

PROGETTO PRIN 2017

Models of language variation and change: new evidence from language contact

Reports on major dialectal areas in Southern Italy

The “Gallo-Italic” enclaves

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0. In a nutshell

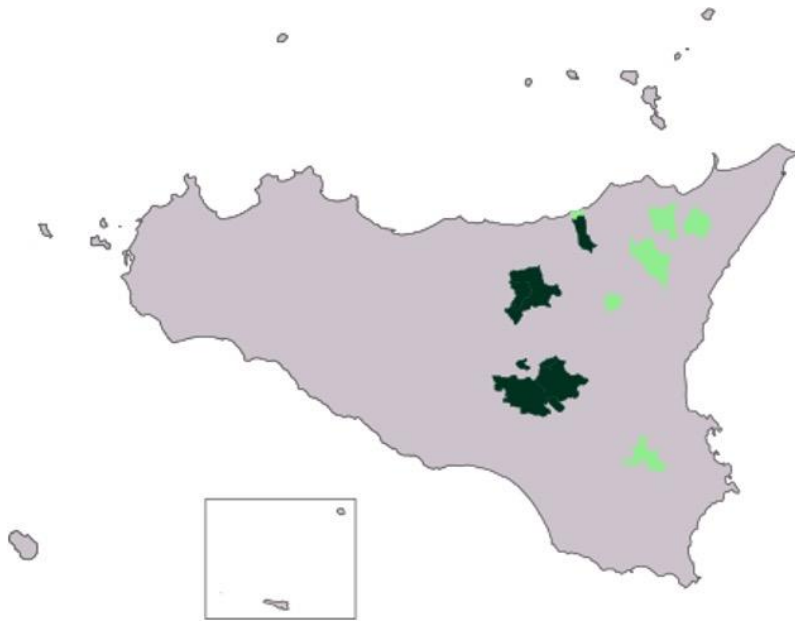
In Southern Italy, the so-called Gallo-Italic dialects are currently spoken in several areas mostly located in the administrative regions of Basilicata and Sicily. Their major peculiarity with respect to the other Romance dialects spoken in the same areas is a deep and widespread influence from dialects of Northern Italy at every level of linguistic analysis.

1. Areal distribution

1.1. Sicily

The currently active Gallo-Italic enclaves in Sicily, as shown in map 1, roughly correspond to the following villages, all located in the eastern areas of the island (Peri 1958, Rohlfs 1988, Trovato 1998):

- (1) a. Administrative area of Messina: San Fratello, San Piero Patti, Montalbano Elicona, Novara di Sicilia
- b. Administrative area of Catania: Randazzo.
- c. Administrative area of Siracusa: Ferla.
- d. Administrative area of Enna: Nicosia, Sperlinga, Piazza Armerina, Aidone.



Map 1: distribution of the Gallo-Italic enclaves in Sicily (Wikipedia).

Dark green: Gallo-Italic enclaves. Light green: Gallo-Italic traces.

Traces of Gallo-Italic dialects can also be found in the following centers (Peri 1958, Rohlfs 1988, Trovato 1998):

- (2)
 - a. Administrative area of Messina: Roccella Valdemone, S. Domenica Vittoria, Francavilla
 - b. Administrative area of Catania: Bronte, Maletto (on the north-western side of Etna), Caltagirone, Mirabella Imbaccari and, to a lesser extent, San Michele di Ganzaria (in the southern area of the province)
 - c. Administrative area of Siracusa: Buccheri, Cassaro
 - d. Administrative area of Enna: Valguarnera Caropepe
 - e. Administrative area of Palermo: Corleone (the westernmost village)

Finally, former Gallo-Italic enclaves have been identified in the following areas (Peri 1959, Trovato 1998):

- (3)
 - a. Santa Lucia del Mela, which at the time of Ruggero II (1101-1154) had from the so-called “Lombardia” (a label that, at that time, was used to refer to Northern Italy).
 - b. Capizzi, whose inhabitants rebelled against Federico II and most of them were

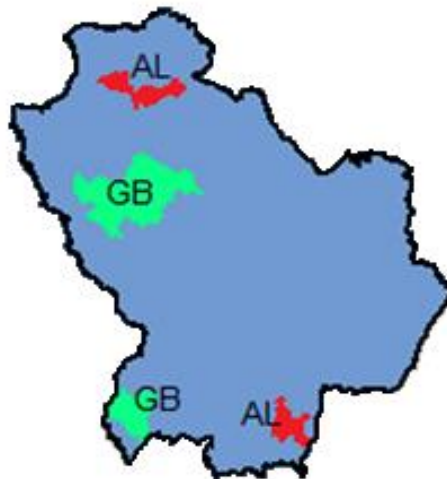
dispersed in Palermo.

