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Title of Research Program<br>Modelli computazionali della variazione dialettale e fattori linguistici sottostanti Computational Models of Dialectal Variation and Underlying Linguistic Features

## 1. Introduction

The transition from the description of the geographic distribution of individual linguistic features to a more abstract level of description intended to make generalizations on diatopic variation is now made possible by the use of dialectometric techniques that have proved particularly promising in the study of language variation in different languages and dialects, also typologically very distant: dialectometric studies have a tradition of over thirty years, since the pioneering studies of Seguy (1971) to the more recent analyses by Goebl (1984, 2005) and Nerbonne (Nerbonne et al. 1999, 2001). The greatest strength of this approach is to disregard the individual data that have contributed to the observed patterns of linguistic variation and the possibility of an "aggregate" analysis of increasingly large amounts of data, such as the entire corpus of a linguistic atlas. However, abstracting from the individual data is in danger of losing "the connection to the linguistic characterization" (Nerbonne, in press), aspect - this one - that makes dialectometric analyses not particularly interesting to the eye of the community of linguists and dialectologists. Michele Loporcaro (2009) effectively describes this view: "dialectometry measures the structural distances without passing through a rationalization of linguistic structure."

One response to such criticism has been advanced recently by Wieling and Nerbonne (2009, 2010), who used a technique of co-clustering (called "bipartite spectral graph partitioning") to identify dialects on the basis of aggregate large corpus of dialect and simultaneously identifying the underlying linguistic basis. In particular, through this technique it is possible to understand which factors underly the identified patterns of dialectal variation, the role played by each of them and the weight associated with them. In this way, the gap between models of linguistic variation based on quantitative analyses and more traditional analyses based on specific linguistic features is significantly reduced. Achieved results for Dutch dialects turned out to be particularly promising.

This report illustrates the application and specialization of the technique of "hierarchical bipartite spectral graph partitioning" (Wieling and Nerbonne, 2010) with respect to the dialectal corpus of the Atlante Lessicale Toscano ('Lexical Atlas of Tuscany', henceforth ALT) and discusses achieved results. The analysis focuses on the level of phonetic
variation: this is the level of analysis for which an aggregate analysis of the ALT dialectal corpus has provided divergent results compared to the analyses by Giannelli $(1976,2000)$ and Pellegrini (1977), as documented in Montemagni (2007, 2008). Phonetic variation in Tuscany thus provides a particularly challenging case study to test the potential of this new analysis technique to study models of linguistic variation.

## 2. Construction of the experimental data set

### 2.1. The data source

This study on Tuscan phonetic variation is based on the corpus of dialectal data of the Atlante Lessicale Toscano (ALT, Giacomelli et al., 2000). ALT is a specially designed linguistic atlas in which dialectal data have both a diatopic and diastratic characterization. The adjectives qualifying this linguistic atlas in its name are "lexical" and "Tuscan". ALT is lexical in the sense that its main focus is on lexical variation but this does not exclude that it contains valuable information for what concerns e.g. phonetic or morphological variation. ALT is Tuscan in the sense that it is a regional atlas focusing on dialectal variation within Tuscany, a region where both Tuscan and non-Tuscan dialects are spoken; the latter is the case of dialects in the north, namely Lunigiana and small areas of the Apennines (socalled Romagna Toscana), which rather belong to the group of Gallo-Italian dialects.

ALT interviews were carried out in 224 localities of Tuscany, with 2,193 informants selected with respect to a number of parameters ranging from age and socio-economic status to education and culture. The interviews were conducted by a group of trained fieldworkers who employed a questionnaire of 745 target items, designed to elicit variation mainly in vocabulary, semantics and phonetics. A dialectal corpus with these features lends itself to investigations concerning geographic or horizontal (diatopic) variation as well as social or vertical (diastratic) variation: in this study we will focus on the diatopic dimension of linguistic variation. ALT is now available as an on-line resource, ALT-Web (http://serverdbt.ilc.cnr.it/altweb/; for more details see Montemagni et al. 2006).

ALT data were collected between 1974 and 1986, resulting in millions of responses (tokens) from the 2,193 speakers who were each asked 745 questions, corresponding to more than 84,000 different attested dialectal items (types). During the collection phase, the results of interviews carried out by the group of trained fielworkers were revised by the head of the project, Gabriella Giacomelli, in order to guarantee comparability of collected data and reduce as much as possible potentially misleading effects deriving from fieldworker's collection techniques or transcription peculiarities.

In ALT, all dialectal items were phonetically transcribed. In order to ensure a proper treatment of these data, an articulated encoding schema was devised in ALT-Web in which all dialectal items are assigned different levels of representation: a first level rendering the original phonetic transcription as recorded by fieldworkers; other levels containing representations encoded in standard Italian orthography. In this multi-level representation scheme, dialectal data are encoded in layers of progressively decreasing detail going from phonetic transcription to different levels of orthographic representations eventually abstracting away from details of the speakers' phonetic realisation.

For the specific concerns of this study, we will focus on the representation levels of a) phonetic transcription (henceforth, PT), and b) normalised representation (henceforth, NR)
where the latter is the representation level meant to abstract away from within－Tuscany vital phonetic variation．

At the NR level a wide range of phonetic variants is assigned the same normalised form： e．g．words such as［skja＇ttfata］，［skja＇ttfa日a］，［skja＇ttfada］，［skja＇ttfaða］，［stja＇tt］ata］，［stja＇ttfa日a］， ［stja＇ttJada］，［stja＇ttJaða］，［stJa＇sseda］etc．（denoting a traditional type of bread，flat and crispy， seasoned on top with salt and oil）are all assigned the same normalised form，SCHIACCIATA． Note that at this level neutralisation is only concerned with phonetic variants resulting from productive phonetic processes：this is the case，for instance，of variants involving spirantization or voicing of plosives like／t／，as in［skja＇ttja日a］and［skja＇ttJada］．On the contrary，there are word forms like［＇ka $\kappa \kappa 0$ ］and［＇ga $\kappa \kappa 0$ ］（meaning＇rennet＇）which are assigned distinct NRs，CAGLIO and GAGLIO respectively：this follows from the fact that the ［k］vs［g］alternation in word－initial context represents a no longer productive phonetic process in Tuscany．It should also be noted that the NR level does not deal with morphological variation（neither inflectional nor derivational）．This entails that words such as［skja＇tt［ata］（singular）and［skja＇ttfate］（plural）as well as［skjattfa＇tina］（diminutive）are all assigned different NFs．Currently，NR is the most abstract representation level in ALT－ Web．

## 2．2．Dialectal data selection

For this study of phonetic variation，phonetic transcription was taken as the starting point． The alignment of the different representation levels was exploited to automatically extract all attested phonetic variants of the same normalised word form（henceforth，NF）．In practice，the various phonetic realisations of the same lexical unit were identified by selecting all phonetically transcribed dialectal items sharing the same NF，as exemplified in Table 1 for the normalised form SCHIACCIATA．

| Location | Phonetic variant | NF |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 15 Vergemoli | ［sca＇ttfata］ | SCHIACCIATA |
| 16 Pieve Fosciana | ［sca＇ttjada］ |  |
| 18 San Pellegrino in Alpe | ［sca＇tt］ata］，［sta＇ttjata］ |  |
| 19 Brandeglio | ［sca＇ttJa0a］，［sta＇ttja ${ }^{\text {job］}}$ |  |
| 22 Prunetta | ［stja＇ttja ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ］ |  |
| 23 Orsigna |  |  |
| 24 Spedaletto | ［stja＇tt［a0a］ |  |
| 25 Castello di Sambuca | ［sca＇ttJada］ |  |
| 28 Barberino di Mugello |  |  |
| ．．． | ．．． | $\ldots$ |

Table 1 －Excerpt from the experimental data set used for this study
Since the ALT－Web normalised representation level does not abstract away from either morphological variation or no longer productive phonetic processes，we can be quite sure that phonetic distances calculated against phonetic variants of the same NF testify vital phonetic processes only，without influence from any other linguistic description level（e．g． morphology）．

In particular，the whole set of 34，912 normalised forms attested in the ALT dialectal corpus was taken into account．For 20，671 normalised forms（59．20\％）attested variation（if any） occurs within a single locality；on the other hand，there are 4,688 normalised forms
(13.42\%) showing no phonetic variation at all, in spite of their being attested in different locations (with geographical coverage ranging from 2 to 206). Since both cases are of no value in assessing diatopic phonetic variation, they have been removed from the data set which served as the basis of this study. There remained 9,553 normalised forms having at least two different phonetic realisations and being attested in at least two different locations. The graph in Figure 1 shows the geographical coverage and the phonetic variability range for the selected 9,553 normalised forms.


