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The '*kælu ke* construction in the Genoese dialect of Cicagna

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Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to investigate particular aspect of the Genoese dialect. In the first chapter I refer to the dialect as Ligurian instead of Genoese because, at least at its beginning, it derived from a common root that, during the following centuries, brought to the Genoese dialect, to be indicated as the most influential and prestigious one, both for commercial and for cultural reasons.

Latin (during Roman conquests) was slow in penetrating the local language but during the decades it started to have a great impact on local dialects and to spread thanks to a so-called linguistic circulation that promoted the development of the new dominating Latin language.

During these times, very important was given but the loss of short and long vowels in Latin that partially influenced, as a consequence, also Ligurian.

In more recent times, Ligurian was pervaded by several foreign languages and cultures due to its great and predominant importance in terms of trades and naval superiority. Arabic, French and Spanish languages contributed in generating a Ligurian idioma that is still nowadays full of foreignisms, daily used by Ligurian people.

In the second chapter I deal with the Genoese dialect from a grammatical, morphological, phonological point of you: here I analyze it the main characteristics of this language focusing on those features that are different from Modern Italian such as orthography: Genoese is characterized by strong and fast sounds and diacritic signs are the core of the written language. Unlike Italian, Genoese has diaeresis and circumflex accents, inherited from the languages of the past that influenced it.

Typical of the Genoese dialect are the diphthongs, triphthongs and the hiatuses. Most have increased their presence after the deletion of the palatal intervocalic /r/ following a strong and persistent urban variety of the dialect.

I then take into consideration the interrogative adjective and pronouns that will be part of my research in the third chapter.

In the third chapter I deal with a variety of the Genoese language only spoken in a very small and quite isolated town in the internal heights of Liguria: Cicagna. I will report a previous analysis on the 'kælu ke construction and about the present results I obtained from my personal investigation on the use of use of 'kælu ke that as we will see, has almost fallen into disuse.

'kælu ke can be found as a subject and can be accompanied by any kind of verb.

'kælu ke can also be found with the function of direct object in interrogatives.

I will then point out that the interrogative pronoun *cosa* and the demonstrative *quello* are very much in use in northern Italian dialects (Ligurian, Piedmontese and Valdotain); the translation of modern Italian 'cosa' remains peculiar of this part of northern Italy.

The aim of my research was to provide a description of the use of 'kælu ke' by asking local speakers to give the most natural translation to a series of prepared questions.

The second aim was to analyze the answers from a syntactical point of view, in fact I asked people which of the questions I administered sounded more grammatical, taking into consideration the left/right dislocation of the constituents as main point of interest.

In the fourth and last chapter, making a link to what has been said in the previous one, I take into consideration the Italian right dislocation, trying to characterize its use and its formal analysis by citing some of the most influential linguists. Moreover, I implement the argument by analyzing, as a contrast, the Italian left dislocation.

Chapter 1

From the Genesis to the modern Genoese Dialect

1.1 Diachronic analysis of the Ligurian dialect

The first question anyone dealing with the Ligurian language has to ask, is whether it is better to talk of *Genoese* or *Ligurian* dialect. The Genoese dialect has always been intended as the most peculiar and prestigious variety among all the Ligurian dialects thanks to the cultural and commercial traditions of the city of Genoa, being itself - for many centuries - a magnificent Republic of the Mediterranean. Nowadays, in fact, people still continue to refer to “Genoese” as to the set of all dialects of the Region, which, however, due to its geographical conformation, tends to differ quite a lot. Toso (1995:40) argues that the actual Genoese dialect is only spoken from Varese Ligure and Carro in the high Val di Vara for the inland part of the region and from Bergeggi to Moneglia for the coastal area.

In this thesis, I prefer to talk about *Ligurian* instead of *Genoese* at least up to a certain time in history, as the great quantity of changes that have affected today’s regional language derived all from a very common root, and only today, thanks to the constant linguistic development, we are able to value some slight interregional changes.

1.1.1 Pre-Latin and Latin Substratum

Etymologically speaking the word *Ligure* has been associated to the greek *Ligus* whose meaning can be translated in “melodious”. It is said, in fact, that Ligurian people gave much importance to music and to cult ceremonies. Enzo Bernardini in his work¹ argued that it might not be just a coincidence if in Greek black swan is a homophone to “singing swan”.

Going back to ancient centuries and dealing with Ligurian in the pre-Latin Substratum, it must be taken into consideration that it is quite problematic to get a precise idea of

¹ “*La preistoria in Liguria*”, Sagep, Genova, 1982.

what Ligurian language looked like as no written documents have been found so far. There are only sporadic traces of toponyms and glosses, Greek and Latin authors affirmed.

At that time, the term *Ligures* (Ligurian people) was, unlike today, just a generic noun given to the populations living in the occidental part of Europe, covering from Catalogne straight to the Pianura Padana, including Southern France, Corse and the territories just over the Etruscan borders in central Italy.

The concept of Liguria as a Region instead, during this period, is still quite swinging. Greeks and Etruscans, made great pressing trying to invade and conquer it. Luni, at the borders with Tuscany, still has many finds of Etruscans. French people also based their first cities on the borders of Liguria, Monaco and Nice are the main examples.

It can be affirmed, however, that the Celts, after defeating the French population in the south of France, established their main bases on the Ligurian territory. This settlement process brought, across the years, to the birth of a sort of new population later identified as <<Celtoliguri>>; it remains quite uncertain whether, many years after the siege, the newborn population came up having more Celtic or Ligurian cultural and linguistic features.

The main features of the Ligurian in the pre-Latin period can be found in toponymy: the suffix “-asko/-aska” is in fact well spread (Borzonasca. Tulelasca, Veraglasca etc.), even though not only in Liguria but also in Piedmont, Lombardy, South France and Switzerland.

*Balma and *alma are further features of the Ligurian pre-Latin substratum, as well as *taur- and *tur-² meaning “mountain”. *Albo- and *alba-, which also meant “city” can be today related to the “Alps”.

The Indo-european linguistic stratum of Ligurian was very much soaked with Celtic influences, even if many phonetics and also ethnic elements make the two populations differ quite a lot; Devoto and Giacomelli affirmed that «*Liguria has never been Gallic*» (1972:10).

² The root “*taur-” can be found in the Taurini tribe who found the city of Turin (Toso, 1995:14)

The root **Berg-* can be said to belong to the Indo-European Ligurian; this toponym is today present in the northern Italian city of Bergamo or in the modern German “Berg” meaning ‘mountain’. The similar root **ber-* can instead be found as *Porcoberga*, the ancient name of the actual (Val) Polcevera, whose meaning can be translated in English as “salmon carrier”³.

The toponym *Genua* (Pisani 1941:390) also seems to belong to this historical period: this precise name could have been given taking into consideration the geographical aspect of the Liguria Region. In Latin *genu* means “knee”, probably referring to the form of the gulf.

1.1.2 Romanization of the Ligurian Language

Whenever we deal with Roman Ligurian, we have to keep in mind that the places taken into consideration, later named as Regio IX Augustea, are far wider than the actual borders of the Region, even though, the boundaries we are now familiar with, kept their own peculiarities even during the strong Roman invasion, keeping the conservatism Ligurian people are famous for.

The biggest romanization of Liguria had its strongholds in Luna (actual Luni in the easternmost end of Liguria, conquered in 177 b.C.) and in wider cities such as Genua and Albium Ingaunum (actual Albenga, on the west coast).⁴

The linguistic events that, during the Roman Empire, brought the Ligurian area to become familiar with Latin were quite slow in penetrating it; even in big centers such as Genua, Latin was still a rare language, mostly spoken by literates of Roman origins. Diglossia was widely spread, at least until Latin became the predominant language of the territory.

Latin turned to be the prestigious face of Liguria. It naturally became the predominant language of the area both from a commercial point of view and from a political and cultural perspective. This seemed to happen without any strong imposition but simply

³ In Italian “portatore di salmoni” (Bertoldi, 1930)

⁴ cf. Toso (1995:19)

being assimilated, by the locals and thought out the generations, who did not seem to manifest such a strong adhesion to their own local language (Toso, 1995:22).

As largely known, the language that caught on was the so-called *vulgar Latin*⁵ which was constantly spread by the daily contacts with the invaders. The Ligurian population was, in fact, obliged to deal with Romans in terms of commerce, bureaucracy, colonies, food and sanity.

The linguistic Latin diversities, that subsequently spread all over Liguria and in Italy in more general terms, were brought by many factors.

First of all the presence of many different preexisting local strata has been determinant in the influence, in the depth and in the transformation in which the Latin language penetrated and superimposed its existence throughout years and territories. Peculiar of the Ligurian area, as widely affirmed by researchers, is the hypothesis in which there has been the characteristic passage from *-l-* > *-r̄-* as the consequence of the influence of the pre-roman Ligurian on the Latin language.

Another significant factor during the dominance of Latin in the Ligurian territories is the so-called “linguistic circulation” Toso (1995: 23). With this term Toso means the spread of specific words born in a prestigious environment (city centers) that started to be used in the adjacent districts in a homologous way. As soon as the centre lost his power, however, the just cited innovation became a differentiator to those regions that did not undergo this linguistic circulation. It can be the case of *lenition* in which the voiceless consonant *-t-* became a voiced *-d-* (before its complete fall); as well as *-k-* became *-g-*.

The loss of the final vowel (apocope in linguistics) - typically an *a* - is, instead, a peculiarity that did not find acceptance in the Ligurian language even if the phenomenon can be detected in almost all other Gallo-Italic dialects; this can be due to its geographical position.

Taking into consideration the phonetic field, a matter of great importance was the disappearance of long and short vowels leading to a simplification of the vowels themselves.

⁵ Written Latin was the most prestigious variety of the language. It was very different from the one spoken by roman soldiers and functionaries.

This simplification is present in all neo-Latin languages and dialects apart from Romanian, Sardinian and some southern Italian dialects:

ă	ā	ī	ĩ	ē	ě	ö	ō	ŭ	ū
\	/		\	/			\	/	
a		i	ę	ę	ę	ø	ø		u

Another common phenomenon was the palatalization of *ce*, *ci*, *ge*, *gi* which in Latin were one time pronounced [ke], [ki], [ghe] and [ghi].

The loss of the final consonants *-t*, *-m* and *-s* was a common factor in a great area. While *-t* and *-m* fell almost everywhere, the consonant *-s* kept its existence for more time in the Ligurian language and nowadays can be only found in very isolated examples as in Genoese *märtesdì* (martes di > Tuesday).

The simplification in the final vowels of a given word is, moreover, a quite interesting fact. The nominal inflection was simplified in only three possible cases, that are: *-o* (for the masculine singular), *-a* (for the feminine singular), *-e* for the plural forms. The disappearance of the neutrum case, still main characteristic of Modern German, modeled the language into a more flexible and easy one.

In Ligurian, the vowel *-u* is still in use: Lat. *altus* > Gen. *ätu*, Lat. *digitus* > Gen. *dio* (read: /diu/), Lat. *ruptus* > Gen. *rotto* (read: /ruttu/).⁶

A very interesting peculiarity of Ligurian at the time of the Latin linguistic invasion, is the *truncation* of many latin declensions, as it was a sort of liberation of the bulky terminations people were, somehow, obliged to remember. Ligurians started to manipulate verbs as follows: *amare* (to love) became *amâ*, *finitus* (finished) became *finîo*, *bonitas* (goodness) became *bontae*, *stringere* (to tighten) became *strenze*.

It is also worth to cite that, even though Ligurians tried hard to manipulate their own language at their willings, many are the Latin words that still today are more similar in Ligurian than in Modern Italian, have a look at the following:

⁶ See Petrucci (1984:19) for a more detailed list.