- c. Maniace, currently in the administrative area of Catania, whose inhabitants have moved to Bronte, perhaps because of the earthquake of 1408 or because of malaria.
- d. Vaccaria, a small village located in the north-west area of Nicosia (Enna), whose inhabitants escaped to Nicosia after the war of Vespers (1282).
- e. Butera has probably lost his Gallo-Italic traces very soon. “Lombard” inhabitants were cast away by King Guglielmo I (better known as Guglielmo I *Il Malo* “The evil”), who repressed their rebellion in 1161 (Trovato 1998:543).

2.2. *Basilicata*

The Gallo-Italic enclaves currently found in the administrative region of Basilicata are entirely located in the so-called Lucania (the ancient name of the modern administrative region Basilicata) (Rohlf, 1931, 1972, Fanciullo 1988), and classified in the following subgroups, as shown in Map 2:

- (4) a. Potentino group (in the area of Potenza): Potenza, Picerno, Tito, Pignola, Vaglio, Pietragalla.
- b. Southern group, close to the Gulf of Policastro: Trecchina, San Costantino di Rivello and Ner



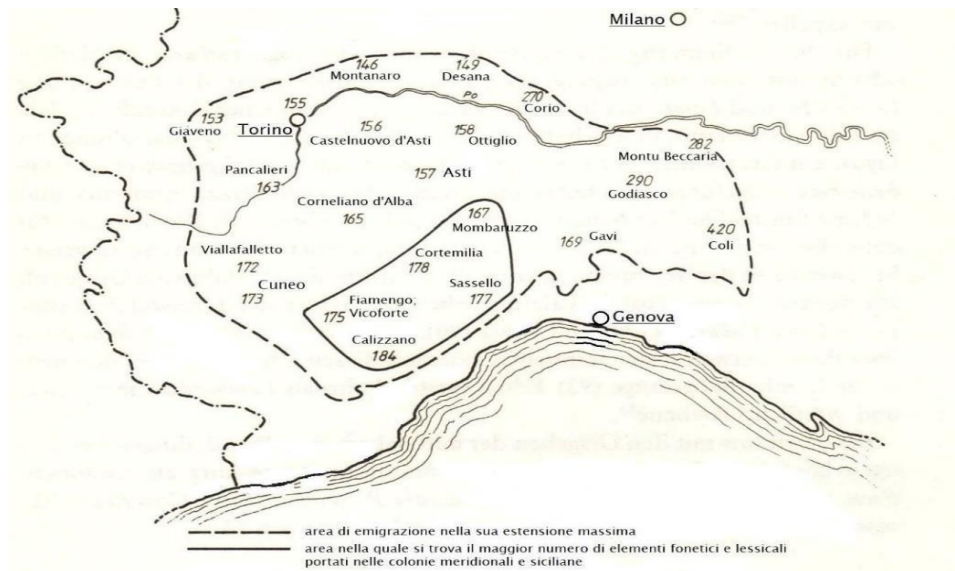
Map 2: distribution of the Gallo-Italic enclaves in Basilicata (light green; source: <https://www.talentilucani.it/dialetto-lucano-dellarea-appenninica/>).

Further linguistic traces of Gallo-Italic dialects can also be found in Avigliano, Ruoti and Trivigno, while in recent years new sites, such as Tortorella and Casaletto Spartano (Radtke 1997, Del Puente 2000), have been discovered in Campania, at the boundaries with the group in (4)

2. Historical and sociolinguistic profile

2.1. Area of origin

The detailed area of provenance of the northern immigrants who settled in Southern Italy and introduced the Gallo-Italic dialects in the area is not easy to ascertain. Currently, the most plausible hypothesis (Petracco Sicardi 1969, Pfister 1991) is that these immigrants came from a strip of land between Southern Piedmont and the Western mountains of Liguria, as shown in Map 3.



Map 3: Alleged area of origin (Pfister 1991: 100)

This hypothesis is based on the analysis of the following phonetic and morphological phenomena, which are shared by most of the Gallo-Italic dialects of Sicily and Basilicata and are jointly found only in a portion of north-western Italy:

- (5) Palatalization of clusters *pl-*, *bl-*, *fl-*. (Toso 2002). In Sicily, palatalization affects only *pl-* (attested in Liguria and not found in any other northern variety)
- a. Northern Italian (Liguria)
 - i. čana < PLANA ‘plain’
 - ii. ġanku < *BLANCUS ‘white’
 - iii. ʃau < FLATUS ‘breath’
 - b. Gallo-Italic (Lucania)
 - i. chjana < PLANA ‘plain’
 - ii. ġhjangu or jangu < *BLANCUS ‘white’
 - iii. híarë < FLATUS ‘breath’
 - c. Gallo-Italic (Sicily)
 - i. čanta < PLANTA ‘plant’
 - ii. čombu < PLUMBUM ‘plumb’
 - d. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. kjanə < PLANA ‘plain’
 - ii. jangə < *BLANCUS ‘white’
 - iii. jatə < FLATUS ‘breath’
- (6) Infinite ending *-é* < *-ARE* in (instead of *-a*) in Sicilia but not in Basilicata (Trovato 1998, Rohlfs 1966-69, Toso 2002)
- a. Northern dialects
 - i. purtè < PORTARE ‘to bring’
 - b. Gallo-Italic Sicily
 - i. kantè < CANTARE ‘sing’
 - ii. mandè < MANDARE ‘send’
 - c. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. purtà < PORTARE ‘to bring’
 - ii. kandà < CANTARE ‘to sing’
 - iii. mannà < MANDARE ‘to send’

