

A BRIEF STUDY OF THE PHONOLOGY OF THE NEAPOLITAN DIALECT

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE following study concerns itself with the dialect of the city of Naples and, more particularly, with that of the *Sezione di Chiaja*. Some of the outlying districts, *e. g.*, *Campo di Marte*, already show some slight variations from the language studied herein.

The sources of this study have been both oral and written. The writer first took lessons in conversation, at the same time studying texts, and then, after he had acquired some fluency in the spoken language, he went among the people to verify the results and the conclusions which he had obtained. In addition to this, he profited much from aid given him by others who had made a special study of the dialect. Among these he wishes to thank particularly Signor Alberto Cerbino, actor on the Neapolitan stage and author of several Neapolitan comedies, and Signori Bideri and Izzo, well-known publishers of *Canzonette Napoletane*.

Among the written sources may be mentioned *G. Papanti, I Parlari Italiani in Certaldo, Livorno, 1875*; *F. Wentrup, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Neapolitanischen Mundart, Wittenberg, 1855*; *Raffaele Andreoli, Vocabolario Napoletano-Italiano, Torino, 1877*; *Ferdinando di Domenico, Vocabolario Metodico, Filologico, Comparato del Dialetto Napoletano &c., Napoli, 1905*; *A Scarpa Stretta, A Critica Jurnata r'un Farmacista, Ridazioni di Alberto Cerbino*, and a large collection of popular songs and dialogues edited and published by *Bideri and Izzo*.

Among more general works on Italian dialects are Ascoli's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1880, and in the *Archivio Glottologico*, VIII, 98-128, 1882-5, and the articles in *Grober's Grundriss*, Vol. I (first and second editions).

ACCENT

Neapolitan differs from the Tuscan in its system of accentuation for, while the Tuscan uses the stress accent common to other

European languages, the Neapolitan has preserved the quantitative accent of the Latin.

There is perhaps no more fundamental determinant in the development of a language than its accent. The development of every sound in a language is directly dependent upon the force expended in pronouncing it and the time employed in doing so. Generally speaking, when no strong stress is used the flow of language will be softer and more even, the explosion of consonants will have less force and their development will be less dependent upon their position, since in initial position they will have no more force than when medial and will therefore undergo approximately the same changes. Only slight stress being used, aspirates tend to disappear and voiceless consonants, losing their force, become weaker than the voiced; therefore a consonant is on its way to disappearance when from voiced it becomes voiceless. The quantity of a syllable will seldom be shortened since, if the vowel for any reason loses its length, the consonant immediately following is doubled in compensation. Syncope is less frequent, inasmuch as, there being no strongly-stressed syllables, the unstressed syllables are less slighted. These rules all apply to Neapolitan.

Note 1.—In Central Italy there are two remnants of the quantitative accent: (A) the retention of the double consonants, which tend to disappear under a strong stress accent and which have disappeared almost entirely in Northern Italy. (B) The distinct pronunciation of unaccented syllables which are more or less slighted in the North.

Note 2.—As Neapolitan has remained so similar to its mother language there are many words whose development has been checked or altered by the consciousness of the Latin form. Such words may be called *patrician* as they occur especially in the vocabulary of the educated, while the other words which have undergone a thoroughly popular development may be called *plebeian*. These terms are not to be confused with the terms "learned," "semi-learned" and "popular." For examples of *patrician* and *plebeian* words see below under initial pretonic A, E; initial FL, PL, etc.

PRETONIC VOWELS. (Vulgar Latin)¹

Initial

Initial pretonic vowels tend to disappear. This is because in Neapolitan the final vowels are usually kept, although somewhat slighted, and the resultant hiatus in connected discourse has led to a weakening and final disappearance of the initial vowel. A and U seem to have resisted this tendency to fall much better than other vowels.

Pretonic Initial A

Pretonic initial A usually remains. AMMORE.

It falls in NATOMÌA (anatomìa); STRÒLACO (astròlogus); STROLÀBIO (astrolabium).

Sometimes other pretonic vowels are changed to A. ASTREMO (extremus); ASÈMPIO (exemplum); ADDIÒTA (idiota); ANCHIRE (implere); ACCIDERE (occidere); ACCASIONE (occasionem); ASSURPARE (usurpare).

Sometimes two forms exist side by side. ATERNITÀ, ETERNITÀ; ACCELLENTE, ECCELLENTE; ACCHIALE, ACCHIARE, UCCHIALE; ACCASIONE, UCCASIONE. The forms in A are probably plebeian while those which retain the general character of the Latin vowel are patrician.

Sometimes A becomes initial by the disappearance of an initial consonant (usually G). ALLINA (gallina); ALLO (gallus); ÀMMARO (gamberus). The forms GALLINA, GALLO, GÀMMARO are however coexistent.

Compounds with A + a consonant (from Lat. AD-) are common. ADDÒ,² dove; ABBADARE, badare; ABBASTANTE, bastante; ACCANOSCERE, conoscere; AMMANCARE, mancare; ANNASCUOSTO ANNASCUSO, di nascosto.