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Genoese</i>
Albus	arbô
Hamma	àmoa
Baculus	bacco
Atmoracia	armon

Talking about morphology and syntax, the huge change that still characterizes Italian and Ligurian is the word order which changed from a S-O-V style (*filius matrem amat*) to a S-V-O order (Son loves his mother).

Another important change in the field of morphology is the position of the genitive within a given sentence: in Latin people used to say “*patris manus*”⁷ where, as in Modern English today, one can find the genitive collocated only in first position. In Ligurian and in Italian instead, it is only possible to say “the hand of the father”.

We have to keep in mind, however, that the Ligurian region was also somehow reached by Greek and Germanic influences even though less significantly. Latin had been renovated in many current Ligurian words which do come from a Greek background, see *àngeo* (angel), *battezzo* (baptism), *gexa* (church) and so on.⁸

1.1.3 From Latin to Ligurian

After the end of the glorious Roman Empire (conventionally dated 476 A.D.), starts for Europe a new chapter which will bring Italy, and more closely speaking, Liguria, to a new linguistic beginning.

In this period, Romance languages start their modeling from about the III up to the VIII century, when vulgars of all Europe start their interminable rise. Ligurian⁹ belongs to the Romance languages macro group, in particular to the *Gallo-Italic* sub-group, together with Piedmontese, Emilian-Romagnol and Lombard.

⁷ Examples taken from Toso (1995:25)

⁸ See more examples in Toso (1995:25)

⁹ Today Ligurian is spoken by 500.000 native speakers, a 2004 source. (ethnologue.com)

The most probable origin of the vulgar Ligurian might be dated between the Diocletian period (Diocles 244-311 AD) and the Carolingian Empire (800-888 AD).

During this large amount of time, the Ligurian territory faced both periods of unity and periods of territorial fragmentations¹⁰ where germanic populations, such as Longobards, tried to influence the local language even though it had already been somehow mixed to Latin, ending up having, sporadically, a romanized lexicon.

A punctual and precise reconstruction of how Ligurian could have sound during those times is however quite impossible due to the lack of any kind of documentation. Any reconstruction which has been made is only a posterior study and observation of actual dialects.

Toso, nevertheless, has been able to assemble some of the most important characteristics of Ligurian during this shift from Latin.

Ligurian dialects behaved quite peculiarly as they either empowered or estranged some characteristics of the Gallo-italic branch; they didn't apply most of the linguistic innovations coming from the north of Italy and, at the same time, attempted to modify padanian features bringing *palatalization* of *-bl*, *-fl*, and *-pl* to its maximum, becoming a distinguishing characteristic of Ligurian languages (Devoto 1995: 214, 217) probably present from the end of the XII century (as seen in the *Contrasto* of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras) which however, tend to disappear in the most proximal areas of the region.

<i>Palatalization</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Ligurian</i>	<i>Phonetic Transcription</i>
PL > [tʃ]	Plānu(m)	Cian	[ˈtʃan]
BL > [dʒ]	Blastemma(m)	Giastemma	[dʒas'tem•a]
FL > [ʃ]	Flamma	Sciamma	[ˈʃam•a]

Shared with French, it is also possible to find the palatalization of *-CT* becoming *-IT*:

Lat. FRUCTU(M) > Lig. frûto [ˈfryitu]

¹⁰ Toso 1995:29

Lat. TRACTU(M) > Lig. træto ['trɛ:tu]

Another important characteristic of Ligurian, excluding any other adjoining language, is the conservation of the unstressed and final vowels, excepting -E and -U in the final syllable after -L, -N and -R¹¹:

Lat. MŪLUM > Lig. mû

Lat. PĀNE(M) > Lig. Pan

Lat. CANTĀRE > Lig. cantâ

The geminates deletion is another characteristic feature, typical of northerners dialects:

Lat. CIV(I)TATE(M) > Lig. çittæ [si'tɛ:].

Ita. Sette > Lig. Séte ['Sɛte]

Ita. Otto > Lig. Outo ['øto]

Another peculiar phonetic trait of Ligurian is the passage of the intervocalic consonant -l to -r̄: the rhotacism, as mentioned by the famous writer Anonymous Genoese (also named as Lucheto or Luchetto, born around the XIII century) of the voiced alveolar consonant -l to the rhotic consonant -r (Ita. Volpe > Lig. ['Gŭrpa]; Ita. Malva > Lig. ['Marva], Ita. Bilancia > Ant. Lig. *Baranza*) is a quite familiar and a major characteristic of northern dialects but only in Liguria it is possible to find the subsequent impairment of it (Rohlf's 1966:224)- The palatal pronunciation can be seen as the preceding stadium to a complete vanishment, perceptible from the XVII century on.

Finally, another typical trait of the Ligurian language is the modification of -X- and -PS- in [ʃ] and of -SJ- in [ʒ]:

Lat. SAXU(M) > Lig. Sascio ['saf u]

Lat. CAPSA(M) > Lig. Cascia ['kaf a]

Lat. BAXO > Lig. Baxo ['ba:ʒu]

¹¹ S. Lusito, Elementi di linguistica genovese e ligure.

1.1.4 From the early Middle Ages to today

The Ligurian language is, nowadays, the result of a series of foreignisms that embraced the region throughout the centuries. Four have been the languages that essentially modified the Ligurian vocabulary in a quite massive way: Arabic, the Hellenistic language, Spanish and both the Oïl and Oc languages.

Pellegrini's analysis of the foreign influences in Liguria (1961, 1972) highlighted the overbearing influence of the oriental provision, above all in the lexical field.

The Arabic language interfered a lot in the Ligurian one, adding to the local dialects its peculiarities in a quite intrusive way, starting from the breach opened by the flourishing commerce of the Republic of Genoa (1096 — 1815¹²). Arabic penetrated the Ligurian language thanks to the slaves that were sent to Liguria to work alongside the locals.

Here is a quick and interesting list of words that are still today part of the Ligurian vocabulary¹³:

<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Genoese</i>
Qaba	cabbàn
Meqramà	Macramè
Dar-as-sina-a	darsena

The first attestations of a vulgar Genoese can be dated back to the end of the XII century (1190 to be precise) as the well known French poet Raimbaut de Vaqueiras¹⁴ wrote a poem known as “*Domna, tant vos ai preiada*”, about a conflict between a Genoese woman and a provencal jester who tries to seduce her.

At the beginning of the XIV century, the famous and aforementioned bourgeois Genoese poet *Anonimo Genovese* later identified with the name of Luchetto (Nicolas 1998), wrote one hundred and forty-six *Rhymes* written in vulgar Genoese whose

¹² 1815: in this year the Congress of Vienna established that Genoese territories had to be annexed to the Sabaudian relms.

¹³ word list taken from Petrucci (1984:21).

¹⁴ Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (1180-1207) was a Provençal troubadour and knight. He has been a quite famous writer and he even influenced Petrarca in the writing of his work “*Trionfi*”.

themes were predominantly religious and moral. He, nevertheless, didn't fail to praise his native land without omitting social and political critics.

Hispanisms are, again, very much present in the Liguria region from the second half of the XVI century to the beginning of the XVIII (Toso 2002:203). The introduced lexicon (around 250 lexems, Toso 1993) has been able to spread in many different fields; there are very common Genoese words in the everyday use: Span. *Mujer*> Gen. *Muggê*; Span. *Sencillo*> Gen. *Sencio*.

The French Language, at that time known as Oil and Oc languages, also contributed to increase the Ligurian vocabulary: Fr. *Acheter*> Gen. *Accatâ*; Fr. *Biffer*> Gen. *sbiffâ*; Fr. *démanger*> Gen. *smangiâ* and so on...

Despite all the above cited foreign influences that managed to create the current Ligurian or Genoese language, the so called *Genoese Natio* deserves a good cite.

From the second half of the XII century, in fact, we start talking about *Natio*: *Natio* doesn't have to be taken as a geographical lexeme, at least, not only. *Natio* reached outside Ligurian borders, a great expanded meaning which included culture, territories and, of course, the language. «*Paradossalmente, laddove nel mondo il termine genovese significava l'unione solidale di tutti i Liguri, il Districtus Ianue era un insieme disorganico di autonomie locali [...] unite soltanto [...] dalla capitale*»¹⁵. The Ligurian language, but from this period on it is better to start talking about Genoese language - thanks to the power Genoa carried in those times - started to have a diplomatic perception, besides the well known commercial one. In the XII century Genoese is the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean.

All along the XIV and XV centuries, Ligurian people are not rushing to the exigence of a unitarian language as *being Genoese* is the only peculiarity to connote the above cited *Natio*.

During the XVI century, the linguistic uncertainty of Humanists divided them between those who wanted to adhere to a homogenized superstate model, taking Tuscan and Latin as base models, and those who looked for local inflectional peculiarities. In this period, it was not difficult to hear the aristocracy speaking, or trying to imitate the Tuscan. Agostino Giustiniani, key person of the Genoese culture of those times, wrote

¹⁵Toso, *Storia linguistica della Liguria*, 1995:47.

his work named «Castigatissimi annali della repubblica di Genova» (1535) in a local vulgar purified of the most tawdry elements. This tendency brought, decades later, to the promotion of a linguistic model based on a n«italian nostrum»¹⁶ where the *Language Issue* would have later brought to a great debate.

In the XVII century, the Genoese people “gold century” the greatest cultural and literal peak of the Genoese environment was given by the poet that most kept the Genoese language tight to its tradition: Gian Giacomo Cavalli (about 1590-1658) wrote a line of poetry «stà duo paro»¹⁷ where the main subject is the elegy to the Genoese; what he mostly wanted was to maintain his language alive and prestigious as in past times. Andrea Spinola was a great Genoese activist: the use of the Genoese was in fact strongly incited by him, who busy discouraged the use of Italian.

The death of Cavalli, marked the sad transition to a much less florid cultural and literal period (Graziosi, 1993). The only thin light to a cultural resumption has to be attributed, from the XVIII century onwards, to Giuliano Rossi (1580-1657), who had a quite different outgo compared to the high lyric of Cavalli not many years before. Rossi’s works wished to appear in contrast especially from a phonetic point of view: he in fact attempted to show to the public the most intrinsic peculiarities of the Genoese’s poorest *lengua*, proudly elevating it to great stage productions.

In 1870, Luigi Michele Pedivilla¹⁸ wrote a “national” poem named «A Colombiade» where he attempted to re-establish the power of the Genoese language against the Savoy Kingdom, taking Cristoforo Colombo as national genius and a genuine Genoese pride:

[...]

A voî Zeneixi, à voî ch’æi vivo in petö
amô de patria, e vivo amô à chi l’amma,
E o maligno aborrî che pe despëto
Do vëo contro chi ô dixè o sbotta e o tramma,
à voî bravi Zeneixi, à voî ripeto,
Questa poexia, ben chi nobile argomento,

¹⁶ Toso (2001:209)

¹⁷ A possible English translation could be “to keep up” (Toso 2001:211)

¹⁸ Republican Genoese priest (1815-1877) of liberal sentiments fiercely against the Savoy kingdom.

À voi soli consacro, à voi presento.

From the second-third decade of the XX century the Genoese language undergoes a progressive crisis which will, fortunately, face a trend reversal from the 60s, when people tried not to lose their linguistic roots while Italian was spreading throughout the country. Using Genoese instead of Italian turned out to be a personal choice.

Chapter 2

Modern Genoese Grammar

2.1 Orthography

Genoese orthography has developed in an autonomous way since the XIII century (Toso 2009), thanks to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and later on to the renowned Anonimo Genovese. The process of creating a personal orthographical identity is due to the growing expansion of Tuscan, which however, succeeded in slightly penetrating the Genoese language.

