Advances in Italian Dialectology

Grammars and Language Sketches of the World's Languages

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Romance Languages

Editor

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Advances in Italian Dialectology

Sketches of Italo-Romance Grammars

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Preface

This volume opens the series *Grammars and Sketches of the World's Languages* —subseries *Romance languages*. The series focuses on minor Romance languages, i.e. those languages that are not recognized officially and are very often not standardized. The Romance area features an immense linguistic wealth, with language varieties and dialects increasingly constituting the core of today's linguistic research.

This series provides a venue for the publication of descriptive grammars, or sketches, of these Romance languages that are usually neglected and understudied. Some of these varieties are endangered, and could disappear within the next 50 years. Documenting them has become an urgent issue.

Writing a grammar in not an easy task. Nowadays, it is very hard to be granted the peace of mind and the time necessary to write a good grammar book. On the other hand, the need for data and systematic descriptions of minority languages is extremely important for linguistic research. This series aims at providing well-informed and well-researched descriptions of minor Romance grammars, accessible to all linguists wishing to know something about them.

The first volume of the series is a collection of sketches from Italo-Romance varieties. The data presented in the chapters are new, and have not been documented before. The volume will give a taste of what has to come.

The papers are organized according to the generally accepted areal classification of Italo-Romance languages: northern, central, upper-southern, extreme southern, and Sardinian. We are aware that this is a very general division of labour; on the other hand, a volume that was meant to provide a taste of new data and new phenomena cannot, by necessity, be more thorough. As we said, this volume contains descriptions of undocumented phenomena in Italo-Romance languages. For each group, we have tried to provide phonological, morphological, and syntactic phenomena. The reason why there are many gaps is quite straightforward: there are very few scholars working on these languages; we hope that you will enjoy learning about these phenomena, and that this volume will make linguists curious about these extraordinary languages.

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Introduction

Italo-Romance varieties and dialects have been studied extensively since before linguistics was established as a science. However, is was the comparative method that provided a first comprehensive framework to organise the data and interpret the variation exhibited by these varieties. The comparative method provided also a theoretically-informed fieldwork method: the collection of data became more and more systematic (the first exhaustive linguistic atlas of Italo-Romance—AIS—was published between 1928 and 1940) and grammatical descriptions began to converge towards an established format. In the beginning, most descriptions focused mainly on phonological and morphological aspects, while syntax has started receiving increasing attention since the early 80s, when the Chomskyan framework provided dialectologists with an additional, synchronic framework through which dialectal data could be examined.

The first comprehensive grammar of Italo-Romance was published by Gerhard Rohlfs after the Second World War. Rohlfs's grammar, published in German (1949–1954) and then translated into Italian (1963–1969), is still considered a milestone of Italian dialectology. A few years later, the Croatian romanist Pavao Tekavčić published another monumental grammar that, like the one by Rohlfs, was organised in three volumes (Tekavčić 1972). However, Tekavčić's grammar had a wider empirical domain than Rohlfs's (it ranged from Latin to other Romance varieties), it was written from a historical perspective, and it was more theory-oriented as it aimed at a structuralist account of linguistic change. For these reasons, Tekavčić's grammar is not very popular among present-day scholars.

Rohlfs's and Tekavčić's grammars are the only single-authored grammars of Italo-Romance varieties, previously referred to as dialects. Successive findings have been collected in the seminal volume edited by Martin Maiden and Mair Parry, published twenty years ago (Maiden & Parry 1997). Maiden & Parry 1997 is a concise introduction divided in two parts: the former contains chapters on specific issues (from phonology to syntax), while the latter features chapters focusing on each region (or linguistic area) of Italy. Given the empirical breadth of the book and the expertise of its contributors, Maiden & Parry (1997) is still regarded as the reference book on Italo-Romance dialects.

Lately, other volumes have been published on Italo-Romance. The following is a noncomprehensive list of titles, excluding works on specific dialects and/or topics: Repetti (2000) is an edited volume on the phonology of Italo-Romance; Tortora (2003) focuses on syntactic aspects; Manzini & Savoia (2005, 2007,

2008) contain a rich set of data (M&S 2005 is in three volumes), analysed within the generative framework; Loporcaro (2009) is a concise introductory book (in Italian); D'Alessandro, Ledgeway and Roberts (2010) contains up-to-date analyses of syntactic phenomena; Benincà, Ledgeway, Vincent (2014) is a collection of essays on synchronic variation and diachronic evolution; Savoia (2015) is an up-to-date volume on phonology.

This volume wishes to continue the tradition of descriptive studies, by providing sketches of phenomena that are found in Italo-Romance varieties and that were previously unknown, or very little studied.

The volume is organized according to a geographic criterion, and features articles on phonological, morphological and syntactic phenomena.

EDOARDO CAVIRANI's chapter opens the volume. It deals with the realisation of feminine and plural features in nominal expressions, focusing on dialects of Lunigiana, a linguistic area at the border between Liguria, Emilia, and Tuscany, which exhibits reduction of unstressed vowels. Word-final vowels, however, are often preserved in these dialects, although the morphology of feminine plural endings is no longer transparent: certain dialects, like Carrarese in (1), exhibit the ending *-e*, whereas other dialects display either a diphthong as in (1) or a syncretic exponent identical to the feminine singular one as in (1):

(1)   *a. don-*[*e*]   (Carrararese)
      b. *don-*[*ja*]   (Colonnatese)
      c. *don-*[*a*]   (Ortonovese)
         'women'

As for (1), Cavirani supports Loporcaro's 1994 analysis that decomposes the ending [ja] into a plural formative *-i-* followed by a gender suffix *-a*. The author elaborates on the peculiar ordering of gender and number exponents, which differs from the 'canonical' one (gender > number) that is usually displayed by other Romance languages, e.g. Sp. *lob-*$_{ROOT}$ *-o*$_M$ *-s*$_{PL}$ 'wolves'.

Furthermore, Lunigianese dialects are characterised by patterns of partial agreement within the nominal phrase as feminine plural endings occur on some, but not all nominal elements.

PATRIZIA CORDIN focuses on the syntax of the verbal endings *-nte/-te*, which, in some Trentino varieties, occur with first person singular/plural subjects in interrogative, subjunctive, and jussive clauses.

(2) Trentino

    a. *Son(te)*   *a posto?*
       am.I-*(te)* fine
       'Am I fine?'

    b. *Sem(te)*   *a posto?*
       are.we-*(te)* fine
       'Are we fine?'

Cordin's chapter discusses the etymology of *-(n)te* forms and establishes a correlation between the distribution of *-(n)te* forms and pragmatic factors. As for the etymology, Cordin argues that *-(n)te* derives from an inverted subject clitic (ego > eo > *e*; nos > *ne*), while the consonant *-t-* was extended by analogy from the *be* form *sont* 'they are'. The analogical extension was in fact favoured before a vowel or a sonorant as in the case of the first person enclitics *(n)e*.

    From a pragmatic/semantic point of view, Cordin shows that the sentences with *-(n)te* convey a subjective reading. She builds on a parallelism between the distribution of *-(n)te* forms in Trentino dialects and the crosslinguistic distribution of subject clitic inversion (Benincà 1989), which, as Munaro 2001: 166 pointed out, occurs more readily in contexts with a low "degree of salience of the event's truth value for the speaker". A tentative hierarchy of contexts, taken from Munaro's work, is given in (3); clitic inversion is favoured in the rightmost contexts of the hierarchy. Analogously, Cordin shows that *-(n)te* forms in Trentino dialects are likely to occur in the very same contexts.

(3)   disjunctive/concessive – hypothetical – optative > presuppositional – exclamative – interrogative

JAN CASALICCHIO and FEDERICA COGNOLA's chapter deals with the syntax of two Ladin varieties spoken in two valleys of South Tyrol: Badiotto and Gardenese. The Authors wonder about the verb second (V2) nature of these dialects by focusing on patterns of so-called G(ermanic) inversion (i.e. the occurrence of the subject between the finite auxiliary and the past participle) and the syntax of sentence-initial elements.

    As for G-inversion, both varieties exhibit patterns of V2 syntax, although constrained by discourse factors: for instance, in Badiotto G-inversion is favoured when subjects are new information, whereas in Gardenese it is restricted to given subjects.

The syntax of the sentence-initial position of Ladin dialects differs from that of Germanic and old Romance V2 varieties. Moreover, the two varieties under investigation differ from each other with respect to the number and type of elements that can (co)occur in the left periphery. For instance, V3 word orders involving a scene-setter and a given element are ruled out in Badiotto, but not in Gardenese:

(4)   a. Badiotto
         *Inier   le   liber l=à-i   purtà   al   Luis
          yesterday the book   him=have-I brought to-the Luis

      b. Gardenese
         Te butëiga, la   farina l'à   for   cumpreda la   loma
         in shop   the flour   her=has always bought   the mum

LUCA LORENZETTI focuses on the palatalization of sC clusters. The paper addresses the following four types of dialects: type 1 dialects, characterised by a homogeneous treatment of sC clusters, vs "splitting" patterns such as those of types 2–4.

(5)			[sp]	[sk]	[st]
	1a.	Southern Lucania, Calabria	[sp]	[sk]	[st]
	1b.	Ticino, Upper Lombardy, Romagna, Lazio (Subiaco), Sicily	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[ʃt]
	2.	Piedmont, Trentino, Campania, Cilento	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[st]
	3.	Abruzzo, Southern Abruzzo (Campobasso), Salento	[sp]	[sk]	[ʃt]
	4.	Marche	[sp]	[ʃk]	[st]

Although Rohlfs 1966 implicitly suggests that palatalization spread from North to South, Lorenzetti notices that the process is so frequent that a unifying historical analysis cannot be advanced on the basis of the geolinguistic distribution of the phenomenon. Rather, the author focuses on the intra-linguistic distribution of palatalization and argues for a principled distinction between contexts with /t/ and contexts with /p k/. The conclusion is corroborated by diachronic evidence coming from two dialects of Lazio: San Donato and Cervaro.

MICHELE LOPORCARO analyzes gender agreement in Viterbese in Chapter 5. Present-day Viterbese shows no gender distinction in the plural (what Corbett 1991: 155 calls 'convergent gender') because the change /i/ > /e/ that occurred in the area west of the river Tiber (in Umbria and northern Lazio) ended up neutralising the original contrast between the masculine -i and femi-

nine *e* plural endings. However, urban Viterbese has partly undone the change, arguably by contact with more prestigious varieties such as standard Italian or Romanesco. This led to a peculiar alternation between *-e* and *-i* with masculine plural nouns, which has eventually been reanalysed by speakers as a contrast denoting animacy. In fact, in present-day urban Viterbese—see (6)—the syncretic plural ending *-e* occurs with masculine nouns denoting inanimates, whereas the innovative, though etymological, *-i* is restricted to animate entities, either human or nonhuman.

(6) Urban Viterbese
   a. *le/ste   fašɔːle/fɔːke   sɔ bbɔːne/*i*
      the/these beans/fireworks are good

   b. *sti/*ste bbɔːi/*e sɔ   bbɔːni/*e*
      these   oxen   are good

   c. *sti/*ste fijji/*e   sɔ   ččuːki/*e*
      these   children are small

ANNA CARDINALETTI and GIULIANA GIUSTI, in Chapter 6, survey the types of indefinite determiners in Italo-Romance and concentrates on the variation of indefinite determiners occurring with mass and plural nouns. Assuming that indefinite determiners may realise the specifiers and/or the head of the Determiner Phrase, Cardinaletti and Giusti reports four possible patterns: (7a) zero determiner, (7b) definite article, (7c) bare *di*, (7d) *di*+art.

(7)	Spec	Head		
a.	o	o	vino	violette
b.	o	il	il vino	le violette
c.	di	o	di vino	di violette
d.	di	il	del vino	delle violette

The paper offers a thorough scrutiny of three AIS maps, illustrating the geolinguistic distribution of the patterns in (7). In the same area, however, more than one form is often available, meaning that the choice between alternative structures is probably triggered by orthogonal semantic factors. In Italian, for instance, the zero determiner in (8a) triggers an atelic reading, the definite arti-

cle in (8b) is ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite meaning, while *di*+art in (8c) denotes a small quantity.

(8)   a. *Ho   bevuto vino. / Ho   raccolto violette.*   (zero determiner)
         I.have drunk   wine / I.have picked   violets

      b. *Ho   bevuto il   vino. / Ho   raccolto le   violette.*
         I.have drunk   the   wine / I.have picked   the   violets
                                                               (definite article)

      c. *Ho   bevuto de-l   vino. / Ho   raccolto delle   violette.*
         I.have drunk   of-the wine / I.have picked   of-the   violets
                                                               (indefinite *di*+art)

Further differentiation among Italo-Romance dialects regards scopal properties. For instance, the Italian *di*+art form differs from other indefinite determiners in allowing either narrow or wide scope, see (9a). Conversely, in Anconetano, where *di*+art cannot occur with mass nouns, negation cannot take narrow scope, see (9b)

(9)   a. *Non   ho   invitato dei   ragazzi alla   festa.*
                                                              (¬∃/∃¬; Italian)
      b. *Nun   ho   'nvitato dei   fioli   ala   festa*
         not   I.have   invited   of-the   boys   at the   party
                                                          (*¬∃/∃¬; Anconetano)

Chapter 7, by ANDREA SCALA, describes phonological contact between Abruzzian (also known as Abruzzese) and Abruzzian Romani, the language spoken by several Roma communities settled in Abruzzo and Molise in the 16th century. Scala describes and discusses in particular seven phonological rules that not originally found in Romani, but emerged because of contact with the surrounding Romance varieties.

    Scala observes the following rules:

1.   propagation of /u/. It affects syllables with a velar stop or a velar fricative in the onset and all vowels but /u/ in the nucleus. Scala proposes that this rule, attested in many southern-Italian varieties, is borrowed from Abruzzese, but applied to different phonological contexts than the Romance ones.

2. [a-] prosthesis in words beginning with a consonant. This phenomenon is also attested in Abruzzese, and has had several different analyses; what matters is that it has now almost completely lexicalised in Abruzzese, affecting not only verbs, but also nouns and adverbs. In Romani this is an optional rule, though quite pervasive. Interestingly, the presence of determiners blocks the application of this rule, decreasing the possibility of occurrence in nouns.

3. Epithesis in lexemes etymologically ending in a consonant. All words originally ending in a consonant present an epithetic /ə/, which is clearly borrowed from Abruzzese. The prosodic rule regulating this insertion has increased the presence of trochaic foot in Romani.

4. Reduction to [ə] of unstressed vowels. Etymologically unstressed vowels in Romani are reduced to /ə/. This rule is quite common in southern Italian varieties. While this rule might have already been active when the Romani moved to Abruzzo, this cannot be clearly ascertained. According to Scala, Romani presents a synchronic phonological reduction rule, very likely borrowed from the surrounding Romance varieties.

5. Fortition + voicing of /s/ after a nasal consonant. This is the rule whereby an etymological fricative /s/ following an /n/ surfaces as a voiced affricate [dz]. This phenomenon is also attested in Abruzzese.

6. Palatalization of the alveolar fricative /s/ before alveolar stops. Abruzzian Romani presents the palatalization of /s/ before /t/. While this palatalization is readily found in many southern varieties, Romani has adopted the more restricted version, which coincides with the Abruzzese one.

7. Devoicing of /d/ after a stressed vowel. This is an innovative rule of Romani, as it was not found on the original forms. Interestingly, this rule is at work in many southern Romance varieties, including the contact language Abruzzese.

GIANCARLO SCHIRRU examines a morpho-phonological process of auxiliary formation in some upper-southern varieties. With the support of new data from southern Lazio, Schirru proposes a new analysis for the origin of the deontic, temporal and epistemic auxiliary *aggia*, from Latin HABERE. The data from the variety of Spigno Saturnia show that the form *aggia* is the result of a morphological reanalysis, which is then extended to the whole paradigm. The surfacing of the non-etymological /a/ is therefore not merely phonological. The new paradigm subsequently takes up some tense-mood specification, and becomes completely autonomous with respect to the rest of the verbal paradigm of HABERE.

Chapter 9 presents an overview of adjectival modification in Barese. LUIGI
ANDRIANI shows that, based on their position, some adjectives can express the
speaker's attitude, and convey a [+negative] or [+positive] evaluation. Andriani
provides a thorough overview of adjectives, based on their semantics and their
syntax. Barese prenominal adjectives, usually considered fossils of a previous
stage of the language which presented a more flexible word order, are shown
to convey a [+positive] denotation. Furthermore, some of these prenominal
uses are productive. This is the comprehensive table of evaluative adjectives in
Barese presented by Andriani in his conclusions:

(10)	+Productive		−Productive	Fossilised
1.	*bbèllə*			
2.		*bbrùttə*		
3.		*bbràvə*[+animate]		
4.			*bbuénə/bbónə*	
5.			*sàndə*	
6.			*pòvərə*	
7.			*vècchiə*	
8.			*grànnə*	
9.				*àldə*
10.				*bbàssə*
11.				*màlə*

Chapter 10 by MIRKO GRIMALDI and ANDREA CALABRESE offers an insight-
ful analysis of a previously undocumented phenomenon in southern Salentino:
metaphony. In Southern Salentino, stressed mid-vowels /ɛ/, /ɔ/ generally
change to tense [e], [o] when followed by high vowels. Metaphony is how-
ever characterized by huge microvariation, especially in the southern Salentino
area. Based on novel data acquired through neurophysiological and articula-
tory data collected with the help of speakers from the dialect of Tricase mea-
surements, the authors identify some specific factors that generate this great
microvariation: 1) [u] may not be a trigger; 2) /ɔ/ may not be a target; 3) front
/ɛ/ may be raised only before front [i]; 4) back /ɔ/ may be raised only before
back [u].

The 'go for' construction in Sicilian is the topic of Chapter 11. In Sicilian, a
special paraphrasis involving *go for* + infinitive is used to emphasise surprise for
the results of a non-completed action. SILVIO CRUSCHINA presents a thorough

study of the syntax and semantics of sentences like (12), describing a situation which is interrupted by an unexpected event:

(11) Sicilian (Leone 1995: 44)
Vàiu ppi mmuzzicari u turruni, e mi=rruppi u
go.PRS.1SG for bite.INF the nougat and me=break.PST.1SG the
renti.
tooth
'I was about to bite into the nougat, when I broke my tooth.'

Based on a number of syntactic an semantic diagnostics, Cruschina argues that the verb *go* in this construction fulfils a conative function, while the phrase following this functional verb carries a surprise or unexpected implicature. The diachrony of this construction is also briefly addressed in the chapter.

Finally, Chapter 12 presents a thorough study of the double complementizer construction in Sardinian, of the kind found in the following example:

(21) Teti
    a. *Antoni m' at nau **ca** Teti **est** una bella bidda.*
      A. me= has said that T. is-IND a nice village
      'Antoni said that Teti is a nice village.'

CAROLINE BACCIU and GUIDO MENSCHING address the issue of the use of the complementizers *ca* and *chi* in different areas of Sardinia. These two complementizers have traditionally been classified as being introduced by *verba dicendi, sentiendi*, and *putandi* and by *verba timendi*, volitional verbs, and negated verbs expressing an opinion (Blasco Ferrer 1986: 195–197).

The authors present a detailed study of the geolinguistic distribution of dual complementizer systems, by analyzing a large amount of novel data, and focus on the variety of Dorgali, which has retained both complementizers.

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PART 1

Northern Varieties

∴

The Distribution of Gender and Number in Lunigiana Nominal Expressions

Edoardo Cavirani

1 Introduction

Based on a literature survey and new data resulting from fieldwork, this paper offers a description of the pattern of variation displayed by certain Italian dialects concerning the realization of the F and PL morphosyntactic features in the nominal expression (henceforth DP). While in St. Italian all the elements of the DP show full gender and number concord (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2015), the varieties under concern display various patterns of partial concord, PL surfacing just on (language-specific) subsets of DP elements. Furthermore, the linear ordering of the F and PL phonological exponents apparently violates the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), namely one of the most robust interlinguistic generalizations. Indeed, while the gender exponent generally precedes number (e.g. Sp. *lob*-$_{\text{ROOT}}$ -*o*$_{\text{M}}$ -*s*$_{\text{PL}}$ 'wolves'), in the varieties under analysis the phonological exponent of number occurs between the root and the exponent of gender (e.g. Colonnatese *don*-$_{\text{ROOT}}$ -*j*$_{\text{PL}}$ -*a*$_{\text{F}}$ 'women').

The data come from dialects spoken in Lunigiana (Figure 1.1), a geolinguistic domain extending over the borders between Liguria, Emilia and Tuscany.[1]

Historical and geographical conditions (Pistarino 1984) fostered the development of the linguistic variability characterizing the area:

> probably, no other region of the Peninsula can present the scholar with so many phonetic varieties in such a small area, as Lunigiana does; here the phonetic laws of a village differ, often fundamentally, from the ones of nearby villages. The origin of this endless variation can be found, with-

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[1] Lunigiana northwestern borders include the Ligurian districts of Calice al Cornoviglio, Bolano, Vezzano Ligure, Santo Stefano Magra, Arcola, Sarzana, Lerici, Ameglia, Castelnuovo Magra and Ortonovo. As for its northern and eastern borders, they coincide with the Tuscan districts of Zeri and Pontremoli (North) and Filattiera, Bagnone, Licciana Nardi, Comano, Fivizzano and Casola in Lunigiana (East). The southern border crosses the Massa-Carrara district, including only Carrara.

FIGURE 1.1 *Lunigiana*

> out any doubt, in the encounter within this region of Tuscan, Ligurian
> and Emilian: indeed, it can be said that Lunigiana dialects represent
> the joining link between the above mentioned dialects, whose elements
> continuously clash against each other, the victory smiling alternatively to
> one or the other. Variability, then, together with the melting of different
> elements, constitutes the peculiar character of Lunigiana dialects [...].
>
> GIANNARELLI 1913: 261

Because of this high degree of microvariation, Lunigiana takes on great impor-
tance for both dialectologists and linguistic theorists. For dialectologists, the
examination of the diatopic distribution of the relevant linguistic features rep-
resents a precious tool for i) defining the internal borders of the Northern Ital-
ian Dialects (NID) (and, more generally, the Western Romance) linguistic con-
tinuum, thereby improving the dialects' classification and enlarging the typo-
logical database, and ii) reconstructing the diffusion of the diachronic changes
that shaped such a continuum, whose stages are represented by the attested
varieties. As for the theorists, microvariation can be thought of as an ideal lab-
oratory to investigate the structure of the language faculty: since closely related
varieties share many grammatical properties, the smallest features responsible
for the observed variation can be identified (Kayne 2005; Barbiers 2012; Sloos
& van Oostendorp 2012).

As can be argued from the quote from Giannarelli (1913) given above, Luni-
giana microvariation has been mainly approached from linguistically 'superfi-
cial' perspectives, whose main goal is in line with the taxonomic and descrip-

tive needs of traditional dialectology. As a consequence, while rich and detailed studies have been produced that *describe* the lexical, phonetic/phonological and morphosyntactic variation characterizing this geolinguistic domain (Restori 1892; Bottiglioni 1911; Giannarelli 1913; Ambrosi 1956; Maffei Bellucci 1977; Savoia 1980, 1983; Loporcaro 1994; Carpitelli 1995, 2005 (and references therein), 2007; Savoia & Carpitelli 2008; Cavirani 2013), only a few publications try to look at such microvariation from a more theoretically-oriented perspective. To the best of my knowledge, they reduce to Cavirani (2014, 2015) for (morpho-)phonology and Manzini & Savoia (2005), Taraldsen (2009) and Pomino (2012) for morphosyntax.

Cavirani (2015) deals with unstressed vowel reduction (Section 2.1) and, while showing how the diatopic variation mimics diachrony, it discusses the implications of the different degrees of phonologization reached by Lunigiana dialects for the architecture of the grammar. Notice that unstressed vowel reduction also targeted word-final vowels, namely the ones that, in most Italo-Romance varieties, spell out gender and number. Crucially, in comparison to word-medial vowels, word-final vowels show a higher resistance to reduction. It seems, therefore, that morphosyntax interacts with phonology (either diachronically or synchronically) in the shaping/selection of the phonological exponent of gender and number (Section 2.2)[2].

The three contributions focusing on morphosyntax cited above deal with the distribution of F and PL within the DP, all agreeing on the hypothesis that they are spelled out by, respectively, *-a* and *-i*. The former (henceforth M&S2005) presents the reader with data concerning the F and PL distribution in the DP of various Italian dialects, including some Lunigiana varieties, and provides a Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993) account. The second (henceforth T2009) concentrates on one of the varieties described by M&S2005 and argues instead for a nanosyntactic approach (Starke 2010). As for the latter (Pomino 2012), it describes cases of partial (or complete) lack of plural agreement in other Romance varieties. This contribution criticizes, among others, both M&S2005 and T2009, but fails to give a unified account of the relevant data (Section 2.2).

As important theoretical advancements can result from the incorporation of traditional/descriptive approaches (which provide the empirical grounding needed to evaluate possible theoretical accounts), the aim of this paper is to

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2   This doesn't mean, though, that word-final vowels cannot de deleted altogether (thereby resulting in an anti-iconic plural such as the one displayed by the neighbouring Emilian dialects and, in Lunigiana, by Pontremolese: [la ˈdɔna] 'the woman' *vs* [al ˈdɔn]). The point is that, in phonological terms, syncope tends to apply more drastically than apocope.

offer a comprehensive description of the distribution of F and PL within the DP of Lunigiana dialects. This is done by reviewing and organizing the data scattered through the literature, along with first-hand data collected in Colonnata and Ameglia (Section 3.2). In order to pave the way for further theoretical studies, these data are systematized accordingly to recent developments concerning the structure of the segment and of the DP (Section 3.1). In particular, I refer, respectively, to Element Theory (Backley 2011) and to the functional sequence proposed within the cartographic approach (Cinque & Rizzi 2008).

2 Phonology

2.1 *Vowel Reduction*

Lunigiana represents the Italian south-westernmost outpost of the word-final unstressed vowel reduction process that spread from France around the 6th century (Loporcaro 2011) and slowly reached (and shaped) the borders of the WR domain. As predicted by the wave model (Schmidt 1872), Lunigiana dialects vary in the degree of reduction of unstressed vowels: the closer to the southern border, the milder the effects of the reduction. The varieties spoken within this geolinguistic domain, hence, can be thought of as a series of slides portraying the various stages reached by the process both in space and, crucially, in a grammar architecture such as the one given in Figure 1.2. In such a model, a change is argued to start out in the phonetic module and, eventually, to end up in the restructuring of the underlying phonological representation of the relevant Vocabulary item (Bermúdez–Otero 2015).

Assuming Element Theory (Backley 2011) and a universal complexity hierarchy whereby a segmental complexity is defined in terms of the number of elements[3] contained and headedness,[4] vowel reduction can be formalized as

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3   Elements substitute the traditional articulatory-based binary features. They are assumed to be acoustically grounded, privative and could be understood as "internally represented pattern templates by reference to which listeners decode auditory input and speakers orchestrate and monitor their articulations" (Harris & Lindsey 1995: 49).

4   Within a complex elemental expression, the headed element is the one that contributes the most to the phonological behavior and the phonetic shape of a segment. For instance, [ɛ] is phonetically and phonologically a combination of [a] and [i], but it's closer to the former than the latter. This is represented by formalizing [ɛ] as a complex expression made of the elements for [a] and [i], namely |A| and |I|, respectively, and assigning the head status (here represented by an underscore) to the former element: |A̲I|. Conversely, the mid-high front vowel, i.e. [e], is represented as |AI̲|.
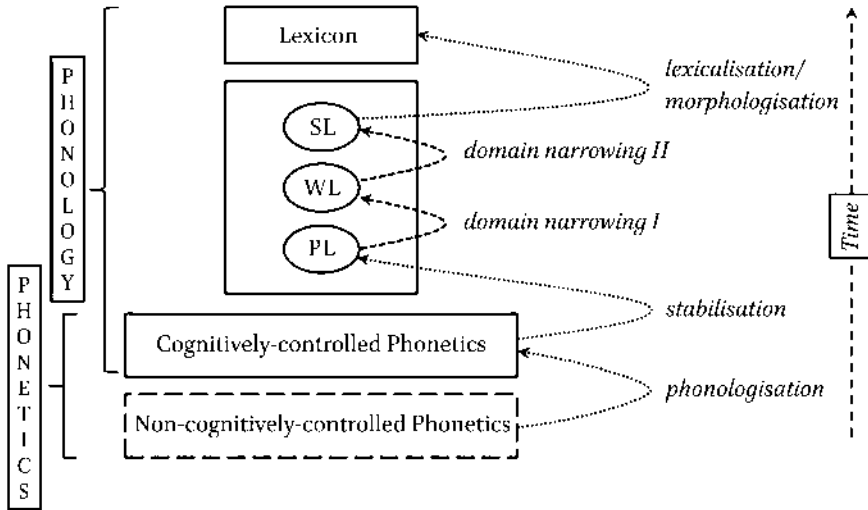
FIGURE 1.2   *The life cycle of phonological processes*
RAMSAMMY 2015

a gradual decrease in the licensing power of unstressed nuclei: as they 'get old', the melodic structure they can license becomes simpler and simpler. For instance, while proto-Romance nuclei could license structures as complex as |AI|, the varieties reached by the reduction process first reduced |AI| to |A| (namely [e] to [ə]) and then |A| to | | (namely [ə] to *silence*) (Cavirani 2015; see Cavirani & Van Oostendorp 2017, to appear for a more refined complexity hierarchy).

2.2   *Phonology-Morphosyntax Interaction—Bare NP*

As hinted at in section 1, the phonological process of unstressed vowel reduction seems to be morphosyntactically conditioned. Indeed, while word-internal unstressed vowels are consistently deleted, word-final vowels display a higher resistance. Crucially, these are the segments that, in Italo-Romance, spell out the gender and number features.

Take for instance unstressed [e]. As claimed in the previous section, it was first reduced to [ə] and then deleted. This happened with barely any exception word-medially (LĪBĚR-U(M)/-A(M) > Carr. [libr]/[libra] 'free.M/F.SG'). Word-finally, it consistently happened in the case that the word-final [e] occurred in a M.SG form (proto-Rom. *can-e* > Carr. [kaŋ] 'dog.M.SG'). Notice that this [e] can be considered an epenthetic segment with no morphosyntactic content (T2009) since, for instance, it can surface both in M and F (proto-Romance *siep-e* 'hedge.F.SG') nouns. However, if [e] is instead the phonological expo-

nent of the F.PL feature bundle, in most Lunigianese dialects it doesn't reach
the final stage of the reduction process, which stops before the complete dele-
tion of the elemental content.[5] As expected, some variation can be observed.
This is demonstrated in Table 1.1, which shows the forms for 'women' in the
Lunigiana dialects of Carrara, Colonnata and Ortonovo. Notice that, in line
with Loporcaro (1994), M&S2005, T2009 and Lampitelli (2011, 2014), the actual
phonological exponents of F and PL are argued to be, respectively, |A̲| and
|I̲| (because of space limitation, the change in |A| headedness cannot be dis-
cussed):

TABLE 1.1   *F.PL reduction resistence—bare N*

Carrararese		Colonnatese		Ortonovese	
don-	[e] / \\ |I̲| |A| | | PL F		*don-*	[j a] | | |I̲| |A̲| | | PL F		*don-*	[a] | |A̲| | F

In Carrarese, the phonological exponents of F and PL, are spelled out by one
and the same segment: [e]. More precisely, |A̲| and |I̲| are pieced together in
an elementally complex nucleus. In Colonnatese, instead, |A̲| and |I̲| are pro-
nounced separately, |I̲| being interpreted as belonging to the onset preceding
the nucleus projected by |A̲|. Notice that, as mentioned above, the Colonnatese
form seems to violate the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), according to which we
would expect F and PL to linearize in the opposite order. Finally, Ortonovese
neutralizes the number opposition maintained by the other varieties (Carr.,
Col. and Ort. *don-*[a] 'woman-F'): the only element that is spelled out is the
phonological exponent of F, while that of PL, which regularly surfaces in M.PL
forms (Ort. *om-*[i] 'man-PL'), is not licensed in such a structure.[6]

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5   As mentioned in fn. 2, a Lunigianese exception to this pattern is represented by Pontremolese
    (Maffei Bellucci 1977).

6   The pattern characterizing Ortonovese could be given a phonological explanation such as
    that of the alternative account given below: the phonological exponent of PL surfaces in
    conjunction with M because the latter lack any phonological correlate, as opposed to F (|A̲|F).
    As a consequence, after the merger of M, the root-final nucleus is still empty and the floating
    |I̲|PL can thus be intergrated (in the nucleus) and spelled out.

The intra- and inter-linguistic alternations just referred to support the analysis of *-ja* as *-j*$_{PL}$*-a*$_F$, first proposed by Loporcaro (1994; henceforth L1994): while in the earlier descriptions *-ja* was presented as the F.PL marker (Restori 1892; Bottiglioni 1911; Rohlfs 1968 and Maffei Bellucci 1977), L1994 splits it into two different morphemes.[7] Once *-j*$_{PL}$ and *-a*$_F$ are teased apart, the morphosyntactic system of these varieties looks more regular, inasmuch as feminine and masculine DPs are derived in the same way, namely by merging the number head (#) to the nP already built[8] (notice that T2009 derives the *-j*$_{PL}$*-a*$_F$ linearization by cyclically raising √ to Spec-#P through Spec-nP without pied-piping; see below for a different proposal):
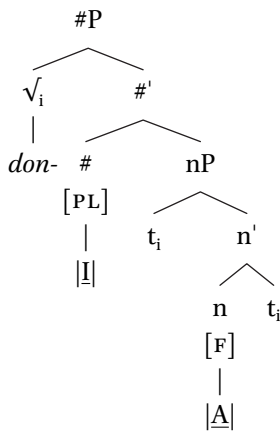
FIGURE 1.3 *don-*|I̲|$_{PL}$*-*|A̲|$_F$

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7 Even though focused on the synchronic dimension, L1994 briefly introduces the proposals by Bottiglioni (1911) and Rohlfs (1968) concerning the diachrony of *-ja*, which would result from the overlapping of either two indigenous plural systems (e.g. *le ali* 'the wings.F' and *le ossa* 'the bones.F') or of the indigenous *-a* marker with the *-i* marker displayed by neighbouring Emilian dialects (e.g. Parmigian *skarpi* 'shoes.F.PL').

8 Different accounts can be found in the literature about the relationship between gender and the nominalizer head and about their position within the functional sequence. These accounts generally agree on the fact that roots acquire their category by merging with a categorizing head, as 'n' (Marantz 2001), but they disagree in whether 'n' coincides with gender and works as a sort of classifier (Harris 1991; M&S2005; Lowenstamm 2008; T2009; Franco, Manzini & Savoia 2015 *contra* Borer 2005 and Fábregas 2012), or rather gender is an independent and distinct head (Picallo 2008). In the present contribution, the structure proposed by M&S2005 and T2009 is maintained.

As hinted at in section 1, the structure in Figure 1.3 has been given at least a couple of morphosyntactic analyses, namely M&S2005 and T2009[9]. While sharing many aspects of the analysis, these two approaches differ in that they put the burden of the variation presented in Table 1.1 on different components of the grammar.[10] In a nutshell, in M&S2005, Colonnatese ($\sqrt{}$-$|\underline{I}|_{PL}$-$|\underline{A}|_{F}$) is argued to be different from Carrarese ($\sqrt{}$-$|\underline{I}A|_{F.PL}$) in that the former variety lacks both the Fusion rule {PL{F}}↔{PL,F} and the Vocabulary entry ($|\underline{I}A|$↔{PL,F}). Colonnatese would thus spell out the linear sequence resulting from the merger of $\sqrt{}$ with F and PL without the latter two heads undergoing the postsyntactic fusion process. As a consequence, F and PL are spelled out by the two independent Vocabulary entries $|\underline{A}|$↔{F} and $|\underline{I}|$↔{PL}. Ortonovese, in turn, would differ from Colonnatese because of the presence, in the former, of the Impoverishment rule {PL{F}}↔{PL}. In the case of the DM-based M&S2005 analysis, hence, the burden of variation is carried by both Vocabulary and Morphology:

TABLE 1.2   *DM-based variation*

	Morphology	**Vocabulary**
Carrarese	{PL{F}}→{PL,F}	$|\underline{I}A|$↔{PL,F}
		$|\underline{A}|$↔{F}
		$|\underline{I}|$↔{PL}
Colonnatese		$|\underline{A}|$↔{F}
		$|\underline{I}|$↔{PL}
Ortonovese	{PL{F}}→ {PL}	$|\underline{A}|$↔{F}
		$|\underline{I}|$↔{PL}

---

9   For the sake of consistency, in what follows the element-based approach to the subsegmental structure is maintained where possible (rather than the 'traditional' representation of M&S2005 and T2009). Notice that, as discussed below, this is not just a notational variant. As for the phonological exponent of M, it is not discussed due to space limitation. In line with M&S2005, though, we maintain that it is spelled out by an empty morpheme (Cavirani & van Oostendorp 2017).

10   This results from the assumptions of the framework the authors refer to: DM for M&S2005, in which Vocabulary Insertion (VI) targets terminal nodes accordingly to the Subset principle ("A vocabulary item A associated with the feature set F can replace a terminal

The Superset principle adopted by T2009, on the other hand, allows for the shift of the burden of variation to the Vocabulary: no morphological operation is needed. The main argument put forward by T2009 comes from the analysis of the distribution of *-j-* within Colonnatese DPs such as *ʎa dona* 'the women' (where *ʎa* is analized as *l*-$|\underline{I}|_{PL}$-$|\underline{A}|_F$). In this case, the PL phonological exponent is spelled out only on the D head, while F is spelled out on both the constituents. T2009 analyses it as a process of ellipsis "in the specific sense that whenever the element lexicalizing PL is spelled out on a determiner or a quantifier, it is not also pronounced on the noun or an attributive adjective" (T2009: 118). Interestingly, this process doesn't apply when the relevant nP is masculine: *i ɔmi* 'the men' (vs *ɖ ɔm* 'the man'). If, as in M&S2005, $|\underline{I}|$ replaced just {PL}, then the ellipsis phenomenon just described would need to be sensitive to the gender specification of nP. If, on the other hand, $|\underline{I}|$ is assumed to spell out a structure such as {PL{M}}, then ellipsis can be given a straightforward and unified account:

TABLE 1.3   *Colonnatese PL ellipsis*

Feminine						Masculine					
D	PL	F	N	PL	F		D	PL	M	N	PL	M
l	-j	-a	lup	-j	-a		Ø	i		lup	-i	

Given that $|\underline{I}|$ spells out the {PL{M}} tree, the delinking of the PL head doesn't result in the lack of pronunciation of $|\underline{I}|$, as this element is still linked to M. Notice that, according to the Superset principle, $|\underline{I}|\leftrightarrow${PL{M}} can still replace PL in the {PL{F}} structure.[11] As such, Colonnatese *-j*$_{PL}$*-a*$_F$ results from the

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X with the feature set F′ if and only if F is a subset of F‴ T2009: 113), and nanosyntax for T2009, in which VI targets subtrees accordingly to the Superset principle ("A vocabulary item A associated with the feature set F can replace a subtree X with the feature set F′ if and only if F is a superset of F‴ T2009: 114).

11   F is argued to be contained in a structure such as {PL{F{M}}} (T2009: 122). This implication cannot be discussed here due to space limitation. Similarly, the hypothesis won't be discussed according to which the root spells out {√{M}} (T2009: 116). The competition among the suitable Vocabulary items is argued to be negotiated by the Superset principle and the 'Minimize unmatched features' principle (T2009: 118).

replacement of the relevant subtrees with the Vocabulary entries $|\underline{I}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{PL}\{\text{M}\}\}$ and $|\underline{A}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{F}\}$. No Fusion rule is needed. The observed variation boils down to a difference in Vocabulary:

TABLE 1.4   *Nanosyntax-based variation*

	Vocabulary
Carrarese	$|\underline{IA}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{PL}\{\text{F}\}\}$
	$|\underline{A}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{F}\}$
	$|\underline{I}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{PL}\{\text{M}\}\}$
Colonnatese	$|\underline{A}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{F}\}$
	$|\underline{I}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{PL}\{\text{M}\}\}$
Ortonovese	$|\underline{A}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{PL}\{\text{F}\}\}$
	$|\underline{I}|\leftrightarrow\{\text{PL}\{\text{M}\}\}$

As just discussed, the distribution of $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ within Colonnatese DPs such as Art-nP and QP-nP (*tant-j-a don-a* 'many-PL-F woman-F') is resorted to by T2009 to decide upon theoretical issues such as a) the structure of the DP and of the Vocabulary items and b) the spell out mechanism. In particular, the analysis of the $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ ellipsis leads T2009 to side for a) a DP derivation in which $\sqrt{}$ rises to Spec-#P through Spec-nP, b) the spellout of $\{\text{F}\}$ by $|\underline{A}|$ and of $\{\text{PL}\{\text{M}\}\}$ by $|\underline{I}|$ and c) the Superset principle.

Beside M&S2005 and T2009, an alternative account can be though of which builds on the formal devices provided by Element Theory, Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1996, 2008, 2016) and a non-trivial approach to phonological representation (along the lines of e.g. Passino 2009 and Lampitelli 2011, 2014).

In a nutshell, the *-e/-ja/-a* alternation can be described in terms of phonological licensing: in the *-e* case, the *floating* elements $|\underline{A}|_{\text{F}}$ and $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ are spelled out on the same word-final nucleus (which is argued to be *underlyingly empty*; see e.g. Lowenstamm 1996 and Scheer 2004). In the case of *-ja*, $|\underline{A}|_{\text{F}}$ and $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ cannot be licensed by the same nucleus (because of the stage reached by this variety along the diachronic process of vowel reduction; Section 2.1). As a consequence, $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ is linked to the onset preceding the $|\underline{A}|_{\text{F}}$ nucleus. Finally, in the case of *-a*, the word-final nucleus cannot license a complex structure, but $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ is not allowed to land on the preceding onset either and remains unpronounced. This allows us to dispense with the Fusion and Impoverishment rule, the differences in Vocabulary and, interestingly, provides a tentative explanation for

the Mirror Principle violation. Indeed, if a) $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is considered a floating element spelling out a head that is merged after n,[12] b) it cannot be linked to the word-final nucleus already saturated by $|\underline{A}|_F$ because of its licensing deficiency and c) no other C or V slot follows the $|\underline{A}|_F$ nucleus, then $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ has no other chance than either failing to be linked and spelled out (Ortonovese *-a*) or landing on the preceding onset (Colonnatese *-ja*). Even if this analysis provide a simple solution to the F-PL linear ordering (which e.g. dispense with the suspicious derivation proposed by T2009; Figure 1.3), it doesn't provide any explanation for the distribution of $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ within the DP. Neither do M&S2005 and T2009.

Indeed, for these (or any other) analyses to succeed in explaining the $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ distribution, they must meet, first of all, the level of descriptive adequacy. For instance, they must be able to account for the variation we observe when we expand both the DP and the set of dialects constituting the empirical base of the study. While extremely detailed in the description of Art-nP, for instance, T2009's analysis doesn't address the variation observed within a given variety (both between old and young generations and between structurally different DPs), nor across varieties that show some kind of ellipsis/partial concord. M&S2005, on the other hand, provides a richer data set, although less detailed in the analyses of individual varieties.

The next section is meant to expand and unify the dataset concerning the distribution of $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ within different kinds of DPs in Lunigianese dialects. This way, the different theoretical proposals can be tested and further developed.

3   Morphosyntax

3.1   *DP Structure and Partial Concord*
In the preceding section, we saw that, in Colonnatese, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out either on nP or on a higher element, if nP is preceded by Art or QP. Art and QP do not exhaust the set of possible DP-internal elements, though. In fact, as shown by the cartographic program, the DP functional sequence is much richer than that:

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12   Little n can be considered a phase head: "Derivationally, little x's determine the edge of
        a cyclic domain (a "phase" in Chomsky's recent terminology). Thus the combination of
        root and little x is shipped off to LF and PF for phonological and semantic interpretation
        [...]. Heads attaching outside a little x take as complements a structure in which the root
        meaning (and pronunciation) has already been negotiated" Marantz 2001: 6.
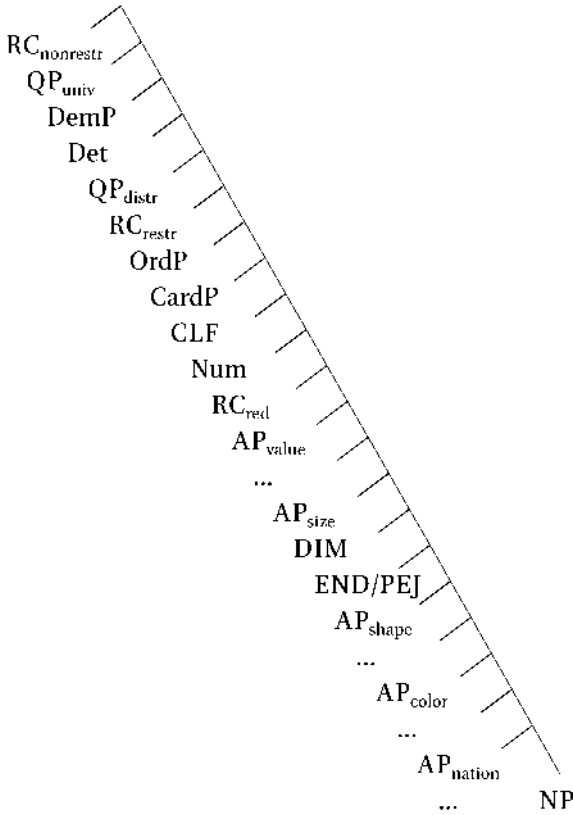
FIGURE 1.4   *The DP functional sequence*
            RIZZI 2011

In IDs, distributive, numeral and indefinite QP and DemP are usually in com-
plementary distribution with Art. Instead, QP_{univ},[13] Ord/CardP (henceforth just
NumP), anaphors (*tale* 'such a', *altro* 'other', *stesso* 'same'), various APs and
focalizers (*anche* 'even') can occur with D (Cinque 1997). AP can also occur
postnominally (Cinque 2010). In Lunigiana (Maffei Bellucci 1977), as in other
IDs (Renzi 1997), kinship terms such as 'mother' and 'father' are preceded by
the bare (uninflected) AP_{poss} (Carr. [me 'pa] 'my father', [me 'ma] 'my mother').
With other kinship terms, though, AP_{poss} can be optionally preceded by Art

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13   In some ID, the universal quantifier is not followed by any D (Lomb. [tyt mi'lan] 'all Milan'
     and Neap. ['tuttə 'kɔsə] 'all things'; Cinque 1997). As for other QPs, they can follow D, as in
     i/questi pochi libri 'the/these few books'. In this case, though, they behave like APs (Cinque
     1997).

(Carr. [ḷ me kuˈʒiŋ] lit. 'the my cousin', [ḷ me nəˈpot] lit. 'the my nephew'). With non-kinship terms, AP$_{poss}$ co-occurs with Art (Carr. [ḷ me ˈfant] lit. 'the my guy').[14]

As discussed in the literature, the domain defined in Figure 1.4 (including the cases in which AP occurs in postnominal position) is the locus of what has been defined as ellipsis (T2009), partial agreement (Pomino 2012; Cardinaletti & Giusti 2015 and D'Alessandro & Pescarini 2015) or lazy agreement/concord (Haiman & Benincà 1992; Rasom 2008; Bonet, Lloret & Mascaró 2015), which refers to the fact that, as in the case of Colonnatese Art/QP-nP referred to in Section 2.2, |Ɪ|$_{PL}$ doesn't occur on all the DP elements. This process occurs in many Romance varieties, such as French, North-eastern central Catalan, Maritime Provençal, Português Popular, Ladin and Walloon and has been given different accounts (see Pomino 2012 and references therein). Within these varieties, |Ɪ|$_{PL}$ can occur either on all the elements but nP (French, Maritime Provençal, Português Popular and Wallon) or only once (see Rasom 2008 for Ladin varieties). Lunigianese dialects sit somewhere in the middle.

Maffei Bellucci (1977: 93), for instance, claims that in the Art-AP-nP and Art-nP-AP structures (Table 1.11 and Table 1.16, respectively) the PL marker is spelled out only once in the dialects of Bagnone, Mulazzo and Villafranca. Indeed, when the "concept of plural is already—explicitly or implicitly—semantically expressed", the PL marker tends to be omitted. Interestingly, she also observes that the "repetition" of the PL marker is "perceived as redundant", rather than as "the violation of a norm". The same is maintained by Luciani (2002) for Colonnatese, where the PL marker "*can be repeated*" in forms such as [tant-j-a dɔn-j-a] 'many-PL-F woman-PL-F'. As shown in Table 1.6, Table 1.7, Table 1.8, Table 1.11, Table 1.12 and Table 1.17, though, |Ɪ|$_{PL}$ is actually repeated in many more contexts, both within Colonnatese and other Lunigianese varieties.

It is interesting to notice that some variation can be found also between the grammars of old and young generations of the same variety. This is the case, for instance, of Colonnatese. Indeed, while younger generations tend to spell out |Ɪ|$_{PL}$ only once, older Colonnatese speakers seem to show complete concord (Table 1.6 and Table 1.8). This is in line with the diachronic trajectory proposed by Rasom (2008: 8),[15] which is grounded both on the diatopic variation in the

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14   Notice that the pronominal counterpart of AP$_{poss}$ displays a different form: Carr. [ḷ me nəˈpot] lit. 'the my nephew' *vs* [ḷ nəˈpot i ɛ ḷ ˈmi] 'the nephew is of mine'; Pontr. [la me ˈrøza] lit. 'the my rose' *vs* [la røza l ɛ la ˈmea] 'the rose is of mine'. This holds for NIDs and generally concerns SG forms (Renzi 1997). Among AP$_{poss}$, only the the PL ones agrees with the possessee.

15   See also Ivani (2015) for other NID varieties.

distribution of the ᴘʟ marker among Gardenese, Friulian and Central Ladin, and on language acquisition:

> two other varieties of Northern Italy [have] a phenomenon similar to the one in question: Gherdener, which is a Central Ladin variety where lazy concord varies with respect to the other varieties, and Friulian, in which the morphology of lazy concord is the result of the syncopation of the […] sigmatic feature from the feminine plural morpheme, *-is*, exactly as it happens in a specific acquisitional stage in Fassan children […] where the morphology of lazy concord corresponds to the syncopation of the *-s* from the feminine plural morpheme *-es*, and not to a feminine singular ending, as it instead happens in the adults' grammar […] This linguistic variation gives value to the […] hypothesis, according to which lazy concord in Central Ladin, in Friulian and in Gherdener is the result of the same phenomenon in different linguistic stages […]. These different evolutionary stages correspond in fact to the different acquisitional stages in children.

In a similar fashion Loporcaro (1994: 39 fn. 7) observes that the variation he found in Bagnone and Treschietto (Table 1.8 and Table 1.9) almost 20 years after Bellucci's (1977) fieldwork could be interpreted as an internal evolution of these dialects.

The varieties of Bagnone, Treschietto and Colonnatese are actually not the only dialects displaying more than one |I̲|ᴘʟ within the DP. Other interesting patterns can be found, which are described in the next section.

3.2   *GEN and NUM Distribution within Lunigianese DP*

In this section, the different distribution patterns of the phonological exponent of ᴘʟ within the DPs of a set of dialects spoken in Lunigiana. Beside the ones that can be found scattered in the literature (M&S2005; T2009; Restori 1892; Bottiglioni 1911; Rohlfs 1968; Maffei Bellucci 1977; Loporcaro 1994, henceforth, respectively, R1892; B1911; R1968; MB1977 and L1994), first-hand data from the varieties of Ameglia and Colonnata are provided. Starting from the DP structure given in Figure 1.4, a questionnaire was prepared that exploits the functional sequence as much as possible.

In what follows, the data relative to bare nPs and the structures in which Art, QP, DemP, NumP and AP are higher than the controlling nP are presented first (Section 3.2.1). They are followed by the data regarding the structures in which AP, QP and P.PTCP occur postnominally (Section 3.2.2). Within every group, the data are further organized by locality: Ameglia, Bagnone,

TABLE 1.5   *DP structures*

Prenominal XP				Postnominal XP
Art-N	Art-A-N	Art-Num$_{card}$-A-N	Q$_{univ}$-Art-N	Art-N-A
Dem-N	Dem-A-N	Dem-Num$_{card}$-A-N	Q$_{univ}$-Dem-N	Dem-N-A
Q$_{ind}$-N	Q$_{ind}$-A-N	Art-A-Num$_{card}$-N	Q$_{univ}$-Art-A-N	Q$_{ind}$-N-A
Q$_{num}$-N	Q$_{num}$-A-N	Dem-A-A-N	Q$_{univ}$-Dem-A-N	Q$_{num}$-N-A
	Art-Num$_{ord}$-N	Dem-A-Num$_{ord}$-N		Subj-v-N
	Art-Num$_{card}$-N			Subj-v-Dem
	Dem-Num$_{ord}$-N			Subj-v-Q$_{ind}$
	Dem-Num$_{card}$-N			Subj-v-Q$_{univ}$
	Q$_{ind}$-Num$_{ord}$-N			Subj-v-N-A
	Q$_{num}$-Num$_{ord}$-N			Subj-v-A-N
				Subj-v-Q$_{univ}$-A
				Subj-v-P.PTCP

Bedizzano, Caprio, Colonnata, Filattiera, Lusignana, Mulazzo, Villafranca and Treschietto.[16]

3.2.1   Bare nP & Prenominal XP

In bare nPs, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out separately from $|\underline{A}|_F$ in all the varieties under analysis, where it either palatalizes the preceding onset (e.g. Bagnonese [dɔɲa][17]) or represents the second element of a complex onset cluster (Colonnatese [gorpja] 'foxes'). An argument supporting this syllabification is given by forms such as, e.g., Bagnonese [peːgərja] 'sheep.PL', Treschiettese [tsekəlja] 'ticks' and Lusignanese [formigalja] 'ants', where the illicit triconsonantal stem-final clusters (/pegr-j-/, /tsekl-j-/ and /formigl-j-/, respectively) are repaired through

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16   MB1977 lists the dialects of Calice al Cornoviglio, Bolano, Vezzano Ligure, Santo Stefano Magra and Arcola as showing a F.PL *-ja* marker. L1994 adds Bergiola Foscarina, Rocca Sigillina (where *-ja* seems to be almost lost, though), Gigliana, Filetto and Tresana. Further research is needed in order to collect the relevant data, as well as to find the data corresponding to the structures in Table 1.5 that cannot be found in the literature. As for Carrarese and Ortonovese data, they are left out since they display no F.PL. *-ja* marker.

17   Cfr. [la dɔna] 'the woman'. For the same dialect, though, Rohlfs (1968) reports [dɔnja], while Luciani (2002) transcribes this form as [dɔnʲa].

epenthesis (cfr. the singular forms [pe:gra] 'sheep.SG', [tsekla] 'thick' and [formigla] 'ant'; L1994).

As soon as the bare nP is embedded in a larger structure, though, some variation in the $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ spell out can be observed. For instance, when the feminine noun is preceded by Art, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out on nP in Ameglia, Bagnone, Lusignana, Mulazzo, Villafranca and Treschietto, and on Art in Bedizzano, Caprio, Filattiera and Colonnata (T2009). In the latter, though, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out on both Art and nP by elder speakers. As mentioned in Section 3.1, this seems to suggest that at an older stage the phonological exponent of PL was spelled out on many (if not all the) DP elements.

TABLE 1.6   *Art-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Ameglia	Art-F N-PL-F	[a fantja] 'the girls'	Fieldwork
Bagnone	Art-F N-PL-F	[la gorpja] 'the foxes'	R1968
Lusignana	Art-F N-PL-F	[la formigalja] 'the ants'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	Art-F N-PL-F	[la gambja] 'the legs'	R1892; M&S2005
Villafranca	Art-F N-PL-F	[la kavrja] 'the goats'	R1892
Treschietto	Art-F N-F	[la skarpja] 'the shoes'	L1994
Colonnata	a. Art-PL-F N-PL-F	[ʎa dɔnja] 'the women'	Fieldwork (old/new generations)
	b. Art-PL-F N-F	[ʎa dɔna] 'the women'	T2009; Fieldwork (new generations)
Bedizzano	Art-PL-F N-F	[ʎa dɔnna] 'the women'	M&S2005
Caprio	Art-PL-F N-F	[ja rava] 'the turnips'	R1892
Filattiera	Art-PL-F N-F	[ja krava] 'the goats'	MB1977

As shown in Table 1.7, Colonnatese spells $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ out both on the noun and on the element that precedes in the case that the latter is a demonstrative. Young speakers, though, can spell it out on DemP only. As for the other varieties, the phonological exponent of PL is spelled out either on nP (Mulazzo) or on DemP (Ameglia, Bedizzano, Filattiera, Lusignana and Villafranca):

TABLE 1.7   *Dem-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Colonnata	a. Dem-PL-F N-PL-F	[kʎa dɔnja] 'those women'	Fieldwork (old/ young generations)
	b. Dem-PL-F N-F	[kweʃtja fɔla] 'these lies'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Mulazzo	Dem-F N-PL-F	[sta dɔnja] 'these women'	M&S2005
Ameglia	Dem-PL-F N-F	[kweja lumaka] 'those snails'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	Dem-PL-F N-F	[kiʎa dɔnna] 'those women'	M&S2005
Filattiera	Dem-PL-F N-F	[kja dɔna] 'those women'	M&S2005
Lusignana	Dem-PL-F N-F	[kja formigla] 'those ants'	M&S2005
Villafranca	Dem-PL-F N-F	[stja skarpa] 'these shoes'	MB1977

Complete concord can also be found in the variety of Treschietto when feminine nouns are preceded by indefinite quantifiers (Table 1.8). This also holds for the old generation Colonnatese. Young generations, though, spell out $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ either on the nP or on the quantifier. The latter (i.e. Q_{ind}-PL-F N-F) occurs in the varieties of Bagnone, Bedizzano and Villafranca. In these dialects, though, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ can also be dispensed with altogether (Q_{ind}-F N-F), as regularly happens in the varieties of Ameglia, Filattiera and Mulazzo. In the dialect of Lusignana, instead, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ needs to be expressed at least once, either on QP or on nP:

TABLE 1.8   *Q$_{ind}$-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Treschietto	Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-PL-F	[tantja frolja] 'many strawberries'	L1994
Colonnata	a. Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-PL-F	[tantja dɔnja] 'many women'	B1911
	b. Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-F	[tantja ðɔna] 'many women'	M&S2005
	c. Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[poga dɔnja] 'few women'	Fieldwork young generation
Bagnone	a. Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-F	[tantja peːgra] 'many sheep'	R1968
	b. Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[tanta pegra] 'many sheep'	MB1977
Bedizzano	a. Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-F	[tanja dɔnna] 'many women'	M&S2005
	b. Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[pɔga dɔnna] 'few women'	M&S2005
Villafranca	a. Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-F	[tantja suzeːna] 'many plums'	L1994
	b. Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[tanta pegra] 'many sheep'	MB1977
Lusignana	a. Q$_{ind}$-F N-PL-F	[tanta formigalja] 'many ants'	M&S2005
	b. Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-F	[tantja dɔnna] 'many woman'	
Ameglia	Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[poga patata e tanta boka] 'few potatoes and many mouths'	Fieldwork
Filattiera	Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[tanta dɔna] 'many women'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	Q$_{ind}$-F N-F	[tanta dɔna] 'many women'	M&S2005

To sum up, we can observe a variation pattern such that F is spelled out either on all the elements (Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-PL-F), on none (Q$_{ind}$-F N-F), or on one element only. In this case, there seems to be a preference for $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ to be spelled out on the quantifier (Q$_{ind}$-PL-F N-F), since, in the case of intralinguistic variation, nP is the element that more frequently occurs $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$-less. An exception to this pattern is represented by Lusignanese and young generation Colonnatese, where $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ can occur either on QP$_{ind}$ or on nP.

If the quantifier is a numeral (Table 1.9), i.e. if plurality is already semantically expressed, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ fails to be spelled out in Amegliese and Mulazzese. On the contrary, in Lusignanese it still needs to be spelled out. Given that, in all these varieties, cardinal numerals never agree with their nP, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is necessarily spelled out on the latter. Bagnonese, Colonnatese and Villafranchese, instead, show optional $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ spell out:

TABLE 1.9 *Table 1.9Q$_{num}$-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Lusignana	Q$_{num}$ N-PL-F	[tre dɔnja] 'three women'	M&S2005
Bagnone	a. Q$_{num}$ N-PL-F	[tre tʃeːsja] 'three churches'	L1994
	b. Q$_{num}$ N-F	[kwatər dɔna] 'four women'	MB1977; L1994
Colonnata	a. Q$_{num}$ N-PL-F	[tre dːɔnja] 'three women'	M&S2005
	b. Q$_{num}$ N-F	[tre barka e do ankɔra] 'tre ships and three anchors'	Fieldwork (young generations)
Villafranca	a. Q$_{num}$ N-PL-F	[do kampaːnja] 'two bells'	L1994
	b. Q$_{num}$ N-F	[do dɔna] 'two women'	MB1977; L1994
Ameglia	Q$_{num}$ N-F	[tre barka e do ankora] 'three boats and two anchors'	Fieldwork
Mulazzo	Q$_{num}$ N-F	[tre furmigla] 'three ants'	M&S2005

Notice that the varieties of Mulazzo, along with that of Filattiera, show no PL morphology also when an AP occurs between QP$_{num}$ and nP, while Colonnatese young speakers can spell $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ out on both AP and nP. In Amegliese, instead, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out either on AP, or nowhere:

TABLE 1.10   *Q$_{num}$-A-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Colonnata	Q$_{num}$ A-PL-F N-PL-F	[tre primja dɔnja] 'three first ladies'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Ameglia	a. Q$_{num}$ A-PL-F N-F	[do bɛja bireta] 'two nice beers'	Fieldwork
	b. Q$_{num}$ A-F N-F	[tre prima dɔna] 'tre first ladies'	
Filattiera	Q$_{num}$ A-F N-F	[do brava dɔna] 'two good women'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	Q$_{num}$ A-F N-F	[do brava dɔna] 'two good women'	M&S2005

In Mulazzese, though, AP gets $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ if it is preceded by Art (Table 1.11). This also happens in Bagnonese and Villafranchese,[18] while in Filattierese $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out only on the highest element (Art). The reverse pattern is shown by Treschiettese, where $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out only on the lowest element (nP). As for the dialect of Caprio, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ occurs on the two prenominal elements, but not on nP. The same holds for Colonnata, even though young generations show some degree of optionality,[19] allowing for $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ to be spelled out on Art only. Finally, Amegliese shows what seems to be a lexical variation, inasmuch as $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ can be spelled out on AP only if this is not a possessive pronoun (see also [a nɔstra primja risa] 'our first laughs'):

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18   Interestingly, in these varieties Art-F A-PL-F N-F contrasts with Art-F N-PL-F (Table 1.6). In Villafranchese, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out only on AP also if it is preceded by QP$_{ind}$: [tanta bɛ:lja skarpa] 'many beautiful shoes' (L1994).

19   E.g. [ʎa nɔʃtra letra] 'our letters' *vs* [ʎa nɔʃtrja primja risata] 'our first laughs', where $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is repeated on both the adjectives *vs* [ʎa prima dʒornatja] 'the first days', where only Art and nP get the PL marker.

TABLE 1.11   *Art-A-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Caprio	Art-PL-F A-PL-F N-F	[ja bɛja baga] 'the beautiful berries'	R1892
Colonnata	a. Art-PL-F A-PL-F N-F	[ʎa nɔʃtrja ka] 'our houses'	M&S2005; Fieldwork (young generation)
	b. Art-PL-F A-F N-F	[ʎa nɔʃtra letra] 'our letters'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Filattiera	Art-PL-F A-F N-F	[ja nɔstra sorɛla] 'our sisters'	M&S2005
Treschietto	Art-F A-PL-F N-F-PL	[la bɛ:lja skarpja] 'the beautiful shoes'	L1994
Bagnone	Art-F A-PL-F N-F	[la nɔstrja skarpa] 'our shoes'	R1968; MB1977
Mulazzo	Art-F A-PL-F N-F	[la nɔstrja kɔza] 'our things'	M&S2005
Villafranca	Art-F A-PL-F N-F	[la bɛ:lja skarpa] 'the beautiful shoes'	M&S2005; MB1977
Ameglia	a. Art-F A-PL-F N-F	[a primja dʒorna] 'the first days'	Fieldwork
	b. Art-F A-F N-F	[a nɔstra letea] 'our letters'	

Given the data in Table 1.11 (alongside those in Table 1.8), a tendency for nP to show no PL morphology seems to emerge. This morphological exponence, in turn, seems to be preferably spelled out on APs.

The same dispreference for $|\underline{\text{I}}|_{\text{PL}}$ to be spelled out on nP can also be found if the highest element is a demonstrative, as shown in Table 1.12:

TABLE 1.12   *Dem-A-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Ameglia	Dem-PL-F A-PL-F N-F	[stja bɛja antʃuga] 'these beautiful anchovies'	Fieldwork
Colonnata	a. Dem-PL-F A-PL-F N-F	[kiʎa bonja ðɔna] 'those good women'	M&S2005; Fieldwork (old/young generation)
	b. Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	[kiʎa brava ðɔna] 'those good women'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	a. Dem-F A-PL-F N-F	[kla bravja dɔna] 'those good women'	M&S2005
	b. Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	[ki autra dɔna] 'those other women'	
Bedizzano	Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	[kiʎa altra dɔnna] 'those other women'	M&S2005
Lusignana	Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	[kja bruta dɔnna] 'those ugly women'	M&S2005
Villafranca	Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	[kelja pɔːga kɔːza] 'those few things'	L1994

While in the Art-AP-nP structures (Table 1.11) $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ tends to be spelled out on AP, in the structures in Table 1.12 PL seems to be attracted by DemP. In Bedizzanese, Lusignanese and Villafranchese[20] this is the only element receiving $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$. In Mulazzese, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ can surface either on AP, as in Art-AP-nP structures, or on DemP (notice that, in DemP-nP, it is spelled out on nP, Table 1.7). As for Colonnatese, it either displays $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ only on DemP, or, as in Amegliese, on all and only the prenominal elements (see also Colonnatese [kiʎa altrja bɛlja ðɔna] 'those other beautiful women', M&S 2005). The same happens when AP-nP are preceded by QP$_{ind}$ (Colonnatese [pɔga bɛlja dʒornata] and Amegliese [pɔga bɛja dʒorna] 'few beautiful days'), while if preceded by QP$_{num}$, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out

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20   Notice that in Villafranchese Dem-PL-F A-F N-F contrasts with Art-F A-PL-F N-F (Table 1.11).

on the lower elements in Colonnatese ([do bɛlja biretja freʃkja] 'two nice fresh beers'), but only on the prenominal AP in Amegliese ([do bɛja bireta freska]; Table 1.10).

When, rather than by AP, DemP is followed by NumP$_{card}$ (Table 1.13), $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out on nP in Mulazzese[21] and on DemP in Amegliese, Bedizzanese, Filattierese and Lusignanese (as happens in DemP-AP-NP structures). Colonnatese, instead, can optionally spell $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ out on either DemP or nP:

TABLE 1.13   *Dem-Num$_{card}$-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Ameglia	Dem-PL-F Num N-F	[stja tre kaseta] 'these three boxes'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	Dem-PL-F Num N-F	[kiʎa tre dɔnna] 'those three women'	M&S2005
Filattiera	Dem-PL-F Num N-F	[kja tre dɔna] 'those three women'	M&S2005
Lusignana	Dem-PL-F Num N-F	[kja tre dɔnna] 'those three women'	M&S2005
Colonnata	a. Dem-PL-F Num N-F b. Dem-F Num N-PL-F	[queʃtja tre kaʃeta] 'those three boxes' [kla do fantja] 'those two girls'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Mulazzo	Dem-F Num N-PL-F	[kla tre dɔnja] 'those three women'	M&S2005

Notice that, in Lusignanese, Dem-PL-F NumP$_{card}$ N-F contrasts with QP$_{num}$ N-PL-F (Table 1.9) and Art-F NumP A-PL-F (Table 1.14), where $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spell out on the lowest element (no matter if the latter is nP or AP[22]). In Amegliese and Colonnatese, instead, there seems to be no $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ spelled out in Art-NumP$_{card}$-AP(-nP) structures:

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21   In this variety, Dem-F NumP N-PL-F contrasts with Dem-PL-F A-F N-F (Table 1.12) and QP$_{num}$ N-F (Table 1.9).

22   DemP, instead, still attracts $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ in DemP-NumP$_{card}$-AP structures: [kja do pu granda] 'those two bigger' (M&S2005).

TABLE 1.14   *Art-Num$_{card}$-A(-N)*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Lusignana	Art-F Num A-PL-F	[la do pu grandja] 'the two bigger'	M&S2005
Ameglia	Art-F Num A-F N-F	[a do vɛtʃa siɲoa] 'the two old ladies'	Fieldwork
Colonnata	Art-F Num A-F	[la do gaɟina] 'the two hens'	Fieldwork (young generation)

Similarly to what happens in other IDs,[23] the QP$_{univ}$ *tut-* 'all' displays idiosyncratic behavior in the dialects of Bagnone, Mulazzo, Villafranca and Treschietto, in which it shows neither F nor PL morphology (however, when in predicative position, QP$_{univ}$ can agree with the preceding nP, Table 1.22). An exception to this pattern is represented by Amegliese, where *tut-* takes $|\underline{A}|_F$.[24] As for Colonnatese, it spells $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ out on Art:[25]

TABLE 1.15   *Q$_{univ}$-Art-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Bagnone	Q$_{univ}$ Art-F N-PL-F	[tut la fio:lja] 'all the daughters'	L1994
Mulazzo	Q$_{univ}$ Art-F N-PL-F	[tut la dɔnja] 'all the women'	M&S2005

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23   Cfr. Ottonese (Zörner 1992), where 'all' is always M.SG: [ˈtytu i ˈani] lit. 'all.M.SG. the years.M.PL' and [ˈtytu ste ˈbestje] lit. 'all.M.SG. these.F.PL animals.F.PL'. Something similar can be observed in Sard. [ˈtottu s ˈakkwa] 'all.M.SG the.F.SG water.F.SG' and [ˈtottu sos ˈatteros] 'all.M.SG the.M.PL others.M.PL' (R1968).

24   See also [tuta kweja botidʒa] 'all those bottles', [tuta a bɛja stɔrja] 'all the beautiful stories' and [tuta kweja bɛja stɔrja] 'all those beautiful stories', where QP$_{univ}$ takes $|\underline{A}|_F$ and $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out only on DemP (and on AP when it occurs; the *-j* in the *stɔrja* is not $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$).

25   See also [tut ʎa bɛʎa fɔla] 'all the nice stories', where $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is repeated on AP. However, if prenominal elelement is DemP, then $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out on QP$_{univ}$ ([tutja kla bɔtʃa] 'all those bottles') and on AP ([tutja kla bɛʎa fɔla] 'all the nice stories').

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Villafranca	Q_{univ} Art-F N-PL-F	[tut la seːrja] 'all the evenings'	L1994
Treschietto	Q_{univ} Art-F N-PL-F	[tut la seːrja] 'all the evenings'	L1994
Colonnata	Q_{univ} Art-PL-F N-F	[tut ʎa domenka] 'all the Sundays'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Ameglia	Q_{univ}-F Art-F N-F	[tuta a domenega] 'all the Sundays'	Fieldwork

3.2.2 Postnominal XP

In IDs, nP can move higher than AP (Cinque 2010). In Lunigiana dialects, this affects the distribution of $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ in an interesting way. Indeed, while in the dialects of Ameglia, Bagnone, Mulazzo, Villafranca[26] and Lusignana $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled out on nP (Table 1.16), in Art-AP-nP structures (Table 1.11) it surfaces on AP. In both the cases, though, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ occurs "almost always in conjunction with the first nominal form" (MB1977: 93). As for Treschietto, $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is spelled on the two lower elements, while in Filattiera it is spelled out only on the highest element, no matter the relative ordering of the following AP-nP sequence:

TABLE 1.16   *Art-N-A*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Treschietto	Art-F N-PL-F A-PL-F	[la skarpja noːvja] 'the new shoes'	L1994
Ameglia	Art-F N-PL-F A-F	[a fantja sola] 'the girls alone'	Fieldwork

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26   In Villafranchese, it happens also in the case that the first element is QP_{ind}: [dla kɔːzja bɛːla] 'some beautiful things' (M&S2005).

TABLE 1.16   *Art-N-A* (cont.)

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Bagnone	Art-ꜰ N-ᴘʟ-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[la dɔnja kativa] 'the bad women'	R1968; MB1977; L1994
Mulazzo	Art-ꜰ N-ᴘʟ-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[la kravja granda] 'the big goats'	MB1977; M&S2005
Villafranca	Art-ꜰ N-ᴘʟ-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[la skarpja noːva] 'the new shoes'	L1994
Lusignana	Art-ꜰ N-ᴘʟ-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[la skarpja neva] 'the new shoes'	M&S2005
Filattiera	Art-ᴘʟ-ꜰ N-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[ja ryda nyva] 'the new wheels'	MB1977; M&S2005

The "first nominal form" constraint on the |I̲|ₚʟ spell out of Mulazzese holds also if the relevant form is preceded by DemP (Table 1.17). Instead, in Lusignanese, |I̲|ₚʟ is attracted by DemP (see also Table 1.7, Table 1.13 and fn.22). This happens also in the varieties of Ameglia, Bedizzano, Filattiera and Colonnata. In the latter, though, |I̲|ₚʟ can be spelled out also on AP:

TABLE 1.17   *Dem-N-A*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Colonnata	a. Dem-ᴘʟ-ꜰ N-ꜰ A-ᴘʟ-ꜰ	[kiʎa ðɔna bɛlja] 'those beautiful women'	M&S2005
	b. Dem-ᴘʟ-ꜰ N-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[kiʎa ðɔna granda] 'those big women'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	Dem-ꜰ N-ᴘʟ-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[kla dɔnja dzovna] 'those young women'	M&S2005
Ameglia	Dem-ᴘʟ-ꜰ N-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[kweja botiʤa vota] 'those empty bottles'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	Dem-ᴘʟ-ꜰ N-ꜰ A-ꜰ	[kiʎa dɔnna bɛla] 'those beautiful women'	M&S2005

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Filattiera	Dem-PL-F N-F A-F	[kja dɔna zoːvna] 'those young women'	M&S2005
Lusignana	Dem-PL-F N-F A-F	[kja skarpa neva] 'those new shoes'	M&S2005

In the case that the sentence final element occurs in predicative position, it never gets |I̱|_PL if it is nP (Table 1.18) in the dialects of Ameglia, Bedizzano, Colonnata, Filattiera and Mulazzo:

TABLE 1.18 *Subj-v-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Ameglia	N-F	[l en buzia] 'they are women'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	N-F	[a l eŋ dɔnna] 'they are women'	M&S2005
Colonnata	N-F	[a ɟ ɛŋ dona] 'they are women'	M&S2005
Filattiera	N-F	[l ɛŋ dɔna] 'they are women'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	N-F	[l en dɔna] 'they are women'	M&S2005

If, on the other hand, the element in predicative position is AP, then it takes |I̱|_PL obligatorily in Treschiettese (Table 1.19), while optionally in the variaties of Bagnone, Colonnata, Lusignana, Mulazzo (see also Table 1.20) and Villafranca. In Amegliese, Bedizzanese and Filattierese, instead, AP doesn't show any PL morphology:

TABLE 1.19   *Subj-v-A*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Treschietto	A-PL-F	[la tsekəlja l(a) en kativja] 'the ticks are bad'	M&S2005
Bagnone	a. A-PL-F	[tut la fɪoːlja l en braːvja] 'all the daughters are good'	L1994
	b. A-F	[tut la fɪoːlja l en braːva] 'all the daughters are good'	MB1977
Colonnata	a. A-PL-F	[a ɟ eŋ novja] 'they are new'	M&S2005; fieldwork (young generation)
	b. A-F	[a ɟ ɛŋ brava] 'they are good'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Lusignana	a. A-PL-F	[l en grandja] 'they are big'	M&S2005
	b. A-F	[l en granda] 'they are big'	
Mulazzo	a. A-PL-F	[l ɛn bravia] 'they are good'	M&S2005
	b. A-F	[l ɛn brava] 'they are good'	
Villafranca	a. A-PL-F	[la to skarpja l ɛn bɛːlja] 'your shoes are beautiful'	L1994
	b. A-F	[la to skarpja l ɛn bɛːla] 'your shoes are beautiful'	
Ameglia	A-F	[l ɛ nova] 'they are new'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	A-F	[al eŋ bɛla] 'they are beautiful'	M&S2005
Filattiera	A-F	[l ɛŋ zoːvna] 'they are young'	M&S2005

In the dialect of Filattiera, though, the predicative element takes $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ if it is a DemP:

TABLE 1.20 *Subj-v-Dem*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Filattiera	Dem-PL-F	[l ɛŋ kweʃtja] 'they are these'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	Dem-PL-F	[l eŋ kwelja] 'they are these'	M&S2005

$|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ is also spelled out on the predicative element in Treschiettese (and Colonnatese) in the case that it is a QP$_{ind}$. In Ameglia and Bedizzano, instead, the predicative element takes only $|\underline{A}|_F$ (as in the nP-v-nP/AP/P.PTCP structures, Table 1.18, Table 1.19 and Table 1.25, respectively):

TABLE 1.21 *Subj-v-Q$_{ind}$*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Treschietto	Q-PL-F	[la tsekəlja l(a) en tantja] 'the ticks are a lot'	L1994
Colonnata	Q-PL-F	[la prumisja ɟ ɛn tantja] 'the promises are a lot'	Fieldwork (young generation)
Ameglia	Q-F	[l ɛn tanta] 'they are a lot'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	Q-F	[a l eŋ tanta] 'they are a lot'	M&S2005

As suggested while presenting the QP$_{univ}$-Art-nP structures (Table 1.15), *tut-* takes no PL or F morphology when it occurs prenominally. However, when it occurs in predicative position, it gets $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ in Bedizzanese, Colonnatese[27] and

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27   In Colonnatese, QP$_{univ}$ takes $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ also when followed by AP ([a ɟ ɛn tutja vota] 'they are all empty').

Villafranchese (Table 1.22), while only |A̲|$_F$ in the varieties of Ameglia, Filattiera and Mulazzo:

TABLE 1.22 *Subj-v-Q$_{univ}$*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Bedizzano	Q-PL-F	[a l eŋ tutja] 'they are all'	M&S2005
Colonnata	Q-PL-F	[a ɟ ɛn tutja] 'they are all'	M&S2005; Fieldwork (young generation)
Villafranca	Q-PL-F	[la nostrja kɔːza l(a) ɛn tutja ki] 'our things are all here'	L1994
Ameglia	Q-F	[l ɛn tuta de la] 'they are all over there'	Fieldwork
Filattiera	Q-F	[l ɛŋ tuta] 'they are all'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	Q-F	[l en tuta] 'they are all'	M&S2005

Notice that in Treschiettese, QP$_{univ}$ keeps |I̲|$_{PL}$ also if it is followed by AP: [la mɛ amiːɟa l(a) en tutja bɛːlja] 'my friends are all beautiful' (L1994). No difference can be observed in the case that AP follows QP$_{univ}$ also in Amegliese, where the PL morphology is present in none of the relevant structures ([l ɛn tuta vota] 'they are all empty').

If, on the other hand, the AP in predicative position is followed by nP (Table 1.23), |I̲|$_{PL}$ is spelled out on the adjective in Lusignanese (as in nP-v-AP, Table 1.19, and Art-NumP$_{card}$-AP, Table 1.14). The variety of Mulazzo, instead, display some variation with respect to the nP-v-AP structures. Indeed, while in that case |I̲|$_{PL}$ can be optionally spell out on AP (Table 1.19), this doesn't seem to be possible if AP is followed by nP. However, if nP precedes AP (Table 1.24), then the "first nominal element" constraint (Table 1.16 and Table 1.17) seems to apply:

TABLE 1.23 *Table 1.23Subj-v-A-N*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Lusignana	A-PL-F N-F	[l en bravja dɔnna] 'they are good women'	M&S2005
Filattiera	A-F N-F	[l ɛŋ brava dɔna] 'they are good women'	M&S2005
Mulazzo	A-F N-F	[l ɛn brava dɔna] 'they are good women'	M&S2005

In Filattierese, $|\underline{\text{I}}|_{\text{PL}}$ fails to be spelled out both when AP precedes (Table 1.23) and follows (Table 1.24) nP (notice that, in this variety, the PL morphology on an element in predicative position seems to be found only in the case that it is a DemP, Table 1.19).

TABLE 1.24 *Subj-v-N-A*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Mulazzo	a. N-PL-F A-F	[l en dɔnja brava] 'they are good women'	M&S2005
	b. N-F A-F	[l en dɔna brava] 'they are good women'	
Filattiera	N-F A-F	[l ɛŋ dɔna zo:vna] 'they are young women'	M&S2005

Finally, the spell out of $|\underline{\text{I}}|_{\text{PL}}$ on P.PTCP seems to be optional (or sensitive to the SBJ/OBJ distinction) in Villafranchese (Table 1.25), while absent in the varieties of Ameglia, Bedizzano, Colonnata[28] and Filattiera:

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28   Young generations display some optionality, even within the same sentence: [ʎa gaɟina i s l an portatja dʒa plata] 'they brought us the hens already peeled' (in this example, though, the two P.PTCPs seem to be structurally different).

