Italian Dialectology at the Interfaces

Edited by

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John Benjamins Publishing Company

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The dialects of Italy at the interfaces

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1. Introduction

Recent years have seen a growing interest in linguistic phenomena whose formal manifestation and underlying licensing conditions represent the convergence of two or more areas of the grammar,[1] an area of investigation which has been particularly invigorated in recent generative research by developments such as phase theory (cf. Chomsky 2001, 2008), which postulates through the cyclical Spell-Out operation a direct mapping between narrow syntax and the conceptual-intentional and sensorimotor interfaces, and the cartographic enterprise (cf. Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999), which, among other things, attempts to build semantic and pragmatic representations into the formal morphosyntactic architecture of the clause. In this respect, the dialects of Italy are no exception, in that they present the linguist with many valuable opportunities to study the linguistic interfaces, as highlighted by the various case studies of the following chapters which provide a series of insights into how different components of the linguistic system – syntactic, phonetic, phonological, morphological, semantic and pragmatic – do not necessarily operate in isolation but, rather, interact to license phenomena whose nature and distribution can only be fully understood in terms of the formal mapping between the interfaces.[2]

By way of illustration, consider the distribution of consonant-initial fortition of the definite article (viz. *a* vs *ra* 'the.FSG') in the following Cosentino examples, a process traditionally known as *rafforzamento* or *raddoppiamento fonosintattico*

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1. See, among others, Zubizarreta (1998), Burkhardt (2005), Späth (2007), Grohmann (2009), Folli and Ulbrich (2010), Rothman and Slabakova (2011), Scheer (2011), Ramchand and Reiss (2012).

2. The following chapters represent a selection of the talks presented at the *11th Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax-Morphology Meeting* hosted by the Department of Romance Studies of the University of Vienna on 4–6 July 2016.

(RF) 'phonosyntactic reinforcement/doubling' that originates as an external sandhi assimilation triggered by a class of words that historically ended in a final consonant such as the 3sg finite verb *vena* (cf. Latin inflectional -ᴛ on 3sɢ verbs).[3]

(1) a. Quannu vena   (***r**)a primavera, mi   sientu ggià   miegliu.
         when   comes   the   spring   me= feel.1sɢ already better
         'When(ever) spring comes, I already start to feel better.'   (Cosenza)

     b. Quannu vena   **r**a primavera, m' affittu   na casa   a   ru
         when   comes   the   spring   me= rent.1sɢ a house at the
         mare.   (Cosenza)
         sea
         'When the (= this) spring comes, I'll rent a house by the sea.'

Now, in (1a), but not in (1b), the definite article cannot occur in its fortis variant with the initial vibrant despite immediately following the 3sɢ finite verb, but assumes its simple lenis vocalic realization. As a result, the semantico-pragmatic reading of the two immediately postverbal subject DPs is not the same in (1a–b). In the first example, the DP, although definite, is not referential but, rather, receives a generic interpretation, hence the unbounded reading of *quannu* 'whenever'. In (1b), by contrast, we now see that *quannu* has its bounded interpretation and the postverbal definite DP subject, now marked by RF, is concomitantly fully referential, identifying a specific and known referent salient in the discourse or the extra-linguistic context which we can characterize as topical (hence the reading 'the/this spring').

The distribution of RF observed in these examples therefore highlights how Cosentino formally distinguishes between postverbal non-referential definite DPs and their referential variants. Given the assumption that for RF to take place $Word_1$ and $Word_2$ must surface in the same phasal domain (cf. Ledgeway in press a, b), we can propose a principled explanation for the facts in (1a–b). In particular, adopting Belletti's (2004, 2005) seminal idea that the *v*-VP edge makes available a lower left periphery with dedicated Topic and Focus positions, we can assume a direct mapping between syntax and pragmatico-semantic interpretation such that all referential constituents, when not raised to the higher left periphery, target a Topic or Focus position within the lower left periphery, whereas all non-referential constituents

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3. Cf. Rohlfs (1966: 235–238), Loporcaro (1988, 1997), Vincent (1988), Maiden (1995: 72–76), Fanciullo (1986, 1997), Ledgeway (2016a: 214), Sampson (2016: 675–676). Although frequently involving consonantal lengthening, in some cases RF involves a change of manner and of place of articulation or the restoration of an underlying word-initial consonant, as in the contrast between (1a–b) above where the vibrant represents the outcome of the original Latin long lateral, viz, -[ll]- > -[dd]- > -[ɖɖ]- (> -[ɟɟ]-) > -[r/ɾ]- (cf. Ledgeway 2016b: 254).

remain *in situ* within the VP (cf. also Diesing's 1992 Mapping Hypothesis, as well as the dsicussion in §3.4 below). Consequently, we can associate the minimal pair in (1a–b) with the structural representations in (2a–b), where the presence of RF on the postverbal definite DP in (2b) signals a referential reading of the subject raised to SpecTop, namely 'When the (= this) spring comes', whereas its absence in (2a) correlates with a non-referential interpretation of the definite DP *in situ*, namely 'Whenever spring comes'.

(2) a. Quannu vena [$_{TopP}$ _____ [$_{vP}$ ~~vena~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~vena~~ a primavera]]],…
b. Quannu vena [$_{TopP}$ [$_{Spec}$ **r**a primavera] [$_{vP}$ ~~vena~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~vena a primavera~~]]],…

Following Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), we take the finite verb in Cosentino to target a low functional head situated above the *v*-VP complex. It therefore follows that RF is licensed with referential postverbal subjects such as (2b) where the finite verb (viz. Word$_1$) and the immediately postverbal constituent (viz. Word$_2$) are transferred to PF in the same higher phasal cycle, since the postverbal subject surfaces in the left edge of the lower *v*P phase from where, in accordance with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), it remains accessible to phonosyntactic processes of the higher CP phase. In (2a), by contrast, the postverbal subject from its *in situ* position remains inaccessible to the potential RF effects of the 3sg finite verb, since it is contained within the *v*P phase from where it is sent to PF in the lower cycle before the spell-out of the RF trigger in the higher phasal cycle.