Figure 1 - Geographical coverage and phonetic variability range for the selected 9,553 normalised forms

Geographical coverage ranges between 2 and 223, and phonetic variability between 2 and 34: it should be noted, however, that within this set only 3,397 normalised forms (i.e. $35.55 \%$ ) are attested in at least 10 different locations and only 1,920 show a phonetic variability range greater than 4 (corresponding to only $20.09 \%$ of NFs).

For the specific concern of this study, the following constraints have been enforced for the definition of the experimental data set: we focussed on dialectal items with a geographical coverage of at least 100 locations and showing at least 5 phonetic variants, corresponding to 523 normalised forms ( $5.47 \%$ of the whole sample).

The selected data set included adjectives, nouns and verbs. Due to the fact that in ALT verbal answers can be represented by different inflected forms (typically, the infinitival form, but also third person singular of the present indicative, or past participle) which are not always explicitly marked, we removed them from the experimental dataset in order to prevent potential noise deriving from verbal morphology. In this way, the set of selected normalised forms was reduced to 444 ( $4.64 \%$ of the whole set of diatopically varying NFs), including adjectives and nouns in the form of both single words and multi-word expressions. Note that selected multi-word expressions were represented by "frozen" word combinations, thus not showing variability due to the insertion/deletion of constituents.

In order to test the representativity of the selected sample of 444 NFs with respect to the whole set of normalised forms having at least two phonetic variants attested in at least two locations (used in Montemagni, 2008), we measured the correlation between overall phonetic distances and phonetic distances focussing on the selected sample which turned
out to be very high, with $r=0.923$. We can thus conclude that the selected sample can be usefully exploited to reliably study the patterns of phonetic variation in Tuscany.

### 2.3. Using atlas data as a corpus

From what has been said so far, it should be clear that here we are using atlas data in quite a peculiar way. Although this study is based on atlas data, it uses them as a corpus. This is to say that the dialectometric analysis of Tuscan phonetic variation here is not based on a predefined set of questionnaire items which were specifically designed to investigate the geographic distribution of phonetic features. Rather, it took the whole set of ALT attested lexical items, which were elicited from informants with quite different (mainly, lexico-semantic) purposes, and used it for studying phonetic variation.

By using atlas data as a corpus, the problem of inherently subjective feature selection is significantly reduced, thus providing a more "realistic" linguistic signal (Szmrecsanyi, to appear, p .3 ). On the other hand, by using atlas data as a corpus one of the main advantages usually ascribed to atlas-based studies, namely the areal coverage of dialectal items, can no longer be taken for granted. As we have seen, the areal coverage of attested NFs ranges from 1 to 223 locations: to overcome this potential problem, we enforced a minimal areal coverage threshold, corresponding to 100 locations (see section 2.2).

### 2.4. Dialectal data preparation

Having defined the extra-linguistic constraints which guided the definition of the experimental data set, all phonetic variants of the selected normalised forms were extracted. Extracted phonetic variants were enriched with information about the informants who attested them and were converted to IPA representation.

### 2.4.1. Extracting informants information

In previous studies based on ALT data (Montemagni 2007, 2008), phonetic variants of the same NF were used in a purely "categorical" way. This appears as a simplification, since the coordinates of each ALT item are not restricted to the location in which it was attested but also include the informants who testified it. This entails that for each attested phonetic variant we also know the number of informants who attested it, together with their sociocultural profile.

For the specific concerns of this study, two different versions of the selected data set were generated, the first one containing frequency information associated with each phonetic variant token, and the second one also providing for each attested phonetic variant informants' features (age, education, profession). The format of the two versions of the data set is documented in Appendix 6.1.

### 2.4.2. ALT-CDI to IPA conversion

The phonetic alphabet used in the ALT project was a geographically specialized version of the Carta dei Dialetti Italiani (CDI) transcription system (Grassi et al., 1997), henceforth refererred to as CDI-ALT. This choice was in line with the Italian tradition of dialectological studies, which preferred the CDI transcription system with respect to the International

Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Nowadays, this choice needs to be revised to make the ALT corpus usable by the wider international community of dialectologists and linguists. For this reason, the whole ALT corpus of phonetically transcribed data was converted into IPA.

Appendix 6.2 provides the correspondence table between the CDI-ALT and IPA notations. In most part of the cases, a 1:1 correspondence can be found:

- it can be the case that a CDI-ALT phonetic segment combined with one diacritic corresponds to an individual IPA phonetic segment (e.g. [e] $>[\varepsilon]$ );
- the reverse can also occur, whenever an individual CDI-ALT phonetic segment is converted into a IPA phonetic segment combined with a diacritic (e.g. $[\mathrm{t}]>[\mathrm{t}]$ ).

Interestingly enough, there are three different cases (highlighted in grey in the table) in which two different CDI-ALT segments are assigned the same IPA representation: this is the case of the weakened realization of palatal affricates, e.g. ['́] and [ǵ], whose representation coincides with the representation of the [š] and [ $\check{\zeta}]$ ] CDI-ALT segments, i.e. the voiceless and voiced postalveolar fricatives []] and [3].

In ALT, phonetically transcribed data were represented through a hybrid encoding schema including both compositional and atomic representations which, depending on the task, were automatically converted into each other (Montemagni and Paoli 1989-90, pp. 36-43).

Compositional representations (see column 6 in the Table in Appendix 6.2) encode each phonetic symbol with a basic sign which may be further specified through one or more diacritics (conveying information, for instance, about stress or nasality of vowels). This representation type was particularly convenient for inputting and editing ALT data since all different phonetic symbols (about 110) are encoded by means of a restricted number of codes ( 36 basic signs and 9 diacritics) belonging to the first 128 ASCII codes and which can be directly accessed through the computer keyboard. To be more concrete, the compositional representation of a word like [stja'tt[aOa], or [stiacččáta] in terms of the CDIALT notation, is <sti4aCCa8t5a> where letters represent basic signs and numbers diacritics: in the case at hand, ' 5 ' marks the spirantization of the voiceless dental occlusive, ' 8 ' indicates the stress and ' 4 ' represents a semivowel sound. This type of representation is particularly convenient for both sorting and retrieval tasks: in fact, if basic signs only are considered, it is possible to generalise over phonetic variants. Consider as an example the compositional representation of the word forms [stja'tt[a0a]/[stiaaččáta] and [stja'tt]ata]/[stiaaččáta]: <sti4aCCa8t5a> and <sti4aCCa8ta> respectively. In both cases, the sequence of basic signs is the same, i.e. <stiaCCata>; this entails that a query starting from this sequence of bases will retrieve both of them.

Atomic representations (see column 2 in the Table in Appendix 6.2), on the other hand, show a 1:1 correspondence between CDI-ALT phonetic symbols and computer codes; they were typically used for on-screen display and printing. So, to keep with the <sti4aCCa8t5a> example, the combination of each base together with its diacritics is encoded through a symbol which uniquely identifies it (e.g. t5>t).

The CDI-ALT to IPA conversion started from the compositional representation described above and was performed on the basis of 158 ordered conversion rules encoded as PERL regular expressions.

### 2.5. Reference data preparation

In the proposed analysis method, the phonetic variants recorded for each dialectal variety are compared with those attested in a reference variety (Wieling and Nerbonne, 2009), be it a standard language or a proto-language from which investigated dialects originate. The only prerequisite is that the reference language data should be available in the same transcription system as the dialectal material under study.

For the specific concerns of this study, two different reference languages have been selected, namely standard Italian and Latin, where the former is taken to originate from specific varieties of Tuscan dialects whereas the latter can be seen as a kind of protolanguage from which Tuscan dialects originate. Different sets of experiments were performed by using respectively standard Italian and Latin as a reference.