Pretonic Initial E

Pretonic initial E is usually lost. Sometimes there are two existing forms, showing plebeian and patrician development. TICHETTA, ETICCHETTA; VANGELO, EVANGELO.

¹ Wentrup starts with Classic Latin vowels and does not mention their Vulgar Latin forms.

² Equivalents not in parentheses are Tuscan.

It remains in words which were used only among the higher classes of society. ECÒNUMO; ELEVAZIONE; EMBREMA; EQUIPAGGIO; ERUZIONE.

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic Initial I

Pretonic initial I generally falls except in words used in the higher classes of society. Sometimes two forms are coexistent. IMPIEGO, MPIEGO; INCANTO, NCANTO; INTRATA, NTRATA.

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic Initial O

Pretonic initial O usually becomes U. UBBERIENZA, ubbidienza; UBBRICAZIONE, obbligazione; UCCHIATA, occhiata; UNESTÀ, onestà; UFFRIRE, offrire.

It sometimes falls. NORE, onore; PENEIÒNE (opinionem); RAZZEIÒNE (orationem).

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

Pretonic Initial U

Pretonic initial U usually remains. UMORE.

It sometimes falls NEVERZALE (universalem); NU (unum).

It is sometimes changed to A. For examples see PRETONIC INITIAL A.

PRETONIC VOWELS NON-INITIAL

A

Pretonic A non-initial remains.

CAPPIELLO, cappello; CAPILLO, capello; GALANTE.

E

Pretonic E non-initial remains.

DECISIONE; LENTEZA; NEPOTE.

In hiatus it becomes I.

CRIARE (creare); CRIANZA.

I

Pretonic I non-initial generally remains.

FIDARE; FIDUCIA; FINEZA.

Classic Latin short I (Vulgar Latin E) gives E.³

TENTORE; DEFFECORTÀ, difficoltà; LETECARE, litigare.

O

Pretonic O non-initial generally becomes U.

CUNTARE; CUNSUMO; CUNSIDERARE; FUNTANA.

U

Pretonic U non-initial remains.

SUPINA; SUPEROIRE; MURAGLIA.

TONIC VOWELS

A

Tonic A remains.

PATE, padre; SARVÀ, salvare; MMACULATA, immacolata.

E (open)

Tonic open E generally remains unless there is in the Latin source an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it diphthongizes to IE.⁴

Examples of the persistence of tonic open E.

GALLENELLA; FRAVULELLA, fragoletta.

Examples of the diphthongization of tonic open E.

GALLENIELLO; FRUSCIAMIENTO; FRATIELLO; APIERTO; CIERTO.

In hiatus tonic open E becomes I as in Tuscan.

E (close)

Tonic close E remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes I.⁵

³ Wentrup fails to distinguish between Classic Latin long *I* and short *I*.

⁴ Wentrup attempts to distinguish between *e* in position and *e* final in the syllable. His result is that checked *e* usually diphthongizes while free *e* may or may not! In the speech of the educated or semi-educated these vowel changes are often interfered with by the consciousness of related forms, and we find but few printed texts which are reliable in this respect.

⁵ Wentrup simply says "Long *e* remains or changes to *i*."

NIRO, NERA; CHISTO, CHESTA, CHISTE (m. pl.), CHESTE (f. pl.);
PIRO, pero; MILO, melo.

I

Tonic I remains. FINE; FILO; FILA; GIRO; LINO.

O (open)

Tonic open O remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes UO.⁶
NUOVO, NOVA; PUORTO, PORTA; BUONO, BONA; UOVO, OVA; UOSSO, OSSA.

In hiatus it becomes U. PUETA.

O (close)

Tonic close O remains unless there is an I, O, or U element in the following syllable, under which conditions it becomes U.⁷
NNUSTRIUSO, NNUSTRIOSA, industrioso, —a; NFUMUSO, NFUMOSA, collerico, —a; NFAMONE (infamonem).

TESTEMMONIO is probably patrician.

In hiatus with I resultant from S final in accented syllables it forms the combination UJE. NUJE; VUJE.

In hiatus with U it forms the combination UJO, and with A it forms OJA. SUJO, SOJA.

U

Tonic U remains. UNNECE (undecem); STUFA.

POST-TONIC VOWELS

Non Final

Post-tonic non-final A, E, I tend to become E unless followed by R, under which condition the tendency is towards A.

SÀBBETO, SÀPETO, sabato; ÈLECA; ÒRGHENO (in URGANISTA the A is pretonic); MMÀGENE; ÒRDENE; ÛRDEMO, ultimo; GIÒVENE; ÈLLARA.

⁶Wentrup tries to distinguish between *o* in position and *o* final in the syllable with the same results which he obtained in discussing *e, i, e.*, free *o > uo* or remains, while checked *o > uo*! Some of the forms which he has cited are obviously tainted by analogy, *e. g.*, *bono, m*, is scarcely popular and is influenced either by the Latin form or the feminine or both.

⁷Wentrup simply states that long *o* remains or becomes *u*.