2.2 History

2.2.1 Sicily

The Gallo-italic dialects spoken in Southern Italy are the heritage of migrations of people from

northern Italy that took place since the Norman Conquest of Sicily (1061 Messina, 1091 Butera, Noto and Malta, see Varvaro 1981). At that time, the new Norman masters of Southern Italy needed to fill many demographic gaps with new faith-proven people coming from their traditional feudal possessions in northern Italy. Moreover, the Arab community was not completely resigned to the new domination. In this turbulent situation, Normans needed a deeper control of their new conquests. So, they tried to organize new matrimonial and demographic policies with the aim of separating the north-western Arab community from the one living in the south-east. Therefore, the most powerful Norman family, Altavilla, got related to the Aleramico family from Monferrato (south-east Piemonte). A member of Aleramico family, Enrico, was assigned a large feud stretching from Paternò to Butera (Pfister 1991,1994). This new political and territorial organization set the scene for a more stable domination in the middle of Sicily (encompassing the modern provinces of Messina, Catania, Syracuse, Enna), which isolated Arabs living in south-eastern Sicily from those of western Sicily.

Initially, the Normans coming from beyond the Alps were not very numerous and, once the conquest was complete, they mostly occupied prestigious positions. However, there was a slower and more constant flow of people coming southwards over time (which probably lasted until the end of the Frederician age). For instance, several immigrants were merchants, who became so much so rich that managed to become even monopolists in some economic sectors (Varvaro 1981:194-195). In addition, northern immigration was also widespread among the lower classes, so much so that several northern lexical borrowings can be found in the lowest linguistic registers (see some voices in Varvaro 1981:200, such as *vucceri* 'butcher' or *curviseri* 'shoemaker') throughout Sicily.

2.2.2 *Basilicata*

Count Enrico's son, Roberto, was Count of Butera and Policastro. Therefore, as Pfister (1991) points out, it is plausible that, given the positive results of the anti-Arab migration policy in Sicily, the count could have adopted the same feudal and territorial strategy also in Basilicata.

The Gallo-Italic settlers might have arrived in Lucania not directly from Piedmont or Monferrato but from Sicily. This might be proved by the following linguistic elements:

- (7) (a) realization [rr] of the vibrant [r] word-initially (Del Puente 2019:77-79)
 - i. [rrotə] 'wheel'
 - ii. [rrossə] 'red'
 - iii. [rridə] 'laugh'

- (b) the cacuminal outcome, typical of Sicily, of the lateral geminate word-initially: LL-
 > [dd] > [dd] > [r]:
- i. [ddeɲ:ə] (vagl.) 'wood'
 - ii. [ddeɲ:ə] (tit.) 'wood'
 - iii. [reɲ:ə] (pic.) 'wood'.

However, it must be said that for the Potentino group we have no certain sources. Rohlf (1988) has hypothesized that Piedmontese immigrants tried to escape the Waldensian persecutions towards the more tolerant federician kingdom. Potenza itself has probably been founded on a more protected rock, compared to the Roman site. However, this hypothesis is not supported by any kind of direct source. Furthermore, there are no reports of northern migrations during the Frederician age. Varvaro (1984) proposes, therefore, to date the Gallo-Italic immigration of Potenza to the Angevin age, laying his hypothesis on two elements. First, in 1268 Angevins had to put down a Ghibelline rebellion by some feudal lords, who were still faithful to Normans. So, Angevins might have had the same need of faith-proven people like Normans had against Arabs in Sicily (see § 2.2). Moreover, a strong earthquake that struck Potenza in 1273 might have led Angevins to fill new demographic gaps for the sake of a more fruitful taxation.

2.3. *Sociolinguistic settings*

2.3.1. *Sicily*

In the administrative area of Messina, in villages such as San Fratello, San Piero Patti, Montalbano Elicona, the Gallo-Italic dialect shows an excellent vitality, thanks to a relative isolation and widespread endogamy. Novara di Sicilia is the less conservative one. (Trovato 1998).

