

A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE DIALECT
OF SCANDALE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the phonemes of the dialect of Scandale and to determine its phonological system. In the first part are presented a synchronic description of the phonemes of the dialect in structural terms and the salient features of their distribution. In the second part which consists of a historical "excursus", the historical development of the vowel system from Latin to Scandalese is presented from the point of view of diachronic phonemics.

The data for this study has been collected during my field work "in situ" during the summer, 1969, in Scandale, an agricultural town of eastern Calabria, Italy. The linguistic investigation consisted in the presentation of 682 questionnaire items to ten selected informants ranging in age from 25 to 50 years. The information obtained has been recorded on magnetic tape and later transcribed and analyzed.

In the development of this thesis I have followed the Neo-Bloomfieldian method of description.

I have come to the conclusion that the phonemic inventory of the dialect in question consists of 6 vowels and 24 consonants. Taking into consideration their respective allophones there are 12 vowel phones and 34 consonant phones.

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Not to be forgotten is the contribution of the people of Scandale who, by being my informants, helped make this study possible. I wish to acknowledge this contribution by dedicating this thesis to them.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Place of study

Scandale (Scandale Gaudioso) is a town of eastern Calabria, Italy. It is situated at an altitude of 375 m. above sea-level. Its territory, the largest in area of the Marchesato Region, extends 20 Km. to the border of Crotone, an ancient Greek colony on the Ionian Sea. The present town, which dates back to 1639, is named after two other towns of the same name, Scandale La Torre and Scandale Vecchio, situated on two adjacent hills and later destroyed by earthquakes.

After the unification of Italy in 1861, the territory of Scandale was owned and administered by the barons Drammis, Zurlo, and Bellingeri who gave the land to the people to cultivate and received payment from them either in money or in crops. This system came to an end in 1950 when the Italian government initiated a programme known as "Opera Valorizzazione Sila". The land presumably owned by the barons was confiscated and given to the people who pay a small charge to the government for a period of thirty years. As a result of this land improvement programme a village, named Corazzo, was born where nearly 150 families live.

Scandale enjoys the administrative autonomy of being a commune having a population of over 4000 inhabitants, as well as having certain urban characteristics such as paved streets, piped water, a movie theatre, an orphanage, and a recently established high school. These are all features

which came into being after World War II.

The population is predominantly rural. About 85% of the male population are engaged in agriculture, the remaining 15% are engaged in different trades. As far as education is concerned, Scandale has a very low level of illiteracy. No one belonging to the younger generation has lower than fourth grade of elementary education. With the new education policies which came about in the last decade, everyone must attend the "Scuola Media Statale" and receive the "licenza media" (grade eight education). Due to better economic situations many young people are now attending colleges and universities. This has been possible for children whose parents, having abandoned agriculture, have emigrated to Germany, France, Australia, and to the Americas during the last 10-15 years and have achieved an adequate standard of living.

1.2 Previous studies conducted in the area

One of the greatest works ever produced in romance dialectology is the Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz (AIS), 1928 ff., by the Swiss romanists Karl Jaberg and Jakob Jud.¹ Gerhard Rohlfs, one of the field workers for the Atlas, conducted a linguistic investigation of the dialects of Southern

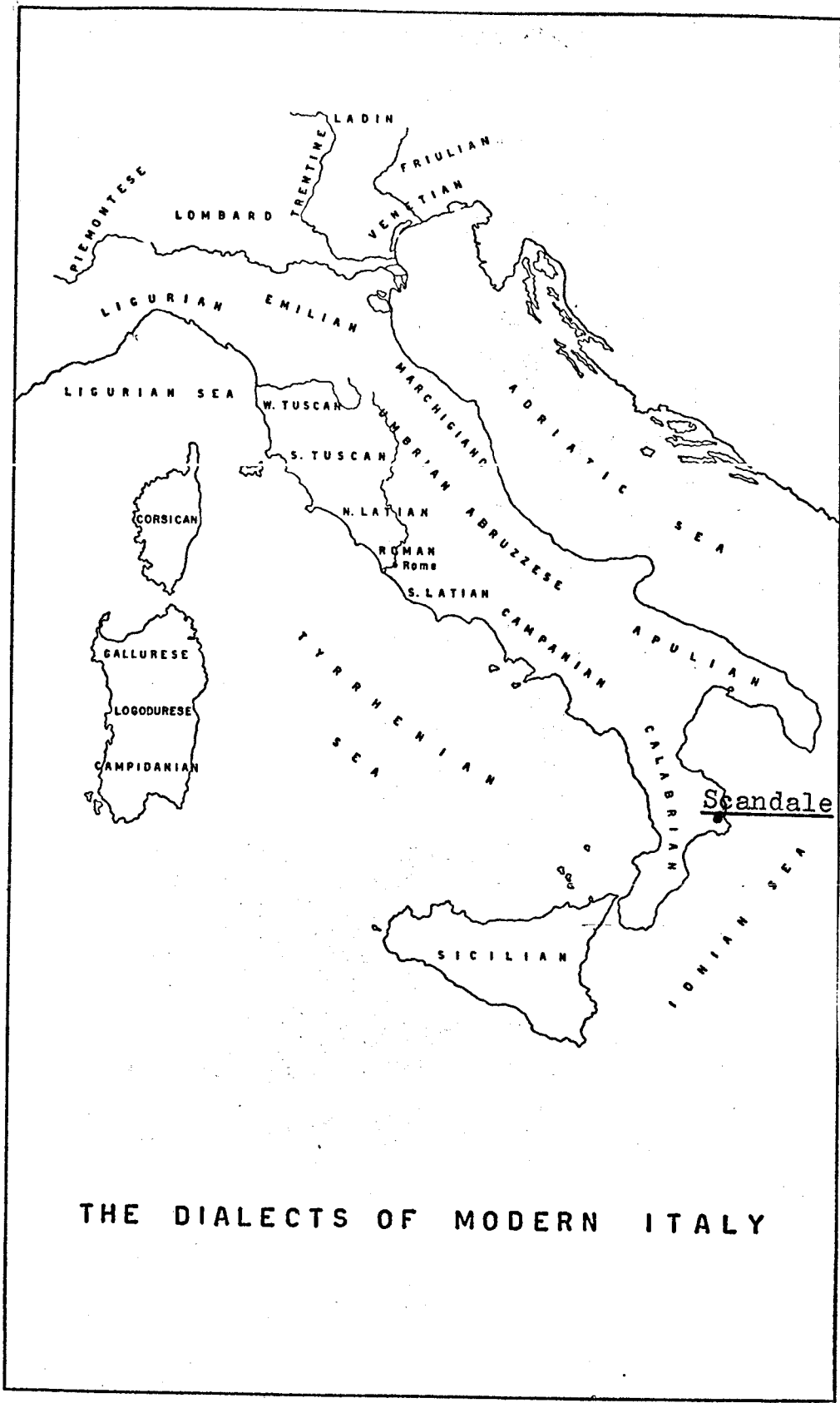
1. Linguistic Atlas of Italy and South Switzerland.

Italy (1921-39) which resulted in his three-volume work: Historische Grammatik der Italienischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten, begun in 1940.¹ This fundamental work constitutes an indispensable tool for acquiring a good knowledge of the history of the Italian language and its dialects. Among Rohlfs' publications on Italian dialectology should be mentioned his Dizionario Dialettale delle tre Calabrie (1932-39).

