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The morphosyntax of kinship terms in Italian Dialects

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CONTENTS

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Northern Italian dialects

1. North Est
2. North West

2.3 Tuscany

2.4 Central Italian dialects

1. North Centre
2. South Centre

2.5 Southern Italian dialects

1. Southern varieties
2. Sicily
3. Sardinia

3.1 The use of the definite article with singular and plural common nouns

3.1.1 Standard Italian

3.1.2 Dialects

3.2 Strong, Weak and Clitic tripartition of possessive adjectives

3.2.1 Standard Italian

3.2.2 Dialects

3.3 Postnominal and Prenominal possessives in Standard Italian and Dialects

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, thanks to the work of scholars, the knowledge of the Italian language has now spread to the international level and its origin and general linguistic are well known. The reason of this, is that Standard Italian is not only an oral, but also a written language. On the contrary, the dialects that are spoken in the Peninsula are oral idioms and linguists are still doing research about this linguistic variety that is still partly wrapped in an aura of mystery.

Firstly, it must be said that Italy is geographically and linguistically divided. In fact, the Peninsula is geographically divided into six main areas: North Est, which includes Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia and Trentino Alto Adige; North West, which includes Lombardia, Piemonte, Liguria, Valle D'Aosta and Emilia Romagna; Toscana; North Centre, including Umbria, Marche and a part of Lazio; South Centre, including Abruzzo, Molise and a part of Lazio; the South, which includes Campania, Basilicata, Puglia and Calabria; Sicilia and Sardegna. The linguistic division depends on dialects, which have a common origin but show differences from region to region, town to town and village to village. Each region has its proper dialect, which is different from the others but also detached from the standard language.

Secondly, the linguistic differences between the dialects are showed, for instance, in the lexical, syntactic and morphologic variation of kinship terms, which are different from common nouns and display a noticeable differentiation compared to Standard and Regional Italian. From a lexical view, kinship terms display phonological variants, reduced forms and sometimes new terms that are totally detached from the Standard terms. From a morphological view, the use of the definite article and the possessive system with kinship terms and common nouns bring out the striking fact that the variation of Sicily is closer to the variation of Northern dialects, even though this Island is geographically closer to the South of Italy. Moreover, from a syntactic view, the analysis of the pattern of the co - occurrence of a possessive adjective with an article in kinship terms underlines the fact that North Centre varieties, which are expected to be more similar to the Standard variety, due to the fact that the cradle of Italian language is Tuscany, show a different variation instead.

In this thesis I will try to analyse this dialectical variation and I will compare the situation of the dialects with the variation of the Standard language, in order to elaborate on the abstract *Kinship nouns in Italian dialects: a variation in the use of article and possessives*, a personal study that I carried out about kinship terms in Italian Dialects. A regard will be given to the behaviour of common nouns and kinship terms in other Romance languages, namely French and Spanish, because I studied them at University and High School as second and third language. This research will be carried out with the help of data collected from the German atlas *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz(AIS)*, written by Karl Jaberg (1877) and Jacob Jude (1882), which is a collection of geographic maps of Italian and Switzerland dialects. This work shows the most important variations in Italian Dialects from a lexical, morphological and phonological view. Phonology is not treated in this study, due to the fact that it has no relevance for my research.

The data of the beginning of the 20th Century collected from AIS will be compared with the information collected from the interviews with native speakers of the dialects, in order to underline the differences between the old language and the modern language. This thesis is also supported by the work of Italian linguists Anna Cardinaletti, Giuseppe Longobardi and Marinela Sotiri, and Swedish linguists Lars – Olof Delsing and Verner Egerland.

This work is divided into three sections, each one approaching the variation of Italian dialects from a different view. The first section tackles the subject of the variation of kinship terms in Italian dialects from a lexical view. More specifically, the dialectal distribution of each region of Italy is analysed through the help of AIS data, which are collected and organized in 30 tables, each one representing an area. From each area I selected 10 points, corresponding to 10 towns and their surrounding villages from North to South of Italy, including the Islands. The general observations that are brought out from the tables, about the kind of geographic variation that characterizes the dialects, are then discussed in this section. For instance, we note that in the majority of the dialects we find phonological variants and not just variants of the standard kinship terms; the use of the contracted forms of some kinship terms, such as 'mother' and 'father, is frequent in the oral language and, sometimes, it is also possible to find new terms or terms that are derived from other languages, such French and German Swiss, which is due to the fact that Italy has borders with other countries. Moreover, some dialects of the centre, like the southern varieties, show the use of kinship terms with enclitic possessives, which is treated more in detail in the following sections. However, the main thing that comes out in the analysis of the dialectal variation is that kinship terminology is almost totally distinct from the standard variety, above all in the north and south of Italy.

The second section is a general linguistic study on the use of the definite article and possessive system in the dialects. This part takes into consideration common nouns in the DP, with regard to the situation in standard language and in other languages, namely French and Spanish, which sometimes behaves differently from Italian. In the first par, I will analyse the use of the definite article in common nouns with and without the possessive adjective, first in Italian and then in the dialects. The aim of this study is to bring out the main differences in the use of the article, such as the position in the DP and whether it is necessary or not to have the article before a noun in coordination, contrast, isolation and with a modified noun. In the second part I will approach the subject of possessive modifiers, introducing Cardinaletti & Starke (1998), which propose that the Italian possessive system shows a deficient/strong opposition like the pronominal system. I will make a comparison with the possessive system in the dialects and in Spanish and French. In these languages we find clitic possessives with common nouns and kinship terms, whereas in Italian we find clitic possessives only with some, but not all, kinship terms. This will be analysed in the third section also. Finally, in the third part I will focus on the position of the possessive adjective in the DP in Italian and in the dialects. This final part will concentrate on postnominal and prenominal possessives with common nouns. This section will include a discussion of proper nouns, which seem to behave differently from the other nouns.

The third section approaches the dialectal variation of Italy from a syntactic view. The main subject is the co - occurrence of the definite article with a possessive adjective in kinship terms. As in the other sections, I will compare the dialects with the standard language and the latter with Spanish and French. In the first part, I will concentrate on the use of the definite article with a prenominal (weak) possessive and I will take into consideration north Est, North west (including Emilia Romagna), Tuscany, north centre and Sicily. The fact that Sicilian dialects are analysed here is striking, due to the fact that this island is geographically closer to the south of Italy, where possessives are postnominal. What is more, central varieties, which are lexically closer to standard Italian, tend to be more distinct from the standard variety in the use of articles and possessives (for instance, the use of the article with a 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular possessive with singular kinship terms, which is totally avoided in Italian). The dialects of the south, together with Sardinian and south centre varieties, are analysed in the following sub - section, which tackles the use of the definite article with a postnominal(strong) possessive, which is almost never used in the standard language. This analysis is carried out with the help of the information given in the interviews with native speakers and, again,

the data collected from the AIS. More specifically, I selected six AIS maps from the tables I made for section one and I organized the new data in 8 new tables, which do not include Sardinia because of the generally less frequent use of the article in Sardinian dialects. In these tables I give the number of the articles that occur with the possessive adjective in singular and plural kinship terms. The global situation is then summarized in a final table. In the following sub - section I analyse the use of the definite article in kinship terms without the possessive adjective. Finally, in the third sub – section I give a background of the use of the definite article with proper nouns, using Longobardi (1994)'s theory of N – to – D raising. Proper nouns are then compared with some kinship terms that behave similarly in some dialects.

The first three sections are then summarized in a final section, which will be a background of the analysis made in this thesis. In this part, I will put together and discuss the general observations made in the earlier section of this thesis and I will draw my conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

LEXICAL VARIATION

2.1 Introduction

In this section I will analyse the variation of Italian dialects from a lexical view, giving a background of kinship terminology in the standard language and then in the dialects. In the Italian peninsula we find a lexical variation that goes from North to South. The Northern and Southern varieties display phonological variants and contractions of kinship terms. On the other hand, Central dialects are closer to standard Italian but there are also some varieties that display kinship terms that are different from the forms that are found in the other dialects and terms that shows the phenomenon of 'enclitic' possessives, by which the modifier and the kinship – N form a unique word. Some regions also undergo the influence of other languages, such as Provenzale (Valle D'Aosta) and the Slavic languages that are showed in some dialects that are included in the linguistic minorities like 'Arbereshe' (Calabria and also some areas of Abruzzo). The latter is not relevant for my research, as I focus on the Italo – Romance typology, so I will set it aside.

2.2 Standard Italian

Table 1. kinship terminology in Standard Italian

	singular	**plural**
father/dad	padre/papà	padri / papà
mother/mum	madre/mamma	madri / mamme
son	figlio	figli
daughter	figlia	figlie
grandmother	nonna	nonne
grandfather	nonno	nonni
grandchildren	nipote (m + f)	nipoti (m + f)
brother	fratello	fratelli
sister	sorella	sorelle
uncle	zio	zii
aunt	zia	zie
father in law	suocero	suoceri
mother in law	suocera	suocere
brother in law	cognato	cognati
sister in law	cognata	cognate
son in law	genero	generi
daughter in law	nuora	nuore
cousin(m.)	cugino	cugini
cousin(f.)	cugina	cugine
godfather	padrino	padrini
godmother	madrina	madrine
godson	figlioccio	figliocci
goddaughter	figlioccia	figlioccie

In Table 1 we can see standard Italian kinship terminology. What is relevant here, is that Italian distinguish gender and number, but second and third column displays a unique term for 'grandchildren', namely *nipote* and *nipoti*. This is not verified in the dialects, which distinguish gender and number almost always.

The Italian Peninsula is divided into four main areas: North, Centre, South and The Islands. The first group includes Veneto, Friuli, Piemonte, Lombardia, Trentino Alto Adige, Liguria, Valle D'Aosta and Emilia Romagna; the second comprises Umbria, Toscana, Marche, Lazio, Abruzzo and Molise; the third includes Calabria, Campania, Puglia and Basilicata and finally, Sicilia and Sardegna are the fourth group. The kinship terminology displays quite a wide range of variation throughout the peninsula, as will be showed in the following paragraphs.

2.3 Variation of kinship nouns in Northern dialects

AIS map 5 "padre [il padre]" and 8 "madre [sua madre]"
The distribution of kinship terms 'father' and 'mother' is uniform in Northeastern dialects, with phonological variants of *pare* and *mare* that are displayed everywhere (from point 305 San Vigilio di Marebbe (Bolzano) to point 393 Fratta Polesine (Rovigo). Note that the phonological variants of the informal standard terms *mamma* and *papà,* namely *mama* and *pupà*, are rarely used. In fact, we do only find them at point 376 Venice and nearest villages (point 373 Montebello (Vicenza), 372 Raldon (Verona), 364 Campo San Martino (Padova), 371 Verona).

In the varieties that are near the area of North West we find *buba* for 'father' and *madar* for 'mother' (point 320 Pejo (Trento) and 310 Piazzola (Trento)). In Northweastern dialects, on the contrary, we find *mama* almost everywhere in the region of Lombardia (from point 218 Grosio (Sondrio) to 288 Mantova). At point 254, 256, 267, 286, 289 we find *mader* and sometimes we do also find the contractive form *ma* (point 285 Pescarolo (Cremona) and 275 Castiglione d'Adda (Lodi)) and *mam* (point 205, 222, 223, 225, 243, 242, 252). The reduced form is also showed for 'father': we find *pa* in the Northweastern dialects that are on the border with Switzerland both in Lombardia and Piemonte. The dialects of Liguria display a different variation: *pué* is found at point 185 Noli(Savona), 178 Genova and 187 Zoagli (Genova), *pae* at point 193 Borgomaro(Imperia), 177 Sassello(Savona) and 189 Borghetto di Vara (La Spezia) and finally the phonological variants of *pare* at point 190 Airole (Imperia), 184 Calizzano (Savona) and 179 Rovegno (Genova).

The dialect of Valle D'Aosta, which is not given in the AIS, shows a particular variation due to the fact that the majority of the lexicon derives from Provenzale. Therefore, we find again the same terms that are showed in Northeastern dialects, namely *pare/papà* and *mare/mama* (cfr. French 'père' and 'mère')[1].

There is also an interesting variation in the dialects of Emilia Romagna: *pedar* and *medar* are more widespread in the Centre of the region, while in the North it is more common to find *madra/mer* and *papà/par* and moving to West we find *mama* and *bap/babo*:

(22) a. pedar, medar (point 456 Bologna – 446 Minerbio – 455 Merlano – 466 Loiano)

   b. papà/par, mama (point 439 Comacchio)

   c. bap, mama (point 459 Ravenna – 479 Cesenatico – 476 Brisighella)

   d. papà/par, ma/mer (point 401 Piacenza, map)

   e. papà/pador, madra (point 423 Parma, map)

AIS map 9 "figlio [quando mio figlio]"

The AIS volume displays the distribution of 'son', but gives no information of 'daughter'. In Northeastern dialects we find the phonological variants of *fiol* and *fio* almost everywhere (point 376 Venezia, 369 Trieste, 363 Vicenza, 375 Gamberale, 385 Cavarzere and 332 Faver). We do also have *tozo* in the province of Vicenza (point 362 Crespadoro, 373 Montebello and 352 Tonezza), which in the dialects of Veneto generally means 'boy', but it also used to refer to proper child in an affective way. In Trentino Alto Adige we do also find *putel* (point 330 Mortaso) and in Friuli Venezia Giulia we can find the contracted form *fi* (point 339 Udine and 349 Gorizia). The reduced form is again found at point 153 Giaveno (Torino) and 132 Ronco Canavese (Torino) in Piemonte. Northweastern varieties display an interesting variation. In fact, we find phonological variants of *fioel* and *fiġu* more often, but also other variants which are totally different terms, such as *matu* at point 250 Bienate(Milano) and *motet* at point 146 Montanaro(Torino). This is probably due to the influence of Switzerland, which display the term *mat* and *met*[2]. We find phonological variants of *fiol* also in almost all the dialects of Emilia Romagna and in the dialects of Bologna we find *ragasol*.

AIS map 16 "bisnonno [il bisnonno]" and 17 "bisnonna [la bisnonna]"

The standard terms for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother', namely *nonno* and *nonna*, are not maintained, but phonological variants *nono* and *nona* are diffused in almost all Northen dialects and at some points, we find different terms, such as *bun/bu* in the dialect of Montanaro (point 146, map 16) and Corio (point 144, map 16) and *msè/msiè* in the variety of Rovegno (point 179, map 16) and Sassello (point 177, map 16).

AIS map 19 "loro [il loro zio, i loro zii]" and 20 "loro [la loro zia, le loro zie]"

The geographic distribution of 'uncle' and 'aunt' shows an interesting variation, with terms that are totally different from the standard *zio* and *zia* that we find in Table 1 above. In fact, in the majority of Northeastern dialects we find the term *barba* for 'uncle' (point 375 Gamberale (Venezia), 385 Cavarzere(Venezia), 339 Udine, 349 Gorizia, 330 Mortaso(Trento) and 334 Canal San Bovo(Trento)). On the contrary, in the dialect of Venezia, Vicenza and Trieste we find the standard form or phonological variants (cfr. *sio* and *sia* at point 369 Trieste). As regards 'aunt', the dialects display a relavant differenciation: at point 375 and 385 we find *amia*, for the singular and *amie* for the plural; *gnagne* and *gnaes* are showed at point 339; *agna* and *anis* at point 349 and in Trentino Alto Adige we find *deda* and *dedi* (point 330 Mortaso(Trento) and *ameda* and *amede* (point 334 Canal San Bovo (Trento)). At point 332 Faver we find again the standard terms.

The term *barba* again appears in North-western dialects, but here the standard terms are more used than in North-eastern varieties. In fact, in the dialect of Milano and its province we find *ziu/zii* (cfr. point 261 Milano, 252 Monza and 250 Bienate). The same happens in the distribution of 'aunt', which displays the term *lala* and *lale* in almost all the dialects of Liguria (point 177 Sassello (Genova), 178 Genova, 179 Rovegno(Genova), 187 Zoagli(Genova)), *magna* and *magne* in Piemonte (point 155 Torino, 146 Montanaro(Torino) and 144 Corio(Torino) and *zia* in all the area near Milano.

AIS map 21 "il vostro nipote, i vostri nipoti", 22 "la vostra nipote" and 23 "le vostre nipoti"

In standard Italian we find a unique term for 'grandchildren' in the singular and in the plural, namely *nipote* and *nipoti*. The output in 'e' is lost in the dialects, which make a distinction of both gender and number. In fact, in Northeast varieties we find *nevodo* for 'grandson' and *nesa* for 'granddaughter'

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[2] Cfr. point 35 Bivio and 46 Coltura, map 9

or phonological variants of the standard term (point 376, 375, 385, 339, 349, 330, 332, 334, 363). The dialect of Trieste has maintained the standard *nipote* for both sexes (Cfr. point 369). In North-western dialects we find a similar variation, with phonological variant of *naut/nevud* in the whole area of Piemonte and Lombardia and again variants of *nesa* and *nevoda* for 'aunt.'[3]Another relevant variation characterizes a variety of Emilia Romagna: in the dialect of Comacchio, we find *al fiol d mia fradel* and *la fiola d mi fradel*, which literally mean 'the son of my brother' and 'the daughter of my brother'.

AIS map 31 "il suocero" and 32 "la suocera"

The distribution of 'father in law' and 'mother in law' displays *miser* and *madona* in the whole area of North Est and West, with phonological variants at some points. In Piemonte we find a massive use of *amsè/msé* for 'father in law' and at some points we find other structures such as *pare maser* (point 133 Vico Canavese(Torino) and 144 Corio (Torino)) and *al papà d la fumbra* (point 124 Selveglio (Vercelli)). Again, we find phonological variants of the standard terms in the area of Milano (Cfr. *socar* point 252 Monza, *seuxo* point 178 Genova and *soezru* point 187 Zoagli(Genova)). As regards 'mother in law', the term *madona* is well diffused in the whole area of North Est, with the exception of some points that display a structure similar to the one that is found for 'father in law' above, namely *la oma de mi fomana* (point 305 San Vigilio di Marebbe (Bolzano) and *oma da mi fana* (point 312 Selva in Gardena(Bolzano)). In North - western dialects we also find phonological variants of the standard term *suocera*, namely *soezara* from point 205 Prestone (Campodolcino, Sondrio) to point 227 Albosaggia (Sondrio) and *socera* at point 236 Branzi(Bergamo). In the dialect of Bienate, near Milano, we find the terms *pa'* and *mama*, which are generally used for 'mother' and 'father' in the whole area of the North (cfr. point 250).

AIS map 35 "padrino [il padrino]" and 36 "madrina [la madrina]"

The variation of 'godfather' and 'godmother' in Northeastern dialects is noticeable. Here we find almost always terms that are distinct from the standard *padrino* and *madrina*. In the varieties of Veneto and Friuli, the term *santolo* with phonological variants is the most common form used for 'godfather', as well as *santola* and its phonological variants for 'godmother' (point 376 Venezia, 375 Gamberale (Ve), 369 Trieste, 339 Udine, 349 Gorizia, 334 Canal San Bovo, 363 Vicenza). In Trentino Alto Adige we also find *gudas* and *gudasa* at point 330 Mortaso(Trento) and 332 Faver(Trento) and *tot, tot da bato* and *tota da bato* at point 305 San Viglio Di Marebbe (Bolzano). In Northwestern dialects there is a more emphasized variation, which is a mixture of phonological variants of the standard terms and new terms: in the region of Piemonte we find variants of *padrin* and *puerin* (point 155 Torino, 146 Montanaro(To), 144 Corio(To), 261 Milano, 178 Genova, 179 Rovegno(Ge), 187 Zoagli(Ge) and variants of *madrin* and *moerin*. In the dialect of Bienate we find *guaz* and *guaza* and, finally, in the dialect of Monza we find the phonological variant *gias* and *giasa* (point 250 and 252).

