

<b>Zeitschrift:</b>	Revue de linguistique romane
<b>Herausgeber:</b>	Société de Linguistique Romane
<b>Band:</b>	39 (1975)
<b>Heft:</b>	155-156
<b>Artikel:</b>	The development of PL, BL, and FL in italo-romance : distinctive features and geolinguistic patterns
<b>Autor:</b>	Tuttle, Edward F.
<b>DOI:</b>	<a href="https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-399609">https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-399609</a>

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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF PL, BL, AND FL IN ITALO-ROMANCE : DISTINCTIVE FEATURES AND GEOLINGUISTIC PATTERNS \*

In what should qualify as one of the earlier European statements of the regularity of sound change, Claudio Tolomei observed in 1527 that to Latin clusters of a consonant and L there corresponded in Tuscan, by « universale e verissima regola », a consonant followed by yod. Italian *plebe* 'plebs, common folk' he unhesitatingly classed a Latinism, pointing out *pieve* 'parish (church)' as the truly vernacular Tuscan correspondent to PLĒBEM<sup>1</sup>. This

\* An initial version of this article was read before the Comparative Romance Linguistics Section at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of American in December, 1972. It forms part of a broader inquiry into consonantal weakening and its effects in Italo-Romance. Research for this project is being aided by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Academic Senate of the University of California at Los Angeles. I would like to acknowledge their generous support gratefully. I also wish to thank the President's Pilot Work-Study Internship Program for making available to me so talented a researcher as Margaret Sanchez Mejia. Lastly, I am grateful to Professor Gabriella Giacomelli for having made available to me during the summer of 1974 — a period for her of deep personal anguish — her important essay « Sviluppo di alcuni nessi consonantici nei dialetti italiani », *Abruzzo*, VIII (1970), 133-151, which lucidly surveys some of the same material as the present study. Although still trusting in the possibility of an organic account (i. e., based upon the empirically verifiable performance of the speech organs) for the palatalization in PL, BL, and FL (« una spiegazione di questa palatalizzazione può e deve essere cercata [nel] campo di fonetica sperimentale... » — 137, cf. also 142), G. nevertheless very astutely isolates the weaknesses of all such accounts to date and remains prudently and openly agnostic (*loc. cit.* and 141 ff) about specific reconstructions and processes. It is hoped the more abstract, phonemically-conceived solution presented here transcends these legitimate objections.

1. In *Il Cesano, dialogo di M. Claudio Tolomei nel quale da più dotti huomini si disputa del nome, col quale si dee ragionevolmente chiamare la volgar lingua...* etc., Venice, 1555 [though composed some 28 years earlier], pp. 57 f. The passage merits quoting : « Truovavasi nella Latina lingua infinite volte lo L, in mezzo delle mute, & delle vocali, come Plenus, clavis, afflatus, & mill'altri, nella Toscana rarissime volte questo si scerne, anzi sempre rivolta quello L in I liquido,

particular correspondence has not been better described since. It still remains to be adequately explained. Inasmuch as it is the second element of the cluster which changes most palpably, the shift has been variously termed the « vocalization » or the « palatalization » of *l*. These terms are not of themselves inaccurate if they are understood to refer to no more than an acquired state. But in fact they conjure up a process ; thus they tend to foster a sense that one has explained by « palatalization » the evolution of *PL*, as well as of *BL* and *FL*, into palatal consonants or clusters containing a palatal release<sup>1</sup>. Using the concept of phonology as a system of oppositions

& dice pieno, chiave, fiato, con gli altri simili : & ardirei dire, che nel primo & puro parlar de gli huomini Toscani questa fusse universale & verissima regola, & tutti quei vocaboli, che Hora altrimenti s'usano & scritti si trovano, come Plora, Implora, Splende, Plebe, et simili, non fussero presi del mezzo delle piazze di Toscana : ma posti inanzi da gli scrittori, & da qualche ingegno, che volse la lingua arricchire... perche senza dubbio il comune uso di quel secolo haverebbe, se egli havesse quei vocaboli ricevuto, Piora, impiora, spiende et pieve detto, come di questo ultimo ne habbiamo manifesto segno, che volgarmente pieve si chiama quella sorte di chiesa... ».

1. Even the more recent manuals stop at simple descriptive statements for the most part, e. g., « I gruppi di velare o labiale + *l*, se iniziali, si palatalizzano dappertutto meno che in Francia e nella Rezia, se interne, la palatalizzazione è generale » — A. Cavaliere, *Introduzione allo studio della filologia romanza*, Roma, 1972, p. 60. « I nessi /pl/, /bl/, /kl/, /gl/ e /fl/ subiscono la palatalizzazione della liquida *l* la quale, probabilmente attraverso la fase /l'/, diventa semivocale palatale /j/ » — P. Tekavčić, *Grammatica storica dell'italiano*, Bologna, 1972, vol. I, « Fonematica », p. 243 ff. « L'italien a participé à un changement ancien qui a affecté presque toute la Romania (sauf la Gaule et la Rhétie) : la palatalisation des groupes initiaux formés d'une occlusive + *l*... ces groupes sont d'abord devenus *kl'*, *gl'*, *pl'*, etc., mais la palatalisation a été plus ou moins complète selon les régions... » — P. Bec, *Manuel pratique de philologie romane*, Paris, 1970, vol. I, p. 54. Cf. further P. Antonetti & M. Rossi, *Précis de phonétique de l'italien. Synchronie et diachronie*, Aix-en-Provence, 1970, p. 270 f ; A. Rosellini, *Trattato di fonetica storica dell'italiano*, Milano, 1969, p. 106 f, 152, 156. Even for so experienced a master as G. Rohlfs, notwithstanding his rich documentation of variant forms and stages, the shift seems implicitly to have occurred at a single stroke, along a unified front — « Come prima tappa del processo di palatalizzazione di *l* > *i* [nei nessi di consonante seguita da *l*] bisogna dunque assumere *λ* (*kλ*, *fλ*, *pλ*) » — *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, Torino, 1966<sub>2</sub>, vol. I, p. 241 [§ 177]. In treating this, as well as other phonologic cruxes, H. Lausberg's *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1956, was well ahead of the field. The pithy description by Rohlfs' gifted student implies full grasp of the initial mechanics of palatalization, though he stops short of any speculation as to the cause or the process of its extension : « Im R[ü]manischen] beschränkt sich die Palatalisierung also auf die Gruppen *cl*-, *gl*-, **in denen sie organisch entstanden ist**... im It[alienischen] wird sie auf alle Gruppen Kons. + *l* verallgemeinert... » — (emphasis mine) — vol. II, p. 21 [§ 342 ; unaltered in the 2nd ed., 1967].

and geographically assessing extensive dialect material, I shall make explicit some of the processes controlling the development of these clusters into the main varieties of Italo-Romance.

The choice of the term « palatalization » to describe the passage of a labial consonant and L to a labial consonant and yod is not quite as fanciful or arbitrary as might appear at first glance if several facts are borne in mind. It must be recalled that PL is by no means an isolated cluster, but fits into a series of consonant plus resonant sequences. Besides a cluster opposing voice to PL, BL, and another opposing stridency, FL, there was in Classical Latin a voiced and voiceless pair formed with the velar occlusives, CL and GL. There was no cluster, however, with a dental member and L. What may be intuited organically (i. e., that \*tl and \*dl, by the proximity of their members, each being [+ coronal], require more delicate coordination of the tongue than the other pairs) seems borne out historically by the difficulty speakers of early Latin demonstrably experienced with \*tl/\*dl. For example, the Indo-European instrumental suffixes \*-tlo- and \*-d<sup>h</sup>lo- appear in Latin as -CLUM or -CULUM<sup>1</sup> and -BULUM<sup>2</sup> respectively. This elimination of the dental pair made a gap in the Latin system of consonant followed by oral resonant which, synchronically as well as historically, appears thereby defective. Compare the distribution of chart 2 below with that in O<sup>3</sup> and I.

1. M. Leumann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, 1926, vol. I, p. 97, 153. For vacillation in anaptyxis, see also W. Lindsay, « Deminutives in -CULUS. Their metrical treatment in Plautus » *CR*, VI (1892), 87 ff. The insertion of a vowel in this environment may of itself be construed as a sign speakers sought to avoid the cluster at issue; of equal significance, note that they never resorted to anaptyxis for the kindred clusters with r. (The same holds true for -BULUM and -BRUM.)

2. Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

3. Chart O represents the prehistoric stage in which there was a good degree of phonotactic parallelism between combinations of the occlusives with both the oral resonants. The arrows refer to the following shifts: sr to fr initially and to br medially (by way of a Proto-Italic \*pr; e. g., FRIGEŌ < \*srīg-, SOBRĪNUS < \*suesrīnos — R. Kent, *The Sounds of Latin. A Descriptive and Historical Phonology*, Baltimore, 1932, p. 128; Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 158; sl to l (although compensatory lengthening medially appears to reflect an intermediary -ll-), e. g., LANGUEŌ < \*slag- (cf. A. Ernout & A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1959, p. 340 a), DILIGŌ < \*diz-lego, EDŪLIS < \*edos-lis — Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 129, Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 149, 159; dl to l- and -ll-, e. g., LON-GUS < \*dlonghos, RĀLLUM < \*rad-lom — Kent, *ib.*, p. 115, Leumann, *ib.*, p. 148, 154; tl to l- and -kl-, e. g., LĀTUS < \*tlātos, BACULUM < \*bat-lom, PōC(U)-LUM < \*pō-tlom — Kent, *ib.*, p. 113 f, Leumann, *ib.*, p. 127, 147, 153. Note also that, while dr was generally shifted to tr (e. g., TAETRO- < \*taidros, beside TAE-

		O		I		2
<i>pr</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>pl</i>	<i>tl</i> → <i>kl</i>	<i>PR</i>	<i>CL</i>
<i>br</i>	<i>dr</i>	<i>gr</i>	<i>bl</i>	<i>dl</i> <i>gl</i>	<i>BR</i>	<i>GL</i>
↑ <i>fr</i> ← <i>sr</i>			<i>fl</i>	<i>sl</i>	<i>FR</i>	<i>FL</i>
				— (l)l		

Aversion to such clusters carried on into Late Latin : As syncope (of intertonic vowels in proparoxytones) threatened contiguity of *r* and *l*, these were shifted to the more familiar *-CL-*<sup>1</sup>. So the 8th-century *Appendix Probi* warns CAPITULUM (NON) CAPICLUM, UETULUS (NON) UECLUS, UITULUS (NON) UICLUS, and so most common Romance words imply a shift from *-TUL-* to *-kl-*<sup>2</sup>.

From the point of view of Latin articulatory habits, this shift, *-TUL-* to *-kl-*, represents nothing new. Indeed, to have tolerated *\*-tl-* would have been to increase the centuries-old phonotactic inventory. However, late spoken Latin did not simply carry forth the defective CL system, but heightened its asymmetry by allowing another feature to increase the differences between its pairs. Where the innovation occurred was in the articulation of CL and GL<sup>3</sup>. And here in fact one may justly speak of a process of palata-

DET) or underwent assimilation in later compounds (e. g., ARRIPIO < *\*ad-rapiō*), it nevertheless was very much a part of the Classical Latin phonotactic inventory, most notably in compounds with QUADRU- (cf. Ernout & Meillet, *op. cit.*, p. 553 f) and in numerous loans (e. g., ALEXANDRUM, CASSANDRA, DRACUMA, DRUSUS, HADRIANUS) — Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 115, Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 153, V. Pisani, *Grammatica latina storica e comparativa*, Torino, 1962<sub>3</sub>, p. 58.

1. Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

2. For continuing aversion to a dental occlusive plus *l*, compare the Rumanian rendering of some Slavic loans (e. g., *tlaka* > *clacă* 'corvée, statute labor' — DLR q. v.), the Spanish adjustment of Nauatl items (e. g., *ocelote* < *ocelotl*, *tomate* < *tomatl* — G. Friederici, *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch*, Hamburg, 1947, p. 454, 618), and even the modern French interpretation of foreign names (e. g., *Toucle*, *Toucre*, *Troucle* < *Tuttle*). Only in those varieties of Rhaeto-Romance most rife with Germanic influence has *tl/dl* become a tolerable and even, in extreme cases, a preferred occlusive plus *l* articulation, e. g., at San Vigilio di Marebbe *dlatša* 'ice', *tlər* 'clear', *uradla* 'ear' — T. Gartner, *Ladinische Wörter aus den Dolomitenländern*, Halle, 1923, p. 25, 95, 106 (= «Beih. ZRPh, 73»).

