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DIACHRONY AND DIALECTS

Grammatical Change in the Dialects of Italy

Edited by

PAOLA BENINCÀ, ADAM LEDGEWAY,
and NIGEL VINCENT

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Diachrony and Dialects

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‘promuovere l’esplorazione scientifica dei dialetti italiani ancora superstiti, sia col raccoglierne materiali genuini e nuovi, sia col dar mano ad illustrarli’

(Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, ‘Proemio’ all’*Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 1873)

‘in molti dialettofoni persiste ancora un sentimento di vergogna o imbarazzo, nonostante i tentativi da parte dei linguisti negli ultimi decenni di ribaltare questa valutazione’

(Mair Parry, *Parluma 'D Còiri* 2005)

For Mair, friend, colleague, and dialectologist *per eccellenza*, in recognition of her efforts to put dialects in their rightful place within the Italian and the general linguistic tradition

Series preface

Modern diachronic linguistics has important contacts with other subdisciplines, notably first-language acquisition, learnability theory, computational linguistics, sociolinguistics, and the traditional philological study of texts. It is now recognized in the wider field that diachronic linguistics can make a novel contribution to linguistic theory, to historical linguistics, and arguably to cognitive science more widely.

This series provides a forum for work in both diachronic and historical linguistics, including work on change in grammar, sound, and meaning within and across languages; synchronic studies of languages in the past; and descriptive histories of one or more languages. It is intended to reflect and encourage the links between these subjects and fields such as those mentioned above.

The goal of the series is to publish high-quality monographs and collections in diachronic linguistics generally—i.e. studies focusing on change in linguistic structure, and/or change in grammars—which are also intended to make a contribution to linguistic theory, by developing and adopting a current theoretical model, by raising wider questions concerning the nature of language change, or by developing theoretical connections with other areas of linguistics and cognitive science as listed above. There is no bias towards a particular language or language family, or towards a particular theoretical framework; work in all theoretical frameworks, and work based on the descriptive tradition of language typology, as well as quantitatively based work using theoretical ideas, also feature in the series.

Adam Ledgeway and Ian Roberts
University of Cambridge

Preface

For Mair Parry

The following introduction by Laura and Giulio Lepschy is opened by Laura, and followed up by Giulio.

My first encounter with Mair was at the end of the 1960s, when Christina Roaf asked me to replace her for a term at Somerville while she took a sabbatical. Mair had already got a first degree in French with accessory Italian (Honours Class I) at Aberystwyth and was now embarking on a second degree in Oxford, specializing in Italian, where her results were to be equally outstanding.

I was very glad to be returning to Somerville, which was my old college, and to be holding the kind of one-to-one tutorial which I had enjoyed with Christina Roaf. I went up every Thursday and had five students taking different topics. As I had majored in French, I was pleased that Mair and I had the same background, and also that she shared my interests in the overlap between linguistic and literary problems, which was one of the reasons why I had always enjoyed the *questione della lingua*, and I hoped that our tastes would also coincide here.

After the Oxford tutorials we kept in touch and several years later, when Mair was teaching in Aberystwyth, I was invited there, and at the same time to Bangor, as External Examiner in Italian. I was very happy to see Mair in her Welsh context and to get to know her family, her husband, David, and her two small children, Rhys and Catrin. Staying with them was extremely enjoyable and linguistically fascinating, with Welsh being normally used within the family. I was also very intrigued by Mair's interest in Piedmontese, a language which I had encountered as a child in Turin but never really learnt to speak.

My experience both in Aberystwyth and in Bangor, where I was looked after by Elizabeth Schächter, was very instructive, as I came to understand how Welsh could be respected as a first language, even when non-Welsh speakers were examiners. On one occasion for instance, a student had translated Italian into Welsh and this had to be further translated into English for me.

The friendship with Mair and her family was established; we saw each other regularly over the years and shared friends in the UK and in Italy. When Mair moved to Bristol University I felt there was another special link, as that was where my academic career had started. I had been Junior Fellow in Italian before the Italian Department existed, but when Mair joined the Department it was a thriving unit, which I enjoyed going to visit on the occasion of conferences etc., as I had spent a

happy two years there and was pleased to see how Italian had developed and how Mair had added to its distinction.

So, in Oxford, Aberystwyth, and Bristol we had plenty of experiences to share. And now over to Giulio.

It is a pleasure and an honour to take part in this celebration of Mair. I met her when I was teaching at Reading, in late 1968, and Laura introduced her to me as one of her best students. She took her place in that extraordinary group of British scholars who cultivated, in a way I found most congenial, an interest both in modern linguistic theory and in more traditional historical and philological studies, applied, in particular, to Italian and the Italian dialects.

It was satisfying to follow Mair's intellectual and academic progress, from her 1985 Ph.D to her research on the clitics and on negation, to her participation in the SAVI project with its theoretically innovative and stimulating implications. Her work had a formidable impact (to use a word which for a person of my age is still intellectually respectable), in terms both of hard scholarship (as in the 1997 Maiden and Parry *Dialects of Italy* volume) and of enthusiastic organization of the memorable Bristol Italian Dialectology meetings.