According to Peri 1959 (cited in Trovato 1998:539), the foundation of a new church (like the one for San Bartolomeo in Piazza Armerina), is a clear evidence of huge migratory movements. In Piazza Armerina and Aidone, two of the most ancient Gallo-Italic colonies, the Gallo-Italic dialect today is becoming increasingly Sicilian-like, whereas greater vitality is preserved in Sperlinga and Nicosia, which were founded later than Piazza and Aidone. The Norman conquest and the following immigration determined a polarity between newcomers, established in the district of Santa Maria, and natives, gathered around the church of San Nicolò. Caltagirone, considered a Genoese colony after the Norman conquest, is contiguous to Piazza Armerina and, because of its position as a link between Occitan and Oriental Sicily, it preserves today only few traces of Gallo-Italic.

2.3.2 *Basilicata*

Even though they are still currently spoken in Trecchina, Picerno, Vaglio and Tito, the Gallo-Italic dialects of Lucania seem to show a less flourishing vitality compared to their Sicilian counterparts. Potenza, Basilicata's most important city, has experienced great social mobility and its dialect is getting increasingly similar to the surrounding non-Gallo-Italic dialects. Moreover, compared to Gallo-Italic speakers of Sicily, Lucanian speakers have always been much less aware of their linguistic "diversity", which had gone unnoticed even to scholars until the 1930s, when Rohlfs recognized their systematic similarity with *ligure* and *piedmontese* dialects.

3. Linguistic peculiarities

3.1 *Shared northern characteristics*

Most of the peculiarities shared by the Gallo-Italic dialects of Southern Italy, as opposed to the other Romance dialects of the area, are observable at the level of phonetics.

As far as consonants are concerned, the following phenomena have been listed in the literature (Rohlfs 1988:19, Rohlfs 1966, §§ 197-208):

(8) Voicing of the unvoiced intervocalic occlusives -P-, -T-, -C- > /v, d, g/

- a. Northern Italian
 - i. kavɛii < CAPILLOS 'hair'
 - ii. kadena < CATENA 'chain'
 - iii. foegu < FOCUS 'fire'
- b. Gallo-Italic (Lucania)
 - i. kavélli < CAPILLOS 'hair'
 - ii. kadéna < CATENA 'chain'
 - iii. fuogu < FOCUS 'fire'
- c. Gallo-Italic (Sicily)
 - i. savar < SAPERE 'to know'
 - ii. saludè < SALUTARE 'to greet'
 - iii. fuogö < FOCUS 'fire'

d. Romance of Southern Italy

- | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|
| i. kapillə | < CAPILLOS | ‘hair’ |
| sapé | < SAPERE | ‘to know’ |
| ii. katenə | < CATENA | ‘chain’ |
| salutà | < SALUTARE | ‘to greet’ |
| iii. fuokə | < FOCUS | ‘fire’ |

(9) Outcomes of lateral consonant L-.

In the dialects of northern Italy, the lateral consonant L was presumably realized as geminated, both word-initially [ll-] and word-internally [-ll-] (Fanciullo 1988: 674-675). The same outcome is observed in several Gallo-Italic dialects of Southern Italy, where [ll] is maintained in more conservative areas; in other areas, it has become [dd] as a consequence of contact with the non-Gallo-Italic dialects of Sicily. Yet, in currently spoken northern dialects, the pronunciation [ll] has disappeared (presumably already in the seventeenth century). As for Gallo-romance languages in general, traces of such a gemination remain in Catalonia, at least in the written form: e.g. *llana* < LANA *llagrima* < LACRIMA, *lluna* < LUNA, *llop* < LŪPUS as shown in Rohlf (1972: 207, fn 6).

a. Gallo-Italic Lucania

- | | | |
|----------------|----------|-------------------|
| i. [dana] | < LANA | ‘wool’ |
| ii. [dupu] | < LŪPUS | ‘wolf’ |
| iii. [ddjettu] | < LECTUM | ‘bed’ (Trecchina) |
| iv. [ddimitu] | < LIMITE | ‘border’ |

b. Gallo-Italic Sicilia

- | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------|
| i. [dduna] | < LUNA | ‘moon’ |
| ii. [ddaver] | < LAVARE | ‘to wash’ |
| iii. [dait] | < LACTEM | ‘milk’ |

c. Romance of Southern Italy

- | | | |
|-------------|----------|-----------|
| i. lanə | < LANA | ‘wool’ |
| lunə | < LUNA | ‘moon’ |
| ii. lupə | < LŪPUS | ‘wolf’ |
| lavà | < LAVARE | ‘to wash’ |
| iii. liettə | < LECTUM | ‘bed’ |
| lattə | < LACTEM | ‘milk’ |

(10) Rotacization of -L- > [r]).