We thus see that the distribution of Cosentino RF involves an isomorphic mapping of syntax and phonology at the interfaces, with phonological domains aligning with syntactic domains to externalize at PF syntactic information which, in turn, many spell out key semantico-pragmatic distinctions such as referentiality and topicality. In particular, the licensing of RF is constrained by specific locality conditions which can be exhaustively computed and modelled in terms of a phase-theoretic approach, providing new and interesting data to further test the nature and computation of phasal domains. At the same time, we have seen that these same structural representations explicitly encode semantico-pragmatic information through the activation or otherwise of (lower) left-peripheral positions which, though not necessarily linearly distinguished on the surface, witness the immediately postverbal position of both DP subjects in (1a–b), nonetheless leave their mark at PF which reads and externalizes these postverbal positions in distinct phasal cycles. We thus see in these examples the output of an interaction of the syntactic, phonological, semantic and pragmatic components of the grammar which contrive to derive strings which can be read at each of the interfaces.

In the remainder of this chapter we review and examine a number of case studies from the dialects of Italy that exemplify empirical evidence relevant to

the syntax-phonology interface (§2), the syntax-semantics interface (§3) and, the syntax-pragmatics interface (§4). The examples to be discussed highlight the need to understand the role of these three interfaces in producing linguistic variation through the interaction and formal mapping of different components of the linguistic system, the place and significance of interface conditions in the licensing of particular phenomena, and the relevance of the interfaces in the overall design of the grammatical architecture.

2.   The syntax-phonology interface

It is well known that many phonological processes, in particular external sandhi phenomena such as Welsh soft mutation (cf. Roberts 2005), show sensitivity to syntactic information, insofar as their surface distribution can only be understood by making reference to various structural constraints in the mapping from syntax to phonology (cf. Selkirk 1984, 1986; Kaisse 1985; Selkirk and Tateischi 1988; Inkelas and Zec 1990; Truckenbrodt 1999). Romance too has been shown to present various such cases (for an overview see Sampson 2016: §40.3) including, among others, French *liaison* (Selkirk 1974; Morin and Kaye 1982; Durand and Lyche 2008; Bonami, Boyé and Tseng 2014; Masutti 2016), intonational phrasing (Elordieta, Frota, Prieto and Vigário 2003; D'Imperio, Elordieta, Frota, Prieto and Vigário 2005; Rao 2008), RF (cf. §1) and various vocalic processes in the dialects of Italy. Below we briefly review three examples of syntactically conditioned phonological phenomena from the dialects of Italy involving the realization of unstressed final vowels, tonic diphthongs and RF.

2.1   Propagation of /u/

In a series of studies, Savoia (1987, 2015: Chapter 6), Rizzi and Savoia (1993), Manzini and Savoia (2016a,b) and Savoia and Baldi (2016) examine /u/-propagation in the dialects of southern Italy, a harmonic process of progressive assimilation of a(n underlying/original) pretonic /u/ resulting in the spreading of /u/ or its phonological specifications [+back, +round] from an unstressed nucleus to the stressed nucleus (or [a] vowel) to its right. Significantly, this type of harmony operates not only within words but also across word groups, but not necessarily across the same word groups in all varieties. For instance, the examples from the Calabrian dialects of Cerchiara (3a–c) and Saracena (4a–c) and the Lucanian dialect of Stigliano (5a–c) demonstrate that /u/-propagation is licensed in all three varieties between a determiner and its associated nominal complement (cf. a examples),

but is excluded in Stiligano and is only optional in Saracena between a modifying quantifier and adjective (cf. b examples), and is optional between a lexical verb and its complement in Cerchiara but excluded in the same context in both Saracena and Stiligano (cf. c examples).

(3) a. D-N: u   ˈnuæsə   (cf. ˈnæːsə 'nose') (Cerchiara)
              the nose

     b. Q-A: cu   gˈgruænnə   (cf. ˈgræːnnə 'big') (Cerchiara)
              more big
              'bigger'

     c. V-DP: ßɔ   pˈpuænə / pˈpænə.   (Cerchiara)
              wants bread
              'He wants bread.'

(4) a. D-N: u   ˈpɔːnə   (cf. ˈpɛːnə 'bread') (Saracena)
              the bread

     b. Q-A: ˈtantu   ˈsɔːnə / ˈsæːnə   (Saracena)
              so   healthy

     c. V-DP: tə   ˈduɲɲə   ˈpæːnə.   (Saracena)
              you= give.1SG bread
              'I'll give you bread.'

(5) a. D-N: lə   ˈnɔːsə   (cf. ˈnaːsə 'nose') (Stigliano)
              the nose

     b. Q-A: cu   gˈgrannə   (Stigliano)
              more big
              'bigger'

     c. V-DP: təˈnejmə   ˈseːtə.   (Stigliano)
              have.1PL thirst
              'We are thirsty.'

The data in (3)–(5) thus reveal the more restrictive nature of the distribution of /u/-propagation in varieties like Stigliano in contrast to its increasingly more liberal distribution in such varieties as Saracena and Cerchiara. Facts like these therefore highlight a degree of microparametric variation in the different types of syntactic configuration under which the phonological process of /u/-propagation is licensed. In their seminal analysis, Rizzi and Savoia (1993) interpret such microparametric differences in terms of the differing government relations which hold between the trigger and target of /u/-propagation. More specifically, the propagation trigger may govern the target: (i) as a functional head (so-called *F-government*); (ii) in a configuration between categories displaying morphosyntactic agreement in gender and/or number (so-called *Agr-government*); and (iii) in a configuration of mutual government (so-called *M-government*).

On this view, the observed microvariation witnessed in different dialects follows from the differing parametric combinations of government requirements operative in individual varieties. For example, the more restricted nature of /u/-propagation in Stigliano is a consequence of a stronger requirement in this variety that both F- and M-government must apply in unison to license harmony, a condition met in the case of D-N sequences (cf 5a), but not in Q-A and V-DP structural configurations (cf. 5b–c). By contrast, in the less restrictive dialects of Saracena and Cerchiara /u/-propagation is simply licensed by either F- or Agr-government (cf. 3a–b, 4a), but they differ in that optional propagation requires Agr- or M-government in Saracena (cf. 4b) and just simple government in Cerchiara (cf. 3c).

