The Dialects of Italy

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ROUTLEDGE

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Table 39.1

			West	*East*	
i	-CI-	>	tʃ	tts	FACIO > 'fatʃə vs. 'fattsə 'I do'
ii	-LL-	>	ll	dd (d̪d̪, r)	ECCU ILLU(M) > 'killu vs. 'kiddu, 'kid̪d̪ə, 'kirə 'that'
iii	-NG- + front vowel	>	ɲɲ	ndʒ	PLANGIT > 'kjaɲɲə vs. 'kjandʒə, kjantʃə 'he weeps'
iv	1 / 3sg. imperf. ind. 2 / 3 conjg. verbs		-'evə	-'ia	ri'tʃevə, sə'ntevə vs. ri'tʃia, sen'tia 'I / he said, felt'
v	Conditional type		fa'tʃessə far'ria fatʃar'ria	fa'tʃera < Lat. plupf. ind.	
vi	1pl. clitic pron.		tʃə or dʒə	nə	
vii	3pers. subject pronoun		'issə < IPSU(M)	'iddə < ILLU(M)	
viii	'cradle'		'konnələ	'nakə	
ix	'owl'		tʃutʃu'vettələ	kukku'vajə	
x	'tomorrow'		ri'manə	'krajə	

1 AREAL CHARACTERISTICS

The task of identifying dialect subareas has barely begun (see Pellegrini (1977: 31)). Pellegrini himself, in assigning S. Lazio dialects to the Campanian area, observes that the defining isogloss to the north is the boundary of PL > [kj] (rather than [pj]). Radtke (1988: 653) situates the line north of Gaeta and south of Itri between Frosinone and Sora, but holds that there are no clearly defined linguistic boundaries to the east, the criterion being the impressionistic one of dependence on / independence from the hegemony of Neapolitan. For the southern and eastern limits, we may rely on Avolio's study of the Salerno–Lucera line (see also Rohlfs (1966: 389)). Avolio uses ten criteria (see the maps in Avolio (1989: 19–21) and Table 39.1).

Avolio's maps display a characteristic 'fan' pattern, effectively constituting an 'Eboli–Lucera' Line. Avolio also shows that isoglosses ii, vi, vii, ix and x are shifting. Further research will be necessary to resolve the complex problem of the historical motivation for such a clear boundary. Ongoing fieldwork points towards a progressive encroachment of Neapolitan.

2 EXTERNAL HISTORY

The hegemony of Naples is relatively recent. From the mid-seventh to the eleventh century the Langobard duchy (capital Benevento), extended from the valleys of the Sangro and the Volturno over most of modern Campania, while a Romano-Byzantine population controlled the ports of Gaeta, Naples and Amalfi. The main Langobard contribution to the linguistic history of the area (their own Germanic language was rapidly replaced by Latin) was their defence of the frontiers of Latinity against Greco-Byzantine pressure from Basilicata and Puglia, and against Arab raids (Baldelli (1987: 30) in Bianchi *et al.* (1993: 21)). Indeed, some of the earliest written uses of the vernacular (the tenth-century 'Placiti cassinesi') belong to the period in which the Abbey of Montecassino was part of the Langobard duchy.

Langobard domination was disrupted in the mid-eleventh century as the Normans began to conquer the Duchy of Benevento, eventually reaching Naples (1139). Under the Normans (later the Suabians) there was considerable population growth, especially in Naples. With Angevin domination (1265–1442) Naples became, and has remained, the seat of local power. Apart from Gallicisms of various dates in popular speech (*perciare* 'to pierce' and *venella* 'alley' are Norman, *guaglione* 'lad' is Angevin), the effect of French in the capital was to discourage literary uses of the vernacular. Under the Aragonese kingdom (1442–1503) there develops a court literature; the bureaucratic centralism of the kingdom may be the source of a 'supraregional speech, rich in Latinizing forms and affected also by Catalanisms' (De Blasi (1995)). Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, under the Spaniards, numerous Hispanisms enter the lexicon. For an amply documented overview of the linguistic history of Naples and Campania, see Bianchi, De Blasi and Librandi (1993).