Genoese is characterized by strong and fast sounds, many accents and sometimes minor truncations (Petrucci 1984). Compared to the Italian alphabet, the Genoese one is much more complete and well assorted. Every uncommon sound has his own graph, as follows:

Vowels

a - two diacritic signs: *à* and *â* (*ä* is sometimes used instead of *â*)

æ - the corresponding Italian sound is *è*

e - three diacritic signs: *è*, *é* and *ê*

i - two diacritic signs: *ì* and *î* (j and y are now outdated and are simply substituted by *i*)

o - four diacritic signs: *ò*, *ó*, *ô* and *ö*

u - two diacritic signs: *ù* and *û*

Peculiar Consonants

č - palatal sound as in Italian “cento”

ç - as in Italian “sasso”

ğ - palatal sound as in Italian “gesso”

ñ - velar sound as in Italian “banco”

ñ̃ - palatalized sound as in Italian “bagno”

š - palatalized sound as in Italian “fascia”

ž or x - voiced sound as j in French “jour”.¹⁹

¹⁹ Petrucci 1984:26

Regarding the most common consonants of the Genoese language, I present now a list with a comparison with Italian: [b] has the same pronunciation as in *it. bianco*, *gen. gamba*. [c] before vowels has a /k/ sound *it. cambio*, *gen. scangiâ*; before e, eu and i transforms its sound into /ç/ *gen. çeuve*; [d] same sound as in Italian *it. dove* *gen. dïto*; [f] *it. faccio* *gen. figeu, coffa*; [g] *it. giostra*, *gen. gelâto, vaggio*; [l] same as Italian, *it. lavoro*, *gen. laxerto*; [m] *it. marito* *gen. moæ*; [n] *it. nastro*, *gen. nâve*; [ŋ] *it. panca*, *gen. cantâ*; [p] *it. padre*, *gen. pòrto*; [r] *it. marca*, *gen. tæra*; [s] *it. santo*, *gen. scûa, mosso, çenie*; [t] *it. tegola*, *gen. stæto*; [v] *it. vita*, *gen. valôre*; [Z] *it. zaino*, *gen. zâna*; [dʒ] *it. gente*, *gen. Taggia*.

2.1.1 Graphic peculiarities

Vowels are rarely doubled and if so, only in the case the final vowel is unstressed (cf. *aerboo*).

Genoese consonants are never doubled when they follow a long vowel but only if they follow a short vowel. The only exception occurs when they come from a derived natural word (*meschìn* > *meschinétto*).

Many are also the graphic signs occurring in the Genoese language, here is a quick list:

- (') apostrophe, either used as in Italian or as aphaeresis ('na figêua)
- (-) this trait is used either to join two syllables together (usually next to nn, for instance *picìnn-a*) or to merge together the simple preposition and the article to create an articulated preposition (*it. alle* > *gen. a-e*)

In the Genoese language, accents play a very important role as they even help distinguishing homographic words.

A list of the four accents is provided below:

- (') Acute accent: it is only used on particular words ending in *e* and it helps tightening the pronunciation (cf. *perchè*, *a l'è coscì*)
- (') Grave accent: similar to the Italian one and helps opening the pronunciation of a given word. It can appear in the middle of a word with vowels *e* and *o* or at the end of it, truncating it, as in Italian: *café*, *coscì* etc.

(^) Circumflex accent: The vowel *o* when with this accent is pronounced long and close *gôa, demôa*; all other vowels are long and open, in the same way as in French: *figgiêu, pûa*.

(¨) Diaeresis accent: it mainly helps lengthen the vowels *pëtene*. When on *o*, is widely pronounced: *fö, dö*. It also helps distinguishing the word meaning from a verb tense.²⁰

2.2 Phonology

The phonologic system of the Genoese language is exceedingly complex. Vowels are very variable elements and can behave in unexpected ways. The vowel *a* can easily become an *e* or an *o* depending on the context as well as the vowel *e* which can become *i* or *ei*. The vowel *i* can easily transform into an *u* as in the example *primma* (first) > *prumma*.

Sound peculiarities are present all over the region. The Oneglia *a* vowel has a particular sound that is between the *a* and the *o*. It can be seen transcribed as *ôa* (Dionisi-Carli) or with an *â* (Ramella). For example the word “mother” can be written in the following ways: *môai* or *mâi*.

In the following pages we will investigate more in detail the behavior of the vowels:

2.2.1 Vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs and hiatuses

In the Genoese language, vowels can have four grades of opening (Toso 1997:15):

The maximum opening grade is given by the low vowel [a], the second grade is given by [è] and [ò], the third grade is given by the articulation of [é] and [ö] and last one is possible when the vowels [i] and [u] are being pronounced.

A

The vowel *a* has a typical open sound such as the one of the Italian language (*casa, strada* etc). The grave accent (*à*) is instead quite rare and can be found only in Italian or foreign words such as *sofà, chissà* or *cà*.

²⁰ Theory and examples from Casaccia (1887, Capo Primo)

There are also cases of *consonant vanishments* or of *truncations* which inevitably lead to lengthening of the vowel *a*, in last position as follows: It. sale > Gen. *sâ*; It. cantare > *cantâ*; and in the middle of the words as follows: It. sbadiglio > Gen. *bâgio*; it. Funi > Gen. *patâsci*.

E

It is the most changeable vowel of the Genoese language. It usually maintains a narrow pronunciation, take *çeddro* (Petrucci 1984:29) as example. There are some specific cases in which the sound *e* is always open: when it precedes the consonant *r* (*èrba*, *pèrsa*) and in two similar situations: when it precedes *t* (*lètto*) and when it precedes *s* (*sèsta*).

This vowel behaves as *a* when talking about *consonant vanishment*: It. Faccia > Gen. *cëa*; It. pettine > Gen. *petëne*. or truncations It. Cielo > Gen. *çê*; It. dietro > Gen. *derrê*.

The vowel *e* sometimes faces a change in its pronunciation; it is not rare to hear it pronounced as *i*. This fact has been witnessed back during the XIII century when *Anonimo Genovese* wrote his works and while copying many were his hesitations between the use of *e* or *i*.

I and J

The vowel *i* is almost always closed. In Genoa the *i* sound takes the place of *u* in the pronunciation of the article “un” that becomes “in”.

This vowel can be seen together with two diacritic signs: *ï* as an internal accent (it. fritto > Gen. *fritto* or it. condito > Gen. *condio*) or as a truncation sign (It. filo > Gen. *fî*)

Today the sound *j* has lost his typical Ligurian trait (now substituted by *x*) and it now marks just a strengthening of the vowel *i*. (*primmaveja*, *sguaiou*) (Petrucci, 1984:29)

O

The Genoese language has two different pronunciations regarding the *o* vowel: it can either be open or close. The open one is very much similar to the Italian one, while the close pronunciation tends to become an /u/ sound around the city of Genoa. In the latter

situation, we will always graphically find the letter *o* instead of *u* for etymological reasons.

Because of these very different pronunciations, many are the diacritic signs that help the speaker pronouncing a given word in the proper way:

Diacritic signs for close pronunciations /u/:

O - *giorno* (giorno), *doggio* (doppio); ö - *döçe* (dolce); ô - *cô* (colore), *ödô* (odore).

Diacritic signs for open pronunciations /o/:

O - *porta* (porta), *foscia* (forse); ö - *deslögiâ* (sloggiare); ò - *tremò* (specchio)²¹

U

The vowel *u* is in the Genoese language quite a close sound and can be said to have two different shades of pronunciation: it can either be the Italian one (*pueiu*, *puffo*, *büra*, *cüxo*, *acaxû*...) or the French one whose typical sound is a close front rounded vowel [y] (*purga*, *luggio*, *buttega*, *mû*, *scciavitû*...). It is not yet clear whether to use the common sound *u* or the French one, we can say that the choice depends on the degree of knowledge of the language.

Diphthongs, Triphthongs and Hiatuses

Diphthongs are very common traits of the Genoese language. Their incidence strongly increased after the deletion of the palatal intervocalic /r/, is either frequent in the urban Genoese and in the “portorian”, a more popular ²²variant.

The most famous portorian proverb, great example of a popular language against the bourgeois one, later on spread all over Liguria.

“ou mœ nœu gh'é nœe nâe nœe che n'œan anâ”
/Ow 'mœ: 'nœ:u g e 'nœ:e 'na:e 'nœ:e 'ke 'n œ:aN a'na:/

²¹ Examples taken from Petrucci (1984:31)

²² Partoria /pur'tɔ:ja/ is a Genoese central neighborhood and one of the most ancient of the city. Its name comes from Porta Aurea or Porta d'Oria (as it marked the borders of the Doria family) whose name, contracted, became Portóia. www.fosca.unige.it

In the above proverb it is possible to see a great quantity of diphthongs and triphthongs. Diphthongs are constituted by a vowel and a semi-vowel. In Genoese there are descending diphthongs (when the vowel precedes the semi-vowel) and ascendent ones (when the semi-vowel precedes the vowel).

Two are the categories in which diphthongs can be added: *proper* and *improper* ones. Proper diphthongs sub-divide into outstretched ones, those who do not let the vowels merge but both sounds are clearly audible (*beive, ancoa*) and collected ones, where the first vowel almost loses its audibility and the second ones become the primary sound (cf. *ciave, cûggiâ*).

Improper diphthongs are only three: “æ” where the e sound is quite long and dragged (cf. *parlæ*); “êu” pronounced as the French word *peu* and last one is “ôu” where the o sound catches all the attentions and where the speakers put all their emphasis (cf. *ballôu, alluôu*).

Ascendent diphthongs:

/j/ semi-vowel + long or short vowel

/ja:/ tiâtru /'tja:tru/

/jE:/ i èrbui /'jErbwi/

/je/ riendu /'rjeNdu/

/jO:/ saiô /sa'jO:/

/jø:/ i œve /'jø:ve/

/ju:/ bacaiun /baka'juN/

Discendent diphthongs:

/aj/ mainâ /maj'nâ/

/ej/ meistra /'mejstra/

/'øi/ læidu /'løjdu/

/'ow/ mo-u /'mOw/

/w/ semi-vowel + long or short vowel

/wa:/ uâ /'wa:/

/wE:/ cuæ /'kwE:/

/we:/ uêge /'we:dZe/

/wi:/ èrbui /'Erbwi/

Triphthongs are very much used and major prominence is given to the last vowel of the group: *paeise, poeiva, andieivo*.

Hiatuses are also very common and they are a sequence of two vowels which do not form a syllable (one long and one short vowel).

Here is a list of all Genoese hiatuses²³:

		Long vowels							
		a /a:/	æ /ɛ:/	e /e:/	i /i:/	o /O:/	œ /ø:/	u /u:/	y /y:/
Short Vo- wels	a /a/	///	ræa /'rɛ:a/	vêa /'ve:a/	lía /'li:a/	môa /'mO:a/	vœa /'vø:a/	scûa /'sku:a/	scÿa /'sky:a/
	æ /ɛ/					///			
	e /e/	câe /'ka:e/	ræe /'rɛ:e/	vêe /'ve:e/	líe /'li:e/	môe /'mO:e/	vœe /'vø:e/	scûe /'sku:e/	scÿe /'sky:e/
	i /i/	câi /'ka:i/	ræi /'rɛ:i/	vêi /'ve:i/	nîi /'ni:i/	môi /'mO:i/	vœi /'vø:i/	scûi /'sku:i/	scÿi /'sky:i/
	o /O/					///			
	œ /ø/					///			
	u /u/	câu /'ka:u/	ræu /'rɛ:u/	vêu /'ve:u/	nîu /'ni:u/	môu /'mO:u/	vœu /'vø:u/	scûu /'sku:u/	scÿu /'sky:u/
	y /y/					///			

²³ theory and examples are taken from www.zeneize.net

2.3 Articles

Articles, exactly like in Italian, are always associated to a noun. Definite articles are commonly used also in front of proper names (“o” Dante) and in any other occasion where it can be placed before a noun. Unlike Italian, the Genoese language doesn’t have the article “gli” which is - rarely - replaced with *gi* used with names starting with a vowel.