This phenomenon had not appeared yet in Northern Italy in the 12th century, but it had become widespread by the end of the 13th century. This might explain why this rotacization is not generalized to all Gallo-Italic dialects. Therefore, some scholars such as Petracco Sicardi (1965), Pfister (1994) and Trovato (1998), suggest that dialects that are not interested by rotacization had been founded allegedly before the 12th century, whereas Gallo-Italic colonies having rotacization are a little bit more recent. In Gallo-Italic of Lucania this phenomenon is completely absent (Trovato 1998:550):

- a. Gallo-Italic Lucania
 - i. kulorə < COLORE ‘colour’
 - ii. mulinə < MOLINU ‘mill’
- b. Gallo-Italic Sicilia
 - i. kururu < COLORE ‘colour’
 - ii. murinu < MOLINU ‘mill’
 - iii. skara < SCALA ‘ladder’

(11) In Southern Italy (except from Puglia) Latin DJ, G^{e/i} > /j/. In Gallo-Italic, instead, we have /ǧ/ in Lucania and /ʒ/ (Sicily):

- a. Northern dialects (Piemont., cfr. Rohlfs 1988:24)
 - i. ǧaner < GENERUM ‘son-in-law’
 - ii. ǧənəǧju < GENUCULUM ‘knee’
- b. Gallo-Italic Lucania
 - i. ǧənərə < GENERUM ‘son-in-law’
 - ii. friǧə < FRIGERE ‘to fry’
- c. Gallo-Italic Sicilia
 - i. ʒʒənərə < GENERUM ‘son-in-law’
 - ii. friʒʒərə < FRIGERE ‘to fry’
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. jiennərə < GENERUM ‘son-in-law’
 - ii. frijə < FRIGERE ‘to fry’

(12) Voicing of the geminate unvoiced palatal occlusives [cc] (< CL) in [jj]

- a. genovese
 - i. ureghja < AURIC(U)LA ‘ear’
 - ii. agughja < *ACUC(U)LA ‘needle’
- b. Gallo-italic Lucania
 - i. re[jj]a < AURIC(U)LA ‘ear’
 - ii. ao[jj]ə < *ACUC(U)LA ‘needle’
- c. Gallo-italic Sicilia
 - i. aurejja < AURIC(U)LA ‘ear’
 - ii. aujja < *ACUC(U)LA ‘needle’
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. re[cc]ə < AURIC(U)LA ‘ear’
 - ii. fənu[cc]ə < FOENICULUM ‘fennel’

(13) Fall of intervocalic [n] in final syllable.

In Sicily this is a more widespread feature, while in Lucania it occurs sistematically only in Tito (cf. lmb [mã], ant. gen. [te] 'keep', [me] 'less'):

- a. Northern dialects
 - i. mã < MANUS ‘hand’
 - ii. pã < PANEM ‘bread’
- b. Gallo-italic Lucania
 - i. ma < MANUS ‘hand’
 - ii. pa < PANEM ‘bread’
 - iii. savò < SAPONEM ‘soap’
- c. Gallo-Italic Sicilia
 - i. kka < CANEM ‘dog’
 - ii. vi < VINUM ‘wine’
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. manə < MANUS ‘hand’
 - ii. panə < PANEM ‘bread’
 - iii. saponə < SAPONEM ‘soap’
 - iv. vinə < VINUM ‘wine’

As for stressed vowels, in the literature the following phenomena are discussed (Rohlf's 1988, Rohlf's 1972, Trovato 1998):

(14) Non-metaphonetic diphthongization of Ē, Ō.

In Gallo-Italic of Lucania, this is found only in open syllable and before a palatal, while in Sicily is found in both open and checked syllable and before a palatal.

a. Northern dialects (Rohlf's 1966, §§ 90-91 and 111-112)

- i. tiefe < TEXĒRE 'to weave'
- ii. vōja < *VOLEA 'will'

b. Gallo-Italic Lucania

- i. tjeffə < TEXĒRE 'to weave'
- ii. vuollə < *VOLEO 'I want'
- iii. suorə < SOROR 'sister'

c. Gallo-Italic Sicilia

- i. tieɲə < TENEO 'I hold'
- ii. rruosa < RŌSA 'rosa'
- iii. tierra < TĒRRA 'land'

d. Romance of Southern Italy

- i. tessə < TENEO 'I hold'
- ii. rosə < ROSA 'rose'
- iii. terrə < TERRA 'land'

As for 14a, Rohlf's 1966, §§ 92-96, noted that nowadays the non-metaphonetic diphthongization in non-palatal contexts has become opaque, since further developments have occurred later.

(15) Metaphony is absent in the Potentino group (4)a., at least as far as Ē, Ō are concerned, as shown in (a) - (c). In the Policastro group, metaphony of Ē, Ō is only triggered by -I (not by -U), as shown in (d). This latter phenomenon is also present in cuneese, as shown in e. (Rohlf's 1972: 208).