AIS map 13 "fratello [tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli]" and 14 "sorella [tua sorella, le tue sorelle]

The distribution of 'brother' and 'sister' is uniform in the whole Northern dialects. In fact, we find phonological variants of *fradel* and *sorela* everywhere and at some points it is also common to use the contracted forms *fra* and *soe* (point 177 Sassello(Ge), 178 Genova, 179 Rovegno(Ge) and 187 Zoagli(Ge)).

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[3] Cfr. point 261, 252, 250, 155, 146, 144, 177, 178, 179 and 187

AIS map 24 "cugini [mio cugino, i miei cugini]", 25 "cugina [mia cugina]" and 26 "cugine [le mie cugine]"

Kinship terminology for 'cousins' again distinguish gender and number, both in the standard and the local variety of Italian: we find standard terms *cugino* and *cugina* for the singular and *cugini* and *cugine* for the plural. The same is for Northen dialects: the Northeastern dialects display more than one term. In fact, in the dialects of the area near Venice we find *zerman* and *zeramana* but also variants of the standard terms (point 376, 375, 385, 363). Phonological variants of the standard *cugino* and *cugina* are also found in Northwestern dialects, at points 252 Monza, 250 Bienate(Mi), 155 Torino, 146 Montanaro(To), 144 Corio(To), 177 Sassello(Ge), 178 Genova, 179 Rovegno(Ge) and 187 Zoagli(Ge)

AIS map 33 "genero [il genero]" and 34 "nuora [la nuora]"

The distribution of 'son in law' shows phonological variants of the standard *genero* well diffused everywhere in the North, with exceptions at just few points. In Trentino Alto Adige, at point 305 and 312 we find a structure that can be litteraly translated 'the man of my daughter', namely *l'om de mia fia* and *l'uam da mia fia* and at points 140 Rochemolles(Torino) and 150 Sauze di Cesana(Torino) we find a term that is the derivation of the French 'beau fils', namely *bo fi*. Alike 'son in law', the dialects show phonological variants of the standard *nuora* for 'daughter in law' almost everywhere. From point 318 Forni Avoltri (Udine) to point 338 Tricesimo (Udine) we find the term *brut*, which is probably due to the influence of Swiss[4] and again we find a term derived from French at point 140 and 150, namely *bel fiła* and *bala fiła*. Finally, at point 305 San Vigilio di Marebbe (Bz) we find the complex structure *fomena de mio fi* and in the dialect of Bienate we find *spuza*.

The variation of Emilia Romagna is noticeable, as it displays terms that are phonological variants of the standard terms *padrino* and *madrina*, which mean 'godfather' and 'godmother', instead of being variants of *genero* and *nuora* (cfr. "padren" at point 456 Bologna, 446 Minerbio(Bologna) and "madren"). Note that 'godfather' and 'godmother' in these dialects are translated with *santlo* or *cumper* and *santla* or *kmer*, phonological variants that are also used in the other dialects of the North. Similarly, in the dialect of Comacchio and Loiano we find the terms *nonun* and *nona*, which are phonological variants of the standard *nonno* and *nonna*, which mean 'grandfather' and 'grandmother'. Note that 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' display the same variants of 'son in law' and 'daughter in law' in this case (cfr. point 439 and 466, map 16 "il bisnonno" and 17 "la bisnonna"). Finally, we find particular structures in the dialect of Merlano and Brisighella: *pedar a mi muier* and *medar a mi muier* at point 455 Merlano(Bo); *bab d la moi* and *mama d la moi* at point 476 Brisighella(Bo).

AIS map 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

The distribution of 'godson' and 'goddaughter' is uniform in all Northen varieties, with just phonological variants of *fios* and *fiosa* widespread everywhere.

2.4 Tuscany

AIS map 5 "padre [il padre]" and 8 "madre [sua madre]"

Being the source for Italian language, the region of Tuscany is expected to display a variation that is closer to the standard variety. In fact, the distribution of kinship terminology shows terms that are almost all similar to the standard forms, but there are some differences. For instance, here the local language displays the informal term *mamma* for 'mother' everywhere, but the standard *papà* is

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[4] The AIS shows the term 'brut' also at some points of Switzerland (9, 7, 19, 29).

substituted with *babbo* for 'father' almost everywhere. However, at some points we also find the standard *padre* (point 520, 530, 541, 542, 571, 570, 551, 526 and 523) and at point 511Campori(Lucca) we find *papà*. In the distribution of 'mother' we often find the contracted form *ma* (point 500, 511, 520 and 582) in the North of Tuscany and only at point 543 Radda in Chianti (Siena) we find the standard *madre*. The reduced form is also found for 'father' at point 582 Pitigliano (Grosseto) and point 500 Arzengio (Pontremoli, Massa Carrara), namely *pa* and *ba*.

AIS map 9 "quando mio figlio"

The distribution of 'son' shows that the standard term *figlio* and the diminutive form *figliolo* are the variants most diffused in all the area of Tuscany (point 552 Siena, 541 Fauglia(Pisa), 523 Firenze, 513 Prunetta(Pistoia), 554 Cortona, 530 Pisa). However, at some points we also find the term *bambino*, which generally means 'child' but it is used by parents when they refer to their own child in an affective way (point 522 Vinci and 515 Barberino di Mugello (Firenze)).

AIS map 13 "fratello [tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli]" and 14 "sorella [tua sorella, le tue sorelle]"

The distribution of 'brother' shows that the dialects of Tuscany display the standard term *fratello* everywhere. The only dissimilarity compared to standard Italian is the phonological spirantization of the occlusive consonant /t/, due to the particular phenomenon that caracterizes this area, namely the so called "Gorgia"[5]. Alike 'brother', the variation of 'sister' shows the massive use of the standard term *sorella* in all dialects, except for phonological variants at some points (cfr. *sore* and *sora* at point 582 Pitigliano (Grosseto)).

AIS map 16 "bisnonno [il bisnonno]" and 17 "bisnonna [la bisnonna]"

The standard terms *nonno* and *nonna* are maintained in the all the dialects of Tuscany and there is no other important variation concerning these kinship terms, except for the phonological variants *nono* and *nona,* that are displayed at some points, like in Northestern dialects.

AIS map 24 "mio cugino, i miei cugini", 25 "mia cugina" and 26 "le mie cugine"

In the majority of the dialects of Tuscany we find the phonological variants of *cugino* for 'cousin(m.)', in a distribution that is similar to some other varieties of the North. The most common variant is *huzino*, which is an example of the result of "Gorgia", but it also possible to find the same variant with the occlusive /k/ instead of /h/ at point 581, 582, 590, 570, 535 and 526. The same distribution characterizes the female counterpart.

AIS map 27 "cognato [il suo cognato]", 28 "cognati [i suoi cognati]", 29 "cognata [la sua cognata]" and 30 "cognate [le sue cognate]"

The phonological variants of the standard kinship terms are again found in the distribution of 'brother in law' and 'sister in law'. In fact, the dialects display a large use of *hugnatho* and *hugnatha* but also of *ugnato/a* and *kugnatho/a*, both in the plural and singular.

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[5] The dialects of Tuscany are caracterized by the pattern of "Gorgia",which affects the <u>voiceless</u> stops /k/ /t/ and /p/, that are pronounced as <u>fricative consonants</u> in post-vocalic position. Phonology is not relevant here, so I will set it aside.

AIS map 31 "suocero [il suocero]" and 32 "suocera [la suocera]"

The whole area of Tuscany displays phonological variants also in the distribution of 'father in law" and "mother in law": from North to South we find *sosero* and *sosera*, while at point 511 and 500 we have *non* and *nonno/a*, alike some varieties of North Est.

AIS map 33 "genero [il genero]" and 34 "nuora [la nuora]"

Alike lots of the other kinship terms, phonological variants of the standard terms are also displayed in the distribution of 'son in law' and 'daughter in law': we find *zenaro* and *genaro* in the majority of the dialects and in the North of Tuscany we do also have *zen* at point 511. For its female counterpart, we find *nora* in all the dialects, alike Northestern varieties.

AIS map 35 "padrino [il padrino]" and 36 "madrina [la madrina]"

The kinship terms 'godfather' and 'godmother' are the only one that undergo a proper variation and are not phonological variants of the standard forms. The dialects of Tuscany display the terms *compare* and *comare* almost everywhere, which are also common in the dialects of the North. Only at point 522 Vinci (Firenze) we also find the standard terms *padrino* and *madrina*.

AIS map 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

The AIS does not display much information about the distribution of 'godson' and 'goddaughter', but the one it gives show that these terms also diverge from the standard language. In fact, at point 522, 552, 571, 572 and 581 we find *commarucco* and *commarucca* instead of the standard *figlioccio* and *figlioccia*.

2.5 Central Dialects

The area of the Centre of Italy is characterised by a noticeable division between the north and the south. The area that is closer to the North of Italy is known as *Italia centro – settentrinale* 'North Centre of Italy' and it includes Umbria, Marche, a little part of the south of Tuscany and the north of Lazio. The area that is closer to the south of Italy, known as *Italia centro – meridionale* 'South Centre of Italy', is generally strongly influenced by the latter, which is the reason why this zone is more distinct from the standard variety. In this part of Italy, the variation is higher than in the north.

2.5.1 Variation of kinship nouns in North Centre dialects

AIS map 5 "padre [il padre]" and 8 "madre [sua madre]"

Alike the dialects of Tuscany, the variation of kinship terms in Central dialects is closer to standard Italian but with differences that depends on the area. In fact, this area can be divided into two different zones: the dialect of North Centre, which display a variation that is similar to Tuscan varieties and standard language, and the South-Central varieties, which display a variation that approaches the dialects of the South, which will be analysed in the next paragraph. The distribution of 'father' in the dialects of North Centre shows the use of *babbo* and its phonological variants at point 565 Perugia, 566 Nocera Umbra, 548 Montecarotto(Ancona), but also phonological variants of *padre* at point 529 Fano, 556 Loreto, 538 Montemarciano(Ancona) and at some points we find *papà*. Similarly, the term *mamma* 'mother' is found in the majority of the dialects of Umbria and Marche (cfr. point 565, 546, 529, 555) together if the formal standard *madre* at point 539 Ancona, 548 Montecarotto(Ancona), 558 Treia(Macerata) and 538 Montemarciano(Ancona).

AIS map 9 "quando mio figlio"

The distribution of 'son' displays phonological variants of the standard *figlio* in the whole area of Umbria and Marche (higher zone), namely *fiol* (point 565, 529, 537,539,536, 538), *fio* (point 556 and 547) and *fiyyo* (point 574, 583, 566, 548, 557).

AIS map 13 "tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli" and 14 "tua sorella, le tue sorelle"

The distribution of 'brother' and 'sister' displays the standard terms and the variants with the enclitic possessive, which makes one word with the noun[6]. Therefore, we find *fratello* at point 565, 546, 555, 546, 564; *frataino* at point 566 Nocera Umbra; *fratelloto* at point 556 Loreto; *fradidu/fradedo* at point 548 Montecarotto(An) and 558 Treia(Mc). At some points we do also have the phonological variant *fratel* (point 538 Montemarciano(An) and 529 Fano). Phonological variants are also displayed for 'sister' together with the standard terms: we find *surela* at point 539 Ancona and 529 Fano, *surella* at point 538 Montemarciano(An), while we find *sorella* at point 565 Perugia, 546 Pietralunga(Pg) and 555 Civitella(Pg). In the lower part of Marche and at some points in Umbria we do also find the enclitic forms: *sorada* at point 566 Nocera Umbra, *sorelata* at point 556 Loreto, *soreda* at point 548 Montecarotto(An) and *sorita* at point 558 Treia(Mc).

AIS map 16 "il bisnonno" and 17 "la bisnonna"

The distribution of 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' displays the standard terms almost everywhere, together with phonological variants and, at some point, the contracted forms. Therefore, we find *nonno* and *nonna* at point 566, 546, 556, 574, 566, 584; *nonnu* at point 548, 558, 559, 556; *nono* at point 539, 538, 529 and *non*-at point 536, 537, 539.

AIS map 24 "mio cugino, i miei cugini", 25 "mia cugina" and 26 "le mie cugine"

The variation of 'cousins' is noticeable in North Centre dialects, as it shows the phonological variants of the standard terms but also a particular structure, namely *fratello cugino* and *sorella cugina*:

(1) a. fratelo cuzin, surela cuzina (point 539 Ancona)

    b. fradello gugino, sorella gugina (point 566 Nocera Umbra)

    c. fratello consuvri, sorella consuvrina (point 558 Treia)

    d. sorella consubrina, sorelle consubrine (point 548 Montecarotto)

The structures in (1) litteraly means 'brother cousin' and 'sister cousin' and they are also common in the dialects of the South.[7]

AIS map 27 "il suo cognato", 28 "i suoi cognati", 29 "la sua cognata" and 30 "le sue cognate"

We find again phonological variants of the standard terms in the distribution of 'sister in law' and 'brother in law': *cugnato* at point 565, 566 and *gugnada* for the female counterpart at point 566 Nocera Umbra, *cugneta* at point 546 Pietralunga(Pg), 555 Civitella(Pg), 536 Loreto and *cugnata* at point 539 Ancona. Furhermore, we find *cugnat* at point 539, 538 and *cugnet* at point 529 Fano. Finally, at point 548 and 558 we find *cugnado* and *cugnada*.

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[6] The following chapters will elaborate on this subject

[7] In Napoletano we still find *fratm cugin* and *sorm cugin*

AIS map 31 "il suocero" and 32 "la suocera"

The variation of "father in law" and "mother in law" is interesting, as it displays not only phonological varieties of the standard terms, but also other terms that in the standard language do not correspond to the kinship relation that is analysed here. For instance, we find *socero* and *socara* at point 565 and 546, but *patregno* and *matregna* at point 566, *babbo* and *mamma* at point 548 and 558 and *babo* and *mama* at point 529 and 556. What is more, at point 555 Civitella (Pg) we find the particular strucutres *babo d legno* and *mama d legno*, while at point 538 and 539 we find again the phonolgical variants of the standard terms, namely *socaro* and *socara*.

However, according to the informations given by Pietro Trionfera, a native speaker of Gualdese, a dialect spoken in a village near Perugia, in some Umbrian dialects the term *babbo* is not used to refer to 'father in law' but it is a variant of *papà* 'father.'

AIS map 33 "il genero" and 34 "la nuora"

The distribution of 'son in law' and 'daughter in law' shows the equal use of the phonological variants of standard terms and variants of *figlio* and *figlia*, which in the standard language mean 'son' and 'daughter'. In fact, we find *genaro* and *nora* in the majority of the dialects and at some points we find *fiastro/a* (point 566, 575), *fio/a* (point 558) and *fiolo/a* (point 555). Moreover, at point 529 we find *marid d mi fiola* and *moi d mi fiol*.

AIS map 35 "il padrino" and 36 "la madrina"

The variation of kinship terms 'godfather' and 'godmother' is the same that is found in Northestern dialects and in Tuscany. In fact, here we find again *compare* and *comare* (point 565, 539, 566) but also *santolo* and *santola* (point 555, 556, 538, 548).

AIS map 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

For the terms 'godson' and 'goddaughter', the Northcentral varieties display the same variants of Northen dialects, which are *santolo, santalo* and *santola, santala* in almost all the varieties, except for point 566 Nocera Umbra which gives *comparetto, comparetta* and 558 Treia, which gives *comba, comma*.

AIS map 21 "il vostro nipote, i vostri nipoti", 22 "la vostra nipote" and 23 "le vostre nipoti"

For the kinship terms for 'grandson' and 'grandughter' the dialects display phonological variants of the standard terms *nipote* and *nipoti*. At some points, like in the standard language, there is no agreement with gender, due to the fact that a unique term is used for both sexes:

(3) a. nepote (point 566 Nocera Umbra, map 22 – 23)

    b. napot (point 538 Montemarciano, map 22 – 23)

    c. nepote (point 556 Loreto, map 22 – 23)

    d. nipote (point 555 Civitella, map 22 – 23)

2.5.2 Variation of kinship nouns in South Central dialects

The South Centre varieties tend to be more detached from the standard variety than Northestern varieties. Here the variation is more evident, due to the fact that these dialects are closer to Southern

varieties. This is showed in the higher presence of terms with enclitic forms, which are displayed more in the singular than in the plural.

AIS map 5 "il padre" and 8 "sua madre"

There is a noticeable variation as far as it concerns kinship terms 'father/dad' and 'mother/mum': the standard *padre* is maintained at some points (640, 643, 625, 616 and 624), while at other points the dialects display phonological variants, such as *parimu* at point 643 Palombara(Roma) and *patrm* at point 658 Palmoli(Chieti).

Another variant that is well diffused in South Centre area is *tata* (point 633, 637, 619, 656, 666, 668 and 645), which is derived from the language of children. The dialects display phonological variants also for 'mother', together with standard terms *mamma* and *madre*: In the area of Lazio we find *madre* widespread and phonological variants, such as *matre* at point 640, 633 and 662, *mate* at point 612 and the reduced form *ma* at point 632. Moreover, at point 643 we find *madrese*, with the enclitic possessive.

AIS map 9 "quando mio figlio"

In the distribution of 'son' it can be noted that the majority of southcentral dialects display the unique form with enclitic possessives. Therefore, we find *fitm* at point 666 Roccasicura(Isernia) and 668 Morrone del Sannio(Campobasso), *figlimi* at point 608 Bellante(Teramo), *fetm* at point 658 Palmoli(Chieti), *fiimu* at point 643 Palombara(Roma), *feim* at point 618 Castelli(Teramo) and finally at point 619 Montesilvano(Pescara) we find *bardassme*, which derives from *bardascio*, the old word for 'boy'.

AIS map 13 "tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli" and 14 "tua sorella, le tue sorelle"

The kinship terms with enclitic possessives again appears in the distribution of 'brother' and 'sister', together with standard terms that are showed at some points in Lazio and Abruzzo. At point 619 Montesilvano(Pe) we find *fradtə* in the singular and in the plural, while at point 608 Bellante(Teramo) and 618 Castelli(Teramo) the enclitic form disappears in the plural and we have *fratilla tu/ti*. At point 652 Roma we have *fratel* in the singular and *fratelli* in the plural. The latter is also displayed at point 640 Cerveteri(Roma), which maintained the standard terms. The variant with enclitic modifiers is again showed at point 643, 666 and 668, which display *fradidu*, *fratta* and *fratətə*.

AIS map 16 "il bisnonno" and 17 "la bisnonna"

As regards 'grandfather', the Southcentral dialects display phonological variants of the standard *nonno*, but at some points there are different terms. For instance, at point 618 we find *sor/sar* and at point 625 we have *tado* or *dadone* and at points 637, 648, 646 and 666 we find *tatonə*. At point 668 Morrone del Sannio (Cb) we find *tetilla* and *tata* and at point 658 we have *tatuanə*. Phonological variants of the standard term are also displayed in the distribution of 'grandmother', except for point 625, 666 and 668, which present the terms *memmucca*, *mammella* and *mammetta*.

AIS map 21 "vostro nipote, i vostri nipoti", 22 "vostra nipote" and 23 "le vostre nipoti"

The distribution of 'grandson' and 'grandaughter' shows phonological variants of the standard terms *nipote* and *nipoti* almost everywhere, but at some points the enclitic forms appears again. For instance, at point 639 we find *nəputətə* and at point 624 we find *nepotete*.

AIS map 24 "mio cugino, i miei cugini", 23 "mia cugina" and 24 "le mie cugine"

In Southcentral varieties, at the time of AIS, the terms for 'cousins' were composed by two nouns. In fact, in the dialects of Abruzzo and Lazio we find the terms *fradell cugin* and *sor cugin*, which litterally mean 'brother cousin' and 'sister cousin' and are used to distinguish the gender. Something like this it is also showed in some villages of Marche and in Molise. Here is the variation:

(3) a. um fratello gugino carnale, na sorella gugina carnale (point 652 Roma)

    b. fradimo goggino, sorma goggina (point 643 Palombara(Rm))

    c. fradell cugin, sorm cugin (point 619 Montesilvano(Pe))

    d. fratma cuggina, sorma cuggina (point 666 Roccasicura(Is))

In some dialects we have the phonological variants of the stanadard terms, often followed by enclitic possessives.