3. Some conservative, peripheral areas, such as Sardinian, Dalmatian, and Dolomitic Rhaeto-Romance [= Ladino] seem never to have participated in this innovation (which thereby appears «central» in geo-linguistic terms) : E. g., Old Logudorese *anniclu* 'one year or more in age' < ANNICULU DES I, 91 b, cf. modern central Sardinian *annikru*; *oricla* < AURICULA Ib. II, 193 a, mod. centr. *orikra*; *oclu* < OCULU Ib. II, 183 a, mod. centr. *okru*; *becla* < UETULA Ib. I, 191 b, mod. centr. *bekra*; see also M. L. Wagner, *Historische Lautlehre des*

lization — that is, of assimilating the points of articulation of c, g, and l. In this process, the posture of the back of the tongue, raised against the

*Sardischen*, Halle, 1941, p. 153 ff (= « Beih. ZRPh, 93 »); Vegliote *rakla* < AURICULA, *denakle* < \*GENUCULI, *vaklo* < OCULU, *pedoklo* < PEDUCULU, *sekla* < \*sec'la for SICILE, with hypercharacterization of gender and vocalism influenced by SECARE (cf. Ernout & Meillet, p. 623 b), *vieclo* < UETULU — M. Bartoli, *Das Dalmatische*, Wien, 1906, vol. II, 157, 370 f; Val di Sole *üklå* < ACUCULA, *rçklå* < AURICULA, *gïnuklón* < \*GENUCULU + -ÔNE, *öklu* < OCULU, *sekla* < SITULA, *veklå* < UETULA — from C. Battisti, « Bericht über eine linguistische Studienreise nach Sulzberg », *Anzeiger d. k. Ak. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XLVIII (1911), p. 207, 211, 215, 218 [with minor graphic adjustments], cf. also T. Gartner, *Raetoromanische Grammatik*, Heilbronn, 1883, p. 59, 166 f. The dialects in the Val Badia, Gardena, Marebbe, etc. which have substituted a dental occlusive in these clusters also form part of the conservative bloc, since their innovations rest on *kl* or *gl* clusters, i. e., SITULA > \*sit'la > \*sekla > \*segla > sedla, UETULU > \*vet'lu > veklo > \*veglo > vedl, following the sequence reconstructed by G. I. Ascoli, « Saggi ladini », *AGI*, I (1873), 369.

A further zone of such absolute archaïsm has been claimed for the northern Abruzzi. The claim was initially advanced by C. Merlo: « Nella stessa zona [dove... i nessi di cons. labiale + L si continuano], allato a *ki* da *k* + *L*, compare *cl* : *lanc*[ianese], ecc. *clim* s. f. *REW* 1989, *vast*. *cläim* ; *lanc*., ecc. *sklamá*, *agn*[onese] *sklameá*, ecc. EXCLAMARE 'gridare'; *teram*[ano] *scluccá le dete* 'schioccare [le dita]', *sclöcchä* (lanc., ecc. *scröcchä*) 'schiocco', *schluccata* (Sav[ini] in 'Capt[ivi]', 62 — a Teramano translation of Plautus; note that in his *Grammatica... del dialetto teramano*, Torino, 1881, Savini specifically set CL and GL with their palatalization apart from the labial clusters where *l* is preserved — p. 47); ecc. ecc. » — « Un capitolo di fonetica italiana centro-meridionale », *BSFR*, IV (1913), 26, 29. It has been further diffused most notably by G. Rohlfs: « haben sich diese Konsonantgruppen [i. e., PL, BL, FL, CL, GL] auf einem großen Gebiet in den Abruzzen erhalten » — « Sprachliche Berührungen zwischen Sardinien und Süditalien » in *Donum Natalicium Carolo Jaberg* (= *RH*, IV [1937]), p. 44 f (also in his Spanish collection of *Estudios sobre geografía lingüística de Italia* [Granada, 1952], p. 200, repeated in *Grammatica* cit., p. 240 ff. [§§ 176, 179, 184]). Rohlfs has added the following examples for GL: *grácc* 'ice' at Crecchio, *grácc* at Fara San Martino, and *gracciá* 'to freeze' from G. Finamore, *Vocabolario* (cited below). The form *glaácc*, although unstarred, can only represent Rohlfs' own reconstruction. Outside these few scraps of evidence, however, the clusters with the velars have a consistently palatalized result, even in the regions which register broad preservation of the labial clusters. Scanning the ample entries in the two published volumes of E. Giamarco's *Dizionario Abruzzese e Molisano*, Roma, 1968- [A-M] one finds, for example, *curlácchja* 'crow' 673 b < CORNACULA, *cufécchja* 'den' 641 a < CUBICULU, *fanócchja* 'fennel' 783 b < FENUCULU, *funicchja* 'stout hempen cord' 851 b < FÜNICULU, *inócchja* 'knee' 932 a < \*GENUCULU, *landecchja* 'lentil' 993 a < LENTICULA, *macchja* 'thicket, brushwood' 1031 a < MACULA, *j- λ-accə* 'ice' 937 b < GLACIES, *j-λ-enna* 'acorn' 940 < GLÄNDE, *j- λ-omb(ə)ra* 'elbow' 954 b < GLOMERE, *j- λ-uttóna* 'glutton' 962 a < GLUTTÖNE, *kwa-ja-λə* 'curds' 371 b < COÄGULU, *mujá* 'to low, moo' 1215 b < MÜGILÄRE. In the face of so uniform a trend, it might be prudent to inspect the counter

soft palate to produce an occlusion *k* or *g*, caused the tip to be in a retracted position (to the rear of the alveola in the palatal area) when it was allowed

evidence more closely to determine if the words at issue do in fact present direct vernacular transmissions of the Latin clusters. Sound changes are bounded chronologically, having both an inception and a end, and the Abruzzese inventory of sound combinations has varied from that of spoken Aprutine Latin. Thus semi-learnèd or exotic forms, such as Old Abr. *clara*, *claretate*, *clericu*, *clarora* 'lights', *closa* 'note, comment', *gloria*, *gloriosu* (all from the 13th-century *Proverbia abruzzesi*; see F. Ugolini, *Testi volgari abruzzesi del Duecento*, Torino, 1959, p. 63), may become better integrated into ordinary usage, e. g., in Aquilano *sci p̄prūs-p̄ris gl̄riūsə* 'you are quite daft, eccentric, strange' *DAM* 886 a, cf. *coccə glu-riōsə* 'dreamer, extravagant person' *Ib.* 587 b. A similar case appears to be that of the non-Latin Hellenism *zλίμα* 'slope, inclination, propensity' in Liancianese as *climə*, *crimə* 'inclination, disposition, temperament' where Latin *cl* undergoes a vernacular evolution to (-*k*) *kj-*, although vestiges of *PL*, *BL*, and *FL* remain — G. Finamore, *Vocabolario dell'uso abruzzese*, Città di Castello, 1893<sub>2</sub>, p. 7, 16, 170 b, and in Vastese as *clēimə* 'id', also 'sort, quality' [with reference to soil] *DAM* 586 a, where *cl* also evolves as (-*k*) *kj-* or (-*k*) *k-* — G. Rollin, « Die Mundart von Vasto in den Abruzzen », *Prager Deutsche Studien*, VIII (1908), p. 495 f. In addition, the modern dialects show frequent instances of *kl* as the result of relatively recent syncope, e. g., *cla* < *cu la* 'con la' (also as an enclitic, adjectival form of *chela* 'quella'), similarly *cli*, *clu*, *clucà* < *chelacà* < *coricà* 'to put to bed', *clucatə* < *culacatə* < *coricatū* 'put to bed'. It is in this category that it seems safest to place variants such as Campobassese *carrúcla* for *carrúchelə* 'small stack of sheaves in form of cross, square' *DAM* 443 b (cf. also G. Zicardi « Il dialetto di Agnone », *ZRPh*, XXXIV [1910], 420), Teramano *clōcca* for *culōcca* 'egg yolk' *DAM* 647 b, *clōccia* for *chelōccia* 'garland' *Ib.* 518 b, 586 a, Aquilano *clōstrə* and *clōšchja* for *chelōstrə* 'colostral milk' *Ib.* 519 a, 586 a, Agnonese *škl̄štrə* *Ib.* 627 a for *šculaštrə* 'id.' — Zicardi *Ib.* So prevalent, however, is the exchange of *l* and *r* in this environment that one cannot exclude the possibility that *kl* may occasionally be a rendering of *r* (s) *crōštrə* or *crōšcia* 'id.' variant, *DAM* 627 a. Indeed, such interplay of *r* and *l* accounts for most of the remaining occurrences of *kl*, e. g., Aq. *cleta* (hamlet of Fossa) for *creta* 'mud' *DAM* 618 b; Teram., Pescarese *clīnə* for *crīnə* 'plant fibres for stuffing cushions' [used in lieu of horsehair = It. *crine*, *crino*] *Ib.* 623 a; Teram. *clōččə* 'crutch' *Ib.* 586 a (cf. OIt. *crocchia* < Lomb. *krukchia* *REW* 4785, *DEI* 1168 a); *clocchə* < *crocchə* 'band of cloth passing around right shoulder and under left to which rope for pulling fishing net is attached' *DAM* 586 a, a probable descendant of *ROTULU*, cf. Tusc. *rocchio* 'wooden cylinder, drum, link of sausage, braid of hair', etc. and *crocchia* 'hair braided and coiled at back of head', *crocchio* 'group, knot of people' which show similar influence from a related verb \*CONROTULĀRE > *crocchiare* *DEI* 1167 b, thus also northern Abr. *clocchə* 'group' [of people = It. *crocchio*], *clōččə* for *crōččə* 'hook, hinge' *DAM* 586 a, 624 a, Pesc. *cluōččə* 'heap of hay' *Ib.* However, just as in Italian, words of this shape have become inextricably bound up with an onomatopoeic verb-noun pair: *crucchjə* ~ *cruccià* ~ *cluccià* 'to crack, crackle, creak, crunch, rustle, squeak' and Cb., Chietine *cluōcca* 'creaking, squeaking' (cf. It. *crocchio* 'sound of breaking crockery, cracking, crea-

to make contact with the roof of the mouth to produce the lateral resonant. In terms of the speech organs, this makes fair sense. On the other hand,

king' etc. and *crocchiare*) and, analogously through the verb *scruccá* 'to burst, crack, pop', Lanc. *scrocchə* 'burst, crack' Finamore, *op. cit.*, p. 274 a, *sclōcchja* 'pressed grape skins' *Ib.* 272 b (cf. Teram. *scluccujja* 'id.' Savini, *op. cit.*, p. 183 a, Lanc. *scruccujjata*, Aq. *crocchiata* 'grape preserves' Finamore, 274 b, 309 a), *sclōcchə*, *scrōcchə*, *skalókkə* (in Rohlfs, « Berührungen » *cit.*, p. 45) 'immature fig'. Possibly as a result of blending with the type *「cocchə」* 'shell' [of egg, nut], 'human head' [jocularly, cf. It. *zucca* 'id'], words of similar contour occur in this semantic area: Aq. *clocchə* 'egg' *DAM* 586 a, Aq. *clocchja* *Ib.* for *「crocchja」* and *「cocchja」* 'shell, hull, husk, [onion] skin', Cb. *cocchəla* 'shell, husk' *Ib.* 590 a, *cūóccla* 'ball' *Ib.* 663, a, Zicardi *ib.* Compare finally the adaptations of the Italianism *croccante* as Teram., Aq. *clu-*, *cru-*, *cro-ccanda* 'pastry made with nuts' *Ib.* 586 b. In such a context, it is not always easy to determine when the presence of *kl* may be motivated more by expressivity than by any specific blending, e. g., *clo-clo* is the 'cluck' of the hen, but this value seems only tangential to the insertion of the cluster in Aq. *cloda* 'lark' [= It. *(al)lod(ol)a* < ALAUDA]; similar playful use of the cluster may be seen in Aq. *cluccagna* 'high life' [= It. *cuccagna*], Teram. *clucchəsa* 'house' [in slang], Aq. *clumiénda* 'convent' (influence from learned phrase *in cluasura*?), Aq. *cluticà* 'to tickle'. The curious *clano* 'flat, easy, slow' (< PLĀNU) at Farindola, northern Pescara province *DAM* 585 b, in the phrase *clane clane* 'easy does it' [= It. *pian piano*], may be a correction arising out of a faulty equation of *pj* = *pl* and *kj* = *pl* of southern Pescarese *chjanə* — note that this palatal result of *PL* has already partially penetrated the *pl*-conserving system at nearby Loreto Aprutino, e. g., *čču* < PLŪS, beside *pláññə*, *pláttə*, etc. — O. Parlangeli, « Il dialetto di Loreto Aprutino », *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, LXXXV (1952), 64, now in *Scritti di dialettologia*, Galatina, 1972, p. 136. Essentially one word alone now remains as putative testimony to a preservation and a direct transmission of spoken Latin CL unaltered: Lanc. *sclamá*, *sgramá* 'lamentarsi, gridare per dolore o per ira', with variants *gramá* in Vasto — Finamore 272 b, *sklameá* in Agnone — Zicardi 420. Rather than taking this verb and its variants as straightforward continuations of EXCLAMĀRE, it seems sounder to consider it a special variant of the more frequent Chiet., Cb. *「gramá, gr-, hr-aməá」* 'id.', flanked by deverbal *gramə* 'cry of grief' *DAM* 893 f, conceivably influenced by It. *esclamare* or even a possible semilearned local reflex of EXCLAMĀRE, which survives much further south, e. g., Pugliese *šcamáre* 'to yelp, howl, shout, roar, miaow, moo, grunt' — Rohlfs, *VDS* (cited below, n. 1, p. 426) 589 a; it seems significant, however, that the key element of human pathos and sorrow of Abr. (s)*gramá* is absent altogether from this direct heir to EXCLAMĀRE. Evidence for the possible survival of GL consists of the lone pair *graccə* and *graccià*, which, however, does not seem to admit of any simple solution. Forms in *gr-* or *γr-* are reported by Giammarco for seven localities in northern and central Chieti. This is indeed the area in which conserved *PL*, *BL*, and *FL* clusters are rendered *pr-*, *vr-*, and *fr-*; but, on the other hand, *GL-* from all other genuine spoken Latin sources has here evolved as *j*, and the vast majority of GLACIES descendants show initial *j-*, cf. at Bucchianico *graccià* 'to freeze' but *jacciatura* 'freezing' — *DAM* 893 a, 938 b... In addition, the *gr-* points are surrounded not merely by the more indigenous *「yačč」*, but frequently by the competing lexical type *「yéla」* (cf. *AIS* II 381). *「ggoldá」* is a far more