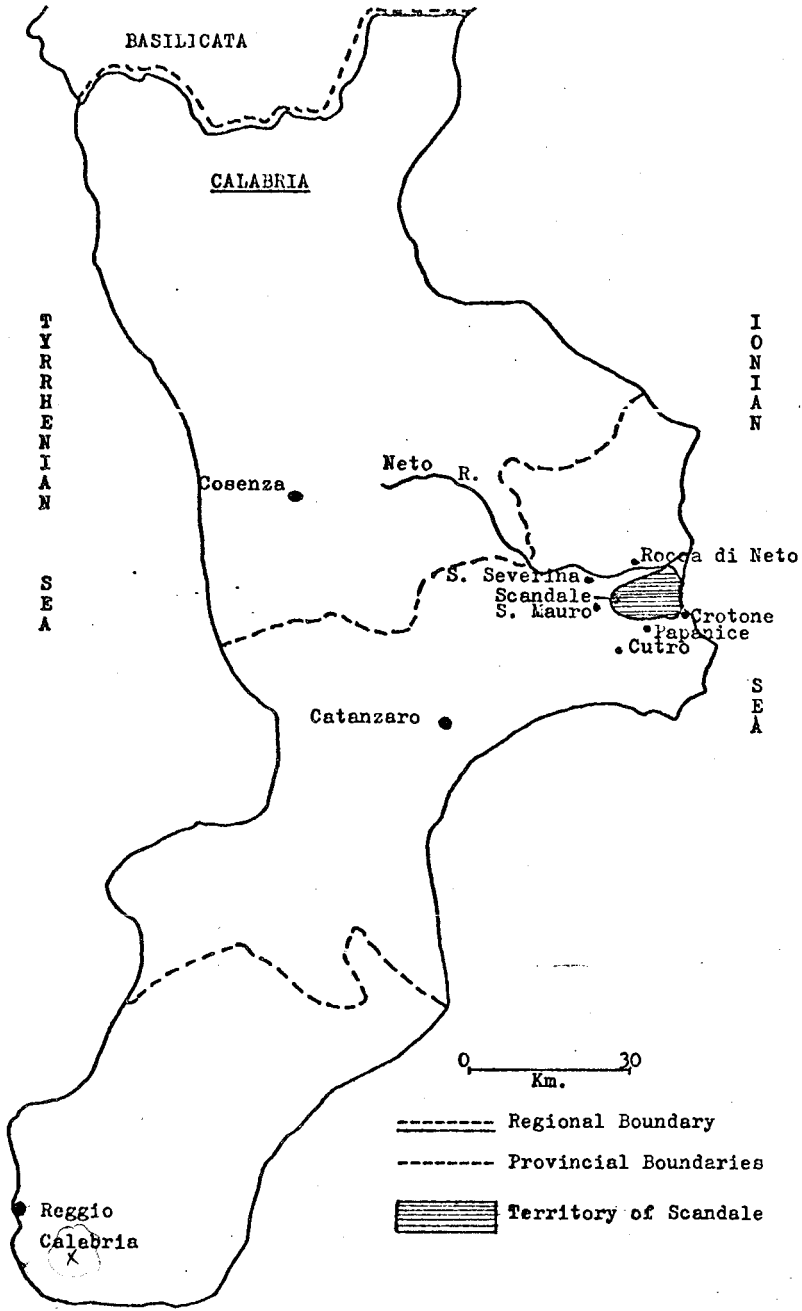
In his Historische Grammatik, Rohlfs did not register each single phenomenon occurring in each dialect; instead, he wanted to emphasize the most important lines of development, the characteristic phenomena and what needed particular attention with respect to the general development and to the single areas under investigation. In the first volume, Lautlehre (Fonetica), an attempt is made to combine the historical and geographic methods with the descriptive representation, thus associating diachronic linguistics (evolutive and historical) with synchronic linguistics, trying to give a clear and systematic treatment of the linguistic phenomena.

In his work no mention is made of Scandale, rather a sporadic mention is made of the historical development of the neighbouring dialects of Crotone, Catanzaro, and Cariati. This led me to believe that Rohlfs collected data only in some selected towns of the province excluding Scandale whose dialect we are concerned with in this study.

1. Grammatica Storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti, trans. by Salvatore Persichino, Luigi Einaudi Ed., Torino, 1966.



Pulgram, E., The tongues of Italy: prehistory and history (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).



1.3 Objectives

The purpose of this study is two-fold: to present the structure of the dialect¹ and to make a historical "excursus" of the diachronic phonology of the vowels from Latin to Scandalese.

This study represents an attempt to apply the structural (descriptive) method of linguistic analysis in order to establish the phonological system of the dialect of Scandale as spoken by the rural people.

1.4 Method

The method used in this study is neo-Bloomfieldian in nature. An attempt has been made to apply the phonemic method of analysis in establishing the phonemes of the dialect in question and to identify their allophones.

1. In this study, the term "dialect" is used to mean a specific form of a language spoken in a given geographical area (in our case, the speech form of a minor locality), differing from the official or standard language in one or more levels of the language, yet not sufficiently different from the other dialects of the language to be regarded as a separate language.

1.5 Questionnaires

Before beginning the linguistic investigation for this study, two questionnaires containing 682 entries were formulated. The first contained 365 single words most of which were used for the second questionnaire to formulate 317 utterances. The purpose of this division was to observe the phonetic changes occurring within the word and within the utterance.

1.6 Corpus and procedures

In the course of my residence in Scandale during the summer of 1969 I was able to gather the linguistic raw material which is the basis of this study.

The collection of the data consisted in the presentation of the questionnaire items to ten selected informants ranging in age from 24 to 50 and in a conversation carried on with a young man of 25 years and a woman of 83 years. The informants selected seemed representative of the group under investigation.

The essential conditions required of the informants were 1) willingness to produce the information required by the investigator, 2) length of residence in the town (all have lived there all their lives), 3) level of education (third grade of elementary school minimum).

Besides the informants selected, some consideration has been given to conversations held with a group of students. Their information has been used only for the sake

of observation and later discarded because in their speech there is tendency to combine dialectal and standard features and also because this study is concerned only with the speech of the rural people. Due to the influence of standard Italian the young generation may be considered bilingual, and the ideal description of their speech would be an idiolect. Taking into consideration these facts a homogeneous system may be impossible to establish.

The information given by the selected informants has been recorded on magnetic tape and later transcribed phonetically and analyzed.

1.7 Transcription

The following phonetic symbols used in the transcription are taken from G. Rohlfs' Historische Grammatik; the others, which belong to the International Phonetic Association (IPA), have been altered for simplicity in typing.

- ś (=ʃ): voiceless prepalatal fricative, It. scena
 ç : voiceless mediopalatal fricative, Ger. ich
 b (=β): voiced bilabial fricative, Sp. haba
 d (=ð): voiced dental fricative, Sp. cada
 z (=ʒ): voiced prepalatal fricative, Tuscan stagione
 g (=ɣ): voiced velar fricative, Sp. lago
 c (=tʃ): voiceless dento-alveolar affricate, It. zio
 ċ (=dʒ): voiced dento-alveolar affricate, It. zona
 č (=tʃ): voiceless prepalatal affricate, It. ceppo
 ġ (=dʒ): voiced prepalatal affricate, It. gelso
 "ç : voiceless mediopalatal affricate, Sc. chiamo
 "ġ : voiced mediopalatal affricate, Sc. ghianda
 m̂ (=m̃): labio-dental nasal, It. inferno
 ñ (=ɲ): velar nasal, It. vengo
 ṭ ḍ ṛ : cacuminal (retroflex) sounds
 * : indicates reconstructed forms.
 < : derived from
 > : becomes
 [] : indicates that the enclosed transcription is phonetic
 / / : indicates that the enclosed transcription is phonemic
 = : corresponds to

2.0 The vowel phonemes of Scandalese

There are three distinctive features of articulation which may be taken into consideration in the formation of the Scandalese vowels:

- 1) Tongue height: high, high mid, low mid, and low;
- 2) Tongue horizontal position: front, centre, and back;
- 3) Lip position: rounded and unrounded is predictable.

Of all the combinations of features listed above, we can select six to make up the stock of the Scandalese vowel phonemes as shown by the following table:

Table I
Phonemic Table of vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	a		

2.1 Phonemic opposition of vowels

/i, e, a, o, u, ə/	/pícca/	<u>pizza</u>
	/pécca/	<u>pezza</u>
	/pácca/	<u>pazza</u>
	/pócca/	<u>possa</u> (egli)
	/púcca/	<u>puzza</u>
	/púccə/	<u>pozzi</u>

2.2 Allophonic distribution of vowels

/i/

[ɨ] high central unrounded unstressed

[úəminə] /úəminə/ uomini[fímminə] /fímminə/ femmine[cícirə] /cícirə/ ceci

[i̯] front prepalatal unrounded non-syllabic occurring as the first member of diphthong

[úəriu̯] /úəriu/ orzo[pietá̯] /pietá/ pietà[óia̯] /óia/ oggi

[i] high front unrounded stressed

[kíssu] /kíssu/ questo[míntírə] /míntírə/ mettere[íddu] /íddu/ egli

/e/

[e]	low-mid front unrounded stressed		
[pédə]	/pédə/	<u>pie</u> de	
[léia]	/léia/	<u>leg</u> ge (egli)	
[ambiéntə]	/ambiéntə/	<u>amb</u> iente	
[vélu]	/vélu/	<u>ve</u> lo	
[kafé]	/kafé/	<u>caffè</u>	

[e]	high-mid front unrounded unstressed		
[merlúccu]	/merlúccu/	<u>mer</u> luzzo	
[petrizza]	/petrizza/	<u>Petr</u> izia	
[benidika]	/benidika/	<u>ben</u> edica	

/a/

[a] low back unrounded stressed, occurring when back rounded vowel /u/ appears in the following syllable

[káru]	/káru/	<u>car</u> o
[ássu]	/ássu/	<u>ass</u> o
[fáccu]	/fáccu/	<u>facc</u> io

[a] low central unrounded occurring elsewhere

[stád̩da]	/stád̩da/	<u>stall</u> a
[án̩ima]	/án̩ima/	<u>an</u> ima
[pán̩ə]	/pán̩ə/	<u>pan</u> e
[gúcc̩a]	/gúcc̩a/	<u>gocc</u> ia

/o/

[o]	low-mid back rounded stressed		
[sɔ̞rdu]	/sórdu/	<u>soldo</u>	
[ɔ̞va]	/óva/	<u>uova</u>	
[fɔ̞ssə]	/fóssə/	<u>fosse</u>	
[škɔ̞pu]	/škópu/	<u>scopo</u>	

[o] high-mid back rounded unstressed

[nɔ̞ndáta]	/nondáta/	<u>un'ondata</u>
[ɔ̞ráriu]	/oráriu/	<u>orario</u>
[ɔ̞ntonétta]	/ntonétta/	<u>Antonietta</u>

/u/

[u̞] closed velar back rounded, unstressed first member of diphthong and following velar consonant

[guérra]	/guérra/	<u>guerra</u>
[kuá̞ndu]	/kuá̞ndu/	<u>quando</u>

[u] high back rounded occurring elsewhere

[únu]	/únu/	<u>uno</u>
[úəminu]	/úəminu/	<u>uomo</u>
[fúəku]	/fúəku/	<u>fuoco</u>

/ə/

[ə] mid-central unrounded, unstressed after /i/ and /u/ as second member of diphthong.¹ In final position it has less voicing.