3 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

Vowels

The underlying vowel system is the 'western' one (southern Cilento has the five-vowel 'Sicilian' system) (see Ch. 1). For patterns of metaphony, see Ch. 2. Particular local features are:

(a) [a] > [æ] in an area including the provinces of Naples and Caserta (Frattamaggiore, Cardito, Aversa) and the province of Benevento. The phenomenon is much commoner in the interior, where it seems to be one of many cases of Pugliese influence: cf. Trevico [a k'kæsə] 'at home', [ŋgan'dɛ] 'to enchant' (Raucci (1994)).

(b) There is Neapolitan velarization of [a] in stressed open syllables (and sometimes in unstressed syllables: [mɑm'mɑ] 'mum'). This is frequently accompanied by nasalization (see Radtke (1988: 654)), and has become a stereotype of lower-class pronunciations; it seems to affect stressed final syllables in particular ([stɑ̃] 'he stands', [kkɑ̃] 'here', [kan'tɑ̃] 'to sing', etc.). Velarization and nasalization also seem associated with emphatic speech, where they may appear in additional structural contexts: [o 'kɑ̃nə] 'the dog', [o p'pɑ̃nə] 'bread', etc.

(c) /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ have a rather more closed pronunciation than in Italian. Around Caserta (Marcianise, S. Arpino, Frattamaggiore, Frattaminore) there is notable lowering and diphthongization of /ɛ/ in closed syllables (in S. Arpino this also applies, for some speakers, in open and pretonic syllables). Around Avellino this vowel tends towards centralized [ɐ] in closed syllables (see Sornicola and Maturi (1994)).

(d) The whole Gulf of Naples area shows extensive spontaneous diphthongization: [e] > [ai̯], [o] > [au̯] in Ischia, Procida, Pozzuoli, either in open syllables (Forio d'Ischia ['tai̯lə] 'canvas', Pozzuoli ['sai̯tə] 'silk', ['sau̯lə] 'sun') or in closed syllables (Ischia ['sai̯kkə] 'dry', ['rau̯ssə] 'red'). In Pozzuoli stressed /i/ and /u/ are also diphthongized in open syllables: ['vøi̯nə] 'wine', ['leu̯nə] 'moon', etc.

(e) Unstressed vowels, post-tonic or pretonic, tend, to a greater or lesser degree, to centralize (> [ə]), especially in the final syllable. Most resistant to centralization is [a], especially when pretonic, although it is particularly subject to centralization in syllable-final position (see Radtke (1988: 655)). Centralization is commonest and most extensive in rapid speech.

Consonants

The principal phenomena are:

(a) betacism (see Tulleners-Bloemen (1983)): [a 'vokka] 'the mouth' < BUCCA(M), (but [tre b'bokkə] 'three mouths', with *raddoppiamento fonosintattico*);

(b) 'gammacism' (/g/ > /ɣ/ > [v] – see Radtke (1988: 655)): *['fragola] > ['fravola] 'strawberry';

(c) rhotacism (initial or intervocalic [d] > [r]): ['ditʃə] > ['ritʃə] 'he says' (see further Radtke (1988: 655));

(d) intervocalic /p/, /t/, /k/ subject to lenition (see Bruni (1984: 299f.), Radtke (1988: 656));

(e) /l/ > [u] (zero, after a back vowel) before a dental: ['au̯trə] 'other', ['vota] 'time';

(f) palatalization of sibilants before velar or labial consonants (see Radtke (1988: 655)): [ʃkas'sa] 'to break'.

4 MORPHOLOGY

O. Neapolitan conserves a Latin fifth-declension form in the suffix *-eze* (< -ITIE(M)), metaphonic pl. *-ize* (see De Blasi (1995)). The verb is frequently characterized by introduction of a non-etymological velar element in the 1sg. of verbs with original root-final dentals, and in certain others: e.g., Ischia ['vɛŋgə] 'I sell', ['sɛŋgə] 'I hear', ['maŋgə] 'I send', ['mai̯kkə] 'I put', [aʃ'pɛkkə] 'I wait', ['pɔrkə] 'I carry', ['lɔŋgə] 'I give', ['stɔŋgə] 'I stand', etc. < UENDO, SENTIO, MANDO, MITTO, EXSPECTO, PORTO, DO, STO (Rohlfs (1968: 260f.)).