that *l* should be so « palatalized » by a preceding bilabial or labiodental obstruent would represent some rather unusual lingual movements<sup>1</sup>, if one

frequent verb ‘to freeze’ than *‘jacciá’* (compare *DAM* 870 with 938 a), thus at Miglianico *‘yracci’* ‘to freeze’, *graccite* ‘freeze’ (n.) alongside *ggelá* (vb.), *ggelə* ‘ice’, *ggelónə* ‘frost’. (Such synonymy shows that a continuous GLACIÉS descendant need not have been an omnipresent fixture in the local lexicon simply because the phenomena are a constant part of nature.) Moreover, one would have sooner expected the more resistant voiceless velar to have left some vestige than GL, but there are no Abruzzese variants *\*craə*, *\*cramá* running parallel to Sard. *crae*, *cramare* as evidence of direct consolidation (through a shift to the other more stable resonant sequence) of system 2. The normal Chieti correspondences in *(-j)j-* < GL and *(-k)kj-* < CL make the assumption of palatalization of the velar clusters a structural necessity. This unique, anomalous *gr-* reflex is therefore utterly idiosyncratic and, by implication, needs have experienced an isolated evolution outside the mainstream of vernacular Abruzzese sound changes.

1. Already in 1891, that perspicacious phonetician, the Abbé P. J. Rousselot, was troubled by precisely this problem: Writing of the evolution of these clusters in the west-central French dialect of Cellefrouin, he made the following distinction: « Le mouillement de l’*l* après une consonne présente donc deux étapes: 1<sup>o</sup> après une gutturale; 2<sup>o</sup> après une labiale... C’est la première qui met en évidence la cause déterminante de l’évolution. En effet, *kl*, *gl*, exigent deux mouvements bien distincts de la langue: l’un de la racine, l’autre de la pointe. *Kl*, *gl*, au contraire, demandent un mouvement intermédiaire, non plus de la pointe, mais du dos de la langue. L’*l* est donc appelée naturellement par la gutturale. On ne voit pas les mêmes raisons pour le mouillement de l’*l* après les labiales. Mais, le mouvement une fois commencé, on conçoit qu’il se soit propagé à toutes les *l* placées après une consonne » — *Les Modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d’une famille de Cellefrouin (Charente)*, Paris, 1891, p. 199. Unfortunately, he lacked the theoretical frame in which to have formulated this felicitous intuition with sufficient clarity to have gainsaid the doubts or indifference of later Romanists. As it stands, of course, his statement is little more than a bare assertion, and Giacomelli can properly deem it « la parte più debole » of his discussion — *op. cit.*, p. 137. Subsequently he sought an organic or physiologic mechanism to account for palatalization after P, B, and F — see « Les articulations parisiennes étudiées à l’aide du palais artificiel », *La Parole* [IX] Année 1899, 545 ff. The weakness of this proposal was pointed out by A. Sjögren, who more accurately described the problem posed by palatalization in such environments, but, advancing another alternate physiologic hypothesis, who came no nearer to solving it — « La palatalisation de *l* des groupes *pl*, *bl*, *fl*, *kl*, *gl* dans les langues romanes », *Rev. de Phon.*, V (1928), 200-205. W. Meyer-Lübke, in his last legacy to diachronic Romance phonology — « Die Schicksale des lateinischen *l* im Romanischen », *Berichte der Sächsische Ak. in Leipzig*, LVIIIVI, no 2 (1934), 47, extended the Abbé’s comment on the origin and spread of *l* with an allusion to its cause: « Danach würden also die *pl*-Mundarten einen älteren Zustand darstellen, während in den andern das **häufigere** *kl*, *gl* das **seltenere** *pl*, *bl*, *fl* nach sich [by implication to *pl*, *bl*, *fl*] gezogen hätte » [emphasis mine]. Frequency of occurrence is of prime significance; unfortunately, it is never made clear here how, and Meyer-Lübke’s suggestion

persist in regarding it as an organic process, or in seeking for it a strictly organic explanation.

Instead, for the shift of PL, BL, and FL to the intermediate stage *pλ*, *bλ*, and *fλ* in their evolution to (*p*)*pj*, (*b*)*bj*, and (*f*)*fj*, it seems preferable to consider simply that some speakers chose to generalize in all five environments one of the allophones into which postconsonantal *l* had split. This raises two immediate questions : why should they have sought particularly to unify the renderings of postconsonantal *l*? And why should they have opted in favor of *λ*, on the surface an unattractive solution since it extends a heavier cluster, [+ labial] and [+ palatal] ? Besides being a generally observable impulse in languages, the move towards allophonic unity may have been prompted specifically here to reduce another asymmetry which had crept into the CL system 2 — already « defective » from the point of view of a tripunctal range of occlusives in conjunction with the other resonant, cf. 1 — and had changed it into the « assimilating » system 3. The generalization of *λ* eliminated the new element of asymmetry — compare 3 with 4 below :

3	4
pl kλ	pλ kλ
bl gλ	bλ gλ
fl	fλ

That the choice should have been made in favor of *λ* seems no more than a manifestation of its greater frequency. Lexically this predominance can be grasped by a glance through any Latin dictionary along with O. Graedenwitz' *Laterculi Vocabulorum Latinorum*, Leipzig, 1904. On the level of discourse, it can be surmised from the morphologic rôle of *-k'l-* in a gamut of diminutive suffixes showing a good rate of Romance survival <sup>1</sup>.

(to which he did not return elsewhere in the essay) has not borne fruit. The pressure of frequency, as the force of a dominant allophone, is now recognized as a central dynamic in the surface rearrangement of a (sound) system of values and oppositions. That is, the generalization of *λ* postconsonantly is simply part of the incessant play between the surface or phonetic and the phonemic levels of language by which abstract oppositional values and their surface representations are kept from falling too far out of step, and where the one-to-one logical ideal of sign systems interacts with the organically-conditioned variability of natural language.

1. For a detailed account of the -c(u)LU- formants, see E. F. Tuttle, *The Derivational Suffix -ĀCULUM : Its Latin Origin and its Romance Development*, Tübingen, 1975 (= « Beih. ZRPh, 146 »).

The articulatory ponderousness of these clusters has already been referred to ; it probably represents the basic reason all the shifts to be considered now will be shifts towards simplification — i. e., they will illustrate the principal means by which these articulations were reduced. The north-central Italo-Romance solution was to eliminate laterality, arriving, via a semivocalic glide which probably first appeared before back vowels (*\*kλjave* > *\*kλjave* > *(k)kjave*), at the familiar Tuscan system — see below, 6 a. This is a relatively conservative solution in its fidelity to all the CL oppositions. Before the stage obstruent plus yod had been reached, most of southern Italy had effected further simplifications — the most noted fruit of which is a palatal consonant in the modern dialects corresponding to Latin PL.<sup>1</sup> (Refer to 6 d and all the subsequent columns.) Since it is so hard to conceive this shift (of the point of articulation) in organic terms, one is drawn to seek for it an explanation on the phonemic level. Here, in fact, owing to the defective representation of the three main points of articulation already pointed out in system 1, this feature may be regarded as weak (i. e., not integrated) ; that is, as a feature it stood potentially to lose functional importance. One might suppose such a decline in significance would occur through reinterpretation of these clusters as a set of unit phonemes analyzed by speakers simply as an occlusion or obstruency followed by a palatal lateral release. In sequences of this sort, the now non-distinctive point of articulation might be most comfortably generalized as that more homorganic with λ, or *kλ* or *gλ*.

Of course, this did not take place in Tuscan and other central Italo-Romance dialects ; if it is to be adduced as a cause for the south Italian treatment of PL, some important concommittant factor must also be identified. I believe this crucial factor is southern Italian consonantal weakening, whereby progressive spirantization of the voiced stops threatened their points of articulation in some areas with virtual effacement. From a sys-

1. The classification which will be developed here differs fundamentally from that used by G. Giacomelli. Her tripartite division of the Italo-Romance reflexes of CL, PL, and FL is quasi-synchronous, i. e., its separations are based upon the clusters' acquired states : (1) takes in the zones in which the occlusive is conserved, (2) covers the zones of partial palatalization, *kj*, and (3) the zones of full palatalization, č — *op. cit.*, 136 ff. The present discussion, with its emphasis on causality, will advance a diachronic classification, based upon early distinctions in the development of the clusters. For example, the above shift in the point of articulation of P signals a primary watershed here, while *p̪i* and *k̪i* (< PL) are legitimately sub-categories of semipalatalization in G.'s treatment.

temic viewpoint, their erosion would have left the skeleton of a pattern sketched in 5.

5

pλ	kλ
fλ	
(vλ)	

Under these circumstances, a (phonemic) reshuffling is more plausibly envisioned. It is most likely the first shift was that of *pλ*, isolated now through the weakening of *b*, since this would not have increased the inventory of sequences. Also, in terms of its areal distribution, the merger of PL and CL as *(-k)kj-* was shared in by all dialects south of a curve from the mid-Abruzzi to southern Lazio <sup>1</sup>. This development probably set the stage for the equally dramatic movement of the fricative member or members, as the case may be. In these movements four rough distinctions can be made which will serve to classify the panoply of correspondences presently found in the Mezzogiorno (see below, 11 b, c, d, e). The major differentiating force is the degree to which each dialect participated in the local process of « lenition » or consonantal weakening. I want briefly then to describe the nature of south Italian consonant weakening to make plain its relation to the evolution of these clusters.

Weakening of the consonants in central and southern Italy differs from that which occurred in Gallo- and Hispano-Romance in three main ways.

1. PL > *(-k)kj-* correspondences are found south of a rough arc which begins in the Abruzzese province of Chieti, descends through southern Aquila, is deflected sharply southwards in Lazio, and reaches the coast below Latina. On the vast majority of relevant *AIS* maps the northernmost points for *(-k)kj-* are 706 (Serracapriola), 658 (Palmoli — whereas 648 [Fara San Martino] shows *py* for all words checked save one), 656 (Scanno — where it overlays a broader original stratum of *pl* conserved), 664 (Santa Francesca), 710 (Ausonia). Giamarco's ampler data in the *DAM* contain occasional instances of *(-k)kj-* from more northern Chietine localities, e. g., *cucchjə* 'coppia' at San Martino s. Marrucina, *chècchjə* 'id.' at Scerni 590 a, but by and large this isogloss seems properly representative for the Abruzzi. In Lazio *(-k)kj-* appears to be receding southwards; compare G. Crocioni's turn-of-the-century findings for Sezze, e. g., *kiu*, *kiañe*, *kienu* — « Il dialetto di Velletri », *SR*, V (1907), 62, with the *AIS* uniform *py* results at Sonnino (P. 682). Inland, « doppie forme » were still present at Paliano, to the north of Santa Francesca (P. 664), in the Twenties, e. g., *kakkio/kappio*, *ski-/spi-azzatella* — G. Navone, « Il dialetto di Paliano », *SR*, XVII (1922), 87, 91. Cf. also Giacomelli, *op. cit.*, 141, C. Merlo, « Fonologia del dialetto di Sora », *Annali Univ. Tosc. (Pisa)*, XXXVIII (1920), 248; Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 253 [§ 186].