Post-tonic non-final O or U becomes U. URÀCULO; UÒVULO;
MIRÀCULO.

Final

Final unaccented vowels become obscure, but not entirely confused.⁸

Aⁱ

Final unaccented Aⁱ remains, although much obscured in pronunciation and scarcely more than whispered. FILA; MIA; EPIS-
TULA.

E

Final unaccented E remains, although much obscured in pronunciation and scarcely more than whispered. FINE; UNZIONE.

I

Final unaccented I is usually written E, although it is not to be confused with E coming from Latin E, as the E from Latin I produced a vowel-change in the preceding tonic syllable,⁹ while the E coming from Latin E causes no such development.

CHISTE, (m. pl.),	CHESTE, (f. pl.).
SUJE, (m. pl.),	SOJE, (f. pl.).
CHILLE, (m. pl.),	CHELLE, (f. pl.).
TUJE, (m. pl.),	TOJE, (f. pl.).

O

Final unaccented O (generally representing Classic Latin short U) becomes obscured in sound and is usually pronounced as a semi-mute U, although it is written as O. It produces a vowel-change in the preceding tonic syllable.¹⁰

PUORCO, masc.,	PORCA, fem.
PUOSTO, masc.,	POSTA, fem.
BUONO, masc.,	BONA, fem.
UOVO, sing.,	OVA, pl.

⁸ Wentrup says that final vowels are either dropped or changed to *e*, but are kept in writing with the exception of *i* which is written *e*. Final vowels drop in some of the Neapolitan provinces, but not in the dialects of Naples itself.

⁹ Providing it contains an *e* or *o*.

¹⁰ If it contains an *e* or *o*.

U

Final unaccented U is confused with final unaccented O and produces the same results.

CONSONANTS (Vulgar Latin)

Consonants tend to lose their force and are often confused. These confusions are generally of the voiced with the voiceless consonants, as the voiceless, losing the force of their explosions, become even weaker than the voiced. Metathesis is very common, especially with R. (L. is often confused with R.)

Initial

B

Initial B remains or is confused with V, which is usually bilabial.

BAGNO; BALESTRA; BANCO; BANNERA, bandera; BANNO, bando; VALLENA, BALLENA; BALICIA, VALICIA, valigia; BUOSCO, VUOSCO; VALANZA, bilanza; VARCA, barca; VASO, bacio, (basium.)

BR initial remains or is confused with VR, sometimes with PR. BRILLO; BROCCA; BRODO; VRACCIO, braccio; VRANCA, branca; VRECCIA, breccia; BRUNELLA, PRUNELLA.

BL initial becomes J in purely plebeian words. JANCO; JASTEMMARE.

In patrician words we have BI. This may however be simply a borrowing from the Tuscan. BIAVA, biada; BIANCO.

F

F initial remains. It is sometimes however confused with V. Often after F or V we have metathesis of an R originally final in the syllable and the result is the combination FR or VR.

FONTE; FINE; FERMATA; FESTA; VROCCA, forca; VRUCCATA, forcata; FRÀVECA, fabbrica; FRAVAGLIERIA, farfaglieria; FREVA, febbre.

FL presents three developments.¹¹ In purely plebeian words it becomes SCI; in purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes FR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from the Tuscan, it becomes FI.

¹¹ Wentrup only mentions the plebeian development.

Plebeian words: SCIAMMA, fiamma; SCIANCO, fianco; SCIORE, fiore; SCIUMMO, fiume.

Patrician words: FRAUTO, flauto; FRACCO, fiacco; FRATO, fiato; FREMMA, flemma.

Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan: FIANCO, cf. SCIANCO above; FIACCO, cf. FRACCO above; FIATO, cf. SCIATO, FRATO; FIOCCO, cf. SCIOCCO.

FR initial remains. (Sometimes confused with VR.) FRATE; VROCCA.

V

V initial usually remains, but is often confused with B, and occasionally with F. Metathesis of an R originally final in the syllable or even belonging to the following syllable is frequent, the result being initial VR.

VASO, bacio; VARCA, barca; VASCIELLO; VEDERE, BALICIA, VALICIA; VROCCA, forca; VRITO, vetro; VRIOGNA, vergogna; VRECCIA, freccia.

Initial VR remains. See examples under V.

P

Initial P remains, although weakened and often confused with B. PUMATA; PONTE; PORTA; PORCA.

Initial PL presents three developments. In purely plebeian words it becomes CHI; in purely Neapolitan patrician words it becomes PR; in words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan it becomes PI.

Plebeian words: CHIÒVERE; CHIÀGNERE; CHIÙ; CHIANO; CHI-ATTO.

Patrician words: PREBBA; PRATÈA; PRÀTANO; PRENARIO; PRICO, piego.

Words influenced by, or borrowed from, the Tuscan: PIACERE; PIANO; PIATTO.

As will be seen from the foregoing examples sometimes two forms are co-existent.

Initial PR generally remains, although sometimes confused in pronunciation with BR. Metathesis of an R final in the syllable or even belonging to the next syllable is possible, resulting in initial PR instead of simple P.