TABLE 1.25 *Subj/Obj-v-P.PTCP*

Dialect	Feature distribution	Example	Source
Villafranca	a. (OCL.3PL-F) P.PTCP-PL-F	[la fjoːlja a ɟ(a) ɔ vistja] 'I saw the daughters'	L1994
	b. (SCL.3-F) P.PTCP-F	[la skarpja la s m ɛn rota] 'my shoes got broken'	
Ameglia	(OCL.3PL-F) P.PTCP-F	[a dʒ(a) ɔ vista] 'I saw them'	Fieldwork
Bedizzano	(OCL.3PL-F) P.PTCP-F	[i ʎ(a) aŋ camata] 'they called them'	M&S2005
Colonnata	(OCL.3PL-F) P.PTCP-F	[a ʎ ɔ camata] 'I called them'	M&S2005; Fieldwork (old/young generation)
Filattiera	(OCL.3PL-F) P.PTCP-F	[a j(a) ɔ vista] 'I saw them'	M&S2005

In order to facilitate the comparison, the data presented in the preceding tables have been collected in the resumptive Table 1.26, where the forms are presented dialect by dialect.

4   Conclusions

In Romance varieties, the phonological exponent of F and PL are spelled out by word-final vocalic segments, which, in Lunigiana varieties, are prone to phonological reduction (Section 2.1). Crucially, with respect to word-medial vowels, word-final vocalic segments show a higher resistance to reduction. Thus, morphosyntax seems to interact with phonology (either diachronically or synchronically) in the shaping/selection of the phonological exponent of F and PL, namely of $|\underline{A}|_{FL}$ and $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$, respectively (Section 2.2).

The distribution of $|\underline{A}|_{FL}$ and $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ within Lunigianese nominal expressions displays other interesting properties. Indeed, different patterns of partial or complete lack of plural agreement can be observed, with the PL exponents variably surfacing on all the constituents of the nominal expression or only on a subset thereof (whereas the exponent of F regularly surfaces all the constituents; Section 3.2). Furthermore, the linear ordering of $|\underline{A}|_{FL}$ and $|\underline{I}|_{PL}$ seems

to violate the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985) as, contrary to the typologically unmarked GEN-# linearization (e.g. Sp. *lob*-$_{\text{ROOT}}$-o_{M}-s_{PL} 'wolves'), in the relevant Lunigianese varieties the phonological exponent of PL occurs between the root and the exponent of F (e.g. Colonnatese *don*-$_{\text{ROOT}}$-j_{PL}-a_{F} 'women'). As discussed in Section 2.2, this violation is only apparent, as the attested linearization can be considered as resulting from the phonological computation of the exponents of morpho-syntactic structure abiding by the Mirror Principle: the GEN head is merged first and the floating $|\underline{A}|_{\text{FL}}$ can thus land on the empty nucleus following the root. Then the # head is merged. The corresponding phonological exponent, though, finds no empty nucleus to land on, nor it can be licensed by the nucleus already saturated by $|\underline{A}|_{\text{FL}}$ (because of phonological resons). As a consequence, $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ lands on the onset preceding $|\underline{A}|_{\text{FL}}$ (Colonnatese *don*-$_{\text{ROOT}}$-j_{PL}-a_{F}) or nowhere (Ortonovese *don*-$_{\text{ROOT}}$-$a_{\text{F.PL}}$).

Since linguistic theorizing can benefit from the collaboration with more descriptive approaches, the present work is meant to broaden the empirical grounding on which theoretical analyses are based. For instance, the detailed description of the $|\underline{I}|_{\text{PL}}$ spellout microvariation in Lunigiana can lay the ground for the analysis of the properties of the phonology-morphosyntax interface. In particular, different interface theories that allow for interaction between morphosyntax and phonology (Jackendoff 2007; van Oostendorp 2007; Trommer 2015), as opposed to theories that do not admit any interaction and consider phonology a purely interpretative module (Scheer 2011, 2012), can be tested. Furthermore, specific theories about spellout and phase structure (Marantz 2001; Chomsky 2008; Samuels 2012) can be checked and further refined. In order for this to happen, though, the varieties spoken in Lunigiana needs to be further investigated. In fact, the rich microvariation characterizing the Lunigianese geolinguistic domain can be fully exploited for theoretical purposes only if the morphosyntactic structures under concern can be compared as displayed in all the relevant varieties.

TABLE 1.26   *F and PL in Lunigianese DP*[29]

	Ameglia	Bagnone	Bedizzano	Caprio	Colonnata
Art-N	Art-F N-PL-F	Art-F N-PL-F	Art-PL-F N-F	Art-PL-F N-F	Art-PL-F N-PL(-F)
Dem-N	Dem-PL-F N-F		Dem-PL-F N-F		Dem-PL-F N-PL(-F)
Q$_{ind}$-N	Q-F N-F	Q(-PL)-F N-F	Q(-PL)-F N-F		Q(-PL)-F N(-PL)-F
Q$_{num}$-A-N	Q N-F	Q N(-PL)-F			Q N(-PL)-F
Q$_{num}$-A-N	Q A(-PL)-F N-F				Q A-PL-F N-PL-F
Art-A-N	Art-F A(-PL)-F N-F	Art-F A-PL-F N-F		Art-PL-F A-PL-F N-F	Art-PL-F A(-PL)-F N-F
Dem-A-N	Dem-PL-F A-PL-F N-F		Dem-PL-F A-F N-F		Dem-PL-F A(-PL)-F N-F
Dem-Num$_{card}$-N	Dem-PL-F Num N-F		Dem-PL-F Num N-F		Dem(-PL)-F Num N(-PL)-F
Art-Num$_{card}$-A(-N)	Art-F Num A-F N-F				Art-F Num A-F
Q$_{univ}$-Art-N	Q-F Art-F N-F	Q Art-F N-PL-F			Q Art-PL-F N-F
Art-N-A	Art-F N-PL-F A-F	Art-F N-PL-F A-F			
Dem-N-A	Dem-PL-F N-F A-F		Dem-PL-F N-F A-F		Dem-PL-F N-F A(-PL)-F
Subj-v-N	N-F		N-F		N-F
Subj-v-A	A-F	A(-PL)-F	A-F		A(-PL)-F
Subj-v-Dem					
Subj-v-Q$_{ind}$	Q-f		Q-f		Q-pl-f
Subj-v-Q$_{univ}$	Q-f		Q-pl-f		Q-pl-f
Subj-v-A-N					
Subj-v-N-A					
Subj/Obj-v-P.PTCP	(OCL.3pl-f) P.PTCP-f		(OCL.3pl-f) P.PTCP-f		(OCL.3pl-f) P.PTCP-f

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29   In the last column, the number of the original table is reported; in the case the dialect displays some variation, the relevant feature is given between brackets. Notice that the table presents several empty cells, which points out the need of further fieldwork.

Filattiera	Lusignana	Mulazzo	Treschietto	Villafranca	Tab.
Art-PL-F N-F	Art-F N-PL-F	Art-F N-PL-F	Art-F N-PL-F	ART-F N-PL-F	6
Dem-PL-F N-F	Dem-PL-F N-F	Dem-F N-PL-F		Dem-PL-F N-F	7
Q-F N-F	Q(-PL)-F N(-PL)-F	Q-F N-F	Q-PL-F N-PL-F	Q(-PL)-F N-F	8
	Q N-PL-F	Q N-F		Q N(-PL)-F	9
Q A-F N-F		Q A-F N-F			10
Art-PL-F A-F N-F		Art-F A-PL-F N-F	Art-F A-PL-F N-F-PL	Art-F A-PL-F N-F	11
	Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	Dem(-PL)-F A(-PL)-F N-F		Dem-PL-F A-F N-F	12
Dem-PL-F Num N-F	Dem-PL-F Num N-F	Dem-F Num N-PL-F			13
	Art-F Num A-PL-F				14
		Q Art-F N-PL-F	Q Art-F N-PL-F	Q Art-F N-PL-F	15
Art-PL-F N-F A-F	Art-F N-PL-F A-F	Art-F N-PL-F A-F	Art-F N-PL-F A-PL-F	Art-F N-PL-F A-F	16
Dem-PL-F N-F A-F	Dem-PL-F N-F A-F	Dem-F N-PL-F A-F			17
N-F		N-F			18
A-F	A(-PL)-F	A(-PL)-F	A-PL-F	A(-PL)-F	19
Dem-pl-f		Dem-pl-f			20
			Q-pl-f		21
Q-f		Q-f		Q-pl-f	22
A-f N-f	A-pl-f N-f	A-f N-f			23
N-f A-f		N(-pl)-f A-f			24
(OCL.3pl-f) P.PTCP-f				(S/OCL.3pl-f) P.PTCP-pl-f	25

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On the Interpretation of an Interrogative Form in North-Eastern Italian Dialects

Patrizia Cordin

1 Interrogative Sentences with *-te* (*-nte*): Diachronic and Diatopic Variations

Trentino dialects show a particular interrogative verbal inflected form that ends with *-nte* or *-te* in the 1st person singular and with *-te* in the 1st person plural, as shown in Table 2.1.[1]

The examples in Table 2.1 show that the Trentino verbal system does not present subject proclitic forms for either of the 1st person forms. In interrogatives, *-te* joins verbs ending in a nasal consonant (1st plural; 1st singular for the present indicative of *essere* 'to be'[2]); *-nte* joins the 1st person forms (both singular and plural) of verbs ending in a vowel.[3]

The enclitic forms *-te*/ *-nte* appear in both yes-no direct interrogatives and in wh-direct interrogatives (1a); moreover, they can co-occur with negation (1b) and with the particle *po* (Hack (2014)), which is used in some Trentino dialects to mark interrogative sentences (1c):[4]

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1 All data presented in Table 1 and further in the paper—unless otherwise indicated—were recorded by the author during interviews with local speakers.

2 The same goes for the auxiliary verb *to be* in the present perfect.

3 An exception is represented by verbs ending in the vowel *-a*, as illustrated in § 2.

4 Chinellato (2004) suggests that in Trentino *-te* marks a subset of 1st person interrogatives and imperative sentences. Also some areal differences regarding the use of the form for the 1st person singular and plural have been noted. A pragmatic restriction concerning similar forms in Veronese is proposed by Marchesini (2015). She notes that the *-enti* form is impossible in an "out of the blue" context. Following proposals by Obenauer (2004, 2006) and Garzonio (2004) concerning special questions, Marchesini identifies the following types of interrogative as preferring the *-enti* form: *can't find the value*; *surprise/disapproval; rhetorical; interrogative imperatives* and *interrogative exclamatives*. She goes on to add to this list a very general (yes/no) type of question, which does not seem to be pragmatically marked.

TABLE 2.1 *Declarative and interrogative I s. and I pl. verbs*

DECLARATIVE I S.	INTERROGATIVE I S.	DECLARATIVE I PL.	INTERROGATIVE I PL.
Son a posto.	*Sonte a posto?*	*Sem a posto.*	*Sente a posto?*
am fine	am.TE fine?	are.1PL fine	are.1PL-TE fine?
'I am fine.'	'Am I fine?'	'We are fine.'	'Are we fine?'
Ho fat ben.	*Honte fat bèn?*	*Avem fat ben.*	*Avente fat ben?*
have.1S. done well	have.1S-NTE done well?	have.1PL done well	have IPL-TE done well?
'I have done well.'	'Have I done well?'	'We have done well.'	'Have we done well?'
Fago ben.	*Fagonte ben?*	*Fem ben.*	*Fente ben?*
do Is. well	Do I do-NTE well?	do IPL. well	do IPL.-TE well?
'I do well.'	'Do I do well?'	'We do well.'	'Do we do well?'
Narò a casa.	*Ndo naronte?*	*Narem a casa.*	*Ndo narente?*
shall go Is. home	where shall Is.go-NTE?	shall go IPL. home	where shall IPL. go-TE
'I shall go home.'	'Where shall I go?'	'We shall go home.'	'Where shall we go?'

(1) a. *Sa   ghe   dironte   adès ala   Isa?*
         what DAT.CL shall say Is.-NTE now to the Isa
         'What shall I say to Isa now?'

      b. *No   avente   fat   bèn a vender la casa?*
         not have IPL.-TE done well to sell   the house
         'Wasn't it good that we sold our house?'

      c. *Che fante   (po)   ades?*
         what do IPL.-TE (then) now
         'What do we do now?'

The same forms are attested in various old documents from the North-East (see examples (2–4)):

(2) *Séu-ù   capetan de sta Tor,   o sonte   eo?*[5]
     are IIPL. you CL-you captain of this tower or am-TE I?
     'Are you captain of this Tower, or am I?' (*Atti del Podestà di Lio Mazor*, 1312, in Levi (1904: 13, 10))

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5 *Sonte eo* (am-TE I) mirrors *séu ù* (are IIPL. you CL-you), which occurs in the same exam-

(3)   *Oimè, meschino   per che ancoi son vignuto qui per che*
      dear me, miserable why   today am come here   why
      non sonte andado   alla mia via perche ò io bevudo   cum tal homo?[6]
      not am-TE gone   to my way   why   have I drunk with such a man
      'Dear me, miserable[me], why have I come here today, why didn't I follow
      my own path, why have I drunk with such a man?' (*La Catinia* 1482, in
      Battisti (1882–1914: 194))

(4)   *Què   fassante   pò?*
      what do 1PL.-TE then
      'What do we do then?' (Ruzante, *La Fiorina* 1529, in Wendriner (1889: 10b))

Verbs ending with *-te* are also attested in some XIX and XX century grammars
and dictionaries for interrogatives in Trentino dialects (5–9). In some areas the
clitic form is realized as *-ti*, instead of *-te* (see examples (5b–c), (6a–b)):

(5)   a. *Gonte?   Sonte?*
         have 1S.-TE am-TE
         'Do I have? Am I?' Trentino (Ascoli (1873: 399))

      b. *Funti?*
         do 1S.-NTI
         'Do I do?' Pinzolo (Gartner (1882: 29))

      c. *Sunti?*
         am-TI
         'Am I?' Pinzolo (Gartner (1882: 29))

(6)   a. *L'òti   dito i?*
         it-CL. have 1S.-TI said I
         'Have I said it?' Valsugana (Prati (1960: 56))

    b. *Sa   fonti?*
       what do IPL.-TI
       'What do we do?' Valsugana (Prati (1960: 62))

(7) *Andonte?   Zonte?*
     go IPL.-TE am IS.-TE
     'Do we go? Am I?' Predazzo (Rohlfs (1968: II, §608))

(8) a. *Sonte? Onte?   Sénte?   Gavénte?   Èronte?*
      am-TE have IS.-NTE are IPL.-TE have IPL.-TE was IS.-NTE
      'Am I? do I have? are we?   do we have? was I??
      Èrente?   Sarònte?   Sarénte?   Saressénte?
      were IPL.-TE shall be IS.-NTE shall be IPL.-TE would be IPL.-TE
      were we?? shall I be?   shall we be?   should we be?'
                                Tuenno (Quaresima (1965: 251))

    b. *Saroite?   Giaroite?*
      would be IS.-TE should have IS.-TE
      'Should I be?   should I have?' Tuenno (Quaresima (1965: 251))

(9) a. *Beorànte?*
      shall drink IPL.-TE
      'Shall we drink?' Cembra (Aneggi (1984), CHE[7])

    b. *Che   sonte   mi?*
      what am-TE I
      'What am I?' Cembra (Aneggi (1984), CHE[8])

    c. *Sénte   levadi?*
      are IPL.-TE got up
      'Have we got up?' Cembra (Aneggi (1984), LEVÀR[9])

    d. *Ma che   volénte   far?*
      but what will IPL.-TE to do
      'But what will we do?' Cembra (Aneggi (1984), MÒSCA[10])

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7   Online dictionary; see Cordin (2005).
8   Online dictionary; see Cordin (2005).
9   Online dictionary; see Cordin (2005).
10   Online dictionary; see Cordin (2005).

Other more recent data is given for the Verona dialect in Manzini & Savoia (2005) and in Marchesini (2015); for Trentino in Zörner (1989); Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999); Adami (2003); Manzini, Savoia (2005); Pamelin (2015). Some examples attested in Trentino and reported by these authors are given in (10–13):

(10) a. *dor'min-te?*
      sleep IPL.-TE
      'Are we sleeping?' Vermiglio (Manzini & Savoia (2005: 364))

    b. *'dɔrmi- te?*   *dor'min-te?*
      sleep IS.-TE   sleep IPL.-TE
      'Am I sleeping? Are we sleeping?'
               Livo and Tuenno, Non valley (Manzini & Savoia (2005: 364–365))

(11) a. *El   coñọsete?*
      him CL. know IS.-TE
      'Do I know him?' Cembra (Zörner (1989: 233))

    b. *Te   vedete   doman?*
      you CL. see IS.-TE tomorrow
      'Shall I see you tomorrow?' Cembra (Zörner (1989: 233))

    c. *kwant kọñete   nar via?*
      when must IS.-TE to go away
      'When must I leave?' Cembra (Zörner (1989: 233))

    d. *Mañante   ensẹma?*
      eat IPL.-TE together
      'Do we eat together?' Cembra (Zörner (1989: 233))

    e. *Ve   avẹnte   kapide   ben?*
      you CL. have IPL.-TE understood PL. F. well
      'Have we understood you well?' Cembra (Zörner (1989: 233))

(12) a. *čantite? védite? pèrdite? dòrmite? vonte?*
      sing IS.-TE see IS.-TE lose IS-TE sleep IS.-TE go IS-NTE
      'Do I sing?' 'Do I see?' 'Do I lose?' 'Do I sleep?' 'Do I go?'

b. *čantante?*   *vedente?*   *perdente?*   *dorminte?*   *nante?*
   sing IPL.-TE   see IPL.-TE lose IPL-TE   sleep IPL.-TE   go IPL-TE
   'Do we sing?' 'Do we see?' 'Do we lose?' 'Do we sleep?' 'Do we go?'

c. *čantavite?*   *vedevite?*   *dormivite?*   *navite?*
   sing IS.PAST-TE see IS.PAST-TE sleep IS.PAST-TE go IS.PAST-TE
   'Did I sing?'   'Did I see?'   'Did I sleep?'   'Do I go?'

d. *čantavente?*   *vedevente?*   *dormivente?*   *navente?*[11]
   sing IPL.PAST-TE see IPL.PAST-TE sleep IPL.PAST-TE go IS.PAST-TE
   'Did we sing?'   'Did we see?'   'Did we sleep?'   'Did we go?'

e. *čanteraite?*   *vedraite?*   *dormiraite?*   *naraite?*
   sing IS.FUT.-TE see IS.FUT-TE sleep IS.FUT-TE go IS.FUT-TE
   'Shall I sing?'   'Shall I see?' 'Shall I sleep?' 'Shall I go?'

f. *čanterante?*   *vedrente?*   *dormirente?*   *narente?*
   sing IPL.FUT.-TE see IPL.FUT-TE sleep IPL.FUT-TE go IPL.FUT-TE
   'Shall we sing?' 'Shall we see?' 'Shall we sleep?' 'Shall we go?'
                           Cavareno (Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999: 6)) for examples 12a–f

(13) a. *Che   fante   (po)   ades?*
     what   do IPL.-TE (then) now
     'What do we do now?' Non valley (Pamelin (2015: 59))

b. *(E) che   saite   po   mi?*
   (and) what   know IS.-TE then   I
   'And what do I know about that?' Non valley (Pamelin (2015: 59))

2   The Origin of the Form *-te/-nte*

Several descriptions, and some partial explanations, have been proposed to account for the origin of the forms *-te/ -nte*.

Ascoli (1873: 416–417) noted that *-te, -ti* are used for the 1st persons singular and plural in interrogatives, imperatives and subjunctives. He proposed to

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11   In the North-eastern dialectal varieties other than Trentino *-ti* cannot occur with imperfective verbs: see, for instance, the Veronese examples with a past imperfective tense reported by Marchesini (2015: 9): *magnaene?* vs **magnaeneti?/ *magnaenti?* 'did we eat?'

connect the plural forms to the forms that used to be attested in the Ladin of the Badia valley: *magnun-de*, lit. eat 1st plural-*de*, 'let's eat', *stun-de*, lit. stay 1st plural-*de* 'let's stay'.[12] The origin of *-te/ -ti* would be the 1st person form of the verb *essere* 'to be' (*sunt*), where the final consonant is determined by "la potente attrazione delle infinite forme in *-ont*" (the powerful attraction of the infinite forms in *-ont*).

Gartner (1882: 28–29) reported the *Inversionsformen* used in the Non valley and in Giudicarie (Pinzolo) and considers the 1st person singular and plural forms ending in *-e* (*font-e*, lit. do 1st singular-*nte*, 'do I do?'; *fant-e*, lit. do 1st plural-*te*, 'do we do?') to be enigmatic (*räthselhaft*). For Gartner, *-nte* was the result of *sum*, *sumus* and *sunt* that developed into *sont* (which is attestated in Lombardy from S. Gottardo to Cremona). By analogy, the same ending was then generalized to all other verbs.

Meyer Lübke (1894: II, §325) refined Gartner's proposal: the Trentino form *sonte* 'am I?' is the result "of the verb *sont* (<*sum*) and a pronoun." The same form expands to all other verbs. Moreover, because of the similarity between the 1st person singular and the 1st person plural, an analogous form also appears for the 1st person plural.[13]

Rohlfs (1968: 354) explained the ending *-te* in interrogative contexts as the result of an assimilation of the 1st person plural (*sem, som*) to the 3rd person plural (*sont*) before a clitic. According to this explanation, the process started from the 1st person plural of the verb *essere* 'to be', and then extended to other common verbs and to the 1st person singular: "Il punto di partenza pare essere l'interrogativo *sonte*, il cui *t* deriva da un'erronea generalizzazione seguita al confluire di *sumus* e *sunt* in *son* nella forma interrogativa dinanzi a un pronome enclitico incorporato." ("The starting point seems to be the interrogative *sonte*, whose *-t-* derives from an incorrect generalization, resulting from the merging of *sumus* and *sunt* in *son* in the interrogative form, in front of a previously incorporated enclitic pronoun".)

Quaresima (1965: 267–268) proposed a different hypothesis: he noted that *sont* is not a typical Trentino form of the verb *essere* 'to be'. He believes the forms *-te, -ti* to reflect the 2nd person singular pronoun (*eitu-tu*).[14]

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12   As noted by Ascoli (1873), in 1832 Haller had recorded 1st person plural imperative forms
      ending in—*de* in the Badia valley. In 1950 no trace of these forms was found.

13   However, the form *sonze* 'am I?' is derived from *-m(u)s-(n)o(s)*.

14   For different reasons, Marchesini (2015) also considers the *-enti* form in Veronese inter-
      rogatives to be an instance of a 2nd person singular strong pronoun "which has lost its
      phonological properties, but not its semantic [addressee] feature." At the morphological

Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999: 4–8), following Ascoli and Rohlfs, suggested that the 3rd person plural SUNT influenced the forms of the 1st person singular, which has become *sunt > sunto* with an epitetic vowel *-o*, and *sonte* with an enclitic vowel that derives from *ego* (in a first phase the new forms appeared in free variation with *son*). According to the authors, Trentino dialects show a specialization of the form *sonte*, which became an interrogative mark, first for the singular person, and then for the plural person.[15]

The hypothesis that I adopt proposes that the two interrogative forms used for the 1st persons singular and plural have a very similar derivation, both originating from a subject enclitic pronoun: *e*, which is derived from EGO > EO, for the singular person, *ne* or *e* (which is derived from NE) for the 1st person plural.[16] The verb to which the clitic joins initially is *sont* for both persons (singular and plural). The ending consonant *-t* of the verb is determined by the analogy of the 1st singular form of the verb *essere* 'to be' with the 3rd plural form of this verb. The analogy then extends to the 1st plural form of the same verb, eventually including all other verbs.[17] The form ending in *-nt* is favoured

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level, since in Veronese the inflected verb is always a 1st person plural, *-enti* can be read as a sort of inflectional morpheme and not as a pure enclitic form, as in Trentino. It must be noted that the Veronese 1st person interrogative form does not have the same properties as the corresponding Trentino form *-te/-nte* and the contexts where they occur are different. In Veronese the use of the form is much more restricted than in Trentino, since it can only appear with the present, or with a composed past in the indicative mode, with the 1st person plural and in special questions. In Trentino it can also appear with future and past tenses, with non-indicative modes, and with the 1st person singular; moreover, its use does not seem to be limited to special questions.

15   For Loporcaro and Vigolo (1999) *-te* is a clitic analogous to *-el*, the 3rd person singular verbal enclitic form occurring in interrogative sentences. The authors prefer, however, to interpret *-te* as an inflectional morpheme, and not as the result of a syntactic inversion. This interpretation is largely based on the occurrence of *-te* as a mark for the imperative 1st person plural: the two authors recognize this imperative form as a verbal suffix. In §4 I return to this choice.

16   The form *ne* for the 1st person plural clitic pronoun is attested in the interrogative conjugation in some areas of Trentino (see Quaresima (1965: 254)). Rohlfs (1968: §453) presents a 1st person plural subject clitic *ne* in Torino dialect. The 1st person plural clitic subject *e* is also attested in ancient Genovese (see Rohlfs (1968: §447)), in Lombard (see Vai (2014: 19; 22)), and in the variety spoken in Agordo (Munaro (2001: 155)).

17   I note that the ending *-nt* for the 1st person in Trentino dialects competes with the forms *son/sen*. An interesting example of this alternations is given by the three forms that are used for the 1st person singular of the verb *essere* 'to be' in the inscription under the image of Death in the famous fresco *Danza macabra* (macabre dance) by Simone Baschenis from Bergamo on the external wall of S. Vigilio church in Pinzolo (1539): *Io **sont** la morte che*

in some contexts, where the consonant is followed by a vowel, or a liquid or nasal consonant, and this is precisely what happens when the verb is followed by a clitic, whose first phoneme is a vowel (*e* < EGO/EO, *e* < E/NE).[18]

It should be noted that verbs in the conditional and in the subjunctive show an asymmetry between the 1st person singular and the 1st person plural forms: while the singular *-te*/*-nte* form is not compatible with these verbs (see (14a–b) and (15a–b)), the plural *-te* form is (see (14c) and (15c)):

(14) a. *Saria   mi el più lento?*
        would be Is. I   the slowest
        'Would I be the slowest?'

    b. **Sariante   /* sariate   mi el più lento?*
        would be Is.-NTE   would be Is.-TE I   the slowest
        'Would I be the slowest?'

---

18   The sequence *sont* + *e* recalls another sequence of morphemes, where a plosive alveolar non-sound consonant must be introduced after the ending nasal consonant of the preposition *en* 'in' and before the initial vowel of an article. The plosive consonant, deriving from INTUS, is etymological. Examples (i) and (ii) below, in which the preposition precedes an article, demonstrate the correct contexts for the occurrence of *ent*. On the contrary, in examples (iii) and (iv) the preposition precedes the initial vowel of a noun rather than of an article, and the preposition must be *en*:

     (i)   *Vago* **ent** *el volt / *Vago* **en** *el volt.*
            'I go into the cellar.'

     (ii)   *Finisso* **ent** *en ora. / *Finisso* **en** *en ora.*
            'I finish in a hour.'

     (iii) **Vago* **ent** *Egitto. / Vago* **en** *Egitto.*
            'I go to Egypt.'

     (iv)   **La se cambia* **ent** *erba. / La se cambia* **en** *erba.*
            'It changes into grass.'
     I note that, like the sequence *ent* + article, the sequence *sont* + clitic also presents an etymological consonant (although the etymology for *sont* is not true, but extended for analogy). Moreover, in both cases the consonant precedes a functional element.

    c. *Saressente   noi i pù lenti?*
      would be Ipl.-TE we the slowest
      'Would we be the slowest?'

(15) a. *El crede che   giabia/sibia …*
      he thinks that have Is./ am …
      'He thinks that I have, that I am …'

    b. **El crede che   giabiate/sibiate …*
       he thinks that have Is.-TE/ am-TE
      'He thinks that I have, that I am …'

    c. *El crede che   gentien/sibiente …*[19]
      he thinks that have Ipl./ are Ipl.-TE
      'He thinks that we have, that we are …' (Quaresima (1965: 251))

Both verbs in (14a) and in (15a) have a common feature, namely the ending vowel -*a*.[20] Notably, this vowel characterises the ending of 1st person singular subjunctive verbs in many other non-interrogative clauses that are never compatible with -*te/-nte* forms. More examples will be given in §3 and discussed in §4.

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19   Example (15)c shows that the 1st person plural in the subjunctive presents the enclitic
       form only with some verbs (*essere* 'to be', but not *avere* 'to have'). In §4 I will come back to
       the alternations that are attested in subjunctive embedded clauses.

20   The -*te/-nte* form for the 1st person singular subjunctive is compatible with verbs ending
       in vowels other than -*a*, as shown by the following example:

       (v)   *E   se mi stesite   ci   fin   a doman, te   daruesi*
            and if I   stayed-TE here   until tomorrow, you DAT.CL. would give Is.
            fastidi?
            annoyance
            'And if I stayed here until tomorrow, would I bother you?' (Non valley, Pamelin 2015:
            143)

       In example (v) the -*te* form occurs with a 1st person singular verb ending in the vowel -*i*.
       On the contrary, in the dialect spoken in Trento, the same subjunctive verb, ending in the
       vowel -*a*, does not admit the -*te/-nte* form:

       (vi) *E   se mi stesa   chi   fin   a doman, te   daria   fastidi?*
           and if I   stayed   here   until tomorrow, you DAT.CL. would give Is. annoyance
           'And if I stayed here until tomorrow, would I bother you?'

3   Verbs Ending in *-te*/*-nte* in Non-Interrogative Sentences

As Ascoli (1873) has already reported, the particular form that marks 1st person interrogative sentences in Trentino is also present in some non-interrogative sentences that he calls "esortative" (exhortatives) and "soggiuntive" (subjunctives). Exhortatives, in fact, are attested in most of the studies and dictionaries mentioned in §1, and the current Trentino dialect conserves the form (see examples from (16) to (20)):

(16) a. *Sperénte!   Bevénte!*
        hope IPL.-TE drink IPL. -TE
        'Let's hope!'   'Let's drink!'
                                    Trento and Rovereto (Quaresima (1965: 251–252))

     b. *Nante!*
        go IPL.-TE
        'Let's go!' Coredo (Quaresima (1965: 252))

(17) a. *Pensante!   Sentinte!   Nénte!*
        think IPL.-TE listen IPL.-TE go IPL.-TE
        'Let's think!'   'Let's listen!'   'Let's go!' Trentino (Rohlfs (1968: §608))

     b. *Andónte!*
        go IPL.-TE
        'Let's go!' Predazzo (Rohlfs (1968: §608))[21]

(18) *Slongiante   l pas,   putèj, che si nò   ne bagnam*
     lenghten IPL.-TE the stride, guys, that if not us get IPL. wet
     'Lengthen our stride, guys, otherwise we'll get wet' Non valley (Quaresima
     (1964), ME[22])

(19) a. *Pensénte   ai pòpi!*
        think IPL.-TE of the children
        'Let's think of the children!'

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21   Quaresima (1965: 254, note 4) specifies that this form is used in the dialect spoken in
      Cavalese, but not in Predazzo, where the imperative form is *ndón* and the interrogative
      form is *ndóne*. Analogously, for the verb *essere* 'to be' the form found in Predazzo is *sóne*
      (am I?) and for the verb *avere* 'to have' is *òne* ('have I?').

22   Online dictionary; see Cordin (2005).

    b. *Pensénteghe!*[23]
       think IPL.-TE of them IND. OBJ.CL.
       'Let's think of them!'

(20) a. *Disénte   che no   l'è nada ben.*
       say IPL-TE that not it CL. is gone well
       'Let's say that things have not gone well.'

    b. *Meténte ...*
       admit IPL.-TE
       'Let's admit ...' Cembra (Aneggi 1984, MÉTER[24])

In the examples (16)–(20) the speaker is strongly involved in the speech act: exhortations, just as exclamations, express the emotional attitude of the speaker; therefore these clauses are non-informative and non-assertive.

    As reported by Ascoli, the form *-te* is also found in embedded sentences with a subjunctive verb,[25] which are introduced by the complementizer *che* and depend on verbs that express a command (21a), on causative verbs (21b), on epistemic verbs (21c–d), and on asking and willing verbs (21e–f):[26]

(21) a. *L'à dit   che preparénte   i ossi.*
       he cl. has said that prepare Ipl.-TE the bones
       'He said that we have to prepare the bones.' Trentino (Quaresima (1965: 252))

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23   This example shows that *-te* always precedes other enclitics.

24   Online dictionary; see Cordin (2005).

25   For most verbs the present subjunctive 1st person plural coincides with the same person in the present indicative. The examples (21)a-f would present *-te* also in the past subjunctive (*preparéssente* 'prepared IPL.-TE', *féssente* 'did IPL.-TE', *dormìssente* 'slept IPL.-TE').

26   Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999: 11) report the same types of sentence, which are called "soggiuntive" by Ascoli.

      Another interesting example with a subjunctive verb ending in *-te* is reported in Nardelli (2014: 114), who found it in a text written some years ago by a group of bilingual Brazilian-Trentino speakers. The example (vii) shows *-te* in an argument clause, introduced by the complementizer *che*:

    (vii) *Poc ghe   manca che non fente   sonar le campane per mandar*
         little DAT.CL. lacks   that not do IPL.-TE to ring the bells   for to send
         en giro i omeni a zercarte.
         around the men to look for you CL.
         'We nearly had the bells rung to send men to look for you.'

b. *La lassa   che fénte   quel che volém.*
   she CL. lets that do IPL.-TE that that want IP.PL.
   'She allows us to do what we want.'

c. *La crede   che fénte   quel che la dis   éla.*
   she CL. thinks that do IPL.-TE that that she CL. says she
   'She believes that we do what she says.'

d. *El crét   che dorminte.*
   he CL. believes that sleep IPL.-TE
   'He believes that we are sleeping.'[27] Non valley (Quaresima (1965: 271))

e. *La prega   che fénte   quel che la dis   éla.*
   she CL. aks   that do IPL.-TE that that she CL. says she
   'She asks that we do what she says.'

f. *La vòl   che fénte   quel che la dis   éla.*
   she CL. wants that do IPL.-TE that that she CL. says she
   'She wants us to do what she says.'

The event expressed in the embedded clause in (21) is non-veridical: it is not a matter of fact, as in the case of assertive sentences; instead, it is related to the perspective of the main clause's subject, who believes, or asks, or wants that a certain event comes true. The embedded sentence is a representation of subjective propositional content.

Moreover, the *-te* form is attested with the 1st persons plural of subjunctive verbs after *se* 'if', in sentences expressing an optative meaning:

(22) *Se giatàssente 'n bòn sito!*
    if   got IPL.-TE a good place
    'If only we could have a good place!' Non valley (Quaresima 1965: 252)

Example (22) expresses the speaker's wish, in which the realization of a propositional content is hoped for. Particularly, the speaker in (22) wishes he and other participants to the communicative situation could have a good place.

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27   Loporcaro & Vigolo (1999: 11) note the alternation of this form with the form *dormintie*. They highlight that the phonetic change, represented by the insertion of a stressed vowel *ì* before *e*, proves the complete integration of *-te* in the verbal inflection.

Finally, *-te* occurs in concessive sentences such as (23):

(23) *Pur che   tasente   e i altri   i tasa.*
     as long as are IPL.-TE silent   and the others   are silent
     'As long as we are silent and the others are silent!' Trentino (Quaresima
     (1965: 251))

Example (23) has a concessive interpretation: a condition or a wish (to be silent) is evaluated as necessary to realize something (that is not expressed).

4   *-te/-nte* as a Mark of the Speaker's Attitude to the Propositional Content of Sentences

All the examples presented in § 3 show that the sentences with *-te/-nte* always express a subjective propositional content. There is a strong coincidence between the types of structure where *-te/-nte* forms occur and the structures that Benincà (1989) considers relevant for subject clitic inversion. According to the list that Benincà proposes (mostly with 2nd and 3rd person clitics), under the following points (a–e) one can find other five main structure types that, in addition to direct interrogatives, require the form *-te/-nte*:

a) exhortative sentences; in (24) I repeat the example already given in (16a):

(24) *Sperénte!   Bevénte!*
     hope IPL.-TE   drink IPL.-TE
     'Let's hope!   Let's drink!'

b) pseudo-interrogatives with exclamatory value. The examples in (25) are introduced by a wh-pronoun referring to something that is already known to the speaker, and express the speaker's surprise and disappointment about the event:

(25) *Sa   gònte   da veder! Sa   gavénte   da veder!*
     what   have IS.-TE   to see   what   have Ipl.-te   to see
     'What have I to see!'   'What have we to see!'

c) negative sentences that express a speaker's negative presupposition concerning the propositional content. The example in (26) is introduced by a negative particle and expresses the speaker's surprise and disappointment for a totally unexpected event:

(26) *No gònte   da pagar la multa!*
      not have Is.-TE to pay   the penalty
      'I must even pay the penalty!'

d) sentences introduced by a hypothetical/optative *se* 'if'; I repeat in (27) the example given in (22):

(27) *Se giatàssente 'n bòn sito!*
      if   got IPL.-TE a good place
      'If only we could have a good place!' Non valley (Quaresima (1965: 252))

e) disjunctive/concessive structures, where two alternative possibilities are given as non-relevant to the event expressed in the main clause. The alternatives are introduced by the complementizer *che*:

(28) *Che nénte   o   sténte,   l'è istés   per mi.*
      that go IPL.-TE or stay IPL.-TE it is the same for me
      'Whether we go or stay, it is the same to me.'

Munaro (2001: 166) situates the structures that Benincà (1989) considers relevant for pronominal subject inversion on an implicational hierarchy represented in (29) and composed of six structural types of clauses that are grouped in two sub-fields:[28]

(29) *disjunctive – hypothetical – optative > presuppositional – exclamative – interrogative*

The six different clause types correspond to a different "mental attitude of the speaker with respect to the propositional content expressed".[29] The hierarchy, read from right to left, reflects "a decreasing degree of salience of the event's truth value for the speaker."[30] The distinction given in (29) between

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28   See also Munaro (2002: 242). In Munaro (2010: 136) the term "disjunctive" is replaced by the term "concessive". Although the author himself reduces the six clause types involved in the hierarchy to four main types (Munaro (2001: 170); Munaro (2010: 160)), in this paper I refer to the first and more detailed version of the hierarchy.

29   Munaro (2001: 170).

30   Munaro (2001: 170).

two main semantic sub-fields mirrors a syntactic distinction: the types on the right are mono-clausal sentences, whereas those on the left are bi-clausal sentences.

I propose that the same hierarchy holds for Trentino forms in *-te/-nte*. These forms mark interrogatives, where the speaker asks the addressee to assign a truth-value to the event expressed by the sentence (see examples in §1). They also occur in exhortative sentences (24), which I connect to exclamatives, and in sentences with a presuppositional interpretation, both in cases where the referent of the wh-element is already known (such as (25)) and in cases where the event truth-value in a negative sentence contradicts the speaker's expectations (such as (26)). These forms occur also in sentences such as optative contexts, where the speaker expresses a hope (27). Finally, one finds them in the disjunctive/concessive interpretation of a sentence, where the speaker considers two alternative truth-values for the same event, none of which is relevant to what the main sentence expresses (28). Trentino sentences with verbs ending in *-te/-nte* seem therefore to confirm the hierarchy proposed for 2nd and 3rd person inverted subject clitics also in the case of 1st person clitics.

It should be noted, however, that some of the given examples show a remarkable difference in respect to those discussed by Munaro. Precisely, in Trentino sentences that correspond to the clause types on the left side of the hierarchy, *-te* forms are compatible with a subordinating complementizer, which blocks any subject-clitic inversion.

Moreover, in Trentino the co-occurrence of a subordinating complementizer and the *-te* form is attested in other two types of structure. The first one is represented by dependent clauses introduced by the complementizer *che* with a subjunctive verb, where *-te* marks a non-veridical content, such as in (30a), which corresponds to (21a), and in (30b), which corresponds to (21d):

(30) a. *L'   à dit   che   preparénte   i ossi.*
        he CL. has said that prepare I pl.-TE the bones
        'He said that we have to prepare the bones.' Trentino (Quaresima (1965: 252))

   b. *El   crét   che   dorminte.*
        he CL. believes that sleep I pl.-TE
        'He believes that we are sleeping.' Non valley (Quaresima (1965: 271))

The second type is represented by concessive clauses (such as (31) that repeats (23)), in which speaker expresses his/her subjective point of view:

(31) *Pur che   tasente   e i altri   i tasa.*
as long as are Ipl.-TE silent and the others are silent
'As long as we are silent and the others are silent!' Trentino (Quaresima
(1965: 251))

Subject clitic inversion cannot occur in cases such as (27), (28), (30), (31), in
which a complementizer introduces either an adjunct clause (e.g. in (27) and
in (31)) or an argument clause (e.g. in (28) and in (30)). However, all these
embedded sentences have a subjective propositional content and show *-te*
forms. I suggest that the subjunctive verbs in these examples have a peculiar
morphology with inflectional endings *-te* originating from 1st person plural
subject enclitics. These endings constitute a class of morphemes with inter-
pretive properties similar to those of 1st person plural enclitic subjects.[31] The
corresponding singular morphemes do not exist or are very rare.[32] This might
explain the absence of 1st person singular verbs in the clauses on the left side of
the hierarchy: disjunctives, hypothetical sentences, optatives. On the contrary,
1st singular enclitic pronouns can only occur in mono-clausal sentences, i.e.
on the right side of the hierarchy (29): presuppositional clauses, exclamatives,
interrogatives.

The bi-partition of the hierarchy given in (29) is also confirmed by the results
of a recent inquiry conducted by Pamelin (2015) with fifteen speakers of differ-
ent ages, from five localities in the Non valley. The inquiry shows that yes-no
questions and wh-interrogative sentences homogeneously present the *-te/-nte*
forms in both the 1st person singular and plural verb. The inquiry also presents
fairly homogeneous results for the use of the *-te* forms in exhortative sen-

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31   Bound morphemes with interpretive properties similar to those of inverted subject cli-
      tics are proposed by Munaro (2010: 153, note 29) to explain two North-eastern dialectal
      examples pointed out by Benincà (1996), which show enclitic morphemes in the 1st and
      in the 2nd person plural of imperfective indicative forms. The development from inverted
      pronominal subjects to bound morphemes is also suggested by Roberts (1993) to account
      for some Franco-Provençal Valdotain constructions.

32   An instance is provided in note 21—see example (v). The reason for the scarcity of *-te/-nte*
      forms in the 1st person singular in the subjunctive and in the conditional needs further
      investigation. Munaro (2001: 163, note 6) suggests that 3rd person subject enclitics are
      non-compatible with the subjunctive. Also the 1st person singular of conditional is non-
      compatible with these forms (see examples (14)a–b). It should be noted that in most
      North-eastern Italian dialects the three verb forms (3rd person subjunctive, 1st person
      singular subjunctive and 1st person singular conditional) present a common feature,
      namely their ending in the vowel *-a*.

tences.[33] More heterogeneous results are found for the subjunctive verbs in hypothetic sentences, where many alternations between forms with and without -te are produced. This seems to confirm the persistence of -te/-nte enclitic forms in the constructions that are furthest to the right of the hierarchy, where the salience of the event's truth-value for the speaker is stronger. The alternation of forms with and without -te shows, instead, that the bound morpheme characterizing the clauses on the left of the hierarchy is becoming "fragile" in modern Trentino dialects.

5 Conclusions

New subject clitics (e, ne) have been proposed as the original, core elements from which the structures under examination derive. This proposal may help to give greater precision to the general framework of Northern subject clitics. More specifically, for the Trentino dialect, I have shown that -te/-nte forms, deriving from the realization of 1st person subject enclitics express the speaker's subjective representation of an event in interrogative, exclamative and presuppositional sentences. I have confirmed that non-assertive clauses require a richer system of pronominal subjects than the assertive clauses (see Renzi & Vanelli (1983: 139)). I have confirmed the implicational hierarchy proposed for the 2nd and 3rd person clitic inversion in non-assertive sentences (Benincà 1989 and Munaro 2001; 2002; 2010), providing new examples with forms involving 1st person inverted clitics. Moreover, I have suggested that in Trentino a bound morpheme -te has developed from what originally was an enclitic pronoun; it has interpretive properties similar to those of the 1st person plural enclitic subjects and marks the 1st person plural of the subjunctive verbs that occur in disjunctive, hypothetical and optative clauses introduced by a complementizer.

Three aspects, however, deserve further investigation: the morphological alternation of the enclitic forms (-te, -nte, -ne, -ti, -nti), which seems to depend on different dialects and on different verb forms; the impossibility of occurrence for the enclitic form in both the 1st person singular subjunctive and conditional; the current cross-linguistic variation associated with the structures we have been considering.

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33   Only two speakers out of thirteen do not utter/ pronounce the enclitic.

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Verb-Second and (Micro)Variation in Two Rhaeto-Romance Varieties of Northern Italy

*Jan Casalicchio and Federica Cognola**

1   Introduction

One of the main syntactic differences between Germanic and Romance languages regards the position of the finite verb in main clauses. In all Germanic languages, except for English, the finite verb must follow the first sentence constituent in declarative and interrogative main clauses as a consequence of a syntactic constraint known as Verb Second (henceforth: V2,[1] see den Besten 1983, Tomaselli 1990, Branigan 1996, Holmberg 2015, Holmberg & Platzack 1995 among others). As is well-known, this constraint is not found in present-day Romance varieties, with the exception of some Rhaeto-Romance varieties (see Benincà 1985/6, 2006, 2013, Poletto 2000, 2002, Kaiser 2002, Anderson 2005, Salvi 2010 for the claim that Rhaeto-Romance varieties are V2 languages, and Benincà 1984, 1985/6, 2006, 2013, Adams 1987, Vanelli 1987, Vance 1989, Fontana 1993, Salvi 2000, 2004, Poletto 2002, 2014, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Ledgeway 2005, 2007, 2008, Cognola 2013, 2015, Salvesen 2013, Wolfe 2015 a.o. for the idea that Old Romance languages were also V2 languages).

   The first aim of this chapter is to provide a rich empirical studies of the syntactic properties ascribed to V2 in two Rhaeto-Romance varieties spoken

1   In this chapter we use the following abbreviations: DO: Direct Object; DP: Determiner Phrase; G-inversion; German-like inversion; IND.OBJ.CL: Indirect Object clitic pronoun; IO: Indirect Object; OBJ.CL: Direct Object clitic pronoun; R-inversion: Romance-like inversion; Subj: Subject; SUBJ.CL.: Subject clitic pronoun; V2: Verb-Second; V3: Verb-Third; V4: Verb-Fourth; XP: Phrase.

in two valleys in South Tyrol (Northern Italy), Badiotto and Gardenese, and to establish whether they can both be considered V2 languages. This involves a review of the existing literature on the two varieties, followed by a discussion of sets of newly collected data which have important theoretical implications regarding microvariation and the overall syntax of V2 languages. We focus particularly on the presence of so-called Germanic inversion, i.e. the occurrence of the subject between the finite auxiliary and the past participle when it is not the sentence-initial constituent, and the syntax of the sentence-initial position, which is typically restricted in V2 languages. The second aim of the chapter is to compare Badiotto and Gardenese, and to establish whether they differ from each other with respect to the syntactic phenomena under consideration. This comparison allows us to identify important aspects of variation between the varieties which we account for by establishing the role of diatopic variation, and that of variables connected to informants' backgrounds in producing (micro) variation. This is particularly important for these Rhaeto-Romance varieties, which are charaterised by a tension between low normativity (typical of non-standardised varieties, see Dorian 2010) and recent attempts at standardisation.

The chapter is organised in the following way. Section 2 describes our data collection methods and provides a sociolinguistic overview of the two varieties; Sections 3 and 4 describe their Germanic inversion and use of the sentence-initial position. In Section 5, we discuss the results reached in sections 3 and 4 and their relevance to the classification of the two varieties as V2 languages. Section 6 contains the conclusions.

2   Sociolinguistic Overview and Data Collection

Rhaeto-Romance is a cover term traditionally used to refer to three Romance groups (and their languages) who live in Switzerland (*Romansh*), the Italian Dolomites (*Ladin*) and Friuli (*Friulian*).[2] Ladin is spoken in five valleys: three in the south of the area (Fassa, Trentino; Livinallongo and Ampezzo, Veneto) and two in the north (Gardena and Badia, South Tyrol), see Pellegrini (1977), Salvi (2010).

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2   In this paper we are not concerned with the relationship between these three groups. For a range of opinions, see Pellegrini (1991), Haiman & Benincà (1992), Goebl (2000), Vanelli (2004), Benincà & Vanelli (2005).

This chapter focuses on the latter varieties, Gardenese and Badiotto (respectively *Gherdëina* and *Badiot* in Ladin), each spoken by about 10,000 people according to the Province of Bolzano's 2011 census. Gardenese is homogeneous phonologically, morphologically and syntactically (although it exhibits signs of inter-generational and diatopic variation, see Casalicchio 2011), whereas Badiotto exhibits internal diatopic (micro)variation (Salvi 2010). Three subgroups of Badiotto have therefore been individuated to date, on mainly phonological and morphological bases: High Badiotto, Central Badiotto and Marebbano (*Mareo* in Rhaeto-romance), spoken in the homonymous lateral valley, see map 3.1.[3]

The above classification of Ladin varieties does not fully consider syntax, partly because this level of linguistic analysis is little studied, and the theoretical research that has been done focuses on single phenomena and single varieties (see Benincà 1985/6, Poletto 2000, 2002, Rasom 2008, Casalicchio 2013, Hack 2013). Our work is a first attempt to fill this gap, since it compares one particular syntactic phenomenon in two Ladin varieties—thus contributing to our understanding of their syntax and of the (micro)variation between them.

The chapter relies on the results of fieldwork which involved eight native speakers (aged between 25–40, average age: 30): six Badiotto speakers (representing all three groups discussed above) and two Gardenese. There are more Badiotto informants because of that language's diatopic (micro)variation, not present in Gardenese.[4] The data collection was carried out in two phases. In the first phase we worked with two speakers, one for each variety (MI, Badiotto; MD, Gardenese), and carried out single interviews of about one hour each in which both production and judgments were tested. The results from this first phase allowed us to outline the main properties of V2 in these varieties. In the second phase, we prepared a written questionnaire containing a range of key sentences to test the properties relevant to V2 on the basis of the results

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3 Note that there is no such variety as Low Badiotto because German varieties are spoken in the lowest part of the Badia valley.

4 An anonymous reviewer notes that 8 speakers cannot be representative of the diatopic variation found in Gardenese and Badiotto V2. We acknowledge that a bigger number of informants would allow us to make statistically relevant considerations, but such a wider investigation could not be carried out within the frame of the present study. However, it has to be underlined that the present comparison is the first investigation into the microvariation in the Ladin V2 phenomenon within the framework of Generative Grammar, which allows us to draw some important, mostly unnoticed, generalisations. Whether our empirical generalisations prove to hold when a larger number of informants is considered, we leave open for future work.

TABLE 3.1   *Informants' sociolinguistic profile*

Informant	Variety spoken	Village (Ladin name in brackets)	Gender	Age	Notes on the personal history (if relevant)
LH	Marebbano	San Vigilio di Marebbe (Al Plan)	F	25	–
JC	Central Badiotto	Rina (Rina)	F	23	Her parents are both from San Martino, which is close to Rina
SI	Lower High Badiotto	San Leonardo (San Linert)	F	38	DI's and MI's sister. She now lives in San Vigilio, the same village as LH (where Marebbano is spoken)
DI	Lower High Badiotto	San Leonardo (San Linert)	F	33	SI's and MI's sister. She now lives in La Valle, which is close to her home village
MI	Lower High Badiotto	San Leonardo (San Linert)	F	40	SI's and DI's sister.
MR	Upper High Badiotto	Colfosco (Calfosch)	F	23	–
IK	Gardenese	Ortisei (Urtijëi)	M	28	–
MD[5]	Gardenese	Selva (Sëlva)	F	30	She learned Gardenese in the kindergarten.

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5 An anonymous reviewer asks whether MD should be excluded from the sample, since she is not a native speaker of Gardenese and falls out of the picture in different cases (see sections 3–4). This objection does not take into account the complex sociolinguistic situation of the Ladin valleys, which are characterised by diglossia. All speakers of Ladin also speak German and Italian. Therefore, most of the people involved in our study can be considered simultaneous (i.e. exposed to Ladin along with German and Italian from age 0) or successive (i.e. exposed to Ladin from 0 to 3 and German and Italian from 3) bilinguals. MD instantiates a third option, i.e. a case of a successive bilingual having German as her stronger language. This is not an uncommon situation in the valley and should, therefore, be taken into account in a study on language variation—especially in the light of the fact that imperfect acquisition is known to be a trigger for language change (see Mc Mahon 1994). Our data indicate that imperfect acquisition does play a role in the Ladin situation, because MD's judgements differ from those of all other speakers (see below).

reached in the first phase. The questionnaire was constructed around production tasks (8), judgment tasks (38 questions: sentences to be judged on a 1(fully ungrammatical)–5(fully grammatical) point scale) and some questions to establish the informants' sociolinguistic profiles. The questionnaire was e-mailed to informants, who completed it alone. We asked the informants to answer as spontaneous as they could, using everyday language and without considering normative grammar. In recent decades, in fact, most Ladin varieties have been subject to determined efforts to standardise them (see, for example, the normative grammars of Anderlan-Obletter 1991, Gasser 2000, Gallmann et al. 2008/2013), and we wanted to try to avoid as far as possible informants' use of an artificial language.

Our work provides a fully new picture of the V2 phenomenon in contrast to that presented by normative grammars, and also provides an innovative contribution to the typological classification and understanding of microvariation in the Ladin varieties of South Tyrol. We thus believe that the results clearly indicate that the informants did not follow the rules of normative grammar.

In Table 3.1 we summarise the information used to define the informants' sociolinguistic profiles which is relevant to account for the observed microvariation (see Section 5 below). We show that diatopic variation is one of the two crucial factors that give rise to microvariation. Our data indicate that the standard classification of Badiotto varieties, which distinguishes between High and Low Badiotto, is not sufficient to account for syntactic microvariation. We thus introduce a further distinction between Lower High Badiotto, spoken by three informants from San Leonardo, and Upper High Badiotto, spoken by one informant from Colfosco (see map 3.1). The informants' personal histories (principally their movements from one area of the valley to another) represent the second factor in microvariation, as we will demonstrate.

3   On Subject-Finite Verb Inversion

3.1   *Current Scholarship*
The presence of subject-verb inversion in all main clauses in which the sentence-initial constituent is not the syntactic subject is possibly the most noteworthy property (clearly linked to their V2 character) distinguishing Badiotto and Gardenese from present-day Romance varieties.

According to the prescriptive literature (see Gallmann et al. 2013), subject-finite verb inversion is obligatory with both DPs and pronouns in Badiotto and Gardenese. Benincà (1994: 94, 2013) and Poletto (2002) show that inversion is

MAP 3.1   *The informants' villages in Badia (right side of the map, from North to South) and in Gardena (leftdown part, from East to West)*

found with pronouns and DP subjects in Badiotto. Poletto (2002) identifies three patterns of agreement that can appear with finite verb—DP subject inversion in the language (see also Gallmann et al 2013, all examples from Poletto 2002: 223). Subject—finite verb inversion can take place in the absence of clitic agreement on the finite verb (1a), or with a clitic pronoun fully (number, gender, person, 1b) or partially (person, number, 1c) agreeing with the DP subject.

(1)   a. *Duman   mangia la   muta pom*   (Badiotto)
         tomorrow eats   the girl   apples

   b. *Duman   mang-la   la muta pom*   (Badiotto)
       tomorrow eats=she.SUBJ.CL the girl   apples

   c. *%Duman   mang-l   la muta pom*
        tomorrow eats=it.SUBJ.CL the girl   apples
                                      (Badiotto, older generations only)
      'The girl eats apples.'

In this chapter we focus on the type of inversion exemplified by (1a) establishing whether it is possible or obligatory.[6] This issue has only been explicitly addressed in the literature by Gallmann et al (2013), who claim that subject-finite verb inversion is obligatory, without, however, providing starred examples of sentences with no DP inversion.

Thus, the main question we want to answer in this section is whether the inversion found in (1a) is always obligatory, irrespective of the syntactic and pragmatic properties of the clause. In the following paragraphs we show that this is not the case, because inversion is ruled by both syntactic and pragmatic constraints. The following subsections show that the possibility of having inversion (1a) varies according to the type of constituent in the sentence-initial position (see asymmetries between sentences with a fronted adverbial or a fronted direct object), and to the subject's discourse status (see asymmetries between sentences in which the subject is already present in the discourse ("given") or it is introduced as a new element ("focused"), e.g. as an answer to a question).

3.2   *Subject-Finite Verb Inversion in Main Declarative Clauses*

This section provides evidence that DP subject-finite verb inversion is not obligatory in either variety, and shows that the distribution of the subject in both pre- and post-verbal positions is ruled by syntactic and discourse factors, which differ slightly in the two varieties, both between the two varieties and within the same variety (in the case of Badiotto). This phenomenon thus provides a neat illustration of both microvariation and inter-speaker variation.

We will now consider three possible positions of DP subjects in relation to the finite verb, which we exemplify in (2). The term G-inversion is used to refer to the so-called Germanic inversion (see Vance 1989, Salvesen 2013) found in V2 languages and in interrogative clauses in present-day English.

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6 Subject-finite verb inversion is obligatory with subject clitic pronouns. Due to space constraints we focus on DP subjects, which have consistently received less attention in the literature than subject pronouns (see Benincà 1985/6, Poletto 2000, 2002, Salvi 2000).

In this construction, the DP subject follows the finite verb and precedes the past participle when a constituent different from the subject appears in the sentence-initial position (2a). We label the second possible position of the DP subject *no-inversion*, referring to the typical order found in non-V2 languages in which both a fronted constituent and the subject precede the finite verb, as in (2b), giving rise to linear V3. The third order we examine is Romance-inversion (henceforth: R-inversion, also known as "free inversion", see Belletti 2004). In this construction, typical of non-V2 languages, the DP subject appears in inversion, always, however, positioned after the non-finite verb (unlike in G-inversion, 2c).

(2) a. *Gestern   hat **Mario** das Buch gekauft*   (*G-inversion*, German)
        yesterday has Mario the book bought

     b. *Ieri   **Mario** ha comprato il   libro*   (*no-inversion*, Italian)
        yesterday Mario has bought   the book

     c. *Ieri   ha comprato il   libro **Mario***   (*R-inversion*, Italian)
        yesterday has bought   the book Mario
        'Mario bought the book yesterday.'

The differences between G-inversion and R-inversion concern the position of the subject with respect to the past participle and to other arguments: in G-inversion (2a) the subject is always in third sentence-position and it immediately follows the finite verb and precedes all other constituents. In R-inversion (2c), instead, the subject follows the past participle and other arguments, if they are present.

3.2.1   The Syntax of DP Subjects in Main Declarative Clauses

In order to investigate the syntax of DP subjects, and to test whether there is a relationship between the position of the subject and syntactic/discourse factors, we considered various syntactic contexts in which there are two variables: the nature of the constituent in first position (scene-setter adverbial[7] or direct object) and the status of the subject in the discourse (i.e. whether it is already given in the discourse or new).

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7 We use the term "scene-setter adverbial" to refer to an adverbial, usually of time or place, that i) precedes the finite verb and ii) constitutes the frame in which the event expressed by the matrix predicate takes place (see Benincà & Poletto 2004 a.o.).

TABLE 3.2   *The five syntactic contexts investigated in Section 3*

Context	Fronted constituent	Pragmatic role of the DP subject
1	Scene-setter adverbial	Focused
2	Scene-setter adverbial	Given
3	Given direct object	Focused
4	Given direct object	Given
5	Wh-element	Given

Table 3.2 lists the syntactic and discourse contexts that we consider in this section: sentences with a focused DP subject in which the fronted constituent is a scene-setter adverbial (Context 1); sentences with a given DP subject in which the fronted constituent is a scene-setter adverbial (Context 2); sentences with a focused DP subject in which the fronted constituent is a given direct object (Context 3); sentences with a given DP subject in which the fronted constituent is a given direct object (Context 4); main wh-interrogative clauses, in which the DP subject (like all constituents other than the wh-interrogative element, see Benincà 1988) is given (Context 5).

   We tested the distribution of new-information focuses and given DP subjects in both production and judgment tasks. In production tasks, informants had to answer a subject interrogative wh-question, starting the answer with a given constituent (present in the interrogative) other than the subject. This allowed us to test the positions of both new-information focus and given subjects in relation to the finite and non-finite verb forms (see Cruschina 2006, Belletti 2004 on wh-interrogatives to elicit information focus).

   The production data clearly indicate the presence of different strategies for the realisation of focused DP subjects according to the type of fronted constituent. The Contexts 1 and 2 allow us to establish whether the distribution of the DP subject (that is, the occurrence of G-inversion and R-inversion) is parasitic on information structure, and, more specifically, on the status of the DP subject as given or new. Let us first consider the syntax of focused subjects in sentences with a fronted scene-setter adverbial (Context 1). In (3) we reproduce the sentences given by informants in the production task. Three possible positions for the subject appear in the data: G-inversion (3a), no-inversion (3b) and R-inversion (3c).

(3)   *Who has always bought the flour in the shop?* [answer: the mum; begin with: in the shop]

a. *Te botëga à   tres   **la mama** cumprè la   farina*
   in shop   has always the mum   bought the flour
                                        (*G-inversion*, Badiotto)

b. *Te butëiga **mami** à   for   cumprà la   farina*
   in shop   mum   has always bought the flour
                                        (*no-inversion*, Gardenese)

c. *Te butëiga, la   farina l   à   for   cumpreda **la***
   in shop   the   flour him-OBJ.CL. has always bought   the
   l'oma   (*R-inversion*, Gardenese)
   mum
   'It was always mum who bought the flour in the shop.'

The sentences in (3) are not equally distributed across informants and varieties: (3a) is the preferred option, used by the majority of informants (5/8), mostly from Badia (MI, DI, SI, JC and LH, 5/6). (3b) is used by MR (Badia) and by MD (Gardenese); (3c) is used by the Gardenese IK. Sentences (3a–b) were also tested in a judgment task. G-inversion (3a) gained the highest score by those informants that produced it and by the Gardenese MD, who produced (3b). The other two informants consider it completely ungrammatical (1).[8]

The results of the production and judgment tasks indicate that the distribution of the DP subject, in particular the grammaticality of G-inversion, is subject to variation. G-inversion is the *only* possible alternative for 5/6 speakers from Badia. For one speaker from Badia (MR), however, G-inversion is ruled out and the only possibility is the absence of inversion (V3). For IK, from Gardena, G-inversion is ruled out and R-inversion is the only possibility.[9] For MD, from Gardena, both orders are possible.

Now we consider sentences in which the sentence-initial constituent is again a given scene-setter adverbial but the subject is given (Context 2). If the discourse status of the DP subject plays a role in its syntactic position, it is expected that the sentences in Context 2 will exhibit a different syntax from those in Context 1 (3). When the subject is given, two word orders appear in production (4): no inversion (4a) and G-inversion (4b).

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8   Sentences are considered possible/grammatical when judged either 5 or 4, impossible/ungrammatical when they are given 1 or 2 and marginal when they are judged 3.

9   Our data indicate that in main declarative clauses with a focused subject R-inversion is marginal for speakers from Badia, while IK consistently uses this word order, or judges it to be 4–5.

(4) *What did Maria buy yesterday?* [answer: the potatoes; please begin with:
     yesterday]

    a. *Inier   **Maria** à   cumprè i   soni*   (*no-inversion*, Badiotto)
        yesterday Maria has bought the potatoes

    b. *Inier   à   **Maria** cumprè i   soni*   (*G-inversion*, Badiotto)
        yesterday has Maria bought the potatoes
        'Maria bought potatoes yesterday.'

As in the case of (3), the two word orders are not equally distributed across
the varieties. (4a), i.e. the order in which inversion has *not* taken place, is
the preferred order, used by 5/8 informants. This indicates that from a purely
quantitative point of view, the absence of inversion is preferred when the
DP subject is given, while G-inversion is preferred when the DP subject is
focused. A qualitative analysis of the data confirms and refines this result.
3/6 informants from Badia (JC-MI-DI) only allow for G-inversion with focused
subjects (see above), and do not produce G-inversion when the subject is given
(4a). (4a) is also produced by MR and MD with focused subjects. G-inversion
(4b) is produced by three informants: two from Badia (LH and SI who also have
inversion with focused subjects) and one, IK, from Gardena. In the judgment
task, (4b) is judged 5 by 6/8 informants (all those who used it in production,
and DI, JC and MD), and 3 or 1 by MR and MI.[10]

Summing up the data on Contexts 1 and 2, DP subject-finite verb inversion
is preferred in Context 1 (sentences in which a given scene-setter adverbial
appears in the sentence-initial position and the DP subject is focused); when
the DP is given and a scene setter is in the sentence-initial position (Context 2)
no inversion is the preferred option.

Three groups of informants exhibiting three different patterns of microvari-
ation can be identified.

Informants belonging to Group 1 instantiate a syntactic system which is
insensitive to information structure (G-inversion as either obligatory in both
contexts for LH, SI, Badia or ungrammatical/marginal for MR, Badia) irrespec-
tive of the discourse status of the DP subject. For the informants of Group 2,
G-inversion is obligatory (MI, DI, JC, Badia) when the subject is focused and
impossible (MI) or possible but not produced when it is given (DI, JC). The
last pattern of variation is the opposite of group 2: inversion is obligatory with
given, and ruled out with focused, DP subjects. It is exhibited by IK (Gardena;

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10   We cannot exclude possible normative pressure here.

TABLE 3.3   *The production and judgement of G-inversion (pr. = produced; n.p. = did not produce it. The number indicates the score in the judgment test: 1 = completely ungrammatical; 5 = perfectly fine)*

| | Badiotto | | | | | | Gardenese | |
	LH	JC	SI	DI	MI	MR	MD	IK
G-inversion with focused subject	pr.; 5	pr.; 5	pr.; 5	pr.; 5	pr.; 5	n.p.; 1	n.p.; 5	n.p.; 1
G-inversion with given subject	pr.; 5	n.p.; 5	pr.; 5	n.p.; 5	n.p.; 1	n.p.; 3	n.p.; 5	pr.; 5

Group 3). One informant, MD (Gardena), falls out of this picture, since she does not produce G-inversion, although she always accepts it in the judgment tasks.

Interestingly, these patterns of microvariation only partially correspond to diatopic variation; there is a clear split between IK (representative of Gardenese) and the Badiotto informants. On the other hand, the microvariation within Badiotto is more complex: two speakers of Lower High Badiotto (DI, MI) pattern with the neighbouring variety of central Badiotto (JC). The third Lower High Badiotto informant (SI) patterns with Marebbano (LH) and with Upper High Badiotto (MR). We propose an explanation of these patterns in Section 5.[11]

Let us now consider sentences in which the focused DP subject appears in a sentence in which a given direct object is in the sentence-initial position (Context 3). As shown in (5), in this configuration informants produced three constructions: no-inversion (5a), a cleft structure (5b) and R-inversion (5c).

(5)   *Who wrote the letter to the newspaper?*
       [answer: the mum; please begin with: the letter]
       a. *La lëtra al   foliet,   **la uma** ti   à   scrit*
          the letter to.the newspaper the mum it.IND.OBJ.CL. has written
                                                      (*no-inversion*, Badiotto)

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11   Recall that SI now lives in Marebbe; this could explain why she patterns with the other Marebbano speaker in this context.

b. *La   lëtra   al   foliet   é-l   sté   **la   mama** che*
   the letter to.the newspaper is=it.OBJ.CL been the   mum   that
   ti   à   scrit   (*cleft*, Badiotto)
   it.IND.OBJ.CL   has   written

c. *La   lëtra   tla   zaita   l'à   scrita   **la   l'oma***
   the letter in.the newspaper her.OBJ.CL.=has written the   mum
                                                        (*R-inversion*, Gardenese)
   'It is the mum who wrote the letter to the newspaper.'

It is striking that in (5) no informant produced G-inversion. The cleft construction (5b) was produced by 4/6 informants from Badia (SI, DI, MI, JC); (5a) was produced by MR (Badia) and MD (Gardena) and (5c) by IK (Gardena).[12] If we compare the sentences produced in (3) and (5), we see that the informants who produced G-inversion in (3), who are mostly from Badia, produced a cleft structure in (5). The other informants, on the other hand, stick to the syntax they used in (3) to realise a focused DP subject, i.e. either lack of inversion (MR, MD), or R-inversion (IK). We tested the grammaticality of inversion in Context 3 in a judgment task, and found that G-inversion is marginal for most informants, except for SI and LH (Group1) and MD.

The data on Context 3 indicate that all the informants belonging to Group 2 and the informant in Group 1 for whom G-inversion is obligatory with focused subjects (SI), change their strategy (Group 2) or prefer another strategy (SI of Group 1: cleft is used, G-inversion is accepted) for the realisation of focused subjects (from G-inversion to cleft) according to the type of fronted constituent. Thus, a fronted direct object seems to be incompatible with G-inversion when the subject is focused, while it is compatible with R-inversion and with no-inversion.

Let us examine sentences in which the sentence-initial XP is a given direct object and the DP subject is also given (Context 4), to discover whether the pattern discussed for example (5) in Context 3 is fed by information structure, syntactic configuration (given object in the sentence-initial position), or a combination of the two. In sentences in which the sentence-initial constituent is a given object, and the subject is given (Context 4), informants produce the orders in (6): no inversion (6a), G-inversion (6b) and R-inversion(6c).

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12   Informant LH did not answer.

(6) *When did mum buy the book?* [answer: yesterday; please begin with *the book*]

a. *Le liber, **la uma** l   à   cumprè inier*
   the book the mum he.OBJ.CL. has bought yesterday
   <div align="right">(*no-inversion*, Badiotto)</div>

b. *Le liber à   **la mama** cumprè inier*   (*G-inversion*, Badiotto)
   the book has the mum   bought yesterday

c. *L   liber l   à   cumprà **la l'oma** inier*
   the book he.OBJ.CL. has bought the mum   yesterday
   <div align="right">(*R-inversion*, Gardenese)</div>
   'It was yesterday that mum bougth the book.'

(6a) is produced by the two informants who consistently produce sentences without inversion (MR, MD) and by LH (Badia); (6b) is produced by a single informant from Badia (SI); (6c) is produced by three informants (IK—Gardena, DI, MI, Badia).[13] The lack of any kind of inversion coupled with R-inversion are the preferred options for the realisation of the given subject in this context. From a qualitative point of view, the division in three groups persists. Informants belonging to Group 1 (which are insensitive to information structure) either never produce inversion (MR, Badia) like in Contexts 1 and 2, or allow for G-inversion in both Contexts 3 and 4 (SI).[14] For informants in Group 2 (MI, DI, JC, Badia), G-inversion is ruled out and a cleft is used instead to realise focused DP subjects, whereas given subjects are either pre-verbal or post-verbal (R-inversion). For the Group 3 informant (IK, Gardena), G-inversion is ruled out in all contexts, except for Context 2, in which the DP subject is given and the fronted constituent is a scene setter. Informant MD again falls outside this picture, since she does not produce G-inversion, although she accepts it irrespective of the discourse context.

3.2.2 Subject-Finite Verb Inversion in Main wh-Interrogative Clauses

In the previous section we saw that the distribution of subject-finite verb inversion in main declarative clauses is ruled by an interaction between subtle syntactic and discourse constraints, which are subject to diatopic (see the asym-

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13   Informant LH did not translate this sentence correctly.

14   Unfortunately, we have no data on informant LH's intuitions—which makes it impossible to know if she would pattern with SI, as she did in Contexts 1 and 2.

metries between Group 2, Badia, and Group 3, Gardena,) and inter-speaker (see the asymmetries between Badiotto speakers from Group 1 and 2) variation.

Let us investigate whether the type of variation documented for main declarative clauses is also found in wh-interrogatives (Context 5). We tested interrogatives in three production tasks (translation) and in a judgment task. The production task focused on three types of interrogative clause: adverbial clauses (*when*), object interrogatives (*what*) and a why-interrogative. Two orders appear in all three interrogative types: G-inversion (7a) and right dislocation (7b).

(7)   a. *Can   à   pa   **Mario** lit   le   liber?*   (*G-inversion*, Badiotto)
         when has PART Mario read the book

      b. *Can   à-l   pa   lit   le   liber **Mario?***
         when has=he.SUBJ.CL. part read the book Mario
                                                       (*right-dislocation*, Badiotto)
         'When did Mario read the book?'

G-inversion (7a) is the preferred option, used in at least two interrogative clauses by all but two of the informants, JC and MI, who only produced (7b) in all the tested sentences. The informants who produce G-inversion also produce (7b). G-inversion is produced by all the speakers of Group 1 (MR, LH, SI) and Group 3 (IK), and also by DI (Group 2). Among the other two speakers of Group 2, JC does not produce G-inversion but accepts it, while MI considers it ungrammatical.

3.2.3   Summary of the Results

Table 3.4 and 3.5 summarise the data on the syntax of DP subjects. Note that no-inversion is ruled out in just one context (Context 5, see empty box) in which G-inversion is felicitous for all informants. The second thing that should be noted is that Contexts 3 and 4 are quantitatively the least felicitous for G-inversion (see Section 5 below for a complete list of generalisations).

From a qualitative point of view, Table 3.5 allows us to divide speakers into three groups according to their intuitions. Speakers of Group 1 are characterised by their insensitivity to information structure: they either use/accept G-inversion in all contexts (SI, Lower High Badiotto, LH, Marebbano), or do not use/reject it in most contexts (MR Upper High Badiotto). Speakers in Group 2 require G-inversion with focused subjects in sentences with a fronted scene setter (Context 1, DI, JC, MI, Lower High Badiotto), the speaker in Group 3 requires G-inversion with given subjects and a fronted given object (Context 2, IK, Gardenese). Informant MD (Gardenese) does not belong to any group.

TABLE 3.4   *Summary of the distribution of DP subject-finite verb inversion* (*quantitative*)

Context	Fronted constituent	Pragmatic role of the DP subject	Gardenese	Badiotto (quantitative data)
1	Scene-setter adverbial	Focused	R-inversion (obligatory)	G-inversion 5/5
2	Scene-setter adverbial	Given	G-inversion (obligatory)	No inversion 3/5 G-inversion 2/5
3	Given direct object	Focused	R-inversion (obligatory)	Cleft 5/5
4	Given direct object	Given	R-inversion (obligatory)	R-inversion 3/4 G-inversion 1/4
5	Wh-element	Given	G-inversion	G-inversion 3/4 R-inversion 4/4

TABLE 3.5   *Summary of the distribution of DP subject-finite verb inversion* (*qualitative*)

Context 1	G-inversion	*No-inversion*	R-inversion/right dislocation
Main declarative clauses with fronted scene setter & focussed subject	OBLIGATORY for SI, LH (Group 1) MI, DI, JC (Group 2) POSSIBLE for MD	OBLIGATORY for MR (Group 1); POSSIBLE for MD	OBLIGATORY for IK (Group 3)

Context 2	G-inversion	*No-inversion*	R-inversion/right dislocation
Main declarative clauses with fronted scene setter & given subject	POSSIBLE for SI, LH (Group 1), IK (Group 3), MD. MARGINAL for DI, JC (Group 2)	OBLIGATORY for MR (Group 1), MI (Group 2) POSSIBLE for DI, JC (Group 2), MD	POSSIBLE for DI, JC (Group 2).

TABLE 3.5   *Summary of the distribution of DP subject-finite verb inversion (qualitative) (cont.)*

Context 3	G-inversion	*No-inversion*	R-inversion/right dislocation
Main declarative clauses with fronted given object & focussed subject	POSSIBLE for SI, LH (Group 1), MD; IMPOSSIBLE / MARGINAL for IK (Group 3), MI, DI, JC (Group 2)	OBLIGATORY for MR (Group 1); POSSIBLE for MI, DI, JC (Group 2)	POSSIBLE for MI, DI, JC (Group 2); IK (Group 3)
Context 4	**G-inversion**	*No-inversion*	**R-inversion/right dislocation**
Main declarative clauses with fronted given object & given subject	POSSIBLE for SI (Group 1), MD	POSSIBLE for MR (Group 1), MD	POSSIBLE for MI, DI, JC (Group 2), IK (Group 3).
Context 5	**G-inversion**	*No-inversion*	**R-inversion/right dislocation**
Main Wh-interrogative clauses	POSSIBLE for IK (Group 3), SI, MR (Group 1), DI, JC (Group 2), MD.		POSSIBLE for IK (Group 3), SI, MR, (Group 1), DI, JC, MI (Group 2), MD.

4   Restrictions on Constituents Preceding the Finite Verb

4.1   *Current Scholarship*

A second remarkable property of Badiotto and Gardenese that can be linked to their V2 nature concerns the syntax of the sentence-initial position.[15] The pos-

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15   This section draws mainly upon grammaticality judgements, due to the marked character of the phenomenon under investigation. When producing sentences, informants either avoid or systematically change (by eliminating one of the fronted constituents) sentences

sibility of moving constituents to the sentence-initial position in V2 languages is generally recognised to be highly restricted by the so-called "bottleneck-effects" (Poletto 2002, Wolfe 2015).

Poletto (2002) proposed that Badiotto exhibits quite a robust bottleneck-effect in main declarative clauses (but not in wh-interrogative clauses, where V3 and V4 are possible, see Section 4.3), since usually only one constituent can precede the verb. Poletto claims there to be one exception to this restriction: a focused constituent can be preceded by either a scene-setter adverbial or by a hanging topic.[16] While her informants marginally accepted the combination "Adverbial—Focalised XP—V", they judged the order "Hanging Topic—Focalised XP—V" to be fully grammatical:[17]

(8) a. *ʔDuman, GIANI vaighest*   (Badiotto, Poletto 2002: 231)[18]
       tomorrow Gianni see=you.SUBJ.CL.
       'It is Gianni who you'll see tomorrow.'

    b. *L liber, A GIANI ti   l   a-i*
       the book to Gianni him.IND.OBJ.CL. him.OBJ.CL. have=I.SUBJ.CL.
       bel   dè   (Badiotto, Poletto 2002: 231)[19]
       already given
       'It is to Gianni that I already gave the book.'

However, the data reported in Section 3 (for instance the grammaticality for many Badiotto speakers of V3 word orders with two fronted given constituents, the subject and a scene-setter or object, see the "no-inversion" answers in

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with two fronted constituents. It was therefore necessary to ask for grammaticality judgements to test this property of their grammars.

16 Another exception to the V2 word order, found mainly in Gardenese but also in some Badiotto varieties, concerns V1 orders, which are possible when the subject is null (both Gardenese and some Badiotto varieties are partial pro-drop languages). Further research is needed on this order.

17 Note that Poletto argues that the example in (8b) involves a Hanging Topic and not a Left Dislocation. However, as we discuss later in this section according to our informants Hanging Topics are ruled out in Badiotto, while Left Dislocations are grammatical in some contexts.

18 Both Badiotto and Gardenese have subject clitics, which can replace the subject, or double it when the lexical subject is dislocated, as in the sentences described in this section.

19 Note that in both varieties indirect objects always have to be doubled by a clitic, irrespective of the position of the argument. Direct objects, on the other hand, do not have to be doubled by a clitic.

Table 3.5) already point to the fact that Poletto's generalisation needs some refinement.

This is further confirmed by the specific data collected for the syntax of the sentence-initial position. V3 word orders involving a scene-setter, for example, are ruled out in Badiotto if both the scene-setter and the preverbal argument are given, as predicted by Poletto's analysis (9a); however, in Gardenese this is not the case (9b).

(9)   a. *Who did you bring the book yesterday?*
         Inier   le   liber   l   à-i   purtà   al
          yesterday the   book   him.OBJ.CL. have=I.SUBJ.CL. brought to.the
         Luis   (Badiotto: all speakers)
          Luis

      b. *Who has always bought the flour in the shop?*
         Te butëiga, la   farina l'à   for   cumpreda la
          in shop   the flour   her.OBJ.CL. has always bought   the
         l'oma   (Gardenese)
          mum
          'It was always mum who bought the flour in the shop.'

V3 word orders in sentences with a given element and a focus are also rejected by speakers of lower High Badiotto (MI, SI, DI), contrary to Poletto's (2002) predictions, although the other Badiotto speakers (LH, JC, MR) accept them (10a,c). In Gardenese, V3 word orders are grammatical if the focused element is not an argument, see the contrast between (10b) and (10d).

(10) *Who did you call yesterday?*
      a. *%Inier   la   Maria   à-i   cherdè sö*
          yesterday the Maria   have=I.SUBJ.CL. called   up
                                                    (Badiotto: ok for LH, JC, MR)

      b. *Inier   Maria   é-i   cherdà su*   (Gardenese)
          yesterday Maria   have=I.SUBJ.CL. called   up
          'Yesterday I called Maria'

      When did you buy the book?
      c. *%Le liber, inier   l   à-i   cumprè*
          the   book   yesterday him.OBJ.CL. have=I.SUBJ.CL. bought
                                                    (Badiotto: ok for LH, JC, MR)

d. *L   liber, inier   l   é-i   cumprà*
   the book yesterday him.OBJ.CL. have=I.SUBJ.CL. bought
                                                    (Gardenese)

   'I bought the book yesterday.'

The second context for V3 orders described by Poletto (2002) is that in which a Hanging Topic and a focus co-occur before the finite verb. Our Badiotto informants all reject Hanging Topics, regardless of the informational role of the second constituent (11a). On the other hand, Gardenese speakers are divided here: MD accepts sentences with V3 when there is a Hanging Topic, while IK considers them marginal (11b).

(11) a. **L   Giani, CUN L   PIERE / cun l   Piere à-i*
        the Gianni, with the Piere / with the Piere have=I.SUBJ.CL.
        baià   de chël cretino   (Badiotto)
        spoken of that idiot

   b. *%Giuani, CUN PIERE / cun Piere é-i   rujenà de*
        Gianni with Piere / with Piere have=I.SUBJ.CL. spoken of
        chël cretino   (Gardenese)
        that idiot
        'As for Gianni, it is with Pietro that I spoke of that stupid.'