Another peculiarity of definite articles in Genoese consists in the repetition of the article after the name: *a moæ a cuxe*²⁴ (the mother sews)

Indefinite articles

They only have the singular form which declines itself according to the following noun as shown in the summary table below. Plurals express by using the partitives: *gh'é di ommi che se rovinn-an*.

Another very typical characteristics, worthy to be mentioned, is that the *un* article is almost always pronounced as /in/.

Definite Articles

gen. o -> *It. il, lo*
gen. a -> *It. la* or *l'* (in the fem. form)
gen. l' -> *It. l'* in the masculine form
gen. e -> *It. le*
gen. i -> *It. i, gli*

Indefinite Articles

Un - masc. form (in front of consonant)
Unna - Fem. form (in front of consonant)
'na - Fem. form (in front of consonant)
Unn' / 'n' - before words starting with a vowel

2.4 Names and adjectives and adverbs

Names in the Genoese language behave exactly as in Italian. There is one interesting peculiarity to mention, predominantly in use in the countryside: when two people share the same name and want to salute each other, they do not use their real

²⁴ Petrucci 1984:49

name but say “*nomme*” instead, as follows: <<*Ciao nomme!*>>. meaning “you, who have the same name as me”.

The gender of a noun can be recognized by having a look at its termination. Masculine nouns have the following terminations: **o** - angeo; **i**- amixi; **eu** - cheu; **an/en** - pan, chen; **ê** - pappê; **in** - stagnin; **òu** - cugnòu; **öu/éi** - cöu, cianzistéi; **â** - bancâ; **û** - tribû; **e** - fumme; **î** - fî.

Feminine nouns have their terminations as follows: **a** - crêuza (sing.); **e** - cêghe (plur.).

Nouns ending in **ae** or **on** can both be masculine or feminine (*ballon, frae*).

Nouns alterations

Nouns can undergo alterations that are able to modify their original meaning. This phenomenon is very common in Genoese, especially in its most popular version. Here below I report an interesting list of the most common modifications:

Augmentative form	-on	<i>nason</i>
Dispraging form	-asso / -aggia / -amme	<i>masso, gentaggia, frecciamme</i>
Diminutive form	-In / -etto	<i>picìn, ometto</i>
Compliant form	-eto	<i>pöviëto</i>

Adjectives

Qualifier adjectives indicate, as the noun itself says, a quality related to the associated noun. Qualifiers can be positive (*O Beppe o l'è aspèrto*), comparative, when they indicate a comparison between two different subjects. Comparatives can be subdivided into: comparative of majority (*O Beppe o l'è ciù aspèrto do Pippo*), comparative of minority (*O Beppe o l'è meno aspèrto do Pippo*) and comparative of equality (*O Beppe o l'è tanto aspèrto còmme o Pippo*); furthermore, superlatives include: absolute superlatives, formed by adding the *-iscimo* desinence (*o treno a l'èa lentiscimo*), or simply by repeating the same adverb twice such as *tanto, tanto*. Latin

superlatives are still very much used in current Genoese: *mascimo*, *minimo*, *paescimo*, *ultimo* and so on.

Possessive adjectives are very much similar to the Italian language:

Gen. *me, teu, seu, nostro/alile, vostro/alile, seu*

Genoese possessive adjectives always need the article (*gen. o me fîggio, i nostri amîxi*).

Demonstrative Adjectives

Demonstratives determine a proximity or a remoteness relation between the speaker and the object or the person taken into consideration.

Their origin can be traced back to Latin *ecco istu, ecru te istu, eccu illu* (Petrucci:1984)

Genoese, unlike Italian and Tuscan, lost the demonstrative “codesto”. “Questo” is instead quite rare as it has been replaced by *sto - chi*, which reminds of the similar Lombard form *ches chi* for *questo qui* and *Ches là* for *quello là*.

In rural and remote areas of Liguria is possible to hear *sto lì* and *sto là*.

Demonstratives THIS and THESE			Demonstratives THAT and THOSE		
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
Masc.	<i>Sto / sto-chi</i>	<i>Sti / sti-chi</i>	Masc.	<i>quello / quello lì-là</i>	<i>quelli / quelli lì-là</i>
Femin.	<i>Sta / sta-chi</i>	<i>Ste / ste-chi</i>	Femin.	<i>quella / quella lì-là</i>	<i>quelle / quelle lì-là</i>

Interrogative Adjectives and Pronouns

Interrogatives introduce both the direct and the indirect form of a question, a quality or a quantity (Costa: 1993).

As Costa argued, the most typical forms are the following: *quâ, quae/i, ‘sto chi, quello or queo lì/là*.

Cöse is the Italian translation for *che cosa?* (*Cöse sòn sti ògètti? / Cöse l'è che ti dixi?*), it is invariable and hardly ever accepts *che* in front of it as it sounds ungrammatical and not pure Genoese.

As Capello (2010:3) argues *quello che* in standard Italian appears to have a different distribution with respect to the one in use in French and Franco-Provençal dialects, namely *ce que*²⁵. And, differently from Italian and French, can be found in interrogative contexts.

Here below are some of the questions she took into consideration for her research:

senque te fé? senque te fé-té (Aosta) - *té* is an interrogative particle

Che cosa fai? (What do you you?)

lO k et 'fas-ty? (Cuneo)

that that CLS do-CLS

Che cosa fai? (What do you you?)

Many are the varieties found in Liguria and in the neighboring areas:

'kolu amigu ke 't a telefùno? (Genova)

that friend that you has phoned,

“which friend has phoned you ?”

kuelu vestiu ke ti voe? Casarsa Ligure (GE)

that dress that CLS want

“which dress do you want ?”

lo ke te ditu? Bordighera (Imperia)

that that CLS-have said

“what did you say ?”

²⁵ For more, see Capello B., 2010, *The interrogative pronominal status of Ce que in French and Quello che in Italian (Quello che in Italian Dialects)*, X Incontro di Dialettologia Italiana, University of Bristol

kuellu ke ghè davanti à ka tou? Ventimiglia (Imperia)

that that it.is in front of house your

“what is there in front of your house ?”

Adverbs

Adverbs are those elements which modify and help defining the event expressed by the verb. They can also be found next to an adjective (*tanto bon*) or next to another adverb (*coscì ben*). Here below I present a traditional adverb subdivision:

- Adverbs of manner: they can be further subdivided in those ending in “ente” (*diversamente*), those ending in “on” (*gatton*, *strambaelon*) and in the most frequent ones: *ben*, *mâ*, *meggio*, *coscì*, *cianin*, *licche-lacche*...
- Adverbs of time: *allóa*, *depoî*, *dòppo domàn*, *dua*, *sûbbito*, *stamattinn-a*, *stasseja*...
- Adverbs of place: *chì*, *lì*, *lazzû*, *zû*, *vixin*, *lontan*, *drento*, *feua*...
- Adverbs of quantity: *tanto*, *pôco*, *tróppo*, *abbastansa*, *quaexi*, *ciû'*, *appenn-a*...
- Adverbs of affirmation (1), negation (2) and doubt (3): *scì*, *zà*, *çerto*, *precisamente*, *davvéi*...(1) *mai*, *manco*, *nì*, *maiciû'* ... (2) *fösci*, *poscibilmente*... (3).

Inside the everyday spoken Genoese language, the adverb phrases are very much in use. There are composed by two or more words fixed together in order to create a particular meaning: *cianin cianin*; *de sprescia*, *coscì coscì*, *â carlonn-a*, *taera taera*, *pe vôtta*, *de lûngo*, *in te 'n momento*, *man-a-man*, *a rotta de collo*, *in çimma*, *pe ninte*, *de sêguo*, *pe l'appunto*, *sciû-per-zû*...

2.5 Verbs

Genoese verbs, thanks to Giovanni Casaccia's studies, started to be divided into four conjugations, as the second one can be split into two, according to the termination of the infinitive form. Remote past tense is in the Genoese language missing, demonstrating its strong relationship with Latin, even though it was possible to find it in some of the

Anonimo Genovese's works. Today the remote past tense is expressed only by using either the imperfect form or the present perfect form.

Auxiliary verbs are in Genoese: the verb 'to be' *esse* and the verb 'to have' *avèi*. Here below I present a short table containing the present, imperfect and future indicative of the above cited auxiliary verbs:

	To be					To have			
	subject	pre-sent	Imperfect	Future		subject	pre-sent	Imper-fect	Future
	Mi	<i>son</i>	<i>Ēo o äa</i>	<i>sajö</i>		Mi	<i>ho</i>	<i>aveivo</i>	<i>aviö</i>
	Ti ti	<i>ë</i>	<i>ëi</i>	<i>Sajae</i>		Ti ti	<i>ae</i>	<i>aveivi</i>	<i>aviae</i>
	Lê ol'é	<i>é</i>	<i>äa</i>	<i>saia</i>		Lê ol'é	<i>ha</i>	<i>aveiva</i>	<i>aviä</i>
	noî	<i>semmo</i>	<i>éi(v)imo</i>	<i>Saiëmo</i>		noî	<i>emmo</i>	<i>aveivimo</i>	<i>aviëmo</i>
	voî	<i>séi</i>	<i>ëi</i>	<i>Sajéi</i>		voî	<i>éi</i>	<i>aveivi</i>	<i>aviéi</i>
	lô	<i>Son</i>	<i>Ēan</i>	<i>Saian</i>		lô	<i>han</i>	<i>aveivan</i>	<i>aviàn</i>

As it has already been said, the Genoese language owns four different conjugations where the Latin desinences (-are, -ere, -ire) undergo the apocopation of last syllable:

-are —> **â** (*I conj.*); -ere—> **éi** (*II conj.*) and **e** (*III conj.*); -ire—> **î** (*IV conj.*).

First conjugation: *cant-â* (*inf.*) - *cant-òu* (*Past part.*)

Indicative					Sub-juncti-ve			Condit.	Imperative
Subject	Verb Root	Pre-sent	Imperfect	Future	Present	Imper-fect	Present	Present	
Mi	cant	<i>-o</i>	<i>-avo</i>	<i>-iö</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-esse</i>	<i>-ieivo</i>		
Ti ti	cant	<i>-i</i>	<i>-avi</i>	<i>-iae</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-esci</i>	<i>-iesci</i>	<i>-a ti</i>	

Lê o	cant	-a	-ava	-iä	-e	-esse	-ieiva	-e lê
noî	cant	-emmo	-avimo	-iemo	-emmo	-iescimo	-iesci- mo	-emmo niatri
voî	cant	-ae	-avi	-iéi	-ae	-esci	-iesci	-ae viatri
lô	cant	-an	-avan	-iàn	-an	-essan	-ieivan	-an lô

Second conjugation: *tax éi (Inf.) - tax òu (Past part.)*

Subject	Verb Root	Indicative			Future	Subjunctive	Imperfect	Condit.	Imperative
		Present	Imperfect	Present		Present		Present	
Mi	Tax	-o	-eivo	-iö	-e	-esse	-ieivo		
Ti ti	Tax	-i	-eivi	-iae	-i	-esci	-iesci	-i ti	
Lè o	Tax	-e	-eiva	-iä	-e	-esse	-ieiva	-e lê	
noî	Tax	-emmo	-eivimo	-iemo	-emmo	-escimo	-iescimo	-emmo niatri	
voî	Tax	-éi	-eivi	-iéi	-éi	-esci	-iesci	-éi viatri	
lô	Tax	-an	-eivan	-iàn	-an	-essan	-ieivan	-an lô	

Third conjugation: *scrïv-e (Inf.) - scrït-o (Past part.)*

Subject	Verb Root	Indicative			Future	Subjunctive	Imperfect	Condit.	Imperative
		Present	Imperfect	Present		Present		Present	
Mi	Scrïv	-o	-eivo	-iö	-e	-esse	-ieivo		
Ti ti	Scrïv	-i	-eivi	-iae	-e	-esci	-iesci	-i ti	

Lê ol'é	Scrïv	-e	-eiva	-iä	-e	-esse	-ieiva	-e lê
noî	Scrïv	-emmo	-eivimo	-iemo	-emo	-escimo	-iesci- mo	-emmo nia- tri
voî	Scrïv	-éi	-eivi	-iéi	-éi	-esci	-iesci	-éi viatri
lô	Scrïv	-an	-eivan	-iàn	-an	-essan	-ieivan	-an lô

Fourth Conjugation: **sent-î (Inf.) - sent-îo (Past part.)**

Subject	Verb Root	Indicative			Future	Sub-junctive	Imper- fect	Condit.	Imperative
		Pre-sent	Imper- fect	Present		Present		Present	
Mi	sent	-o	-ivo	-iö	-e	-isse	-ieivo		
Ti ti	sent	-i	-ivi	-iae	-i	-isci	-iesci	-i ti	
Lê ol'é	sent	-e	-iva	-iä	-e	-isse	-ieiva	-e lê	
noî	sent	-immo	-ivimo	-iemo	-immo	-iescimo	-iescimo	-immo niatri	
voî	sent	-î	-ivi	-iei	-î	-isci	-iesci	-î viatri	
lô	sent	-an	-ivan	-iàn	-an	-issan	-ieivan	-an lo	

Chapter 3

The '*kælu ke* construction in the dialect of Cicagna

3.1 '*kælu ke*: distribution and use in the Cicagna dialect

The Genoese language can be heard all over Liguria and, obviously, many are the differentiations in both phonetics and vocabulary.

