [ˈʧeːna, ˈfaʧːʧo] /ˈʧena, ˈfatʃtʃo/ *cena, faccio,* [ˈʤɛnːte, ˈɔʤːʤi] /ˈʤɛnte, ˈɔʤʤi/ *gente, oggi.*

The main regional problems regarding the north concern the sequential realizations of /ʦ, ʣ/, as: [ˈdaŋʦa, -ẓa, -θa, ˈdaŋ-; ˈpja(t)ʦa, -ṣa, -θa; dˈzɔːna, dˈẓ-, dˈð-; adˈzɔːto, adˈẓ-, adˈð-] (or, in broader accents, simply as constrictive: [ˈdaŋsa, -ṣa, -θa, ˈdaŋ-; ˈpjassa; -ṣṣa; -θθa; ˈzɔːna, ˈẓ-, ˈð-; aˈzɔːto, aˈẓ-, aˈð-]), instead of real stopstrictive phones, [ʦ, ʣ]. For almost the whole center and many parts of the south, without going into too much detail, the most obvious characteristic is given by the change of /VʧV/ to its corresponding constrictive, [VʃV]: [ˈpeːʃe] /ˈpeʧe/ *pece,* [ˌdiʃeˈʃiːlja] /diʧeˈʧilja/ *di Cecilia,* [ˈkaːʃo] /ˈkaʧo/ *cacio.* In Tuscany the same goes for /VʤV/ → [VʒV]: [ˈaːʒile, laˈʒakːka] /ˈaʤile, laˈʤakka/ *agile, la giacca.*

It is important to focus on the fact that we are dealing with *single* postvocalic /ʧ, ʤ/ (and hence, in this case, intervocalic too), thus avoiding ridiculous imitations which have, unfortunately ended up amongst examples shown in books about linguistics, dialectology, language history, language teaching and sometimes even in… phonetics and phonology!

Therefore, it is legitimate to give [laˈʒiːθa] /laˈʤita/ *la gita,* as an example (although the official symbol [θ] is hardly recommendable), but not simply *[ˈʒiːθa]

/ˈʤita/ *gita*, because after silence or after *C*, it stays for [ʤ], [ˈʤiːθa], as does, obviously, [aʤˈʤiːna] /aʤˈʤina/ *a Gina* (because of co-gemination, cf § 3.3.2.1-3; certainly not *[aʒˈʒiːna]). Naturally, the same is true of [laˈʃeːna] /laˈtʃena/ *la cena*, while we can only have: [perˈtʃeːna, atʃˈtʃeːna] /perˈtʃena, atʃˈtʃena/ *per cena, a cena* (absolutely not *[perˈʃeːna, aʃˈʃeːna])!

Apart from Tuscany (and some northern parts of Umbria and the Marches), in the center and south (still generalizing the area and the precision in transcription, too), we have /VʤV/ → [VʤʤV]: [ˈaʤʤile, laʤˈʤiːd̥a]…

Constrictives

3.2.4. Neutral Italian has two diphonic pairs of constrictives, /f, v ; s, z/ [f, v; s, z] as well as a voiceless postalveopalatal protruded self-geminant /ʃ/ [ʃ] (cf § 3.3.1.5.), with the voiced correspondent, but non-geminant (cf the beginning of the same paragraph), in foreign words, above all French: [ˈfaːva] /ˈfava/ *fava*, [ˈsɔːzja] /ˈsɔzja/ *sosia*, [ˈpeʃːʃe, loʃˈʃaːme, (laʃ)ˈʃeːna] /ˈpeʃʃe, loʃˈʃame, (laʃ)ˈʃena/ *pesce, lo sciame, (la) scena*, [ˌabaˈʒuːr, ˌaʒiˈgo] /abaˈʒur, aʒiˈgo/ *abat-jour, à gigot*.

In front of any voiced *C* there is always /z/ in Italian: [bizˈbɛːtiko, zveˈniːɾe, zleˈgaːɾe, zdenˈtaːto] /bizˈbɛtiko, zveˈnire, zleˈgare, zdenˈtato/ *bisbetico, svenire, slegare, sdentato* (cf [stenˈtaːto] /stenˈtato/ *stentato*).

As far as *VsV* is concerned, modern neutral pronunciation resolves the problem of the traditional one (cf § 3.3.5.2.); actually, every postvocalic intralexemic *-s-* (ie in *simple* words, not *compound*) is voiced, /z/ [z]: [ˈkaːza, ˈriːzo, ˈpreːza, tʃiˈneːze, ʤeˈloːzo] /ˈkaza, ˈrizo, ˈpreza, tʃiˈneze, ʤeˈlozo/ *casa, riso, presa, cinese, geloso*. Only in *compounding*, is the initial *-s-* of lexeme or grammeme /s/ [s]: [ˌprɛndiˈsoːle, ˌsottoˌsegreˈtaːrjo, ˌpresaˈlaːrjo, kwalˈsiˑasi, ɾiˈsalːto] /prɛndiˈsole, sottosegreˈtarjo, presaˈlarjo, kwalˈsiasi, riˈsalto/ *prendisole, sottosegretario, presalario, qualsiasi, risalto*. The last example means ‹I jump again›; whereas, the noun means ‹to stand out› and is [ɾiˈzalːto] /riˈzalto/… Forms such as *prosieguo*, whose composition –nowadays– is heard in a less definite way, vary: [proˈsjɛːgwo, -z-] /proˈsjɛgwo, -z-/.

For /s, z/, in the north, an alveolar instead of dental articulation is frequent; [ˈs̺ɔːz̺ja] /ˈsɔzja/ *sosia* (be warned that, too often, neutral Italian articulation, which is dental [with lowered tip], is defined ‹alveolar›, even in phonetic books!).

In central-southern regional pronunciations (except in Tuscany), for *VsV* (even if with an approximant inserted after *s*), we do not have /z/, but /s/: [ˈrɔːse, ˈaːsja] /ˈrɔze, ˈazja/ *rose, Asia*. However, the prestige of voiced pronunciation, with /z/, is such that, many speakers try to go from [s] to [z]; but from a regional situation without /z/ (and with no help from the written word), the substitution often generalizes [z] (or [z̥]), even in words like: *[ˌlazaˈluːtɛ, ˌlaz̥a-] /lasaˈlute/ *la salute*, that is [ˌlasaˈluːtɛ].

In the center (except Florence and Prato) we find the typical change /s/ → [ts] after /n, r, l/: /ˈpɛnso, ˈpɛrso, ˈfalso/ [ˈpɛnːtso, ˈpɛrːtso, ˈfalːtso] *penso, perso, falso*. The same happens in Tessin and in northern and easter Lombardy. It is very frequent also in some areas of southern Italy, including its partial or complete voicing: [ʣ̥,

ʤ] (*cf MᵃPI*). However, speakers who have a kind of defective *r* produce [ˈpɛʋːso, ˈpɛʁːso, ˈpɛʀːso]… (not a stopstricive).

In the center and south of Italy, above all, there are areas in which preconsonantal /s, z/ are seen to be prepalatal, [ʂ, ʐ]: [ˈviʂːta, ʐˈbatːto] /ˈvista, zˈbatto/ *vista, sbatto* (*ie* in the south-eastern parts of the Marches, Umbria, and Latium; and in western Sicily, and southern Calabria and Salento; as well as in northern Lombardy). In Campania, /sC, zC/ are typically realized as postalveopalatal protruded constrictives, [ʃ, ʒ], but only in front of non-apical *C*; thus, for instance: [ʃˈpɑˑʌɾʊ, ʒˈgarːɾʊ] /sˈparo, zˈgarro/ *sparo, sgarro*. We cannot but reveal that too many third-rate ‹imitators› (even in books!) show absurd pronunciations, for example in Neapolitan, *eg*: *[ʃˈtaːɾe] /sˈtare/ *stare*, for [sˈtɑʌɾɛ].

In the north, /ʃ/ is often without lip protrusion, but, above all, it is not self-geminant: [ˈpeːʃe, loˈʃaːme, (la)ˈʃeːna] *pece, lo sciame, la scena*; so, the first and third examples are closer to the central-southern pronunciation of [ˈpeːʃe, laˈʃeːna] /ˈpetʃe, laˈtʃena/ *pece, la cena*!

We can see how self-geminant /ʃ/ opposes geminates, as in [ˈfaʃːʃe] /ˈfaʃʃe/ *fasce* and [ˈfatʃːtʃe] /ˈfatʃtʃe/ *facce*, but not single, as in [ˈfaːtʃe] /ˈfatʃe/ *face* (a literary word), which in central Italian pronunciation (and very often in southern ones) is [ˈfaːʃe]; however, the minimal pair is between the first two examples, not the third.

Approximants

3.2.5. The two Italian approximants are /j, w/ [j, w]: [ˈjɛːri] /ˈjɛri/ *ieri*, [gjatʃˈtʃaːjo] /gjatʃˈtʃajo/ *ghiacciaio*, [ˈwɔːvo] /ˈwɔvo/ *uovo*, [kwaˈluŋːkwɛ] /kwaˈlunkwe/ *qualunque*.

In central-southern pronunciation, we sometimes find /j/ → [jj]: [ˈpajːjo, ˈpaˈjjo] for [ˈpaːjo] /ˈpajo/ *paio*. In the south we often have even [iˈeːri, uˈoːvo] for /ˈjɛri, ˈwɔvo/ *ieri, uovo* (simplifying a little).

Trills

3.2.6. There is only one trill phoneme, /r/, with two important taxophones, [r, ɾ], which depend on the strength of the syllables; in stressed syllables, before or after the syllabic nucleus we find a trill, [r] (lengthened, [rː], if in a checked syllable of an intoneme); whereas in unstressed (or half-stressed) syllables we have a tap: [ˈraːɾo] /ˈraro/ *raro*, [ˈpɔrːta] /ˈporta/ *porta*, [ɾiˈprɛːndeɾe] /riˈprɛndeɾe/ *riprendere*, [ˌpɾepaˈrarːsi] /prepaˈrarsi/ *prepararsi*, [ˈkarːɾo] /ˈkarro/ *carro*, [arˈriːvʊ] /arˈrivo/ *arrivo*, [ˌarriˈvaːɾe] /arriˈvare/ *arrivare*. As one can see, even for /rr/, the choice between [r, ɾ], depends on the position of the stress.

There are various types of accents with a ‹French *r*›, in Italian, that range from uvular, like [ʀ, ʁ, ʁ, ʁ], to labiodental (with or without uvularization), [ʋ, ʋ]. For regional pronunciations (as shown in *MᵃPI*), we could have a generalized

[ɾ] or [r], independently of the stress; we could also have uvularization, [ʁ, ʀ]; or in Venice, [ɪ, ɿ, ɹ].

Let us take a detailed look at the ‹Sicilian type› (in Sicily, of course, and in southern Calabria and the Salentina Peninsula as well) for /ˈr, rr, tr, dr, str, sdr/. Indeed, simplifying a little (even the transcriptions) for /ˈr, rr/, we have the voiced slit alveolar constrictive, [ɹ], self-geminant if postvocalic: [(laɹ)ˈɹaːdjo] /(la)ˈradjo/ (la) radio, [ˈkaɹːɹo] /ˈkarro/ carro. It is clearly not the postalveolar trill phone ([ɽ], ‹cacuminal›, ‹r›), as it has been ‹described› for generations, without proof.

Relative to this, we also have the ‹bizarre› pair ‹tr, dr› which is persistently presented as ‹[ʈɽ, ɖɽ]›, without listening carefully. In fact the most normal articulation is given, simply, by the stopstrictives which correspond to [ɹ], ie [tɹ, dɹ] (slit alveolar): [ˈtɹaːvɛ] /ˈtrave/ trave, [ˈdɹaːgo] /ˈdrago/ drago.

Lastly, the /str/ sequence (lexically quite common), is more often rendered by the voiceless postalveo-prevelar constrictive (self-geminant, if postvocalic) [ʃ]: [ˈnaʃː-ʃo] /ˈnastro/ nastro, [(laʃ)ˈʃaːda] /lasˈtrada/ (la) strada; instead, the (less common) sequence /zdr/ is more often rendered by a voiced (grooved + slit) alveolar sequence, [ʐdɹ]: [(la)ʐˈdɹaːjo] /(la)zˈdrajo/ (la) sdraio (much less commonly by [la(ʒ)-ˈʒaːjo]).