In summary, the behaviour of /u/-propagation provides us with another example of a phonological process whose distribution cannot be derived *tout court* from purely phonological representations. Rather, the microvariation observed in the differing structural environments in which propagation is licensed across different dialects unmistakably points to a close interaction and interplay of the phonological and syntactic components, with PF directly externalizing different degrees of restrictiveness in the structural relations of syntactic government between the trigger and target.

2.2   Metaphonetic diphthongization

Our second case study is based on the findings of Silvestri's (2009) study of variation in the realization of metaphonetic diphthongization in the northern Calabrian dialect of Verbicaro. As in many dialects of the area, under the influence of original final inflectional -U(M) and -I (today both realized as -[ə]), the tonic low-mid vowels in both open and closed syllables are subject to metaphonetic diphthongization variously surfacing as falling (6a) or rising (6b) diphthongs:

(6)   LECTU(M)/LECTI 'bed/s', COLLU(M)/COLLI 'neck/s' >
    a.   ˈliətːə, ˈkuədːə   (Verbicaro)
    b.   ˈljetːə, ˈkwodːə   (Verbicaro)

Rather than functioning as free phonetic variants, Silvestri shows how these falling and rising diphthongs occur in complementary distribution, with each diphthongal outcome falling under specific syntactic constraints which, in turn, correlate with distinct pragmatic interpretations.[4] In particular, in clause-initial and clause-medial

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4.   The exception here is prepausal position where, on account of the universal tendency for lengthening in this context, we only find the falling diphthong (Silvestri 2009: 170–171):

positions both variants are possible, witness the representative examples in (7)–(8) discussed in Silvestri (2009: 172):

(7) a. u ˈpiətːə mə fa ˈdːɔlə nɔ a ˈkapa. (Verbicaro)
         the chest me= does pain not the head
         'My CHEST hurts, not my head.'

    b. mə fa ˈdːɔlə u ˈpiətːə stamaˈtɪna. (Verbicaro)
        me= does pain the chest this-morning
        'My CHEST hurts this morning.'

(8) a. u ˈpjetːə mə sta pːaˈsːɛnːə. (Verbicaro)
         the chest me= stands passing
         'My bad chest IS GETTING BETTER (finally).'

    b. mə fa ˈdːɔlə u ˈpjetːə ˈmɔ. (Verbicaro)
        me= does pain the chest now
        'My chest hurts RIGHT AT THIS MOMENT.'

In the examples in (7a–b) with the falling diphthong the 'chest' receives in both instances a narrow focused reading. Consequently, (7a) can be uttered to correct the addressee's previous erroneous statement or inference that the speaker was suffering from a headache, and (7b) could be the felicitous answer to a question such as 'What's wrong with you this morning?'. In both instances the presence of the falling diphthong singles out the relevant nominal as representing (contrastively) new information set off from the rest of the utterance which constitutes the topic instantiating old information assumed to be already known to the addressee. In examples (8a–b), by contrast, the interpretations are reversed, in that the 'chest' now marked by a rising diphthong forms part of the topic articulation, hence representing known information, with the focus of the utterance instantiated by some other constituent. Consequently, an utterance such as (8a) would, for instance, constitute an appropriate answer to the question 'How's your chest?' and, in a similar fashion, (8b) might be a felicitous reply to the question 'When do you get chest pains?'.

   In light of such evidence, it is tempting to analyse the complementary distribution of the two diphthongal outcomes as simple phonological correlates of the prosodic properties associated with focus and topic. However, if that were the case, then one wonders what prevents the falling diphthongal outcome from surfacing in examples (8a–b) and its rising variant in (7a–b) since, on the surface at least, the DP appears to occur in the same clause-initial and clause-medial positions in

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(i) ajə kunˈtsʷat u ˈliətːə / * ˈljetːə. (Verbicaro)
     have.1SG made the bed bed
     'I've made up the bed.'

the (a) and (b) examples. To understand the distribution of the diphthongs in such examples, it seems therefore necessary to correlate their licensing with different structural configurations by assuming an isomorphic mapping between syntactic and phonological representations. In particular, we can hypothesize that the rising diphthongs in (8a-b) are licensed by virtue of the fact that the relevant nominals occur in unmarked positions within the sentential core, namely the dedicated pre-verbal subject position SpecTP in (8a) and the postverbal complement position (V′, DP) of THEME arguments in (8b).[5] In (7a–b), by contrast, we take these nominals to have moved to marked positions within the higher (cf. Rizzi 1997) and lower (cf. Belletti 2004, 2005) left peripheries of the CP and vP clausal domains, respectively, where the focus features they check in these positions are mapped at PF on the falling diphthongal outcome. Consequently, we can now interpret the surface phonetic contrasts witnessed in (7)–(8) in terms of the simplified syntactic representations in (9) which formally correlate the competing diphthongal outcomes with distinct syntactic positions.

(9) a. $[_{TP}$ $[_{Spec}$ u ˈpjetːə] mə sta pːaˈsːɛnːə].   (Verbicaro)
          the chest   me= stands passing
          'My bad chest IS GETTING BETTER (finally).'
     a′. $[_{FocP}$ $[_{Spec}$ u ˈpiətːə] $[_{TP}$ $[_{Spec}$ ~~u ˈpjetːə~~] mə fa ˈdːɔlə
               the chest   the chest me= does pain
          nɔ a ˈkapa]].   (Verbicaro)
          not the head
          'My CHEST hurts, not my head.'
     b. $[_{TP}$ mə fa ˈdːɔlə $[_{v\text{-}VP}$ u ˈpjetːə ˈmɔ]].   (Verbicaro)
          me= does pain   the chest now

                                                           (Verbicaro)
     b′. $[_{TP}$ mə fa ˈdːɔlə $[_{FocP}$ $[_{Spec}$ u ˈpiətːə] $[_{v\text{-}VP}$ ~~u ˈpjetːə~~]
          me= does pain   the chest   the chest
          stamaˈtɪna]]].   (Verbicaro)
          this-morning
          'My CHEST hurts this morning.'

