Consonant clusters and epenthesis in Luinigiana: phonetic and phonological variation along the linguistic borders

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Carrarese and Pontremolese (Lunigiana) within the Italian Dialects

⚹ = Carrara

⚹ = Pontremoli

Lunigiana extends over the political and linguistic borders of Emilia, Liguria and Tuscany

high rate of linguistic micro-variation

The data

Phonological structure	Italian	Carrarino AC			Pontremolese DP		
		Phonological context			Phonological context		
		_V	_C	_#	_V	_C	_#
C V C$_1$.C$_2$V C$_1$>C$_2$	colpo	['kolp]	['kolpə]	['kolp]	['kurp]	['kurpø]	['kurp]
	forno	['forn]	['fornə]	['forn]	['furn]	['furnø]	['furn]
	merlo	['mɛrl]	['mɛrlə]	['mɛrlə]	['mørl]	['mørlø]	['mørl]
C V.C$_1$C$_2$V C$_1$<C$_2$	libro	['libr]	['libər]	['libr]	['libr]	['libar]	['libar]
	magro	['magr]	['magər]	['magr]	['magr]	['magar]	['magar]
	quattro	['kwatr]	['kwatər]	['kwatr]	['kwatr]	['kwatar]	['kwatar]
'σ.C$_1$C$_2$V.C V C$_1$<C$_2$	lacrima		['lagərma]			['lagarma]	
'σ.C$_1$V.C$_2$V C$_1$=C$_2$	selvatico	[sal'vatᵊk]	[sal'vatɪkə]	[sal'vatᵊk]	[sɐr'vadg]	[sɐr'vadgə]	[sɐr'vadgə]
	tiepido	['tebəd]	['tebədə]	['tebᵊd]	['tewd]	['tewdø]	['tewdə]
'σ.C$_1$V.C$_2$V C$_1$>C$_2$	stomaco	['stɔmᵊk]	['stɔməkə]	['stɔmᵊk]	['ʃtumg]	['ʃtumgø]	['ʃtumgə]
	manico	['manˈk]	['manɪkə]	['manˈk]	['mandg]	['mandgə]	['mandgə]
'σ.C$_1$V.C$_2$V C$_1$<C$_2$	giovane	['dzovᵊn]	['dzovən]	['dzovᵊn]	['zuvn]	['zuŋ]	['zuoŋ]
	libero	['libᵊr]	['libər]	['libᵊr]	['libr]	['libar]	['libar]
	zoccolo	['tsɔkl]	['tsɔkəl]	['tsɔklᵊ]	['sokl]	['sokal]	['sokal]
	tenero	['tenᵊr]	['tenər]	['tenᵊr]	['tenr]	['tenar]	['tenar]

The micro-variation of the epenthesis: Carrarino vs. Pontremolese

"Nessuna regione della Penisola forse può presentare allo studioso tante varietà fonetiche in cosi piccolo territorio, come presenta la Lunigiana […] i dialetti della Lunigiana rappresentano l'anello di congiunzione fra le tre unità dialettali sopra ricordate, i cui elementi cozzano in questa regione di continuo fra loro, ed ora la vittoria arride agli uni, ora agli altri." (Giannarelli 1913: 261)

Sitting on two opposite sides of this transitional area, convergences of the two dialects towards the adjacent varieties (Emilian and Tuscan) has to be expected (Maffei Bellucci 1977), but also verified!

Pontremolese: **'full' vowel epenthesis** high regularity

Carrarese: **'featureless' v. epenthesis** optionality

The spectrograms of *muta cum liquida* paroxitones

Carr. BD 'libro' + C [libər]

Pontr. DP 'libro' + C [libar]

Carr. BD 'libro' + # [libr]

Pontr. DP 'libro' + # [libar]

In both the varieties the epenthetic vowels display the same length and intensity of the etymological vowels, but…

• Carr. inserts a [ə] while Pontr. a [a]

• Carr. tolerates word-final SSG-violating clusters while Pontr. **doesn't**.