1. For the historical development of íə, and úə; cf. 4.411-4.412

[liəntu]	/liəntu/	<u>lento</u>
[búənu]	/búənu/	<u>buono</u>
[pínna]	/pínna/	<u>penne</u>
[díce]	/díce/	<u>dici</u> (tu)

From the allophonic distribution we can diagram the ten vowel phones as follows:

Table II

Phonetic table of vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
High-mid	e	ə	ɤ
Low-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	ɑ

2.3 The Syllable

The syllable is "the smallest unit of patterning or the shortest segment of speech pronounceable in a language".¹ In the dialect of Scandale, vowel sounds may occur as the sole members of separate pronounceable syllables. Consonants may occur in syllables only if they are accompanied by a vowel sound which, phonetically speaking, is a peak. Scandalese /ía/ io consists of two vowel phonemes where the first sound is more prominent than the second.

The occurrence of consonants in this dialect is limited to the syllable margins. There are two syllable margins - the onset, the one preceding the vocalic peak; and the coda, the one following the peak. We call cluster a sequence of two or more consonants in either margin. Whereas each syllable must contain a peak, one or both margins may be omitted. The four possible types of syllable in this dialect may be illustrated in the following manner:

v ²	(peak alone)	/u/	<u>il, lo</u>
CV	(C onset+peak)	/kú/	<u>con</u>
CVC	(C onset+peak+coda)	/par-tírə/	<u>partire</u>
VC	(peak+coda)	/an-kóra/	<u>ancora</u>

1. Agard, F.B. and Di Pietro, R.J., The sounds of English and Italian (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 36.

2. V represents vowels and semi-vowels, C represents consonants and consonant clusters.

2.4 Distribution of vowels in the syllable

2.41 Vocalic nucleus: V

/i,e,a,o,u/	[ísula]	/ísula/	<u>isola</u>
	[é̃ra]	/é̃ra/	<u>era</u>
	[á̃vutu]	/ávutu/	<u>alto</u>
	[ú̃ña]	/ú̃ña/	<u>unghia</u>

2.42 Sequences of vowels

In this dialect two-vowel sequences (or diphthongs) are found. Both vowels of a diphthong occur in the same syllable peak; phonetically, one of them has a semi-vowel positional variant. In Scandalese only /i/ and /u/ function as the semi-vowel members of diphthongs. They may occur either before or after the full vowel members (syllabic vowels).

2.421 Combination of a syllabic vowel with a non-syllabic vowel: $V + \underset{\wedge}{V}^1$, $\underset{\wedge}{V} + V$

a) First member stressed: $\overset{ˈ}{V} + \underset{\wedge}{V}$

/i/ + /ə/	[a'ciə̃d̥du]	/a'ciə̃d̥du/	<u>uccello</u>
/u/ + /ə/	[vi'skúə̃ttu]	/vi'skúə̃ttu/	<u>biscotto</u>

1. $\underset{\wedge}{V}$ = non-syllabic vowel; V = syllabic vowel

b) Second member stressed: $\underset{\wedge}{V} + \overset{\acute{}}{V}$

	/e/	[ambi _˘ é̃ntə/	/ambiéntə/	<u>ambiente</u>
/i/+	/a/	[piá _˘ ttu]	/piáttu/	<u>piatto</u>
	/o/	[lió _˘ na]	/lióna/	<u>tartaruga</u>
	/u/	[fiú _˘ mə/	/fiúmə/	<u>fiume</u>
	/i/	[kuí _˘ ntu]	/kuíntu/	<u>quinto</u>
/u/ + /e/		[kué _˘ stua]	/kuéstua/	<u>questua</u>
	/a/	[kuá _˘ tru]	/kuátru/	<u>quadro</u>

When the first member is stressed, the second member is always /ə/. All the other sequences of vowels are to be considered as constituting separate syllable peaks - for example /ua/ in /súa/, /ae/ in /maéstru/, /ia/ in /trattoría/.

2.422 Combination of a syllabic vowel with two non-syllabic

vowels: $\underset{\wedge}{V} + V + \overset{\acute{}}{V}$

/u/ + /a/ + /i/ [g_˘uai_˘abbúa] /g_˘uaiabbúa/ g_˘uai a voi

2.423 Combination of a non-syllabic vowel with two syllabic

vowels: $V + \underset{\wedge}{V} + V$

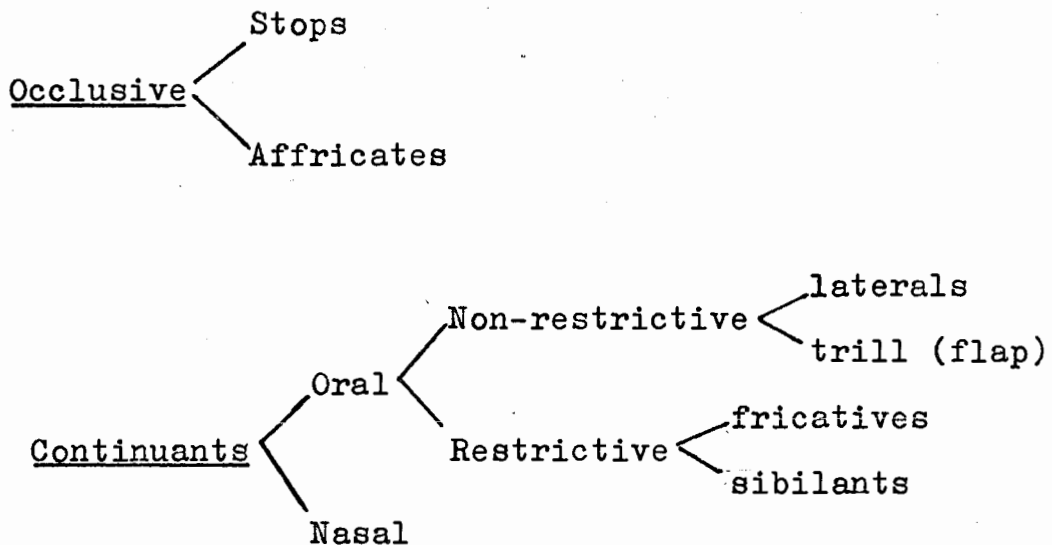
/a/ + /i/ + /i/	[aií _˘ ərə]	/aiíərə/	<u>ieri</u>
/a/ + /i/ + /u/	[aiú _˘ tu]	/aiútu/	<u>aiuto</u>
/o/ + /i/ + /ə/	[ó _˘ iə]	/óiə/	<u>oggi</u>

1. Groups of three contiguous vowels are very uncommon in Scandalese.

3.0 The Consonants

3.1 Features of consonant articulation

In the description of the consonants two types of distinctive features are taken into consideration - manner and position. In the manner of articulation there are four contrasts - oral/nasal,voiced/voiceless,occlusive/continuant,restrictive/non-restrictive. The manner of articulation may be represented schematically:¹



There are eight positions of articulation - bilabial,dental,labio-dental,alveolar,retroflex,pre-palatal,medio-palatal,and velar.

1. Agard,F.B. and Di Pietro,R.J.,op. cit.,p. 14.

In this dialect there are twenty-four consonant phonemes resulting from the manners and positions of articulation listed in the preceding page. They can be tabulated as follows:

Table III

Phonemic table of consonants

	Lab.	Lab- dent.	Dent.	Alveol.	Retr.	Pre- palat.	Medio- palat.	Velar
Stops	vls.	p	t					k
	vd.	b	d		ɖ			g
Affric	vls.		c			ç	ç̥	
	vd.		ç			ç	ç̥	
Fricat.	vls.		s			ʃ	ç	
	vd.		v					
Nasals	m			n			ɲ	
Lateral				l				
Flap				r				
Frictionless continuant							j	

vls.= voiceless, vd.= voiced

3.2 Phonemic opposition of consonants

The pairs of words listed below serve to justify the establishment of the twenty-four consonant phonemes of Scandalese. All pairs are minimal, that is to say, two words are kept distinct in meaning by one sound alone. By the use of minimal pairs we can determine what the phonemes of a language are.