PRETA, pietra; PREMONE (pulmonem); PRÈVULA, pergola; PRUBBECARE, pubblicare.

D

Initial D remains or weakens into a spirant, sometimes disappearing entirely. These developments are usually not shown in the spelling, but must be carefully noted in the spoken language. Occasionally we have initial D written as R, which spelling denotes a weak tongue-trilled R or a weak dental spirant.

DEVUZIONE; DOJE, due; DIGNO; RICERE (dicere); RIÈBBETO (debitum); R'O, del.

DR initial occurs rarely. It is kept. DRAÒNE, dragone; DRAPPARÌA; DRUGARÌA.

T

T initial remains. There is often metathesis of an R final in the same syllable or even belonging to the following syllable resulting in initial TR.

TIANO (tegamen); TICO (tecum); TERRA; TRIATO, teatro; TRÙVULO, torbido.

TR initial remains. TRAFECARE; TRANSETO; TRENTA; TREZZA.

L

L initial remains. LABBRO; LACO, lago; LÀGREMA; LEGGERE; LIBBRO.

M

M initial remains although weakened. MATTINO; MATTO; MESSA; METTERE; MILO, melo; MISCHIO.

Does PANDOLINO for "mandolino" present an onomatopoeic development?

MB becoming initial becomes MM. So also MV or NV becoming initial becomes MM. MMASCIATA, ambasciata; MMEDIARE, invidiare; MMITARE, invitare.

MBL becoming initial becomes MBI. MBR becoming initial remains.

MBIANCO; MBRELLO; MBRIACARE.

MM or NM becoming initial remains as MM. MMERITARSE; MMEDICARE (immedicare).

MP becoming initial remains. MPAGLIARE; MPALARE; MPE-DIRE.

MPL becoming initial becomes NCHI or MPI. MPR remains. NCHIAANTARE, impiantare; NCHIASTRO, impiastro; MPIEGARE; MPRESA; MPRIÈSTETO; imprestito.

N

N initial remains. NASO; NATURA; NEMMICO; NEPOTE; NUOVO; NU, uno.

It disappears in UN, non.

NC becoming initial develops as Tuscan NC. NCATENARE; NCE.

NCHI coming from MLP remains. NCHIAANTARE; NCHIASTRO.

ND becoming initial remains if the word has been regarded as a compound with the prefix IN, otherwise it becomes NN. NDERIZZO; NDIAVULARSE; NDURARE; NDUVINO; NNUSTRIA, industria; NNURDO (indulto) NNOGLIA (inductilem?),¹² salsiccia.

NF becoming initial remains. NFAME; NFETTO; NFASCIATA; NFELICE.

NFL becomes NFR or NFI. NFRAGRANTE; NFIAMMARE.

NFR becoming initial remains. NFRACETARE, infradiciare; NFRASCARE; NFRATTO.

NG becoming initial remains, the G taking the sound of Tuscan G before E and I and remaining a stop before A, O, and U. NGANNARE; NGEGNARSE.

NGR becoming initial remains. NGRANITO; NGRASSARE; NGRATO.

NN becoming initial remains. NNESTO; NNANZE; NNAMMURATO.

NQU becoming initial remains. NQUARTATO; NQUILINO.

NS becoming initial becomes NTS (written NS or NZ). NSINO; NSISTO; NZEGNARE; NZERRARE; NZURDIRE; NZOMMA; NZAPUNATA.

NT becoming initial remains. NTACCA; NTACCARE; NTAGLIO; NTAVULARE.

NTR becoming initial remains. NTRÈPETO, intrèpido; NTRICO, intrigo; NTRUNARE, intronare.

NV becoming initial becomes MM. MMITARE. See other examples under MB or MV.

¹² Cf. Andreòli.

R

R initial remains. RÀDECA; RANCIO; RANCORE; RARO; RÈGOLA; RIPA.

S and X

S initial remains. SANO; SANTO; SÈNAPO; SEMPE, sempre; SESTO; SOMMA; SUPPRIRE, supplire; SURDO; SURZO, sorso.

SB and XB becoming initial remain as SB.¹³ SBANIRE; SBALANZO; SBATTERE.

SV and XV becoming initial become SB. SBENTURATO; SBENIRE; SBITARE; SBISARE.

SBR and XBR becoming initial remain as SBR. SBRAVIARE; SBRENNESIARE, fare brindisi; SBRUGLIARE, sbrogliare.

The forms SBREVUGNARE, SBRIUGNARE, SBRUVEGNARE, sveigognare, show metathesis of an R final in the syllable.

SC and XC before A, O, and U give SC in which the S has the sound of Tuscan SC before E and I (English SH, K). SCALA; SCAMPARE; SCAPPARE; SCARPA.

SC and XC before E and I give SC as in Tuscan. SCETARE (excitare); SCESA; SCENA; SCEMO.

SCL and XCL becoming initial give SCHI (Eng. SHKY). SCHIAFO; SCHIARARE.

SCR and XCR becoming initial give SCR. SCRIVERE; SCRUPULO.

