The Phonological System of a Southern Italian Dialect (Grottaminarda)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to examine and describe the phonology of the dialect of Grottaminarda[1]. Special attention will be given to the interplay between the mid-orders of the vocalic system and the nominal morphology.

The investigation will be conducted on both diachronic and synchronic axes, and an attempt will be made to present the phonemic inventory in generative terms.

1.2 The Dialect

The dialect of the village of Grottaminarda is known locally as 'Rutés' (<grotténse<(lĭngua)cryptēnse). Situated in South-Central Italy, in the Province of Avellino in Campania, the village is on the main highway route from Naples to Bari (in Puglia) - a route which is now part of the national 'autostrada' network - and is 36 kilometres East of Avellino. A settlement of over seven thousand people (1971 census figures), it is nestled on the slopes of the Úfita River valley at an altitude of approximately 400 metres above sea level on the Western side of the Apennines. The area is lightly populated and being of rather rugged terrain, presents few expanses of arable land. Prior to completion of the 'autostrada' some 10 years ago, the villagers seemed primarily to have been occupied in little better than

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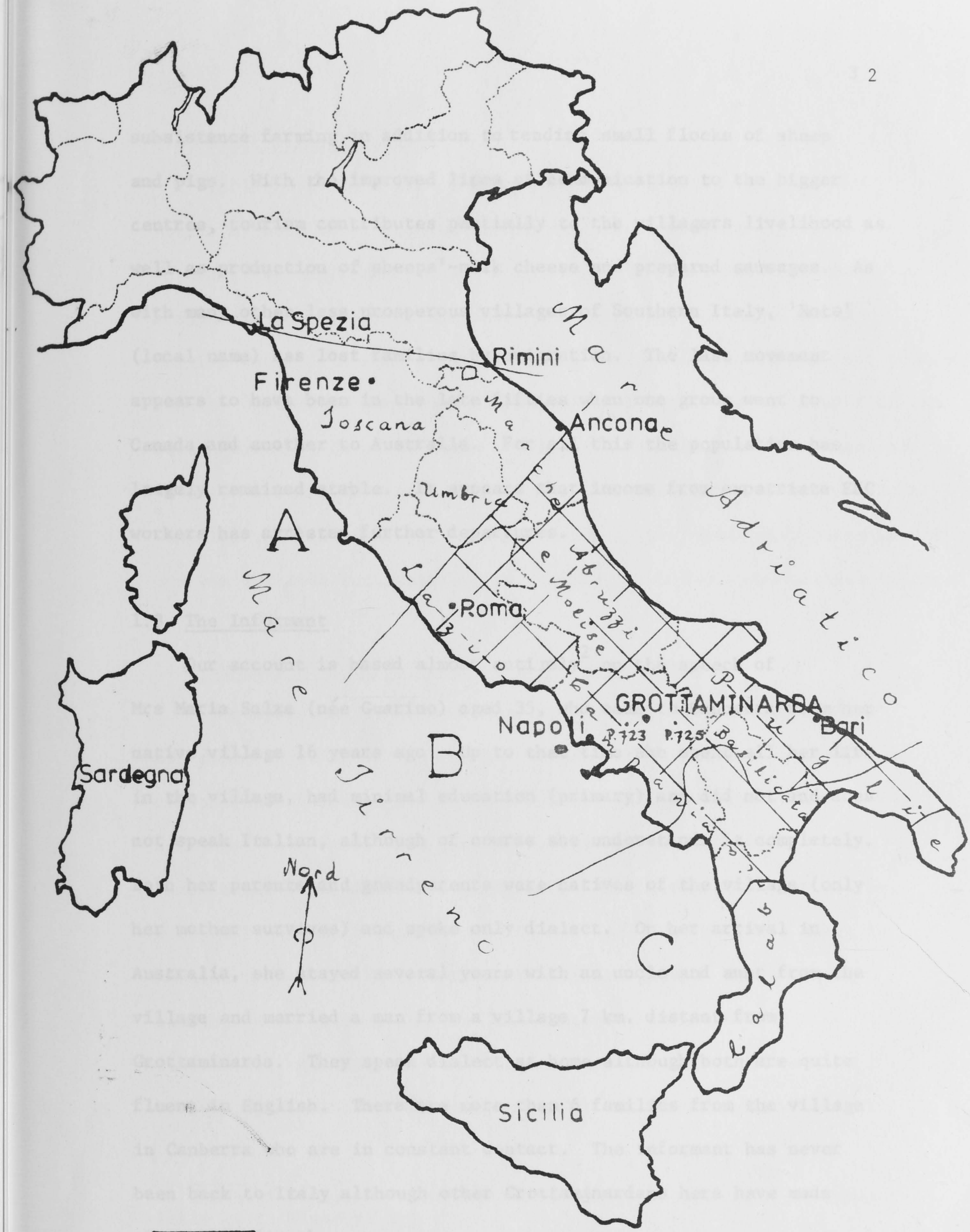
1. Reference will also be made from time to time to data recorded in the AIS (see bibliography) from the two closest villages to Grotta, p. 723, Montefusco, 13 km. west and p. 725, Trevico, 22 km. east. (See Maps 1 and 2). Data will also be presented from Napoletano, most of which was obtained from Mrs. Rosa Maria Rossi.



Neap. Vocalism

Umlaut Zone

Map 1. Dialectal Zones of Italy

subsistence farming in addition to tending small flocks of sheep and pigs. With the improved lines of communication to the bigger centres, tourism contributes partially to the villagers livelihood as well as production of sheeps'-milk cheese and prepared sausages. As with many other less prosperous villages of Southern Italy, 'Rotə' (local name) has lost families by emigration. The last movement appears to have been in the late fifties when one group went to Canada and another to Australia. For all this the population has largely remained stable. It appears that income from expatriate EEC workers has arrested further departures.

1.3 The Informant

Our account is based almost entirely[2] on the speech of Mrs Maria Salza (née Guarino) aged 35, who came to Canberra from her native village 16 years ago. Up to that time she spent all her life in the village, had minimal education (primary) and did not and does not speak Italian, although of course she understands it completely. Both her parents and grandparents were natives of the village (only her mother survives) and spoke only dialect. On her arrival in Australia, she stayed several years with an uncle and aunt from the village and married a man from a village 7 km. distant from Grottaminarda. They speak dialect at home although both are quite fluent in English. There are more than 6 families from the village in Canberra who are in constant contact. The informant has never been back to Italy although other Grottaminardans here have made several visits there.

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2. We have also used data collected at Edmonton, Alberta in 1971 during interviews with Pina Clericuzio who at that time was 23 years old and had been in Canada for 12 years. They spoke only dialect at home. We taped several of these sessions.

1.4 Elicitation Procedure

Latin word lists were compiled containing words with all the possible Latin vowel phonemes (long and short, free and checked, stressed and unstressed). The cognate Italian reflexes were then sought and the informant was asked the Rutés equivalent of these Italian words. In some cases the Rutés and Italian words were not cognate and the Proto-form (and thus proto-phonemes) was re-constructed from the modern reflex. In other cases the Italian word had no direct equivalent in Rutes and the informant asked for the English gloss - from which she supplied the dialect form, if one existed. The consonant phoneme inventory was obtained incidentally, as it were, from the vowel-oriented lists.

1.5 Italian Dialects : Place of Rutés within them

Dante was the first to recognise distinctions between the regional varieties of the Italian vernacular sufficient to divide the country into fourteen dialectal regions. In more recent times, scholars[3] have drawn more general boundaries and the majority make three major divisions although there is some disagreement as to the membership within these groups. In all accounts, however, there is mention made of a distinct Northern Italian group. Other common headings are Southern, Central and Tuscan. Further evidence to support the separation of the Northern dialects from the rest is offered by Walther von Wartburg's (1967) 'La Spezia-Rimini'

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3. Authors consulted were: Bertoni passim; Grandgent pp. 6-7; Meyer-Lübke p. 12; Wiese p. 148.

hypothesis[4]. The remainder of peninsular Italy may be divided into the Tuscan dialect region, characterised by extreme conservatism, especially in the consonantism, with paradigmatic[5] diphthongisation of the free stressed lower mid vowels (see below), and the Central and Southern groups. The latter heading, designated Area C on Map 1, oversimplifies the picture somewhat for expositional purposes[6] as further elaboration would be beyond the scope of this paper. Our interest lies in the group we have called Central and identified on Map 1 as Area B - it coincides basically with Lausberg's Neapolitan type, - wherein Rutés falls. We classify dialects as Central when they satisfy two basic conditions, concerned with the reflexes of Latin vowels:-

i) a 4 degree stressed vowel paradigm

ii) the raising of higher-mid and diphthongising of lower-mid stressed vowels under conditions to be explicated below[7].

1) i.e.,

i		u	high
↖ e		o ↗	higher-mid
← ɛ		ɔ →	lower-mid
	a		low

---

4. The Northern or so-called Gallo-Italian dialects typically retain final -s of Latin Accusative Plural as plural marker for nouns, and voiceless intervocalic stops undergo lenition. Together with French, Spanish, Provençal, Portuguese, Catalan and Rheto-Romance they form Western Romance. South of this line fall the tongues he calls Eastern Romance.

5. Often called unconditioned (see Meyer-Lübke).

6. An exhaustive treatment of the Southern dialects is to be found by consulting the works of Lausberg and Rensch (see biblio.)

7. Some dialects show a conditioned change in the low vowel also - see Rohlfs, I. p. 16.

'Raddoppiamento' zone (Rohlfs)

mb>mm; nd>nn
mp>mb;nt>nd
} (adapted from Von Wartburg 1967)

pl>[kj]<cl (adapted from Devoto and Giacomelli 1975).

Map 2. General Traits of Central Italian Dialects

1.6 The Consonantism of Central Dialects: Some General Traits

The whole of this region is characterised by lag assimilation of voiced stops to homorganic nasals[8], i.e., mb>mm and nd>nn. This change has diffused also to the southern area of the Tuscan region and the northern area of the Southern dialect region. A similar assimilatory change, affecting again the manner of articulation with assimilation being only partial, occurs with voiceless stops preceded by nasals. The territorial diffusion of this habit is less extensive than that of the preceding one (see Map 2 and comments under Rutés consonantism). A third feature of a large part of the region, the southern half (see Map 2), is one it shares with the Southern group. Latin voiceless stop plus lateral clusters all merge into a sound we transcribe as [ʧ][9], and shall discuss further below (Sect. 6.2.1).

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8. Attributed by sub-stratists such as von Wartburg to the influence of 'osco-umbrian' speech habits.

9. Cf. Portuguese: chuva<plúvia, chave<cláve (also chama<flamma) - ch=[ʃ], and Spanish: lluvia<pluvia llave<clave (llama<flamma)-ll = [ʎ] where merger occurs only in word initial position.

CHAPTER TWO

DIACHRONY I - CONSONANTS: RUTÉS REFLEXES OF LATIN PHONEMES

2.1 Initial

2.1.1 Labials:

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/p/	/p/	
pĭlu	pel	hair
pŏrtu	puərt (/pɔrtI/)[10]	port
pĕlle	pɛl	skin
pĭsce	peʃ	fish
/b/	/v/	
bŭscu	vusk (/voskI/)[10]	wood
bŭcca	vok	mouth
b́ĭbere	vev	to drink

Note: There are a few words which retain initial [b] and we refer to them in Section 6.3 below.

/f/	/f/	
ĕ́go fắciō	iə fat͡s	I do/make
fŏcu	fuək[10]	fire
/v/	/v/	
vōtu	vut (/votI/)[10]	vow
vōce	voc	voice
vĕrme	vɛrm	worm

10. Our citation forms are presented in phonetic rather than phonemic transcription. Sometimes the two are identical. When they differ we have given some sample phonemic representations. The remainder may be established by reference to chapters III and VI below and are listed in phonemic form in the Appendix.

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/m/	/m/	
mittere	met	to place
mănu	man	hand
/pl/	/ʧ/	
plēna	ʧen	full
plŭmbu	ʧumm (/tommI/)[10]	lead
/bl/	/j/	
blōnda	jonn	blonde
blancu	jank	white
/fl/	/j/	
flumára	jumár	river
flātu	jat	breath
flŏcca	jɔk	flake
/pr/	/pr/	
prĕsbyter	priəvət[10]	priest
/br/	/vr/	
bracchiu	vraʦ	arm
*brŏcculu	vruəkəl[10]	broccoli
/fr/	/fr/	
frīgidu	frid	cold

2.1.2 Dentals: /t/ /t/

tĕrra	ter	earth
tĕmpu	tiəmb[10]	time
*tŏr'lu	tuərl[10]	yolk

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/d/	/r/	
dŭlce	roc	sweet
dōte	rot	dowry
dĕnte	rɛnd	tooth
dīcere	ric	to say
/r/	/r/	
rŭssu	rus[10]	red

Note: The mergers of Latin /b/,/v/ as Rutes /v/ and Latin /d/,/r/ as /r/ are almost complete; for exceptions see Section 4.4.