However, a native speaker of Abruzzese, Francesca Sanità di Colle di Macine, said that these contstructions are no more currently used, but they are substitued by the unique term *cuggineme* in the dialects near Pescara and L'Acquila. Which is also true for the dialects of Lazio and Molise.

AIS map 31 "il suocero" and 32 "la suocera"

The distribution of 'father in law' and 'mother in law' again shows the general use of phonological variants and terms with enclitic possessives. We find *socc* at point 608 Bellante(Teramo), *socar* and *soc* at point 618 Castelli(Teramo), while at point 619 Montesilvano we find *sogrəmə*. At point 652, 643 and 640 we find the phonological variants again, namely *sosero* and *sosera* and at point 666 and 668 we have *suocr* and *socr*.

AIS map 33 "il genero" and 34 "la nuora"

The variation of kinship terms 'son in law' and 'daughter in law" shows phonological variants of the standard terms *genero* and *nuora*. The most common variants are *yennərə* and *nora*, that are well diffused in the all South Centre area.

AIS map 35 "il padrino", 36 "la madrina" and 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

There is an interesting variation of the terms 'godfather', 'godmother' and 'godson' and 'goddaughter', which is similar to the variants found in Northern dialects and Tuscany. In the dialects of Montsilvano, Bellante(Te), Castelli(Te), Roma, Palombara(Rm) and Cerveteri (Rm) we find *cumpara*, *cummara*, *cummarrucc, cummarucca*, whereas in the dialects of Molise (Roccasicura and Morrone del Sannio) there are nouns similar to the standard *padrino*, namely *patin* and *zipatl*, that means both 'godfather'/ 'godmother' and 'godson/goddaughter', which in the dialect of Morrone del Sannio become *u pat'ill* and *a pat'ille*. Finally, in the dialect of Scanno, we find *sandz* 'godfather' and *sandza* 'godmother'.

2.6 Southern dialects

The dialects of the south are very detached from the standard variety. The situation of the Islands will be presented in a separate section, given that Sicily and Sardinia are not only physically, but also linguistically separated from the other areas.

AIS map 5 "il padre" and 8 "sua madre"

In Southern varieties, as regards the distribution of 'father' and 'mother', it can be noted that phonological variants of standard terms are diffused almost everywhere, together with other terms.

For 'father' we find *patə* at point 721 Napoli, which also displays the term *pat ətə*, and at point 720 Monte di Procida(Napoli) together with *tatə*, that is also showed at point 722 Ottaviano(Napoli) and 719 Bari. The latter also displays the term *attanə*, which is also showed at point 733 Castelmezzano(Potenza) and 735 Pisticci(Matera). At point 728 Alberobello we find *attenə* and at point 736 Matera we have *attandə*. Finally, two dialects display a different variation, namely the variety of Carovigno (point 729), which presents more than one term and displays *tat/siermə/normə*, and the particular dialect of Acquaformosa(Cosenza), which displays the term *iati* (point 751) In all dialects of South area we find the phonological variant *mammə* for 'mother', except for point 722 which displays *mamm* and again the dialect of Acquaformosa (point 751), that shows the term *sioms*.

AIS map 9 "quando mio figlio"

The whole area of the South displays the phonological varinats of standard terms also for 'son', with the enclitic possessive again. Alike 'father', two variants are common in all the dialects, namely *figliəmə* and *figgəmə*.

AIS map 13 "tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli' and 14 "tua sorella, le tue sorelle"

The distribution of 'brother' and 'sister' shows that in Southern varieties the standard terms *fratello* and *sorella* are not preserved, but in the majority of the dialects we find phonological variations, as it is for North and Centre varieties. The only dialect that has completely different variation is that of Acquaformosa (point 751), which displays the terms *motir* and *vula*, whereas in the other dialects we find *frat't* and *sorata* (point 721), *fratt* and *sort/sert* (point 719 Bari and 736 Matera).

AIS map 16 "il bisnonno" and 17 "la bisnonna"

Another noticeable variation, is the differentiation of kinship nouns 'grandfather' and 'grandmother'. The standard terms *nonno* and *nonna* are retained only in few dialects with slight variants, giving that in the majority of southern dialects we find other terms:

(2) a. nonn (point 721 Napoli)

    b. par ross, mamma ross (point 720 Monte di Procida)

    c. vavon, vav (point 722 Ottaviano)

    d. grann/sir (point 719 Bari)

    e. tata nun, mamma rann (point 728 Alberobello)

    f. tatann, mammann (point 736 Matera)

    g. rann, vav (point 733 Castelmarrano)

    h. masor, nanna (point 735 Pisticci)

    i. tat, nana (point 751 Acquaformosa)

AIS map 24 "mio cugino, i miei cugini", 25 "mia cugina" and 26 "le mie cugine"

As for the dialects of south centre, in the dialect of Naples and in most of the dialects in the region of Campania there is a massive use of composed nouns *fratello cugino* and *sorella cugina*, like in some varieties of the Centre. However, here these structures are still used. Differently from English and other languages, both standard and local Italian make a distinction according to the sex:

(5) a. fratm cugin, sorm cugin (point 721 Napoli)

b. fret'me consurin, sor'me consurin (point 720 Monte di Procida)

c. frat'm cocin, sor'me cocin (point 722 Ottaviano)

AIS map 33 "il genero" and 34 "la nuora"

In all the dialects of the South we find phonological variants of *genero* and *nuora* for 'son in law' and 'daughter in law' but also other terms. The most common variant for 'son in law' is *yennaru*, but we also find *genərə* at point 721 and 732, *sienərə* and its phonological variants from point 738 up to 717 and finally we find *grambo* at point 748. As regards 'daughter in law', we find the variant *norə* at almost all points, together with phonological variants. At point 748 and 782 we find *grambi*.

AIS map 35 "il padrino" and 36 "la madrina"

As far as it concerns the variation of kinship nouns for 'godmother' and 'godfather', the situation is very similar to the dialects of the north and centre of Italy, with phonological variants of *compare* and *commare* except for the dialect of Acquaformosa. At some points, there is more than one possibility:

(5) a. cumpar, cummar (point 721 Napoli)

b. cumbar, cummer (point 720 Monte di Procida)

c. cumbara, cummara (point 719 Bari)

d. cumper/nunn, nunn (point 728 Alberobello)

e. cumbari, ndricula (point 751 Acquaformosa)

AIS map 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

The distribution of 'godson' and 'goddaughter' shows a variation that has nothing to do with standard terms *figlioccio* and *figlioccia*. In fact, in the whole dialects of the South we find *cummariedd* and *cummared* or *combariel* and *commarell*, except for the dialect of Carovigno(Brindisi) that shows the term *susett*.

AIS map 31 "il suocero" and 32 "la suocera"

In the dialect of Acquaformosa, we find the terms *viefri* for 'father in law' and *viefra* for 'mother in law', whereas in the other varieties we have terms that are closer to the standard terms *suocero* and *suocera*, namely *souocr/socr*.

AIS map 27 "suo cognato", 28 "i suoi cognati", 29 "sua cognata" and 30 "le sue cognate"

The differenciation of 'brother in law' and 'sister in law' is equal in all dialects, which display phonological variants *cainat/canat* and *cainata/canata* at all points of the AIS.

2.7 Sicily

This area is generally separated from the other regions, as it is for Sardinia, not only geographically but also linguistically, giving that Sicilian dialect is the only variety of the South where kinship terminology is the same of Northen varieties.

AIS map 5 "il padre" and 8 "la madre"

In the dialect of Sperlinga (Enna), San Biagio Platani(Agrigento), Catenanuova(Enna) e Aidone(Enna) we find the reduced form *ma* for 'mother', which is also found in Northwestern dialects. We do also find *pa* 'father' in the dialect of Vita(Enna) and Aidone(Enna). In the other places we find *matri* 'mother' and *patri* 'father'.[8]

AIS map 9 "quando mio figlio"

The AIS volume again does not give any information about 'daughter', but it does about 'son'. In the majority of the dialects we find *figgu*, while in the dialect of Calascibetta(Enna) and Villalba(Caltanisetta) we have *fegliu*, in the variety of Aidone(Enna) *fig* and in the dialect of San Biagio(Enna) we find *figliu*[9].

AIS map 13 "tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli" and 14 "tua sorella, le tue sorelle"

As regards the distribution of 'brother' and 'sister', in the dialects of Sicily we find phonological variants of the standard terms. The more common variants are *frati* and *suoru* (point 803, 846). At point 821 and 824 we find *soru*, *suru* at point 845 and 851 and *suaru* at point 836. For 'brother' we do also find *frai* at point 865 and *fra* at point 836.

What is more, at some point the plural and the singular forms of the terms are the same, except for the dialect of Aidone, we find different forms for the plural of 'sister' but one for 'brother':

(6) a. to frati, to suoru - i to frati, i to suoru (point 803 Palermo – 846 Catenanuova)

    b. to frati, to soru – li to frati, li to soru (point 821 Vita – 824 Baucina)

    c. frai, sura - frai, sur (point 865 Aidone)

AIS map 21 "vostro nipote, i vostri nipoti", 23 "vostra nipote" and 24 "le vostre nipoti"

The kinship terminology of 'grandchildren' is noticeable, as it characterized by that lack of gender division, alike the standard variety. Therefore, the term *niputi* means both 'grandson' and 'grandaughter' and it is used both in the singular and plural in the majoriy of the dialects of Sicily.

AIS map 27 "mio cognato", 28 "i miei cognati", 29 "mia cognata" and 30 "le mie cognate"

Alike 'grandson' and 'grandaughter', in almost all the dialects we find a unique term for 'brother in law' and 'sister in law', namely *cugnati,* in the plural. The gender is expressed in the article or eventually in the possessive adjective. On the other hand, in the singular the division of gender is again expressed. We find *cugnatu* and *cugnata* in the majority of the dialects, except for the variety of Aidone(Enna), which shows the terms *cugna* and *cugnara*.

AIS map 24 "mio cugino, i miei cugini", 25 "mia cugina" and 26 "le mie cugine"

With reference to kinship terms for 'cousins', it needs to be said that we find phonological variants of standard terms almost in every dialect, but at some points, we find the same variants of 'brother' and 'sister':

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[8] Cfr. point 803, 821, 824, 826, 836, 845, 851, 844, 846, 865
[9] Cfr. point 845, 851, 844, 865

(7) a. cusinu, cusina (point 803 Palermo – 824 Baucina(Palermo) – 826 Mistretta(Messina) – 846 Catenanuova(Enna)

    b. cuzi, cuzin (point 836 Sperlinga(Enna))

    c. frateddu, suredda (point 821 Vita(Trapani))

    d. suriaddu, suriedda (point 844 Villalba(Caltanisetta)

AIS map 16 "il bisnonno" and 17 "la bisnonna"

As it is for the dialects of the North, the standard terms are maintained or we find phonological variants in the variation of 'grandfather' and 'grandmother', except for point 851 San Biagio Platani(Enna), where we find *papa ranni* and *mamma rann*.

AIS map 35 "il padrino" and 36 "la madrina"

The distribution of 'godfather' and 'godmother' shows phonological variants of the standard terms widespread in the all area of Sicily, but in the majority of the dialects we find variants of the masculine term *padrino* also for its female counterpart:

(8) a. u parrinu, a parrina (point 803 Palermo – 824 Baucina(Pa) - 826 Mistretta(Ag))

    b. pipinu, pipipna (point 851 San Biagio Platani(Ag)

    c. peiri/patozzu, meira/matrozza (point 836 Sperlinga(En))

    d. patrozzu, matrozza (point 846 Catenanuova(En))

AIS map 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

we find a plain differentiation concerning kinship terms 'godson/goddaughter', with phonological variants well diffused in the all Island:

(9) a. figguozzu, figguozza (point 803 Palermo, 824 Baucina(Pa), 826 Mistretta(Ag), 846 Catenanuova(En), 821 Vita(En))

    b. figozu, figoza (point 836 Sperlinga(En))

    c. fitutzu, fitotz (point 845 Calascibetta(En))

    d. fagoz, fagoza (point 865 Aidone(En))

AIS map 33 "il genero" and 34 "la nuora"

Like in Southern varieties, in the dialects of Sicily we find the phonological variant *yennaru* for 'son in law', but also *ennaru* at point 826, *enniru* at point 836 and 846, and *dzenərə* at point 817. For 'daughter in law' again we find the phonological variant *nora*.

AIS map 31 "il suocero" and 32 "la suocera"

As regards 'father in law' and 'mother in law", in the all area we find phonological variants *soggiru* and *soggira,* with exceptions at some points (cfr. *sudiz/sudiza* at point 865 and *sogu/soga* at point 818).

2.8 Sardinia

The dialects of Sardinia are different from all the other varieties, due to the fact that the particular vernacular which is spoken here is still conservative of Latin. The varieties of this area still preserve the Latin 's' at the end of the words, together with possessives and other elements which will be approached in Chapter 3.

AIS map 5 "il padre" and 8 "sua madre"

The distribution of 'mother' and 'father' show that the dialects of Sardinia display a variation that is similar to North-eastern dialects. In fact, in the all area we find *babbu* and *mamma*, but also phonological variants like *mama* and *babbai*.[10]

AIS map 9 "quando mio figlio"

The variation of 'son' is generally more articulated than that of 'mother' and 'father', with more than one phonological variant. Therefore, we find *fillu* in the dialect of Cagliari (AIS 985, map 9) and Sant'Antioco (AIS 990, map 9), *villu* in the dialect of Escalaplano (AIS 967, map 9) and *fizzu* in the other varieties[11].

AIS map 13 "tuo fratello, i tuoi fratelli" and 14 "tua sorella, le tue sorelle"

The distribution of 'brother' and 'sister' shows a general use of phonological variants *fradi* (point 985, 967, 990, 949, 954) and *sorre* (point 943, 937, 949, 957, 942, 954), but we do also find *frade* (point 943, 937, 949, 957, 942) and *sorri* (point 985, 967, 990, 949).

The plural terms are the same as singular terms, but with a final 's' which is add to make the plural of the nouns, like it is for Spanish and Latin. Therefore, we find *frades* and *sorres* at point 943, 937, 949, 957, 942) and *fradis* and *sorris* at point 954 and 941. The plural of 'brother' changes at point 985, 967, 990, 949, which display *fraris*.

AIS map 16 "il bisnonno" and 17 "la bisnonna"

A noticeable variation is showed for kinship nouns 'grandfather' and 'grandmother'. In fact, the dialects display more than one variant and at some points the terms derived from the language of children:

(10) a. iaiu, iaia (point 985 Cagliari, 990 Sant'Antioco, 937 Nuoro, 942 Santu Lussurgiu)

     b. nannai, abai (point 967 Escalaplano)

     c. gagu, gaga (point 943 Macomer)

AIS map 21 "nostro nipote, i nostri nipoti", 22 "nostra nipote" and 23 "le nostre nipoti"

Concerning kinship terms 'nephew' and 'niece', the dialects of Sardegna present the same variation of Northen dialects with slight differences, being for example the spirantization of occlusive consonant 't', the use of the geminates in the feminine nouns and the substitution of the consonant 'p' with 'b':

(11) a. nebodi, neta (point 985 Cagliari)

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[10] Cfr. AIS point 985, 967, 990, 943, 937, 949, 957, 942, 941, 954
[11] Cfr. AIS point 943, 937, 949, 957, 942, 941, 954

  b. nebothi, netta (point 967 Escalaplano - 990 Sant'Antioco)

  c. nebode, neta (point 943 Macomer – 937 Nuoro)

  d. nebode, netta (point 949 Doragli – 957 Desulo - 942 Santu Lussurgiu -   954 Busachi)

  e. nebodi, netta(point 941 Milis)

AIS map 24 "mio cugino, i miei cugini", 25 "mia cugina"and 26 "le mie cugine"

As it regards 'cousin', it needs to be said that the standard forms *cugino* and *cugina* are not preserved in these dialects, but the terms that are showed in the varieties of Sardo are closer to *fratello* and *sorella* 'brother' and 'sister' in the standard language.[12]As a result, we find the following variations:

(12) a. fralili, sorresta (point 985 Cagliari)

  b. frathilli, sorresta (point 967 Escalaplano)

  c. fratili, sorresta (point 990 Sant'Antioco – 954 Busachi)

  d. fradile, sorrastra (point 943 Macomer – 937 Nuoro – 949 Doragli – 957 Desulo)

  e. fradiler, sorresta (point 942 Santu Lussurgiu)

  f. fradiari, sorresta (point 941 Milis)

AIS map 19 "il loro zio, i loro zii" and 20 "la loro zia, le loro zie"

A regard is given to the distribution of 'uncle' and 'aunt', due to the fact that it presents a variation that includes terms which are derived from Spanish. Therefore, we find *tiu* and *tia* at point 843 Macomer(Nuoro) and 923 Ploaghe(Sassari), *ciu* and *cia* at point 957 Desulo(Nu) and 990 Sant'Antioco (Sud Sardegna) and *lio* and *lia* at point 949 Dorgali(Nu). The other dialects display the phonological variants *ziu* and *zia*.

AIS map 31 "il suocero" and 32 "la suocera"

the distribution of 'father in law' and 'mother in law' shows again phonological variants of the standard terms: at point 985, 957, 942, 941 we find *sorgu* and *sorga*; at point 937 and 949 we have *socru* and *socra; srofu* and *srofa* are found at point 967 and 990, which also displays *sorgu/sorga*; finally, we find *drogu* and *droga* at point 954.