SCREMMA, scherma, shows metathesis.

SD and XD becoming initial give SD. SDEGNO; SDRAMMA; SDUGANARE.

SF and XF becoming initial give SF. SFACCIATA; SFALLUTO; SFARZETTO; SFASCIO.

SFL and XFL becoming initial give SFI. SFIANCARE; SFIATARE.

Is this not rather a case of borrowing and are not the true Neapolitan forms SCIANCARE and SCIATARE? It is difficult to decide whether the SCI in these cases comes from an initial FL or XFL becoming initial.

SFR and XFR becoming initial give SFR. SFRANTO; SFRATTO; SFRENARE.

¹³S before any other consonant, especially when initial, may be slightly palatalized and is often pronounced as Eng. *sh*. This is especially true of *s* before *c*.

SG and XG before A, O, and U give SG. SGABELLO; SGARBA; SGATTO; SGOBBIA; SGUMMARE; SGONFIARE.

SG and XG before E and I. No examples recorded.

SGR and XGR becoming initial become SGR. SGRANARE; SGRASSARE; SGRAVARE.

SL and XL becoming initial become SL. SLABRARE; SLAVATO.

SM and XM becoming initial give SM. SMAGLIARE; SMACCHIARE; SMANGIARE; SMANIARE; SMERCIO.

SP and XP becoming initial give SP. SPUORCO; SPICARE; SPEDIRE; SPANNERE, spandere; SPALLA.

SPL and XPL becoming initial give SCHI, SBR, or SPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed. SCHIANARE, spianare; SCHIANO; SCHIANTARE; SBRENNERE, splendere; SBRENNORE, splendore; SPIECARE, spiegare.

ST and XT becoming initial give ST. STACCARE; STAFFA; STAGNO; STARE; STANCARE.

STR and XTR initial or becoming initial give STR. STRACCIO; STRACHINO; STRACUOTTO; STRATA, strada.

SV and XV becoming initial give SB. SBENARE; SBENIRE; SBENTURA.

SGUIZZERO, svizzero, points to original SW or SGW.

C

C initial before A, O, and U remains. CAUDO, caldo; CATÀVERE; CURTIELLO, coltello; CUOCO; CONTA; CONNULA, gondola; COGLIERE.

C initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan. CITÀ, città; CIGLIO; CERA; CEPRIESSO, cipresso.

CL initial gives CHI, CR, or CL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or borrowed from the Latin (learned).

CHIAVARE; CHIUDERE; CHIARO; CREMENZA; CRIMMA; CLARINETTO; CLIENTE; CLIMMA.

CR initial remains. CRITECA; CRURO, crudo.

CRAPA, capra, shows metathesis resulting in initial CR.

G

G initial before A, O, and U generally remains, but is sometimes lost. GAMMA, gamba; GOLÀ; GUDERE, godere; GUMMA; ALLINA; GÀMMARO, ÀMMARO.

G initial before E and I develops as in Tuscan. GEMELLO; GENERALE; GENERUSITÀ; GENTE.

GL initial becomes GLI or J. GLIANDRA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

GN becoming initial develops as Tuscan GN. GNOPATE, signor padre; GNORE, signore.

GR initial usually remains, but sometimes becomes R. GRECA; GRAZIA; GRATO; GRATTARE; RANFA; RAGNONE.

J and DI

J and DI initial give J. So also sometimes GL. JUORNO (diurnus); JUSTIZIA; JURARE; JUSTO; JUVO (jugum); JUDICIO; JESSO; JETTO; JETTATURA; JACCIO, ghiaccio.

QU

QU initial remains before A; otherwise it becomes CH except in patrician or borrowed words. CHISTO; CHILLO; QUATENO; QUASE; QUATRO; QUAGLIO; QUINTA; QUIBUS; QUESTURA.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS

B

B intervocalic usually remains. B and V are often however confused. Sometimes B and P are confused. B is often doubled especially after initial A. ABBELE, abile; ABBELITÀ; ABBEVERARE; ABBULIRE; ÀBETO, abito; ABETATO; SÀPETO, SÀBBETO, sabato.

BR intervocalic usually becomes BBR. ABBREO, ebbreo; ABBREVIARE; ABBRUNZO, bronzo.

ABBRILE shows BR for PR.

CALAVRESE; CALAVRESTA; show VR.

FRÀVECA, fabbrica; FREVA, febbre; SFRÀVECARE; sfabbricare; show metathesis of R, and the B remaining intervocalic has become confused with V.

BL intervocalic becomes BBR. UBBRICARE, obligare.

PRUBBECARE, pubblicare; PRUBBECA show metathesis but also BB.

BI and BBI intervocalic become GGI. AGGIO (habeo); ASSOGGETTARE; BENAGGIA; MANAGGIA; ARRAGGIATO.

ANNEGLIARE, annebbiare; NEGLIA, nebbia; NIGLIO; are difficult to explain.

F

F intervocalic remains. ADDEFENNERE, difendere.

FF intervocalic remains. AFFÀBELE; AFFACCIARE; AFFAMATO; AFFATICARE.