/l/	/l/	
lĕctu	liət[10]	bed
/s/	/s/	
sĕrpe	sɛrp	snake
/n/	/n/	
nŏcte	nɔt	night
/tr/	/tr/	
*tropā́re	truvá	to find
/sp,st,sk/	/sp,st,sk/	
spŏrcu	spuərk[10]	dirty
stŏrta	stɔrt	crooked
schŏla	skɔl	school
/spl,skl/	/ʃk/	
splūma	ʃkum	foam
sclaffu	ʃkaf	slap

2.1.3 Velars:

/k/ + a,o,u	/k/	
cŏrnu	kuərn[10]	horn
cā́lidu	kavər	cold
cultĕ́llu	kurtíəl[10]	knife

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/k/ + i,e	/c/	
címice	cimǝc	bedbug
cédere	cer	to yield
/g/ + a,o,u	Ø>/v/	
gatta	at	cat
gallu	(v)al	rooster
*gúbitu(<cúbitu)	vut[10]	elbow
ganéone	vaʌ́on	boy

Note: The question of Latin /g/ before back vowels and its reflexes in Rutés is somewhat complicated and will be discussed in detail in section 6.3 below.

/g/ + e,i) /d/ + i + vowel) /i/ + vowel)	/j/	
géneru	jenǝr	brother-in-law
diŭrnu	jurn[10]	day
iŏcu	juǝk[10]	game

Note: i) géneru: cf. p. 723 AIS (K.33)[o yẹ́nnǝr°], p. 725 [l[u] šyẹ́nǝrǝ] and Napol [jénnǝrǝ].

ii) Cases such as /ʒovǝn/(<iŭ́vene 'young) and /ʒóvǝrì/ (<Iōvis die 'Thursday) seem to be borrowings from Italian- a tendency reported by Rohlfs (I, p. 211) as occurring sporadically throughout the 'Mezzogiorno'.

/kl/	/ʧ/	
*clŏvu	ʧuǝv[10]	nail (metal)
(e)clésia	ʧes	church
/gl/	/j/	
glacie	jac	ice

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/kr/	/kr/	
crŭce	kroc	cross
/gr/	/(g)r/	
grŏssu	ruəs	big
grŭtta(*<crŭpta)	rot	'Grottaminarda'

Note: In predicate use the adjective requires initial /g/, whereas in attributive position it is omitted. Cf. perhaps the intermediate stage in p. 725 AIS [ɣrwǫ́ss°].

/k/ + u + a,o,	/kw/	
quáttuor	kwat	four
quánti	kwand	how many
/k/ + u + i,e,	/k/ (/c/)	
*(e)ccu-ílłu	kir[10]	that
quētu	cit[10]	quiet

Note: We suggest that the general pattern is set by [kir], i.e., that by the time the [w] element had disappeared, the palatalisation of [k] to [c] had ceased. In the case of [cit] the [w] must have disappeared very early. Cf. Italian [kwello] and [keto].

2.2 Medial

2.2.1 Labials:

/p/	/p/	
nipóte	nəpot	grandson

Note: Words like [povər](<páupere) and [viʃkəv](<(e)píscopu) are borrowings from N. Italy via Italian.

/b//v/	/v/	
carbóne	karavón	coal
bŏve	vɔv	ox

Note: The diphthong [au] (primary or secondary) is also a source of Rutes /v/. Thus: illà auŕic'la>la avŕic'la>la vreʧ. Medially there are: cálidu>cal'du>caudu>kavər(ə) with vowel epenthesis to prevent an unacceptable cluster. Rohlfs (I, p. 67) attributes the au>av tendency to Greek influence in many cases. A third source of dialect /v/ appears in such examples as: v̆idua>verəv(ə) 'widow', where the epenthesis of a [v] prevents hiatus (See discussion of Velars below and section 6.3).

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/f/	/f/	
scr̄ofa	skrof	sow

Note: Words containing this sound are not native to Latin, which had /b/ in 'naturalised' words; they are borrowings from the Osco-Umbrian dialects, and abound in the toponymy of the area.

/m/	/m/	
nōme	nom	name
/pl/	/ʧ/	
cŏ́pula	kɔʧ	twin
/bl/	/bj/or /ʎ/(converg. with l + v̆ + vowel)	
fī̆b'la	fibjə	buckle
nĕ̆b'la	nɛʎ	fog
/f(f)l/	/ʃ/	
sŭ̆fflu	suʃ[10]	blowing
/pr//br/	metathesis	
capra	krap	goat
fĕ̆bre	frɛv	fever

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/p/ + ĭ + vowel	/c/	
sápio	sac	
/b/, /v/ + ĭ + vowel	ʒ	
hábeo	aʒ	I have
cávea	kaʒ	cage
/mp/	/mb/	
tĕmpu	tiəmb[10]	time
/mb/	/mm/	
plŭmbu	ʈumm[10]	lead
/m/ + ĭ + vowel	/ñ/	
*vindimia	vənniñ	grape-harvest
2.2.2 Dentals /t/	/t/	
vīte	vit	vine
/d/	/r/	(cf. Tagliavini,p.106)
nīdu	nir	nest
*rādica	rarək	root
/s/	/s/	
nāsu	nas	nose
/r/	/r/	
nŏra	nɔr	sister-in-law
/l/	/l/ (sporadically /r/)	
dolōre	rəlor	pain
*nĕspula	nɛspər	medlar
/n/	/n/	
cane	kan	dog

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/t'l/	/ʧ/	
vĕt'lu	viəʧ[10]	old
/tr/	metathesis	
vĭtru	vrit[10]	glass
/sp//st/	/sp//st/	
rŏspu	ruəsp[10]	toad
tŏsta	tɔst	hard
/sk/ + a,o,u	/ʃk/ (?) (See 2.3 below)	
frĕscu	friʃk[10]	cool
/sk/ + e,i	/ʃ/	
pĭsce	peʃ	fish
/str/	/st/	
nŏstra	nɔst	our
/sc'l/	/ʃk/	
misc'lā́re	miʃká	to mix
/r/ + cons	a) remains	
fŭrnu	furn[10]	stove
	b) vowel epenthesis	
carbṓne	karavón	coal
/l/ + cons.	a) /r/	
scalpĕ́llu	skarpíəl[10]	chisel
	b) Ø (vocalised and absorbed?)	
dŭlce	roc	sweet
	c) >u>/v/ with epenthesis (Cf. Labials above and Rensch §§201-6).	
*calceó́ne	kavətsón	shoe

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/t/ + ĭ + vowel	/ʦ/	
*pŏ́teo	pɔʦ	I can
/d/ + ĭ + vowel	/j/	
hŏ́die	vɔj	today
/s/ + ĭ + vowel	/s/	
bá́siu	vas	kiss
/r/ + ĭ + vowel	/r/	
dēnā́riu	rənar	money
/l/ + ĭ + vowel	/ʌ/	
pá́lea	paʌ	straw
/n/ + ĭ + vowel	/ñ/	
rine-ó́ne	riñón	kidney
/nt/	/nd/	
dĕ́nte	rɛnd	tooth
/nd/	/nn/	
vĕ́ndere	vɛnn	to sell

2.2.3 Velars

/k/ + a,o,u	/k/	
pe-́cora	pekər	ewe
/k/ + i,e	/c/	
so-́rice	sóric	mouse
/g/ + a,o,u	Ø or /v/ or /j/	(See above and sect. 6.3 below)
a(u)gŭ́stu	aúst[10]	August
*frā́gula	fravəl	strawberry
fatĭgā́re	fatijá	to work (Rohlfs I, p.299).

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/g/ + i,e	/j/ or Ø	
fugīre	fují	to flee
tēgĕlla	tijél	pan (oven)
sūger	suər	cork
/kl/	/ʧ/	
pedŭc'lu	pəruʧ[10]	louse
/gl/	/ʎ/ (confusion with /l/ + ĭ + vowel)	
rág'la	aráʎ	braying
*si(n)glŭtiu	siʎúʦ[10]	hiccough

(cf. p. 723 AIS [suʎuttsá]; p. 725 AIS [səʎútts^{u}])

/nk//ng/	[ŋk] /nk/	
lŏnga	lɔnk	long
*cĭnque	cink	five
/gn/	a) /in//a___(cf. 18) below)	
agnu	ain	lamb
	b) /ni//$\begin{bmatrix}+hi\\-mid\end{bmatrix}$___(See sect.3.4.3)	
*pūgna	púniə	fist
	c) /vən/	
lĭgna	levən	wood (fire)
/gr/	/vər/ (Cf. /gn/)	
*nĕgru	niəvər[10]	black
/k/ + ĭ + vowel	/ʦ/	
brācchiu	vraʦ	arm
fácio	faʦ	I do/make

Note: This is the same reflex as Latin /t/ + ĭ + vowel. Rensch (§228) observes that this merger occurs throughout Southern Italy.

Latin	Rutés	Gloss
/g/ + ĭ + vowel	/j/ (Cf. (/d/ + ĭ + vowel)	
corrĭgia	kuréj	belt

2.3 Palatalisation of /s/ before a Voiceless Stop

In treating the phenomenon in general, the following comment by Rohlfs is of major importance for the present discussion:

> "...š nel Mezzogiorno compare sempre soltanto limitatamente in zone piú grandi o piú piccole, ma mai con diffusione completa su un ampio territorio, e inoltre non sempre si trova davanti a tutte le consonanti (I, p. 258)."

We note above in section 2.2.2 that in Rutés unconditioned palatalisation occurs only non-initially before /k/.

Rohlfs (loc. cit.) states that in Campania s>ʃ before /p/ and /k/ but not before /t/. Our informant for Napoletano always gave ʃ + p/k, but sometimes gave ʃ + t! In Cilento (S. Campania) he says s>ʃ especially before /k/, seldom before /p/ and never before /t/.

Our examination of the entries in the AIS for the points 723 and 725 reveal that the former shows palatalisation before /p/ and /k/ only, whilst the latter shows no palatalisation whatsoever.

Thus in Central Italy the minimal palatalisation environment is before 'k'. It seems possible that its appearance here may be linked with the evolution of s + k before 'i/e'. (see 2.2.2 above and RSpr II, p. 49).

However sporadic the phenomenon may be, wherever it occurs, excluding Rutés, there appears to be an 'all and only' condition on the functioning of the process. It is indeed puzzling that this condition does not appear to hold for Rutés. If all s>ʃ before /k/ we could assert plausibly that Grottaminarda is in a transition zone

between (almost) complete palatalisation to the west and Naples, and the absence of it to the east and Central Puglia. This is not the case, however, and the limitation to a non-initial environment, and then not always, seems to defy explanation. A closer examination of <u>all</u> the relevant data - vusk 'wood', freʃk 'cool', veʃkəv 'bishop' - few though they are, seems to indicate a possible phonetic conditioning factor, namely the preceding front vowel. This solution would certainly account for our data, although we can only propose it tentatively, lacking more corroborative evidence.

We consider s > ʃ / __kl (pp. 10 and 15 above) as being conditioned in the form of an anticipatory assimilation to the following 'l' which appears to have palatalised in the formative years of the Romance vernaculars in much of Romania. In Rutés this 'l' was either absorbed or subsequently disappeared.

CHAPTER THREE

DIACHRONY II - VOWELS - RUTÉS REFLEXES OF LATIN PHONEMES

3.1 The Stressed Vowels

The modern Rutés reflexes of the Latin stressed vocalic system may be expressed schematically by the following metachronic equation:

2)

Class.Latin	ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā	ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
Central Ital i.e., Rutés[11]	i	e		ɛ	a		ɔ	o		u

These are, of course, also the vowel phonemes of Modern Standard Italian. In some respects the evolution of the two vowel systems (Standard Italian and Central Italian) show parallel developments. If we restrict ourselves to the Central Campanian area of the Central region (using Neapolitan data at this stage) which is the emphasis of this paper, then the extreme vowels (both high and low) show the same modern reflexes:

3)

Latin	Italian	Napolet.	Gloss
ī	i	i	
vīnu	vinə	vinə	wine
spīca	spiga	spikə	ear(of corn)
ū	u	u	
ūva	uva	uvə	grape
fūmu	fumo	fumə	smoke

---

11. We intend in no way to give the impression that these changes are unique to our Central Italian region, indeed, they represent the Vulgar Latin stage of development embodying the mergers that set the stage for further developments in all Western Romania.