2.3   Rafforzamento/Raddoppiamento fonosintattico (RF)

As with the examples of /u/-propagation and metaphonetic diphthongization just examined, we observed in §1 above how the distribution of RF in Cosentino

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5.   We assume that ˈdːɔlə in (8b) is not the real complement of the verb, but rather forms a complex verbal head with the light verb 'do' (viz. *fa*).

demonstrates that the phonological component does not necessarily operate in isolation, but proves sensitive to syntactic structure. In this respect, phenomena such as RF offer us an important window on the interfaces, with PF directly externalizing not only syntactic but also pragmatico-semantic information as seen in the contrasts exemplified in (1a–b).[6] Moreover, we saw in our brief discussion of Cosentino RF that the syntactic constraints operative on the distribution of RF can be simply and elegantly modelled in terms of a unitary phase-based approach which, at bottom, requires Word$_1$ and Word$_2$ to be sent to Spell-Out in the same cycle in order for RF to be licensed (for in-depth discussion, see Ledgeway in press a, b).

However, the evidence of other dialects of southern Italy reveals considerable subtle but structured microvariation in the licensing and surface effects of RF, affording us many important opportunities to deepen our understanding of the phonological correlates of syntactic representations. Consider, for instance, the structurally-determined alternations in the distribution of RF following the singular persons of the perfective auxiliary and copular uses of BE (viz. 1/2/3SG SUM/ SIS/EST > *so*/*si*/*è*) widespread in southern dialects as witnessed in the numerous paradigms reported in Manzini and Savoia (2005, II–III: Chapters 5–6; cf. also Torcolacci 2014a, b), a small selection of which is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of RF following singular persons of BE*

	Transitive			Unaccusative			Reflexive			Copula		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Poggio Imperiale	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
San Benedetto del Tronto	−	−		−	−		−	−	−	+	+	+
Pàstena-Castelpetroso	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Tufillo	−	−		+	+	+	−	−	−	?	?	?

* Table 1 distinguishes between auxiliary and copula uses of BE in which it is respectively followed by a transitive, unaccusative and reflexive participle and by an adjective. ± indicate the presence/absence of RF, ? the absence of relevant information in Manzini and Savoia (2005), and an absence of any symbol indicates that the relevant potential RF trigger is not licensed in that particular person/context.

Although the data reported in Table 1 require further detailed investigation of the individual microparametric properties of each of the varieties concerned (cf. Ledgeway in press a, b), it is nonetheless possible to note here some significant

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6. Note, however, that syntactic information is not necessarily always externalized at PF, as highlighted by D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015) who in their modular approach to phase theory, in which Spell-Out is separated from the PIC, provide convincing evidence for the claim that the PIC does not necessarily apply uniformly in both syntax and phonology. For discussion of this modular approach to the PIC and its implications for RF in the dialects of Italy, see Ledgeway (in press b: §4).

patterns which deserve future investigation. Consider, for instance, the northern Pugliese dialect of Poggio Imperiale (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 720–721) where the forms of BE for all three persons are RF triggers and systematically license RF, whenever selected, in all four contexts. One possible way to interpret this distribution is to assume, for instance, that in the dialect of Poggio Imperiale finite V-movement is invariably very low such that all forms of BE, whether auxiliary or copula, remain within v-VP and hence within the same phase as their participial or adjectival complement.

Quite different is the behaviour of the southern Marchigiano dialect of San Benedetto del Tronto (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 682–683) where we witness an active-stative split, in that forms of BE never trigger RF on a following active participle, but consistently license RF in conjunction with an adjectival complement. On the standard assumption that active vPs are phasal but the stative vP instantiated by copular BE is not, the observed RF contrast follows straightforwardly.

If we further allow that the phasal status of different vP types is subject to cross-linguistic parametric variation – also in terms of the variable application of the PIC in syntax and phonology, as argued in D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015) –, then we can also account for the contrast in dialects like Pàstena-Castelpetroso (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 713–714) where a transitive-unaccusative split obtains with RF consistently blocked solely before transitive participles. Once again, on the uncontroversial assumption that θ-complete transitive v is a (strong) phase head, whereas non-θ-complete unaccusative and copular v, with which reflexive predicates are aligned in this variety, is not, then the observed distributional contrast in RF follows without further stipulation.

However, we know from Romance auxiliary selection (cf. Ledgeway in press c: §4.3), among other things, that (different classes of) reflexive predicates can variously align with both transitives or unaccusatives in different Romance varieties. Thus, we expect to also find varieties such as the southern Abruzzese dialect of Tufillo (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 747–748), where RF is blocked not just before transitive but also before reflexive participles, but is systematically licensed in conjunction with unaccusative participles.

Clearly, the finer details of the analyses sketched here based on differing parametric instantiations of phasal domains remain to be worked out, but they certainly provide a possible way forward to understanding the structural regularities that underlie what might otherwise be written off as superficial phonological irregularities.

3.   The syntax-semantics interface

Although generative theory, especially in its initial phases, made the claim that the production of grammatical utterances in the grammar of a particular human language was "syntax-driven", it was always obvious that there is no syntax without corresponding meaning, i.e. semantics. As for the interplay of syntax and semantics, Frege's (1892) principle of compositionality already elegantly stated that the semantics of complex units of human language is not based on the addition of the several members of which it consists, but that syntactic structure is essential to semantic interpretation. In generative grammar, the syntax-semantic interface is represented by LF, i.e. Logical Structure, which is then handed over to interpretation, most probably in several cyclic phases. There are several semantic domains where the interplay between the basic meaning of grammatical elements and their syntactic position or morphosyntactic outcome (like agreement) manifests itself in a difference in meaning. Many of them have been extensively studied, especially for English, but there are also several cases where the investigation of the Italian dialects and the macro- and microparametric variation they exhibit was quite influential for the development of generative grammatical theory.

In what follows, we will focus on three case studies in recent Italian dialectology which illustrate phenomena concerned with the syntax-semantic interface, namely negation (§3.1), verbal modality (§3.2) and existential constructions (§3.3).

Negation and modality are concerned with questions of syntactic scope, as is also the interaction of negation and modality, and they are closely related to the tense-inflectional domain. Nevertheless, modal and negation elements may also contribute additional flavours of pragmatic meaning in accordance with their lexical and morphosyntactic properties as well as their syntactic position.