In this thesis, I decided to focus my attention on the behavior of an interrogative pronoun/adjective which is very peculiar and almost unique. This peculiarity is only present in a very small town in the central eastern heights of Liguria: the town of Cicagna is collocated in a land called Val Fontanabuona.

The main topic of this chapter will be, in fact, the description and the analysis of the use of “*kælu ke*”, very much in use in the past decades which is, possibly, falling into disuse, as we will see later on. Its corresponding translation into Italian is “quale” in all its declinations. '*kælu ke* can be declined as follows: '*kælu* (-a, -i, -e) + ke + verb. '*Kælu ke* is a declinable pronoun and, as in Italian, needs to agree in gender and number to the referring noun (Cuneo: 1997). It is possible to find '*kælu ke* as a subject, as a direct object or as a prepositional object.

The most important characteristics of this pronoun are three:

- 1) even though '*kælu ke* works together with the referring noun taking its declination, the only possibility for the noun to appear in the sentence is by dislocation or through marginalization.
- 2) '*kælu ke* is the only interrogative element which always appears together with the complementizer in indirect interrogatives.
- 3) '*kælu ke* acts like a demonstrative pronoun “quello” in opposition to *kɛstu* “questo.”

As Cuneo argues (1997:1), in Ligurian dialects the interrogative adjective or pronoun is simply “*ke*” both in direct interrogatives (*ke 'ro:ba l'è?*; *ke arba'nèla 's è 'rutu?*) and in indirect ones (*'dime ke 'libru (ke) ti 'vè:*).

Whenever we find *'kælu ke* as a subject, it can be accompanied by any kind of verb, as the following examples show²⁶:

1. *'kælu ke 'maŋdʒa / a pasta'ʃyta?*
Quello che mangia la pastasciutta? (Quale mangia la pastasciutta?)
2. *'kæla ke fun'sjuŋa?*
Quella che funziona? (Quale funziona?)
3. *'kæli ke 'dorme?*
Quelli che dorme? (Quali dormono?)
4. *'Kæli ke te 'pia:ʃe de 'tʃy??*
Quelli che ti piace di più? (Quale ti piace di più?)

In sentence (2) *'kælu ke* behaves like a subject for unergative verbs and its correctness has not been verified completely by researchers, even though, speakers partly accept it. Actually, also sentence (1) doesn't seem to be fully grammatical (Cuneo 1999: 34).

Subject Clitics

As we said before, *'Kælu ke* can act as a subject: some are, however, the perplexities in the use of it regarding the agreement between the verb and the subject clitics.

Let us now describe more in detail how it can behave; it must be kept in mind that in the Cicagna dialect the form of the third person singular and third person plural are clearly distinguished.

Two are two possible scenarios:

A. there is no agreement between the inflected verb and *'kælu ke* and/or clitic absence;

²⁶ All the examples are taken from Cuneo, 1997 *Il sintagma interrogativo 'kælu ke nel dialetto di Cicagna*

B. There is agreement between clitic and *'Kælu ke* in the use of the correspondent vowels *u* (masc. sing.) *a* (fem. sing) *i* (masc. plur.) *e* (fem. plur.).

The aforementioned possibilities are only feasible in environments where elision of the clitic final vowel is not possible.

In case of elision²⁷, instead, things become a little bit more complex as it may happen that the letter *l* needs to be added as consonant clitic. *L* can be present alone either as an alternative to the given clitic or in place of the given clitic; it can also appear between the vowels *a/e/i/u* and the verb. Two are the possible scenarios:

A1. No agreement and no clitic

A2. No agreement but the presence of clitic *l*

B1. Agreement and clitic *a/e/i/u* plus *l*

B2. Agreement and clitic *l*

Subject clitics with *'kælu ke* as a subject

The absence of the clitic and of agreement is a typical trait that is verified in front of a verb different from “to be”, starting with a consonant or with an unstressed vowel. See examples below:

5. *'kælu ke parla?*

Quello che parla?

6. *'kælu ke a'sɛŋde a 'ly: ʃe?*

Quello che accende la luce?

7. *'kælu ke sa'a?*

Quello che sarà?

²⁷ in the case of verbs starting with unstressed vowel and not preceded by another clitic pronoun.

If a copulative phrase is present, and in the case of the verb “to be” starting with a consonant, usually speakers add the vowels *a/e/i/u* and there is agreement in gender and number:

8. '*kæli k i: sa'yan?*
 Quelli che CL saranno?

In the case of verbs different from “to be”, if the verb starts with an unstressed vowel, the result is usually the absence in both the clitic and the agreement:

9. '*kæli k a'ri:a?*
 Quelli che arriva?

If the verb “to have” is present and not used as an auxiliary, the results appear to be very similar:

10. '*kæli k a 'fame?*
 Quelli che ha fame?

In complex verb tenses in front of the auxiliary starting with vowel, the absence of the clitic and agreement are accepted: '*kæla k 'a kri'o?* (Quella che ha gridato?); the presence of *l* plus agreement are equally accepted even though, for some speakers it may sound less natural: '*kæla ke 'l a kri'o?* (Quella che CL ha gridato?)

In copulative sentences, in case the verb “to be” starts with a vowel, the only possibility is *l* plus agreement: '*kælu ke 'l e:a / 'brytu?* (Quello che CL era sporco?).

On the contrary, the option *a/e/i/u* plus *l* and agreement is impossible when '*kælu ke* behaves as a subject: *'*kælu ke u: 'l a t faŋ'zy:u?* (Quello che CL CL ha pianto?)

Constituent order in interrogative clauses

In Genoese, *wh*-interrogatives require the movement of the non interrogative constituents typically creating a right dislocation, (11, 12) even though it is sometimes possible to find left dislocation (13, 14).

11. *ki 'l a maŋ'dʒa: / a me'nestra?* - Right Dislocation

- (chi l'ha mangiata, la minestra?)
12. *'kose ti 'g ε: 'do: / aw 'dʒo:ze?* - Right Dislocation
(cosa gli hai dato, a Giuseppe?)
13. *t o: 'frε: / 'kweŋti 'fenti u 'g a?* - Left Dislocation
(tuo fratello, quanti bambini ha?)
14. *a su'taŋa / a 'sarta / a ke 'prε:e a (ge) 'l a ki' ji:a?* - Left Dislocation
(la tonaca, la sarta, a che prete CL (glie) l'ha cucita?)

Dislocation

In Genoese, dislocations are possible both to the left or to the right periphery, with slight differences in pragmatics.

As Cuneo (1997) argues, the interrogative with *'kælu ke* as a subject shows some restrictions. The dislocation with the resumption of the argument phrase is usually of a doubtful grammaticality (Cuneo 1999:44). The only exception is presented by the movement of the indirect object *'kælu ke 'g a par'lo: /aw 'ri:ku?* (quello che gli ha parlato, a Enrico?).

Cuneo affirms, at this point, that we have to deal with a certain type of marginalization (cf. Antinucci-Cinque: 1977)²⁸.

²⁸ Marginalization (“emarginazione” Antinucci-Cinque 1977, Calabrese 1982), unlike Right dislocation, is present when the clitic is absent in WH interrogatives. Kayne (1994) argues that “marginalization contains an in situ distressed constituent” For more, see the aforementioned authors and Cardinaletti (2002), *Against optional and zero clitics. Right Dislocation vs. Marginalization*.

In the Cicagna dialect, marginalization is well adopted in its ordinary use in non interrogative phrases. In example (C) it is possible to see a normal dislocation with clitic resumption:

- A. *aŋ'ko: u duvi'ε: / pa'sa:*
Oggi dovrebbe, passare
- B. *'mi nu 'g o 'kwε: de kami'na: / 'fæ:a*
lo non ho voglia di camminare, fuori
- C. *i lu 'pæ:u 'e:se / 'buŋ*
lo possono essere, buoni

Cuneo argues that in the just cited cases (B, C) one could think of dealing with right dislocation, as there is not pronominal resumption (cf. Benincà in Renzi, 1988). It is yet impossible because if one tries to make a left dislocation of the above examples, the result is only partially acceptable, also pragmatics would change, possibly, in the real meaning of the sentence or at least in its nuances:

- A. *pa'sa: // aŋ'kæ: u nu duvi'ε:*
- B. *'fæ:a // 'mi nu 'g o 'kwε: de kami'na:*

In the Cicagna dialect, marginalization is characterized by the absence of pronominal resumption. There is an intonational break before the marginalized constituent:

15. 'kælu ke 'porta / u 'libru?
Quello che porta il libro? (Quale...?)
16. 'kælu ke a parlo: / aw 'ri:ku?
quello che ha parlato, a Enrico?

In interrogatives where 'kælu ke is present, marginalization of the object is visible, together with the adverbial and the participle one, only if no more constituents are present (17); this is, however, not compulsory (18):

17. 'kælu ke 'fa / re'mɛʃu?
Quello che fa, rumore? (quale fa rumore?)
18. 'kælu ke 'fa re'mɛʃu?

In some cases marginalization produces sentences with a doubtful grammaticality:

19. ? *'kæla ke 'sta / 'ki?
quella che sta, qui? (quale sta qui?)

'kælu ke as Object

In case 'kælu ke is used with the function of direct object, there are no big restrictions on its presence within the sentence:

20. 'kælu/a/i/e ke ti 'æ?
Quello/a/i/e che vuoi? (quale vuoi?)
21. 'kæla ke ti 'g ɛ: pi'dʒo: / aw 'prɛ:e?
quella che gli hai preso, al prete? (quale...?)

'kælu ke in cleft interrogatives

In the Cicagna dialect, it is possible to find a slightly different interrogative strategy, which is, however, very much in use in Italian as well. These are cleft interrogatives where the interrogative element is followed by the 3^o person sing. of the verb “to be” and by the complementizer *ke*. In this case, also the clitic *l* is present. See examples below:

22. 'kose 'l ε ke 't ε: 'ystu?
Cosa CL è che hai visto?
23. ki 'l ε k e: 'ηy:u?
chi CL è che è venuto?

Demonstratives with interrogative function

A study by Munaro (2001) and a series of data reported by the Atlante Italo-Svizzero, brought to light a generalization on the use of the interrogative pronoun *cosa* and on the use of the demonstrative *quello* in north west Italian dialects, in particular Valdotain, Piedmontese (northern, central and southern) and Ligurian.