Latin	Italian	Napolet.	Gloss
ā ă	a	a	
nāsu	naso	nasə	nose
ăpe	ape	apə	bee
lăcte	latte	lattə	milk

It is in the evolution of the mid-vowels that the two systems diverge. The following data serve to illustrate one of these divergences:

4)				
	fĕle	fjɛle	fɛlə	gall (f)
	cŏr(d)e	kwɔre	kɔrə	heart (m)
	vĕrme	vɛrme	vɛrmə	worm (m)
	sĕrpe	sɛrpe	sɛrpə	snake (f)
	rŏta	rwɔta	rɔtə	wheel (f)
	pĕtra	pjɛtra	prɛtə	stone (f)
	tĕrra	tɛrra	tɛrrə	earth (f)
	pŏrta	pɔrta	pɔrtə	door (f)
	vĕt'la	vɛkkja	vɛkkjə	old (f)
	rŏtae	rwɔte	rɔtə	wheels (f)
	dŏrmo	dɔrmo	dɔrmə	I sleep

We note that the characteristic 'unconditioned' diphthongisation of the free lower mid (stressed) vowels of Italian (cf. French and Castilian) appears to be absent from Neapolitan.

Consider again:

5)	Latin	Italian	Napolet.	Gloss
	cŏr(d)i	kwɔri	kwɔrə	hearts (m)
	vĕt'lu	vɛkkjo	vjɛkkjə	old (m)
	lĕctu	lɛtto	ljɛttə	bed (m)
	fŏcu	fwɔko	fwɔkə	fire (m)

Latin	Italian	Napolet.	Gloss
cŏllu	kɔllo	kwɔllə	neck (m)
vĕrmi	vɛrmi	vjɛrmə	worms (m)
dŏ́rmīs	dɔrmi	dwɔrmə	You sleep

We see immediately that the diphthongisation pointedly absent in the Neapolitan data of 4) is here present in all the Neapolitan examples even when Italian does not allow it. If we had only the modern dialect as our source of information, the conditions under which Neapolitan has diphthongisation would be lost - the possible cause being obfuscated by the neutralisation of all word-final vowels. Although the examples in 5) are all masculine and show diphtongisation, there are two items in 4) which are also masculine but <u>don't</u> have diphthongs. A clue is provided by the morpheme that has allomorphs in both 4) and 5) - It. verme~vermi. The conditioning factor seems to be provided in the Proto-Language or Latin forms in the shape of the final (or last syllable) high vowels -ī (ĭ) and -ŭ, which in effect seem to exert an 'umlaut' influence.

3.2 <u>Umlaut: General and Romance Manifestation</u>

We have previously referred to 'umlaut' influence only in connection with the diphthongisation of certain stressed vowels. This is indeed a singular type of result for this type of anticipatory assimilation. Again the conditioning environments are rather unusual. Generally the phenomenon, a case of partial anticipatory assimilation at a distance, is identified with the familiar changes in the Germanic dialects, described by the term's originator,

Jakob Grimm.[12]

The evidence of incipient umlaut influence appears in Latin as early as Late Imperial times.[13] The following examples are quoted by F. Schürr and H. Lüdtke[14] and illustrate:

6)	CL	VL	Gloss
	fēcī	fici	I made
	vēnī	vini	I came
	bēstĭa	bistia	animal, beast
	ōstĭum	ustium	door
	lēgī	ligi	I chose, collected
	sēdī	sidi	I sat down

These data illustrate I-Umlaut with a raising effect. The same tendency was continued (or inherited) in Old French and in Spanish but absent from Italian, espècially in the Perfect tense:

7)	CL	OF	Sp	Ital	Gloss
	fēcī	je fis	hice	feci	I made
	vēnī	je vinc	vine	venni	I came
	tēnuī	je tinc	----	tenni	I held

---

12. The phenomenon is often referred to as I-Umlaut and the assimilation is in the form of fronting or raising of stressed vowels, e.g., OHG helfan:hilfis, gast:gesti,loch:lochir (MHG löcher),durch: durchil (MHG dürkel). Cf. English foot:feet, man:men. Old Norse also also showed U-Umlaut (see Bloomfield 1935, p. 381) as did Old English (King 1969, p. 61). See Icelandic in Anderson (1974, p. 141 ff).

13. Compared to its appearance several centuries later, in the Middle Ages, in West and North Germanic.

14. La diphtongaison romaine", p. 119 footnote 1; Die strukturelle Entwicklung der romanischen Vokalismus, p. 77. Both have taken their examples from Schuchardt's Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlatein.

CL	OF	Sp	Ital	Gloss
*prēsī	je pris	prise (OSp)	presi	I took
*quēsī	je quis	quise	-----	I sought/ loved
(re)pōsuī	je repus	puse	posi	I (re)placed

The umlauted first person forms originally alternated with non-umlauted third person forms but were subsequently analogically levelled with the raised-vowel form being generalised. Portuguese, however, still shows, in some strong perfects, the developing vowel alternations to which we have alluded:

8)	CL:I Sg	III Sg	Ptg:I Sg	III Sg
	fēcī	fēcĭt	fiz	fêz
	pōsuī	pōsuĭt	pus	pôs
	*pōtuī	pōtuĭt	pude	pôde 'to be able'
	*potui	potuit	pude	pode 'to be able'

It is Portuguese again that furnishes examples of a type of umlaut influence not seen elsewhere in Western Romance as the following examples show:[15]

(9)	CL	Ptg.	Gloss
a)	ĭpsu	isso	that (neut)
	tōtu	tudo	all, everything
	mĕtu	mêdo [meðu]	fear
	fŏcu	fôgo [fᵒɣu]	fire

15. Data from 9)a) are taken from C. Blaylock's "Hispanic Metaphony", p. 265, and 9)b) from Schürr p. 203. Metaphony is a term, fully explained in Blaylock's article, generally used by Romance linguists writing in languages other than German to refer to Umlaut in Romance.

	CL	Ptg.	Gloss
b)	trā(ns)vĕ́rsu	travêsso	naughty (masc)
	trā(ns)vĕ́rsa	travessa [traβɛsu]	" (fem)
	mŏ̆rt(u)u	môrto	dead (m.sg)
	mŏ̆rt(u)os	mortos [mɔrtuʃ]	" (m.pl)

Here we see that U-Umlaut has exerted a raising effect on the stressed vowels and taken on a morphological, although redundant, role. I-Umlaut, it appears, was limited in its influence largely to fossilised forms of the Perfect tense as shown in 7) and 8). The choice of 's' as the plural marker (See footnote 3 above) precluded I-Umlaut assuming a wider morphophonological role - the early neutralisation of final syllable Latin 'u' and 'o' seems to have had the same negative effect for U-Umlaut in most of Western Romance. The rest of the Romance languages show some type of umlaut influence, however vestigial. In South Sardinian the process is widespread,[16] many Gallo-Italian dialects show its effect and its role in the evolution of the Romanian diphthongs is far-reaching.[17]

The fore-going brief sketch is an attempt to stress two points - that umlaut may be described as a pan-Romance phenomenon, at least in the formative stages of the Romance languages - and that where the process is still productive, it has not been phonologised, rather the alternations it produces are redundant since the conditioning factors are still present. Herein lies the major difference, we maintain, between what we have called pan-Romance umlaut and what we shall call Neapolitan umlaut.

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16. H. Lausberg, Romanische Sprachwissenschaft, I, p. 168; Lüdtke, p. 89; Blaylock, p. 264.

17. Lausberg, I, pp. 170-1; Lüdtke, p. 97.

Our non-Neapolitan Romance data have illustrated umlaut of the raising type. We shall next furnish examples of the same prócess in Neapolitan.

3.3 Neapolitan Upper Mid-Stressed Vowels

In 2) above we indicated that the Latin high lax and mid tense vowels merged in both Standard Italian and Neapolitan (i.e., Central Italian including Rutés). The reflexes in unconditioned environments indicate this parallel development:

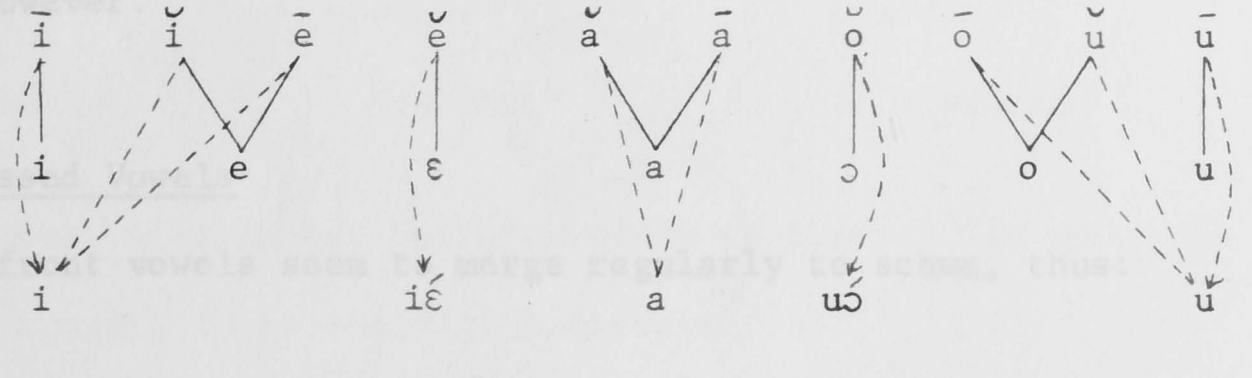
10)	Latin	Italian	Neapol.	Gloss
	nĭve	neve	nevə	snow (f)
	pĭsce	peʃe	peʃə	fish (m.sg)
	cēra	cera	cerə	wax (f)
	crēscit	kreʃe	kreʃə	he grows
	nŭce	noce	nocə	walnut (f)
	bŭcca	bokka	vokkə	mouth (f)
	carbṓne	karbóne	gravónə	coal (m)
	cognṓscit	konóʃe	kunóʃə	he knows

When, however, we examine data displaying umlaut environments, the results are divergent:

11)	pĭru	pero	pirə	pear-tree (m)
	pĭsci	peʃi	piʃə	fish (m.pl)
	sēbu	sevo	sivə	suet (m)
	tēctu	tetto	tittə	roof (m)
	genŭc'lu	ʤinókkjo	dənúkkjə	knee (m)
	plŭmbu	pjombo	kjummə	lead (m)
	carbṓni	karbóni	gravúnə	coals (m.pl)
	sōrsu	sorso	surʦə	sip (m)

We may now extend the equation expressed in 2) above to include the conditioned reflexes shown in 5) and 11) above:

12)



We have renamed the modern reflexes as Neapolitan as they are the ones represented in our data so far. Our decision to do so was largely motivated by our desire to present at least some data from a dialect already investigated (and which we verified independently through our Neapolitan informant). Rutés reflexes differ only slightly in that they show a further evolution of the lower-mid stressed vowels under umlaut conditions - an evolution that may be presumed to have gone through the following stages from the evidence furnished by various neighbouring dialects:

13)

I		II		III		IV		V		VI
ɛ	>	iɛ́	>	iɛ́	>	iá	>	iə	>	(i)
ɔ	>	uɔ́	>	uɔ́	>	uá	>	uə	>	(u)

Stage VI indicates the phase reached by some dialects of the region, throughout Puglia, Abruzzo, Basilicata and Calabria[18] - a situation that as yet does not obtain in Rutés, although in allegro speech the schwa is only just audible at times.

3.4 Rutés Unstressed Vowels

All the unstressed vowels in the dialects under study, with the

18. G. Rohlfs, Grammatica Storica ..., I, p. 127.

exception of 'a' (<ă, ā) may weaken to the indistinct central vowel schwa - as they may in the whole area we have designated as Neapolitan. This tendency is more frequent with front rather than back vowels, however.