Existential constructions are of particular interest because of their unusual argument structure: their main argument is usually located within the *v*-VP-domain, but they can be interpreted semantically at LF only if their referential properties in relation to (un)specificity, (in)definiteness, partitivity, rhematicity or topicality are set to the right value in accordance with language-dependent parametrizations (cf. also Diesings's 1992 Mapping Hypothesis). Syntactic properties connected to the required interpretation variously show up in [±agreement], auxiliary selection, and the position of the NP.

3.1   Negation

Northern Italian (and Florentine), but recently also southern Italian dialects, have been at the centre of interest for studies on negation, since they display a variety

of negative particles and discontinuous or complex negation.[7] Zanuttini (1997), based on northern Italian data and using the cartographic approach of Cinque's (1999) adverbial hierarchy as a test battery, identified four Neg-positions (cf. also Poletto 2017: 84):

(10) a. NEGP1 for preverbal negators like Italian *non*;
      b. NEGP2 for elements like Italian *mica* (< Lat. 'bread crumb', originally a minimizer, encoding a small quantity, cf. also Fr. *pas* 'step');
      c. NEGP3 representing or derived from negative pronouns like Italian *niente* 'nothing';
      d. NEGP4 for sentence final markers corresponding to a negation that stands for a whole sentence, like Italian *no/NO*.

In northern Italian dialects, all four types of NEG can represent the standard negator, cf. (11):

(11) a. *No*   so.   (Venice)
          NEG1   know.1SG
      b. A   su   *mia.*   (Bagnolo San Vito, MN)
          SCL.1SG   know.1SG NEG2
      c. A   sogh   *nèn.*   (Borgo San Martino, AL)
          SCL.1SG   know.1SG NEG3
      d. Su   *no.*   (Milan)
          know.1SG NEG4
          'I don't know.'   (Poletto 2017: 83–84, following Zanuttini 1997)

Now, in relation to the interplay of syntax and semantics, it has been observed that often the same NEG-element changes configuration and meaning, depending on its syntactic position. The change of meaning can take place in diachrony, as, for example, in French, where the former minimizer *pas* (< Lat. PASSUM 'step') now is the standard negator in NEGP2, in addition to the clitic element *ne* in NEGP1 (which in colloquial French can be left out in accordance with Jespersen's cycle, cf. Jespersen 1917). However, the change in meaning can also take place in synchrony, as the following minimal pair from northern Calabrian shows:

(12) a. *Un* mi canuscia *mancu.*   (north. Cal.)
          not me= know.3SG   *mancu*
          'He doesn't even know me.'

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7.   For northern Italian dialects and Florentine, see, for example, Vai (1996), Zannuttini (1997), Parry (1997), Garzonio (2008a, b), Poletto (2008, 2010, 2017), Garzonio and Poletto (2010a), Manzini and Savoia (1998, 2002, 2011); for southern Italian dialects, see Garzonio and Poletto (2010b), Damonte (2008), Poletto (2009).

b. *Un* mi *mancu* canuscia.   (north. Cal.)
    not me= *mancu* know.3SG
    'After all, he doesn't know me.'   (Ledgeway 2017: 125)

As becomes clear from the translation and has been shown by Ledgeway (2017), in these examples, when the negative element is in a lower, postverbal position, it has a completive interpretation, whereas in the preverbal position it is presuppositional. Furthermore, the interpretation is not one of a standard negator, but, rather, a particular semantic and pragmatic meaning arises which is due to the origin of the negator on the one hand (< Lat. MANCUS, originally 'left-handed', then an adverbial meaning 'incompletely', cf. Ledgeway 2017: 109) and the position, on the other.

Similar observations have been made by Poletto (2017: 101) for colloquial northern Italian *mica* (originally a minimizer, but focal in these examples):[8]

(13) a. *Mica* ti ho detto di telefonargli.   (coll. north. It.)
          NEG2 you= have.1SG said of phone.INF=him
      b. *Non* ti ho *mica* detto di telefonargli.
          NEG1 you= have.1SG NEG2 said of phone.INF=him
          'I did NOT tell you to phone him.'   (Poletto 2017: 87)

As can be seen from (13), the change in meaning sometimes consists in additional speaker-hearer related flavours; i.e. whereas the minimizer *mica* has developed such an additional meaning in Italian, the French minimizer *pas* represents the standard negation.

The difference in interpretation in accordance with syntactic position can now be analysed in several ways:

(14) Possible syntactic processes leading to interpretational differences
      a. Merge in different NEG-heads (NEG1, NEG2, NEG3, NEG4)
      b. Verb movement
      c. NEG movement

Poletto (2017) observes some parallels in the structure of DP and NegP, in particular, with respect to doubling phenomena and thus opts for (14c), assuming a Big-NegP parallel to Cecchetto's (2000) Big-DP, from which the elements contained in it (except for NO which is directly merged in NEGP4), can move to their corresponding positions:

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8. For studies on Italian *mica*, see Cinque (1976), Pescarini (2005), and Penello and Pescarini (2008).

(15)   [$_{\text{NegP1}}$ **non** [$_{\text{TP1}}$V + $_{\text{Agr}}$ [$_{\text{NegP2}}$ **mica** [$_{\text{TP2}}$ [$_{\text{AdvP}}$ *already*] [$_{\text{NegP3}}$ **niente**
[$_{\text{Asp perf}}$ V$_{\text{past part}}$ [$_{\text{Asp gen/progr}}$ [$_{\text{AdvP}}$ *always*] [$_{\text{NegP4}}$ *NO* [$_{\text{vP}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ …
[$_{\text{Big-NegP}}$ [~~*mica*~~ [~~*non*~~ [~~*niente*~~]]]]]]]]]]]]]

(slightly modified from Poletto 2017:90)

The interpretation following the internal structure of the Big-DP according to Poletto (2017:100) is the following:

(16)   [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ *NO* [$_{\text{MinimizerP}}$ *mica* [$_{\text{ScalarP}}$ *non* [$_{\text{ExistentialP}}$ *(ni)ente*]]]]

Or as Poletto (2017:99–100) puts it: "What negation does in other words is to assert that something exists, and that it is the minimal entity on a scale and then takes it out of the set of true propositions." With the introduction of the Big-NegP, positional configurations can also be explained that could not be explained by Zanuttini's cartographic approach alone. If the NEG-elements are lower than the NEG-positions identified by Zanuttini (1997), they just remain in the Big-NegP, if they move higher, the additional meanings (i.e. the interpretation as completive, presuppositional, or focal, on a higher, sentential level) can be derived.