The processes: apocope, syncope and epenthesis

	Carrarino		Pontremolese	
	'libro' + C	**'libro' + #**	**'libro' + C**	**'libro' + #**
apocope	⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇
	*libr	*libr	*libr	*libr
epenthesis	⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇
	['libər]	['libr]	['libar]	['libar]
	'colpo' + C	**'colpo' + #**	**'colpo' + C**	**'colpo' + #**
apo./sync.	⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇
	*colp	*colp	*colp	*colp
epenthesis	⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇
	['kolpə]	['kolp]	['kurpø]	['kurp]

While there's no doubt that the context _C triggers the epenthesis in both the varieties in the otherwise SSG-violating Cd clusters, the vowel that pops up in SSG-abiding Cd clusters cannot be considered epenthetic.

• different distribution (C_CC vs. CC_C)

• different color (Pontr. [a] vs. [ø])

In both the dialects very short [ə]'s can be found in phrase-final SSG-abiding forms. Due to "emphatic" requirements (Savoia 1983) Pontr. [ə] turns into [ø].

Methodology

• Questionnaire:

  • 6 speakers (3 per dialect)

  • 52 sentences (C clusters in _V, _C and _#)

  • paroxitones (after-apocope SSG-violating and SSG-abiding forms)

  • proparoxitones (after-syncope/apocope SSG-violating and SSG-abiding forms)

• Acoustic analysis (Praat)

• Phonological analysis

Conclusions

Synchrony:

• differences between the two dialects have been found both on the phonetic and phonological side of vowel epenthesis:

  — **Carr. [ə]** vs. Pontr. **[a]** in _C SSG-violating clusters

  — Carr. violation vs. Pontr. compliance of SSG in _# (and also in _C in Carr. *allegro* speech)

• non-epenthetic nature of **Carr. [ə]** and Pontr. **[ø]** in SSG-abiding _C: they should instead be considered as enhanced outcomes of the optional (and underlyingly present?) word-final [ə]'s.

Diachrony:

• Carrarino and Pontremolese represent two different (frozen) stages of the (southward) spreading of nothern linguistic features (*pace* Rolhfs).
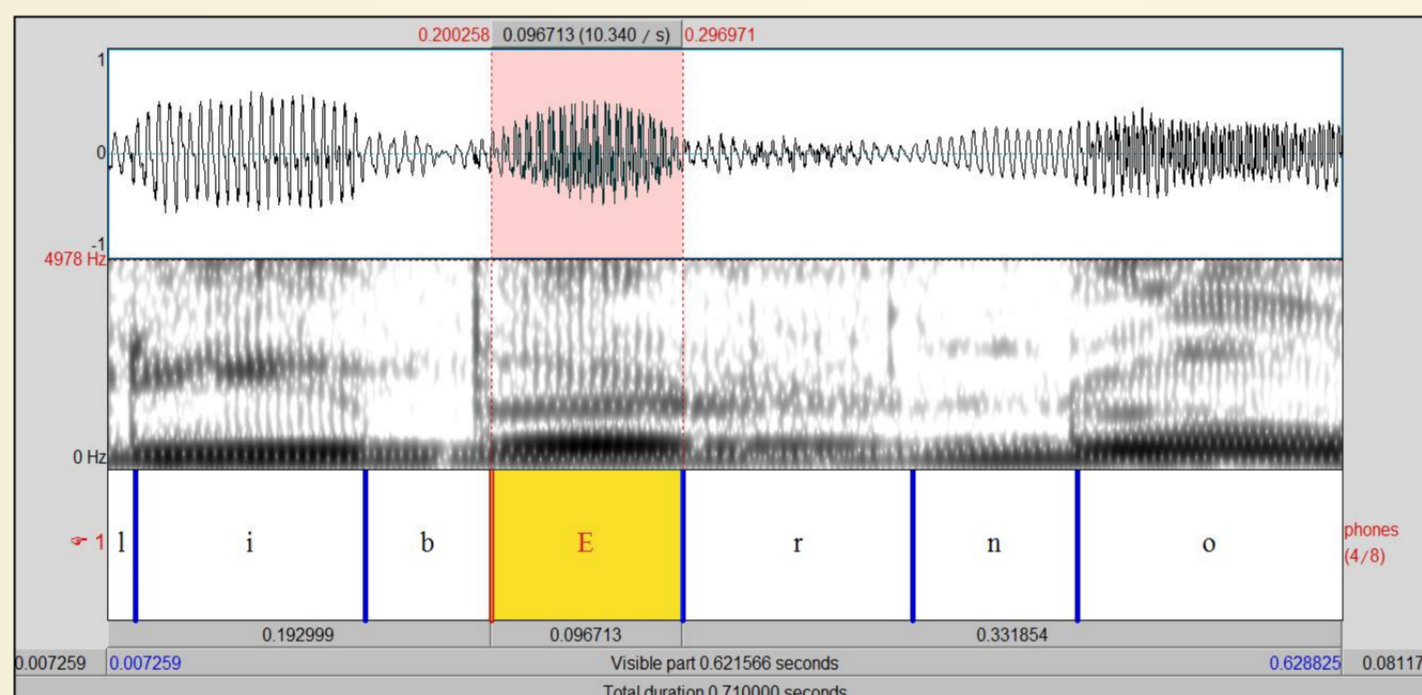
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Maffei Bellucci Patrizia, "Lunigiana", in Cortellazzo, M. (ed.), *Profilo dei Dialetti Italiani*, vol. 9/1, Pisa, Pacini, 1977.