AIS map 33 "il genero" and 34 "la nuora"

The distribution of 'son in law" and "daughter in law" resembles that of Sicilian dialects, with phonological variants of the standard forms *genero* and *nuora*:

(13) a. generu, nura (point 985 Cagliari - 937 Nuoro)

  b. genneru, nura (point 967 Escalaplano - 943 Macomer – 954 Busachi - 957 Desulo)

  c. genniru, nura (point 990 Sant'Antioco)

  d. ennaru, nura (point 949 Doragli and 941 Milis)

  e. dzenneru, nura (point 942 Santu Lussurgiu)

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[12] The same is for Sicily, see examples in (42)

AIS map 27 "suo cognato", 28 "i suoi cognati", 29 "sua cognata" and 30 "le sue cognate"

As it regards kinship terms 'brother in law' and 'sister in law', the situation is similar to 'nephew' and 'niece', giving that the standard forms *cognato* and *cognata* are not preserved in the whole dialects of Sardegna, which display a particular variation that derives from Latin, namely *connau* and *connada*, with the ending with an 's' in the plural:

(14) a. connaus, connaras (point 985 Cagliari – 990 Sant'Antioco)

 b. connaus, connathas (point 967 Escalaplano)

 c. connados, connadas (point 943 Macomer)

 d. connaos, connadas (point 937 Nuoro – 957 Desulo)

 e. connadus, connadas (point 949 Doragli -   942 Santu Lussurgiu – 941 Milis)

AIS map 35 "il padrino" and 36 "la madrina"

There is a considerable variation concerning kinship nouns 'godfather' and 'godmother', which are often phonological variants of the standard *nonno/nonna* and not of *padrino* and *madrina*, which are the original standard forms of the variations of the majority of the dialects in the North and Centre of Italy. In Sardo we find the following differentiation:

(15) a. bardinu, bardina (point 985 Cagliari – 990 Sant'Antioco)

 b. nonnu, nonna (point 967 Escalaplano - 943 Macomer - 937 Nuoro - 949 Doragli - 957 Desulo - 942 Santu Lussurgiu - 954 Busachi)

 c. nonnai, nonna (point 941 Milis)

AIS map 37 "il figlioccio, la figlioccia"

the distribution of kinship terms 'godson' and 'goddaughter shows that the dialects of Sardegna not only do not preserve the standard nouns *padrino* and *madrina*, but also do not display phonological variants. Therefore, we find other terms in all the varieties of this area:

(16) a. vitolu (point 985 Cagliari, map 37)

 b. villoru (point 967 Escalaplano, map 37)

 c. vidzolu (point 943 Macomer – 937 Nuoro – 942 Santu Lussurgiu, map 37)

 d. idzolu (point 949 Doragli, map 37)

 e. vizolu (point 957 Desulo, map 37)

 f.   vidzoru (point 941 Milis, map 37)

 g. viggollu (point 954 Busachi, map 37)

Conclusions

The geographical distribution of kinship terms in the dialects given in this section showed the most important differenciation from North to South of Italy, as it was expected. Northen dialects display phonological variants of the standard terms almost everywhere and for all kinship terms. The only

kinship terms that showed a relevant variation are 'uncle', 'aunt', 'cousin(m.)', 'cousin(f.)', 'father in law', 'mother in law', 'godfather' and 'godmother'. In fact, in Northeastern dialects we find *barba* for 'uncle' and for 'aunt' there is more than one term: *amia* (point 375 and 385), *gnagne* (point 339), *agna* (point 349), *deda* (point 330) and *ameda* (point 334). Only in the dialects of Venice, Vicenza and Trieste we find the standard terms *zio* and *zia*, while Northwestern varieties showed that phonological variants and standard terms are well diffused in the area near Milano (cfr. *ziu* and *zia* at point 252 Monza and 250 Bienate). On the contrary, in the other dialects we find again *barba* for 'uncle' and *agna* and *lala* for 'aunt'. The distribution of 'father in law' and 'mother in law' showed a large use of *misere* and *madona* in Northeastern varieties (point 375, 385, 369, 339, 349, 330, 332, 334 and 363). *Madona* is also found in some dialects of North West, namely in the variety of Torino, Montanaro and Corio. In some dialects, we find particular terms, such as *pedar a mi mujer* and *medar a mi mujer* (cfr. point 456 Bologna), which literally mean 'the father to my wife' and 'the mother to my wife'. In the other dialects we find phonological variations of the standard terms instead. Only in Northeastern dialects we find *zerman/derman* and *zermana/dermana* in the distribution of 'cousin(m.)' and 'cousin(f.)', together with phonological variants of the standard terms. Finally, the variation of 'godfather' and 'godmother' showed an interesting differentiation: in Northeastern dialects we find *santolo/santala* and *compare/comare* almost everywhere, except for the dialect of Mortaso and Faver that display the terms *gudas* and *gudasa*. On the other hand, Northwestern varieties showed a general use of phonological variants of standard terms, but at some points we find different terms, such as *guazu/guaza* (point 250 Bienate(MI)). Moreover, for 'grandchildren', standard Italian displays the term *nipote* with the output in 'e' for both sexes and the same is for some dialects. In fact, the gender is given in the article and in the possessive adjective, which variation will be discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis.

Proceeding through the Centre, the local language approaches to standard Italian. This is due to the fact the Italian language derives from Fiorentino, which is the dialect spoken in Tuscany in the capitol city (Florence). In fact, in this area (Tuscany) the variation of kinship terms is basically the same that we find in Italian, with just few differences. The only terms that are totally different from the standard language are 'godfather', 'godmother', 'godson' and 'goddaughter', which at all points become *compare*, *comare* (like in north-eastern dialects), *comparucco* and *commarucca*. North Central dialects, namely the varieties spoken in Umbria, Marche and north Lazio, show a similar variation but in these varieties, we do also find different terms for 'son in law' and 'mother in law'. In fact, we find *fiastro/fiastra*, *fiolo/fiola* and *fio/fia* (point 566, 555, 558), and at point 529 Fano we find *al marid d mia fiola* 'son in law' and *la moi d mi fiol* 'daughter in law'. What is more, at some point we find different terms also for 'father in law' and mother in law', namely *patregno/matregna* (point 566) and *babo/mama* (point 529). The more we proceed towards the South, the bigger is the distance between the local language and the standard language. In fact, South Centre dialects showed a kinship terminology that is characterized by phonological variants, new terms but also some particular kinship terms that form one word with the possessive adjective (this phenomenon will be analysed in the next chapters). For instance, we find *fardata/sorata* 'brotheryour/sisteryour', *sograma* 'mother in law – my' but also *fratm cugin* and *sorm cugin* for 'cousin(m.)' and 'cousin(f.)'.

In the dialects of the centre these structures disappeared in modern language, but they are still used in some dialects of the south, like the variety of Naples. These varieties showed a variation that is clearly the most distant from the standard language and the closer to south centre variation. Like in the central varieties, here we find the enclitic possessives with some kinship terms, such as the already mentioned terms for 'cousins' and the terms *socrm* and *suocrm* for 'father in law' and 'mother in law'. We do also find different terms for 'father', such as *tata, siermə, iati, sioms* and *attandə*, and

for 'brother' and 'sister' we find *motir* and *vula* in the dialect of Acquaformosa(Cosenza), in the region of Calabria. There also different terms for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother', such as *papa ross/mamma ross* (point 720), *tata nun/mamma rann* (point 728), *grann/sir* (point 719) and *vavon/vav* (point 722). Again, like central dialects, and like north-eastern varieties, we find the variants of *compare* and *comare* for 'godfather' and 'godaughter'.

Finally, it has been noted that the dialects spoken in Sicily and Sardegna shows phonological variants of the standard language almost always, like it is generally for the majority of the other dialects. The only kinship terms that have different forms are 'godson', 'godson', 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' in the dialects of Sardegna. We find *vitolu, villoru, idzolu* and *vidzolu* for 'godson' and *iaiu/iaia, abai* and *gagu/gaga* for 'grandmother' and 'grandfather'.

Expectedly, the language is more detached from standard Italian in the South than in the North. Most of all in Sardo, which is the variety that is spoken in Sardinia and it is sharply separated from the other varieties, due to the fact that it still presents reminiscences of Latin.

Finally, it can be said that there are still a lot of dialects that are completely or almost completely unknow to scholars. For this reason, the research on Italian dialects is still going on nowadays.

CHAPTER 3

THE SYNTAX OF ARTICLES AND POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES

This section will approach the subject of the variation in Italian dialects from a morphological view, giving a background of the use of the definite article with common nouns in the standard language and in the dialects. Moreover, the second paragraph will focus on the main characteristics of possessive adjectives, such as the tripartition into weak, strong and clitic and the position of a possessive in the DP. In this part, Standard Italian will be compared with the dialects and other Romance languages (Spanish and French), which sometimes behave differently.

3.1 The use of the definite article with singular and plural common nouns

In this paragraph I will give a background of the use of the definite article with plural and singular common nouns. In Italian, the definite article always occurs with common nouns, but if another element is inserted between the determiner and the head noun, then the word order can change and the sentence will be transformed in order to make it grammatical. For instance, if a possessive adjective is inserted before the noun and after the determiner, then the latter must obligatorily precede the noun, but if the possessive is postnominal, then the determiner is omitted. However, this may not happen in other languages and in the dialects. This is the reason why the standard language will be compared with the local variety and with Spanish and French, which are also Romance languages but sometimes they behave differently from Italian.

3.1.1 *Standard Italian*

One of the basic rules of Italian grammar is that in a nominal expression the definite article must always precede singular and plural common nouns:

(1) a. i calzini sono verdi   c. il calzino è verde

     b. *calzini sono verdi   d. *calzino è verde

     the socks are green   *the sock is green*

This also holds when the noun is preceded by a modifier, such as a possessive adjective, unlike what is found in other Romance Languages:

(2) a. i tuoi calzini   d. il tuo calzino   IT

     b. i calzini tuoi   e. il calzino tuo

     c. *tuoi calzini   f. *tuo calzino

(3) a. ta chaussette   c. tes chaussettes   FR

     b. *la ta chaussette   d. *les tes chaussettes

(4) a. tu calcetìn   c. tus calcetines   SP

     b.*el tu calcetìn   d.   d. *los tus calcetines

(the) your sock   (the) your socks

Note that in Spanish it is also possible to find postnominal possessives that require the presence of the definite article, like in Italian (2 b, e) above:

(5) a. los calcetines tuyos

    b. *calcetines tuyos

   the socks your

Therefore, in Italian and Spanish the possessive adjective has two forms: a weak prenominal form, which obligatorily occurs with the definite article in Italian, but not in Spanish, and a strong postnominal form which is preceded by the definite article both in Italian and Spanish:

(6) a. il mio libro   IT

    b. il libro mio

(7) a. (*el) mi libro   SP

    b. el libro mio

   (the) my book, *(the) book my*

Note that in predicate position, we can have the strong form alone functioning as a predicative adjective, or included in an elliptic nominal expression, introduced by a determiner:

(8) a. il libro MIO, non (il) suo   IT

    b. el libro MIO, no (el) suyo SP

   (the) book my, not (the) his

   his book, not mine

Unlike Spanish and Italian, in French the possessive adjective can only be prenominal and it is never preceded by the definite article:

(9) a. mon livre

    b. *livre mon

    c. *le livre mon/mon livre

    d. c'est mon livre, pas le sien

    e. c'est *le mon livre, pas *sien

In Italian, with the noun *casa* 'home', it is possible to omit the definite article with a postnominal possessive when the latter is stressed or coordinated:

(10) a. casa mia è più piccola

    b. la mia casa è più piccola

   (the) my house is smaller

(11) questa è casa tua e mia

this is house – your and my

this is your house and mine

Note that in Spanish and French, the coordination in (11) is not possible but the sentence must be transformed in order to make it grammatical:

(12) a. esta es *casa mia y tua   SP

    b. esta es mi casa y la tuya

(13) a. cette – ci est *maison ma et ta   FR

    b. cette – ci est ma maison et la tienne

Note that in French, we can have a competing structure that require the definite article with postnominal modifiers in predicative position. In fact, it is possible to find a passive form with a preposition and a personal pronoun:

(14) le livre est à moi

   The book is to me

Moreover, possessive adjectives in French require clitic doubling. In this case, the definite article is obligatory absent :

(15) a. mon livre à moi

    b. *le mon livre à moi

   my book to me

3.1.2 *Italian Dialects*

The definite article also occurs before a common noun in the dialects, but with slight differences from North to South. The main difference is that in all northern varieties the word order is *art+possessive+noun*, while in the varieties of the South we find the postnominal possessives only, by which the order becomes *art+noun+possessive*:

(1) a. el calseto zé verde (Veneto)[13]

    i calseti i zé verdi

   b. il calset l'è verde (Lombardo e Piemontese)

    i calset li son verdi

   c. il calzino è verde (Umbro)

    i calzini so verdi

   d. o' cazett è verd (Napoli)

    e' cazett so verd

---

[13]We thank Adamo Darmento, Rosa Vacirca, Pietro Trionfera, Carmine Esposito and Federica Tatti for the examples of dialects. The examples of Veneto come from my judgement.

e. sa migga est verde (Sardo)

   sas migas sunt verdes

The only exception is the dialect of Sicily, which reprises the word order of the northern dialects:

(2) a. u meu cuasett j'è virdi (Siciliano)[14]

  b. li meus cuasetti sunu virdi

In the dialects of the North we can have the determiner with a prenominal possessive and sometimes with a postnominal one, but not always:

(3) a. el me libro zé sul tavoeo (Veneziano and Padovano)

  b. el libro mio zé sul tavoeo

(4) a. ea mia casa zé picoea (Veneziano and Padovano)

  b. *casa mia zé picoea

(5) a. la me ca' l'è piccola (Milanese and Torinese)

  b. l'è ca' mia e tua

Note that Paduan behaves like standard Italian and Spanish (cfr. Cardinaletti 1998), but unlike the latter, we can have the definite article also before prenominal possessives:

(6) a. el me libro   (Padovano)[15]

  b. el libro mio

(7) a. *el mi libro   SP

  b. mi libro

  c. el libro mio

This is not possible in Veneziano, which seem to require only prenominal deficient forms of possessives:

(8) a. el me libro

  b. *el libro mio

In the varieties of North West, in contrast, it is possible to find both (3) a and (3) b:

(9) a. el mi liber (Milanese and Torinese)

  b. el liber mio

On the contrary, the upper northern central Italian dialects present only (3) a, giving that possessives are almost only prenominal (cfr. Fiorentino 6 a and Romano 6 b), except for some dialects of Umbria, such as Gualdese and Perugino, whose native speakers usually prefer the postnominal possessive:

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(10) a. i mmi libro (Fiorentino)

    b. il mi libro/ il libro mia (Perugino, Gualdese and Spoletano)

    c. er mi libbro (Romano)

In lower central varieties, possessives are always postnominal and preceded by the definite article:

(11) lu libbru miu (Abruzzese and Molisano)

Therefore, in the dialects of the centre it is possible to find both the 'noun + possessive' and 'possessive+ noun' structure which require the definite article (cfr. the examples in (9 a, b, c and d) from native speaker's interviews):

(12) a. la mi casa (Toscano and Umbro)

    b. a casa mia (Romano)

    c. a cas me (Molisano and Abruzzese)

    d. la casa mia (Marchigiano)

The same happens with the dialects of the South, except for Sicilian (15 a and b) that displays prenominal possessives, like northen dialects. In this case, there are no enclitic forms:

(13) a. o' libr mij (Napoletano)

    b. su libbru miu (Sardo)

(14) a. a' cas mij (Napoletano)[16]

    b. la casa me (Foggiano and Barese)

    c. a casa me (Materano)

    d. sa domu mia (Sardo)

 (15) a. u meu libru (Siciliano)

    b. a me casa

3.2 Weak, Strong and Clitic possessives with common nouns

The Italian possessive system displays two forms of possessive adjectives: a strong postnominal form, which is possible in isolation and can be compared and contrasted, as it is showed in this paragraph, and a weak prenominal form that cannot be in isolation, nor compared or contrasted, but obligatorily needs the determiner before. The deficient forms are usually used with common nouns and plural kinship terms, whereas the tonic forms can be used with common nouns but not with singular kinship terms, which behaves differently from other nouns. The situation of kinship terms will be analysed in Chapter 4. The only possessive that makes an exception is the 3rd person plural *loro* 'their', which is always a weak prenominal possessive. The situation changes in some dialects, which do not only display weak and strong possessives, but also clitic forms, and in the other languages.

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[16] We thank native speakers of the dialects for the exemples

3.1.1 *Standard Italian*

Cardinaletti and Starke (1994) point out that pronominal systems are characterised by a deficient/strong opposition. In fact, pronouns have two possible forms: stressed and unstressed. The first one is a full form, which can be in bare in isolation, whereas the latter is a weak form that must be preceded by the definite article. In Italian, pronouns like *lo/la/li/le/ne/gli* are weak and *lui/lei/me/te/noi/voi* 'him/her/me/you/us/you' are strong pronouns. The evidence of this is given in the fact that the latter can be coordinated, modified or focalized, which is not possible with the unstressed forms:

(1) a. Maria lo ha visto

  b. *Maria ha visto lo

  Mary he saw/saw he

  c. Maria ha visto lui

  Mary saw him

  d. Chi ha visto Maria? Lui

  who saw Mary? him

The same phenomenon occurs in other languages, such as French. The personal pronouns *le/la/me/te/nous/vous/les* are weak forms, whereas *moi/toi/lui/elle/eux/elles* are strong modifiers :

(2) a. Marie *l'*a vu

  b. Marie a vu *le

(3) a. Marie a vu *lui*

  b. qui a vu Marie ? *lui/*le*

On the contrary, in Spanish personal pronouns have only one forms that can be weak or strong and sometimes it is possible to have 'clitic doubling':

(4) a. Maria *lo* viò

  b. Maria viò a *el*

  c. Maria *lo* viò a *el*

  Mary him saw (him)

Cardinaletti (1998) proposes that, in Italian, this opposition also characterizes possessive systems, giving that they show the same morphologic, syntactic and semantic properties of pronouns. In fact, possessives *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, *nostro*, *vostro* and *loro* 'my/your/his/our/your/their' can be prenominal and postnominal:

(5) a. il mio libro

  (the) my book

  b. il libro mio

  (the) book my

When they precede the noun, possessives are considered as weak forms; when they occur after the noun, they are taken as full stressed forms. Prenominal possessives are always preceded by the definite article and, like deficient pronouns, they cannot be coordinated, focalized or in isolation:

(6) a. *il mio libro e tuo

(the) my book and your

b. *il mio e tuo libro

(the) my and your book

On the contrary, postnominal possessives can appear in isolation without the definite article and it is possible to coordinate or focalize them:

(7) a. di chi è questo libro? mio/tuo/suo/nostro/vostro

who's this book? mine/your/his/ours/your

b. queste sono cose mie e cose tue

these are things mine and yours

'these are my things and yours'

Note that the same thing happens in Spanish, but with a restriction: possessive adjectives mi*/tu/su/nuestro/vuestro* are weak forms and are prenominal, but they are never preceded by the determiner. On the contrary, *mio/tuyo/suyo* are strong forms that are postnominal and do not necessary need the definite article:

(8) a. esta es * la mi mochila

b. esta es mi mochila

c. esta es la mochila mia/tuya/suya

this is my/your/his rucksack

Note that in French prenominal possessives not preceded by the definite article are the only possible alternative:

(9) a. ceci est *le mon sac à dos

b. ceci est *le sac à dos mien/tien/sien

c. ceci est mon sac à dos

As noted by Cardinaletti (1998), the 3rd person plural possessive *loro* can only appear in prenominal position, where it preceded the pre – nominal modifiers of the noun:

(15) a. il loro interessante libro di sintassi

b. *il libro loro di sintassi

(the) their interesting book of syntax

However, in the N – to – D raising proposed by Longobardi (1994) this modifier can be postnominal, with the result that the noun is in D and the possessive in its usual pre – nominal position. This is showed in common and proper nouns:

(17) a. casa loro

     house – their

    b. Gianni loro

    John – their

Cardinaletti (1998) proposes that *loro* is an oblique personal pronoun used DP-internally, due to the fact that it is an invariant modifier, unlike the other possessives, which agree in gender and number with the noun, and it is only weak:

(22) a. il loro amico   (23) a. il mio amico

    b. la loro amica   (*lora)   b. la mia amica

    c. le loro amiche   (*lore)   c. le mie amiche

    (the) their friend(s)   *(the) my friend(s)*

Note that the 3rd person plural possessive is also invariant and prenominal in French, but only in gender and it is not preceded by the determiner. The same thing can be noted for Spanish:

(26) a. leur ami   FR

    b. leurs amis

    c. leur amie

    d. leurs amies

(28) a. su amigo

    b. su amiga   SP

    c. sus amigos

    d. sus amigas

3.3 Postnominal and Prenominal possessives with common nouns

3.3.1 *Standard Italian*

In Italian, possessive modifiers can appear both before and after the noun. If they are prenominal, then they are deficient forms always preceded by the definite article, whereas if they are postnominal, then they are full forms:

(1)   a. la *sua* casa

    b. la casa *sua*

    (the) his house

(Cardinaletti: 1998)

The evidence of this is given in the fact that only postnominal possessives can be coordinated, focalized or modified by other elements:

(2) a. *la *sua* casa, non tua

   b. la casa *sua*, non tua

   (the) his house, not yours

(3) a. *la *tua* e *sua* casa

   b. la casa *tua* e *sua*

   (the) house your and his

(4) a. *la *sua* solo casa

   b. la casa solo *sua*

   (the) house only his

However, it is possible to make (2 a) grammatical if the possessive is focalized in order to contrast the whole sentence:

(5) a. la *sua* casa, non la tua

   (the) his house, not (the) your

Moreover, the definite article can be omitted before full postnominal forms, whereas it is obligatory with weak prenominal possessives:

(6) a. questa è casa *mia*

   b. *questa è *mia* casa

   (this) is house – my

Nevertheless, the phrase in (6a) is only possible with the noun *casa* 'home', whereas with the other nouns the article appears again and it is obligatory also with postnominal possessives:

(7) a. questo è **mio* libro

   b. questo è **libro *mio*

   c. questo è il *mio* libro

   d. questo è il libro *mio*

   this is (the) my book/the book my

If other adjectival material is inserted between the possessive adjective and the head noun, then the possessive is obligatory prenominal and it always precedes the adjective:

(8) a. *la casa *nostra* bella

   b. la *nostra* bella casa

With the exception of *loro*, which is prenominal with general nouns and always require the determiner:

(11) a. la *loro* casa, le *loro* case

(the) their house, (the) their houses

b. il loro libro, i loro libri

(the) their book, (the) their books

3.3.2 *Dialects*

In the dialects there are two forms of possessives: the first is a reduced form which is prenominal and always preceded by the article, the latter is the full postnominal form. In the dialects of the North, possessive modifiers like *me/to/so* are reduced forms and *mio/tuo/suo* are strong modifiers. The evidence of this is given in the fact that the former can never be coordinated or focalized, like in standard Italian, whereas the latter can be modified or under a focal reading. Therefore, reduced forms are prenominal, while full forms are postnominal:

(12) a. ea *me/to/so* casa zé verde (Veneziano and Padovano)

(the) my/your/his house is green

b. questa zé casa *mia*

this is house – my

(13) a. la *me* ca' l'è verde (Milanese and Torinese)

b. questa l'è ca' *mia*

The dialects of the Centre show tree kind of possessive modifiers: the varieties that are closer to Tuscany, namely Umbrian and Marchigiano, tend to have only weak prenominal possessives preceded by the definite article, both in singular and plural nouns:

(15) a. la mi/tu/su casa è verde (Fiorentino and Perugino)

b. 'l mi libro sta sul tavolo (Perugino)

c. er mi libbro è sur tavolo (Romano)

(16) a. a cas mia è verd (Abruzzese)

b. a cə s me è verd (Molise)

In the South, possessives are always postnominal and the definite article always precedes the noun:

(20) a. a' cas mia (Napoletano)

b. o' libr mij (Napoletano and Pugliese)

c. so libru miu (Sardo)

'*(the) book my*'

like the dialects of the North, Sicilian displays prenominal possessives preceded by the article or postnominal focalized full forms with common nouns:

(21) a. u'me libbru jè supra u' tavulu[17]

    b. u libbru miu jè supra u' tavulu

    (the) my book is on the table

(23) a. a meo casa jè virdi

    (the) my house is green

    b. chista jè casa meo

    this is the house my

CHAPTER 4

THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE WITH A POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE IN KINSHIP TERMS

In this section, I will focus on the pattern of the co - occurrence of the definite article with a possessive adjective in kinship terms. In the first part, the syntax of kinship terms will be approached with regard to prenominal possessives with the article; Standard Italian will be compared with dialects and other languages. Moreover, I will discuss the use of the definite article in Italian dialects through a personal study made on the data collected from the AIS and summarized in Tables. The second part will be centred on the co-occurrence with postnominal full forms and the third part will focus on the use of the definite article without possessives. Finally, I will compare kinship terms in Italian dialects with a category of proper names that seem to behave similarly and I will introduce Longobardi's N - to – D raising as a proof of this fact.

4.1 Prenominal possessives (weak)

4.1.1 *Standard Italian*

In standard Italian, a definite article occurs before plural kinship terms preceded by a weak form of the possessive adjective, whereas it must be omitted with singular kinship terms:

(15) a. *il mio fratello

    mio fratello

    (the) my brother

  b. *miei fratelli

    i miei fratelli

    (the) my brothers

Note that (15) a is not possible in French and Spanish, du the fact that in these languages the definite article is not only omitted with singular kinship terms, but also with plural one, as is the case of common nouns seen in 3.1 examples (4) a and b:

(16) a. mon frère   c. mes frères   FR

  b. *le mon frère   d. *les mes frères

(17) a. mi hermano   c. mis hermanos   SP

  b. *el mi hermano   d. *los mis hermanos

The only possessive adjective that makes an exception to the ban of the definite article preceding a possessive prenominal adjective modifying a kinship term is *loro*:

(18) a. *loro fratello   (19) a. *loro fratelli

     b. il loro fratello   b. i loro fratelli

Note that in French the determiner is omitted also with *loro*, while Spanish lacks such a comparable pronominal form and uses the same form for singular and plural third person possessors:

(20) a. leur frère   (21) a. leur frères   FR

     b. *le leur frère   b. *les leur frères

(22) a. su hermano   (23) a. sus hermanos   SP

     b. *el su hermano   b. *los sus hermanos

However, in Italian there are kinship terms which can behave like common nouns, such as *mamma* 'mum' and *papà* 'dad'. In fact, the definite article appears in the singular. Note that in this case the plural is not given, due to the fact that, normally, we have one mother and one father[18]:

(24) a. la mia mamma

     b. mia mamma

     (the) my mum

(25) a. il mio papà

     b. mio papà

     (the) my dad

(25) a is less used than (25) b though. Differently, the formal terms *madre* and *padre* do not require the presence of the definite article with a possessive adjective, but only if the latter is absent[19]:

(25) a. *il mio padre   c. *la mia madre

     b. mio padre   d. mia madre

     (the) my father   *(the) my mother*

Expectedly, another category of kinship terms which takes the definite article also in the singular with prenominal possessives, is that of diminutives. With *fratellino* 'little brother', *sorellina* 'little sister', *mammina* 'mummy', *papino* 'daddy' [….] the determiner is always obligatory:

(26) a. il mio fratellino

     b. *mio fratellino

     (the) my little brother

The same thing happens with derogatory nouns, such as *fratellastro* 'stepbrother' and *sorellastra* 'stepsister':

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[18] giving the plural of 'mother' and 'father' would be ambigous for religious and political reasons
[19] Something about articles without possessives will be said in paragraph 4.4

(27) a. questo è il mio fratellastro

   b. questo è *mio fratellastro

   this is (the) my stepbrother

Note that, expectedly, in Franch and Spanish, the definite article is omitted with diminutives and derogative nouns, like in Italian:

(28) a. mi hermanito/hermanita   c. mi hermanastro/a   SP

   b. *el mi hermanito/*la mi hermanita   d. *el mi hermanastro/*la mi hermanastra

(29) a. mon petit – frère/ma petite – sœur   c. mon demi – frère/ma demi – sœur   FR

   b. *le mon petit – frère/*la ma petit – sœur   d. *le mon demi – frère/*la ma demi – sœur

the presence of the determiner is also allowed by singular kinship terms 'godfather', 'godmother', 'godson' and 'goddaughter':

(30) a. *mio padrino   c. *mia madrina

   b. il mio padrino   d. la mia madrina

   (the) my godfather   *(the) my godmother*

(31) a. *mio figlioccio   c. *mia figlioccia

   b. il mio figlioccio   d. la mia figlioccia

   (the) my godson   *(the) my goddaughter*

Again, unlike Italian, the definite article is absent in French and Spanish kinship terminology:

(32) a. (*el) mi padrino   SP

   (the) my godfather

   b. (*la) mi madrina

   (the) my godmother

(33) a. (*le) mon parrain   FR

   b. (*la) ma marraine

(34) a. (*el) mi aijhado   SP

   (the) my godson

   b. (*la) mi aijhada

   (the) my goddaughter

(35) a. (*le) mon filleul   FR

   b. (*la) ma filleule

4.1.2 *North Est*

The variation of North Est dialects is summarized in table 1 below. The AIS points analysed for this area are Venezia 376, Gamberale 375, Cavarzere 385, Trieste 369, Udine 339, Gorizia 349, Mortaso 330, Faver 332, Canal San Bovo 334 and Vicenza 363. The definite article is rarely used before possessives in this area and most of all with plural kinship terms (22 articles against only 2 with singular kinship – N), which seem to approach these varieties to standard Italian:

(36) a. to fradeo   (AIS point 376 Venezia – 375 Gamberale, map 13)

   b. i to fradei

(37) a. tuo fratello   IT stanadard

   b. i tuoi fratelli

However, there are some differences. In the majority of the dialects the definite article is omitted with singular and plural kinship terms 'brother in law' and 'sister in law':

(38) a. so cugna (point 385 Cavarzere, map 27 – 28)

   b. so cugnadi

(39) a. su cugnat (point 339 Udine, map 27 – 28)

   b. soi cugnas

(40) a. so cugnà (point 376 Venezia, map 27 – 28)

   b. so cugnai

(41) a. su cugna (point 363 Vicenza, map 27 – 28)

   b. so cugnati

(42) a. suo cognato   IT

   b. (*i) suoi cognati

 his brother in law, his brothers in law

the same happens with kinship terms *cugino* 'cousin(m.)' and *cugina* 'cousin(f.)':

(43) a. mio cugino, mia cugina   IT

   b. (*i) miei cugini, (*le) mie cugine

(44) a. me cugin/cugina (point 376 Venezia, map 24 – 25 - 26)

   b. me cugini/cugine

(45) a. me cuzin/cuzina

   b. me cuzins (point 369 Trieste – 349 Gorizia, map 24 – 25 – 26)

(46) a. me derman/dermana (point 334 Canal San Bovo – 363 Vicenza, map 24 – 25 - 26)

   b. me dermani/dermane

As regards the other kinship terms, the dialects seem to avoid the use of the definite article with a prenominal possessive also before *mamma* and *papà*, differently from the standard variety:

(47) a. la mia mamma   IT

    b. *ea me mama (Veneziano and Padovano)

    c. mia mamma   IT

    d. me mama/mare (Veneziano and Padovano)

(48) a. il mio papà

    b. *el me pare

    c. mio papà

    d. me pare

In this case, the dialects behave similarly to other Romance languages, like Spanish and French:

(49) a. (*la) mi mamà/madre   SP

    b. (*el) mi padre/papà

(50) a. (*la) ma mère   FR

    b. (*le) mon père

(the) my mother, (the) my father

(51) a. (*el) mi primo, (*la) mi prima   SP

    b. (*los) mis primos, (*las) mis primas

(52) a. (*le) mon cousin, (*la) ma cousine   FR

    b. (*les) mes cousins, (*les) mes cousines

(the) my cousin, (the) my cousins

Nevertheless, in some dialects the determiner appears again with kinship terms of second or third degree, such as *genero* 'son in law' and *nuora* 'daughter in law':

(53) a. el me zenaro[20]   (Veneziano)

    b. ea me nora

(the) my son in law, (the) my daughter in law

Table 1. Variation of the article in North Est

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[20] (49) a is also possible in North West dialects, such has Milanese:

  ii. al me gener

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 1	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**
brother	10	0	4	6
sister	10	0	5	5
cousins	20	0	16	4
brother in law	10	0	6	4
sister in law	8	2	7	3
TOTAL	58	2	38	22
	60		60	

4.1.3 *North West*

The area of North West is characterised for a greater use of the definite article with singular kinship terms, as it is showed in table 2 below. The AIS points analysed for this area are Milano 261, Monza 252, Bienate 250, Torino 155, Montanaro 146, Corio 144, Sassello 177, Genova 178, Rovegno 179 and Zoagli 187.

These varieties, differently from the dialects of North Est, are less similar to standard Italian. Infact, the determiner often occurs with a prenominal possessive with plural and singular kinship terms:

(54) a. to fradell, i to fradell (AIS point 261 Milano, map 13)

(the) your brother, (the) your brothers

b. la tua surela, i to surei (AIS point 261 Milano, map 14)

(the) your sister, (the) your sisters

(55) a. to fradel, i to fradi (AIS point 250 Bienate, map 13)

b. la to suela, i to suel (AIS point 250 Bienate, map 14)

(56) a. ta fre, i ta fre (AIS point 179 Rovegno, map 13)

b. e ta soe, e ta soe (AIS point 179 Rovegno, map 14)

(57) a. el su cugnà, i su cugnai (AIS point 261 Milano, map 27 – 28)

b. la su cugnada, i so cugna (AIS point 252 Monza, map 29 – 30)

(58) al so cugna, i soe cugna (AIS point 146 Montanaro, map 27 – 28)

Differently from the dialects of the Est and Stanadard Italian, in the varieties of North West the definite article can appear but not necessarily with *mamma* and *papà* and it is always showed with *figlio* 'son':

(59) a. a la sua mama (AIS point 261 Milano, map 8)

b. so mader (AIS point 256 Brescia, map 8)

(the) his mother

(60) a. ul me pa' (AIS point 250 Bienate, map 5)

b. me padar (AIS point 271 Vigevano, map 5)

(the) his father

(61) a. kwant al me fioe (AIS point 261 Milano, map 9)

b. kwand al me matet (AIS point 146 Montanaro, map 9)

when (the) my son

The determiner can occur with singular kinship terms 'son in law', 'daughter in law', 'godfather', 'godmother', 'godson' and 'goddaughter' as well as in the dialects of North Est:

(62) a. el me gener (Milanese)

b. al me gener (Corio 144, AIS 33)

c. l me zener (Toscolano 259, AIS 33)

 (the) my son in law

(63) a. a me spuza/noea (Bienate 250, AIS 34)

b. la me noera (Vigevano 271, AIS 34)

 (the) my daughter in law

(64) a. el me padrin/gias   (Milanese, Torinese and Monzese)

b. la me madrina/giasa

(the) my godfather, (the) my godmother

(65) a. ul so fios   (Bienate 250, AIS 37)

b. a so fiosa

(the) his godson, (the) his goddaughter

Table 2. Variation of the article in North West

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 2	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**
brother, brothers	10	0	1	9
sisters, sisters	6	4	1	9
cousins	16	4	1	19
brother in law	6	4	3	7
sister in law	8	2	1	9
TOTAL	46	14	7	53
	60		60	

4.1.4 *Emilia Romagna*

This area is part of the North, but the dialects show a slight difference in the use of the definite article. Table 3 below shows that the determiner is almost always present in plural kinship terms (cfr. column 3) but it also used in the singular. The AIS points selected to analyse the area of Emilia Romagna are 456 Bologna, 446 Minerbio, 455 Merlano, 401 Piacenza, 403 Parma, 459 Ravenna, 479 Cesenatico, 439 Comacchio, 466 Loiano and 476 Brisighella.

As well as standard Italian, in the dialects of Emilia Romagna the definite article occurs with plural kinship terms and, in most cases, it is omitted with singular kinship terms:

(66) a. to fradel, i tu fradi (AIS point 456 Bologna – 446 Minerbio, map 13)

b. tu surela, i tau surel

(67) a. mi cuzen, i mi cuzen (AIS point 466 Loiano, map 24)

b. mi cuzenna, i mi cuzen

(68) a. su cugnet, i su cugnet (AIS point 455 Merlano, map 27 – 28)

b. su cugneda, al sou cugned

According to the data of AIS, the determiner almost never occurs before a prenominal possessive with singular kinship terms corresponding to *mamma*, *papà* and *figlio,* unlike the other dialects:

(69) a. mi pedar (AIS point 456 Bologna, map 5)

b. me par (AIS point 401 Piacenza, map 5)

(the) my father

c. so medar (AIS point 456 Bologna, map 8)

d. so ma/mer (AIS point 401 Piacenza, map 8)

(the) my mother

(70) a. kwant ke mi fioal (AIS point 459 Ravenna, map 9)

b. kwant me fioel (AIS point 423 Parma, map 9)

when (the) my son

Table 3. Variation of the article in Emilia Romagna

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 3	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**
brother	9	1	0	10
sister	8	2	0	10
cousins	15	5	0	20
brother in law	3	7	0	10
sister in law	7	3	1	9
TOTAL	42	18	1	59
	60		60	

4.1.4 *Toscana*

In table 4 below it is summarized the variation in the use of the definite article with kinship terms in the dialects of Tuscany. This area is characterized by the fact the capital city, Florence, is the cradle of Italian language, by which the local variety is expected to coincide with the standard variety. However, this is not verified with kinship terminology. The AIS points selected for this area are 530

Pisa, 552 Siena, 541 Fauglia, 523 Firenze, 544 Arezzo, 554 Cortona, 522 Vinci, 582 Pitigliano, 513 Prunetta and 511 Campori.

The dialects of Tuscany are characterized by the massive use of the definite article with plural kinship terms as well as with singular kinship terms, which is not verified in standard Italian:

(71) a. al tu frathello, i thu frathelli (AIS point 552 Siena, map 13)

(the) your brother, (the) your brothers

  b. la tu sorela, le tu sorelle (AIS point 552, map 14)

(the) your sister, (the) your sisters

  c. i mmi huzino, i mi huzini (AIS point 523 Firenze, map 24)

 (the) my cousin, (the) my cousins

  d. la su cognata, le su cognate (AIS point 544 Arezzo, map 29 – 30)

 (the) his sister in law, (the) his sisters in law

This statement is also verified with 'mother' and 'father', which are obligatory preceded by a prenominal possessive and the definite article. With 'son' there are cases in which the definite article is omitted:

(72) a. la su mamma (AIS point 523 Firenze – 552 Siena, map 8)

(the) his mother

  b. i mmi babbo (AIS point 523 Firenze, map 5)

(the) my father

  c. kwand i mmi fiłolo (AIS point 523 Firenze, map 9)

  d. kwando l mi fiłolo (AIS point 552 Siena, map 9)

  e. kwando mio fiło (AIS point 530 Pisa, map 9)

  when (the) my son

Variation of the article in Toscana

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 4	Ø	ARTICLE	Ø	ARTICLE
brother	5	5	1	9
sister	1	9	1	9
cousins	3	17	1	19
brother in law	0	10	0	10
sister in law	0	10	0	10
TOTAL	9	51	3	57
	60		60	

4.1.5 *North Centre*

The area of North Centre shows a variation that is very close to the varieties of Tuscany, being influenced by these dialects. That is the reason why the local language here is similar to standard Italian. However, with kinship terms there are some differences again in the use of the determiner with prenominal possessives.

Table 5. shows that in North Centre dialects there is more or less an equal number of articles with plural and singular kinship terms, although it is inferior to Tuscan varieties.

The analysis of AIS points 565 Perugia, 566 Nocera Umbra, 546 Pietralunga, 539 Ancona, 538 Montemarciano, 529 Fano, 555 Civitella, 556 Loreto, 548 Montecarotto and 558 Treia shows that in some areas of Marche and Umbria there is a lower use of the determiner, which is due to enclitic possessives and to the influence of neighbouring regions.