3.4.1 Prestressed Vowels

The four front vowels seem to merge regularly to schwa, thus:

14)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
ī	dīrēctu	rərit[10]	right
ĭ	vidēre	vəre	to see
ē	dēnāriu	rənar	money
ĕ	*pĕdŭc'lu	pəruʦ[10]	louse

There are some cases when the reflex is not a weakening and centring but rather a raised vowel 'i'. This always occurs before a palatal element and thus we attribute the seemingly exceptional evolution to anticipatory assimilation to the following high-tongue position:

15)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
	dĭsiūnu	rijún	fast
	sĭ(n)glŭtiu	siʌúʦ[10]	hiccough
	fatĭgāre	fatijá	to work

A further case of assimilation, both lag and anticipatory, appears to affect the evolution of C.L. 'ĭ' and 'ĕ' when they are in the vicinity of a labial consonant:[19]

19. Cf. Rohlfs, I, p. 169.

(16)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
	(um)bĭlĭcŭlu	vulíkəl	navel
	vĕscíca	vusík[10]	bladder
	blastĭmáre	jastumá	to blaspheme

The four back vowels also merge, but less often to schwa. The more frequent reflex appears to be the high back vowel 'u':[20]

(17)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
ū	mūtáre	mutá	to change
ŭ	cŭltéllu	kurtíəl[10]	knife
ŏ	dŏménica	ruménək	Sunday

Note:

	dŏlóre	rəlor	pain
	pŭlmóne	pərmon	lung

In some cases there is a tendency for these back vowels to open to 'a' - we cannot, in light of the evidence, see the reason for this change:

(18)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
	cŏgnátu	kainát	brother-in-law
	ŏccídere	acír	to kill
	ŭncínu	ancín	hook

The low vowel 'a' is the only one that is consistently preserved in pre-tonic position:

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20. Cf. Romanian in Lausberg, I, p. 203.

19)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
	*phaseŏ́ōli	fasúl[10]	beans
	cannarṓne	kanarón	windpipe

The Latin diphthong 'au' normally merged fairly early with the lower mid 'ŏ' when stressed, but in atonic position, especially when word-initial, its evolution varied in Rutés:

20)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
	*aucĕ́llu (avicĕ́llu)	aucíəl[10]	bird
	augŭ́stu	aúst[10]	August
	auric'la	vreţ	ear

In the first case the main form is from Late Latin and perhaps, as the diphthong is secondary, it appeared in dialect too late to participate in changes that the primary diphthong underwent. The second case is generally considered to be the result of dissimilation, an intermediate stage being perhaps '*agustu' and then the intervocalic stop lenites completely. The last example appears to be the result of a consonantisation of the 'u' and then perhaps a re-analysis of the form with the article from 'l'avríc'la' to 'la vríc'la'.[21]

3.4.2 Poststressed Vowels

The vowels following the stressed syllable undergo complete neutralisation and are all realised as a schwa. Final vowels are almost invariably dropped completely, the schwa articulation only re-appearing as a sort of voyelle d'appui when the following word begins with a consonant:

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21. See also sect. 2.2.1 (medial labials) above and sect. 6.3 below.

21)	C.L.		Rutés	Gloss
ī	ferōcī		fəruc[10]	fierce (pl)
ĭ	crēdĭt		krer	he believes
ĕ	cānĕ		kan	dog
ē	Mĕrcŭ(ri) dìē		miərkuri[10]	Wednesday
a	cōda		kor	tail
ō	párlō	(iə)	parl	I speak
ŭ	caecātŭ		cəkat	blind

3.4.3 Proparoxytones

Words originally stressed on the antepenult syllable, with the loss of the final syllable, become paroxytones:

22)	C.L.	Rutés	Gloss
	frāgŭla	fravəl	strawberry
	dĕbitu	riəbət[10]	debt
	sōrice	sorəc	mouse
	mŏnachī	muənəc[10]	monks

Note: pūgna > *púina > púniə (see p. 17), as a modern proparoxytone, is an exception to the statement in 3.4.2, and as such, does not come under 3.4.3.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL RAMIFICATIONS OF UMLAUT IN RUTÉS

4.1 The Nominal Sub-system

With the effacement of final -s in Eastern Romance and subsequent case syncretism, distinctive markers crystallised for both gender and number in the endings retained by the 2 major representatives - Romanian and Standard Italian. The subsequent effacement of final vowels in Rutés, however, appeared to lead to the strengthening and extension of the phonetic alternations brought about by umlaut assimilations.

Eastern Romance established basically 2 nominal patterns (Declensions?) divided on the criterion of gender. To the Latin 1st Declension belonged Feminine nouns - these are the -A nouns, whose singular ending may have come from Latin Nom. -ă or Accus. -ă(m) and whose plural in -E may be a reflex similarly of Latin Nom.-ae or Accus.-ās[22] in the Italian peninsula. The so-called O- or 2nd Declension contained Masculine nouns. In Standard Italian the singular form may have come from any case except the Genitive - N.-ŭ(s), Acc.-ŭ(m), D-A.-ō. The plural in -I is considered to be a reflex of either the Latin Nom.-ī, or Accus. -ōs. The latter is held to have developed through the stage -oi>i[23]. In our oversimplified synopsis we have excluded the heterogeneous, often called consonant, Latin 3rd Declension. In Italian the singular form, be it Masc, or Feminine, generally ends in -E, which may be from Latin Nom., Gen.-ĭ(s) or Accus.-ĕ(m), while the plural ends in -I, styled either analogically

22. See Lausberg, III pt.1, p. 19 and R. Posner, The Romance Languages, p. 137.

23. Posner, loc. cit.; cf. Lausberg, II, p.82.

on the -O noun plurals or from Latin Nom.-ēs or Accus.-ēs/īs (i.e., ēs>ēi>i/īs>īi>i)[23]. We will deal with the fate of the Latin Neuters by reference to individual cases in Rutés.

We thus see that potential umlaut environments are offered in both singular and plural of -O nouns, and in the plural of the consonant (stem) nouns. We shall now examine the data from Rutés to see whether phonological evolution as reflected by umlauted or unumlauted vowels proceeded unimpaired by non-phonological pressures.

In Table I we observe that phonological pull has held sway everywhere in the data. It is also noteworthy that our singular form may have only come from either the Nom or Accus. Latin forms and thus it may be more aptly called the class U-nouns.

In Table II we have arbitrarily chosen the -ae form as the source of the plurals - it may just have easily have been the -ās form, as we have mentioned. We shall elaborate on the underlined forms when we deal with allophonic variation below (sect. 6.3).

The Latin boxed forms in Table III appear to have followed the evolution we have posited for Standard Italian with the result that we have a class of nouns with internal inflection for number in Rutés. Again phonological pull has prevailed with the -i plural becoming the plural-marker for <u>all</u> regular Masculine nouns.

Supposing we accept the theory that attributes the plural -i of 3rd Declension nouns in Italian to a natural phonetic outcome of the Latin -ēs, or sometimes -īs, (see p. 32 and above) the data in Table IV show examples where this natural evolution has been inhibited, for with an underlying -i, we would again have umlaut assimilation and thus internal inflection as with the examples in Table III above. Similarly an endorsement of an analogically-formed plural in -i would yield alternating forms. Thus we would expect: illá nŭce>la noc and

CL OR PROTO-NAP		GROTTAMINARDA		GLOSS
illu vĭduu	illi vĭdui	lu virəv	li virəv	[a]widower
tēctu	*tēcti	[c]tit	tit	roof
mēlu	*mēli	[c]mil	mil	apple
fŭrnu	fŭrni	furn	furn	oven
lŭpu	lŭpi	lup	lup	wolf
rasōr(i)u	rasŏr(i)i	rasúl	rasúl	razor
vōtu	vōti	[c]vut	vut	vow
lĕctu	lĕcti	liət	liət	bed
vĕntu	vĕnti	viənd	viənd	wind
*mĕrulu	*mĕruli	[d]miərəl	miərəl	blackbird
cultĕllu	cultĕlli	kurtíəl	kurtíəl	knife
sŏceru	sŏceri	suəkər	suəkər	[b]brother-in-law
iŏcu	iŏci	juək	juəc	game
cŏllu	cŏlli	[g]kwɔl	kwɔl	neck
pŏrtu	pŏrti	[e]puərt	puərt	port
ŏc'lu	ŏc'li	uəʈ	uəʈ	eye
sŏnu	sŏni	suən	suən	sound
cŏquu	cŏqui	kuək	kuəc	cool
tĕmpu	*tĕmpi	[f]tiəmb	tiəmb	time
pĕctu	*pĕcti	[f]piət	piət	chest
diŭrnu	diŭrni	jurn	jurn	day
pópulu(*plōpu)	pópuli	ʈup	ʈup	poplar
*clŏvu (clavu)	*clŏvi	ʈuəv	ʈuəv	nail
rŏspu	rŏspi	ruəsp	ruəsp	toad
cŏrpu	*cŏrpi	[f]kuərp	kuərp	body

Table I - MASCULINE 2ND DECLENSION (UMLAUTED) NOUNS

Notes to Table I

a Cf. widow - Table II

b Cf. sister-in-law - Table II

c Formerly Neuter in Latin

d " Feminine in Latin

e 4th Declension in Latin

f 3rd Declension Neuter in Latin - Plurals formerly -ora

g The form "kwɔl" is inhibited from progressing to the normal Rutés *kuəl as it would be too close to "kul" (<cŭlu)'backside'. Thus for this entry we must allow PR1 and 2 to apply, but block PR3 and 4 and then apply PR9.

CL OR PROTO-NAP		GROTTAMINARDA		GLOSS
illà vĭdua	illae vĭduae	la verəv	rə verəv	widow
auric'la	auric'lae	vret	bret	ear
gŭla	gŭlae	gɔl	gɔl	throat
sŏcera	sŏcerae	sɔkər	sɔkər	sister/law
nŏra	nŏrae	nɔr	nɔr	daughter/law
rŏta	rŏtae	rɔt	rɔt	wheel
pĕtra	pĕtrae	prɛt	ppr<u>ɛt</u>	stone
vēna	vēnae	ven	ven	vein
bŭcca	bŭccae	vok	<u>bok</u>	month
mēla	mēlae	mel	mel	apple tree
candḗla	candḗlae	kannél	<u>kkannél</u>	candle
mŏnacha	mŏnachae	mɔnək	mɔnək	nun

Table II - FEMININE 1ST DECLENSION (NON-UMLAUTED) NOUNS

CL OR PROTO-NAP		GROTTAMINARDA		GLOSS
illu pĭsce	illi*pĭsci	lu peʃ	li piʃ	fish
" cĭce(r)	" *cĭceri	lu cec	li cicər	chickpea
" mē(n)se	" *mē(n)si	lu mes	li mis	month
" rēniōne	" *reniṓni	lu riñón	li riñún	kidney
" nepōte	" *nepṓti	lu nəpot	li nəput	grandson
" flōre	" *flōri	lu fjor	li fjur	river
" dolōre	" *dolṓri	lu rəlor	li rəlur	pain
" sōrice	" *sṓrici	lu sorəc	li surəc	mouse
" carbōne	" *carbṓni	lu karavón	li karavún	coal
" mēlōne	" *mēlṓni	lu məlon	li məlun	melon
" pŭlice	" *pŭlici	lu poləc	li puləc	louse
" pĕde	" *pĕdi	lu pɛr	li piər	foot
" dĕnte	" *dĕnti	lu rɛnd	li riənd	tooth
" pĕctine	" *pĕctini	lu pɛtən	li piətən	comb
" vĕrme	" *vĕrmi	lu vɛrm	li viərm	worm
" hŏmo	" *hŏmini	l'ɔm	l'uəmən	man
" bŏve	" *bŏvi	lu vɔv	li vuəv	ox
" cŏr(d)e	" *cŏr(d)i	lu kɔr	li kuər	heart
" *bōttōne	" *bōttṓni	lu butón	li butún	button
" *pipiōne	" *pipiṓni	lu picón	li picún	pigeon
" calceōne	" *calceṓni	lu kavətsón	li kavətsún	shoe
" rēne	" *rēni	lu ren	li rin	kidney
" colōre	" *colṓri	lu kulór	li kulúr	colour
" rumōre	" *rumṓri	lu rəmor	li rəmur	noise
" *galeōne	" *galeṓni	lu vaʌón	li vaʌún	boy
" sēme	" *sēmi	lu sem	li sim	seed

Table III - MASCULINE 3RD DECLENSION (UMLAUTED) NOUNS

and illaè *nucī>rə *nuc, etc. This is apparently the evolution in Italian where we have: la noce ~ le noci.- gender marker thus residing in the article, or an -A class modifier, in the plural. What is striking and extremely significant for this study is that the modern Neapolitan forms seem to go back to the same proto-forms as the Italian ones, so that we have: a nocə ~ e nucə. This is not say that <u>all</u> our forms in Table IV would show umlauted plurals in Neapolitan - apparently only those having [e] or [o] (<Lat. ĭ,ē; ŭ,ō) show umlaut effect (see Rohlfs, I, p. 17). Hence we would perhaps call the boxed forms of Table IV 'Proto-Grotta' rather than Proto-Nap. The fact that the open vowels [ɛ],[ɔ] (<Lat: ĕ, ŏ) generally do not apparently yield to umlaut influence may either indicate the i- plural was not generalised to these forms (a remote possibility) or a different chronology for umlaut diphthongisation as compared with umlaut raising (see Chapt. 5 below). Again it may be linked in some way with the fact that the plural article is undifferentiated for gender in Neapolitan, thus: e pullícə (m) 'the fleas'; e ddetə (f) 'the fingers' (Cf. Mod. French). In the major framework of Italian, or Eastern Romance generally, and Neapolitan Romance in particular, in respect to the Feminine plurals of 3rd declension nouns, therefore, the the Rutés system is unique. It may even be that Rutés generalised the 1st Declension plural ending to <u>all</u> Feminine nouns, i.e., ē(s)>ae>e, the result would have been the same. Thus we maintain that a positive consciousness of gender inhibited 'umlaut endings', indistinguishable phonetically from typically Masculine endings, from 'encroaching' on Feminine territory, as it were (see further comments under sect. 4.4 below).