Here below is a scheme taken from Munaro (2001):

	Cosa (what)	Quello (that)
Ligurian	<i>cos(a)/cose/cusi</i>	<i>kwelo/kwelu/kölu</i>
Southern Piedmontese	<i>cosa</i>	<i>lo/lu</i>
Central Piedmontese	<i>kwe/kwa</i>	<i>lon/lun</i>
Northern Piedmontese	<i>kwe</i>	<i>ku(lu)</i>
Valdotain	<i>kye</i>	<i>(t)sò/sèn</i>

As for the different translations of “what”, Ligurian and southern Piedmontese are very much faithful to modern Italian *cosa* for the wh-phrase, while the other dialects in the list tend to have their own peculiar way of translating “what”, see *kwe* or *kye*.

Munaro (2001) argues that the form *kwe* comes from a reduction of the demonstrative which was originally made of *kwe + lo* or *lu*. It shifted, later, to the *wh*-use in interrogatives.

This idea of the shift from the demonstrative to the interrogative function has been made plausible by the studies made by AIS map VI 1113²⁹ as the following examples show. All the questions mean “...*cosa ne fareste?*” and are then from Northern, central and western Piedmont.

24. kul è chi nu fe? (from Pianezza)
(that is that cl-do)

25. lun chi na fey? (from Caviglià)
(that that cl-do)

26. kela cu nèm farià? (from Sauze di Cesana)
(that that cl-do)

Also other Italian dialects, show the use of the demonstrative *that* to express the *wh*-item *what* (Munaro 2001); here below I report another example taken from Munaro (2001):

Chel-ca mai? (Albosaggia, Sondrio, Valtellina)

that-that eat?

“what shall I eat?”

Chel can also be used when asking indirect questions, it always means *what* (quello che), Munaro (2001):

Al so chel c'al-fa al Gianni

It know that that-cl-does the John

²⁹ Examples and references are taken from AIS - Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz, K. Jaberg and J. Jud, Zofingen, Ringier & C., 1928-1940.

“I know what John does”

Here below I report more examples of the use of *kuelu* (and its variants) in interrogative clauses attested in different Ligurian dialects (Capello 2010):

kuellu ke ti 'voe? Savona

that that CLS want

“which do you want?”

'kola zuene 'k a par'lo 'maa de 'mi? S. Colombano Ceteroli (Ge)

that young girl that has talked badly of me

“which girl has talked badly about me?”

kuela fante ke l'è arrivé? Varese Ligure (SP)

that girl that she has arrived

“which girl that did arrive?”

'kuela ke ti 'voe? Serravalle Scrivia (AI)

that that CLS want data from

“which do you want ?”

Interestingly, in French the demonstrative can appear, like in Italian, in exclamation clauses (Capello 2010):

Ce qu'il faisait! (French version)

that that he did

“What he did!”

Quello che non ha fatto! (Italian version)

that that (he) not has done

“What he has not done!”

3.2 My data collection

Context of research

I went to Cicagna in order to find out more about this peculiarity. I realized that, thanks to a very conspicuous amount of old people, the Cicagna dialect is very much spread all over the town and, more in general, all around the heights of Liguria.

I've had the possibility to evaluate if and how much people from Cicagna actually speak dialect, in which situations and, last but not least, if the *'kaelu ke* construction is actually in danger of extinction. I realized that the dialect is indeed the main language spoken in Cicagna. I also found out that regardless of their educational level or age, almost all the interviewees speak it regularly during their everyday life.

Participants

The present research involved around 50 people from the Cicagna town and neighboring towns. All of them voluntarily decided to help me with this research and tried their best to answer my questions.

The target of people to whom I addressed my interviews were willingly different, in order to test from people with different backgrounds, education and ages. The majority of the interviewed were undergraduates (around 40%) and mainly female (around 60%). I focused my attention on elderly (around 60%) people because, as Cuneo affirmed, this peculiarity seems to be vanishing and therefore I tried my best to catch all the possible nuances of it.

I started my interview by simply asking people how they would have translated a series of simple questions formulated in Italian.

Research questions

The purposes of this research are basically two.

First of all, I wanted to give a precise description of the peculiar use of the adjective *'kaelu ke* in the Cicagna dialect by asking local speakers to provide the most natural

translation possible; later on I compared the given translation to both modern Genoese and modern Italian.

Second, I tried to study the Cicagna dialect from a syntactical point of view, namely I asked people to tell me whether some sentences sounded better and more grammatical with a left or a right dislocation of the non interrogative arguments.

The questions I prepared, therefore, voluntarily contained dislocation and, of course, the use of *'kælu ke* as a way to say “*quale*”. First of all, in fact, I wanted to ask people if they would feel comfortable in translating *'kælu ke* with “*quale*”; as predicted, the majority of them told me this is a very old way to translate it, it is today hardly ever used with this accurate and specific intent.

Here below I report the exact questions I asked people to translate into the Cicagna dialect with the corresponding translations (sometimes more than one is plausible). The first translation under the Italian question is from people from Cicagna who tended to transform the sentence with a strong right dislocation, not all of them provided this translation but some elderly speakers did. The second one is in standard Genoese from the centre of Genova; many are the differences, also in terms of vocabulary:

1. Quale ristorante è più costoso?

'kæla k a kusta de ciù / os'taja?

Quae ristorànte u l'è ciù custusu ? / quae o l'è o ristorànte ciù câo?

2. Quale ragazzo è andato in centro?

'kælu k anou in çèntru / re'gasu?

Quae figioâme/figeu o le an(d)æto in cèntro?

3. Quale cane ha mangiato la carne?

'kælu k a mangiòu a carne / càŋ?

Quae càn u l'ha mangiòu a càrne?

4. Quali amici sono andati in vacanza?

'kæli k a no in vacansa / amixi?

Quai amixi sun andeti a demuase (or vacànsa)?

5. Quali vestiti hai comprato per tua madre?

'kæli ke t aca'tou / pe tow ma / ves'ti?

Quai vestii ti è acatòu pe to mue (or mogê)?

6. Quali tra questi autobus sono in servizio?

'kæle ke 'l en in servisju / de ste kurjere?

Quai tra (qué)sti céleri són in serviçio?

7. Quale donna parla inglese?

'kola ke 'parla in'glejze / dona?

Quæ a l'è a dònna che parla ingreise?

8. Quale ragazza ha mangiato la pizza?

'kæla k a mandgiòu a pisa / regasa?

Quæ a l'è a figgia che a l'à mangiòu a pissa?

9. Quale hai preparato tra queste torte?

'kæla ke t ɛ: fatu / de ste turte ?

Quæ t'æ fæto de stê fugasse dôçe/tôrte?

10. Quali atlete hanno vinto?

'kæle k a gwanu / atlete?

Quai atlête han vînto?

11. Quali ragazze hanno parlato male di noi?

'kæle ke n a skureso / regase?

Quai figgie han parlòu mal de noialtri?

12. Quali sono venute a chiamarti?

'kæle ke 'l en / che e vengo a ciamâte?

Chi son quelle che te son vegnûe a ciamârte ?

3.2.1 Results

The main results and feedback I received have almost all given me the perception that this declinable adjective and pronoun has nowadays fallen almost into disuse.

The majority of the interviewed people have, in fact, told me that they hardly ever hear of this way of translating “quale” and that it sounds like a very ancient way of speaking. They all agreed in preferring using *quæ* or even *ki u l'è ke* (moving towards Genoa city

centre), in the case of a person and *kuale*, exactly as in Italian, in the case of an inanimate.

When asked to provide a proper and precise translation of Italian “*quale*” none has been able to find a good and single translation for it, they finally all opted for *quae* or its variations regarding the gender and the number.

Talking about the dislocation of the noun accompanying *'kælu ke*, I observed that it is generally dislocated to the right. As a prove, I tried to ask if some sentences - willingly containing a left dislocation and taking into consideration only the Cicagna translation - seemed to be grammatical or if they sounded wrong. In italics I report the translations in the Cicagna dialect (taken from Cuneo):

A. Di cane, quale ha mangiato la carne?

'kaŋ / 'kælu k a man'dʒɔ: / a 'karne?

B. Per tua madre, quali vestiti hai comprato?

Pe tow 'ma: / 'kæli ke t a:ka'tɔ: / ves'ti:?

C. A chiamarti, quali sono venute?

A tʃa'ma:te / 'kæle ke 'l eŋ / k ε ve'ŋy:u?

All of the speakers, again, agreed in stating that all the aforementioned questions, were grammatical only keeping the right dislocation.

Also the example (15) *'kælu ke 'porta / u 'libru?* (quale porta il libro?) presented by Cuneo in his work and re-presented by me to speakers has been verified: right dislocation is the only possibility used by Cicagna speakers, who are being influenced by Italian syntax which, however, also accepts left dislocation. This aspect will be better developed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Main features of right and left peripheries in Italian

4.1 Introduction to syntactic orders

As Benincà (1988) argues, every clause of any language can be analysed by looking at its markedness. Any clause can either be syntactically and *pragmatically marked* or *not syntactically nor pragmatically marked*.

If a clause is *not pragmatically marked*, it means that it can be adapted to a very high (or even infinite) number of linguistic contexts and situations. In *not syntactically marked* clauses, instead, the constituent order is well fixed and follows the structure of the given language. A clause can be analysed also from a phonological point of view: a *not phonologically marked* clause will have a melodic and continuous trend and no intonational peaks can be found in this kind of clause.

In the case of a *syntactically marked* clause, it is characterized by intonation but only on one side of it. (Benincà, 1988).

Benincà argues that marked clauses are those where constituents do not occupy the ordinary locations given by the grammar of the language taken into consideration. Whenever we deal with such clauses, the speaker wants to underline a specific element of the clause and its primary position helps the hearer understand this will.

Let us make some explanatory examples taken from Benincà (1988):

1. Io non conosco Giorgio.
I do not know Giorgio.
2. Giorgio, io non lo conosco.
Giorgio, I do not know him.

3. Giorgio, non conosco.

Giorgio, I do not know.

4. Non lo conosco, Giorgio.

I do not know him, Giorgio.

All of the examples above have the aim of transmitting a message, i.e. the speaker does not know Giorgio. What changes is the emphasis. Examples (2), (3) and (4) do, in fact, transmit more; the use of commas to insert a pause helps and increases the intonational emphasis and gives the clause *a pragmatical value* (Benincà, 1988).

There can be a case, as Benincà argues, where a clause can be syntactically unmarked but still having a pragmatical value. Even without any constituent movement, clauses can adopt strong intonation effects.

The last case presented by Benincà involves a clause that can be marked only in relation to the context³⁰; the following example is made of SUBJ + VERB + OBJ:

5. Questi ragazzi, non capiscono niente.

These guys, do not understand anything.

In this case, it is not possible to establish whether the pause has been given by phonetics or by syntax, as can be seen in example (2).

Talking about linguistic context, Benincà (1988:131) argues that, for example, a referent previously mentioned can be again introduced in the discourse as if it was mentioned for the first time:

6. A: Giorgio è arrivato ieri.

A: *Giorgio arrived yesterday.*

³⁰ Context can be divided into linguistic and non linguistic one. The linguistic context can be seen in previous examples where objects, people or gestures are known to both speaker and hearer. In non linguistic context we mean a situation where many aspects are not known; they can be however, added later as “new theme” Benincà (1988:130).

- B: Ah, GIORGIO, potrebbe essere la persona giusta.
 B: *Oh, GIORGIO, could be the right person.*
 C: Eh, Giorgio potrebbe essere la persona adatta.
 C: *Eh, Giorgio could be the right person.*

In (6, B), the name Giorgio has been written in capital letters to underline that it seems to have been presented for the first time, as the emphasis with which it has been pronounced could remind of something new in the discourse. On the contrary, however, the emphasis derives from the property that Giorgio now carries, that is, the possibility to be the right person.

