DE GRUYTERMOUTON

Massimo Cerruti, Claudia Crocco, Stefania Marzo (Eds.)

TOWARDS A NEW STANDARD

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON THE RESTANDARDIZATION OF ITALIAN

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL LIFE



Towards a New Standard

Theoretical and Empirical Studies on the Restandardization of Italian

Edited by Massimo Cerruti Claudia Crocco Stefania Marzo

DE GRUYTER MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-61451-888-4 e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-61451-883-9 e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0104-3 ISSN 2364-4303

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

© 2017 Walter de Gruyter Inc., Boston/Berlin Typesetting: Konvertus, Haarlem, The Netherlands Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck Printed on acid-free paper Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com



Towards a New Standard

Language and Social Life

Editors David Britain Crispin Thurlow

Volume 6

Preface

The aim of this book is to broaden and deepen our understanding of the complex dynamics underlying the development of "new standards" in many European languages, by zooming in on the restandardization process of Italian. The volume consists of thirteen papers that give an up-to-date overview of the Italian situation, while tackling the restandardization of Italian from different theoretical and empirical vantage points.

This project would not have been possible without the advice and support of many people. We would like to thank the authors of the individual chapters for their contribution and their fruitful cooperation. Special thanks go out to Peter Auer, for agreeing to contribute to this project by writing a thought-provoking concluding chapter. Our appreciation also goes to the reviewers, for their remarks and suggestions on the proposal and manuscript, to Lara Wysong and Lena Ebert for their invaluable technical support, and to Silvia Ballarè for her helpful collaboration in compiling the subject index. Finally, we are particularly grateful to the series editors, David Britain and Crispin Thurlow, for welcoming this volume into the *Language and Social Life* series, and to the founding editor Richard Watts, for encouraging us to realize this work.

Massimo Cerruti, Claudia Crocco & Stefania Marzo - June 2016

List of Contributors

Luisa Amenta

Università degli Studi di Palermo Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche Edificio 12 - Viale delle Scienze I-90128 Palermo luamenta@libero.it

Costanza Asnaghi

KU Leuven Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics (QLVL) Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 PO BOX 3308 BE-3000 Leuven

Ghent University
Department of Linguistics
Blandijnberg 2
BE-9000 Ghent
costanza.asnaghi@ugent.be

Peter Auer

Universität Freiburg Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies Albertstr. 19 DE-79104 Freiburg im Breisgau peter.auer@frias.uni-freiburg.de

Gaetano Berruto

Università di Torino
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Via S. Ottavio 20
I-10124 Torino
gaetano.berruto@unito.it

Raffaella Bombi

Università degli Studi di Udine Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici Via Mazzini 3 I-33100 Udine raffaella.bombi@uniud.it

Silvia Calamai

Università di Siena
Dipartimento di Scienze della formazione, Scienze umane e della
Comunicazione interculturale
viale Cittadini, 33
I-52100 Arezzo
silvia.calamai@unisi.it

Massimo Cerruti

Università di Torino
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Via S. Ottavio 20
I-10124 Torino
massimosimone.cerruti@unito.it

Claudia Crocco

Ghent University
Department of Linguistics
Blandijnberg 2
BE-9000 Ghent
claudia.crocco@ugent.be

Stefano De Pascale

KU Leuven
Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics (QLVL)
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21
PO BOX 3308
BE-3000 Leuven
stefano.depascale@kuleuven.be

Stefania Marzo

KU Leuven
Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics (QLVL)
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21
PO BOX 3308
BE-3000 Leuven
stefania.marzo@kuleuven.be

Elena Maria Pandolfi

Osservatorio linguistico della Svizzera italiana Viale S. Franscini 30a CH-6500 Bellinzona elena-maria.pandolfi@ti.ch

Riccardo Regis

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici Università degli Studi di Torino Via S. Ottavio n. 20 I-10124 Torino riccardo.regis@unito.it

Dirk Speelman

KU Leuven
Quantitative Lexicology and Variational Linguistics (QLVL)
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21
PO BOX 3308
BE-3000 Leuven
dirk.speelman@kuleuven.be

Alessandro Vietti

Free University of Bozen/Bolzano
ALPs – Alpine Laboratory of Phonetics and Phonology
Language Study Unit
Piazza Università 1
I-39100 Bolzano
alessandro.vietti@unibz.it

List of Figures

Chapter 4

Figure 1 Left column: interrogative tunes of a yes-no question in Italian. Central column:

tonal transcription. Right column: regional varieties in which the tune is present. The tonal transcription is in ToBI (Gili Fivela et al. 2015; see also: Avesani 1995,

Beckman, Hirschberg and Shattuck-Hufnagel 2005, Grice et al. 2005).