/p, m/	/pína/	<u>Pina</u>
	/mína/	<u>mina</u>
/b, m/	/bánku/	<u>banco</u>
	/mánku/	<u>manco</u>
/t, d/	/pítta/	<u>pizza</u>
	/píḍda/	<u>fango</u>
/d, l/	/dátu/	<u>dato</u>
	/látu/	<u>lato</u>
/k, g/	/kála/	<u>cala</u>
	/gála/	<u>gala</u>
/č, ġ/	/máčca/	<u>macchia</u>
	/mágga/	<u>maglia</u>
/ç, c/	/júçça/	<u>soffia</u>
	/júcca/	<u>Mariuccia</u>
/c, j/	/píaccu/	<u>pezzo</u>
	/píaju/	<u>peggio</u>
/s, z/	/sóna/	<u>suona</u>
	/zóna/	<u>zona</u>
/č, ġ/	/čilára/	<u>celare</u>
	/ġilára/	<u>gelare</u>

/f, v/	/fínu/	<u>fino</u>
	/vínu/	<u>vino</u>
/m, n/	/má <u>nn</u> a/	<u>man</u> na
	/ná <u>nn</u> a/	<u>non</u> na
/n, ñ/	/ná <u>st</u> ru/	<u>nast</u> ro
	/ñá <u>st</u> ru/	<u>ogget</u> to
/l, r/	/pí <u>l</u> /	<u>pelo</u>
	/pí <u>r</u> /	<u>pero</u>
/ś, s/	/ś <u>er</u> ra/	<u>sh</u> erra
	/s <u>er</u> ra/	<u>se</u> ga

3.3 Allophonic distribution of consonants¹

The consonant phonemes together with their distinctive features and positional variants (allophones) are given below:

/p/

[p] voiceless bilabial stop found in all occurrences

[papá] /papá/ papà

[princípiu] /princípiu/ principio

[típu] /típu/ tempo

/t/

[t̠] voiceless retroflex stop occurring before /r/

[t̠rénu] /t̠rénu/ treno

[nt̠ru] /nt̠ru/ un altro

1. See phonetic table of consonants p. 41

[t] voiceless dental stop occurring elsewhere

[tókka]	/tókka/	<u>tocca</u>
[pítta]	/pítta/	<u>pizza</u>
[pántu]	/pántu/	<u>Pantaleone</u>
[bústa]	/bústa/	<u>busta</u>

/k/

[k] voiceless velar stop found in all occurrences

[kínə]	/kínə/	<u>chi</u>
[kántu]	/kántu/	<u>canto</u>
[klímə]	/klímə/	<u>clima</u>
[ákkua]	/ákkua/	<u>acqua</u>

/b/

[b] voiced bilabial stop found in all occurrences

[búənu]	/búənu/	<u>buono</u>
[mbriáku]	/mbriáku/	<u>ubbriaco</u>
[óbbligu]	/óbbligu/	<u>obbligo</u>

/d/

[d] voiced dental fricative occurring initially and intervocalically

[dámme]	/dámme/	<u>dammi</u>
[dirítu]	/dirítu/	<u>diritto</u>
[kúda]	/kúda/	<u>coda</u>

[d] voiced dental stop occurring elsewhere

[kuándu]	/kuándu/	<u>quando</u>
[guárdia]	/guárdia/	<u>guardia</u>

/d/

[d] voiced retroflex stop found in all occurrences¹

[d̠á]	/d̠á/	<u>lì</u>
[d̠úəku]	/d̠úəku/	<u>quì</u>
[kaváɖɖu]	/kaváɖɖu/	<u>cavallo</u>

/g/

[g] voiced velar fricative occurring initially, intervocalically, and after /r/

[gátta]	/gátta/	<u>gatta</u>
[gúmbula]	/gúmbula/	<u>giara</u>
[pagára]	/pagára/	<u>pagare</u>
[vérga]	/vérga/	<u>verga</u>

[g] voiced velar stop occurring elsewhere

[lɔ̃nga]	/lɔ̃nga/	<u>lunga</u>
[sá̃ngu]	/sá̃ngu/	<u>sangue</u>

/c/

[c] voiceless dento-alveolar affricate found in all occurrences

[ciu]	/ciu/	<u>zio</u>
[cáppa]	/cáppa/	<u>zappa</u>
[fórca]	/fórca/	<u>forza</u>
[ammaccára]	/ammaccára/	<u>ammazzare</u>

1. In intervocalic occurrence it is always geminated. Historically it is derived from Latin -ll-: caballu > kaváɖɖu.

/č/

[č] voiceless pre-palatal affricate found in all occurrences

[čilára]	/čilára/	<u>celare</u>
[čančíra]	/čančíra/	<u>piangere</u>
[kábuču]	/kávuču/	<u>calcio</u>

/č̣/

[č̣] voiceless medio-palatal affricate found in all occurrences

[č̣ínu]	/č̣ínu/	<u>pieno</u>
[paččána]	/paččána/	<u>pacchiana</u>
[piččátu]	/piččátu/	<u>picchiato</u>

/ẓ/

[ẓ] voiced dento-alveolar affricate found in all occurrences

[ẓanzára]	/ẓanzára/	<u>zanzara</u>
[ẓóna]	/ẓóna/	<u>zona</u>
[bórza]	/bórza/	<u>borsa</u>
[rúzzu]	/rúzzu/	<u>rozzo</u>

/ǵ/

[ǵ] voiced pre-palatal affricate found in all occurrences

[ǵúdičə]	/ǵúdičə/	<u>giudice</u>
[ǵíǵǵu/	/ǵíǵǵu/	<u>giglio</u>
[ráǵǵa]	/ráǵǵa/	<u>rabbia</u>

/g̃/

[g̃] voiced medio-palatal affricate found in all occurrences

/g̃iasə/	/g̃iasə/	<u>chiesa</u>
[g̃acca]	/g̃acca/	<u>piazza</u>
[pág̃ga]	/pág̃ga/	<u>paglia</u>

/f/

[f] voiceless labio-dental fricative found in all occurrences

[fínu]	/fínu/	<u>fino</u>
[frénu]	/frénu/	<u>freno</u>
[báffa]	/báffa/	<u>baffi</u>

/ç/

[ç] voiceless medio-palatal fricative occurring only intervocally and geminated as /çç/

[júçça]	/júçça/	<u>soffia</u>
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/v/

[v] voiced bilabial fricative occurring intervocally when back rounded vowels precede or follow it.

[ávutu]	/ávutu/	<u>alto</u>
[póṽara]	/póṽara/	<u>povera</u>
[ndúṽə]	/ndúṽə/	<u>dove</u>

[v] voiced labio-dental fricative occurring elsewhere

[vínu]	/vínu/	<u>viño</u>
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[vómbaru]	/vómbaru/	<u>vomere</u>
[avíra]	/avíra/	<u>avere</u>

/s/

[z] voiced dorso dental fricative (sibilant)
occurring only before voiced consonants

[zdéñnu]	/sdéñnu/	<u>sdegno</u>
[znéllu]	/snéllu/	<u>snello</u>

[s] voiceless dorso dental fricative (sibilant)
occurring elsewhere

[sántu]	/sántu/	<u>santo</u>
[básta]	/básta/	<u>basta</u>
[úassu]	/úassu/	<u>osso</u>

/š/

[ž] voiced pre-palatal fricative occurring before
voiced consonants

[žmóstriu]	/šmóstriu/	<u>mostro</u>
[žbalordítu]	/šbalordítu/	<u>sbalordito</u>
[ážma]	/ážma/	<u>asma</u>

[š] voiceless pre-palatal fricative occurring elsewhere

[šímia]	/šímia/	<u>scimmia</u>
[špáta]	/špáta/	<u>spada</u>
[ášsa]	/ášsa/	<u>ascia</u>
[škóla]	/škóla/	<u>scuola</u>
[štríttu]	/štríttu/	<u>stretto</u>

/l/

[l] apico alveolar lateral found in all occurrences

[líbbra]	/líbbra/	<u>libbra</u>
[skála]	/skála/	<u>scala</u>
[klímə]	/klímə/	<u>clima</u>

/r/

[r̥] retroflex flap occurring after /t/ and /d/

[t̥r̥énu]	/trénu/	<u>treno</u>
[ʒd̥r̥éga]	/sdréga/	<u>strega</u>

[r] alveolar flap occurring elsewhere

[ranún̥ça]	/ranún̥ça/	<u>rana</u>
[t̥iratúru]	/tiratúru/	<u>tiretto</u>
[gránu]	/gránu/	<u>grano</u>
[cí̥ər̥ru]	/cí̥ər̥ru/	<u>cerro</u>
[súrdu]	/súrdu/	<u>sordo</u>

/m/

[m̥] labio-dental nasal occurring before /f/

[m̥frétta]	/mfrétta/	<u>in fretta</u>
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[m] bilabial nasal occurring elsewhere

[m̥ntíra]	/mintíra/	<u>mettere</u>
[marítu]	/marítu/	<u>marito</u>
[mpérmu]	/mpérmu/	<u>infermo</u>
[rúmbu]	/rúmbu/	<u>rombo</u>
[mámma]	/mámma/	<u>mamma</u>

/n/

[ɲ] apico dental nasal occurring before dental consonants

[kuáɲtu] /kuántu/ quanto

[kuáɲdu] /kuándu/ quando

[ŋ] velar nasal occurring before velar consonants

[ŋgórdu] /ngördu/ ingordo

[jáŋka] /jánka/ bianca

[lónŋa] /lónga/ lunga

[n] alveolar nasal occurring elsewhere

[nánnu] /nánnu/ nonno

[vinúta] /vinúta/ venuta

/ñ/

[ɲ̃] palatal nasal found in all occurrences

[ɲúə́stru] /ɲúə́stru/ inchiostro

[báñnu] /báñnu/ bagno

intervocally it is always geminated as /ɲ̃ɲ̃/.