Savoia Leonardo, "La trascrizione fonetica delle varietà lunigianesi. Appunti storici e metodologici", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Linguisti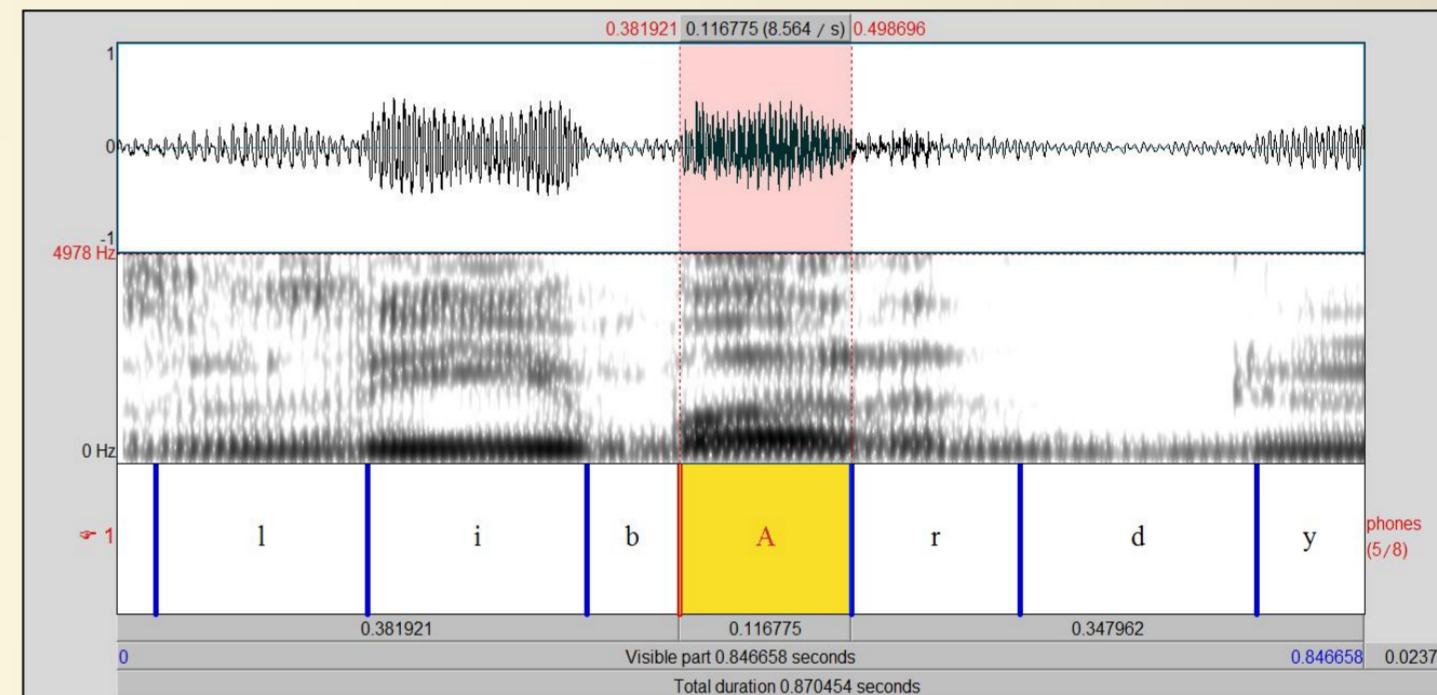