The four previous groups we have discussed seem to be open classes of nouns that are more or less productive patterns. The data of Table V forms a closed class of relics from Latin Neuter nouns. As

(CL OR) PROTO-NAP.		GROTTAMINARDA		GLOSS
illa cínere	illae cínere	la cenər	rə ccenər	ash
nŭce	nŭce	noc	noc	walnut
tŭrre	tŭrre	tor	ttor	tower
crŭce	crŭce	kroc	kkroc	cross
nepóte	nepóte	nəpot	nəpot	grandaughter
vōce	vōce	voc	voc	voice
dōte	dōte	rot	dot	dowry
pĕlle	pĕlle	pɛl	ppɛl	skin
sĕrpe	sĕrpe	sɛrp	sɛrp	snake
nŏcte	nŏcte	nɔt	nɔt	night
bŭtte	bŭtte	vot	bot	barrel

Table IV - FEMININE 3RD DECLENSION (NON-UMLAUTED) NOUNS

CL OR PROTO-NAP.		GROTTAMINARDA		GLOSS
illu ŏvu	illa ŏva	l'uəv	r'ɔv	egg
" ŏssu	" ŏssa	l'uəs	r'ɔs	bone
" cŏrnu	" *cŏrna	lu kuərn	rə kkɔrn	horn
" hŏrtu	" *hŏrta	l'uərt	r'ɔrt	garden
" dígitu	" dígita	lu rit	rə det	finger
" *trŏnu	" *trónora	lu truən	rə ttrɔnələ	thunder
" *denŭc'lu	" *denŭc'la	lu rənuʧ	rə dənoʧ	knee
" cerebĕllu	" cerebĕlla	lu cərəviəl	rə ccərəvɛl	brain
" cúbitu	" cúbita	lu vut	rə bot	elbow
----------	" lĭgna	---------	rə levən	fire/wood

Table V - NEUTER '2ND' DECLENSION (UMLAUTED) NOUNS

we see, the singular becomes Masculine, that is, falls in with the data of Table I (singular) and the plural, although we have posited and underlying -a ending, would more accurately be represented with -ae, thus having the Feminine plural of Table II. All of the nouns cited, with the exception of 'hŏrtu' and 'trŏnu', have or had -a plurals in Italian which are preceded by the Feminine plural article. The characteristics of this sub-class are the reverse of those in Table III - the singular shows umlaut effect whereas the plural shows none.

CL OR PROTO-NAP.		GROTTAMINARDA		GLOSS
illu (e)pĭ́scopu	illi (e)pĭ́scopi	lu veʃkəv	li viʃkəv	bishop
" mĕ́dicu	" mĕ́dici	lu mɛrək	li miərəc	doctor
" mŏ́nachu	" mŏ́nachi	lu mɔnək	li muənəc	monk
" magĭ́stru	" magĭ́stri	lu maéstr	li maístr	teacher
" sŏ́ciu	" sŏ́cii	lu sɔc	li suəc	associate
" spō(n)su	" spō(n)si	lu spos	li spus	husband
" prĕ́sbyte(r)	" *prĕ́sbyti	lu prɛvət	li priəvət	priest
illa pĭ́ra	illi pĭ́ri	la per	li pir	pear
illu pĭ́lu	" pĭ́li	lu pel	li pil	hair
" pē(n)su	" pē(n)si	lu pes	li pis	weight
" cĕ́rvu	" cĕ́rvi	lu cɛrəv	li ciərəv	deer
" *piperṓlu	" *piperṓli	lu pəpərol	li pəpərul	hot chili
" phaseṓlu	" phaseṓli	lu fasól	li fasúl	bean
" dĕ́bitu	" *dĕ́biti	lu rɛbət	li riəbət	debt

Table VI - MASCULINE 2ND DECLENSION (IRREGULAR)

We shall discuss each of these items one by one in order to try to establish why the singular forms do not show umlaut influence.

'pr̆ésbyte': this word is included in this list although it more resembles a 3rd Declension than 2nd noun. We suggest the form, a Nominative rather than Oblique one, reflecting a Vocative function, which is fairly common with nouns 'capaci di presentarsi come soggetto agente' says Rohlfs (II, p. 6) and which are likely to be in frequent use in forms of address (cf. Rutés: patəmə 'mio padre' matəmə 'mia madre' fratəmə 'mio fratello' sɔrəmə 'mia sorella').[24] Our 2nd Declension model would be 'puer'.

'magĭ́stru': this form may also disguise what is really a modified Vocative. Perhaps '*magĭ́stre' would be a better underlying form, where the Nominative form 'magister' has undergone metathesis of the two final phonemes.

'epĭ́scopu', 'mĕ́dicu', 'mŏ́nachu: these forms are more easily accounted for if we posit an underlying Vocative, on the model of 'mūrus~mūre' so that we may eliminate the umlaut environment from the singular.

'sŏ́ciu': Superficially we may easily include this noun with the preceeding three. The Vocative was 'sŏcī' however, which still presents umlaut conditions. We must therefore posit an analogical Vocative '*sŏcie' to provide a possible explanation for the alternation.

'spō(n)su': We treat this noun separately from the others, although it also presents the Vocative possibility, since the form 'la spos' also exists. The plural 'li spus' seems generally to mean 'newly-weds' rather than 'bridegrooms'.

'pĭ̆ra': is a special case on its own. It is the crossing of two separate nouns. The original name for a pear-tree was 'pĭ̆rus' and was Feminine, as were all fruit-trees, (it was 4th Declension) and

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24. Cf. also the avoidance of word final /tr/ or /str/ clusters in 2.2.2 above.

on being identified with the 2nd Declension (O-nouns) became Masculine. The pear was 'pĭrum' Neuter, giving 'pĭra' pears. The plural became identified with the A-nouns, which were Feminine, and was used as the singular. It then 'borrowed' a Masculine plural form. 'dĕ́bitu': this noun was Neuter in Latin, and, based on its plural in -a, became Feminine in the modern Romance Languages (cf. French 'la dette', Ital. 'la detta'). If we posit *debita as the underlying singular form, then no umlaut would, of course, occur in Rutés, as is indeed the case. This leaves the reason for an umlauted plural unexplained. It is probable not a native word, as it is only partly assimilated phonologically (d>r, b>v) and perhaps was borrowed with 'mixed' forms.

For remaining five nouns, it seems impossible to account for their internal inflection by means of the explanations proposed for the 'person' nouns. They should belong to the class of Table I above - i.e., unimpaired phonological evolution would have yielded metaphonised forms both in singular and plural. There is no apparent semantic link between these nouns that may suggest a special class be set up. We would like to suggest tentatively that the data of Table III represents the dominant, even productive, type of Masculine noun which either is attracting or has attracted some Masculine nouns of the 2nd Declension type. We would thus propose that we have here another example of the 'regularising' effect of morphological pull.

4.2 Adjectives

There are two classes of adjective in Rutés. The major class embraces the Latin 1st and 2nd Declension type. It has marking for gender. The other class reflects the 3rd Declension type and marks

MASCUL. (Sg. and Pl.)		FEM. (Sg. and Pl.)		GLOSS
CL or P-N	Grotta	CL or P-N	Grotta	
plēnu/i	ʈin	plēna/ae	ʈen	full
*eccu-ĭllu/i	kir	*eccu-ĭlla/ae	ker	that
*eccu-ĭstu/i	kist	*eccu-ĭsta/ae	kest	this
frēscu/i	friʃk	frēsca/ae	freʃk	cool
apĕrtu/i	apiərt	apĕrta/ae	apɛrt	open
cŭrtu/i	kurt	cŭrta/ae	kort	short
bŏnu/i	buən	bŏna/ae	bɔn	good
grŏssu/i	(g)ruəs	grŏssa/ae	(g)rɔs	big
lŏngu/i	luənk	lŏnga/ae	lɔnk	long
*mŏrtu/i	muərt	*mŏrta/ae	mɔrt	dead
*nĕgru/i	niəvər	*nĕgra/ae	nɛvər	black
nŏstru/i	nuəst	nŏstra/ae	nɔst	our
nŏvu/i	nuəv	nŏva/ae	nɔv	new
*plŏtu/i	ʈuət	*plŏta/ae	ʈɔt	fat
(ro)tŭndu/i	tunn	(ro)tŭnda/ae	tonn	round
rŭssu/i	rus	rŭssa/ae	ros	red
sĭccu/i	sik	sĭcca/ae	sek	thin / dry
sōlu/i	sul	sōla/ae	sol	alone
spŏrcu/i	spuərk	spŏrca/ae	spɔrk	dirty
stŏrtu/i	stuərt	stŏrta/ae	stɔrt	crooked
dŭi	ruj	dŭae	roj	two
strĭctu/i	strit	strĭcta/ae	stret	straight
sŭrdu/i	surd	sŭrda/ae	sord	deaf
*tenĕru/i	cənir	*tenĕra/ae	cəner	soft
tŏstu/i	tuəst	tŏsta/ae	tɔst	hard

Table VII - ADJECTIVES: 1ST AND 2ND DECLENSIONS

MASCUL. (Sg. and Pl.)		FEM. (Sg. and Pl.)		GLOSS
CL or P-N	GROTTA	CL or P-N	GROTTA	
*zelōsu/i	ʒəlus	*zelōsa/ae	ʒəlos	jealous
vĕt'lu/i	viəʏ	vĕt'la/ae	vɛʏ	old
*blōndu/i	junn	*blōnda/ae	jonn	blonde

(contd.)

Table VII$_{\wedge}$ - ADJECTIVES: 1ST AND 2ND DECLENSIONS

SING. (MASC. AND FEM.)		PLUR. (MASC. AND FEM.)		GLOSS
CL or P-N	GROTTA	CL or P-N	GROTTA	
dŭlce	roc	*dŭlci	ruc	sweet
fŏrte	fɔrt	*fŏrti	fuərt	strong
ferōce	fəroc	*feroci	fəruc	fierce
*cruptēnse	rutés	*cruptēnsi	rutís	inhabitant of Grotta
v̆iride	verd	*v̆iridi	vird	green
iŭvene	ʒovən	*iŭveni	ʒuvən	young

Table VIII - ADJECTIVES: 3RD DECLENSION

number. We illustrate above in Tables VII and VIII. These data do not in themselves add anything new to our comments concerning umlaut. It may be noted that phonological evolution has proceeded everywhere unimpeded by morphological constraints. The salient feature of the system we have tentatively called the Masculine (dominant and/or productive) class seems to be emphasised by the examples in Table VII - the phonetic diphthongs [iə] and [uə] are striking gender markers.

4.3 Verbs

Although again the verbal morphology does not contribute any new phonological information to this discussion, it does offer further examples of the extent of umlaut influence whilst at the same time providing an interesting resolution of the four Latin conjugations which we have not observed elsewhere in the literature consulted. We shall restrict our examination to the Present Tense. See Table IX. We consider three points worthy of comment:

a) the four Latin conjugations are reduced to two in the following manner:

-A Conjugation > -a -$\breve{\bar{E}}$, -$\bar{I}$ Conjugations > -i

b) Latin infinitival ending -re is lost everywhere.[25]

c) umlaut effect is shown in <u>both</u> conjugations in 2nd Pers. Sing. and 3rd Pers. Plur.