For what concerns Italian, the standard Italian phonetic realization of selected normalised forms was manually encoded. Note that due to the historical relatedness between stardard Italian and Tuscan dialects all phonetic variants attested in the reference langauge are also attested as phonetic variants attested in some ALT location.

For what concerns Latin, we started from a subset of the 444 selected normalised forms (see section 2.2). In this case, the areal coverage constraint was increased to 150 locations, resulting in a 340 normalised forms from which verbs and multi-word expressions (e.g. Iuna piena 'full moon', al sole 'in the sun') have been removed (for a total of 40 NFs). For the remaining 300 cases, we looked for the Latin etymology, if any.

To this specific end, we used the Italian etymological dictionary by Manlio Cortelazzo and Paolo Zolli, "Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana", 4 volumes, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1979.

All selected normalised forms were looked up in the reference dictionary and were classified as follows:

1. Latin etymology;
2. diminutive/augmentative forms of Latin words (provided that the used suffix is Latin as well);
3. complex derivative of a Latin word (e.g. brinata 'hoarfrost' from Lat. pruinam 'brina' Eng. 'frost' ; castagnaccio 'cake made out of chestnut flower' from Lat. castăneam 'castagna' Eng. 'chestnut');
4. complex etymology (e.g. albicocca 'apricot');
5. uncertain or unknown etymology (e.g. afa 'sultriness' or bischero 'fool');
6. non Latin etymology (e.g. grullo 'silly', grattugia 'grater');
7. onomatopoeic words.

Only cases 1 and 2 above were selected as a basis of this case study based on Latin as a proto-language.

For the IPA encoding of Latin words, the grapheme to IPA conversion rules were based on Allen (2004).

## 3. Method: adaptations and customizations

A general description of the bipartite spectral graph partitioning method is provided in Wieling and Nerbonne $(2009,2010)$. The method can be seen as articulated into the following steps:

1. obtaining, for each investigated location, the attested realization(s) of a given phonetic segment in a reference variety. The reference variety can be either a standard language or a proto-language;
2. bipartite spectral graph partitioning of the data matrix Locations $x$ Phonetic_features resulting from step 1 );
3. for each identified cluster of linguistic varieties, identify the most relevant features characterising it with respect to other clusters of varieties.

In this section, we briefly summarise the peculiarities of the ALT dialectal data set and illustrate the customizations of the method which have been performed to deal with them.

### 3.1. The ALT dialectal data set

The data set which has been selected for this study has been described in detail in section 2.2. Among its main features, it is worth pointing out here that the selected sample includes nouns and adjectives, both single words and multi-word expressions, testifying both productive phonetic processes and phonotactic processes. The focus is on the phonetic representation, including diacritics for a total of 109 different phonetic symbols.

### 3.2. Adaptations and customizations of the method

### 3.2.1. Enriching phonetic segment pairs with context information (Step 1)

In the adopted clustering method, each dialectal variety is described in terms of the attested phonetic realizations of a given phonetic segment with respect to a reference variety. Attested phonetic realizations are represented in terms of segment pairs where the phonetic segment attested in a given location $L_{x}$ is associated with its realization in the reference variety $R$ (either standard Italian or Latin):

## [phonetic_realization_in_R]:[phonetic_realization_in_L_].

For each selected NF (see section 2.2 above), phonetic segment pairs are obtained by aligning the phonetic realization in the reference variety $R$ against the phonetic realizations recorded in the investigated varieties using the Levenshtein algorithm: alignments were induced by enforcing the syllabicity constraint on the basis of the PMI-based Levenshtein distance measure (Wieling et al., 2009).

Due to the fact that in the ALT dataset the same segment pair could originate from different phonetic processes, we decided to enrich the representation of segment pairs with contextual information, as exemplified below:
[L_contx|phonetic_realization_in_Ref|R_contx]:[L_contx|phonetic_realization_in_L_ $\mid R_{-}$contx]

Consider as an example the segment pairs involving a consonant $C$ and its geminated counterpart, i.e. [C]-[C:]. As it can be observed in the following examples, the same segment pair could result from different phonetic processes:

1. consonantal lengthening in intervocalic position
a. [536] 225 Italiano
[ 6] 101 Pieve Santo Stefano
$a-b$ a $\quad$ i 0
$a \quad$ a $b$ ty i o
b. [829] 225 Italiano
[628] 198 Piancastagnaio
a bere
a b: e t e
2. palatalization + consonantal lengthening
a. [1013] 225 Italiano
[847] 198 Piancastagnaio

| $a$ | $l$ | $b$ | $e$ | $r$ | $o$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $a$ | $j$ | $b:$ | $e$ | $r$ | $u$ |

b. [1141] 225 Italiano
[872] 198 Piancastagnaio

| $f$ | $a$ | $r$ | $i$ | $n$ | $a$ | - | $d$ | $o$ | $l$ | $t$ | $e$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $f$ | $a$ | $r$ | $i$ | $n$ | $a$ | - | $d$ | $o$ | $j$ | $t:$ | $e$ |

3. phonotactic lengthening (in word initial position)
a. [567] 225 Italiano
[ 87] 107 Rosignano Marittimo
a _ k a z o
a _ k: a z o
b. [536] 225 Italiano
[ 24] 107 Rosignano Marittimo
a - b a t i o
a _ bi a $\int$ i o

For example, the same pair [ t$]$ ][ $\mathrm{t}:$ :] appears both in 1.a and 2.b, as the result of different phonetic processes, namely consonantal lengthening occurring in intervocalic position and palatalization of preconsonantal /// followed by lengthening of the following consonant. Note that the involved phonetic phenomena show quite a different areal distribution.

For the time being, the representation of context includes:

- vowel (V);
- consonant (C);
- both (i.e. matching vowel and consonant, encoded as B);
- indel (-);
- word boundary (_);
- unknown (?).

In principle finer-grained distinctions can be resorted to in the representation of context information, with the danger of increasing the data sparseness problem.

### 3.2.2. Constraints on extracted segment pairs (Step 1)

In the previous section, we have seen that extracted phonetic segment pairs are formalised as follows:
[L_contx|phonetic_realization_in_Ref|R_contx]:[L_contx|phonetic_realization_in_L_| $\mathbf{R}_{-}$contx]
Extracted segment pairs represent the basis of this study: i.e. each dialectal variety spoken in a given location is described in terms of the set of phonetic realizations of the underlying phonetic segment in the reference variety. This entails that extracted segment pairs should testify productive phonetic processes only. For this reason, from the set of extracted segment pairs we pruned out the segment pairs attested for single words only. This is the case, for instance, of the segment pair $\mathbf{V}|\mathbf{n}| \mathbf{C}: \mathbf{V}|\mathbf{r}| \mathbf{C}$, originating from the comparison of phonetic variants of the word fanfarone 'boaster' which included among its phonetic variants also farfarone: here, we cannot exclude that the attested variation is lexically driven, i.e. it originates from an assimilation process.

The parameters which could be used to define the set of extracted segment pairs thus include:

- the minimum number of words from which the same phonetic segment pairs could be extracted (at least 2 on the basis of what it was said above);
- the number of locations with respect to which the same phonetic segment pair has been attested.


### 3.2.3. Treatment of multiple responses (Step 1)

In a dialectal corpus of atlas data, in principle the same questionnaire item can be assigned multiple responses, attested either by the same informant or by different informants belonging to the same community.

In the case of ALT data, for each attested response type to the same questionnaire item within the same location we also know the number of informants who attested it. This is to say that also the frequency of occurrence of a given response in a given location is available in the ALT data set.

In previous dialectometric studies of Tuscan dialectal variation (Montemagni 2007, 2008), the treatment of multiple responses was carried out along the lines suggested by Nerbonne and Kleiweg (2003), where the distance was computed "between sets of strings where the sets represent alternative lexicalizations. The basic idea is that we average the distances between the individual strings where we consistently choose pairs in a way that minimizes the distance measure".