In order to fully account for these results, which are partly unexpected within Poletto's (2002) account, we decided to test all possible combinations of preverbal constituents (arguments and scene setters, topics and foci) in order to establish whether the bottle-neck effects are due to syntactic or discourse-related factors, or both.[20] As we demonstrate, both varieties are sensitive both

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20 According to the generative literature, in this section we use the following terms:
    – "Focus": a constituent that is either new in the discourse or contrasted (see Benincà &
    Poletto 2004, Cruschina 2010, Rizzi 1999, Frascarelli 2000):
    (i)   *GIANNI ha chiamato (non Maria)*   (Italian)
          Gianni has called   (not Maria)
          'It is Gianni that called (not Maria)'
    – "Topic": With this label, we refer to a thematised constituent realizing old/given information; following Lopez (2009) and Cruschina (2010), we assume that the core property of all types of topics is their presuppositional character, that is their being part of the presupposition of the speaker (D-linking in Pesetsky 1987). We further assume that topics are split into two classes according to the property of [givenness]: some topics are compatible

to syntactic configuration and to information structure in this respect, since the overall co-occurrence of two topicalised arguments is judged more grammatical than the co-occurrence of a topic and a focus. Moreover, the co-occurrence of some types of argument (typically the subject and the indirect object) yields better results than other combinations.

4.2   *Main Declarative Clauses*

Let us first consider the co-occurrence of a topicalised and a focalised argument in the preverbal position (Context 1) in Gardenese. For IK, a focus can only be marginally preceded by a Hanging Topic, but not by other types of Topic, as the contrast shows:

(12) a. *Who has written the letter?*
          ᵗLa lëtra mami l'à   scrita   (Gardenese)
          the letter mum   her OBJ.CL. has written
          'It is mum who wrote the letter.'

      b. *Who has given Maria a book?*
          *A Maria, mami ti   à   dat   n liber
           to Maria, mum   her.IND.OBJ.CL. has given a book

(12a) is ambiguous, because the first constituent could be either a Hanging Topic or a left-dislocated Topic with clitic resumption. However, IK does not accept sentences like (12b), which are clear instances of a left dislocated topic.[21]

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with an out-of-the-blue sentence, in which they are simply presupposed, whereas other topics are grammatical only if they have already been introduced into the linguistic context (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007 and reference therein). Topics precede the finite verb in the sentence-initial position (see Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001).

(ii)   *A Maria, (le)   ho   dato un libro*
        to Maria, her.CL I.have given a   book
        'I gave Maria a book'

– "Hanging Topics" are also thematised constituents which appear in the sentence-initial position. Hanging Topics can only be DPs (Benincà 2006):

(iii)   (*A) *Maria, ho   dato un libro a lei / a quella bella ragazza*
        (*to) Maria, I.have given a   book to her / to that   nice girl
        'Maria, I gave a book to her / to that nice girl'

21   The interpretation of (12a) as involving a Hanging Topic is also confirmed by the fact that the first constituent is resumed by a clitic, while initial topics are generally not doubled by a clitic in Gardenese. MD did not judge sentences like (13), thus it is unclear if in her case also left dislocated Topics are possible.

This confirms that (12a) is interpreted by him as involving a Hanging Topic, thus judged marginal like the cases in (11b).

In Badiotto, more options are open. Speakers of Lower High Badiotto (DI, SI, MI) do not admit any additional constituent preceding the finite verb. The other speakers (LH, JC, MR) accept V3 word orders in some contexts. Although there is a great deal of variation, we believe that a general pattern can be discerned: in general, these speakers restrict possible orders, based on the following underlying hierarchy:[22]

(13) Indirect Object > Direct Object > Subject

Thus, a given indirect object can precede both focused direct objects and subjects, while a given direct object can only precede a focused subject (14 a,b).[23] Moreover, speakers in this second group accept cases in which a scene-setter is involved (14c). See also discussion in (3) above.

(14) a. *Who wrote the letter?*
          La lëtra la mama l'à   scrita
          the letter the mum her.OBJ.CL. has written
                                        (Badiotto: ok for MR and LH)
          'It it mum that wrote the letter.'

      b. *Whom has your brother given the bracelet?*
          *Le bracialet, a Monika ti   l   à scinchè
           the bracelet to Monica her.IND.OBJ.CL. him.OBJ.CL. has given
          ti   fra   (Badiotto: all speakers)
          your brother
          'It is to Monika that your brother gave the bracelet'

      c. *Who did you call yesterday?*
          %Inier   Maria à-i   cherdè sö
            yesterday Maria have=I.SUBJ.CL. called up
                                        (Badiotto: ok for LH, JC, MR)
          'It is Maria that I called yesterday.'

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22   Note that the order in (13) is *never* attested but can be inferred, since speakers were asked for judgments on sentences involving two, not three, fronted constituents.

23   There are some neutralisations to this order: MR exhibits the order IO>DO/Subj (DO and Subject can co-occur in any order), JC has IO/DO>Subj (both IOs and DOs can precede the Subject, but they cannot co-occur).

The co-occurrence of two topics in the preverbal position (Context 2; for the co-occurrence of a given argument and a scene-setter, see 9) is possible with severe restrictions for most Badiotto speakers and MD (Gardenese). For these speakers, the co-occurrence of two given arguments is only possible when their syntactic roles are those of subject and indirect object, with no ordering restrictions (16). On the other hand, MR (Upper High Badiotto) does not exhibit any restrictions: two arguments can co-occur freely in any order, provided that they are doubled by a clitic (16c–f). The last pattern is that of IK (Gardena). He shows clear-cut ordering restrictions, which are based on the following (not attested, see footnote 23) underlying order (16b,c,e).

(15) Direct Object > Subject > Indirect Object

(16) a. *Tati,   a   Maria ti   à-l   dé   n liber*
         daddy to Maria her.IND.OBJ.CL. has=he.SUBJ.CL. given a book
                                          (SUB-IO: ok for everyone)

      b. *%A Maria, tati   ti   à   dé   n liber*
          to Maria   daddy her.IND.OBJ.CL. has given a book
                                          (IO-SUB: ok for anyone except IK)
         'Dad gave Maria a book.'

      c. *%L   pan,   mami l   à   cumprà inier*
          the bread mum   him.OBJ.CL. has bought yesterday
                                          (DO-SUB: ok for IK and MR)

      d. *%Mami, l   pan   l   à-la   cumprà*
          mum   the bread him.OBJ.CL. has=she.SUBJ.CL. bought
         inier   (SUB-DO: ok for MR)
         yesterday
         'Mum bought the bread yesterday.'

      e. *%L   mëil, a Marco ti   l   à   dat*
          the apple to Marco him.IND.OBJ.CL. him.OBJ.CL. has given
         Paul   (DO-IO: ok for MR and IK)
         Paul

f. *%A Marco, l   mëil   ti   l   à   dat   Paul*
   to Marco the apple him.IND.OBJ.CL. he.OBJ.CL. has given Paul
                                   (IO-DO: ok for MR only)
   'Paul gave Marco the apple.'

The above demonstrates that Ladin speakers also divide into three groups in the syntax of V3 orders of main declarative clauses (see Table 3.5): one such grouping is represented by IK, the Gardenese native speaker.

This result is expected because of diatopic variation. Within Badiotto speakers we again find inter-speaker variation. One group is formed by the speakers of Lower High Badiotto (MI, DI, SI), while the other is represented by MR alone. The informants from the lower part of the valley (LH, JC), in contrast, do not belong to one, stable, group: their behaviour depends on the syntactic context. When a given constituent and a focus co-occur, these speakers pattern with MR; when two given arguments are in the preverbal position, they fall into the Lower High Badiotto group. The Gardenese informant MD also oscillates between two different groups: when there are two fronted topics she behaves like the major Badiotto group, while when a focus and a topic are fronted she gives the same judgements as IK.

4.3 *Main Interrogative Clauses*

In main interrogative clauses introduced by a *wh*-item, V3 word orders consisting of any constituent followed by the *wh*-item are judged acceptable in both varieties, provided that the fronted argument is resumed by a clitic. There appear to be no restrictions in either variety, which confirms Poletto's (2002) description:

(17) a. *L   pan,   ulà   l   es'a   cumprà?*   (Gardenese)
     the bread where him.OBJ.CL. have PART bought

   b. *Le pan,   olà   l   as-te   cumprè?*
      the bread where him.OBJ.CL. have=you.SUBJ.CL. bought
                                (Badiotto)
      'Where did you buy the bread?'

In *wh*-interrogatives, even V4 word orders are possible, where two topicalised arguments precede the *wh-item* ("XP–XP–wh–V"), although with some restrictions. Since V3 word orders seem to be unrestricted (17), we focused instead on V4 word orders, again testing constituents with different syntactic roles. Once more, we found that the speakers can be divided into three groups, cutting across Gardenese and Badiotto.

IK is the only member of the first group. He judges V4 word orders in wh-interrogatives to be possible with the same restrictions on the order of given arguments discussed in (16) above, see (18a,b).[24] LH, JC and MR form the second group. These speakers show a general preference for the co-occurrence of the subject and the indirect object, in any order (18a,b), which—like for IK—resembles the judgments they gave for main declarative clauses. The other informants (MD, MI, DI, partially SI) belong to the third group, which places no restrictions on the types of argument: any type of argument can precede the wh-element, in any order, although sometimes yielding marginal results (18a–f).[25]

(18) a. *%Tati, a Maria, cie   ti   à-l   pa*
        dad to Maria what her.IND.OBJ.CL. has=he.SUBJ.CL. PART.
        dat?   (S>IO: ungrammatical for MR, marginal for IK and SI)
        given

    b. *%A Maria, tati, cie   ti   à-l   pa*
        to Maria   dad what her.IND.OBJ.CL. has=he.SUBJ.CL. PART.
        dat?   (IO>S: ungrammatical for IK, marginal for SI)
        given
        'What did dad give Maria?'

    c. *%L   pan, mami, ulà   l   à-la   pa*
        the bread mum   where he.OBJ.CL. has=she.SUBJ.CL. PART.
        cumprà?   (DO>S: ungrammatical for LH, marginal for JC, SI and IK)
        bought

    d. *%Mami, l   pan, ulà   l   à-la   pa*
        mum   the bread where him.OBJ.CL. has=she.SUBJ.CL. PART.
        cumprà?   (S>DO: ungrammatical for IK, marginal for SI, LH, MR)
        bought
        'Where did mum buy the bread?'

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24   Note that for IK, V4 orders are always marginal. This may be because they are very
     unnatural in the language, as discussed in footnote 10.
25   The co-occurrence of a direct object and an indirect object is the least acceptable con-
     text.

e. *%L mëil, a Marco chi ti   l   à*
   the apple to Marco who him.IND.OBJ.CL. him.OBJ.CL. has
   pa   dat?
   PART. given
     (DO>IO: ungrammatical for IK and MR, marginal for SI, DI, LH, JC)

f. *%A Marco, l   mëil chi ti   l   à*
   to Marco the apple who him.IND.OBJ.CL. him.OBJ.CL. has
   pa   dat?
   PART. given
       (IO>DO: ungrammatical for IK, LH, MR, marginal for JC, DI, SI)
   'Who gave Marco the apple?'

A recurrent pattern is thus revealed in all the contexts described in this section and our Ladin informants can be divided into three groups. The first consists of one Gardenese speaker, IK. The core variety in the second group is Upper High Badiotto (MR), and in the last group, Lower High Badiotto (MI, DI, SI).

The other varieties, represented by LH, JC (Badia) and MD (Gardenese), oscillate between groups 2 and 3. In the cases of LH and JC, this may be due to geographical factors: their varieties are geographically close to Lower High Badiotto, and it is thus unsurprising that they converge with the varieties of this group on some points. On the other hand, when they agree with group 2 (MR) they are displaying a pattern in which the geographically peripheral areas differ from the more central ones (here, Lower High Badiotto).

Note that the speakers belonging to the groups identified in this section only partially correspond with the speakers included in the groups identified for G-inversion: speakers do not behave coherently in both phenomena (see Section 5 below for an explanation). Table 3.6 summarises the patterns identified for the three groups of speakers.

5 On V2 and Microvariation

The data discussed in the two previous sections allow us to draw some important conclusions about Badiotto and Gardenese, and, we believe, confirm and refine the claim made in the literature that both languages should be analysed as V2.

With regard to the first phenomenon—the possibility of G-inversion in sentences in which the syntactic subject does not appear in the sentence-initial position—we can generalise as follows, for all varieties, and all groups (see Table 3.4 and 3.5):

TABLE 3.6   *Informants' judgements in the three selected contexts*

Context 1: Top + Foc	Group 1 (MR)	Group 2 (SI, DI, MI)	Group 3 (IK)
	Grammatical with ordering restrictions, or if a scene-setter is involved (LH, JC, MR)	always ungrammatical (SI, MI, DI)	marginal (IK) or fully grammatical (MD) when the first constituent is a Hanging Topic
Context 2: Top+Top			
	everything goes, no ordering restrictions (MR)	only IO+S, in any order (SI, MI, DI, LH, JC, MD)	ok with ordering restrictions (IK)
Context 3: Top+Top in wh-interrogatives			
	IO+S in any order, others marginally and with some idiosyncrasy (LH, JC, MR)	everything goes (MD, MI, DI, marginally SI)	ok with ordering restriction (IK)

(19) a. it is one of two possible options (along with right dislocation) in wh-interrogative clauses (Context 5);
 b. it is virtually impossible in main declarative clauses with a fronted given direct object and a focused subject (Context 3);
 c. it is marginal in main declarative clauses with a fronted given direct object and a given subject (Context 4).

The generalisations in (19) indicate that G-inversion is grammatical for all varieties, but is constrained by syntactic factors, since it is possible in wh-interrogative clauses, but not in main declarative clauses in which a direct object is fronted. This pattern is fully absent in present-day non-V2 Romance

varieties—a fact which supports a V2 analysis of Badiotto and Gardenese and indicates, moreover, that wh-interrogative clauses lie at the heart of the V2 phenomenon, since they favour the presence of G-inversion (see Rizzi 1996 and the presence of G-inversion in interrogative clauses in English as an example of residual V2).

However, syntax does not govern the distribution of G-inversion in Badiotto and Gardenese alone: discourse is also a key factor. These varieties differ in the ways in which discourse interplays with the distribution of G-inversion, as shown by the diatopic differences summarised in the following generalisations:

(20) a. Generalisation on the distribution of G-inversion valid for Gardense (Group 3):
G-inversion is possible when the DP subject is given and the fronted XP is a wh-element (Context 5) or a scene-setter (Context 2).
b. Generalisation on the distribution of G-inversion valid for Badiotto (Groups 1 and 2):
G-inversion is possible when the DP subject is a focus and the fronted XP is a scene-setter adverbial (Context 1: exception: MR), and when the DP is given and the fronted XP is a wh-element (Context 5).

The generalisations in (19) and (20) indicate that G-inversion is possible in both varieties, and is ruled by both syntactic and discourse factors, with the former, however, appearing to play the greater role—consider, for instance, the ungrammaticality of G-inversion in sentences with a fronted object irrespective of the discourse status of the DP subject. The generalisations on G-inversion indicate that Badiotto and Gardenese exhibit a trait typical of V2 languages (although they differ from Germanic V2 languages in partially allowing for no inversion in some specific contexts).

In both varieties, the presence of G-inversion correlates with the reduced possibility of having multiple constituents before the finite verb, as expected within the V2 analysis. As summarised in the following generalisations, this ban is subject to the following syntactic (type of main clause) and discourse factors:

(21) Generalisations on multiple elements preceding the finite verb valid for all varieties (based on all groups):
a. The co-occurrence of multiple constituents before the finite verb is possible in wh-interrogative clauses, and highly restricted in main declarative clauses;
b. in main declarative clauses, the order topic-focus is highly restricted (possible only with a subset of constituents and constructions).

We also find clear diatopic differences between the two varieties with regard to the multiple co-occurrence of constituents before the finite verb:

(22) a. Generalisation on the distribution of multiple constituents preceding the finite verb valid for Gardenese (based on Group 3):
          – two topics can precede the finite verb in both interrogative and main clauses;
          – in all cases in which two topics can precede the finite verb, ordering restrictions among them are found, irrespective of the syntactic context.
      b. Generalisation on the distribution of multiple constituents valid for Badiotto (all groups):
          – two topics can precede the finite verb with no ordering restrictions only in interrogative clauses;
          – the possibility of having two topics in main declarative clauses is highly restricted.

All the generalisations indicate that Badiotto and Gardenese differ greatly from present-day non-V2 Romance languages with regard to the phenomena under consideration, and should, in our view, be considered V2 languages (even though the syntax of the sentence-initial position has a specific characteristic not shared with Germanic V2 languages).

We will now address the presence of micro-variation among speakers of the same variety, which, in our view, does not constitute a problem for the above generalisations, since these are based on the most consistent (or representative, in the case of Gardenese) patterns.

(23) a. Microvariation in Badiotto:
          – Speakers of Group 1 identified for G-inversion are insensitive to information structure, and either reject (MR: exception: wh-interrogative clauses) or generalise (SI, LH) G-inversion to all contexts;
          – Speakers of Group 1 identified for the syntax of the sentence-initial position (LH, JC, MR) are much more liberal than other Badiotto speakers in allowing for multiple constituents before the finite verb.
      b. Micro-variation in Gardenese:
          – Speaker MD is much more liberal than the other Gardenese speaker (IK).

We account for the microvariation within varieties as follows. Informants LH, JC and MR live in different villages and therefore speak different Ladin vari-

eties. We propose that the inter-speaker variation observed in their language is due to microdiatopic differences, resulting from the fact that they come from Marebbano, Central Badiotto and Upper High Badiotto, respectively. On the basis of our data we suggest that a distinction be made between Upper High and Lower High Badiotto, since the speaker from Colfosco (MR) patterns differently from the speakers from S. Leonardo di Badia, a fact which calls for a further specification of "High Badiotto", based on syntax.

Given these microdiatopic differences, it is expected that these three speakers will not pattern like other Badiotto speakers. Note that these differences do not manifest themselves in both phenomena. On the possibility of having multiple constituents before the finite verb, all three speakers differ from Lower High Badiotto speakers; however, with regard to G-inversion, only LH (Marebbano) and MR (Upper High Badiotto) make judgements that differ from the other Badiotto speakers.

Two particular individual cases need to be discussed. The first is that of SI, a speaker of Lower High Badiotto, who consistently patterns with the Marebbano speaker, and not with her sisters from S. Leonardo for G-inversion. We suggest that this is not due to her age or gender (she is almost in the same age as her sisters, see Table 3.1) but rather to the fact that she now lives in S. Vigilio, where Marebbano is spoken, and might have changed some microaspects of her original grammar. It is important to note that the microchanges introduced by SI only affect G-inversion, for the other phenomenon considered she belongs to Group 2, like her sisters. This indicates that not all grammatical environments are equally vulnerable in contact situations.

The case of MD, the Gardenese speaker who falls outside all generalisations and only partially patterns with the other Gardenese speaker, is different. We suggest that the specificities of her grammar are due to the fact that she acquired Gardenese as an early L2, at kindergarten. Our hypothesis is, therefore, that her idiosyncrasies in both of the phenomena considered may result from her exposure to Ladin from the age of 3. The acquisition of Gardenese as an early L2 did not prevent this speaker from apparently reaching full proficiency in the language (she uses Ladin in her everyday life), but when it comes to the very subtle judgements required in our study, it seems that her competence differs from that of the other speakers.

6   Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined two properties typically ascribed to V2 languages, the presence of G-inversion and of bottleneck-effects, in two Rhaeto-

Romance varieties of South Tyrol, Badiotto and Gardenese. We have demonstrated that these two properties are present in the languages, and their co-occurrence confirms the claim made in the literature that both languages should be considered V2.

Our novel description of the two varieties has not only allowed us to confirm the claim that Badiotto and Gardenese are V2 languages, but also to broaden the scope of the hypothesis, in three directions. First, we have increased our understanding of the typology of V2 languages and of the limits of variation among them, by providing a new perspective on two understudied V2 varieties. These languages have much in common with other (Germanic and Old Romance) V2 languages, but do not fully pattern with any of them. G-inversion, for example, is present in both Badiotto and Gardenese, but is constrained by syntactic and discourse factors—unlike in present-day Germanic V2 languages. Moreover, the syntax of the sentence-initial position is also specific to these varieties, since the constraints we find are less strict than those of Germanic V2 varieties (or of Old French, see Salvesen 2013), and less liberal than those of Old Italian (see Benincà 2006, Poletto 2014).

The chapter also contributes to our understanding of variation between close varieties. We have demonstrated that, despite sharing some core properties, Badiotto and Gardenese differ slightly from each other in the way these properties are instantiated. Consider G-inversion: in both varieties its distribution is ruled by syntactic and discourse factors, but in Badiotto G-inversion is favoured when subjects are new information, whereas in Gardenese it is restricted to given subjects. These differences, which we have been the first to identify, provide a small but very elegant showcase for diatopic variation.

And finally, this work contributes to our understanding of microvariation within the Badiotto variety. Using the novel data collected for this study, we have proposed that the traditional distinction between High and Central Badiotto cannot alone account for syntactic microvariation and so we have introduced a further distinction, between Lower High Badiotto, spoken by three informants from San Leonardo, and Upper High Badiotto, spoken by one informant from Colfosco. This finding confirms and refines the hypothesis that microdiatopic differences play a crucial role in determining variation in Badiotto. The role of microdiatopic variation is also confirmed by our detailed analysis of the syntax of some individual informants, who moved from one village to another in the valley and subsequently made a number of small changes to the grammar of their native variety, by adapting it to the variety spoken in the villages to which they moved.

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PART 2

Central Varieties

∵

CHAPTER 4

On the Palatalization of /s/ + Consonant in Some Dialects of Middle and Southern Italy

Luca Lorenzetti

1   Introduction

In this brief note we discuss a pattern of palatalization very common across the dialects of Italy, already described in some detail by the masters of Italian dialectology, but that nonetheless has not yet received the attention it possibly deserves. The pattern is absent indeed in the typological repertoires of palatalizations in the world's languages: for example, one could not find it in the pioneering works by Chen (1973) and Bhat (1978), nor any reference is made to it in more recent works, as Bateman (2011).

In the section §188 of his *Historical Grammar* Gerhard Rohlfs (1966) starts by noting that the palatalization of /s/ before consonant is an easy to see phenomenon in many Italian regions. Rohlfs follows then the palatalization running from North to South in all Italian regions, and he finally specifies dialects in which the palatalization occurs in front of all the consonants and dialects where, on the contrary, it seems sensitive to the place of articulation of the following consonant.

There are at least two major points of interest in the picture by Rohlfs. The first one concerns the monogenetic vs polygenetic character of the process itself. Albeit in an implicit manner, Rohlfs seems suggesting that Italo-Romance palatalization historically spread from North to South, the link being represented, for that as for many other features of Italian dialects, by the "Marche corridor" (in the dialects of the Marche palatalized [ʃ] is in fact very frequent).[1]

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1   "Il passaggio di *s* a *š* nei gruppi formati con *s* si incontra in parecchie parti d'Italia […] Le zone fondamentali di sviluppo di questo fenomeno sono nel settentrione il romagnolo e il trentino, alle quali si aggiungono, come territori dove il fenomeno si presenta in misura alquanto meno insistente, il Piemonte settentrionale, il Canton Ticino, alcune zone della Lombardia settentrionale, l'Emilia meridionale e certe parti del Veneto […] Dall'Emilia questa *š* è penetrata qua e là nelle zone marginali settentrionali della Toscana […] Il legame con il Mezzogiorno è ottenuto per mezzo delle Marche, dove *š* è di nuovo molto diffusa: di qui

On the other hand, it is true that the kind of palatalization under question is cross-linguistically quite frequent, so that we would probably need very strong philological and historical evidence to accept an unifying analysis of the phenomenon for Italian dialects.

The second issue raised by Rohlfs is the huge variation in the contextual conditions which trigger the palatalization. As already said, the palatalized variants, typically a sort of postalveolar fricatives [ʃ], do not always appear before any consonant, their occurrence being conditioned by the nature of the following segment: one could not expect to find in every dialect regular examples as [nɔʃtrə] 'ours', [aʃˈpɛttə] 'wait.3sg', [ʃkarpa] 'shoe' (cfr. It. *no*[s]*tro*, *a*[s]*petta*, [s]*carpa*). Now, putting aside the monogenesis vs polygenesis question, the problem we are going to deal with in this paper is precisely what is to be meant with "the nature" of the segments, and which kind of features this "nature" involves, either acoustic, articulatory, or phonological in a more abstract way, that is, capable to contribute to the definition of phonological natural classes. (For the sake of semplicity, we will only consider here the clusters of /s/ plus voiceless stop, assuming that the behavior of the fricative before voiced stops and before other fricatives would not change significantly).

2 Data Synopsis

The first step to go is trying to find a rationale among the bulk of data gathered by Rohlfs himself and by the other scholars who studied the phenomenon— or, for the most part, even just recorded it. If we arrange our data in a synoptic table roughly ordered from North to South, we can get the picture under (1), where the gray boxes indicate palatalizing areas and the white boxes point to areas that preserve /sC/ clusters:

(1) | Ticino, upper Lombardy, Romagna | [ʃp] | [ʃt] | [ʃk] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Piedmont, Trentino | [ʃp] | [st] | [ʃk] |
| Lazio (Subiaco) | [ʃp] | [ʃt] | [ʃk] |
| Marche | [sp] | [st] | [ʃk] |

il fenomeno si può seguire attraverso l'Abruzzo, la Lucania, la Campania e la Puglia fino in Calabria e in Sicilia; tuttavia, *š* nel Mezzogiorno compare sempre soltanto limitatamente in zone piu grandi o piu piccole, ma mai con diffusione completa su un ampio territorio, e inoltre non sempre si trova davanti a tutte le consonanti" (Rohlfs 1966: 257-258).

Abruzzo	[sp]	[ʃt]	[sk]
Southern Abruzzo (Campobasso)	[sp]	[ʃt]	[sk]
Campania	[ʃp]	[st]	[ʃk]
Cilento*	[ʃp]	[st]	[ʃk]
Southern Lucania	[sp]	[st]	[sk]
Calabria	[sp]	[st]	[sk]
Salento	[sp]	[ʃt]	[sk]
Sicily*	[ʃp]	[ʃt]	[ʃk]

Asterisks indicate areas which are problematic in some ways in the description of Rohlfs. In Cilento (Southern Campania) palatalization is just a trend and not at all a regular process; in Sicily a geographic differentiation emerges quite clearly between western, south-eastern and inner dialects, which undergo palatalization, and the other varieties of the island, which preserve the etymological clusters. But even if we put aside the details and the problematic situations, the table would not return a clear picture, neither under a geographical nor under a structural point of view, so that searching for one and the same explanation for all the cases of palatalization would look as a quite difficult task.

A slight reordering of our data allows for a more promising view. If we group on the one side the dialects where all the clusters /sC/ are treated the same way, and on the other side those where the treatments vary according to the place of articulation of the consonant involved, the picture starts to look less chaotic. As a result of such reordering four different patterns emerge. The first one (Type 1 in Table 2) is characterised by a homogeneous treatment of our clusters, which invariably display either all [sC] ("type 1a") or all [ʃC] ("type 1b"): the place of articulation of the following consonants does not play any role here either in triggering palatalization nor in preventing from it. The other types (2, 3, 4 in Table 2) correspond instead to "splitting" patterns, since the treatment of those clusters clearly depends on the articulatory place.

(2)	**TYPE 1a**	Southern Lucania	[sp]	[sk]	[st]
		Calabria	[sp]	[sk]	[st]
	TYPE 1b	Ticino, upper Lombardy, Romagna	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[ʃt]
		Lazio (Subiaco)	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[ʃt]
		Sicily	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[ʃt]
	TYPE 2	Piedmont, Trentino	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[st]
		Campania	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[st]
		Cilento	[ʃp]	[ʃk]	[st]

(cont.)

TYPE 3	Abruzzo	[sp]	[sk]	[ʃt]
	Southern Abruzzo (Campobasso)	[sp]	[sk]	[ʃt]
	Salento	[sp]	[sk]	[ʃt]
TYPE 4	Marche	[sp]	[ʃk]	[st]

The difference turns to be the treatment of /st/ versus that of /sp sk/, with the notable exception of Marche (type 4) where, according to Rohlfs, we have palatalized [ʃk] besides preserved [sp] and [st]. But there are too many counterexamples to this generalization about Marche: it is enough to consider Neumann-Spallart (1904: 300–301): "*St* turns mainly to *št*, but I found also *šk*, *šp* [...]. Anc.[ona] *študiato, štufà, škola*, Mac.[erata] *šdrega, štuppa, šchioppu, šporche* [...]"; or the many forms from Marche with *št* in the AIS itself (that is, from the same data source of Rohlfs), for example *šturnudá* (548 Montecarotto), *šturnutá* (558 Treia) c. 176 'to sneeze', cfr. It. *starnutire*; *lù vəštīt ᵊ twá* (569 Grottammare), *lu vi̥štītə tu̥ᵊ* (568 Ascoli Piceno) c. 1548 'your clothes', cfr. It. *vestito*; *lu gwáštu, lu váštu* (559 Sant'Elpidio a Mare) c. 1233 'saddlebow', cfr. It. *basto*; etc. It is therefore reasonable to leave momentarily aside types 1, with homogeneous treatment, and type 4, and start from a working hypothesis according to which the *explanandum* is the systematic split between /st/, on one side, and /sp sk/ on the other side. In the following sections we will present data which support this hypothesis, and then we'll try to find some possible explanation for this split.

3   Predictions and Dynamic Data

Our working hypothesis would predict:

(a)   the frequency of systems starting from a homogeneous treatment of the clusters with /sC/ and resulting in split treatments of the types (2) or (3);

(b)   the absence or at least the rarity of evolutions towards systems differentiating the treatment /sp/ from that of /st sk/, yelding patterns with /sp st/ vs /sk/ (as in type 4 above: [sp st] vs [ʃk]) or even patterns with /sp/ vs /st sk/ (a not yet attested type, to the best of our knowledge).

On the contrary, any evolution from systems of types (2) or (3) towards generalized treatments, that is, towards situation of the type (1), with all the clusters either palatalized or preserved, would make no difference to our hypothesis: it

could be seen either as a general loss or as an extension of the palatalization process, regardless of the features of the segments involved, but it would not constitute any effective counterexample, since it would not display different treatments for the clusters /sp/ and /sk/.

The negative condition (b), given its *ex silentio* nature, is a good falsifiability test: a fair amount of instances of evolutions of that kind would be enough to disprove the hypothesis. On the other hand, the dialects of Cervaro and San Donato Val di Comino could give us considerable data to prove the plausibility of condition (a). San Donato and Cervaro are two villages about 80 miles South-East of Rome: they offer a good ground for diachronic comparison, since we have relatively old descriptions for both of them, dating back to roughly 80–100 years ago, as well as field surveys carried out in recent years. The two varieties belong to the upper southern group of Italian dialects ("dialetti altomeridionali"). The dialect of Cervaro has been firstly described by Nunzio Maccarrone (1915), while San Donato was a point of the AIS (p. 701; the interviews for Central Italy were conducted in the Twenties); as for recent surveys, we can refer to Cedrone (2010) for San Donato and to Marsella (2010), Lorenzetti and Marsella (2013) for Cervaro. We will briefly report examples of /sC/ patterns found in Sandonatese and Cervarese and then proceed to evaluate their relevance to our assumption.

San Donato, around 1925:[2]

(3)   /st/ → [ʃt]
       ʃtɔŋgə 'I stay' 695, *ʃtéfanə* 'Stefano' 86, *ʃtatə* 'been' 1632, *ʃtruttə* 'lard' 701; *kraʃtatə* 'mutton, lit. "castrated"' 1069, *nɔʃtrə* 'ours' 1279, *fɛʃta* 'feast', *auʃtə* 'August' 323, *raʃtjetə* 'rake' 1411, *mwaʃtə* 'saddlebow' 1233, *krɔʃta* 'crust' 689, *muʃtə* 'must' 1377;
       exceptions (all those found, except for errors): *stəpwá* 'to spit', *stupə* 'spit' 171 (but *ʃtəpwatə* 'gob' 172); *kastaɲɲa* 'chestnut' 1291

(4)   /sp/ → [sp]
       la spalla 'the shoulder' 122, *spissə* 'often' 704, *spiɣa* 'clove' 1370, *sə spakka* 'it splits itself' 540, *la spríŋgula* 'the brooch' 1543, *la spina orsalə* 'the backbone' 132, *nə spəsatə* 'don't you get married?' 69

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2   As we already said, data of Sandonatese under (3) come from AIS: the original spellings are here broadly transliterated in IPA italics, the number after each item refers to the map of the Atlas; stress on non-penultimate syllables is noted by an acute accent over the vowel.

(5) /sk/ → [sk]

    skartafwoʎʎə 1466 'the husks of corn', *naskwoʃtə* 'hidden' 900, *paskwa* 'Easter' 777, *bɔskə* 'wood' 530

San Donato, 21st century (Cedrone 2010):

(6) /st/ → [ʃt]

    auʃtə 'August', *fɛʃta* 'feast', *vɛʃta* 'woman's dress', *nɔʃtra* 'our.FEM', *ʃteva* 'stayed.3SG', *ʃtjavə* 'you were', *ʃtrakkə* 'tired', *kwanəʃtrjeʎʎə* 'small basket'; exceptions: *stɔngə* 'I stay', *stə məmɛntə* 'this moment', *stɔ* 'I stay'

(7) /sp/ → [ʃp]

    aʃpɛttə 'wait', *aʃpəttá* 'to wait', *káʃpita* 'good heavens!', *mə ʃpəsjattə* 'I married', *nə ʃpartavamə* 'we parted' … *sə ʃpalla* 'it collapses, it crushes down', *sə ʃpərdí* '(she) went astray';
    exceptions: *mə so spəsata* 'I have married', *məʃteva a spəsá* 'I was going to marry', *nnə spósanə* 'they marry'

(8) /sk/ → [ʃk]

    sə nnaʃkunneva 'he hid', *paʃkwalinə* 'of Easter', *ʃkappjattə* 'burst.3SG', *ʃkappɛmmə* 'we ran away', *ʃkappá* 'to run away', *mə nə so ʃkɔ́rda* 'I forgot it', *ʃkarpa* 'shoe', *ʃkarpə* 'shoes';
    exception: *skola* 'it drips'

The results of the comparison between the data from AIS, dating back to twenties, and the present-day situation for Sandonatese may be summarized as follows (Table 9):

(9) evolution in Sandonatese:

about 1925: type 3	sp	[ʃt]	[sk]
2010: type 1	[ʃp]	[ʃt]	[ʃk]

Sandonatese developed in the last century from a situation of type 3, with /ʃt/ vs /sp sk/, to a generalized palatalization /ʃp ʃt ʃk/. As we said above, this kind of development in itself is almost irrelevant to our hypothesis about the rise of split patterns; however, it shows that /p/ and /k/ underwent the same change at the same time and under the same conditions, so giving our framework a mild historical corroboration—if not a strong structural one.

    A more interesting, complementary evolution is found in Cervaro, where the comparison is between the pioneering description by Maccarrone (1915)

and the recent investigation by Marsella (2010; cfr. also Lorenzetti and Marsella 2013). Already in 1915 the palatalization was almost regular for [ʃt], less frequent for [ʃp] and [ʃk].[3] Today it keeps regular in the former context [ʃt], while it has gone completely lost in the latter: cfr. *ʃkərpərə* 'shoemakers' 1915 vs *skorpárə* 2010, *rəʃkallá* 'to heat' 1915 vs *rəskalljávə* 'you heated' 2010, *ʃpirdə* 'spirit' 1915 vs *spirdə* 2010, etc.

(10)   evolution in Cervarese (light gray cells indicate regressive palatalization

1915: developing from type 1 to type 3	ʃp	[ʃt]	[ʃk]
2012: stabilized type 3	[sp]	[ʃt]	[sk]

The development in Cervarese strongly confirms the assumption that the crucial point in our question is the split treatment of /st/ on the one side, /sp sk/ on the other side. In order to explain this split we have firstly to recall, as a general caveat, that in the languages we are dealing with [s] and [ʃ] do not contrast phonemically when they immediately precede another consonant, either in the onset or in the coda of the syllable (lexical or syntagmatic). In that context, they are mere allophones of a single phoneme /s/: this is the case for all the examples referred above for Sandonatese and Cervarese, or for Neapolitan *špallə škalə* vs *stéllə* 'shoulder, ladder, star' referred by Rohlfs, *loc. cit.* (In many central and upper southern Italo-Romance varieties [s] and [ʃ] can also represent two distinct phonemes between vowels, as in Romanesco *'a cera* [aˈ ʃera] 'the wax' vs *'a sera* [aˈ sera] 'the evening': but here [ʃ] does not stand for an underlying /s/, but it is rather the frequent intervocalic weakened fricative realization of a postalveolar affricate /tʃ/.[4] A further possibility, namely the contrast between intervocalic /s/ and /ʃː/ as in standard Italian *cosa* [ˈkɔsa] 'thing' vs *coscia* [ˈkɔʃːa] 'thigh', is not entirely relevant to the matter, since in those dialects

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3   "Implicato con consonante seguente dà quasi *š*, specie con *t*: (Cass[ino]) *maeštrə, kištə, nuoštrə, maštə, frəšká, fiaškə*, similmente a Cervaro" (Maccarrone 1915: 19).

4   This phonetic type was already identified by the nineteenth century Roman poet G.G. Belli in the *Introduction* to his sonnets, to justify his choice to write *pasce, pesce* 'peace, pitch', with simple [ʃ], differently from *passce, pessce* 'graze.3sg, fish', with geminate [ʃː]. It affects nowadays the varieties of Italian spoken in Rome and Florence, cfr. Bertinetto and Loporcaro (2005: 135): "F[lorentine] I[talian] and R[oman] I[talian] also display deaffrication of intervocalic /tʃ/ (cf. *pace* [ˈpaːʃe] 'peace', *la cena* [la ˈʃeːna] 'the dinner' as opposed to S[tandard] I[talian] *pasce* [ˈpaʃːe] 'pasture.3sg', *la scena* [laˈ ʃːɛna] 'the scene' […])".

as in standard Italian the only possible realization of /ʃ/ between vowels is the intrinsic geminate [ʃː][5]).

4 The Phonological Problem and Some Tentative Solutions

We are thus faced with a subphonemic alternation, for which several explanations are possible, none of which entirely satisfactory. The first one is to consider the variation between [s] and [ʃ] as depending on the segmental context: the fundamental variant [s] of /s/ would turn to [ʃ] when it comes in contact with a given consonant. Unfortunately, an explanation based upon the notions of assimilation or dissimilation cannot account in one and the same way for all the manifestations of the phenomenon. Whatever analysis we give of the elements of the clusters, whatever feature we may choose in order to distinguish the one from the other with reference to the immediate context, none of these features could group together in a coherent way the first and the second segments of the clusters: /p t/ are [+anterior] vs /k/ [−anterior], /t/ is [+coronal] vs /p k/ [−coronal], [s] is [+coronal, +anterior], [ʃ] is [+coronal, −anterior]. So, there is no way to explain altogether through assimilation or dissimilation the occurrence of both the patterns 2 and 3 cited above. Let us now restrict to the feature [anterior], since the table in (11) shows that [coronal] is not significantly involved in the clusters dynamics.

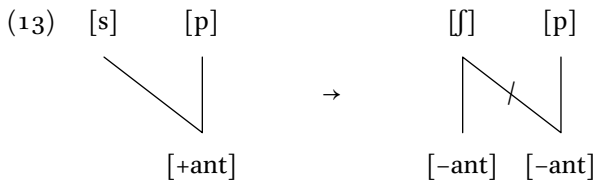| (11)	s p > ʃ p		s t > ʃ t		s k > ʃ k	
anterior	+ +	− +	+ +	− +	+ −	− −
coronal	+ −	+ −	+ +	+ +	+ −	+ −

Let us now look to the processes summarized under (12):

(12) /sp/ → [ʃp]: fricative /s/ **dissimilates** from the following /p/ for the feature [+anterior]
/st/ → [ʃt]: fricative /s/ **dissimilates** from the following /t/ for the feature [+anterior]
/sk/ → [ʃk]: fricative /s/ **assimilates** from the following /k/ for the feature [−anterior]

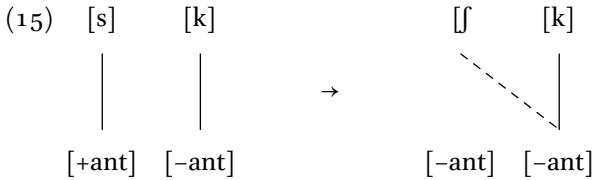5 Cfr. Bertinetto and Loporcaro (2005: 134).

We could of course explain together /sp/ → [ʃp] and /st/ → [ʃt] as instances of dissimilation for the feature [+anterior] that /s/ shares with both the following /p/ and /t/; but we know that no pattern displays palatalized [ʃp] and [ʃt] along with preserved [sk]. Similarly, if we (somewhat neglecting the commonly held assumption against the activity of negative features, a point on which we will return shortly[6]) would try to explain the realization /sk/ → [ʃk] as an assimilation of /s/ to /k/ for the negative value of the feature [−anterior], the same analysis still would not hold for /sp/ → [ʃp] nor for /st/ → [ʃt], since both /p t/ are of course marked as [+anterior]; and as we saw above at least one of the two [ʃp] or [ʃt] regularly co-occurrs with [ʃk].

Note that the difficulty is independent enough of the theoretical and descriptive framework. The distinctive features of [p t k] in the languages under investigation (perhaps in all languages where they phonemically contrast) seem substantially stable under a cross-theoretical point of view. For example, we would also try an analysis in terms of association and dissociation of features instead of assimilation and dissimilation processes, as in (13)–(15) below, but the involved features will remain substantially the same, so that an analysis in terms of the segmental context would probably fail to solve the problem. The same would hold if an element-based approach would be pursued, since any kind of palatalisation having a [ʃ] segment as its output would involve an active |I| element, which in turn is absent by definition from [k], leaving us with the problem of the rise of secondary [ʃk] clusters.[7]
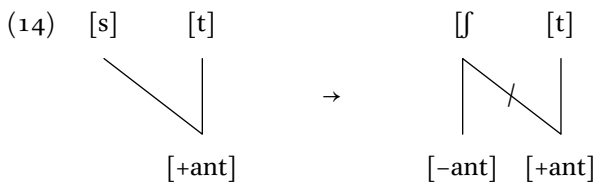
(13)   [s]   [p]   [ʃ]   [p]

                                    →

         [+ant]   [−ant]   [−ant]

(14)   [s]   [t]   [ʃ   [t]

                                    →

         [+ant]   [−ant]   [+ant]

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(15)   [s]   [k]   [ʃ]   [k]

       | | →   ` `. |
       | | ` `. |
       | | ` `. |

     [+ant]   [−ant]   [−ant]   [−ant]

Summing up, two results emerge from our analysis, albeit preliminary and partial. The first result is a negative one: the palatalizations under scrutiny cannot be fully accounted for by considering the phonological features of the contiguous segments, since the differences between these segments and their features seem to be irreducible to a homogeneous treatment. No unitary explanation of our phenomena seems at hand. All we can say is that [s] and [ʃ] are allophones, underspecified as to place features, which variably fill a sillabic slot. Both split patterns use this variation to distinguish between clusters with /t/ and clusters with /p k/, but the distinction manifests itself in two opposite and complementary ways: /st/ vs /ʃp ʃk/ in type 2, /ʃt/ vs /sp sk/ in type 3. To the best of our knowledge, the two patterns may have arisen following different phonological paths.

The second result concerns the general conditions of the phenomenon, with the clear emergence of a distinction between contexts with /t/ and contexts with /p k/ which is quite independent of its very phonetic manifestations. As is well known, there is cross-linguistic evidence for the fact that labial and velar consonants pattern together in many processes, so forming a natural class.[8] The grouping of /p k/ vs /t/ in terms of articulatory place features, with /t/ [+coronal] vs /p k/ [−coronal], would lead once again to the problem of a natural class whose members would share a purely negative feature; but the impasse can be overcome, even using articulatory features, by grouping labials and velars together under a unique [peripheral] feature, so making it possible to treat non-coronals as a group without having to resort to the negative feature [−coronal]. Otherwise, labials and velars can be grouped together in terms of acoustic features, positively marked as [+grave] vs coronals marked as [−grave]. Although the phonological theory has abandoned for decades this feature in favor of consistently articulatory features, there are many recent descriptions of Italian dialectal varieties that make productive use of the acoustic feature [+grave] (cfr Loporcaro 2001, Schirru 2007, 2008, 2013, Baglioni 2016), mainly

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8   Cfr. again Backley (2011: 80) for the change from Latin [kt], velar + coronal, to Rumanian [pt], labial + coronal, as in Lat. LACTE NOCTE PECTU OCTŌ turning to Rum. *lapte noapte piept opt* etc.

to explain phenomena which involve close interaction between consonantal and vocalic processes. Our data, on the contrary, does not display any effect of the vocalic context on the palatalization process, so that we should content ourselves with pointing out the relevance of the natural class [labial + velar], leaving the choice for one or the other solution to the results of further research.

5   Conclusions

Many Italian dialects display an apparently chaotic and fragmented kind of palatalization of /s/ plus consonant. This chaos can, however, be ordered and reduced to an overall scheme, based upon the distinction between clusters of the type /st/ and clusters of the type /sp sk/. The examination of a couple of upper southern varieties, Cervarese and Sandonatese, shows that the scheme is effective as a target in language diachrony. Some predictions are also made about the pattern of palatalization we could expect to find (or not to find) through further investigation in order to confirm the proposed hypothesis.

The phonological mechanism of the various types of palatalization cannot be satisfactorily explained by considering the phonological features of the segments involved. The patterns of the process are not reducible to a single scheme, nor any unitary explanation is at hand; however, it is very clear the relevance of a general partition of the second segments of the affected clusters, namely /t/ vs /p k/, whatever the phonological features (either articulatory or acoustic) one would choose to perform this partition.

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On the Gender System of Viterbese*

Michele Loporcaro

1 Introduction

In this paper, I will analyze grammatical gender in Viterbese, taking into account both the urban variety and the dialects spoken in the surrounding rural areas. While Viterbese has received its fair share of scholarly attention in all of its stages (cf. e.g. Bianconi 1961, Sgrilli 2003, Stussi 2003 on the medieval stage, and e.g. Urbani 1999, Galeotti and Nappo 2005, Petroselli 2009, among others, on the contemporary dialect), its gender system has not been subjected to systematic analysis so far. As I will show, this is a rewarding endeavor, in several respects. Synchronically, rural Viterbese exemplifies a gender system which diverges from the one found in standard Italian and the major Romance standard languages, in that gender agreement, due to a regular sound change discussed briefly in §2, has been fully neutralized in the plural (§3), giving rise to a convergent gender system (in Corbett's 1991: 155 terms). On the other hand, urban Viterbese (§4), presents a more intriguing situation, which must be understood, in view of its diachrony, as partially determined by contact with varieties endowed with more prestige, viz. Standard Italian and Romanesco. As I will argue, this system is interesting both synchronically, since it includes one gender value that—unusually for Romance—is defined in strictly semantic terms, and diachronically, since its rise is due to contact-pressure which resulted—unusually, compared with what is generally observed cross-linguistically when contact-induced change takes place—in complexification, rather than simplification, in the grammatical subsystem involved.

2   Phonetic Preconditions for the Viterbese Convergent Gender System

In central Italo-Romance there is a—nowadays discontinuous—area stretching from Arcevia (in the province of Ancona), to the north-east, down to Montalto di Castro, Vetralla and Barbarano Romano (in the province of Viterbo), to the south-west (cf. Merlo 1920: 234–235, Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2016: 240)—where sound change, i.e. the lowering of final unstressed *-i* (> *-e*), affected gender marking on several parts of speech as it brought about merger with inherited *-e*. (Recall that in Italo-Romance, *-i* vs *-e* are the exponents of M.PL vs F.PL agreement in the most frequently occurring inflectional classes hosting agreement targets.) In some dialects, the merger spares at least some determiners and/or the contrast is rescued by root vowel alternation, historically caused by metaphony, as exemplifed for the dialect of Certopiano di Arcevia (province of Ancona) in (1) (after Crocioni 1906: 31–32, 53):[1]

(1)		a. DEF		b. 'this'		c. 'this'		d. 'our'	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
	M	*l*	*i*	*sto*	*sti*	*kwisto*	*kwiste*	*nwostro*	*nwostre*
	F	*la*	*le*	*sta*	*ste*	*kwesta*	*kweste*	*nɔstra*	*nɔstre*

As seen in (1c–d), class one affixal inflections are merged, but metaphonic root vowel alternation signals gender also in the plural, whereas light (adnominal) proximal demonstratives ((1b)) and articles ((1a); cf. e.g. *i cummiente* 'the.M.PL monasteries(M)' vs *le rame* 'the.F.PL branches(F)', Crocioni 1936: 27), being unstressed, preserve the contrast in the final vowel which is treated as though it were pre-tonic.

This of course does not mean that the contrast is signalled everywhere, but crucially, it is signalled, at least on (some inflectional classes of) some lexical categories. This is what crucially distinguishes syncretism from neutralization (cf. Baerman et al. 2005: 2, 32): in the latter, no lexical category ever signals the

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1   Since the focus of the present paper is not on the phonetics, I report fieldwork data in a somewhat simplified IPA transcription, where stress is marked (as V́) only on non-paroxytonic words, geminates are noted [CC] instead of [C:], and palatal consonants are transcribed [š ž č ǧ] instead of [ʃ ʒ tʃ dʒ]. Data from dialect dictionaries, grammars, and text collections which use Italian orthography are quoted verbatim.

contrast. The occurrence, side by side, of different inflectional classes, some displaying syncretism(s), is illustrated in (2) with some adjectival paradimgs from another Marchigiano dialect characterized by a similar situation, that of Montelago di Sassoferrato (province of Ancona, cf. Balducci 1986: 258–287):[2]

(2)	a. 'good'		b. 'nice'		c. 'sweet'		d. 'green'	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
M	*bwoːno*	*bwoːne*	*bjello*	*bjejje*	*dolče*	*dulče*	*vɛrde*	*vɛrde*
F	*bɔːna*	*bɔːne*	*bɛlla*	*bɛlle*	*dolče*	*dulče*	*vɛrde*	*vɛrde*

Here again, either metaphony alone ((2a)) or a combination of metaphony and other changes affecting the stem ((2b)), compensate for the loss of contrast in final unstressed vowels; (2c–d), on the other hand, illustrate the loss of distinction in the absence of either.

In the central Italian area where /i/ > /e/ has occurred, convergent gender marking arises whenever determiners and pronouns, too, lose the contrast (unlike in (1)), and metaphony does not apply so that adjective paradigms are gender-levelled. This is the case in the part of this area west of the Tiber (in Umbria and northern Lazio). In the north-western half of Umbria, the change was undone in many dialects—especially urban ones, such as Perugino—under Tuscan influence (cf. Ugolini 1970: 477). Conversely, it was not yet established in Orvieto in the Middle Ages (cf. Bianconi 1962: 102), where it penetrates later (e.g. *e nostre maestre* 'DEF.PL our masters(M)', *e vostre denare* 'DEF.PL your money(M)' in an Orvietano text from 1537; cf. Palermo 1994: 77 f., 212). Modern Orvietano has a convergent system (as shown in (3b)), with full identity in plural determiners (*le kaːne* 'the dogs(M)' = *le koaːte* 'the clutches(F)', Moretti 1987: 133), adjectives (*bɔːno/-a/-e* 'good.M.SG/F.SG/PL', *AIS* 4.710, pt. 583 and Mattesini and Ugoccioni 1992: 79), and all the other agreement targets.[3]

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2 Note that in (2b) the M vs F.PL forms contrast not only in the metaphonic vowel alternation but also in the allomorphic alternation in the stem-final consonant, arisen as original /lli/ in the plural was palatalized (> /jji/). The environment for palatalization was then obscured by the lowering of the final vowel.

3 Other nearby dialects, though merging final -*i* with -*e* on most targets, still preserve the gender

(3)   a.   Tuscan (parallel)   >   b.   Orvietano (convergent)

        SG   PL   SG   PL

	SG	PL		SG	PL
M	-o	-i		-o	-e
F	-a	-e		-a	

3   The Convergent Gender System of Rural Viterbese

Like all dialects spoken west of the Tiber, Viterbese also lacks metaphony. Thus, in all the dialects of the province included in the area delimited above in §2 where i/ > /e/ has applied, an adjective like 'good', in the plural, has the form *bɔːne* for both the masculine and the feminine. This is a general situation, affecting all agreement targets, as exemplified in (4) for the dialect of Bolsena (province of Viterbo; cf. Casaccia and Tamburini 2005: 17–19):

(4)   a. *so   iːt-e   ko   le   miː-e   kuǧǧiːn-e*
       be.PRS.3PL gone-PL with DEF.PL 1SG-PL cousin(M/F)-PL
       'they (male or female) went with my cousins (male, female, or mixed)'

    b. *so   staːt-e   ess-e*
       be.PRS.3PL been-PL 3-PL
       'it's been them (male, female, or mixed)'

Here the article *le*, the pronoun *esse*, the adnominal possessive *miːe* and the participial agreement (-*e*) all signal plural number, not gender. The merger affects also noun inflection, as seen in *kuǧǧiːne* (contrast standard Italian *cugini* M vs *cugine* F); *le mi fijje* is either 'my sons' or 'my daughters' or 'my children', and so on.

    Within such a convergent system, unlike in parallel systems, there is of course no structural room for more than two gender values, and thus for a richer gender system of the kind discussed e.g. in Faraoni et al. (2013), Loporcaro et al. (2013), Loporcaro and Paciaroni (2011), Paciaroni et al. (2013) for several central and southern Italo-Romance varieties. Consider for instance the following data, from the dialect of Barbarano Romano (province of Viterbo), whose convergent system is exemplified in (5):

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contrast in the definite article: e.g. in rural Perugino (in Magione, Tuoro etc.), *i fjɔːle* 'the.M.PL
sons(M)' ≠ *le fjɔːle* 'the.F.PL daughters(M)' (Moretti 1973: 244, 300; Moretti 1987: 45).

(5)	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
M	*un bɛr*	*regattso*		'a beautiful boy'//
			kwi/le bbɛlle regattse	'those/the beautiful boys'
F	*nɛ: bbɛlla*	*regattsa*		'a beautiful girl'//
				'those/the beautiful girls'

In Barbaranese, nouns inflecting like Italian *braccio/-a* 'arm,-s', which select alternating agreement in the standard, have no choice but merge with masculines, though maintaining, at least variably, a distinctive *a*-inflection in the plural, which however just matters for inflectional class (henceforth) IC, not for gender, synchronically:

(6)	SG	PL	
	er de:t-o	*le de:t-a/-e*	'the finger'
	er va:k̭-o	*le va:k̭-a/-e*	'the grain/fruit/grape'
	ell ɔss-o loŋg-o	*ell ɔss-a/-e loŋg-e*	'the long bone'

The same system is observed for other rural Viterbese varieties spoken south, west and north of Viterbo: cf. De Montarone (2013: 249) on the dialect of Montefiascone; *l gatto/fašɔ:le* 'the cat/bean', plural *le gatte/fašɔ:le* (cf. also AIS 4.710, pt. 612, *bɔ:ne* 'good.PL', M = F); and Blasi (1983: 4) on that of Tarquinia: *l mi nɔnno/ka:ne* 'my grandfather/dog', plural *le mi nɔnne/ka:ne* (cf. also AIS 1.184, pt. 630, *grɔsse* 'big.PL', M = F). Data for Acquapendente are available from AIS pt. 603 1.184, *bɔ:ne* 'good.PL', M = F), data for Blera from Petroselli (2010: 319, 354, 403): e.g. *le su fijje maschje* 'DEF.PL his male.PL sons(M)', *le gnocche incotte* (literally) 'DEF.PL burnt.PL dumplings(M)', a kind of gnocchi, sg. *l gnocco* 'the.M.SG dumpling(M)', etc.

   These dialects are very close to the (Florentine-based) standard language, with which they coexist—like everywhere else in Italy—within the verbal repertoire. To an extent, a certain amount of similarity between Viterbese and Florentine has always been there, since the North-Western dialects of Latium shared a lot of characteristic isoglosses with Tuscan from the outset. Furthermore, this original similarity has been enhanced because of exposure to the influence of Romanesco, which is also very similar to Florentine, all the more

so, having been tuscanized from the fifteenth century on.[4] As for grammatical gender, Romanesco has today a binary parallel system like standard Italian (cf. (3a)).[5] As a product of this situation, in the local verbal repertoire in Viterbo one observes a smooth transition, rather than a sharp contrast, between the local dialect and the (Tuscan-based) standard language, which results in increasing convergence with Romanesco through on-going contact-induced change, observed particularly in the urban variety of Viterbo.

4 Urban Viterbese: From Convergent Back to Parallel

Let us consider modern urban Viterbese. Some grammars describe for the contemporary dialect a parallel system (e.g. Urbani 1999: 11–19):

(7) SG   PL

| *l fijj-o/prɛːt-e* | *li fijj-e (miːi)/prɛːt-e* | 'the/my.M son(M)/priest(M)-SG/PL' |
| *la fijj-a/dɔnn-a* | *le fijj-e (miːe)/dɔnn-e* | 'the/my.F daughter(F)/woman(F)-SG/PL' |

As seen in (7), the effects of the sound change *-i > -e* appear on masculine plural nouns, but not on determiners, so that gender agreement marking is

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4 The influence of Romanesco on Viterbese, which was spoken in a town that was for centuries under the temporal rule of the Papacy, started in the Middle Ages at a time when Romanesco was not yet tuscanized (cf. Stussi 2003: 536) to then continue till today. Cf. e.g. Trifone (1992: 46–49, 81) and D'Achille (2002: 530) for a list of the areas/phenomena where this influence unfolded itself, such as the introduction into Viterbese of metaphonic diphthongs. In the Middle Ages, this first brought about an increase in structural distance between Viterbese and Tuscan (which for instance has no metaphonic diphthongs), seen in several other features like e.g. the replacement of Romanesco *-aro* for Tuscan *-ajo* (< Latin -ARIUS), a suffix originally showing, in Viterbo too, the distinctively Tuscan outcome -RI̯- > [j]. But after this, since the 16th century, the linguistic prestige of Rome became a vehicle of Tuscanization. As for the standardizing pressure from Italian observed today, all Italo-Romance dialects are exposed to it (cf. e.g. Loporcaro 2013: 177).

5 Old Romanesco, on the other hand, had a more complex gender system until the 16th century, with masculine, feminine and two alternating genders, the first an outcome of the Latin neuter and the second arisen via an innovation which Romanesco shares with a few dialects of Central and Southern Italy (cf. Formentin and Loporcaro 2012).

unaffected. Other sources, though, report masculine plural article *le*, rather than *li*, homophonous with the feminine: e.g. *le ka:ne* 'the.PL dogs(M)' in Galeotti and Nappo (2005: 45). This indicates a convergent gender system, which indeed became gradually established in Viterbo during the late Middle Ages. In fact, while according to Bianconi (1962: 102) the change is not observed in the medieval corpus he analyzed, some examples do occur in the 14th century texts edited by Sgrilli (2003: 16) and analyzed by Di Carlo (2015): (The examples in (8) are drawn from the *Statuti della confraternita dei disciplinati di San Lorenzo*, AD 1345.)

(8)   a. *p(er) tutt-i l'eretici e scismatici, ke Dio l-e traia d'on(n)e e(r)ore e reduca= l-e al nome della s(an)c(t)a matre Ecclesia*
      'for all heretics(M) and schismatics(M), may God take them-PL out of all error(s) and bring them-PL back to the name of the Holy Mother Church'
   b. *tutt-i l-i iudei, che l-e traga d'onne errore*
      'all-M.PL the-M.PL Jews(M), may God take them-PL out of all error(s)'
   c. *tutt-i l-i pagani, che Dio l-e traga d'on(n)e errore*
      'all-M.PL the-M.PL pagans(M), may God take them-PL out of all error(s)'
   d. *tutte q(ue)lle anime [...] conduca=l-e a vita eterna*
      'all those-F.PL souls(F), may God bring them-⟨F.⟩PL to eternal life'

(8d) exemplifies feminine plural agreement, which is stable on both the determiner (*quelle*) and the pronominal clitic (*le*). However, in glossing the latter, the gender specification has been put in angled brackets (to indicate its optionality) because of comparison with (8a–c), where clitics resuming masculine plural nouns are non-distinct from the feminine *le* (and consequently mark only number, not gender), while agreement targets within the noun phrase still show an *i*-ending masculine plural form, contrasting with the feminine. An in-depth analysis is needed, though from these preliminary results it seems as though the neutralization seen today in (4)–(6) may have started in the pronominal system, to then spread so as to make gender agreeement fully convergent.

Today's urban Viterbese, as seen in (7), is sometimes reported not to show this neutralization, but there are varieties of the urban dialects that do. There is one part of town, viz. Pianoscarano, which, by the unanimous judgement of the locals, today preserves the most typical and conservative dialect. The dictionary by Petroselli (2009: 289), based on data collected with a 1900-born farmer from Pianoscarano, reports free variation between parallel and convergent gender agreement, as exemplified from one and the same entry (*fijjo* 'son, child') in

(9), where distinctively masculine (*-i*) and convergent plural agreeing forms (*-e*) vary freely with masculine controllers:

(9) a. *le tu fijje*, i tuoi figli, le tue figlie | *le su fijje*, m. e f. | *fijje mie*!, figli miei! | *salute e ffijje màschje*! (espr. di augurio a chi starnuta) [...] *fijje ciuche guae ciuche, fijje granne guae granne* [...] *sémo tutte fijje de Ddio* ['your sons = your daughters | his/her sons = his/her daughters, M and F | my children! | blessing and may you have male children (i.e., bless you, addressing one who sneezes) [...] small children small problems, big children big problems [...] we are all God's children'];

   b. *mórti fijji pòrtono pruvidènza* [...] *co li fijji ce vò amóre e ttimóre* | *fijji e ppólli spòrcano casa* | *li fijji sò ccóme li fióri: prèsto s'ammalano, prèsto ripìjjano* ['many children are an insurance [...] with children you need love and fear | children and chicken untidy your home | children are like flowers: they soon get ill and soon recover']

Viterbese is now part of an area which, as shown in (4)–(5), has a categorically convergent system: the dialects of Barbarano Romano, Blera, Tarquinia, Montefiascone and Bolsena (mentioned above) form an arc south, west and north of Viterbo. The convergent system for this area is already documented in the AIS data with three datapoints, reflecting the competence of informants born around the mid 19th century: the informant for Acquapendente (pt. 603) was born in 1844, the informant for Tarquinia (pt. 630) in 1851, the informant for Montefiascone (pt. 612) in 1870 (Jaberg and Jud 1928: 139–142).

Given this areal distribution, it seems a priori probable that, among the agreement options in free variation in (9), *le* (convergent) is the conservative one, and *li* (masculine plural) is an innovation. This is confirmed by the (admittedly few) data provided by Papanti's (1875: 406) one-page translations of Boccaccio's *Decameron* 1.9, whose Viterbese version has no instances of distinct masculine vs feminine plural agreement: *certe malféreente* [*sic*] 'some.PL bandits(M)', *le tuorte dill'altre* 'the.PL wrongs(M) of [= done to] other people', *le tuorte aricieute, chi mò suò fatte* 'the.PL wrongs(M) received.PL, which now are done.PL' (cf. sg. *qualche tuorto ariciûto* 'some wrong(M) received.M.SG'), indistinct from *le nuoce* 'the.PL nuts(F)'. Since the other versions collected by Papanti (1875: 387–396) for the towns of Acquapendente, Grotte di Castro, and San Lorenzo Nuovo show the same situation, nothing speaks against the assumption that urban Viterbese around the mid 19th century displayed a convergent system like the surrounding dialects,[6] which have kept it unmodified until now

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6 No information is available on the age of the data provider for that area, but Giovanni

((4)–(6)), while in Viterbese free variation is reported for the dialect of the generation born around 1900 (cf. (9)).

I carried out fieldwork in Pianoscarano in November 2014 with three informants (born between 1945 and 1970), whose answers are summarized in (10) (glosses on controllers and agreement targets in (10a–b) are omitted, for reasons to be explained directly):

(10) a. *le/ste f ašɔːle/ fɔːke sɔ*   'the/these beans/fireworks'
          bbɔːne/-i*
     b. *sti/*ste bbɔːi/*-e sɔ bbɔːni/*-e*   'these oxen are good'
     c. *sti/*ste fijji/*-e sɔ ččuːki/*-e*   'these children(M)/sons(M) are
                                               small.M.PL'
     d. *ste/*sti fijje/*-i sɔ ččuːke/*-i*   'these daughters(F) are small.F.PL'
     e. *le/ste sarčičče sɔ bbɔːne/*-i*   'the/these.F.PL sausages(F) are
                                               good.F.PL'

Comparison with (9) is revealing. Pianoscaranese (like all of urban Viterbese) must have had a fully convergent system at an earlier stage, which became variable in the competence of informants born around 1900 (see (9)) when masculine plural agreement (*-i*) was reintroduced due to contact pressure from Romanesco and the standard language. From (contact-induced) variation in (9), a functional contrast has developed, as exhibited in the competence of my informants, who retain plural endings which are not distinct from the feminine only on and with masculine nouns denoting inanimates ((10a)) like *f ašɔːle* or *fɔːke* (sg. *l f ašɔːlo/ fɔːko*) whereas *-i* for animates like *l bɔː(v)o/fijjo* 'the.M ox(M)/son(M)' in (10b–c) has become categorical.[7] For animals and humans, thus, there is a sharp, sex-related, contrast, as exemplified with (10c) vs (10d). The human feminine occurring in the latter example (*la fijja* 'the.F daughter(F)') takes feminine plural agreement, in the usual way, just like an inanimate such as *la sarčička* 'the.F sausage(F)' in (10e).[8]
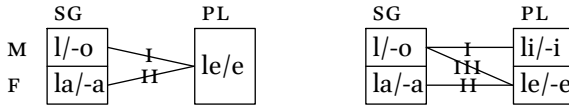
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7   Of course, this does not exclude that there may be still more conservative speakers preserving the earlier systems exemplified in (9). During a fieldwork session in Pianoscarano in April 2015, Miriam Di Carlo, whom I thank, was able to record the son of the informant whose competence is reflected in (9): apparently, that speaker still regards *le* with human masculine plurals as acceptable.

8   This is the only change, relevant for the gender system, observed in the data: thus, apart from the rise of the semantic assignment rule just described, there is no reason to assume

Thus, the [±animacy] contrast has served as an attractor, polarizing previous free variation and giving rise to a partially semantic system. In fact, the whole gender system has been reshaped, as illustrated in (11) with agreement exponents from the definite article and class one adjectives:

(11) a. rural Viterbese/   > b. today's Pianoscaranese
          earlier Pianoscaranese

	SG	PL
M	l/-o	le/e
F	la/-a	(I / II)

	SG	PL
M	l/-o	li/-i
F	la/-a	le/-e

(a. masculine/feminine singular l/-o, la/-a converge into plural le/e via I and II; b. l/-o, la/-a split into li/-i and le/-e via I, III, II)

When *le fijje* for 'the sons', still optionally available for the two-generation older Pianoscaranese in (9), ceased to be grammatical, the convergent system (still occurring, in the rural Viterbese of Barbarano, Montefiascone etc., see (5)) has definitively become, again, a parallel system where a feminine (target and controller) gender (II) of the usual, non-semantically motivated, Romance (and Indo-European) type contrasts with a masculine gender (I). However, this masculine gender is strictly motivated semantically (like in, say, Tamil, Burushaski, or English), in a way unusual for Romance, since it hosts exclusively nouns denoting animate males. The rest of the noun lexemes which belonged to the masculine in Proto-(Italo-)Romance and synchronically a) denote inanimate entities, and b) are not feminine form now an alternating gender (III), i.e., a gender signalled on agreement targets by markers which are all syncretic with some other gender value. This situation has been variously labelled in the literature, as one in which the number of controller genders exceeds that of target genders (Corbett's 1991: 150–152), or as one in which the system includes a 'dependent target gender' (Corbett 1991: 164).[9]

In sum, the change now illustrated for Urban Viterbese provides a nice example of how contact-induced morphological and morphosyntactic change, affecting in this case both noun inflection and gender agreement, may cause complexification, not only simplification of the grammar.[10] Paradoxically

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that Viterbese gender assignment differs from Standard Italian for any other aspect of importance in the present connection: here too, as in Italian, the feminine gender has a semantic nucleus (cf. feminine assignment to nouns denoting females in (10d)), and here too, formal assignment rules such as those described for Standard Italian by Thornton (2003; 2009) are at work, with the difference that non-feminines denoting inanimates whose singular ends in -*o* are assigned to the third gender.

9   The latter also labelled "non-autonomous gender value" (in Corbett 2011: 459–460).

10   The latter is indeed more often the case cross-linguistically.

enough, a binary system (11a) has turned more complex developing into the three-gender system (11b) due to contact pressure from another binary system, that of Standard Italian/Romanesco. This shows that the contrast between a parallel and a convergent system matters, as the mismatches in assignment between the two can lead to interference in bi-dialectal speakers and, eventually, to contact-induced change.

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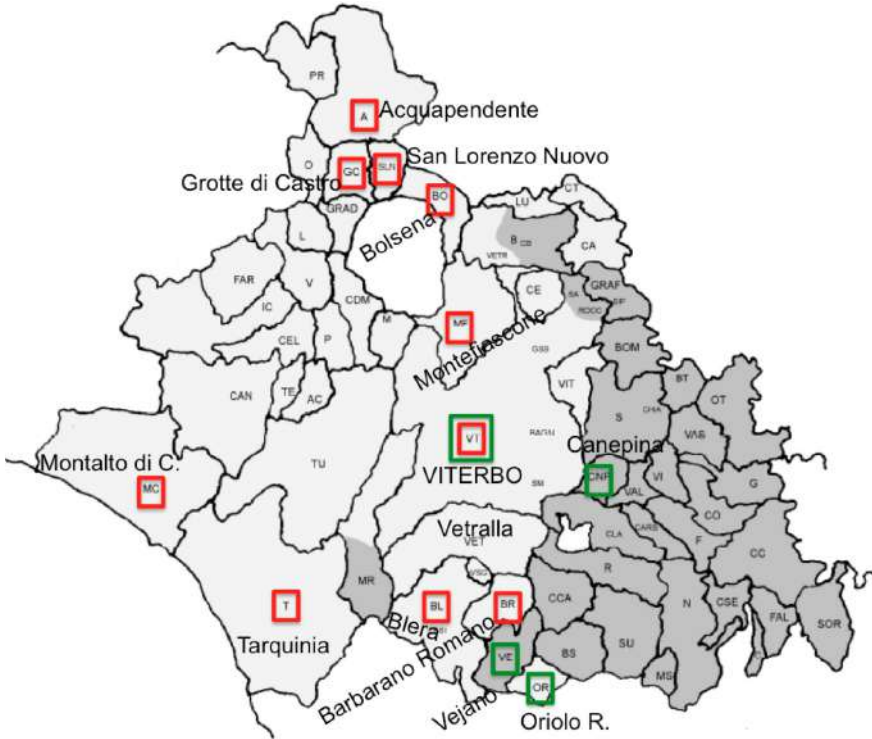
FIGURE 5.1   *The map shows the dialects of the province of Viterbo mentioned in the text (green square = convergent gender system; red square = parallel gender system). In the original map in the background (after Cimarra and Petroselli 2008: 25), lighter gray indicates merger of Proto-Romance final -/e/ and -/i/ into -/e/, while darker gray indicates preservation of the contrast.*

Indefinite Determiners: Variation and Optionality in Italo-Romance*

Anna Cardinaletti and Giuliana Giusti

1   Introduction

The expression of indefiniteness presents a wide degree of variation across languages. In addition to indefinite quantifiers such as *alcuni* 'some' or pseudo-partitive constructions such as *un po' di* 'a bit of', Italo-Romance varieties present at least five types of indefinite determiners that can combine with mass or plural nouns. Interestingly, more than one of these determiners may be available in one and the same variety, producing a certain degree of optionality and / or a fine-grained distinction in the semantics of indefiniteness.

In this paper, we concentrate on the most wide-spread forms of indefinite determiners, claiming that they are variants of one and the same syntactic structure. Assuming with Abney (1987) that the highest portion of the nominal structure (DP) includes two positions, a specifier (SpecDP) and a head (D), we take the indefinite operator, which provides the indefinite semantics, to occur in SpecDP, while the head D is specified for the gender and number features of the nominal projection. Both positions may be overt or covert. The indefinite operator can be realized by the uninflected form *di*, while the head D can be realized by the same form as the definite article. The option of filling either position with an overt or covert element gives rise to four different forms: the zero determiner, indefinite bare *di*, the so-called "partitive determiner" *di*+article, or the use of the definite article as indefinite determiner.

We first show that in Italian, optionality is in some cases apparent, giving rise to subtle semantic differences. In particular, we show that in Italian, overt

di+art with singular mass nouns is restricted to narrow scope interpretation, unlike *di*+art with plural count nouns, which may have wide or narrow scope interpretation. We then focus on the lesser studied central Italian dialect of Ancona, which provides further evidence for the different scope properties of indefinite mass vs. plural count nouns.

The rest of the paper is devoted to a preliminary review of the cross-linguistic data reported by three AIS maps, namely 1037 "if there was water", 1343 "to go to the cellar to take wine", and 637 "to go and look for violets".[1] Although AIS was mainly collected to report lexical choices, the three maps set two mass nouns "water" and "wine" and one count plural nouns "violets" in postverbal position in non-veridical contexts, which facilitate (despite not univocally forcing) indefinite non-specific narrow scope. This will allow us to have a general picture of the realization of the core notion of indefiniteness in Italo-Romance varieties at the beginning of the past century.[2] The results of this preliminary study will make us raise questions on variation and optionality to be answered by future empirical work.

2   Six Types of Indefinite Determiners in Italo-Romance

In many languages, the morphosyntactic ways to express indefiniteness sort singular count nouns apart from singular mass and plural count nouns. In this section, we provide an overview of the many indefinite determiners found in Italian and Italo-Romance dialects, starting with indefinite singular individuals and proceeding with the multifaceted ways to express indefinite mass and indefinite pluralities.

2.1   *Indefinite Singular un(o) / una*
Italian and its dialects have an indefinite determiner *un(o)/una* which occurs with singular count nouns as in (1a) (cf. AIS: 533 "a tree"; 181 "a handsome man") and never appears with mass nouns (1b):

(1)   a. *Ho raccolto   una violetta.*
          [I] have picked a   violet

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1   We have consulted the AIS maps with NavigAIS, Tisato (2009).

2   The paper will not discuss indefinites in preverbal subject position because this position triggers different scope properties of nominal expressions and interacts in a complex way with the form of the determiner.

  b. *Ho raccolto*   (**un*) *fieno.*
     [I] have harvested (*a)   hay

The indefinite determiner *un(o)/una* is homophonous to the numeral quantifier/adjective, from which it grammaticalized.[3] Italo-Romance does not display the plural of *uno/a* (2a) unlike Spanish (2b) and partially unlike Romanian (2c), where the indefinite accusative determiner *nişte* is uninflected and can only occur in direct case (accusative here); the same determiner in the dative is realized as *un*+dative plural features:

(2) a. **Ho raccolto une violette.*

     b. *He recogito   unas   violetas.*
        [I] have picked one.FEM.PL. violets

     c. *Le-am dat   nişte   violete unor   fete.*
        [I] CL.DAT have given one.ACC violets one.DAT.PL. girls

2.2 *The Zero Determiner*
In Italian, as well as many dialects in the North and the South of Italy, there is a zero determiner which occurs with both indefinite singular mass nouns such as "hay" and indefinite plural count nouns such as "violets" in (3b), but never with indefinite singular count nouns (3a), which require the overt indefinite article as in (1a):

(3) a. **Ho raccolto   violetta.*
        [I] have picked violet

     b. *Ho raccolto   fieno, ho raccolto   violette.*
        [I] have harvested hay,   [I] have picked violets

2.3 *The Definite Article*
In Italian and very many dialects all over the country, a definite article before singular mass and plural count nouns can be interpreted as indefinite (cf.

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3 For reasons of space we will not substantiate here our view of the much richer structure of QPs, which we take to embed a DP in all cases. For this we refer the reader to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006, 2017).

Rohlfs 1968:119; Renzi 1997: 163). The sentences in (4b) can be completely synonymous to (3b), in which "hay" and "violets" are indefinite. They are of course ambiguous with the definite interpretation if the context allows for it. (For disambiguating contexts, cf. Section 4.1 below.) Singular count nouns as in (4a) can instead only have the interpretation of a definite flower which has already been introduced in the discourse:

(4) a. *Ho raccolto   la   violetta.*
        [I] have picked the violet
                         (only acceptable with definite interpretation)

     b. *Ho raccolto il fieno,   ho raccolto   le violette.*   (ambiguous)
        [I] have harvested the hay, [I] have picked the violets

2.4   Bare *di*

In some north-western varieties (Piedmont), bare *di* 'of' may signal indefiniteness on singular mass nouns, such as "water", and plural count nouns, such as "violets". Indefinite singular count nouns are not reported in the literature to appear with bare *di*, thus we suppose that they never do in any variety:

(5) a. *sei   fyse d'aqua*   (Piedmontese; Berruto 1974: 57);
        if there was   DI water

     b. *anda sarkà   d viulatte*   (AIS 637, 153 Giaveno (Turin))
        to-go to-pick DI violets

Bare *di* with singular mass and plural count is also possible in Tuscany, provided that the noun is modified by a prenominal adjective (6) (from Rohlfs 1968: 117):

(6) a. *di bon   vino*
        DI good wine

     b. *di belle patate*
        DI nice potatoes

2.5   *Di+art*

Italian and many dialects in the North of Italy, including Emilia and northern Tuscany, have the so-called "partitive" determiner formed with *di* combined

with the definite article. This again apparently unifies singular mass and plural count nouns (7b) setting them apart from singular count nouns (7a):[4]

(7) a. *Ho raccolto   una /*della violetta.*
        [I] have picked a / DI-art violet

     b. *Ho raccolto   del fieno,   ho raccolto   delle violette.*
        [I] have picked DI-art hay, [I] have picked DI-art violets

2.6   Certo/a, Certi/e

In standard Italian and most dialects, the adjective "certain" can appear in indefinite expressions adding the meaning of "specific indefiniteness". With singular count nouns, it must be preceded by the indefinite determiner, as in (8a). With singular mass and plural count nouns, it is in complementary distribution with indefinite *di*+art (8b). This may suggest that it has grammaticalized into an indefinite determiner specialized for indefinite mass and plural. Alternatively, it could be analysed as an adjective in both (8a) and (8b), which can however only occur with a null determiner in case of mass and plural nouns (a null determiner is independently ungrammatical with singular count nouns, as shown in (3a)):

(8) a. **(un) certo   ragazzo*
          a   certain boy

     b. *(*della) certa   roba, (*dei) certi   ragazzi*
                  certain stuff   certain boys

Unlike (8b), in some southern Italian dialects, *certo/certi* with mass and plural nouns, as in (9), has the genuine meaning of an indefinite determiner with no additional semantic or pragmatic feature:

(9) a. *s'era corcato   mmiezo a ccerto fieno*   (Neapoletan; Rohlfs 1968: 118)
        [he] was lying on   some   hay

     b. *certi   kundi*   (Avezzano; Giammarco 1979: 141)
        some stories

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4   In the complex form *del*, the vowel [e] appears instead of [i] for reasons that are not relevant here.

The grammaticalized indefinite determiner *certo* is restricted to some parts of Southern Italy (also cf. Ledgeway 2009). Note that it is not reported at any point of the three AIS maps analyzed here.

3   The Proposal

The data so far show that the expression of singular count indefinites is constant: the overt determiner derived from the numeral "one" is found throughout the Peninsula and never co-varies with any other determiner. Notably, unlike what is found in the plural, it does not co-vary with the definite article. In other words, the definite article in the singular count is never ambiguous with indefinite interpretation.

Variation mainly regards singular mass and plural count nouns, which at first sight behave in parallel. On a par with *un/uno*, the form *certo/certi* in (9) can also be taken as the reanalysis of an indefinite quantifier into an indefinite determiner.[5] As it is rather different from the other types, and not documented at all in AIS, we do not discuss it any further here.

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5 Another possible instance of a quantifier reanalyzed as an indefinite determiner is *due* (lit. 'two') occurring with morphologically plural "mass / collective" nouns, such as *spinaci* 'spinach', *spaghetti* 'spaghetti', *fagioli* 'beans', etc., as in (i):

(i)   *Mangiamo due spinaci.*
        let's eat   two spinach

In this function, *due* does not display the typical behaviour of a quantifier but of a determiner. According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006, 2017), this can be tested by *ne*-extraction and co-occurrence with the partitive PP, which are possible with quantifiers but not with determiners. As shown in (ii), both properties are absent with indefinite *due*:

(ii)   a. **Di spinaci,   ne abbiamo mangiati due.*
             of spinach [we] NE have   eaten   two
        b. **Mi dia   due di quegli spinaci.*
             let me have two of those   spinach

We analyze the instance of *due* reported in AIS 637 as an indefinite determiner parallel to *due* in (i):

(iii)   *du viole bambele*, 590 Porto S. Stefano (Grosseto)

An anonymous reviewer reports that in southern Italian dialects, sentences like (ii) are acceptable, even more so if *due* is reduplicated. In our perspective, this may be analysed as showing that in those dialects, where the indefinite determiner is non-overt, *due* is a true quantifier meaning 'some'. We leave this issue to future research.