/j/

[j] palatal frictionless continuant found in all occurrences

[jinnáru] /jinnáru/ gennaio

[jóka] /jóka/ giuoca

[píəju] /píəju/ peggio

3.4 Patterns of consonants

3.4.1 Syllable onset with one consonant: C

/p/	[páːrə]	/páːrə/	<u>padre</u>
/b/	[búənu]	/búənu/	<u>buono</u>
/t/	[tíəmpu]	/tíəmpu/	<u>tempo</u>
/d/	[dúru]	/dúru/	<u>duro</u>
/d̥/	[d̥á]	/d̥á/	<u>lì</u>
/k/	[kínə]	/kínə/	<u>chi</u>
/g/	[gáːd̥u]	/gáːd̥u/	<u>gallo</u>
/f/	[félé]	/félé/	<u>fiele</u>
/v/	[várva]	/várva/	<u>barba</u>
/s/	[sétte]	/sétte/	<u>sette</u>
/ʃ/	[síːm̥iə]	/síːm̥iə/	<u>scimmia</u>
/tʃ/	[tʃicci]	/tʃicci/	<u>zio/zia</u>
/z/	[záːnu]	/záːnu/	<u>zaino</u>
/t͡s/	[t͡sítu]	/t͡sítu/	<u>zitto</u>
/g/	[gél̥u]	/gél̥u/	<u>gelo</u>
/c̥/	[c̥ú]	/c̥ú/	<u>più</u>
/g̃/	[g̃iəsə]	/g̃iəsə/	<u>chiesa</u>
/m/	[máːrə]	/máːrə/	<u>mare</u>
/n/	[náːnu]	/náːnu/	<u>nano</u>
/ɲ/	[ɲúəstru]	/ɲúəstru/	<u>inchiostro</u>
/l/	[líŋg̥uə]	/líŋg̥uə/	<u>lingua</u>
/r/	[róta]	/róta/	<u>ruota</u>
/j/	[jóka]	/jóka/	<u>giuoca</u>

In absolute initial position occur all consonants except /ç/.

3.42 Syllable coda with one consonant: -C

Occurrence of single consonants in syllable coda depends on the position of the syllable. Seven consonant phonemes are frequently found in the coda: /r, n, m, s, l, k, s /.

/r/	[vírdə]	/vírdə/	<u>verde</u>
/n/	[viəntu]	/viəntu/	<u>vento</u>
/m/	[rumpíra]	/rumpíra/	<u>rompere</u>
/s/	[áspru]	/áspru/	<u>aspro</u>
/l/	[álba]	/álba/	<u>alba</u>
/k/	[tékniku]	/tékniku/	<u>tecnico</u>
/s/	[fésta]	/fésta/	<u>festa</u>

3.43 Consonant sequences

Table IV shows all the possible combinations of consonants occurring in the dialect of Scandale. The table is to be read as follows: the consonants in the vertical column occur before the consonants across the top; " + " shows occurrence only within the onset of the syllable; " 0 " shows occurrence only across syllable boundaries; " ⊕ " shows occurrence in both environments; " - " means that the diphonemic group can be followed by a third consonant; " () " means that the cluster is rare. The third phoneme in a triphonemic group may be 1) /r/, 2) either /r/ or /l/.¹

1. cfr. Table V on triphonemic clusters, p. 38.

No word in Scandalese ends in a consonant. In foreign words which have come into Scandalese through standard Italian a vowel is placed at the end of it - for example "sport" Sc. /spórtu/.

Table IV

Possible two-consonant sequences

	p	b	t	d	ɖ	k	g	c	ʒ	ć	ǰ	č	ǧ	f	v	s	ś	ç	m	n	ñ	l	r	
p	0																						+	
b		0																						+
t			0																			(0)	(0)	+
d				0																				
ɖ					0																			
k						0																	(0)	+
g							0																	+
c								0																
ʒ									0															
ć										0														
ǰ											0													
č												0												
ǧ													0											
f														0										+
v															0									+
s																0								
ś		+	-	-	-	+	+										+							
ç																						0		
m		0	⊕																					
n		0	+	⊕	-	⊕	⊕	+	⊕	⊕	+											0		
ñ																							0	
l	0	0											0										0	
r	0		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					0	0	0	0	0

This table clearly allows us to set up a description of our consonants in purely distributional terms: reading for each phoneme first its row and then its column, we have for each consonant a list of 46 digits which informs us about all the consonants with which the phoneme in question can or cannot be in contact, both as first and second member of a diphonemic group. This type of distribution has of course the limitation that it identifies each single phoneme, but does not allow us to set up a kind of pattern which could be compared with that which results from the analysis into distinctive features. In any case, Table IV purports to show all the possible clusters or, at least, all the clusters which have been found in our analysis.

3.44 Syllable onset with a two-consonant cluster: CC-

a)	/k/	[kri pára]	/kri pára/	<u>crepare</u>
	/p/	[pri n̄ cípiu]	/pri n̄ cípiu/	<u>principio</u>
	/b/	[bri gántə]	/bri gántə/	<u>brigante</u>
	/g/ + /r/	[gri ggu]	/gri ggu/	<u>griggio</u>
	/t/	[t̄ rénu]	/t̄ rénu/	<u>treno</u>
	/f/	[fri kára]	/fri kára/	<u>fregare</u>
	/v/	[vra ccu]	/vra ccu/	<u>braccio</u>
b)	/b/	[blókku]	/blókku/	<u>blocco</u>
	/k/ + /l/	[klíma]	/klíma/	<u>clima</u>
	/g/	[gli círina]	/gli círina/	<u>glicerina</u>

c) Other dissimilar consonant sequences

/s/ +	/t/	[stára]	/stára/	<u>stare</u>
	/n/	[znéllu]	/snéllu/	<u>snello</u>
	/p/	[spáta]	/spáta/	<u>spada</u>
	/k/	[skála]	/skála/	<u>scala</u>
/s/ +	/g/	[sgoméntu]	/sgoméntu/	<u>sgomento</u>
	/v/	[sbanítu]	/sbanítu/	<u>svanito</u>
	/m/	[zmóstriu]	/smóstriu/	<u>mostro</u>
/m/ +	/b/	[mbilinátu]	/mbilinátu/	<u>avvelenato</u>
	/t/	[ntérra]	/ntérra/	<u>a, terra</u>
/n/ +	/d/	[ndúba]	/ndúba/	<u>dove</u>
	/k/	[nkúñña]	/nkúñña/	<u>batte</u>
	/g/	[ngórdu]	/ngórdu/	<u>ingordo</u>
	/c/	[ncokiné]	/ncokiné/	<u>non importa chi</u>
	/c/	[ncíñña]	/ncíñña/	<u>incomincia</u>
	/c/	[ncána]	/ncána/	<u>sale(v)</u>
	/g/	[ngombarára]	/ngombarára/	<u>gomitolare</u>

3.45 Consonant clusters in word medial position, coda + onset:

-CC-

a)	/p/	[kúarpu]	/kúarpu/	<u>corpo</u>
	/t/	[úartu]	/úartu/	<u>orto</u>
/r/ +	/k/	[súrku]	/súrku/	<u>solco</u>
	/d/	[virdə]	/virdə/	<u>verde</u>
	/g/	[vérga]	/vérga/	<u>verga</u>