First (1), the grades of occlusives are not affected in any neat chain : rather than originating from a reduction of the geminates <sup>1</sup>, weakening involves here principally the voiced series, e. g., Abr. (Aquila province) *bbée* 'beve' (also 'bere', cf. also *(a)bbuurà* 'abbeverare', with rounding of the unstressed vowels) <sup>2</sup>, *fàa* 'fava', *laìru* 'lavoro'; likewise from Latin -u- *bbò(ə)* 'bove, bue', *faore* 'favore', *juà* 'giovare'; *coa* 'coda', *crée* 'credere', *meolla* 'midolla', *pée* 'piede'; *auštə* 'agosto', *do(v)ə* 'doga', *fao* 'faggio' (< FĀGU), *leá* 'legare', *ləamə* 'legame spago' <sup>3</sup>. Voiceless occlusives are consistently voiced only in extreme zones <sup>4</sup>, while the geminates are uni-

1. The initial step in the weakening or « lenition » process A. Martinet reconstructed for Celtic and thence for Western Romance in « Celtic Lenition and Western Romance Consonants », *Lg.*, XXVIII (1952), 198 ff, and thereafter in *Economie des changements phonétiques*, Berne, 1964<sub>2</sub>, pp. 142 ff.

2. In general word forms have been left in their original transcription ; differences in writers' habits have been eliminated only where they were of no consequence and simply distracted from the point of comparison. On the charts, however, a loosely phonemic orthography has been used to facilitate comparison ; the Italian digraphs (suggested by many of the standard dialect orthographies) should be a constant reminder of this generalized representation. Where Italian glosses afforded pertinent formal comparisons as well as basic meanings they have been retained.

3. As one might expect, where the weakened variants of several phonemes have come to coincide in one register (the point of neutralization here being *h* or zero), confused equations have produced alternate full forms : e. g., Abr. *bbia-γə -və* for *bbiada* 'biada' (cf. *bbiahə* in which the distinctions are neutralized), *vita/veta* for *dita/deta* 'dito/dita' (cf. *itə/etə*, metaphony is produced by -u, not by -a), *fagóra* for *favóra* 'favore' (cf. *fa[h]óra*), *favə* for *fayə* 'faggio' (cf. *fao*), *fràvola* for *fràγəla* 'fragola' (cf. *fràvula*), *dallə*, *vallə* for *yallə* 'gallo' (cf. *(h)allə*), *jovə* for *joγə* 'giogo' (cf. *ju(h)ə*). Often the presence of such readjusted full-forms, etymologically discrepant, is the only documentation of weakening available for certain regions and periods. For example, though R. D'Ambra remarks that *v* in Neapolitan « sfugge spesso alla pronuncia naturale » — *Vocabolario napoletano-toscano...*, Napoli, 1873, 387, shortly thereafter R. Capozzoli makes no mention of the phenomenon of weakening, save what may be inferred from his warning : « Nè crediamo che in alcune voci dei verbi *adunare*, *accidere*, *credere* e *vedere* si debba oggi sostituire il *g* al *d* », followed by a list of ostensibly déclassé variants, e. g., *agùna*, *accìgo*, *crego*, *vego* ; and similarly « Nè finalmente oggi ci sembra conveniente sostituire, come una volta, il *g* al *v* », e. g., *cannovòla*, *frùvolo*, *nievo*, *paravone*, *pavare*, *spavo*, *vonnella* — *Grammatica del dialetto napoletano*, Napoli, 1889, p. 9 f. (Note, à propos of *vego*, that he also complains about the hypercorrected form in -*h*- : « anche oggi molti, sostituendo il *c* al *d*, dicono *veco* e *veca* » — see below, n. 4, for the significance of this sort of substitution.)

4. Cf. Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 205 [§153], 276 [§204], 279 [§ 208]. Occasional voicing of the voiceless series seems to occur more widely however, at least in certain stylistic registers, even though it is documentable for most dialects at present only indirectly, i. e., as it is implied by equations made of what needs

versally maintained as such. Compare, for example, the following morphophonemic variants from Neapolitan, where the feminine plural definite article is a « particella raddoppiante » :

<i>a allin(ə)</i>	<i>e ggallin(ə)</i>
<i>a att(ə)</i>	<i>e ggatt(ə)</i>
<i>a ekkj(ə)</i>	<i>e bbekkj(ə)</i>
<i>a okk(ə)</i>	<i>e bbokk(ə)</i>
<i>a ott(ə)</i>	<i>e bbott(ə)</i> <sup>1</sup>

represent a weakened variant of a voiceless phoneme with a strong or full variant of a voiced phoneme. In such equations, the voiced phoneme may, in regions where the voiced series is especially subject to extreme weakening or loss, be given a strong or full (« hypercorrect » if one wishes to impute a social value to the difference) rendering as voiceless, e. g., Abr. *bbiatə* for *bbia-də -ha* 'biada', *bbṛtə* for *bbṛd(d)ə* 'brodo', *crētə* for *cré(d)ə(rə)* 'credere', *fetə* for *fe(d)a* 'fede', *fotə* for *fōd(ə)rə* 'fodero' (and 'federa'), *lāpətə* for *lāpəðə* 'lapida', *lōtə* for *lōðənə* '(al)lodola', *pētə* for *pə(ð)ə* 'piede'; or, word-initially, *teta* for *(ð)eta* 'dita', *tettero* for *ðattora* 'medico', *tittə* for *(ð)ittə* 'detto'. Stated explicitly, for *d* to have been associated with *t*, there must have been a point of contact. The only plausible zone of congruence between them is in a realization as *d*:

$$\begin{array}{l} |t| > [t \sim d] / V(\#) - V \\ |d| > [d \sim \delta \text{ or zero}] / V(\#) - V \end{array}$$

There is evidence of an analogous process involving *g* and *k*, e. g., *bbichə* for *bbiγə* 'biga', *caštəcà* for *caštià* 'castigare', *facōtə* for *fay- fah-ottə* 'fagotto', *frācolə* for *frāγ- frāh-ola* 'fragola', *jochə* for *jo-γə -ha* 'giogo', *ləcà* for *lə-γà -(h)à* 'legare', or, analogically, with no etymological justification, *dechə* for *(d)də-γə -(h)ə* 'idea'. */v/* may in rare instances be caught up in this sort of alternation, but only through the agency of a dental or velar intermediary, e. g., *facūgnə* (at Scerni, Chieti) for *favūgnə* through *fa(h)- fay-ūgnə* '(south) west wind' (< FAUōNIU). Evidently */v/* no longer fits into an opposing pair with *p*. [Since instead it is opposed to *f*, can the present oppositionally-cued alternation in any way be related to the odd incidences of *f* for *v* which do not seem explicable as Oscanisms — cf. Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 302 f [§ 219]. E. g., *cufecchjə* for *cuvicchjə* 'tana' (< CUBICULU); *kōfə* 'tana' beside *covə* 'cova', *cuvərə* 'covo, tana'; *fafə* for *fa(v)a* 'fava'; *faflāttə* 'favola' (i. e., *favoletta* with syncope), *frefə* for *frevə* 'febbre'; *fayocchjə* 'carradore, fabbricante di carri agricoli' (< Engl. wagon ? It. *vagone* ?) ?]

1. For a survey of the morphologic functions such alternation can acquire, see J. E. Iannucci, « Gemination of Initial Consonants and Its Semantic Function in Neapolitan », *RPh*, II (1948-49), 237 ff. The production of etymologically discrepant full-forms may under these conditions become bound up with morphophonemic alternations, e. g., Monte Prócida *a att/rə ggatt ~ re bbatt*, Neap. *o (v)utə/e bbottə* 'gomito' (with feminine plural common for bodily members), leading to the insertion of a strong allophone in a situation where it has no historical motive, as in these Salentine examples cited by Rohlfs: *arde* but *nu bbarde* 'non arde', *auto* but *chiù bbauto* 'piu alto', *essuto* but *su bbessuti* 'sono usciti'

It further differs in that (2) positional distinctions hold far less sway, i. e., occurrence word-initially or postconsonantly does not seem a strong conserving factor. Adjacent continuants provoked changes, while word-initial and intervocalic positions were more nearly alike due to the maintenance of final vowels, e. g., at Subiaco (Lazio) compare the following sets :

<i>la ɔkka</i> 'bocca'	<i>beorà</i> 'abbeverare'
<i>la otte</i> 'botte'	<i>boaru</i> 'bovaro'
<i>ju ottone</i> 'bottone'	<i>čaatta</i> 'ciabatta'
<i>also la ešpa</i> 'vespa'	<i>laorà</i> 'lavorare'
<i>la oče</i> 'voce'	<i>træe</i> 'trave'
<i>la ečina</i> 'diecina'	<i>broa</i> 'broda'
<i>ju ente</i> 'dente'	<i>koa</i> 'coda'
<i>la uttrina</i> 'dottrina'	<i>suore</i> 'sudore'
<i>la aλina</i> 'gallina'	<i>doa</i> 'doga'
<i>ju ammaru</i> 'gambero'	<i>leame</i> 'legame'
<i>la unnella</i> 'sottana'	<i>reazzu</i> 'ragazzo' <sup>1</sup>

In dialects which have undergone this sweeping erosion, the only remaining intervocalic voiced obstruents have strong or geminate articulations. A simple voiced occlusive, arriving in an Italianism or Latinism, was therefore reproduced in the South as a geminate; i. e., it was equated with the only kindred articulation there extant. Through this mechanism one at last comprehends why «la *b* latineggiante della lingua letteraria diventa per lo

— *Grammatica* cit., 197, 208, repeated 229 [§§ 150, 155, 167]. Some dialects have eliminated this word-initial alternation by generalizing the strong or more marked allophone regardless of syntactic conditions. Thus in most Abruzzese dialects, initial /v/ is always [bb-]; Giammarco remarks of  $\lceil bbo(v)\varepsilon \rceil \sim \lceil vo(v)\varepsilon \rceil$  that « nelle parlate in cui vi è alternanza [b]b/v la forma con v[-] è quella più arcaica » — *DAM* 335 a. While Rohlfs described the northern Calabrese *bb*- rendering of *v*- as strictly syntactically conditioned, e. g., at Acri, on the N. W. part of La Sila, *vɛspera* /a bbɛspera/ 'nel pomeriggio', *vestitura* 'vestito' /e bbɛstuto/ 'è vestito', *Dizionario dialettale delle Tre Calabrie*, Halle-Milano, 1932-39, vol. I, 34, vol. II, 373 a, R. Ambrosini, writing recently of a town on the S. E. part of the same plateau, comments that « il rafforzamento [v- > bb-] non presume esclusivamente motivi di fonetica sintattica, anche se è presente in tale sede » — « *Fonetica e morfologia del dialetto di S. Severina* », *ID*, XXXIII (1970), 15.

1. From A. Lindsstrom, « *Il vernacolo di Subiaco* », *SR*, V (1907), 237-300.

più -*bb*- nel Mezzogiorno<sup>1</sup>». E. g., Abr. *abbéto* 'abete', *abbetə* 'abito', *abbəs-sənesə* 'uomo rude, rozo' [= abissino], (*d*)*débbətə* 'debito'. It is important this point be understood since it serves to reconcile the well-known southern «rafforzamento» of the voiced series with the little-known conditions of weakening which one has been at pains to establish here. In dialects where the voiced labial obstruent phoneme, /b/ or /v/, has surface realizations *bb* and *v*, there can be no strong (long) grade of the fricative in the vernacular inventory, and Italian *vv* is therefore also rendered -*bb*-, e. g., Abr. *abbəsə* 'avvisare' (cf. further the identical treatment of -DV- > \*-VV- > -BB- in words of native stock). In a still more extreme situation, where the surface realizations of /b/ or /v/ were either *h* or zero and -*bb*-, even the simple Italian fricative seems to have been associated with -*bb*-, e. g., Abr. *liebbə* 'leggero, lieve'. In all but the most archaic varieties of Abruzzese, this alternation of strong and weak allophones has today been eliminated in favor of the stronger *bb*, now of universal occurrence. In Neapolitan, on the other hand, the original morphophonemic aspect of the alternation is still apparent, even if not all the presentday «particelle raddoppianti» have an etymological justification (i. e., an original final consonant which geminated through anticipatory assimilation across word-boundaries) — Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 235 ff (§§ 173-175). As it can be pieced together from conservative southern dialects, the distribution of /d/ was roughly analogous; i. e., in Lazio and the central Abruzzi:

/d/ → [d]/Continuant —  
 [dd]/Particella Raddoppiante —  
 [ð] or [ø]/V — V;

while in Campania and the southern Abruzzi the weak, spirantized [ð] developed as [r], thus:

/d/ → [d]/Continuant —  
 [dd]/Particella Raddoppiante —  
 [r]/V — V.

1. Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 294 [§ 215]. The less extensive but analogous doubling of the dental is mentioned only under initial *d* — 204 [§ 153]. Although Rohlfs does refer to sporadic devoicing of the voiced series, it is in no way related to the concurrent weakening (i. e., tendential voicing) of the voiceless group, nor, consequently, is its rôle as an alternate manner for reproducing a strong voiced stop from a more formal or prestigious register touched upon.

E. g., Neap. *Andóñə* 'Antonio', *ardikə* 'ortica', *o renukkjə* 'ginocchio' versus *e ddenokkjə*, *o ritə* 'dito' versus *e ddetsə*, *a rumménəkə* 'la domenica' versus *e ddumménəkə*, *o rerittə* 'il diritto' versus *pe ddriftə* 'dirittamente', *ročə* 'dolce' versus *ə ddočə* 'è dolce'. Compare the following correspondences from northern and southern points in the Abruzzi :

N. Aquila Pr.	Campobasso Pr.
<i>icə</i> 'dire' but	<i>rīca(rə)</i> 'dire'
<i>chə ddich'i</i> 'che dico io'	<i>chéšta cosə chə ddich'i, lə può</i> <i>rica tu purə</i> 'questo che dico io lo puoi dire anche tu' — <i>DAM 696 b</i>
<i>olórə</i> 'dolore' but	<i>rəlórə</i> 'dolore' but
<i>chə ddəlora</i> ! Cf. also	<i>Maronna Addəluráta</i>
<i>edduluréta</i> 'addolorati'	<i>'Madonna Addolorata' —</i>
(with metaphorony)	<i>DAM 701f.</i>

However, for */d/*, alongside the geminate [dd] as in the Italianizing Abruzzese forms *addorə* 'odore', *adduprà* 'adoperare', *lunəddì* 'lunedì', *martəddì*, etc., another strong variant appears in the guise of [t], e. g., Abr. *currətərə* 'corridoio, corridore', *Matonna*, *setia* 'sedia', *štutendə* 'studente'. This form of reinforcement is by no means mystifying in dialect areas where, as at Subiaco in Lazio, the voiceless series « tende a sonorizzarsi » — Lindsstrom, *op. cit.*, 253, cf. 238. For the specific mechanism by which a weakened */t/* might be equated with a strong rendering of */d/*, see above, n. 15. Thus, at Subiaco for example, both types of strengthening were used to reproduce Italianisms, e. g.,

<i>addore</i> 'odore'	<i>la tote</i> 'dote' (more vernacular, <i>la ote</i> )
<i>junneddì</i> 'lunedì'	<i>junnetì</i> 'id.'
<i>marteddì</i> 'martedì'	<i>maretì</i> 'id.'
<i>gñeddì</i> 'giovedì'	<i>gñetì</i> 'id.'

There does not appear to have been any smoothly transferrable strong geminate correspondent for */g/*. As a result, Italianisms or hypercorrections (see below, n. 1) are generally reproduced with the voiceless velar *k*<sup>1</sup> or else

1. So uniformly at Subiaco, e. g., *kanibbardese* 'garibaldino', *ko(w)ernu* 'governo', *kramo* 'grammo', *krantole* 'malattia delle glandole' (with analogous hypercorrection of the *-nd-* cluster), *seku* 'sego' (cf. more vernacular *siu*,

with a correct rendition of intervocalic *-g-*, thereby adding a new phone to the local inventory. In Abruzzese (Aquila Pr.), one finds *akošto* or *agoštu*, but never *\*aggoštə*, for more vernacular *auštə* 'agosto'; *toga*, but never *\*dogga*, for *dova* 'doga'; *fràcola* or *fràgula*, but never *\*fràggola*, for *fràula* 'fragola'; *joco* or *ggiogu*, but never *\*joggə*, for *jo(v)ə* 'giogo'; *ləkamə*, but never *\*ləggamə*, for *ləamə* 'legame'. This lack of parallelism<sup>1</sup> still awaits a full, systematic explanation. It may well be related to 3 the third and last fundamental difference between northern and southern Italian consonant weakening: In the South, the three main points of articulation were not all affected in a uniform degree. The velar has suffered severer and more widespread attrition than the dental or the labial. Speculating as to probable causes of such asymmetry, one is first drawn to an important historical divergence between the velar and the remaining occlusives. Latin *G* seems to have been early lost in Proto-Romance before front vowels<sup>2</sup>, thus it occurred only before the most open of the vowels, *a*, *o*, and *u*, i. e., those vowels most apt to have fostered incomplete occlusion in rapid speech. For this reason, weakened realizations of *G* must have formed a greater proportion of its total incidence than was the case for *D*. By the same token, its mean articulation would become that occurring in these contexts of maximum aperture, thus the sooner deflecting the «target» for *G*. As for *B*, it was early spirantized and then merged intervocally with *U* as a fricative. Nevertheless, similar environments of open and rounded vowels were not as inimical to its subsistence as they were to that of *g*. Recall that *v* arose as an anti-hiatic or buffer consonant in just such environments much

with expected metaphony). However, not all the forms with *k* in dialect manifesting these changes should be considered Italianisms. Once a pattern of equivalences of this sort had been established, it would tend to be extended throughout the remaining vernacular strata of the lexicon, e. g., *kote* 'godere', *kran-nezza* 'grandezza' (= *rannezza*) *kràntina* 'grandine' (= *rànnina*), *lekà* 'legare' (cf. *leame*), *suku* 'sugo' (cf. *suu*), *tikama* 'tegame' (cf. *tiána* at nearby Paliano [with shifted suffix]). Note that even the strong postconsonantal vestiges of *G* have here been replaced with *k*, e. g., *funku* 'fungo' (*fuño* is an analogical singular based upon the plural allomorph), *larku*, *lonku*, *sankwe*.

1. Note also in this regard that, just as *g* has no strong geminate equivalent *\*-gg-*, *b* has no voiceless strengthening as *\*-pp-*. Where */p/* weakens to *[-b-]*, */v/* is already firmly part of a fricative voiced: voiceless pair, *v* : *f*, and has no strong simple occlusive realization. Therefore, an equation parallel to that reconstructed for *d* and *t* (see above, n. 4 p. 411, could not come about.

2. E. g., *CÔGITÂRE* > OIt. *coitare*, *COLLIGERE* > *\*colliere* > *cogliere*, *DIGITU* > *dito*, *FRAGILE* < OIt. *fra(i)le*, *IMÂGINE* > OIt. *maina* (with hypercharacterization of gender), *MAGISTRU* > *maestro*, *PÂGE(N)SE* > *paese*, *REGIÔNE* > *rione*, *SAGITTA* > *saetta*.

more frequently than *g*<sup>1</sup>, e. g., Abr. *bbuva* for *bbùa* 'bua, voce fanciullesca per indicare male, dolore', *cavələ* for *caulə* 'cavolo', *cundinəvə* 'continuo', *puvēta* 'poeta'; or old Judeo-It. *cavosa* 'causa', *continevo* 'continuo', *levuto* 'liuto', *santovario* 'santuario', *tavori* 'tori' — *Cantico dei Cantici*, ed. G. Sermoneta, Firenze, 1974, 21; cf. also Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 473 [§ 339].

What such weakening might represent for some of the ponderous clusters of obstruent plus  $\lambda$  was a ready mode of simplification (to a more easily articulable  $\lambda$ ). That of the clusters with  $\lambda$ , *gλ* succumbed most broadly to this development (see below, map 11) is a reflection of the fact that it was the most widely eroded of the entire voiced consonant series<sup>2</sup>. Where only *G* was effaced, a system of five reflexes developed from the six essential CL types taken as a base<sup>3</sup>, such as that of the Marche shown at 6 b.

1. Indeed, it is highly questionable whether *g* (or  $\gamma$ ) is an organically-produced buffer at all, and not merely an analogic insert arising from the alternation of *g* or  $\gamma$  with zero as a result of weakening.

2. In fact, loss of *g* in rapid vernacular speech allowing for a resolution  $\lambda$  of *gλ* must have occurred even in Tuscany, where  $\lambda$  alternates with the uniquely Tuscan *-gghj-* in which the characteristic post-obstruent loss of laterality stands out, e. g., *MŪGILĀRE* > *mugghi- mugli-are* 'to bellow, low, roar', *RĒGULA* > *re-gghia -glia* 'ditch' (evolving semantically through the notion of boundary-line — G. Alessio, *Postille al DEI*, Napoli, 1957-58, p. 68), *\*RŪGILĀRE* (for *RUGIRE*) > *rugghi- rugli-are* 'to roar, bubble', *LtL STRIGULA* (for *STRIGILE*) > OIt. *stregghia, striglia* 'curry-comb', *TEGULA* > OIt. *teggia* 'tile', *teglia* 'earthen pan, casserol', *\*TRIGLA* (for *τριγλη* or later *τριγλα*) > *triglia* 'mullet', *UIGILĀRE* > OIt. *vegghi- vegli-are* 'to be awake, alert' — cf. Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 353 f [§ 250]. And, indeed, loss of *-g-* in plebian Tuscan, either acutal or implicit, is rather more common than the usual manuals imply, e. g., OIt. *fruare* (Guittone) 'frugare', *larimare* 'lagrimare', *piolare* 'pigolare', OIt. *sciaura* 'sciagura', OIt. *soatto* 'sugatto', or, as implied by improper insertion into hiatus, Sienese *fagore* 'favore', Pistoiese *lagorà* 'lavorare', *nugola* 'nuvola', OIt. *pa(g)one* 'pavone', *rogo* 'rovo' (cf. also *rogaio* ~ *rovaio* 'roveto'), *sego* 'sevo', *sughero* 'suvero', *ugola* 'uvola' [gom(b)ere] (or [go-me]) 'vomero' at ten of the Tuscan points of VII 1437. — cf. C. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 87; the inverse insertion is also common, e. g., [góvo] 'giogo' at eight west Tuscan points of *AIS VI* 1240. This vacillation intervocally is of more than casual interest since it implies that a positional split, parallel to that observable for *BL*, also occurred for *GL*. One can envision therefore, if not a clearly defined regional Tuscan dialect, then certainly stylistic or social dialects in Tuscany in which *GL* had a dual outcome determined by position: *ghj-* and *-λ-*. Note that *ghj* - ~ -*λ*- variants are not forthcoming in word-initial position as they were intervocally.

3. *L<sub>I</sub>* is added as a necessary check on *GL*, *BL*, and *FL*, since in many areas  $\lambda$  has experienced subsequent reductions (> *j*) and reinforcements (> *gghj*) which might obscure the true nature of the original simplification of *gλ* and *vλ*.

