We submit that, in V.S. provocativus (2) in word Initial is not an allomorph of /s/ but a distinct, separate phoneme. Witness the following minimal pairs:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{V.S.} & \text{nome} & \text{lume} \\
\text{lume} & \text{nome} & \text{lime} \\
\text{zama} & \text{zama} & \text{zama} \\
\text{za} & \text{za} & \text{za} \\
\text{ze} & \text{se} & \text{se} \\
\text{zeta} & \text{zeta} & \text{zeta} \\
\text{zel} & \text{zel} & \text{zel} \\
\text{zelato} & \text{zelato} & \text{zelato} \\
\end{array}
\]

Also historical grammar gives some evidence that the V.S. provocativus (2) is a phoneme. Lexemes 6 and 7 are borrowings from Slovenian or Croatian. In both languages /z/ whose orthographic symbol is also \( z \), is not an allomorph of /s/ but a distinct, separate phoneme. Lexeme 3 has been traditionally spelled as in vernacular writings since as far back as the XII Century and possibly earlier. Its history is akin to French \( kh \), both forms being derived from Latin \( kscn \). That in Low Latin came to be used with the verb \( esse \), "to be", to give prominence to a noun, an adverb, and the like. As to the remaining lexemes the provoke (2) is clearly not an allomorph of /s/ but the result either of a shift from the Latin or Italian voiced affricate /ʃ/ eg:

\[
\text{Latin} \quad \text{S.I.} \quad \text{V.S.} \quad \text{English} \\
\text{[lām]} & \text{[la]} & \text{[læ]} & \text{"already"} \\
\text{[tēner] (tēnerō)} & \text{[tənər]} & \text{[son-in-law]} & \text{[tənər]} \quad \text{[knee]} \\
\text{[lungen] (lungen)} & \text{[luŋə]} & \text{[down]} & \text{[luŋə]} \\
\text{[lūventēs] (lūventēl)} & \text{[lʊvəntəl]} & \text{[play]} & \text{[lʊvəntəl]} \\
\text{or of a shift from Standard Italian /zə/ e.g. [dzəkɔlo] > [dzoːk argument] [dzəkɔlo] [dzəkɔlo]} \quad \text{[dzəkɔlo]} \\
\text{Interlocutives Position} \\
\text{Save for the two notable exceptions that we shall examine in the next paragraph, we can say that, as a rule, in the V.S. dialect, the intervocalic /s/ is voiced e.g. [kaːzəl], [kaːzəl], "bouza", [kspaːzə], [kspaːzə] "brida". The si-} \\
\text{bilar is also voiced in words in which it is the result of a shift from Latin or S.I. /z/ /l/, and few other con-} \\
\text{sonants, e.g. /z/ and /l/.} \\
\text{L.S.I.} & \text{[tɛtʃnis] (tɛtʃnis)} & \text{[tɛtʃnis]} \quad \text{[wɛtkə]} \\
\text{tɛtʃnis} & \text{[tɛtʃnis]} \quad \text{[wɛtkə]} \quad \text{"we make"} \\
\text{[raʃənɔm] (raʃənɔm)} & \text{[raʃənɔ]} \quad \text{[råʃən]} \quad \text{"reason"} \\
\text{[mɛdɪam] (mɛdɪam)} & \text{[mɛdɪam]} \quad \text{[mɛdɪam]} \quad \text{"middle"} \\
\text{[bukal] (bukal)} & \text{[bukal]} \quad \text{[bukal]}
Before trying to establish the phonemic status of the intervocalic voiced sibilant it will be necessary to take into consideration the two exceptions we mentioned earlier. They are as follows:

1. Intervocalic [l] is voiceless in all words that in S.I. have a geminate in the correspondent position. The V.G. dialect has no long consonants consequently all S.I. geminates shift into short consonants in V.G. and the vowel preceding the shortened consonant shifts from short and open to tense long or semi-long, e.g.:

   S.I.        V.G.
   [pasɔ]     [pao]
   "I see"

   [feltsu sumo] [feltsu sumo]
   "very happy"

2. The intervocalic [l] is voiceless in all words in S.I. have phoneme /l/ in the correspondent position, e.g.:

   S.I.        V.G.
   [felare]   [farse]
   "to leave"

   [lo]       [lo]
   "smooth"

We submit that in V.G. [s] and [l] in intervocalic position are two separate phonemes. Witness the following minimal pairs chosen at random, e.g.:

   [ba so] : [bezo]
   "low" : "kiss"

   [ce sa] : [ceza]
   "cease" : "church"

   [pe sa] : [pezo]
   "fish" : "scales"

   [ce se] : [ceze]
   "often" : "spend"

We must note that the V.G. intervocalic sibilants /l/ and /f/ are two distinct separate phonemes. Phoneme /s/ realize itself as [s] or [l]. Both sibilants are present in C0 with [l] occurring before voiceless consonants. Phoneme /f/ has no voiceless allophone. It occurs in word initial position before vowels only, in intervocalic position.

The following table summarizes the situation of the two sibilants as described above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V.G.</th>
<th>origin</th>
<th>V.O.</th>
<th>S.I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>(historical)</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Historical grammar offers some evidence that, at one time, the two sibilants were treated as separate phonemes. From ancient texts we date back to the XII and XIII century written in the Old Venetian dialect (O.V.) it appears that the sibitants /s/ and /f/ were often graphically represented by two distinctive different symbols. For example, a long /s/ is often represented by symbol ξ either short or long, e.g.:

   S.I.        V.G.
   esses        esse ossa
   "she"

   possessione  possessione
   "possession"

   essere       esser
   "to be"

   rosso       rosso
   "red"

Symbol ξ is also used in O.V. to represent intervocalic [s] in all instances in which the voiceless phoneme is the result of a shift from S.I. /l/, e.g.:

   S.I.  O.V.  S.I.
   loso  los  "I hear"

   fessine  fessine  fessine  "foggy"

Conversely, the intervocalic voiced sibilant [s] is graphically represented by symbol γ, e.g.:

   S.I.  O.V.  S.I.
   speze  speze  "spend"

   casette  chavello chavello  "small house"

Symbol γ is also used to represent the intervocalic [s] in words in which the voiced sibilant is the result of a shift from S.I. /f/ or /l/, e.g.:

   S.I.  O.V.  S.I.
   fessano  fassano  fazano  "we make"

   piece  piece  plass  "to play"

   ragione  ravan  ravan  "reason"

   cugine  kuzine  "cousin"

To conclude, the implication of this presentation is that

1. In the V.G. dialect the sibilants /s/ and /f/ are two distinct separate phonemes. Phoneme /s/ realize itself as [s] or [l]. Both sibilants are present in C0 with [l] occurring before voiceless consonants. Phoneme /f/ has no voiceless allophone. It occurs in word initial position before vowels only, in intervocalic position.

2. Historical grammar suggests that the V.G. phoneme /f/ can be traced back to Latin γ. This symbol, that in Classical Greek was used to transcribe the aspirate

Bibliography


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