In this study, given the availability of token frequency information, different options have been provided to deal with multiple phonetic variants of the same NF within the same location, namely:

1. average over multiple phonetic variants tokens. In this way, the token frequency is used to determine the importance of each variant within a given location;
2. average over multiple phonetic variants types. In this way, the relative frequency of individual types is ignored and each option is weighted equally. This is the option followed in previous studies;
3. "majority vote", i.e. only the most frequent phonetic variant is considered for a given location.

The availability of these different options can help exploring the role of frequency in the study of dialectal variation, which still represents an open issue worth being investigated. As stated in Wieling and Nerbonne (2009, p.30), "while it stands to reason that more frequently encountered variation would signal dialectal affinity more strongly, it is also the case that inverse frequency weightings have occasionally been applied (Goebl, 1984), and have been shown to function well".

### 3.2.4. Single segment pairs (Step 1)

The analysis can be based either on all extracted segment pairs or on a subset of them. In the previous version of the method, the latter case was handles by specifying a given phonetic segment with the results that all segment pairs including it on either side (i.e. in either the target or reference location) were selected for the analysis. By doing in this way it would have been impossible to focus on specific linguistic phenomena, since the extracted data would have included pairs relating to different phonetic phenomena.

Consider, for example, the plosives in Tuscan dialectal variation: both voicing and devoicing of plosives are attested as productive processes in Tuscany, though with a different geographic distribution:

1. devoicing of plosives in intervocalic position
$\mathrm{V}|\mathrm{g}| \mathrm{V} \# \mathrm{~V}|\mathrm{k}| \mathrm{V}$ attested wrt the Tuscan words aghetto and agaiolo;
2. voicing of plosives in intervocalic position
$\mathrm{V}|\mathrm{k}| \mathrm{V} \# \mathrm{~V}|\mathrm{~g}| \mathrm{V}$ : a more productive process wrt the previous one, attested wrt words such as vicolo, albicocca, bacherozzolo, capocollo, ciuco, grattacacia, idraulico, oca, radica, rancico, ricotta, rustico, strabico, etc..

The same applies to other phenomena such as lengthening and shortening of plosives:
3. lengthening of plosives in intervocalic position
$\mathrm{V}|\mathrm{t}| \mathrm{V} \# \mathrm{~V}|\mathrm{t}:| \mathrm{V}$ : attested wrt ditale and sito;

## 4. shortening of plosives in intervocalic position

$\mathrm{V}|\mathrm{t}:|\mathrm{V} \# \mathrm{~V}| \mathrm{t}| \mathrm{V}$ : a more productive process wrt the previous one, attested wrt words such as bottiglia, aghetto, bigotto, bruschetta, etc.

In order to make it possible to focus on specific phonetic phenomena, in the new version of the method when one or more phonetic segment(s) are specified, all segment pairs including them on the reference side are selected for the analysis.

### 3.2.5. Representativeness vs Distinctiveness (Step 3)

Wieling and Nerbonne (2009) calculate the importance of each phonetic segment pair by combining two different features, i.e. 'representativeness' and 'distinctiveness', where the former indicates the proportion of varieties in a given cluster which contain the sound correspondence and the latter indicates how prevalent a segment pair is in its own cluster as opposed to other clusters.

To be able to rank the segment pairs based on their distinctiveness and representativeness, these two values need to be combined. Different options have been experimented with by Wieling and Nerbonne (2009, 2010), namely:
a) taking the average of both values;
b) weigth distinctiveness twice wrt representativeness.

Different ways of combining the two values have been experimented with the ALT data set. Due to the strong similarity holding between the investigated dialectal varieties, it appears that option b) above leads to uninteresting results; the first option is better but still includes some noisy data. Experiments are being carried out to identify the best balance between the two scores wrt the linguistic peculiarities of ALT data.

## 4. Current directions of research

The report documents the activity carried out during the Short Term Mobility stay at the University of Groningen, which focussed on two main lines of research: a) preparation of the data set; b) adaptation and customization of the method with respect to the peculiar problems posed by the ALT data set. Currently, experiments are being carried out both with stardard Italian and Latin as reference varieties and results are being compared with Tuscan dialectological literature.

Preliminary results were presented at the XI Congresso della Società di Linguistica e Filologia Italiana (SILFI) which was held in Napoli on 5-7 October 2010, through a joint contribution entitled "Patterns of language variation and underlying linguistic features: a new dialectometric approach" by Simonetta Montemagni, Martijn Wieling, Bob de Jonge and John Nerbonne. The presented poster is attached at the end of the report.

II Fruitore<br>Simonetta Montemagni

II Proponente
Vito Pirrelli

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## 6. Appendixes

### 6.1. ALT-RuG LO4 data files: syntax for location and informants codes

## ALT-RuG L04 data files with frequency information

: 100 Caprese Michelangelo

- a ${ }^{\text {Sino }}$
- a Sino
- aSino

Location line
Es.
: 100 Caprese Michelangelo
it contains the following information types:
Numeric_location_id (100) and place_name (Caprese Michelangelo)
Phonetic variant tokens are reported one for each line starting with a dash ("-"). Frequency information can be reconstructed by counting the occurrences of the same phonetic variant token.

## ALT-RuG L04 data files with informant details

: 100 Caprese Michelangelo-1-1
\# f;81;1898;2;9;2;1

- aSino


## Location line

Es.
: 100 Caprese Michelangelo-1-1
it contains the following information types:
Numeric_location_id (100) place_name (Caprese Michelangelo) inquiry_id (1) informant_id (1) where

- the value of inquiry_id is numeric
- the value of informant_id is alphanumeric

Note that the numbering of informants reflects age (older informants are assigned lower alphanumeric identifiers (i.e. informants labelled as 1 or A are older than 5 and C respectively). The ordering of identifiers follows the age ranking.

## Informant line

Es.
\# f;81;1898;2;9;2;1
Fields separated by ";"
For each informant the following information types are provided:

- $\operatorname{sex}(\mathrm{f} / \mathrm{m})$
- age of the informant at the time of the interview
- year of birth
- the two information types are useful due to the fact that ALT interviews were carried out in a time span of 20 years
- education encoded as follows:
- 1: illiterate or semi-literate;
- 2: primary school (not necessarily completed);
- 3: middle school (not necessarily completed);
- 4: so-called "Istituto Professionale" which is a type of high school providing secondary education oriented toward more practical subjects, enabling the students to start searching for a job as soon as they have completed their studies, typically after 3 years instead of 5 (not necessarily completed);
- 5: high school (not necessarily completed);
- 6: university degree (not necessarily completed);
- current and past profession, encoded as follows: in the first profession field it is reported the current profession, whereas the other two contain past professions, if any. The profession codes are provided below:
- 1: farmer, farmhand, shepherd
- 2: craftsman
- 3: trader
- 4: executive or auxiliary employee
- 5: manager, concept employee, nurse
- 6: teacher, freelance
- 7: unskilled worker, apprentice
- 8: skilled worker
- 9: non-professional status (student, housewife, retired)


### 6.2. CDI-ALT to IPA conversion: correspondence table

|  | CDI-ALT | IPA-full conversion | IPA suprasegm. | IPAsimplified | CDI-ALT <br> compositional representation | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | ə | ə |  | ə | @ |  |
| 2. | á | ə | Stress | ə | @ 8 |  |
| 3. | a | a |  | a | a |  |
| 4. | ä | æ |  | æ | a3 |  |
| 5. | $\ddot{\text { ã }}$ | æ̃ |  | æ | a 37 |  |
| 6. | $\square$ | æ̃ | Stress | æ | a378 |  |
| 7. | ä | æ | Stress | æ | a38 |  |
| 8. | ã | ã |  | a | a7 |  |
| 9. | ã́ | ã | Stress | a | a78 |  |
| 10. | á | a | Stress | a | a8 |  |
| 11. | b | b |  | b | b |  |
| 12. | b | $\beta$ |  | $\beta$ | b5 |  |
| 13. | č | ¢ |  | t | C |  |
| 14. | ¢́ | S |  | S | C5 | See n. 106 |
| 15. | d | d |  | D | d |  |