FL and FFL give SCI, FFR, FFI, FFL, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, borrowed from the Tuscan, or borrowed from the Latin. ASCIARE (adflare); ASCIATARSE; AFFREZIONE; AFFRIGERE; AFFIANCO; AFFIAMMARE; AFFIARTARSE; AFFLEZIONE; AFFLIGERE.

Note that often two forms are co-existent.

FR intervocalic remains. ADDEFRISCO; ADDEFRESCARE.

FFR intervocalic remains. AFFRANCARE; AFFRAPARE; AFFRUNTO, affronto.

V

V intervocalic usually remains. ADDEVENTARE; ADDUVINARE.

In ARRUINARE it has disappeared. Is this perhaps not a borrowing?

VV, DV intervocalic usually becomes BB. ABBIARE; ABBIENTO; ABBIZIARE.

P

P intervocalic usually remains, but is often confused in pronunciation with B. ACCUPARE, occupare; ANTIPASTO.

ÈBBRECA, epoca, is difficult to explain.

PP intervocalic usually remains. CAPPÀ; CAPPIELLO; TAPPO.

PI, PPI, DPI, intervocalic may give GGI, CCI, BBI, or PPI. ASSAGGIARE; SACCIO; SECCIA; ADDUOBIO; DOPPIO.

PL intervocalic. Examples: REPRUBECA (not original PL); ALLEBBRECA, replica.

PPL, DPL intervocalic gives CCHI, PPR, or PPI, according as the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan. ACCHIANARE; ACCOCCHIARE; APPRACARE; APPRECIARE; APPIACERE.

PR intervocalic remains. CUPRIRE, coprire.

PT intervocalic gives TT as in Tuscan. ACCATTIVARSE; ADDUTTARE.

D

D intervocalic may remain; or it may become a dental spirant, designated by R;¹⁴ or it may lose its voice and become a weak T;

¹⁴ Or it may actually be a tongue-trilled r.

or it may lose its force still more and become a very indistinct dento-labial sound designated by V;¹⁵ or it may disappear entirely. On the other hand it may become DD. ACCÀDERE; ACCIDENTATO; AD-DEDECA, dedica; ARAPIRE (adaprire); MARONNA, madonna; ACCARÈMIA; CATÀVERE, cadavere; GRATETÛTENE; CÒMMETO, comodo; BIAVA; CHIOVO; INCHIUVARE; PARAVISO; AUNIRE (adunire); AORNATO (adornato); ADDORE, odore; CRÈDDETO, credito; GRATETÛDENE.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

TIÈPULO, tepido; PELAGRA, (podagra); show L.

PERNICE (perdix); ARPINO (Elpidius) show N.

DR may be confused with TR. ALISANTRO (Alexander); CUC-CUTRILLO,¹⁶ coccodrillo.

DD intervocalic usually remains. ADDEFFENNERE; ADDATA, data; ADDEREZZARE; ADDOVE, ADDÒ.

DI intervocalic may give GGHI, or J, or GGI, or DI, or DDI. AGGHIUDECARE; AGGHIIGNERE; AGGHIUSTARE; APOJARE; APOJO; APOGGIARE; CUMMEDIA; CUMMEDDIA.

It will be noted that sometimes two forms are co-existent.

The forms in GGI are probably Tuscan; those in DI, DDI are probably patrician.

DM intervocalic becomes MM. AMMIRAGLIO; AMMUBIGLIARE.

DN intervocalic becomes NN. ANNUCARE; ANNUDO; ANNUMERARE.

T

T intervocalic remains, although sometimes doubled and sometimes weakened into an obscure sound designated by C.¹⁷ ACCIDENTATO; ABBITARE; SCUTO; STRATA; TUTTO; VUMECARE, vomitare.

TU intervocalic becomes TT. BATTERE.

TR intervocalic usually remains, though the R may be misplaced by metathesis or may be lost.

ANNETRIRE; PRETA, pietra; TRIATO, teatro; PATE, PATRE, padre; MATEMA, mia madre.

TY intervocalic may become Z, ZZ, ZI, ZZI (Z-TS), or SCI, GI.

¹⁵ Wentrup regards this as a secondary development arising from hiatus formed by disappearance of the *d*.

¹⁶ This shows metathesis (Lat. *crocodilus*).

¹⁷ This also occurs in Vulgar Florentine (S. Frediano).

ABBIZIARE, avviziare; ACCAREZZARE; AGGRAZIARE; AMICIZIA;
APPREZZARE; ACCURTEZZA; ASSULUZIONE; STASCIONATO, STAGIO-
NATO; ANGOSCIA.

L

L intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes confused with R.

ABBALERSE, avvalersi; ÀBBELE, abile; ALEZIONE, elezione; UCCHIARE, UCCHIALE, ACCHIARE.

LL intervocalic remains. ABBALLO; AFFULLARSE; ALLARIARE, allargare.

LB intervocalic is interchangeable with RB. ALBA, ARBA; ÀLBERO, ÀRBERO.