The third point merits a more detailed examination. Latin presented the following pattern in these persons for the four conjugations:

23)

	I	II	III	IV
2nd Sing.	spérās	ténēs	véndis	dórmīs
3rd Plur.	spérănt	ténĕnt	véndŭnt	dórm(i)ŭnt

25. Cf. Romanian and North Italian dialects; see Lausberg, III/2, p.174.

A-Conjugation

	1. spəra "sperare"	2. parlá "parlare"	3. truvá "trovare"
1	iə sper	parl	trɔv
2	tu spir	parl	truəv
3	issə sper	parl	trɔv
1	nuj spəram	parlám	truvám
2	vuj spərat	parlát	truvát
3	lɔr spirənə	parlənə	truəvənə

I-Conjugation

	4. vəre "vedere" (Latin II)	5. krer "credere" (Latin III)
1	iə ver	krer
2	tu vir	krir
3	issə ver	krer
1	nuj vərim	krərim
2	vuj vərit	krərit
3	lɔr virənə	krirənə

	6. pɛrd "perdere" (Latin III)	7. rurmí "dormire" (Latin IV)
1	iə pɛrd	rɔrm
2	tu piərd	ruərm
3	issə pɛrd	rɔrm
1	nuj pərdim	rurmím
2	vuj pərdit	rurmít
3	lɔr piərdənə	ruərmənə

Table IX - VERB CONJUGATIONS IN RUTÉS

Note: These forms are in phonetic transcription (including the infinitives). A phonemic representation would require additional P Rules involving the shifting stress patterns in verbal paradigms - we do not consider such details germane to the present discussion.

The boxed forms alone would have produced umlauted vowels. Thus the 4th Conjugation ending must have been generalised throughout for the 2nd Singular and the 3rd Conjugation ending for the 3rd Plural to yield the Rutés forms. Whilst we note that the 2nd Singular innovation is common also to Standard Italian and it appears to be so in all Eastern Romance including the Italian dialects, the 3rd Plural innovation, although common also to Rhaeto-Romance,[26] French and Provençal,[27] seems only to undergo umlaut influence in the dialect under study and a restricted part of Central Basilicata where Latin -ant is also replaced by -ŭnt.[28] In the remainder of Central and Southern Italy where -ant is retained, -ŭnt has umlaut effect only in the extreme south of the Marche, in the Abruzzi, Lazio from Rome south, and of course, Central Basilicata.[29] Grotta seems to fall on the northern limit of the sphere of influence of the latter zone.

4.4 Feminine Plural Nouns - A Counterpart to Masculine Umlaut?

A superficial glance at the morphology of the noun in Rutés would seem to suggest that what we have called the dominant Masculine pattern, that of Table III, has clear number marking whereas the Feminine nouns don't. We suggest that this seeming discrepancy is more apparent than real. We have assembled in Table X the underlined

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26. E. Bourciez, Eléments de linguistique ..., p. 215.
27. Lausberg, III/2, p. 188.
28. Rohlfs, I, p. 19.
29. Rohlfs, op. cit, and Lüdtke, pp. 117-8.

GL or PROTO-NAP.	GROTTA	CL or PROTO-NAP.	GROTTA	GLOSS
illu *denŭc'lu	lu rənuʦ	illa(e) *denŭc'la	rə dənoʦ	knee
dĭgitu	rit	dĭgita	det	finger
*gŭbitu	vut	*gŭbita	bot	elbow
bracchiu	vrats	bracchia	brats	arm
*cŏrnu	kuərn	*cŏrna	kkɔrn	horn
*trŏnu	truən	*trŏnora	ttrɔnələ	thunder
cerebĕllu	cərəviəl	cerebella	ccərəvɛl	brain
illa (a)urĭc'la	vreʦ	illae (a)urĭc'lae	breʦ	ear
gatta	at	gattae	gat	cat(f)
*vampa	vamb	*vampae	bamb	flame
bŭcca	vok	bŭccae	bok	mouth
bŭtte	vot	bŭtte	bot	barrel
dōte	rot	dōte	dot	dowry
gunnĕlla	unɛ́l	gunnĕllae	vunɛ́l	skirt
cĭnere	cenər	cĭnere	ccenər	ash
*cĕrquia	cɛrts	*cĕrquiae	ccɛrts	oak
tegĕlla	tijɛ́l	tegĕllae	ttijɛ́l	ovenpan
tŭrre	tor	tŭrre	ttor	tower
candēla	kannél	candēlae	kkannél	candle
*capa (<caput)	kap	*capae	kkap	head
cavea	kaɟ	caveae	kkaɟ	cage
crŭce	kroc	crŭce	kkroc	cross
pĕlle	pɛl	pĕlle	ppɛl	skin
pĕnna	pɛn	pĕnnae	ppɛn	feather
zĕppa(Lomb.)	ʦɛp	*zĕppae(?)	ttsɛp	wedge
clave	ʧav	clave	ʧʧav	key

Table X - FEMININE PLURALS

forms from Tables II, IV and V above with some additions.

We have seen above (pp. 4-9) that the Latin voiced stops underwent some transformations in Rutés, be it lenition, as in the cases of the labial and velar before back vowels, or change to a flap as the dental. We see that the original (Latin) values are 'retrieved', as it were, when word initial and preceded by the Feminine plural article 'rə'. Whilst the speaker is quite conscious of this alternation, he is not aware of any differences involving the voiceless stops or affricates. Rohlfs says 'l'articolo femminile plurale produce raddoppiamento della consonante che segue..'.[30] The same phonomenon is described by Devoto and Giacomelli[31] as 'rafforzamento' produced 'per ragioni di fonetica sintattica.' Although the phenomenon described by these observers appears to apply to all initial consonants, our investigations would seem to indicate that it is restricted to the stops and affricates in Rutés. Rohlfs further notes that 'per effetto del raddoppiamento 'v' diviene 'bb', la fricativa 'ɣ' diventa 'gg', e l 'r' derivante da 'd' si trasforma in 'dd'.[32] Thus all surface 'v's become 'bb'. Rutés differs here in that only where surface /v/ is from an etymological (i.e., Latin)[b], does 'rafforzamento' produce [b]. There are three apparent exceptions in our data. The first 'bamb' (<*vampae) is itself a neologism. It appears to be a crossing of Latin 'lampa' and 'vapor'[33] and we would attribute the 'b' to folk etymology. We may also also explain 'vut' (<*gŭ́bitu) becoming 'bot' similarly (see sect. 6.3

30. II, p. 107.

31. I dialetti delle regioni d'Italia, p. 113.

32. II, p. 107, n. 5.

33. Avviamento alla etimologia italiana, p. 450.

below) although the fact that it is of 'mixed' gender may play some role. The third example 'bretʂ', also a false etymology, may be 'constrained' to retrieve 'br' as 'vr' did not occur in Latin. Thus Rutés /v/, from Latin /v/, e.g., voc<vōce, does not retrieve [b] in the Plural. Rutés agrees with the general process with regard to /r/ (from etymological [d]) becoming [d]. The only exception 'dənoʈ' is based, as indicated, on a form '*denŭc'la'. The innovation in the initial consonant is not peculiar to Rutés and Rohlfs[34] suggests it may be due to an ancient dissimilation. We defer discussion of the velar, which is rather complex, to section 6.3 below.

It is the opinion of Rohlfs and others cited by him[35] that this 'raddoppiamento' may be explained on purely phonetic grounds. Thus a hypercorrect '*illēs' (<*illaes) may have produced a re-analysis so that Feminine consonant-initial plural nouns then began with a consonant cluster of which the first sound was 's' which by assimilation to the following consonant, re-enforced or doubled it. Inscriptions contain examples of this hypercorrection and the solution explicit in the afore-mentioned hypothesis seems quite acceptable. We suggest, however, that this innovation, at first really phonetic, took on morphophonemic significance in, at least, the Rutés nominal sub-system. We suggest our hypothesis is further supported by the change of 'l' to 'r' in the Feminine plural article in Rutés. This change, a feature of limited geographical distribution,[36] seems to add further weight to a morphological basis for specially marking the Feminine plural. We

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34. II, p. 108.

35. loc. cit. He mentions Schuchardt, Meyer-Lübke and Merlo.

36. Rohlfs, II, p. 110, only mentions Trevico (prov. Avellino), which we were able to confirm as it is p. 725 of the AIS.

submit that as Masculine nouns are typified by the phonetic diphthongs, so Feminine nouns are typified always by a special article, and sometimes by consonantal re-enforcement or 'retrieval' in their plurals.

4.4.1 Feminine Singular Lenition

A further peculiarity of the consonantism of Feminine nouns was noted when forms were elicited with initial voiceless stops and affricates. In the singular there seemed to be lenition occurring with the effect that these voiceless phonemes were becoming voiced. Thus we heard the last twelve forms in Table X as having voiced initial sounds. This was apparently a subconscious process to the speaker who insisted that the sounds in question were voiceless.

Thus it appears we have a further morphologically conditioned change which increases the distinction between singular and plural in this sub-class. We were unable to detect any parallel process affecting the fricative-initial lexical items, but as our examination was less than exhaustive in this aspect a closer study needs to be made before the whole pattern can be discovered.

If we do not accept the morphological motivation of this lenition, but instead seek a phonetic conditioning, it would appear very difficult to account for the fact that Masculine nouns or indeed all word-initial intervocalic voiceless stops and affricates are not affected.

CHAPTER FIVE

RUTES UMLAUT AND ROMANCE DIPHTHONGISATION

It is beyond the scope of the present study to treat the topic of our heading in depth - we shall restrict our discussion to a brief review of the positions of some previous investigators. Schürr (1956) attributes all Romance diphthongisation to a generalisation of that conditioned by umlaut. At the other end of the spectrum we have Romeo's paradigmatic explanation,[37] according to which all four degree vowel systems, due to structural pressures, underwent dipthongisation in the lower (and sometimes upper) mid orders. Where diphthongs no longer appear in four degree systems, it is because they have undergone a re-monophthongisation process. He does not even acknowledge, therefore consider, dipthongisation through umlaut. As though a compromise between the two extremes we have the contributions of Lausberg (1947) and Lüdtke (1956) who would attribute what we may call umlaut-induced diphthongisation (as seen in Rutes) to a structural pressure to avoid the merger of a phonetic [e] and [o] (caused by umlaut closing influence on /ɛ/ and /ɔ/) with a phonological /e/ and /o/ (<Latin ĭ, ē and ŭ, ō respectively). We assume that umlaut diphthongisation systems and diphthongisation of the Tuscan (Italian or unconditioned) type are mutually exclusive and that the former, an earlier innovation, precludes development of the latter type?

The question of the relative chronology of umlaut-induced changes and spontaneous diphthongisation has never been satisfactorily answered although some clues are provided by evolutionary evidence from some South Italian dialects. We have already noted that there was evidence of umlaut influence in Latin Imperial times (sect. 3.2 above). Rohlfs (I, p.14) notes that secondary 'i' and 'u' (from

umlauted Latin ē and ō resp.) take part in all changes that affect primary 'i' and 'u' (from Latin ĭ and ŭ). There is no early evidence however, of the effect of umlaut on the mid open vowels 'ɛ' (<ĕ) and 'ɔ' (<ŏ), hence the Lausberg-Lüdtke hypothesis, although Rensch (pp. 26, 30) does prove that what he calls umlaut (i.e., raising) is earlier than diphthongisation (conditioned by umlaut) in the dialects he reports on.

The apparent counter-examples to what we have called the mutual exclusiveness of conditioned vs. unconditioned dipthongisation (of the Italian type), offered by Rensch (pp. 25-6), are admittedly not phonetically conditioned, but the very fact that the 'irregularity' is restricted to a part of a morphological sub-class seems to us to point to a morphological conditioning.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNCHRONY

6.1 Underlying Forms in the Rutés Lexicon

There are two possible ways to represent the lexicon of a language - either by surface (i.e., phonetic) forms, or by more or less abstract forms. The only reasonable justification for the latter method, it seems, is when such forms simplify in some way the grammar of the language. We feel that the vocalic and consonantal alternations (primarily) of the substantival sub-system of Rutes can best be represented by excluding these predictable (allomorphic) variants from the phoneme inventory and having recourse to historical motivation for such variations. Thereby structural relationships that otherwise may have been obfuscated will be made apparent. In the case of Masculine nouns (and verbal paradigms) we shall show the internal inflections to be conditioned by an umlauting vowel (see PR 1 and 2) and a 'reinforcing' determiner (the definite article) for Feminine plurals. The base for Class I adjectives (Table VII) would thus be the Feminine, that of Class II (Table VIII) the Singular form.