- a. Picerno (often in checked syllable)
- | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|
| i. mmernə | < HIBERNU(M) | ‘winter’ |
| ii. sevə | < SĒBU(M) | ‘dirt’ |
| iii. sɔnnə | < SOMNIU(M) | ‘dream’ |
| iv. mɔnnə | < MUNDU(M) | ‘world’ |
| ii. fʃorə | < FLORE(M) | ‘flower/s’ |
- b. Trecchina
- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| i. strettu ~ stritti | < STRICTU(M) ~ STRICTI | ‘narrow.SG ~ narrow.PL’ |
| ii. apertu ~ apjerti | < APERTU(M) ~ APERTI | ‘open.SG ~ open.PL’ |
| iii. mortu ~ muorti | < MORTU(UM) ~ *MORTI | ‘dead.SG ~ dead.PL’ |
| iv. solu ~ suli | < SOLU(M) ~ SOLI | ‘alone.SG ~ alone.PL’ |
- c. Cuneese
- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| i. grɔs ~ gros | < GROSSU(M) ~ *GROSSI | ‘big.SING ~ big.PLUR’ |
| ii. ɔs ~ os | < OSSU(M) ~ *OSSI | ‘bone ~ bones’ |
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
- | | | |
|--------------------|------------|----------|
| i. vjernə, mmjernə | < HIBĒRNUM | ‘winter’ |
| ii. sivə | < SĒBUM | ‘dirt’ |
| iii. apjertə | < APERTUM | ‘open’ |
| iv. gruossə | < GROSSUM | ‘big’ |
| v. sulə | < SŌLUM | ‘alone’ |
| vi. suonə | < SOMNIUM | ‘dream’ |

As far as morphophonological phenomena are concerned, the most frequently mentioned in the literature (Rohlf's 1931, 1941, 1966-69) is the apocope of the final syllable in the past participle, shown in (16):

- (16) a. Northern Dialects (Rohlf's 1941, 1966-69, § 620-622)
- i. kantà < CANTATUM 'sung'
 - ii. vendüu < *VENDUTUM 'sold'
- b. Gallo-Italic Lucania
- i. truvà < CANTATUM 'found'
 - ii. vestù < VESTITUM 'dressed'
- c. Gallo-Italic Sicily¹
- i. kantà < CANTATUM 'sung'
 - ii. dōrmù < DORMITUM 'slept'
 - ii. savù < *SAPUTUM 'known'
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
- i. kandatə < CANTATUM 'sung'
 - ii. durmutə < DORMITUM 'slept'
 - iii. vəstutə < VESTITUM 'dressed'

As far as the lexicon is concerned, the presence of lexical items which are identical to Northern Italian dialects while absent in the other Southern dialects has been signaled (Rohlf's 1931, 1941, 1966). Some examples are provided in (17).

- (17) a. Northern Dialects
- i. agugia 'needle'
 - ii. cūna 'cradle'
 - iii. bagiu 'toad'
 - iv. chintana 'narrow alley'
 - v. garbu 'tree hole'
- b. Gallo-italic Lucania
- i. aojjə 'needle'
 - ii. kuna 'cradle'
 - iii. bagghjə 'toad'
 - iv. kintana (an avenue in Potenza)
 - v. garəvu 'tree hole'

¹ In Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily, apocope is found in past participle having adjectival functions. For past participle with verbal functions we have slightly different forms (see Trovato 1998:551-552)

- c. Gallo-Italic Sicilia
 - i. aujja ‘needle’
 - ii. cuna ‘cradle’
 - iii. bagghju ‘toad’
 - iv. /
 - v. garbudu ‘tree hole’
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. akə ‘needle’
 - ii. nakə ‘cradle’
 - iii. ruospə ‘toad’

A phenomenon at the border between lexicon and morphology is the realization of nouns such as “apple”, “gall” or “salt” in the feminine gender rather than in the masculine (Rohlf 1931, 1941), as shown in (18).

- (18) a. Northern dialects
- i. la amel ‘honey’
 - ii. la fε ‘gall’
 - iii. la sal ‘salt’
- b. Gallo-italic Lucania
- i. a melə ‘honey’
 - ii. a felə ‘gall’
 - iii. a salə ‘salt’
- c. Gallo-italic Sicilia
- i. la mieu ‘honey’
 - ii. la fieu ‘gall’
 - iii. la seu ‘salt’
- d. Romance of Southern Italy
- i. u melə ‘honey’
 - ii. u felə ‘gall’
 - iii. u salə ‘salt’

Concerning morphosyntax, two major phenomena have been noted in the literature:

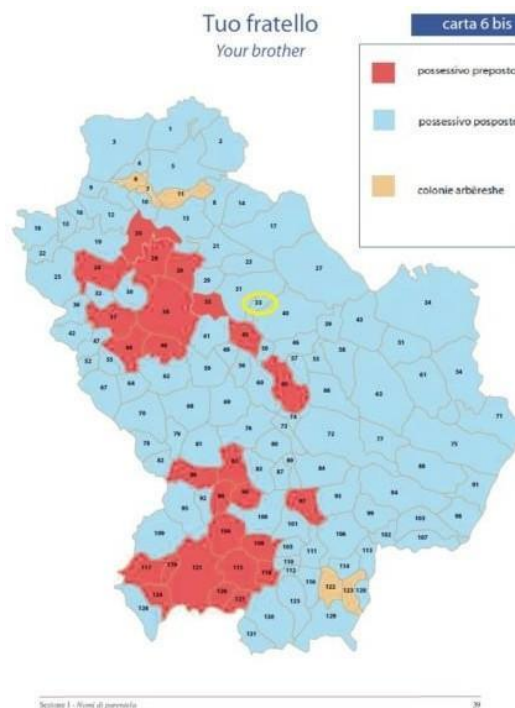
- (19) the adoption, in the 1st and 2nd singular forms of personal pronouns, of the continuation of dative MIHI > *mi*, TIBI > *ti*, which replace the Latin accusative form ME and TE (Rohlf 1968, § 442, Rohlf 1972:210)
- a. [ku 't:i] 'with you' (Italian 'con *te*')
 - b. [a 'm:i] 'to me' (Italian 'a *me*')
 - (20) the realization of adnominal genitives of the pronoun (possessives) as undeclined clitic forms, widespread in other parts of Southern Italy (Rohlf 1988:29-30, cf. also Guardiano et al. 2016, Guardiano et al 2018).
- a. Northern dialects
 - i. to fradel 'your brother'
 - ii. to surela 'your sister'
 - iii. me küñà 'my brother-in-law'
 - b. Gallo-Italic Basilicata
 - i. ta fra 'your brother'
 - ii. ta suorə 'your sister'
 - iii. mi nuora 'my daughter-in-law'
 - c. Gallo-Italic Sicilia
 - i. to fradi 'your brother'
 - ii. to suoru 'your sister'
 - iii. so patri 'his father'
 - d. Romance of Southern Italy
 - i. fratəmə 'my brother'
 - ii. sɔrəmə 'my sister'
 - iii. attanəmə 'my father'

3.2. *Gallo-Italic or Sicilian? The case of Grumento Nova*

Many of the elements we have mentioned in the previous chapters can be found also in other non-Gallo-Italic villages (such as Grumento Nova, in Basilicata, see Del Puente 2017) not very far from the Gallo-Italic area. This would suggest that the Gallo-Italic enclave might have been broader in the past. It is therefore reasonable that our current knowledge of the Gallo-italic dialects in southern Italy is still quite partial, and that the areas where Gallo-italic dialects are well-

documented are just ‘the tip of the iceberg’ («la punta emersa dell’iceberg», Fanciullo 1988:685) of a much higher amount of allegedly Gallo-Italic dialects which have not been yet discovered. As a matter of fact, many elements that might point to a Gallo-Italic origin need a more in-depth analysis and can show that things are sometimes more complex. Let us see some of these elements that have been analyzed in Del Puente (2017:64-65, see also Map 3):

- (21) a. Proclisis of the possessive with kinship nouns (only singular forms!):
- i. mu 'swogrə "my father-in-law",
 - ii. mu 'fiλλə "my son",
 - iii. mu ma'ritə "my husband",
 - iv. ta kuntsə'prinə "your cousin"
- b. Tonic pronouns *mi/ti* < AD MIHI deriving from dative instead of the latin accusative forms ME/TE
- c. Some allegedly Gallo-Italic lexical borrowings:
- i. 'rən:ə "mother-in-law",
 - ii. yu'λ:arə "cattle prod",
 - iii. sirə 'father'.



Map 3: distribution of clitic possessives in Basilicata

These scattered pieces of evidence might suggest that Grumento Nova has undergone a deep Gallo-Italic influence. Therefore, one might be led to consider this village as a former Gallo-Italic dialect, which has been unnoticed until now (just like other recently discovered Gallo-Italic villages such as Casaletto Spartano and Tortorella, see Radtke 1997 and Del Puente 2000). Yet, according to Loporcaro (2008), even in this area, the pronominal form derived from Latin dative is found besides to the one evolved from the accusative. Therefore, Del Puente (2017) proposes to follow another path of reconstruction: the “Sicilian” hypothesis. In fact, an alleged Sicilian origin of this dialect is grounded on some important elements, such as the anteposition of possessives, that is widespread in Sicilian. Moreover, it is possible that forms like *mi/ti* do not derive from dative MIHI and TIBI. More convincingly, these forms could have arisen through trivial phonetic evolution from accusative MĒ and TĒ, since in the Sicilian vowel system $\bar{E} > i$. Finally, the Sicilian vowel system is found in the nearby Viggiano, in Southern Cilento (see Del Puente 2009) and Vallo di Diano (Teggiano), where it could have arrived as a consequence of Sicilian migrations dating back to the Arabs’ conquest of the island (IX century).