6	(a)	(b)	(c)
Approximate etymon	Italian	Marche	N. Abruzzi (Pr. Teramo)
PLANTĀ	pianta	<i>pjandə</i>	<i>plandə</i>
PLĀNU	piano	<i>pjanə</i>	<i>plenə</i>
PLATEA	piazza	<i>pjazzə</i>	<i>plazzə</i>
CAPULU	cappio	<i>cappjə</i>	<i>cheppplə</i>
CŌPULA	coppia	<i>coppjə</i>	<i>appplə</i>
CLĀMĀRE	chiamare	<i>chjamá</i>	<i>chjemá</i>
CLĀRU	chiaro	<i>chjara</i>	<i>chjera</i>
AURICULA	orecchia -o	<i>recchjə</i>	<i>recchjə</i>
MACULA	macchia	<i>macchjə</i>	<i>macchjə</i>
OCULU	occhio	<i>uóccchjə</i>	<i>uccchjə</i>
blank- Blasiu	bianco Biagio	<i>bjanghə</i>	<i>blanghə (-i-)</i> <i>Blášolə</i>
BLASPHEMĀRE	bias(ti)mare	<i>bjastəmá</i>	<i>blaštəmá</i>
BĒTA (*bleta)	biet(ol)a	<i>(ab)bjeta</i>	<i>(ab)blōta</i> (Pesc., Chiet.)
NEBULA	nebbia	<i>nibbjə</i>	<i>nebbłə</i> (Aq.)
STABULU	stabbio	<i>stabbjə</i>	<i>štabblə</i>
SŪBULA	subbia	<i>subbjə</i>	<i>subblə</i>
GLĀCIĒS	ghiaccio	<i>jaččə</i>	<i>jaččə</i>
GLĀNDE	ghianda	<i>jannə</i>	<i>jannə</i>
GLOMUS -ERE	ghiomo (obs.)	<i>joma</i>	<i>jombrə</i>
GLUTTU	ghiotto	<i>juttə</i>	<i>jottə</i>
COĀGULU	(quaglio)	<i>cūajjə</i>	<i>cūajjə</i>
STRIGULA	(stregghia)	<i>strijjə</i>	<i>strijjə</i>
TĒGULA	teggia (obs.)	<i>tejə</i>	<i>trajjə</i> (< TRĀGULA)
ALLIU	aglio	<i>ajə</i>	<i>ajjə</i>
FILIU	figlio	<i>fijə</i>	<i>fijjə</i>
OLEU	oglio (obs.)	<i>uojə</i>	<i>ujjə</i>

FLAMMA	fiamma	<i>fjamma</i>	<i>flamma</i>
flank-	fianco	<i>fjancha</i>	<i>flangha</i> (-e-)
flask-	fiasco	<i>fjascha</i>	<i>fliescha</i>
FLĀTU	fiato	<i>fjatə</i>	<i>flata</i>
FLEBILE	fievole		<i>flévalə</i> (Aq.)
*flecta		<i>fjetə</i>	<i>fletta</i>
FLOCCU	fiocco	<i>fjoccha</i>	<i>floccha</i>
FLŌRE	fiore	<i>fjora</i>	<i>flaro</i>
FLŪME (N)	fiume	<i>fjuma</i>	<i>fleuma</i>
FUNDA (*fl-)	fionda		<i>flonna</i>
*afflagrāre		<i>(af)fjará</i>	<i>afflará</i> 'to scorch'
SUFFLĀRE	soffiare	<i>tzəffja</i>	<i>zuffla</i> (n.) <sup>1</sup>

By and large *b* proved more resistant than *g*, and a positional distinction must be made as one proceeds south from the lower Abruzzi. While *b* was lost medially and *\*-bλ-* (first spirantized to *\*-bλ-*, then made strident, *\*-vλ-*, and finally aspirated and lost) was simplified to *-λ-*, thereby merging with *gl* and *l<sub>1</sub>*, word initially it seems to have resisted long enough in many areas to make the reduction of *\*vλ-* follow the pattern of obstruent + *λ*, i. e., simplification through a loss of laterality. Thereafter, when *v-* was lost, the result was simply *j* (e. g., *janco*<sup>1</sup>, *Jaso*<sup>1</sup>, *jastemmare*<sup>1</sup>) from the sub-Chietine Abruzzi on south into Apulia, from southernmost Lazio south into Campania, and in lower Calabria and most of Sicily. This *j* became *gghj* secondarily in many areas<sup>2</sup>. (The split between *BL-* and *-BL-* is shown schematically with subsequent developments at 7 c, below.)

1. Principal sources: E. Conti, *Vocabolario metaurense*, Cagli, 1898; F. Egidi, *Dizionario dei dialetti piceni fra Tronto e Aso*, Montefiore dell'Aso, 1965; G. Gino-bili, *Glossario dei dialetti di Macerata e Petriolo*, with three *Appendici* and an *Aggiunta*, Macerata, 1963-1970; G. Mastrangelo Latini, «Caratteristiche fonetiche dei parlari della bassa Valle del Tronto», *ID*, XXIX (1966), 1-48; G. Sora-via, *Vocabolario del dialetto cagliese*, Cagli, 1969; L. Spotti, *Vocabolarietto anconitano-italiano*, Geneva, 1929 («B. A. R., II, XV»); E. Giammarco, *DAM* cit.; G. Savini, *La grammatica ed il lessico del dialetto teramano*, Torino, 1881.

2. *Gghj-* may appear as the strengthened morphophonemic variant of *j-* in areas which still preserve this alternation. (Cf. above, n. 1 p. 412) E. g., Neap. *è gghjancha jancha* 'è bianchissimo'; Campobassese *jonda* 'giunta' versus *tre gghjonda* — F. D'Ovidio, «Fonetica del dialetto di Campobasso», *AGI*, IV (1878), 155, 159; *jettà* 'gettare' versus *z'è gghjettata pa fanèštora* 'si è precipitato dalla finestra' — *DAM* 950.

	(d)	(e)	(f)
Approximate etymon	S. Abruzzese (Campobasso)	Neapolitan	S. Calabrian
PLANCA	<i>chjangħa</i>	<i>chjangħa</i>	<i>chjanca</i>
PLĀNU	<i>chjanə</i>	<i>chjanə</i>	<i>chjanu</i>
PLATEA	<i>chjazzə</i>	<i>chjazzə</i>	<i>chjazza</i>
CAPULU	<i>checcħja</i>	<i>cacħħja</i>	<i>cacħju</i>
CŌPULA	<i>cocħħja</i>	<i>cocħħja</i>	<i>cucħħja</i>
CLĀMĀRE	<i>chjemá</i>	<i>chjammà</i>	<i>chjamari</i>
CLĀUU	<i>chjuó(v)ə</i>	<i>chjo(v)ə</i>	<i>chjuóvu</i>
MACULA	<i>macħħja</i>	<i>macħħja</i>	<i>macħja</i>
OCULU	<i>uċċħja</i>	<i>uċċħja</i>	<i>uċċħju</i>
blank-	<i>(għ)jangħa</i>	<i>jangħa</i>	<i>jancu</i>
Blasiu	<i>Għejjasəja</i>	<i>Jasə</i>	
BLASPHEMĀRE	<i>jaštəmá</i>	<i>jastəmmà</i>	<i>jastimari</i>
BĒTA (*bleta)	<i>jetə</i>	<i>(a)jetə</i>	<i>jeta</i>
NEBULA	<i>[štrəl:ənə]</i>	<i>neħə</i>	<i>negħħja</i>
NIBULU	<i>[‘strubbione’]</i>	<i>nīħə</i>	<i>nigħħju</i>
SŪBULA	<i>suħħə</i>	<i>suħħə</i>	<i>sugħħja</i>
GLĀNDE	<i>ħannə</i>	<i>ħantrə</i> (+ ULA)	<i>għħjanda</i>
GLOMERE	<i>ħombərə</i>	<i>ħuόttərə</i>	<i>għġommarru</i>
GLUTTIRE	<i>ħutti</i>	<i>(a)ħoħtə(rə)</i>	<i>(a) għħjuttiri</i>
COĀGULU	<i>cueħla</i> (vb.)	<i>cueħla</i>	<i>cuagħħju</i>
STRIGULA	<i>ħstriħa</i>	<i>streħxa</i>	<i>strigħħja</i>
ALLIU	<i>aħə</i>	<i>aħə</i>	<i>agħħju</i>
FILIU	<i>fiħə</i>	<i>fiħə</i>	<i>figħħju</i>
OLEU	<i>uħħə</i>	<i>uħħə</i>	<i>uogħħju</i>
FLACCU	<i>ħjacħha</i>	<i>sciaccà</i> (vb.)	<i>ħaccu</i>
FLAMMA		<i>sciammə</i>	<i>ħamma</i>
flank-	<i>ħjangħa</i>	<i>scianħxa</i>	<i>ħancu</i>

flask-	<i>ħjasħxa</i>		<i>χascu</i>
FLĀTU	<i>ħjetə</i>	<i>sciato</i>	<i>χatu</i>
FLEBILE		<i>scevoli</i> (vb.)	<i>χivili</i>
FLOCCU	<i>ħjocħxa</i>	<i>sciuccħxa</i>	<i>χuoccu</i>
FLŌRE	<i>ħjora</i>	<i>sciora</i>	<i>χuri</i>
FLŪME (N)	<i>ħjuma</i>	<i>sciummara</i>	<i>χumi</i>
FUNDA (*fl-)	<i>ħjonna</i>	<i>scionna</i>	<i>χunda</i>
AFFLĀRE	<i>(a)ħħjá</i>	<i>ascià</i>	<i>aχxari</i>
SUFFLĀRE	<i>ħjeħħjá</i>	<i>sciussià</i>	<i>χuxxari</i> <sup>1</sup>

Where consonantal weakening was more extensive, it came to include the voicing of *f*- as well, with the result that the two fricative clusters merged (as in the passage from 7 d to 8). Although Rohlfs' blanket assertion that « nell'Italia meridionale *f* resta conservata » (*Grammatica* cit., p. 302 ff [§ 219]) for the most part holds true, it still requires a significant corollary: Before the resonant *r*, *f* is often voiced<sup>2</sup>. Parallel voicing is very likely to

1. Principal sources: E. Giammarco, *DAM* cit., G. Rohlfs, *DTC* cit., R. D'Ambra *op. cit.*, A. Altamura, *Dizionario dialettale napoletano*, Napoli, 1956.

2. For example, on the Salentine Peninsula, *fr*-, *vr*-, and *r*- alternate either as correspondents to weakened *fr*- or as improper reinforcements of *r* and *br* (thereby implying neutralization as zero in former times or in a more rapid speech register than that used in interviews with the researcher). E. g., *fr*- *vr*-*acchetta* 'fly, opening in pants' *VDS* 241 a, 820 b; *fr*- *br*-*ascera* 'brazier'; *loc. cit.*; *fr*-*br*-*ascia* 'embers' *Ib.* 243 a; *fr*- *r*-*asciddu* 'gravel, gravelly soil' *Ib.* 241 a, 533 b; *fr*- *vr*- *r*-*azzale* 'day-laborer' *Ib.* 244 a, 821 b; *fr*- *vr*-*azzata* 'embrace' *loc. cit.*; *fr*- *vr*- *r*-*icciu* 'crushed rock, gravel' *Ib.* 244 b, 822 a; *fr*- *r*-*únciulu* 'ankle bone' pl. '(knuckle) bones' [game] *Ib.* 246 a, 568 a. Overall voicing of intervocalic *f* does occur in Cosentine Calabrian, e. g., *a vame* 'fame', *k'a vatto* 'che hai fatto', *a vera* 'fiera', *a viglia* 'figlia', *a vimmina* 'femmina', *a vurmica* 'formica', as well as its passing to *ħ* further south, e. g., *u hilu* 'filo', *a himmina* 'femmina' — *DTC* I, 35, cf. *Grammatica* cit., 206 f [§ 154]. Yet uniform weakening of this sort is not present (nor can it be reconstructed) broadly enough to allow one to eliminate the narrow constraint which has been posited here. On the other hand, in this specific position before a resonant, voicing seems rather more widely diffused than the available literature would lead one to suspect. One of the few early descriptions which refers to it is H. H. Vaughan's sketch of *The Dialects of Central Italy*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 47, 79. A quarter century earlier, Meyer-Lübke, while stating unequivocally that « *f* bleibt unverändert », was aware of the sporadic reverse movement of reinforcement: « Wichtiger ist der Wandel von *vr* zu *fr* », although he assigned it to a different cause — *Italienische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 97, 113. Likewise without suggesting a cause, H. Lausberg noted that in Lucanian « in einigen Fällen lässt

have occurred before the other resonant, either *l* et *λ* depending upon the stage of postconsonantal *l*. In the wake of this relatively mild sort of assimilation, the resultant *vλ* experienced an evolution identical to that of preexisting *vλ*. At this stage, a final separation can be made among the remaining extreme southern dialects, again taking as a basis the degree and the relative chronology of local cansonantal weakening. On the further Salentine Peninsula, the fricative was effaced before it occasioned loss of laterality in the cluster, producing the system of essentially two reflexes represented in 10<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere, in southern Campania, Apulia, Lucania, and northern Calabria, *v* survived long enough to actuate the post-obstruent form of simplification, shown in 9 and exemplified in 6 g-m, below, with the Irpine dialect of Montella showing the transition between this type and the Neapolitan.

sich — **besonders in der Umgebung von *r*** — ein Wechsel von *v* and *f* feststellen » (emphasis mine) — *Die Mundart Südlukaniens*, Halle, 1939, p. 97 (= « Beih. *ZRPh*, 90 »).