Another situation in which the linguistic context can be influent but less free is the one of interrogative clauses. In this case, the presence of the element found in the question must be felt as new. As in the previous example, also in this one the element is not new but it enriches itself with a new property, promptly emphasized by its position and emphatic intonation:

7. A: Fra Giorgio, Carlo e Franco, chi è il più bravo?
 A: *Among Giorgio, Carlo and Franco, who is the best?*
 B: Il più bravo è Giorgio.
 B: *the best is Giorgio.*
 C: Giorgio.
 C: *Giorgio.*
 D: GIORGIO, è il più bravo.
 D: *GIORGIO, is the best.*

4.2 Unmarked order in Italian clauses

Whenever dealing with non marked clauses we expect to find a clause where its pragmatic, syntactic and phonetic perspective may completely coincide. The constituent order is supposed to be the most canonic one: SUBJ + VERB (transitive) + OBJ. The

absence of the subject does not interfere in any of the three perspectives. See example below (Benincà 1988:134):

8. Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu.
They killed companion Turiddu.

The absence of the subject is not a problem as long as it can, in the eventuality, be extrapolated within the context:

9. Arriveranno alle sette.
(They) will arrive at seven.

In the case of a sentence with a transitive verb, the object can appear in a different position from the canonic one; next to the verb there can be a clitic pronoun which coincides with the object of the clause; this is the case of a marked clause.³¹

There is another fact that can make us think of a marked clause in case the object far from the verb: the use of the adverb *solo*. It normally appears after the inflected verb. This adverb can affect both the verb or the complements of the inflected verb:

10. Cercava solo di dire due parole al professore
(He) tried only to say two words to the professor.
He only tried to talk to the professor.

This sentence, which is unmarked, can have two possible paraphrases: it can mean that “the only thing that he did was trying to talk to the professor” or that “the only thing he was trying to do was talking to the professor”.

Example (13) shows the ambiguity of *solo* as it could be that the secretary could have put also something else on the table.

11. La segretaria ha messo *solo* sul tuo tavolo dei fiori.

³¹ This is the case of Dislocation. This syntactic situation will be analysed later on in this chapter.

The secretary put only on your table some flowers.

12. La segretaria ha messo dei fiori *solo* sul tuo tavolo.

The secretary put some flowers only on your table.

13. La segretaria ha messo *solo* dei fiori sul tuo tavolo.

The secretary put only some flowers on your table.

Temporal complements usually have a post verbal collocation, apart from when this position is occupied by the subject. Examples (14, B) and (15, B) are not completely wrong but they are only used whenever the speaker wants to emphasize the verb and not the temporal complement.

14. A: Questo fatto è successo L'ANNO SCORSO.

A: *This fact took place LAST YEAR.*

B: *L'ANNO SCORSO questo fatto è successo.

B: **LAST YEAR this fact took place.*

15. A: Dante è nato NEL 1265.

A: *Dante was born IN 1265.*

B: *NEL 1265 Dante è nato.

B: **IN1265 Dante was born.*

Post verbal subject

Some are the clauses that usually accept the subject in a post verbal position. These sentences must be, in this case, defined as marked clauses³². This construction is syntactically marked but not from a pragmatic point of view. The order Subj + Verb depends on the property of having an unexpressed argument; the subject will be expressed as a new element and, therefore, postponed. Here below are two examples (Benincà, 1988:137):

16. È arrivato Piero.

³² Only from a syntactic viewpoint.

Has arrived Piero.

17. È affondata la nave.

Has sunk the ship.

Normal (or unmarked) order in Italian interrogative clauses

Italian interrogatives, those where a WH-complement is present, have a quite fixed disposition within the clause. WH element and verb always go together (18, A B C), they create a strong unit and do not let the subject interfere between them (18, D). Other elements are usually marginalized or dislocated. See examples:

18. A: Giorgio ha comprato un libro.

A: Giorgio bought a book.

B: Che cosa ha comprato Giorgio?

B: What did Giorgio buy?

C: Giorgio, che cosa ha comprato?

C: Giorgio, what did he buy?

D: *Che cosa Giorgio ha comprato?

*D: * What Giorgio did buy?*

The interrogative pronoun *quando* creates a less perceptible effect as it sometimes admits the interposition of the subject between WH-element and the verb, even though the clause gets the characteristic of rhetorical questions that will lead to a negative answer:

19. Quando, questa storia finirà?

When, this story will end?

20. Quando, un libro come questo potrà essere letto?

When, a book like this will be read?

The post verbal position of the subject, moreover, reflects an old way of speaking; the subjects finds itself between the auxiliary and the verb: “*Ha Giorgio detto la verità?*”. Nowadays, this peculiarity is only present in case the subject is parenthetical, it gains a particular intonation and it is between two commas: “L’ha, Giorgio, detto a te?” (Benincà, 1988: 142).

4.3 Right periphery in Italian

In order to keep a good link to the third chapter; I am now about to offer a wider description of the right periphery in Italian.

As we have observed in chapter four, in the Cicagna dialect, a marked order with a foremost right dislocation is a quite common structure, especially for elderly people who still speak an ancient dialect. I give now a description of the main Italian right dislocation structures. We will find out that the basically structure for right dislocation is the same for both languages as the nominal group is shifted to the right side of the clause, as in the Cicagna language³³.

Di cane, quale ha mangiato la carne?

'kan / 'kælu k a man'dʒɔ: / a 'karne?

Berruto (1986:55) offers the following definition of right dislocation in Italian: «*struttura (...), in cui (apparentemente) all'esterno (a destra) di una frase semplice compare un gruppo nominale il cui ruolo sintattico è governato dal verbo della frase e che è "copiato" all'interno della frase da un pronome clitico* »

As Berruto correctly argued (1986), Right Dislocation should be divided into two main subgroups: a) the “proper” right dislocation (or *antitopic*) “*lo leggo il libro*” which has to be analyzed from syntactical point of view, and b) “afterthought” “*lo leggo, il libro*” much more inserted into discourse because of the presence of pauses.

4.3.1 Right dislocation

Right dislocation (RD) is a syntactical structure that is very frequent in spoken language. When in presence of RD, on the right side of a clause it is possible to find a nominal group; this group is headed by the verb and, furthermore, it has to be resumed by a clitic pronoun.

³³ This example has been taken from chapter four and recurs here in order to keep in mind the syntactic structure of the Cicagna dialect.

Berruto (1986) affirms that this is a marked construction because of the *givenness* of the right dislocated element.

The sentence “*Mangio le mele*” is a typical answer to an open question such as “*Che cosa mangi?/Che cosa fai?*”, and it has a normal unmarked order tema-remata and dato-nuovo. “*Le mangio le mele*”, on the contrary, make us predict that the question to this answer has to have a much more restricted field of argumentation and, consequently, we can predict that the question could be “*che cosa ne fai delle mele?/Cosa fai con quelle mele?*”; in this case, we have a marked structure with a right dislocated new tema-dato predicate.

Berruto (1986) argues that the most characterizing element of this construction is not the movement to the right side of the clause of the constituent, as this is a typical trait of SVO languages. What really characterizes RD is the presence of the same constituent in two different versions, once represented by a cataphoric clitic and once by a bigger following pronominal group.

Berruto, takes into consideration the idea of Bossong (1981) according to which, instead of talking about postposition of the given element (or tema), we should think of RD as an anticipation of the remata where the rematic verbal predicate is emphasized in first position on the left.

Bossong (1981) continues by saying that in “*le mangio le mele*” there is an isolation of the remata-nuovo making the given tema automatically set back.

This hypothesis seems to be, however, not completely convincing according to other linguists dealing with this topic as it appears to be hard to think of a predicate with a special relief.

Simone (1997:49) offers his interpretation of right dislocation and affirms that right dislocation is an invention typical of Romance languages. It is in fact present in Italian, Spanish, French, Romanian and others belonging to this group. Simone affirms that RD has its own reason to exist and explains it by saying: « *quand la syntaxe se fait rigide, tout mouvement peut devenir pertinent* » (Simone, 1997: 48).

In his analysis he affirms that the dislocated element and the other parts of the clause can be seen as two autonomous items. Simone represents the RD as follows (1997: 49):

[.....cl V.....(x)] DC

In this scheme, *cl* is the clitic, *V* is the verb and *DC* is the dislocated constituent. *X* is positioned there to represent where the DC should be placed if it was not right dislocated.

The dislocated sintagma can take several functions as follows³⁴:

1. Sapeva tutto questo mio papà (Subject)
He knew all that my father
2. L'hai mangiata la mela? (direct object)
Have you eaten the apple?
3. Gli piace la pizza a questo qua? (indirect object)
Does he like pizza to this one?
4. Ce ne sono due di nuvole, una a sinistra l'altra a destra. (locative complement)
There are two of clouds, one on the left and the other on the right.

4.3.2 Afterthought

Afterthought (*Ripensamento* in Italian) is another branch the right dislocation. Its peculiarity is given, as previously anticipated, by the presence of a pause, graphically represented by a comma. Bossong (1961) affirms that the Afterthought has also semantic features.

In afterthought clauses the dislocated constituent after the comma can be seen as an explicative element. It is, according to Berruto (1986), a deixis or an anaphora added to last part of the clause at the last moment. This phenomenon, according to Berruto, is a typical trait of the spoken language as the speaker willingly wants to repeat the theme in order to the comprehension of his message.

³⁴ examples are taken partly from myself, from Bossong (1981:247) and from Matton (2008)

In formal syntax studies, the nominal added element “*la mela, la mangio*” can be seen as a syntactic orphan (Haegeman, 1991), that is, as an independent phrasal constituent. See Crocco and Badan (2019) examples, taken from real discourses in different Italian regions:

5. “Adesso *lo* continui per un / altri due centimetri <pausa> **questa curva**” (Venezia)
6. “E poi <pausa> passi intorno al lupo lasciandolo dentro al percorso <pausa> **il lupo**” (Firenze)

In the above examples the nominal phrases in bold, have been added by the speaker in order to clarify the presence of the pronouns (*lo* for example [5] and *-lo* for example [6]) Crocco and Badan (2019).

In example (5) there is also a lack in the agreement between the clitic “*lo*” and “*questa curva*”. Features like this one, should make us analyze these structures as part of the discourse grammar only. Moreover, clitic and last part of the clause are divided also from a prosodic point of view as between them there is a big pause.

4.3.3 Marginalization

Marginalization is a relatively infrequent construction (Antinucci and Cinque, 1977) where a nominal phrase or a preposition only occur in post verbal position after a contrastive focus or a restricted one (Cardinaletti, 2002) and where there is no clitic, as in Afterthought previously seen.

See the example below:

7. [Non mi piace come guidi.] *Porterà MARA, la macchina.* (Cardinaletti, 2002:8)

The element “*la macchina*” is a given element, usually analysed as *topic* that could have been deduced by hearers (Cardinaletti, 2002).

Marginalization has been analysed by Frascarelli (2000) from a formal point of view and her results bring her to argue that this structure not as a Marginalization but

rather as a *scrambling* operation which removes the direct object from its original argument position.

In Cardinaletti's opinion (2002) marginalization can concern more than one element at the same time (subject, direct object, indirect object etc) but, in case they are marginalized, their order must be unmarked, they cannot appear in a non-canonical sequence. This fixed order, together with the absence of a resumption clitic, are two unique peculiarities that distinguish marginalization from right dislocation with clitic. A strong prosodic environment must be present in both marginalization and right dislocation.

4.4 Left periphery in Italian

4.4.1 Left dislocation

Left dislocation is a very common syntactical structure that consists in the movement and consequently of the ante-position of some elements to the leftmost part of the clause.

Durante et. Ochs (1979:379) argue that this phenomenon is not found in traditional Italian grammars and that it is rather used in informal and spoken discourses.