Ledgeway (2017) proposes (14b), i.e. a verb movement analysis for examples like (12). So *mancu* is used as a scalar negator in Neapolitan and Sicilian, but there is also a development towards an interpretation as a standard negator (it can also be used as an answer to a question, cf. Ledgeway 2017:108, (6d)).

In the northern Calabrian examples in (12), NEG1 is occupied by *un*, whereas *mancu* is either presuppositional (12b) or scalar (12a), depending on whether the verb has moved to a higher position (as in 12a) or not (as in 12b).

As for the solution (14c), Ledgeway (2017) has shown that, at least for the Italian dialect data he discusses, a movement analysis is preferable to a lexicalist analysis, where different lexical items would be directly merged into and thus occupy different NEG-positions. The main argument here is, that you cannot double the same element in northern Calabrian, cf. (17), although, in principle, it is possible to have more NEG-types simultaneously lexicalized:

(17)   a.   *Un   si   *mancu* parranu   cchiù   *mancu.*   (north. Cal.)
              NEG1   REFL=   NEG2   speak.3PL anymore NEG3

        b.   *Un   si   *mancu mancu* parranu   cchiù.   (north. Cal.)
              NEG1   REFL=   NEG2   NEG3   speak.3PL anymore

              'After all, they don't speak to each other anymore.'   (Ledgeway 2017:126)

That a combination of NEG2 and NEG3 (cf. 18), and also more than two NEG-types (cf. 19) is, in principle, possible, is illustrated by the following data from Piedmontese:

(18) Fa *pa* *nen* sulì. (Piedmont)
 do.IMP NEG2 NEG3 that
 'Don't do that!' (Zanuttini 1997: 46; Poletto 2017: 97)

Combinations of more than two NEG-types usually give rise to additional interpretations, as in (19), from Venice, where negation is emphatic.

(19) *No* la go *miga* magnada NO! (Venice)
 NEG1 it= have.1SG NEG2 eaten NEG4
 'I did not eat it!' (Poletto 2017: 97)

However, for other varieties or languages a lexicalist analysis is necessary, as can be seen in (20), from Italian (cf. also Ledgeway 2017: 110), where two lexical entries, *nemmeno* 'not even' and presuppositional *mica*, express what is realized by the different positions lexicalized by *mancu* in northern Calabrian (cf. 12):

(20) a. *Non* l' ho *nemmeno* conosciuto. (north. Cal.)
 NEG1 it= have.3SG NEG4 met
 'I haven't even met him.'
 b. *Non* l' ho *mica* conosciuto. (north. Cal.)
 NEG1 it= have.3SG NEG2 met
 'After all, I have not met him.'

So the Italian dialects are a perfect testing ground for typological categorization of synchrony and diachrony, since they offer data that are both variable in syntactic behaviour as well as in semantic-pragmatic interpretation. Negation, in particular, seems to be one of the phenomena where different semantic and pragmatic interpretations are syntactically conditioned, not only in accordance with general principles of Universal Grammar, but also in accordance with the syntactic parametrization of single languages or varieties.

3.2 Verbal modality

Modal verbs, like most elements encoding modality, are semantically polyfunctional and highly context-dependent. Nevertheless, some cases of ambiguity are avoided by syntactic means in accordance with: (1) the lexical item used for the modal auxiliary, (2) the syntactic requirements for modal verbiness in the varieties under discussion; and (3) general hierarchical principles of language. Syntactic requirements, which are also concerned with modals and show a lot of variation especially in spoken language (Wurmbrand 2001 for German), are restructuring properties (cf. Rizzi 1982; Burzio 1986; Roberts 1997): restructuring might be obligatory, optional or impossible.

As a general hierarchical principle for modality it has been observed that an epistemically interpreted modal verb is usually syntactically higher than a deontically interpreted modal. An overall view on ordering conditions for modality is given by Cinque (1999), where modality is represented as follows:

(21)   Cinque's adverbial hierarchy
$Mood_{speech\ act} - Mood_{evaluative} - Mood_{evidential} - Mod_{epistemic} - T_{(Past)} -$
$T_{(Future)} - Mood_{irrealis} - Mod_{necessity} - Mod_{possibility} - Asp_{habitual} -$
$Asp_{repetitive(I)} - Asp_{frequentative(I)} - Mod_{volitional} - Asp_{celerative(I)} - T_{(Anterior)} -$
$Asp_{terminative} - Asp_{continuative} - Asp_{perfect} - Asp_{retrospective} - Asp_{proximative} -$
$Asp_{durative} - Asp_{generic/progressive} - Asp_{prospective} - Mod_{obligation} - Mod_{permission/}$
$_{ability} - Asp_{Completive} - Voice - Asp_{celerative(II)} - Asp_{repetitive(II)} -$
$Asp_{frequentative(II)} \cdots$ (Cinque 1999: 106; 2004)

The hierarchy represents several stacked modal and mood heads where modal epistemicity is clearly syntactically located higher then necessity and possibility, which are both above modal volitionality, which, in turn, is again higher than modal obligation and permission. Diachronic developments often follow the path upwards from lower to higher functional heads (cf. Roberts 1993). In Sardinian diachrony, for example, it happened, as in many languages, that the modal verb of obligation and necessity *dèppere* developed short forms, typical of grammaticalization processes, for encoding the future or conditional of the verbs HAVE and BE (cf. Jones 1993: 90–93). That is, in this case the modal auxiliary climbed up the hierarchy in order to now occupy T_{future} (for the future) or first T_{future} and then T_{past} (for the future in the past, i.e. the conditional).