LC intervocalic before A, O, and U usually becomes RC. ARCUOVO; SURCO; BARCONE.

LC intervocalic before E and I may develop into UC, in which the C has the sound of Roman C before E and I. If preceded by a U, the U resulting from the L disappears. ADDUCIRE.

LD intervocalic may become RD or UD. CAUDO; SCARDINO; SCAUDARE; FARDA, FAUDA.

LG intervocalic before A, O, and U remains. COLGO.

LG intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan. COGLIERE.

LNE intervocalic develops as in Tuscan. BAGNARE.

LM intervocalic may become MM. AMMENO.

LP intervocalic may become RP or UP. NCURPARE, incolpare; ASSARPARE, assalpare.

LS intervocalic may become RZ or UZ (Z-TS). ACCEUZO, eccelso; FAUZO, FARZO; BORZO; BÀRZEMO.

If preceded by U it may give Z. PUZO, polso.

LT intervocalic may become UT or RD. AUTARE; AUTEZZA; RISARDO; ÙRDEMO, ultimo.

LTI intervocalic may become IZ or UZ. AIZARE; AIZATURA; AUZO (altius)

LTR intervocalic may give T, UT, or UTR. ATO, AUTO, AUTRO.

LV intervocalic may become RV. ASSORVERE; BERVA; PORVA, polvere.

SPUVERARE shows V alone after U.

LY, LE, LI intervocalic develop as in Tuscan. BATTAGLIA;
AMMUBIGLIARE.

M

M intervocalic usually remains, but is sometimes doubled. ANEMA; ABBALLAMIENTO; ABBRAMMA; AMMORE; ACCARÈMMIA, *accademia*.

MM, NM intervocalic give MM. AMMANCARE.

MB intervocalic becomes MM. AGGAMMARE; GAMMA; AMMA-
scía, *ambascía*.

MBI intervocalic becomes GN. SCAGNO; CAGNARE.

MP intervocalic usually remains. ABBAMPARE, *avvampare*;
ACCAMPARE.

MPL intervocalic becomes NCHI, MPR, or MPI, according as
the word is plebeian, patrician, or influenced by the Tuscan. NCHI-
UMMARE; CUMPRIMENTO; ASSEMPIA.

MPR intervocalic remains. AMPRESA.

MN intervocalic becomes NN. DANNARE.

DAMMAGGIARE is probably borrowed.

N

N intervocalic usually remains. It may be doubled. ANEMA;
ABBUNNANTE; ANNORE, *onore*.¹⁸

NC intervocalic before A, O, and U remains. AMMALIN-
CUNIRSE; AMMANCARE; BIANCO, JANCO.¹⁹

NCL has become GN in GNOSTRO, *inchiostro*.

NC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan or gives
NZ²⁰ (NTS). ABBENCERE, *vincere*; ANCINO, *uncino*; PANZA;
FRANZA.

ND intervocalic becomes NN. ABBANNUNARE; ABBUNNANZA;
ADDEFENNERE; ADDIMANNARE; DICENNO.

¹⁸ *beleno* (venenum), *caloneco* (canonicus) show *l* by dissimilation.

¹⁹ Wentrup considers *becchè* (*benchè*) a case of assimilation (*nc > cc*)—
but this is rather to be taken as *bē + che* in which the *c* would geminate regularly
to preserve the quantity of the preceding syllable. *Be* is the regular Neapolitan
form of the Latin *bene*.

²⁰ *nz* points to *ncy* intervocalic.

NG intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains. ALLUNGARE; LUNGO.

NG intervocalic before E and I usually becomes GN, sometimes NG as in Tuscan. AGGHIOGNERE; aggiungere; ASTRIGNERE; CHIÀGNERE, piangere; ANGÈLECO; ÀNGIULO.

The last two examples may be patrician or learned.

NS intervocalic may remain but more frequently becomes NZ (NTS). ACCUNSENTIRE; ADDENZARE; CANZARE; PENZARE.

NT intervocalic usually remains. ACCANTO; ACCIDENTATO; ABBASTANTE.

NTR intervocalic may become NT. DINTO.

NTY, NTE, NTI, intervocalic become NZ as in Tuscan. ACCELLENZA; AMINENZA; ASSENZIALE; ANZE.

NV intervocalic becomes MM. ACCUMMENIRE, acconvenire; AMMENTARE, inventare; BEMMENUTO, benvenuto; MMIDIA, invidia.

R

R intervocalic remains.²¹ CURA; PERO.

In the infinitive of verbs the last syllable is usually dropped and we have PENZÀ; CURÀ; FINÌ; LÈGGE.

RR intervocalic remains. ACCORRERE; ACCURRENZA.

RB intervocalic remains. AGGARBARE; BIRBONE; AMMURBARE. AÙSCIULO, arbusciolo, shows its disappearance.

RC before A, O, and U remains. ABBARCARE; FURCARE; MIÈRCUDI.

RC intervocalic before E and I develops as in Tuscan, or gives RZ (RTS). AMMARCIARE; MERCIE; PERZÒ; MPERZO.