6.2 The Phonemes of Rutés

Rutés has a total of nineteen consonant phonemes, including the doubtful /g/. There are seven vowel phonemes in stressed position which we increase to eight with the inclusion of the unstressed /ə/. In Table XI we classify these phonemes using articulatory parameters.

I CONSONANTS

		Lab	Dent	Pal	Vel
Stops	Vls	p	t	ʦ	k
	Vd	[b]	[d]	[ʤ]	g
Affric	Vls		t͡s	c	
	Vd		[d͡z]	ɟ	
Fric	Vls	f	s	ʃ	
	Vd	v	[z]	j	
Nasal		m	n	ñ	[ŋ]
Liquid			l,r	ʎ	

II VOWELS

Stressed			Pre-stressed		Post-stressed
	Front	Back		Front Back	
High	i	u	High	i u	
Mid closed	e	o	Mid	ə	ə
Mid open	ɛ	ɔ	Low	a	
Low	a				

Notes: i) Forms shown in square brackets are allophones of certain phonemes (See Sect. 6.3).

ii) /c/ = [tʃ]; /ɟ/ = [dʒ]

Table XI - RUTÉS PHONEMES

6.2.1 The Phoneme /ʦ/

As mentioned above (Chapter 2) this phoneme is the reflex of the merger of three Latin consonant clusters. We are proposing here that the resulting sound is an innovation and not the absorption of two sounds by a third.

It has been generally accepted by Romance scholars and Italian dialectologists that a [kj] (<cl) absorbed a [pj] (<pl) and a [tj] (<t'l) (see our Map 2; Devoto and Giacomelli p. 115; Bourciez p. 48; Pei p. 157; Tekavčić I, p. 73). All investigators, however, do not agree on the exact nature of the resultant sound. Those just mentioned identify it completely with the Latin 'cl' (and 't'l') reflex in Italian, namely [kj]. The authors of the AIS invent a new symbol [ĉ] for the sound in question which they describe as a "stimmloser mediopalataler Quetschlaut' (Jaberg and Jud, Der Sprachatlas...., p. 27). Rohlfs (I, p. xxxv), the AIS investigator for Southern Italy, describes it as an 'affricate mediopalatale sorde (simile al suone iniziale di 'chiamo' = ĉamo)'. Rohlfs' eminent student Lausberg gives the only description of [ĉ] with explicit articulatory parameters, saying it is produced by 'der Verschluß der Vorderzunge mit dem Vordergaumen' (RSpr. I, pp. 86-7). He adds that often the sound is realised as an affricate when the release is not quick enough - the stop being followed by the palatal fricative [ç]. Rensch indicates that the sound is definitely a palatalised velar in the area he investigated (personal communication).

Our informant produces a sound we would describe as a voiceless alveolo-palatal stop. The auditory impression was clearly distinct from a palatalised alveolar stop [t̡], the palatoalveolar affricate [tʃ], the palatal stop [c] and a palatalised velar [k̡]. On the rare occasions when we detected a fricative release (word lists normally yield a more guarded pronunciation) we would transcribe it as [ç̡]. We chose therefore not to continue the tradition of using [ĉ] since we feel it identifies a medio-palatal sound. Thus, in using the symbol /t̡/, we do <u>not</u> intend to indicate a palatalised 't'. We have attempted to locate the place and illustrate the manner of articulation

of this phoneme in Figure 1. We have compared it with the sound /c/ designated by the superimposed broken line. It will be noted that our /ʈ/ is laminal, whereas /c/ is essentially apical.

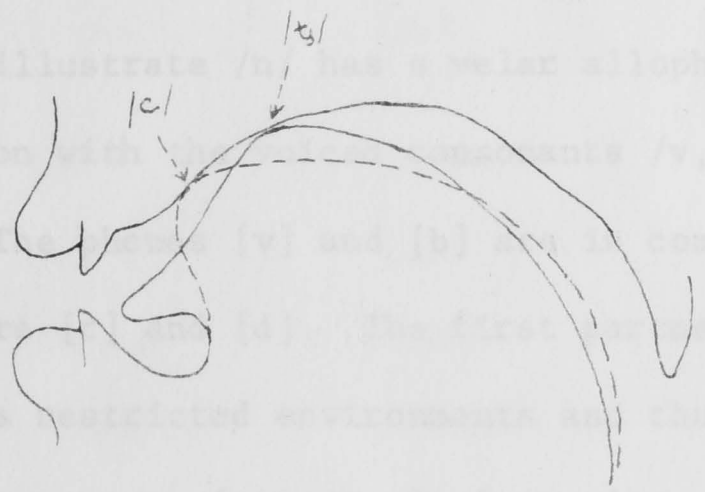

Figure 1. Tongue Position of Grottaminarda /ʈ/ compared with that of /c/.

6.3 Allophones and Anomalies

The voiceless consonant phonemes /t͡s, ʈ, s, f/ each have a voiced allophone when they follow a nasal. Examples were rather sparse and, in the case of the fricatives, the result of a peculiarly South Italian fusing process:

23)	/t͡s/	*pánti(c)e	[pand͡z]	'belly'
	/t/	*amplátu	[anɟát]	'swollen'
	/s/	in-sĭnu	[nzin]	'lap'
	/f/	in-fŏssu	[mvuəs]	'wet'
		in-fŭndu	[mvunn]	'deep'

Of the remaining voiceless consonants, /p, t, ʈ/ undergo no purely phonological modifications (See Sect. 4.4 above and 6.8 below) and /k/

seems to undergo neutralisation with etymological 'g' when post-nasal in final position, thus:

24)	*cinque	cink	[ciŋk]	'five'
	sangue	sank	[saŋk]	'blood'

As these examples illustrate /n/ has a velar allophone before a velar stop. The situation with the voiced consonants /v, r, g/ is less straightforward. The phones [v] and [b] are in complementary distribution, as are [r] and [d]. The first partner of each pair appears appears in the less restricted environments and thus is our choice as phoneme. [b] only appears after nasals (see also sect. 4.4 above) and [d] only after nasals or [r]. There appear to be no exceptions for /r/, but /v/ does appear to have the following counter-examples:

25)	Rutes	Napol.	Ital.	Gloss
	bɛl	bbjɛ́llə	bɛ́llo	beautiful
	buən	bbwɔ́nə	bwɔ́no	good
	barba	bbarbə	bárba	beard
	barbét	varvə	mɛ́nto	chin

These are all words of common occurrence and there seems no phonological explanation for the initial Latin /b/ not to have undergone lenition. From dialectal evidence, however scarce, supported by toponyms, it seems that these forms are borrowed from Italian and not indigenous.[38] 'bel' is immediately suspect as we would expect an umlaut-induced diphthong. The forms for p. 723 AIS for 'barba' and its derivative - [varv^{a}][varvétt^{a}] - show normal S. Italian evolution. Rohlfs[39]

38. Rohlfs. I, p. 195.

39. I, p. 196.

notes that this Italianisation of dialectal vocabulary where /v/ re-becomes [b] is common in all the dialects of S. Italy.

The velar /g/ is of doubtful status - we posit it on the strength of just three occurrences:

26)	Rutés	Ital.	Gloss
	goc	goccia	drop
	gol	gola	throat
	lagənə	(lazáñe)	lasagna
	làgənatúr	(mattɛrɛ́llo)	rolling-pin

The first is suspect as native since normally Latin -(t)tia>ts in Rutes (goccia<gŭttia). The second is suspect on lexical grounds as Southern dialects generally use a form or compound of 'canna' - cf. Napol. ncanna 'throat.[40] The third example and its derivative seem to be indigenous.

Generally etymological /g/ (+ a,o,u) is very unstable (see sects. 2.1.3 and 2.2.3 above) and either disappears completely or 'changes into' /v/ in initial position. Intervocalically, as already shown, it may become Ø, /j/ or /v/ - statistically the last is more frequent. Dialects in the region seem to indicate that Latin /g/ first lenited to [ɣ].[41] The step from there to [v] is not clear. Rohlfs sees it as the 'inserzione di un suono di transizione.....(in) posizione (di) iato ....' (I, p. 208). Thus he sees the process as: g>ɣ>Ø>v. Rensch notes (§ 127) numerous cases of v,β>ɣ and says the reverse 'Austausch' of ɣ>v,β is just as common. It appears therefore that perhaps we have a case of confusion of two sounds. We list our total corpus of

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40. See also Rensch, p. 248.

41. Cf. Rensch, pars. 126 and 194; Rohlfs, I, pars. 155 and 217.

words having Latin or prior initial /g/:

27)	Latin	Rutés Sg.	Rutés Pl.	Gloss
	*gŭ́bitu	lu vut	rə bot	elbow (Table X)
	gatta	la at	rə gat	cat (f) "
	gunnĕ́lla	la unɛ́l	rə vunɛ́l	skirt "
	gallu	lu al	li val	rooster "
	(gur)gŭtia	la vots	-------	goiter; crop
	*galeṓne	lu vaʌón	li vaʌún	boy
	(<ganeṓne)	(Cf. p. 725	AIS [wañónə])	

The first example in 27) has already been cited and,as a case of what Rohlfs calls 'false ricostruzioni',may be handled under the phoneme /v/ (the former [g] being purely of historic interest). In the same passage (I, 208) Rohlfs cites a concrete example of what we have called 'confusion' - at Monte di Procida (nr. Naples) we have: a vatt 'la gatta',rə ggatt or rə bbatt 'le gatte'. As with 'lu vut' so 'la vots' and 'lu vaʌón' may be assigned to /v/. The remaining examples 'la at, 'la unɛ́l' and 'lu al' must be marked as having anomalous plurals. The only example of correct etymology in the case of Feminine plural 'rə gat' is unfortunately insufficient to establish a generalisation similar to those for /r/ and /v/. A deeper investigation would perhaps shed more light on the matter and clarify the status of /g/.

6.4 Syllabic Canonical Form and Sequential Constraints

A syllable in Rutés can take any one of 12 shapes which we schematise as:

(C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)

That is,a syllable may start with a cluster of one, two, three, or no consonants and may end with a cluster of one, two, or none, the

only obligatory segment being the vowel.

Sequential possibilities:

V is any vowel

-in $(C_1)V(C_2)$ sequences (the subscripts are for identificational purposes), C_1 is any C except /ñ/ or /ʎ/, and C_2 is any C except /g/.

-in C_1C_2V....sequences a) if C_1 is /p,t,k,f or v/ C_2 is /r/

b) if C_1 is /s/ C_2 is /p,t,or k/

c) if C_1 is /m/ /n/ C_2 is /f/ /s or k/

-in $C_1C_2C_3V$...sequences C_1 is /s/, C_2 is /p,t or k/ and C_3 is /r/

-in ...VC_1C_2 sequences the following combinations occur:

a) C_1 /s/ /ʃ/ C_2 /p or t/ /k/

b) C_1 /r/ C_2 /r (→[d]),m,n,l,p,t or k/

c) C_1 /m/ /n/ /n/ →[ŋ] C_2 /v/(→[b]) or /m/ /r/(→[d]) or /n/ /k/

The most common syllable type appearing in our data is CVC.

Note: We did find one example of $VCCC$ in the word maéstr 'teacher' but this is suspect as native since all other Rutes words reduce the Latin cluster 'str' to 'st' when word final, e.g., Lat. nŏstra>nɔst, Lat. fenĕstra>fənɛst (Sect. 2.2.2 above). Napoletano also shows cluster reduction and has maéstə.

In the corpus examined, the maximum medial consonant cluster observed (that is across syllable boundary clusters) was CC.

Words reached a maximum of 4 syllables in length - we had two examples of this maximum kàraunár 'coalman' and làgənatúr 'rolling-pin' - although the most common word length is monosyllabic.

The maximum vowel sequence observed was XV-VY, where X and Y

represent any or no C segments. The sequence was not very common and the following combinations were noted:

a + é (2), á + i (2), a + ú (2), i + ə (2)

i + á (1), u + ə (1)

The parenthetical numbers refer to the number of instances of each.