O. Neapolitan had person and number inflection of infinitives (cf. also Portuguese), and gerundives. The earliest attestations are in texts of the fourteenth century (e.g., the *Cronaca di Partenope* – see Sabatini (1975: 135), and the *Libro de la Destructione de Troya* – see De Blasi (1986: 388f.)) and fifteenth century (see Savy-Lopez (1900: 502f.)). Infinitives show 1pl. / 2pl. / 3pl. inflections *-mo*, *-vo*, *-(n)no*: *de averemo facta* 'us to have done', *de mandarevo per Anthenore* 'you to send for Antenor', *a darennomme brega* 'them to conspire against me' (De Blasi (1986: 187; 264; 182)); in the gerundive: *essendemo* 'we being', *potendeno* 'they being able' (De Blasi (1995)); cf. also the present participle *timentino* 'they fearing' (Loporcaro (1986: 196)) and the past participle *datonosse* 'having given themselves' (De Blasi (1995)). De Blasi observes that these forms flourished in the bureaucratic usage of the Aragonese kingdom, surviving in popular registers until the sixteenth century, and in official documents until the eighteenth. The origins of Romance inflected infinitives are moot (see Meyer-Lübke (1974, III: 25f.); Gamillscheg (1913: 267–81); Rohlfs (1969: 91f.); Loporcaro (1986)), but the dominant view is that there has been an extension of inflectional endings of finite verb forms into non-finite forms. Whereas in O. Portuguese the inflected infinitive occurred only if the subject of main clause and infinitive were not coreferential, this was not necessarily the case in Neap.: *nuy sirrimo vicini a lloro a daremole succurso* 'we shall be near to them to give (1pl.) them help' and *da poy che ave plazuto a li nuostri Diey de nuy esseremo in questa parte* lit. 'since it has pleased our Gods us to be in this place' (De Blasi (1986: 70; 69)).

5 SYNTAX

Partitives

There are some noteworthy partitive constructions, almost all characteristic of literary or educated language. One, still attested in Neap. (Rohlfs (1968: 129)), shows a reflex of the preposition DE (> [r(ə)]) governing a possessive pronoun preceded by the def. art.: [n a'mikə r o 'miə] lit. 'a friend of the mine'. The pronoun, like the article, agrees in number and gender with the head of the NP dominating the PP node: e.g., [n a'mika r a 'miə] 'a friend (Fsg.) of mine (Fsg.)', [ʧjert a'mikə r e m'mɛjə] 'some friends (Fpl.) of mine (Fpl.)'. The same structure appears in post-copular position, with predicative value, and the same agreement properties: [sti 'ʃkarpə 'soŋgə r e m'mɛjə] 'these shoes are mine'. Oscillations in government properties can be found in O. Neap.: fifteenth-century Esopo (36, 26f.) *Si la focaza* (Fsg.) *è de le mei* (Fpl.) *et non è ordinatamente perfecta, bacteme fi' a la morte; ma si no è de le mei* (Fpl.)*, non so' io in culpa* 'If the bun is (of the) mine, and is not duly perfect, beat me to death; but if it is not (of the) mine, I'm not guilty'. Here the possessive pronoun is not governed by the head of the subject NP, but by the article. See further Meyer-Lübke (1974, III: 398–405).

Another type of PP with [(d)e] is that found within an NP with its head having the structure demonstrative pronoun + adjective: ['killə ʃ'ʃjemə e 'fratətə] 'that idiot (of) your brother'; this type is documented also in the Pentamerone and the Posilecheata. This phenomenon is plausibly linked with the Late Latin construction SCELUS HOMINIS (see Tobler (1921: 134); Svennung (1958: 64f.)).

Possessor phrases

In Trevico, a possessor phrase dominated by an NP node is marked in surface structure by simple adjacency to its head; exceptionally, in Italo-Romance, the possessor phrase is not governed by a PP: e.g., [la 'tɛrrə siɲ'ɲurə] 'the land (of the) lords' (from Raucci (1994)). The phenomenon was characteristic of O. French (Meyer-Lübke (1974, III: 49)); it appears in crystallized expressions in O. Italian (*in casa i Frescobaldi* 'at the Frescobaldis'' – Rohlfs (1969: 5f.), and De Blasi (1994: 88f.) indicates it for parts of Lucania).

Subject–verb agreement

Besides *ad sensum* agreement (plural verbs with singular collective nouns), there may be 3pl. agreement with *nesciuno* 'nobody': *ma non truove nesciuno che l'affermano* 'but you find nobody who states it' (Capozzoli (1889: 220)).