As for restructuring, Italian modals generally display it optionally. A restructured derivation is monoclausal, showing only one negation, clitic climbing, and auxiliary selection determined by the infinitive, whereas without restructuring the derivation is biclausal, and as such exhibits more functional projections (cf. 22a vs 22b). Furthermore, as can be seen from (22c) vs (22d), the order finite modal in the past perfect followed by an embedded infinitive usually yields a deontic root interpretation, whereas the order finite modal followed by an embedded perfect infinitive, which contains a T-projection, results in an epistemic interpretation:

(22)   a.   Anna si   è   dovuta   prendere i   soldi.   (Italian)
             Anna REFL.CL= be.3SG must.PTCP.FSG take.INF the money

       b.   Anna ha   dovuto   prendersi   i   soldi.
             Anna have.3SG must.PTCP take.INF=REFL.CL   the money
             'Anna had to take the money (for herself).'

c. Anna deve   aver   preso   i   soldi.
    Anna must.3sɢ have.ɪɴꜰ take.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ the money
    'Anna must have taken the money.'
d. Anna ha   dovuto   prendere i   soldi.
    Anna have.3sɢ must.3sɢ take.ɪɴꜰ   the money
    'Anna had to take the money.'

However, this is not the case in all Italian dialects. Ledgeway (2000), for instance, shows that in Neapolitan only the order finite modal in the perfect tense followed by an embedded infinitive is possible, for both the deontic and the epistemic interpretation (cf. 23a), whereas an embedded perfect infinitive is impossible in this case (cf. 23b):

(23) a. Ha   vut''a   piglià   'e   sorde   (Naples)
          have.3sɢ must.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ keep.ɪɴꜰ the money
          'He must have taken the money.'
      b. *hadda'   vé   pigliato 'e   sorde   (Naples)
          have.3sɢ have.ɪɴꜰ take.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ the money
          'He had to take the money'   (Ledgeway 2000: 166–167)

In Neapolitan restructuring is obligatory and the embedded structure does not allow an embedded tense or perfective aspect. In Sardinian, we similarly find that restructuring is obligatory (cf. 24a vs 24b), however embedded perfect infinitives are allowed and give rise to different semantic interpretations, the epistemic in (25a) and the deontic in (25b).

(24) a. Juanne lu   keret   / devet / potet   fákere.   (Lula)
          Gianni it.ᴄʟ= want.3sɢ must3sɢ can.3sɢ do.ɪɴꜰ
          'Gianni wants to / must / can do it.'
      b. *Juanne keret /   devet / potet   lu   fákere.   (Lula)
          Gianni want.3sɢ must3sɢ can.3sɢ it.ᴄʟ= do.ɪɴꜰ (Jones 1993: 142)

(25) a. Frantziscu devet   áere   fraicatu   sa   domo.   (Lula)
          Francesco must.3sɢ have.ɪɴꜰ build.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ the house
          'Francesco must have built the house.'
      b. Frantziscu at   dévitu   fraicare sa   domo.   (Lula)
          Francesco have.3sɢ must.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ build.ɪɴꜰ the house
          'Francesco had to build the house.'   (Jones 1993: 145)

Italo-Romance shows, in a comparative perspective, that in the case of restructuring verbs we find an interplay between parametrized syntactic structure and possible interpretations.[9]

Table 2. Restructuring and the interpretation of modals

Language	Syntactic context	Restructuring	Embedded perfect infinitive	Interpretation
Italian	TP-embedding modal	optional	possible	deontic or epistemic
Sardinian	auxiliary head in the vP	obligatory	possible	deontic or epistemic
Neapolitan	auxiliary head in one of the Mod-projections	obligatory	impossible	ambiguous between deontic and epistemic

Therefore, also in the case of modality, interpretation is not only conditioned by general principles of syntactic scope in the sense of Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, but there are further syntactic conditions depending on the parametrization and the lexical entries of the single variety at issue.

3.3   Existential constructions

Existential constructions are thetic, namely sentence focus clauses which do not follow a clear subject-predicate division. It has been argued, for instance, by Zamparelli (2000), Cornilescu (2009) and others, that it is the so-called pivot, the element coming into existence in an existential construction, that is the predicate of an existential clause. La Fauci and Loporcaro (1997) and Loporcaro (1998) proposed an analysis where the pivot is argumental and predicational at the same time. It is in particular the referential properties of this pivot, compared to the referential

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9. Another case would be Catalan, where the verb *deure* 'must' is lexically specified for an epistemic interpretation such that a deontic interpretation for this particular item is impossible, not because of syntactic constraints, but for pure lexico-semantic reasons (for the deontic interpretation the verb *haver de* 'have of' must be used):

(i) a. En Pere deu   poder   tocar   el   piano.
         Peter   must.3sg be.able.inf play.inf the piano
         'Peter is probably able to play the piano.'
     b. *En Pere pot   deure   tocar   el   piano.   (Picallo 1990:294)
         Peter   be.able.3sg must.inf play.inf the piano

properties of the subject in locative constructions, which often are treated on a par with existentials, that make these constructions an appropriate topic for the illustration of the syntax-semantics-interface. Definiteness effects are connected to syntactic position, as was shown by Diesing (1992) based on earlier work by Milsark (1974, 1977). Whereas indefinite, non-specific referents are realized in a syntactically lower, usually postverbal position, definite, specific (and topical) subjects are higher, either in the left periphery of vP or in the left periphery of the CP (cf. also the discussion in the §1 above). Existential quantification of bare nouns is correlated with the lower syntactic position, whereas the higher position is reserved for specific referents, otherwise bare nouns in the higher position must be generically quantified by default. For Italo-Romance a highly illustrative example for the syntactic correlation between existentials and locatives comes from Sardinian (cf. also Bentley 2004; Remberger 2006, 2009):

(26) a. B'   at   metas frores in sa tanca.   (Lula)
        there= have.3SG many flowers in the meadow
        'There are many flowers in the meadow.'

     b. Bi   sun   sos prattos in mesa.   (Lula)
        there= be.3PL the plates   in table
        'There are the plates on the table.'   (Jones 1993:113)

(26a) is a canonical existential: in Sardinian the existential auxiliary is HAVE, there is no agreement with the pivot, which is indefinite and postverbal. (26b) could be called a locative construction, were the postverbal noun phrase is definite and there is agreement with the copula BE. Both constructions contain a locative prepositional phrase, which is the adpositional coda in (26a) and the predicate in (26b). Both constructions contain a locative clitic, as is generally the case in Italo-Romance.