In the rest of the paper, we concentrate on the most common indefinite determiners for mass and plural seen in 2.2–2.5 above, namely zero determiner, definite article, bare *di*, and *di*+art. We hypothesize that these four types are realizations of one and the same structure, where either the specifier or the head of the DP, or both, or neither are realized, as in Table (10):

(10)	Spec	Head		
a.	o	o	vino	violette
b.	o	il	il vino	le violette
c.	di	o	di vino	di violette
d.	di	il	del vino	delle violette

In (10a) and (10b), we suggest that the indefinite determiner is zero, and the nominal features in D may be covert or overt. This hypothesis is based on Giusti (2002, 2015), who analyses the definite article as a dummy that realizes the functional features associated with N (e.g., number and gender), generally void of semantic features. This explains why what is usually called the definite article is also possible in indefinite noun phrases.[6]

The element *di* in (10c) and (10d) is homophonous to the genitive preposition *di* 'of' (and certainly diachronically derives from it, cf. Carlier and Lamiroy 2014, Luraghi and Kittilä 2014). According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2015b, 2016), indefinite *del* in (10d) is composed of the indefinite determiner *di* in SpecDP and the realization of nominal features (e.g., gender and number) in D. They support this proposal showing that *del* displays the same morphosyntactic behavior as the distal demonstrative *quel* 'that' and the prenominal adjective *bel* 'nice', which occur in specifier positions. We extend this analysis to (10c), by taking *di* as the indefinite determiner in SpecDP co-occurring with zero morphology in D. Thus, in (10c) and (10d), the features in D may also be covert or overt parallel to (10a) and (10b), respectively.

The existence of the four forms can be captured as the interaction of a micro-parameter and a nano-parameter in the sense of Biberauer and Roberts (2012).

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6   We do not take stand here on the position of the indefinite singular count determiner. In our system, it could be taken as an inflected determiner in SpecDP, which never needs to co-occur with overt features in the D head.

More precisely, the micro-parameter regards whether the head D must be realized or remain silent when combined with an indefinite determiner sitting in its specifier. The nano-parameter, instead, regards the lexical realization of the indefinite determiner as *di* or zero.

In what follows, we discuss how this structural proposal can provide an insight into the wide variation in the occurrence of the four forms in Italian and Italo-Romance dialects.

4   Optionality or Specialization for Different Indefinite Meanings

In this section, we highlight how different coexisting forms may give rise to partial optionality and partial specialization for different nuances of indefiniteness. We first discuss the variation found in Italian. We then move on to a lesser studied central Italian dialect, namely the dialect of Ancona, which presents some differences but also confirms an observation that had undergone unnoted, namely that indefinite mass nouns introduced by *di*+art can only have narrow scope.

4.1   *Italian*

As observed in Section 2, Italian has three ways to express indefiniteness (apart from quantifiers): the zero determiner, the definite article with indefinite interpretation, and *di*+art, as exemplified in (11):

(11) a. *Ho bevuto   vino. / Ho raccolto   violette.*   zero determiner
        [I] have drunk wine / [I] have picked violets

   b. *Ho bevuto   il vino.   / Ho raccolto   le violette.*   definite article
        [I] have drunk the wine / [I] have picked the violets

   c. *Ho bevuto   del vino.   / Ho raccolto   delle violette.*   *di*+art
        [I] have drunk DI-art wine / [I] have picked DI-art violets

The choice among the options in (11) is not completely free: different subkinds of indefiniteness interact with the aspect of the event. The zero determiner in (11a) is only compatible with a non-telic event; the definite article as in (11b) is ambiguous between definite and indefinite meaning; *di*+art as in (11c) triggers indefinite meaning with an added notion of small quantity.

We can exemplify the three different readings with the following narrative. Let's assume we spent the day at Poveglia, an uninhabited island of the Venice

lagoon where grass and blackberries grow wildly. The zero determiner in (12) is incompatible with a PP such as "in an hour" requiring a telic event. The definite article in (13) is also ungrammatical with indefinite interpretation if the event is telic (the sentence is grammatical in the irrelevant definite interpretation of the definite article—all the grass, or all the blackberries present in the island, as indicated by the symbol #). The indefinite interpretation of the definite article is only preserved in (13) with the PP "for an hour" (the definite reading is irrelevantly possible in this case, too). Finally, *di*+art in (14) is compatible with telicity, in the sense that the event has the result of mowing an indefinite small quantity of grass or picking an indefinite number of blackberries. With non-telic events, this interpretation appears to be less acceptable, although not completely ungrammatical:

(12) a. *Ho tagliato   erba (*in un'ora) / (per un'ora).*
        [I] have mowed grass in an hour   / for an hour
        'I mowed grass for an hour'.

   b. *Ho raccolto   more   (*in un'ora) / (per un'ora).*
        [I] have picked blackberries in an hour   / for an hour
        'I picked blackberries for an hour.'

(13) a. *Ho tagliato   l'erba   (#in un'ora) / (per un'ora).*
        [I] have mowed the grass in an hour   / for an hour
        'I mowed grass for an hour.'

   b. *Ho raccolto   le more   (#in un'ora) / (per un'ora).*
        [I] have picked the blackberries in an hour   / for an hour
        'I picked blackberries for an hour.'

(14) a. *Ho tagliato   dell'erba   (in un'ora) / (??per un'ora).*
        [I] have mowed DI-art grass in an hour / for an hour

   b. *Ho raccolto   delle more   (in un'ora) / (??per un'ora).*
        [I] have picked DI-art blackberries in an hour / for an hour

The data in (12)–(14) suggest that although the different forms tend to specialize for different interpretations, a certain area of overlap persists; namely, the indefinite interpretation of the zero determiner (12) and of the definite article in (13) in non-telic contexts. This overlap is present in a high, standardized register. The optionality dissolves if we consider colloquial registers of Italian

that are more subject to contact with the local dialect, as some preliminary inquiries suggest. For example, in the colloquial Italian spoken in the Center, in contact with dialects where bare nouns are ungrammatical (cf. 4.2 below), the definite article is strongly preferred. On the contrary, in the colloquial Italian spoken in Sicily, in contact with dialects where bare nouns are fully used (cf. 5 below), the zero determiner is strongly preferred. Similarly, we expect different judgments of (14) by the speakers of those varieties where *di*+art is the most common way of expressing indefiniteness (cf. 5 below).

It has already been noted that standard varieties manifest more grammatical options than local varieties. According to Egerland (2009), this may be captured in terms of coexisting grammars, in the sense of Kroch (1989). Native competence of a standard / prestigious / national language is the sum of the grammars of the different registers as well as local varieties of that language. The variation vs. optionality discussed here goes in this direction, showing that in the presence of competing forms, speakers' preferences are more or less influenced, according to different registers, by contact with the local variety.

Another semantic difference among the three Italian options in (11) has to do with their scope properties. The three determiners all allow narrow scope with respect to negation, but they differ with respect to wide scope. Bare nouns only have narrow scope (15).[7] This is also true of the indefinite interpretation of the definite article in (16), as wide scope with the definite article in (16b) forces definite interpretation (again signaled by the symbol #). *Di*+art has instead ambiguous scope (17);[8] the indefinite interpretation is indeed maintained in (17b):

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7 The imperfect tense in the *perché* clause in (15b) ensures that the subject is interpreted as referential and as such it should force a wide scope interpretation of *ragazzi* 'boys' in the main clause. If the causal clause were in the present tense, its subject could be interpreted as generic and therefore compatible with the narrow scope interpretation of *ragazzi*, as is indeed the case (we thank an anonymous reviewer for raising the question):

(i)   *Non ho invitato   ragazzi alla festa   perché   (i ragazzi) sono antipatici.*   ¬∃
       [I] did not invite boys   at the party, because boys   are   obnoxious

8 In this respect, *di*+art differs from true quantifiers like *alcuni* 'some', which only allow for wide scope:

(i)   a.   **Non ho invitato   alcuni ragazzi alla festa   ma solo ragazze.*   *¬∃
            [I] did not invite some boys   at the party, but only girls

       b.   *Non ho invitato   alcuni ragazzi alla festa   perché erano   antipatici.*   ∃¬
            [I] did not invite some boys   at the party, because [they] were obnoxious

(15) a. *Non ho invitato   ragazzi alla festa   ma solo ragazze.   ¬∃
         [I] did not invite boys   at the party, but only girls

   b. *Non ho invitato   ragazzi alla festa   perché   erano
       [I] did not invite boys   at the party, because [they] were
       antipatici.   *∃¬
       obnoxious

(16) a. *Non ho invitato   i ragazzi alla festa   ma solo (delle / le)*
         [I] did not invite the boys at the party, but only (DI-art / the)
         ragazze.   ¬∃
         girls

   b. *#Non ho invitato   i ragazzi alla festa   perché erano*
        [I] did not invite the boys at the party, because [they] were
        antipatici.   #∃¬
        obnoxious

(17) a. *Non ho invitato   dei ragazzi alla festa,   ma solo (delle) ragazze.*
         [I] did not invite DI-art boys at the party, but only DI-art girls

                                                                             ¬∃

   b. *Non ho invitato   dei ragazzi alla festa   perché erano*
       [I] did not invite DI-art boys at the party, because [they] were
       antipatici.   ∃¬
       obnoxious

The Italian data thus show that the zero determiner and the definite article pattern most similarly and unlike *di*+art. This is expected in our proposal in (10), where the former have a zero indefinite determiner in SpecDP and only differ in morpho-syntactic terms, the definite article being overt concord for gender and number on D.[9] It is also expected under our hypothesis that in

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9 We leave the question open why exactly saliency should trigger feature realization in D. One may hypothesize that the overt features give some kind of discourse anaphoric flavor to the DP. Another possibility is that Italian has two indefinite zero determiners in SpecDP, the one endowed with saliency requiring feature realization in D. According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2015a), the overt / covert realization of features in functional heads are related to morpho-syntactic properties not only of the lexical head N but also of the head of the modifiers, such as demonstratives or adjectives.

Italian, the indefinite determiner *di* in *di*+art specializes for the semantics of small quantity which makes *di*+art partially behave like the quantifier *alcuni*, cf. fn. 8.[10]

The literature on indefinite expressions generally unifies singular mass and plural count and sets them apart from singular count nouns (cf. Chierchia 1998, Delfitto and Schroten 2001, Storto 2003, Zamparelli 2008). A less known fact of Italian is that mass nouns introduced by *di*+art have different scope properties from plural count nouns introduced by *di*+art. While plural can have either narrow or wide scope with respect to negation, as shown in (17), singular mass nouns can only have narrow scope, as in (18), as pointed out by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2016):

(18) a. *Non ho bevuto   del vino   ma (del)   succo di frutta.*   ¬∃
        [I] did not drink DI-art wine but (DI-art) fruit   juice

    b. **Non ho bevuto   del vino   perché   era acido.*   *∃¬
        [I] did not drink DI-art wine because [it] was sour

In Section 4.2, we show that the different scope properties of mass vs. plural are confirmed in the dialect of Ancona, crucially offering a key to understand a phenomenon which would at first sight appear surprising.

4.2   *Variation in the Dialect of Ancona*
For the Ancona point, the three AIS maps that display indefinite determiners (1037, 1343, and 637) only report the definite article for both singular mass and plural indefinites. Our fieldwork confirms the lack of zero determiner and bare *di* (or *de*, which is the form of the uninflected genitive preposition in this dialect):

(19) a. *Se ce fose   l'aqua   / *aqua / *de aqua.*
        if there was the water / water / DI water

    b. *Vago a pià   'l vì   / *vì   / *de vì.*
        [I] go and take the wine / wine / DI wine

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    c. *'Ndam a cercà   le viulete   / *viulete / *de viulete.*
       let's go and look for the violets / violets   / DI violets

Furthermore, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2015b, 2016) observe that *di*+art is not possible for singular mass nouns (20a-b), but it is possible for plural count nouns (20c):

(20) a. *Se ce fose   l'aqua   / *de l'aqua.*
       if there was the water / DI-art water

     b. *Vago a più   'l vì   / *del vì.*
       [I] go and take the wine / DI-art wine

     c. *'Ndam a cercà   le viulete   / de le viulete.*
       let's go and look for the violets / DI-art violets

The different scope properties of mass and plural *di*+art observed above allow us to note a further peculiar fact. Unlike Italian (17), plural *dei* in Anconetano does not display narrow scope. Thus, (21a) is ungrammatical, while (21b), parallel to (17b), is perfectly acceptable:

(21) a. **Nun ho   'nvitato dei fioli   ala festa,   ma solo dele fiole.*
       [I] did not invite   DI-art boys at the party, but only DI-art girls
                                                                           *¬∃

     b. *Nun ho   'nvitato dei fioli   ala festa   perché   erane*
       [I] did not invite   DI-art boys at the party, because [they] were
       'ntipatici.   ∃¬
       obnoxious

In Anconetano, the only way to express narrow scope indefiniteness is with the definite article (note that *i fioli* can also have a definite interpretation, which is irrelevant here):

(22) *Nun ho 'nvitato   i fioli   ala festa,   ma solo le fiole.*   ¬∃
     [I] did not invite the boys at the party, but only the girls

Therefore, in the dialect of Ancona, there is no real optionality. Anconetano only has two forms for indefiniteness: one specialized for wide scope (*di*+art), one for narrow scope (definite article). The discussion so far allows us to treat the ungrammaticality of *di*+art in (20a) and (21a) in a unified way. If narrow

scope interpretation of *di*+art is not allowed in Anconetano (21a), it is expected that in this dialect, *di*+art be incompatible with mass nouns, which only take narrow scope (similarly to (18b) above in Italian).

We can also understand why AIS does not report *di*+art in the Ancona area. Since the AIS map 637 only searches for plural indefinites with narrow scope interpretation, it cannot record the use of *di*+art, which only has wide scope interpretation.

5 Variation across Dialects in Three AIS Maps

In the rest of the paper, we carefully consider the broad variation reported in the three AIS maps considered for Anconetano above. The contexts should make sure that the indefinites are interpreted as non-specific with narrow scope. The advantage of looking at a single context is that we expect to deal with semantically homogenous data across the dialects; the disadvantage is that these data do not allow us any further conjecture on the form of the indefinite determiner in the other types of indefinite interpretation that we have seen in Italian and in the dialect of Ancona.

We start with map 1037 "[if there was] water", which displays an existential context and therefore most clearly induces a core non-specific indefiniteness with narrow scope interpretation without any further semantic feature such as saliency or small quantity, which will become relevant below. We will see how the four forms of the indefinite determiner distribute geographically, and will show that our proposal in (10) can provide an explanation of why they do so.

We then review the data found on maps 1343 "[go to the cellar] to take wine", which may induce the interpretation of the indefinite noun phrase "wine" as being salient in the context of going to the cellar, and 637 "[to look for] violets", which may favor a small quantity interpretation of the indefinite noun phrase. These two maps display a higher degree of variation among possible indefinite forms, suggesting that not only in Italian but also in the dialects, different forms may coexist and specialize for different nuances of indefiniteness.

5.1   *AIS Map 1037 "if there was water"*
In map 1037, we observe the following distribution:

– The zero determiner is present in the North (north-eastern Piedmont, north-ern Lombardy, the whole of Veneto, and the whole of Istria), in the South of Italy (southern Campania, southern Apulia, southern Calabria, Sicily), and in Sardinia. It is absent elsewhere.

- The definite article with indefinite interpretation is widespread. Three attestations are found in the province of Trento (330 Mortaso, 331 Stenico, 323 Predazzo). It builds a compact area in southern Lombardy reaching the border with Veneto (360 Albisano (Verona)). It is interrupted by a large area of *di*+art in Emilia Romagna, and continues in the rest of Central and Southern Italy, until the zero determiner starts again, as indicated above. Definite articles are also found spotlike in Sicily and Sardinia (as in 957 Desulo (Nuoro), where the article is *sa*).
- Bare *di* is limited to Val d'Aosta and western Piedmont (from 122 Saint Marcel (Aosta) down to 182 Limone Piemonte (Cuneo)) with only two further attestations towards East: one in northern Lombardy (209 Isolaccia (Sondrio)) and one in central Veneto (354 Romano (Vicenza), where zero is also given as a second option), and one attestation in Sardinia (943 Macomer (Nuoro)).
- *Di*+art is present in the so-called Gallo-Italic varieties: from eastern Piedmont and Liguria down to the whole Emilia and Romagna, with two attestations in Northern Tuscany (520 Camaiore (Livorno), 532 Montespertoli (Firenze)) and one attestation in Sardinia (937 Nuoro, where the article is *sa*).

From the description above, we can infer that the four different forms seen in (10) distribute along two crossing axes. The North-South axis is defined by the distribution of the zero determiner at its extremes versus the definite article in its core part. The Northwest-Northeast axis is defined by the presence of *di* either by itself or combined with the definite article in the area where the two axes intersect.

Our proposal in (10) can provide an explanation of why these alternating forms distribute the way they do if we assume that the two axes represent different values for the two parameters suggested in Section 3. The vertical axis is characterized by consistently covert indefinite determiner in SpecDP and variation in the realization of D, which is covert at the northern and southern extremes and overt in all the rest. The horizontal axis is characterized by a choice for overt realization of the indefinite determiner *di* in SpecDP. At the extreme West, D is covert (producing bare *di*). In the area of intersection with overt realization of D, *di*+art is found.

The diatopic distribution of the different values of the two parameters can be visualized as in (23):

(23)   North
                             0+0
                             0+art
     North-East   *di*+0   *di*+art   *di*/0+0   North-West
                             0+art
                             0+0
                             South

Considering that Latin did not have any indefinite determiner or any overt free morpheme in the D head, we observe the typical pattern of lateral areas for the two different parameters. The zero determiner in the upper and lower extremes of the Italian territory is the lateral (conservative) area with respect to the innovation consisting in an overt free morpheme in D. The null SpecDP above and below *di*+art is lateral with respect to the innovation consisting in the realization of the indefinite determiner in SpecDP as *di*.

5.2   *AIS Map 1343 "[to go to the cellar] to take wine"*

The distribution of the indefinite determiner in map 1343 is more varied. The definite article is much more widespread than what we found in map 1037 above; in particular, it alternates with the zero determiner in the extreme North and South and in Sardinia, and it also alternates with *di*+art in the areas where this form was attested with "water". This variation can be related to the higher saliency of the notion of "wine" in the context "go to the cellar to take some", which might favor the definite article for indefinite interpretation over the two different forms for core indefiniteness, zero determiner or *di*+art. Note that saliency should not be reduced to definiteness because in Val d'Aosta and western Piedmont, the attestations consistently contain bare *di*, as with "water", while definite interpretation is expressed with the definite article.

A second difference in the realization of the indefinite determiner in map 1343 with respect to map 1037 is the fact that *di*+art is more widespread in the former than in the latter; for example, it is present in one place in Trentino (341 Tiarno di Sotto (Trento)) and resumes from south-eastern Veneto (373 Montebello (Vicenza), 372 Raldon (Verona), 393 Fratta Polesine (Rovigo)) down to central Tuscany (550 Castagneto Carducci (Pisa), and 570 Elba (Livorno)), where only the zero determiner was attested in map 1037. This can be related to another possible interpretation which may arise in the "take wine" context, namely the small quantity interpretation, which is less prominent in the existential context "if there was water".[11]

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11   Note that the small quantity interpretation of "water" is not excluded in this context, since

To conclude, parallel to what we observed for Italian above, some areas seem to have more than one indefinite determiner specialized for different nuances of indefiniteness. This is however not the case of the dialects where *di*+art is predominant (e.g. in Emilia and Romagna, where very few instances of the definite article are found with "wine" (cf. (34a) and (35a) below), and *di*+art consistently appears with "water").

5.3   *AIS Map 637 "[to go and look for] violets"*
The third map containing an indefinite determiner presents an indefinite plural count noun. The context ensures a narrow scope interpretation of the plural indefinite; it is compatible with the saliency interpretation of violets (as they are one of the typical wild flower to be picked in certain seasons) and may favor the small quantity interpretation. If the different distribution of the determiners is due to their specialization for these different nuances of indefiniteness, we expect to find variation similar to what we found in the "wine" context. This is in fact the case.

– The zero determiner is more restricted than in map 1037 "if there was water" and wider than in map 1343 "take wine": it is present in the whole Piedmont reaching Liguria down to one point in Tuscany, and one in Veneto, it spreads down to the border with Emilia. In the South, it spreads all over Sicily and Calabria and is attested in a couple of places in Campania and Apulia.
– Bare *di* has basically the same distribution as in map 1037 "if there was water" displaying some isolated points: one in Veneto (325 Cencenighe (Belluno)), one in western Emilia (412 Carpaneta (Piacenza)), and one in Liguria at the border with western Emilia (179 Rovegno (Genova)).
– *Di*+art is more extended with count plural than with mass singular, especially in the horizontal axis where the plural is attested in two points in Lombardy (229 Sonico (Brescia), at the border with Trentino, and 278 Solferino (Mantova), at the border with southern Veneto); four points in Veneto (345 Vas (Belluno), 374 Teolo (Padova), 381 Cerea (Verona), and 385 Cavarzere (Venezia)); and three points in Friuli (326 Claut (Pordenone), 328 Tramonti di Sotto (Udine), and 367 Grado (Gorizia)).
– The definite article expressing indefiniteness is present all over the place, interspersed with all of the other three forms, as is the case with map 1343 "take wine".

we find instances of pseudo-partitive constructions parallel to Italian *un po' d'acqua* 'a bit of water', *un bicchiere d'acqua* 'a glass of water', and the like throughout map 1037.

To conclude, the context introduced by map 637 favors a small quantity interpretation which competes with the core notion of existential indefiniteness, which in turn may be salient or not. In areas in which more than one form is possible, the different realizations appear to distribute as in Italian, namely the core notion of indefiniteness is expressed by the zero determiner (syntactically realized as a zero determiner in SpecDP and covert features in D), the salient indefinite by the definite article (syntactically realized as a zero determiner in SpecDP and overt features in D), and the small quantity by *di*+art (syntactically realized as overt *di* in SpecDP and overt features in D). The areas which do not allow for more than one indefinite form confirm the distribution of bare *di* in the North-West, of *di*+art in Emilia and Romagna, of the zero determiner at the furthest North and South, and of the definite determiner elsewhere.

6   Microvariation

In Section 3, we observed that Italian displayed three out of the four possible forms of the indefinite determiner. We have observed a degree of optionality between the zero determiner and the definite article, which probably disappears in the colloquial register due to contact with the local variety/dialect. In fact, we noted that at least as regards the dialect of Ancona, the two available forms specialize for wide vs. narrow scope, basically reducing to one form for narrow scope,[12] namely the definite article, and one form for wide scope, namely *di*+art. In Section 5, we observed that limited to the narrow scope interpretation provided by the three AIS maps considered here, the four forms have a distinct diatopic distribution that is most evident in AIS map 1037 "if there was water", which more clearly induces what we called core existential indefinite interpretation. In the other two maps, the different forms are interspersed with one another but still complying with the general tendencies. This was taken to be due to a specialization of the forms for different nuances of narrow scope indefinite meaning, namely saliency (more evident for AIS map 1343 "go to the cellar to take wine") and small quantity (more evident for AIS map 637 "to look for violets").

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12   Mind that the definite article with wide scope only has definite meaning and is irrelevant to our discussion here.

In this section, we analyze in some detail the distribution of different forms in specific points and in specific areas of the AIS maps. The picture that arises confirms the hypothesis that the different forms tend to specialize for different meanings, but true optionality cannot be excluded. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that for the very nature of the survey carried through a questionnaire, the informants provide just one form for each entry even if more than one is available to them. This is indeed the case of AIS, which only very rarely gives two alternatives for the same place (see *de akwa, akwa*, 354 Romano (Vicenza); *a prende del vin, a ciò l vin*, 367 Grado (Gorizia); *le vyole, de le vyole*, 385 Cavarzere (Venezia)). It is therefore plausible that one or more forms are available in the same point, even if not reported by the maps.

6.1   *Variation at Specific Points*

We now discuss specific points of the three maps starting with areas where all four forms are available and continuing with areas where only three or two forms are present.

The four points in Piedmont reported in (24)–(25) display a consistent form for the two instances of singular mass (zero determiner in 107, bare *di* in 133, *di*+art in 147 and 175), and a different form in the plural count (*di*+art in 107, the definite article in 147, the zero determiner in 133 and 175). We can interpret this variation along the lines sketched above.

Trasquera is in an area where the zero determiner is widespread with "water" and interspersed with the definite article with "wine"; the informant may have interpreted both "water" and "wine" as having the same core indefinite interpretation, while attributing the small quantity interpretation to the plural count, here expressed as *di*+art. Cavaglia is in an area where all four possibilities are available with "wine", while for "water" we only find three forms, with the exclusion of the definite article. The informant might have used *di*+art as the only available form in this point, or he/she might have used it to express small quantity in the singular; in the plural, the area presents all four forms, and the definite article may have been used to convey saliency interpretation:

(24)		107 Trasquera (Verbania)	147 Cavaglia (Biella)
AIS	1037	*akwa*	*d l'eva*
	1343	*a to vin*	*a gavà dal vin*
	637	*dal viol*	*i avyuletti*

In Vicoforte, the two singular mass nouns may well have been interpreted as expressing small quantity. Note, however, that Vicoforte is at the border with the area displaying generalized *di*+art. Interestingly, this is the case of singular mass nouns while with plural count nouns, *di*+art is heavily interspersed with zero determiners (attested in (25)) and definite articles. Finally, in Vico Canavese, both mass nouns are introduced by bare *di*, which makes the zero determiner in the plural unexpected under a proposal that generalizes the singular and the plural indefinite:

(25)

		175 Vicoforte (Cuneo)	133 Vico Canavese (Torino)
AIS	1037	*d r eva*	*d ewa*
	1343	*a pyé del vin*	*par piar d vin*
	637	*violüta*	*fyure vyulette*

Note that in Vico Canavese, "violets" is expressed by a complex noun phrase containing a postnominal modifier, *fyure vyulette* 'flowers violet', which might favor the zero determiner for independent reasons. This is confirmed by the fact that in an area where the zero determiner is not easily found in map 637, other points showing complex noun phrases also display the zero determiner: cf. *viole mammole*, 124 Selveglio (Vercelli); *viuleti mamuli*, 126 Pianezza (Novara); *fyor tsoppi*, 129 Borgomanero (Novara).

The two points reported in (26) display three forms, namely the zero determiner for the existential context in map 1037, the salient interpretation of "wine" in map 1343 expressed by the definite article, and different forms for plural indefiniteness, reported in map 637. A possible way of capturing this difference is to assume that the informants have at their disposal more than one form for the indefinite determiner, as confirmed by the data in (32) below, and have randomly chosen a different nuance of the indefinite interpretation in the plural.

(26)

		319 Cedarchis (Udine)	328 Tramonti di Sotto (Udine)
AIS	1037	*age*	*aga*
	1343	*a ćióli l vin*	*a tweli l vin*
	637	*violes*	*da las violes*

Let us now consider an area where speakers only have two forms at their disposal, namely the definite article and *di*+art, as shown in (27). In Castagneto Carducci, we find singular mass with the definite article and plural count with *di*+art; in Chiusdino, we find the same in the singular, while the plural is also expressed by the definite article. It is plausible to suppose that the two forms are available in both points though not reported in the map. As for Montespertoli, the *di*+art form is only found in map 1037, while the two other maps report the definite article. In this case, *di*+art might be the only available form in the singular, or it may express small quantity in the singular:

(27)		550 Castagneto Carducci (Pisa)	551 Chiusdino (Pisa)	532 Montespertoli (Firenze)
AIS	1037	*ll akwa*	*l akwa*	*dell akwa*
	1343	*per piglià l vino*	*per piglià l vino*	*a pigliàr il vino*
	637	*delle viole mammole*	*le vyol ammammole*	*le viol ammammole*

To sum up, even if the AIS data do not provide direct evidence to claim that competing forms are indeed available to the speaker in each point and in each map, a thorough analysis of the diatopic distribution of these forms in specific points of the maps leads us to hypothesize that they are. This is confirmed by a similar analysis of the diatopic variation found in specific areas.

6.2 *Variation inside Specific Areas*

In this section, we concentrate on different forms of the same maps attested in adjacent points. For example, the data in (28)–(30) report the results of five adjacent points in the three AIS maps. In map 1037, reported in (28), variation is more restricted than in the other two maps, showing that in this area, the definite article is not available for the core indefinite existential meaning:

(28) a. *awa*   124 Selveglio (Vercelli)
    b. *d ayvi*   132 Ronco Canavese (Torino)
    c. *d éva*   123 Brusson (Aosta)
    d. *d éve*   122 Saint Marcel (Aosta)
    e. *d l'awa* 135 Pettinengo (Novara)

Maps 1343 and 637, reported in (29) and (30) respectively, show the definite article in two points, Brusson (29c) and Ronco Canavese (30b), in different

maps, while the same points have the more common bare *di* in the other case, (29b) and (30c). It is plausible to assume that the salient interpretation realized with the definite article in both singular mass and plural count was chosen randomly by the informants for only one of the two entries of the questionnaire:

(29) a. *to vin*   124 Selveglio (Vercelli)
     b. *a gavar de vin* 132 Ronco Canavese (Torino)
     c. *pè cercé o vin* 123 Brusson (Aosta)
     d. *per ertsì de vén* 122 Saint Marcel (Aosta)
     e. *per pyé dal vin* 135 Pettinengo (Novara)

(30) a. *viole mammole*   124 Selveglio (Vercelli)
     b. *le violete*   132 Ronco Canavese (Torino)
     c. *de violette*   123 Brusson (Aosta)
     d. *de vyulette*   122 Saint Marcel (Aosta)
     e. *dal viulatti*   135 Pettinengo (Novara)

It is worth noting that Pettinengo is rather different from the other points in that it consistently displays *di*+art in the three maps, (28e), (29e), and (30e). This may either suggest that Pettinengo is the north-western outpost of generalized *di*+art or that the informants have chosen the small quantity interpretation in all the three contexts. The AIS data do not allow us to decide between the two hypotheses. This is the kind of questions that can only be answered by fieldwork.

Similar variation is found in the North-East with the difference that the bare *di* option is much more restricted than in the North-West. For reasons of space, we provide one example of singular in the province of Trento (31) and one of plural in the province of Udine (32). In the six points mentioned in (31)–(32), map 1037 consistently presents a zero determiner:[13]

(31) a. *per tor vim*   343 Volano (Trento)
     b. *a tœr el vin* 340 Roncone (Trento)
     c. *a tœr del vi* 341 Tiarno di Sotto (Trento)

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13   In the North-East, bare *di* is totally absent with singular mass nouns. With plural count nouns, it is only present in one place: *de vyole*, 325 Cencenighe (Belluno), as reported above.

(32) a.   *violes*   319 Cedarchis (Udine)
      b.   *la vyoles*   327 Forni di Sotto (Udine)
      c.   *da las violas*   328 Tramonti di Sotto (Udine)

We thus suppose that the three forms of the indefinite determiner are all available in the area and that the informants have chosen the salient interpretation and the small quantity interpretation in the two maps that most favor them.

In Emilia, this type of small-scale variation only concerns the definite article and *di*+art in maps 1343 and 637. Variation is not found in map 1037, according to the general tendency already noted:

(33) a.   *d l akwa*   456 Bologna
      b.   *d l akwe*   446 Minerbio (Bologna)

(34) a.   *a tor al ven*   456 Bologna
      b.   *par tor dal ven* 446 Minerbio (Bologna)

(35) a.   *al viol*   456 Bologna
      b.   *dal viol*   446 Minerbio (Bologna)

In this area, where *di*+art is the unmarked form of the indefinite determiner in all maps, it seems plausible to assume that *di*+art does not convey the small quantity interpretation; while the definite article conveys the salient interpretation, both in the singular (34a) and in the plural (35a). Once again the choice between the unmarked form and the salient interpretation is presumably random.

Further North (36)–(38) and further South (39)–(41), the variation concerns the zero determiner and the definite article, with the interesting observation that in Mortaso (Trento), the definite article also appears in map 1037, as in (36b), suggesting that in that particular point the zero determiner is not present or is dispreferred in all contexts:

(36) a.   *akwa*   333 Viarago (Trento)
      b.   *l akwa*   330 Mortaso (Trento)

(37) a.   *a tœr vin*   333 Viarago (Trento)
      b.   *a tœr al vin*   330 Mortaso (Trento)

(38) a.   *viole*   333 Viarago (Trento)
      b.   *le viole*   330 Mortaso (Trento)

The two Sicilian points in (39)–(41) confirm that variation specializes for different interpretation (40)–(41), while the core notion of existential indefiniteness can only be realized with the zero determiner (39):

(39) a. *akwa*   821 Vita (Trapani)
     b. *akwa*   824 Baucina (Palermo)

(40) a. *pi ppigghiari vinu*   821 Vita (Trapani)
     b. *pi pigghiari u vinu*   824 Baucina (Palermo)

(41) a. *violi*   821 Vita (Trapani)
     b. *i vyoli*   824 Baucina (Palermo)

To sum up, the analysis of the diatopic variation found in specific areas suggests that more than one form is available to the speakers of the dialects. One carries the unmarked value, while the other(s) convey some additional semantic flavors.

6.3   *Lack of Variation inside Specific Areas*

There are three areas in which the three AIS maps do not report any variation:

– the extreme North especially the Grigioni area in Switzerland, which only displays the zero determiner;
– the extreme West of Val d'Aosta and Piedmont, which only displays bare *di*;
– the Center-South to northern Calabria and Apulia, which only displays the definite article.

There are two ways to interpret these facts: either there is only one form available to the speakers to express indefiniteness or the informants have randomly chosen the same interpretation for different entries of the questionnaire. The latter hypothesis is less plausible, given the consistent distribution of one and the same form in one and the same area. It is more interesting to suppose that the consistent use of the definite article for indefinite meaning is the "core" Italian innovation with respect to generalized bare nouns in Latin. The zero determiner in the North is probably a conservative feature preserved thanks to contact with Germanic. Bare *di* is a Gallic innovation which persists as such due to contact with Occitan and Franco-Provençal (cf. Rohlfs 1968: 118).

Fieldwork is needed to confirm this apparent lack of variation. As we have seen with the example of Ancona, there are specialized forms that AIS could not detect. Also consider that variation may have developed in these areas in more recent times due to contact with Italian.

7   Conclusions

In this paper, we have provided a broad overview of the possible forms of indefinite determiners in Italian and Italo-Romance dialects, excluding quantifiers and pseudo-partitive constructions such as *un po' di* 'a bit of, a little of'. We have concentrated on the four most common forms, which we have analyzed in (10) as having a unified structure featuring an indefinite determiner in SpecDP and nominal features in D.

For Italian, we have shown that coexistent forms give rise to true optionality in some cases and to a specialization for different indefinite meanings (including scope properties) in other cases. For the dialect of Ancona, which we have analyzed in detail, we have suggested that true optionality between the two available forms does not really exist.

We have then addressed the issue of variation across the dialects of Italy studying three AIS maps that provide narrow scope interpretation of singular mass and plural count indefinite noun phrases. We have observed that map 1037 "if there was water" gives a clearer picture of the distribution of the four forms. This allowed us to formulate the hypothesis that the overt/covert realization of the indefinite determiner in SpecDP and of the nominal features in D is related to two different parameters that interact diatopically.

The realization of features in D regards the whole Italian territory and displays covert D only at the very northern and southern extremes, while overt D is found elsewhere (from Lombardy to Calabria). The overt realization of the indefinite determiner in SpecDP characterizes Gallo-Italic dialects. It is found at the extreme North-West (Val d'Aosta, Piedmont, and partially Liguria) and spreads towards Emilia and Romagna. In the former area, it combines with a covert D producing bare *di*, while in the latter it combines with overt D producing *di*+art.

The other two AIS maps (1343 and 637) show that it is usually the case that in the same area, more than one form is available. This raises the question of whether even in the narrow scope interpretation, different nuances of indefiniteness may be realized by different forms. This has been confirmed by focusing on the variation in specific points for the three different maps, and by focusing on the variation in specific areas for each separate map. Especially designed fieldwork needs to be done to establish whether this is really the case and to uncover whether true optionality can also be found in dialects, especially those that display more than two forms for the indefinite determiner.

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PART 3

Upper Southern Varieties

∵

Italo-Romance Phonological Rules and Indo-Aryan Lexicon: The Case of Abruzzian Romani

Andrea Scala

1 Abruzzian Romani and the Sources for Its Study

Abruzzian Romani is the Indo-Aryan language spoken by the Roma communities who settled in Abruzzo, Molise and the surrounding areas in the 16th century circa. In their long permanence in the Italo-Romance linguistic space Abruzzian Romani speakers have been bilingual for centuries, owning a linguistic repertoire consisting of Romani and Abruzzese. At the present time a significant number of them can be considered trilingual, having the last generations acquired a more or less ample knowledge of the regional variety of Italian. Abruzzian Romani preserves its role of endo-communitarian and identity language very well, while the function of eso-communitarian code is obviously fulfilled by the Italo-Romance branch(es) of the repertoire, especially by Abruzzese. The vitality of Abruzzian Romani has been repeatedly highlighted, especially in comparison with the clear condition of decadence of the other Romani varieties spoken in Southern Italy (cfr. e g. Soravia 1978: 4; 2009: 75).

The sources for the study of Abruzzian Romani are not scant, but many structural and lexical aspects remain almost unexplored up to the present day. Even the most ancient texts in Italian Romani are probably based on a dialect which is very similar to Abruzzian Romani. Some sentences in a variety of this dialect have been identified by Leonardo Piasere in a comedy by Florido de Silvestris, titled *Signorina Zingaretta*, published in Viterbo in 1646 (Piasere 1994); however the rough transcription makes any interpretation of these passages very difficult (some attempts in Spinelli 2003: 134–135). The first documentation of Abruzzian Romani in an academic piece of work can be found in Graziadio Isaia Ascoli's pioneering book *Ziguenerisches* (1865). One of the most original sections of the book (pp. 127–154; Italian translation in Portandolfo-Piasere 2002) is entirely devoted to a variety called Süd-Italiens Ziguenerisches and a significant part of Ascoli's informants came from Molise and Abruzzo. Seventy years later the Abruzzian Romani spoken in Annunziata di Giulianova (close to Teramo, Abruzzo) was the subject of an extensive survey for point 603 of ALI (Atlante Linguistico Italiano). Ugo Pellis, the major data collector

of the ALI, managed to gather from a unique informant (a woman of about thirty) an abundant collection of lexical items and some sentences. For their novelty and uniqueness these materials were immediately published by Pellis (1936). In the Sixties and Seventies interest in Abruzzian Romani was reawakened by Giulio Soravia's (1971, 1972) and Sergio Partisani's studies (1972). In the following decades the documentation increased thanks to lexical collections and to the publication of oral texts (Morelli-Soravia 1998; Manna 1993 and 2002) as well as poems written by learned Abruzzian Roma such as Santino Spinelli. In Molise more recent fieldwork headed by Giuliana Fiorentino has led to the whole questionnaire of the Romani Morpho-Syntax Database (RMS) being recorded by means of two different informants in Campobasso. These important recordings are now available on the RMS web site (http://romani.humanities .manchester.ac.uk/rms/) and point to two different varieties of Abruzzian Romani: the first variety is heavily influenced by Abruzzese (IT-007 Molise; female informant), while the second variety (IT-010 Molise, male informant) shows some interference rather with the Regional Italian spoken in Abruzzo and Molise. Grammatical outlines of Abruzzian Romani have been written down by Ascoli (1865: 129–154), Soravia (1977: 83–90) and Morelli-Soravia (1998: 179–211).

2   New Phonological Rules and Traditional Lexicon

A careful examination of all these materials reveals that Abruzzian Romani shows a high degree of retention of the Indo-Aryan model from which it originates: phonological units and the lexicon have undergone very slight modifications, which are also few in number, with respect to early Romani; also the majority of morphological units and processes, except for nominal declension, which has been lost, are clearly in continuity with the Indo-Aryan model. For these reasons in the landscape of European Romani, Abruzzian Romani can be considered a rather conservative dialect. In this regard Yaron Matras' words are very clear: in a study devoted to the classification of Romani dialects, he considers southern Italian Romani, Dolenjska Romani, as well as British, Iberian and Epirotic Romani to be a "series of peripheral dialects" forming "relic areas" (Matras 2005: 29). Of course Abruzzian Romani also shows significant innovations, which separate it from other Romani dialects. This is true especially in the domain of the phonological rules, which appear to have been largely borrowed from Abruzzese dialects (spoken in Abruzzo and Molise; cfr. Giammarco 1960; Giammarco 1979; Marinucci 1988; Bigalke 1996). The outcome is rather unusual: an Indo-Aryan language, well preserved in the majority of its features, except for the phonological processes, which have been replaced by Italo-Romance

(Abruzzese) rules. It is clear that a collocation of Abruzzian Romani in the borrowing scale purposed by Thomason-Kaufman (1988: 74–76) is not devoid of problems: the socio-cultural influence of the Italo-Romance speaking community being very strong and the structural borrowing limited to phonology and to some functional word, one could place Abruzzian Romani among the cases of strong cultural pressure with moderate structural borrowing (Thomason-Kaufman 1988: 83–91). An exploration of the above-mentioned sources, especially the recorded speech in RMS, enables a rather accurate description of these phonological rules borrowed from Abruzzese, which have so far only sporadically pointed out, but never accurately described nor investigated. Such a description will be the primary aim of this contribution: moreover, some remarks of explicative nature will be added to the descriptive representation of the borrowed rules. The investigation of these phonological outcomes of bilingualism can provide new evidence about the dynamics of interaction between the languages in the phonological competence of bilingual speakers, on the whole an underexplored topic (some reflections in Campbell 1976; Campbell 1998: 74; Thomason 2001: 87; Thomason 2006; Matras 2009: 229–230). In this contribution to refer to the different sources for Abruzzian Romani the following abbreviations will be used:

Pe   = Pellis 1936 (tr. = translations)
RMS 7   = http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/ female informant (IT-007 Molise)
RMS 10   = http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/ male informant (IT-010 Molise)
ARms   = Morelli-Soravia 1998

As for other Romani dialects quoted for comparison: PS = Piedmontese Sinti, LS = Lombard Sinti, CR = Calabrian Romani as spoken in Reggio Calabria, KL = Kalderashitska, WR = Welsh Romani.

2.1 *Propagation of /u/*

The propagation of /u/ is a widespread phenomenon in many Southern-Italian dialects (cfr. Tuttle 1985, where the label "assimilazione permansiva" is used; Savoia 1987; Rizzi-Savoia 1993; Schirru 2008 and 2012–2013) and consists in the insertion of a non-etymological [w], sometimes to be interpreted as the second part of a complex articulation [...ʷ], after the onset of a syllable, if the preceding syllable, within the phonological word, contains /u/. The process can be exemplified by the Southern Italo-Romance type [ˈkaːpə] "head" vs [luˈkwaːpə] "the head"; as for Abruzzian Romani the propagation is well attested to in all the

available sources and the following examples suffice to define the underlying phonological rule (a detailed discussion in Scala 2015):

(1)   [ni ˈkaʃtə] "stick" (Pe 3077) vs [u ˈkwaʃtə] "the stick" (Pe 543)
(2)   [ˈkeːrə] "house" vs [u ˈkweːrə] "the house" (Pe 1497)
(3)   [ni kaʃuˈkwo] "a coin" (RMS 7 709)
(4)   [so kwiɲˈɲen aˈiddʒə] "what did you buy yesterday?" (RMS 7 550), cfr.
        [kiɲˈɲenə] "you (pl.) bought"
(5)   [ni ˈgaːtə] "a shirt" vs [u ˈgwaːtə] "the shirt" (Pe 634)
(6)   [ʃuŋˈgweskərə] "parsley" (Pe 1969)
(7)   [mə ˈxaːvə] "I eat" (Pe transl. 1) vs [tu ˈxwaːsə] "you (sg.) eat" (Pe tr. 2)
(8)   [ˈxeːrə] "donkey" vs [u ˈxweːrə] "the donkey" (Pe 1619)

In Abruzzian Romani /u/ propagation affects syllables with a velar stop or velar fricative in the onset and all vowels except /u/ in the nucleus. The rule can be represented as in Figure 7.1.

The rule is unknown to other Romani dialects, even to Calabrian Romani, a sub-branch of Southern-Italian Romani (Soravia 1978), and it is clearly borrowed from Abruzzese, but trigger vowels and target syllables are partially different. In Abruzzese /u/ is the only trigger and the /u/ propagation affects only syllables containing /a/ in the nucleus. Romani propagation adds /o/ (cfr. n. 4) to the triggers and also occurs in syllables with /i/ (cfr. n. 4), /e/ (cfr. nn. 2 and 8) and /o/ (cfr. n. 3) in the nucleus. Moreover the phonological inventory of Abruzzian Romani includes a fricative velar phoneme /x/, which is targeted by the propagation rule (cfr. nn. 7 and 8). This situation is very significant: the rule has been borrowed with reference to the features implied in the allophonic process and not with reference to the phonological units of Abruzzese; yet the outcome is that the rule also affects a velar phoneme unknown to the Abruzzese phonemic inventory, such as /x/, and occurs before vowels, such as /e/ and /i/, which exist in Abruzzese but are extremely rare after /k/ and /g/ on account of the Romance palatalization of velar stops before front vowels. The extension to syllables containing /o/ in the nucleus completes the set of targets, excluding only /u/. In this process loanwords play no role and the imitation of Abruzzese /u/ propagation is a mere application of an Abruzzese phonological rule to the Abruzzian Romani phonemic inventory via phonological features and not via phonological units.

2.2   [*a-*] *Prosthesis in Words Beginning with a Consonant*

The prosthesis of [a-] is not prescriptive, but it is very frequent in Abruzzian Romani. Sometimes it requires a lengthening of the etymological initial con-
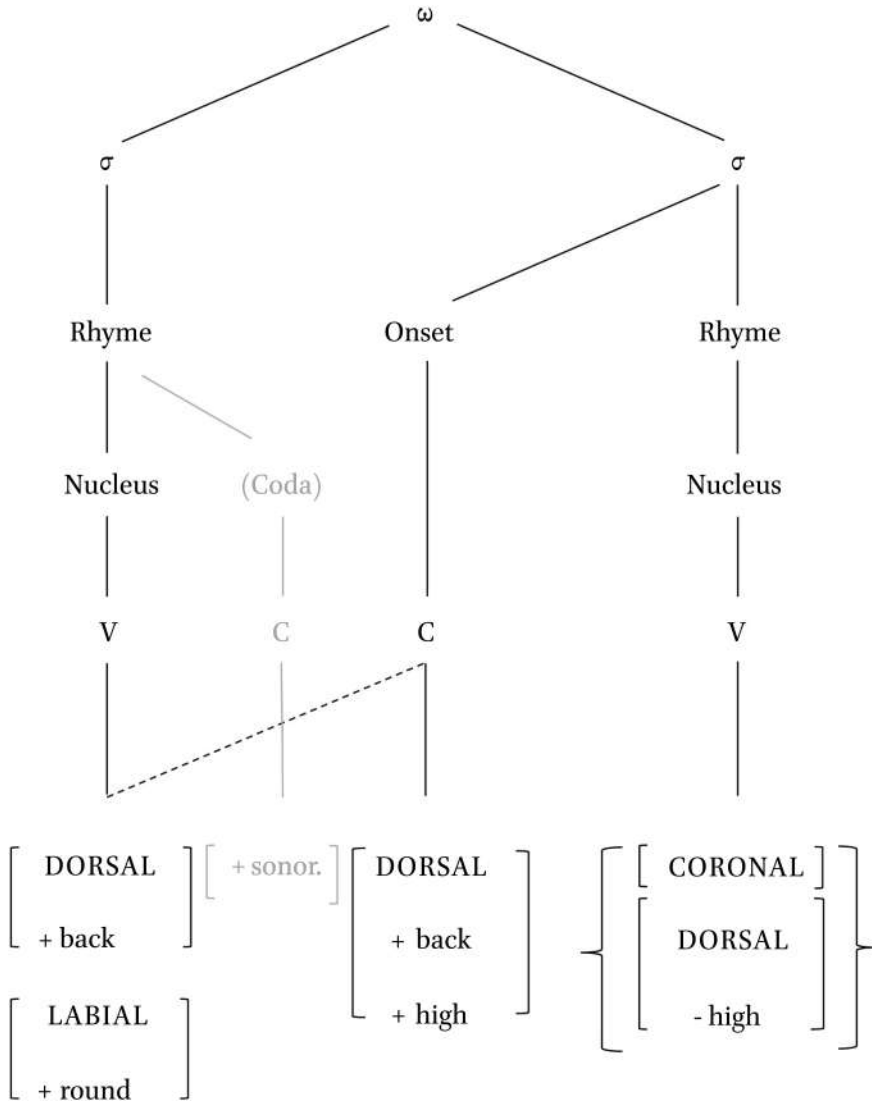
FIGURE 7.1 *Propagation of /u/ in Abruzzian Romani*

sonant; examples are innumerable, cfr. e.g. [adˈdeːlə] "it rains", [appəˈneːle] "he/she says", [ajˈjoːvə] "he", [adʤaˈneːsənə] "he/she knew", [akeˈreːnə] "they make" etc.; for a comparison with other Romani dialects cfr. Piedmontese Sinti [ˈdela], [peˈnela], [jov], [ʤaˈnelas], [keˈrena]. The same phenomenon occurs in Abruzzese (Giammarco 1960: 27) and in other Southern Italo-Romance dialects, and old Southern-Italian texts too provide extensive documentation of it. In Loise De Rosa's *Ricordi*, a Neapolitan text dating from 14th century and

edited by Formentin, there are forms such as *accuoro* "chorus", *acczim(m)ato* "sheared cloth", *acczim(m)atore* "shearer", *ademandare* "to ask", *adiricczo* "advice", *affatura/affattura* "enchantment", *affattu(c)chiara* "witch", *agratevele* "pleasant", *a(r)robbava* "he stole" *A(r)rugniere* "Ranieri (anthroponym)", *Arraganata* "Recanati (toponym)" (Formentin 1998: I 272). Old texts from Salento (Sgrilli 1984: 100) provide further evidence of the phenomenon. Rohlfs quotes examples from dialects from Calabria (§150) and Southern Lazio (§161). In addition to the simple listing of forms with *a*- prosthesis, some authors have attempted to give an explanation of the phenomenon. Radtke, who focuses on *a*-prosthesis in the present-day dialects of Campania (Radtke 1997: 62), rejects the hypothesis of an origin deriving from an erroneous segmentation of the feminine definite article such as *la gente* "the people" → *l'agente* → *agente* "people" and suggests including the *a*-prosthesis among the phonological phenomena of Campania dialects. Gerhard Ernst has identified the *a*-prosthesis in old Roman texts and compared it with the situation in modern Romanesco, and he too categorizes the *a*-prosthesis as a phenomenon pertaining to phonology (Ernst 1970: 115–117). Michele Loporcaro, who discusses the *a*-prosthesis in the dialect of Altamura, puts forward an origin from the Latin preposition AD, starting from the observation that the speakers of the dialect of Altamura systematically put *a* before the infinitive forms of the verbs, as well as in quotation forms and in sentences in which the infinitive fills the syntactic role of subject. Loporcaro hypothesizes a coalescence of preposition and infinitive and indicates this as the starting point for other forms in the paradigms (Loporcaro 1988: 92–93 and 150, n. 35). This explanation may account for the rise of the phenomenon in some areas, but it must be admitted that the *a*-prosthesis has been lexicalized and that, in some Central and Southern dialects, it has become a phonological process consisting of an optional phonological rule which affects not only verbs, but also nouns, adjectives and adverbs that have no paradigmatic relations with verbs.

In Abruzzian Romani the *a*-prosthesis is an optional rule, but it is pervasive at the level of the lexicon, affecting all lexical categories. The fact that the prosthesis seems to be more frequent in verbs, adjectives and adverbs has no relation to their being lexical categories, but rather depends on a phonological restriction acting in the domain of phonological words. Proclitic forms belonging to the phonological word, such as articles, seem to block the prosthesis. It is probable that other phono-syntactic and sentence-prosodic contexts are unfavorable to *a*-prosthesis and an analysis of the occurrences in recorded texts seems to suggest that the presence of *a*-prosthesis occurs very often at the beginning of a sentence or after a pause: cfr. e.g. [appiɲˈɲeːmə ku mur ʧaˈvo

...] "we told to our son ..." (RMS 7 807), [appiɲˈɲa amˈmangə ...] "he told to me ..." (RMS 7 447), with the verb *pen-* "to tell, to say", [adikˈkjo:mə ...] "I saw" (RMS 7 461, 513, 567, 570, 573 etc.) with the verb *dik-* "to see", [addʒiˈjo:mə ...] "I went ..." (RMS 7 442, 462), with the verb *ǧ-* "to go", and many other cases. As for the occurrence of the prosthesis after a pause, cfr. the sentence (RMS 7 576):

(9) [*araˈti   dikˈkjo:mə lu   ˈʃtessə dʒuˈve:lə .   adikˈkjo:mə-lə ˈandr u*
       "at night (I) saw   the   same   woman (pause) (I) saw   her   in
       kurˈko]
       the pub"

Here the same verb in the same form /dikjom/ "I saw" occurs twice, but surfaces with *a*-prosthesis only after pause. Another context in which *a*-prosthesis frequently applies is between phonologically autonomous subject-NP and the verb of VP, cfr. for instance [ˈjo:və adikˈkja ni buˈti ...] "he saw a thing ..." (RMS 7 1037), where [ˈjo:və] "he" (3rd person singular masculine pronoun) shows a high degree of phonological autonomy and presents often an emphatic function, being Abruzzian Romani a pro-drop language. However in many cases a pause is clearly audible between these two syntactic constituents, so that the role of the syntax in *a*-prosthesis might be considered as not particularly relevant. While it is possible to affirm that some sentence contexts are favourable or unfavourable to *a*-prosthesis, the structure of the onset in the first syllable of the word does not seem to produce any restriction. In this case too, the extension of the phonological rule from Abruzzese to Abruzzian Romani is the only reasonable way to explain such an innovation.

2.3   *Epithesis in all the Lexemes Etymologically Ending in a Consonant*

In Abruzzian Romani the words originally ending in a consonant generally undergo a modification of the prosodic structure, with the result that such words in Abruzzian Romani now have a final vowel [-ə], which produces an open syllable at the end of the form. The epithesis is accompanied by the weighting of the preceding syllable according to two processes: original final consonants are lengthened before [-ə] or lengthening affects the last vowel before the epithetic one, cfr. [ˈjekkə] "one", [ˈrattə] "night", [ˈjaggə] "fire", [ˈdabbə] "hit", [ˈladdʒə] "shame"; but [ˈke:rə] "house", [ˈba:lə] "hair", [ˈpe:nə] "sister" (cfr. PS [jek], [raˈti], [dab], [ladʒ], [ker], [bal], [pen]). A very similar prosodic structure occurs in the co-territorial Romance dialects, such as in all Central and Southern Italo-Romance dialects (Bafile 2003 and 2010), in which

the prosodic skeleton of the last syllable admits only the structure (C)CV. In the historical lexicon of Standard Italian and of Central and Southern Italo-Romance dialects only functional words admit final consonants; this syllabic structure, which differs from that of lexical words, has been explained with reference to the prosodic status of such functional words. Since they do not appear before a pause and are always followed by another word, the final consonant of functional words may be considered as belonging to a coda or to an onset, when there is phono-syntactic reduplication, licensed not in the lexicon, but after the insertion into the sentence (Bafile 2003: 157). In Neapolitan the behaviour of functional words and prenominal forms such as *nun* "not", *don* "mister", which show a prevocalic allomorph [nunn], [dɔnn], cfr. [nunn akˈkattə], [donn anˈtɔnjə] (Bafile 2003: 156) as well as the integration of loanwords ending in a consonant in the donor language, which are regularly adapted by adding a syllable CV whose onset is identical to the preceding coda cfr. [ˈstɔppə] "stop", [ˈgassə] "gas" (Bafile 2003: 161), are symptomatic. A process of epithesis preserves the syllabic structure of such lexical words, defending the coda position of the original final consonant.

The prosodic rule operating in Abruzzian Romani is very similar and its application has enormously increased the presence of the trochaic foot in a language whose traditional lexicon hitherto lacked such a prosodic unity. At this stage in Abruzzian Romani lexical words do not seem to allow for final consonants or, in other words, an empty nucleus in word end-position is not permitted. In many cases the final vowel [-ə], added to all lexical words etymologically ending in a consonant, is preceded by the replication/lengthening of the previous consonant, which constituted the original coda of the last syllable. However the process is fairly regular with occlusive and affricate sounds, but, unlike Neapolitan (Bafile 2003: 167), does not apply to sonorants, as illustrated previously by examples such as [ˈke:rə] "house", [ˈba:lə] "hair", [ˈpe:nə] "sister", [ˈdro:mə] "road" and by many others such as [teˈla:rə] "under" (RMS 7 675), [ˈtʃo:rə] "thieves" (RMS 7 792), [vaˈve:rə] "other" (RMS 7 717), [braˈva:lə] "car", [(a)nˈgja:lə] "in front" (RMS 7 217), [pra:lə] "brother" (RMS 7 364, 365, 469, 471 etc.), [ˈka:nə] "ear", [tuˈme:nə] "you (pl.)" (RMS 7 641 and 719), [ˈku:nə] "who" (RMS 7 520, 521, 522 etc.), [ˈdro:mə] "road" (RMS 7 729, 1022, 1024, but [ˈdrommə] in RMS 10 655), [ˈro:mə] "man" (RMS 7 424, 461, 559, 562 etc.), [xaˈje:mə] "we ate" (RMS 7 933). In addition, voiceless and voiced fricatives seem to display the same behaviour as sonorants, but less regularly: cfr. [deˈve:sə] "day" (RMS 7 397, 407, 412 etc.), [ˈma:sə] "meat" (RMS 7 933, 945), [ˈtra:ʃə] "fear" (RMS 7), [ˈtso:xə] "skirt" (RMS 7 936), [ˈta:və] "thread" (RMS 7 671). The absence of consonantal lengthening with an occlusive is very rare, cfr. [ˈbu:tə] "very, a lot", where the long [u:] may occur for expressive

reasons, which blocks the lengthening of /t/. The Abruzzese shows the same behaviour as Neapolitan in CV epithesis, so this split in Abruzzian Romani seems to imply that some property connected with sonorants and fricative prevents the CV epithesis. A possible explanation may be found by supposing that vowels before sonorants and before fricatives were long in an early stage of Abruzzian Romani; the preservation of an old and etymological vowel length in Romani has been rejected by Yaron Matras who prefers to think that long vowels in Romani are of secondary origin (Matras 2002: 59-60), and this could be also the case with Abruzzian Romani. Evidence from Slavic languages suggests that vowels before sonorants can have the longest duration (Bethin 1998: 102; Kavitskaya 2002: 121–125). So it is possible to think that in some languages a context such as __ [+sonor.]# would be favourable to vowel lengthening. Moreover there is some evidence that vowel length increases not only before sonorants, but also before fricatives. However generalizations about the influence of consonants upon the duration of a preceding vowel are difficult to establish and many processes of lengthening seem to be language dependent (Lehiste 1970: 24). In Abruzzian Romani the lengthening of the original final consonant could be less likely to occur in sounds with a higher intrinsic sonority and there might have been a clear-cut difference between words ending in consonants having the feature [+continuant] and those ending in [−continuant] ones. While it may be assumed that in an early stage of Abruzzian Romani a stressed nucleus in the last syllable was long when followed by a sonorant or a fricative, i.e. from a [+ continuant] consonant, the CV epithesis would have created a syllable of three moras, thus violating the Abruzzese constraint that prevents syllables of more than two moras; in accordance with this constraint, therefore, a long vowel can occur only in an open syllable. Abruzzian Roma, who have been bilingual for centuries, might have applied this constraint to both branches of their bilingualism, Abruzzian Romani and Abruzzese. Let us consider the example of the Pan-Romani word *bal* "hair": if one assumes that it became *[baːl], according to a rule $\acute{V} \rightarrow \acute{V}ː/\_\_\_[+ \text{continuant}]\#$, it may be argued that CV epithesis cancelled the consonant in the coda in order to avoid an overheavy syllable (cfr. Figure 7.2).

Such a hypothesis may account for the difference between the treatment of final sonorants and fricatives (i.e. [+ continuant] consonants) and that of final affricates and occlusives (i. e. [−continuant] consonants) in Abruzzian Romani. Both the epithesis rule and the constraint about the weight of the stressed syllable are borrowed by Abruzzese. The interaction between these two rules, impossible in Abruzzese, might have taken place in Abruzzian Romani because of the existence of a context such as that in (10).
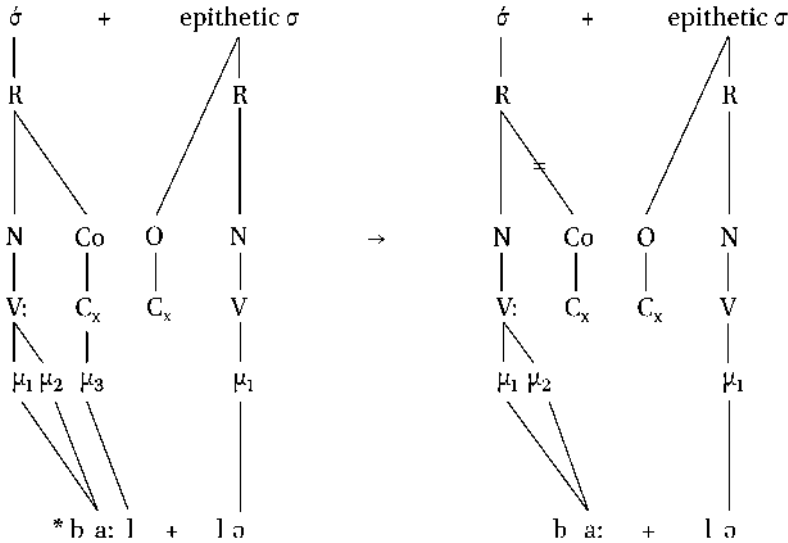
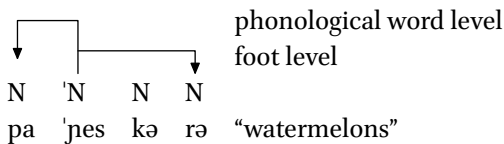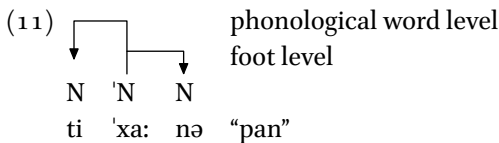FIGURE 7.2   *CV epithesis and deletion of the last etymological [+ continuant]
consonant*

(10) V: _____#

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{continuant} \end{bmatrix}$$

which was unknown to the Italo-Romance model. Furthermore in this case the borrowing of the rule of epithesis and of the constraint regarding the weight of the stressed syllable can be explained only by assuming a transfer from Abruzzese phonological competence to that of the Abruzzian Romani.

2.4   *Reduction to [ə] of Post-Tonic Unstressed Vowels*

Etymological post-tonic unstressed vowels in Abruzzian Romani are generally reduced to [ə], cfr. ['tu:tə] "to you (sg.)" (Pe tr. 38), [ti'xa:nə] "pan" (Pe 764), ['kokələ]/['kokʷələ] "bone" (Pe 203 and 237), [pa'ɲeskərə] "watermelons" (Pe 2016); in other more conservative Romani dialects the original vowels are still preserved, cfr. KL ['tute], [ti'gani], ['kokalo] and WR [pa'njeskere]. Only the rare unstressed final /a/ sometimes remains unchanged or surfaces as [ɐ], cfr. forms of the imperfect such as [ke'rendza] "you (pl.)/they did" (ARms 182) and [vake'rendza] "they talked" (RMS 7 678). The reduction is regular in word end-position, but it also occurs very often in non-final post-tonic vowels too. This centralization of unstressed post-tonic vowels is also well documented in Abruzzese and other Southern Italo-Romance dialects (Giammarco 1960: 20 and 41–45; Bafile 1997a: 453–454) and again in these dialects, only final [a] can

resist centralization (however in several Abruzzian dialects final [a] too has undergone centralization, cfr. Giammarco 1979: 45). In Abruzzian Romani the reduction to [ə] of all [–low] vowels can be considered an innovation acquired through the imitation of an Abruzzese phono-prosodic rule. However, the definition of this rule is rather problematic. The majority of the dialects of Southern Italy has undergone diachronic process of neutralization of features in final (and, more in general, post-tonic) vowels, where only [± low] is still active and produces the surface contrast between [-a] or [-ɐ] and [-ə], and in some areas, for instance in Molise, this contrast too has been neutralized (Avolio 2002: 615). Such a process has probably been induced by stress, but in many words it has been lexicalized. In any case the transfer in Abruzzian Romani of the reduction to [ə] of post-tonic vowels, with some exceptions for /a/, cannot have been connected with a diachronic process. The reduction of final and post-tonic vowels might already have been established in Abruzzese when Romani-speaking people first arrived in the region Abruzzo, but the chronology is disputed (cfr. Avolio 2002: 609; Avolio 2009: 153–171; Vignuzzi 1992: 609; Barbato 2015). In order to explain this convergence of Romani with the Abruzzese phono-prosodic structure a synchronic rule is required. A framework may be assumed in which the stressed nucleus constitutes the head of the phonological word and therefore licenses the previous nucleus or nuclei, and, at the same time, the same stressed nucleus is the head of a foot and licenses the subsequent nucleus (Harris 1992 and Harris 1994: 154–156; Bafile 1997). It may also been assumed that a ternary foot is conceivable for Abruzzese, as for Italian, where it is productive and particularly widespread. This prosodic organization may be represented as follows:

(11)   phonological word level
                foot level

      N 'N   N
      ti 'xa: nə   "pan"

                phonological word level
                foot level

      N 'N   N   N
      pa 'ɲes kə rə   "watermelons"

In Abruzzese, as in standard Italian, the foot does not automatically match the word, as the word stress is mainly on the penultimate or on the antepenultimate syllable. It is a very common phenomenon that the unstressed nuclei undergo restrictions with reference to the vowels they can display; in Abruzzese all the weak positions licensed in the foot by the word-stressed

nucleus admit only the realization [ə] for the underlying (or etymological) [–low] vowel. This phono-prosodic rule may have been copied and transferred from the Abruzzese to the Romani competence in bilingual speakers. In some varieties of Abruzzese the reduction occurs in all weak positions, including pre-tonic ones; Abbruzian Romani however, as far as is known, seems to display vowel reduction mainly in a post-tonic context. Nor does the role played by Abruzzese loanwords in Abruzzian Romani seem to be relevant in the case of vowel reduction. A prosodic rule which changes post-tonic /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/ to [ə] can come about only as a process, otherwise the central vowel [ə] in the loanwords would have been integrated with /e/ or with /a/, as has happened in many Sinti dialects for German words with [ə] (cfr. PS [ˈbruka] "brook", [ˈflinta] "rifle", [ˈfei̯fa] "pipe" < *Brücke, Flinte, Pfeife*), without inducing any type of rule.

2.5 *Fortition + Voicing of /s/ after a Nasal Consonant*

In Abruzzian Romani the etymological fricative /s/ after /n/ surfaces as a voiced affricate [dz], in accordance with a process of *fortition + voicing*, which may be represented as follows:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} + \text{cont.} \\ - \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{cont.} \\ + \text{del. rel.} \\ + \text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll.} \\ + \text{son.} \\ + \text{nas.} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll.} \\ - \text{son.} \\ - \text{voice} \\ + \text{coron.} \\ + \text{ant.} \end{bmatrix} [+ \text{syll.}]
$$

The process can be observed mainly in proximity to some morphological boundaries; for instance the innovative morpheme of the imperfect [-sənə] (Elšík-Matras 2006: 192), cfr. [baʃaˈve:sənə] "he/she was playing (music)" (RMS 7 835), when added to a sequence ending in /n/ takes the form [-dzənə], cfr. [baʃaˈvendzənə] "they were playing (music)" (RMS 7 686). Another morphological context that documents the *fortition* and the *voicing* of /s/ as [dz] is the inflection of personal pronouns: here the morpheme [-sə] (cfr. *-sa* in phonetically more conservative dialects), which marks the so-called instrumental case (often conveying a comitative meaning), surfaces as [-dzə] when the pronoun stem ends in /n/, cfr. [ˈla:sə] "with her" (stem /la-/) *vs* [ˈlendzə] "with them" (stem [len-]). An almost identical rule of fortition, well outlined by Schirru (2010: 147), is widespread in Central and Southern Italo-Romance dialects, in which it also occurs after /l/ and /r/ (Rohlfs 1966: § 267), i.e. after [+sonor.] consonants, while in Abruzzian Romani the rule is visible only after /n/, because Abruzzian Romani does not seem to provide contexts such as /ls/,

/rs/. The absence of such contexts makes possible the hypothesis that the rule in Abruzzian Romani might be identical to the rule of Abruzzese and that in Abruzzian Romani rule the specification [+nasal] on the consonant preceding /s/ might be redundant. More radically it could be maintained that both Abruzzese and Abruzzian Romani show fortition of /s/ only after a consonant, i.e. after a [–syll.] phonemic unity: phonotactic constraints restrict to the sonorants in Abruzzese and to /n/ in Abruzzian Romani the consonants which can precede /s/; in this perspective the feature [+sonor.] too, can be considered as redundant. The more common output of the rule in Southern Italo-Romance dialects is [ts], while the contextual *voicing* of the affricate is typical of Abruzzese, cfr. e.g [pənˈdza] "to think", [ˈmɛndzə] "table", [kundzuˈma] "to consume" (Giammarco 1960: 52).

However, returning to Romani, an allomorph [-tsa] for the instrumental case occurs in the plural in many Romani dialects and may in fact go back to a very early stage of Romani (Matras 2002: 88–89); so it may be assumed that the dialect, now called Abruzzian Romani had already undergone this process before coming into contact with Abruzzese dialects. The fortition of the alveolar fricative in the innovative morpheme of the imperfect [-sənə], which becomes [-dzənə] after /n/, might be considered as the result of the same Early-Romani process, which partially coincided with the Abruzzese rule and indeed may have been confirmed and reinforced by this coincidence. Although it remains uncertain whether the process of fortition can be traced back to an early stage of Abruzzian Romani or depends on interference from co-territorial Romance dialects, the voiced outcome [dz] for /s/ after a consonant with the feature [+ sonorant] is typical of Abruzzese and seems to be a more recent phenomenon in Abruzzian Romani, preferably to be explained through a process of rule borrowing.

2.6   *Palatalization of the Alveolar Fricative /s/ before Alveolar Stop*

In many Southern Italo-Romance dialects, before stops the alveolar fricative /s/ undergoes palatalization, becoming a post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] (for a detailed discussion of this allophonic process cfr. Luca Lorenzetti's contribution in this volume). The phenomenon applies in its amplest way to few dialects, for instance in those of Macerata (Marche; cfr. Neumann-Spallart 1904: 300–301) and Subiaco (Lazio; cfr. Lindström 1907: 251), where all stops can trigger the palatalization of a preceding alveolar fricative. In other dialects the triggers are represented only by /k/ and /p/, i.e. by the stops having the feature [+ grave], as can be observed for instance in Campania, and especially in Naples (Ledgeway 2009: 99). Finally, in some areas the palatalization /sC/ → [ʃC] occurs only if C = /t/; this is the case with most Abruzzese dialects (cfr. Giammarco 1979: 66). The

rule also operates in Abruzzian Romani, as suggested by forms such as [ˈvaʃtə] "hand" (Pe 186 and 187; ARms 196; RMS 7 377, 758, 852, 1043), [saʃtaˈrjappə] "he/she healed up" (RMS 7 384), [ˈsaʃtrə] "iron" (Pe tr. 37; ARms 195; RMS 7 n. 673, 810, 905), [ˈgraʃtə] "horse" (Pe 1617; ARms 189; RMS 7 447, 555, 584, 770, 776, 799, 1000, 1008).

These words, belonging to the pre-European lexical layers of Romani, represent the continuation respectively of Old Indo-Aryan *hasta* "hand", *svastha* "healthy, sound", *śastra* "instrument, tool (especially to cut), iron" and Armenian *grast* "beast of burden" (Boretzky-Igla 1994: 325, 328 and 332) and have a solid etymology with /st/, which is confirmed by many conservative Romani dialects, cfr. KL [vast], [sasˈto], [ˈsastri], [grast]. Current knowledge suggests that the palatalization of /st/ into [ʃt] occurs only in Abruzzian Romani, where it is mandatory. As for the sequences /sk/ the palatalization of the fricative is very rare in Abruzzian Romaní: the data from Pellis (1936) shows that /sk/ does not undergo palatalization cfr. e. g. [u dduˈmeskərə] "corset" (Pe 641), [i paɲˈɲeskərə] "basin" (Pe 837), [u murˈreskərə] "soap" and the female informant from Campobasso, labelled IT-007 in the Romani Morpho-Syntax Database, confirms the absence of palatalization of /s/ before /k/. The data given by ARms are less consistent where we find [ˈleʃkəro] "his", [ˈpeʃkəro] "his/her/its own" (Morelli-Soravia 1998: 191 and 193), all etymologically from *-es-kero* (Matras 2002: 84 and 89), but [paˈnjeskə]/[paˈnjeʃkərə] "cucumber, melon, watermelon", [maˈseskərə] "slaughterhouse" and [piˈsoskə] "because" (Morelli-Soravia 1998: 177 and 193). It is possible that the data given by Morelli-Soravia 1998 reflect, at least partially, a sub-variety of Abruzzian Romani spoken in the province of L'Aquila, whose Romance dialects are not considered part of the Abruzzese *continuum* because of the presence of many features unknown to the rest of the Abruzzese dialects; one of these features is the trend to palatalize /s/ before voiceless stops and before /m/ (Giammarco 1979: 80). The sequence /sp/ is very rare in Romaní and the only case, apart from Italo-Romance loanwords, is represented by [li nisˈpje] "the grandsons" (RMS 7 781), where [nisˈpjo] "grandson", a loanword from Greek ἀνιψιός (Ascoli 1865: 134; Scala 2006–2007: 51–52), is clearly exempt from palatalization (cfr. also the diminutive form [nisˈpriˈjo] in Morelli-Soravia 1998: 192).

The allophonic rule that admits only [ʃ] before /t/ is well rooted in Abruzzian Romani and has cancelled the etymological sequences [st]; in this case too, the hypothesis that this rule has been borrowed from Abruzzese, which displays exactly the same process, has to be considered as highly probable.

2.7 *Devoicing of /d/ after a Stressed Vowel*

In Abruzzian Romani the devoicing of /d/ regularly occurs after a stressed vowel. Words such as [ˈtuːtə] "milk" (Pe tr. 38 and 43), [ˈdaːtə] "father" (Pe 14, tr. 48 and 49), [ˈgaːtə] "shirt" (Pe 634 and 635), [ˈduːtə] "light" (Pe 806 and 1507), [ˈvoːtərə] "bed" (Pe 833 and 1064), [ˈkliːtə] "key" (Pe 1087) present a non-etymological [t]; phonetically more conservative Romani dialects confirm that the original dental stop in this words was /d/, cfr. PS [tud], [dad], [gad], [dud], [ˈvodro] and LS [ˈklidi]. The phenomenon is well attested to in co-territorial Abruzzese dialects, cfr. e. g. [ˈkruːtə] "row", [ˈpeːtə] "foot" (Giammarco 1960: 47; Rohlfs 1966: § 216; Bigalke 1996: 19–20) and in the opinion of Carlo Battisti (1912: 182–197) originates from the sonority decrease of unstressed vowels reduced to schwa. A more recent analysis, put forward by Leonardo Savoia about a very similar phenomenon in the dialect of Andria (Northern Puglia), explains the loss of sonority as an extension to the following alveolar stop /d/ of the feature [+ stiff] (i.e [+ stiff vocal folds]), associated with the high tone of the stressed vowel (Savoia 2014: 249–257). If vocal folds remain stiff during the realization of a subsequent occlusive, they do not activate the laryngeal mechanism and therefore in the subsequent consonant there is a loss of sonority. In the dialect of Andria stressed nuclei of proparoxytone words are considered as weak and devoid of the feature [+ stiff] and consequently unable to propagate it. Abruzzese has undergone the same process of devoicing of /d/ after stressed vowels, described in the dialect of Andria, but the loss of sonority also occurs in proparoxytone words whose stressed syllable presents a long vowel and then a strong nucleus cfr. e. g. *la vḗteva* "the widow" in Montesilvano (AIS I 77 *la vedova*, point 619). Taking Abruzzese [ˈpeːtə] < PĔDE(M) "foot" as an example, the process can be represented as follows:

(12)
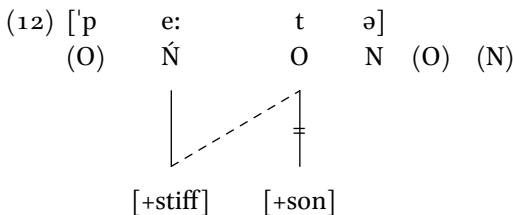
In Abruzzian Romani the rule is mandatory and can be exemplified by the word that in phonologically more conservative Romani dialects, such as PS and KL, is *gad* "shirt". In Abruzzian Romani this word surfaces as [ˈgaːtə]:

(13) [ˈg   a: t   ə]
     O   Ń   O   N

          [+stiff]   [+son]
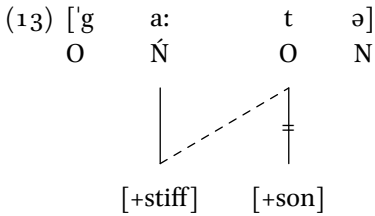
It is clear that this rule cannot have been acquired through Abruzzese loanwords. A sequence V́ + [t] in Abruzzese words would not have represented a model unknown to Romani and would have been reproduced in the replica-language without any difficulty and, above all, without introducing any new rule. There are many Abruzzian Romani words in which V́ + [t] is etymological, cfr. [ˈbuːtə] "much" (Skr. *bahutva*), [ˈkaːtə] "scissors" (Pkr. *kattiya*), [ˈʃuːtə] "vinegar" (Skr. *śukta*), [ˈdzeːtə] "oil" (Armenian *jēt'*). Only synchronic alternations between [d] and [t], caused by the shift of stress position in Abruzzese paradigms, can have served as a model for this process of devoicing, which is well rooted in the phonological structure of Abruzzese dialects; hence the rule has been transferred to Abruzzian Romani. In Abruzzian Romani alternations between [t] and [d]/[dd], such as [fiˈriːtə] "window", pl. [fəridˈdja], a loanword from Greek θυρίδι (Scala 2006–2007: 49), testify that the rule /d/ → [t]/V́___ is still active, potentially irrespective of the real presence of a high tone in the stressed syllable of the replica-language. A rule grounded on a phonetic feature, as is [+ stiff], may be extended to another language by bilingual speakers, becoming a mere distributional rule which preserves only the relation between input and output, even without replicating the phonetic feature that motivated the output in the model language.

    A glance at Calabrian Romani, a dialect closely related to Abruzzian Romani, enables the acquisition of further information about the rule. A form such as CR [fiˈriddə] "windows" (Soravia 1978: 34) seems to undergo only the rule of CV epithesis described above (cfr. 2.3) and widespread in all Central and Southern Italo-Romance dialects. In Abruzzian Romani things are different: devoicing of /d/ after a stressed vowel and the CV epithesis can conflict and the evidence is clear: where /d/ devoicing occurs, CV epithesis takes place in the reduced form -V (with V = [ə]) as after [+continuant] consonant. In fact forms such as *[gattə] "shirt", *[ˈtuttə] "milk", *[ˈduttə] "light" do not exist. This behaviour of the CV epithesis rule might be related to the length of the vowel preceding the devoiced /d/.

TABLE 7.1   *Abruzzian Romani phonological rules borrowed from Abruzzese*

Sub-section	Rule description and outcome
2.1	Description: Propagation of /u/ which affects syllables having a velar stop or velar fricative in the onset and all vowels but /u/ in the nucleus. Outcome: emergence of a non-etymological [w] or [...ʷ], after the onset of a syllable, if the preceding syllable, within the phonological word, contains /u/ or /o/
2.2	Description: prosthesis of [a-] in words beginning with a consonant Outcome: emergence of a non-etymological [a-], especially in words occurring at the beginning of a sentence or after a pause
2.3	Description: CV epithesis in words ending in a consonant Outcome: last syllable's CV structure (with V=[ə]) in all lexemes originally ending in a consonant
2.4	Description: centralization to [ə] of post-tonic unstressed vowels Outcome: loss of colour distinction in post-tonic unstressed vowels
2.5	Description: fortition to affricate and voicing of /s/ after a nasal consonant Outcome: loss of the etymological cluster [ns], regularly changed in [ndz]
2.6	Description: palatalization of /s/ before alveolar stop Outcome: generalization of [ʃ] before /t/ and consequent loss of the etymological distinction between [st] and [ʃt]
2.7	Description: loss of sonority of /d/ after a stressed vowel Outcome: generalization of [t] after stressed vowel and consequent loss of the etymological distinction between [ˈVt] and [ˈVd]

3   Phonological Rule Borrowing: External and Internal Dimensions

The seven phonological Abruzzian Romani rules which have been discussed in Section 2 are recalled briefly in Table 7.1.

All these phonological rules, which have been almost totally neglected so far in grammatical outlines of Abruzzian Romani, have been undoubtedly imported from co-territorial Romance dialects. Such rules can be found, despite different degrees of pervasiveness, in all varieties of Abruzzian Romani and they can be considered as the usual set of phonological processes operating in Romani-speaking communities in Abruzzo and Molise. Heavy phonological rule borrowing, such as that observed in Abruzzian Romani, seems more likely

when the lexicon of the two languages present in the repertoire of a community is strongly different. Some other similar cases, such as Arbëresh dialects in Southern Italy (Savoia 2008: 43–46) and Armenian dialects, these latter for a long time in contact with Turkic languages (Vaux 1998: 151–173 and 242–246, Scala 2016 and Scala in press), seem to confirm this trend. If a bilingual community entrusts the role of identity-marker to a language, from a cognitive point of view the lexicon represents the most salient and accessible way of marking distance and of highlighting a different identity. If the lexicon of the endo-communitarian language is radically different to that of the inter-communitarian one, the phonology can more easily undergo unification, by extending the model of the inter-communitarian language to both languages. On the contrary, when in a bilingual community the we-code and the they-code (or everyone-code) are lexically very similar, each phonetic detail which differentiates the two languages is carefully preserved and respected in the pronunciation; this situation is clearly observable in a lot of small communities in Italy, where the local Italo-Romance dialect is perceived and preserved as the endo-communitarian code, differing from neighbouring dialects or the koine-dialect only by virtue of its phonetic features.