RD intervocalic remains. ABBUORDO; ACCUORDO; ACCURDARE.

RG intervocalic before A, O, and U may become RI. In patrician words it remains. LÀRIO, LARGO; ALLARIARE.

PRÈVULA shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RG before E and I develops as in Tuscan. ARRISORGERE.

PRÒJERE, porgere, shows metathesis of R and a regular development of intervocalic G.

RM intervocalic remains. ADDURMIRE; ALLARME.

²¹ When there are two R's in the same word, dissimilation is frequent. *lecordare, allecordare, ricordare; pellegrino* (peregrinus).

RN intervocalic remains. ATERNO; ATERNITÀ.

RS intervocalic becomes RZ (RTS). AMMURZARE; ARZENALE; ARZÈNICO; ARZO; ARZURA; PERZIANA.

RT intervocalic remains. ACCERTARE; ACCUORTO; ACCURTEZZA.
In ÀRDICA, ortica, it has become RD.

S

S intervocalic remains, occasionally being confused with SS. ABBUSARE; ABBUSO; ACCASARE; ACCUSO; AMMUSSARE.

SS intervocalic remains, however taking a certain palatal quality and sometimes being written SCI. ACCESSIVO; CASCETTA; CASCIA, cassa; ABBASCIO, abbasso.

SC before A, O, and U remains.²² ABBUSCARE; AFFUSCARE; MASCULO.

SC before E and I develops as in Tuscan. AMMASCIATA; AMMUSCIARE.

ST intervocalic remains. ABBASTARE; ABBISTARE, avvistare; ACCUSTARE, accostare.

STR intervocalic often becomes ST. MASTO, maestro; INCHI-ASTO, impiastro; PULLASTO.

SY, SE, SI intervocalic becomes S. VASO (basium) bacio; CAMISA, camicia; CERASO (ceraseum) ciliegio.

C

C intervocalic before A, O, and U generally remains. ABBRÀ-ICO, ebbraico; ÀDUCARE, educare; AFFATICARE.

C intervocalic before E and I develops as in Roman. ABBE-CENARE, avvicinare; AFFECACE, efficace; AFFICIALE, ufficiale.

CC before A, O, and U remains. ABBUCCARE; ACCADERE; ACCASIONE; ACCUPARE.

CC before E and I becomes ZZ. AZZETTARE; AZZIETTO; LAZZO.

Many words show Tuscan CCI. ABBRACCIARE; ACCAC-
CIARE; AFFACCIARE.

CL intervocalic becomes CCHI. UOCCHIO; UCCHIATA.

AGRISSE, eclissi, is patrician and shows GR.

CCL, DCL intervocalic become CCHI or CCR, according as the word is plebeian or patrician. ACCHIAPARE; ACCRAMARE, acclamare.

²² The *s* is slightly palatized (Eng shk, sht).

ACCRAVACARE, accavalcare, is an example of metathesis resulting in CCR.

CR intervocalic may remain or become GR. LÀCREMA, LÀGREMA.

CT intervocalic becomes TT as in Tuscan. TITTO, tetto; FATTO; AFFETTO.

CTE, CTI intervocalic become ZZ, ZI as in Tuscan. ARRIZZARE; BENEDIZIONE.

G

G intervocalic before A, O, and U may remain; or it may lose its voice and become a very weak C; or it may be weakened still more and result in a very indistinct consonant sound designated by V; or it may lose its consonant value either partially or completely and become J or disappear. BRIGANTE; STRECA; TÈCULA; STRÒLACO, astrologo; LETECARE (litigare); SPAVO; JUVO (jugum); SUVERO;²³ PAVARE (pagare); PREJARE, pregare; CHIAJA, piaga; ANNEJARE, annegare; NIOZIO, negozio; RAÒSTA, aragosta; AÙSTO, agosto.

G intervocalic before E and I may become J or give Tuscan GGI. PÀGENA, PÀGGENA; LEGGE; LEGGERE; LEJERE; FAJO.

GG, DG intervocalic before E and I develop as in Tuscan. AGGENTAGLIA; ALLUGGIARE.

GGL, DGL intervocalic become GGHI. AGGHIAJARE, agghiaciare.

GN intervocalic becomes palatal as Tuscan GN. ACCUMPAGNARE; ARREGNARE; ASSIGNARE.

GR intervocalic often becomes CR; but may remain; or become simply R. ACRO; SCENÒCRAFO; TELÈCRAFO; ANNEGRIRE; ALLERAMENTE.

GGR, DGR intervocalic usually give GGR. AGGRANIRE; AGGRAVARSE; AGGRAZIARE.

J

J intervocalic gives V in PEVO and disappears in MAORE.

MAGGIORE is a borrowing from the Tuscan and is usually used to designate rank in the army.

²³ Wentrup restricts $g > v$ to a position before *o* or *u*.

FINAL CONSONANTS.

Final consonants had mostly disappeared at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, leaving the final sounds vowels. However final S in accented syllables persisted and has left a trace in Neapolitan, appearing as JE. NUJE (nos); VUJE (vos).

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