I should like to end on a personal note, which I have mentioned on other occasions (including in my preface of Mair's description of the dialect of Cairo Montenotte, *Parluma 'D Còiri*). In 1992 I gave a paper at a meeting in honour of Glanville Price, organized at Gregynog by Mair and other colleagues. On that occasion I was unwise enough to confess to a sense of unease at the thought of a great European novel written not in Italian by a native speaker of Milanese such as Manzoni, but directly in Milanese. I should have put my comment differently, and I remember that Mair asked me in a cordial (but sharp) tone whether I would have been equally uneasy if this great European novel had been written in Welsh. On the surface, it was easy to answer that my problem is that I do not know Welsh, while Mair does. But on a deeper level the question is more complicated, and I am still brooding over it. For which (as for many other things) I am grateful to Mair.

Laura and Giulio Lepschy

List of abbreviations

The *Opera del vocabolario italiano* (OVI) database contains details of most texts cited in this collection. It is available at: <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/ovi-bibliography>.

*	(i) ungrammatical form; (ii) unattested form
?	dubious form or usage
=	cliticized to
#	internal morphosyntactic boundary
√	root
1	(i) 1st person; (ii) subject relation
2	(i) 2nd person; (ii) object relation
3	(i) 3rd person; (ii) indirect object relation
I/II/III/IV	first/second/third/fourth conjugations
A	subject of a transitive clause
ABL	ablative
Abr.	Abruzzese
ACC/acc	accusative
Adv	adverb(ial)
agr	agreement features
Agr(S/O)(P)	(subject/object) agreement (phrase)
AIS	Karl Jaberg and Jacob Jud (1928–40), <i>Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz</i>
ALF	Jules Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont (1902–10), <i>Atlas linguistique de la France</i>
Alt.2	one subvariety of Altamurano (central Pugliese dialect of Altamura, upper southern Italy)
an.	animate
AO	province of Aosta/autonomous region of Valle d'Aosta
ARTESIA	<i>Archivio testuale del siciliano antico</i> , ed. Mario Pagano, <i>Opera del vocabolario italiano</i>
ASIt	<i>Atlante Sintattico d'Italia</i> (http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/)
Asp	Aspect (head position)
aux/Aux	auxiliary
BA	province of Bari
Bar.	Barese, dialect of central Apulia
BCC	Borer–Chomsky Conjecture
BG	province of Bergamo
BO	province of Bolzano
Bus.	Bussoleno (western Piedmontese dialect, province of Turin)
C	complementizer (position)
CA	province of Cagliari
Cal.	Calabrian

Cat.	Catalan
CB	province of Campobasso
CF	clause-final
CH	province of Chieti
<i>ChioseTes</i>	Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia</i> ; <i>Chiose</i>
Cho	chômeur
CI	clause-initial
CL	clitic
CL	province of Caltanissetta
CM	clause-medial
Cmb.	Colombian (Spanish)
Cmp.	Campidanese
Cms.	Comasco (western Lombard dialect, northern Italy)
CN	province of Cuneo
coll.	colloquial
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
conjug.	conjugation
Cos.	Cosentino (northern Calabrian dialect of Cosenza, extreme south of Italy)
CP	Complementizer phrase
Cpd.	Campidanese (dialects of southern Sardinian)
CR	province of Cremona
CS	province of Cosenza
Ctz.	Catanzarese (central Calabrian dialect of Catanzaro, extreme south of Italy)
DAT/dat	dative
<i>Dec.</i>	Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Decameron</i>
def.	definite
<i>DEI</i>	Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio (1951), <i>Dizionario etimologico italiano</i> (5 vols)
<i>DialSGreg</i>	Domenico Cavalca (?), <i>Dialogo de Sam Gregorio composito in vorgà</i>
DIM	diminutive
dir.	direct
DisjP	disjunction phrase
DO	direct object
D(P)	determiner (phrase)
E	auxiliary 'BE' (Latin ESSE)
EN	province of Enna
Eng.	English
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
ExistP	existential phrase
F	feminine
F	feature
FE	(i) province of Ferrara; Feature Economy
FHH	Functional Hierarchy Hypothesis