Returning to a system perspective, it has to be highlighted that in most cases the rules described above for Abruzzian Romani can be considered only as processes acting on phonological features and not on phonological units. The case of the imitation of the Abruzzese prosodic structure and its prosody related rules (cfr. 2.3 and 2.4) is very clear in this regard: in the Romani words etymologically ending in a consonant, the presence of an epithetic syllable CV recalls the prosodic structure of words in co-territorial dialects based on a trochaic foot, with the stressed syllable having a heavy rhyme (long vowel or consonantal coda). This structure has no relationship with phonological units, but rather with the metrical-prosodic structure, which is constituted only by a set of properties. The case of propagation (2.1) is also highly significant: in Abruzzian Romani the phenomenon presents a set of possible target onsets which is ampler than in Abruzzese propagation, also including a phonological unit such as /x/, which is unknown to the Abruzzese phonemic inventory. The set of vowels acting as triggers is also more ample than in the Romance model and includes /o/, and not only /u/, as in Abruzzese. The phonological rule has been borrowed from Abruzzese and selects the same features as the model, but in Abruzzian Romani, because of the difference between the two phonemic inventories, it captures more units. This evidence actually seems to minimize, if not exclude, any role for the borrowed lexicon in the process of rule imitation. Other phonological rules of Abruzzian Romani, notably the palatalization of the alveolar fricative /s/ before alveolar stop (2.6) and the devoicing

of /d/ after a stressed vowel (2.7), cannot have been induced through lexical loanwords. The outputs of these two rules in Abruzzese are indeed sequences of sounds well known to Abruzzian Romani, which in its traditional lexicon presented many cases of etymological /ʃt/ and /V́t/. Such sequences, generated in Abruzzese by a process of allophony, could have been integrated into the replica language without any difficulty, but also without inducing any new phonological rule. On the whole, the role of the Abruzzese lexical loanwords as a vehicle for the borrowing of phonological rules into Abruzzian Romani does not seems to be particularly relevant. Moreover, loanwords seem to act as vehicles for new phonemes (Gusmani 1982; Stolz 2008: 21), rather than as inductors of new phonological rules, with the exception perhaps of stress patterns (Thomason 2006: 671). Some decades ago, in a detailed study about phonological contact, van Coetsem discussed the polarity between lexicon, as the least stable domain of the language, and phonology (together with morphology and syntax), as one of the more stable levels, and maintained that the stability of phonology can explain the agentivity of the recipient language on the lexical borrowings of a source language, emerging in borrowings phonological adaptation, and the agentivity of the source language (imposition, in the terminology of van Coetsem) on a recipient language in transferring its phonological features on the pronunciation of a L2 (van Coetsem 1988: 26–36). The cases of phonological rules borrowing analyzed in the previous pages suggest that some form of agentivity of the source language can affect the pronunciation of a recipient language outside the dimension of language learning. In native bilingual speakers, as Abruzzian Roma are, this phenomenon appears to be possible at least in the domain of syntagmatic phonology and its emergence seems to be favoured by some particular sociolinguistic conditions which can trigger (or at least permit) a progressive unification of the phonological rules of the languages involved in the repertoire.

In this contribution seven phonological rules borrowed by Abruzzian Romani from Abruzzese have been discussed and it is likely that there are still others yet to be described. In conclusion, in Abruzzian Romani it is hard to find a phonological rule which is not shared with Abruzzese. In this perspective it may be assumed that Abruzzian Romani speakers, who have all been bilingual with Abruzzese for centuries, currently manage a subset of phonological rules which serves two different languages and is applied to two different phonemic and lexical inventories.

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Avita fatta: Non-Etymological Forms of Auxiliary HABERE in Southern Italian Dialects

Giancarlo Schirru

1   Introduction

This article is dedicated to a particular development of the verb HABĒRE attested in southern Italian dialects, where some varieties display innovative forms that end with a vowel [a] and are specialised in auxiliary function.

Such a paradigm may be observed in Neapolitan dialect, both in the type *aggia fà* having temporal, deontic or epistemic meaning '(I) will do', '(I) have to do' or '(I) shall do'; and in the type *aggia fatto* '(I) have done'. But the phonology of this language variety does not allow an unproblematic recognition of the phonetic data, or a straightforward interpretation of them: more notably, the latter pattern, where actually observed, has until now been interpreted as a restoration of a final secondary *a*, as a reaction to the centralisation of final vowels that is characteristic of southern Italian dialects.

To overcome such concerns, this article points to new data originating from a dialect of Southern Lazio where the same paradigm of HABERE is attested in different phonological conditions; this may lead to a better interpretation of it, in both synchronic and diachronic terms.

On the basis of these new data, this paper explores an alternative to the current hypothesis explaining *aggia fatto*. In this perspective, a morphological argument is investigated: forms like *aggia* are intended as the result of a reanalysis of the parallel constructions composed of the auxiliary HABERE followed by an infinitive verb.

Thus, for example *aggia fà* [adːʒ a ˈfa], where the auxiliary [adːʒo] displays the deletion of final vowel in front of the following preposition [a], is reanalysed as [adːʒa ˈfa], a periphrasis constituted by an auxiliary form [adːʒa] followed directly by the infinitive. From this pattern, forms like [adːʒa], [avimːa] may have spread into the conjugation with past participle.

2 Auxiliary HABERE Followed by Infinitive in Contemporary Neapolitan

In contemporary Neapolitan dialect, the conjugation of auxiliary HABERE is largely attested with final [a] when it is followed by an infinitive. For example, in the literary dramatic texts of the Scarpetta family (Eduardo Scarpetta and his sons Eduardo De Filippo and Peppino De Filippo), one of the most famous and representative lineages in the Neapolitan theatre tradition, the following conjugation can be found:[1]

(1) 1SG – E c'**aggia fà?** (Scarpetta, *Duje marite 'mbrugliune*, I 352)
– Michele ha ditto mannatemmille che v'**aggia parlà** (Scarpetta, *Cane e gatte*, IV 469)
– **Aggia truvà** 'o pennacchio, **aggia pulezzà** 'e guarnimenti? Se po' sapé ch'**aggia fa?** (P. De Filippo, *Amori ... e balestre!*, I 192)
– nun **aggia dà** cunto a nisciuno (P. De Filippo, *Amori ... e balestre!*, I 197)

2SG – quanno parle co na femmena **haja tuccà** tutte cose (Scarpetta, *La pupa movibile*, IV 228)

3SG – chella pare che **adda ire** a morte! (Scarpetta, *Mettiteve a fà l'ammore cu me!*, I 326)
– **Adda essere** curiuso chillo quanno difende qualche causa (Scarpetta, *Lo scarfalietto*, I 441)
– Comme "**adda fernì**"? (P. De Filippo, *Cupido scherza e ... spazza*, I 89)
– S'**hadda truvà** pecché serve (P. De Filippo, *Amori ... e balestre!*, I 193)

1PL – e nce **avimma trovà** (Scarpetta, *La collana d'oro o i cinque talismani*, I 271)
– nuje nun nce **avimma piglià** collera (Scarpetta, *Duje marite 'mbrugliune*, I 379)
– **Avimma dà** tremila lire a don Giuvanne (P. De Filippo, *Cupido scherza e ... spazza*, I 91)

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1 The texts are cited from the current editions of Eduardo Scarpetta (1992); Eduardo De Filippo (2005–2007) and Peppino De Filippo (1964): references are to volume and page number. The comedy *A Coperchia è caduta una stella*, by Peppino De Filippo, is cited in its Neapolitan translation by Vincenzo Vigilia and available online at: http://www.attoripercaso.it/copioni-commedienapoletane.htm.

2PL　– **avita vedè** che dice Annetta (Scarpetta, *Gelusia* ovvero *Ammore spusalizio e gelusia*, I 96)
　　　– vuje **avita essere** lo maestro de Tetillo (Scarpetta, *Tetillo*, I 284)
　　　– vuie **avita parlà** d'affari di famiglia (P. De Filippo, *Cupido scherza e ... spazza*, I 99)
　　　– Vuje'll'**avita'mprarà** l'educazione (P. De Filippo, *Amori ... e balestre!*, I 189)

3PL　– i giovanotti a quell'età **hanna passà** afforza pe doje strade (Scarpetta, *Tetillo*, I 292)
　　　– tutti li marite, chi cchiù, chi meno, **hanna fà** chesto (Scarpetta, *Duje marite 'mbrugliune*, I 379)
　　　– sti chiacchiere 'ncoppa a vuje e Pascuttella **hanna fernì** (P. De Filippo, *Cupido scherza e ... spazza*, I 87)

The interpretation of these literary forms requires discussion, since the local dialect is characterised by a systematic process of dephonologisation of unstressed vowels: in Neapolitan, as in a large region of Southern Italy, final unstressed vocalism undergoes complete neutralisation, and is represented by a unique vocalic phoneme, normally surfacing as [ə]:[2]

$$(2) \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} /i/ \\ /e/ \\ /a/ \\ /o/ \\ /u/ \end{matrix} \right\} > /ə/ \Big/ \underline{\quad\quad} \# \\ [-stress]$$

In pretonic internal position, front vowels converge in /ə/ (3a) with a possible allophone [ɪ], back vowels converge in /u/ (3b), while only /a/ does not merge with other vowels; as a result, the internal pretonic vocalism is reduced to a system of three unstressed vowels /ə, a, u/:[3]

2　On this process, see Rohlfs 1966–1969, §§ 128, 141, 144, 147; Ledgeway 2009: 78; Loporcaro 2009: 145–147.

3　On this process, see Radtke 1997: 62; Bafile 1997: 128–130; Ledgeway 2009: 71–72; the pattern is consistent with the descriptions offered in Giammarco 1979: 40–41 for Abruzzese; Melillo 1955: 44–45, Stehl 1980: 180–181, Loporcaro 1988: 58–59, for Apulia; Lüdtke 1979: 15–16, for Lucania.

(3) a. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} /i/ \\ /e/ \end{matrix} \right\} > /\partial/ \Big/ \overline{\quad\text{[−stress]}\quad} \sigma$

  b. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} /u/ \\ /o/ \end{matrix} \right\} > /u/ \Big/ \overline{\quad\text{[−stress]}\quad} \sigma$

Even if the orthography of Neapolitan dialect is largely conservative and, for the final unstressed vocalism, reflects the conditions of 15th century which precede the full neutralisation,[4] the presence of final [a], treated as an internal unstressed vowel for the low prosodic prominence of the auxiliary form, is confirmed by the dialectological field research. For example, in a study dedicated to the inflection of HABERE in Neapolitan, Patrizia Del Puente (1998) reconstructs the following paradigm for the auxiliary followed by the infinitive:

(4) 1SG [ˈadːa ˈfa] '(I) will do', '(I) have to do', '(I) shall do'
   2SG [ˈea] / [ˈja]
   3SG [ˈadːa]
   1PL [aˈvimːa] / [aˈimːa] / [ˈimːa] / [ˈamːa]
   2PL [aˈvita] / [aˈita] / [ˈita] / [ˈata]
   3PL [ˈanːa]

2.1 *A Digression on Etymology*

An etymological discussion of the construction of auxiliary plus infinitive exemplified in (1) must now be developed. Three main reconstructions are offered in the literature.

The first lies on a phonological ground. In his study on the dialect of Cerignola, Nicola Zingarelli (1901: 234) observed that there is no syntactic reduplication (*raddoppiamento sintattico*)[5] in the construction of HABERE + infinitive:

(5) [ˈadːa kanˈda] '(I) will sing', '(I) have to sing', '(I) shall sing'
   [ˈadːa ˈsɛnde] '(I) will hear', '(I) have to hear', '(I) shall hear'

Since the preposition *a* (from Latin AD) normally triggers reduplication, Zingarelli rules out that the vowel [a] ending the auxiliary form could represent

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4 On such a chronology, cf. the reconstruction offered in Formentin 1998: 178–188.
5 On syntactic reduplication of Standard Italian and central-southern Italian dialects, it is sufficient to refer to Loporcaro 1997.

such a preposition. The dialect of Cerignola undergoes the centralisation of final vocalism expressed in (2): but in phonological phrases composed of a noun and an adjective (regardless of their internal order) of feminine gender, the first word presents a full final vowel [a], marking the gender (Zingarelli 1901: 231–232):

(6) a. [ˈbɔna ˈfɛmənə]
        good.F woman(.F)
        'good woman'

     b. [ˈfɛməna ˈbːou̯nə]
        woman.F good.F
        'good woman'

     c. [ˈkwesːa ˈfɛmənə] 'this.F woman(.F)'

     d. [ˈnɔva ˈnou̯və] literally 'new.F new' ('very new')

However, this vowel is not only restored when it derives from Lat. -A(M), or whenever has the function of a feminine suffix; it appears even if it is not etymological, regardless of its function:

(7) [ˈvɛsta ˈvɛrdə] lit. 'clothing(.F)' + 'green', 'green clothing' (but cf. Lat. VESTEM)
     [ˈvɛrda ˈvɛrdə] lit. 'green.F green', 'very green' (cf. Lat. VIRIDEM)
     [la ˈpei̯ʃa ˈpartə] 'the worse.F part(.F)' (cf. Lat. PEIUS)
     [ˈtanda ˈti̯əmbə] 'much.F time(.M)' (cf. Lat. TANTUM)
     [ˈpou̯ka ˈtʃibːə] litt. 'few.F food(.M)', 'of little appetite' (cf. Lat. PAUCUM)
     [ˈpikːa ˈpikːə] litt. 'few.F few', 'very few' (cf. Calabrese [ˈpikːu] < *PIKK-)
     [ˈpikka ˈbːu̯ə̯nə] 'little.F good.M'

This last process is considered by Zingarelli as the analogical extension of the [a] restoration, in final feminine positions where [ə] occurs, as set out in (6):

(8) e sarà per l'analogia dell'ę̆ di femminile che similmente è nelle condizioni di *a* nelle anzidette combinazioni (Zingarelli 1901: 232)

More explicit on the phonological interpretation is Heinrich Lausberg in his study on the dialects of Southern Lucania:

(9) Das zwischen den Formen auftretende *a* erklärt sich eher rein phonetisch
     (Lausberg 1939: 150).

Lausberg begins his argument by observing the lack of syntactic reduplication
in auxiliary and infinitive constructions (Lausberg 1939: 150–151):

(10) [ˈadːʒa βəˈðe] '(I) will see', '(I) have to see', '(I) shall see'
      [ˈadːʒ a ˈji] '(I) will go', '(I) have to go', '(I) shall go'

He connects the final [a] of the auxiliary [ˈadːʒa] to the centralisation of
unstressed vocalism of Southern dialects, and to the pretonic use of the auxil-
iary form, which is drawn to the subsequent infinitive and forms a phonological
unit with it. In a prosodic situation of this kind, when the unstressed syllable
in final position of a word becomes internal to a new phonological complex, its
nucleus is normally changed from [ə] to [a]; the process can be seen in exam-
ples like:[6]

(11) [mitːaˈtilːə] < [mitːəˈtilːə] 'put it on yourself'
      [βiβaˈtilːə] < [βiβəˈtilːə] 'drink it for yourself'
      [je nombuˈtiːja ˈji] < [je nombuˈtiːjə ˈji] 'I couldn't go'
      [staˈβeːma ˈfoːr] < [staˈβeːmə ˈfoːr] '(we) stayed outside'

Therefore, Zingarelli and Lausberg explain the final [a] of [ˈadːʒa] through a
process of vowel restoration, which can be illustrated as follows:

(12) HABEŌ > *ABJO > [ˈadːʒo] > [ˈadːʒə] > [ˈadːʒa]

A second etymological hypothesis considers the [a] as a reflex of the Latin
preposition AD:

(13) *aggio a fà* < Lat. HABEO AD FACERE

The absence of reinforcement strength of the preposition is viewed as a mere
idiosyncratic property of this construction. This position is clearly expressed
by Gerald Rohlfs (1966–1969, § 175):

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6 The examples are cited from Lausberg 1939: 150; on the centralisation of final vocalism in the
   Southern Lucanian dialects, and the secondary restitution of a final [a] in certain conditions,
   see Rensch 1964: 70–71; Loporcaro and Silvestri 2011: 328–334.

(14) La preposizione *a* non ha alcun effetto rafforzativo quando serve a sta-
bilire il legame tra un verbo modale e un infinito: *ajje a mette* 'devo met-
tere'.[7]

The hypothesis of an exception to the syntactic reduplication after *a* (<AD),
represented by the periphrasis of auxiliary + infinitive, was already formulated
by Francesco D'Ovidio in his study on the dialect of Campobasso:

(15) ecco i monosillabi forniti di facoltà raddoppiativa: [...] *a* ad (fuorché
nelle locuzioni verbali sul tipo 'ho a dire', nelle quali l'*a* si abbarbica così
tenacemente alla voce di 'avere' da non potersene affatto staccare: *áj-a fá*
ho da fare, *t'aviš-a fa malę?*, t'avessi a far del male?) (D'Ovidio 1878: 179).

The difficulties of such a reconstruction are illustrated by Michele Loporcaro
(1988: 285–287), who recalls the presence of the forms HABEO + AD + infini-
tive, with syntactic reduplication, in many Southern dialects,[8] and the parallel
spread of the pattern HABEO + infinitive (without final [a] in the auxiliary form
and without reduplication of the initial consonant of the infinitive) in South-
ern Italy; for example in Altamura both are attested, with a slightly different
semantic value not investigated here:

(16) a. [av a fːɛ] '(he) will do'
          [agːj a mːanˈdʒɛi] '(I) will eat'
      b. [jɛvə fɛ] '(he) shall do'
          [jɛvənə wadaɲːɛ] '(they) shall earn'

The third solution is offered as an alternative by Loporcaro in a long digression
proposed in a subsequent study dedicated to the future tense in southern
Italian dialects. Loporcaro (1999: 87–89 n. 27) proposes an etymology HABEO
+ DE + AB + infinitive, for the construction without syntactic reduplication:

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7 Rohlfs 1966–1969, §175; a different opinion is expressed in Rohlfs 1966–1969, §702, where
the Author observes: "Nella Calabria settentrionale, nella Lucania meridionale, nel Napole-
tano e negli Abruzzi l'*a* introducente l'infinito non porta raddoppiamento della consonante
seguente"; he concludes (making reference to the position of H. Lausberg): "Questo *a* par
dunque non risalire a AD, bensì sarà originato piuttosto da fonetica di frase".

8 On this pattern see also Fanciullo 2001: 352–353, where for Salentine dialects the type [adːʒu
fːare] '(I) have to do' is quoted; here, the preposition *a* does not appear in surface, but is
present in the representation through the syntactic reduplication.

(17) *aggio a fà* < *aggio da fà* < Lat. HABEO DE AB FACERE

Loporcaro raises arguments from the lack of reduplication after the preposition *da* in all the Italian varieties, and from the alternation of forms with *a* and with *da* in some Southern dialects: for example, in Campobasso, both *ai a purtà* and *ai ra purtà* '(you) have to bring' are attested.

A possible exception to the process illustrated in (17), is represented by the 3rd person singular *adda*, which is normally interpreted as 'ha da', i.e. the etymological 3rd person singular *à* (*AT < HABET) followed by the preposition *da*. Here again, the syntactic reduplication supposed in *adda* (in order to explain the long consonant [d:]) raises a possible difficulty: the lengthening strength of the verbal form *ha* in Neapolitan is not so clear. But even in dialects where this form does not provoke the lengthening of the following consonant, the long [d:] is attested. For example, in the dialect of Mattinata, in Northern Apulia, where *ha* does not trigger reduplication, the following forms are found (Loporcaro 1999: 89):

(18) *a da ši* '(you) will exit'
      add a ši '(he) will exit'
      šarraddə '(he) will exit'

Therefore, an alternative explanation for the form *adda* can be taken into account: in this perspective Loporcaro reconsiders an etymology already proposed by Lausberg for the parallel forms in southern Lucania; see for example [ˈkraɪ̯ ˈadːa ˈcɔβ] 'tomorrow (it) will rain' in Nova Siri, [adːa manˈːe] '(he) will send' and [adːaˈji] '(he) will go' in Colobraro, [adːaˈjɛsː] '(he) will be' in Tursi (Lausberg 1939: 151), but also [ˈadː amutːˈːʃatu] 'he is hidden' (*AIS*, 900, point 744), in San Chirico Raparo (PZ). In order to explain this 3rd sing. form *add* '(he) has', Lausberg (1939: 151) proposes the following derivation:

(19) (H)ABET > *àv(ə)tə > add*

In this perspective, the form *adda* becomes explainable by the same path of the other forms listed in (1) and (4), with the presence of a preposition *a* or *da* following the verb.

3   A Process of Reanalysis

The progressive formation of a conjugation specialised in auxiliary function for the verb HABERE is reconstructed by Adam Ledgeway for Neapolitan, the southern Italian variety better documented in its historical development: he observes that in the first centuries of Neapolitan literature, the construction HABERE + preposition + infinitive displays a clear autonomy of the preposition (expressed as *a* or *da*), which is written as an autonomous word and can be separated from the auxiliary by other material; for example (Ledgeway 2009: 385):

(20) 1SG *aio da fare* (Loise de Rosa, 15th century)
          ayo a dare (*Libro de la destructione de Troya*, 15th century)
          aggio da zappare (Giambattista Basile, 17th century)
          aggio a dicere (Giambattista Basile, 17th century)
     2SG *ay a vivere* (*Libro de la destructione de Troya*, 15th century)
          hai da stare (Giovanni Brancati, 15th century)
     3SG *ave a defendere* (*Libro de la destructione de Troya*, 15th century)
          ha da tenere (Giulio Cesare Cortese, 17th century)
          haje d'avé (Michele Rocco, 18th century)
     1PL *avimo da fare* (Loise de Rosa, 15th century)
          avimmo da essere (Giulio Cesare Cortese, 17th century)
     3PL *hanno hogi da mangiare* (Giovanni Brancati, 15th century)
          hanno a servire (Pompeo Sarnelli, 17th century)
          hanno da pascolà (Michele Rocco, 18th century)

Whatever the etymology of the construction *aggio a fà* may be, whether the path illustrated in (13) or the one in (17), a process of reanalysis of the preposition *a* is attested in more recent texts: the particle is reinterpreted as the final vowel of the previous auxiliary form:

(21) a. *aggio a fà* [adːʒo a ˈfa] > *aggia fà* [adːʒ a ˈfa]
     b. *aggia fà* [adːʒ a ˈfa] {aggio}+{a}+{fà} > {aggia}+{fà}

First of all, the final vowel of the auxiliary is elided in front of the preposition (21a): subsequently, the resulting sequence [adːʒa] is reanalysed as the conjugated form of HABERE (21b). Ledgeway dates the process to the last two centuries:

(22) Però in età più recente, a partire dall'Ottocento circa, il paradigma presenta un notevole grado di specializzazione morfofonologica crescente,

in cui vengono tipicamente impiegate solo le forme indebolite e/o clitiche di *avé* con incorporazione e/o agglutinazione ora della sola preposizione *da* > / *'a* (ossia, *da* alla 3sg. e *'a* nelle altre persone; v. anche Rohlfs 1968, § 591) non più separabile dal verbo. Il risultato è un paradigma sincronicamente poco trasparente, caratterizzato da una certa fluidità strutturale morfofonologica (Ledgeway 2009: 385).

Connected with the infinitive, the auxiliary verb incorporated the following preposition, no longer perceived by the speaker as an autonomous word, but sensed as the mere final vowel of the auxiliary. This new perception is clearly expressed in writing through word division and spelling, as can be observed in the forms 1SG *aggia*, 2SG *haja*, 3SG *adda*, 1PL *avimma*, 2PL *avita*, 3PL *hanna* listed in (1).

The autonomy of these forms *aggia*, *aja* etc. can be demonstrated considering the fact that in Neapolitan dialect they can also be extended to constructions of the type *aggia da fà* '(I) have to do', with clear deontic value, where the preposition *da* is explicitly expressed after the auxiliary form; the following examples come from the theatre texts already cited:

(23) 1SG — io ogge assolutamente **aggia da j** da la commara (Scarpetta, *Cane e gatte*, IV 441)

— l'aggia fà fernuta, **aggia da fà vedé** chi songh'io (Scarpetta, *Il romanzo d'un farmacista povero*, II 180)

1PL — Vulimmo ridere, **avimma da dà** cunto a te? (Scarpetta, *Il non plus ultra della disperazione* ovvero *La Bottiglieria del Rigoletto*, I 395)

— mò **avimma da parlà** nu poco io e ttico (Scarpetta, *Tetillo 'nzurato*, I 508)

2PL — Mò **avita da fa venì** lo figlio vuosto ccà (Scarpetta, *'Na commedia 'e tre atte*, I 128)

— Sissignore. **Avita da sapé** che isso ... (Scarpetta, *Quinnice solde so' cchiù assaie de seimila lire*, I 155)

3PL — li signure **hanna da mangià** (Scarpetta, *La nutriccia*, II 270)

— Quanno recito io **hanna da sentì** sulo a me (Scarpetta, *Lu café chantant*, III 318)

3.1 Auxiliary HABERE Followed by Past Participle in Contemporary Neapolitan

If the construction HABERE + past participle is considered, the Neapolitan dialect clearly attests the forms of the auxiliary which represent the expected reflexes of the present indicative of Latin HABERE, consistent with the histori-

cal phonology of Neapolitan. The following data come from the same dramatic
literary texts already illustrated (cf. Ledgeway 2009: 382–384):

(24) 1SG – T'**aggio ditto** tanta vote (E. De Filippo, *Napoli milionaria*, II 70)
- Io **aggiu fatto** vedé (Scarpetta, *L'albergo del silenzio*, IV 138)

2SG – che nce **hai truvato?** … (Scarpetta, *Quinnice solde so' cchiù assaie*
de seimila lire, I 168)
- Carlù, io te ringrazio, m'**haje fatto** smucculià chisto cannelotto
(Scarpetta, *La casa vecchia*, IV 13)
- Me l'**hê addimandato** già tre volte (E. De Filippo, *Natale in casa*
Cupiello, I 747)

3SG – Lo padrone cchiù de na vota **have ditto** che ne lo mannava (Scar-
petta, *Gelusia* ovvero *Ammore spusalizio e gelusia*, I 58)
- Ma tu haje ntiso che chella **ha ditto** che s'accide? (Scarpetta,
Gelusia ovvero *Ammore spusalizio e gelusia*, I 86)

1PL – nuje **avimmo ntiso** tutto chello ch'avite ditto (Scarpetta, *Tetillo*,
I 299)
- Ce l'**avimmo vista** perza p' 'e mmane (E. De Filippo, *Natale in casa*
Cupiello, I 767)
- Giovinò, si parlate sempe vuje, **avimme fenuto** (Scarpetta, *'Na*
matassa'mbrugliata, II 433)

2PL – E vuje **avite ditte** che quanno more papà (Scarpetta, *Quinnice*
solde so' cchiù assaie de seimila lire, I 170)
- GIULIETTA: E **avite scegliuta** justo a me pe fà sto servizio? (Scar-
petta, *Mettiteve a fà l'ammore cu me!*, I 335)

3PL – Nicolì che **hanno ditto?** (Scarpetta, *Gelusia* ovvero *Ammore spu-*
salizio e gelusia, I 89)
- chille duje guardie m'**hanno pigliato** pe mariuolo (Scarpetta, *Te-*
tillo 'nzurato, I 518)

In the 1st person singular, the two attested variants (*aggio* and *aggiu*) can be
explained with the elevation of /o/ in pretonic position already illustrated
in (3b), given the normal unstressed use of the auxiliary;[9] similarly, in the
1st person plural, the two forms represent the treatment of etymological -*o*
(*avimmo*) either as internal or as final unstressed vowel /ə/ (*avimme*). In the
2nd person singular, the two reported forms are the basic one (*hai* < *AS) and

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9   On the auxiliary forms ['adːʒu] '(I) have' and ['amːu] '(we) have' (and the concurrent ['amːə])
in Neapolitan, see Bafile 1997: 130–132.

the one enlarged with epenthetic -*e* (*haje*). And in the 3rd person singular, the presence of a monosyllabic (*ha*) and a disyllabic (*have*), both originating from the Latin form *A(BE)T, is widely attested in Central-southern Italian dialects.[10]

Nevertheless, in the same *corpus*, conjugated forms of HABERE are also attested, characterised by the presence of the final -*a*, at least in the written representation of the literary texts:

(25) 1SG – Si no che t'**aggia portato** a fà appriesso? (Scarpetta, *Amore e polenta: 'Na paglia'e Firenze*, II 350)
– Io quanno l'**aggia vasata** la mano me scummava de sangue n'atu poco (Scarpetta, *Duje marite 'mbrugliune*, I 388)
– Io t'**aggia vuluto** bene (P. De Filippo, *Cupido scherza e ... spazza*, I 89)
1PL – ma nuje **avimma avuto** nu sacco de chiammate (Scarpetta, *La nutriccia*, II 247)
– **avimma fatto** marenna dinto a lo treno (Scarpetta, *Cane e gatte*, IV 476)
2PL – Ve credite che cu stu scuorno che m'**avita fatto** (Scarpetta, *Il non plus ultra della disperazione* ovvero *La Bottiglieria del Rigoletto*, I 399)
– E **avita tenuta** la forza (Scarpetta, *'Nu turco napulitano*, III 198)
– vuje **avita fatta** la faccia bianca? (Scarpetta, *Pazzie di Carnevale*, III 268)
– **Avita fatta** na bella conquista (Scarpetta, *Lu cafè chantant*, III 346)
– stasera l'**avita sperza**? (Scarpetta, *Cane e gatte*, IV 450)
– Mo m'**avita scucciato** (P. De Filippo, *A Coperchia è caduta una stella*, in Neapolitan translation)
3PL – 'e mmale lengue **hanna ditto** "chillo ha dato 'o pizzicotto 'a mugliera d' 'o farmaciste" (P. De Filippo, *A Coperchia è caduta una stella*, in Neapolitan translation)

The consideration of this pattern within the Neapolitan dialect poses many concerns. First of all, is not clear if these forms are actually attested in the living dialect. For example, in the already cited study by Patrizia Del Puente (1998) on the auxiliary HABERE in Neapolitan, a categorical distinction between two

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10   See Rohlfs 1966–1969, § 541; Del Puente 1998; Ledgeway 2009: 383.

conjugations of the verb is described: following this scholar, the forms with final [a] listed in (4) are only employed with infinitive, while in conjunction with the past participle the following forms with final unstressed [ə] are always used:

(26) 1SG   [ˈadːʒə ˈfatːə] '(I) have done'
      2SG   [e]
      3SG   [a]
      1PL   [aˈvimːə] / [aˈimːə] / [ˈimːə] / [ˈamːə]
      2PL   [aˈvitə] / [aˈitə] / [ˈitə] / [ˈatə]
      3PL   [ˈanːə]

As already mentioned, the phonological process of neutralisation of the final unstressed vocalism illustrated in (2) is not represented by the orthography of the literary dialect, which restores a full final vocalism on the basis of the historical tradition. Therefore, in the forms of the type *aggia portato* listed in (25), the final *-a* might constitute an erroneous graphic representation. Moreover, the background phonological conditions render uncertain an investigation of the living dialect on the basis of the phonetic observations; this is due to the acoustic similarity between unstressed [a] and [ə], and to the speakers' own uncertainty on this topic.

Even though the texts cited in (25) are considered evidence for the existence of these forms in Neapolitan dialect, their explanation runs into the same phonological difficulties already faced for their attestation.

In other southern Italian dialects, the type *aggia fatto* has been already more observed with greater certainty than in Neapolitan: in such cases, the current explanation is based on phonological arguments. It was first formulated once again by Heinrich Lausberg, in his already cited study on Southern Lucanian dialect, where he observes the presence of analytic constructions like [ˈadːʒa ˈβist] '(I) have seen' beside the expected [ˈadːʒə ˈβist]: he explains [ˈadːʒa] with the same solution already illustrated for [ˈadːʒa βəˈðe] in (10) and (12), and considers the final [a] as a phonological restitution following the centralisation of final unstressed vocalism:

(27) das Hilfsverbum beim Perfekt eine größere satzphonetische Selbständigkeit bekommt [...], wie das beim Skandieren ist Rätseln und Gedichten der Fall ist, sofort auch zwischen Hilfsverb und Partizip des Perfekts da *a* auftritt (Lausberg 1939: 151).

As a result, neither the Neapolitan nor any other Southern dialect sharing the isogloss of final vocalism neutralisation seem to offer conclusive evidence for

the presence and explanation of a final [a] in the HABERE forms like *aggia fatto*. Auxiliary pretonic forms can be considered affected by the process of vowel centralisation; therefore, [a] may represent a restored and secondary full vowel, inserted after the neutralisation of final vocalism, and with a phonological or a merely graphic value. For example, the etymological form HABEO > *ABJO > [adːʒo], written ‹aggio›, could be changed into [adːʒə], with final word centralisation, and this form should be written ‹aggio› as well; from this stage, a written form ‹aggia› might develop, corresponding to [adːʒə], or even expressing a phonetic restored form [adːʒa]:

(28) HABEO > *ABJO > [adːʒo] ‹aggio› > [adːʒə] ‹aggio› > ‹aggia› [adːʒə] [adːʒa]

For a better understanding of the whole question, a role may be played by a dialect characterised by two crucial properties: first of all, a verbal system similar to the already illustrated pattern of Neapolitan, based on a parallel use of the auxiliary HABERE in two paradigms (with infinitive and past participle) expressing a temporal distinction; as a second element, this dialect should preserve a full unstressed (internal and final) vocalism, as a direct continuation of the old Southern vocalism. A similar dialect is actually attested.

4   The Dialect of Spigno Saturnia

This critical dialect is the local variety spoken in Spigno Saturnia, a small town in Southern Lazio, in the province of Latina, several kilometres north of the outlet of the Garigliano river marking the border with the adjacent region of Campania. It is around 80 kilometres north of Naples, and 150 kilometres south of Rome.

The village of Spigno (only in 1862, in the new Kingdom of Italy, did it acquire the neoclassical name of Spigno Saturnia) suffered massive destruction during World War II, when it was in the immediate rear of Germany's fortified Gustav line, on the western flank of the Cassino front. Almost the entire population of the village was evacuated in the winter of 1943–1944, as the Battle of Monte Cassino—the most murderous clash in the Italian campaign—raged. After the war, a new residential area, named Spigno Nuova, was settled in the plain beneath the old village (which took the popular name of Spigno Vecchia). These events weakened the local dialect, which although less persistent than the neighbouring ones, is still kept alive among the older generation of inhabitants.

This dialect belongs to a small linguistic area placed on the southern edge of the Lazio region, on the upland of the Aurunci Mountains, which also contains

FIGURE 8.1   *Spigno Saturnia Point, in Upper-Southern Italy*

the towns of Minturno, Santa Maria Infante, Ausonia, Coreno Ausonio, Santi Cosma e Damiano, Castelforte, and Suio.

One of the linguistic features characterising this area is the presence of full final vocalism, lacking the processes of reduction and centralisation largely widespread in Southern Italy: full vocalism is also attested in the adjacent dialects of the southern valley of the Liri river. This fact was already recorded in the enquiries carried out in Ausonia for the *Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas*

of Italy and Southern Switzerland (*AIS*, point number 710) and in Minturno for the *Italian Linguistic Atlas* (*ALI*, point 689). In more recent years, this area's peculiar final vocalism was recognised by Alvise Schanzer, and illustrated by the subsequent literature.[11] It should be underlined that the unstressed full vocalism attested here represents a phenomenon of preservation, rather than innovation. Although diachronic data are unavailable for the small area, such a conclusion may be argued on the basis of geolinguistic considerations: the area is a small island of full final vocalism surrounded by a large sea of final centralisation; since in the neighbouring region, for example in Montecassino and in Sessa Aurunca, the change from a previous full final vocalism to the present-day centralisation is well attested, the area of the Aurunci may be considered as preserving an archaic phonological system in a mountainous spot untouched by the spread of the centralisation isogloss all around it.[12]

In Spigno Saturnia, a system of five final vowels is attested: the four elements common to Tuscan /i, e, a, o/ (29a) are joined by final /u/ (29b); moreover, a process of vowel harmony is active on this vowel, lowering it to /o/ when the stressed syllable contains a middle vowel (29c):

(29) a. [la tʃirˈtʃɛtːa] 'the bucket'
      [la ˈfone] 'the rope'
      [le ˈfuɲi] 'the ropes'
      [ˈkwatːo] 'four'
    b. [ʎu ˈfiʎːu] 'the son', [ʎu kaˈvaʎːu] 'the horse', [ʎu faˈsuru] 'the bean'
    c. [ʎo ˈʃero] 'the sky' [ˈjorno] 'day'

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11   See Schanzer 1989: 172–174, map. III (for Minturno, Spigno Saturnia, Ausonia, Coreno Ausonio, Santi Cosma e Damiano and Castelforte): Avolio 1990: 250–253 (map n. 10); Avolio 1992: 299–300 (map n. 3) (data regarding S. Ambrogio, S. Andrea del Garigliano and S. Apollinare in the Liri valley); Avolio 2002: 96–97; Avolio 2004: 24–29 (Suio); Schirru 2012: 166–168.

12   For this reconstruction, see Schanzer 1989: 172–174; Schirru 2012: 168–170. For historical full vocalism of the Montecassino medieval texts (subsequently developed in the present-day centralisation), see Baldelli 1958: 27–28, 125, 143–144; Vignuzzi 1995: 160. Full final vocalism is also historically attested in the dialect of the neighbouring town of Sessa, and now characterised by the final centralisation; see Ciampaglia 2010. Cf. also the considerations developed in Bianconi 1962: 52–53, on the spread of full final vocalism in old southern Italian dialects.

Nevertheless, in spite of the presence of full final vocalism, the auxiliary forms of HABERE clearly display the non-etymological evolution to final -*a* in the construction with past participle, in parallel with the Neapolitan example in (25):[13]

(30) 1SG ['adːʒa maɲˈːacu] '(I) have eaten'
    2SG ['ɛ maɲˈːacu]
    3SG ['a maɲˈːacu]
    1PL ['amːa maɲˈːacu]
    2PL ['ata maɲˈːacu]
    3PL ['anːa maɲˈːacu]

The same forms of the auxiliary verb are attested followed by the infinitive, with the exception of the 3rd person singular represented by the already examined form *àdda*; it is a situation similar to the Neapolitan forms listed in (1):

(31) 1SG ['adːʒa maɲˈːa] '(I) will eat', '(I) have to eat', '(I) shall eat'
    2SG [ɛ maɲˈːa]
    3SG ['adːa maɲˈːa]
    1PL ['amːa maɲˈːa]
    2PL ['ata maɲˈːa]
    3PL ['anːa maɲˈːa]

Moreover, in a small dictionary of the local dialect elaborated by a non-professional amateur, the form of the auxiliary HABERE is listed explicitly with the spelling *aggia*:

(32) "Àggia, v. = devo (aggia minchicà 'bbòno, devo osservare bene)" (Tucciarone 1981, s.v.)

The Italian meaning as listed in the dictionary (It. 'devo'), and the subsequent example (*aggia minchicà 'bbòno*) with its translation ('I have to observe well'), make reference to the construction of the verb with infinitive, having deontic meaning: the graphic form supposes the reanalysis process illustrated in (21).

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13   The data presented in (30), (31) and (37) were collected personally in two inquiries conducted in November 2014 and June 2015 with the same informator, a local man (A.T.) 68 years of age (in 2014).

Therefore, at least for this dialect, Lausberg's phonological explanation, as illustrated in (28), does not apply for the development of *aggia*: the lack of a centralisation process does not permit a secondary restitution of final [a]. As a result, the process of change must be ordered with the following sequence:

(33) a. *aggio a fà* > *aggia fà* (cf. 21a)
        a. *aggia fà* {aggio}+{a}+{fà} > {aggia}+{fà} (cf. 21b)
        b. *aggio fatto* > *aggia fatto*

First of all (33a), the preposition *a* agglutinates to the previous auxiliary; second (33b), the agglutinated form *aggia* is reanalysed as a verbal form specialised in auxiliary function; third (33c), such a specialised form is extended to all the contexts in which the auxiliary is employed. Therefore, the forms attested in (30), with the sole exception of the 3rd singular person, represent an extension of the inflection of the auxiliary attested in (31), which in turn may be considered the result of a reanalysis process.

The unambiguous reconstruction of such a process in one dialect renders it available even for the other southern Italian varieties in which the pattern *aggia fatto* is found. More notably, this morphological evolution seems to be the more economic one in these dialects, like Neapolitan, where the erroneous restitution of *-a* in final position of the first member of a phonological phrase, as described by Lausberg for South Lucanian (cf. 11), is not clearly attested.

5   Synthetic and Analytic Conjugation

The described innovation produces a new paradigm of HABERE, specialised in the auxiliary function. In a typological perspective, such a process can be compared with other cases in which a specialised conjunction for auxiliary verbs is developed. In a study on the Abruzzese dialect of Tollo, a reanalysis process created an innovative inflection of the auxiliary (data from Hastings 2007: 90):

(34) 1SG   [ˈaja pʊrˈta] '(I) will bring', '(I) have to bring', '(I) shall bring'
       2SG   [ˈadi pʊrˈta]
       3SG   [ˈada pʊrˈta]
       1PL   [aˈdɑma pʊrˈta]
       2PL   [aˈdɑta pʊrˈta]
       3PL   [ˈada pʊrˈta] [aˈdanːa pʊrˈta]

As illustrated by Robert Hastings (2007: 90–91), the reanalysis operated on the 3rd singular, but also on the short form of the 3rd plural *à da* (*purtà*), where the complex of auxiliary and preposition (*à* + *da*) is reinterpreted as a singular verbal form [ˈada]: the latter constitutes the model for the subsequent formation of the 2nd person sing. [ˈadi], made in analogy with the variation between 2nd and 3rd person largely attested in the system; see for example [ˈda] '(he) gives', [ˈdi] '(you) give'; for the 1st and 2nd person plural [aˈdɑma], [aˈdɑta], analogically formed on the model of [kanˈdɑmə] '(we) sing', [kanˈdɑtə] '(you.PL) sing'; and for the 3rd plural long form [aˈdanːa], which is analogous to [ˈdanːə] '(they) give', [ˈʃtanːə] '(they) stay' etc. The stressed [ɑ] represents a local evolution of [e]. The final [a] in [ˈaja] [aˈdɑma], [aˈdɑta] and [aˈdanːa] is explained (Hastings 2007: 92–93) as the original preposition [a] (in *ajj a purtà*, *avem a purtà*, etc.) agglutinated to the forms of the auxiliary, and subsequently reinterpreted as its final vowel, thus generalised to the innovative paradigm as well (34): this last process exactly parallels the reanalysis already illustrated for Neapolitan in (21).

In the Southern dialects, the verbal conjugation makes widespread use of the analytical inflection, composed of an auxiliary form, which shows many of the inflectional values of the grammatical categories, followed by a past participle or an infinitive expressing the lexical information. The synthetic conjugations seem to be in a marginal position: for example, in field research, it is not easy for the interviewer to obtain the present indicative from a native speaker. This inflected tense is used mostly in subordinate sentences, but if a speaker is asked to use a verb in its present temporal value, he normally employs a periphrastic form of the following type (data from Spigno Saturnia):

(35) 1SG   [ˈstɔ a mːaɲˈːa] / [ˈstɔ mːaɲˈːa] '(I) am eating'
     2SG   [ˈstai̯ a mːaɲˈːa]
     3SG   [ˈsta mːaɲˈːa]
     1PL   [ˈstamo a mːaɲˈːa]
     2PL   [ˈstate a mːaɲˈːa]
     3PL   [ˈstanːo a mːaɲˈːa]

In these dialects, the periphrastic progressive form ('*sto a mangiare*' 'I'm eating') extended its use to the disadvantage of the originally unmarked one ('*mangio*', 'I eat'): therefore, the marked values described by Bernard Comrie for standard Italian and Spanish appear to be inverted in the southern Italian dialects:

(36) One of the most decisive criteria is that, in many cases, the meaning of the unmarked category can encompass that of its marked counterpart. The clearest example of this situation is where overt expression of the meaning of the marked category is always optional, i.e. where the unmarked category can always be used, even in situations where the marked category would also be appropriate. Thus Italian and Spanish have Progressives very similar in meaning to that of English: Italian *sto scrivendo*, Spanish *estoy escribendo*, English *I am writing*. However, in Spanish and Italian these forms can always, without excluding progressive meaning, be replaced by the non-Progressive forms *scrivo*, *escribo*, whereas in English changing *I am writing* to *I write* necessarily involves a shift to nonprogressive meaning (Comrie 1976: 112).

In the dialects investigated here, the progressive form becomes the unmarked value of the aspectual system: such a change generates a reorganisation of the whole verbal system, where the main tense oppositions among present, past and future seem to be expressed essentially by the following periphrastic forms (data from Spigno Saturnia for the verb [mːaɲˈːa] 'to eat'):

(37) a. present   b. past   c. future
        [ˈstɔ a mːaɲˈːa]   [ˈadːʒa maɲˈːacu]   [ˈadːʒa maɲˈːa]   1SG
        [ˈstaɪ̯ a mːaɲˈːa]   [ˈɛ maɲˈːacu]   [ɛ maɲˈːa]   2SG
        [ˈsta mːaɲˈːa]   [ˈa maɲˈːacu]   [ˈadːa maɲˈːa]   3SG
        [ˈstamo a mːaɲˈːa]   [ˈamːa maɲˈːacu]   [ˈamːa maɲˈːa]   1PL
        [ˈstate a mːaɲˈːa]   [ˈata maɲˈːacu]   [ˈata maɲˈːa]   2PL
        [ˈstanno a mːaɲˈːa]   [ˈanːa maɲˈːacu]   [ˈanːa maɲˈːa]   3PL

The marginalisation of the synthetic paradigms in the verbal conjugation is not an exceptional development. Other cases are clearly attested, and a typological comparison with them may offer some suggestions. A similar evolution occurs in many Eastern Indo-European languages of the Armenian and Indo-Iranian branches. For example, in Modern Eastern Armenian, the indicative conjugation of the verb *grel* 'to write' in the three main tense values (present, perfect and future) is as follows:[14]

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14   Data from Dum Tragut 2009: 215–233; see also Sakayan 2007: 325–326; cf. the data from the Armenian dialect of Tbilisi reported in Greppin—Khachaturian 1986: 208.

(38) a. present   b. perfect   c. future

grum em	*grel em*	*grelu em*	1SG
grum es	*grel es*	*grelu es*	2SG
grum ê	*grel ê*	*grelu ê*	3SG
grum enk̦	*grel enk̦*	*grelu enk̦*	1PL
grum ek̦	*grel ek̦*	*grelu ek̦*	2PL
grum en	*grel en*	*grelu en*	3PL

The forms *em, es, ê, enk̦, ek̦, en* represent the auxiliary 'to be', combined with different participles, each one having a different temporal meaning: *grum* (38a) is the present participle (Dum Tragut 2009: 212–213); *grel* is the perfect participle (Dum Tragut 2009: 213–214); *grelu* is the future participle (Dum Tragut 2009: 206–207).

The synthetic inflected patterns of the conjugation, which characterise Old Armenian conjugation, become largely recessive in the subsequent evolution of the language: only the aorist indicative displays a clear persistence. The present indicative paradigm in Old Armenian (39a) is inherited by Modern Eastern Armenian (39b), but has changed its meaning considerably, from the original present indicative value to a new future subjunctive one:[15]

(39) a. Old Armenian   b. Modern Eastern Armenian
        present indicative   future subjunctive

grem	*grem*	1SG
gres	*gres*	2SG
grê	*gri*	3SG
gremk̦	*grenk̦*	1PL
grêk̦	*grek̦*	2PL
gren	*gren*	3PL

This inflected form is normally employed in subordinate clauses expressing condition, concession and purpose (Dum Tragut 2009: 239). Its use in simple sentence is described as follows:

> In simple sentences the subjunctive future primarily denotes an action that shall be performed immediately after the point of speech, or that is

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15   On the present indicative conjugation of Old Armenian, see Meillet 1913: 92; Jensen 1959: 92; Godel 40–41; Schmitt 1981: 138. On the Modern Eastern Armenian future subjunctive, see Dum Tragut 2009: 238; Sakayan 2007: 327. As a parallel evolution, the imperfect indicative of Old Armenian is the etymological basis of the past subjunctive in Modern Eastern Armenian.

desired by the speaker. In optative meaning and function the subjunctive is often used for idioms expressing wishes (Dum Tragut 2009: 239).

6   Conclusions

The inflectional patterns illustrated in (37) implicate a widespread of the use of the auxiliary within the verbal conjugation. Such a process has several consequences.

First of all, many Southern dialects develop a paradigm of HABERE specialised in auxiliary function.[16] The specific characteristics of the dialect of Spigno Saturnia provide arguments for excluding a mere phonological origin of such a non-etymological paradigm, and allow for recognition of its origin in a morphological process of reanalysis: the sequence of auxiliary form and preposition is reinterpreted as a single verbal form. Such a reanalysis process can be taken as the more economical one for other southern Italian dialects as well, given its manifest presence in one of them.

Second, the growth of analytic inflection leads to a subdivision of the inflectional properties between the auxiliary and the non-finite form of the verb. Grammatical categories are expressed by the different elements of the analytic inflection: the exponence of person and number lies with the auxiliary; tense and aspect are manifested by the combination of the auxiliary and the subsequent non-finite form (participle or infinite). In such a distribution, a possible and partial parting of contextual inflection and inherent inflection is achieved: in verbal conjugation, in effect, the subject, through agreement, controls person and number, whereas tense and aspect are, at least partially, inherent to the predicate.[17]

Third, the new analytic paradigms display different properties from the synthetic ones. These differences are on the morphological and syntactic levels, as was already underscored in the study of Romance analytic inflection.[18]

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16   For other cases of morphologically specialised auxiliary paradigms in Romance languages, see Ledgeway 2011: 423–424; Ledgeway 2012: 127–129. For a case in Sardinian, see Pisano 2009: 154–155; Pisano 2011.

17   On the distinction between contextual and inherent inflection, see S.R. Anderson 1992: 82–83; Booj 2005: 103–112; Thornton 2005: 99–115. On the grammatical categories expressed by the auxiliaries, see J. Anderson 2000.

18   On this topic, see among others Durante 1981: 44–49; Vincent 1987; Zamboni 2000: 126–131; Monachesi 2005: 131–220. For analysis within the framework of generative grammar, cf. Remberger 2006; Ledgeway 2011: 418–425; Ledgeway 2012: 119–150.

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Adjectival Positions in Barese:
Prenominal Exceptions to the Postnominal Rule*

Luigi Andriani

1   Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the syntax and semantics of adnominal adjectival modification in the upper-southern Italian dialect of Bari, Puglia. Adjectival modifiers in Barese can *almost* exclusively appear postnominally, on a par with most central and southern Italo-Romance varieties. According to Rohlfs, in these varieties, 'postnominal adjectival placement is even more frequent and generalised than in Italian. Only a few adjectives (e.g. *BELLO, BUONO, GROSSO, GRANDE*) can be placed prenominally' (Rohlfs 1969: 330). In his recent seminal work on Romance and Germanic adjectives, Cinque (2010: 73) makes a similar observation on Sardinian and central Italian dialects as being varieties which only allow a 'handful' of adjectives in prenominal position. Unsurprisingly, Barese is no exception to this. The (dated) specialised literature on Barese never systematically addressed these strict prenominal 'limitations'. This paper attempts to fill such a gap by presenting and discussing old and new empirical evidence from Barese, focusing on this closed class of prenominal adjectives and their relative interpretations.

This word-order rigidity is unsurprising if understood in diachronic and diamesic/diaphasic terms. In his discussion of early and modern Italo-Romance adjectival placement, Vincent (2007) argues for a continuity of the postnominal position as the canonical option for adjectives since Latin and throughout early Italo-Romance. In contrast, the prenominal position could be exploited to different extents for different pragmatico-semantic and stylistic purposes. Although more limitedly than in earlier attestations, the prenomi-

nal position in standard Italian, for example, may only host certain semantic classes of adjectives. However, potentially any class of adjectives could felicitously be preposed to a semantically compatible noun with interpretative consequences. Crucially, this adjectival-preposing mechanism typically occurs in formal/written registers of Romance, hence driven by what Vincent (2007) refers to as 'learned' vs 'popular' (i.e. spoken) syntax, with few exceptions. In this view, the Barese prenominal restrictions can be best understood as a sociolinguistically natural condition whereby a mainly-spoken (vs written) variety has retained a more 'popular' nominal syntax, only allowing a handful of semantically 'necessary' prenominal items expressing the speaker's rudimentary evaluations/opinions/comments on the referent/reference (cf. Ledgeway 2007, 2009:235, 2012:§ 3.2.2.1.1, 2016:§ 16.4.1). It is no coincidence that, in the acquisition of Italian adjectives (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2010:§ 4.5), children would acquire *bello* directly in prenominal position, and the more 'learned', formal syntax of other classes of prenominal adjectives is acquired later in adulthood.

The Barese prenominal exceptions can be thus treated as historical relics of a greater syntactic freedom within the nominal domain, which became increasingly more constrained over time. In fact, prenominal adjectives in modern Barese appear as a residual option, given that these prototypically prenominal adjectives can also occur in postnominal position and retain their 'prenominal' reading. In comparison to standard (Italo-)Romance, the prenominal rigidity of the 'popular' syntax of Barese adjectives leads to interpretative ambiguities in postnominal position, paradoxically mirroring more closely the semantic ambiguities arising prenominally in Germanic (Cinque 2010). The introductory overview of the basic semantic distinctions among adjectival modifiers (Section 2) will be crucial to understand the comparative (early and modern) Italo-Romance scenario (Section 3) in which to contextualise the specific behaviour of Barese adjectival modification (Section 4).

2 Adjectival Functions and Interpretations: 'Direct' and 'Indirect' Modification

Adjectival modification expresses attributes and properties of the referent N(oun) head which are traditionally distinguished according to the type of relation the A(djective) enters into with the modified noun. These relations can be distinguished according to binary sets of pragmatico-semantic functions fulfilled by the adjective, i.e. 'attributive/predicative', 'reference-/referent-modifying', '(non-/)restrictive', '(non-/)intersective', 'individual-/stage-level',

'thematic/rhematic'.[1] Despite the many labels, all these binary sets of pragmatico-semantic functions can be conveniently collapsed under two coherent macro-classes: 'direct' vs 'indirect' adjectival modification (cf. Bolinger 1967; Sproat & Shih 1988, 1991; Cinque 2010, 2014; *i.a.*):

– D(IRECT) M(ODIFICATION) expresses attributive, inherent, prototypical, figurative (i.e. non-restrictive, non-intersective, individual-level, reference-modifying thematic) properties of the referent/reference;
– I(NDIRECT) M(ODIFICATION) describes a semantic 'extension' of the set of properties predicated on the referent, i.e. predicative, restrictive, intersective, stage-level, rhematic.

Most adjectives can modify the noun 'directly' or 'indirectly', except for some DM-adjectives, e.g. 'classificatory', 'reference-modifying', which do not have IM-variant, and vice-versa, e.g. 'stage-level'. This suggests that the two types of modification imply different syntactic relations among the nominal components.[2] IM displays a more autonomous semantics, which is reflected in its syntactic behaviour as a reduced (i.e. silent) relative clause [N-[(*that is*)-A]] within the nominal expression. DM is not semantically autonomous and requires syntactic proximity to the noun, entering into a tighter semantico-syntactic relation with it, similar to that of a complex [(A-)N(-A)] nominal compound. Typologically, Dixon (1982) observes that the co-occurrence of multiple DM-adjectives displays a semantic-based fixed hierarchic ordering, further investigated by Sproat & Shih (1991), Cinque (1995 et seq.), Scott (2002), a.o.:

(1)   [$_{SPEAKER-ORIENTED}$ Subjective Comment>$^?$Evidential]>
            [$_{SCALAR}$ Size>Length>Height>Speed>$^?$Depth>Width]>
                [$_{MEASURE}$ Weight>Temperature>$^?$Wetness>Age]>
                    [$_{NON-SCALAR}$ Shape>Colour>Nationality/Origin>Material>Classi-
                                                    ficatory] (adapted from Scott 2002: 114)

Here we are mainly concerned with the top classes of DM-adjectives in (1), the speaker-oriented 'subjective comment' (called 'value/quality' by Dixon and Cinque) and some of the scalar values, as these are the only classes of adjectives allowed prenominally (but, crucially, also postnominally) in Barese. To

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1 See Bolinger (1967); Vendler (1968); Siegel (1976); Kamp (1975); Carlson (1980); Vincent (1986); *i.a.*
2 See, a.o., Vendler (1968); Vincent (1986, 2007); Sproat & Shih (1988, 1991); Cinque (1995 et seq).

this end, we must contextualise these exceptions in their broader context of occurrence to understand their postnominal Dm-occurrences, and their potential ambiguity with Im-readings. To avoid this ambiguity, the Dm-/Im-distinction may be morpholexically marked by means of dedicated items, or more conservative morphophonological forms, both found in southern Italo-Romance. Before considering the Barese data, we discuss how the above semantic and syntactic observations on adjectival modification are manifested in (Italo-)Romance.

3   Adjectival Modification in Italo-Romance

The most neutral adjectival order attested in Romance[3] varieties is given in (2), adapted from Cinque's (2010: 22) schematic representation for Italian (cf. also Giusti 2016: 549):

(2)   Dma>N<Dma<Ima

Romance languages tend to canonically host most Dmas and Imas in postnominal position, i.e. [N-Dma-Ima] (see also Vincent 2007: 59). However, while the Im-reading can only be conveyed in postnominal position witouth any ordering restrictions, Dmas can occur both in pre- and postnominal position. Such a distribution implies that postnominal adjectives can be semantically ambiguous in Romance between Dm and Im when occurring in isolation. In contrast, prenominal modification in Romance can only unambiguously host Dm. Crucially, only this type of modification can license non-literal, idiomatic readings.

The cross-linguistically attested Dm-ordering restrictions presented in (3) determine the following most pragmatically-neutral adjectival order in standard Italian (cf. also Nespor 1988; Guasti 1991; Longobardi 2001, Giusti 2002, *i.a.*):

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3   Except for Walloon French (Bernstein 1991:105; 1993), which allows the noun to appear very low in the adjectival hierarchy (cf. Germanic), and Romanian (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011; Brăescu 2013:427–428), in which, in contrast, most adjectival classes tend to appear postnominally (similarly to the Italo-Romance varieties discussed here).

(3)   Italian (Cinque 1995: 298)
        (*possessive> cardinal> ordinal>) quality>   size>*
      (i) *suoi   due   altri   bei   grandi*
      the his/her   two   other   beautiful big

                        shape> colour> nation
      quadri   tondi   grigi   cinesi
      paintings.M round   grey   Chinese

In Italian, the position of the noun with respect to the DM-adjectival hierarchy
in (3) suggests that quality/value and size adjectives, e.g. *bei* and *grandi*, may
optionally surface both pre- and postnominally, whereas the remaining classes,
i.e. shape (*tondi*), colour (*grigi*) and nation (*cinesi*), are obligatorily postnomi-
nal.[4] Similarly, 'classificatory' or 'relational' adjectives, e.g. *sportiva* in (4), which
modify the referent by denoting 'kinds' thereof (cf. Carlson 1980), obligatorily
occur postnominally in (Italo-)Romance:

(4)   Italian (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2010: 75)
      la   bella grande macchina sportiva   italiana rossa aerodinamica
      the nice big   car.F   sport(ive) Italian   red   aerodynamic
      'the nice big aerodynamic red Italian sport car'

The prenominal position seems to be reserved for distinct interpretative func-
tions, and may be unavailable to certain classes of DMAs, and to all IM-interpre-
tations. However, higher registers of modern (Italo-)Romance varieties (cf. Vin-
cent 2007; Ledgeway 2012: 51) may allow these classes of DM-adjectives in
prenominal position with semantic repercussions, due to the way they relate
to the referent/reference:

(5)   Italian (Maiden & Robustelli 2000: 94)
      a. *li   guardò   con **materna** dolcezza*
         them.M looked.3SG with maternal.F tenderness.F
         'She looked at them with maternal tenderness'

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4   In his recent work, Cinque (2010; cf. also Cardinaletti & Giusti 2010) observes that Romance
    postnominal DM-adjectives reverse their hierarchical order in postnominal position, i.e.
    N<relational<nation<colour<shape. Nonetheless, these ordering restrictions on multiple
    DMAs are not the main concern of this paper.

b. *li   guardò   con dolcezza   **materna***
 them.M looked.3SG with tenderness.F maternal.F
 '(S)he looked at them with motherly tenderness'

The prenominal *materna* 'maternal' in (5a) is used to 'underscore a known or inherent property of the noun' (Vincent 2007: 59), whereas the postnominal one (5b) qualifies the 'motherly'-type of 'tenderness', distinguishing an additional, non-inherent property of the referent, i.e. 'mother-like', potentially contrasting other types of tenderness, e.g. 'father-like'. Vincent (2007:§ 2), among others, observes that the syntactic relation of the prenominal *materna* to its referent is tighter than that in the postnominal counterpart (i.e. the reduced relative clause), as if they formed a more complex nominal compound. Similarly, orther prototypically postnominal adjectives, i.e. shape/colour/nation, can be preposed to the noun in order to convey inalienable, intrinsic, stereotypical or figurative DM-properties of the referent. Among these, nation/origin adjectives appear to be the most 'rigid' in Romance, obligatorily appearing postnominally in neutral contexts. However, formal Italian allows the distributional contrast between *romanticismo italiano* 'Italian romanticism', which literally conveys the origin of the referent, and *un italiano romanticismo* 'a typically Italian romanticism', in which the adjective is interpreted as an intrinsic property (e.g. Italian-style) characterising the reference.

In early Italo-Romance, this pre- vs postnominal distributional asymmetry behaved differently than it does now. Many scholars[5] observed that early Italo-Romance could (rarely) exploit the prenominal position for both DM- and IM-readings, cf. Neapolitan *li spagnoli soldati* 'the Spanish soldiers' (Ledgeway 2009: 241); in contrast, the postnominal position was exclusively used for IM-readings. Prenominal adjectives were also common in Latin. However, many scholars claim that these continue an archaicising (early Latin) tendency of adjectival preposing for emphatic/stylitic purposes, as opposed to postposing for literal, IM-readings (cf. Adams 1976; Vincent 2007:64; Ledgeway 2012:210 ff.; Giusti & Iovino 2014). Indeed, these literary varieties, which used stylistic devices for emphatic purposes, did not necessarily reflect the reality of the spoken language. Although the postnominal position was pragmatically neutral, quality/value- and size-adjectives, such as *bello/brutto*, *buono/cattivo*, *grande*, *povero*, etc., frequently occurred prenominally. '*MAGNUS HOMO* was more important than *HOMO MAGNUS*', given that '[t]he preposed adjective

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5 See Rohlfs 1969:329; Alisova 1967:277 ff.; Vincent 2007; Ledgeway 2007, 2009:238–245; Thiella 2008; Giusti 2010, 2016:605–606; Poletto 2014; *i.a.*

would receive more relevance' (Rohlfs 1969: 327). Adams (1976: 80) calls this prenominal 'subjective' reading, whereby the speaker is actually providing an 'affective' evaluation of the referent, i.e. 'great man', as opposed to the 'objective', literal reading of 'big man'. A similar continuity can be found in modern Italian, whose greater availability of the prenominal position is allowed in formal registers, except for a few exceptions characterised by a 'subjective' DM-interpretation.

Indeed, modern Romance quality/value- and size-adjectives also show interpretative shifts from post- to prenominal position (i.e. literal vs figurative/evaluative respectively). Consider the difference in meaning between prenominal (6a) and postnominal (6b) orders in the following examples:

(6) Italian
   a. *un gran(de) libro* (*grande*)
      a great   book.M great
      'a great book'

   b. *un* (*gran/#grande*) *libro* *grande*
      a big   book.M big
      'a big book'

Grande, among others, can assume two different meanings on the basis of its position in (Italo-)Romance (cf. Ledgeway 2012:53–55; Giusti 2016: 547). The literal, IM-meaning of *grande* 'big' (6b) is only accessible in postnominal position (except in higher registers of the language if interpreted as 'thematic', i.e. discourse-old information). In contrast, prenominal *grande* is interpreted figuratively as 'great', with an evaluative reading, rather than a size-adjective. These DM-adjectives may also vary morphophonologically from their IM-counterparts, witness the reduced form *gran*, which is only allowed in prenominal position with the meaning of 'great'.

Non-standard (Italo-)Romance varieties operate a more 'extreme' interpretative distinction between DM and IM by adopting separate morpholexical and/or morphophonological realisations of adjectives. A case in point is the Sardinian counterpart of Italian *grande*, whose pre- vs postnominal semantic distinction is identical, but is encoded in two separate lexical items with fixed positions, (invariable) *grandu* (7a) and *mannu* (7b):

(7) Campidanese (Jones 1993: 42)
   a. una **grandu** festa
      'a great feast'

    b. una tassa **manna**
      'a large glass'

Rohlfs (1969: 329, fn. 3) notes that in some southern varieties prenominal adjectives may receive a less relevant, 'secondary' value, accompanied by the lack of the regular phonetic developments:

(8) a. Sicilian
      *nu **bonu** miedicu—nu medicu **buonu***
      'a skilled(/good-hearted?) doctor'

    b. Calabrese
      *nu **bell'**uóminu—nu cane **biellu***
      'a good-looking(/nice?) man/dog'

    c. Abruzzese (Vasto)
      *na **brutta** giàvunə—nu quanə **brittə***
      'an ugly(/bad?) boy/dog'

This morphophonological differentiation is not uncommon in other Romance varieties, e.g. Sursilvan (Haiman & Benincà 1992:141 ff.). Indeed, the particular semantico-syntactic status of this 'handful' of prenominal modifiers becomes particularly visible in non-standard (Italo-)Romance varieties. Recall that the major distinction between southern varieties and standard Romance is that most adjectival modifiers obligatorily appear postnominally, except for this limited set of exceptionally prenominal adjectives used for 'evaluative' purposes, as is the case for Barese. This specific behaviour has been recorded by Jones (1993: 42–43) for Sardinian; Saltarelli (1999) for central Italian varieties; Ledgeway (2007: 111; 2009:232–236) for Neapolitan, Silvestri (2016) for northern Calabrese, and Guardiano (2011) for extreme southern Italian varieties. Ledgeway (2009: 231) provides an extensive list of prenominal adjectives in Neapolitan, such as *bello*, *buono*, *brutto*, *caro*, (*cierto*,) *curto*, *gióvene*, *granne*, *gruosso*, *luongo*, *malo*, (*meglio, miezo*,) *nuovo*, (*peggio*,) *pòvero*, *santo*, (*sulo*,) *vero*, *viecchio*. Regarding their interpretation, Jones remarks for Sardinian that in prenominal position 'such adjectives convey an affective attitude of appreciation or depreciation, rather than describing an inherent property of the referent' (Jones 1993: 42). On southern Italo-Romance, Rohlfs comments more generally that:

> this exceptional position usually gives the adjective a different meaning, for instance:

Southern Calabrese:

*fimmana **bòna*** 'good-looking woman' vs ***bòna** fimmana* 'woman of ill repute';

Abruzzese (Lanciano):

*na **bbona** mammə* 'a good(-hearted) mother' vs *la mamma **bbona*** 'the legitimate mother';
*nu **bbèllə** cittələ* 'a hefty boy' vs *nu cìttələ **bbèllə*** 'a handsome boy' (Rohlfs 1969: 330).

He adds about 'colourful notations with a translated meaning are preposed to the noun, for instance Calabrese *la **niura** sorte mia* 'my unlucky fate' and Neapolitan *la **negra** serpe* 'the evil serpent'' (Rohlfs 1969: 330). Similarly, in observing the resurface of phrase-internal feminine -A (cf. fn. 7), D'Ovidio & Meyer-Lubke (1906: 191) present the Abruzzese (grouped with northern Apulian) minimal pair *fèbbra **fòrte*** vs (*)***fòrta** fèbbre* 'a high fever'. Similarly, in his 1964-grammar of Barese, Giovine (2005: 58–59) proposes (*)***ròssa** fèmmene* as acceptable, alongside the *fèmmena **ròsse*** 'red(-haired) woman', as well as the cluster *bbèlla garbàta fèmmena ròssa ròssa gendìle* 'kind very-red(-haired) extremely well-mannered woman'. However, the sort of adjectival preposing exemplified above may not reflect the genuine situation of spoken dialects. In his survey of Pugliese dialects, Melillo (1981: 82) notes that the semantics of 'the preposing qualifying or attributive adjective becomes weaker': the [A-N] configuration *grande miseria* can be found alongside *miseria grande*, both with the meaning of 'great misery', but the type *vitello **grasso*** 'fat calf' never has a counterpart (*)***grasso** vitello* in these varieties, and the only options are either ***bel** vitello* 'a nice calf' or *il **meglio** vitello* 'the best calf' (Melillo 1981: 83).

In this light, Romance adjectival preposing appears as the 'learned' exponent of a more flexible (pre)nominal syntax, i.e. a historical relic of an archaicising [A-N] order that is not entirely compatible with the adjectival syntax of these spoken varieties. However, cases like the evaluative *grande, bello/brutto*, etc., can be argued to have (had) that basic, necessary semantic import which has allowed their prenominal continuity, albeit with severe morpholexical, syntactic and semantic limitations.

4   Adjectival Modification within the Barese Nominal Expression

The Barese nominal expression tends to display the (nearly-)fixed internal distribution shown in Table 9.1.

TABLE 9.1   *Barese nominal expression (adapted from Ledgeway 2016: 263)*

Q	D	Q	A	N	Comp	Poss	A
tùttə	*chìddə*	*tànda(/àldə)*	*bbèllə*	*màzzə*	*de cìmə də cólə*	*tù*	*vìərdə*
all	those.PL	many(/other)	fine	bunches.M	of tops.F of cauwliflower	your.M	green.M.PL

The general tendency is to restrict syntactic material to occur between article and noun, with the exception of numerals, quantifiers,[6] and one single prenominal adjective, to which Section 4.3 is devoted. Consequently, Barese favours the postnominal placement of other nominal modifiers e.g. (en)clitic and tonic possessives (immediately after the noun), and DM- and IM-adjectives, which are both essentially 'deprived' of the pragmatico-semantic distinction between pre- vs postnominal position operative in most (Italo-)Romance varieties.

4.1   *Morphological Remarks*

Gender and number agreement in Barese are residually marked via 'word-internal' inflection, and no longer by inflectional endings, which historically merged to [ə].[7] This 'morphologised' metaphonetic raising of stressed mid-vowels due to final high vowels.[8] This was triggered by -U in masculine singular adjectives, *rùssə*[M] vs *ròssə*[F] 'red', and by -I for masculine plural, e.g. *barésə*[SG] vs *barìsə*[PL] 'Barese', leaving the feminine untouched.[9]

Unlike the neighbouring dialects of Mola di Bari (Cox 1982:78–84, 1986) and Altamura (Loporcaro 1997:343, 2009: 149), in Barese there is no evidence of the morphological distinction between [±animate] or [±human] (operative

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6   However, quantifiers are not rare postnominally, e.g. *àcqua assà' e ssalàtə*, 'lots of salted water' (Sada 1977: 64); prenominal *mìnzə/mènzə* 'half' or *mègghiə/péscə* 'best/worse' are beyond the scope of this paper.

7   Except for -A of feminine singular adjectives/nouns which resurfaces on all (but the last) constituents within the same nominal phrase: *bbrùtta*[A] *disgrazziàta*[N] *lòrda*[A] *mməquàtə*[A] 'rotten filthy scoundrel' (Abbatescianni 1896:48; Lopez 1952:19; Valente 1975:29,36; Loporcaro 1997: 342).

8   Cf. Valente 1975:§ 1.1.5; Stehl 1980:183–189,232–233 for Barese; Maiden (1991); Calabrese (2011); *i.a.*, for (Italo-)Romance.

9   This metaphonetic alternation in the nominal domain was already recorded in notarial acts written in medieval (1065) Latin in Byzantine-ruled Bari, (cf. Nitti di Vito 1900:IV.42), e.g.

only among masculine) referents, except the case of postnominal *bbuénə/ bbù(ə)nə*[M] 'kind/tasty', only attested for a few speakers (Section 4.2.8).

One last relevant remark concerns adjectival degree. Similar to Romanian (Brăescu 2013:§7.4), the 'absolute' superlative is formed analytically by the bare adjective and a postnominal intensifier (cf. Renzi 1997: 166), such as *assà(jə)* (<*AD+SATIS) and *pròpriə/pròbbriə* 'indeed', among others (cf. Abbatescianni 1896:59; Lacalendola 1969:15; Rohlfs 1969: 288). Some synthetic exceptions are found, e.g. the invariable *sandìssəmə* 'holiest(/most blessed)' and *bravìssəmə* 'very skilled', commonly used in exclamative contexts. Alternatively, adjectival reduplication is also a common strategy, e.g. *lènghə lènghə*[M] 'very long' (Lopez 1952:21; Valente 1975: 35).

4.2 *Syntactic and Semantic Considerations*

In the available literature, the distribution of Barese adjectives has received attention only by few authors (Lopez 1952:19; Lacalendola 1969:11; Melillo 1981; Giovine 2005[1964]:58), who note that adjectival postposition is the norm. Only Melillo and Giovine, albeit differently, discuss the interpretations of prenominal exceptions, which occur according to their 'contextual' use.

4.2.1 Postnominal Adjectives

An initial premise to Barese adjectival modification (valid for many southern Italo-Romance varieties) is that most adjectives are forced to follow the noun they modify, leading to ambiguity between postnominal DM- and IM-readings. Below we provide cases of typical core-classes of Barese DM-adjectives used in their IM-variant, which only obtains postnominally without exceptions:

(9) a. *jè na mattənàta **frèddə***
    is a morning.F cold.F
    'it's a cold morning'

  b. *u stòmache **chiənə** nom vàscə səndì frìddə*
    the stomach.M full.M not makes feel.INF cold
    'a full belly doesn't make you feel cold'

  c. *accàttə(chə) sèmbə cósə **mərcàtə***
    buy(1SG) always things.F cheap
    'I always buy cheap stuff'

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*sabano **rusato***A (<*ROSATU) 'rose-decorated linen (M.SG)'; *octo scaptuni*N *et uno scaptone*N *petalato* 'eight ewers[M.PL] and one ewer[M.SG] with precious ornaments'.

d. *lə   dùlgə   t(u)èstə 'ngàppənə 'n-gànnə*
   the sweets.M hard.M trip.3PL   in-throath
   'hard sweets are difficult to swallow'

e. *partì   ppə nnu paìsə   ləndànə*
   left.3SG for a   country.M far
   '(s)he left for a far-away country'

f. *pòrtə na cammìsa **ggnórə** cóm' ó   təzzónə*
   brings a   shirt.F   black   like to-the firebrand
   '(s)he wears a very black shirt'

In (9a)–(9f), *frèddə* 'cold', *chìnə* 'full', *mərcàtə* 'cheap', *t(u)èstə* 'hard', *ləndànə*
'far-away' and *ggnórə* 'black' do not necessarily refer to the core properties of
their respective referents (DM), but rather define an extension of their prop-
erties (IM). They all receive restrictive, predicative readings, conceptually con-
trasting their antonyms *càldə* 'warm', *vacàndə* 'empty', *càrə* 'expensive', *mòddə*
'soft', *vəcìnə* 'close' and *bbiànghə* 'white'. However, standard Romance could
readily accept 'cold' (9a) prenominally to convey a non-contrastive, prototyp-
ical property of mornings as being inherently cold, e.g. *una fredda mattinata*
'a cold morning'. This possibility is entirely ruled out in Barese. In fact, dif-
ferently than standard Romance (Section 3), the restrictions on prenominal
modification in Barese force most adjectives with DM-interpretation to occur
postnominally:

(10) a. *Cənzìnə jè nu cretìnə **originàlə***   (cf. Italian: **vero** cretino)
        Vinnie   is a   cretin original
        'Vinnie is a true cretin'

   b. *s'   ha   ffrəcàtə na tiàna   **(sàna) sànə***
      self= has stolen   a   baking-tin.F healty.F healty
                                                    (cf. **intera** teglia (**intera**))
      '(s)he's devoured the entire (content of the) baking tray'

   c. *u   chəmbàgnə tu'   ténə la càpa   **frèsckə***
      the friend.M   your holds the head.F fresh.F
      'your friend is not serious'

   d. *Chelìnə ténə na zìta   **tòstə***
      Mickey holds a   fiancee.F hard.F
      'Mickey's fiancee is very hot'

e. *ténə   na lèngua   **lònghə***
   holds a   tongue.F long.F
   '(s)he uses inappropriate language'

f. *məgghièrə-mə ténə   na rècchia **finə***   (cf. **fine** udito (**fine**))
   wife=my   holds a ear.F   fine.F
   'My wife has a fine-tuned hearing'

g. *chèdda fìgghiə   av' avùtə   na sòrta **ggnórə***
   that   daughter.F has had.PTCP a   fate.F black.F
   'that girl has experienced an adverse fate'

h. *s'   ha ffàttə la càpa   **nóvə***   (cf. **nuovo** taglio (**nuovo**))
   self= has done the head.F new.F
   '(s)he's got a new hair-cut'

If we were to force an Im-interpretation of these Dm-adjectives in order to
contrast them, their antonyms would not be the literal *cretìnə rifàldə* 'fake
cretin', *tiànə malàtə* 'sick baking tin', *capa càldə* 'warm head' (actually meaning
'ill-minded'), *zita mòddə* 'soft fiancee', *lèngua còrtə* 'short tongue', *rècchia dòppiə*
'thick ear', *sòrta bbiànghə* 'white fate' or *càpa vècchiə* 'old head' respectively.
Many of these adjectives could also surface prenominally in Italian to convey
the same Barese postnominal reading. Revealing evidence comes from the
contrast between the Dm- and Im-readings of Italian *nuovo*, '(an)other' (11a)-
(11b) and 'new' (11a), depending on its pre- or postnominal position:

(11) Italian

   a. *devo   comprare un abito   **nuovo***
      must.1SG buy.INF   a   suit.M new.M
      'I have to buy a new/another suit'

   b. […] *un **nuovo** abito*
           a   new.M suit.M
      '[…]another suit'

In contrast, Barese can only resort to the postnominal position for both read-
ings (12), creating interpretative ambiguities in cases of isolated postnominal
modification:

(12) Barese (Lacalendola 1972: 56)
*agghi' accattà n' àbbətə **n(u)évə***
have.1SG buy.INF a suit.M new.M
'I have to buy a new/another suit'

Clearly, most DM-adejctives with 'translated' meanings are obligatorily stranded postnominally, where interpretative ambiguities arise with their IM-counterparts whenever these modify the noun individually. This ambiguity is usually resolved in those cases of 'serial' adjectival modification. The obligatorily postnominal placement of (most) DM-adjectives helps identifying the potential IM-exponents, which occupy the right-most adjectival positions in Barese, and generally in Romance.

4.2.2 Multiple Postnominal Modification

Barese shows resistance to the formation of serial adjectival clusters (Sproat & Shih 1991: 578), as in many spoken varieties. It favours parallel or coordinated sequences of adjectives (13), whereby the noun is independently modified by each adjective, witness an intonational 'comma'-break or overt conjuction:

(13) Barese (Lacalendola 1972: 32)
*stònn' a ffà tànda palàzzə **n(u)évə** e **ggrànnə***
stand.3PL to do.INF many buildings.M new.M and big
'they are building many new big buildings'

However, Barese does allow a reduced series of adjectives to occur in postnominal position, devoted to IM in Romance. Under this view, the proximity of the adjective to the noun determines whether DM or IM applies:

(14) a *lə pəmədùrə rùssə **appìsə/appennùtə***
the tomatoes.M red.M hung.M/hung
'red tomatoes **hung-up** (i.e. not sun-dried/lying on the table)'

b. *lə pəmədùrə appìsə/*appennùtə **rùssə***
the tomatoes.M hung.M/hung red.M
'**red** (i.e. not green) hang-preserved tomatoes'

Both adjectives in phrase-final positions, i.e. *appìsə/appennùtə* (14a) and *rùssə* (14b), are pragmatically interpreted as rhematic, 'discourse-new' information, and syntactically behave as reduced relative clauses whose interpretation is restrictive (IM). In contrast, the adjectives closer to the noun are semanti-

cally and syntactically more 'dependent' from this as they enter into a tighter DM-relation with their referents, closely resembling that of complex nominal compounds [N-A]. Moreover, (14) shows the morpholexical specialisation of the two so-called 'strong' and 'weak' participial forms, *appìsə* and *appənnùtə* respectively. The 'weak' form *appənnùtə* cannot receive a DM-interpretation, whereas the strong form can, albeit with semantic differences. Hence, (14a) describes 'red tomatoes' (whose prototypical property is being 'red') which are hanged/hanging. *Appənnùtə* only conveys the IM-interpretation, i.e. the 'red tomatoes' are hanging, not lying on the table. In contrast, *appìsə* usually receives the DM-reading of 'hang-preserved' in the [N-DMA] complex (14b), whereas it can also be contrastive in IM-position, i.e. 'hang-preserved(/not sun-dried')'.