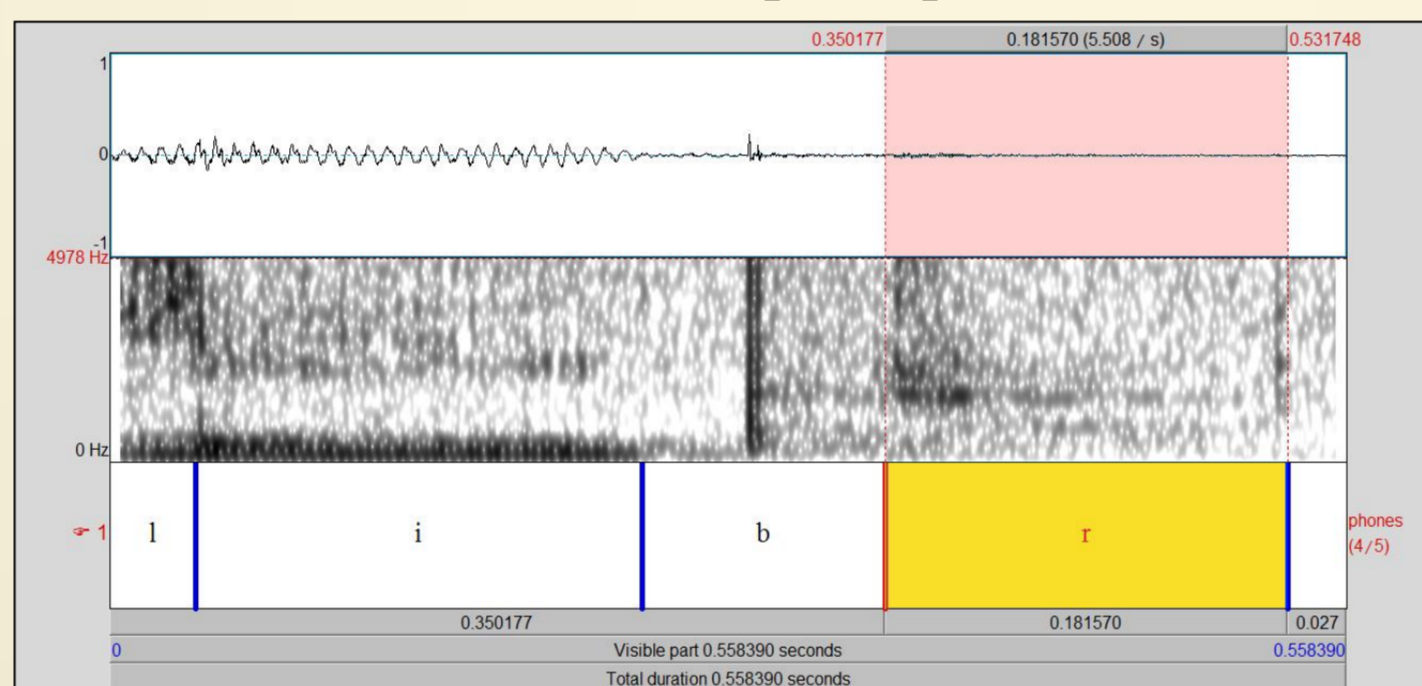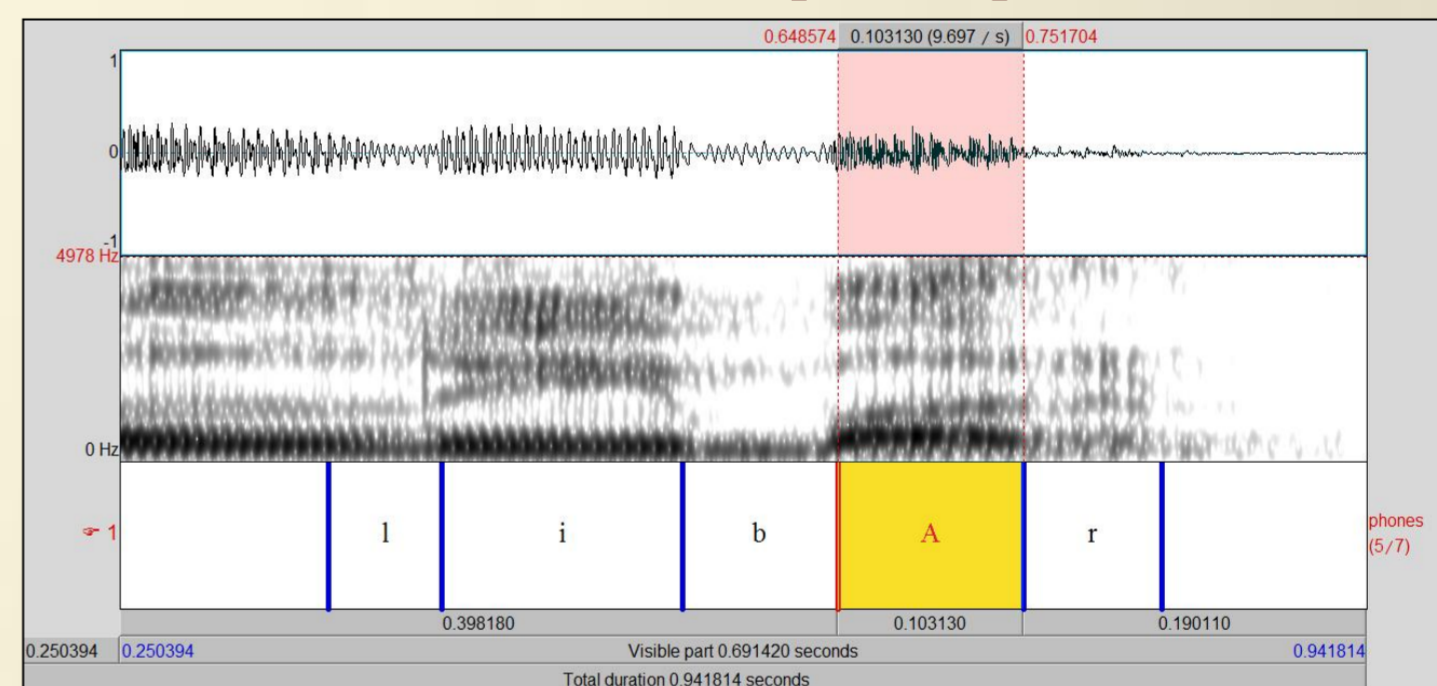