We will conclude by indicating the assimilation of /rC/, which is more typical of eastern Sicily: [ˈpatːto] /ˈparto/ parto.

Laterals

3.2.7. Italian has two lateral phonemes, /l, ʎ/, alveolar and palatal (this last is quite rare in languages, and – in neutral Italian – it is self-geminant, as well): [ˈlaːla] /ˈlala/ l'ala, [ˈlalːla] /ˈlalla/ Lalla, [ˈdirːʎi] /ˈdirʎi/ dirgli, [ˈfɔʎːʎa] /ˈfɔʎʎa/ foglia.

We can observe how the self-geminant /ʎ/ opposes to geminates, as in [ˈpaʎːʎa] /ˈpaʎʎa/ paglia and [ˈpalːla] /ˈpalla/ palla, not to ([ˈpaːla] /ˈpala/ pala); the minimum pair is between the first two examples not the third, which is a single consonant.

In some central areas, /ʎ/ becomes /j/, or /lj/ becomes [ʎ] (in this case it is not self-geminant): [ˈpajːja, ˈpaːjja] /ˈpaʎʎa/ paglia, [ˈɔːʎo] /ˈɔljo/ olio, [ˌpaʎʎaˈtiːvo] /palljaˈtivo/ palliativo. On the other hand, in the north, generally, /ʎ, lj/ are mixed into something intermediate that we can render quite generally here: [liˈtaˑḽ-ja] that stands for /liˈtalja/ l'Italia and for /liˈtaʎʎa/ li taglia. Neutral Italian has /l/ → [ḽ] + /tʃ, dʒ, ʃ/: [ˈaḽːtʃe] alce.

Structures

3.3. We will now look at the characteristics which go beyond simple segments, those with syllable, length, stress, and intonation relevance.

The intermediate vocoids, [ɛ, ɔ], were mentioned in § 3.1.1; for assimilations and consonant taxophones, the relevant characteristics are shown, including the most common regional peculiarities, in their respective paragraphs.

It has already been stated that in Italian, diphthongs are biphonemic and are formed by joining two vocalic phonemes/phones, retaining their normal typical realizations, with no modification, in particular of the second element, that is always distinct, even in the case of /ai, au/ [ai, au], contrarily to many languages, above all Germanic (*cf* § 8.26-8 of *NPT/HPh*).

Taxophonics

3.3.1.1. It is necessary and useful to speak out against the widespread practice, led by journalists and unrefined publishers, of yielding to laziness of various forms regarding the spelling of grammemes, *eg*: *la, una, della…, -re* (in infinitives) –we refer to the linguistic convention, that places an asterisk (*) in front of undesirable forms, which report a decidedly inaccurate use– like in **la esattezza, *una opportunista, *della università, *voltare pagina…* for the more usual and definitely more harmonious: [ˌlezatˈtetsːtsa, ˌunopˌportuˈnisːta, delˌluniˌversiˈta, ˌvoltarˈpaʤina] /lezatˈtetstsa, unopportuˈnista, delluniversiˈta*, voltarˈpaʤina/ *l'esattezza, un'opportunista, dell'università, voltar pagina…*

As a matter of fact, Italian is a real *native* language only in central Italy (where local dialects present substantially, the same structure as the Italian language, only with differences of register); *ie* in Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches and Latium (although their linguistic borders do not coincide exactly with administrative borders, but are a little less widespread, for the four regions and above all for the Marches, as even the whole province of Pesaro and Urbino do not come into the ‹linguistic Center›).

In the center, the dropping of grammeme endings (*-i, -e, -a, -o* [in clear phonic order]), even for nouns, adjectives, conjunctions, adverbs and verbs, is a normal and natural procedure, as seen in: *ancor indietro, sempr'avanti, er'andato, quant'altri mai, cinqu'anni, or'ott'e trenta* [oˌɾʊttetˈtrenːta], *Dant'Alighieri*, &c.

For words in connected speech (unless there are particular reasons, such as highlighting, or emphasis, which should be present or risk lacking expressiveness), neutral pronunciation resorts to *elision*, *ie* the dropping of one of two identical *V* (including the dropping of the final *V* of the articles and some pronouns [considered by grammar, in front of even different *V*]): [latˈteːza, ˌunatˌtiviˈta, leˌezertʃitatsˈtsjoːni, aʎˌʎitaˈljaːni, suˌnarɡoˈmenːto; laˈmiːka, uˈnalːtra, uˈnalːtro, linˈsepːɲo] /latˈteza, unattiviˈta*, lezertʃitatsˈtsjoni, aʎʎitaˈljani, sunarɡoˈmento; laˈmika, uˈnaltra, linˈsepːɲo/ *l'attesa, un'attività, l'esercitazioni, agl'italiani, s'un argomento; l'amica, un'altra, l'insegno*.

If one is not influenced by spelling without elision, and one is, at the same time, free from non-central and non-neutral sounds, one can easily see that normal pronunciation really is not: **[laatˈteːza, ˌunaatˌtiviˈta, leˌezertʃitatsˈtsjoːni, ˌaʎʎiˌitaˈljaːni, suˌunarɡoˈmenːto; laaˈmiːka, ˌunaˈalːtra, liinˈsepːɲo]*, even for the words written as: *le esercitazioni, agli italiani, su un argomento, li insegno*.

For this reason, it is more advisable to use writing which accurately considers these facts, explicitly showing how closely linked genuine pronunciation and spell-

ing elision is (indicated by an apostrophe; whereas, it is defined as *truncation*, if there is no apostrophe). The following is by no means a counterexample: [saˈperes ˈkriːveʁɛ] /saˈperes ˈkrivere/ *sapere scrivere*, with no vocalic omissions, as it falls perfectly, into the genuine Italian structure (based on the use of central Italy), which barely tolerates things such as [saˈpers ˈkriːveʁɛ] /saˈpers ˈkrivere/ *saper scrivere*, but prefers: [ˌsapesˈkriːv(eʁ)ɛ] /ˌsapesˈkrive(re)/ *sapé scrive(re)*, which are of local/dialectal use.

3.3.1.2. Amongst the bad habits we have just examined, unfortunately we can find, propagated by schools, the (humiliatingly mechanical, *ie* without the slightest consideration, resulting in a damaging conditioned reflex) use of the notorious ‹euphonic *d*› –ie ‹well-sounding *d*›, however, the only *euphonic* part of it is its high-sounding name– as in: **ad Emilia, *ed anche, *od altro,* (not to mention: **ed educazione, *ad Adele, *od odore!*).

Once more, the central way of speaking, which is not ruined by schools or journalism, spontaneously and correctly, gives: [aeˈmiːlja, eˈaŋːke, oˈalːtʁo] /aeˈmilja, eˈanke, oˈaltro/ *a Emilia, e anche, o altro*, and even: *e educazione, a Adele, o odore* (not including the really ‹cacophonous *d*›, forming sequences such as ‹/VdVdV/›).

Contrarily, neutral language, prefers cases such as: [ˌadaŋˈkoːna, eˌdeveˈliːna, ˌo-dolˈfatːto] /adanˈkona, edeveˈlina, odolˈfatto/ *ad Ancona, ed Evelina, od olfatto*. However, we obviously have: [eˈɛːva, oˈɔtːto] /eˈɛva, oˈɔtto/ *e Eva, o otto*, as the V, in these cases are not the same at all (phonically speaking)!

The cases of the preposition *da* and of pronouns *una* and *uno* as well followed by an adjective are clearly different. They must never be elided (or ‹truncated› for *uno*), as they are necessary to maintain an important distinction between the preposition *di* and the articles (written *una, uno* as well): [danˈdaːre] /danˈdare/ *d'andare* is only ‹di andare›, not ‹da andare›; in the same way, [uˌnitaˈljana, ˌunanˈtiːkσ] /unitaˈljana, unanˈtiko/ *un'italiana, un antico* are nouns; hence, different from: [ˌu-naˌitaˈljana, ˌunoanˈtiːkσ] /unaitaˈljana, unoanˈtiko/ *una italiana, uno antico*, as in: *ne cerco…* (for instance: *canzone, mobile*) ‹I'm looking for an Italian song/piece of furniture›.

A last reflection, linked to spelling and school wrongdoings, has to be cast regarding the absurd complication of insisting on teaching ‹the exception to the rule›, where the pronoun *sé* is written with an acute (accent) in order to differ from *se* (conjunction and also allotrope, or variant, of *sé* in front of other weak pronouns or *ne*): [ˌsevverˈraˑi, ˌselaˈriːdɛ, ˌseneˈva] /sevverˈrai, selaˈride, seneˈva*/ *se verrai, se la ride, se ne va*.

It is not at all ‹clear› why, once the spelling rule is formulated, to distinguish *sé* from the other *se*, one must rack one's brains to excogitate the ‹exception› to *sé stesso, sé medesimo…* which some grammars –and many pedants– would rather we wrote *se stesso and *se medesimo, with no good reason to do so. Indeed, we cannot exclude the possibility of finding (even in an ambiguous initial position) sentences such as: *Se stessi male, non potrei venire* ‹If I were ill, I couldn't come›, which is different from: *Sé stessi malediranno gli azzeccagarbugli della grammatica* ‹The pettifogging lawyers of grammar will curse themselves›; or: *Se medesime compagne*

di gioco perdono, vengono escluse... ‹If equal playmates lose, they are excluded›, different from: *Sé medesime comparano a tutte le altre* ‹They compare themselves to all the others›.

Therefore, eliminating the accent from *sé* is not only utterly pointless, but causes awkward ambiguity, as well as undue analogies that lead to many people writing **a se stante*, instead of the only form possible: *a sé stante* ‹separate, apart›.

Let us briefly turn our attention to the ‹improper› use (decidedly *incorrect* – proudly lead by a fair number of ‹intellectuals›) of **e non*, **o non*, as in: **italiani e non*. In Italian, the negative *non* /non/ ‹not› has to be followed by the term which is denied, as in: *giallo, non verde*; *cotto, non crudo*; *un chilo, non due (chili)*; *coscia, non petto*; *essere, o non essere?* Instead, the absolute negation (hence, final in the sentence) is only *no* /ˈnɔ*/ ‹no› (Eng. /ˈnɔʊ/ [ˈnɜ·ɵ, ˈnʊ·ɵ]) – even if the given term is not expressed or repeated. Therefore, logically, we must even have: *italiani e no*. Is it possible to imagine an Italic Hamlet saying **Essere, o non?* – or, **Io ti a-mo, ma tu non*!? (for correct English ‹To be, or not to be?›, of course, and ‹I love you, but you don't›). Such usage is much worse than English cases like: **I don't want no bread*, **We ain't going (no more)*, **She don't love you (no more)*.

Syllabification and length

3.3.1.3. Distinctively, in Italian, length (or quantity) only concerns consonants not vowels. First and foremost, we must firmly repeat that this is about true gemination, not length or lengthening; hence, the only suitable way of rendering the length of Italian *C*, consists –even phonologically– of the gemination (or doubling) of the symbol in question: [afˈfatːto] /afˈfatto/ *affatto*, [ˌkorredʒˈdʒesːse] /kor-redʒˈdʒesse/ *correggesse*; certainly not: **[aˈfːatːo, korːeˈdʒːesːe] */aˈfːatːo, korːeˈdʒːesːe/ (even **/korːeˈdːʒesːe/*!), which have no reason or justification (neither theoretical nor acoustic), and rather pose problems for the syllabification, which is: [afˈfatː-to, ˌkor-redʒ-ˈdʒesː-se] /af-ˈfat-to, kor-redʒ-ˈdʒes-se/.