	/c/	[úrcu]	/úrcu/	<u>orso</u>
	/č/	[škurčára]	/škurčára/	<u>sbucciare</u>
	/g/	[górğa]	/górğa/	<u>gola</u>
	/č/	[kórča]	/kórča/	<u>scorza</u>
/r/ +	/ʒ/	[bórza]	/bórza/	<u>borsa</u>
	/f/	[súrfa]	/súrfa/	<u>zolfo</u>
	/v/	[várva]	/várva/	<u>barba</u>
	/m/	[turmiəntu]	/turmiəntu/	<u>tormento</u>
	/n/	[fúrnu]	/fúrnu/	<u>forno</u>
	/l/	[úrlu]	/úrlu/	<u>orlo</u>
b)	/p/	[alpínu]	/alpínu/	<u>alpino</u>
/l/ +	/b/	[álba]	/álba/	<u>alba</u>
	/g/	[bélgu]	/bélgu/	<u>Belgio</u>
c)	/p/	[rumpíra]	/rumpíra/	<u>rompere</u>
/m/ +	/b/	[vombikára]	/vombikára/	<u>vomitare</u>
d)	/t/	[víəntu]	/víəntu/	<u>vento</u>
	/d/	[fúndu]	/fúndu/	<u>fondo</u>
	/k/	[cíŋkuə]	/cíŋkuə/	<u>cinque</u>
/n/ +	/g/	[áŋgulu]	/áŋgulu/	<u>angolo</u>
	/č/	[aŋcíđda]	/aŋcíđda/	<u>anguilla</u>
	/c/	[līŋcúəlu]	/līŋcúəlu/	<u>lenzuolo</u>
	/č/	[úŋča]	/úŋča/	<u>gonfia</u>
e)	Low frequency clusters found in technical or learned words			
/t/ +	/m/	[atmośféra]	/atmośféra/	<u>atmosfera</u>

/t/ + /l/	[atlétiku]	/atlétiku/	<u>atletico</u>
/k/ + /n/	[tékniku]	/tékniku/	<u>tecnico</u>

As it has been shown /r/ is the phoneme with the greatest number of occurrences both as first and as second member of two-consonant clusters, followed by /n/ as first member of other groups.

3.46 Double or geminated consonants

/pp/	[tróppa]	/tróppa/	<u>troppa</u>
/bb/	[trébbia]	/trébbia/	<u>trebbia</u>
/tt/	[fáttu]	/fáttu/	<u>fatto</u>
/dd/	[fríddu]	/fríddu/	<u>freddo</u>
/dd/	[stídda]	/stídda/	<u>stella</u>
/kk/	[vákka]	/vákka/	<u>vacca</u>
/gg/	[aggancára]	/aggancára/	<u>agganciare</u>
/cc/	[páccu]	/páccu/	<u>pazzo</u>
/zz/	[rúzzu]	/rúzzu/	<u>rozzo</u>
/cc/	[fáccia]	/fáccia/	<u>faccia</u>
/gg/	[kurággü]	/kurággü/	<u>coraggio</u>
/cc/	[káccu]	/káccu/	<u>cacchio</u>
/gg/	[facíggä]	/facíggä/	<u>falce</u>
/ff/	[staffílu]	/staffílu/	<u>staffile</u>
/ss/	[pássu]	/pássu/	<u>passo</u>
/ss/	[kássa]	/kássa/	<u>cassa</u>
/çç/	[júçça]	/júçça/	<u>soffia</u>

/mm/	[mámma]	/mámma/	<u>mamma</u>
/nn/	[jinnáru]	/jinnáru/	<u>gennaio</u>
/ññ/	[líññu]	/líññu/	<u>legno</u>
/ll/	[villánu]	/villánu/	<u>villano</u>
/rr/	[térra]	/térra/	<u>terra</u>

3.461 Geminated consonant features

One outstanding feature of consonant patterning in the dialect of Scandale is the occurrence of double or geminate consonants. Two important aspects of their distribution are: (1) all consonant phones may occur double except v, z, ź, g, ñ, m, r, j; (2) sequences of geminate consonants occur only across syllable boundaries - for example, /pát-to/, /ar-ríva/, /mám-ma/.

We may consider length as being the chief phonetic feature of double consonant sequences. Their articulation is twice as long as that of the single consonants. In stops and fricatives the position of articulation is held about twice as long as with single consonants before being released. For this reason we can call them long consonants. Their pronunciation involves the holding of a single articulation rather than two completely separate ones. The geminated clusters are considered as the sequence of two phonemically identical consonants; in this respect consonant length is not phonemic.

Two consonants - /ś/ and /ñ/ - occur only in double sequence within the word, that is, no pairs of words contrast only because of a difference between /ś/ and /śś/, /ñ/ and /ññ/ in their interiors. Phonetic evidence proves that /ñ/, for example,

represents a longer sound in a word such as /báññu/ than it does in a word such as /ñúəkku/ bagno, gnocco, and that the sound represented by /ś/ in /pásśa/ is definitely longer than the initial sound of /śiárə/ pasce, sciare.

3.462 Syntactic doubling or lengthening

In the lengthening of initial consonants there are generally syntactic-phonetic reasons. Lengthening, historically, goes back to the fact that in the encounter of consonants belonging to different words occur the same phenomena of assimilation manifested within the word, phenomena that lead to gemination - for example, Lt. "ad venire" Sc. [abbíníra] avvenire, "maritima" [marémma] maremma, "terra et mare" [tərremmára] terra e mare. On the contrary, in syntactic-phonetic position the phenomena of assimilation occur with greater regularity than occur within the word. In Scandalese, word-initial consonant or lengthening is caused by the prepositions "a" a, "e" e, "ku" con, "pi" per; by the pronoun "ki" che; by the adverb of quantity "cu" più; by the numeral "tré" tre; and by the verbs "é" è, "su" sono, "vá" vai, va:- for example, [akkínə] a chi, [əbbúa] e voi, [kunnúđdu] con nessuno, [pàbbiáíra] per vedere, [kíffá] che fai, [čurrússu] più rosso, [trénnáva] tre navi, [əbbiáđdu] è bello, [suğgáñka] sono bianche, [vaddá] vai lì.

3.47 Sequences of three consonants

Sequences of three consonants may occur in syllable onset as well as across syllable boundary. There are only twelve possible sequences of three consonants in syllable onset, five beginning with /s/, two with /m/, and two with /n/. The third member of the triphonic group is obligatorily either /r/ or /l/. Of these clusters only five may occur across syllable boundary. The clusters /mpl/ and /ndr/ occur only across syllable boundary, thus raising the total number of three-consonant sequences to fourteen.

Table V

Three-consonant clusters

	p	b	t	d	k	g	f
s	r,l	r	r	r	r		
m	r,l	r					r
n			r	r		r,l	

The consonants listed in the vertical column are the first members of the cluster; those across the top are the second members; the third member is noted in the corresponding boxes. The syllable boundary is after the first member:- for example, /m-pl/ in /kumpliméntu/ complimento.

The following are examples of sequences found in onset position and across syllable boundary.

3.471 Syllable onset with three initial consonants: CCC-

/p/	[šprímúta]	/šprimúta/	<u>spremuta</u>
/b/	[žbrátta]	/šbrátta/	<u>bratta</u>
/š/ + /t/ + /r/	[štráta]	/štráta/	<u>strada</u>
/d/	[ždréga]	/šdréga/	<u>strega</u>
/k/	[škrúfa]	/škrúfa/	<u>scrofa</u>
/š/ + /p/ + /l/	[špléndidu]	/špléndidu/	<u>splendido</u>
/p/	[mprinára]	/mprinára/	<u>impregnare</u>
/m/ + /b/ + /r/	[mbriáku]	/mbriáku/	<u>ubbriaco</u>
/f/	[mfrétta]	/mfrétta/	<u>in fretta</u>
/n/ + /t/ + /r/	[ntrá]	/ntrá/	<u>dentro, in</u>
/g/	[ngrátu]	/ngrátu/	<u>ingrato</u>
/n/ + /g/ + /l/	[nglésa]	/nglésa/	<u>inglese</u>

3.472 Consonant clusters in word medial position, coda + onset:

-CCC-

/š/ + /p/ + /r/	[ášpru]	/ášpru/	<u>aspro</u>
/t/	[majésttu]	/majésttu/	<u>maestro</u>
/m/ + /p/ + /l/	[kumpliméntu]	/kumpliméntu/	<u>complimento</u>
/m/ + /b/ + /r/	[kumbríkula]	/kumbríkula/	<u>combricola</u>
/n/ + /t/ + /r/	[škúntru]	/škúntru/	<u>scontro</u>
/d/	[céndru]	/céndru/	<u>centro</u>

3.48 Summary of consonant patterning

The following general statements may be made about the arrangement of consonants in the dialect of Scandale:

- 1) All consonants except /ç/ may occur singly in syllable onset;
- 2) The occurrence of single consonants in syllable coda is highly restricted in comparison with that in onset position;
- 3) There are sequences of two and three consonants in syllable onset, but not in syllable coda;
- 4) Many more sequences of two and three consonants occur across syllable boundary than in syllable onset;
- 5) All consonant phones except v, z, ź, ɣ, ɛ, ñ, m, r, j are geminated across syllable boundary;
- 6) /ś/ and /ñ/ are geminated only within the word;
- 7) Double or geminate consonants are a feature of phone-me patterning.