4.2.3   Prenominal Adjectives

The prenominal position in standard modern Romance (Section 2) is reserved for direct modification. However, fieldwork with informants has revealed that this position appears largely unproductive in Barese (and other non-standard Italo-Romance varieties) due to its limited accessibility. Exceptions to this generalisation may be sparsely found throughout the recent (18th-century) literary production in Barese known to us, but these constitute literary exceptions, i.e. imitation of higher registers, unheard in the spoken variety.

These prenominal exceptions form a closed class of eleven DM-adjectives: *bbu(é)nə*[M]/*bbónə*[F] 'good/good-hearted', *màlə* 'bad', *bbèllə* 'beautiful/nice', *bbrùttə* 'ugly/bad', *bbràvə* 'skillful/good-natured', *grànnə* 'big/great', *pòvərə* 'poor/pitiful', *vècchiə* 'old/long-standing/former', *sàndə* 'holy/blessed', *(j)àldə* 'tall/higher', and *vàscə(/bbàssə)* 'short/lower'. As remarked in Section 4, these adjectives can only occur one at a time in prenominal position:

(15) a. *nu **bbuénə** (*pòvərə) crəstiànə pòvərə*
          a   good.M poor   person.M poor
          'a poor good-hearted person'

      b. *nu **pòvərə** (*bbuénə) crəstiànə bbuénə*
          a   poor   good.M   person.M good.M
          'a good(-hearted/simple-minded) pitiful person'

These high-frequency prenominal exceptions, expressing rudimentary qualities and sizes, show different degrees of fossilisation in terms of morpho(pho-no)logical shape, semantic interpretation and syntactic distribution. Their literal IM-meaning (presented in the list as the first of the two options) is only

available postnominally. In contrast, both pre- and postnominal positions can license (one or more) non-literal DM-readings. This already hints at a limited prenominal productivity, which is usually resolved postnominally. The different gradients of semantico-syntactic 'productivity' of these DM-adjectives (assessed for type, e.g. [±animate], and amount of referents 'modifiable' prenominally) reveal that not all of these are genuine instances of 'productive' modification, and some behave as fossilised [A-N] nominal compounds. Historically, this suggests a (residual) greater syntactic 'freedom' of the prenominal position, preserved only for these speaker-oriented adjectives to three different extents: 'non-productive', i.e. fossilised compounds, 'semi-productive', and 'productive'. These different degrees represent a continuum of the major or minor degree of semantico-syntactic fossilisation reached by the adjective and the noun in a DM-relation, ranging from completely idiomatic [A-N] fixed expressions to a few truly productive adjectives. The first two classes can modify only limited sets of referents. However, we can recognise, in turn, two different degrees of semantic shift and syntactic fossilisation: a 'partial' shift, which regularly conveys the non-literal adjectival meaning with a morpholexically limited number of referents, and a 'radical' shift, whereby the original adjectival meaning becomes either opaque or its exact antonym within a lexicalised [A-N] nominal compound. Only a limited subset of prenominal adjectives shows concrete ability to directly modify potentially any referents, even postnominally. Crucially, this 'productive' subset is used to express the speaker's [+positive]/[+negative] evaluation/opinion/comment on the referent/reference. We now exemplify and discuss individually each adjective in order of productivity, contrasting them with their postnominal counterparts.

4.2.4   Màlə 'bad'

Considering the purely evaluational interpretation of Barese prenominal adjectives, the full productivity of [+negative] *màlə*, 'bad/evil', would be expected. Instead, *màlə* appears as the most advanced case of fossilisation, with two recognisable semantic and syntactic tendecies. Morpholexical factors entirely determine the occurrence of prenominal *màlə*, as it can only occur with a closed class of referents. This suggests that the 'productive' usage of prenominal (and postnominal) *màlə* must have been more extensive in earlier stages of the dialect. What survives is a (morpholexically determined) historical relic, which is by no means uncommon in Italo-Romance (vs Spanish) and other southern Italian dialects.

In the most advanced stage of fossilisation encountered, *màlə* can synchronically be treated as an unproductive [+negative] evaluative prefix, similar to a

pejorative suffix. This is confined to a minimal amount of idiomatic [*màlə*-N] compounds, e.g. *mala-vìtə* 'organised crime(/lit. bad-life'), *mala-càrnə* 'delinquent' (lit. 'bad-flesh'), *mal-òmbrə* 'elusive person(/jinxer)' (lit. 'bad-shadow'), *mala-lènguə* 'rumour-monger' (lit. 'bad-tongue'), *mal-aciəddə* 'owl/jinxer' (lit. 'bad-bird'), *mal-èrvə* 'weeds' (lit. 'bad-grass').

The second tendency is the same operative in Romance, inasmuch as it implies the subjective interpretation of 'bad, evil, disgraceful' of the prenominal adjective. However, the restriction in place here is again morpholexical, as the referents modifiable by prenominal *màlə* also form a closed class, e.g. *màla ggèndə* 'bad, evil people', *mala mòrtə* 'disgraceful dead', *mala criànzə* 'bad manners', *mala nóva* 'bad news'. Possibly due to the non-figurate nature of the referents, these readings of *màlə* are more transparent than those in the fossilised [*màlə*-N] compounds.

Crucial evidence in favour of this distinction comes from the further prenominal modification of the lexicalised [*màlə*-N] compounds (16a) with another single prenominal adjective:

(16) a. *pòvəra/ vècchia **màla-vìtə***
         old.F   poor.F   bad.F-life.F
         'The pitiful/old(-generation of) organised crime'

     b. **brùtta/ *sanda/ *pòvera **mala** mórtə*
         ugly.F   holy.F   poor.F   bad.F death.F

This is not allowed for the second group of less lexicalised compounds (16b), which suggests that prenominal syntactic restrictions are still in place. In contrast, whenever prenominal modification is allowed, the *màlə*-component functions as a sub-part of a nominal compound in which its semantics is barely distinguishable. Nonetheless, all examples point to a once-greater productivity of prenominal *màlə*, which is now entirely lost, or morpholexically constrained. Curiously, Latin ablative MALA MENTE lit. '(with) bad/evil/wicked mind' underwent a similar process, giving rise (via category-change to adverbial) to *mala-mèndə*, the most 'successful' postnominal counterpart of *màlə* in southern Italo-Romance varieties, discussed below.

In postnominal position, *màlə* is entirely unproductive, i.e. it lacks a postnominal variant altogether. Its function has been replaced either by postnominal-only *mala-mèndə* (lit. 'bad-ly') or *malìgnə* 'malign' with [+human] referents, or by *brùttə* 'bad(/ugly)' in pre(- and post)nominal position (Section 4.2.10) with most referent types.

(17) (**màla**) *ggèndə* (**màlə*)> (*bbrùtta/*) *ggèndə* *malamèndə/ malìgnə*
bad.F people bad   bad.F   people.F mean   malign
'mean, wicked people'

Although, at a first glance, *malamèndə* may seem one of the Barese fossilised
[A-N] compounds, its diachrony presupposes an intermediate change from
nominal to adverbial, as the [A-MENTE] configuration was highly exploited for
(manner-)adverb formation in most Romance. In contrast, in southern Italo-
Romance *-mente* adverbs are quite rare,[10] and adverbs are synchretic with
adjectives (cf. Rohlfs 1969:243; Silvestri 2016; Ledgeway 2016:§16.4.3.4). There-
fore, *mala-mèndə*, originally 'bad-ly', could readily fulfil the adjectival fuction
of an increasingly unproductive *màlə*, but only postnominally. Unlike Neapoli-
tan (Ledgeway 2009: 224), Barese *malamèndə* can only modify [+animate]
referents (cf. Abbatescianni 1896: 68) meaning 'bad, mean, wicked'. Equally
restricted to [+animate] referents, *malìgnə* also means 'evil, mean' (on a par
with Italian postnominal *cattivo*), and behaves like any other postnominal
adjective. The [+animate] restrictions imposed on *malamèndə* and *malìgnə*
are usually by-passed through the 'productive' option *brùttə*, meaning literally
'ugly' but figuratively 'bad'. This typically modifies [–animate] referent with the
meaning of 'bad/wicked/disgraceful' both in pre- and postnominal position:

(18) a. **malə** *parólə*   (**malə*)> (*#brùttə*) *parólə*   *brùttə* (*/*malaméndə*)
bad   words.F bad   bad   words.f. bad.F mean.F
'swearings'   'swearings(/#mean words)'

   b. **mala**-*fèmmənə* (**malə*)> *fèmməna malaméndə* (**màlə/ #brùttə*)
bad.F-female.F bad   female.F   mean.F   bad.F   ugly.f.
'woman of ill repute'   'woman of ill-repute(/#ugly girl)'

Postnominal *brùttə* (Section 4.2.10) usually receives the IM-meaning of
'ugly' with [+human] referents (18b), as the specialised postnominal *malamèn-
də* is used in that context.

4.2.5   *Jàldə/bbassə* 'higher/lower'
The two size/height adjectives, *jàldə* 'tall'/*vàscə* [ˈvɐʃː(ə)] 'short', represent
another case of fossilised [A-N] compound. The first morphophonological

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10   However, see e.g. Barese disjunction *oppura-mèndə* 'or' and a few Neapolitan adjectives:
      allegra-mente 'happy' (Ledgeway 2009: 224).

'anomaly' comes from the contrast between the productive postnominal size-adjectives *jàldə/vàscə* and their prenominal-only counterparts (*j*)*àldə/bbàssə*. The latter pair, (*j*)*àldə/bbàssə* (<*ALTU/BASSU), appear morphophonologically more conservative if compared to *jàldə/vàscə*. Their semantics also varies, shifting from 'tall/short' to 'higher/lower', as in most Romance. However, the Barese prenominal (*j*)*àldə/bbàssə* only surfaces with a trivial amount of geographical terms and toponyms, e.g. *àlda/bbàssa məndàgnə* 'upper/lower mountain', *ald'/bass'Ità*(*gg*)*liə* 'northern/southern Italy', *Alda/Bassa Mùrgə* 'upper/lower Murgia Plateau', and (*J*)*alda-mùrə* 'Altamura' (lit. 'high-walls'). These behave as completely fossilised [A-N] compounds, whose 'reference-modifying' interpretation also became crystallised with it:

(19) *pòvəra **bbàss'** Ità*(*gg*)*lia bèllə*
       poor.F tall   Italy.F   nice
       'nice pitiful Southern Italy'

Example (19) shows that these compounds can be further modified, hence, testifying to their completed process of fossilisation.

In contrast with the [(*j*)*àldə/bbàssə*-N] compounds, the DM-readings of the more recent variants *jàldə/vàscə* are allowed postnominally. The two are invariably ruled out in prenominal position, leading to DM-/IM-semantic ambiguity:

(20) a. (**bbàssə/*vàscə*) *crəstiànə **vàscə***
          high   person.M short
          'short person'

      b. (**(j)àldə*) *scólə   **jàldə***
          high   schools.F high
          'secondary/higher education'

As expected, postnominal *jàldə/vàscə* may ambiguously convey their literal, restrictive reading 'tall'/'short' (20a), along with their DM-readings 'high(er)/low(er)' (20b).

4.2.6   *Grànnə* 'great'/*vècchiə* 'long-standing/former'/*pòvərə* 'pitiful'
The three adjectives *grànnə* 'big/elder', *vècchiə* 'old' *pòvərə* 'poor' undergo the regular semantic shift from postnominal-only literal reading to a prenominal 'subjective' interpretation, as it generally occurs in Romance. Their prenominal readings change into 'great', 'long-standing/former', and 'pitiful' respectively. Their 'rudimentary' semantics may justify their high frequency, but their

standard-Italian counterparts may have helped to reinforce and preserve their prenominal variants in Barese. Nonetheless, these adjectives equally show restrictions on the referents they can modify, hence, can no longer be considered as productive as in other Romance varieties.

The prenominal adjective with the heaviest restrictions is *grànnə*, 'great', which shifts its literal meaning from 'big' ('elderly' with [+animate] referents (21b)), to the [+positive] evaluative 'great'. Possibly, the increasing acceptability of prenominal *grànnə* in modern Barese should indeed be ascribed to the influence of standard Italian. In fact, this adjective may only prenominally modify a very limited class of [+human] referents, e.g. the generic *crəstiànə* 'person', *òmənə* 'man', *səgnòrə* 'gentleman/lord'. However, its postposition may convey both its literal and non-literal meaning (21b) in the right pragmatic context:

(21) a. *nu **grànnə** òmənə*
      a   great   man
      'a great man'

    b. *n' òmənə **grànnə***
      a   man   big
      'an elderly man (i.e. adult)/a great man'

In contrast, other [+human]/[−animate] referents only accept postnominal modification, whereby *grànnə* can retain its DM-reading 'great' depending on the referent it modifies:

(22) a. *nu (^{??}**grànnə**) poétə/ prəfəssòrə/ sìnnəchə **grànnə***
      a   great   poet.M professor.M mayor.M great
      'a great/elder poet/professor/mayor'

    b. *na (***grànna**) chiàzza/ fèsta/   sfazzióna/   məsèria*
      a   great.F   square.F celebration.F satisfaction.F misery.F
      grànnə
      great
      'a great square/celebration/satisfaction/misery'

The literal IM-meaning 'big' for [−animate] referents would more readily be conveyed by postnominal *grèssə/gròssə* 'fat(/big)', avoiding the potential ambiguity arising with [+animate] referents. Although the 'subjective' prenominal 'great' is marginally accepted among some speakers under possible Italian influence (cf. '??' instead of '*' in (22a)), arguably *grànnə* cannot freely

access the prenominal position, and is preferably replaced by other expressions with approximatively equivalent semantics. For instance, the DM-meaning of 'great/extremely valuable/impressive' can often be replaced by postnominal [+positive] *bravə/fòrtə* (*assa'*), lit. '(very) skilful/strong', with [+animate] referents, e.g. *prəfəssórə bràvə/fòrtə* (*assa'*) 'an impressive professor', or the by the constructions [*sòrtə/sfaccìmə də* N], e.g. *nu sòrtə də cavàddə/ggiardìnə/càldə* and *na sfaccìm(m)ə də chiàzzə/uèrrə/sfazziónə*, freely translatable as 'great, impressive' for all referents.

The behaviour of prenominal *vècchiə* resembles that of *grànnə*. Its meaning shifts from 'old' to the 'situation-bound', abstract 'long-standing' or 'former/previous'. Also *vècchiə* cannot freely modify all referents, having to resort to the postnominal position for both DM- and IM-readings depending on the nature of the referent/reference.

(23) a. *nu* (*??*)*vècchiə chəmbàgnə*
    a   old   friend.M
    'a long-standing friend'

b. *nu chəmbàgnə* ***vècchiə***
    a   friend.M   old
    'an elderly friend/long-time/former friend'

c. *na* (**/??**vècchia***) *clìènda* ***vècchiə***
    a   old.F   customer.F old
    'old/long-standing/former customer'

d. *u* (**/??**vècchiə***) *zìtə/*   *cavàddə/ fàttə* ***vècchiə***
    the old   partner.M horse.M   story.M old
    'the old/former partner/horse/story'

In order to resolve this postnominal ambiguity, the DM-meaning of 'long-standing' can also usually be expressed adverbially via the construction in (24):

(24) *nu chəmbàgnə* (*c'   accanòscəchə*) ***vècchiə***
    a   friend.M   that know.1SG   old
    'long-time friend'

Note that the 'long-standing' reading is only found prenominally in few fossilised expressions, e.g. *vècchia canəscénzə* 'long-time acquaintance'. In the modern dialect, prenominal *vècchiə* may have increased its occurrence due to

its Italian equivalent *vecchio* 'long-standing' with [+human] referents (hence the notation '*/??'). In contrast, it is favoured in prenominal position, where only the pragmatic context can dismiss the ambiguity between 'old' and 'long-standing/former'.

The last prenominal adjective, the [+negative] *pòvərə* 'pitiful', appears to be able to modify a larger number of referents, possibly due to its semantic content, which allegedly secured its semi-productivity in prenominal position. 'Pitiful' can be idiomatically extended to [−animate] referents, provided that they 'deserve the speaker's pity':

(25) a. **pòvəra** *famìgghiə/ màghənə*
         poor.F   family.F   car.F
         'pitiful family/car (i.e. after an accident)'

      b. **pòvərə**   *crìstə(-iànə)/ cavàddə*
         pitiful.M person.M   horse.M
         'pitiful person/horse (i.e. mistreated)'

      c. *famìgghia/ crìstə(-iànə)/ *cavàddə/ *màghəna* **pòvərə**
         family.F   person.M   horse.M   car.F   poor.F
         'poor family/person/*horse/*car'

Pòvərə retains its literal meaning 'impoverished' in postnominal position (25c), frequently appearing in the diminutive *povərìddə*[M]/*povərèddə*[F] as the morpholexical IM-variant,[11] e.g. *na famìgghia povərèddə* 'a poor(/*pitiful) family'. Interestingly, the IM-reading of 'pitiful' in copular constructions is expressed by the nominalisation of *pòvərə* plus a prepositional pronominal complement [*pòvər-a*-pronoun] identifying the [+human] referent: *Giuànnə*[M]/*Marì*[F] *jè nu pòvər-a-jìddə*[M]/*na pòvər-a-jèddə*[F] 'John/Mary is a pitiful person'.

4.2.7   *Sàndə* 'blessed/cursed'

The semi-productive *sàndə* 'blessed' can only modify a recurrent class of referents. Its original prenominal function designates saints, e.g. *Sànda Nəcòlə* 'Saint Nicholas', and other religious terms with the literal meaning of 'holy/sacred', e.g. *sàndə təmórə də Ddì*, 'holy fear of God', *sànda mèssə* 'holy mass', *sànda pascènzə (də Ddì/G(g)əsù)* 'holy patience (of God/Jesus)'. However, the IM-meaning of *sàndə* would not be allowed in modern Barese, and, indeed, all these cases appear to be fixed expressions (by no means exclusive to Barese), i.e. diachronic

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11   Pronominally, *povərìddə/povərèddə* can also refer to a 'pitiful (person)'.

relics of a more permissive prenominal placement. Particularly revealing is the retention of the (postnominal) superlative *sandìssəmə* 'holiest', a conservative exception in Barese (Section 4.1).

Besides these fossilised expressions, modern-day Barese *sàndə* shows little signs of productivity, being confined to modify a closed, yet varied class of referents, as shown in (26)–(27). Whenever *sàndə* modifies its referents prenominally, its meaning oscillates between the 'subjective' [+positive] 'blessed' (i.e. 'good-hearted, saint-like') for [+human] referents, and its [+negative] antonym 'cursed/damned', e.g. (26a), depending on the pragmatic context of the occurrence.

(26) a. *nu **sàndə**   òmənə/ crəstiànə/ fìgghiə (**sànde**)*
         a   blessed man.M person.M son.M   blessed
         'a blessed(/cursed) man/person/son'

     b. (***sànda***) *chəzzàlə/ cəpòddə/ pavùrə*
        holy.F   peasant.F onion.F   fear.F

(27) a. ***sànda*** *scərnàtə*
         day.F   holy.F
         'cursed(/blessed) day'

     b. *scərnàta   **sàndə***
        blessed.F day.F
        'holy/blessed day'

On some occasions, the meaning of prenominal *sàndə* becomes completely opaque as in other fixed [A-N] Barese expressions, i.e. *sàndə piacérə* 'kind courtesy' (lit. 'holy/sacred favour'), *sàndə trəmónə* 'utter jerk' (lit. 'holy/sacred-wank'), *sànda cósə* 'an appropriate thing/action' (lit. 'holy/sacred-thing'). Finally, Iᴍ-reading of 'holy' is now only expressed postnominally, e.g. *Pasqua sàndə* 'Holy Easter' (cf. Italian *Santa Pasqua*), witness the nominal [N-A] compound *cam(b)ə-sàndə* 'cemetery' (lit. 'field-holy'), formed retaining the Iᴍ-reading.

4.2.8   *Bbu(é)nə*[M]/*bbónə*[F] 'good'
Barese [+positive] *bbu(é)nə*[M]/*bbónə*[F], literally 'good', is fully productive in postnominal position, as opposed to its antonym *màlə*. In contrast, *bbu(é)nə/ bbónə* also shows little signs of prenominal productivity, following the usual two different trends of fossilisation and semantic shifts. *Bbu(é)nə/bbónə* re-

ceives the 'subjective' [+positive] reading of 'kind, good-hearted[+human]/well-behaved[+animate]/pleasant[−animate/+abstract]' depending on the referent, whereas it conveys its [+negative] opposite in set expressions, i.e. fossilised nominal compounds. Below, we present a selection of possible [(A)-N-(A)] combinations showing the variable interpretations:

(28) [+human]
    a. ***bbuénə*** *crəstiànə/ fìgghiə*
       good.M person.M son.M
       'good-hearted person/son'

    b. *crəstiànə/ fìgghiə* ***bbu(é)nə***
       person.M son.M good.M
       'good-hearted/simple-minded person/son'

    c. ***bbóna*** *fèmmənə*
       good.F woman.F
       'ill repute woman'

    d. *fèmmənə* ***bbónə***
       woman.F good.F
       'good-hearted/hot woman'

    e. (**/??**bbuénə***) *sìnnəchə/ scarpàrə* ***bbu(é)nə***
       good.M mayor.M shoe-maker.M good.M
       'kind/simple-minded(/skilful) mayor/shoe-maker'

(29) [+animate]
    a. (**/??*)***bbuénə*** *ciùccə*
       good.M donkey.M
       'well-behaved donkey'

    b. *ciùccə* ***bbu(é)nə***
       donkey.M good.M
       'well-behaved/hard-working/tasty donkey'

(30) [−animate]/[+abstract]
    a. ***bbón'*** *ànəmə*
       good.F soul.F
       'deceased person'

b. *ànəma* **bbónə**
   soul.F   good.F
   'kind soul (i.e. person)'

c. (**/??bbóna*) *mənèstra/ scóla/   soluzziòna* **bbónə**
   good.F   soup.F   school.F solution.F good.F
   'good soup (i.e. tasty)/school (i.e. prestigious)/solution (i.e. conve-
   nient)'

d. **bbuén'** *esèmbiə*
   good.M example.M
   'role-model'

e. *esèmbiə*   **bbu(é)nə**
   example.M good.M
   'relevant/good example'

The original meaning of 'good/kind$_{[+human/animate]}$' is retained by postnominal
bbuénə/bbónə, which can be also interpreted as 'skilled', i.e. 'good (at doing
something)' in predicative contexts, overlapping with the Iᴍ-reading of post-
nominal *bbràvə* 'skillful' (28e). Alongside the Iᴍ-readings, different 'translated'
readings are found in postnominal position. The 'simple-minded' meaning of
bbuénə in (28b)-(28e) for [+animate] referents allegedly comes form the ellip-
tical comparative clause *nu cristianə bbuénə* (*cóm'ò ppànə*) 'a person (as) good
(as bread)', i.e. 'a fool'; however, the monophtongised *bbùnə* can only convey
the literal interpretation. The meaning of 'good-looking' (28d) for the feminine
bbónə, instead, comes as no surprise in Italo-Romance.

In contrast, prenominal *bbuénə/bbónə* conveys [+positive] values such as
'good-hearted/well-behaved/pleasant' as an inherent, non-contrastive prop-
erty of a set of recurrent referents. For [+human] referents (28a), Giovine
claims that 'the quality is spiritual and can refer to a calm and hard-working
person', whereas 'if referring to the animal, it will only concern its character'
(Giovine 2005: 58), such as in (29a). However, the latter prenominal *bbuénə/
bbónə* seems marginal with [+animate] referents, e.g. animals, and their 'tame'
character is best described postnominally, alongside the 'tasty' reading as possi-
ble food. Perhaps, Giovine refers to a metaphoric [+human] reading for
[−human] referents, as the acceptability of the prenominal *bbuénə* depends on
the ability of the referent to be 'tamed/tamable', thus 'well-behaved', as opposed
to 'untamable' animals, i.e. **na bbóna zzambànə* 'a good mosquito'. Nonethe-
less, most of these interpretations amount to the speaker's evaluations/opinion

of the referent, which is allegedly why these prenominal adjectives can (or used to) appear in prenominal position.

As for the [−animate]/[+abstract] referents, we come across set expressions, e.g. (30a)–(30f), in which the prenominal *bbuénə/bbónə* shows a more or less opaque meaning if compared to [+animate], behaving like fossilised [A-N] compounds (but cf. *bbóna-nóvə* 'good news'). Similarly, prenominal *bbuénə/bbónə* receives an idiomatic [+negative] value with few [+animate] referents, forming one single semantic entity with it, e.g. (28c). Hence, the 'good-hearted, kind' interpretation for *fèmmənə* can by no means be prenominal, and the only option for Barese is the postnominal position. A crucial morphophonological remark concerns the masculine forms *bbuénə* and *bbùnə*, as the latter cannot occur in postnominal position, while the former can. *Bbuénə* is the most conservative of the two forms, whereas *bbùnə* is only a recent phonological development (Valente 1975:17–18). Nitti Di Vito (1896: 9) already attests the on-going diastratic change from *bbuénə* to *bbù(ə)nə*, the latter representing the pronunciation of 'less vulgar people'. Unsurprisingly, the innovative form cannot access the 'unproductive' position. Postnominally, Barese elder speakers accept *bbùnə* as an innovation, the younger generations favour it over *bbuénə*, while few middle-aged speakers make a(n innovative) distinction between [+animate] *nu uagnónə bbuénə/bbùnə* 'a good-hearted(/simple-minded) boy' and 'tasty' food/drinks *u mmìər(r)ə bbùnə(/*bbuénə)* 'good wine' (Section 4.1).

In other words, *bbuénə/bbónə* cannot freely access the prenominal position, as it can only occur with certain referents and interpreted 'subjectively' (according to the semantics of the noun), or idiomatically, with a [negative] connotation, testifying to a once-greater productivity of the prenominal position. Such prenominal constraints in modern Barese can account for the fact that, prenominally, *bbèllə* and *bbràvə*[12] are favoured over *bbuènə* to express [+positive] values.

4.2.9   *Bbràvə* 'good-natured'

Bbràvə, literally 'skilful', is only compatible with [+animate] referents and is extremely productive in postnominal position for both literal and translated ('good-natured/good-hearted') meanings, similarly to postnominal *bbuéne* 'good' (Section 4.2.8). When occurring in prenominal position, *bbràvə* may only convey the evaluative [+positive] reading 'good-natured/good-hearted'. However, the postnominal availability of figurate meanings tends to favour

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12   Adverbial *bbràvə* can often substitute adverbial *bbu(é)nə*: *sì ccapìtə bbu(é)nə/bbràvə* 'you've understood correctly'.

postnominal *bbràvə* over the prenominal one, yet forming the same tight se-
mantico-syntactic Dᴍ-relation:

(31) a. **bbràva figghiə**
          good.ꜰ   daughter.ꜰ
          'good-natured daughter'

      b. *figghia   **bbràvə***
          daughter.ꜰ skillful.ꜰ
          'skilful/good-natured daughter'

      c. (***bbràvə***) *crìstə(-iànə)/ òmənə   (**bbràvə***)
          good   person.ᴍ   man.sg.ᴍ skillful
          'good-natured/skilled person/ man'

      d. (*ˀ**bbràvə***) *attànə/ sìnnəchə/ frabbəcatórə* (***bbràvə***)
          good   father.ᴍ mayor.ᴍ builder.ᴍ   skillful
          'good-natured/skilled dad/mayor/builder'

      e. (*ˀ**bbràvə***) *cànə/ ciùccə/   bbèstia* (***bbràvə***)
          good   dog.ᴍ donkey.ᴍ beast.ᴍ skillful
          'good-natured/well-behaved dog/donkey/beast'

The postnominal variant of *bbràvə* can also be intepreted as 'skillful' (except for
[–human] in (31e)), but nowadays the figurative 'good-natured' for [+human]
and 'good-natured/well-behaved' for [–human] referents are more readily
available in both positions. However, some minor prenominal restrictions are
found with some referents (31d–e); prenominal *bbràva* seem to imply a more
'inherent-property' reading than in postnominal position, similarly to [+nega-
tive] *bbrùttə*. It cannot be excluded that the productivity of *bbràvə* is linked to
its Italian counterpart, e.g. *un brav'uomo* 'a good-natured man', considering that
the concept of 'good-natured' was once more naturally conveyed by the (now
'semi-productive') prenominal *bbuénə*. Their semantic overlap becomes even
clearer by the alternation of postnominal *bbràva* 'skilful' with the postnominal
Iᴍ-reading of *bbuénə* 'good (at doing something)'.

4.2.10   *Bbrùttə* 'bad'
Bbrùttə, literally 'ugly', can potentially modify prenominally any referent by
shifting its literal meaning to a more generic [+negative] 'bad', reflecting the
speaker's perspective when denoting the referent. The prenominal interpre-

tations of *bbrùttə* may vary from context to context, yielding e.g. 'disgraceful N', 'inconvenient N', 'bad-tasting N', etc. Its semantic versatility to describe a range of [+negative] qualities/values of the referent makes *bbrùttə* the most suitable replacement of the fossilised *màlə*,[13] and among the most productive pre(-/post)nominal adjectives.

Besides forming set idioms, *bbrùttə* is used in both declarative and exclamative contexts to intensify the [+negative] connotation of the referent, e.g. *brùttə disgrazziàtə* 'scoundrel'. However, the evaluative, non-literal interpretation of *bbrùttə* (where applicable) will concur with the literal 'ugly' one in postnominal position:

(32) [+animate]

   a. **bbrùttə** *crəstiànə*
      bad   person.M
      'dodgy person'

   b *crəstiànə* **bbrùttə**
      person.M ugly
      'ugly person; dodgy person'

   c. (**bbrùttə**) *òmənə/ camarérə/ cànə*   (**bbrùttə**)
      bad   man.M waiter.M   dog.M ugly
      'ugly-looking/bad son/man/waiter/dog'

(33) [−animate]

   a. (**bbrùtta**) *maràngia/ màghəna/ fatìga* (**bbrùttə**)
      bad.F   orange.F   car.F   job.F   ugly
      'bad-tasting/ugly-looking orange; bad/ugly car; unpleasant/bad job'

   b. (**bbrùtta**) *fàccia/ zzóna* (**bbrùttə**)
      bad.F   face.F   zone.F ugly
      'dodgy/ugly-looking face/neighbourhood'

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13   *Bbrùttə* rarely means 'mean, evil' with [+animate] referents, which is instead conveyed by *malamèndə*. However, adverbial *bbrùttə* may replace the adverbial *màlə*, e.g. *mə stògg'a ssəndì màlə/bbrùttə* 'I'm starting to feel ill'.

We can conclude that prenominal *brùttə* is allowed in prenominal position, but it is generally preferred postnominally, despite the broad range of interpretations available in such a position.

4.2.11   *Bbèllə* 'nice'

The behaviour of evaluative *bbèllə*, literally 'beautiful', appears to be the most productive exception in the panorama of Barese adjectival modification. Its original meaning, similarly to *bbrùttə*, shifts to the generic [positive] evaluative reading 'nice', which is arguably the reason of its highest degree of productivity in both pre- and postnominal position.

Somewhat like the unproductive *màlə/malamèndə* 'bad/mean', the first striking morpholexical restriction is found in the pre- vs postnominal alternation between *bbèllə* 'nice' and the literal postnominal counterpart *bbərəfàttə*$_M$/*bbərafàttə*$_F$ 'good-looking/beautiful':

(34) [+human]

     a. ***bbèllə*** *crəstiànə*
        nice   person.M
        'good-natured, pleasant person'

     b. *crəstiànə bberəfàttə*   (/***bbèllə***)
        person.M beautiful.M nice
        'good-looking(/good-natured) person'

(35) [–animate]

     a. ***bbèllə*** *ggiardìnə*
        nice   garden.M
        'well-kept/nice garden'

     b. *ggiardìnə bberəfàttə*   (/***bbèllə***)
        garden.M beautiful.M nice
        'beautiful(/nice, well-kept) garden'

(36) [+abstract]

     a. ***bbèll'*** *esèmbiə*
        nice   example.M
        'role-model/nice example'

     b. *esèmbiə*   ***bbèllə*** (/*bberəfàttə)
        example.M nice   beautiful.M
        'nice example'

The literal meaning of 'good-looking' is usually not conveyed by the post-nominal lexical variant *bbèllə* alone, but is replaced by the once-periphrastic [adjective+past-participle] *bbèrə*[M]/*bbèra*[F]+*fàttə* (<BELLU/-A+FACTU lit. 'beautiful-made'; Loporcaro 2009:151; confused with BENE+FACTU by Giovine 2005: 64). The rhotacised forms *bbèra*[M]/*bbèra*[F] represent the morphophono-logically reduced from of the (obsolete) indigenous development of Latin BELLU(M), *bbèddə* (Zonno 1892: 87), and are not productive in isolation. Se-mantically, the specialised *bbərəfàttə*/*bbərafàttə* is allowed postnominally (*pace* Giovine 2005: 55) provided that 'physical beauty' is involved. This makes *bbərəfàttə*/*bbərafàttə* not suitable for [+abstract] referents (36b), for which only postnominal variant is allowed with the generic meaning 'good/nice/pleas-ant'. Hence, *bbərəfàttə*/*bbərafàttə* is the dedicated IM-form, whereas *bbèllə* is employed for both IM- and DM-readings with its 'subjective' meaning.

Prenominally, the same generic interpretation of [+positive] 'nice' can apply to any referents, as it does not define a specific property of the referent, but expresses the speaker's evaluation/opinion/comment about an (ideal) refer-ent, roughly paraphrasable as 'a good/fine/nice (kind of) N'. This generic [+pos-itive] value of *bbèllə* justifies its different semantic interpretations with certain classes of referents:

(37) [+animate]
    *nu **bbèllə** chəmbàgnə/ attànə/ sìnnəchə/ cavàddə*
    a   nice friend.M   father.M mayor.M horse.M
    'a good (example of) friend/father/mayor/horse'

(38) [−animate]
    *na **bbèlla** scólə/   mədəcìnə/ pìzzə/ lùnə*
    a   nice.F school.F medicine.F pizza.F moon.F
    'a(n example of) good school/adequate medicine/tasty pizza/bright moon'

In (37)–(38), prenominal *bbèllə* presents general interpretative tendencies, rather than clear-cut readings, reflecting its semantic productivity if compared to the rest of prenominal adjectives. In this way, the speaker can attribute differ-ent [+positive] qualities/values (e.g. 'pleasant', 'good-looking', 'tasty', 'efficient', etc.) to the referent on the basis of its nature.

However, we also find fossilised instances of prenominal *bèllə*. One exam-ple is the pan-southern Italo-Romance expression for 'summer', *la bbèlla stag-giónə* lit. 'the beautiful season' (Lacalendola 1971: 54). Despite the adjective is frequently omitted, *la staggiónə* retains a definite reading (and article) deter-

TABLE 9.2 *Productivity of prenominal Barese adjectives*

	+Productive		−Productive	Fossilised
1.	*bbèllə*			
2.		*bbrùttə*		
3.		*bbràvə*[+animate]		
4.			*bbuénə/bbónə*	
5.			*sàndə*	
6.			*pòvərə*	
7.				*vècchiə*
8.				*grànnə*
9.				*àldə*
10.				*bbàssə*
11.				*màlə*

mining its interpretation as unique referent, i.e. 'summer'. Moreover, *bbèllə* can also be interpreted idiomatically as its antonym 'bad' for sarcastic/ironic purposes, e.g. *ccə bèlla fìnə c'ha ffàttə!* 'what an unpleasant (lit. nice) fate s/he suffered!', or as an intensifier, e.g. *bèllə grèssə* 'pretty fat'. This interpretative versatility of *bbèllə* allows it to be able to modify prenominally any classes of referents, making it the most productive adjective in pre- and postnominal position.

5 Conclusions

We have observed that Barese prenominal adjectives do not denote properties of the referent, but express two rudimentary values related to the referent, ranging between [+positive] and [−negative]. The representation of the three main tendencies of 'productivity' discussed above is summarised in Table 9.2 and explained below.

Màlə 'evil, bad', *àldə* 'higher', *bbàssə* 'lower' are entirely fossilised in both their semantics (i.e. they can be interpreted as their antonym) and syntax (i.e. the [A-N] compound can be modified prenominally, which is not allowed in Barese). These are semantically complex entries stored in the lexicon as nominal compounds. The semi-productive pan-Romance *bbu(é)nə*$_M$/*bbónə*$_F$ 'good-hearted', *grànnə* 'great', *vècchiə* 'long-standing/former', *pòvərə* 'pitiful', and the typically Italo-Romance *sàndə* 'blessed/cursed', either allow their prenominal 'subjec-

tive' readings with a limited class of referents, or are found in fossilised [A-N] nominal compounds with a 'translated' meaning.

The most productive prenominal adjectives, *bbèllə* 'nice' *bbrùttə* 'bad', *bbràvə* 'good-natured' (for animates) express the speaker's basic evaluations/opinions/comments on the referent/reference.

To conclude, it is interesting to link these results to the discussion on the once-greater prenominal freedom limited to 'learned', i.e. literary early (Italo-) Romance varieties, and still available in modern Italian. To this end, an early, non-literary text in Barese can be found in De Blasi's (1982) work. He presents the 14th-century 'semi-learned' business correspondence between the sender/writer, Angelo da Bari, and his Tuscan lord. Concerning adjectival placement, the tendency of modern Barese seems very similar to that found in the dozen letters written by the *famiglio* ('famulus') from Bari. All adjectival classes surface postnominally in the letters, e.g. *fi ca no aviti la referma **nova*** 'until you (don't) get another(/ʔnew) agreement renewal' (1982: 90), with the sole, yet recurrent exceptions of possessives (39), *bono/malo* 'good/bad' (38a–c), and *gra(nde)* 'great' (40a–b), modifying all types of referents:

(38) early Barese (De Blasi 1982:88,77–78,92)
    a. *ch'è **bono** faticanti et liale*
       'because he's a **good** and loyal worker'
    b. *aviti una **bona** fame a Pisa*
       'you have a **good** reputation in Pisa'
    c. *no potiti trovare **bona** scusa*
       'you won't be able to find a **valid** excuse'

(39) (De Blasi 1982: 101)
    *no me venditi li soy **mali** derati né l soy **male** compere*
    'don't sell me his **bad** bargains, nor his **bad** purchases'

(40) (De Blasi 1982:85,101)
    a. *li **gra** caldi*
       'the great heat(waves)'
    b. ***gra** fatica*
       'great fatigue/effort'

Although the limited material does not allow us to make any generalisations, we note that these few prenominal adjectives also express the speaker's subjective opinion/comment on the referent. Perhaps not so coincidentally, the modern Barese developments of the prenominal adjectives above appear to be

in an advanced state of fossilisation, but the speaker's [+positive] or [+negative] evaluations on the referents have now been encoded into a different set of 'productive' adjectives, or are expressed directly postnominally.

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Extreme Southern Varieties and Sardinian

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Metaphony in Southern Salento: New Analysis and New Data

Mirko Grimaldi and Andrea Calabrese

1   Introduction

Southern Salento is characterized by a five-vowel phonological system: /i, ε, a, ɔ, u/. According to the traditional subdivision of Italo-Romance dialects (Parlangeli 1953; Rohlfs 1966; Stehl 1988; Mancarella 1998), one of main features of Southern Salento is the absence of metaphonic raising or diphthongization of mid-vowels when followed by unstressed high vowels [i] and [u]: that is /ε, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i, u] and /ε, ɔ/→[jε, wε]/__[i, u] (for a discussion on metaphony in Italy and Romance see Savoia 2015 and Calabrese 2011).

Metaphonic alternations are instead found in northern and central Salento (Loporcaro, 2013), where diphthongization /ε/→[jε] extends to the Gallipoli area, but diphthongization /ɔ/→[wε] stops at the Nardò-San Cesareo-Vernole line, as exemplified in (1) (cf. Figure 10.1).[1]

(1)   a.   ['pεtε]/['pjεti]   'foot/feet'
            ['dεntε]/['djεnti]   'tooth/teeth'
      b.   ['fwεku]/['fwεki/   'fire/fires'
            ['nɔt:ʰε]/['nwεt:ʰi] 'night/nights'

However, a careful inspection of the Atlante linguistico ed etno-grafico dell'Italia e della Svizzera meridionale (AIS)[2] and the Carta dei Dialetti Italiani (CDI)[3] provides two rare examples of metaphony in Salve (2a) and Tiggiano (2b), two towns in the far end of Southern Salento (cf. Figure 10.1): they were collected 40 years apart by Gerhard Rohlfs and Luciano Graziuso and involve raising of the mid-vowel /ε/ in the mid-high counterpart [e] when followed by [i].

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[1]   Note that the diphthongal outcomes can vary diatopically: i.e., from /ε/ we may also have [je], [jə] or [ɪ] and from /ɔ/ we may also have [we], [wə], [wo], [wɔ] or [e].

[2]   Cf. AIS: I 163, VIII 1704, VI 1046.

[3]   Cf. Mancarella (1998: 15–18).

FIGURE 10.1   *isogloss (1): approximate limit of metaphonic diphthongization of /ɔ/→[we];*
             isogloss (2): approximate limit of metaphonic diphthongization of /ɛ/→ [je]. In
             gray, the area investigated by Grimaldi (2003).

(2)   a.   [ˈpɛte]/[ˈpeti]   'foot / feet'
      b.   [ʃenkaˈreɖ:u]/[ʃenkaˈreɖ:i] m.   'calf/calfs'[4]

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4   Unfortunately, both the AIS and the CDI do not contemplate the feminine form, thus we
    cannot know how mid-vowels would have been realized in that case.

The data collected in 1964 for the *Nuovo Atlante Fonetico Pugliese* by Melillo (1986) showed the presence of three metaphonic forms, this time in Gallipoli and Castrignano del Capo (cf. Figure 10.1). The author attributed the forms to idiosyncratic variability of the speakers and not to peculiar phenomena of these varieties. In this case, also the vowels /ɔ/ seems interested by the metaphonic raising when followed by [u], as described in (3b):[5]

(3)   a.   ['servi]   'domestics'
      b.   ['bːonu]   'good'   (ADJ. SING. M.)
      c.   ['morju]   'I die'

Grimaldi (2003) conducted a phonetic investigation on vowel realizations in 36 localities of Southern Salento. This investigation revealed the presence of metaphonic raising both for stressed /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ when followed by unstressed [i] or [u]:[6] Grimaldi (2003) showed that in the extreme periphery of this area a metaphonic raising of mid-vowels is present in 19 localities out of the 36 that were investigated. For each locality, 1 male speaker was interviewed by indirect questioning, aged between 50–80 years. The data were elicited on the base of a questionnaire of about 600 dialectal stimuli (inserted within appropriate sentences), which contained representative samples of the Salento stressed vowels either in open or in closed syllable within nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

The detailed acoustic and statistical analysis of the data demonstrated that all the 19 varieties share the raising of /ɛ/→[e] before [i], while varying applications of the process are found in all other conditions: i.e., in the case of /ɛ/ before [u], and /ɔ/ before [u] and [i]. This kind of micro-variation delimited four metaphonic areas plus the non-metaphonic one, as described in (4a–e):[7]

(4)   a.   Area A: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i][8]
          S.M. di Leuca, Castrignano, Gagliano, Salve, Corsano, Presicce, Acquarica, Tricase, Ruffano, Miggiano, Montesano
      b.   Area B: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]
          Patù, Tiggiano

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5   The same comment made in note 4 is valid here.
6   See also Costagliola (2013) and Romano (2013; 2015) for two cases of metaphonic assimilation in Monteròni and Galàtone varieties (central and Southern Salento respectively).
7   For more details concerning the fieldwork methodology and the acoustic and statistical analysis of the data see Grimaldi (2003: 23–55) and Grimaldi (2009: 93–93).
8   The notation '/__[i]' indicates the context in which the stressed vowel is raised by means metaphonic effect: that is, /ɛ/→[e] before [i], and so on.

    c. Area C: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__ [u]
        Morciano, Alessano, Lucugnano
    d. Area D: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]
        Specchia, Tutino, Andrano
    e. Area E: non-metaphonic area:
        Ugento, Taurisano, Castiglione, Spongano, Diso, Castro, Alliste, Felline,
        Racale, Melissano, Casarano, Taviano, Gallipoli, Alezio, Parabita, Mag-
        lie, Otranto

However, the statistical analysis performed by Grimaldi (2003) in order to identify the significant metaphonic effects of unstressed high vowels on the stressed mid-vowels resulted inappropriate. Indeed, in that work a paired t-test was executed to compare the F_1 and F_2 values characterizing the stressed vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ depending on the high ([i], [u]) and non-high ([e]/[a]) unstressed vowels.[9] A paired t-test is used to compare two population means in the case of two samples that are correlated, when, for example, two measures of the same sample are obtained and then statistically compared. In this case what we need to compare are the samples of the F_1 and F_2 mean values of /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ depending on the unstressed high vowels in order to understand which of the stressed mid-vowels is raised by which of the unstressed high ones. Thus, it is more coherent to consider the population means of the two samples as independent because the groups compared are unrelated (i.e., we have different measures of different samples). Consequently, when the population means of two samples are unrelated the more appropriate statistical tool is the independent t-test (Johnson 2008).

    Furthermore, the p-value chosen by Grimaldi (2003) to determine the statistical significance in the hypothesis testing (the presence of metaphonic raising) contra the null hypothesis (the absence of metaphonic raising) was $p < 0.005$. This was a deliberated choice due to the fact that the traditional p-value used in statistical analysis (i.e., $p < 0.05$) returned very high significant effects: that is, the micro-variation originated by the different action of the unstressed high vowels on the stressed mid-vowels depicted a very fragmented picture of the metaphonic raising in Southern Salento. As these kind of data were extremely new for Southern Salento, in Grimaldi (2003) it was decided to restrict the focus on the metaphonic effects adopting the more filtering $p < 0.005$ in order to have a less granular picture of the metaphonic adjustments.

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9 Unstressed [e] and [a] are grouped together because they do not trigger metaphony.

The goal of this work is twofold. First, we performed a new statistical analysis of the Grimaldi (2003) data using the independent t-test and the p<0.05 to calculate the statistical significance in the hypothesis testing contra the null hypothesis: in this way, we want to take a more detailed picture of the metaphonic processes characterizing Southern Salento. As we will see (cf. Section 3.1), the analysis confirmed and extended the significant micro-variation generated by the different action of the unstressed high vowels on the mid ones. However, note that such kind of data were obtained from one adult male speaker for each locality investigated. This question leads to the second aim of the work. Thus, we want to further investigate the Southern Salento metaphonic patterns to figure out whether different speakers recorded within a locality show all the same vowel raising pattern or whether the micro-variation found in Southern Salento could be again observed between speakers of the same locality. Accordingly, we analyzed the data acquired by Miglietta (2013) in the Tricase variety (already investigated by Grimaldi 2003). Miglietta (2013) acquired both words and pseudowords, but only the latter were analyzed in that work (adopting the inappropriate Grimaldi's 2003 statistical analysis). Here we investigated the word tokens recorded from six Tricase speakers in order to coherently compare the old data reanalyzed with these new data. Finally, we discuss the overall data proposing a preliminary phonological interpretation.

2 Methods

2.1 *The New Analysis of the Old Data*

In Grimaldi (2003), 10 stimuli for each vowel (in open and closed syllables) were selected to perform the acoustical analysis. They were chosen to analyze the full vowel inventory of the Southern Salento phonological system, both in open and closed syllables. For each vowel, a surrounding consonantal context that did not affect the vowel production was selected: i.e., where possible the stressed vowel was surrounded by labial and/or coronal obstruents. In particular, the stressed /ε/ and /ɔ/ vowels were differentiated according to the vowel context. Then, 10 mid-vowels for each of the following contexts were acoustically analyzed: /ε/ before by /i/, /ε/ before by [u], and /ε/ before [e], or [a], and so on for /ɔ/. The acoustic signal was recorded in the field by means of a digital system (DAT *Sony*) and a unidirectional microphone (*Shure* SM86), placed at a 20 cm distance from the speaker. The target vowel segments were first analyzed in *Computerized Speech Lab* (CSL) 4500 by Kay Elemetrics, measuring each vowel to extract the first two formants: F1 and F2. The formant values were measured in the vowel steady tract (0,025 s) centered

at the midpoint. A total of 36 male speakers aged between 50–80 (1 for each locality) were analyzed.

As already noted, an independent t-test was carried out to examine the assimilatory effect of the final vowels [i], [u] and [e], [a] on the stressed mid-vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (alpha level p<0.05). Due to the protocol design, samples of the first category are considered independent of any other sample of the second category. So, we compared the following couples of vowels:

(5)   a. /ɛ/ before [i] ~ /ɛ/ before [e, a]
           /ɛ/ before [u] ~ /ɛ/ before [e, a]
           /ɛ/ before [u] ~ /ɛ/ before [i]
       b. /ɔ/ before [i] ~ /ɔ/ before [e, a]
           /ɔ/ before [u] ~ /ɔ/ before [e, a]
           /ɔ/ before [u] ~ /ɔ/ before [i]

2.2   *The New Tricase Data*

2.2.1   Subjects, Stimuli, and Analysis

In Miglietta's (2013) investigation, six speakers (2 females; mean age 21.6, range, SD 1,21) were recorded: i.e., C.R.(f), M.M. (m), L.G. (m), G.E.(m), M.B.(f), G.G.(m). All subjects were native speakers of the Tricase dialect, they were undergraduate students of the University of Salento and have always lived in Tricase. They generally used the Tricase dialect with parents and friends. The stimuli were dialectal words (a subset of stimuli extracted by the question-naire used by Grimaldi 2003) containing the target vowels both in open and closed syllables. With respect to the mid-vowels, the words were appropriately selected in order to exemplify the contexts in which the metaphonic raising may or not occur, as exemplified in (5a–b).

The subjects were seated in a soundproof room and were asked to read out at a normal rate word stimuli embedded in a carrier phrase *Ieu ticu __moi* 'I say __now' which appeared on a computer screen. 10 stimuli for each kind of vowel, including the stressed high [i], [u] and the low [a] were acquired: that is, 90 stimuli for each subject, for a total amount of 540 stimuli that were randomly interchanged between subjects. The stimuli were recorded with a Shure SM58_LCE microphone and by using the CSL 4500 recording system at a sampling rate of 22.05 kHz at 16-bit precision.

The speaker productions were segmented and normalized in peak ampli-tude by means of Praat 5.2 (Boersma and Weenink 2010). For each vowel, total duration as well as F_0, F_1, F_2 and F_3 have been measured. The formant values were measured in the vowel steady tract (0,025 s) centered at the midpoint (here we focused on the F_1 and F_2 values only).

3   Results

3.1   *The Old Data Reanalyzed*

The results of the independent t-test performed on the old data acquired by Grimaldi (2003) are described in detail in the Appendix 1.[10] The significant differences of the action of the high vowels on the mid-stressed vowels are indicated by asterisks. In comparing the F1/F2 Hz values related to the couples of vowels (see (6a–b)), it is not sufficient to indicate if a metaphonic context is statistically significant, but may be also important to report the level of statistical significance (Johnson 2008). The level of statistical significance gives information on how strong the metaphonic effect is, and in our case this information may be crucially correlated with the micro-variation observed in the area. For instance, when a number of localities agree in a particular metaphonic pattern, it allow us to observe if there are difference among them in terms of the strength in which that particular pattern applies. As a consequence, these differences may be used for a whole interpretation of data (cf. Section 4). According to statistical notation, within each table of the Appendix 1 three asterisks (***) indicate an EXTREMELY SIGNIFICANT LEVEL (i.e., from 0.0001 to 0.001), two asterisks (**) a VERY SIGNIFICANT LEVEL (i.e., from 0.001 to 0.01), and one asterisks (*) a SIGNIFICANT LEVEL (i.e., from 0.01 to 0.05) (Johnson 2008).

The picture emerging by this new analysis is partially different from that described in 4(a–e). The statistically significant metaphonic patterns found are illustrated in 6(a–h) and represented in Figure 10.2.

(6)   a. Area A: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]
         S.M. di Leuca, Corsano, Ruffano, Otranto, Taviano
      b. Area B: /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]
         Gallipoli, Melissano
      c. Area C: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i, u]
         Gagliano, Miggiano, Paràbita
      d. Area D: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]
         Patù, Presicce

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10   Given the limited space, we cannot report the mean F1 and F2 values in Hz of the 36 speakers studied. However, they may be analytically consulted at the following link: http://www.cril.unile.it/grimaldi/acoustic_correlates_docs/Tabelle_Grafici.pdf.
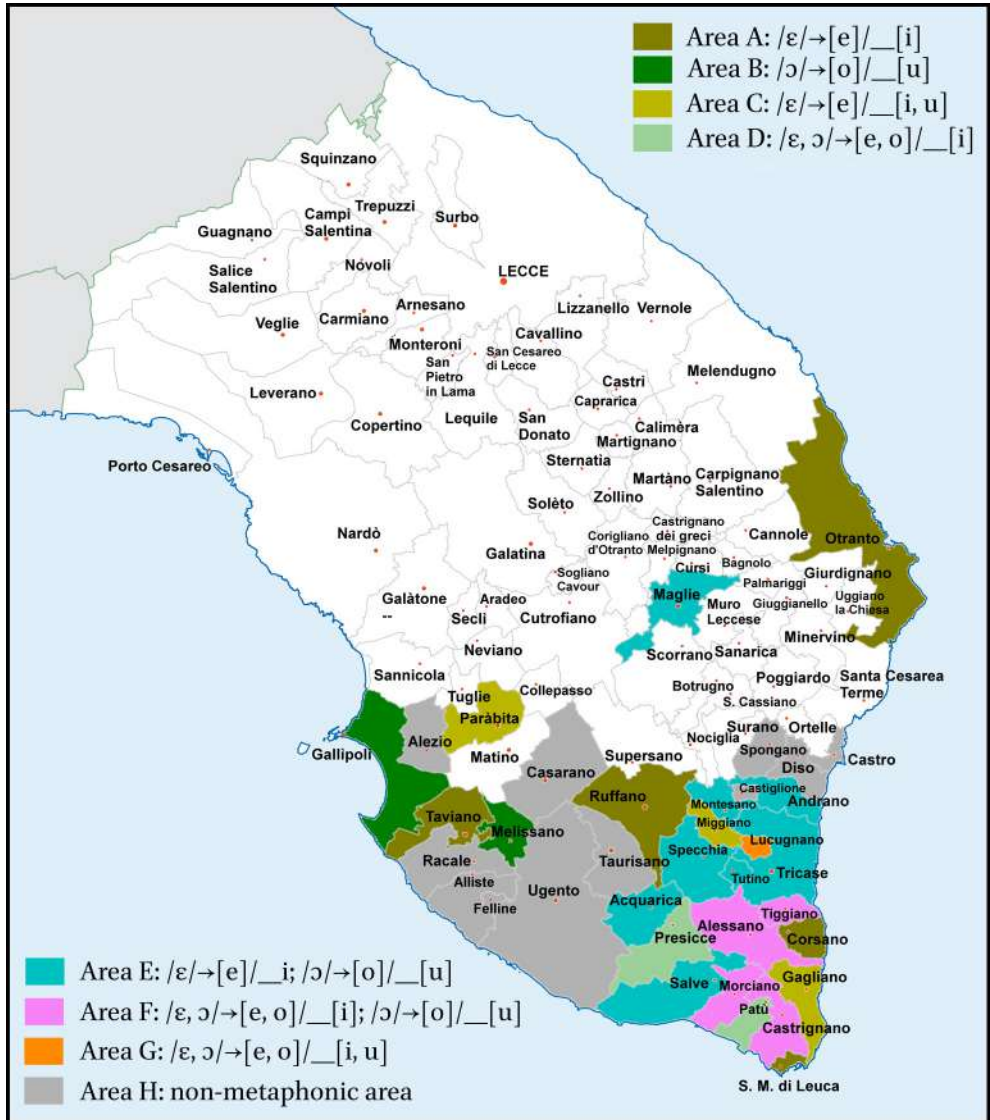
FIGURE 10.2   *The Southern Salento metaphonic areas (colored) and the non-metaphonic area*
                (in gray)

  e. Area E: /ɛ/→[e]/__i; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]
     Acquarica, Salve, Andrano, Montesano, Tricase, Tutino, Specchia, Maglie
  f. Area F: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]
     Castrignano, Tiggiano, Alessano, Morciano
  g. Area G: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i, u]
     Lucugnano

|	e/__i	e/__u	o/__i	o/__u
Leuca	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Corsano	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Ruffano	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Taviano	0.035	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Otranto	0.018	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Gagliano	0.000	0.026	n.s.	n.s.
Miggiano	0.000	0.022	n.s.	n.s.
Parabita	0.048	0.048	n.s.	n.s.
Patù	0.001	n.s.	0.002	n.s.
Presicce	0.000	n.s.	0.026	n.s.
Acquarica	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.007
Andrano	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.000
Maglie	0.025	n.s.	n.s.	0.007
Montesano	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.042
Salve	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.002
Specchia	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.000
Tutino	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.000
Tricase	0.000	n.s.	n.s.	0.024
Castrigano	0.001	n.s.	0.043	0.014
Alessano	0.000	n.s.	0.000	0.000
Tiggiano	0.000	n.s.	0.001	0.009
Morciano	0.000	n.s.	0.000	0.000
Lucugnano	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000
Gallipoli	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.038
Melissano	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.036

FIGURE 10.3   *The different action of front [i] and back [u] on the preceding stressed front /ɛ/ and stressed back /ɔ/ in Southern Salento. The levels of statistical significance are shown, from p=0.000 to p=0.05 (n.s., not significant).*

h. Area H: non-metaphonic area
    Alezio, Alliste, Casarano, Castiglione, Castro, Felline, Diso, Racale, Spongano, Taurisano, Ugento

The same data are more carefully represented in Figure 10.3, where one can see the relevant metaphonic patterns and their level of statistical significance for each locality, highlighted by different shades of red.[11]

Grouping together the localities investigated according to the significant effects of unstressed high vowels as described in 6(a–h), we may develop a plot

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11   In Figures 10.3, 10.5 the e/__i, e/__u, o/__i and o/__u notations stand for mid-vowels that may have the allophonic outcomes [e], [o] or /ɛ/, /ɔ/ regardless whether or not they are influenced by unstressed vowels [i] and [u].
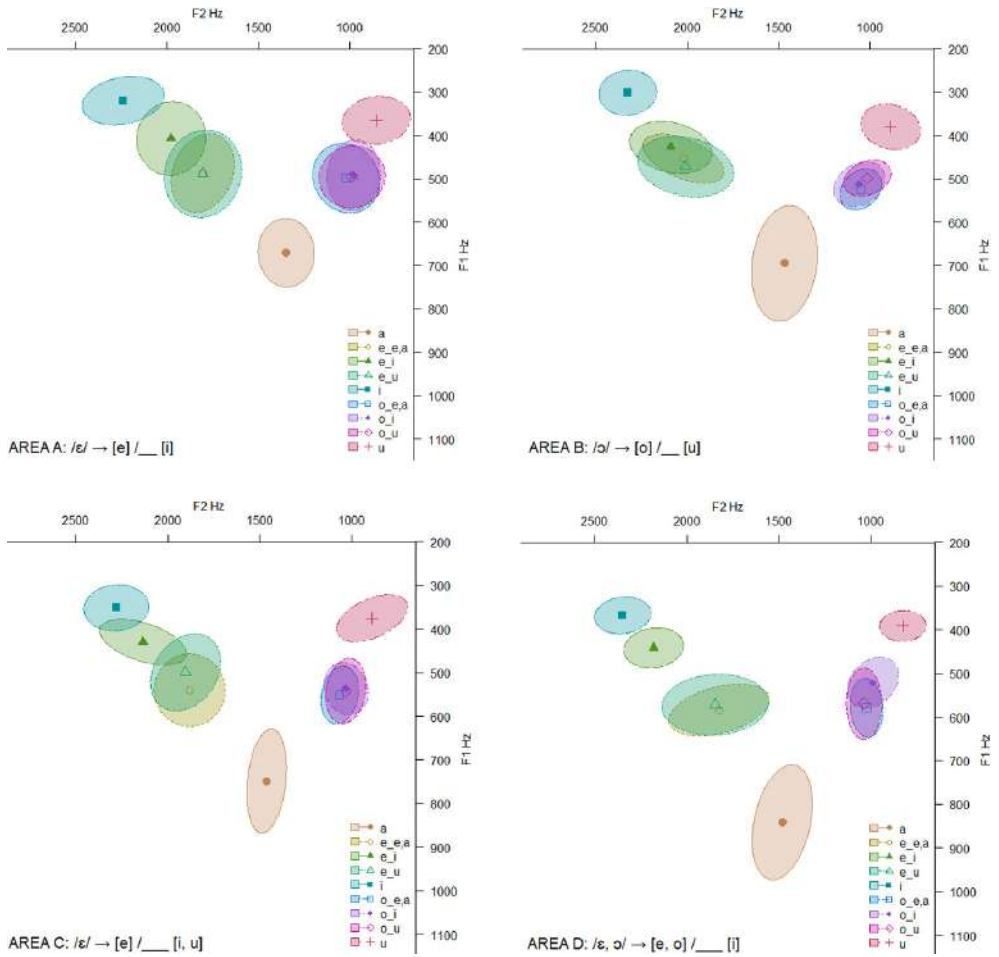
FIGURE 10.4   *F1–F2 scatterplot on hertz scale of the metaphonic and non-metaphonic areas: A–G and H respectively. Significant metaphonic adjustments of mid vowels /ɛ/, /ɔ/ are shown. Ellipses on data, confidence level 68,8%.*

on a Cartesian plane using the F1 and F2 values in Hz, as showed in Figure 10.4. In Figure 10.4, realized by R software (McCloy 2015), all the vowels tokens, together with the allophonic variants generated by the metaphonic patterns, are plotted using ellipses on data (confidence level 68,8%).

As the data in the Appendix 1 clearly demonstrate (see also Figure 10.4, Areas A–G), the metaphonic raising is characterized by F1 lowering of the stressed mid-vowels. Furthermore, when the metaphonic raising is generated by [i] on the preceding /ɛ/, there is also a significant increase in F2 values, producing an anteriorization of the allophonic variant of /ɛ/. This does not

AREA E: /ɛ/ → [e] /___ [i]; /ɔ/ → [o] /___ [u]

AREA: F - [ɛ] → [e] /___ -i; [ɔ] → [o] /___ -i, -u

AREA G: /ɛ, ɔ/ → [e, o] /___ [i, u]

AREA H: non-metaphonic area
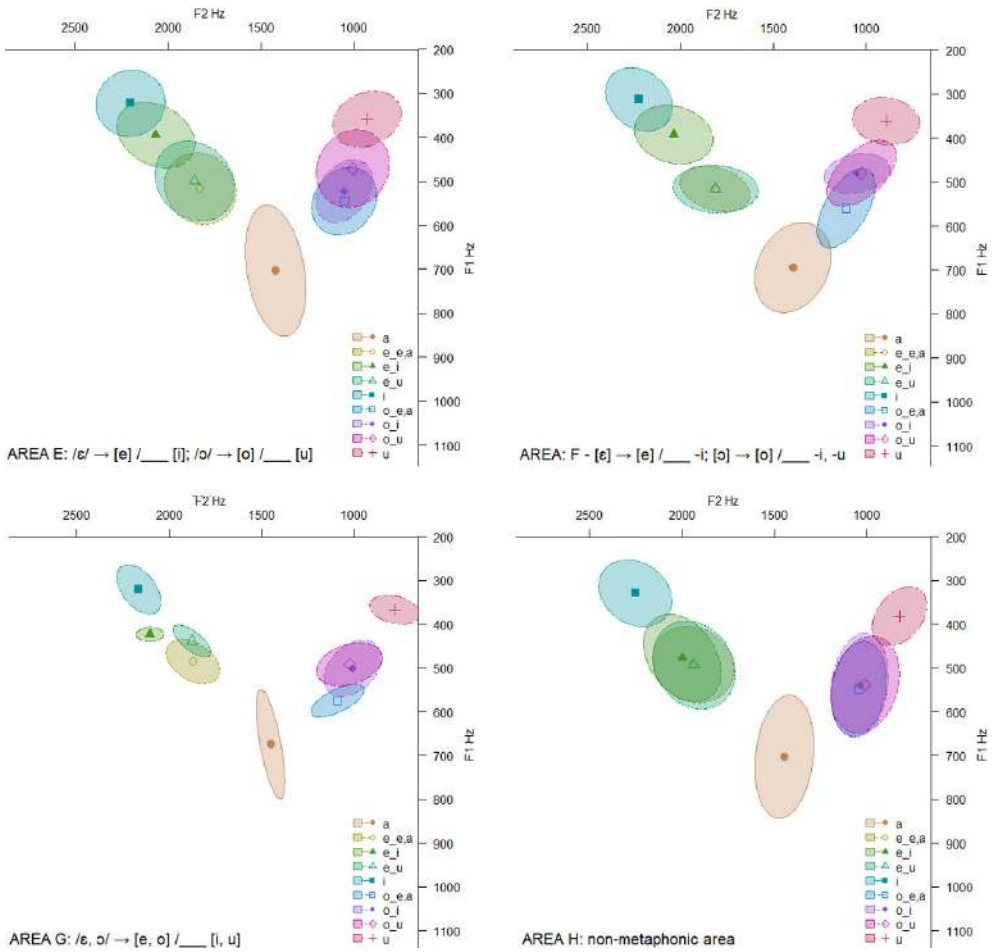
happen for the metaphonic raising of /ɔ/. Note that in the Area G (Figure 10.4), including the Gallipoli and Melissano localities, the /ɛ/→[e]/__[i] metaphonic pattern shows a moderate F1 lowering and a consequent slightly raising of the allophonic variant. This trend is due to the condition manifested by the Gallipoli locality where the p-value for the /ɛ/→[e]/__[i] pattern is 0,077, that is slightly higher than the 0,05 statistical threshold chosen (cf. Appendix 1). Although the 0,077 p-value is not significant, it however indicates that a raising of /ɛ/ before [i] exists. This condition is also present in some localities of the non-metaphonic area: i.e., Alliste (p=0,009), Castiglione (p=0,058), and Castro (p=0,546), as is arguable looking at the graph of the Area H in Figure 10.4 (cf. also Appendix 1). These data suggest that more investigations are needed in the Salento area with more speakers for each locality.

3.2   *The Tricase Data*

The mean F1/F2 values in Hz of the Tricase stressed vowels produced by the 6 speakers and the metaphonic variants are given in Appendix 2. The results of the independent t-test are given in Appendix 3, where, as described in 3.1, the asterisks indicate the levels of statistical significance found in comparing the F1/F2 Hz values of couples of vowels potentially affected by metaphony. These significant effects are summarized in (7):

(7)   a. M.B.: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]
      b. C.R., M.M.: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]
      c. G.C.: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__ [u]
      d. L.G., G.E.: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i, u]

Again, Figure 10.5 represents the same data by associating each Tricase speaker to the metaphonic patterns and the corresponding statistical significance level, highlighted by different red tonalities.

In Figure 10.6 all the vowel tokens are plotted in a two-dimensional F1–F2 Hz scales by recurring to ellipses on data (confidence level 68,8%). Figure 10.6 was realized by using the R statistical package (McCloy 2015).

According to the metaphonic raising outlined for Southern Salento, also the Tricase data show F1 lowering of the stressed mid-vowels and an increase in the F2 values of the front mid-vowels only for the /ɛ/→[e]/__[i] pattern. Again, this does not happen in the metaphonic raising of /ɔ/ (cf. Appendix 3 and Figure 10.6).

4   Discussion

The new analysis of the Grimaldi's (2003) data shows an increase in the localities interested by metaphonic raising of stressed mid-vowels (25 in contrast to the 17 localities previously included in the metaphonic area). Actually, other six points appear to be interested by metaphonic adjustments: i.e., Gallipoli, Paràbita, Taviano, Racale, Melissano, Maglie, and Otranto. Thus, while in Grimaldi (2003) the metaphonic area only embraced the triangle comprised of S.M. di Leuca in the South, Andrano in the East, and Ruffano in the West, in the new analysis the metaphonic area is extended towards north-west and north-east areas of Southern Salento, including Maglie situated at the center of the two extremes (cf. Figure 10.2).

The analysis performed here preserved four typologies of metaphonic adjustments, as illustrated in (4a–d): these patterns are now included into (6a),
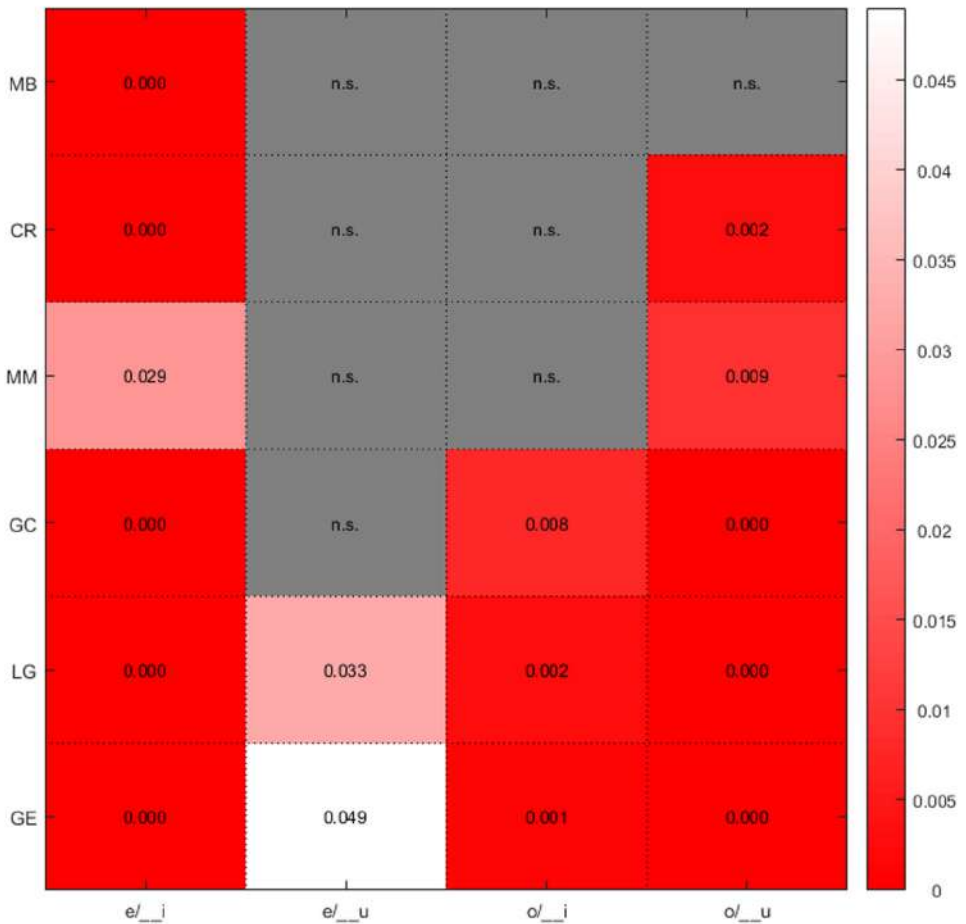
FIGURE 10.5   *The different action of front [i] and back [u] on the preceding stressed front /ε/ and stressed back /ɔ/ in the 6 Tricase speakers that were investigated. The levels of statistical significance are shown, from p=0.000 to p=0.05 (n.s., not significant).*

(6d), (6e), and (6f). However, the localities that originally showed these adjustments are not the same. Furthermore, the combined effect generated by the independent t-test and the p=0.05 value leads to the detection of new metaphonic patterns (see (6b), (6c), and (6g)).
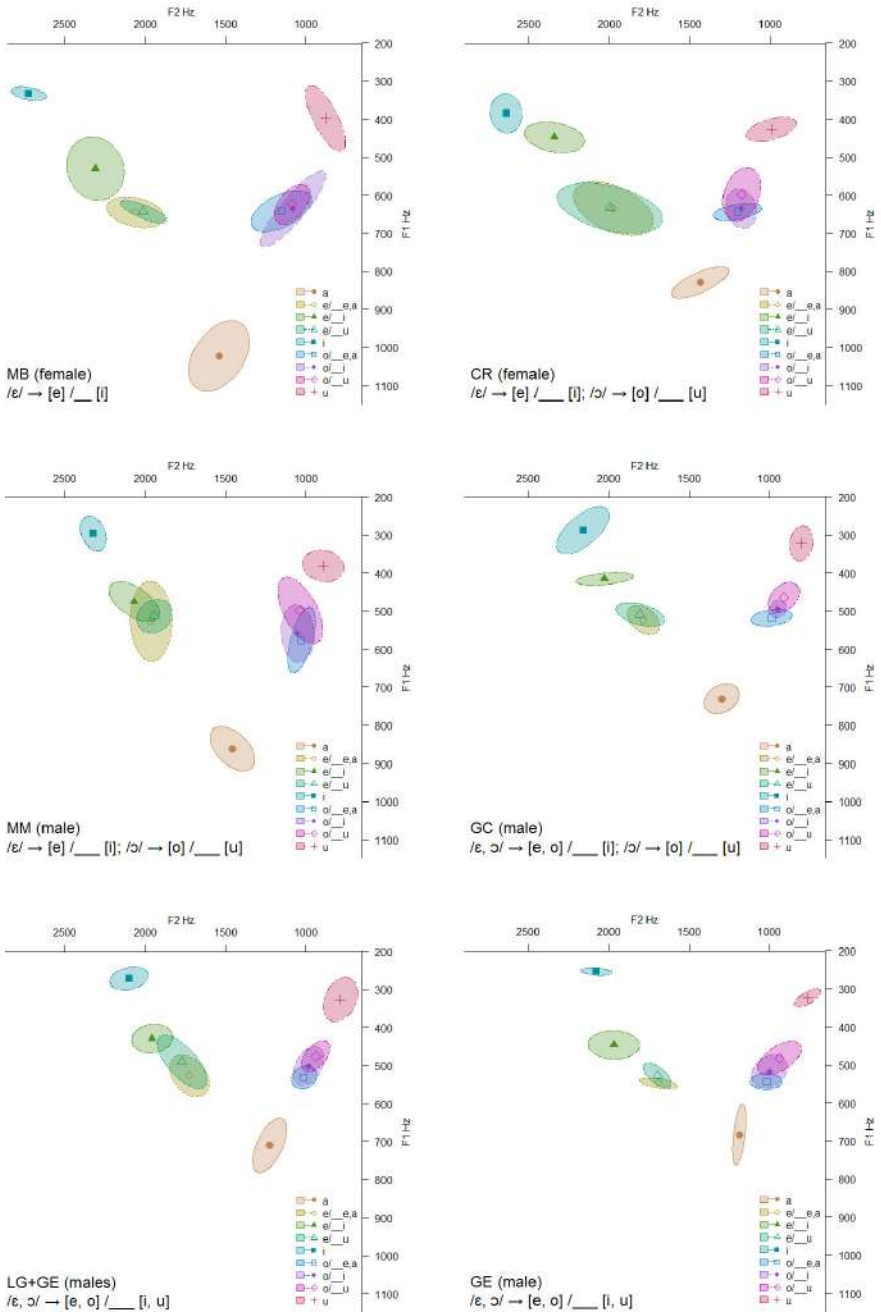
FIGURE 10.6   *F1–F2 scatterplot on hertz scale of the 6 Tricase speakers investigated. Significant metaphonic adjustments of mid vowels /ɛ/, /ɔ/ are shown. Ellipses on data, confidence level 68,8%.*

For what concerns the different patterns generated by the influence of [i] and [u], one observes the following variations:

– In addition to the /ɛ/→[e]/__[i] pattern observed in (4a):
  – Castrignano also shows the /ɔ/→[o]/__[i], [u] adjustments and is then included in (6f);
  – Gagliano and Miggiano show the /ɛ/→[e]/__[u] raising and are included in (6c);
  – Salve, Acquarica, Montesano and Tricase show the /ɔ/→ [o]/__[u] adjustment and are collocated with the group of localities in (6e) that initially included only Specchia, Tutino, and Andrano (cf. (4d));
  – Presicce shows the /ɔ/→ [o]/__[i] adjustment and is included in (6d);
– In addition to the /ɛ/ → [e]/__[i], [u] pattern observed in (4b):
  – Tiggiano also shows the /ɔ//__[u] adjustment and is included in (6f);
– In addition to the /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]; /ɔ/→ [o]/__[u] pattern observed in (4c):
  – Lucugnano shows the /ɛ/→[e]/__[u] new metaphonic pattern and is included in (6g).

As far as the localities initially excluded by Grimaldi (2003) are concerned, the following metaphonic patterns are now identified:

(8) /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]: Taviano, Otranto in (6a)
     /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]: Gallipoli, Melissano in (6b)
     /ɛ/→[e]/__[i], [u]: Paràbita in (6c)
     /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]: Maglie in (6e)

Considering the data in Figure 10.3, one observes that [i] is the most common Southern Salentino metaphony trigger, with the /ɛ/→[e]/__[i], and /ɔ/→[o]/__[u] metaphonic patterns generally characterized by extremely or very significant statistical levels. In addition, [i] often is the only trigger of the metaphonic process whereas [u] is never found in this condition unless the target is /ɔ/. Therefore, there is a clear asymmetry between final [u] and final [i] with respect to their being trigger of the phenomenon. At the same time, the preferred target of Southern Salentino metaphony is /ɛ/, which often is the only target of the phenomenon. Back /ɔ/ is never the only target, unless followed by [u]. Thus, we can have /ɛ/→[e]/__[i] or /ɛ/→[e]/__[i, u] but never /ɔ/→[o]/__[i], /ɔ/→[o]/__[i, u]. Therefore, back vowels have a special status: final [u] is preferably not a metaphony trigger and stressed /ɔ/ preferably not a metaphony target. The only exception is the pattern /ɔ/→[o]/__[u], which together with /ɛ/→[e]/__[i] is also characterized by a very significant statistical level. As we

noted, the metaphonic pattern in which front [i] raises front /ɛ/ and back [u] raises back /ɔ/ appear to be the most common: this is what we can call parasitic metaphony following Steriade's (1981) work on similar phenomena in harmony systems (see also Cole and Trigo 1988, Nevins 2010). In parasitic metaphony, the trigger vowels [i, u] affect only vowels with which they share the same value for feature [back]. Finally, we have to note that, as showed both by Figures 10.2 and 10.3, the metaphonic patterns found in Southern Salento do not present a systematic geolinguistic distribution, since they are not uniformly distributed in the territory.

Is this kind of micro-variation also noticeable when more speakers of the same localities are investigated, and how is it structured? As we have seen, the reanalysis of Grimaldi's (2003) data showed that the Tricase variety presents the /ɛ/→[e]/__[i], /ɔ/→[o]/__[u] metaphonic pattern (6e). As described in (7) and in Figure 10.5, this pattern is again present in two out of the six Tricase speakers were investigated: i.e., C.R. and M.M in (7b). Furthermore, the (6a), (6f) and (6g) metaphonic patterns identified in Southern Salento are also showed in MB (7a), G.C. (7c), and L.G. and G.E. (7d) Tricase speakers. In line with the data on Southern Salento discussed above, also Figure 10.5 shows that for these speakers the most common metaphonic patterns are those involving the raising of /ɛ/ before [i] and the raising of /ɔ/ before [u]. In addition, unstressed [i] may also target /ɔ/ and [u] may also target /ɛ/: however, in the latter case the p-values are at the limit of the statistical significance level, while /ɛ/→[e]/__[i], /ɔ/→[o]/__[i], and /ɔ/→[o]/__[u] once more show extremely or very statistically significant levels. To these Tricase patterns, we have to add another metaphonic pattern identified in an acoustic-articulatory investigation we conducted on a 54-year-old male Tricase speaker (Grimaldi et al. 2010). In this study, we showed that the metaphonic pattern in (9) may be also present in Tricase speakers:

(9)   /ɛ/→[e]/__[i], /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[u].

This pattern is also not present in Grimaldi's (2003) data, and again /ɛ/→[e]/ __[i] is statistically characterized by an extremely significant level (0.000), /ɔ/→[o]/__[u] by a very significant level (0.001), and /ɛ/→[e]/__[u] by just a significant level (0.002).

The kind of micro-variation observed in Southern Salento and especially the one that is found among speakers of the same locality (Tricase) may suggest that we are not in the presence of a phonological assimilation but rather in front of a coarticulatory process. However, we have to note that the assimilatory

process of the unstressed vowels on the mid-vowels is regularly traceable both within proparoxytone words and in the regional Italian of the speakers that were investigated, as exemplified in (10a) and (10b) respectively:[12]

(10) a. [ˈtʃefalu]/[ˈtʃefali] 'gray mullet/gray mullets'
         [ˈtʃenːaru]/[ˈtʃenːari] 'son-in-law/sons-in-law'
         [ˈprɛtaka] 'sermon' → [ˈpretaku] 'I preach'
         [ˈkofanu] 'clay container to do the laundry'
         [ˈkarofalu] 'carnation'
         [ˈmonaku] 'monk'
         [ˈstomːaku] 'stomach'
      b. [paˈrɛrɛ]→[paˈreri] 'advice/advices'
         [ˈpɛtːʰinɛ]→[ˈpetːʰini] 'comb/combs'
         [kɔˈlɔrɛ]→[kɔˈlori] 'color/colors'
         [ˈbɔkːɔnɛ]→[ˈbɔkːoni] 'mouthful/mouthfuls'

On the one hand, the examples in (10a) show that final vowels systematically affect only stressed mid-vowels across vowel [a] which is unaffected by the process, on the other hand, the examples in (10b) show that the assimilatory process is also active when Italian words are pronounced by Southern Salento speakers. On the whole, these data support the idea that a phonological rule is active in Southern Salento speakers according to which the stressed mid-vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ may undergo metaphonic assimilation when followed by final [i] and [u].