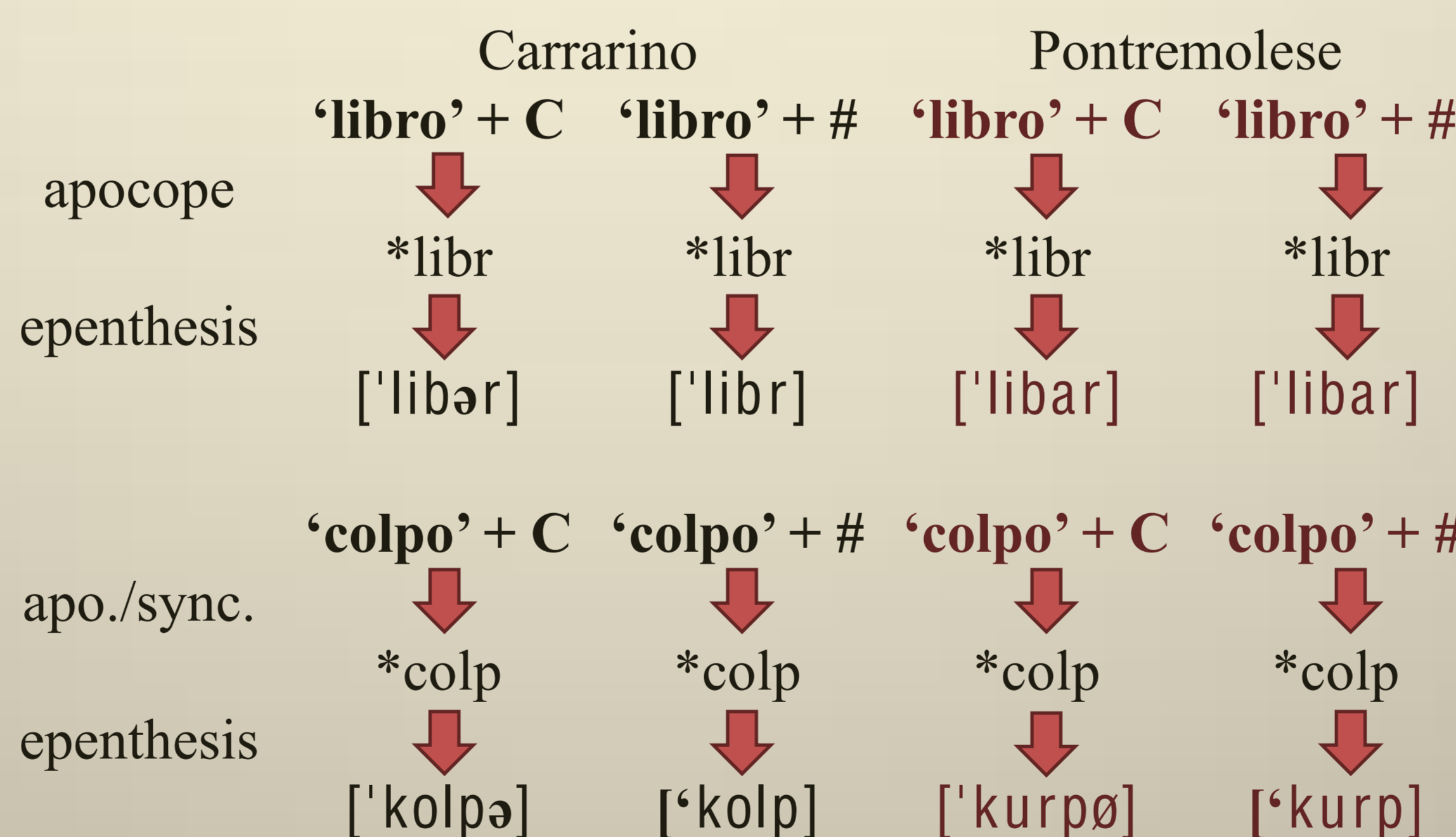ca dell'Università di Urbino*, 1, 1983, p. 155-177.