1. The differing results of *FL-* and *-FFL-* do not represent a positional split parallel to that observed for *BL* and surmised for *GL* (see above, n. 2 p. 417). Here it was the word-initial cluster which weakened most rapidly and the intervocalic which retained obstruency. This development runs exactly counter to expectations until one recalls that medial *-FFL-* was a true geminate already at the Classical Latin stage and not merely the product of a relatively late strengthening such as occurred with *b* before either *r* or *l*, cf. N. Abr. *febrarə, fēbbrə, labbrə, nebbə, stabblə, subblə*. In Apulia, Salento, and Lucania *FFL* has only one consistent correspondence, *SUFFLĀRE* : *「sciusciare」*. *AFFLĀRE* appears here consistently as *「akkjá」* 'to find, espay, look at'. Rohlfs has posited an intermediary *\*appiare* (*VDS* 27 b) to account for this outcome, but Clemente Merlo may have found a sounder solution expanding C. Salvioni's 1909 suggestion that *occhio* 'eye' is the source of the *-kkj-* cluster through an easy semantic association (cf. Romanesco *occhjá* 'to eye, look at') — « Pugl., ecc. *acchiare* 'trovare, ecc.' ; cal., sic. *unchiare, -i*, ecc. 'gonfiare' », *ZRPh*, XXXVIII (1914), 479 ff (reprinted in *ID*, XV [1939], 51 f). Still, one might well ask why this association did not take hold wherever an *AFFLĀRE* heir occurred along with *「occhio」*? Its specific geographic limits imply that this association carried the day only in those regions where simple *FL* was rapidly voiced, weakened, and lost, leaving the fricative heirs to *FFL* in extreme isolation and ripe for integration with *-kkj-*, the only other remaining obstruent + *j* combination. This shift leaves the dialects of the Salentine Peninsula practically devoid of reliable correspondents to *FFL* since *「sciusciare」* 'soffiare', represented with only three references in the *VDS* (622 a — limited to Martina Franca and the 'capoprovincia' of Lecce), could be a borrowing diffused for its onomatopoeic values (cf. Neap. *sciusciá* 'id.' which has spread elsewhere in the South). The more frequent word for the meanings of 'soffiare' is *jatare* or, Italianized, *fatare* — *AIS* I 168, *VDS* 231 b, 276 a.

	(g)	(h)	(i)
Approximate etymon	Irpino (Montella)	Cilento	Apulia (Cerignola)
PLANCA	<i>chjanga</i>		<i>chjangħa</i>
PLĀNU	<i>chjano</i>	<i>chjano</i>	<i>chjäns</i>
PLATEA	<i>chjazza</i>	<i>chjazza</i>	<i>chjazzə</i>
CAPULU	<i>cacchjo</i>	<i>cacchjo</i>	<i>cacchjə</i>
CŌPULA	<i>cocchja</i>	<i>cocchja</i>	<i>cocchjə</i>
MACULA	<i>macchja</i>	<i>macchja</i>	<i>macchjə</i>
OCULU	<i>uocchjo</i>	<i>úccchjo</i>	<i>occhjərə</i> (pl.)
blank-	<i>jango</i>	<i>janko</i>	<i>jangħa</i>
BLASPHEMĀRE	<i>jastemá</i>	<i>jastema</i> (n.)	
BĒTA (*bleta)		<i>jeta</i>	<i>jeitə</i>
NEBULA	<i>neħla</i>	<i>neħla</i>	<i>negħħja</i>
NIBULU	<i>niħlo</i>	<i>niħlo</i>	
SŪBULA	<i>(a)ssuħla</i>	<i>suħla</i>	<i>sugħħja</i>
TRIBULU		<i>treħla</i>	
GLĀNDE	<i>ħanna</i>	<i>ħanna</i>	<i>għħjànəla</i>
GLĪRE	<i>ħere</i>	<i>ħere</i>	
GLOMERE	<i>ħuġómmaro</i>	<i>ħuġemmoro</i>	
GLUTTU	<i>ħutħio</i>		
COĀGULU	<i>siħuzzá</i> <sup>1</sup> ['singhiozzare']	<i>cħaħlo</i>	<i>cħagħħja</i>
STRIGULA		<i>streħla</i>	<i>strigħħja</i>
ALLIU	<i>aħlo</i>	<i>aħlo</i>	<i>agħħja</i>
FILIU	<i>fiħlo</i>	<i>fiħlo</i>	<i>figħħja</i>
OLEU	<i>uħlo</i>	<i>uħlo</i>	
*flaccare	<i>jakká</i>		
FLAMMA		<i>jamma</i>	

1. Compare Cerignola *segħħjuzzə* 'singhiozzo', northern Lucanian *sugħħjuzzə*, southern Lucanian *siħuzz*, and, further, southern Calabrian *sugħjuttu*, northern Calabrian *suħħuttu* (< \*si(n)gluttu for SINGULTU).

Approximate etymon	(g) Irpino (Montella)	(h) Cilento	(i) Apulia (Cerignola)
FLĀTU	/šato	jato	jatá (vb.)
FIBULA (*fibba)	jibba/šibba	/šibba	[jōnəla < FUNDA (*fl-)]
FLOCCU	/šoccá (vb.)	júacco	
FLŌRE	/šore	jore	jurə
FLŪME (N)	júmara/šume	jumo	
AFFLĀRE	ašá	aššare	[acchjá +
SUFFLĀRE	sošá	čoššare	influence OCULU.] <sup>1</sup>

Approximate etymon	(j) N. Calabria (Pr. Cosenza)	(k) S. Luciana	(l) N. Lucania
PLANCA	chjanga	chjang	chjangha
PLĀNU	chjanu	chjan	chjanə
PLATEA	chjazza	chjazz	chjazzə
CAPULU	cacchju	cacch <sup>j</sup>	cacchjə
CŌPULA	cucchja	cucch <sup>j</sup>	cucchjə
CLĀUU	chjuóvu	chjoβ	chjoβə (chjuəβə)
CLŪDERE	chjudere	chjuð	chjuð (chjur)
MACULA	macchja	macch <sup>j</sup>	macchjə
OCULU	uóccchju	occh <sup>j</sup>	occhjə (úccchjə)
blank-	jangu	jang	jangha
BLASPHĒMIA	jestiňa	jastəmá (vb.)	jastəmá
*blatta	jattula	jattələ	
BĒTA (*bleta)	jeta	jet	jetə

1. Principal sources : O. Marano Festa, « Il dialetto irpino di Montella », *ID*, IV (1928), 168-185 ; L. A. Ondis, *Phonology of the Cilentan Dialect*, New York, 1932 ; N. Zingarelli, « Il dialetto di Cerignola », *AGI*, XV (1891), 83-96, 226-235.

NEBULA	<i>neλa</i>	<i>nīλ</i>	<i>niggh<sup>jø</sup></i>
NIBULU	<i>nīλu</i>		
SŪBULA	<i>sūλa</i>	<i>sūλ</i>	<i>suggħ<sup>jø</sup></i>
GLĀNDE	<i>λanna</i>	<i>λann<sup>ø</sup></i>	<i>għjannø</i>
GLĒBA (Osc. -f-)	<i>λeʃa</i>	<i>λeʃø</i>	<i>għżeʃø</i>
GLĪRE	<i>λiru</i>	<i>λer</i>	<i>għżeरø</i>
GLOMER	<i>λommaru</i>	<i>λommara</i>	<i>għjommara</i>
GLUTTU	<i>aλuttu</i>	<i>λutt</i>	<i>ñuttø (INGL-)</i>
COĀGULU	<i>cuaλu</i>	<i>c"aλ</i>	<i>c"agħħjø</i>
STRIGULA	<i>striλa</i>		
*si(n)gluttu	<i>sūλuttu</i>	<i>sīλuzz</i>	<i>suggħjuzzø</i>
ALLIU	<i>aλu</i>	<i>aλ</i>	<i>agħħjø</i>
OLEASTRU	<i>λastru</i>	<i>λastr</i>	<i>għjastrø</i>
OLEU	<i>uðλu</i>	<i>oλ</i>	<i>ogħħjø (u agħħjø)</i>
*flaccare	<i>jaccare</i>	<i>jaccā</i>	<i>jaccā</i>
flask-	<i>jascu</i>	<i>jasc</i>	<i>jaschø</i>
FLĀTU	<i>jatu</i>	<i>jat</i>	<i>jata</i>
*flecta	<i>jetta</i>	<i>ñett</i>	<i>ñetta</i>
*flocca	<i>jocca</i>	<i>jocc</i>	<i>jocchø</i>
FLOCCU	<i>juóccu</i>		<i>júċċha</i>
FLŌRE	<i>jure</i>	<i>jur</i>	<i>jura</i>
FUNDA (*fl-)	<i>junna</i>	<i>junna</i>	<i>junna</i>
AFFLĀRE	<i>aχxare</i>	<i>aχxø (at one locality)</i>	
SUFFLĀRE	<i>χuχxare</i>	<i>(χ)uχxá</i>	<i>uχxá<sup>1</sup></i>

Even in the Salento region, note that Tarantine fits into this group, while only the true peninsular dialects show the extreme form of reduction — Vernole, where λ is still preserved, is the more conservative of the examples.

1. Principal sources : Rohlfs, *DTC* cit. ; H. Lausberg, *Die Mundart Südlukaniens* cit.

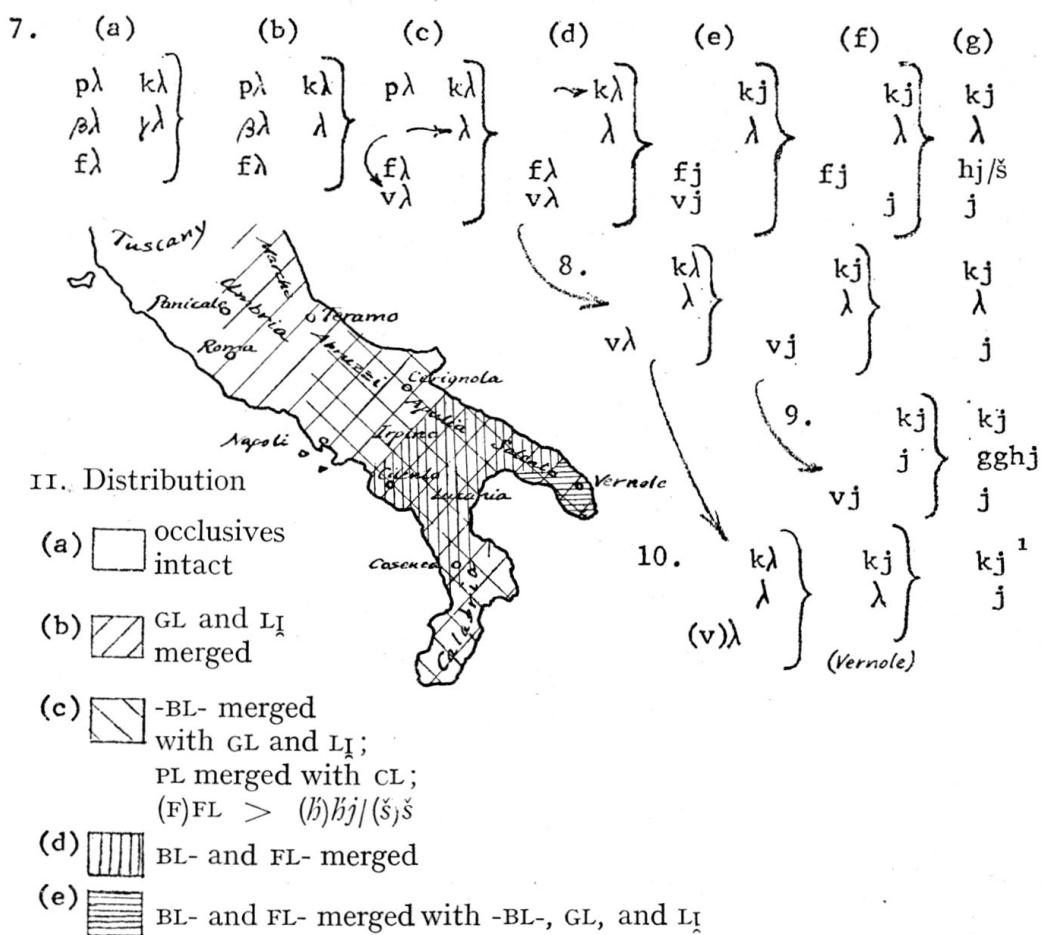
	(m)	(n)	(o)
Approximate etymon	Pr. Taranto	Vernole (Pr. Lecce)	Pr. Brindisi & rest of Lecce
PLANCA	chjanghə	chjanca	chjanga
PLĀNU	chjanə	chjanu	chjanu
PLATEA	chjazzə	chjazza	chjazza
CAPULU	cacchjə		cacchju
CŌPULA	cocchjə	cocchju	cocchju
CLĀUU	chjuèvə	chjuèu	chjuèvu
CLŪDERE	chjúr(ə)rə	chjútere	chjúdere
MACULA	macchjə	macchja	macchja
OCULU	u(o)cchjə	ècchju	uécchju
blank-	[It. <i>vjanchə</i> ]	λancu	jancu
BLASPHEMIA	jastemə		jastema
blatta		λattiđđu	jattiđđu
BĒTA (*bleta)	jetə/ñetə		ñeta
NEBULA	negghjə	neλa	nija
SŪBULA	suhggjə	suλa	suja
INSUBULU	sugghjə	suλu	suju
GLĀNDE	ghjannə/ñáñələ		ñanna/ñaña
GLEBA (Osc. -f-)	ñofə (+ GLOBU)		ñifa
GLOMERE	jémmuru/ñuémərə		ñémmrū
GLUTTU	ñuttə		ñuttu
COĀGULU	cagghjə	cuaλu	cuaju
STRIGULA		striλa	strija
TRĀGULA	tragghj	traλa	traja
FLĀTU	jatá(rī) (vb.)	[It. fiatu]	
FLEBILE	ñuvəlanzə		ñivilanza
*flecta	jettə	λetta	ñetta
FLOCCU			
FLŌRE	jäurə	[It. fiuru]	juru
FLŌSCULU ?	joschə	λusca	josca
FLŪMEN	jumə/ñumərə		jumu
SUFFLĀRE	šuššá		šuššáre <sup>1</sup>