The region of Umbria, for example, is linguistically divided: the area that goes up to Perugia shows dialects that frequently use the definite article with kinship terms before prenominal possessives, like the varieties of Tuscany, while the area that goes down to Perugia shows dialects that rarely use the article and the possessive adjective with singular kinship terms:

(73) a. el tu fratello, i tu fratelli (AIS point 546 Pietralunga, map 13)

　　　b. tu fratello, i tu fratelli (AIS point 555 Civitella, map 13)

　　　(*the) your brother, (the) your brothers*

　　　c. 'l mi cugino, i mi cugini (AIS point 565 Perugia, map 24)

　　　d. fratello gugino, fredeie gugine (AIS point 566 Nocera Umbra, map 24)

　　　(*the) my cousin, (the) my cousins*

　　　e. al su cugneto, i su cugneti (AIS point 566 Loreto, map 27 – 28)

　　　f. su cugneto, i su cugneti (AIS point 555 Civitella, map 27 – 28)

　　　(*the) his brother in law, (the) his brothers in law*

The dialects of Marche show a variation that is similar to South Centre varieties, giving that the use of prenominal weak possessives preceded by the article with singular kinship terms is practically null. It is only possible to find prenominal possessives with plural kinship terms. In fact, postnominal possessives and enclitic forms without the determiner are more common in the singular:

(74) a. tu fratelo, i frateli tui (AIS point 539 Ancona, map 13)

　　　b. tu fratel, I tu fradei (AIS point 529 Fano, map 13)

　　　c. fradidu, fradidi (AIS point 558 Treia, map 13)

　　　(*the) your brother, (the) your brothers*

(75) a. mi fratelo cuzin, i mi frateli cuzini (AIS point 539 Ancona, map 24)

　　　b. al mi cugin, i cugini mia (AIS point 538 Montemarciano, map 24)

　　　(*the) my cousin, (the) my cousins*

(76)   a. el su cugnet, i su cugnet (AIS point 529 Fano, map 27 – 28)

   b. so cugnado, soi cugnadi (AIS point 558 Treia, map 27 – 28)

   (the) his brother in law, (the) his brothers in law

In the dialect of Gualdo Tadino (Perugia), the definite article and the possessive adjective are never used with kisnhip terms, except for some cases with a postnominal possessive:

(77) a. so andato a fa na passeggiata con ⎰ mamma / *mi mamma / *la mi mamma

   I want for a walk with mother

   I went for a walk with my mother

Table 5. Variation of the article in North Centre

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 5	Ø	**ARTICLE**	Ø	**ARTICLE**
brother	8	2	4	6
sister	7	3	6	4
cousins	9	11	6	14
brother in law	2	8	1	9
sister in law	1	9	3	7
TOTAL	27	33	20	40
	60		60	

In this paragraph it is showed a personal study on the use of the definite article with kinship terms in Italian Dialects, which is carried on through the data collected from AIS volume. More specifically, I selected eight areas of the Italian Peninsula: North Est, North West, Emilia Romagna, Toscana and North Centre. The South Centre and South areas are treated in the next paragraph, due to the fact that they show postnominal and not prenominal possessives. From each area, I took ten AIS points and six AIS maps, corresponding to kinship terms *fratello* 'brother', *sorella* 'sister', *cugino* 'cousin(m.)', *cugina* 'cousin(f.)', *cognato* 'brother in law' and *cognata* 'sister in law'. The aim of this quantitative analysis is to find out if the definite article occurs with kinship terms in the dialects and if it occurs with plural and singular kinship – N as well as in the standard variety.

4.2 Postnominal possessives (strong)

4.2.1 *Standarda Italian*

In standard Italian, it is never possible find postnominal possessives preceded by an article with kinship terms:

(1) a. *il fratello mio   c. * i fratelli miei

   b. *fratello mio   d. *fratelli miei

 However, (1) b is possible in exclamative sentences under a focal reading when the speaker needs to emphasise his feelings, but without the article:

(2) a. fratello mio! Da quanto tempo!

brother – my! It's been so much!

The examples in (1) are possible in South and South Centre dialects, which are caracterized by the use of a possessive adjective with the definite article.

4.2.2 *South Centre*

The South Centre area is particularly influenced by the southern part of Italy, by which the definite article occurs with possessives with kinship terms, but the modifiers are always postnominal and the enclitic forms are frequently used. Therefore, in table 7 below it is showed that the determiner is used both with singular and plural kinship terms, but more in the plural. The AIS points analysed for this area are 619 Montesilvano, 608 Bellante, 618 Castelli, 652 Roma, 643 Palombara, 640 Cerveteri, 666 Roccasicura, 668 Morrone del Sannio, 658 Palmoli and 656 Scanno.

In the dialects of Lazio, the possessive is still prenominal with plural kinship terms but at some points it is possible to find the enclitic forms with singular kinship terms. Prenominal possessives are preceded by the definite article, whereas enclitic possessives avoid the presence of the determiner in the singular:

(3)   a. tu fratel, i tu fratelli (AIS point 652 Roma, map 13)

     b. fradidu, fradidi (AIS point 643 Palombara, map 13)

     (the) my brother, (the) my brothers

     c. fradimo goggino, fradimi goggini (AIS point 643 Palombara, map 24)

     d. o mio cugino, i mi cugini (AIS point 632 Ronciglione, map 24)

     (the) my cousin, (the) my cousins

     e. el su cognato, i su cognati (AIS point 652 Roma, map 27 – 28)

     (the) his brother in law, (the) his brothers in law

In contrast, in the other dialects possessives are only postnominal and with singular kinship terms they become enclitic. Therefore, the definite article occasionally occurs only with plural kinship terms:

(4)   a. fradata (AIS point 619 Montesilvano, map 13)

     b. fradata, li fratilla tu (AIS point 608 Bellante, map 13)

     brother – your, (the) brothers – your

     c. fratama cugin, li fratilla cugginammi (AIS point 618 Castelli, map 24)

     brother – my cousin, (the) brothers – my cousins

     d. sorma cuggina, le sarurama cuggina (AIS point 666 Roccasicura, map 24)

     sister – my cousin, (the) sisters – my cousins

Prenominal possessives are also avoided with kinship terms 'mother', 'father' and 'son', which take the enclitic forms and omit the determiner:

(5)   a. (*lu) pàtrëmë, (*la) màtrëmë (abruzzese)

(the) father – my, (the) mother – my

b. kwand fiłəmə (AIS point 666 Roccasicura, map 9)

when son – my

Table 7. Variation of the article in South Centre

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 5	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**
brother	9	1	3	7
sister	7	3	3	8
cousins	16	4	6	13
brother in law	0	10	0	10
sister in law	1	9	0	10
TOTAL	33	27	12	48
	60		60	

4.2.3 *South*

The South is the area where the determiner is less used with singular kinship terms, giving that enclitic possessives are very common. In contrast, the definite article is frequently used in the plural, as it is showed in table 8 below. The AIS points analysed here are 721 Napoli, 720 Monte di Procida, 722 Ottaviano, 719 Bari, 728 Alberobello, 729 Carovigno, 736 Matera, 733 Castelmerrano, 735 Pisticci and 751 Acquaformosa.

Therefore, there is a massive use of enclitic possessives in the South. Here the article is omitted with singular kinship nouns, but necessary with plural kinship terms:

(6) a. frat't – e frate tuoja (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 13)

brother your – the brothers your

b. caggenama – la caggena mi (AIS point 719 Bari, map 25 – 26)

cousin my – the cousins my

c. sert – u s'rir toi (AIS point 736 Matera, map 14)

sister your – the sisters your

However, in this area it is possible to find the definite article also with singular kinship nouns and enclitic possessives can be in the plural with the article:

(7) a. la c'ssupruna me – u c'sspren'm mei[21] (AIS point 736 Matera, map 25 – 26)

the cousin my – the cousins my mine

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[21] Here the possessive is double: the first is enclitic (*c'ssuprn'm*) and the latter is weak (*mei*)

b. o' socrm (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 31)

the dialect of Acquaformosa is an exception, because here the definite article is never used. The only terms where it is not omitted are 'father in law', 'mother in law', 'son in law' and 'daughter in law':

(8)   a. it vula – tit vulrez'r (AIS point 751 Acquaformosa, map 13)

your brother – your brothers

b. i viefri, e viefra (AIS point 751 Acquaformosa, map 31 – 32)

the father in law, the mother in law

c. i dondri, e rea (AIS point 751 Acquaformosa, map 33 – 34)

the son in law, the daughter in law

With the term *mamma* 'mother' the definite article appears again and possessives can be either postnominal and prenominal, whereas with *papà* 'mother' the possessive becomes enclitic and the article is not always omitted as it is with the other singular kinship terms:

(9)   a. o' patətə (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 5)

b. attànəmə/attàndə[22] (Puglia and Basilicata)

(the) father – my

(10) a. a' mamma soijə (AIS point 720 Monte di Procida, map 8)

b. a' lla mamma (AIS point 728 Alberobello, map 8)

(the) mother his/his mother

The enclitic forms of possessives without the definite article appear again with *figlio* 'son':

(11) a. fitəmə kwannə (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 9)

b. kwannu figm (AIS point 729 Carovigno, map 9)

when son – my

Table 8. Variation of the article in the South

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 6	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**
brother	10	0	3	7
sister	10	0	4	6
cousins	19	1	5	15
brother in law	1	9	1	9
sister in law	1	9	1	9
TOTAL	41	19	14	46
	60		60	

4.2.4 *Sicily and Sardinia*

The area of Sicily shows the most interesting and striking variation, giving that the dialects spoken in this island are morphologically similar to the northen varieties, instead of being like all the other dialects of the South. As it is showed in table 9., the determiner is almost absent with singular kinship terms and therefore more used with plural kinship terms. This characteristic also approaches Sicilian dialects to standard Italian. The AIS points selected in this area are 803 Palermo, 821 Vita, 824 Baucina, 826 Mistretta, 836 Sperlinga, 845 Calascibetta, 851 San Biagio Platani, 844 Villalba, 846 Catenanuova and 865 Aidone.

Alike Northen dialects, the definite article occurs before prenominal possessives. However, the determiner is almost absent with singular kinship terms:

(12) a. to frati, i to frati (AIS point 803 Palermo, map 13)

b. to frati, li to frati (AIS point 821 Vita – 824 Baucina – 851 San Biagio Platani, map 13)

(the) your brotherm, (the) your brothers

c. me ccusino, i me ccusini (AIS point 826 Mistretta, map 24)

d. u me cusenu, i me cuseni (AIS point 845 Calascibetta, map 24)

(the) my cousin, (the) my cousins

e. so cugna, i soi cugnai (AIS point 836 Sperlinga, map 27 – 28)

(the) his brother in law, (the) his brothers in law

With *mamma* and *papà* the definite article always occurs, except for *padre* that do not allows the presence of the determiner, and again possessives are prenominal:

(13) a. a sso/so mari/madri/matri

(the) his mother

b. u'me papà

c. (*u') miu patri

(the) my father

On the contrary, with *figlio* 'son' the definite article is omitted before the prenominal possessive (weak):

(14) a. kwannu me figgu (AIS point 803 Palermo - 824 Baucina, map 9)

when my son

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
AREA 6	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**	**Ø**	**ARTICLE**
brother	10	0	0	10
sister	10	0	0	10
cousins	18	2	0	20
brother in law	10	0	0	10

					Table 9.
sister in law	10	0	0	10	**Variation**
TOTAL	58	2	0	60	
	60			60	**of the**

article in Sicily

4.2.5 *The case of Sardinia*

Alike the dialects of the South, in Sardinian possessives are postnominal and preceded by the definite article. Nevertheless, this dialect is considered a separate language, giving that it is the most conservative of Latin. In fact, the AIS volume only provides a dialectical variation with possessives and the determiner almost never occurs with kinship terms, except for the forms that are not succeeded by the possessive adjective:

(1) a. fradi du, fraris tus (AIS point 985 Cagliari, map 13)

brother - your, brothers - your

b. sorri thua, sorris tuas (AIS point 967 Escalaplano, map 13)

sister - your, sisters - your

c. fradile meo, fradile meos (AIS point 943 Macomer, map 24)

cousin - my, cousins - me

d. connada sua, connadas suas (AIS point 937 Nuoro, map 27 – 28)

brother in law – his, brothers in law – his

This fact leads us to think that in the dialects of Sardinia the definite article is never used with kinship terms in presence of a modifier. However, this is not correct. According to native speakers, the use of the determiner before a possessive modifier with kinship terms depends on the context. If it is possible to understand who is the person we are talking about, then the article is omitted. For instance, there is only one mother and one father, so there is no need to clarify the relation:

(2) a. (sa) mamma mia

(the) my mother

b. (su) babbu miu

(the) my father

The same thing happens with *figlio* and *fratello/sorella* when there is only one son or one brother or sister:

(3) a. kwandu fidzu meu (AIS point 942 Santu Lussurgiu, map 9)

when son – my

b. kwandu frade du/sorre dua

when brother/sister your

Otherwise, if there is more than one relative in the family (more than one brother, for instance) or sometimes with third person singular and plural, the presence of the article becomes obligatory, to distinguish the person the speaker is referring to:

(4) a. su zio de issus (AIS point 941 Milis, map 19)

(the) uncle of him/her

b. su filiu meu cum ogus biaittus

(the) son – my with blu eyes

Therefore, if the addresser speaks about himself, the definite article must be added to clarify the identity of the relative if there is more than one and the speakers needs to specify which one of his relatives is he referring to. Nonetheless, if there is only one relative (e. g. one son), then the determiner is not needed:

(5) a. filiu meu est arribau

son – my has arrived

The definite article is also omitted in the coordination but it appears again and it is obligatory if the noun is modified by and adjective:

(6) a. fradi meu et duu[23]

brother – my and your

b. fradi meu, no duu

brother – my, not your

(7) a. su filiu meu bellu

b. *filiu meu bellu

(the) son – my beautiful

The results of the analysis made in these two paragraphs are collected in a final table (6) below, which shows the final count of the articles in the dialects for each area. For every area(line) it is given the number of kinship terms that are preceded by the determiner and the number of forms without the article. The first column shows the situation in singular kinship terms, whereas the latter shows the situation in plural kinship terms. Therefore, in the local language the definite article is used with singular and plural kinship terms, like in Italian, but there are more articles in the plural.

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[23] We thank Federica Tatti for the examples and informations about Sardo

Table 6. Variation of the article with kinship nouns in Italian dialects[24]

4.3 Null possessives

4. 3. 1 *Standard Italian*

In Italian, when the possessive adjective does not occur, the definite article becomes obligatory with kinship terms, which behave like common nouns in this case:

(1) a. ho visto *fratello di Giovanni

   ho visto *il* fratello di Giovanni

   I saw John's brother

 b. ho visto *mamma di Maria

   ho visto *la* mamma di Maria

   I saw Mary's mother

Note that in Spanish, with third persons the definite article is obligatory before kinship terms, but it is omitted with first, second and third person singular, which need the possessive adjective:

(2) a. vì al hermano de Juan

 b. vì *hermano de Juan

 I saw (the) brother of John

 c. vì à mi/tu/su hermano[25]

AREA	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Ø	ARTICLE	Ø	ARTICLE
Area 1 North Est	58	2	38	22
Area 2 North West	46	14	7	53
Area 3 Emilia R.	42	18	1	59
Area 4 Tuscany	9	51	3	57
Area 5 North Centre	27	33	20	40
Area 6 South Centre	33	27	12	48
Area 7 South	41	19	14	46
Area 8 Sicily	58	2	0	60
TOTAL	314	166	95	385

 I saw my/your/his brother

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[24] South Centre, South and Islands will be analysed in the following paragraph about postnominal possessives. Table 6 comprises this areas though.

[25] In Spanish, the preposition 'a' is used to introduce the direct object when it refers to an individual or to a personified object. In the latter case, we have the contacted form 'a + el', namely 'al':

i. veo a Maria
 I see Mary

ii. veo al camarero
 I see the waiter

However, with a proper noun instead of a demonstrative it is possible to omit the definite article with third persons, which is ungrammatical in Italian:

(3) a. Ramiro es (el) hermano de Juan

   b. Ramiro è (*il) fratello di Gianni

   Ramiro is (the) brother of John

Another language that behaves like Italian and Spanish is French. Here, the determiner is again always needed with third person but omitted with first, second and third person singular. Like Italian, (2) a. is ungrammatical though :

(4) a. J'ai vu le frère de Jean

   b. J'ai vu *frère de Jean

   c. Ramiro est(*le) frère de Jean

 (5) a. j'ai vu mon/ton/son frère

    b. j'ai vu *le mon/ton/son frère

With kinship terms *mamma* 'mum' and *papà* 'dad', the article must be omitted when the noun refers to third persons, alike (1) a above:

(6) a. questa è la mamma di Gianni

   b. questa è *mamma di Gianni

   this is (the) mother of John

   c. questo è il papà di Maria

   d. questo è *papà di Maria

   this is (the) father of Mary

However, this is not possible with the formal terms, namely *madre* and *padre*. In this case, the definite article is avoided with first person, which only allows the presence of the possessive adjective, while it is obligatory with third person singular without possessives:

(7) a. questa è (la) mamma	(8) a. questo è (il) papà
this is (the) mother	*this is (the) father*
b. questa è *la madre	b. questo è *il padre
c. questa è mia madre	c. questo è mio padre
this is (the) my mother	*this is (the) my father*
d. questa è *la* madre di Giulia	d. questo è *il* padre di Gianni
this is the mother of July	*this is the father of John*

Note that (7) a and (8) a are also possible with *nonno/nonna* 'grandfather/grandmother' and *zio/zia* 'uncle/aunt':

(9) a. questa è (la) nonna   'this is (the) grandmother'

    b. questo è (il) nonno   'this is (the) grandfather'

    c. questa è (la) zia   'this is (the) uncle'

    d. questo è (lo) zio   'this is (the) aunt'

The same restriction characterizes the kinship terms *figlia* 'daughter' and *figlio* 'son'. When the speaker talks about himself, the article is omitted, while with third person singular it is obligatory. On the contrary, it is not possible to have phrases like (7) a and (8) a, because the definite article is obligatory like for the other kinship terms:

(11) a. questa è * figlia   (12) a. questo è *(*il*) figlio del pasticcere

    b. questa è mia figlia   *this is (the) son of the baker*

   this is my daughter

Note that, unlike Italian, in French and Spanish (7) a and (8) a are not possible, but a possessive adjective must be added like in (8) c and (9) c. (11) a is also not possible, alike Italian:

(13) a. cette – ci est *mère   FR

    b. cette – ci est ma/ta/sa mère

(14) a. esta es *mamà/madre   SP

    b. esta es mi mamà/madre

(15) a. ceci est *fils   FR

    b. ceci est mon fils

(16) a. este es *hijo   SP

    b. este es mi hijo

(7) d and (8) d are both always possible, giving that the definite article si always needed with third persons like in Italian:

(17) a. cette – ci est *(la) mère de Jean   FR

    b. esta es *(la) madre/mamà de Juan   SP

Another case in which it is possible to omit the definite article with 'son' and 'daughter' in Italian, is when it is necessary to specify the kinship relation. In this case, the article is not obligatory:

(18) a. Luca è figlio di Sara

    b. Luca è il figlio di Sara

   Luke is (the) son of Sarah

Note that the same is for Spanish, which accepts both of the alternatives in (17), while French only admits (17) b:

(19) a. Luca es hijo de Sara   SP

b. Luca es el hijo de Sara

(20) a. Luca est *fils de Sara   FR

b. Luca est le fils de Sara

Therefore, there are no other cases in which it is possible to find *figlio/figlia* as bare terms. If the speaker talks about himself, the definite article is obligatory omitted and the kinship – N cannot stay on his own, but the possessive is obligatory. On the contrary, when the speaker refers to the kinship relation of someone else, the definite article is obligatory and the possessive adjective is not necessary[26]:

(21) a. *(*il) figlio è arrivato

(the) son has arrived

b. è arrivato *(*il) figlio

has arrived (the) son

c. è arrivato *(il) figlio di Gianni

has arrived (the) son of John

d. *(il) figlio di Gianni è arrivato

(the) son of John has arrived

Note that 'son' cannot be in isolation also in Spanish and French in phrases like (18) a, b and c:

(22)   a. *hijo llegò   SP

b. llegò el hijo

c. *(el) hijo de Juan ha llegado

(23)   a. *fils est arrivé   FR

b. le fils est arrivé

c. *(le) fils de Jean est arrivé

However, if an adjective is inserted before the noun, the definite article is again obligatory, otherwise the phrase is ungrammatical:

(24) a. Gianni è *(*il*) caro figlio di Maria

John is (the) dear son of Mary

b. ho visto *(la) bella figlia del cuoco

I saw (the) beautiful daughter of the cooker

Whether there is a coordination, the definite article is omitted before the kinship term because there is no need to specify the kinship relation:

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[26] The same restriction corresponds to other kinship terms like *fratello/sorella*, *cugino/a* and *cognato/cognata*

(25) Gianni è (*il*) figlio di Maria e di Silvio

John is (the) son of Mary and Silvio

John is Mary and Silvio's son

Note that with 'mother' and 'father', if the kinship term is followed by a preposition+a noun modified by a numeral adjective, then the definite article can be omitted in Italian and Spanish, but not in French:

(26) a. Sara è (la) madre di due bambini   IT

b. Sara es (la) mamà/madre de dos niños   SP

c. Sara est *(la) mère de deux enfants   FR

Sarah is (the) mother of two children

kinship terms *nonno/nonna*, *mamma/papà* and *zio/zia* are characterised by a particular restriction. All of them are possible in isolation or preceded by the definite article when they are the beginning or at the end of the sentence:

(27) a. é arrivata (la) mamma/nonna/zia

has arrived (the) mum/grandmother/aunt

b. zio/papà/nonno è uscito poco fa

uncle/dad/grandfather left few minutes ago

c. Lo zio è arrivato/ è arrivato lo zio

(the) uncle has arrived/has arrived (the) uncle

d. il nonno è arrivato/è arrivato il nonno

(the) grandfather has arrived/has arrived (the) grandfather

Note that Spanish, which is a null subject language like Italian, also allows structures like (27) a and b, but only with 'mother' and 'father', while French, being non - null subject language, only admits (27) c and d:

(28) a. llegò mamà/papà/*tìa/*abuleo   SP

b. *est arrivé maman/papà/tante/grandpère   FR

However, there is a restriction concerning *papà* 'dad'. This term does not behave like *mamma*, which can be preceded by the definite article, but it must stand on his own, whether it is at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, alike Spanish (28):

(29) (*il) papà è arrivato/ è arrivato (*il) papà

(the) dad has arrived/ has arrived (the) dad

The definite article again appears if the speaker refers to the father of a third person, while with *padre* it is never possible to find examples in (28) and (29), but this kinship term behaves like *fratello/sorella* or *cugino/cugina*. The definite article is only possible with third person singular:

(30) a. *(il) papà/padre di Giulia è arrivato

(the) father/dad of July has arrived

   b. è arrivato *(il) papà/padre di Giulia

has arrived (the) father/dad of July

July's father/dad has arrived

If the noun is at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, then the NE is ungrammatical with and without the determiner:

(31) a. *(*il) padre è arrivato

(the) father has arrived

   b. è arrivato *(*il) padre

has arrived (the) father

With kinship terms *zio/zia*, the definite article is obligatory if the terms refer to a third person and it is omitted if the speaker talks about himself:

(32) a. questa è (mia) zia

this is aunt

   b. questo è *(lo) zio di cui ti parlavo

this is (the) uncle I told you about

Differently from the other nouns, the possessive adjective is not necessary in this case. When the kinship – N is at the beginning of the phrase, in Italian there is a tendency to drop off the article, but the sentence is not ungrammatical with the definite article, just unnatural. On the contrary, the definite article becomes obligatory if the kinship – N is at the end of the phrase[27]:

 (33) a. è arrivato/a (lo/la) zio/zia

   b. lo/la zio/zia è arrivato/a

has arrived (the) uncle/aunt, (the) uncle/aunt has arrived

An interesting variation is that of kinship terms *padrino* 'godfather', *madrina* 'godmother', *figlioccio* 'godson' and *figlioccia* 'goddaughter'. All of these nouns cannot be in isolation, but they must be always preceded by the definite article. Differently from the other kinship – N, these terms need the article with and without possessives:

(34) a. questo è *mio padrino

   b. questo è il mio padrino

---

[27] It is possible to find *zio/zia è arrivato/a* in the dialects, which will be discussed later

this is (the) my godfather

c. quella è *(la) madrina di Giulia

that is (the) godmother of July

that is July's godmother

(35) a. *padrino/figlioccio è arrivato

b. il padrino/figlioccio è arrivato

(the) godfather/godson has arrived

c. è arrivato *padrino/figlioccio

d è arrivato il padrino/figlioccio

has arrived (the) godfather/godson

It is also not possible to omit the definite article in a nominal expression with kinship terms in bare position:

(36) a. Maria è *(la) madrina/figlioccia di Luca

Mary is (the) godmother/goddaughter of Luke

Mary is Luke's godmother/goddaughter

b. Pietro è *(il) padrino/figlioccio di Sofia

Peter is (the) godfather/godson of Sofy

Peter is Sofy's godfather/godson

4.3.2 *The Dialects*

The restrictions of the standard language concerning the use of the definite article without the possessive adjective before kinship terms seem to be verified in most of the dialects, even though there are some differences.

The varieties that tend to be closer to standard Italian are in the Centre, including Tuscany, where Italian was born. However, there are different shades depending on the local varieties. The dialects of Umbria and Marche are a good example. In fact, the region of Umbria is linguistically divided into two areas: up to Perugia, the definite article always occurs before a kinship term or another noun, except for the first person singular. In this case, like in the standard variety, the article must be omitted with and without a possessive. On the contrary, down to Perugia the definite article is frequently not used. This situation is showed in the examples below:

(1) a. (*la*) mamma è arriata (Foligno, Nocera Umbra, Montefalco)

b. (*la*) mamma è arriata (Perugia, Umbertide, Citta di Castello)

(the) mum has arrived

(2) a. é arriato *(*il) fratello

b. è arriato mi fratello

61

has arrived (the) brother

the definite article appears again and is obligatory if the speaker refers to someone else' relatives, as it is in standard Italian, in all the varieries of Umbria:

(3) 'l fratello de Sara è arriato

(the) brother of Sarah has arrived

In the dialect of Gualdo Tadino, it is also possible to have the enclitic possessives, which avoids the use of the definite article and it is also showed in the third person singular for some kinship terms:

(4) a. è arriata *la mammeta

has arrived (the) mother your

b. quest'è *'l nonneso

this is (the) grandfather his

this pattern is also possible in the dialects of Marche, Abruzzo e Molise, but only for first and second person singular:

(5)   a. è arrivat frateme (Abruzzese)

b. è rrə vt fratm (Molisano)

has arrived brother - my

my brother has arrived

c. è rriata sorma cugina (Marchigiano)

has arrived sister - my cousin

my cousin has arrived

These varieties also show a restriction concerning the terms *mamma* and *papà*. In the dialects of Marche, the definite article only occurs if the speaker talks about someone else' family member before *mamma* and *papà*, which is also verified in Abruzzese and Molisano:

(6) a. è arrivat la mamm de Maria (Abruzzese)[28]

has arrived the mother of Mary

Mary's mother has arrived

b. è rrə vt *a* mam d ntoniə (Molisano)

has arrived the mother of Antony

Antony's mother has arrived

(7)   a. è arrivat mamm (Abruzzese)

b. è rrə vt mam (Molisano)

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[28] We thank Matilde for the examples of Abruzzese

has arrived mother

(8)   a. è rriata la mamma de Gianni (Marchigiano)[29]

b. è rriata mamma

In most of the dialects, kinship terms *padre* and *madre* are not used or they are used in formal situations only. With these terms, the definite article becomes obligatory.

Other varieties of the Centre, like the dialects of Tuscany and Lazio, behave like the standard language. In fact, the definite article is obligatory with all kinship terms if referred to third persons, but it must be omitted with the first and second person singular. However, in the dialects of Tuscany it is more common to hear something like *la mi mamma è arrivata* 'my mother has arrived' than *la mamma è arrivata*. In the dialects of lazio, for example in romano, the article does not occur with *mamma* and *papà*, but it is obligatory with *padre* and *madre*, which are only used in formal context in Toscano.

With the other kinship terms, the definite article occurs without the possessive only if the speaker does not talk about himself. In the latter case, the article also occurs before female proper nouns:

(9)   a. è arrivato ir fratello della Maria (Pisano)

b. è arrivato i fratello della Maria (Fiorentino)[30]

Mary's brother has arrived

In the dialects of North Est, the definite article does not occur alone with third persons, but the possessive adjective appears and it is obligatory, as it is for first and second person singular. This is only possible with kinship terms:

(10) so padre de Toni (Veneziano, Padovano and Triestino)

his father of Tony

Tony's father

In Veneziano and Padovano, it is not possible to omit the article with *mamma* and *papà*:

(11) a. zé rivà *(*ea*) mama

b. *(*ea*) mama zé rivà

has arrived the mother

the same thing happens in the dialects of Liguria, see an example of Genovese:

(12) a lè arrivà *(*a*) mama

In fact, in these variety and in the other dialects of North West, the definite article always occurs before kinship terms that are referred to third persons, whereas if the speaker talks in first person, the possessive adjective is obligatory and the article is omitted. These varieties, therefore, tend to function like standard Italian. The same can be said for the dialects of Emilia Romagna, which avoid the

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[29] We thank Flavio for the examples and informations of Marchigiano
[30] We thank Gabriele Andolfi for the informations of Toscano

omission of definite article before *mamma* and *papà* and the other kinship terms. The article is dropped with first and second person singular only:

(13)   a. *el* fradel *della* Maria[31] (Milanese and Piemontese)

     b. *e* fradel ad Maria (Romagnolo)

   the brother of Mary

   Mary's brother

(14)   a. *(*la*) ma l'è arveda (Romagnolo)

     b. *(*la*) mamm/ma è arrivata (Milanese e Torinese)

   (the) mother has arrived

(15)   a. me mama è arrivata (Piemontese)

     b. l'è arveda mi medar/ma (Romagnolo)

   my mother has arrived

In the dialects of Tuscany, on the contrary, there is a tendency to use the definite article also with possessives *mio*, *tuo* and *suo* with kinship terms. If possessives are omitted, these varieties follow the rules of standard Italian:

(16) a. è arrivata *la* mi mamma

     b. è arrivata (*la*) mamma

   has arrived mother

(17)   *i* fratello di Gianni

    the brother of John

    John's brother

(18) è arrivato *i *(mi) fratello

   has arrived my brother

   my brother has arrived

As it is for the dialects of Abruzzo and Molise, in some varieties of the South there is a tendency to use the enclitic possessive with singular kinship terms, which avoid the use of the definite article. In Napoletano, with first and second person singular the definite article is omitted while it is obligatory with third persons:

(19) a. è arrivat *o'* frat a Gianni

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[31] In the dialects of Lombardia and Piemonte, the definite article is also used before female Proper – N, which is typical of the varieties of Veneto too:

 ii. el cugin *della* Chiara l'è arrivà (Milanese)
 iii. 'demo a casa *dea* Maria (Padovano and Veneziano)

the brother to John

John's brother

b. frat'm è arrivat

brothermy has arrived

my brother has arrived

the same pattern corresponds to the dialects of Puglia, but the use of the definite article is only avoided with kinship terms *mamma* and *papà*, while with the other terms it is closer to standard Italian. Therefore, the definite article is obligatory with third persons but omitted with first and second person singular. The article is omitted with kinship terms related to parents in the dialects of Basilicata also, but the terms *madre* and *padre* are more used than the informal terms. As it is for Pugliese, the definite article only occurs before kinship – N referred to third persons.

On the contrary, the dialects of Sicily are an exception to the rule. In fact, in these varieties not only it is not possible to use the definite article before kinship – N that are referred to first, second or third person singular, but also when the speakers talks about someone else' family member. Here, the possessive adjective is used only and it is obligatory. In contrast, the definite article is obligatory with *mamma* and *papà*:

(20) a. é arrivatu *(*su*) cuginu de Salvo

has arrived his cousin of Salvo

Salvo's cousin has arrived

b. *a'* mamma è arrivata

the mother has arrived

mum has arrived

Sardinia is generally considered as a separate area and the varieties that are spoken on the territory are often view as a foreign language, that has almost nothing to do with Italian. The reason of this is that Sardo is the language most conservative of Latin. However, the variation of kinship terms seems to be morphologically and syntactically closer to standard Italian. In fact, here the definite article occurs before all kinship – N except for those that are preceded by modifiers *mio*, *tuo* and *suo*. With *mamma* and *papà* it is possible, but not obligatory, to omit the article:

(43) a. su fradi de Maria esti arribbau[32]

the brother of Mary has arrived

Mary's brother has arrived

b. (sa) mamma esti arribbada

(the) mother has arrived

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[32] the examples of Sardo were given by Federica Tatti

4.4 Kinship terms that behave like proper names

4.4.1 *Standard Italian*

In Italian, proper names do not occur with a definite article, but they do if they are preceded by a possessive adjective:

(1) a. *il Gianni studia

   b. *il* mio Gianni studia

    (the) my John studies

Note that the possessive in (1) b is prenominal possessive, postnominal possessive is only possible if the proper name is used as a common noun:

(2) *il* Gianni mio studia

Longobardi (1994) notices that a postnominal position is possible in the absence of the article. He derives (3a) from the basic structure in (1b) plus N – to – D, as represented in structure (3b):

(3) a. Gianni mio studia

    John – my studies

(3) b
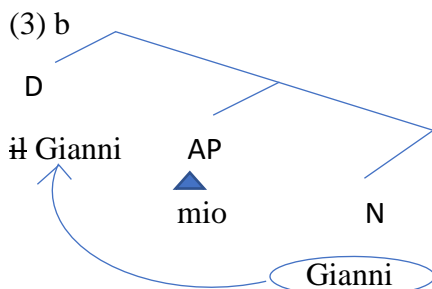
The same hypothesis can be applied to the noun *casa* 'home', which can be preceded by a weak possessive and the definite article or it can move from N to D like *Gianni* 'John' and be succeed by a postnominal possessive, without the determiner:

(4) a. questa è la mia casa

    b. questa è casa mia

    this is (the) my house / house – my

With kinship terms it is not possible to apply Longobardi's theory, as possessives are always prenominal forms, which are never preceded by the determiner with singular kinship terms and always weak with plural kinship terms:

(5) a. questo è *il mio fratello

    b. questo è *fratello mio

    c. questo è mio fratello

    this is my brother

Note that N – to – D movement of a proper noun is not possible in other languages. Proper names in Spanish and French, for instance, can never be preceded by the determiner. In French it is also not possible to have a possessive before a properN:

(6) a. *el mi Juan estudia   SP

    b. *Juan mio estudia

    c. *el Juan estudia

    c. mi Juan estudia

(7) a. *le mon Jean étude   FR

    b. *mon Jean étude

    c. *le Jean étude

    d. Jean étude

(4) a and b are also not possible with the definite article in French and Spanish:

(8) a. esta es *la mi casa   SP

    b. esta es *casa mia

    c. esta es mi casa

(9) a. cette – ci est *la ma maison   FR

    b. cette – ci est *maison mienne

    c. cette – ci est ma maison

4.4.2 *Dialects*

The dialects show a consistent variation in the use of the article with proper nouns. In fact, the determiner is not always omitted with these names. The use of the definite article before proper names is frequent. More specifically, in Northeastern dialects it is common to use the determiner before female proper names and in Northeastern dialects, above all in Milanese and most of the dialects of Lombardia, the definite article also appears before male proper – N:

(10) a. *ea* Maria vegne a séna (Veneto)

    (the) Mary is coming for dinner

    b. *Il* Piero el gh'ha chiamato oggi? (Lombardo)

    Has (the) Peter called today?

The determiner before proper names is not possible with the possessive adjective, unlike in the standard variety:

(11) a. *ea me Maria vegne a séna (Veneto)

    b. la Maria vegne a séna

    (the) my Mary is coming for dinner

c. *il mi Piero el gh'ha chiamato oggi? (Lombardo)[33]

d. il Piero el gh'ha chiamato oggi?

Has (the) my Peter called today?

In the dialects of Tuscany, female Proper – N are always preceded by the definite article but not male properN:

(12) a. hai thu visto la Maria?[34]

b. ha miha 'hiamato *il Piero?

Note that in the dialects of the South it is never possible to have the definite article before a proper name, alike French (7), but it is with surnames:

(13) a.*o' Giannì mij studià (Napoletano)

b.* Giannì mij studià

c. * o' Giannì studià

(43) teng vistò o' Grazian oggi

I saw (the) Graziani today

Therefore, Longobardi (1994)'s hypothesis of N – to – D raising cannot be applied with kinship terms and proper names in the dialects, but there is an exception to the rule. In fact, some central varieties and the dialects of the South display enclitic possessives with singular kinship terms. In this case, the definite article is omitted and the noun raises from N to D:

(15) a. è arriato babbeto (Gualdese[PG])

has arrived *father - your*

b. Peppe adè fràtumu (Maceratese)

Joseph is brother – my

 c. ho vist mammətə (Abruzzese)

 d. teng vistò mammata (Napoletano)

I saw mother - your

With singular kinship terms we find clitic possessives, while with plural one we find unstressed forms preceded by the article:

(16) a. questa è *la *mia* sorella, non la *sua*

 b. questa è *mia* sorella, non la *sua*

 this is (the) my sister, not the your

(17) a. queste sono le mie sorelle, non le tue

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b. queste sono *mie sorelle, non le tue

these are (the) my sisters

Expectedly, in Spanish and French we find prenominal possessives not preceded by the definite article with singular and plural kinship terms:

(18) a. cette – ci est ma sœur   FR

b. cette – ci est *la ma soeur

c. cettes – ci sont mes sœurs

d. cettes – ci sont *les mes soeurs

(19) a. esta es mi hermana   SP

b. esta es *la mi hermana

c. estas son mis hermanas

d. estas son *las mis hermanas

The possessive adjective *loro* 'their' is an exception, giving that it is always weak and keeps the article with plural and singular kinship terms, as well as the relative pronoun *cui* 'whose':

(20) a. *loro cugino è arrivato ieri

b. il loro cugino è arrivato ieri

(the) their cousin arrived yesterday

c. i loro cugini sono arrivati ieri

d. *loro cugini sono arrivati ieri

(the) their couins arrived yesterday

with kinship terms it is not possible to have full postnominal forms, but possessives are deficient forms, so they are prenominal:

(21) a. *il *mio* fratello

b. *mio* fratello

c. *fratello *mio*

e. *il fratello mio

(the) my brother

(22) a. i *miei* fratelli

(the) my brothers

With the exception of *loro*, which is prenominal with general nouns and kinship terms but is always preceded by the definite article, even with singular kinship – N:

(23) a. *loro* cognata è andata in vacanza

b. la *loro* cognata è andata in vacanza

(the) their sister in law has gone on holiday

(24) a. *loro* fratelli sono belli

  b. i *loro* fratelli sono belli

(the) their brothers are beautiful

With kinship terms a structure like (21 b) is not possible with *loro*, both in the singular and in the plural:

(25) a. *fratello loro

  b. *loro fratello

  c. il loro fratello

(the) their brother

(26) a. *fratelli loro

  b. *loro fratelli

  c. i loro fratelli

(the) their brothers

A structure like (25) b is possible in Spanish and French, where the possessive adjective can only be in prenominal position, but never preceded by the definite article:

(27) a. *hermano suyo   SP

  b. su hermano

  c. *hermanos suyos

  d. sus hermanos

(28) a. *frère leur   FR

  b. leur frère

  c. *frères leur

  d. leur frèrses

In Italian, with singular kinship terms we can find cltic forms of possessives, which is provided by the fact that they never occur in ellipsis and isolation alone (29) a and b and they cannot be coordinated or contrasted (29) c and d[35]:

(29) a. mio fratello arriverà, *(il) tuo invece no

my brother will arrive, (the) your on – the – other – hand not

  b. arriverà tuo fratello o il fratello di Marco? *(il) suo

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35 Cfr. Cardinaletti (1998)

will arrive your brother or the brother of Marc? (the) his

    c. *mio fratello, non suo

my brother, not his

    d. *mio e suo fratello

my and his brother

Note that in standard Italian it is not possible to apply Longobardi (1994)'s N – to – D movement[36], due to the fact that with singular kinship terms possessives are prenominal only and never postnominal, while with plural kinship terms we find the weak prenominal forms:

(30) a. *fratello mio studia

    b. *il fratello mio studia

    c. mio fratello studia

    (the) my brother studies

(31) a. *fratelli miei studiano

    b. *i fratelli miei studiano

    c. i miei fratelli studiano

    (the) my brothers study

kinship terms do not require the presence of the determiner with a postnominal possessive adjective, which approaches them to proper names:

(32) a. *il Gianni *mio* studia

    (the) John - my studies

    b. *il fratello *mio* studia

    (the) brother - my studie

Note that Spanish kinship terms also behave like proper names: Longobardi's N – to – D raising is not possible here, due to the fact that the possessive adjective is always prenominal and clitic:

(35) a. *Juan mio

    b. mi Juan

    c. *hermano mio

    d. mi hermano

Note that in French it is not possible to find a possessive adjective before a proper name. Therefore, Longobardi's hypothesis is also not possible with French proper names as well as with kinship terms, that require a prenominal possessive obligatory:

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[36] Something more about this will be said in Chapter 4

(36) a. *Jean mon étude

     b. *mon Jean étude

     c. Jean étudie

(37) a. *frère mon étude

     b. mon frère étude

3.1.2 *Dialects*

The possessive system of Italian dialects is different from the standard variety.