4. Nominal syntax: *desiderata* and possible survey points

A preliminary survey of the structure of the nominal domain in a Gallo-italic variety of Sicily was provided in some works concerning the Parametric Comparison Method (Guardiano 2014, Guardiano et al. 2016, Guardiano et al. 2018). In these works, the dialect of Aidone (CL) was compared to other non-Gallo-italic varieties of Sicily and of Southern Italy more generally. No sharp differences with respect to these varieties have been so far detected in this domain. However, many aspects of microvariation are still to be clarified. Here, we provide a preliminary overview.

One major aspect concerns the syntax of possessive items and their relation to adjectives, articles and kinship nouns (or nouns with “special” syntax, such as *casa*²).

The dialect of Aidone displays clitic uninflected possessives which co-occur with articles and are usually found immediately to the right of the article itself and before numerals. A position that, with few exceptions, is not accessible to adjectives. Therefore, these possessives cannot be associated to any sort of adjectival distribution. Forms with similar properties have been found in several other dialects of Sicily (such as Ragusa, San Filippo del Mela and Mussomeli), and have been tentatively labeled “Wackernagel possessives”, due to their link to second position (Guardiano et al. 2018: 120):

² For a more extensive analysis of these phenomena, see Longobardi (1994, 1996).

- (22) i. i/sti mo tri libbra
 the.PL/this.PL my three book.PL
 ii. * i/sti tri mo libbra
 the.PL/this.PL three my book.PL
 ‘the/these three books of mine’

In some of the aforementioned dialects of Sicily (e.g. Ragusa) a further series of adnominal possessives is attested (even though these items are much less frequent than Wackernagel ones): these items are fully inflected for gender and number and are systematically found postnominally, the typical position where most adjectival modifiers usually surface: thus, this second type of possessives share with adnominal adjectives both their morphological properties and their distribution. Henceforth, they have been labeled “adjectival” possessives (Guardiano et al. 2018: 117):

- (23) i. a makina mia
 the.F.SG car.F.SG my.F.SG
 ‘my car’
 (24) i makini mjei
 the.PL car.PL my.PL
 ‘my cars’

Notice that, unlike Italian, in these dialects, postnominal possessives are not necessarily contrastive. Henceforth, more detailed inspection is required in order to ascertain their actual distribution and to explore potential peculiarities of the Gallo-italic varieties in this domain (if any).

Some preliminary investigation of these properties in various dialects of Sicily (and actually in other dialects belonging to the extreme southern group) suggests that there is some variation in the morphosyntactic properties displayed by these two major classes of possessives. A further aspect strictly connected with the syntax of possessives is their relationship of possessives with kinship nouns, that is relevant in at least two respects:

- (25) a. position of clitic possessives with respect to the head noun
 b. co-occurrence between possessives and definite articles

The two aspects are intimately connected to one another. Concerning (25)b, two major aspects require further investigation (a) the possibility for kinship nouns to co-occur with both definite articles and possessives (e.g. Ragusa vs. Italian); (b) the possibility for kinship nouns to be

replaced by a definite article only, that in the appropriate contexts has the meaning of a possessive (e.g. Italian *la madre*, lit. ‘the mother’ meaning his/her mother); languages where the latter construction is available display a further internal difference, concerning the person interpretation of the “possessive article” (i.e. 3rd person only, as in Italian, or 1st/2nd and 3rd person as in several Northern dialects of Italy). A preliminary survey concerning these phenomena (Guardiano et al 2016) has shown that their distribution in Southern Italy is quite irregular. Further investigation will be aimed at a more detailed mapping of these phenomena and their interaction.

In order to do so, the following steps have been envisaged:

- (26) a. data collection in non-Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily (Trapani, Agrigento, San Filippo del Mela), Southern Calabria (San Luca), Salento (Cellino San Marco)
- b. data collection in other Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily (at least one more, besides Aidone, e.g. Sperlinga which, being a smaller and more secluded centre than the neighbouring ones, could show more conservative elements; as far as the province of Messina is concerned, a good vitality of Gallo-Italic can be found in San Fratello) and Basilicata (on the Lucanian side, conditions seem to be apparently more difficult: the Gallo-Italic dialect in the area of Policastro is becoming increasingly less common among young speakers, and the same holds for the Gallo-Italic group from Potenza; however, the Picerno variety seems to be productive enough to call for an attempt).
- c. formulation of a detailed questionnaire concerning the major aspects of microvariation in this area (a questionnaire concerning the distribution of bare nouns is in progress, and we plan to formulate at least three additional ones, concerning the syntax of possessives and genitives, the distribution of proper names and their realization with visible articles, and the syntax of demonstratives and adjectives).

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