Figure 2 Sentence (4) uttered by a female speaker from Este (Veneto). Read speech.

Figure 3 Sentence (4) uttered by a female speaker from Salerno (Campania). Read speech.

Chapter 7

Figure 1 Map of Habsburg Tirol (from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Tyrol)

Figure 2 Demographic trend of Bozen, Merano and Brixen (1811–2012)

Figure 3 Net migration rate (grey line) and demographic trend (black line) of Bolzano

(1940 - 2000)

Figure 4 Map of Bolzano-Bozen 1:20000 (taken from a picture from http://gis2.provinz.

bz.it/geobrowse)

Figure 5 Population by area of origin (1951–1999)

Figure 6 Ageing index (1951–2001) and birth rate (1940–2001) in Bolzano

Figure 7(a) Voicing variants and age groups
Voicing variants and gender

Figure 8 Affricate variants by phonetic context

Figure 9 Example of post-burst aperiodicity in ['pittsiko] pizzico (Meluzzi 2014: 65)
Figure 10 Example of measurement of pre-voicing (Speaker 002Boa, bici 'bike')

Figure 11(a) Scatterplot of voicing duration (ms) and number of interactions in Italian by con-

sonant in three different subsets: early bilinguals

Figure 11(b) Scatterplot of voicing duration (ms) and number of interactions in Italian by con-

sonant in three different subsets: Tyrolean monolinguals

Figure 11(c) Scatterplot of voicing duration (ms) and number of interactions in Italian by con-

sonant in three different subsets: Italian monolinguals

Chapter 8

Figure 1 Stressed vowel system - Florentine sample Figure 2 Stressed vowel system - Pisan sample

Chapter 11

Figure 1 Autocorrelated map of the distribution for the profile manager/dirigente
Figure 2 Autocorrelated map of the distribution for the profile gossip/pettegolezzo
Figure 3 Autocorrelated map of the distribution for the profile teenager/adolescente

Figure 4 Autocorrelated map of the distribution for the profile team/squadra
Figure 5 Autocorrelated map of the distribution for the profile break/pausa
Figure 6 Autocorrelated map of the distribution for the profile flyer/volantino

Chapter 12

Figure 1 Destandardization and the development of new standard varieties (Auer 2005: 32)

Figure 2 A geometrical rendering of the hypothesis of the Belgian regional speech beco-

ming increasingly different from the standard in comparison to the regional speech in the Netherlands. This is due to the greater difference between the

standard and the base dialects (Nerbonne et al. 2013: 220)

Figure 3 The Italian/dialect continuum in Piedmont (Cerruti and Regis 2014: 104)

Figure 4 Representation of It1 and Swl Figure 5 Galli de' Paratesi (1984: 47)

Chapter 13

Figure 1 The cone model of dialect/standard variation.

List of Tables

Chapter 3	
Table 1	LIP corpus: NP positions relativized (Magno 2010: 115)
Table 2	LIP Corpus: NP positions relativized by sub-standard relative constructions
rubte 2	(cf. Magno 2010: 165)
Table 3	A sample of LIP texts: sub-standard constructions relativizing obliques in formal
Table 5	
	and informal styles (Fiorentino 1999: 115)
Table 4	Sub-standard relative constructions in spoken Sicilian Italian: highly vs. poorly
	educated speakers (cf. Alfonzetti 2002: 42, 54, 63, 67)
Table 5	Language attitudes: sub-standard relative constructions rated as acceptable
	(cf. Aureli 2003: 54)
Table 6	La Repubblica Corpus (1999-2000): standard and supra-standard uses of the
	relative pronoun il quale
Chapter 5	
Table 1	A priori attitudinal dimensions, with evaluative statements and respective
	concept
Table 2	Eigenvalues and proportions of explained variation by the factors
Table 3	Factor loadings per variable per factor (variables with factor loadings between
	0.3 and 0.4 are deemed moderately high [light grey]; factor loadings higher than
	0.4 are considered high [dark grey])
Table 4	Speech status. Least squares means per regiolect for each generation "*" = sig-
	nificantly positive/negative (i.e. different from zero)
Table 5	Dimension Speaker Status: least squares means per regiolect for each genera-
Tuble 5	tion, "*" = significantly positive/negative (i.e. different from zero)
Table 6	Dimension Speaker Solidarity: least squares means per regiolect for each gene-
Table 0	ration, "*" = significantly positive/negative (i.e. different from zero)
Table 7	Dimension Speech Attractiveness: least squares means per regiolect for each
Table /	generation, "*" = significantly positive/negative (i.e. different from zero)
	generation, = Significantly positive/negative (i.e. different from zero)
Chantar 6	
Chapter 6 Table 1	Italian definite and indefinite articles
Table 2	Internal and external properties
Chantes 7	
Chapter 7	
Table 1	Principles of koineization
Table 2	Macro-sociolinguistic factors at work in koineization (Kerswill and Williams 2000:
	69-70)
Table 3	Resident population by linguistic group to Census population 1880–2011 (ASTAT ⁶
1	2014: 118).
Table 4	Percentage of Italian speakers in Bolzano (1971–2011)
Table 5	Population by region of origin – Census population (1951–1999)