On the subject of syllabification, apart from unsatisfactory ‹modern phonological modes›, one must recall that even traditional grammars are not the most objective – quite the opposite, in fact! As well as the absurd graphic syllabic division of *-sC-* (which, despite its obvious flaws, has been entrusted to computers too, so, unfortunately there is no hope of changing it), from a phonic point of view, the only real division (and natural: just listen to it!) for /sC/ is *after* /s/, not before (as for other sequences, which are heterosyllabic; therefore, different from /Cj, Cw, Cr, Cl/, which are all tautosyllabic, in neutral Italian): [ˈpasːta] /ˈpas-ta/ *pasta* ‹*pa-sta!*›, [ˈparːte] /ˈpar-te/ *parte* ‹*par-te*›, [ˈalːto] /ˈal-to/ *alto* ‹*al-to*›, [ˈpasːso] /ˈpas-so/ *passo* ‹*pas-so*› (but: [ˈmaːrjo] /ˈma-rjo/ *Mario* ‹*Ma-rio*›, [ˈaːkwi-la] /ˈa-kwi-la/ *aquila* ‹*a-qui-la*›, [ˈaːpro] /ˈa-pro/ *apro* ‹*a-pro*›, [ˈduːpli-tʃɛ] /ˈdu-pli-tʃe/ *duplice* ‹*du-pli-ce*›.

It is also true that in northern Italian, especially in the more typical, broader regional accents, the structures /Cj, Cw, Cr, Cl/, after a stressed *V*, are very often heterosyllabic: [ˈaˑk-wi-la] for [ˈaːkwi-la] /ˈa-kwi-la/ *aquila*, [ˈaˑp-ro] for [ˈaːpro] /ˈa-pro/ *apro*, [ˈmaˑr-jo] for [ˈmaːrjo] /ˈma-rjo/ *Mario*, [ˈduˑp-li-tʃɛ] for [ˈduːpli-tʃɛ] /ˈdu-pli-tʃe/ *duplice*.

This aspect can be hard to grasp, especially if accurate transcriptions are not availed of (and obviously, if no keen listening is made); so it is quite a common problem for many actors, dubbers and presenters of northern descent, who –as ‹voice professionals›– are somewhat lacking; unfortunately they are more like ‹semi-professionals›…

As seen, phonically we have [bas-'taː-ɾe] /ˈbas-ta-re/ *bastare*, but also [las-'tɔː-rja] /las-'tɔ-rja/ *la storia*; therefore, likewise [s'tɔː-rja] /s'tɔːrja/ *storia*, with [s't] /s't/, as –when there is a V in front– the phono-syllabification is [s-'t] /s-'t/, as in the second example (*la storia*). Even acoustic data confirm the fact that [|s'tV] /|s'tV/ (after a pause, or ‹silence›) is part of the same syllable (a little particular, possibly, on the scale of syllabicity, but nothing really surprising) whereas, obviously, [Vs'tV] /Vs'tV/ constitute two phono-syllables bordering between two C (cf § 12.2-6 of *NPT*/*HPh*).

3.3.1.4. From a phonetic point of view, neutral Italian, in an intoneme, under-goes a lengthening of the last element of the phono-syllable (with one exception, which will be looked at presently): [ˈfaː-ɾe] /ˈfa-re/ *fare*, [de-ˈtʃiː-zo] /de-ˈtʃi-zo/ *deciso*, [ɾi-ˈpɛː-te-ɾe] /ri-ˈpɛ-te-re/ *ripetere*, [ˌɾi-ka-ˌpi-to-ˈlaː-ɾe] /ri-ka-pi-to-ˈla-re/ *ricapitolare*; [ˈkanː-to] /ˈkan-to/ *canto*, [ˈmolː-to] /ˈmol-to/ *molto*, [ˈverː-de] /ˈver-de/ *verde*, [ˈposː-to] /ˈpos-to/ *posto* (‹*po-sto*›!), [ˌiŋ-kon-ˈtranː-do] /in-kon-ˈtran-do/ *incontrando*, [ar-ˌɾi-ve-ˈderː-tʃi] /ar-ri-ve-ˈder-tʃi/ *arrivederci*.

We must be careful not to misunderstand the meaning of ‹in an intoneme›, which should be understood as in a prominent position in a sentence; this does not mean only ‹at the end of a sentence›, but ‹every time there is an intoneme› *even in the middle* of syntactic sentences, which –after all– has very little to do with phonic sentences, which are decidedly richer and more variable than tradi-tional-grammar sentences (and even ‹generative-grammar› ones).

The exception (to the rule of phonetic length) is made up of a single final stressed V, which is always short (except for possible emphatic or communicative reasons): [koˈzi] /koˈzi*/ *così*, [kafˈfɛ] /kafˈfɛ*/ *caffè*; however: [porˈtaˑi] /porˈtai/ *por-tai*, [ˌparaˈtiˑa] /paraˈtia/ *paratia*, as in the middle of the word as well: [ˈkaˑuza] /ˈkau-za/ *causa*, [inˈtrɔˑito] /inˈtrɔito/ *introito*.

A partial exception is formed by the final stressed /Vr#/ sequence in an intomene: [ˈfaːr(e)] /ˈfar(e)/ *far(e)*, [ˌriveˈderr(e)] /riveˈder(e)/ *riveder(e)*; in other contexts, we have: [peˈroːra, perˈdiːɾɛ] /peˈrora, perˈdire/ *per ora, per dire*. The other final C, in an intoneme, are lengthened as they are in stressed checked syllables within a word: [perˈdonː; perˈdoːno] /perˈdon(o)/ *perdon(o)*, [kaˈnalː; kaˈnaːle] /kaˈnal(e)/ *canal(e)*.

Even geminate C in an intoneme have the first element lengthened: [ˈsasːso] /ˈsas-so/ *sasso*, [ˈvetːta] /ˈvetta/ *vetta*, [ˈsonːno] /ˈsonno/ *sonno*, [ˈbratʃːtʃo] /ˈbratʃtʃo/ *brac-cio*, [ˈdatsːtsjo] /ˈdatstsjo/ *dazio*, [ˈpeʃːʃe] /ˈpeʃʃe/ *pesce*. In any other position, eg be-fore the stress, there is no further lengthening: [sasˈsetːto, vetˈtoːɾe, sonˈnamːbulo, ˌpeʃʃoˈliːnɔ] /sasˈsetto, vetˈtore, sonˈnambulo, peʃʃoˈlino/ *sassetto, vettore, sonnambu-lo, pesciolino*, or in a preintoneme: [ˈsasso peˈzanːte, ˈvetta eleˈvaːta, ˈsonno proˈfonː-do, ˈbratʃtʃo ˈluŋːgo, ˈdatstsjo obˌbligaˈtɔːrjo, ˈpeʃʃe ˈfritːto] /ˈsasso peˈzante, ˈvetta e-leˈvata, ˈsonno proˈfondo, ˈbratʃtʃo ˈlungo, ˈdatstsjo obbligaˈtɔrjo, ˈpeʃʃe ˈfritto/ *sasso pesante, vetta elevata, sonno profondo, braccio lungo, dazio obbligatorio, pesce fritto*.

In a different position from that in an intoneme, as also in a preintoneme, even the vowel lengths change, dropping the semichrone (['])': [kau'zaːɾe] /kau'zare/ *causare*, ['kauze ˌnatu'raːli] /'kauze natu'rali/ *cause naturali* (cf ['kaˑuza] /'kauza/ *causa*).

3.3.1.5. However, in neutral Italian, not all *C* are geminable; in fact, /z, j, w/ are always single (*ie* non-geminable, as also the xenophoneme /ʒ/, which has been integrated into the Italian phonological system for centuries now): ['pɔːza] /'pɔza/ *posa*, ['kwɔːjo] /'kwɔjo/ *cuoio*, [a'ʒuːr] /a'ʒur/ *à jour*. Nevertheless, phonetically, in the appropriate contexts, /z/ is lengthened: ['rizːma] /'rizma/ *risma.*

There are also five self-geminant *C* (/ɲ, ʃ, ʎ; ts, dz/), which, in a postvocalic position, are necessarily geminated; but with no chance of phonological opposition with a single *C*: ['baɲːɲo] /'baɲɲo/ *bagno*, ['laʃːʃo] /'laʃʃo/ *lascio*, ['vɔʎːʎo] /'vɔʎʎo/ *voglio*, ['vitsːtsi] /'vitstsi/ *vizi*, ['vitsːtsjɔ] /'vitstsjo/ *vizio*, [odz'dzɔːno] /odz'dzɔno/ *ozono*. The reason for this is to be found in Latin; as a matter of fact, these five phonemes were not part of that language, and generally derive from two or more *C* (or from other languages); therefore, by assimilation, the result is a geminate *C* (cf § 5.6.1-7 of *MᵃPI* & § 1.6 of *DⁱPI*).

We can observe that (only) phonetics can supply explanations about the grammar rules (which are ‹troublesome› for foreigners and for northern Italians), as the articles [ˌuno, lo, ʎi] /ˌuno, lo, ʎi/ *uno, lo, gli* must be used in cases such as: [ˌunoʃ-'ʃeːmɔ, lodz'dzaˑino, ʎidz'dziˑi, ʎiɲ'ɲɔkːki] /unoʃ'ʃemo, lodz'dzaino, ʎidz'dzii, ʎiɲ'ɲɔkki/ *uno scemo, lo zaino, gli zii, gli gnocchi* (as also [ˌunos'tratʃːtʃo, los'kɔpːpjo, ʎis'kɔʎːʎi] /unos'tratʃtʃo, los'kɔppjo, ʎis'kɔʎʎi/ *uno straccio, lo scoppio, gli scogli*). In fact, it is a question of *two* —heterosyllabic— consonants, whereby the neutral Italian structure could not tolerate more complicated sequences, as they would make these syllables too heavy to pronounce.

The remaining 15 *C*, /m, n; p, b, t, d, k, g; tʃ, dʒ; f, v, s; r; l/, in a postvocalic position, can be single or geminate, distinctively, as shown in the example chosen: ['vaːno] /'vano/ *vano* and ['vanːno] /'vanno/ *vanno*, ['faːto] /'fato/ *fato* and ['fatːto] /'fatto/ *fatto*, ['mɔːdʒo] /'mɔdʒo/ *mogio* and ['mɔdʒːdʒo] /'mɔdʒdʒo/ *moggio*, ['beːve] /'beve/ *beve* and ['bevːve] /'bevve/ *bevve*, ['kaːɾo] /'karo/ *caro* and ['karːɾo] /'karro/ *carro*, ['paːla] /'pala/ *pala* and ['palːla] /'palla/ *palla*. We can see that ['kaːza] /'kaza/ *casa* and ['kasːsa] /'kassa/ *cassa* do not constitute a minimal pair, in modern neutral pronunciation (but only in traditional pronunciation or… as far as spelling is concerned).

3.3.1.6. In regional pronunciations in the whole of Italy, in checked syllables in an intoneme, it is quite frequent to find a length shifting from the consonant to the vowel element: ['paˑsso, 'paːsso] /'passo/ *passo*, ['paˑsta, 'paːsta] /'pasta/ *pasta*, ['kaˑnto, 'kaˑŋto, 'kaˑn̠to, 'kaa-] /'kanto/ *canto*, ['diˑrti, 'diːrti] /'dirti/ *dirti*, ['moˑlto, 'moːlto] /'molto/ *molto*, for the neutral ['pasːso, 'pasːta, 'kanːto, 'dirːti, 'molːto].

Above all in the south, it is typical to find diphthongization, or doubling, of the vocoid (in checked syllables and in a preintoneme as well), but over all in un--checked syllables (which are shown here generally; but can be seen in ₲ 9-15 of *MᵃPI* and in the dialect phonosyntheses in ₲ 16 of *NPT/HPh*): ['paˑane, 'paˑɛne]

/'pane/ *pane*, ['veˑɪdo, 'veˑedo] /'vedo/ *vedo*, ['doˑʊve, 'doˑove] /'dove/ *dove*, for the neutral ['paːne, 'veːdo, 'doːve]…

In the north, geminates, do not often have sufficient length, even where vowel length does not present the lengthening mentioned at the beginning of this section: [afˈfaˑtto, aᶠˈfaˑᵗto] /afˈfatto/ *affatto*.