6.5 Word Stress (see Appendix for illustrative examples)

Stress is phonologically significant in Rutés as its placement is not predictable. We make this observation without reservation for di- and tri-syllabic words and extrapolate to four syllable words because, as indicated above, our corpus only contains two four syllable words. The most common stress pattern for trisyllabic words is oxytonic. In our citation forms we mark (primary) stress with an acute accent on the stressed vowel, only on polysyllabic words containing two or more stressable vowels (see Table XI). It will be remembered that /ə/ cannot carry stress.

We have observed secondary stress only in compound words such as those referring to the days of the week still containing the reflex of the Latin word diẽs 'day' and the two four-syllable words, which are also compounds. We have marked this secondary stress with a grave accent.

6.6 Distinctive Feature Matrices of Rutés Phonemes

In Table XII we have attempted to analyse the Rutés phonemes in generative phonological terms.

We have here included the phoneme /g/ although our discussion above (pp. 58-9) would perhaps suggest its omission, especially as we are unable, due to paucity of data, to integrate its (potential) alternations in our rules below. Thus we have enclosed it with a broken lined box in Table XII.

	p	t	ʦ	c	ʧ	k	ʤ	g	f	v	s	ʃ	j	r	l	ʎ	m	n	ñ	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u	ə
CONS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SYLL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
ANT	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+(+)		+	-		+	+	-	+	+	-								
COR	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-(-)		+	+		+	+	-	-	+	-								
HI	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-(-)		-	+		-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
MID																				-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
BA	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-(-)		-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
NAS														-	-	-	+	+	+								
CONT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+															
VOIC	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-															
D.REL		-	+	(+	-	)																					
LAT														-	+	+											

Table XII - RUTÉS DF MATRICES

6.7 Some Phonological Rules

PR1 Umlaut 1.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \\ +mid \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-mid] \Big/ \_\_\_\_ C_1(VC_1) \begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \\ -mid \end{bmatrix} \#$$

PR2 Umlaut 2a - Vowel Epenthesis

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \\ -mid \\ \alpha ba \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ -hi \\ +mid \\ \alpha ba \end{bmatrix} C_1(VC_1) \begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \\ -mid \end{bmatrix} \#$$

PR3 Umlaut 2b - Stress Advancement

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+stress] \Big/ \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +mid \end{bmatrix}$$

PR4 Umlaut 2c - Vowel Reduction

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +mid \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -hi \\ -mid \\ -ba \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \\ -mid \end{bmatrix} \_\_\_\_$$

PR5 Final Vowel Reduction/Deletion

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syll \\ +hi \\ -mid \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -hi \\ -ba \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \_\_\_\_ \# \#C$$

$$\emptyset \qquad \text{Elsewhere}$$

PR6 Voice Assimilation

$$\begin{bmatrix} tʂ \\ t\underset{\smile}{s} \\ s \\ f \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} dʂ \\ d\underset{\smile}{z} \\ z \\ v \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} -syll \\ +nas \end{bmatrix}$$

PR7 De-spirantisation

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syll}\\+\text{cont}\\+\text{voic}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{cont}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}-\text{syll}\\+\text{nas}\end{bmatrix} \_\_\_$$

PR8 De-sonorantisation

$$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{syll}\\+\text{son}\\-\text{lat}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{son}] \;/\; \left\{\begin{bmatrix}-\text{syll}\\+\text{son}\\-\text{lat}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}-\text{syll}\\+\text{nas}\end{bmatrix}\right\} \_\_\_$$

PR9 Devocalisation

$$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syll}\\+\text{hi}\\+\text{ba}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}-\text{syll}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix} \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\+\text{hi}\\+\text{ba}\\-\text{voic}\end{bmatrix} \_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{syll}\\+\text{ba}\end{bmatrix}$$

PR10 Velarisation (Optional)

$$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{syll}\\-\text{son}\\+\text{cont}\\+\text{voic}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cons}\\+\text{son}\\+\text{hi}\\+\text{ba}\end{bmatrix} \;/\; \_\_\_ [+\text{syll}]$$

Note : PR1 and 2 contain the segment $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syll}\\+\text{hi}\\-\text{mid}\end{bmatrix}$. This is our abstract underlying umlaut-inducing vowel which we have represented as 'I' in Chapt. 2 above (see note 10).

A Sample Derivation

	PR2	PR3	PR4	PR5	PR7	
tɛ́mvI:	tiɛ́mvI	tíɛmvI	tíəmvI	tíəmv(ə)	tíəmb	'time'

We note that PR10, an optional rule, may in some way help to explain the 'jump' from [ɣ] to [v]. It is obvious that [w] provides the feature and/or phonetic link between labial and velar points of articulation.

6.8 Two Morphophonological Rules[42]

Under PR7 and 8 we have also covered the phonetic change that takes place in the initial consonant of certain Feminine plurals (we avoid saying Feminine nouns as there are those which we have called mixed gender - sect. 4.4 above). It would be convenient to be able to include these nouns as being subject to the said P rules. It appears impossible to state the environment in purely phonological terms, however. The only alternative is to refer to morphological classes, thus:

MR 1

$$\begin{bmatrix} /v/ \\ \\ /r/ \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} [b] \\ \\ [d] \end{bmatrix} / \quad rə\# \quad [\# \_\_\_\_\_]$$

Class X noun base[43]

MR 2

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ syll} \\ -\text{ son} \\ -\text{ cont} \\ -\text{ voic} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} [+\text{ long}] \\ \\ [+\text{ voic}] \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} rə\# \\ \\ la\# \end{bmatrix} \quad [\#\_\_\_\_\_]$$

Class X noun base[43]

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42. Anderson (1974) discusses three different types of rules which he says are to be found in the phonology of a language - morpholexical rules, phonological rules and phonetic rules (p. xiv). Our P rules include the last two types and we feel our M rules are perhaps of his first type.

43. Those of Table X above.

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APPENDIX

List of Rutés words appearing in above text phonemically transcribed. The Roman numerals following some entries refer to the chart in which these entries appear and thus the declension type.

Rutés	Gloss	Rutés	Gloss
aʒ (iə)	have (I)	fornI (I)	oven
áin	lamb	fɔrt (VIII)	strong
al	rooster	fravəl	strawberry
anʧát	swollen	frerI	cold
ancín	hook	freʃk (VII)	cool
apɛ́rt (VII)	open	frɛv	fever
aráʌ	braying	fují	to flee
at (X)	cat	gol (II)	throat
acír	to kill	goc	drop
aóstI	August	ʒəlos (VII)	jealous
aucɛ́lI	bird	ʒovən (VIII)	young
bárba	beard	jank	white
barbét	chin	jastumá	to blaspheme
bɛl	beautiful	jat	breath
bɔn (VII)	good	jac	ice
butón (III)	button	jɛnər	son-in-law
fasól (VI)	bean	jɔk	flake
fatijá	to work	jɔkI (I)	game
fatʂ (iə)	do (I)	jonn (VII)	blonde
fəroc (VIII)	fierce	jɔrnI (I)	day
fibjə	buckle	jumár	river
fjor (III)	river	kaʒ (X)	cage
fɔkI	fire		

Rutés	Gloss	Rutés	Gloss
kainát	brother-in-law	làgənatúr	rolling-pin
kan	dog	lagənə	lasagne
kanarón	windpipe	lɛtI (I)	bed
kannél (II/X)	candle	levən (V)	firewood
kap (X)	head	lɔnk (VII)	long
kàraumár	coalman	lopI (I)	wolf
karavón (III)	coal	maéstr (VI)	teacher
kavər	hot	man	hand
kavətsón (III)	shoe	mel	apple tree
ker (VII)	that	mɛrək (VI)	doctor
kest (VII)	this	mɛrəlI (I)	blackbird
kɔlI (I)	neck	melI (I)	apple
kɔkI (I)	cook	mɛ́rkurìI	Wednesday
kɔr (III)	heart	mes (III)	month
kor	tail	met	to put
kɔrn (V)	horn	mələn (III)	melon
kɔrpI (VII)	body	mfɔnnI	deep
kort (VII)	short	mfɔsI	wet
kɔt̨	couple	miʃká	to mix
krap	goat	mɔnək (II)	nun
krer	to believe	mɔnək (VI)	monk
kroc (IV/X)	cross	mɔrt (VII)	dead
kuanr	how many?	mutá	to change
kuat	four		
kulór (III)	colour	nas	nose
kuréj	belt	nɛʌ	fog
kurtɛ́lI (I)	knife	nɛspər	medlar

Rutés	Gloss	Rutés	Gloss
nɛvər (VII)	black	peʃ (III)	fish
nəpot (III)	nephew	pɛtI (I)	breast
nəpot (IV)	niece	pɛtən (III)	comb
nir	nest	pəpərol (VI)	chili
nom	name	pərmon (III)	lung
nɔr	sister-in-law	pərotɟI	fleas
nɔst (VII)	our	picón (III)	pigeon
noc (IV)	nut	poləc (III)	louse
nɔt (IV)	night	pɔrtI (I)	port
nɔv (VII)	new	pɔt͡s (iə)	can (I)
nsenI	lap	povər	poor
		prɛt (II)	stone
ɔm (III)	man		
		prɛvət (VI)	priest
ɔsI (V)	bone	púniə	fist
ɔrtI (V)	garden		
ɔtɟI (I)	eye	rarək	root
ɔvI (V)	egg	rasólI (I)	razor
		rɛbət (VI)	debt
pant͡s	belly	ren (III)	kidneys, back
paʌ	straw		
parlá	to speak	rɛnr (III)	tooth
		retI (V)	finger
pekər	sheep	rəlor (III)	pain
pɛl (IV/X)	skin	rəmor (III)	noise
pel (VI)	hair		
pɛn (X)	feather	rənar	money
		rənotɟI (V)	knee
pɛr (III)	foot	rəretI	right
per (VI)	pear		
pɛrr	to lose	riñón (III)	kidney
		ric	to say
pes (VI)	weight		

Rutés	Gloss	Rutés	Gloss
rijúm	fast	sɔc (VI)	associate
roj (VII)	two	spərá	to hope
ros (VII)	red	spɔrk (VII)	dirty
rɔs (VII)	big	spos (VI)	husband
rot (IV/X)	dowry	stɔrt (VII)	crooked
rɔt (II)	wheel	stret (VII)	straight
roc (VIII)	sweet	suər	corktree
rɔspI (I)	toad	ʃkaf	box on ears
ruménək	Sunday	ʃkum	foam
rurmí	to sleep		
rutés (VIII)	Grottamin.	tɛmvI (I)	time
sank	blood	tɛr	earth
sac (iə)	know (I)	tetI (I)	roof
sem (III)	seed	tijɛ́l (X)	ovenpan
sek (VII)	dry; thin	tonn (VII)	round
sɛrp (IV)	snake	tor (IV/X)	tower
siʌúts	hiccup	tɔrlI	yolk
skarpɛ́lI	chisel	tɔst (VII)	hard
skɔl	school	trɔnI (V)	thunder
skrof	sow	truvá	to find
sɔkər (II)	sister-in-law	tsɛp (X)	wedge
sɔkərI (I)	brother-in-law	ʈav (X)	key
sol (VII)	alone	ʈen (VII)	full
sorəc (III)	mouse	ʈes	church
sɔnI (I)	sound	ʈommI	lead
sorr (VII)	deaf	ʈopI (I)	poplar
soʃI	breath	ʈɔt (VII)	fat

Rutés	Gloss	Rutés	Gloss
ʈɔvI	nail	vit	vine
cenər (IV/X)	ash	vɔj	today
cer	to yield	vok (II/X)	mouth
cɛrəv (VI)	deer	voskI	wood
cetI	quiet	vot (IV/X)	barrel
cɛrʦ (X)	oak	votI (I)	vow
cec (III)	chickpea	votI (V)	elbow
cəkat	blind	vots	crop
cəner (VII)	tender	voc	voice
cərəvɛlI (V)	brain	vɔv (III)	ox
cimək	bedbug	vrats	arm
cink	five	vreʈ (II/X)	ear
		vretI	glass
umɛ́l (X)	skirt	vrɔkəlI	broccoli
vaʌón (III)	boy	vulíkəl	navel
vas	kiss	vusík	bladder
ven (II)	vein		
vɛnn	to sell		
vɛnrI (I)	wind		
vɛrm (III)	worm		
verr (VIII)	green		
verəv (II)	widow		
verəvI(I)	widower		
veʃkəv (VI)	bishop		
vɛt	old		
vev	to drink		
vənniñ	grape-harvest		
vəré	to see		