Functional relations

Dummy subjects

There are three types of structure in which a demonstrative pronoun serves as a dummy subject. Type one is characterized by:

(a) copresent demonstrative pronoun and subject NP, whose head is realized by a noun;
(b) coreference between demonstrative pronoun and subject NP;
(c) control by the NP's head of gender and number agreement of the demonstrative pronoun: ['kellə (Fsg.) muʎ'ʎerəma (Fsg.) vu'leva i] lit. 'that-one my wife wanted to go', ['killə (Msg.) o nə'nillə (Msg.) s amma'lajə] lit. 'that-one the child fell ill'. The demonstrative pronoun and NP need not be adjacent: ['kell arri'vajə a pa'trona] lit. 'that-one arrived the landlady'. This type is attested in Boccaccio's *Epistola napoletana*: *E chillo me dice judice Barillo ca isso sape quant'a lu demone* lit. 'and that-one tells me judge Barillo that he knows as much as the devil' (Sabatini (1983: 183)).

A second type has:

(a) copresence of the demonstrative pronoun and one or more NPs, to each of which is assigned a grammatical relation;
(b) absence (or indeterminability) of a coreference relationship between demonstrative pronoun and any NP, reflected in
(c) lack of agreement between some NP and the pronoun: ['kell ab'basta nu pɔk e 'vinə] lit. 'that suffices a bit of wine', [kell a 'unə ʧə pjaʧ a 'pasta] lit. 'that to one is pleasing to him the pasta', 'one likes pasta'. Note that the demonstrative is morphologically a masculine 'neuter' (or 'mass' – see Ch. 8) form.

A third type has the demonstrative pronoun as sole candidate for subject, for example in pre-copular position in equative and attributive phrases: ['kell e o 'vɛrə] lit. 'that it's the truth', 'it's true' (again with a 'mass' form of the pronoun).

Finally, there are weather verbs with neuter pronoun subjects (see Sornicola (1996)): ['kellə 'kjɔvə] lit. 'that rains', 'it's raining'.

Dummy objects

Where a full indirect object follows a verb, the verb tends to be preceded by a coreferent clitic IO, particularly if the subject is null: [ʧə kun'tajə o 'fatt a la kum'marə] lit. 'she told TO-HER the fact to the neighbour woman' (Rohlfs (1968: 169)); Radtke (1988: 654)).

In interrogative phrases containing a full NP (or an S) functioning as direct object, the verb is often preceded by a pronominal copy of the object: Montefusco [o 'krirə ka o tro'βam°] lit. 'do you believe it that we find it?' (*AIS* 650) (see Rohlfs (1968: 169)).

Double object constructions with trivalent verbs

With trivalent verbs, the IO is treated differently depending on whether it is a full noun phrase (anticipated by a preverbal IO clitic ([ʧə])), or merely a clitic

pronoun. In the former case, it is governed by a PP whose head is [a]: [ʧə duman'najə o fattə a m'marjə] lit. 'TO-HIM he asked the matter to Mario', 'he asked Mario about it'; [ʧə pur'tajə nu 'rjalə a m'marjə] 'TO-HIM he brought a present for Mario'; [ʧə ʃkar'fajə o 'pjattə a mma'ria] 'TO-HER he heated the plate for Maria'; [ʧə 'rɛttə na pə'rat a mma'ria] 'TO-HER he gave Maria a kick', etc. When the NP head is a proclitic pronoun, the pronoun assumes accusative case-marking, like a direct object (M [o], F [a]): [o dumman'najə o 'fattə] 'he asked him about it'; [o pur'tajə nu 'rjalə] 'he brought him a present'; [a ʃkar'fajə o 'pjattə] 'he heated the plate for her'; [a 'rɛttə na pə'rata] 'he gave her a kick'. The phenomenon is extremely regular, but not obligatory (dative clitics can appear in these cases); it appears sensitive to the syntactic configuration of the IO NP, rather than to semantic relations. However, verbs like [piʎ'ʎa] 'to take', [ʧər'ka] 'to seek', [tru'va] 'to find' seem not to admit the ditransitive construction with pronominal clitics (e.g., **[o piʎ'ʎajə nu mar'tjellə] 'she took a hammer from (lit. "to") him', **[o ʧər'kajə na 'kasa] 'she looked for a house for him', **[o tru'vajə na dʤak'kɛtta] 'she found him a jacket'); cf. also [o ʃpertu'sajə nu 'pɛrə] 'she pierced his foot' vs. **[o ʃpertu'sajə a 'sɛddʒa] 'she pierced his chair'; these examples suggest that in these cases factors such as alienable vs. inalienable possession may be at work: if the DO is linked to the IO by a part–whole relationship, then the double object construction is possible.