|  | CDI-ALT | IPA-full conversion | IPA suprasegm. | IPAsimplified | CDI-ALT compositional representation | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16. | $\mathrm{d}^{\prime}$ | $\mathrm{d}^{j}$ |  | $\mathrm{d}^{\text {j }}$ | D |  |
| 17. | d | ð |  | б | d5 |  |
| 18. | e | e |  | e | e |  |
| 19. | e | e |  | e | e0 |  |
| 20. | ê | ê |  | e | e07 |  |
| 21. | ế | ẽ | Stress | e | e078 |  |
| 22. | é | e | Stress | e | e08 |  |
| 23. | e | e |  | e | e1 |  |
| 24. | ẹ | ẽ |  | e | e17 |  |
| 25. | ẹ́ | ẽ | Stress | e | e178 |  |
| 26. | é | e | Stress | e | e18 |  |
| 27. | e | $\varepsilon$ |  | $\varepsilon$ | e2 |  |
| 28. | ę | $\tilde{\varepsilon}$ |  | $\varepsilon$ | e27 |  |
| 29. | ế | $\tilde{\varepsilon}$ | Stress | $\varepsilon$ | e278 |  |
| 30. | é | $\varepsilon$ | Stress | $\varepsilon$ | e28 |  |
| 31. | $\square$ | e |  | e | e4 |  |
| 32. | é | e | Stress | e | e8 |  |
| 33. | f | f |  | f | f |  |
| 34. | ğ | d3 |  | d3 | G |  |
| 35. | g | g |  | g | g |  |
| 36. | g | $\gamma$ |  | $\gamma$ | g5 |  |
| 37. | ǵ | 3 |  | 3 | G5 | See n. 107 |
| 38. | $\square$ | $\mathrm{g}^{\gamma}$ |  | $\mathrm{g}^{\text {r }}$ | g6 |  |
| 39. | h | h |  | h | h |  |
| 40. | i | i |  | i | i |  |
| 41. | i | I |  | i | i2 |  |
| 42. | กิ | T |  | i | i27 |  |
| 43. | 1̇ | T | Stress | i | i278 |  |
| 44. | ! | i | Stress | i | i28 |  |
| 45. | i | j |  | j | i4 |  |
| 46. | Ĩ | İ |  | i | i7 |  |
| 47. | Í | I | Stress | i | i78 |  |
| 48. | í | i | Stress | i | i8 |  |
| 49. | g' | $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{j}}$ |  | $\mathrm{g}^{\text {j }}$ | J |  |
| 50. | č | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{j}}$ |  | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{j}}$ | j |  |
| 51. | k | k |  | k | k |  |


|  | CDI-ALT | IPA-full conversion | IPA suprasegm. | IPAsimplified | CDI-ALT compositional representation | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 52. | k' | X |  | X | k5 |  |
| 53. | 1 | I |  | I | 1 |  |
| 54. | $l^{\prime}$ | K |  | K | L |  |
| 55. | 1 | L |  | L | 16 |  |
| 56. | m | m |  | m | m |  |
| 57. | n | n |  | n | n |  |
| 58. | ń | ת |  | ת | N |  |
| 59. | n | $\eta$ |  | $\eta$ | n1 |  |
| 60. | $\dot{\mathrm{n}}$ | 万 |  | $\eta$ | n6 |  |
| 61. | o | 0 |  | 0 | $\bigcirc$ |  |
| 62. | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ |  | 0 | $\bigcirc 0$ |  |
| 63. | Ọ | Ơ |  | 0 | $\bigcirc 07$ |  |
| 64. | Ớ | Ơ | Stress | 0 | 0078 |  |
| 65. | Ó | O | Stress | 0 | 008 |  |
| 66. | $\bigcirc$ | 0 |  | 0 | ○1 |  |
| 67. | ก̣ | O |  | 0 | $\bigcirc 17$ |  |
| 68. | ộ | õ | Stress | 0 | -178 |  |
| 69. | ọ | 0 | Stress | 0 | $\bigcirc 18$ |  |
| 70. | O | $\bigcirc$ |  | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc 2$ |  |
| 71. | ọ | ธ |  | $\bigcirc$ | 027 |  |
| 72. | ộ | ว | Stress | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc 278$ |  |
| 73. | ó | $\bigcirc$ | Stress | $\bigcirc$ | 028 |  |
| 74. | ö | $\varnothing$ |  | $\varnothing$ | -3 |  |
| 75. | $\ddot{\text { ö }}$ | ฮ |  | $\varnothing$ | 037 |  |
| 76. | Ö́ | Ø | Stress | $\varnothing$ | 0378 |  |
| 77. | Ö | $\varnothing$ | Stress | $\varnothing$ | 038 |  |
| 78. | ó | 0 | Stress | 0 | $\bigcirc 8$ |  |
| 79. | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ |  | $\bigcirc$ | 09 |  |
| 80. | ¢́ | $\bigcirc$ | Stress | $\bigcirc$ | 098 |  |
| 81. | p | p |  | p | P |  |
| 82. | P | $\phi$ |  | $\phi$ | p5 |  |
| 83. | d | d |  | d | R |  |
| 84. | r | r |  | r | r |  |
| 85. | $\underline{r}$ | ¢ |  | ¢ | r1 |  |
| 86. | S | S |  | S | S |  |
| 87. | S | z |  | Z | S |  |


|  | CDI-ALT | IPA-full conversion | IPA suprasegm. | IPAsimplified | CDI-ALT compositional representation | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 88. | t | t |  | t | t |  |
| 89. | t' | t |  | ti | T |  |
| 90. | も | $\theta$ |  | $\theta$ | t5 |  |
| 91. | u | u |  | u | u |  |
| 92. | u | U |  | u | u2 |  |
| 93. | ü | y |  | y | u27 |  |
| 94. | บิ์ | บ̃ | Stress | u | u278 |  |
| 95. | ứ | U | Stress | u | u28 |  |
| 96. | ü | y |  | y | u3 |  |
| 97. | $\ddot{\tilde{u}}$ | y |  | y | u37 |  |
| 98. | ひّ | y | Stress | y | u378 |  |
| 99. | ü | y | Stress | y | u38 |  |
| 100. | u | W |  | W | u4 |  |
| 101. | ũ | ũ |  | ũ | u7 |  |
| 102. | น̂́ | ũ | Stress | ũ | u78 |  |
| 103. | ú | u |  | u | u8 |  |
| 104. | v | V |  | V | v |  |
| 105. | ž | 3 |  | 4 | W | See n. 109 |
| 106. | š | S |  | J | x | See n. 14 |
| 107. | J | 3 |  | 3 | X | See n. 37 |
| 108. | Ś | 6 |  | 6 | x5 |  |
| 109. | $\square$ | 4 |  | 3 | X5 | See n. 105 |
| 110. | $j$ | $\downarrow$ |  | $\ddagger$ | Y |  |
| 111. | 8 | dz |  | dz | Z |  |
| 112. | z | ts |  | ts | z |  |

### 6.3. Selected experimental data set

This Table is still under completion.

| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| edera | ivy | ẹdera | edera | hěderam |  |
| orso | bear | ọ́rso | orso |  |  |
| oca | goose | ọ́ka | oka |  |  |
| occhio | eye | ọ́kkio | ok:jo | ŏculum |  |
| acino | grape | áčino | atfino |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| acqua cotta | Lit. 'boiled water', designating a traditional Tuscan soup | ákkua kộta | ak:wa kot:a |  |  |
| albero | tree | álbero | albero | ărborem |  |
| andito | passage | ándito | andito | ăditǔm |  |
| ape | bee | ápe | ape | ăpem |  |
| asino | ass | ásino | asino |  |  |
| aspite | aspite | áspide | aspide |  |  |
| aspito | aspito | áspido | aspido |  |  |
| a bacio | to kiss | a bačío | a batfio |  |  |
| a caso | Random | a káSo | a kazo |  |  |
| a cavalluccio | piggyback | a kávallúččo | a kaval:utf:o |  |  |
| a solatio | in sunny | a solatío | a solatio |  |  |
| abete | fir | abẹte | abete | abietem |  |
| abeto | abeto | abẹto | abeto | abietem |  |
| acquaio | sink | akkuáio | ak:wajo | ăquārium |  |
| agaiolo | agaiolo | agaiọlo | agajolo |  |  |
| aghetto | pond | agẹtto | aget:o |  |  |
| agnella | lamb | ańnélla | an: zl :a |  |  |
| al sole | sun | al sọle | al sole |  |  |
| al tocco | touch | al tọ́kko | al tok:o |  |  |
| albicocca | apricot | álbikọkka | albikok:a |  |  |
| allodola | lark | allọ́dola | al:odola |  |  |
| alloro | laurel | allọ́ro | al:oro |  |  |
| altalena | swing | általẹ́na | altalena |  |  |
| arancio | orange | aránčo | arantfo |  |  |
| arcolaio | spinning wheel | árkoláio | arkolajo |  |  |
| avvezzo | accustomed | avvẹ́zzo | av:ets:o | advitiātus |  |
| becero | yahoo | bẹčero | betfero |  |  |
| borsa | bag | bọ́rsa | borsa |  |  |
| boccia | bowl | bọčča | bott:a |  |  |
| balzo | leap | bálzo | baltso | bălteum |  |
| bambola | doll | bámbola | bambola |  |  |
| bazza | Bazza | bázza | badz:a |  |  |
| baccano | din | bakkáno | bak:ano | bacchānal |  |
| bacchettone | bigot | bakkettọne | bak:et:one |  |  |
| bacherozzolo | bacherozzolo | bakerọ́zzolo | bakerots:olo |  |  |
| baciatura | baciatura | báčatúra | batfatura |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| balordo | stupid | balọ́rdo | balordo |  |  |
| bardella | pack-saddle | bardẹlla | bardzl:a |  |  |
| bargigli | wattles | barǧíl'i | bardziK:i |  |  |
| bastone | stick | bastộne | bastone |  |  |
| bastardo | bastard | bastárdo | bastardo |  |  |
| bazzone | Bazzone | bazzọne | bacz:one |  |  |
| bubbola | bells | búbbola | bub:ola | upūpulam |  |
| bernoccolo | bump | bernọ́kkolo | bernok:olo |  |  |
| beverone | mash | beverọne | beverone |  |  |
| bigotto | bigot | bigótto | bigoto |  |  |
| bighellone | loafer | bigellọ́ne | bigel:one |  |  |
| birignoccolo | birignoccolo | bírińnọ́kkolo | birin:ok:olo |  |  |
| bindolo | waterwheel | bíndolo | bindolo |  |  |
| bordello | brothel | bordẹllo | bordzl:o |  |  |
| borraccina | stonecrop | borraččína | bor:atf:ina |  |  |
| bottiglia | bottle | bottil'l'a | botiiא:a | buticulam |  |
| brace | embers | bráče | bratfe |  |  |
| braciola | chop | bracoọla | bratfola |  |  |
| braciere | brazier | bračęre | bratfre |  |  |
| brinata | hoarfrost | brináta | brinata |  |  |
| brindellone | Brindellone | brindellọ́ne | brindel:one |  |  |
| broccione | broccione | broččọne | brot:one |  |  |
| bruscolo | mote | brúskolo | bruskolo |  |  |
| bruschetta | bruschetta | bruskẹtta | brusket:a |  |  |
| bischero | dawg | bískero | biskero |  |  |
| biscia | snake | bišša | bij:a | bēstiam |  |
| butto | throw | búto | but:o |  |  |
| burrone | ravine | burrọne | bur:one | burrunum |  |
| burischio | Burisch | burískio | buriskjo |  |  |
| buzzo | paunch | búzzo | bucz:o |  |  |
| cenci | rags | çénči | tenti |  |  |
| ceppa | $\log$ | çéppa | tep:a |  |  |
| ceppo | log | çẹppo | tep:o | cǐppum |  |
| cesta | basket | čẹsta | teesta |  |  |
| concio | ashlar | kọnčo | kontfo | cōmptum |  |
| cacio | cheese | káčo | katfo | cāseum |  |
| caglio | rennet | kál'o | ka人:o | cǒāgŭlum |  |
| capo | head | kápo | kapo | căput |  |
| cagnara | rumpus | kańnára | kan:ara |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| calabrone | hornet | kalabrọ́ne | kalabrone | crabrōnem |  |
| caldano | brazier | kaldáno | kaldano |  |  |
| calzoni | trousers | kalzọ́ni | kaltsoni |  |  |
| camomilla | chamomile | kámomílla | kamomil:a | camomillam |  |
| camposanto | cemetery | kámposánto | kamposanto |  |  |
| cantuccio | corner | kantúččo | kantut:o |  |  |
| cantonata | corner | kántonáta | kantonata |  |  |
| capezzolo | nipple | kapẹ́zzolo | kapets:olo | capitiolum |  |
| capone | capone | kapọ́ne | kapone |  |  |
| capocollo | capocollo | kápokọllo | kapokol:o |  |  |
| capomilla | capomilla | kápomílla | kapomil:a |  |  |
| carbonaio | charcoal | kárbonáio | karbonajo | carbonārium |  |
| casino | mess | kasíno | kasino | căsīnum |  |
| castagneto | chestnut | kástańnệto | kastan:eto |  |  |
| castagnaccio | chestnut | kástańńáččo | kastan:atf:o |  |  |
| catasta | stack | katásta | katasta | catăstam |  |
| cavaocchi | cavaocchi | kávaọ́kki | kavajk:i |  |  |
| cavalletta | grasshopper | kávallệtta | kaval:et:a |  |  |
| ciccioli | greaves | číččoli | trit: oli |  |  |
| cenciaio | cenciaio | čenčáio | tentajo |  |  |
| cenciaiolo | ragpickers | čenčíọọlo | tfentajolo |  |  |
| cesoie | shears | čeSọ́ie | tfezoie |  |  |
| cetriolo | cucumber | četriọlo | tjetriolo | citrǐolum |  |
| cigli | eyelashes | číl'i | tiiK:i |  |  |
| ciglia | cilia | čil'l'a | tifis:a |  |  |
| cigna | Cigna | čínía | tin: ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |  |
| chicco | bean | kíkko | kik:o |  |  |
| chiocciola | snail | kiọóčola | kjotf:ola |  |  |
| chiorba | chiorba | kiọrba | kjorba |  |  |
| chiasso | noise | kịásso | kjas:o |  |  |
| chiacchierone | jay | kiákkierọ́ne | kjak:jerone |  |  |
| chiorbone | chiorbone | kiorbọne | kjorbone |  |  |
| ciocca | lock | çộkka | tok:a |  |  |
| ciabatte | slippers | čabátte | tabate |  |  |
| ciucca | ciucca | čúkka | tuk:a |  |  |
| ciccione | fatty | čiččọne | tift:one |  |  |
| ciucco | pacifier | čúkko | tuk:o |  |  |
| ciuco | donkey | čúko | tuko |  |  |