Fin(P)	finiteness (phrase)
Flo.	Florentine
Foc(P)	focus (phrase)
FP	functional projection
Fr.	French
FR	province of Frosinone
Frl.	Friulian (dialects spoken in northeast Italy)
FUT	future
G	gender (features)
GDFC	<i>Glossaire du parler français au Canada</i>
GE	province of Genoa
Gen.	Genoese
GER	gerund
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek
H	auxiliary 'HAVE' (Latin HABERE)
HAS	higher adverb space
HR	Croatia
IFoc(P)	informational focus (phrase)
IG	Input Generalization
IM	province of Imola
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
IMPRS	impersonal
IND	indicative
indef.	indefinite
indir.	indirect
INF	infinitive
<i>Inf.</i>	Dante Alighieri, <i>Inferno</i> , <i>Divina Commedia</i>
Infl	Inflection position (head of IP)
IP	inflection phrase
IS	province of Isernia
It.	Italian
LAS	lower adverb space
Lat.	Latin
LF	Logical Form
Lgd.	Lengadocien (Occitan dialects of Languedoc, southern France)
<i>LibrAmm</i>	<i>Libro d'amministrazione dell'eredità di Baldovino Iacopi Riccomanni</i>
<i>LibrCred</i>	<i>Libricciolo di crediti di Bene Bencivenni</i>
<i>LibroDare</i>	<i>Libro del dare e dell'avere di Noffo e Vese figli di Dego Genovesi</i>
Lig.	Ligurian
Lmb.	Lombard
loc	locative
Log.	Logudorese (dialects of northwest Sardinia)

M	masculine
Mac.	Maceratese (dialect of Marche, central Italy)
MI	province of Milan
mid.	middle
Mil.	Milanese
<i>Min. Fel.</i>	<i>Minucius Felix</i>
mod.	modern
mod. It.	modern Italian
MRK	marker
MS	province of Massa and Carrara
N	neuter
N	(i) noun; (ii) nominal head; (iii) number (features)
Nap.	Neapolitan
NEG	negator
NIDs	northern Italian dialects
NO	province of Novara
NOM	nominative
NU	province of Nuoro
Num	number
Nuo.	Nuorese (dialect of northeast Sardinia)
O	(i) old; (ii) object
OBJ	object
Occ.	Occitan
ocl/OCL	object clitic
OPT	optative
OR	province of Oristano
OT	province of Olbia-Tempio
OVI	<i>Opera del vocabolario italiano</i>
p	person
P	(i) predicate; (ii) parameter
PA	province of Palermo
Pad.	Paduan (Venetan dialect of Padua, northeast Italy)
<i>Par.</i>	Dante Alighieri, <i>Paradiso</i> , <i>Divina Commedia</i>
PASS	passive
<i>PassGen</i>	<i>La Passione</i>
Pav.	Pavese (southwestern Lombard dialect)
PC	province of Piacenza
PD	province of Padua
PE	primary (sub-)ending
PF	phonological form
Pie.	Piedmontese
PL	plural
PLD	primary linguistic data
P(P)	preposition(al phrase)

PR	province of Parma
PRET	preterite
PRF	perfect
pro	null pronominal argument
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PrW	prosodic word
PST	past
Pt.	Portuguese
PTP/PtP	participle
PV	province of Pavia
PZ	province of Potenza
RæR.	Ræto-Romance
RC	province of Reggio Calabria
refl./REFL	reflexive
reg.	regional
retr.	retroherent
REW	Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke (1935), <i>Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i>
RI	province of Rieti
Ro.	Romanian
RO	province of Rovigo
S	subject of an intransitive clause
Sal.	Salentino (dialect of southern Apulia)
SBJV	subjunctive
SCL/SCL	subject clitic
SE	secondary (sub-)ending
sg	singular
Sic.	Sicilian
SMT	Strong Minimalist Thesis
SO	province of Sondrio
Sp.	Spanish
spec.	specific
Spec	specifier position
Srd.	Sardinian
SS	province of Sassari
st.	standard
SUBJ	subject
SUPERL	superlative
SV	province of Savona
Swi.	Switzerland
t	trace (of moved element)
TA	province of Taranto
Tardif.	Tardif, Jules (1866). <i>Monuments historiques. Cartons des rois</i> . Paris: J. CRYCR.
Tesoro volg.	Giamboni, Bono, <i>Il tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni</i>

ThLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae, editus auctoritate et consilio academiarum quinque germanicarum: Berolinensis, Gottingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis, Lipsiae, in aedibus Teubneri, 1900–.</i>
TLIO	<i>Tesoro della lingua italiana delle origini, a cura dell'Opera del vocabolario italiano, sotto la direzione di Pietro Beltrami (www.ovi.cnr.it)</i>
TN	province of Trento
TO	province of Torin
TOP	topic (marker)
Top(P)	topic (phrase)
Tor.	Torinese
T(P)	tense (phrase)
Trad. Frising.	<i>Traditiones Frisingenses</i>
trans.	transitive
Trist. Ricc.	<i>Tristano Riccardiano</i>
Tsc.	Tuscan
TV	thematic vowel
UD	province of Udine
UG	Universal Grammar
unacc.	unaccusative
unerg.	unergative
v(P)	light verb (phrase)
V	(i) verb; (ii) vowel
Ven.	Venetan
VI	province of Vicenza
Vn	Dante Alighieri, <i>Vita nuova</i>
Vnz.	Venetian
VP	(lexical) verb phrase
VR	province of Verona
V2	verb second syntax
Zag.2	one subvariety of Zagarolese (Laziale dialect, province of Rome)

Notes on contributors

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