In the central-southern areas, there can be other self-geminant consonants (cf § 3.3.1.5.); which takes place more widely for /b, dʒ/ – in parts of the centre for /j/ too: ['rɔbˈbaˑba, 'rɔˑbba] /'rɔba/ *roba*, [labˈbarːka, labˈbaˑrka] /laˈbarka/ *la barca*, ['vidʒːdʒilɛ, 'viˑdʒdʒilɛ] /'vidʒile/ *vigile*, [ladʒˈdʒakːka, ladʒˈdʒaˑkka] /laˈdʒakka/ *la giacca*, ['nɔjːja, 'nɔˑjja] /'nɔja/ *noia*, [dajˈjɛːɾi] /daˈjɛɾi/ *da ieri*, for the neutral ['rɔːba, laˈbarːka, 'viːdʒilɛ, laˈdʒakːka, 'nɔːja, daˈjɛːɾi].

In Rome (and other central areas), instead, we can find the degemination of /r/, in broad and typical accents: ['koːɾeɾe] /'korrere/ *correre*, [eˈroːɾe] /erˈrore/ *errore*, [aˈroːma] /arˈroma/ *a Roma* (with co-gemination, cf § 3.3.2.1.), for the neutral ['korːɾeɾe, eɾˈroːɾe, aɾˈroːma].

Co-gemination

3.3.2.1. We will now briefly introduce an example of interlexical consonant gemination, choosing the most significant from other similar types, occurring in neutral Italian. Traditionally it is (widely) known as *rafforzamento sintattico* ‹syntactic strengthening› or *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* ‹phonosyntactic doubling›, but it is best defined as CO-GEMINATION, the occurrence of which, in neutral pronunciation, gives us: [akˈkaːza] /akˈkaza/ *a casa*, [fafˈfredːdo] /fafˈfreddo/ *fa freddo*, [ɛvˈveːɾo] /ɛvˈvero/ *è vero*.

In order to explain this, it is worth first considering examples such as [dʒakˈke, trepˈpjɛːde] /dʒakˈke*, trepˈpjɛde/ *giacché*, *treppiede*, which do not pose any problems as the pronunciation and the spelling correspond.

However, we can also find cases such as [dʒakˈkjɛsːto, trepˈpjɛːdi] /dʒakˈkjɛsto, trepˈpjɛdi/ *già chiesto*, *tre piedi*. Furthermore, we also have: [amˈmetːto] /amˈmetto/ *ammetto* and [amˈme] /amˈme*/ *a me* as well, which both derive from the Latin sequences /dm/ –*admitto*, *ad me*– giving /mm/, by assimilation, which operated within words and between them.

Therefore, one or more of the final consonants assimilated to the first consonant of the following word, as the assimilation of certain different consonants in a word occurred; indeed, even *septem* and *octo* gave *sette* and *otto* in Italian (/pt, kt/ → /tt/). Hence, as we have had /amˈme*/ from *ad me*, also /trekˈkapre/ comes from *tres capræ*. Even /ɛ*/ *è* (from Lat. *est*) causes co-gemination as in *è vero*, as seen above.

Separately, in phonemic transcriptions, these words are indicated, as just seen, by /*/: /'tre*, ɛ*/ (here *tre* ‹three› has the phonic stress marked, because generally it is stressed, as in [ˌsonoˈtre] /sonoˈtre*/ *sono tre* ‹they're three›, unless it *immediately* precedes another stress, as in *tre capre* ‹three goats› /trekˈkapre/ (from a theoretical structure ‖'tre 'kapre‖, unlike English /ˈθɹiː ˈɡəʊts/); whereas *è* ‹is› is given with no /'/, because it is not usually stressed in sentences (as in English).

Not all Italian monosyllables have this characteristic as far as co-gemination is concerned. For example the preposition *di* ‹of› does not co-geminate (and is not stressed), /di°/, whereas the noun *dí* ‹day› co-geminates, /'di*/; on the other hand, the imperative *di'* ‹say!› can co-geminate, as a second choice /'di°, 'di*/: [di'kwesːta] /di'kwesta/ *di questa* ‹of this (f)›, ['dik kwa'luŋːkwɛ] /'dik kwa'lunkwe/ *(un) dí qualunque* ‹just any day›, ['di kwal'kɔːza, 'dik k-] /'di kwal'kɔza, 'dik k-/ *di' qualcosa* ‹say something›.

3.3.2.2. Amongst the most frequent co-geminant *monosyllables* (ie *activating*), we find *a* /a*/, *è* /ɛ*/, *e* /e*/, *né* /ne*/, *se* (conj.) /se*/, *già* /ʤa*/, *piú* /pju*/, *là* /la*/, *lí* /li*/, *qua* /kwa*/, *qui* /kwi*/, *chi* /ki*/, *che* /ke*/, *tre* /tre*/: /ammi'lano/ *a Milano*, /ɛk'kjaro/ *è chiaro*, /ep'pɔi/ *e poi*, /net'tun nel'lui/ *né tu né lui*, /sep'parti/ *se parti*, /ʤad'detto/ *già detto*, /pjut'tɛmpo/ *piú tempo*, /las'sopra/ *là sopra*, /kwikkon'lɛi/ *qui con lei*, /kikko'noʃʃi/ *chi conosci*, /kettene'pare/ *che te ne pare*, /'trep pun'tini/ *tre puntini*.

The preposition *da* does not co-geminate in modern pronunciation: /dafi'rɛntse/ *da Firenze* (contrary to traditional [and Tuscan] pronunciation: /daffi'rɛntse/).

The following also co-geminate *dà, do, fa, fu, ha, ho, può, sa, so, sta, sto, va*: /mi-darra'ʤone/ *mi dà ragione*, /fam'male/ *fa male*, /ɔppa'ura/ *ho paura*, /pwɔssa'lire/ *può salire*, /sat'tutto/ *sa tutto*, /stɔvve'nɛndo/ *sto venendo*, /vas'solo/ *va solo*.

Amongst non-geminant monosyllables (ie *inactivating*), the following must undoubtedly be included *di* /di°/, *de'* /de°/, *i* /i°/, *la* /la°/, *le* /le°/, *li* /li°/, *lo* /lo°/, *gli* /(*)ʎi°/, *glie* /(*)ʎe°/, *mi*/*me* /mi°, me°/, *ti*/*te* /ti°, te°/, *si*/*se* /si°, se°/, *ci*/*ce* /tʃi°, tʃe°/, *vi*/*ve* /vi°, ve°/, *ne* /ne°/, *'sta* /sta°/, *'sto* /sto°/, *'ste* /ste°/, *'sti* /sti°/, as well as the Latin monosyllables (*a, de, pro, quo, si, tu, væ*): /di'nɔtte/ *di notte*, /de'mɛditʃi/ *de' Medi-ci*, /i'gatti/ *i gatti*, /la'lana/ *la lana*, /le'reti/ *le reti*, /li'prɛndo/ *li prendo*, /losa'pevo/ *lo sapevo*, /ʎirak'konta/ *gli racconta*, /tʃisene'rɛnde 'konto/ *ci se ne rende conto*, /sta-'sera/ *'sta sera*; /kwɔ'vadis/ *quo vadis*, /vɛ'viktis/ *væ victis*.

Final-stressed polysyllables (ie with stress on the last syllable, or *tronchi* ‹truncated› co-geminate, even if they can lose their stress (for rhythmic reasons): [kaf'fɛk kolom'bjaːno, saˌrappar'tiːtɔ, ˌtornɔt'tarːdi] /kaf'fɛk kolom'bjano, sarappar'tito, tor-nɔt'tardi/ *caffè colombiano, sarà partito, tornò tardi*.

The systematic description of this phenomenon (and other similar ones, linked, but different, often confused with co-gemination, in many previous treatments [or in all those which uncritically perpetuate the hypothetical state of things]) is given in § 5.6-9 (and § 4.8.1.) of M^aPI, and also –entry by entry– in D^iPI.

3.3.2.3. Co-gemination is part of neutral pronunciation, exactly as lexical gemination, which is marked in spelling, as in: ['ɔtːto] /'ɔtto/ *otto*. However, this is not the case in the north (natively, except in some common, set expressions, as *è vero, ha detto*, used by young people raised with high levels of exposure to the television). Too often, it is erroneously considered as if it were a regional characteristic of the central-southern areas.

This opinion, but above all the fact that co-gemination does not figure in writing (apart from crystallized forms, such as *giacché, davvero, soprattutto*), is often

believed –even by Italians from the central-southern areas– that it is to be avoid-
ed; in that case, one should consider even normal lexical gemination (which is
distinctive, cf § 3.3.1.5.) abnormal and unsuitable.

Clearly, in the central-southern areas, there are regional differences which are
contrary to neutral use. In particular, the most systematic and widespread use is
met in Tuscany (which, however, is not totally homogeneous), followed by Rome;
the other central-southern areas follow, all of them with local, more or less strong
differences.

The most normal type of co-gemination, in modern neutral pronunciation, is
generally represented by a sort of compromise or of average, based on Roman use
(including the cases of de-gemination of articles and pronouns, formed by /lV/: *la,
lo, le, li, l'*), with further simplifications. The kind of co-gemination which is more
similar to traditional pronunciation (cf § 3.3.5.3), follows Tuscan usage.

A few other examples follow, including one of *de-gemination* (given as the last
one): [pjuf'fɔːte] /pjuf'fɔrte/ *piú forte*, [tʃit̚takkos'tjɛːɾa] /tʃittakkos'tjɛra/ *città co-
stiera*, [ˌtɾentaˈtrek korɾiˈdoːɾi] /trentaˈtrek korriˈdori/ *trentatré corridori*, [ɛlˈlaːna]
/ɛlˈlana/ *è lana*, [ˌɛlosˈtesːso] /ɛlosˈtesso/ *è lo stesso*.

In modern neutral pronunciation, *come* ‹like, as› (appositive and comparative
with nouns and pronouns) is co-geminant, as well: [ˌkomekˈkaːni, ˌkomevˈveɾi ˈkaː-
ni, ˌkometˈte] /komekˈkani, komevˈveri ˈkani, kometˈte*/ *come cani, come veri cani,
come te.*

Stress

3.3.3.1. Generally, in Italian, stress is assigned to rhythm groups, according to
(lexical) word stresses. Rhythm groups are stress groups (cf § 3.2.7, 6.4.2, 12.1, 13.2-3
of *NPT/HPh*) made up of a syllable with strong –or primary– stress, and others
with weak –or secondary– stress, as in: [ˌpeɾfettaˈmenːte] /perfettaˈmente/ *perfetta-
mente*, [inˈtrɛːno] /inˈtrɛno/ *in treno*, [ˌpeɾilˈkaːne] /perilˈkane/ *per il cane*, [ˌvɛɾsola-
ˌfinedelˈmeːze, ˌvɛɾsolaˈfiˑne delˈmeːze] /vɛrsolafinedelˈmeze, vɛrsolaˈfine delˈmeze/
verso la fine del mese.

The last example shows that, according to the prominence given to certain parts
of sentences, the number of rhythm groups can change, as in [unˌnwɔvoˈliːbɾo]
/unnwɔvoˈlibro/ *un nuovo libro* ‹a new book›, compared to [unˈnwɔˑvo ˈliːbɾo] /un-
ˈnwɔvo ˈlibro/ ‹a book (which is) new›, written in the same way (*un nuovo libro*),
but with different prominence, corresponding to a semantic gradation, where in
the second case, *nuovo* takes on greater importance.

The communicative importance given to *nuovo* can be even greater, in an utter-
ance that, in its written form, remains – once more – the same (given the consider-
able deficiency of current punctuation): [unˈnwɔːvoˑ ˈliːbɾoˑ.] /unˈnwɔvo, ˈlibro./.

The introduction of the post-stress syllables of the continuative ([ˑ] /,/) and con-
clusive ([ˑ.] /./) intonemes were necessary here, because the new greater prominence
is given, in this case, by the presence of two intonemes, for a single utterance. (Let
us also note the presence of the full chrone, even in the first rhythm group, bear-

ing a continuative intoneme, [ɔː].)

On the other hand, the communicative prominence would still increase, by us-
ing a conclusive intoneme, for the first rhythm group too: [unˈnwɔːvo·ˌ ˈliːbɾoˌ·]
/unˈnwɔvo. ˈlibro./.

3.3.3.2. Going back to the examples of the rhythm groups given above, we can
observe that unstressed syllables (or rather, with weak stress), and those with half-
-stress (ie with mid or secondary stress), alternate in such a way as to have one or
two weak phono-syllables amongst others with secondary (or primary) stress.