First of all, in the dialects we find prenominal possessives, which are weak forms always preceded by the determiner, and postonominal possessives. Prenominal possessives are more common in the varieties of North and postnominal modifiers are typical of Southern dialects, except for Sicilian that shows prenominal possessives like the dialects of the North.

Unlike standard Italian, in the varieties of North Est it is common to find prenominal possessives without the determiner also with plural kinship terms, which is showed at some points of AIS:

(1)

	Singular	**Plural**
AIS point 376 Venezia, map 19	me zio *my uncle*	me zii *my uncles*
AIS point 349 Gorizia, map 24	me cuzin *my cousin*	me cuzins *my cousins*
AIS point 334 Canal San Bovo(Trentino), map 24	me derman *my cousin*	me dermani *my cousins*
AIS point 363 Vicenza, map 21	vostro nevodo *your nephew*	vostri nevodi *your nephews*

Unlike the standard variety, the definite article occurs in some northen varieties (e.g. Veneziano and Padovano, Milanese and Torinese) also in the singular:

(2) a. el *me* zenaro zé rivà

     (the) my son in law has arrived

     b. questa zé la *me* suocera

     this is (the) my mother in law

     c. l'è rrivà el *me* gener [37]

     (the) has arrived (the) my son in law

The prenominal possessive preceded by the determiner and a singular kinship term is common in North West dialects and in North Est varieties:

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[37] We thank Adamo Darmento for the examples of Milanese

(3) a. la mi zi, i me zii (AIS point 261 Milano, map 20)

b. al so cugna, i soe cuigna (AIS point 146 Montanaro, map 27 – 28)

c. e to soe, e ta soe (AIS point 179 Rovegno, map 14)

However, the area where it is more common to use prenominal possessives with the determiner with singular kinship terms is the Centre:

(4) a. è arriato l'tu fratello (AIS point 565 Perugia, map 13)

b. è arrihato i mmi frathello (Toscano)

c. è rrigato al tu fratel (AIS point 536 Mercatello, map 13)

has arrived my brother

In the dialects of Centre, the possessive adjective is preceded by the definite article with almost all kinship – N, even with singular kinship terms. This is typical of Tuscan, Umbrian and of some varieties of Marche. Whereas the other dialects of the Centre are separated from standard variety, which is due to enclitic possessives[38] :

(5) a. è arrivato i *mi* fratello (Fiorentino and Pisano)

b. è arriato 'l *mi* fratello (Perugino)

has arrived (the) my brother

c. è rriata la *tu* sorella (Civitella)

has arrived (the) your sister

Going down to the south, there is a part of central dialects which is influenced by Southern dialects and shows enclitic possessives with singular kisnhip terms:

(6) a. è arrivat fratemo (Pescarese)

b. è rrə vt frat'm (Molisano)

has arrived brother – my

In the dialects of Lazio it is possible to find both prenominal weak possessives and enclitic forms. In the dialect of Rome, it is also possible to find postnominal possessives preceded by the determiner or prenominal clitic forms:

(7) a. al su cognato, i sus cugnati (AIS point 640 Cerveteri, map 27 – 28)

b. fradimo goggino, fradimi goggini (AIS point 643 Palombara, map 24)

c. tu fratello, i tu fratelli (AIS point 640 Cerveteri, map 13)

(8) a. mi fratello (Romano)[39]

b. er fratello mio

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[38] See page 2. Example 10 and discussion about clitic possessives
[39] We thank Matteo Macinati for the examples of Romano

However, not all the dialects of Umbria behave the same way: in the variety spoken in Gualdo Tadino (near Perugia), the possessive adjective is never preceded by the determiner, which is also common in the area that goes dawn to Perugia:

(9) a. *è arriato il *tu* fratello

b. è arriato *tu* fratello

has arrived your brother

What is more, in this particular dialect it is possible to find the enclitic form of possessives *mio/tuo/suo* in alternative to weak forms with singular kinship terms, which is also possible in some dialects of Marche that are influenced by the dialects of Abruzzo:

(10) a. è arriato babbeto (Gualdese)

has arrived fatheryour

your father has arrived

b. questa è su nonna/nonnesa (Gualdese)

this is his grandmother/grandmother – his

c. è rrigata mogliema (Maceratese)

has arrived wife – my

my wife has arrived

The dialects of South Centre area are characterized by the use of enclitic possessives, which occur after singular kinship terms only and avoid the presence of the definite article[40]:

(11) a. è arrivat frateme (Abruzzese)

has arrived brothermy

my brother has arrived

b. è rriata sorma cugina (Marchigiano)

has arrived sistermy cousin

my cousin has arrived

c. è arriato babbeto (Umbro)

has arrived fatheryour

your father has arrived

However, a native speaker of Abruzzese, Francesca Sanità di Colle di Macine, said that in the dialects of Abruzzo it is possible to find both enclitic and weak possessives before singular kinship terms. The difference depends on the context. More specifically, the enclitic form is used if the speaker talks

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about himself or a second person, while the weak forms appears if the speaker talks about third persons:

(12) a. è arrivat frateme/ fratellamì

    has arrived brothermy

    my brother has arrived

    b. è arrivat lu fratell su

    has arrived the brother his

    his brother has arrived

Enclitic possessives are also frequently used in the dialects of the South[41], in addition to the postnominal full forms:

(13) a. è arrivat sorata (Napoletano)

    has arrived sisteryour

   your sister has arrived

    b. è arrivat fratt (AIS point 719 Bari, map 13)

    has arrived brother – your

Differently from the dialects of the Centre, there is no stress on the enclitic form:

(14) a. a' mamma mij è arrivat (Napoletano)

    (the) mother my has arrived

    b. è arrivat frat'm (Napoletano)

    has arrived brother – my

(15) a. a mamma tua (Catanzarese)[42]

    the mother your

    b. mammata

    mother – your

L.O. Desling & V. Egerland (2002) propose that postnominal possessives are clitic in Southern dialects, such as Catanzarese, on the evidence that no adjective can be inserted between the possessive and the head noun:

(16) a. *cugina napulitana ta

    b. a cugina napulitana tua

(the) cousin napulitan your

The only way of adding an adjective to the nominal expression in (29) a is to nominalise it:

(17) cuginitta a napulitana

    cousin – your the napolitan

In the dialect of Acquaformosa(Cosenza), in the region of Calabria, there are both prenominal and postnominal possessives which are full forms in singular and plural kisnhip nouns. In this case, as this dialect is included in the Arberesh linguistic minority, the forms of possessive adjectives are different from the standard forms and the other local forms:

(18) a. *it* vula – *tit* vulez'r[43]

    your brother – your brothers

    b. *iot* motir – *tit* motra

    your sister – your sisters

    c. tata *tire* – taterat *tire*

    uncle your – uncles your

    your uncle – your uncles

In South varieties the possessive adjective occurs after the noun. Therefore, the general structure of the DP is *article+N+possessive* in all southern varieties:

(19) o'ART nonn N mij POSS (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 16)

    (the) grandfather my

Moreover, possessives have two forms: tonic and unstressed. The unstressed forms are usually enclitic to the noun and they occur in the singular, but there are some cases of enclitic possessives in the plural:

(20) a. sert, u s'rir toi (AIS point 736 Matera, map 14)

    sister – your, (the) sister – your

    b. nipott, u nipot vuostr (AIS point 735 Pisticci, map 21)

    nephew – your, (the) nephew your

 If the enclitic form is totally missing in the plural, then it appears in the singular. In contrast, if the enclitic possessive is missing in the singular, then it is also absent in the plural:

(21) a. SING. → fratm cugin, PLUR → e' cugin mij (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 24)

    brother – my cousin, (the) cousin my

    b. SING. → a' napota vost, PLUR. →e' nnapot vost (AIS point 720 Monte di Procida, map 22 – 23)

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[43] The examples are taken from AIS point 751 Acquaformosa(Cosenza), map 13 – 14 – 19

(the) niece your, (the) nephews your

The article is generally omitted with enclitic possessives, but there are exceptions at some points in some kinship terms:

(22) a. a mammə*sə*, u fratə*sə* (Taranto)[44]

b. la cagiina*mi* (AIS point 719 Bari, map 24)

c. la mamməsa (Grottaglie, Lizzano and Villa Castelli)

In the dialects of Puglia, the unstressed form is only showed in first and second person singular:

(23) a. attànəmə, attàndə   "father – my, father – your"

b. fráddəmə, fráttə "brother – my, brother – your "

c. nepddəmə, neptte "nephew – my, nephew – your "

d. šíərmə, šíərnətə "son in law – my, son in law – your "

e. kanáddəmə, kanáttə " brother in law – my, brother in law – your"

(*Sotiri : 2007*)

The dialects of Sicily are an exception, as they display the same structure of the Northen varieties, with prenominal possessives preceded by the definite article (when they are not enclitic). The third person possessives have two forms: the standard *so, soe, soi* 'his/her' and the form with the preposition and the pronoun *de iddu* 'of that one'. The latter structure is common in all dialects of the South with the demonstrative adjective instead of the pronoun, such as Napoletano and Barese:

(24) a. i *so* cugnati/ cugnati de iddu (AIS point 803 Palermo, map 28)

the brother in law of him, the brothers in law of him

'his brother in law'

b. e' cainat e chill (AIS point 721 Napoli, map 28)

c. u' canata da cudda (AIS point 719 Bari, map 27)

the brother in law of that one

'his brother in law'

The structure in (23) is also possible in Sardo, which reprises Latin possessives. It is also used when there is an ambiguous phrase.

(25) su ziu de issus (AIS point 985 Cagliari, map 19)

the uncle of him

'his uncle'

Conclusions

In section 3 and 4 I analysed the variation of Italian dialects from a morpho – syntactic view. The first part was focused on the use of the definite article and the possessive adjective with common nouns, while the second part was centred on the variation in the use of the definite article with a possessive adjective in kinship terms, including a sub – section on the comparison of kinship terms and proper names, with the introduction of Longobardi(1994)'s theory of N – to – D raising, which is showed in some kinship terms in the dialects of South Centre and South.

The comparative study of common nouns brought out some important differences in the use of the definite article in standard Italian and in the dialects, but also in other languages. In fact, while in Italian the determiner is obligatory also before common nouns that are modified by a possessive adjective, both in the singular and in the plural, in Spanish and French the article must be omitted before possessives with plural and singular nouns. Common nouns can also be preceded by the article with a postnominal possessive in Italian and Spanish, due to the fact that these languages display to series of possessives: weak prenominal forms and strong postnominal forms (cfr. Cardinaletti & Starke (1998)), whereas this is not possible in French. In fact, the latter presents clitic possessives that usually undergo 'doubling', namely the repetition of the possessive at the beginning of the sentence (e.g. *le livre à moi* and *mon livre à moi*).

The dialects also showed the use of two different forms of possessives: in Northen varieties it is preferable to use the definite article with prenominal possessives, while it is omitted with postnominal possessives in some cases (e.g. *ea me casa zé verde* vs *questa zé casa mia*; *la me ca' l'è verde* vs *questa l'è ca'mia)*. Paduan showed an interesting variation, using both postnominal and prenominal possessives preceded by the definite article, which is also showed in Spanish, but the determiner is only used with postnominal possessives (e.g. *el me libro* vs *mi libro*; *el libro mio* vs *el libro mio*). This implies that both in the standard variety and in the dialects of the North it is possible to find the order art+possessive+noun or art+noun+possessive, but in Italian it is more natural to find the first word order. The same is showed in North Centre dialects, included Tuscan, that tend to use prenominal possessives, while postnominal possessives are more used in South Centre (e.g. *la mi casa* vs *a casa mia è verd*) and in the South (e.g. *o' libbr mij*) except for Sicilian dialects. The latter behave like Northen dialects, with prenominal possessives preceded by the definite article (e.g. *u meu libru j'è supra u tavulu*).

The distance of Sicilian dialects from the other dialects of the south could be said to be more pronounced in the use of the definite article with a possessive adjective in kinship terms. In fact, while all of the other varieties of the south showed the use of the determiner with a postnominal possessive, usually enclitic in singular kinship terms, the dialects of Sicily displayed prenominal possessives not preceded by the definite article with singular kinship terms, and preceded by the determiner with plural kinship terms like Northen dialects and standard Italian (e.g. *to frati* 'your brother' and *i to frati* 'your brothers' (Sicilian) ; *to fradeo* and *i to fradei* (Veneziano); *tuo fratello* and *i tuoi fratelli* (standard Italian) vs *frat't* and *e' frate tuoj*(Napoletano)).

Another important observation concerning kinship terms that is brought out in section 4, is the fact that the dialects of north centre are not as similar to standard Italian as they are expected to be. In fact, a general pattern that seems to link the dialects of Tuscany and the varieties of Umbria and Marche is the use of the definite article with 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular possessives in singular kinship terms, which is totally avoided in Northen dialects and in the standard language (e.g. *la mi sorella* vs *me sorea*, *mia sorella*). However, this is not verified for all kinship terms in standard Italian

(e.g. *la mia mamma, il mio papà*). It has been noted that in other languages it is not possible to find the determiner before the prenominal possessive adjective in singular and plural kinship terms, like in common nouns (e.g. *mi hermano, mis hermanos* (Spanish); *mon frère, mes frères* (French)).

The phenomenon of enclitic possessives, which is showed in the dialects of the south, is generally displayed in the singular and with 1st and 2nd person singular possessives. However, the south centre dialects present this phenomenon in the plural also (e.g. *lu cugginami, li cuǵanami*) and some dialects of Umbria, such as Gualdese, are subjected to 3rd person singular enclitic possessives (e.g. *nonneso* 'grandfather – his'). Kinship terms that are subjected to this phenomenon are considered to be similar to proper names and the common noun *casa* 'home', which avoid the use of the definite article with postnominal possessives and are subjected to the N – to – D raising proposed by Longobardi (1994).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Italian language knowledge has, by now, spread internationally, thanks to the work of scholars and linguists. However, there is still a part of it that needs to be further investigated. In fact, the Italian Peninsula is divided into North, Centre, South and Islands and each area present different varieties of Italian, which are not only geographically, but also linguistically distinct from the standard language and different from each other. These varieties are well – known as Italian dialects and display three main levels of variation: lexical, morphological and syntactic. This differentiation goes from North to South and from Est to West.

In this thesis, I have tried to analyse this dialectal distribution and to point out the main differences between the regional, local and standard variety of Italian, giving my personal contribution to the research on Italian dialects. This study is an integration of another personal search on the local variation of Italy, namely the abstract *kinship nouns in Italian dialects: a variation in the use of article and possessive*, which aims to bring out the principle features of Italian dialects throughout the analysis of kinship terms.

This analysis was carried out with the data collected from AIS volume. However, the AIS was written in the 20th Century, so the data it reports come from informers that were native speakers of the old dialects. This causes significant limitations in the data that are given in the old German atlas. For instance, at some points there is a lack of corresponding terms in the dialects and there are some structures that have disappeared in the current language. Moreover, in the AIS not all the regions that are actually part of Italy are presented. That is the reason why I integrated these data with the informations collected in the interviews with native speakers of modern dialects.

The first part of this study is centred on the lexical variation of kinship terms in Italian dialects and it brings out the main differences and similarities in the dialectal distribution of the peninsula. The analysis of the data collected in the AIS and in the interviews with native speakers showed that in the dialects there are almost always phonological variants, not just terms that are derived from standard Italian, as it is expected. The higher level of new terms is in the dialects of the South, which also display kinship terms with enclitic possessives, like the South-Central varieties. Expectedly, in the area of North Centre and Tuscany the local language coincides with the standard variety almost always. Finally, the geographic distribution of the Islands showed that Sicilian and Sardinian dialect is lexically not so far to be like the other dialects, which is more relevant for Sardinia, that is geographically separated from the other regions of Italy and displays a dialect that is always believed to be 'isolated' from the other varieties.

The most striking result of this research is showed in the analysis of the morphological and syntactic variation of kinship terms and common nouns in the dialects, which is approached in the second and third part of this thesis. More specifically, I focused on the variation in the use of the definite article and the possessive adjective, introducing Cardinaletti & Starke (1998) for the analysis of the main characteristics of Italian possessives system. The comparative syntax of common nouns showed that for the dialects of the North and North Centre (including Tuscany) a prenominal (weak) possessive is preferable, while in the South it is preferable to use a postnominal possessive, except for the dialects of Sicily. Differently from what is expected, in Sicilian it is more common to use a prenominal possessive always preceded by the article, like in Northen dialects.

This particular pattern is more evident in the co - occurrence of the definite article with a possessive adjective in kinship terms, which showed the similarity of Sicilian dialects and Northen varieties. In fact, that latter share some morphological characteristics, such as the non – use of the definite article with singular kinship terms preceded by a 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular possessive and the word order in the NE. More specifically, all dialects of South show the art+kinship – N+possessive order, whereas Sicilian dialects display the art+possessive+kinship – N order, that is also showed in the varieties of the North and in Standard variety. Moreover, the definite article almost always cooccurs with a possessive adjective in Sicilian plural kinship terms, like in standard Italian. This result is surprising if we consider that Sicily is geographically closer to Calabria, which is in the South of Italy.

What is more, from the comparative analysis of Italian dialects it came out that the North – Central varieties, including Tuscany, are not as similar to the standard variety as it is expected after considering the lexical variation. From a morphological and syntactic view, standard Italian shows a very widespread use of the definite article with plural kinship terms preceded by a possessive adjective, whereas with singular kinship terms the determiner is never used with 1st, 2nd person singular and plural possessives, but it is obligatory with 3rd person plural. In North - Central dialects, on the contrary, the definite article is also used with singular kinship terms preceded also by 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular possessives. Moreover, in the comparison with proper nouns, that shows the N – to – D raising proposed in Longobardi (1994), it came out that the article is used before female proper names also in North Central dialects, which never happens in standard Italian, but is usual in Northen dialects, and that some kinship terms in the dialects behave like proper nouns.

As I studied French at University and Spanish at high school, I compared Italian language also with these languages, which are both Romance languages like Italian but show a differentiation in the use of the definite article and the possessive adjective with common nouns and kinship terms, such as the clitic possessives and the non – use of the determiner before a prenominal possessive. It has also been noted that Spanish has some morphological characteristics in common with Italian and dialects, such as the fact that it has both prenominal and postnominal possessives.

In this thesis I took into consideration some of the main dialects that are in use in the Italian territory, but there are also other varieties that can be the subject for further research within the Italo -Romance group, such as the dialects of Corsica and Croatia (including the region of Istria), which are considered as 'linguistic minorities", and the languages that are spoken in the regions that confine with other Countries. Between these varieties we find the French 'patois' that is spoken in Valle D'Aosta (which is not given in the AIS) and in some parts of Piemonte. The research could be also extended to Italian minorities that are not in the Italo – Romance group, but in the group of Slavic languages, such as the 'Arabeshe' idioms, which are Albanian minorities spoken in Calabria and in some areas of Abruzzo, the 'Altoatesino' dialect that is spoken in some areas of Trentino Alto Adige, the Greek and Latin minorities and the Slovenian minorities spoken in some areas of Friuli Venezia Giulia (Gorizia, Udine and the villages near Trieste).

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