To better clear its description, I cite what Paola Benincà said about it: '*si ha una dislocazione a sinistra quando il costituente tematizzato e spostato a sinistra mostra chiaramente la sua connessione sintattica col resto della frase; questa connessione può essere espressa dalla preposizione che lo regge e che viene anch'essa spostata a sinistra, oppure dalla ripresa pronominale mediante un pronome clitico attaccato al verbo della frase, oppure da entrambi i segnali.*' (Benincà, 1991: 130)

What is the function of the left dislocation? Its function is described by Klimova (2002) where, as first step, she has the necessity to distinguish between the concepts of “*noto*” and “*tema*”, different from the ones “*new*” and “*rema*”³⁵.

Klimona describes these aspects using the following examples:

21a. Ho comprato **un** vestito.

I bought a dress.

21b. Ho comprato **il** vestito.

I bought the dress.

As she correctly argues, there is a slight but important difference between the examples 73above. In 21a the object *un vestito* has a *rema* function as the novelty of the matter is relevant.

In 21b, instead, the article *il* carries the function of saying something which has already been declared. The communicative function is again the one of *rema*, even though the definite article indicates it as *noto* element.

In order not to have difficulties in the reading of the different approaches, the words *tema* and *rema* need to be better clarified, helping, moreover, the Communicative Dinamism (CD)³⁶. *Tema* is the element that brings to the lowest grade of DC, while *rema*, on the contrary, brings to the highest CD level.

The function of the object of the previous examples (21a, 21b) will be confirmed only by the context in which the clause is inserted, by intonation and by the semantic function it carries.

It could also be, as Klimova affirms, that in (21b) the speaker would like to tell the hearer about the action made, saying that *il vestito* has already been bought. In this case, the verb would gain a non-rematic function and, consequently, the verb would be the fulcrum of the whole sentence ‘*Ho comprato il vestito*’.

³⁵ This distinction was deemed important because she begins her analysis from Benincà's words 1991: 150: “è possibile iniziare un discorso con una dislocazione a sinistra, ottenendo l'effetto di dare per scontato che l'elemento dislocato a sinistra si riferisce a qualcosa di **noto** all'interlocutore, e indicandolo come **tema** della frase”

³⁶ “Per grado di DC (dinamismo comunicativo) intendo la misura relativa in cui un elemento contribuisce allo sviluppo ulteriore della comunicazione”. (Firbas 1991:198)

In light of this we can conclude that the CD is the result of the interaction of some factors of the functional perspective of the clause.

Firbas words (1992:10) may enlighten the concept even better:

'In assessing degrees of DC, the analyses of the written texts have taken into consideration (i) linear modification, (ii) the character of the semantic content of the linguistic element as well as the character of the semantic relations involved, and (iii) the retrievability of the information from the immediately relevant preceding context. An interplay of these three factors determines the distribution of degrees of CD over the written sentence.... It determines its functional sentence perspective.'

Italian sentences have the possibility of interchanging their constituents making the order quite free; there is, also, the chance to locate the most important constituent with the highest CD degree (i.e the verb) to the last part of the clause, making the object move to the left; in the following example, the rematic function of the verb has been left free and, therefore, we have to talk of thematic function:

22. Il vestito, l'ho comprato.

The dress, I bought it.

Let us now consider some example taken from Benincà (1988) in order to better explain how left dislocation works. In (23a, 24a, 25a) the clauses are unmarked, i.e. the constituents lay in their standard position. In examples (23b, 24b, 25b) the clauses show a marked left dislocation where the dislocated phrase or the clitic make it easy to syntactically link the clause with the position of the verbal argument:

23a. Giorgio compra i giornali alla stazione

Giorgio buys the newspapers at the station.

23b. I giornali, Giorgio *li* compra alla stazione.

The newspapers, Giorgio buys them at the station

24a. Maddalena regalerà a Giacomo un orsacchiotto.

Maddalena will give (to) Giacomo a teddy bear.

24b. A Giacomo, Maddalena (gli) regalerà un orsacchiotto.

To Giacomo, Maddalena (him) will give a teddy bear.

25a. Alice andrà in America l'anno prossimo.

Alice will go to America next year.

25b. In America, Alice (ci) andrà l'anno prossimo.

To America, Alice (∅) will go next year.

There could also happen that the subject is the left dislocated element of the clause; we talk about it whenever it is separated from the verb and from other clause elements. It can also be that the subject has been separated from the verb in a whole sentence:

26. Giorgio, i giornali, li compra alla stazione

Giorgio, the newspapers, buys them at the station.

4.4.2 Hanging Topic

The Hanging Topic, HT (often known as anacoluthon) seems to be a similar phenomenon to left-dislocation but, unlike it, the hanging topic does not have indication of its syntactical function. The pronominal resumption can happen both with a clitic pronoun and with a free pronoun or demonstrative (this is impossible with left dislocation), these are the only features that distinguish HT from left dislocation where there are no prepositions in subjects or objects.

Pragmatics, instead, behaves in the same way as in left dislocation and HT is usually used in spoken language even though, not necessarily in informal environment (Benincà, 1988:145).

Intonation, like with left dislocation, can be basically the same one found in unmarked clauses and the separated element might have a slightly rising intonation.

In the following examples (taken from Benincà, 1988) I present the same clauses in two different ways, (a) sentences show a left dislocation while (b) ones show hanging topic:

27a. Il professor Piva, nessuno può dimenticarlo/*dimenticare.

- 27b. Il professor Piva, nessuno può dimenticarlo/dimenticare quell'uomo generoso/
*dimenticare.
- 28a. Al professor Piva, nessuno (gli) affiderebbe un bambino.
- 28b. Il professor Piva, nessuno gli affiderebbe un bambino a lui/gli affiderebbe un
bambino/ *affiderebbe un bambino.

Many are the examples in the history of the Italian language that show the hanging topic construction, I present below three very much famous utterances:

29. «*Noi altre monache, ci piace di sentir le storie per minuto*» (Manzoni, Promessi sposi IX) (Benincà, 1988)
30. «*Questo signore, Dio gli ha toccato il cuore*» (Manzoni, Promessi sposi XXIV) (Graffi G., Scalise S. [2003])
31. «*I veneziani, se si considera i progressi loro, si vedrà quelli sicuramente e gloriosamente aver operato...*» (Machiavelli, cit. in Fornaciari 1881:460)

In the following example and unlike (27, 28), the theme is kept present by *così* which, syntactically, works like *come*. In this way, both elements keep being linked together. If *così* is absent (30), the clause becomes automatically ungrammatical:

29. Giorgio, non conosco nessuno che corra così veloce.
Giorgio, I don't know anyone (else) who runs so fast.
30. * Giorgio, non conosco nessuno che corra veloce.
* *Giorgio, I don't know anyone who runs fast.*

4.4.3 Focalization

Focalization is another marked construction which has to be analysed from a syntactical point of view. It refers to any element found the left side of the clause. The constituent must be put before as a new element and not as a given-theme. It must be in contrast to the context and it has a strong contrastive task (Benincà, 1988):

31. A: dovremmo invitare Giorgio
A: *We should invite Giorgio*
B. CARLO, dovremmo invitare
B: *CARLO, we should invite*

This example perfectly shows the function of focalization. The aim of speaker B was to create a strong contrast, adding intensity and emphasis, between what speaker A said and his reply which voluntarily pointed out that the name Giorgio was wrong. Carlo has been put as first element of the clause in order to make it appear as the most important thing of the whole sentence.

Focalization may also be accompanied by some prepositions and, apart from some cases, it never has pronominal resumption, unlike t left dislocation.

Let us make a couple of examples regarding prepositions in focalized clauses that reply to previous statements, as follows:

32. A: Hai visto mia sorella.
A: you saw my sister
B: TUO FRATELLO, ho visto/ *l'ho visto
B: YOUR BROTHER, I saw/ I saw him
33. A: Hai parlato a mia sorella.
A: you talked to my sister.
B: A TUO FRATELLO ho parlato/ *gli ho parlato
B: TO YOUR BROTHER, I talked/ I talked to

It's not possible to find focalized clauses with two focalized constituents, moreover, it is not possible to find in the same clause both focalization and the following words: *solo*, *anche*. See examples below, they all appear ungrammatical:

34. * È GIORGIO che CARLO ha visto.
* *IS GIORGIO that CARLO saw.*
35. ?? IL BURRO, ha comprato anche (or solo) Carlo.
?? THE BUTTER, has bought also (or only) Carlo.

4.4.4 Clitic Left Dislocation compared to Hanging Topic

Giorgi (2015) studied the properties of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) in comparison to Hanging Topic (HT). These characteristics had previously been analyzed by Cinque (1982).

Both these syntactical elements find themselves in the leftmost side of the sentence but the most important difference is the connection of the Topic to the other parts of the utterance and the introducing element.

The most common Topic elements are the following: direct object, subject and phrasal components introduced by *che* (Benincà, 1988).

Giorgi (2015) gives us some good examples that help understand the main differences between CLLD and HG:

36. *A Gianni, Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo*
To Gianni, Maria to him gave a beautiful present
37. *Gianni, Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo*
Gianni, Maria to him gave a beautiful present

At a first glance, it is possible to see that CLLD (36) admits the presence of the preposition while HT does not (37).

The second and very important difference between the two is that in CLLD there can be a clitic or a zero element (38) while in HT there can be a clitic or a pronoun or an epithet (39) (Giorgi, 2015):

38. Gianni, gli hanno dato un bel voto
Gianni, they gave him a good mark

39. Gianni, hanno dato un bel voto perfino a lui
Gianni, they gave a good mark even to him

Thirdly, the number of dislocated elements can vary: CLLD can admit more than one dislocated element (40, 41) while in HT clauses this would result in ungrammaticality (42):

40. A Gianni, di questo libro, non gliene ho mai parlato.
41. Gianni, di questo libro, non gliene ho mai parlato.
41. *Gianni, questo libro, non gliene ho mai parlato.

The last important difference is the admission (or not) of resumptive pronouns. CLLD admits the presence of one clitic only, while HT admits the use of demonstratives, adjectives, clitics, pronouns and nominal phrases:

42. Anna, non comprenderò più niente a lei.
43. Ad Anna, non (le) comprenderò più niente.
44. * Ad Anna, non comprenderò più niente a lei.

Conclusions

In this thesis I wanted to make a strong focus on my origins. As I am Genoese, I really enjoyed learning how, through time, the Genoese language transformed itself becoming the dialect we are used to today.

I've studied its process of growth from the pre-medieval time moving to the Roman time up to Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

During these centuries, the Genoese language underwent substantial modifications in terms of its vocabulary, as it has always been a strong and important harbor that linked Europe to Africa; Arabic influences, as well as Spanish and French ones have shaped the language Genoese people speak today, most of the times ignoring that specific “ways of saying” are literally a transposition of the people and cultures they dealt with, mostly for commercial reasons.

In the second chapter of this thesis, connecting to the first one, I provide an in-depth analysis of the grammar of Genoese, as from the XIII century it started to develop autonomously with its peculiarities (such as the presence of specific vowels and consonants which are not attested in the modern Italian language, and are more typical of other languages, such as French and Arabic, on which Genoese is partially based.

The third chapter deals with a quite uncommon feature of the Genoese dialect (that is, found some other northern Italian dialects): the use of the distal demonstrative 'kaelu ke to express the interrogative adjective “which?” During the fieldwork research I carried out in the town of Cicagna, I was given some answers that partially confirmed my initial idea on the daily use of “kaelu ke’ and on the actual use of right dislocation in questions.

In the fourth and last chapter, making a link to the previous one, I start with a general analysis on the marked and unmarked word order in Italian and after that, I take into consideration the Italian right periphery with a focus on right dislocation, trying to

provide an overview of its use and its formal analysis Moreover, I implement the argument by analyzing, as a contrast, the Italian Left Periphery.

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