Secondary stress is assigned rhythmically, bearing in mind –as far as possible–
the position of the stress in the original forms (ie fundamental forms, from which
they derived [certainly not in an evolutive sense, from Latin]), as occurs in lexical
compounds: [ˌpɔrtasaˈpoːne] /pɔrtasaˈpone/ *portasapone*, [puˌliʃʃisˈkarːpe] /puliʃʃis-
ˈkarpe/ *pulisciscarpe*.

In *derivatives*, instead, the origin counts for less than rhythmic reasons, even if,
in case of a double possibility (rhythmic or original), the stress of the original form
can exert a decisive influence: [ˌpataˈtiːnɛ] /pataˈtine/ *patatine* (notwithstanding
[paˈtaːta] /paˈtata/ *patata*), [ˌattenˈtsjoːne] /attenˈtsjone/ *attenzione* (notwithstand-
ing [atˈtɛnːto] /atˈtɛnto/ *attento*).

For syllables that follow a stressed syllable of a word, furthermore, they behave
as follows: [ˈfabːbɾo] *fabbro*, [ˈfabːbɾika] *fabbrica*, [ˈfabːbɾikaˌno, ˈfabːbɾikaˌmi] *fab-
bricano, fabbricami*, [ˈfabːbɾikameˌlo] *fabbricamelo* (let us also add a rather improb-
able [ˈfabːbɾikaˌmitʃeˌlo] *fabbricamicelo* – cf the end of § 6.4.2 in *NPT/HPh*).

3.3.3.3. As regards the syllables of a word that precedes a stressed syllable, the
spontaneous formation of a rhythmic alternation of weak and half-strong stresses
is formed, going back towards the beginning of the word, starting from the strong
syllable, of this kind: [#(ˌ$)$ˌ$$ˌ$$ˈ$]. However, given that polysyllabic words are
generally derivatives or compounds, there is a clear and agreed tendency to place
secondary stresses on the same syllables of the simple forms of the lexeme which
are originally stressed.

The only exception, so to speak, is made up of the rhythmic tendency that inter-
rupts both sequences of weak syllables that are too long, *introducing* some second-
ary stresses, and sequences of stressed syllables (ie strong and half-strong), *suppress-
ing* some secondary stresses or shifting them one or two syllables.

Some examples: [ˌsotʃeˈta] *società*, [kaˌpatʃiˈta] *capacità*, [proˌbabiliˈta] *probabili-
tà*, [beˌatiˈtuːdinɛ] *beatitudine*, [ˌratstsjoˌnalidzˌdzabiliˈta] *razionalizzabilità*, [arˌtifi-
ˌtʃaliˈta] *artificialità*, [uˌtilitaˌristikaˈmenːte] *utilitaristicamente*, [eˌzertʃitaˈtoːre] *eser-
citatore*, [arˌtikolatsˈtsjoːne] *articolazione*, [asˌsotʃatsˈtsjoːne] *associazione*, [oˌtʃeano-
ˈgraːfiko] *oceanografico*, [kaˌratteridzˈdzaːbile] *caratterizzabile*, [inˌtellidʒenˈtisːsima]
intelligentissima, [oʃʃilloˈgramːma] *oscillogramma*, [efˌferveʃʃenˈtisːsimo] *effervescen-
tissimo*.

Other examples: [doˌloɾoˌzissimaˈmenːte] *dolorosissimamente*, [asˌtutaˈmenːte] *a-
stutamente*, [imˌmadʒinatsˈtsjoːne] *immaginazione*, [moˌdifikatsˈtsjoːne] *modificazio-
ne*, [komˌpozitsˈtsjoːne] *composizione*, [akˌkjappafarˈfalːle] *acchiappafarfalle*, [eɲˌtʃɛ-

falo'gram:ma] *encefalogramma*, [ˌultɹakonˌseɹva'to:ɹe] *ultraconservatore*, [ˌinteɹkon-ˌtinen'ta:le, -ˌkonti-] *intercontinentale*, [ˌpɹemediˌtata'men:te, pɹeˌme-] *premeditatamente*, [pɹeˌkoʧe'men:te, ˌpɹeko-] *precocemente*.

3.3.3.4. Considering isolated words, normal (*ie* neutral, spontaneous) secondary stressing complies to the rules of lexical composition and derivation. However, obviously, there are also differences in the distribution of secondary stresses, due to the rhythmic context in which the words are placed at any given moment. Therefore, if –in isolation– a form like *partitocrazia* is [paɹˌtitokɹats'tsiˑa] –whereas [ˌpartiₒₒtokɹats'tsiˑa] is a ‹false note›, deriving from the lack of compound analysis– in actual sentences, there is some alternation: [ˌlapaɹˌtitokɹats'tsiˑa, laˌpartiˌto-kɹats'tsiˑa] *la partitocrazia*, ['molto asˌtuta'men:te] *molto astutamente*, [pɹo'ʧɛˑdeɹe ˌastuta'men:te], *procedere astutamente*, ['vɛŋgo ˌmɛɹkole'di] *vengo mercoledí*, [ʧan-'dɹɔm meɹˌkole'di] *ci andrò mercoledí*.
We will not broach the subject of two possible stress patterns for some words, *ie*: /dia'triba ~ di'atriba/ *diatriba*, /skle'rɔzi ~ s'klɛrozi/ *sclerosi*, /te'zɛo ~ 'tɛzeo/ *Teseo*, /e'dipo ~ 'ɛdipo/ *Edipo*; the interested reader is referred to *DⁱPI*.

3.3.3.5. Neutral Italian does not in any way accept strong stress on two contiguous syllables (in an intoneme), but attenuates the first, even by shifting it or, if necessary, it shifts it (without attenuation), as in the third (and fourth) variants given, which are possible, but less common: /fa'rɔk 'kwesto → farɔk'kwesto/ [ˌfaɹɔk-'kwes:to], [faˌɹɔk'kwes:to], ['faɹɔk 'kwes:to], ['fa'rɔk 'kwes:to] *farò questo*, /skoper'kjɔ il'tetto → skoperkjɔil'tetto/ [sˌkopeɹkjɔil'tet:to], [sˌkopeɹˌkjɔil'tet:to], [s'kopeɹkjɔ il-'tet:to], [s'koˑpeɹkjɔ il'tet:to] *scoperchiò il tetto*, /nonnepo'tep 'pju* → nonnepotep-'pju*/ [ˌnonneˌpotep'pju], [ˌnonnepoˌtep'pju], [ˌnonne'potep 'pju], [ˌnonne'poˑtep 'pju] *non ne poté piú*, /bɛn'kek k'reda → bɛnkek'kreda/ [ˌbɛŋkek'kre:da], [bɛŋˌkek-'kre:da], ['bɛŋkek 'kre:da] *benché creda*, /me'tad 'dɔze → metad'dɔze/ [ˌmetad'dɔ:ze], [meˌtad'dɔ:ze], ['metad 'dɔ:ze], ['me'tad 'dɔ:ze] *metà dose*.
One aspect of attenuation, owing to rhythmic reasons, can concern the moving back of the reduced stress too, as seen in the following examples: /'vɛngo 'dopo di-'te* → 'vɛngo dopodi'te*/ ['vɛŋgo ˌdopodi'te], ['vɛŋgo doˌpodi'te] *vengo dopo di te*, /'karo pa'pa* → karopa'pa*/ ['kaˑro pa'pa], [ˌkaropa'pa], [kaˌropa'pa] *caro papà*, /lo-'faʧʧo 'anke per'te* → lo'faʧʧo ankeper'te*/ [lo'faʧʧo ˌaŋkepeɹ'te], [lo'faʧʧo ˌaŋke-peɹ'te] *lo faccio anche per te*, /si'kjama 'forse ko'zi → si'kjama forseko'zi*/ [si'kjaˑma ˌforseko'zi], [si'kjaˑma foɹˌseko'zi] *si chiama forse cosí?*

3.3.3.6. In the case of syntagms like //fuʤ'ʤi z'vɛlto// /fuʤʤiz'vɛlto/ [ˌfuʤʤiz-'vɛl:to, fuˌʤʤiz'vɛl:to; fuʤˌʤiz'vɛl:to] *fuggí svelto* ‹he ran away quickly›, compared to similar expressions as //'fuʤʤi z'vɛlto// /'fuʤʤiz 'vɛlto/ ['fuʤʤiz 'vɛl:to] *fuggi svelto* ‹run away quickly!›, there are slight phonetic and prosodic differences, which alone, however, are not always able to maintain the distinction, as even in the case of *fuggi svelto*, attenuation of the first stress is possible, above all in fast pronunciation [ˌfuʤʤiz'vɛl:to]. Co-gemination does not apply with syllable structures like /V#SC/, which actually are syllabified /VS#C/.

In the case of ∥fuʤˈʤis ˈsubito∥ /fuʤʤisˈsubito/ [ˌfuʤʤisˈsuːbitʊ; fuʤˌʤisˈsuːbi-tʊ] *fuggí súbito* ‹he ran away at once›, compared to /ˈfuʤʤi ˈsubito/ [ˈfuʤʤi ˈsuː-bitʊ] *fuggi súbito* ‹run away at once!›, the co-gemination contributes a better dis-tinction, in neutral pronunciation: ∥paˈgɔt ˈtutto∥ /pagɔtˈtutto/ [ˌpagɔtˈtutːtʊ, ˈpa-gɔt ˈtutːtʊ, ˈpaˑgɔt ˈtutːtʊ; paˌgɔtˈtutːtʊ] *pagò tutto*, /ˈpago ˈtutto/ [ˈpaˑgo ˈtutːtʊ, ˌpa-goˈtutːtʊ] *pago tutto*; ∥losenˈtim ˈmale∥ /losentimˈmale/ [loˌsentimˈmaːle, loˈsentim ˈmaːle; ˌlosenˌtimˈmaːle] *lo sentí male*, /loˈsɛnti ˈmale, losɛntiˈmale/ [loˈsɛnti ˈmaːle, lo-ˌsɛntiˈmaːle] *lo senti male*. Lastly: ∥lostrapˈpɔv ˈvia∥ /lostrappɔvˈvia/ [losˌtrappɔv-ˈviˑa, losˈtrappɔv ˈviˑa; ˌlostrapˌpɔvˈviˑa] *lo strappò via*, /losˈtrappo ˈvia, lostrappoˈvia/ [losˈtrappo ˈviˑa, losˌtrappoˈviˑa] *lo strappo via*.

Intonation

3.3.4. ɧ 3.3 shows the preintonemes and intonemes in neutral Italian (both modern and traditional), which we will illustrate with simple examples:
/./: [ɾiˈpartono ˈtutti ˈsaːbatoˌ] /riˈpartono ˈtutti ˈsabato./ *Ripartono tutti sabato.*
/?/: [¿ɾiˈpartono ˈtutti ˈsaːbatoˑ] /¿riˈpartono ˈtutti ˈsabato?/ *Ripartono tutti saba-to?*
/;/: [ˌseɾɾiˈpartono ˈtutti ‾saːbatoˑ| ˌmeneˈvaˑdo aŋˈkiˑoˌ] /serriˈpartono ˈtutti ˈsaba-to; meneˈvado anˈkio./ *Se ripartono tutti sabato, me ne vado anch'io.*

In the north, regional intonation has consistent and varied shifts; in the south they are rather repetitive; while, in the center, they are more contained (and, gen-erally, more similar to neutral patterns). The major differences are found in the sus-pensive intoneme, /;/, as can also be seen in the phonosyntheses of ɧ 16 of *NPT/HPh* (and of ɧ 10-15 of *MᵃPI*).

ɧ 3.3. Italian preintonemes and intonemes.

Traditional neutral pronunciation

3.3.5.1. As already mentioned (in § 3.0.1), ‹traditional neutral pronunciation› mainly follows Tuscan use, in particular Florentine, and dates back to the unifica-tion of Italy; therefore to about a century and a half ago, as quoted in *dictionaries*

which, at that time were defined as of ‹Tuscan language›, more often than of ‹Italian›.