Sample of the study in Meluzzi (2014)

Table 6

 Table 7
 Relations between PBA and social and phonetic factors

Table 8 Mean values and standard deviations of pre-voicing by PoA and Early linguistic

input

Chapter 8

Table 1 Verbal guise questions (translated into English).

Chapter 9

Table 1 List of PVCs in the old Sicilian Scripta

Table 2 The metaphorical meaning of PVCs in contemporary Sicilian

Table 3 PVCs more frequently used by informants

Chapter 11

Table 1 Exemplification of onomasiological lexical profile for the concept WATERMELON

from a fictional corpus of Italian

Table 2 Onomasiological lexical profiles and dates of first attestation of the Anglicisms in

Italian

Table 3 List of the Anglicisms grouped for their area of major diffusion

Chapter 12

Table 1 Distribution of the different languages among the Swiss population 15 years or

over from 1970 to 2010-2012

Table 2 Rates of main-language mono-plurilingualism of the total Swiss population The

figures and percentages refer to the respondents of the 2010–2012 surveys, who

indicated one, two or more main languages

Table 3 Rates of main-language mono-plurilingualism of the total Swiss population and

of the inhabitants of the four language regions (Pandolfi, Casoni and Bruno 2016)

Table 4 Classification of Helvetisms

Table 5 Endogenous and exogenous Swiss neologisms

Table 6 Ratio lexical word/running words (tokens)

Table 7 Percentage values of nouns and verbs (tokens) in LIP, LIPSI and C-Oral-Rom

Table 8 Absolute and percentage values of nouns and verbs (types) in LIP, LIPSI and

C-Oral-Rom

Table 9 Productivity index of suffixal derivates in LIP, LIPSI and C-Oral-Rom

Table 10 Main coordinative conjunctions in LIPSI, absolute values and percentage on total

number of conjunctions

Table 11 Marked (feminine) and unmarked (masculine) term in the Swiss corpus

Contents

Preface —— VII
Notes on Contributors —— IX
List of Figures —— XIII
List of Tables —— XV

Introduction

Massimo Cerruti, Claudia Crocco, Stefania Marzo

On the development of a new standard norm in Italian — 3

Part I: Restandardization tendencies

Gaetano Berruto

What is changing in Italian today? Phenomena of restandardization in syntax and morphology: an overview —— 31

Massimo Cerruti

Changes from below, changes from above: relative constructions in contemporary Italian —— 61

Claudia Crocco

Everyone has an accent. Standard Italian and regional pronunciation —— 89

Stefano De Pascale, Stefania Marzo, Dirk Speelman

Evaluating regional variation in Italian: towards a change in standard language ideology? —— 118

Part II: Regional standards

Riccardo Regis
How standard regional Italians set in: the case of standard
Piedmontese Italian —— 145

Alessandro Vietti

Italian in Bozen/Bolzano: the formation of a 'new dialect' ---- 176

Silvia Calamai

Tuscan between standard and vernacular: a sociophonetic perspective — 213

Luisa Amenta

Contact between Italian and dialect in Sicily: the case of phrasal verb constructions —— 242

Part III: Crossing the borders

Raffaella Bombi

Anglicisms in Italian. Typologies of language contact phenomena with particular reference to word-formation processes —— 269

Costanza Asnaghi

English loans in written Italian: a regional perspective --- 293

Elena Maria Pandolfi

Italian in Switzerland: the dynamics of pluricentrism ---- 321

Epilogue

Peter Auer

The neo-standard of Italy and elsewhere in Europe —— 365

Index --- 375

Introduction