Our research group investigated the cognitive status of this process using behavioral and neurophysiological methods (Miglietta, Grimaldi and Calabrese 2013). Twelve speakers of the Tricase varieties were tested with an AX discrimination test and the recording of auditory evoked potential to ascertain whether allophonic variants and phonemes were differently investigated. The behavioral and electrophysiological responses indicated that both allophones produced by metaphony and phonemes were equally computed in early speech processing and encoded in memory representations. Given these results, we argue that the Tricase metaphonic process must have a cognitive reality. Metaphony in the Tricase variety appears to be under cognitive control, and therefore it has to be considered a true phonological process. The same can be hypothesized for the other Southern Salentino varieties. We can assume

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12   In Italian final [u] is absent.

that the metaphonic patterns in these varieties are generated by productive phonological rules and not due to speakers' idiosyncrasies or co-articulation processes.

A question that needs to be addressed concerns the phonological features generating the assimilation processes of Southern Salentino metaphony. The acoustic and articulatory data obtained in Grimaldi et al. (2010)—through ultrasound imaging of the tongue contours from one male Tricase speaker— suggested that the metaphony process is driven by the spreading of two distinct features from the unstressed high vowels to the stressed mid vowels: (i) [+ATR] when the triggers is [i]; (ii) [+High] when the trigger is [u]. In fact, while F1 lowering is observable in all of the metaphonic assimilations, i.e. those of /ɛ/ to [e] before [i], /ɛ/ to [e] before [u] and /ɔ/ to [o] before [u], only in the assimilation of /ɛ/ to [e] before [i] is there a simultaneous increase of F2. A lowering of F1 with a concomitant increase of F2 value is generally associated with the tongue root advancement although F2 increasing is not always a stringent cue for set of ±ATR vowels (Lindau, 1978; Tiede, 1996 Stevens, 1998; Archangeli and Pulleyblanck, 1994; Gick et al., 2006).

However, new articulatory data acquired from different (six, male and female) speakers of the Tricase variety showed that the articulatory difference between mid-close and mid-open vowels does not simply involve tongue root advancement and/or tongue body displacement *but tongue shape convexity* (cf. Calabrese and Grimaldi forthcoming): the overarching generalization is that in mid-close vowels the overall tongue shape is more convex. Crucially, tongue shape convexity in mid-close front vowels is always reached through the combination of tongue body upward bunching and tongue root advancement; in mid-close back vowels, in contrast, convexity may also be achieved only through tongue body bunching without tongue root involvement. This suggests that the use of the feature [tense] might be more appropriate to account for the mid-open and mid-close allophonic variants where [+tense] vowels are characterized by increased tongue convexity involving the tongue body, and also possibly the tongue root. Based on these data and hypotheses, in Calabrese and Grimaldi (forthcoming) we will develop a phonological account of all of the possible metaphony patterns we observe in Southern Salento varieties and of their variation.

5   Conclusions

Reanalyzing the data from 36 localities of Southern Salento and comparing them with the new data of the six Tricase speakers we showed that the meta-

phonic micro-variation of these varieties is based on common patterns: (i) [i] is the most common metaphony trigger; (ii) [i] often is the only trigger of the metaphonic process whereas this is never occurs in the case [u] unless the target is /ɔ/; (iii) the preferred target of Southern Salentino metaphony is /ɛ/, while back /ɔ/ is never the only target, unless followed by [u]; (iv) the metaphonic pattern in which front [i] raises front /ɛ/ and back [u] raises back /ɔ/ appear to be the most common one.

However, we have to note that this variation might be idiolectal as the data discussed for the Tricase speakers suggest. We suspect that variation may even be present in same speaker: namely, it is probable that the same speaker investigated at different times may show the same type of micro-variation that is observed for different speakers. An issue that needs to be dealt with in future research is whether or not the situation found in Tricase is found in all Southern Salentino varieties displaying tensing metaphony. We suspect that this is indeed the case. It follows that Southern Salentino tensing metaphony process must be decomposed into a complex set of interacting parameters. Some of these parameters are still not categorically set and apply variably across individuals and communities. This generates the variation that we observe in this phenomenon. The nature of these parameters will be investigated in future research.

To conclude, the Southern Salento and Tricase metaphonic phenomena represent a very interesting case of phonological variation that need to be more extensively studied if we want to reach a comprehensive understanding of the process, and this is what we are planning to do in future work.

Appendix 1

Area A: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]

S.M. di Leuca

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-6,885	p=0,000***	t[18]=6,129	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,369	p=0,716	t[18]=0,924	p=0,368
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=6,490	p=0,000***	t[18]=-4,730	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,397	p=0,179	t[18]=-3,098	p=0,007**
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,030	p=0,317	t[18]=-2,751	p=0,013*
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,168	p=0,868	t[18]=0,073	p=0,943

Corsano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-9,804	p=0,000***	t[18]=6,932	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,615	p=0,551	t[18]=-2,641	p=0,017*
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=6,097	p=0,000***	t[18]=-10,641	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,362	p=0,190	t[18]=-2,556	p=0,020*
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,056	p=0,956	t[18]=-0,476	p=0,640
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=1,550	p=0,139	t[18]=1,534	p=0,142

Ruffano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-7,356	p=0,000***	t[18]=3,586	p=0,003**
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,366	p=0,719	t[18]=-0,215	p=0,832
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=7,265	p=0,000***	t[18]=-2,804	p=0,012*
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,692	p=0,498	t[18]=-0,263	p=0,795
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,114	p=0,280	t[18]=-0,017	p=0,986
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-0,392	p=0,700	t[18]=0,203	p=0,841

Taviano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,286	p=0,035*	t[18]=1,711	p=0,104
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,365	p=0,720	t[18]=-0,162	p=0,873
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=1,751	p=0,097	t[18]=-1,474	p=0,158
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=2,044	p=0,056	t[18]=1,685	p=0,109
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,232	p=0,819	t[18]=0,167	p=0,869
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,838	p=0,088	t[18]=-1,366	p=0,189

Otranto

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,612	p=0,018*	t[18]=3,416	p=0,003**
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,505	p=0,620	t[18]=2,233	p=0,043*
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=2,392	p=0,028*	t[18]=-1,754	p=0,097
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,159	p=0,876	t[18]=-0,855	p=0,404
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=1,155	p=0,263	t[18]=-0,691	p=0,498
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=1,028	p=0,318	t[18]=0,253	p=0,803

Area B: /ɔ/→[o]/___[u]

Gallipoli

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,923	p=0,077	t[18]=2,111	p=0,049*
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=1,107	p=0,283	t[18]=0,766	p=0,458
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=2,583	p=0,019*	t[18]=-0,829	p=0,418
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,377	p=0,711	t[18]=0,565	p=0,579
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,239	p=0,038*	t[18]=-1,413	p=0,175
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,451	p=0,164	t[18]=-1,848	p=0,081

Melissano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,115	p=0,279	t[18]=0,869	p=0,396
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,974	p=0,343	t[18]=-0,931	p=0,364
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=2,126	p=0,059	t[18]=-2,150	p=0,045*
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,418	p=0,173	t[18]=-0,300	p=0,768
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,269	p=0,036*	t[18]=-0,595	p=0,559
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-0,578	p=0,571	t[18]=-0,311	p=0,759

Area C: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i, u]

Gagliano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-12,576	p=0,000***	t[18]=6,281	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,431	p=0,026*	t[18]=1,527	p=0,144
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=6,370	p=0,000***	t[18]=-6,689	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,946	p=0,067	t[18]=-2,332	p=0,032*
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,917	p=0,371	t[18]=-1,651	p=0,116
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,679	p=0,506	t[18]=0,627	p=0,538

Miggiano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-9,990	p=0,000***	t[18]=11,905	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,513	p=0,022*	t[18]=2,053	p=0,055
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=6,355	p=0,001**	t[18]=-9,197	p=0,001**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,429	p=0,673	t[18]=-0,116	p=0,909
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,772	p=0,450	t[18]=0,123	p=0,903
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-0,408	p=0,688	t[18]=-0,003	p=0,997

Parabita

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,117	p=0,048*	t[18]=1,115	p=0,279
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,987	p=0,008**	t[18]=-0,802	p=0,433
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=0,787	p=0,442	t[18]=-1,759	p=0,096
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,314	p=0,757	t[18]=-1,213	p=0,241
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,168	p=0,869	t[18]=-1,676	p=0,111
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,477	p=0,639	t[18]=0,389	p=0,702

Area D: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/___[i]

Patù

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-10,192	p=0,001**	t[18]=6,070	p=0,001**
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,013	p=0,325	t[18]=0,260	p=0,798
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=8,347	p=0,000***	t[18]=-4,131	p=0,001**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-3,692	p=0,002**	t[18]=-1,922	p=0,071
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,304	p=0,764	t[18]=0,101	p=0,920
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=3,946	p=0,001*	t[18]=1,935	p=0,069

Presicce

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-8,727	p=0,000***	t[18]=10,036	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,383	p=0,706	t[18]=0,666	p=0,514
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=6,755	p=0,000***	t[18]=-10,024	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,432	p=0,026*	t[18]=-0,262	p=0,796
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,863	p=0,079	t[18]=1,042	p=0,311
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,512	p=0,615	t[18]=1,073	p=0,298

Area E: /ɛ/→[e]/___[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/___[u]

Acquarica

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-7,251	p=0,000***	t[18]=5,041	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,270	p=0,220	t[18]=1,765	p=0,094
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=5,439	p=0,000***	t[18]=-2,604	p=0,018**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,795	p=0,090	t[18]=0,114	p=0,280
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-3,057	p=0,007**	t[18]=-3,299	p=0,004**
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,142	p=0,268	t[18]=-2,920	p=0,009**

Andrano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-4,585	p=0,000***	t[18]=5,070	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,008	p=0,327	t[18]=1,066	p=0,301
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=3,274	p=0,004**	t[18]=-4,590	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=1,461	p=0,161	t[18]=1,430	p=0,170
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-4,343	p=0,000***	t[18]=-1,045	p=0,310
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-7,137	p=0,009**	t[18]=-2,340	p=0,031*

Maglie

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,441	p=0,025*	t[18]=3,752	p=0,001**
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,112	p=0,912	t[18]=1,344	p=0,196
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=3,366	p=0,003**	t[18]=-3,165	p=0,005**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,305	p=0,208	t[18]=0,109	p=0,914
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-3,061	p=0,007**	t[18]=0,172	p=0,865
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,457	p=0,162	t[18]=0,061	p=0,952

Montesano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-11,552	p=0,000***	t[18]=10,267	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,327	p=0,747	t[18]=-0,058	p=0,954
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=10,540	p=0,000***	t[18]=-9,513	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,708	p=0,105	t[18]=-0,003	p=0,998
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,183	p=0,042*	t[18]=-1,511	p=0,148
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-0,621	p=0,542	t[18]=-1,366	p=0,189

Salve

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-16,180	p=0,000***	t[18]=7,369	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,423	p=0,678	t[18]=-0,128	p=0,900
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=9,294	p=0,000***	t[18]=-4,514	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,431	p=0,170	t[18]=1,649	p=0,116
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-3,511	p=0,002**	t[18]=0,403	p=0,693
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-2,381	p=0,028*	t[18]=-0,751	p=0,464

Specchia

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-10,075	p=0,000***	t[18]=7,056	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,022	p=0,321	t[18]=-0,660	p=0,517
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=8,786	p=0,000***	t[18]=-6,782	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,225	p=0,226	t[18]=1,247	p=0,228
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-5,242	p=0,000***	t[18]=-0,399	p=0,694
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-3,968	p=0,001**	t[18]=-1,602	p=0,127

Tutino

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-13,229	p=0,000***	t[18]=14,787	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,537	p=0,142	t[18]=3,242	p=0,005**
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=8,281	p=0,000***	t[18]=12,554	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,406	p=0,190	t[18]=-2,187	p=0,042*
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-6,679	p=0,000***	t[18]=-1,272	p=0,220
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-2,761	p=0,013**	t[18]=-0,897	p=0,381

Tricase

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-5,332	p=0,000***	t[18]=4,536	p=0,000*
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=1,815	p=0,086	t[18]=0,310	p=0,760
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=3,520	p=0,002**	t[18]=-4,061	p=0,001**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,767	p=0,094	t[18]=0,112	p=0,912
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,465	p=0,024*	t[18]=-0,768	p=0,456
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,426	p=0,171	t[18]=-0,726	p=0,477

Area F: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]

Castrignano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-8,609	p=0,001**	t[18]=4,776	p=0,001**
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,735	p=0,475	t[18]=-1,033	p=0,315
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=9,159	p=0,001**	t[18]=-5,304	p=0,001**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,180	p=0,043*	t[18]=-0,621	p=0,542
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,728	p=0,014**	t[18]=-1,094	p=0,288
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,955	p=0,352	t[18]=-0,460	p=0,651

Alessano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-4,692	p=0,000***	t[18]=6,289	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,407	p=0,689	t[18]=0,812	p=0,427
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=5,872	p=0,000***	t[18]=-5,848	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-5,317	p=0,000***	t[18]=-1,529	p=0,144
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-4,623	p=0,000***	t[18]=-1,965	p=0,065
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,600	p=0,556	t[18]=-0,556	p=0,585

Tiggiano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-9,659	p=0,000***	t[18]=5,914	p=0,000
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,225	p=0,825	t[18]=0,822	p=0,422
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=7,526	p=0,000***	t[18]=-5,282	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-4,199	p=0,001**	t[18]=-0,310	p=0,760
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-2,940	p=0,009**	t[18]=-0,555	p=0,586
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,845	p=0,409	t[18]=-1,001	p=0,330

Morciano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-8,334	p=0,000***	t[18]=4,615	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,096	p=0,925	t[18]=-0,429	p=0,673
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=7,053	p=0,000***	t[18]=-4,676	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-5,818	p=0,000***	t[18]=-3,919	p=0,001**
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-4,436	p=0,000***	t[18]=-4,547	p=0,000***
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,574	p=0,578	t[18]=-0,184	p=0,856

Area G: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i, u]

Lucugnano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-5,665	p=0,000***	t[18]=6,874	p=0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-3,614	p=0,002**	t[18]=0,117	p=0,909
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=1,824	p=0,085	t[18]=-8,652	p=0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-4,725	p=0,000***	t[18]=-1,849	p=0,081
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-6,404	p=0,000***	t[18]=-1,348	p=0,194
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-0,549	p=0,590	t[18]=0,347	p=0,732

Area H: Non-Metaphonic Area

Alezio

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,148	p=0,884	t[18]=1,001	p=0,330
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,297	p=0,770	t[18]=-0,451	p=0,660
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=-0,118	p=0,907	t[18]=-2,039	p=0,056
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,508	p=0,618	t[18]=-0,511	p=0,616
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,214	p=0,833	t[18]=0,331	p=0,744
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,736	p=0,471	t[18]=0,777	p=0,447

Alliste

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,794	p=0,090	t[18]=0,951	p=0,357
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,267	p=0,793	t[18]=-0,660	p=0,521
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=2,140	p=0,046*	t[18]=-2,381	p=0,029*
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,698	p=0,494	t[18]=-0,960	p=0,350
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,053	p=0,958	t[18]=-1,816	p=0,086
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,547	p=0,591	t[18]=-1,036	p=0,314

Casarano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,113	p=0,911	t[18]=1,289	p=0,214
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,018	p=0,986	t[18]=0,584	p=0,567
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=0,150	p=0,882	t[18]=-0,781	p=0,445
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,074	p=0,297	t[18]=-0,424	p=0,677
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,027	p=0,318	t[18]=-1,366	p=0,189
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,095	p=0,926	t[18]=-0,978	p=0,341

Castiglione

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-2,028	p=0,058	t[18]=2,775	p=0,013*
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,006	p=0,328	t[18]=1,626	p=0,121
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=0,820	p=0,423	t[18]=-1,250	p=0,227
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,082	p=0,936	t[18]=-1,029	p=0,317
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,896	p=0,382	t[18]=-0,742	p=0,471
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,780	p=0,445	t[18]=-0,058	p=0,954

Castro

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,616	p=0,546	t[18]=1,443	p=0,166
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=1,526	p=0,144	t[18]=0,157	p=0,877
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=0,692	p=0,497	t[18]=1,243	p=0,230
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,990	p=0,335	t[18]=0,487	p=0,632
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,123	p=0,904	t[18]=-0,034	p=0,974
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=1,287	p=0,214	t[18]=-0,519	p=0,610

Felline

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,869	p=0,397	t[18]=2,244	p=0,038*
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,634	p=0,534	t[18]=-1,332	p=0,199
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=0,447	p=0,662	t[18]=-2,952	p=0,009**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,871	p=0,086	t[18]=0,368	p=0,717
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,352	p=0,729	t[18]=0,392	p=0,700
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=1,504	p=0,150	t[18]=0,105	p=0,918

Diso

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,085	p=0,292	t[18]=0,645	p=0,527
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=1,305	p=0,208	t[18]=0,370	p=0,716
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=2,435	p=0,026*	t[18]=-0,264	p=0,795
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,796	p=0,436	t[18]=-1,452	p=0,164
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,417	p=0,682	t[18]=-2,095	p=0,051
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=0,478	p=0,638	t[18]=-0,543	p=0,594

Racale

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]= -1,068	p = 0,305	t[18]= 1,364	p = 0,189
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]= -0,390	p = 0,701	t[18]= 0,891	p = 0,385
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]= 0,714	p = 0,486	t[18]= -2,887	p = 0,010*
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]= -1,553	p = 0,143	t[18]= 0,621	p = 0,543
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]= -1,474	p = 0,158	t[18]= -2,649	p = 0,016*
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]= 0,529	p= 0,604	t[18]= -1,736	p=0,105

Spongano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-1,385	p=0,183	t[18]=1,333	p=0,199
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,303	p=0,765	t[18]=-1,016	p=0,323
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=2,378	p=0,029*	t[18]=-2,122	p=0,048*
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,748	p=0,097	t[18]=0,543	p=0,594
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-1,596	p=0,128	t[18]=-1,335	p=0,198
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-0,357	p=0,725	t[18]=-1,611	p=0,125

Ugento

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,880	p=0,390	t[18]=0,454	p=0,655
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=0,183	p=0,857	t[18]=-0,741	p=0,468
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=0,849	p=0,407	t[18]=-1,179	p=0,254
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,976	p=0,342	t[18]=0,753	p=0,461
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,156	p=0,877	t[18]=-0,786	p=0,442
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,086	p=0,292	t[18]=-1,249	p=0,288

Taurisano

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,752	p=0,462	t[18]=1,649	p=0,117
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[18]=-0,718	p=0,482	t[18]=1,331	p=0,200
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[18]=-0,147	p=0,885	t[18]=-0,181	p=0,858
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=0,992	p=0,369	t[18]=1,457	p=0,162
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[18]=-0,139	p=0,891	t[18]=-0,053	p=0,958
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[18]=-1,035	p=0,314	t[18]=-1,524	p=0,145

Appendix 2

TABLE 10.1   *MB* (*female*)

Vowels	Hz	/i/	e/_i	e/_u	e/_e,a	/a/	o/_e,a	o/_u	o/_i	/u/
Mean	F1	333	530	643	645	1023	641	624	636	398
	F2	2728	2312	2013	2062	1542	1155	1087	1082	879
DS	F1	10	47	16	24	57	32	31	58	50
	F2	58	101	77	105	117	112	65	118	71
Min	F1	321	482	618	609	921	576	545	519	319
	F2	2666	2185	1894	1919	1380	949	992	868	796
Max	F1	350	609	665	677	1157	686	655	741	483
	F2	2832	2466	2086	2290	1713	1315	1223	1256	1027

TABLE 10.2   *CR* (*female*)

Vowels	Hz	/i/	e/_i	e/_u	e/_e,a	/a/	o/_e,a	o/_u	o/_i	/u/
Mean	F1	385	448	634	635	829	644	598	635	427
	F2	2642	2343	1999	1978	1436	1203	1177	1180	993
DS	F1	30	23	39	42	24	13	39	31	19
	F2	57	107	194	148	103	89	66	58	89
Min	F1	341	413	559	543	800	626	534	563	412
	F2	2507	2217	1804	1704	1270	1031	1069	1090	868
Max	F1	435	485	699	710	855	670	642	674	464
	F2	2700	2514	2263	2183	1552	1333	1245	1275	1112

TABLE 10.3   *MM (male)*

Vowels	Hz	/i/	e/_i	e/_u	e/_e,a	/a/	o/_e,a	o/_u	o/_i	/u/
Mean	F1	296	475	513	526	861	576	498	558	381
	F2	2325	2071	1944	1965	1459	1029	1038	1054	893
DS	F1	27	30	26	62	34	51	51	44	24
	F2	47	88	64	77	80	51	81	60	75
Min	F1	259	429	480	455	803	497	445	494	349
	F2	2243	1878	1820	1844	1348	952	948	954	811
Max	F1	332	524	554	642	904	646	619	632	434
	F2	2396	2158	2031	2083	1541	1112	1183	1150	1024

TABLE 10.4   *GC (male)*

Vowels	Hz	/i/	e/_i	e/_u	e/_e,a	/a/	o/_e,a	o/_u	o/_i	/u/
Mean	F1	287	415	508	522	730	517	464	494	321
	F2	2160	2025	1805	1785	1298	986	911	948	802
DS	F1	36	10	18	23	23	13	24	14	27
	F2	98	103	88	60	65	76	57	33	43
Min	F1	249	400	489	475	690	496	428	474	280
	F2	2063	1886	1668	1680	1215	889	818	914	764
Max	F1	368	432	539	559	767	534	500	518	394
	F2	2414	2175	1919	1903	1418	1098	994	1025	889

TABLE 10.5   *LG (male)*

Vowels	Hz	/i/	e/_i	e/_u	e/_e,a	/a/	o/_e,a	o/_u	o/_i	/u/
Mean	F1	288	413	457	503	737	517	471	489	329
	F2	2125	1948	1842	1767	1266	1004	941	972	805
DS	F1	13	10	30	35	19	15	26	32	48
	F2	84	70	73	66	72	36	37	55	78
Min	F1	273	390	424	445	702	481	439	433	290
	F2	1952	1838	1755	1679	1178	952	888	810	701
Max	F1	316	423	511	546	769	532	516	526	422
	F2	2267	2044	1990	1892	1388	1065	1005	1028	942

TABLE 10.6 *GE (male)*

Vowels	Hz	/i/	e/_i	e/_u	e/_e,a	/a/	o/_e,a	o/_u	o/_i	/u/
Mean	F1	255	448	528	549	683	544	483	518	324
	F2	2077	1968	1697	1691	1188	1020	938	1000	764
DS	F1	6	21	19	9	47	13	24	25	14
	F2	57	92	49	69	25	59	75	65	47
Min	F1	243	405	499	530	624	528	450	486	310
	F2	1976	1828	1640	1549	1159	890	831	906	695
Max	F1	264	466	556	559	780	570	520	547	354
	F2	2185	2076	1772	1826	1243	1094	1046	1129	872

Tables 10.1–10.6: Mean formant values F1–F2 in Hz of the Tricase vowels produced by the six speakers investigated. DS = Standard Deviation; Min = Minimum; Max = Maximum.

Appendix 3

MB: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -6,141	p = 0,000***	t[28]= 5,096	p = 0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= 1,303	p = 0,203	t[28]= -2,095	p = 0,045
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[22]= 5,587	p = 0,000***	t[22]= -6,535	p = 0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= 0,246	p = 0,807	t[30]= -1,365	p = 0,182
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -0,448	p = 0,657	t[30]= -1,700	p = 0,099
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[22]= -0,668	p = 0,511	t[22]= -0,141	p = 0,889

CR: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -11,125	p = 0,000***	t[28]=6,638	p = 0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= 0,360	p = 0,722	t[28]=0,011	p = 0,991
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[22]= 11,256	p = 0,000***	t[22]=-5,155	p = 0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[29]= -1,537	p = 0,135	t[29]=-0,592	p = 0,558
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[29]= -3,353	p = 0,002**	t[29]=-1,292	p = 0,206
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[22]= -1,783	p = 0,088	t[22]=-0,850	p = 0,405

MM: /ɛ/→[e]/__[i]; /ɔ/→[o]/__[u]

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[27]= -2,304	p = 0,029*	t[27]= 3,030	p = 0,005**
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -0,398	p = 0,693	t[28]= -0,836	p = 0,410
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[21]= 2,305	p = 0,031*	t[21]= -3,382	p = 0,003**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -0,101	p = 0,920	t[30]= -0,179	p = 0,859
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -2,787	p = 0,009**	t[30]= -1,104	p = 0,278
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[22]= -2,897	p = 0,008**	t[22]= -0,879	p = 0,389

GC: /ɛ, ɔ/→[e, o]/__[i]; /ɔ/ → [o]/__[u]

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -15,355	p = 0,000***	t[28]=7,709	p = 0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -1,878	p = 0,071	t[28]=0,442	p = 0,662
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[22]= 14,119	p = 0,000***	t[22]=-5,706	p = 0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -2,829	p = 0,008**	t[30]=-0,677	p = 0,504
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -5,992	p = 0,000***	t[30]=-1,784	p = 0,084
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[22]= -2,635	p = 0,015	t[22]=-1,587	p = 0,127

LG: /ɛ, ɔ/ → [e, o]/__[i, u]

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[26]= -6,599	p = 0,000***	t[26]= 4,244	p = 0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[26]= -2,250	p = 0,033*	t[26]= 0,574	p = 0,571
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[20]= 4,755	p = 0,000***	t[20]= -2,878	p = 0,009**
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -3,341	p = 0,002**	t[30]= -1,717	p = 0,096
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -4,225	p = 0,000***	t[30]= -2,510	p = 0,018**
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[22]= -0,784	p = 0,441	t[22]= -0,685	p = 0,500

GE: /ɛ, ɔ/ → [e, o]/__[i, u]

Vowel category	F1		F2	
e/_i ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -14,606	p = 0,000***	t[28]= 6,097	p =0,000***
e/_u ~ e/_e,a	t[28]= -2,055	p = 0,049*	t[28]= -0,305	p =0,762
e/_u ~ e/_i	t[22]= 8,595	p = 0,000***	t[22]= -5,539	p =0,000***
o/_i ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -3,661	p = 0,001**	t[30]= -0,896	p =0,377
o/_u ~ o/_e,a	t[30]= -6,230	p = 0,000***	t[30]= -2,779	p =0,009**
o/_u ~ o/_i	t[22]= -2,357	p = 0,028*	t[22]= -1,570	p =0,131

Acknowledgments

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The 'go for' Construction in Sicilian*

Silvio Cruschina

1   Introduction

Crosslinguistically, the motion verb *go* is a common lexical source of special constructions or periphrases which, as a result of different paths of grammaticalization, express various aspectual or temporal meanings (cf. Bybee et al. 1994, a.o.). In southern Italian dialects, this verb has recently attracted the attention of linguists thanks to the special morphosyntactic properties that it displays when it combines with an infinitive or with a finite form of a lexical verb. In this construction, the verb *go* behaves as a functional verb (cf. 1a–b) or, in some dialects, as an uninflected (clitic) marker expressing andative aspect (cf. 1c, 2) (Sornicola 1976, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Cruschina 2013, Di Caro 2015, Ledgeway 2016, Andriani 2017):[1]

(1) a. *Vaju   a mangiari.*   (Mussomeli, Sicily)
        go.PRS.IND.1SG to eat.INF

     b. *Vaju   a mangiu.*
        go.PRS.IND.1SG to eat.PRS.IND.1SG

     c. *Va a mangiu.*
        go to eat.PRS.IND.1SG
        'I am going to eat.'

(2)   *Lu va ffazzu.*   (Mesagne, Puglia)
      it= go do.PRS.IND.1SG
      'I'm going to do it.' (Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: 691)

As can be observed in the examples above, the verb *go* in this construction can be either directly followed by the lexical verb (cf. 2) or linked to it by means of the pseudo-coordinator *a* (cf. 1), which is homophonous with the proposition meaning 'to'—the (pseudo-)conjunction *e* 'and' is also found in some varieties (cf. Rohlfs 1969). Some dialects only exhibit one of these options, while in others the two structures co-exist, presumably as a sign of a change in progress.[2] Note also that in some cases it is not so easy to determine the presence vs. absence of the pseudo-coordinator *a*: the syntactic doubling of the initial consonant of the second verb (*ffazzu*) in the example (2), for instance, could be taken as evidence for the 'hidden' presence of an underlying linking element that is not clearly pronounced, presumably due to a phonological merger with the final vowel of the first verb (*va*).

In this paper I investigate a different construction that involves the verb *go* in southern Italian dialects, whose distinctive characteristic is the presence of the preposition equivalent to 'for' in the specific dialect. I will call it the '*go for* construction', abbreviated to GFC. Despite being a widely used construction across the whole of Southern Italy, GFC has, with very few exceptions (e.g. Leone 1995), largely escaped the attention of the linguistic literature, most probably due to its resemblance to an ordinary complex sentence involving a lexical instance of the verb *go* followed by a final clause. In fact, morphologically, GFC does not display the same striking features as the andative construction, such as double inflection (cf. 1b) or inflectional reduction (cf. 1c, 2). More specifically, I will concentrate on GFC in Sicilian, hoping to offer a first systematic analysis that could inspire and encourage further research into the possible microvariation concerning this construction in other southern Italian dialects.[3]

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2   The term pseudo-coordinator refers to fake coordinators, typically the equivalent of English *and*, which appear to actually have a subordinating function or to link two verbs that build up a complex predicate with an aspectual or idiomatic meaning (see, e.g., De Vos 2005 and references therein).

3   The following is a very common Sicilian saying, variants of which are found throughout the south of Italy: *jisti pi futtiri e fusti futtutu* 'you went to swindle but you got swindled'.

As concisely described in Leone (1995: 44), the Sicilian periphrasis '*jiri pi* (*go for*) + infinitive' is used to emphasize the surprising or unexpected result of an action:

(3) *Va   pi   tràsiri   iddu, e   nun trova   cchiù lu beni*
     go.PRS.3SG for enter.INF he   and not find.PRS.3SG more the good
     sò.
     his
     'He ends up going in [lit. he goes to go in] only to find that his sweetheart was no longer there.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 677)

(4) *Iemmu   ppi-ddàpiri a   porta, e   vìttimu   un surci   ca*
     go.PST.1PL for-open.INF the door   and see.PST.1PL a   mouse   that
     scappava.
     escape.PST.3SG
     'We went to open the door, when we saw a mouse run away.'
     (Leone 1995: 44)

(5) *Vàiu   ppi mmuzzicari u   turruni, e   mi   rruppi   u*
     go.PRS.1SG for bite.INF   the nougat and me= break.PST.1SG the
     renti.
     tooth
     'I was about to bite into the nougat, when I broke my tooth.'
     (Leone 1995: 44)

Crucially, the surprise import is not directly associated with the sentence featuring GFC, but with the result expressed by the following sentence: the sudden realization in (3) that his sweetheart was no longer in the house where she was expected, the unexpected sight of a running mouse in (4), and the unforeseen and unhoped-for breaking of a tooth in (5). All these surprising and unexpected events immediately follow the action denoted by GFC, which is in turn presented as attempted and uncompleted. On the basis of these and similar examples, I will argue that, semantically, this construction encodes a conative aspect and displays an expressive character conveying an element of surprise and unexpectedness that is actually spelled out by the following sentence. Moreover, GFC involves a single event interpretation, and its productivity appears to be sensitive to the type of predicate involved in the construction. Syntactically, the application of several tests will prove that we are dealing with a monoclausal structure: comparison with the biclausal construction that contains *go* as a lexical verb of motion and a subordinate final clause will confirm

these findings. Building on this semantic and syntactic evidence, I will propose that in the construction under investigation *go* is a functional verb encoding an aspectual value (cf. also Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Cinque 2006, Tellier 2015, Ledgeway 2016), while the surprise and unexpectedness meaning must be characterized as a conventional implicature.[4]

The examples presented and discussed in this paper come predominantly from the Sicilian novels by Giuseppe Pitrè ([1875] 1985). When no source is indicated, the examples are from the Sicilian dialect of Mussomeli, in the province of Caltanissetta. It should also be noted that GFC is typical of a narrative style, where either past tenses (cf. 4) or the narrative present (cf. 3, 5) are employed to refer to past events. Recent discourse-analytical studies agree that the narrative present is not only used to make the past more vivid, as traditionally claimed, but also to foreground events and to express a personal evaluation (see Brinton 1992). This explains why the narrative present, in particular, is so commonly found with GFC, insofar as it lends itself very well to the principal discourse function of GFC, namely, the expression of an internal evaluation of the events which are described as surprising or unexpected.

2 Semantic Analysis: Aspectual Function and Event Interpretation

The origins of the Sicilian GFC can be found in the biclausal construction involving the lexical verb *jiri* 'go' and an infinitival clause of purpose introduced by the preposition *pi* 'for':[5]

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4 The characterization of GFC as outlined in this chapter builds on Dalrymple & Vincent's (2015) analysis of a similar construction in English (cf. § 2.1).

5 It must be noted that the purpose or goal can also be expressed by a nominal constituent in Sicilian (Rohlfs 1969: § 810), as in (ia) or by both a nominal expression and a final clause, as illustrated in (ib):

(i)   a. *"Unni vai,   cavaleri?"—" Vaju   pi lu pumu chi sona."*
           where go.2SG knight   go.1SG for the apple that ring.3SG
           'Where are you going, knight?—I'm going for the ringing apple.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 579)

       b. *a la   terza vota quannu va   pi iddu pi pigghiàrisi   'nzoccu avia*
           to the third time when   go.3SG for him for take.INF=self what   had
           arristatu ...
           remained
           'the third time when he goes for him (in order) to take what had left ...' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 673)

(6) *Ciciruni parti   e   va   nni sò soru pi purtalla   nni*
     Ciciruni leave.3SG and go.3SG in   his sister for take.INF=her in
     lu   Re.
     the   king
     'Ciciruni leaves and goes to her sister's to take her to the king.' (*Palermo*,
     Pitrè II: 72)

In this example, the verb *go* clearly denotes the meaning of movement and
change of location, whose destination is overtly spelled out by the locative
complement *nni sò soru* 'to her sister's (place)'. From a semantic viewpoint,
it thus behaves as a full lexical verb. The infinitival clause introduced by the
preposition *pi* 'for' is a subordinate adverbial clause expressing the purpose of
the action introduced in the matrix clause. It seems natural to assume that GFC
derives from a process of grammaticalization out of this biclausal structure.
For ease of exposition, I will use the term BIS to refer to this biclausal structure
containing a matrix clause featuring a lexical instance of the verb *go* and a final
clause.

   In the remainder of this section, I will describe the semantic results of this
linguistic change, while in the next section (§ 3), I will discuss its morphosyn-
tactic consequences. In the semantic and morphosyntactic characterization
of GFC, the term grammaticalization will be used both in its diachronic and
in its synchronic meaning. Diachronically, grammaticalization is the process
that changes lexical units into grammatical units. In this sense, I have already
mentioned that historically GFC is a functional construction that has emerged
out of BIS. Synchronically, grammaticalization offers a set of principles and
diagnostics to describe the degree of grammaticality of an element, accord-
ing to a scalar approach to grammaticalization (Lehmann 1985, 1995, Bertinetto
1990, Heine 1993, Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003, Giacalone Ramat 1995, 2000,
Amenta & Strudsholm 2002, Amenta 2010, Vincent 2011, Cruschina 2013, a.o.).
I will compare and contrast GFC and BIS to examine the degree of grammati-
cality or auxiliarity of the verb *go* in GFC as opposed to the lexical occurrence
of the same verb in BIS.

2.1 *The Conative Component*

Semantically, the construction under examination here has lost, partially or
completely, its movement meaning and has acquired a conative function. In
the example in (3) above, the subject of the sentence enters the house and
discovers something unexpected. In this case, GFC preserves a displacement
meaning. It must be noted, however, that the same construction simultane-
ously denotes that the sudden realization occurs before the entering action is

completed or, put another way, that the attempt to enter the house is unexpectedly interrupted because of the discovery that causes surprise and upset. In (4) a movement meaning might be implied, but is by no means necessarily entailed, and may well be attributed to the infinitival verb. In (5), by contrast, the attempted action clearly does not involve any physical displacement of the subject.

Despite the variation regarding whether an idea of movement is still present, what GFC consistently expresses in all the examples is that the subject of the sentence attempts to direct an action on to an object (or simply to perform an action), but, crucially, does not succeed or does not conclude the action. This function can be described as conative, insofar as it matches the definitions of conativity or conative aspect found in the literature. As discussed in Vincent (2013), the term conative is traditionally used to indicate an attempt to do something. GFC, then, involves a conative aspect in that the subject attempts an action that is partially or fully unaccomplished.

Dalrymple & Vincent (2015) examine an English construction which is very similar to Sicilian GFC. Consider the following examples reported and discussed in their article ((7a) is from the web, while (7b–c) are from the British National Corpus) (cf. also the English translations of the Sicilian examples in this chapter):

(7) a. I slept all day today and when I awoke I thought the pain was gone but I **went to sit up** and my God it felt like I had just been pushed down 12 flights of stairs.
    b. Swiftly, she **went to change the subject**—but he beat her to it.
    c. He **went to answer her**, but she shook her head dismissively.

The English and the Sicilian constructions are almost identical: the verb *go* is followed by an infinitive verb introduced by a preposition. The preposition is *to* in English and *pi* 'for' in Sicilian, a marginal difference which is entirely expected given that they correspond to the preposition that is typically used to introduce final clauses in the respective language. The conative meaning contributed by the English *go-to* construction is defined as follows (where X is the subject of the sentence, while P is the complement predicate):

(8) *X go to P* means that X intended to P, and made some effort to P.
     (Dalrymple & Vincent 2015: 9)

Exactly the same meaning characterizes the Sicilian construction, the conative aspect of which can then be described by minimally adapting Dalrymple & Vincent's definition:

(9)   *X go for P* means that X intended to P, and made some effort to P.

As mentioned in Section 1, the construction additionally conveys the idea that the action denoted by the complement verb is interrupted and followed by a sudden and unexpected event. I will return to the surprise import of GFC in Section 4.

2.2   *Single Event Interpretation*

GFC involves a single event interpretation. This becomes evident if we consider the contrast in (10). The event described in the first sentence (10a) would under any other interpretation prove incompatible with the continuation (10b), in contrast to genuine cases of subordination such as (11) which clearly involves two events (cf. Shopen 1971, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Manzini & Savoia 2005: 698 f., Cruschina 2013, Tellier 2015, for similar tests used in relation to constructions involving motion verbs):

(10) a. [*Jivu   pi   mi   susiri*]$_{e1}$ e ...
          go.PST.1SG for me= get-up.INF and
          'I went to get up and ...'

      b. *mi detti   cuntu   ca   un   putiva   caminari*
          me=give.PST.1SG account that not could.1SG walk.INF
          'I realized I couldn't walk.'

(11) a. [[*Jivu   (ddrà   dintra)*]$_{e1}$ *pi* [*pigliari   na   birra*]$_{e2}$] e ...
          go.PST.1SG there   inside   for   take.INF   a   beer   and
          'I went (in there) to get a beer and ...'

      b. #*mi detti   cuntu   ca   un   putiva   caminari*
           me=give.PST.1SG account that not could.1SG walk.INF
           'I realized I couldn't walk.'

In other words, (10a) does not entail two independent events—one related to movement and lexicalized by the verb *go*, the other expressing a getting-up action. If two separate events were at play in this sentence, it would not be possible, contrary to fact, to continue (10a) with sentence (10b), which excludes that any movement event could have taken place. By contrast, in a BIS construction (cf. 11a) the lexical verb *go* is the predicate of the matrix clause and, as such, it can be followed by its locative argument (i.e. *ddrà dintra* 'in there'): here the interpretation necessarily entails two consecutive but distinct

events: a first event of going (the matrix clause) and a second event denoted by the final clause (i.e. to get a beer). In this case, the movement event cannot be denied and a continuation like (11b) would prove pragmatically infelicitous (as indicated by the symbol #).

In sum, in GFC there is no independent event of going; rather, the first verb simply contributes a conative aspectual meaning to the single event denoted by the complement verb. In some circumstances an idea of movement and physical displacement may still be present (see §1), which might suggest that, in addition to conativity, the motion verb may also express an andative aspect signalling that a distance has to be covered for the action to be realized or executed. The element of movement and physical displacement may also be viewed as the 'persistence' typical of grammaticalization processes, whereby the grammaticalized form or construction may still reflect the lexical origin or development (see Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003). From a semantic viewpoint, we can therefore conclude that GFC is a periphrastic structure comprising a functional verb that contributes aspectual grammatical information and a main lexical verb that retains its lexical meaning.

2.3   *Restrictions on the Subject and Type of Predicate*

As already discussed in Section 2.1, conativity implies an attempt to perform an action that emphasizes the mental process or the behaviour directed towards that action on the part of the subject. This means that the semantic properties of GFC impose specific requirements on the subject and on the types of predicate that can enter the construction:

> Conative situations are situations of mere attempt, that means, a telic, and, in most cases, non-durative controlled action is presented in the preparatory stage and the achievement is explicitly or implicitly negated.
>
> ZEISLER 2004: 205, cited in DALRYMPLE & VINCENT 2015

First of all, only controlled actions can be presented as conative. As a consequence, only intentional agents are allowed (12a), while inanimate subjects (12b) or subjects of unintentional events (12c) are not admitted:

(12) a. *Jì   pi abbuccari u   vinu, e   s'u jittà   tuttu*
     go.PST.3SG for pour.INF the wine and self=it=throw.PST.3SG all
     d'incùaddru.
     down
     'He went to pour the wine and spilt it all over himself.'

b. *U   vinu (si)   jì   pi abbuccari e ...
   the wine itself= go.PST.3SG for pour.INF   and

c. *Jì   pi cadiri   n'terra e ...
   go.PST.3SG for fall.INF in-floor and

As for the type of predicate denoted by the complement verb, namely, the
verb spelling out the attempted action, telic events, whether punctual (*achieve-
ments*, cf. (5)) or not (*accomplishments*, cf. (12a)), are typically found in GFC,
while states (cf. 13a) and (atelic) activities (cf. 13b) are not possible. Verbs
expressing inceptive (cf. 13c) and terminative (cf. 13d) aspect are also excluded,
presumably because of an independent incompatibility with conative aspect,
at least in that precise order (see, e.g., Cinque 2006: 90, cf. fn. 12):[6]

(13) a. *Maria jì   pi cridiri   ca aviva   a chioviri
     Mary go.PST.3SG for believe.INF that have.PST.3SG to rain.INF
     e ...
     and

---

b. *Jìru   pi curriri pi tri   uri   e ...
   go.PST.3PL for run.INF for three hours and

c. *Giuvanni jì   pi accuminciari a abbuccari u   vinu e ...
   John   go.PST.3SG for start.INF   to pour.INF the wine and

d. *Giuvanni jì   pi finiri   di costruiri na casa nova
    John   go.PST.3SG for finish.INF of build.INF the house new
   e ...
   and

Exceptions to this generalization, however, are not infrequent. The verbs 'see' and 'look (at)', despite expressing activity and state, respectively, are frequently found in GFC (for the special word order in (14a), see fn. 10 below):

(14) a. Va   lu Re pi vìdiri stu ritrattu e   trova   'na
        go.PRS.3SG the king for see.INF this portrait and find.PRS.3SG a
        giuvina bedda,   bedda   ca l'aguali 'un s'ha
        lady   beautiful beautiful that the same not IMP=have.PRS.3SG
        vistu mai.
        seen never
        'The King goes to see this portrait and finds a most beautiful lady, as beautiful as he had ever seen.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè II: 186)

     b. quantu senti   un scrùsciu chi cchiù chi java,
        as   hear.PRS.3SG a noise   that more that go.IMF.PST.3SG
        cchiù forti si   facia,   va   pi guardari e
        more strong self= make.IMF.PST.3SG go.PRS.3SG for look.INF and
        vidi   un sbardu di palummi.
        see.PRS.3SG a flock   of doves
        'as soon as he hears a noise that was getting louder and louder, he goes to have a look and sees a flock of doves.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 675)

     c. "E ccà cu' cci   stà?" E   risposta 'un cci   nni
        and here who there= stays and answer not him= of.it=
        dava   nuddu. Va   pi vidiri poi e
        give.IMF.PST.3SG nobody go.PRS.3SG for see.INF then and
        vidi   sti tri picciotti.
        see.PRS.3SG these three young-men
        '"Who lives here?" And he received no answer. He goes to see/have a look then and sees these three young men.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 584)

These apparent exceptions can be explained by the following proposal: an explicit (14a) or implicit (14b,c) object contributes a telic interpretation to the event, roughly equivalent to 'check *x* (out)' or 'have a look at *x*' (e.g. *what the noise is* in (14b), and *who lives there* in (14c)). In this interpretation, the predicate could be either an achievement or an accomplishment, depending on the durativity, but in either case it denotes a telic event. This would amount to saying that verbs that normally encode states or activities receive a telic interpretation in this construction, according to a mechanism that is known in the literature as aspect shift or event coercion (see Dowty 1979, Bach 1981, Pulman 1997, de Swart 1998, Fernald 1999, Rothstein 2004, among many others). In these cases what is attempted (and then suddenly interrupted) is not the action denoted by the complement verb alone, but the action together with some contextually salient or intended purpose. Further exceptions are possible and seem to be related to an advanced degree of grammaticalization of the functional verb: the case of weather predicates will be discussed in Section 3.3.

3   Morphosyntactic Properties and Syntactic Analysis

GFC does not display any visible peculiar morphosyntactic features that may overtly distinguish it from BIS (cf. (6) above, as well as the contrast with the structures in (1) and (2)). Upon closer scrutiny, however, it is possible to identify morphosyntactic properties that firmly support the hypothesis that GFC and BIS have different underlying syntactic structures. In particular, several pieces of evidence show that GFC should be analysed as a monoclausal structure, a syntactic analysis that goes hand in hand with the characteristic single event interpretation discussed in the previous section from a semantic viewpoint.

3.1   *Monoclausal Structure*
The monoclausal nature of GFC clearly emerges when this construction is directly contrasted with the lexical occurrences of the verb *go* followed by a final clause headed by *pi* 'for', i.e. with the biclausal structure BIS. In GFC, the behaviour of *jiri* 'go' as a functional verb gives rise to a set of interrelated differences with respect to BIS:[7]

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7 These syntactic properties have been independently discussed in the literature as evidence or tests in support of a monoclausal analysis (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Cruschina 2013, Tellier 2015, Ledgeway 2016; see also Wurmbrand 2001, 2004 for German).

a) incompatibility with locative arguments and verbal adjuncts;
b) incompatibility with negation;
c) clitic climbing.

First of all, GFC cannot include the locative arguments or the adjuncts that typically occur with motion verbs. The presence of such constituents undermines the periphrastic interpretation of the construction as GFC, leaving BIS as the only possible structure. This is illustrated in (15). The BIS in (15a) contains two locative arguments of the lexical verb *go* ('in the same village' and 'to the same dealer'). In (15b), it is shown that, in addition to a locative argument ('in there', 'in the other room'), BIS can host a manner adverb (*lestu* 'quickly') or an adverbial expression of frequency (*du voti* 'twice'). By contrast, neither a locative argument, be it pronominal, adverbial or a full PP, nor a frequency or manner adverb referring to an event of going can occur in GFC, see (15c):

(15) a. *si   nni   ji'   a lu stissu paisi, e   nni lu*
         self= there.from= go.PST.3SG to the same village and to the
         stessu mircanti, pi vinnirci   lu   sidduni.
         same dealer   for sell.INF=him the saddle
         'he went to the same village, and to the same dealer, to sell him the saddle.' (*Cianciana*, AG, Pitrè I: 244)

    b. *Jì   (lestu) ddrà (dintra) (du voti) pi pigliari na*
        go.PST.3SG fast   there in(side) two times for take.INF a
        buttiglia di vinu.
        bottle   of wine
        'He (quickly) went (in) there (twice) to get a bottle of wine.'

    c. *(*Ci)   jì   (*ddrà/ *lestu/ *du voti) pi pigliari na*
        there= go.PST.3SG there   fast   two times for take.INF a
        buttiglia di vinu e   si   taglià   c'   u   vitru.
        bottle   of wine and self= cut.PST3SG with the glass
        'He went to get a bottle of wine and cut himself with the glass.'

The presence of locative specifications or of modifying adverbs forces a lexical reading of the motion verb and presupposes an actual physical displacement: a periphrastic status cannot thus be attributed to this type of structure, which must thus inevitably be identified as an instance of BIS. That we are not dealing with an occurrence of GFC is also confirmed by the pragmatic oddity that

results from inserting a construction with a locative argument or a manner/frequency adverb in a context where GFC would be usually employed, namely, when a following sentence expresses the unexpected result of the immediately preceding event (cf. 15c).

The incompatibility between GFC and locative arguments or manner and frequency adjuncts is a direct consequence of the functional status of *go* in GFC: it has lost the lexical meaning of movement and has therefore no thematic grid and no argument structure of its own; nor can it be modified by those adverbs or adverbial expressions that generally co-occur with the lexical verb to specify the manner, the frequency or the intensity of a going event. As a matter of fact, a locative constituent is required by the argument structure of lexical *go* as a core participant in the eventuality denoted by this verb: its absence is only acceptable when *go* acts as a functional verb, rather than as a lexical one.

Functional *go* in GFC is also incompatible with negation (cf. 16b), whereas the two events denoted in BIS can be individually negated (cf. 16a).

(16) a. ***Un ci   jì   pi un' a   offenniri.***
          not there= go.PST.3SG for not her= offend
          'He didn't go there (in order) to not offend her.'

    b. (****Un***) *jì   pi* (****un***) *pigliari   na buttiglia di vinu e …*
          not   go.PST.3SG for not   take.INF a bottle   of wine and

In combination with a lexical verb, the grammaticalized verb *go* in GFC loses the possibility of being negated separately. This witnesses the unitary interpretation of GFC as a single event in a monoclausal structure. The verb *go* can therefore be negated only when it entails movement in space and expresses no aspectual meanings. In periphrastic constructions, however, the whole construction made up of a functional verb and a main lexical verb can normally be negated. This is not the case in GFC, where no negation can occur at all. The fact that in (16b) the infinitive cannot bear sentential negation can be explained by assuming that the complement of the functional verb is a bare VP, thus lacking an independent TP and NegP. The incompatibility of GFC with a higher negation (i.e. with negation scoping over the overall construction) must instead be explained differently. The key aspect seems to be the surprise meaning component of GFC. A possible solution to this problem is offered in Tellier's (2015: 160–161) analysis of expressive *aller* and *venir* in French, which also convey an idea of unexpectedness and surprise: expressives (cf. Cruse 1986, Potts 2005, 2007) are generally incompatible with true negation, since "the speaker's

discontent or surprise at the event [...] cannot be simultaneously asserted and denied".[8]

Since Rizzi (1982), clitic climbing has been viewed as a diagnostic for restructuring, namely, a phenomenon of clause union (cf. Aissen & Perlmutter 1983) where an apparently biclausal structure involving two verbal elements behaves as a single clause. A pronominal clitic originally dependent on a complement verb can thus climb up and attach to the higher verb. In Romance, motion verbs, together with other aspectual and modal verbs, belong to the class of verbs that are typically involved in restructuring phenomena. Restructuring motion verbs are followed either directly by the infinitive (e.g. in French) or by the preposition *a* before the infinitive (e.g. in Spanish and in Italian). What is interesting about the Sicilian GFC is the possibility of also finding monoclausal effects in the presence of the proposition *pi* 'for'. In Standard Italian, clitic climbing is optional with restructuring verbs: the clitic can either climb to the left of the finite (functional) verb or stay lower, attached to the infinitive. In Sicilian, it actually depends on the specific dialect: clitic climbing with GFC seems to be optional in the dialect of Palermo (see the contrast between (17a) and (17b)); it is possible in the dialect of Mussomeli (18a), but the placement of the clitic before the infinitive is preferred (18b):[9]

(17) a. *Va   pi vutàrisi,   e   vidi   a   un omu.*
        go.3SG for turn.INF=self and see.PRS.3SG ACC a   man
        'He goes to turn around and sees a man.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 469)

    b. ***Si   va   pi vutari   e   trova   la   vurza, la***
        self= go.PRS.3SG for turn.INF and find.PRS.3SG the bag   the
        tuvagghia e   lu   viulinu.
        towel   and the violin
        'He goes to turn around and finds the bag, the towel and the violin.'
        (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 483)

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8 See also Elliott (1974) for expressive predicates, and Portner & Zanuttini (2000), Zanuttini & Portner (2003), who attribute the unacceptability of negation in exclamatives expressing surprise to their scalar implicature property.

9 The behaviour of the Palermo dialect is somewhat unexpected in light of the fact that proclisis, and hence clitic climbing, with restructuring verbs is the most common pattern in Old Sicilian and in southern Italian dialects more generally (cf. Maiden 1998: 182, Amenta & Strudsholm 2002: 18). Note also that, unlike in most Sicilian dialects, in the dialect of Mussomeli clitics generally precede the infinitive (cf. 18b): this is a typical property of central-southern dialects of Sicily (in the provinces of Caltanissetta and Agrigento).

(18) a. *U   jì   pi spingiri e   cadì   n' terra.*
     it= go.PST.3SG for lift.INF and fall.PST.3SG in floor

   b. *Jì   p' u spingiri e   cadì   n' terra.*
      go.PST.3SG for it= lift.INF and fall.PST.3SG in floor
      'He went to lift it up and fell on the floor.'

Clitic climbing clearly shows that in these examples the infinitival clauses are not clausally complex in the same way as standard embedded clauses, but are rather part of a complex periphrastic predicate comprising a functional verb that contributes an aspectual meaning and a complement lexical verb that denotes an action or an event. More evidence for the special status of the infinitive occurring in GFC is discussed in the next section.

3.2   *Fixed Order and Lack of Infinitival Autonomy*
Unlike BIS, which involves a final clause (cf. (19)–(21)), the elements of the sequence '*jiri* + *pi* + infinitive' in GFC must occur in a fixed order and must be adjacent to one another. In (19), the final clause precedes the verb *go*, while in (20), we see that a constituent can be inserted between *go* and the final clause:[10]

   (FINAL CLAUSE > JIRI)
(19) *Ogni jornu s'   accattava 'na pagnotta cauda, e   pi*
     every day   self= buy.PST.3SG a   loaf   hot   and for
     cunzarisilla java   nna la   Chiesa.
     fill=self=it go.PST.3SG to   the church
     'He bought a hot loaf every day and went to the church to fill it.'
     (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 257)

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10   In (14a) above we find a postverbal subject intervening between the verb *go* and the infinitival clause. This may indicate that in this example the biclausal structure has not yet been fully grammaticalized to the monoclausal conative construction. Interestingly, this is one of the examples where, to a certain extent, the movement meaning persists. At any rate, it must also be noted that this order seems to belong to a specific narrative style, and is judged as ungrammatical or at least as marginal by all native speakers when presented with this sentence in a colloquial register. An alternative explanation could be that in this very specific narrative (and almost archaic) register, the verb moves to a higher position, as independently argued for Romance medieval varieties (cf. Benincà 2006, Poletto 2014).

(INTERVENING CONSTITUENT)

(20) *Ciciruni parti   e   va   nni sò soru pi purtalla   nni*
Ciciruni leave.3SG and go.3SG in his sister for take.INF=her in
lu   Re.
the king
'Ciciruni leaves and goes to her sister to take her to the king.'
(*Palermo*, Pitrè II: 72)

A different order of elements, as well as the presence of intervening material, block a periphrastic interpretation of the construction and unequivocally yield a BIS reading.

Unlike in Italian, Sicilian embedded infinitives may display an overt subject in the so-called personal infinitives (cf. Bentley 2014). If a personal infinitive follows the motion verb, that is, if the infinitive is either preceded or followed by an overt subject, we are certainly dealing with BIS:

(PERSONAL INFINTIVE)

(21) *Ni   nni   iemu   pi **ttu** arristari   sulu.*
we.self= there.from= go.PST.1PL for you remain.INF alone
'We left in order for you to be left alone.' (La Fauci 1984: 122, cited in Bentley 2014: 110)

So far in this section I have not provided any examples of GFC not only because they are not attested, but also because the lack of adjacency between its components, the insertion of a constituent, and the presence of a personal infinitive would not make the sentence ungrammatical, but would simply force a biclausal interpretation. However, if we take an attested GFC example where no spatial movement is entailed and with the typical juxtaposition of a second sentence expressing surprise and unexpectedness, as for instance the example in (5), repeated here below, we can observe that none of the operations discussed above would be possible without rendering the sentence unacceptable or at least pragmatically infelicitous (cf. also § 3.1.):

(5') *Vàiu   ppi mmuzzicari u   turruni, e   mi   rruppi   u*
go.PRS.1SG for bite.INF   the nougat and me= break.PST.1SG the
renti.
tooth
'I went to bite into the nougat, when I broke my tooth.' (Leone 1995: 44)

(PREPOSITION + INFINITIVE > *JIRI*)

(22) #*Ppi mmuzzicari u   turruni, vàiu   (nn' a   cucina) e   mi*
       for bite.INF   the nougat go.PRS.1SG in   the kitchen and me=
     rruppi   u   renti.
     break.PST.1ST the tooth

(INTERVENING CONSTITUENT)

(23) #*Vàiu   nn' a   cucina ppi mmuzzicari u   turruni, e   mi*
       go.PRS.1SG in the kitchen for bite.INF   the nougat and me=
     rruppi   u   renti.
     break.PST.1ST the tooth

(PERSONAL INFINTIVE)

(24) **Vàiu   ppi iu muzzicari u   turruni, e   mi rruppi   u*
       go.1SG for I bite.INF   the nougat and me= break.PST.1ST the
     renti.
     tooth

The infelicity or the grammatical unacceptability of these sentences results
from the attempt to force the interpretation typically associated with a bi-
clausal structure onto a construction that is used for different purposes and
in different contexts, namely, the grammaticalized GFC.

3.3 *A Further Stage of Grammaticalization: The Case of Weather Predicates*

The semantic and syntactic properties discussed so far lead to the conclusion
that GFC derives from a process of grammaticalization out of BIS. The con-
struction shows neither morphological reduction nor phonological erosion,
but this is not expected in each and every instance of grammaticalization. The
semantic bleaching from a content or lexical category to a functional item is
nonetheless evident when the meaning and the syntactic properties of the
construction as a whole are taken into consideration, showing that this phe-
nomenon is a fully-fledged instance of grammaticalization. One further piece
of evidence confirms that *go* in GFC is a functional verb that contributes an
aspectual meaning: the use of the construction with weather predicates. Before
illustrating this use, two clarifications are in order. Firstly, as already mentioned
in Section 1, GFC is widespread in the whole of Southern Italy; the possibil-
ity for weather predicates to enter this construction, however, appears to be
limited to certain dialects and is certainly much more constrained in terms of
frequency and with respect to the contextual licensing conditions. Secondly,

weather predicates select for no arguments—in fact, their valency is zero—and can surely not be used in constructions involving a lexical verb of movement.[11] Consider the following examples from the dialect of Mussomeli:

(25) a. *Jì   pi chioviri e   vonsi   trasiri   i   robbi.*
      go.PST.3SG for rain.INF and want.PST.1SG enter.INF the cloths
      'It seemed it was going to rain and I had to take the laundry in.'

   b. *Jì   pi nivicari, mmeci chioppi.*
      go.PST.3SG for snow.INF instead rain.PRS.3SG
      'It seemed it was going to snow, but it was actually raining.'

On the one hand, these sentences may seem in apparent contradiction with the generalizations discussed in Section 2 on the specific requirements imposed by the conative aspect on the subject and on the types of predicate. On the other, they clearly reflect a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, whereby the motion verb has undergone a complete process of decategorialization, has lost its lexical properties, and now serves a purely functional purpose, namely, the expression of a conative aspect highlighting the abrupt interruption of an event (an activity in this case) right after its start or even before. Sentence (25a), for instance, implies either that the rain did not last long (the activity is then being described as having an endpoint) or that it looked like it was going to rain, but it could well be that in fact it never did. Similarly, (25b) can be uttered upon realizing that what at first sight seemed to be snow, perhaps because some snowflakes fell, was in fact (or ended up being) rain.

3.4 *TAM and Sentence Types*
Grammaticalized verbs are generally subject to morphosyntactic restrictions with respect to the TAM (tense, aspect, and mood) system, as well as to the types of sentence in which they can occur. The actual distributional restrictions of a specific grammatical verb (e.g. an auxiliary or another functional verb) depend on the degree of grammaticalization and on the conditions of use of the construction in which it occurs: the wider the restrictions are, the greater the degree of decategorialization that characterizes a grammaticalized verb. At the end of Section 1, I observed that GFC is typical of a narrative style.

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11   In the literature, it has often been argued that weather predicates are not totally argument-less, but have quasi-argumental subjects, i.e. non referential or semi-referential, but nevertheless θ-role-bearing subjects (cf. Bolinger 1973, 1977, Chomsky 1982, Cardinaletti 1990, Vikner 1995, Sheehan 2006: Ch. 5).

This explains why GFC is generally found either in the preterite (i.e. with the perfective past) or in the present tense used as a historic present, that is, to refer to past events. The imperfective past tense—making reference to a durative, continuing or repeated event or state in the past—is therefore uncommon in GFC (cf. §2.3 for other aspectual restrictions). It would only be possible if both the attempted action described in GFC and the result expressed by the following sentence are characterized by a continual repetition, as in (26):

(26) *Jiva   p' addrumari u muturi e   si   ci*
     go.IMF.PST.3SG for turn-on.INF the engine and self= him=
     astutava.
     turn.off.IMF.3SG
     'He kept turning on the engine but it kept dying (on him)'

Unlike other periphrastic constructions with motion verbs (cf. (1) and (2) above, and see Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Cruschina 2013, Di Caro 2015 for discussion of the paradigm restrictions concerning the functional motion verbs in those constructions), GFC can be used for all grammatical persons, but cannot occur in the imperative. The exclusion of the imperative mood from GFC's paradigm is a further difference with respect to BIS and is evidently due to the semantic incompatibility between the conative aspect of GFC and the carrying out of the action requested by the imperative.

Because of a similar semantic incompatibility, GFC cannot be used in interrogative sentences.[12] The incompatibility between GFC and the imperative mood and the interrogative sentence type may additionally be attributed to the fact that they are not particularly well suited to the typical narrative style of GFC. Declaratives are thus the most common sentence type in which GFC occurs; however, other sentence types such as temporal (cf. 27, 28) and conditional (cf. 29) clauses are also possible:

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12   A possible context in which GFC can occur within an interrogative sentence, though still marginally, is that of an echo-question which repeats part of what the speaker has just heard but not fully understood (e.g. *Chi jisti pi piggliari e ti cadì n'terra?* 'What did you go to take and fell on the floor?'). In this case, however, the meaning of surprise or unexpectedness most probably associated with the original assertion is not repeated together with the question, and the construction is presumably used metalinguistically.

(27) *La sira   quannu iju   pi pigghiari la   pupa, e   nun*
     the evening when   go.PST.3SG for take.INF the doll   and not
     la   truvau   cchiui, si   misi   a chianciri.
     her= find.PST.3SG more   REFL= put.PST.3SG to cry.INF
     'In the evening, when she went to fetch the doll, and couldn't find it, she
     started crying.' (*Palermo*, Pitrè I: 267)

(28) *comu va   pi asciògghiri lu   saccu, s'   adduna   di*
     as   go.PRS.3SG pi untie.INF   the sack   sefl= notice.PRS.3SG of
     la   picciotta   ch' era ddà   dintra attaccata
     the young-woman that was there inside tied-up
     'as he goes to untie the sack, he notices the young woman who was tied
     up in there.' (*Marsala*, Pitrè III: 111)

(29) *Sutta u   lettu c'è   na munachedda, cummigliata cu   dudici*
     under the bed there=is a   little-nun   covered   with twelve
     mantedda, si a   vaju   pi tuccari   s'appizza
     mantels   if her= GO.PRS.1ST for touch.INF sefl=stick.PRS.3SG
     all'   occhiu e   mi fa   lacrimari
     to-the eye   and me= make.3SG weep.INF
     'Under the bed is a little nun, covered with twelve mantels, if I go to touch
     her, she sticks to my eye and makes me weep.'

Example (29) is a traditional Sicilian riddle, whose solution is 'an onion'.[13] In
this conditional sentence, the conative aspect of the GFC is evident: the main
coordinated clauses express the consequences of any attempt to accomplish
the conditional action expressed by the dependent if-clause.

3.5   *Morphosyntactic and Semantic Properties: A Summary*
The following table summarizes the morphosyntactic and semantic properties
discussed in the previous sections, contrasting the behaviour of the verb *jiri*
'go' in its lexical usage within the biclausal structure featuring a final clause
(i.e. BIS) and the same verb in its functional use expressing conative aspect

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13   This variant of the riddle is taken from the following collection of popular sayings, riddles,
      proverbs, prayers, tongue twisters and folklore songs in the dialect of Palazzo Adriano,
      in the province of Palermo: *Detti popolari—Indovinelli—Proverbi—Preghiere dialettali—
      Scioglilingua—Canzoni tradizionali*, Comune di Palazzo Adriano—Proloco "Palazzo Adri-
      ano", available at: http://www.dimarcomezzojuso.it/autore.php?id=71.

TABLE 11.1   *Morphosyntactic and semantic properties of GFC*

(30)	BIS	GFC
arguments and adjuncts	✓	✗
sentential negation with V1	✓	✗
sentential negation with V2	✓	✗
clitic climbing	✗	✓
fixed order	✗	✓
adjacency requirement	✗	✓
distributional restrictions	✗	✓
single event interpretation	✗	✓

(i.e. GFC). I use the abbreviations V1 and V2 to indicate the verb *go* and the following infinitival verb form, respectively.

While BIS shows all the properties typical of a complex biclausal structure comprising a matrix and a subordinate clause, functional *go* in GFC behaves as a restructuring aspectual verb which has lost its lexical spatial meaning. As a consequence, the arguments and adjuncts which are typically dependent on a lexical motion verb are not possible with functional *go*, which cannot even be modified by negation. Sentential negation can normally modify the complement infinitival verb in the biclausal structure, but not in the presence of functional *go*. We attributed the general ban on negation not to the morphosyntactic properties of the construction as such—periphrastic constructions normally admit negation with scope on the whole construction—, but to the surprise meaning associated with GFC (cf. § 3.1; see also § 4.2). In the conative GFC, the two verbs act as a single unit with respect to syntactic (i.e. clitic climbing, fixed order, and required adjacency) and semantic properties (i.e. single event interpretation). In contrast, the two verbs in BIS are two independent verbs which, semantically, denote two separate events and, syntactically, allow for greater order flexibility but not for the structural transparency necessary for clitic climbing.

4   Further Structural and Interpretive Issues

On the basis of the previous discussion, the analysis I propose for the Sicilian GFC should be clear: as a result of a process of grammaticalization from a biclausal structure (BIS), the restructuring verb *go* in GFC must now be anal-

ysed as a functional verb which has lost its lexical content and has developed a merely aspectual meaning.[14] This kind of functional verb encodes tense, person, and conative aspect features, but it is the complement infinitival verb that contributes the lexical meaning to the construction. If the role of the two verbs and their division of labour within the construction is rather transparent, the status of the preposition connecting them is more difficult to capture. This issue will be addressed in the next section (§ 4.1), while Section 4.2 will be devoted to an account of the surprise and unexpected meaning typically associated with GFC.

4.1   *The Role of the Preposition*

In BIS, the role of the Sicilian preposition *pi* is rather obvious: it introduces a final clause. This is indeed one of the general functions of this preposition in Sicilian as well as in other Romance varieties. In combination with a motion verb such as *go*, the preposition thus introduces a subordinate clause that indicates the purpose or goal towards which the movement is directed. The obvious question to address is now: What happens in GFC? Since it is a monoclausal construction, the preposition *pi* clearly does not mark any sort of dependency between clauses in this case. We could then assume that it is simply a residual of the source construction from which GFC originates. In this sense, its function is essentially equal to that of the desemanticized linker typically found in serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2006: 20).[15] If synchronically the preposition *pi* does not serve any specific function within the construction, diachronically it must have played a crucial role in the development of the conative aspect and of the characteristic semantic and morphosyntactic properties that distinguish GFC from other periphrases that also involve a reanalysed motion verb, but a different preposition (cf. (1), (2) above and the references cited in the discussion of these examples). I leave this diachronic question open for future research.

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14   In generative grammar, and in particular, within the cartographic approach to syntactic structures, functional or light verbs are treated as functional heads occupying the relevant positions within a single fixed-ordered hierarchy of functional projections (cf. Cinque 1999, 2006). The position of the conative aspectual verb is illustrated here below, where only the surrounding aspectual projections are considered (from Cinque 2006: 90):

(i)   ... $Asp_{habitual}$ > $Asp_{predispositional}$ > $Asp_{repetitive(I)}$ > $Asp_{terminative}$ > $Asp_{continuative}$ > ... $Asp_{retrospective}$ > $Asp_{progressive}$ > $Asp_{prospective}$ > $Asp_{inceptive}$ > $Asp_{frustative/success}$ > $\underline{Asp_{conative}}$ > $Asp_{completive(I)}$ > Voice > ... $Asp_{completive(II)}$ > $Asp_{repetitive(II)}$

15   According to Cinque (2006: 45), in restructuring constructions, prepositions which originally had a complementizer function have now been reanalysed "as introducers of smaller

4.2   The Surprise and Unexpectedness Import as a Conventional Implicature

While the conative import is part of the informative meaning of the construction, expressing the main point of the utterance, the effect of surprise and unexpectedness associated with this construction—but spelled out by the event expressed by the following clause—can be characterized as a conventional implicature (in the sense of Potts 2005, 2007) that adds up to the propositional content of the sentence (cf. Dalrymple & Vincent 2015).[16] Consider the following examples:

(31) a. *va   pi nèsciri   e   nun pò,   ca   lu   pirtusu si*
          go.PRS.3SG for go-out.INF and not can.3SG that the hole   self=
          trova   chiusu.
          find.PRS.3SG closed
          'he goes to go out and cannot, as the hole is blocked' (*Camporeale*, PA,
          Pitrè IV: 92)

       b. *Iju   pi tastari,   e   vitti   ca   era vinu spuntu.*
          go.PST.3SG for taste.INF and see.PST.3SG that was wine acid
          'He went to taste it and saw/realized it was almost vinegar.'
          (*Palermo*, Pitrè III: 60)

       c. *va   pi sarvari   lu   còcciu di la càlia,   e*
          go.PRS.3SG for save.INF the grain of the roasted-chickpea and
          s'   adduna chi lu   gaddu si   l' avía manciatu.
          self= notice   that the rooster self= it= had eaten
          'she went to save the roasted chickpea, and realized that the rooster
          had eaten it.' (*Marsala*, Pitrè III: 108)

First of all, the information that is presented as surprising is not already part of the background, and this is a property that distinguishes conventional implica-

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         portions of the extended projection of the lexical VP, namely, as introducers of the com-
         plement of one of the functional heads that make up that extended projection":
         (i)   ... F ... [PP [INFP [FP F ... [VP]]]]
         With regard to the role of the preposition, Ledgeway (2015) proposes that in similar
         structures prepositions can realize different phase heads.
16   The use of the verb *go* in constructions expressing surprise and unexpectedness is not
         uncommon (cf. Wiklund 2009, Josefsson 2014, Dalrymple & Vincent 2015, Tellier 2015, and
         references therein).

tures from presuppositions. In these examples, moreover, it would not be possible for the speaker to cancel or deny the import of surprise and unexpectedness associated with the second clause, as typical of conventional implicatures and contrary to conversational implicatures. Indeed, continuations like the following would prove pragmatically infelicitous:

(32) a. *#ma già   u   sapiva.*
          but already it= know.PST.1/3SG
          'but I/he already knew it.'

   b. *#propia chiddru ca   pinsava.*
         exactly what   that think.PST.1/3SG
         'exactly as I/he thought.'

In addition, the addressee can challenge either the at-issue meaning or the conventional implicature, showing that the two meanings are independent from one another. Let us consider sentence (31b), for instance; here repeated as (33A). Upon hearing this sentence, the addressee B can object to A's statement about the quality of the wine, asserting that the wine was actually good (33B). The addressee thus contests the at-issue meaning 'the wine was almost vinegar', providing his different opinion. The addressee's reaction could alternatively be directed not to the at-issue content of A's statement, but to the conventional implicature of surprise or unexpectedness: in (33B'), the addressee contests that A's statement should be evaluated as surprising or unexpected:

(33) A: *Iju   pi tastari, e   vitti   ca   era vinu spuntu.*
         go.PST.3SG for taste.INF and see.PST.3SG that was wine acid
         'He went to taste it and saw/realized it was almost vinegar.'

   B: *Ugn' è   veru, u   vinu jera   bùanu.*
        not be.PRS.3SG true the wine be.PST.3SG good
        'That's not true, the wine was good.'

   B': *Chi c'è   di stranu!? A ssu prìazzu, chi   t'*
         what there=is of strange at that price   what you=
         aspittavi?!
         expect.PST.2SG
         'What's so odd about that!? At that price, what would you expect?!'

We can therefore describe the overall meaning of GFC by making reference to its multidimensional content: on the one hand, the informative at-issue meaning provided by the conative proposition (p1) and by the following resultative proposition (p2) (cf. 34a); on the other, the non-at-issue meaning, to be characterized as a conventional implicature, expressing that, in some sense, p2 is surprising or unexpected (cf. 34b):

(34) a. Informative/descriptive (at-issue) content:
           p1 = X intends/makes efforts to P, where P = 'taste the wine'
           p2 = the wine was (almost) vinegar
      b. Conventional Implicature:
           p2 (i.e. the result of p1) is surprising and/or unexpected

Crucially, even if in the narrow sense the second clause expressing the surprising or unexpected result of the attempted action is not part of the conative GFC, it is still necessary for the construction to work: if this consequence or result of the conative proposition is missing, the construction would be felt to be incomplete and hence pragmatically odd.

5   Conclusions

In this chapter, I have examined the semantic and the morphosyntactic properties of the 'go for' construction (GFC) in Sicilian. On the basis of the traditional diagnostics for the reflexes of grammaticalization, I showed that in this construction the motion verb *go* behaves as a functional verb expressing conative aspect and that the sentence following GFC denotes the result or the consequence of the action denoted by GFC and is associated with a conventional implicature of surprise and unexpectedness. Diachronically, GFC derives from BIS, namely, from a biclausal structure that comprises a matrix clause with a lexical occurrence of the motion verb and a final clause. In this paper, however, I did not look at the GFC in diachrony, but rather at its synchronic characteristics. BIS still exists in modern Sicilian, thereby allowing a direct synchronic analysis contrasted with GFC which enables us to capture the semantic and morphosyntactic consequences of the grammaticalization of the motion verb *go* both with respect to the individual verb and at the level of the construction as a whole.

Primary Source

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The Complementizers *ca* and *chi* in Sardinian: Syntactic Properties and Geographic Distribution

Caroline Bacciu and Guido Mensching

1 Introduction

1.1 *Aims and Structure*

Most southern (Campidanese[1]) and some central varieties of Sardinian have two complementizers, *ca* (< lat. QUIA) and *chi* (< QUID), both corresponding to English 'that'. By contrast, Logudorese and most of the Central Sardinian varieties have only *chi* (cf. Blasco Ferrer 1986: 195–196; Damonte 2006; Manzini & Savoia 2005: I, 452–455; Mensching 2012, 2017, in press; Mensching & Remberger 2016: 287–288). Provisionally, we can say that the criterion [+/–realis] is decisive for the choice of the complementizer, i.e., *ca* is used for introducing complement clauses after declarative and epistemic verbs with the verb of the subclause in the indicative ([+realis]), whereas *chi* is used after predicates of volition as well as directive and deontic predicates, all of which trigger the subjunctive in the embedded clause ([–realis]).[2] Although some work has been done regarding the issue, the exact distribution of localities that have only *chi* and those that have both *chi* and *ca* remains unknown.

This article aims to shed more light on the nature and the geographic distribution of the *ca–chi* distinction. While some data can be retrieved from the literature, there has never been a coherent description of the Sardinian dual complementizer system. After an overview of the state of the art (Section 2), we present and analyze—for the first time—a larger amount of data from one locality, namely Dorgali (Section 3). The variety of Dorgali is particularly interesting for two reasons: first, it is the most northeastern variety that has the *ca–chi* distinction and, second, the distinction between the subjunctive (with *chi*) and the indicative (with *ca*) is neatly conserved, unlike in the some other varieties reported in the literature. In Section 4 we describe a fieldwork study that

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1 For the geographic areas of Campidanese and the other major dialect groups (Logudorese, Nuorese, and Arborense), see Map 12.1 in Section 2.2.

2 See Dixon (2006) for an alternative analysis of similar cases based on the distinction between fact type and potential type complement clause constructions (cf. Section 4).

eventually led to the reconstruction of the isogloss that separates the areas that have only *chi* from those that distinguish between *chi* and *ca*. At the same time, we investigate two geolinguistic subareas included in our fieldwork to determine whether the distribution of *ca* and *chi* is as stable as in Dorgali. Finally, in Section 5, we comment on the relationship between this isogloss and some other morphosyntactic isoglosses that can be found in the same geographical areas and try to draw some diachronic conclusions on how the present distribution may have come about over time.

A complete account of the Sardinian *ca–chi* phenomenon is beyond the scope of the present article. As has been shown by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2011; cf. the discussion in Mensching in press), the *ca–chi* complementizer system can be split into three subsystems, depending on whether *ca* is also used in appositive relative clauses and/or *chi* is used instead of *si* meaning 'if'. These two properties are not investigated in the present article.[3] Furthermore, we analyze neither the causal function of *ca* (which continues the original Latin meaning of QUIA) nor the use of the homonymous item *ca* (< QUAM) in comparisons (cf. Wagner 1997: 323–324). All these issues require further research, particularly on the empirical level. Such studies, which our research group has planned for the near future and partially already begun, call for a more solid basis than what can be retrieved from the present state of the art. The aim of this article is to provide such a basis, which can also serve for a formal analysis.[4]

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3 The complementizer system in Dorgali (cf. Section 3) does not show either of these two additional parameters. As far as the fieldwork described in Section 4 is concerned, we did try to elicit relative clauses, but speakers were rather reluctant to use non-restrictive relative clauses and would insist on using coordinating structures instead. Only in Narbolia and Santu Lussurgiu did we get a clear answer with a relative clause introduced by *ca*:

(i)   *Tzia mia, **ca**   portat is   pius arrubius, **est** una fèmina meda allìriga.*
       aunt my   that   carries the-PL hairs red   is   a   woman very   cheerful
       'My aunt, who has red hair, is a very cheerful person.'   (Narbolia)

(ii)   *Tzia mia, **ca**   tenet sos   pilos rujos, **est** meda divertente.*
       aunt my   that   has   the-M-PL hair   red   is   very   funny
       'My aunt who has red hair is very funny.'   (Santu Lussurgiu 2)

The use of *chi* in the meaning of 'if' is a property of more southern varieties and is therefore not found in the central varieties examined in this article.

4 For a formal analysis of what is known up to now, see Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. I, chap. 3; 2011).

1.2   *Dual Complementizer Systems in Italian Dialects*

Before we start, let us briefly consider the broader Italo-Romance context. Similar dual complementizer systems are known for Central and Southern Italy (cf. Rohlfs 1969: 190; Ledgeway 2003 et seqq.; D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010; D'Alessandro & Di Felice 2015): the phenomenon of dual complementizers extends from the Abruzzo region down to Sicily, where Greek influence is held to have contributed to the conservation of the Late Latin functional structure of Lat. QUOD and UT[5] (Rohlfs 1969: 190). According to Ledgeway (2009: 3), in the southern part of Italy where there has been a particularly strong Greek influence, one finds a distinction between *ca* (< QUIA) after declarative and epistemic predicates and *mu/ma/mi* (< MODO) (Calabria and Sicily) or *cu* (< QUOD) (Salento) selected by predicates denoting states or events that have not yet been realised. Concerning the upper part of the central/southern Italian dialectal area, we find systems that use the same items as Sardinian, namely *ca* (< QUIA) and *che* (< QUID), respectively (cf. Rohlfs 1969: 190; Vincent 1997: 172; Ledgeway 2000: 70–74, 2009: 3). It has been shown that *ca* appears with the indicative mood and the other complementizers with the subjunctive, but this is only partially the case, i.e., the subjunctive relates exclusively to *che*, while the indicative is compatible with both complementizers (Ledgeway 2009: 4; among others). In most of the modern varieties in the higher south and in western Sicily, only one of the complementizers has survived, usually *ca* (cf. Rohlfs 1983; Ledgeway 2000: 70–74, 2003: 137 note 13, 2005: 346 note 13, 2009: 6–8). Some of the northern Calabrese varieties have conserved an archaic system that is optional and only known by the elder generations (Rohlfs 1983: 152; Ledgeway 2009: 9–12). This system, at least for the Cosentino varieties analyzed by Ledgeway (2009), also developed away from the "ideal" ancient distribution of *ca* + indicative and *chi* + subjunctive, caused by a restructuring of the verbal system, i.e., the subjunctive only shows up in the imperfect tense as an option beside the indicative. Interestingly, it appears that the subordinate clause containing a subjunctive, when found, is necessarily introduced by *che*.

The Italian varieties of Upper Southern Italy show notable similarities to Sardinian. Both complementizer systems have the same origin: QUIA, which also in Sardinian became *ca*, and QUID, which developed into *chi* as a result of the specific vocalism of Sardinian. However, the varieties that only have one complementizer do not behave uniformly in Italian and Sardinian dialects: the

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5   QUIA appears instead of QUOD in Late Latin (Rohlfs 1969: 189); therefore, in most southern Italian systems we find *ca* (<QUIA) in the function of Lat. QUOD, whereas UT was mostly substituted for by Lat. QUID.

unique complementizer in such varieties is mostly *ca* in Italy, whereas it is always *chi* in Sardinia. For the upper southern Italian varieties, this situation is the result of the loss of the ancient dual complementizer system. We argue in Section 5 that the present situation of Logudorese and most Nuorese varieties of Sardinian is also is also due to the reduction of the complementizer system, in this case in favor of *chi*. Another important aspect is that the phenomenon in central and southern Italian dialects is often argued to be of Greek origin (cf. above). This is difficult to claim for Sardinian, where influences of both Ancient and Byzantine Greek are minimal.[6] Furthermore, unlike Southern Italy, there is no loss of infinitives in Sardinian. For Southern Italy, the loss of infinitives and their substitution by finite structures using special complementizers is usually thought to belong to the phenomena of the *Balkan Sprachbund*, to which Sardinia can obviously not be argued to belong.