Table VI

Phonetic table of consonants

	Lab.	Lab- dent.	Dent.	Alveol.	Retr.	Pre- pal.	Medio- pal.	Velar
Stops vls.	p		t		t̠			k
vd.	b		d		ɖ			g
Affric vls.			c			ʃ	ʧ	
vd.			ʒ			ʒ	ʤ	
Fric. vls.		f	s			ʃ	ç	
vd.	β	v	ð / z			ʒ		ʒ
Nasals	m	m̠	ɱ	n			ɲ	ŋ
Lateral				l				
Flap				r	r̠			
Frictionless continuant							j	
Semi-vowels						ɨ	ɤ	u̠

vls.= voiceless, vd.=voiced

3.5 Stress

In addition to the vowel and consonant phonemes already described, Scandalese has the phoneme of stress which occurs simultaneously with the other phonemes. By stress is meant the relatively greater volume or loudness of a vowel or vowel nucleus in a word and marks it as being distinct from the others. If this greater degree of loudness is connected with a difference in meaning we say that it has phonemic status. Scandalese has phonemic stress /' / and it can be observed in the following oppositions:

[<u>é</u> ítta]	/ <u>é</u> ítta/	<u>silenziosa</u>
[<u>é</u> ittá]	/ <u>é</u> ittá/	<u>città</u>

In this study we refer to (a) the principal stress in the word: /éítta/, /éittá/; (b) to the principal stresses in the utterance:

[<u>l</u> affáttara <u>é</u> ítta] ¹	/ <u>l</u> affáttara <u>é</u> ítta/	<u>l'ha fatto</u> <u>silenziosamente</u>
[<u>l</u> affáttara <u>é</u> ittá]	/ <u>l</u> affáttara <u>é</u> ittá/	<u>l'ha fatto</u> <u>in città</u>
[<u>é</u> udíkarupápa]	/ <u>é</u> udíkarupápa/	<u>lo dico al</u> <u>Papa</u>
[<u>é</u> udíkarupapá]	/ <u>é</u> udíkarupapá/	<u>lo dico a papà</u>

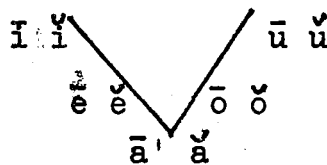
1. When there is loss of the conditioning environment /u/ in the flow of speech, [a] remains.

HISTORICAL EXCURSUS

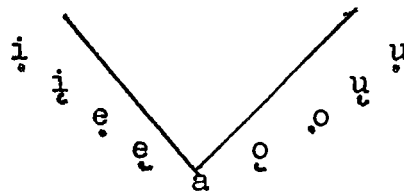
4.0 The development of the vowel system from Latin to Scandalese

4.1 The Latin vowel system

In the classical period the vocalic system of Latin consisted of the following three degrees:



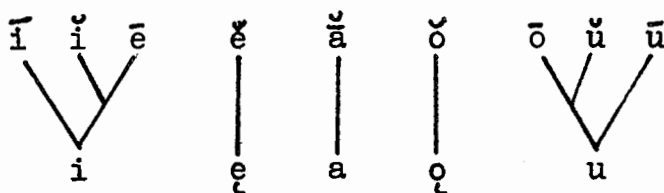
But, at the beginning of our era there came about a breaking up of the oppositions of quantity which caused the development of a new vocalic system in which the quality (open and closed) and not the quantity (long and short) of the vowels is fundamental. The short vowels became open and the long became closed. Thus, the vocalic system of spoken or Vulgar Latin, as it is commonly called, consisted of the following five degrees:



This system exists only in theory, because in reality from the dissolution of the Cl. Lt. vowel quantity there came about a merging of certain vowels, that is to say an elimination of the distinction among different vocalic degrees.¹

4.2 The system of the stressed vowels of Scandalese

Scandalese shows a phonological system of three degrees where the three extreme degrees of the vocalic order merged into one vowel respectively: The nine vowel system has been simplified to five:²



While \check{a} , \check{e} , \check{o} have remained as a, \check{e}, \check{o} , respectively, $\bar{i}, \acute{i}, \bar{e}$ have merged into \underline{i} as shown by the following examples:

Lt. \check{a} - Sc. $[\acute{k}áru]$ < Lt. $k\bar{a}ru$, $[\acute{f}áccu]$ < $f\check{a}cio$, $[\acute{p}ána]$ < $p\bar{a}nis$, $[\acute{s}tá\grave{d}da]$ < $st\bar{a}bulu$, $[\acute{k}ána]$ < $k\check{a}ne$.

1. For the differentiation of the different vocalic systems of spoken Latin in the various dialects of Romania, cf. particularly H. Lausberg, Romanische Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1956), §§156-162.

2. The underlying vowel system of Sicilian is identical to the system of Scandalese; cf. H. Lausberg, § 162.

- Lt. ě - Sc. [fěla] < Lt. fěle, [sětta] < sěpte, [pěda] < pede.
- Lt. ō - Sc. [kōra] < Lt. kōr, [ōttu] < ōcto, [fūaku] < fōku < fōku.
- Lt. ī - Sc. [fīlu] < Lt. fīlu, [vīta] < vīte, [spīka] < spīka.
- Lt. ĭ - Sc. [nīva] < Lt. nīve, [pīpa] < pīper, [pīca] < pīke, [vīrda] < vīrde < vīride.
- Lt. ē - Sc. [stīdda] < Lt. stēlla, [krīta] < krēta, [tīla] < tēla, [cīra] < kēra, [kaṇḍīla] < kandēla.

In the same way, ů, ū, ō merged into u:

- Lt. ů - Sc. [núca] < Lt. nŭke, [krúca] < krŭke.
- Lt. ū - Sc. [úba] < Lt. ūva, [múru] < mŭru, [lúna] < lŭna, [fúsu] < fŭsu, [súrdu] < sŭrdu.
- Lt. ō - [nápút] < Lt. nepōte, [súl] < sōle, [vúca] < vōke, [úra] < hōra.

4.3 Latin ē

As it has been shown in 4.2 Lt. ē > Sc. i.¹ The following examples show this development:

Lt.	Sc.
tēla	[tīla]
katēna	[katína]
stēlla	[stīdda]

1. The normal development of Lt. ē is particularly disturbed

4.4 Latin ō

As shown by the following examples, Lt. ō > Sc. u in both open and closed syllable:¹

Lt.	Sc.
vōke	[vúćə]
hōra	[úra]
nepōte	[nəpútə]
mōska	[múška]

4.5 Latin ě and ǔ

Latin ě > Sc. ę as shown by the following examples:

Lt.	Sc.
pětra	[pętra]
měle	[męlə]
pěde	[péaə]
děke	[dęćə]
sěrpe	[sęrpə]
fěle	[fęlə]

by influences of the literary language. The words coming into Scandalese from standard Italian show the development ę > ę. This fact corresponds to the general Italian tendency of pronouncing with stressed ę words which originally have ę. As a consequence, there where we would expect i < ę in Scandalese we find ę: [vęlu] < vēlu, [vęru] < vēru, [tírręnu] < tírřēnu.

1. In Scandalese the normal result is u; for this reason there where ę is found instead of u we may attribute its appearance to a standard language influence: [kulǔnna] < kolūmna, [vrīgǔňňa] < verəkūndia, [dǔta] < dōte.

Latin \ddot{o} > Sc. ϱ :

Lt.	Sc.
p \ddot{o} rta	[p ϱ rta]
s \ddot{o} rdu	[s ϱ rdu]
r \ddot{o} ta	[r ϱ ta]
f \ddot{o} ssa	[f ϱ ssa]

4.6 Diphthongization of \ddot{e} and \ddot{o}

In Scandalese there is no evidence of spontaneous diphthongization as in the literary language; rather, we find a type of diphthongization caused by metaphony ('Umlaut').¹ This diphthongization is caused by the influence of i and u either in word-final position or in the following syllable. In the case where e or a are found in the following syllable, as a rule ϱ remains unchanged; if i or u are found instead, ϱ > $i\varrho$ (diphthongized). Thus, we have the following development: ϱ > * $j\varrho$ > ie > $i\varrho$, with the stress always on the first element. For this behaviour it is indifferent whether ϱ is in an open or closed syllable. The development of ϱ > $i\varrho$ is shown by the following examples: Sc. [b $i\varrho$ ddu] bello, [b $i\varrho$ dda] belli,

1. Metaphony is a determinate phonetic development occurring under the influence of a final vowel, especially i and u. For the diphthongization of e and o, cf. Rohlfs, Historische Grammatik, §§101, 126; Vidos, Manuale di Linguistica Romanza, p. 247; Lausberg, Romanische Sprachwissenschaft, I, p. 118.

but [bédda]; [líəggu] leggero, but [légga]; [víaətu] vento,
 but [vénta] ventola; [píətru] Pietro, but [pétra] pietra;
 [píərtika] pertica; [píəkura] pecora; but [píəðə] piedi,
 [péðə] piede; [fréva] febbre.¹

The same development of ϵ may be applied to ϱ :

$\varrho > *wó > uó > úə$, as well as the rule for diphthongization. The following examples serve to justify its development:

[búənu] buono, [bóna] buona; [úəbu] uovo, [óba] uova;
 [grúəssu] grosso, [gróssa] grossa; [púəku] porco, [pórka] porca;
 but [kóra] cuore and cuori; [nótta] notte and notti.¹

4.7 Latin \check{i} and \bar{i}

Historically \check{i} and \bar{i} joined with \bar{e} to merge into the only degree \bar{i} . The following examples serve to show the development of stressed $\check{i}, \bar{i} > i$ in Scandalese.²

Lt.	Sc.
nive	[níva]
píke	[píca]
víríde	[vírda]

1. From the examples mentioned one can see how final-ə, which in the singular (u péðə il piede, u kóra il cuore) has developed secondarily from an -e, does not produce any metaphonizing effect.