The peculiarities of traditional pronunciation, therefore, are more rigid than those of *modern* pronunciation (having less variations [and here, we relate above all the ‹strangest›] and –at the same time– most ‹capricious›). The forms followed by * are found only in some dictionaries or specific lists.

As regards the vowel phonemes /e, ɛ; o, ɔ/, some examples of words and endings follow. The more bizarre forms are marked with simple (‹orthoepical›) written accents: *Agnèse, annèsso, auróra*, Bertóldo*, cèffo, cócca* ‹corner, notch›, *collètta, connètto, crèsima, enórme, esòso, fólla, Giórgio, gótta, gróppo, lèttera, mòccolo, nèsso, nórma*, órgano*, rócca* ‹distaff›, *Rómolo, sgómino, sième, stòrpio, strènna, tèschio*; as well as the endings: *amarógnolo, stètti, stèttero…*

As far as the distribution of /ts, dz/ is concerned, the major traditional characteristic regards *initial* /ts/ for many words like: *zampa, zio, zoppo, zucchero, zucca*; and *internal* /dz/, in cases such as: *aguzzino, amazzone, brezza, ghiribizzo, intirizzito, lazzi, lezzo, olezzo, pettegolezzo, ribrezzo, rubizzo, scorza, sfarzo*, sozzo**.

3.3.5.2. The greatest difference, however, concerns the use of single /s/, within a word, between *V* (even if with /j, w/ before the second). The most significant cases (including derivatives) are: *asino, casa, chiesi, chiuso, cosa, cosí, desidero, desiderio, (il) fuso, mese, naso, peso, Pisa, posa, raso, riposo, riso*, and adjective endings *-ese, -oso*, and verb endings *-esi, -osi*: /inˈglese/ *inglese* (but /franˈtʃeze/ *francese*!) /tʃineseˈria/ *cineseria* (but /borgeˈzia/ *borghesia*!), /goˈloso/ *goloso*, /tʃelluˈlosa/ *cellulosa*, /kurjosiˈta*/ *curiosità*; /ˈpresi, -sero, -so/ *presi, presero, preso* (but /ˈlezi, -zero, -zo/ *lesi, lesero, leso*!), /impreˈsarjo/ *impresario*, /ˈrosi, -sero, -so/ *rosi, rosero, roso*, /risˈposi, -sero/ *risposi, risposero*, /roˈsikkjo/ *rosicchio* (but /eroˈzjone/ *erosione*!).

However, in traditional pronunciation, we find /z/ in cases such as: *bisogno, caso, chiesa, muso, paese, quasi, sposa, viso, misi, misero, (io) fusi, fusero, (ho) fuso, incisi, incisero, inciso…*

3.3.5.3. Traditional co-gemination is more systematic and more widespread than modern co-gemination; indeed, it has a higher number of activating forms (as *da*: *da Milano* /dammiˈlano/; for the modern: /damiˈlano/), and does not provide for de-gemination *è la mia* /ɛllaˈmia/; modern: /ɛlaˈmia/); what is more, the following are always co-geminant, too, *come, dove, qualche, sopra* (unless they are used as nouns): *come si fa? dove vai? qualche volta, sopra quel tavolo* /komessiˈfa, dovevˈvai, kwalkevˈvɔlta, soprakkwelˈtavolo/ (but: *il sopra del tavolo* /ilˈsopra delˈtavolo/); modern: /komesiˈfa*, doveˈvai, kwalkeˈvɔlta, soprakwelˈtavolo/).

As far as accentuation is concerned, there are no particular peculiarities; any differences are due to the fact that generations have passed, and, as one knows, the accentuation of learned terms and classical nouns are subject to trends of preference, which can be agreed upon to a greater or lesser extent, but are not under discussion: they are merely documentable (cf the end of § 3.3.3.4).

Intonation does not change, except for the possible adoption (by some) of Tuscan-type preintonemes (cf the relative phonosyntheses in ₲ 16).

3.3.5.4. All characteristics of traditional pronunciation may be found, however, in *M^aPI* and *D^iPI*; this pronouncing dictionary shows the variants of the center (the linguistic center; but Abruzzo belongs to the upper south) regarding the distribution of /e, ɛ; o, ɔ; s, z; ʦ, ʣ/ (including some peculiar stress patterns), indicating Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches, Latium and Rome respectively with: T, U, M, L, R (in square brackets).

Traditional variants are identified, in *D^iPI*, by a *full-stop* which appears before them, and which separates them from modern variants, given first (if different, otherwise they coincide), as, for example: ‹*lettera* /ˈlettera. -ɛt-/ [T ɛ, UMLR e]›, *ie* /ˈlɛttera/ in Tuscany and /ˈlettera/ in the rest of the center.

There are at times more intricate variants, *eg*: ‹*storpio* /sˈtorpjo. -ɔ-/ [T ɔ/o, U o/ɔ, MLR o]›. However, there is full agreement throughout the center for ‹*bene* /ˈbɛne/›.

Text

3.4.0. The story *The North Wind and the Sun* follows, given in eight different ‹normalized› versions. We start with the (neutral) Italian pronunciations of (neutral British) English – this is the first step of the phonetic method (the written text is given in § 2.5.2.0). The Italian translation follows, in its neutral modern and traditional versions. Three further accents are given: two are mediatic (respectively northern and central – of Milan and Rome), which, for segmental and intonational aspects, are not as broad as those presented –with vocograms and tonograms– in ₲ 10 & ₲ 12 of *M^aPI* (in which there are 23 regional versions, in ₲10-14).

The respective (dialectal) phonosyntheses in ₲ 16 of *NPT/HPh* (looking at Milanese, § 16.15, and Roman, § 16.42) can also provide useful preliminary information. In northern mediatic pronunciation, stopstrictives often occur as sequences: [ts, dz; tʃ, dʒ] (special symbols would be better: [[ʧ, ʤ]]).

Lastly, the *affected* accent (snobbish, § 3.4.9) is examined, as well, with a ‹French *r*› (generally, an approximant: labiodental, [ʋ], or uvular, [ʁ], or uvularized labiodental, [ʊ̯]), which has been chosen as a representative type, having both components) and other characteristics linked to that kind of pronunciation, as ‹tenser› but also ‹laxer› V, at the same time (*cf fig* 3.4).

They are realized –basically– by higher and more advanced vocoids than normal, which, in stressed syllables (and in preintonemes as well), are diphthongized, but with second elements rather central in their vocogram boxes, therefore, ending in different –opposite– positions from the initial ones.

Furthermore, /ʧ, ʤ; ʃ, (ʒ)/ are postalveo-palatal over-rounded, [ʧ, ʤ, ʃ, (ʒ)]; there is also ‹drawling› and splitting of the tonic –in the real tonetic sense– and posttonic syllables (sometimes even of the previous ones), in particular before a pause, and above all for intonemes when they are different from the conclusive ones.

Lastly, we note a bigger pitch extension (which we will indicate paraphonically, with ‹[°₀]›, at the beginning of each paragraph) and creaky voice in intonemes (*ie* tonic and posttonic syllables), which is represented by the specific diacritic: [V̰].

fig 3.4. Affected realizations of the Italian vowels.
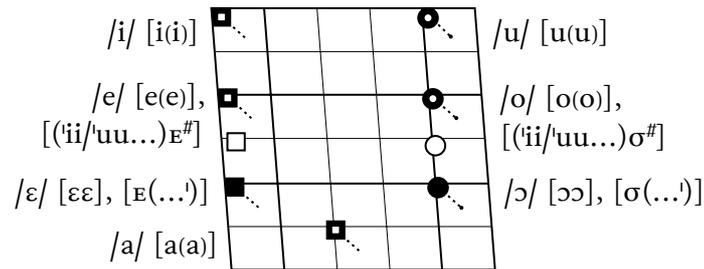
3.4.1. At the end, as always, there is the version which gives the English pronunciation of Italian, by neutral British speakers, fluent in Italian (after prolonged contact with native speakers, but with no help from the phonetic method), who have adequately learned the relative prominences, but who substantially use segmental and intonation elements which are typical of neutral British English (for reference purposes, although, of course, a neutral accent is not so common). Obviously, the same principle is valid for the foreign pronunciation of English, given first.

Speakers of American English could prepare their own version of the Italian pronunciation of American English, with /a/ even for English /ɒ/ (*ie* ['ʃatː₊] instead of ['ʃɔtː₊], for *shot*) and so on, as an excellent exercise, by listening to native speakers, best of all after recording them. Of course, speakers of *other languages* could prepare both their own pronunciation of Italian and the foreign Italian accent of their language, as well. The author would be happy to receive their transcriptions and recordings, both in case of help –should they need it– and to make their contribution known to others (possibly in our website on ^(can)*IPA Natural Phonetics* – cf § 0.12).

Italian pronunciation (of English)

3.4.2. [ˌdenɔɾˈtwin dendeˈsanː₊· ˌweɾdisˈpjuːtiŋ₊· witʃˈwɔz desˈtrɔŋːgeɾ·| ˈwɛ naˈtrɛːveller· ˌkɛimaˈlɔŋːg₊ː| ˈrɛp₊ti naˈworːm ˈklɔkː₊·| ˌdejaˈgridː₊· dɛtdiˈwa nuˈfɛrs(t) sakˈsiːdɛd₊· imˈmɛikin deˈtrɛːveller· ˈtɛi kisklɔkˈkɔfː₊ː| ʃudˈbi konˈsiːdeɾɛd₊· sˈtrɔŋgeɾ ˈdɛndi ˈaːdeɾ·‖

ˈdɛnː· denɔɾˈtwinːd₊ ˈblu· ɛˈzar deziˈkudː₊·| ˈbat₊ deˈmɔːri ˈbluˑ| deˈmɔːr· ˈklɔzːliˑ ˈdid deˈtrɛːveller· ˈfɔl disˈklɔkː· kaˈraundim₊·| ˌɛndɛtˈlasːt₊ˑ| ˌdenɔɾˈtwinːd₊·| geˈvap₊ djatˈtɛmp₊t₊·| ˈdɛn deˈsanː· ʃoˈnaːut₊· ˈworːm₊liˑ| ˌɛndimˈmiːdjat₊liˑ deˈtrɛːveller· tuˈkɔf fisˈklɔkː₊·| end₊ˈsɔ· denɔɾˈtwinːd₊· ˌwozoˈblaidʒ₊d₊ ˌtukomˈfɛsː· ˈdɛtde ˈsan₊ wozdesˈtrɔŋge ˌɾovdeˈtuˑ|

¿ˈdiˑdju ˈlaik₊ˑ ¿desˈtɔːri| ¿ˌdujuˈwɔn tuˈrri taˈgɛnː₊ˑ‖‖]

Italian text

3.4.3. Si bisticciavano un giorno il vento di tramontana e il sole, l'uno pretenden-
do d'esser piú forte dell'altro, quando videro un viaggiatore, che veniva innanzi, av-
volto nel mantello. I due litiganti decisero allora che sarebbe stato piú forte chi fosse
riuscito a levare il mantello al viaggiatore.

Il vento di tramontana cominciò a soffiare con violenza; ma, piú soffiava, piú il
viaggiatore si stringeva nel mantello; tanto che alla fine il povero vento dovette desi-
stere dal suo proposito. Il sole allora si mostrò nel cielo, e poco dopo il viaggiatore, che
sentiva caldo, si tolse il mantello. E la tramontana fu costretta cosí a riconoscere che
il sole era piú forte di lei.

T'è piaciuta la storiella? La vogliamo ripetere?