1. From G. Rohlfs, *Vocabolario dei dialetti salentini (Terra d'Otranto)*, München, 1956-61, 3 vols.

These developments occurred in the order in which they have been described. A schematic inventory of the examples will facilitate reference :

6 bis	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
	It.	Mar.	N. Abr.	S. Abr.	Neap.	S. Cal.
PL	(p)pj	(p)pj	(p)pl	{	(c)chj	(c)chj
CL	(c)chj	(c)chj	(c)chj	{	(c)chj	(c)chj
BL-	(b)bj	(b)bj	(b)bl	(g)ghj	j	j
-BL-	bbj	bbj	bb	{		
GL	(g)ghj	{	j	j	{	(g)ghj
L <sub>I</sub>	λ				λ	
FL	(f)fj	(f)fj	(f)f <sup>l</sup>	(b)b <sup>l</sup> j	š	χ
FFL	ffj	ffj	f <sup>l</sup>	(b)b <sup>l</sup> j	šš	χχ
	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	
	Irp.	Cil.	Apul.	N. Cal.	S. Luc	
PL	{	(c)chj	(c)chj	(c)chj	(c)chj	
CL		j	j	j	j	
BL-			j	j	j	
-BL-	{	λ	λ	(g)ghj	λ	λ
GL						
L <sub>I</sub>						
FL	š ~ j	j	j	j	j	
FFL	š	šš	(*šš)	χχ	χχ	
	(l)	(m)		(n)	(o)	
	N. Luc.	Tar.		Vernole	LE & BR	
PL	{	(c)chj	(c)chj	PL	{	(c)chj
CL		j	j	CL		(c)chj
BL-				BL-	{	
-BL-	{			-BL-		
GL	(g)ghj	(g)ghj		GL	{	λ
L <sub>I</sub>				L <sub>I</sub>		j
FL	j	j		FL		
FFL	χχ	šš		FFL	(*šš)	šš

The patterns producing each of the main groups are reconstructed in table 7, below. Their sequentiality (or relative chronology) correlates smoothly with their geographic distribution: The first change, that of GL, is also the most widely diffused, following the more widespread weakening of G; the positional rift among the descendants of BL, a result of the differential rate of weakening, is the next most diffused; and soon — compare map II with the table of evolutionary sequences below.



Such congruence of extension lends support to the causal chains reconstructed here<sup>2</sup>. The twofold primacy of the GL/ $L\bar{I}$  merger follows from the fact

1. For more accuracy of reconstruction, one might venture a stage (a') in which intervocalic -GL- shows a more rapid evolution than its word-initial counterpart. (Cf. above, n. 2 p. 417).

2. Whereas it would have been extremely awkward to have found  $\lambda$  from BL where GL had a post-obstruent reduction, or (-h)kj- from PL beside (-b)bj- from BL.

that **G** is the most widely weakened of the consonants. Moving from the early Tuscan solution, 6 a and 11 a, conservative because uniformly faithful to the CL oppositions (however, cf. nn. 2 p. 417, 1 p. 428), in Lazio, Umbria and the Marche, one encounters clear breaches in this system <sup>1</sup>. They involve correspondents of GL indistinguishable from **L**<sub>1</sub>, e. g., *yyottóne* 'ghiottone' and *yanda* 'ghianda' at Panicale — cf. *AIS* IV 718, III 595.

The next stage, the split in **BL**, through merger of -**BL**- with **GL** and **L**<sub>1</sub> and the reduction of **BL**- to *j*, is of the greatest moment since it signals the more radical weakening of **B**. The effects of this phenomenon proved far-reaching: It triggered the whole suite of changes which characterize the southern treatment of the system. Inasmuch as an articulation is distinctive only on the basis of its oppositions to others, it follows that the loss of **B** needs have diminished the distinctiveness of **P**. It is apparent that the sole meaningful difference between the status of *p* (or of *\*pλ* or *\*pj*) in southern Abruzzese, Neapolitan, etc. and its status in northern Abruzzese or Tuscan, etc., was that to the south it was no longer bound up in a voiced : voiceless pair. When **B** passed out of the **P** : **B** pair, the systemic identity of **P** in south-central dialects was reduced relative to the fully-integrated status it maintained to the north. The difference was negligible in all environments — save where *p* formed part of an unstable cluster. In late spoken Latin there was a strong tendency to treat certain syllable-closing consonant sequences as clusters (or strictly as syllabic onsets) and also to treat certain clusters as new unitary onsets (in a more even CVCVCV... alternation) with some accompanying physiologically-motivated assimilation. Where *p* occurred in such a cluster, the relative significance of its labiality feature might be diminished in the larger bundle of features making up the distinctive profile of the new phonemically-unified onset. Then, in the face of articulatory pressure for simplification, the less integrated labial feature of */\*pλ/* (with a relatively low functional yield into the bargain) might succumb in the South in a way that it did not in Tuscany, Umbria, and the upper Abruzzi <sup>2</sup>.

Areal distribution offers an important check on such a structural hypo-

1. The break-off point may have been to the north; however, widespread secondary development of **L**<sub>1</sub> to *gghj* in Tuscany (e. g., at Florence itself, *figghia*, *fogghia*, *megghio*, *mogghie*) has made it impossible to pick out a clear separation.

2. The southern evolution of *p*<sub>1</sub> > *čč* constitutes a neat structural analogy, both in its root cause and in its geographic distribution — it will be given detailed treatment in a future article; nevertheless, I mention here for the support it lends this distinctive feature interpretation of the central and southern Italo-Romance divergence.

thesis — i. e., one should expect that *j*- and *-λ*- correspondences for *BL* would occur generally the same areas as *(-k)kj*- for *PL* if the latter development were dependent upon the former. In fact, the geographic data strongly support this link: There is a gratifying congruence between the northern border of *(-k)kj*- < *PL* (traced in n. 1 p. 410) and of *j*-/*-λ*- < *BL* <sup>1</sup>.

However, the repercussions of the weakening of *BL* did not stop with reintegration of its immediate counterpart *PL* as *(-k)kj*-*.* Its fricative descendant, after causing post-obstruent loss of laterality in *\*vλ* word-initially, continued to weaken (*\*vλ* > *\*vj* > *j*) leaving *fj* in extreme isolation (see 7 d to 7 f). In the system 7 f, *fj* opposed stridency to the more compact *kj*, but its labial feature had no contrastive value. Thus it could be eliminated in favor of a friction more homorganic with *j*, thereby effecting a gain in articulatory economy with no loss in distinctiveness or phonemic clarity. The substitute could be either the alveolar fricative *š*, already extant within the phonematic inventory, or *χ/h*, a new medio- or post-palatal fricative, which made for an optimally compact articulation <sup>2</sup>. Here again, areal con-

1. On the three *AIS* maps of any consequence for showing the indigenous reflexes of *BL*-*,* the break-off point between a labial and a palatal onset settles almost exactly along the same line as that of the palatal result for *PL*. For ' (barba)bietola ' VII 1362, 682 [Sonnino] and 710 [Ausonia] oppose *by*- and *y*- respectively, as do 664 [Santa Francesca] and 701 [San Donato], 656 [Scanno] and 666 [Roccasicura], 658 [Palmoli] and 668 and 706 [Morrone del Sannio and Serracapriola]. For ' bestemmiare ' IV 810, the palatal results penetrate a point or two further north in the Abruzzi; instead for ' bianco ' VIII 1575, the labial spreads a few points south, scattering even down the Adriatic coast in Apulia as an invading Italianism. On the three maps relevant for *-BL*-*,* the opposition of points is practically identical. A labial onset in ' nebbia ' II 365 occurs at 701 [San Donato], while a palatal onset in ' subbia ' II 208 occurs at 664 [Santa Francesca]; ' subbio ' VIII 1573 matches ' (barba)bietola '.

2. In those more extreme southern dialects in which *FL*- and *BL*- merged as *λ* or *j* (see above, 6 h to 6 o and 11 d, e), only *FFL* retained a fricative onset (and for the most part only in a single descendant, ' *šuššare* '). The greater the isolation of its labial feature, the greater then the tendency for it to be integrated into the system by the same process here reconstructed for original, simple *FL*. *F* and *h* are not acoustically remote, and the movement *f* > *h* is not unprecedented; e. g., it occurs in central Calabria and at scattered points in Lombardy — cf. Rohlfs, *Grammatica* cit., 206 [§ 154], 303 [§ 219]. Inverse parallels are offered by the Gallo-Romance adaptation of Frankish *hl*, *hr* (< Gmc. *χl*, *χr*), e. g., *\*hlank-* > *flanc*, *\*hlenkjan* > OFr. *flençir*, *\*Hlod-berth* > *Flobert*, *\*Hlod-wald* > *Floud* — P. Fouché, *Phonétique historique du français*, Paris, 1966<sub>2</sub>, p. 692 f, 704, and the evolution of Old English *h* or *z* to *f* in many Middle and Modern English words, e. g., *cough*, *draught*, *enough*, *laughter* — O. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Copenhagen-London, 1956,

tours fully corroborate our causal hypothesis. The isoglosses for non-labial FL correspondents neatly coincide with those for the palatal integration of PL and the palatal reduction of BL<sup>1</sup>.

The effects of consonantal weakening in Italo-Romance, where they were little expected, have proven to be considerable, even in this initial inquiry. It was by contrasting systems structurally that they were perceived. Then it was by contrasting systems geographically that they were verified. Dialect geography has thus proven an appropriate complement to a distinctive feature approach to phonology in accounting for the divergent evolution of PL, BL, and FL in central and southern Italy.

University of California, Los Angeles

Edward F. TUTTLE.

Pt. I, vol. I, p. 286 f. In addition, compare the vacillation between *f* and *h* among Latin dialects documented by R. Hiersche, «Der Wechsel zwischen anlautendem *f* und *h* im Lateinischen», *Glotta*, XLIII (1965), 103 ff.

1. The sole recurrent divergence involves the penetration of *ff*- at 710 [Ausonia]. Otherwise, the opposing points are again 664 [Santa Francesca] and 701 [San Donato], 656 [Scanno] and 666 [Roccasicura], 658 [Palmoli] and 668 and 706 [Morrone del Sannio and Serracapriola] for 'fiato' I 167, 'fiore' VII 1357, 'fiorire' VII 1262, and 'fiume' III 429. A labial onset has penetrated at 701 [San Donato] for 'anca' I 135 [i. e., *fyáŋgə*] and *fyáŋgə* also appears alongside more indigenous *šáŋk* at 706 [Serracapriola] — note that the informant here knew «die ältere Phase der Mundart» but also allowed himself to be influenced by Standard Italian — K. Jaberg & J. Jud, *Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument*, Halle, 1928, p. 118]. In recompense, (§) *s* has pushed north to 656 [Scanno], to 658 [Palmoli] and beyond to 648 [Fara San Martino] in 'soffiare' [il naso] I 168.