Other types of double object construction

The same phenomenon is observable with causatives: [ʧə fa'ʧɛtt aʃ'ʃi o s'saŋgə r o 'nas a m'marjə] TO-HIM MADE3sg. COME-OUT THE BLOOD FROM THE NOSE TO MARIO, 'he made the blood come out of Mario's nose', but [o fa'ʧɛtt aʃ'ʃi o s'saŋgə r o 'nasə] 'he made the blood come out of his nose'; [ʧə fa'ʧɛttə las'sa a 'ʃkɔl a mma'ria] TO-HER MADE3sg. LEAVE THE SCHOOL TO MARIA, 'he made Maria leave school', but [a fa'ʧɛttə las'sa a 'ʃkɔla] 'he made her leave school'.

Structures with locative PP, functionally equivalent to indirect objects, behave likewise: [ʧə ʃkas'sajə nu 'pjattə 'ŋkap a m'marjə] 'he broke a plate on Mario's head'; [o ʃkas'sajə nu 'pjattə 'ŋkapə] 'he broke a plate on his head'. Here, too, the phenomenon is optional, IO clitics being possible.

Bivalent intransitive verbs as transitive structures

Some bivalent intransitive verbs may show a DO form for IO, when the head of the NP is a clitic pronoun: [tələfu'najə a m'marjə] 'he phoned to Mario', but [o tələfu'najə] 'he phoned him' (similarly with [bus'sa] 'to knock up (somebody)'); other verbs, at least in Neap., seem not to allow this: **[o par'lajə] vs. [ʧə par'lajə] 'I spoke to him' (but Teggiano [lu par'ler[a] 'ʝɛʝ[u]] 'I'd speak to him' (*AIS* 1627)).

Hypotheses on constructions with transitivized indirect objects

The transitivization phenomena discussed seem absent from early texts (*addemandaulu*, 'he asked him', in the late twelfth- / early thirteenth-century *Ritmo Cassinese*, belongs to a class of verbs which showed oscillations in valency already in Late Latin – see Ageno (1965: 48)). There are at least two possibilities: analogy triggered by the prepositional accusative construction (Bianchi *et al.* (1993: 13)), in which direct objects are realized under certain circumstances as indirect objects; alternatively, simplification of the paradigm of clitic pronouns: the third person dative form [lə] is gradually losing ground to the locative [ʧə], without really being replaced by it, since [ʧə] retains part of its locative value; consequently, accusative clitics may be drifting into the domain of the dative.

The phenomenon has a parallel in the 'loísmo' and 'laísmo' (dative use of otherwise accusative *lo, los, la, las*) of Spanish: e.g., *la escribí* 'I wrote to her'. Today the phenomenon is both geographically and socially restricted (see Alvar and Pottier (1983: 129)), but it is documented in the *Cid* (see García de Diego (1970: 345)) and in literary texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see Alcina Franch and Blecua (1975: 205)). This parallelism with the Hispanic situation might reinforce the hypothesis that the Neapolitan phenomenon is connected with the 'prepositional accusative'.

Transitively constructed intransitive verbs

Some intransitive verbs have an additional transitive construction: [ruma'nɛttə 'sulə] 'he remained alone' vs. [mə ruma'nɛttə n ammaʃ'ʃata pə tte] 'he left me a message for you', [ʃʃən'nɛtt ab'baʃʃə] lit. 'he descended down' vs. [ʃʃən'nɛtt o pa'narə p a fə'nɛstə] 'he lowered the basket from the window', [saʎ'ʎɛttə ŋ'kɔppə] lit. 'he ascended up' vs. [saʎ'ʎɛtt o pa'narə ŋ'kɔppə] 'he raised the basket up'. In the last two cases the transitive function is associated with causative value.

Clitic ordering

Direct and indirect object clitics tend to undergo raising to a higher verb in complex-verb structures: Naples [o 'simmə 'jutə tru'βannə] IT ARE[1pl.] GONE SEEKING, 'we went looking for it' (*AIS* 1635); (De Blasi (1986: 159)) *gevanulo cercando* 'they went looking for him'; Malato (1962: 62) *la palommella l'accomenzaje a bolare 'nnanze* 'the dove began to fly in front of him'.