Modern neutral pronunciation

3.4.4. [siˌbistitʃˈtʃaːvaˌnoˑ ˌuɲˈʤoːrˌnoˑ| ilˈvɛnto diˌtramonˈtaːna| eilˈsoːleˑ, ˌˈluːnσ
ˌpretenˈdɛndo ˌꟼɛsserpjufˈfɔːrteˑ delˈlalːtroˑ| ˌkwandoˈviˑdeˌro uɱviˌaʤʤaˈtoːreˑ, ˌkevve-
ˈniˑva inˈnanːtsiˑ avˈvɔlto ˌnelmanˈtɛlːloˑ‖ iˌdueliti‾ganːtiˑ deˈtʃiːzerσ ˌalˈloːraˑ| ˌkessa-
ˌɾɛbbesˈtaˑto pjuf‾fɔːrteˑ| kifˌfosseriuʃˈʃiːtσ alleˈvaˑre ilmanˈtɛlːloˑ alviˌaʤʤaˈtoːreˑ‖

il ˈvɛnto diˌtramonˈtaːna ˌkomiɲˈtʃɔ assofˈfjaːreˑ, ˌˌkoɱvioˈlɛnːtsaˑ| mapˈpjus sof‾fjaː-
vaˑ| ˌpjuilviˌaʤʤaˈtoːreˑ ˌsistriɲˈʤeˑva ˌnelmanˈtɛlːloˑː ˈtanːtoˑ ˌkeˌalla‾fiːnɛˑ| ilˈpɔˑvero
ˈvɛnːtoˑ doˈvette deˈzisːterɛˑ, ˌdalˌsuoproˈpɔːzitoˑ|‖ ilˈsoːleˑ ˌalˈloːraˑ| ˌsimosˈtrɔn neʎˈtʃɛː-
loˑ| epˌpσkoˈdoːpoˑ ilviˌaʤʤaˈ‾toːreˑ ˌˌkessenˈtiˑva ˈkalːdoˑ| ˌʌsiˈtɔlːseˑ, ˌʌilmanˈtɛlːloˑ| ˌela-
ˌtramon‾taːnaˑ ˌfukkosˈtretːtaˑ ˌkoˈziˑ| aˌɾɾiko‾noʃˈʃereˑ| keilˈsoːleˑː ˌɛrapjufˈfɔːrteˑ, ˌdi-
ˈlɛˑiˑ|‖

¿ˌtɛppjaˈtʃuːtaˑ ¿ˌlastoˈrjɛlːla| ¿ˌlavoʎˈʎaˑmo riˈpɛːtereˑ|‖|]

Traditional neutral pronunciation

3.4.5. [siˌbistitʃˈtʃaːvaˌnoˑ ˌuɲˈʤoːrˌnoˑ| ilˈvɛnto diˌtramonˈtaːna| eilˈsoːleˑ, ˌˈluːnσ
ˌpretenˈdɛndo ˌꟼɛsserpjufˈfɔːrteˑ delˈlalːtroˑ| ˌkwandoˈviˑdeˌro uɱviˌaʤʤaˈtoːreˑ, ˌkevve-
ˈniˑva inˈnanːtsiˑ avˈvɔlto ˌnelmanˈtɛlːloˑ‖ iˌdueliti‾ganːtiˑ deˈtʃiːzerσ ˌalˈloːraˑ| ˌkessa-
ˌɾɛbbesˈtaˑto pjuf‾fɔːrteˑ| kifˌfosseriuʃˈʃiːtσ alleˈvaˑre ilmanˈtɛlːloˑ alviˌaʤʤaˈtoːreˑ‖

il ˈvɛnto diˌtramonˈtaːna ˌkomiɲˈtʃɔ assofˈfjaːreˑ, ˌˌkoɱvioˈlɛnːtsaˑ| mapˈpjus sof‾fjaː-
vaˑ| ˌpjuilviˌaʤʤaˈtoːreˑ ˌsistriɲˈʤeˑva ˌnelmanˈtɛlːloˑː ˈtanːtoˑ ˌkeˌalla‾fiːnɛˑ| ilˈpɔˑvero
ˈvɛnːtoˑ doˈvɛtte deˈsisːterɛˑ, ˌdalˌsuoproˈpɔːzitoˑ|‖ ilˈsoːleˑ ˌalˈloːraˑ| ˌsimosˈtrɔn neʎˈtʃɛː-
loˑ| epˌpσkoˈdoːpoˑ ilviˌaʤʤaˈ‾toːreˑ ˌˌkessenˈtiˑva ˈkalːdoˑ| ˌʌsiˈtɔlːseˑ, ˌʌilmanˈtɛlːloˑ| ˌella-
ˌtramon‾taːnaˑ ˌfukkosˈtretːtaˑ ˌkoˈsiˑ| aˌɾɾiko‾noʃˈʃereˑ| keilˈsoːleˑː ˌɛrapjufˈfɔːrteˑ, ˌdi-
ˈlɛˑiˑ|‖

¿ˌtɛppjaˈtʃuːtaˑ ¿ˌlastoˈrjɛlːla| ¿ˌlavoʎˈʎaˑmo riˈpɛːtereˑ|‖|]

Northern mediatic pronunciation (Milanese)

3.4.6. [ʂiˌbiʂtiʃˈʃaːvano· ˌuŋɟˈʒoˑrnoˑ‚| ilˌveŋto diˌtramoŋˈtaːna·| eilˌʂoːle‚‚ ˌˈluːnoˑ
ˌpreteŋˌdeŋdo ˌdjɛʂʂerpjuˈfɔˑrte· delˌlaˑltro‚‚⌐ ˌkwaŋdoˌviˑdero uŋˌvjaɟɟʒaˌtoːɾe‚‚ ˌkeve-
ˌniˑva inˈnaˑŋtsi· avˌvɔˑlto ˌnɛlmaŋˌtɛˑllo‚‖ iˌdue\litiˌgaˑŋti· deʃˈʃiːʑeroˑ ˌalˈloːɾa·‚ ˌkeʂa-
ˌrɛbbeʂˈtaˑto pjuˌfɔˑrte·| kiˌfoʂʂeriuˈʃiːto· aleˈvaˑre ilmaŋˈtɛˑllo· alˌvjaɟʒaˌtoːɾe‚‖

il̩veŋto diˌtramoŋˈtaːna· ˌkomiŋˈtʃɔ aʂofˌfjaːre‚‚ ˌˌkoŋvjoˌleˑŋtsa‚‚⌐| maˈpju ʂofˌfjaːva·|
ˌpjuilvjaɟɟʒaˈtoːɾe· ˌʂiʂtriŋˌdʒeˑva ˌnɛlmaŋˌtɛˑllo‚: ˈtaˑŋto· ˌkeallaˌfiːne·‚ ilˌpɔˑveɾo
ˈveˑŋto· doˌvette deˌʑiˑʂtere‚‚ ˌdalˌsuoproˌpɔːʑito‚‚‖ ilˈʂoːle· ˌalˈloːɾa·‚ ˌʂimoʂˈtrɔ nɛɭˌʃeˑ-
lo·| epʂokoˈdɔːpo· ilˌvjaɟɟʒaˌtoːɾe· ˌˌkeʂeŋˌtiˑva ˈkaˑldo·‚ ˌ℩siˌtɔˑlʂe‚‚ ˌ℩ilmaŋˌtɛˑllo·| ˌelaˌtra-
moŋˌtaːna· ˌfukoʂˈtrɛˑtta· ˌkoˈʑiˑ·| aˌɾikoˌnoˑʃere·| keilˈʂoːle:· ˌerapjuˌfɔˑrte‚‚ ˌdiˌlɛˑi‚⌐‖

¿ˌtjɛpjaˌʃuːta· ¿ˌlaʂtoˈrjɛˑlla·| ¿ˌlavoɭˌjaˑmo ɾiˌpeːtere·‖|]

Central mediatic pronunciation (Roman)

3.4.7. [sibˌbistitʃˈtʃaˑvano· ˌunˈʥoˑrnoˑ‚| ilˈvɛnto diˌd̥ramonˈtaːna·| eilˈtsoːle·‚ ˌˈluːnoˑ
ˌb̥red̥enˈdɛndo ˌdɛsserpjufˈfɔˑrte· deˈlaˑltro·‚ ˌg̊wandoˈviˑd̥eˌro uɱviˌaʥʥaˈd̥oːre·‚ ˌg̊evve-
ˈniˑva inˈnaˑntsi· avˈvɔlto ˌnelmanˈtɛˑllo·‖ iˌduelid̥iˉgaˑnti·· deˈʃiːsero· ˌalˈloːɾa·‚ ˌg̊essaˌreb-
besˈtaˑd̥op pjufˉfɔˑrte··| kifˌfosseriuʃˈʃiːd̥o· alleˈvaˑre ilmanˈtɛˑllo· alviˌaʥʥaˈd̥oːre·‖

ilˈvɛnto diˌd̥ramonˈtaːna· ˌg̊omiɲˈtʃɔ assofˈfjaːre·‚ ˌˌg̊omɲvioˈlɛˑntsa·‚⌐| mapˈpjus sof-
ˉfjaːva··| ˌpjuilviˌaʥʥaˈd̥oːre· ˌsistriɲˈdʒeˑva ˌnelmanˈtɛˑllo·: ˈtaˑnto· ˌg̊eˌalaˉfiːne··‚ ilˈpɔ-
vero ˈvɛˑnto· doˈvette deˈsiˑstere·‚ ˌdalˌtsuobroˈbɔːsido·‚⌐‖ ilˈtsoːle· ˌalˈloːɾa·‚ ˌsimosˈtrɔ nel-
ˈtʃɛːlo·| epˌpog̊oˈdɔːbo· ilviˌaʥʥaˉd̥oːre·· ˌˌg̊essenˈtiˑva ˈg̊aˑldo·‚ ˌ℩siˈtɔˑltse·‚ ˌ℩ilmanˈtɛˑllo·|
ˌelaˌdramonˉtaːna·· ˌfukkosˈtrɛˑtta· ˌg̊oˈsi··| aˌɾig̊oˉnoʃˈʃere··| g̊eilˈtsoːle:· ˌɛrappjufˈfɔˑrte·‚
ˌdiˈlɛˑi·‚‖

¿ˌtɛppjaˈʃuːd̥a· ¿ˌlastoˈrjɛˑlla·| ¿ˌlavojˈjaˑmo ɾiˈbɛːd̥ere·‖|]

Affected pronunciation (cf § 3.4.0)

3.4.8. ⟨[°̈]⟩ [siˌbistitʃˈtʃäˌɣväˌn̥o̥· ˌunˈʤo̥o̥ʉ̥n̥o̥o̥·‚| ilˈvɛnto diˌtʉamonˈtäˌän̥ää·| eilˈso̥o̥·
l̥e̥·‚ ˌˈlʉˑun̥o̥· ˌpʉeten'dɛɛndo ˌdɛsseʉpjufˈfɔɔʉ̥te̥· delˈlääl̥tʉo̥·‚ ˌkwandoˈviˑid̥eˌ̥ʉo̥ uɱvi-
ˌaʥʥaˈto̥·o̥ʉ̥e̥·‚ ˌkevveˈniˑiva inˈnääntsi̥· avˈvɔɔlto ˌnelmanˈtɛ̥ɛ̥l̥l̥o̥·‖ iˌduelitiˉgäänti̥· de-
ˈtʃiˑize̥ʉ̥o̥· ˌalˈlo̥·o̥ʉ̥ä·‚ ˌkessaˌ̥ʉɛbbesˈtaato pjufˉfɔɔʉ̥te̥e̥·| kifˌfosseʉiuʃˈʃiˑito̥· alleˈväˑäʉe
ilmanˈtɛ̥ɛ̥l̥l̥o̥· alviˌaʥʥaˈto̥·o̥ʉ̥e̥·‖

⟨[°̈]⟩ ilˈvɛɛnto diˌtʉamonˈtäˌän̥ä· ˌkomiɲˈtʃɔɔ assofˈfjäˌäʉ̥e̥·‚ ˌˌkomɲvioˈlɛɛntsä·‚⌐| map-
ˈpjus sofˉfjäˌɣväää·| ˌpjuilviˌaʥʥaˈto̥·o̥ʉ̥e̥· ˌsistʉiɲˈdʒeˑeva ˌnelmanˈtɛ̥ɛ̥l̥l̥o̥·: ˈtääntо̥· ˌke-
ˌallaˉfi̥i̥n̥ɛ̥·‚ ilˈpɔɔveʉo ˈvɛɛntо̥· doˈveette deˈziistе̥ʉ̥ɛ̥·‚ ˌdalˌsuopʉoˈpɔ̥ɔ̥ʑ̥ito̥·‚⌐‖ ilˈso̥o̥l̥e̥·