2. For the development: $i, \bar{i} > \epsilon$ due to standard Italian influence, see footnote 1, p. 45.

Lt.	Sc.
fīlu	[fílu]
vīte	[vítə]
spīka	[spíka]

4.8 Latin ũ and ū

Historically both ũ and ū merged with ō into the only degree u in Scandalese.¹

Lt.	Sc.
nūke	[núcé]
krūke	[krúcé]
tūrre	[túrrə]
fūrnu	[fúrnu]
ūva	[úba]
mūru	[múru]
sūrdu	[súrdu]
lūna	[lúna]

1. For the development: ũ, ū > o due to standard Italian influence, see footnote 1, p. 46.

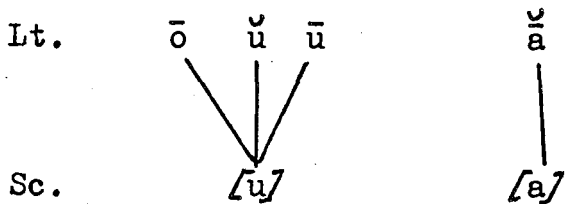
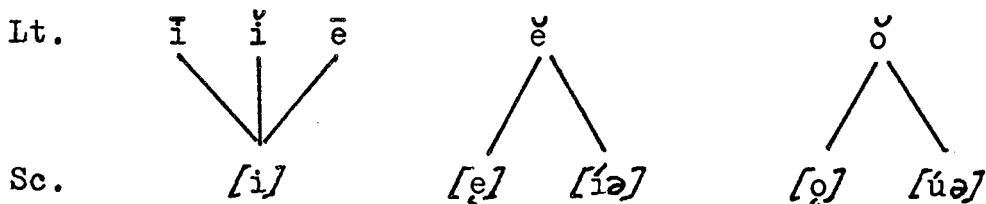
4.9 Latin \bar{a}

Historically Latin \bar{a} and \check{a} have become Sc. a in both open and closed syllables:

Lt.	Sc.
kāru	[káru]
pāne	[pána]
fācio	[fáccu]
kāne	[kána]
stābulu	[stáðða]
kāpu	[kápu]

5.0 Summary of the vowel developments

From what has been presented in the course of this historical excursus we can diagram the main results of the stressed vowel developments in the following manner:



6.0 CONCLUSION

The inventory of phonemes of the dialect of Scandale reflected in our data consists of 6 vowels and 24 consonants. Taking into consideration the major allophones, the vocalic system has 3 unrounded vowels, 1 high central unrounded vowel, 1 low central unrounded vowel, 1 low back unrounded vowel, 1 mid neutral vowel, 3 back rounded vowels, and 2 semi-vowels. The consonant system has 8 stops, 10 fricatives, 6 affricates, 6 nasals, 3 liquids, and 1 frictionless continuant.

Vowel length is not phonemically distinctive. Vowel sequences are extremely restricted. One of the vowel characteristics is that all the stressed vowels have a relatively open articulation with the exception of stressed /a/ which has as its allophone [a] when /u/ appears in the following syllable.

The voiced stops have as their allophones voiced fricatives, the most frequently observed being /d/ and /g/ occurring initially and intervocalically.

The doubling or lengthening of the initial single consonants occurs in syntactic doubling. In the case of the phoneme /v/, the doubling shows /bb-/. The occurrence of /ç/ is limited only to intervocalic occurrence.

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Appendix

Examples of recorded data

Transcription

[guá] [ðumánðccívá:kkutrúanə]
 [ɛbbabbóna] [allúraccívíðññupuría]
 [nífacímubbáññu] [ɛttrubəmañkúnakaiórda]
 [maðónnadikapakulónna] /kiðambiéntəskífósu ntrasupaiísə]
 [ɛrueðicammía] [ubbiulúrummiñdifúiu]
 [kiískífu] [oíccíkanakyaɾraréððauppaparía u ffá]
 [kínaðggélósu] [upátrəggélósu] [mámmasə] ...
 [makkískífu] /maðonnasantíssima]
 [afímmína] [arafímminalipiacérra]
 [aðizgrázzakélligáta]
 [íspaturnátəveččúnərimbambítakapítu]
 [ɛkkidé] /fɔrcuðeraverítá]
 [ɛraverítá] [kiććibɔfára]
 [laɾrasíra:mujútaðabballára]
 [iñcómma] [añkunakosícéðða] [sadarrañcátu]
 [maúsakumé]
 [ɛsɛmprənuískífu]
 [ɛsɛmprəlambiéntəkíddu]
 [mɛfátutɾɛggíríccíððipósta] /kimešsalátulanima] [lóssa]
 [avítaerasalútə]
 [ɔikúməsappuðgávallérrama] [kuáñdu] [kuáñdutaštríñculiávə]

[párdívarakápulammaccáta]

[píkkátukaáccéranutúttakíra^mve^mccúnakíguardávanu]

[masinnó] [maðónnasantíssima] [kuála]

[áíarammalídiciónə] [kíra^mkuatraré^mdda] [kírabbonaccé^mdda]

[kíra^mkosi^mcé^mddabbóna] [a:póbarí^mé^mddumía]

[síkuatraré^mddakká] [mammamía] [sukku^mðannáatarumpí^mærnu]

[arumpí^mærnu]

[kuá^mndutaggráffanu] [mañkíkánə] [akapítu]

[inçómma] [kíst^meravíta].

[kuá^mntannavíta] [óiananná] [kuá^mntannavíta]

[suññubé^mcca]

[masaspaturnatetá] [aputímupurusapírə]

[ottantatré]

[ubórrabbí^máírə] [ubórrabbí^máírəkuməlánima] [ubórrabbí^máírə]

[affí^mgguma]

[ac^míccú] [ubú^má^mgg^mac^míccú] [makí^mð^mdum^mefí^mggú]

[urubí^mí^mattantánna] [urubí^miu]

[mí^msí^mé^mntuaddoloráta] [mí^msí^mé^mntu]

[mí^mí^mspí^mácakasí^mndivánu]

[kí^mbó^mrrassemp^makkummía] [í^mbulé^mrra].

Giovà, domani ci vai a Crotone?

E va bene, allora ci vengo pure io, ...

ci facciamo il bagno, e troviamo una "caiorda".

Madonna di Capocolonne, che ambiente schifoso in questo paese!

E lo dici a me? Non vedo l'ora di scapparmene.

Che schifo! O si dicesse che una ragazza non giuochi, non facesse!

Chi è geloso, il padre geloso, la mamma...

Ma che schifo, Madonna santissima!

La donna, alla donna le piacesse;

la disgrazia è che è legata.

Gli spadronati vecchioni rimbambiti, hai capito?

E cos'è? Forse non è la verità?

E la verità, che ci vuoi fare!

L'altra sera siamo andati a ballare.

In somma, qualche cosetta s'è arrangiata.

Ma, sai comè.

E sempre uno schifo,

è sempre l'ambiente quello.

Ho fatto tre giri di ballo e mi sono scialato l'anima, le ossa, la vita e la salute.

Oh! come s'appoggiave l'errante quando... quando te la stringevi.

Perdeva la testa, l'ammazzata!

Peccato che c'erano tutti quei vecchioni che guardavano, ma altrimenti, Madonna santissima, quale...

Per la maledizione,quella ragazza,quella bonazza,
quella cosetta buona....Oh,povero me.

Queste ragazze qui! Mamma mia! sono condannate all'inferno,
all'inferno.

Quando t'attaccano,nemmeno i cani,hai capito?

In somma questa è la vita.

Quanti anni avete,nonna,quanti anni avete?

Sono vecchia.

Ma questa età la possiamo pure sapere.

Ottantatrè.

Vorrei vederlo,vorrei vederlo come l'anima,vorrei vederlo
a mio figlio.

A Ciccio,lo voglio a Ciccio,ma quello è mio figlio.

Non lo vedo da tanti anni,non lo vedo.

Mi sento addolorata,mi sento.

Mi dispiace che se ne vanno,

che li vorrei sempre con me,li vorrei.