| ciuffo | tuft | čúffo | tuf:o |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ciliegia | cherry | čiliéeğa | tilijedza | cerěseam |  |
| cimitero | cemetery | čímitẹ́ro | tfimitzro | cimitērium |  |
| cinquale | Cinquale | činkuále | tfinkwale |  |  |
| cintolino | garters | číntolíno | tintolino |  |  |
| cintura | belt | čintúra | tintura |  |  |
| cinturino | strap | čínturíno | tfinturino |  |  |
| cipresso | cypress | čiprésso | tipres:o | cyparissum |  |
| cisoie | cisoie | čiSộe | tizoje |  |  |
| cimice | bug | čímiče | timitfe | cīmicem |  |
| cinghia | belt | číngia | tringja |  |  |
| cintola | waist | číntola | tfintola | cinctulam |  |
| cocomero | watermelon | kokọ́mero | kokomero | cucǔmerem |  |
| coccinella | ladybug | kọ́ččinệla | kotf:incl:a |  |  |
| comare | Gossip | komáre | komare |  |  |
| compagno | companion | kompáńno | kompan:o | companium |  |
| compare | appear | kompáre | kompare | cǒmpatrem |  |
| coperchio | cover | kopẹ́rkio | koperkjo | copěrculum |  |
| covone | sheaf | kovọ́ne | kovone |  |  |
| covata | brood | kováta | kovata |  |  |
| crognolo | Crognolo | krọ́níolo | kron:olo |  |  |
| crivello | sieve | krivệlo | krivel:o |  |  |
| crusca | bran | krúska | kruska |  |  |
| cispa | blear eyes | číspa | tispa |  |  |
| citto | citto | čitto | tfit:o |  |  |
| dolco | Pyrus | dộlko | dolko |  |  |
| desinare | dinner | dẹ́Sináre | dezinare |  |  |
| di nascosto | secretly | di naskọ́sto | di naskosto |  |  |
| di sguincio | of sideways | di Sguínčo | di zgwintfo |  |  |
| di traverso | askew | di traveérso | di traverso |  |  |
| dialetto | dialect | diaalẹtto | djalıt:o | diălectum |  |
| ditale | thimble | ditále | ditale | digitāle |  |
| denti <br> macellari <br> denti occhiali | teeth butchers teeth glasses | dẹnti mačellári dẹ́nti okkiáli | denti matfel:ari denti ok:jali |  |  |
| esoso | hexose | eSọ́So | ezozo | exōsum |  |
| fosso | ditch | fọ́sso | fos:o |  |  |
| fango | mud | fángo | fango |  |  |
| falegname | carpenter | fáleńńáme | falen:ame |  |  |
| fanfarone | braggart | fănfarọne | fanfarone |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| faraona | guinea fowl | fáraọna | faraona | pharaōnem |  |
| farina dolce | cake flour | farína dộlče | farina dolffe |  |  |
| favilla | spark | favilla | favil:a |  |  |
| ferraio | blacksmith | ferráio | fer:ajo |  |  |
| fettina | slice | fettína | fet:ina |  |  |
| fiocco | bow | fiộkko | fjok:o | flŏccum |  |
| fiammifero | match | fiamífero | fjamifero | flammíferum |  |
| fidanzato | boyfriend | fidanzáto | fidantsato |  |  |
| filone | vein | filộne | filone |  |  |
| filare | spin | filáre | filare |  |  |
| focolare | hearth | fộkoláre | fokolare |  |  |
| formaggio | cheese | formáğğo | formadz:0 | formāticum |  |
| formica | ant | formíka | formika | formīcam |  |
| formicola | Tingly | formíkola | formikola | formīcolam |  |
| fottio | fuck | fottío | fot:io |  |  |
| fragola | strawberry | frágola | fragola | frāgulam |  |
| frana | landslide | frána | frana | frăginam |  |
| fregatura | swindle | frẹgatúra | fregatura | fricatūram |  |
| fringuello | finch | fringuéllo | fringwzl:o |  |  |
| fuliggine | soot | fuliğğine | fulids:ine | fulīginem |  |
| fulminante | fulminant | fulminánte | fulminante |  |  |
| golpe | coup | gọ́pe | golpe | vǔlpem |  |
| gota | cheek | gọta | gota |  |  |
| ganza | mistress | gánza | gandza | gangia |  |
| ganzo | guy | gánzo | ganczo |  |  |
| gazza | magpie | gázza | gadz:a |  |  |
| gazzera | Gazzera | gázzera | gacz:era |  |  |
| gabinetto | cabinet | gábinẹ́to | gabinet:o |  |  |
| gallinella | hen | gállinẹlla | gal:inzl:a |  |  |
| ghiaia | gravel | giáia | gjaja | glāream |  |
| ghiacciaia | icebox | giaçčáia | gjatf:aja |  |  |
| ghiandaia | jay | giandáa ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | gjandaja | glandāriam |  |
| ghiro | dormouse | gíro | giro | glirem |  |
| giubba | jacket | ğúbba | dsub:a |  |  |
| ginepro | juniper | ğinẹpro | dzinepro | ienĭperum |  |
| giomella | giomella | ğomẹlla | dsomel:a |  |  |
| girino | tadpole | ğiríno | d3irino | gyrīnum |  |
| gnocchi | gnocchi | ńńọ́kki | n:ok:i |  |  |
| gomitolo | ball | gomítolo | gomitolo | glǒmitolum |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| governo | government | govẹ́rno | governo | gǔbernum |  |
| greppo | chasm | grẹ́po | grep:o |  |  |
| grappolo | cluster | gráppolo | grap:olo | clăppulum |  |
| grasso | fat | grásso | gras:o |  |  |
| grattacacia | grattacacia | grattakáča | grat:akatfa |  |  |
| grattugia | grater | grattúǧa | grat:udza |  |  |
| grembiule | apron | grembiúle | grembjule |  |  |
| grillo | cricket | grillo | gril:o | grillum |  |
| grullo | stupid | grúllo | grul:o |  |  |
| gelso | mulberry | ǧẹlso | d3Elso | cělsam |  |
| gemma | gem | ǧẹmma | dзem:a |  |  |
| guazza | dew | guxázza | gwats:a | acquāceam |  |
| guercio | one-eyed | guẹ́rčo | guertfo |  |  |
| idraulico | hydraulic | idráuliko | idrawliko | hydrāulicum |  |
| imbroglio | cheat | imbrọ̣l'o | imbrok:o |  |  |
| imbranato | clumsy | imbranáto | imbranato |  |  |
| in ghingheri | dressed up | in gíngeri | in gingeri |  |  |
| in proda | on shore | im prọ́da | im proda |  |  |
| I' anno scorso | last year 's | 1 ánno skọrso | I an:o skorso |  |  |
| locco | LOCKING | lộkko | lok:o |  |  |
| lodola | skylark | lọ́dola | Iodola | alāudam |  |
| lampo | flash | lámpo | lampo |  |  |
| lavatoio | wash | lavatọ́io | lavatojo | lavatōrium |  |
| licite | Licite | ličite | liffite |  |  |
| legnaiolo | carpenter | leńñą̣ọlo | len:ajolo |  |  |
| letame | manure | letáme | letame |  |  |
| luna calante | waning moon | lúna kalánte | luna kalante |  |  |
| luna crescente | crescent | lúna krešséẹnte | luna kref:znte |  |  |
| luna piena | full moon | lúna piệna | luna pjena |  |  |
| lupo | wolf | lúpo | lupo |  |  |
| lucignola | wick | lučíńnola | lutifin:ola |  |  |
| lucertola | lizard | luçętola | lutfrtola |  |  |
| lumaca | snail | lumáka | lumaka | limācam |  |
| livido | livid | lívido | livido | lividum |  |
| mento | chin | mẹ́nto | mento | měntum |  |
| moccolo | snot | mọ́kkolo | mok:olo | mǔcculum |  |
| mogio | dejected | mọ̆go | modzo |  |  |
| mota | mota | mọ́ta | mota | măltham |  |