ˌalˈlo̞ˑo̞ɥ̣ə̣ˑˌ ˌsimosˈtɤɔɔn neˌȷ̣ˈʧɛˑɛ̣ḷo̞ˑ| epˌpɔkoˈdo̞ˑo̞po̞ ilviˌʌʤʤa̅ˉto̞ˑo̞ɥ̣ɛ̣ˑ ˌ̩kessenˈtiˑiva
ˈkạạḷd̩o̞ˑˌ ˌ̩siˈtɔɔ̣ʃse̞ˑ. ˌ̩ilmanˈtɛɛ̣ḷḷo̞ˑ| ˌelaˌtɤamon̅ˉta̩ˑa̩ṇa̩ˑ ˌfukkosˈtɤ̣ɛ̣ɛ̣ttạ ˌ̩koˈzịịˑˌ aɤˌɤi-
ko̅ˉno̞o̞ʃʃe̞ɥ̣ɛ̣ɛ̣ˑ| keilˈso̞ˑo̞ḷe̞ˑ: ˌ̩ɛɤapjufˈfɔɔ̣ɥ̣tẹˑ. ˌdiˈlɛ̣ɛ̣ịˑ.‖

⟨[̥̊]⟩ ¿ˌtɛppjaˈʧ̩ɥˑɥ̣tạˑ ¿ˌlastoˈɤj̣ɛ̣ɛ̣ḷḷạạˑ| ¿ˌlavoʎˈʎaˑamo ɤiˈpɛ̣ˑɛ̣tɤ̣ɥ̣ɛ̣ɛ̣ˑ‖‖]

British pronunciation (of Italian)

3.4.9. [sɹ̩bɹisʧ̩ˉʧhɑˑvəˌnɜɵˑ ˌ̩μuɲˈʤɔˑ(ɹ̩)nɜɵˑˌ] ɹɬ̅ˉvɛnʧɜɵ dɹ̩ʧ̩ɹɛmɒnˈʧhɑˑnɐ| ɛɹɬˈsɜɵ-
lɛɪˑˑ ˌ̩ˈˉlμunɜɵˑ ˌpɹ̩ɛɪʧenˈdɛndɜɵ ˌdɛsəˈphjμˑu ˈfɔˑ(ɹ̩)ʧɛɪ dɛ̣ˈlɑˑɬ̩ʧ̩ɜɵˑˌ ˌkwɑˑndɜɵ̅ˉviidəˌʧɜɵ
μuɱviˌɤʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪˑ. ˌkɛɪvə̅ˉniivə ʧˈnɑˑntsiˑ əˉˉvɒɬ̩ʧɜɵ ˌnɛɬmɐnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ| ɹiˌdμuɛɪlɹ̩ʧ̩ˈgɑˑn-
ʧiˑˑ dəˈʧhɹizə̣ʧɜɵˑ ˌəˈlɔˑɹɛˑˌ ˌkɛɪsəˌɹɛbɛɪˉˉstɑˑʧɜɵ ˌpjμuˈfɔˑ(ɹ̩)ʧɛɪ| khɹiˌfɒsɛɪɹ̩μuˈʃiʧ̩ɜɵˑ ˌɤlɹ̩-
ˉˉvɑˑʧɛɪ ˌɹɬmɐnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ ˌʌɬviˌɤʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪˑ.‖

ɹɬ̅ˉvɛnʧɜɵ dɹ̩ʧ̩ɹɛmɒnˈʧhɑˑnɐˑ ˌkɒmɹ̩ɲ̅ˉʧhɜˑɵ ɤsəˈfjɑˑɹɛɪˑˑ ˌ̩kɒɱviɜɵˈlɛntsɐˑˌ| mə-
ˉˉphjμu səˈfjɑˑvɐˑ| ˈphjμˑu ɹɬviˌɤʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪ ˌsiisʧ̩ɹ̩ɲ̅ˉʤɛɪvə ˌnɛɬmɐnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ: ˈʧhɑˑnʧ̩ɜɵˑ
ˌkɛɪɤləˈfɹiinɛɪˑˌ ɹɬ̅ˉphɒvəʧ̩ɜɵ ˈvɛnʧ̩ɜɵˑ dəˉˉvɛʧɛɪ dɹ̩ˈzɹ̩sʧ̩əˌɹɛɪˑ. ˌdʌɬsμuɜɵpɹ̩əˈphɔzɹ̩ʧɜɵˑˌ‖
ɹɬˈsɜɵlɛɪˑ ˌəˈlɔˑɹɛˑˌ ˌsiimɔ̅ˉsʧ̩ɹɜˑɵ nɛɬˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ| ɛɪpɜɵkɜɵˈdɜɵpɜɵˑ ˌɹɬviˌɤʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪˑ
ˌ̩khɛɪsən̅ˉʧhɹiivə ˈkhɑˑɬdɜɵˑˌ ˌ̩sʧ̩ˈhɒɬsɛɪˑˑ ˌ̩Λˈ̩ɬmɐnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ| ɛɪləˌʧ̩ɹɛmɒnˈʧhɑˑnɐˑ ˌfμukɒ-
ˈsʧ̩ʧɛʧɛˑ ˌkɜɵˈzrˑiˑˌ| ɤˌ̩ɹɹikɯˈnɜɵʃəˌɹɛɪˑ kheɹɬˈsɜɵlɛɪ: ˌɹɛəˈphjμˑu ˈfɔˑ(ɹ̩)ʧɛɪˑˑ ˌdɹ̩ˈlɛˑɹˑˌ‖

¿ˌthepjəˈʧhμuʧ̩ɛˑ ¿ˌlesʧ̩əʧ̩iˈɛlɤˑ| ¿ˌlevəliˉˉɑˑmɜɵ ɹ̩ˈphɛʧ̩əˌɹɛɪˑ‖‖‖]

American pronunciation (of Italian)

3.4.10. [sɹ̩bɹisʧ̩əˈʧhɑˑvəˌnɜɵ ˌ̩ɤuɲˈʤɔˑɹnɜɵˑˌ] ɹɬˈven(ʧ̩)ɜɵ dɹ̩ʧ̩ɹʌmɔˑˈˉnˈʧhɑˑnʌ| ɛɹɬ-
ˈsɜɵlɛɪˑˑ ˈ̩luunɜɵ ˌpɹɛɪʧenˈdɛndɜɵ ˌdɛsʧ̩ˈphjμˑu ˈfɔˑʧɛɪ dɛ̣ˈlɑˑɬ̩ʧɹɜɵˑˌ ˌkwɑˑndɜɵˈviidə-
ˌɹɜɵ ɤuɱviˌʌʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪˑ. ˌkɛɪvəˈniivə ʧˈnɑˑntsiˑ əˈvɔˑɬʧɜɵ ˌnɛɬmʌnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ| ɹiˌdμuɛɪlɹɜɵ-
ˈgɑˑn(ʧ̩)iˑˑ dəˈʧhɹizəɹɜɵˑ ˌəˈlɔˑɹʌˑˌ ˌkɛɪsəˌɹɛbɛɪˈsʧ̩ɑˑɹɜɵ ˌpjμuˈfɔˑɹʧɛɪˑˑ| khɹiˌfɔˑsɛɪɹiuuˈʃi-
ɹɜɵˑ ˌʌləˈvɑˑɹɛɪ ˌɹɬmʌnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ ˌʌɬviˌʌʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪˑ.‖

ɹɬˈven(ʧ̩)ɜɵ dɹ̩ʧ̩ɹʌmɔˑˈnˈʧhɑˑnʌˑ ˌkɔˑmɹ̩ɲˈʧhɜˑɵ ʌsəˈfjɑˑɹɛɪˑ ˌkɔˑɱviɜɵˈlɛntsʌˑˌ| mə-
ˈphjμu səˈfjɑˑvʌˑˑ| ˈphjμˑu ɹɬviˌʌʤəˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪ ˌsiisʧ̩ɹ̩ɲˈʤɛɪvə ˌnɛɬmʌnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ: ˈʧhɑˑn-
(ʧ̩)ɜɵˑ ˌkɛɪʌləˈfɹiinɛɪˑˑˌ ɹɬˈphɑˑvəɹɜɵ ˈvenʧ̩ɜɵˑ dəˈvɛʧɛɪ dɹ̩ˈzɹ̩sʧ̩əˌɹɛɪˑ. ˌdʌɬsɤuɜɵpɹ̩əˈphɔˑ-
zəɹ̩ɜɵˑˌ‖ ɹɬˈsɜɵlɛɪˑ ˌəˈlɔˑɹʌˑˌ ˌsiimɔˑˈsʧ̩ɹɜˑɵ nɛɬˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ| ɛɪpɜɵkɜɵˈdɜɵpɜɵˑ ˌɹɬviˌʌʤə-
ˈʧhɔˑɹɛɪˑˑ ˌ̩khɛɪsənˈʧhɹiivə ˈkhɑˑɬdɜɵˑˌ ˌ̩səˈʧhɔˑɬsɛɪˑˑ ˌ̩ʌˈ̩ɬmʌnˈʧhɛlɜɵˑ| ɛɪləˌʧ̩ɹʌmɔˑˈnˈʧhɑˑ-
nʌˑˑ ˌfɤukɔˑˈsʧ̩ɹɛʧʌˑ ˌkɜɵˈzrˑiˑˌ| ʌˌ̩ɹɹikɯˈnɜɵʃəˌɹɛɪˑˑ kheɹɬˈsɜɵlɛɪ: ˌɹɛəˈphjμˑu ˈfɔˑɹʧɛɪˑ ˌdə-
ˈlɛˑɹˑˌ‖

¿ˌthepjəˈʧhɤuɹʌˑ ¿ˌlʌsʧ̩əɹiˈɛlʌˑ| ¿ˌlʌvəliˈɑˑmɜɵ ɹəˈphɛɹəˌɹɛɪˑ‖‖‖]

Italian dictionaries & grammars and their (non) care for pronunciation

3.5.0. It is important to see how Italian dictionaries indicate pronunciation and whether they are accurate and provide variants or not. In addition, a sure clue to ascertain whether they care for pronunciation or assign it to hasty incompetents (who follow different criteria %or do not take the trouble to verify what they are do- ing) consists in looking up the entry *gliommero* /ˈʎɔmmero/ (a kind of poem in en- decasyllabics originally written in the Neapolitan dialect). There are three kinds of dictionaries: those which do not include the word or do not take care to distin- guish between /ʎ/ and /gli/, for the trigraph *gli*, as in *glioma* /gliˈɔma/; then come those which, because of false philological and etymological deductions, ‹invent› */gliˈɔmmero/, or copy it from some mistaken previous sources; lastly, there are the dictionaries whose pronunciation characteristics are assigned to true experts, who –obviously– give /ˈʎɔmmero/. In the dialect of Naples, a ‹ball (of wool)/skein (of cotton)› is a *gliòmmero* /ˈʎɔmmərə/, although it comes from Latin *glomerum*, with /gl/, as –on the other hand– ‹gland› is *gliànnola* /ˈʎannəla/, from Latin *glan- dulam* (in Italian they are *gomitolo* and *ghiandola*, respectively, /goˈmitolo, ˈgjan- da/, with /ˣg/).

Even most grammars are not to be trusted excessively: it is sufficient to thumb through them with critical eyes. Besides, our judgment should not in any way be influenced by the fact that these texts are very widely used and well-known, even abroad. However, when they deal with phonology and phonetics only because they feel duty bound to do so, unfortunately we cannot be too optimistic. In fact, some of them tend to ‹invent› nonexistent possibilities, which are frankly absurd, as happens with some supposed differences for such first-person plural forms as *al- leviamo* or *spariamo*. In actual fact, their pronunciation is identical, although they belong to different verbs: *allevare* ‹to breed› or *alleviare* ‹to alleviate›, and *sparare* ‹to shoot› or *sparire* ‹to disappear›, *ie* always /alleˈvjamo, spaˈrjamo/ (whereas cer- tain authors try to argue that the second words in each pair are pronounced as */al- leviˈamo, spariˈamo/).

It would be equally absurd to follow those who hypothesize the existence of different pronunciations for the numbers *sei, sette, otto* ‹six, seven, eight›, if com- pared to *(tu) sei* ‹you are›, *(le) sette (religiose)* ‹the religious sects›, and *Otto* (a male name)…