2 State of the Art

2.1 *Foundations*

The phenomenon of the Sardinian dual complementizer system is briefly mentioned by Wagner (1951; we quote the 1997 edition), who states that indirect speech is introduced by *ka* or *ki*, but he only gives examples with *ki* (1997: 328):

(1) a. *Su mèri a nnáu* **gi**[7] *nom bòliđ' andai.*
    b. *Su mèri a nnáu aíči*[8] **ki** *nom bòliđ andai.*
       the boss has said so   that not want-IND-3SG go-INF
       'The boss said that he doesn't want to go.'   (Cagliari)

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6 The Ancient Greek elements are restricted to a rather small number of lexical items. There is even less influence of Byzantine Greek, mostly restricted to formulaic expressions in Old Sardinian documents (cf. Wagner 1997: 162–174).

7 [ɡi] (= [ɣi]) is [ki] with intervocalic lenition. The highlighting in this and the other examples is ours.

8 Wagner considers the construction with *aíči/ aší* 'so, in this way' in (1b, c) as an imitation of the Italian use: "'gli ha detto così che non voleva andare', come popolarmente si dice in tutta l'Italia." (Wagner 1997: 328).

   c. *E   ḍḍis   a   nnáu aší* **ki**   *andánta   a pprándi a ddòmu*
      and them= has said so that went-IND-3PL to dine   to house
      dessu   rè.   (from a "novellina" from San Nicolò Gerrei, Camp.)
      of.the king
      'And he told them that they would go to have dinner at the King's
      house.'

However, Wagner (1997: 327) mainly focuses on the use of *chi* and *ca* for intro-
ducing direct speech:

(2) a. *Una díe liṡ   a   nnátu* **ka**   *"lu iḍítes*   **ki** *ṡò appúntu a*
      one day them= has said   that it= see-2PL that am at.point to
      m'ínke   mòrrer?"   (from a "novellina" from Bitti)
      me=of.it= die
      'One day he told them: "Do you see that I am going to die?"'

   b. *Ǧéi ɓodéu' nái   **ǥa**[9] *"su ˝šakwái   ṡa ǧònka a ssu*
      PTCL can-1PL say-INF that the wash-INF the head to the
      ɓistrássu s'   inči ɓèdriḍ' ákkwa e   ssaɓ̃ẽi."
      donkey   REFL= of.it= loses   water and soap
                                  (Camp., Trexenta; Melis, *Su Band.*, 15)
      'We can truly say that to wash the head of a donkey means to waste
      water and soap.'

   c. *E   isse l'   a   nnadu, su frade* [,] **chi** *già   ando   e*
      and he him= has said   the brother that PTCL go-1SG and
      mi   giutto sos canes.   (Log., Bessude[10])
      me= take   the dogs
      'And he, [i.e.] his brother, told him: "I am leaving and I am taking the
      dogs with me."'

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9   [ǥa] (= [ɣa]) is [ka] with intervocalic lenition.
10   Wagner adapted this example from Guarnerio (1883–1884: 192). The original version reads:
     E isse l' ha' nnadu su frade chi: Già ando e mi giutto so' χanes. See ibidem notes 15 and
     16, which mention the repetition of the subject (*su frade*) and the change towards direct
     speech.

We will not delve further into this use of the complementizer for introducing direct speech, for which (2b) is not a convincing example, by the way, and which does not appear to be frequent today; see Remberger (2014) for this issue and Section 5.2 below for Old Sardinian. Abstracting away from this phenomenon, Wagner's data show both *ca* and *chi* after verbs of saying and in one case *chi* appears after the verb meaning 'to see'. The sporadic data given by Wagner, all dating from the 1880s to the first half of the twentieth century, do not allow one to draw any systematic insight: *chi* is used in the examples from the Logudorese variety of Bessude, (2c), the Campidanese dialects of Cagliari, (1b), and San Nicolò Gerrei in the Sarrabus region, (1c), whereas the adjacent Trexenta region has *ca*, (2b). As for the Central Sardinian (Nuorese) dialect of Bitti, *ca* appears after the verb *nàrrere* 'to say', whereas the verb *bìdere* 'to see' is followed by *chi*. In Section 5, we return to Wagner's unclear descriptions, which we believe are due to his data reflecting the situation around one hundred years ago, combined with the author's well-known tendency to search for archaisms (note that the Nuorese dialects, including that of Bitti, are considered particularly archaic).

The modern situation is mentioned by Blasco Ferrer (1986: 195–197), who differentiates between *ca* after *verba dicendi*, *sentiendi*, and *putandi* and *chi* after *verba timendi*, volitional verbs, and negated verbs expressing an opinion. Some of his examples (from 1986: 196) are given in (3):

(3) a. *Non mi   nerzas*   **chi** *bonche*[11]   *sezis*   *andande?*
                                                                        (Log.)
     a.' *Non mi   nereis*   **ca**   *sindi*   *seis*   *andendi?*
                                                                        (Camp.)
         not   me= tell-SUBJV-3PL that you.PL=of.it= are-IND going
         'Don't tell me that you are leaving?'

     b. *Cherides* **chi** *benza*   *chin bois?*   (Log.)
     b.' *Boleis*   **chi** *bengia*   *cun   bosatrus?*   (Camp)
         want-2PL   that   come-SUBJV-1SG with you.PL
         'Do you want me to come with you?'

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11   *bonche* = *bos nche.*

c. *Non creo* **chi** *isse*   *bessat*   *cun custu*
   tempus.   (Log.)

c.' *Non creu* **chi** *issu nci* *bessat*   *cun custu*
   not believe-1SG that he   of.it= goes.out-IND with this
   tempus.   (Camp.)
   weather
   'I don't believe that he will go out with this weather.'

According to Blasco Ferrer (1986: 196), the *ca–chi* distinction is in regression, particularly in Logudorese, where *chi* is now generalized. We can observe, by the way, the mood distinction in Campidanese, where *ca* goes along with the indicative as in (3a') and *chi* with the subjunctive as in (3b', c').

2.2 *Geographic Distribution*

Regarding the current diatopic situation, Manzini and Savoia (2005: I, 453–455), who provide data from a total of 14 Sardinian localities, confirm the exclusive use of *chi* in the Logudorese varieties of Ittiri, Luras, and Padria, whereas the *ca–chi* distinction is found in the Campidanese varieties of Allai, Laconi, Orroli, Settimo S. Pietro, and Siliqua (2005: 467–469). In this article, we are mainly interested in central Sardinia. Here, two places, Paulilatino and Ardauli, in the western central part of the island, are located in a transition area between Logudorese and Campidanese (also known as the "zona grigia linguistica" or Arborense variety, cf. Virdis 1988). These two localities also have the *ca–chi* distinction (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005: I, 465). As for the Nuorese area (also called Central Logudorese or Central Sardinian), the dialects of the localities Galtellì and Siniscola show only *chi* (2005: 453–454). Manzini and Savoia seem to be the first to have noted the *ca–chi* distinction in the Nuorese dialect of Dorgali (2005: 464). Mensching (2012), using data of the linguistic atlas VIVALDI, adds another Nuorese dialect, namely Fonni. However, Gavoi, approximately 15 km northwest from Fonni, does not show the phenomenon (Manzini & Savoia 2005: I, 454).

Together with other data (from VIVALDI, Damonte 2006, Kampmann 2010, Mensching 2012), we can provisionally determine the isogloss as represented in Map 12.1 (for a similar version, see Mensching & Remberger 2016: 280, Map 17.3). As we can see, the hypothetical isogloss crosses the Nuorese (NUOR.) and Arborense (ARB.) dialect zones, leaving half of the Arborense as well as most of the Nuorese territories and the whole of Logudorese (LOG.) in the *chi*-only zone and Campidanese (CAMP.) within the dual complementizer zone.[12]

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12   We follow the division proposed by Virdis (1988: 905).
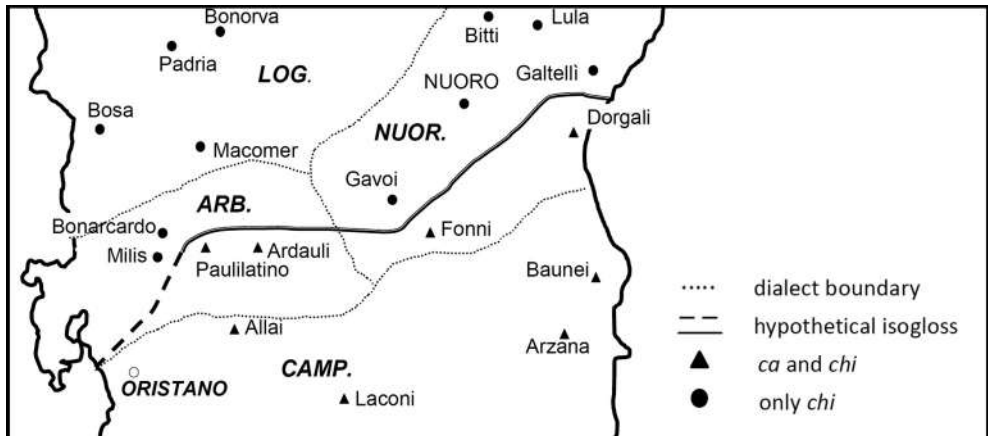
MAP 12.1   *Provisional isogloss of the* ca–chi *distinction*

The most western point investigated by Manzini and Savoia (2005) is Paulila-
tino. We tentatively added Bonarcado, 10 km to the west, and Milis, 20 km
southwest from Paulilatino (Mensching 2012), which figure in the linguistic
atlas VIVALDI. Although in reality the data are too scarce to draw any strong
conclusions, it seems that neither of the two presents the *ca–chi* distinction.
The data found in the literature thus indicate that the isogloss that sepa-
rates the *ca–chi* zones and the *chi*-only zones corresponds more or less to
a line that connects Dorgali, Fonni, Ardauli, and Paulilatino. In other words,
in the east the line runs through the southern part of the Nuorese region,
while in the west it continues through the center of the Arborense territo-
ry. As the towns and villages near the Arborense coast have not yet been ex-
plored, we cannot know where the line reaches the western coast of the is-
land. Hence, the stretch represented by the dotted line in Map 12.1 is purely
hypothetical, tentatively fixing the southern border of Arborense as its lim-
it.

As for the eastern part of the island, the situation can be determined more
exactly, as shown in Map 12.2. In Orgosolo, located around 40 km southwest
of Dorgali, during an inquiry in the context of the ASIt-project, we were able
to detect a regular use of *chi* in all complement clauses (except for a few
fossilized relics, see Section 5). Blasco Ferrer (1988: 133–134, 153) and Vahl (2012)
have presented evidence of the *ca–chi* phenomenon in the localities Urzulei,
Talana, and Triei. These localities, together with Baunei, are situated in the Alta
Ogliastra area, which is separated from the Nuorese area by the Supramonte
mountains, a Sardinian mountain range only second to the *Gennargentu* massif
in height. The Alta Ogliastra can be reached from Dorgali via some historical
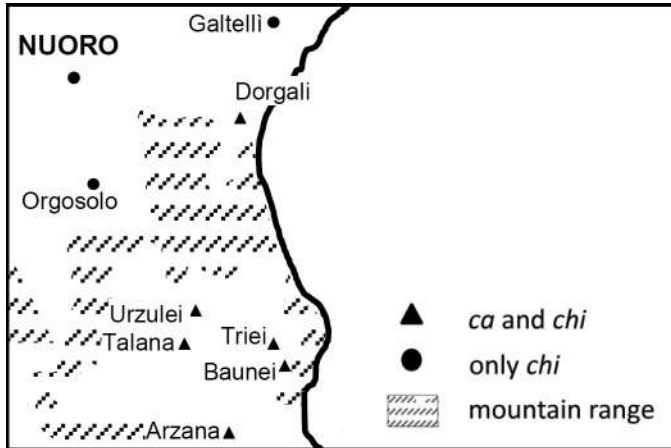
MAP 12.2   *Dorgali and the Alta Ogliastra region*

passes[13] (since 1928, the *Strada Statale* 125) that reach the first village, Urzulei, after about 35 km. Despite this geographic situation, Wagner (1907) assumes—mostly based on phonetic/phonological criteria—that Dorgali and Urzulei with partially also Triei and Baunei form a special subgroup of dialects, the Urzulei group. The fact that Dorgali belongs to the *ca–chi* area (unlike Galtellì, 15 km to the north) seems to confirm Wagner's division from a syntactic point of view.

2.3   *The Syntax of* ca *and* chi

The literature tends to show a system that resembles the situation in Southern Italy, i.e., epistemic, declarative, and perception verbs have *ca* with the indicative, whereas volitional verbs and verbs of order have *chi* with the subjunctive. However, this "ideal" system is not always respected. In particular, see the following data:

(4) a. *Deu pentzu **ca**   non bennit   (bengiat)   prus.*
       I   think   that not comes-IND comes-SUBJV more

                                          (Camp., Blasco Ferrer 1986: 196)

     'I think he will not come anymore.'

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13   The passes are called Genna Arramene, Genna Coggina, Genna Sarbene, Genna Cruxi, and Genna Silana.

b. *Creiast   ca (chi) iat   essi lómpia   chitzi?*
   believed-2SG that   would-3SG be arrived-F early
   'Did you think that she would arrive early?'   (Camp., ibidem)

c. *Dɛɔ krɛɔ   ka/tʃi issu βuru / kraza   'eniði.*
   I   believe that   he   too   tomorrow comes-IND

                              (Laconi, Manzini & Savoia 2011: 60)
   'I believe that he will come as well/tomorrow.'

c.' *Dɛɔ krɛɔ   tʃi/ka issu βuru / kraza   'ɛŋdʒaða.*
    I   believe that   he   too / tomorrow comes-SUBJV
    'I believe that he will come as well/tomorrow.'   (Laconi, ibidem)

d. *Mi   paret ca   custas cadiras sient   meda comodas.*
   me= seems that these chairs are-SUBJV very comfortable.
                              (Baunei, Damonte 2006: 77)[14]
   'It seems to me that these chairs are very comfortable.'

e. *M' est partu   chi totu funzionàt   bene.*
   me= is seemed that all   functioned-IND-3SG well
                              (Baunei, Damonte 2006: 76)
   'It seemed to me that all was working well.'

These examples suggest that *ca* and *chi* are interchangeable and that both complementizers can appear with either mood,[15] at least with epistemic verbs and the verb 'to seem'.[16] However, as already observed by Manzini and Savoia (2005: I, 465, 2011: 53–54), other places, such as Paulilatino, show a stable system. In Section 3, we scrutinize such a stable system found in Dorgali.

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14   Examples (4d, e) were adapted to the LSC orthographical system, cf. RAS (2006).

15   Example (4b) is a special case because the subclause is in the conditional mood. In fact, most of Damonte's (2006) examples that show an alternation between *ca* and *chi* also show the conditional mood in the subclause. This might be explained by the fact that the conditional mood formally includes indicative verb forms (such as *iat* in (4b), which was originally an imperfect indicative form of 'to have', but on a semantic level encodes potentiality). See Section 5.1. for further discussion.

16   In contrast, Damonte (2005: 78) notes a regular distribution of *chi*+subjunctive and *ca*+indicative after adjectival and nominal predicates, such as those meaning 'to be convinced/sure', 'the thought/fact that' (with *ca*) vs. 'the idea/impression that' (with *chi*).

Besides the use in complement clauses, the zones that distinguish *ca* and *chi* also show *chi* in adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition. In these cases, the distinction between indicative and subjunctive seems to be triggered by the preposition. For example, *chena chi* 'without' and *primma chi* 'before' select the subjunctive, whereas *apustis chi* 'after' selects the indicative (Damonte 2006: 77; Manzini & Savoia 2011: 53–54).[17] For *ca* in appositive relative clauses, see Section 1.1., in particular Footnote 3.

3   The Dual Complementizer System in Dorgali

This section presents the syntax of the phenomenon at issue in the Nuorese variety of Dorgali, which is the most northern locality that has the dual complementizer system (see Map 12.1). The data stem from an inquiry we carried out in 2008[18] using the ASIt-South-questionnaire.[19] The data are transcribed orthographically, roughly using the LSC spelling (RAS 2006) but still reflecting local variation. The complementizers as well as the morphemes or verb forms indicating indicative or subjunctive are in bold italics.[20] Our argumentation and the organization of the data are structured according to (semantically determined) predicate types.

For Dorgali, Manzini and Savoia (2005: I, 494) list only four sentences with complement clauses, showing *ca* + indicative after the verb *nàrrere* 'to say, to tell' and after the adjectival predicate *èssere sicuru* 'to be sure', whereas *pessare* 'to think' and *chèrrere* 'to want' appear with *chi* and the subjunctive. Our data confirm the exclusive use of *ca* + indicative selected by the (strong) assertive verb *nàrrere* 'to say':

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17   We will not investigate here whether these cases already have the status of lexicalized complex conjunctions (for discussion, see Jones 1993: 193–195 and Mensching in press).

18   The inquiry was conducted in a face-to-face interview with two speakers around 40 years of age. For practical reasons, the two speakers had to be interviewed partially together. Both speakers showed a uniform choice of *ca* versus *chi* and of indicative vs. subjunctive.

19   These data have not been published and have not yet been entered into the ASIt database.

20   As the mood chosen by the speakers often corresponds to that of the Italian trigger sentences, an Italian influence cannot be entirely excluded. Nonetheless, in many cases the mood in the Italian sentences is different. In these cases, we add the Italian trigger sentence in a footnote.

(5) a. *Mama mi narat sempre ca*[21] *su frade*[22] *est   bonu* (*che*
       mum me= tells always that the brother is-IND good like
       pane).
       bread
       'Mum always tells me that her brother is a (very) good person.'

   b. *L' ane   narau a fizas   mias ca sone   bellas.*
      it= have-3PL said to daughters mine that are-IND-3PL beautiful
      'They have told my daughters that they are pretty.'

   c. *Ais   narau ca   Mario non benit.*
      have-2PL said   that M.   not comes-IND
      'You said that Mario doesn't come.'

   d. *Naran ca   no an   bistu a*[23] *nessunu/nemmos.*[24]
      say-3PL that not have-IND-3PL seen DOM no one
      'They say that they didn't see anyone.'

   e. *Naran ca   no an   aprovau a   nessunu.*[25]
      say-3PL that not have-IND-3PL passed DOM no one
      'They say that they let nobody pass the exam.'

This extends to complement clauses that depend on nouns such as *contu*, lit.
'story':

(6) *Su contu ca   calicunu est   disonestu no est una novidade.*[26]
    the story that someone is-IND dishonest not is a   news
    'To say that someone is dishonest is nothing new.'

Hence, it seems that the trigger for *ca* and the indicative in (5) is not the verb *nàrrere* itself but its declarative semantics (in the sense of 'stating a fact'), which is shared with the noun *contu* in (6). This falls in place if we assume the traditional characterization of such clauses as [+realis] contexts or as being of the *fact* type (Dixon 2006, in contrast to the *potentiality* type). It is therefore not surprising that epistemic predicates expressing certainty also select *ca* with a following verb in the indicative, see (7a, b), and even with a verbless clause in (7c):

(7)   a. *So cumbintu **ca** Mario **at** istudiau pacu.*[27]
         am convinced that M.   has-IND studied little
         'I'm convinced that Mario studied only a little.'

      b. *Soe sicuru **ca** est andau Zorzi.*
         am sure   that is-IND gone Z.
         'I'm sure that Zorzi went (there).'

      c. *De sicuru **ca** nono.*[28]
         of sure   that no
         'Surely not.'

In contrast, when the verb *nàrrere* means 'to tell s.o. to do something', in which case it is a directive predicate encoding potentiality, it takes *chi* with the subjunctive mood:

(8)   a. *[...] nàra·li **chi** telèfonet.*
         tell-IMP-2SG= him that calls-SUBJV
         '[...] tell him to call.' (cf. 15a)

Similarly, the volitional verbs *chèrrere* 'to want' in (9), *isperare* 'to hope' in (10a–d), as well as the corresponding noun *ispera* 'hope' in (10e), which all select complement clauses of the [–realis] or *potentiality* type,[29] trigger the complementizer *chi* and the subjunctive without exception:

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27   *Sono convinto che Mario abbia studiato poco.*

28   *Spero di no.*

29   Jones (1993: 252): "[verbs] which are nonimplicative (i.e., which do not imply the truth of the complement)."

(9) a. *Cheriàis*   **chi** *non b'*   *àret*   *bènniu*
        wanted-2PL that not there= had-SUBJV-3SG come
        nessunu /nemmos.
        no one
        'You didn't want anyone to come.'

     b. *Dia*   *cherrer* **chi** *calicunu s'*   *èsseret*   *bistu.*
        would-1SG want   that someone REFL= was-SUBJV-3SG seen
        'I would like somebody to show up.'

     c. *Ap'* *àpiu*   *chertu*   **chi** *èsseren*   *bènnios.*
        have-1SG had-PART wanted-PART that were-SUBJV-3PL come-PART
        sos cumpanzos.
        the friends
        'I wanted my friends to come.'

     d. *Cherzo*   **chi** *sian*   *zutas*   *vene.*
        want-1SG that are-3PL-SUBJV treated-PART well
        'I want them to be treated well.'

(10) a. *Ispero*   **ch'** *issu telèfonet*   *bell' e*   *che deretu.*[30]
        hope-1SG that he   calls-SUBJV nice and like immediately
        'I hope he will call as soon as possible.'

     b. *Ispero*   **chi** *be*   *'enzat*[31]   *calcunu.*
        hope-1SG that there= comes- SUBJV someone
        'I hope that someone comes.'

     c. *Ispero*   **chi** *siat*   *arribbau a/in* *tempus.*
        hope-1SG that is- SUBJV arrived   at/in time
        'I hope that he has arrived on time.'

     d. *Ispero*   **chi** *'acamus*   *a* *tempus.*[32]
        hope-1SG that make-1PL- SUBJV at time
        'I hope that we make it in time.'

---

30   *Spero lui telefonerà al più presto.*
31   We use an apostrophe to mark the elision of initial /b/ or /f/.
32   *Spero arriveremo in tempo.*

e. *S' ispera **chi** Mario arribbet   deretu   nos cuffortat.*
the hope   that M.   arrives-SUBJV immediately us= comforts
'The hope that Mario will soon arrive comforts us.'

The same applies to deontic predicates meaning 'it is necessary':

(11) a. *Be   cheret **chi** tue ti   ch'   andes   deretu.*
there= needs that you you= of.it= go- SUBJV-2SG immediately
'You need to leave immediately.'

b. *Bisonzu   **chi** lu còmporet   Alberto.*
necessity that it= buys- SUBJV A.
'Alberto needs to buy it.'

c. *Cheret **chi** nessunu 'acat   sonos.*
needs   that no one   makes-SUBJV sounds
'No one must make any noise.'

d. *Be   cheret **chi** no alleghet   nemmos/nessunu.*
there= needs that not talks- SUBJV no one
'No one must talk.'

In the cases seen thus far, the selection of mood depends on the predicate at issue. This applies to mood selection in all Sardinian varieties (i.e., including those that only have one complementizer). According to Jones (1993: 253),

> the indicative is used in cases where the truth of the complement is entailed as a logical property of the governing predicate or the complement expresses a reported statement or question, whereas the existence of an emotional attitude or a manipulative relation with respect to the situation described by the complement […] appears to correlate with the subjunctive.

In addition, Jones (1993: 254–255) distinguishes another group—which we may call doxastic predicates—which allows both moods and to which *pessare* 'to think', *crèdere* 'to believe', and *pàrrere* 'to seem' belong. Our data reveal that this is borne out in Dorgali, where in addition the choice of mood goes along with the choice of complementizer, as is expected from what we have shown thus far. Along these lines, the examples in (12) show *ca* with the indicative, and those in (13) *chi* with the subjunctive:

(12) a. *Totus an   pessau **ca** proiat.*
       all   have-3PL thought that rained-IND-3SG
       'Everyone thought that it was raining.'

  b. *Si mi pesso   **ca** arribbat   cras,   m' istramudit.*
       if me think-1SG that arrives-IND tomorrow me= confuses
       'If I think about the fact that he comes tomorrow, I'm upset.'

  c. *Mi   paret **ca** in custas cradeas s'   istat   bene.*[33]
       me= seems that in these chairs   REFL= stays-IND good
       'These chairs seem to be comfortable.'

  d. *Mi   paret **ca** Mario ch'   est   arribbau.*[34]
       me= seems that M.   there= is-IND arrived
       'It seems to me that Mario has arrived.'

  e. *M' est partu   **ca** totu andaat   bene.*[35]
       Me is   seemed that all   went-IND-3SG good
       'It seemed to me that everything went well.'

  f. *Paret **ca** non b'   **at**   abbochinau nessunu.*[36]
       seems that not there= has-IND screamed   no one.
       'No one seems to have screamed.'

(13) a. *Pesso   **chi** los   apan   aprovaos totu / totu*
       think-1sg that them= have-SUBJV-3PL passed   all /   all
       aprovaos.
       passed
       'I think that they have let them all pass.'

  b. *Nois pessamus **chi** tue si   la 'acas.*[37]
       we   think-1PL that you us= it= make- SUBJV-2SG
       'We think that you can make it for us.'

---

33   *Mi pare che queste sedie siano molto comode.*
34   *Ho l'impressione che Mario sia arrivato.*
35   *Mi è sembrato (che) tutto funzionasse bene.*
36   *Sembra che non abbia gridato nessuno.*
37   *Crediamo tu possa farcela*, 'We think you can make it.' The interpretation 'We think you
    can make her/it for us' is not excluded, however.

c. *Creo   chi babbu 'ostru apat   telefonau.*
   believe-1SG that father your   has-SUBJV called
   'I believe that your father has called.'

d. *Creo   chi calincunu arribbet   deretu.*[38]
   believe-1SG that someone   arrives-SUBJV immediately
   'I believe that someone will arrive immediately.'

e. *Nos pariat   chi ch'   èsseret   tardu.*
   us= seemed that there= was-SUBJV-3SG late
   'It seemed to us that it could be late.'

According to Jones (1993: 254), with verbs such as those meaning 'to believe' or 'to think', "the subjunctive generally conveys some element of doubt concerning the truth of the complement clause," whereas "the indicative is obligatory with these verbs in cases […] where the complement corresponds to what is being asserted." Similarly, Jones (1993: 55) says that *pàrrere* 'to seem' has a preference for the indicative "when it is used to attenuate the speaker's commitment to the truth of the complement." Summarizing, we can say that the use of *ca* and *chi* with doxastic predicates follows the alignment with mood that we have seen before, and the choice of either option is determined by the speaker's degree of certainty. Also note that a higher degree of doubt is often indicated by negation in the subclause, like in (14a, b), or the indefinite quantifier *calincunu* 'someone', as in (14c–e):

(14) a. *Pesso   chi cras   no lu 'àtua.*[39]
       think-1sg that tomorrow not it= bring-1SG-SUBJV
       'I think that I won't bring it tomorrow.'

   b. *Creo   chi jeo non sia   capatze.*
      believe-1SG that I   not am-SUBJV able
      'I think that I'm not able to.'

   c. *Mi   paret chi apat   abboghinau calincunu.*
      me= seems that has-SUBJV screamed   someone
      'It seems to me that someone has screamed.'

---

38   *Credo qualcuno arriverà in tempo.*

39   *Penso di non portarlo domani.*

c'. *Paret **chi** calincunu apat   abboghinau.*
   seems that someone has-SUBJV screamed
   'It seems that someone screamed.'

d. *Paret **chi** calincunu apet/apat*[40] *iscrittu una lìtera de pacu*
   seems that someone has-SUBJV   written a   letter of little
   cuncòrdia.
   agreement
   'It seems that someone has written a letter of disagreement.'

e. *Paret **chi** calincunu apet/apat allegau 'ene   de tene.*
   seems that someone has-SUBJV talked good of you
   'It seems that someone spoke well of you.'

Let us finally turn to the behavior of adverbial subclauses introduced by prepositions followed by *chi* or *ca*. Similarly to examples from other places (cf. 2.3), Manzini and Savoia (2005: I, 464) provide two sentences from Dorgali showing that both *apustis* 'after' and *innantis* 'before' select *chi*, but the former is followed by the indicative and the latter by the subjunctive. This can be confirmed by our data, see (15) vs. (16):

(15) a. ***Primma***[41] ***chi** partat   Màrio, nàra·li   chi*
        before   that leaves-SUBJV M.   tell-IMP-2S =him that
        telèfonet.
        calls- SUBJV
        'Before Mario leaves, tell him to call.'

    b. *Cunzamus sa   enna **primma chi** b'   intret*
        close-1PL the door before   that there= enters- SUBJV
        calincunu / zente.
        someone / people
        'Let's close the door before someone/people enter(s).'

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40   These two variants seem to vary freely, cf., among others Mensching (2004: 70).
41   The preposition *prim(m)a*, taken from Italian, has today largely replaced *innantis* in many
      varieties of Sardinian.

(16) a. ***Apustis chi*** *su postinu ch'* ***at*** *battù su pacu,*
       after   that the postman there= has-IND brought the package
       est arribbau Mario.
       is arrived M.
       'After the postman had brought the package, Mario arrived.'

    b. ***Apustis chi*** *est* *mòffiu Mario, che* *soe arrumbà/ abbarrà*
       after   that is-IND left   M.   there= I.am remained
       sola.
       alone
       'After Mario left, I stayed alone.'

Finally, example (17) shows the causal element *sicomente* 'since, because' followed by *ca* and the indicative:[42]

(17) ***Sicomente ca*** *aiat* *finiu/acabbau su tùcaru, nde*
    Since   that had-3SG-IND finished   the sugar of-it
    l' *apo* *imprestau.*[43]
    him/her= have-1SG lent
    'Since she finished the sugar, I lent her some.'

The primary aim of this section was to provide, for the first time, a substantial amount of data concerning the *ca–chi* distinction from one locality, namely Dorgali. Our main focus was the use of *ca* and *chi* in complement clauses. We have shown that speakers of this locality neatly distinguish between *ca* and *chi*, which are strictly aligned with mood. The choice of the complementizer and the indicative and the subjunctive, respectively, follows the rules that have been shown to hold for mood in other varieties, independently of the existence of a dual complementizer system.

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42   For discussion of *sicomente ca* (and *sicomente chi*) see Mensching (in press).
43   *Avendo lei finito lo zucchero, gliene ho prestato un po'.*

4   Fieldwork Study: Extension and Stability of the *ca–chi* System in Central Sardinia

4.1   *Aims and Methods*

As seen in Section 2.2, the existing literature only permits an approximate isogloss of the *ca–chi* phenomenon to be established (cf. Map 12.1). To develop a more exact version, we conducted a fieldwork study including the following localities (from east to west): Mamoiada, Lodine, Olzai, Teti, Austis, Nughedu, Santu Lussurgiu, Cuglieri, Seneghe, Narbolia, and Riola Sardo. In seven of these localities, we worked with a questionnaire[44] to determine how the system works with respect to *ca* and *chi*. For organizational and time reasons, in Olzai, Gavoi, Teti, Lodine, and Riola Sardo, we only tested some isolated sentences to check for the presence of the dual complementizer system. For the places where we ran the questionnaire, except for Mamoiada (*chi* only), we have audio files of the interviews (Austis, Nughedu, Santu Lussurgiu, Cuglieri, Seneghe, Narbolia), which we transcribed and partially reproduce below. As the latter localities (except for Cuglieri) have the dual complementizer system, we were also able to check the distribution of *ca* and *chi*. In particular, we were interested in whether we find a stable system, like that of Dorgali, or rather an instable one, as described in Section 2.3.

4.2   *The Barbagia and the Barigadu*

Since the situation of Dorgali and the localities on the other side of the Supramonte mountains was clear (see Map 12.2 in Section 2), we started our fieldwork in the Barbagia region, located south of Nuoro (see Map 12.3).

The dotted line marks the most southern linguistic subvariety of Nuorese, known as the Fonni group.[45] Of this group, we only knew that Orgosolo belongs to the *chi*-only varieties, whereas Fonni distinguishes between *ca* and *chi* (cf. 2.2).

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44   The questionnaire contained 38 sentences, mostly to be translated from Italian, including 7 examples of complement clauses, 2 where we expected a prepositional element followed by a complementizer, as well as 5 restrictive and 4 non-restrictive relative clauses (cf. 1.1, note 3). We used distractor sentences that contained none of the phenomena at issue in a 1:1 ratio. Among the distractors, there were also some grammaticality judgment tasks. At some places, we were obliged to interview several speakers together; in these cases, the versions we report are those to which all speakers agreed.

45   Cf. Wagner (1907: 3; 28–29), Wolf (1985): Oliena, Orgosolo, Mamoioda, Olzai, Ollolai, Gavoi, Fonni, Ovodda, and Lodine. The main characteristic of this group is that the phoneme /k/ appears to be replaced by a glottal stop (represented as [ʔ] in the transcription).
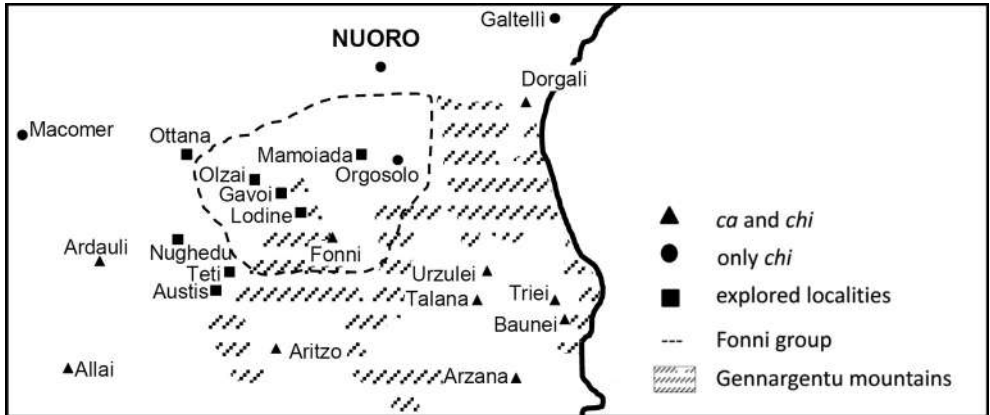
MAP 12.3   *The Barbagia and bordering regions*

In Mamoiada, we ran the whole questionnaire, finding that this variety only uses *chi*. We also confirmed this for Olzai, Lodine, and Gavoi by asking some speakers of these places to translate a few sentences, see (18)–(20):

(18) Olzai

    a. *Isperamus ʔi   'atzat   tempus   bonu.*
       hope-1PL   that makes-SUBJV weather good
       'We hope there will be good weather.'

    b. *Antoni m'   at narau ʔi   Ortzai est   una bella bidda.*
       Antoni me= has said   that Olzai is-IND a   nice village
       'Antoni said that Olzai is a nice village.'

(19) Gavoi

    a. *Ispero   ʔi   cras   'aʔet   bellu tempus.*[46]
       hope1-SG that tomorrow makes-IND nice weather
       'I hope tomorrow will be nice weather.'

    b. *Antoni m'at   nau ʔi   Gavoi est   una bella bidda.*
       Antoni me=has said that G.   is-IND a   nice village
       'Antoni said that Gavoi is a nice village.'

---

46   The speaker uses a present indicative (*'aʔet* = *fachet*) after the verb *isperare*, see Section 4.3 for discussion.

(20) Lodine

    a. *Isperemus ʔi cras 'athat una bella die.*
       hope1-PL that tomorrow makes-SUBJV a nice day

    b. *Antoni m'at nau ʔi Lodine est una bella bidda.*
       Antoni me=has said that L. is-IND a nice village
       'Antoni said that Lodine is a nice village.'

Hence, within the Fonni group, the border of the *ca–chi* phenomenon, at least in its western part,[47] is between Lodine and Fonni. Unsurprisingly, Ottana, adjacent to the northwestern part of the Fonni group, appears to have only *chi*.[48]

    These findings are coherent with the fact that, immediately southwest of Fonni, Manzini and Savoia (2005: I, 465–466) document the distinction between *ca* and *chi* in Aritzo, which belongs to what Wagner (1907) has dubbed the Gennargentu group.[49] The next closest place to the west mentioned in the literature (Manzini & Savoia 2005: I, 465) is Ardauli at 30 km away, already outside the Barbagia. We were therefore interested in seeing what happens between Fonni/Aritzo and Ardauli, which is why we chose Teti (immediately adjacent to the Fonni group) and Austis (6 km south of Teti), both belonging to the Gennargentu group (cf. Wagner 1907: 78), as well as Nughedu, outside the Barbagia in the Barigadu region, around 12 km northwest of Ardauli. According to the classification by Virdis (1988), these varieties already belong to the non-uniform Arborense dialect zone, characterized by a broad bundle of overlapping isoglosses. Nughedu was of special interest for us because of its position nearest to the hypothesized isogloss shown in Map 12.1. We found that all three places distinguish between *ca* and *chi*, shown for Teti in (21):

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47   We did not visit Ovodda, which is situated in the most southwestern part of the Fonni group, on approximately the same latitude as Teti.

48   We added Ottana because we had the chance to interview a speaker of this village, cf. (i.):

    (i)   *Antoni m' at nau **chi** Otzana est una bella bidda.*
         Antoni me= has said that O. is-IND a nice village
         'Antoni told me that Ottana is a nice village.'

    The use of *chi* to express a statement with the verb *nàrrere* shows that Ottana is outside the *ca–chi* zone. Ottana as well as Macomer, Nuoro, Allai, Ardauli, and Nughedu are not part of the Barbagia.

49   The varieties at the western slope of the Gennargentu, with Aritzo as a rough center. Cf. Wagner (1907: 3).

(21) Teti

    a. *Antoni m'   at nau **ca** Teti **est**   una bella bidda.*
       A.   me= has said that T. is-IND a   nice village
      'Antoni said that Teti is a nice village.'

    b. *Isperemus   **chi** cras   siat   una bella die.*
      hope-1PL-SUBJV that tomorrow is-SUBJV a   nice day
      'Let's hope that tomorrow will be a nice day.'

In Austis and Nughedu, we ran the whole questionnaire, giving us a clearer picture of the distribution of *ca* and *chi*, which appears to follow the same system as in Dorgali, i.e., a stable system with respect to its alignment with mood. Thus, the verb *nàrrere* 'to say', as a declarative predicate, always triggers *ca* with the indicative, see (22), as do doxastic predicates with a high degree of certainty, see (23):

(22) a. *Ais   nau **ca** Mario no 'enit.*   (Nughedu)
      have-2PL said that M.   not comes- IND

    a.' *Ais   nau **ca** Mario no benit.*   (Austis)
       have-2PL said that Mario not comes-IND
       'You said that Mario doesn't come.'

    b. *An   nau **ca** fizas   mias **funi**   bellas.*
      have-3PL said that daughters mine are-IND-3PL beautiful
                                                      (Nughedu)

    b.' *Anta   nau **ca** fizas   mias **ca** **funti**   bellas.*[50]
      have-3PL said that daughters mine that are-IND-3PL beautiful
      'They said that my daughters that they are beautiful.'   (Austis)

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50   The speaker uses a construction with complementizer doubling. The example shows two occurrences of *ca* with the subject appearing between them. The subject might be interpreted, in a cartographic analysis, as being in a topic phrase in the left periphery of the sentence (cf. Rizzi 1997), with one occurrence of *ca* in a higher functional category (e.g. ForceP) and the other in a lower one (e.g. FinP). For similar considerations on complementizer doubling in central-southern Italian dialects, see Ledgeway (2003, 2005) and D'Alessandro and Ledegeway (2010). The issue of whether complementizer doubling is also possible with *chi* must be left for future research.

c. *Apo   nau **ca** sa màchina chi mi   còmperas   no*
have-3PL said that the car   that me= buy-IND-2SG not
est   una britzicheta.   (Austis)
is- IND a   bicycle
'I said that the car you buy me isn't a bicycle.'[51]

(23) a. *Seu sigura **ca** est   andau Giorgio.*   (Nughedu, Austis)
I.am sure   that is-IND gone   G.
'I'm sure that Giorgio went (there).'

b. *Seu cunvintu **ca** at   istudiau pagu.*   (Nughedu)
I.am convinced that has-IND studied little

b.' *Seu convinta   **ca** Mario at   istudiau pagu.*   (Austis)
I.am convinced that M.   has-IND studied little
'I'm convinced that (s)he/Mario studied little.'

In contrast, also like in Dorgali, when *nàrrere* introduces an order instead of a
statement, it selects *chi* with the subjunctive (see (24)). The same configuration
also applies to deontic predicates meaning 'it is necessary' (see (25)) as well as
to volitional predicates, as shown in (26).

(24) a. *Ddi   nas   **chi** 'enzat   cunmegus.*   (Nughedu)
him= say-2SG that come-SUBJV-3SG with-me
'You tell him to come with me.'

a.' *Na·èddi   **chi** andet /   benz**at**   cummegus.*
say-IMP-2SG=him that goes-SUBJV / comes-SUBJV with-me
'Tell him to come with me.'   (Austis)

b. *Primma de partire, na·ddi   **chi** mi   telefonet.*
before   of leave   say-IMP-2SG=him that me= calls-SUBJV
'Before leaving, tell him to call me.'   (Nughedu)

---

51   The speaker produced the construction in response to the distractor sentence (with focus
     fronting) *Apo nadu chi SA MÀCHINA mi comporat, no sa britzicheta* ('I said that he should
     buy me THE CAR, and not the bike'), which she misunderstood, maybe because it is
     ungrammatical in this variety of Sardinian.

b.′ *Primma chi partet Mario, nara·èddi* **chi**
before that leaves-SUBJV M. say-IMP-2SG=him that
telefonet. (Austis)
calls-SUBJV
'Before Mario leaves, tell him to call.'

(25) a. *Bisonzu* **chi** *lu còmporet Albertu.* (Nughedu)
necessity that it= buys-SUBJV A.

a.′ *Bisonzat* **chi** *ddu còmperet Alberto.* (Austis)
needs that it= buys-SUBJV A.
'Alberto needs to buy it.'

(26) a. *Cherzo* **chi** *sian tratadas bene.*[52] (Austis, Nughedu)
want-1SG that are-SUBJV treated good
'I want them to be treated well.'

b. *Isperemus* **chi** *Maria arribbet in tempus.* (Nughedu)
hope- SUBJV-1PL that M. arrives-SUBJV in time
'Let's hope that Maria arrives on time.'

c. *Ispero* **chi** *arribbit in tempus.* (Austis)
hope-1SG that arrives-SUBJV in time

c.′ *Ispero* **chi** *Maria 'enzat a s' ora zusta.* (Austis)
hope-1SG that M. comes-SUBJV at the hour right
'I hope that (s)he/Maria arrives on time.'

In addition, we were able to observe that the *ca–chi* distinction also applies to verbless (elliptical) complement clauses only containing the complementizer and the positive/negative items meaning 'yes' and 'no':

(27) a. *M' at nau* **ca** *eja / nono.* (Austis, Nughedu)
me= has said that yes / no
'(S)he told me yes/no.'

---

52 Nughedu: *vene.*

b. *Penso   chi eja / nono.*   (Nughedu)
   think-1SG that yes / no
   'I think so' / 'I don't think so.'

The prepositions *apustis* 'after' and *primma* 'before' behave as in Dorgali, i.e., both select *chi*, with the subjunctive after *primma* (cf. 24b') and with the indicative in the case of *dopo/apustis* (see (28)):

(28) a. ***Apustis chi*** *su postinu m' at   zau   su pacu,   est*
        after   that the postman me=has-IND given the package is
        arribbau Mario.   (Austis)
        arrived M.
        'After the postman had given me the package, Mario arrived.'

    b. ***Dopo chi*** *m'   an   jau   su pacu,   est arribbau Mario.*
        after that me= have given the package is arrived   M.
        'After they gave me the package, Mario arrived.'   (Nughedu)

    b.' ***Dopo chi*** *su posteri   m' at   zau   su pacu,   est*
        after that the postman me=has-IND given the package is
        arribbau Mario.   (Nughedu)
        arrived   M.
        'After the postman gave me the package, Mario arrived.'

Thus, in both places, we find a stable system like in Dorgali.

4.3   *Montiferru and the Western Coast*

Following the hypothetical isogloss (see Map 12.1) west of the area shown in Map 12.3, the *ca–chi* phenomenon reappears in Paulilatino (Manzini & Savoia 2003: I, 465), around 25 km west from Ardauli, in the center of the Arborense region. Just west of Ardauli, we find the Tirso river, which Wagner (1907: 2–3) considers to be a dialect boundary, albeit with phenomena of transition. Paulilatino already belongs to the group of "mixed dialects" (between Campidanese and Logudorese) found at the right shore of the river. To fill the gap mentioned in Section 2 (see the dotted part of the line in Map 12.1), i.e., the course of the isogloss in the western part of the island, we examined some places around the Montiferru massif, around 15 km from Paulilatino: Cuglieri, Santu Lussurgiu, Seneghe, and Narbolia.

    All these places belong to the Arborense dialect area, with the exception of Cuglieri, which, according to Wagner (1907: 3), is "already quite purely Logu-
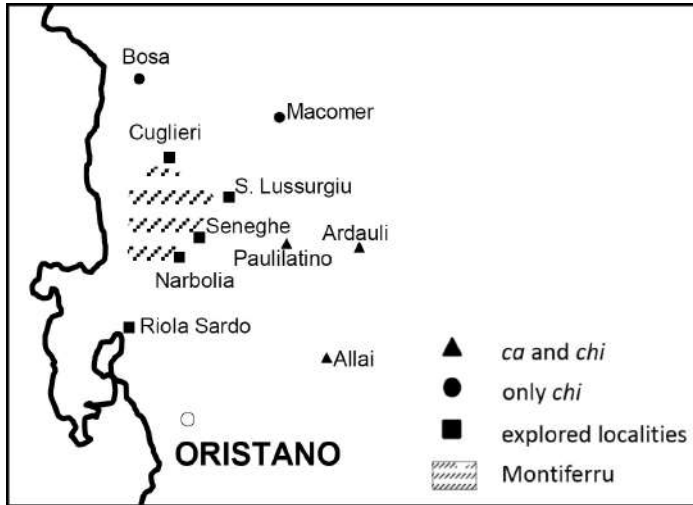
MAP 12.4   *Western Arborense area and bordering zones*

dorese" and is classified as such by Virdis (1988). Not surprisingly, the speaker from Cuglieri uniformly employs *chi*. All other places explored show the *ca–chi* distinction. As we wanted to know where the *ca–chi* phenomenon reaches the coast, we also went to Riola Sardo, around 8 km from Narbolia, where we were able to confirm the presence of two complementizers:

(29) Riola Sardo
  a. *Speraus **chi** crasi   fetzat   tempus bellu.* (Riola Sardo)
     hope-1PL that tomorrow makes-SUBJV weather nice
     'We hope that tomorrow there will be nice weather.'

  b. *Antõi m'   at nau **ca** Arriola **esti**   ŭa 'idda bella.*
     Antoni me= has said that A.   is-IND a village nice
     'Antoni told me that Arriola (= Riola) is a nice village.'   (Riola Sardo)

At the places around the Montiferru, we ran the whole questionnaire (cf. 4.1). The results are presented below (including Cuglieri, which has the *chi*-only system):

Epistemic predicates expressing certainty[53]

(30) a. *Soe sigura **chi** b'   est   andau Giorgio.*   (Cuglieri)
        I.am sure   that there= is-IND gone   G.

     b. *Seo siguru **ca**   Ziorgi ddu   est   annadu.*
        I.am sure   that Z.   there= is-IND gone
                                                                   (Santu Lussurgiu 1)[54]

     c. *Seu siguru **ca**   ddu   est   annadu Giorgio.*
        I.am sure   that there= is-IND gone   G.
                                                              (Santu Lussurgiu 2)

     d. *Seu sigura **ca**   ddi   est   andau Giorgio.*   (Seneghe)
        I.am sure   that there= is-IND gone   G.
        'I'm sure that Giorgio/Ziorzi went there.'

(31) a. *Soe cunvinta **chi** Màrio no at   istudiau po nudda.*
        I.am convinced that M.   not has-IND studied for nothing
        'I'm convinced that Mario didn't study at all.'   (Cuglieri)

     b. *Seu cunvintu/-a **ca** Mario **at**   istudiadu pagu.*
        I.am convinced that M.   has-IND studied   little
                                                              (Santu Lussurgiu 1/2)

     c. *Seu sigura **ca**   Maria **at**   istudiau pagu.*   (Seneghe)
        I.am sure   that M.   has-IND studied little

     d. *Seu cunvinta **ca**   Mario **at**   istudiau pagu.*   (Narbolia)
        I.am convinced that M.   has-IND studied little
        'I'm convinced that Mario/Maria studied (too) little.'

---

53   We suppressed the sentence from Narbolia, as the speaker used the Italian complemen-
     tizer *che* instead of *ca* or *chi*.

54   In Santu Lussurgiu we interviewed two small groups of speakers, marked here as Santu
     Lussurgiu 1 and Santu Lussurgiu 2.

Assertive predicates

(32) a. *Azis   nau **chi** Mario non benit.*   (Cuglieri)
    have-2PL said that M.   not comes-IND

   b. *Azis   nadu **ca**   Mario non benit.*   (Santu Lussurgiu 2)
       have-2PL said   that M.   not comes-IND

   c. *Eis   nau **ca**   Mario non benet.*   (Narbolia)
     have-2PL said that M.   not comes-IND
     'You said that Mario doesn't come.'

   d. *Azis   nadu **ca** Màrio non ch'   **at**   a bènnere.*
     have-2PL said   that M.   not there= has-IND to come
     'You said that Mario won't come.'   (Santu Lussurgiu 1)

   e. *As   nau **ca** Mario non **beniat**.*   (Seneghe)
     have-2PL said that M.   not came-IND-3SG
     'You said that Mario didn't come.'

(33) a. *At nau a fizas   mias **chi** sun   bellas.*   (Cuglieri)
    has said to daughters my   that are-IND-3PL beautiful
    '(S)he told my daughters that they are beautiful.'

   b. *Anta   nau a fizas   mias **ca**   **sunta**   bellas.*
     have-3PL said to daughters my   that are-IND-3PL beautiful
                             (Seneghe)

   c. *Anti   nau a fizas   mias **ca** **funti**   tropu bellas.*
     have-3PL said to daughters my   that are-IND-3PL too   beautiful
     'They told my daughters that they are very beautiful.'   (Narbolia)

   d. *An   nadu a fizas   mias **ca**   sun   bellas.*
     have-3PL said   to daughters my   that are-IND-3PL beautiful
     'They said that my daughters are beautiful.'   (S. Lussurgiu 1)

   e. *An   nadu **ca** fizas   mias **sun**   bellas   meda.*
     have-3PL said   that daughters my   are-IND-3PL beautiful very
     'They said that my daughters are beautiful.'   (S. Lussurgiu 2)

Directive predicates

(34) a. *Nàra·li   chi 'enzet   cunmegusu.*   (Cuglieri)
         tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that comes-sᴜʙᴊᴠ with-me

b. *Nàra·ddi   chi 'enzat   cunmegusu.*
       tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that comes-sᴜʙᴊᴠ with-me
                                                        (Santu Lussurgiu 1/2)

c. *Nàra·ddi   chi benzet   cunmegusu.*   (Seneghe)
       tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that comes-sᴜʙᴊᴠ with-me

d. *Narà·ddi   chi benzat   cun deu.*   (Narbolia)
       tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that comes-sᴜʙᴊᴠ with I
       'Tell him/her to come with me.'

(35) a. *Primma chi Mario paltet,   nàra·li   chi*
         before   that M.   leaves-sᴜʙᴊᴠ tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that
         telèfonet.   (Cuglieri)
         calls-sᴜʙᴊᴠ

b. *Primma chi Mario paltat,   nàra·ddi   chi*
       before   that M.   leaves-sᴜʙᴊᴠ tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that
       telèfonet.   (S. Luss. 1)
       calls-sᴜʙᴊᴠ

c. *Primma chi partet   Mario, na·ddi   chi mi*
       before   that leaves-sᴜʙᴊᴠ M.   tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that me=
       telèfonet.   (S. Luss. 2)
       calls-sᴜʙᴊᴠ

d. *Primmu chi Mario partet, narà·dde   chi mi*
       before   that M.   leaves tell-ɪᴍᴘ-2sɢ=him that me=
       telèfonet.   (Narbolia)
       calls-sᴜʙᴊᴠ-3sɢ
       'Before Mario leaves tell him to call (me).'

Deontic predicates

(36) a. *Bisonzu **chi** lu còmporet (puru) Alberto.* (Cuglieri)
need that it buys-SUBJV (also) A.

　　b. *Bisonzu **chi** ddu còmporet Alberto / Umberto.*
need that it= buys-SUBJV A. / U.
'Alberto/Umberto (also) needs to buy it.' (Santu Lussurgiu, Narbolia)

　　c. *Tocat **chi** ddu còmporet Alberto.* (Seneghe)
is-due that it= buys-SUBJV A.
'It's Alberto's turn to buy it.'

Volitional predicates

(37) a. *Chelzo **chi** sien tratadas bene.* (Cuglieri)
want-1SG that are-SUBJV-3PL treated good

　　b. *Chelzo **chi** sian tratadas bene.* (Santu Lussurgiu 1/2)
want-1SG that are-SUBJV-3PL treated good

　　c. *Chelzo **chi** sient tratadas bene.* (Seneghe)
want-1SG that are-SUBJV-3PL treated good
'I want them to be treated well.'

　　d. *Cherzo **chi** siat tratau / **siant** tratadas bẽ.*
want-1SG that is-SUBJV treated / are-SUBJV-3PL treated-F-PL good
'I want him/them to be treated well.' (Narbolia)

(38) a. *Ispero **chi** imbatemus in tempus.* (Cuglieri)
hope-IND-1SG that arrive- SUBJV-1PL in time
'I hope that we arrive on time.'

　　b. *Spereus **chi** arribbeus in tempus.* (Seneghe)
hope-SUBJV-1PL that arrive-SUBJV-1PL in time
'Let's hope that we'll arrive on time.'

(39) a. *Ispero **chi** cras **fetet** die 'ona.* (Cuglieri)
hope- IND-1SG that tomorrow makes-SUBJV day good
'I hope that tomorrow will be a nice day.'

b. *Speramus*   ***chi*** *cras*   *fatzat*   *die bella.*
   hope- IND-1PL that tomorrow makes- SUBJV day nice
   'We hope that tomorrow will be a nice day.'   (Santu Lussurgiu 1)

c. *Speramus*   ***chi*** *fatzat*   *tempus bonu.*
   hope- IND-1PL that makes-SUBJV weather good
   'We hope that there will be good weather.'   (Santu Lussurgiu 2)

d. *Spereus*   ***chi*** *fetzet*   *die bella* (*cras*).
   hope- SUBJV-1PL that makes-SUBJV day nice (tomorrow)
   'Let's hope that (tomorrow) it will be nice day.'   (Seneghe)

As these data show, the varieties of Santu Lussurgiu, Seneghe, and Narbolia show the same coherent system that we have seen in Dorgali and the places examined in Section 4.2. We only found one exception: in Narbolia, one speaker insisted on using the present indicative with *chi* after the verb meaning 'to hope', whereas another speaker used the future tense.

(40) *Spero*   ***chi*** *arribbamus /*   ***eus***   *arribbai*   *in tempus.*
     hope-1SG that arrive-IND-1PL / have-IND-1PL arrive-INF in time
     'I hope that we'll arrive on time.'

The fact that the verb (*i*)*sperare* selects an indicative instead of a subjunctive can also be found in the varieties of other places (see above, (19a), and Footnote 46). What is remarkable here is that the complementizer *chi* is maintained. We cannot really judge the significance of these isolated examples, but it seems that—at least for these speakers—*chi* maintains its function to express a potential statement, whereas it is not strictly aligned with the subjunctive. As for verbless clauses only containing 'yes' or 'no', the verb meaning 'to hope' uniformly selects *chi*, as expected:[55]

(41) a. *Ispero*   ***chi*** *eja / nono.*   (Cuglieri)
        hope- IND-1SG that yes / no

     b. *Ispero*   ***chi*** *emmo / no.*   (Santu Lussurgiu 1/2)
        hope- IND-1SG that yes /   no
        'I hope yes.' / 'I hope not.'

---

55   The speakers from Narbolia used the preposition *de* instead of the complementizer: *Penso de si* / *Isperaus de no*. This could be an interference with Italian.

   c. *Spereus*   ***chi*** *no.*   (Seneghe)
      hope- SUBJV-1PL that no
      'Let's hope not.'

In contrast, with the verb meaning 'to say' we expect to find *chi* only in Cuglieri, whereas it should be *ca* in the other places, which have the dual complementizer system. This is borne out only for one group of speakers from Santu Lussurgiu, and only in the affirmative sentence; they hesitate between *ca* and *chi* for the negative sentence. The other group of speakers from Santu Lussurgiu as well the speaker from Seneghe used *chi*:[56]

(42) a. *M'*   *as*   *nau* ***chi*** *eja / nono.*   (Cuglieri)
      me= have-2SG said that yes / no
      'You told me yes.' / 'You told me no.'

    b. *M'*   *at* *nadu* ***ca***   *emmo.*   (Santu Lussurgiu 1)
      me= has said that yes
      '(S)he told me yes.'

    c. *M'at*   *nadu* ***ca/chi*** *nono.*   (Santu Lussurgiu 1)
      me=has said that   no
      '(S)he told me no.'

    d. *M'*   *at* *nadu* ***chi*** *emmo.*   (Santu Lussurgiu 2)
      me= has said that yes
      '(S)he told me yes.'

    e. *M'*   *at* *nadu* ***chi*** *no.*   (Santu Lussurgiu 2)
      me= has said that no
      '(S)he told me no.'

    f. *M'*   *at* *nau* ***chi*** *emmo / nono.*   (Seneghe)
      me= has said that yes /   no
      '(S)he told me yes/no.'

---

56   The speakers from Narbolia used the preposition *de* instead of the complementizer with the affirmative version (*M'at nau de si/eja*) and no item at all with the negative version (*M'at nau no*).

These data together with those in (40) may indicate an incipient instability of
the system (see Section 5.2 for discussion), but further research is needed to
assess this idea.[57]

As far as the use after prepositions is concerned, *dopo/apustis* 'after' select
chi with the indicative, whereas *primma/innantis* select *chi* with the subjunctive. For the latter, see (35) above; for the former, see (43) below:

(43) a. *Dopo **chi** su postinu m' **at** dau su pacu est*
       after that the postman me= has-IND given the package is
       arribbau Màrio.   (Cuglieri)
       come   M.

   b. *Apustis **chi** su postinu nd' **at** battidu su pacu, est*
      after   that the postman of.it= has-IND brought the package is
      imbattidu Màrio.   (S. Lussurgiu 1)
      arrived   M.

   c. *Dopo/apustis **chi** su postĩu **at** consignau su pacu*
      after   that the postman has-IND delivered the package
      est arribbau Màrio.   (Narbolia)
      is arrived   M.

   d. *Apustis **chi** su posteri **at** consegnau su pacu est*
      after   that the postman has-IND delivered the package is
      arribbau Mario.   (Seneghe)
      arrived   M.
      'After the postman had delivered the package, Mario arrived.'

   e. *Dopo/apustis **chi** est arribbadu / bènnidu su postinu est*
      after   that is-IND arrived   come   the postman is
      arribbadu Màrio.   (S. Lussurgiu 2)
      arrived   M.
      'After the postman had come, Mario arrived.'

The rules for these constructions are thus identical to those of the other places.

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57   Since these are verbless subclauses and therefore mood is not expressed, an idea to investigate in future research is the possibility that *chi* has become the default complementizer
for these speakers.
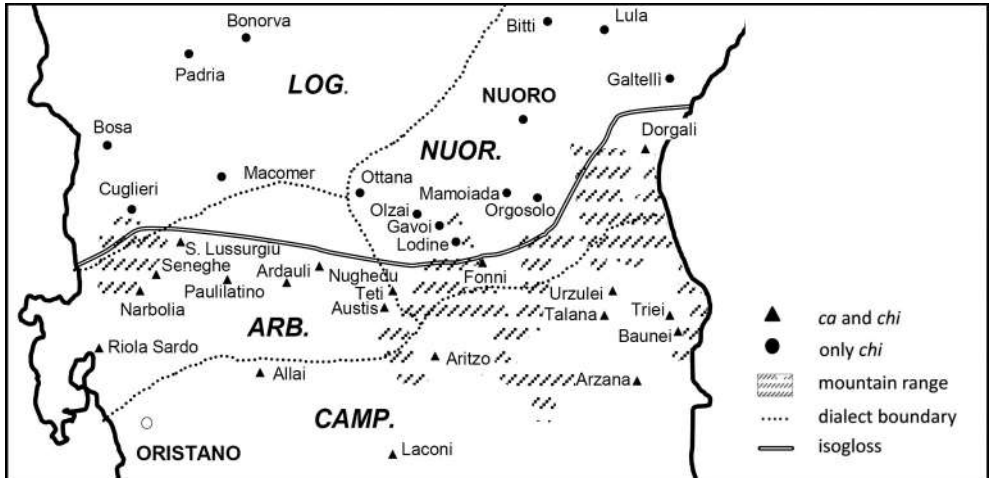
MAP 12.5   *The Riola–Dorgali line*

4.4   *Determining the* ca–chi *Isogloss*

On the basis of the data presented in Section 4.3, we can provide a more exact version of the hypothetical isogloss presented in Map 12.1 (Section 2.2), which we provisionally call the Riola–Dorgali line (see Map 12.5).

For the Nuorese dialect area, we were able to confirm that the isogloss runs through the Barbagia, in particular the Southern part of the so-called Fonni group. Whereas according to Wagner (1907: 3) this group of mountain villages shows quite a strong influence of Campidanese in phonetics/phonology, morphology, and—above all—the lexicon, only Fonni is below the isogloss and therefore shows the *ca–chi* distinction. Our line runs exactly between Fonni and Lodine (at a distance of around 10 km from each other). At the linguistic border between Nuorese and Arborense it runs north of Teti and Austis (two mountain villages belonging to the northern part of the Gennargentu group, cf. Wagner 1907: 78) and then crosses the Arborense zone north of Nughedu and Santu Lussurgiu. It reaches the coast somewhere between Riola Sardo and Cuglieri. As far as we know, between Riola Sardo and Cuglieri there are only tourist places that do not have an autochtonous variety, so we made the line follow the upper border of the Arborense dialect group established by Virdis (1988). Also note that there are some places we did not explore, located between a square formed by Macomer, Santu Lussurgiu, Ottana, and Nughedu (Borore, Dualchi, Noragugume, Sedilo, Aidomaggiore, and Norbello). It is therefore possible that the division between the *chi*-only and the *ca–chi* areas more or less coincides with the border that separates Logudorese and Arborense.

5   Conclusions

5.1   *Some Geolinguistic Considerations*

The isogloss that we have established in this article runs through the center of Sardinia, crossing several areas of transition between Logudorese/Nuorese on the one hand and Campidanese on the other. In the western half, the relevant transition area has been dubbed Arborense, while on the eastern half it corresponds to the Fonni and Gennargentu groups. The most extreme point in the east that still distinguishes between *ca* and *chi* is Dorgali, which, belonging to Nuorese, is nevertheless characterized by some similarities with Campidanese and forms part of the Urzulei group as defined by Wagner (1907). These transition areas are crossed by several well-known, mostly historico-phonetic isoglosses, as can be seen in Map 12.6 from Virdis (1988).

   In the extreme west, the stretch of the Riola–Dorgali line beneath Cuglieri (see Section 4.5, Map 12.5) more or less coincides with several isoglosses that merge here. Most of these isoglosses, however, extend towards the south and thus remain beneath our line, such as isogloss n° 2 in Map 12.6, which separates the Logudorese final vowels [e] and [o] from [i] and [u] in Campdanese. Of the places we visited, only Riola Sardo lies below this line, which then turns sharply south and afterwards roughly connects Laconi and Arzana. Line n° 8, which separates word-initial [s]+cons. (south) from [is]+cons. (north) takes a similar course, but runs a bit higher in the west, so that Seneghe and Santu Lussurgiu have *spero*, *spereus, speramus* versus *ispero* in Cuglieri (see (38), (39) in Section 4.3). All the other places we visited lie above this line. Even lower runs the isogloss that separates the conservation of Latin [k] before [e] and [i] (north) from the palatalized version (south) (n° 1); in the eastern part, this line roughly connects Fonni and Aritzo and ends between Dorgali and Urzulei. Two other lines (n° 9, separating southern word-intial [arr-] from northern [r-] and n° 3, separating Vulg. Lat. [kj]/[tj] > [ts] in the south from other results in the north), roughly correspond to our Riola–Dorgali line in the Arborense zone but then turn south in the Barbagia before reaching Fonni. Hence, in Santu Lussurgiu, Seneghe, and Riola Sardo—all beneath the Riola-Dorgali line—we have *fatzat, fetzet, fetzat* versus *fetet*[58] in Cuglieri, which lies above the Riola–Dorgali line (cf. 4.3 (36), (37), (38)). In contrast, in the Barbagia, both Olzai (*'atzat*) and Lodine (*'athat*) (see (18) and (20)) lie above the Riola–Dorgali line.

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58   < FACIAT, with variation of *a* and *e* in the present subjunctive forms affecting both the
        stem and the ending.
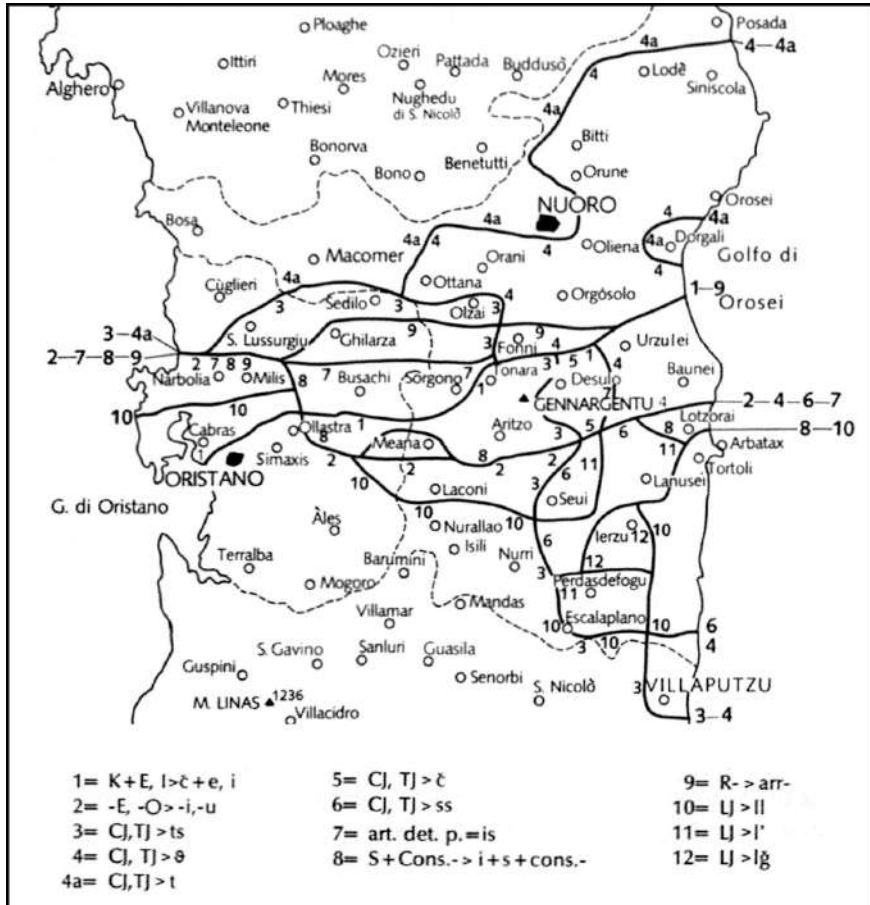
MAP 12.6   *Major isoglosses*
FROM VIRDIS 1988: 908

In general, what is interesting about the isogloss that we have been recon-structing in the present article is that it is situated so high, even reaching Dor-gali in the east. Similar considerations hold when we compare this isogloss with other known morphosyntactic isoglosses which are shown in Map 12.7 below. The line that separates the zones with the 3rd person plural ending -*n* from those that have conserved -*nt* runs beneath the Riola–Dorgali line.[59] The isogloss of the definite article in the plural, which is *sos* (masc.) and *sas* (fem.)

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59   Only Austis, Narbolia, and Seneghe have the ending -*nt*; see *anta* (Austis, Seneghe), *anti* (Narbolia), *sunta* (Seneghe), and *funti* (Narbolia, Austis) ((22), (33)).
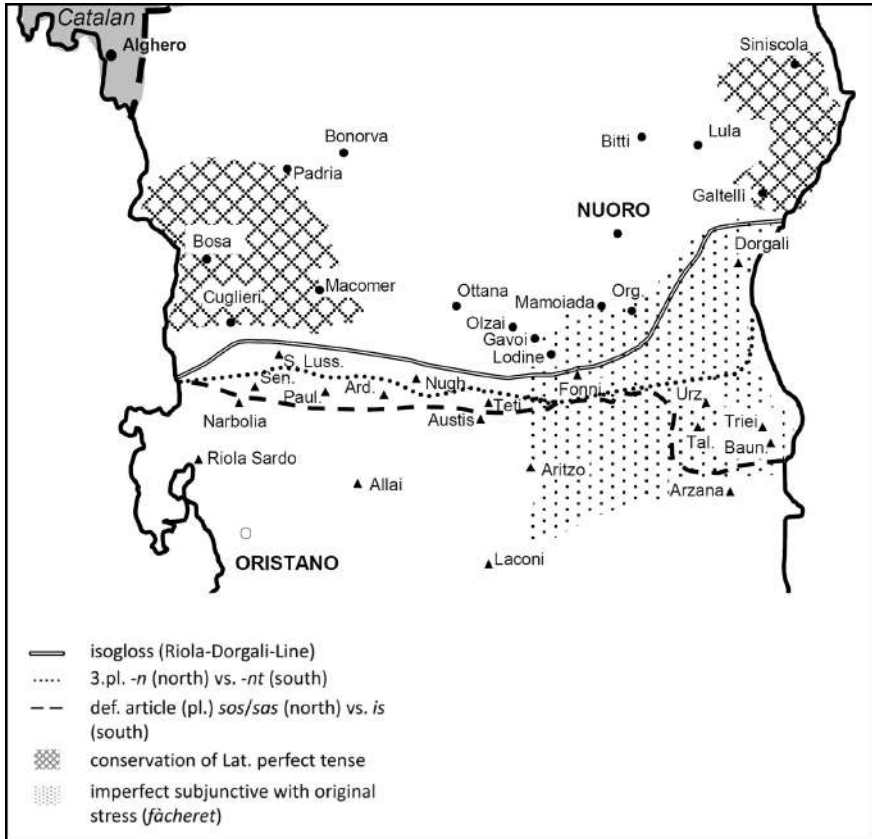
MAP 12.7   *Distribution of some morphosyntactic phenomena*
ADAPTED FROM MENSCHING & REMBERGER 2016: 280, MAP 17.3

in the north but has one single form *is* in the south, runs even lower. However, we can see from our data that the Campidanese clitic system with initial *dd-* (*ddu*, *ddas*, *ddi*, etc.) versus the Logudorese/Nuorese system with initial *l-* (*lu*, *las*, *li*, etc.) has a distribution similar to that of the dual complementizer system (hence, S. Lussurgiu, Seneghe, Narbolia, Austis, and Nughedu have *dd*-forms). But in the eastern part of the island, the *dd*-clitic system does not extend as far to the north as the dual complementizer system does (i.e., Dorgali has *l*-clitics). Another example for a Campidanese phenomenon that begins on a very low latitude is the 1st person plural ending in *-us* instead of *-mus*: Olzai, Lodine, Teti, Nughedu, and S. Lussurgiu have *-m-* forms—(18a), (20a), (21b), (26b), (38ab)—while we have only documented forms without *-m-* in Seneghe and Riola Sardo. Summarizing, we can say that our Riola–Dorgali line is a strikingly high isogloss, a phenomenon to which we will return in Section 5.2.

In the eastern half, the Riola–Dorgali line corresponds roughly to the upper border of the extension of the area that conserves the original Latin stress pattern of the imperfect subjunctive (see the Dorgali forms *èsseret, èsseren* in (9) above, where other Nuorese/Logudorese dialects have *essèret, essèren* and Campidanese—beginning quite far in the South—shows forms containing the morpheme ⟨ss⟩ stemming from the pluperfect subjunctive). Similar to the *ca–chi* distinction, this phenomenon also connects Dorgali to the Alta Ogliastra area (Urzulei, Triei, Talana, Baunei), so both phenomena belong to the features that are characteristic of the Urzulei group, as does the absence of the Latin perfect, which is, in contrast, conserved in the historical region Baronia, adjacent to Dorgali. Similarly, in the west our isogloss more or less coincides with the southern border of the area of conservation of the Latin perfect.

5.2 *Diachronic Remarks*

The dual complementizer system south of the Riola–Dorgali line preserves a Late Latin system in which verbs of saying—instead of the classical accusative-and-infinitive structure—selected the complementizer QUIA, whereas QUID was used after those predicates that chose UT plus the subjunctive in the classical system (cf. Section 1 and Blasco Ferrer 1984: 29–30, 121). The medieval documentation confirms the use of both complementizers in Old Sardinian complement clauses, although its syntactic distribution is unclear and needs further research; cf. the summary in Mensching and Remberger (2017: 370–371). According to Blasco Ferrer (1989), there was no neat distinction, i.e., verbs of saying mostly selected *ca* (often spelled *ka*), whereas volitional verbs also appear with *chi* (*ki, ci, qui*) and the subjunctive. With verbs of saying, *ca* was abundantly used for introducing direct speech (cf. Section 2.1), particularly in legal proceedings, the so-called *Condaghes* (cf. Wagner 1997: 326–327; Blasco Ferrer 1989: 203; 2003: 219). Blasco Ferrer (2003: 219) confirms the diffuse distinction between *ca* and *chi* in complement clauses, saying that the preferred conjunction selected by *verba dicendi*, *sentiendi*, and *voluntatis* was *ca* in Old Sardinian, but that we can also find *chi* followed by the subjunctive.

However, the picture is clearer when we look at all occurrences of *ca* and *chi* for introducing complement clauses in Blasco Ferrer's (2003) anthology, see Table 12.1.

In other thirteen occurrences of declarative verbs, *ca* is used to introduce direct speech. This appears to be a device typical of certain legal text genres, and such occurrences of course cannot be used for issues of mood.

Table 12.1 shows that the division by predicate types that we have seen in Sections 3 and 4 is borne out with very few exceptions. In addition, *ca* almost always appears with the indicative, whereas with *chi* the alignment with

TABLE 12.1   *Occurrences of* ca *and* chi *in the Old Sardinian documents edited
by Blasco Ferrer* (2003)

			ca	*chi*
volitional verbs				
	+	subjunctive	1	10
	+	indicative (present or imperfect)	-	-
	+	future	-	2
verbs of order and demand				
	+	subjunctive	-	14
	+	indicative	-	-
verbs meaning 'to know'				
	+	subjunctive	-	-
	+	indicative (present or imperfect)	2	-
declarative verbs				
		subjunctive	1	-
	+	indicative (present or imperfect)	5	-
'to dare'[60]				
	+	subjunctive	-	-
	+	indicative (present or imperfect)	-	-
	+	future	1	-
'to grant permission'[61]				
	+	subjunctive	-	1
	+	indicative (present or imperfect)	-	-
'to be proven'[62]				
	+	subjunctive	-	1
	+	indicative (present or imperfect)	-	-
	+	future	-	2

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60   The expression *airi ausanzia*, normally constructed with an infinitive clause, see Blasco
Ferrer (2003: 219).

61   *dare assoltura*

62   *essere provadu*

the subjunctive is not strictly followed. However, *chi* never appears with the present or imperfect indicative but with the future tense (which does not have subjunctive forms). The use of an indicative imperfect in (44) is only apparent:

(44) [...] *hordinamus qui nixuna persone non deppiat   comporare*
      order-1PL   that no   person not must-SUBJV buy-INF
    nen bendere corju   per<u>u</u>nu [...]
    nor sell-INF leather any
    '[...] we order that no person should buy nor sell any leather [...]' (Carta de Logu, §110,1, quoted from Blasco Ferrer 2003: 139).

The form *deppiat* does not correspond to the modern imperfect of *dèp(p)ere* (*deppìat*) but to the medieval present subjunctive form (*dèppiat*, cf. Blasco Ferrer 2003: 213). Nevertheless, it seems that Old Sardinian *ca* and *chi* were not strongly connected to mood but more to the *fact* versus *potentiality* distinction, following Dixon's (2006) terminology. This might mean that the strict alignment with mood that we have seen in the varieties examined in this article is to be considered as a post-medieval innovation. Some exceptions noted during the article (e.g., concerning (4b), (19a), and (40)) may therefore still reflect the medieval system instead of being interpreted as innovations.

Abstracting away from the exact licensing conditions, we can say that the dual complementizer system appears in Old Sardinian texts of all major dialect groups represented in Blasco Ferrer's (2003) anthology under the labels *scripta campidanese*, *scripta arborense*, and *scripta logudorese*. Hence, the absence of the *ca–chi* distinction in Logudorese and most of the Nuorese area appears to be a phenomenon that has arisen after the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, the time between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries has not yet been studied in depth. What we do have are Wagner's descriptions, which we have already claimed (Section 2.1) reflect the situation of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Wagner (1997: 327) himself explains that *chi* corresponds to Italian *che* and Spanish *que*, and that *ca*, which subsists "in the archaic dialects," is often replaced by *chi* in the "peripheric dialects," and that in addition, the rural Campidanese dialects confuse *ca* and *chi*. In the DES (I: 251), we find further explanations, according to which *ca* is Logudorese and Campidanese for 'that' introducing direct speech and in various other uses. Interestingly, Wagner adds that "today" (the DES was published in 1961), *ca* is still very frequent in the central dialects and also in the rural varieties of Logudorese and Campidanese, whereas *chi* is preferred in the cities and "ambienti borghesi," which Wagner considers to be due to Spanish or Italian influence (DES I: 334). We interpret Wagner's rather confusing descriptions

as follows: Wagner did his fieldwork activities in Sardinia between 1904 and the 1940s, and he consulted literature dating from the end of the nineteenth century. On this basis, Wagner perceived the existence of the complementizer *ca* (he had not really understood the mechanism of the *ca–chi* distinction) as being Logudorese, Nuorese, and Campidanese. However, it seems that by the mid-twentieth century (maybe through the pressure of Italian), *ca* had already disappeared from major cities. In fact, today, the dual complementizer system is not known in Cagliari (situated in the extreme south of the island), although it is still present in some places nearby.[63] Other areas of innovation (i.e., the loss of the *ca–chi* distinction) are the peripheries, by which Wagner probably means the zones outside the mountainous, so-called archaic regions of Sardinia (including the zones described in Sections 3 and 4).

As far as this "archaic center" is concerned, Wagner's scarce data suggest that for the first half of the twentieth century, in the east, the dual complementizer zone stretched further to the north than it does today, i.e., north of the Riola–Dorgali line established in Section 4. More precisely, (2a) shows one isolated example from Bitti, a locality in which today *ca* is unknown as a complementizer in complement clauses, as we know from inquiries within the ASIt initiative. Interestingly, (2a), repeated here as (45), shows *ca* alongside *chi*, both accompanied by the indicative, which might indicate that the dual complementizer system was already in decay:

(45) a. *Una díe liṡ   a   nnátu ka   "lu idítes   ki   ṡò   appúntu a*
         one day them= has said   that it= see-2PL that am at.point to
         m'ínke   mòrrer?"   (from a "novellina" from Bitti)
         me=of.it =   die
         'One day he told them: "Do you see that I am going to die?"'

We can provide two more pieces of evidence for an extension of our isogloss versus north in the past. First, Jones (1993: 247) reports that "some speakers [of the Logudorese/Nuorese dialects] also allow *ca* as an alternative to *ki* in complements of verbs of saying or belief," also with verbless clauses containing only 'yes' or 'no' (*credet ki/ca emmo/ at natu ki/ca nono*, 1993: 249). As we are not aware of such optionality today, it may well be that it got lost during the last 25 years or so. Second, Orgosolo, immediately above the Riola–Dorgali

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63   The most southern points with the *ca–chi* distinction included in Manzini and Savoia
      (2005: I, 468–469) are Siliqua and Settimo San Pietro, the latter of which is very near to
      Cagliari. Also cf. Mensching (2012).

line, displays a relic of the *ca–chi* distinction, namely in the expressions 'to say yes/no' / 'to hope yes/not':

(46) a. *M'at   narau **ca**   eja.*
       Me=has said   that yes
       'He told me yes.'

   b. *Ispero   ʔi   nono.*
      Hope1-SG that no
      'I hope not.'

This indicates that in an earlier stage, Orgosolo belonged to the *ca–chi* area and today conserves *ca* only in the expression in (46a).

Summarizing, the areas of distinction between *ca* and *chi* are areas of retreat. It seems that during the last centuries, the phenomenon, once established on the whole island, retracted from the northern parts. It is probable that in the first half of the twentieth century, the dual complementizer system was still present in localities such as Bitti, and Orgosolo and then receded towards the south, where our Riola–Dorgali line marks the border today. That this isogloss crosses the island at such high latitude is the immediate result of the fact that this line is not a "traditional isogloss" existing for centuries but rather a line of recession that has been shifting from north to south.

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