| $\begin{array}{c}\text { Normalised } \\ \text { form }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text { English } \\ \text { translation }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text { ALT-CDI } \\ \text { transcription }\end{array}$ | IPA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| transcription |  |  |  |$) ~$ Latin etymology $\quad$ IPA transcription


| $\begin{array}{c}\text { Normalised } \\ \text { form }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text { English } \\ \text { translation }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text { ALT-CDI } \\ \text { transcription }\end{array}$ | IPA |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| transcription |  |  |  |$)$


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| prete | priest | prẹte | prete |  |  |
| pendolo | pendulum | pệndolo | pendolo |  |  |
| pulcino | chick | pulčíno | pultyino | pullicēnum |  |
| pulenda dolce | Pulenda sweet | pulẹ́nda dọ́lče | pulenda doltfe |  |  |
| pupilla | pupil | pupilla | pupil:a | pupillam |  |
| puzzo | stink | púzzo | puts:o | pūtium |  |
| puzzola | skunk | púzzola | puts:ola | putiolam |  |
| rozzo | crude | rọ́zzo | rodz:o |  |  |
| rocchio | drum | rọ́kkịo | rok:jo |  |  |
| radica | briar root | rádika | radika |  |  |
| rancico | Rancic | ránčiko | rantfiko |  |  |
| raspo | stalk | ráspo | raspo |  |  |
| radice | root | radiče | raditfe | radīcem |  |
| ragazza | girl | ragázza | ragats:a |  |  |
| ragazzo | boy | ragázzo | ragats:o |  |  |
| raganella | treefrog | raganẹlla | raganzl:a |  |  |
| ramaiolo | ladle | ramaiọolo | ramajolo |  |  |
| raponzoli | raponzoli | rapọnzoli | rapontsoli |  |  |
| ravanelli | radishes | ravanẹlli | ravanzl:i |  |  |
| riccio | hedgehog | ríččo | rits:o | erīcium |  |
| recinto | fence | rečínto | retfinto |  |  |
| ricotta | ricotta | rikọtta | rikot:a |  |  |
| rigatino | bacon | rigatino | rigatino |  |  |
| rimpiattino | hide and seek | rimpiattíno | rimpjat:ino |  |  |
| ronzone | Ronzone | ronzộne | rondzone |  |  |
| rustico | rustic | rústiko | rustiko | rūsticum |  |
| segale | rye | sẹ́gale | segale |  |  |
| semola | semolina | sẹ́mola | semola | sirmilam |  |
| sorcio | mouse | sọ́rčo | sortfo | sōricem |  |
| sodo | hard | sọ́do | sodo |  |  |
| soglia | threshold | sộl'a | sok:a | sŏleam |  |
| salcio | willow | sálčo | saltjo | sălicem |  |
| salice | willow | sáliče | salitye |  |  |
| sagrato | churchyard | sagráto | sagrato | sacrātum |  |
| salamandra | salamander | salamándra | salamandra | salamăndram |  |
| salciccia | sausage | salčíčča | saltitif:a | salsīcia |  |
| salsiccia | sausage | salsíčča | salsitf:a | salsīcia |  |
| salvastrella | Burnet | salvastrẹlla | salvastrıl:a |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sbornia | drunkenness | Sbọ́rnịa | zbornja |  |  |
| sbronza | drunk | Sbrọnzza | zbroncza |  |  |
| scotta | sheet | skọtta | skot:a |  |  |
| scapolo | bachelor | skápolo | skapolo |  |  |
| scaldaletto | warming pan | skaldalệ́to | skaldalıt:o |  |  |
| scaldino | Warmer | skaldíno | skaldino |  |  |
| scheggia | splinter | skẹ́ğğa | sked3:a | schǐdiam |  |
| schiacciata | crushed | skiaččáta | skjatf:ata |  |  |
| sciocco | silly | ššọkko | f:ok:o |  |  |
| sciapo | sciapo | šápo | Japo |  |  |
| sciamannone | sciamannone | ššamannọ́ne | f:aman:one |  |  |
| sciamannato | sciamanno | ššamannáto | f:aman:ato |  |  |
| sciapito | sciapo | ššapíto | J:apito |  |  |
| uscio | door | úšso | ufo | ōstium |  |
| scimmia | monkey | ššímmia | f:im:ja |  |  |
| scoiattolo | squirrel | skoiáttolo | skojat:olo | scuriolum |  |
| scorciatoia | shortcut | skorčatọia | skortfatoja |  |  |
| scricciolo | wren | skríččolo | skrit:olo |  |  |
| seccatoio | squeegee | sekkatọio | sek:atojo |  |  |
| segatura | sawdust | segatúra | segatura |  |  |
| sfoglia | puff pastry | sfộl'a | sfok:a |  |  |
| sugo | sauce | súgo | sugo |  |  |
| somaro | ass | somáro | somaro |  |  |
| soppressata | brawn | soppressáta | sop:res:ata |  |  |
| sottana | soutane | sottána | sot:ana | subtānam |  |
| sporta | shopping basket | spọ́rta | sporta | spǒrtam |  |
| spaccone | braggart | spakkộne | spak:one |  |  |
| spazzatura | garbage | spazzatúra | spats:atura |  |  |
| spetezza | spetezza | spetẹ́zza | spetets:a |  |  |
| spigolo | corner | spígolo | spigolo | spīculum |  |
| spranga | bar | spránga | spranga |  |  |
| sputo | spit | spúto | sputo |  |  |
| sedano | celery | sẹdano | sedano |  |  |
| stolto | fool | stộlo | stolto | stŭltum |  |
| stoppia | stubble | stọ́ppia | stop:ja |  |  |
| stalla | stable | stálla | stal:a |  |  |
| stagnino | tinsmith | stańníno | stan:ino | stāgninum |  |
| sito | site | sito | sito | sǐtum |  |
| strolago | Ioon | strọlago | strolago |  |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| strabico | squint | strábiko | strabiko |  |  |
| stracco | tired | strákko | strak:o |  |  |
| stradello | Stradello | stradẹllo | stradzl:o |  |  |
| stregone | sorcerer | stregọne | stregone |  |  |
| strullo | Strullato | strúllo | strul:o |  |  |
| strizza | Winking | strízza | strits:a |  |  |
| succhiello | gimlet | sukkiẹllo | suk:jıl:o |  |  |
| susina | plum | suSína | suzina |  |  |
| topo | mouse | tộpo | topo |  |  |
| talpa | mole | tálpa | talpa | tălpam |  |
| tacchino | turkey | takkíno | tak:ino |  |  |
| tagliere | chopping board | tall'ẹre | tak:cre |  |  |
| tarantola | tarantula | tarántola | tarantola |  |  |
| tartaglione | Tartaglione | tartall'ọ́ne | tarta人:one |  |  |
| tartaruga | tortoise | tartarúga | tartaruga | tartarūcam |  |
| terriccio | soil | terríččo | ter:itf: |  |  |
| testone | blockhead | testọne | testone |  |  |
| tincone | tincone | tinkọ́ne | tinkone |  |  |
| tirato | pulled | tiráto | tirato |  |  |
| topino | Mouse | topíno | topino |  |  |
| trogolo | trough | trọgolo | trogolo |  |  |
| trabiccolo | jalopy | trabíkkolo | trabik:olo |  |  |
| tirchio | mean | tirkio | tirkjo |  |  |
| trucioli | chippings | trúčoli | trutfoli |  |  |
| testa | head | tésta | trsta | těstam |  |
| testo | text | tésto | trsto |  |  |
| tuono | thunder | tuộno | twono | tŏnum |  |
| uggioso | dull | uğğọ́so | ud3:oso | odiōsum |  |
| uncinetto | crochet | unčinẹ́to | untinet:o |  |  |
| unguanno | unguanno | unguánno | ungwan:o |  |  |
| unguanno passo | unguanno step | unguánno pásso | ungwan:o pas: <br> o |  |  |
| volpe | fox | vộlpe | volpe | vǔlpem |  |
| vaglio | screen | vál'o | vak:o | văllum |  |
| vagabondo | vagabond | vagabọ́ndo | vagabondo |  |  |
| vicolo | alley | víkolo | vikolo | vīculum |  |
| viottolo | path | viộttolo | vjot:olo |  |  |
| vitalba | clematis | vitálba | vitalba |  |  |
| vitellino | calf | vitellíno | vitel:ino | vitĕllinum |  |


| Normalised form | English translation | ALT-CDI transcription | IPA <br> transcription | Latin etymology | IPA transcription |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| verro | boar | vẹ́ro | ver:o |  |  |
| zeppa | wedge | zzẹ́ppa | ts:ep:a |  |  |
| zozzo | Zozzo | zzọ́zzo | ts:ots:o |  |  |
| zolla | clod | zzộlla | dz:ol:a |  |  |
| zazzera | mop | zzázzera | ts:ats:era |  |  |
| zittella | zittella | zzittệlla | ts:it:zl:a |  |  |
| zolfanello | match | zzolfanẹllo | dz:olfanzl:o |  |  |
| ziro | Ziro | ${ }_{87}{ }^{\text {íro }}$ | dz:iro |  |  |
| zuccone | dodo | zukkọne | tsuk:one |  |  |
| zizzola | Zizzola | ${ }_{76 \text { ízzola }}$ | dz:idz:ola |  |  |
| becco | beak | bệko | bek:o | bēccum |  |
| caco | persimmon | káko | kako |  |  |
| ciglio | edge | číl'o | tfik:o | cilium |  |
| grembiale | apron | grembiále | grembjale |  |  |
| lumacone | snail | lumakọ́ne | lumakone |  |  |
| pagliaio | haystack | pal'áio | paK:ajo | paleārium |  |
| radici | roots | radići | raditfi | radīces |  |