For existential constructions in Italo-Romance a large data base was constructed following the fieldwork for the research project carried out by Delia Bentley, Francesco Maria Ciconte and Silvio Cruschina (cf. <http://existentials. humanities.manchester.ac.uk/>; see also Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015 for the volume that resulted from this project). The data,[10] which are available online, give an impressive insight into the microvariation found in existential and locative constructions and highlight how a clear distinction between both seems to be conditioned by many factors (cf. also Bentley 2004; Leonetti 2008; Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015:161, (1)) namely:

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10. The examples (35)–(37) in §4.1 also stem from this project.

(27)   Possible factors related to variation in existential constructions in Italo-Romance
  – definiteness (specificity, partitivity, referentiality) of the pivot/subject
  – structural position of the pivot/subject
  – type of existential auxiliary/copula
  – auxiliary selection
  – variation in the form of the clitic/proform
  – presence and status of prepositional phrases, either restricting the domain of existence (also called the "coda", cf. Leonetti 2008) or a locative predicate

Here we will confine ourselves to variation in morphosyntactic agreement of the existential auxiliary verb (copula) and the properties of the postverbal NP (the subject or pivot, depending on the definition).[11] Whereas English is said to prohibit postverbal indefinite NPs in existentials, showing definiteness effects, it soon becomes clear that in other languages postverbal definite NPs are either allowed in all cases or in accordance with their referential properties ("agreement by class"). In Italo-Romance dialects, Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina (2015) identify three basic types of copula agreement with postverbal NPs: (I) no agreement, (II) differential agreement by class, and (III) unfailing agreement. Type (II) especially, but also type (III), can be divided into sub-types:

Table 3. Parametrization of agreement of post-copular NPs in existentials*

Type	Properties of the NP	Number agreement	Dialect
(I)	in all cases	no agreement	e.g. Soleto (cf. 28), Martano (Puglia)
(II)	generally no agreement, except with 1st and 2nd person pronouns	differential agreement	e.g. Orgosolo (Sardinia), Bovolone (Veneto) (cf. 29)
(II)	generally no agreement except with personal pronouns	differential agreement	e.g. Florence (Tuscany), Rocchetta Cairo (Liguria)
(II)	obligatory agreement with personal pronouns, optional with all other with other NPs	differential agreement	Grosseto, Livorno, Pontedera, Siena (Tuscany), Castiglione Messer Marino (Abruzzo)
(II)	obligatory agreement with personal pronouns, optional with other NPs, but no agreement with INDE-cliticized NPs	differential agreement	Lecce II (Apulia)

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11. Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina (2015, especially Chapter 4), show that parametric variation in existentials is closely related to the interpretation of subjecthood and the notion of canonical subjects.

Table 3. (*continued*)

Type	Properties of the NP	Number agreement	Dialect
(II)	Agreement only with definite NPs and partitive indefinite NPs (specificity in the sense of identity and inclusion), but not with INDE-cliticized NPs	differential agreement	Bono (Sardinia) (see also (26) from Jones 1993, Lula (Sardinia))
(III)	always agreement but not with INDE-cliticized NPs	Agreement	San Tommaso (Calabria) (cf. 30)
(III)	always agreement but optional with INDE-cliticized NPs	Agreement	Italian, Mussomeli (Sicily)
(III)	always agreement, also with all indefinite NPs, even non-specifics	Agreement	Palmanova (Venetan Friuli), Fonni (Sardinia), most dialects of central and southern Italy, such as Modica (Sicily), cf. (31), San Lupo (Campania)

* Table 3 represents a conflation of Tables 4.1–4.4 in Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina (2015: Chapter 4).

Existentials with no agreement are given in (28) where we can also observe that the non-agreeing existential auxiliary is HAVE:

(28) a. No   potimu   divorziare: ave   li   piccinni.   (Soleto)
          NEG can.1PL   divorce.INF have.3SG the   children
          'We cannot divorce: there're the children.'

      b. Statte   attenta ca   intru a   sta   frutta ave
          stay.IMP.2SG.REFL careful that inside to   this fruit   have.3SG
          tanti   samenti.   (Soleto)
          many   seeds
          'Be careful! In this fruit there are many seeds.'

                                    (Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 171)

The most interesting cases for the interplay of morphosyntax and referential semantics are, of course, type (II). The following examples illustrate some of these cases of microparametrization with respect to agreement patterns with a postcopular NP: in (29) differential agreement follows person (1st and 2nd), whereas in (30) agreement is disallowed with INDE-cliticized NPs, and in (31) we have general agreement, as is usual in Italian:

(29) Maria non la   è   mìa sola. Te   ghe si   ti.
      Maria NEG SCL.3FG= be.3SG NEG alone SCL.2SG= there= be.3SG you
      Ghe   semo nialtri. Gh' è   lori.   (Bovolone)
      there= be.1PL we   there= be.3SG they
      'Maria is not alone. There's you/us/them.'

                                        (Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 171)

(30) A: Vide   quant'   ova   ce   su   ntr' o   fridoriferu.
          can.IMP.2SG how.many eggs there=NEG be.3PL in   the fridge
          'See how many eggs there are in the fridge.'   (San Tommaso, Calabria)
      B: Mi   pare   ca   ci   nd'   è   uattu.
          Me=   seem.3SG that there= of.them= be.3SG eight
          'I think that there are eight (eggs).'

                                        (Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 179)

(31) Nun ni   putièmu spàttiri: ci   su'   i   picciriddi. (Modica)
      NEG REFL can.1PL separate.INF there be.3PL the children
      'We cannot divorce: there're the children.'

                                        (Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 174)

In a generative framework, agreement would be modelled by a probing, checking or copying mechanism which is available only in certain syntactic configurations. Obviously the referential properties of pivots, i.e. the NPs referring to the entities coming into existence in an existential construction, are vP-internally distributed in higher or lower positions, depending on their referential properties, especially in type (II) varieties. In type (I) varieties, by contrast, a postverbal NP never agrees in accordance with its syntactic position alone, whereas in type (III) languages agreement is obligatory, irrespective of syntactic position and referential properties.
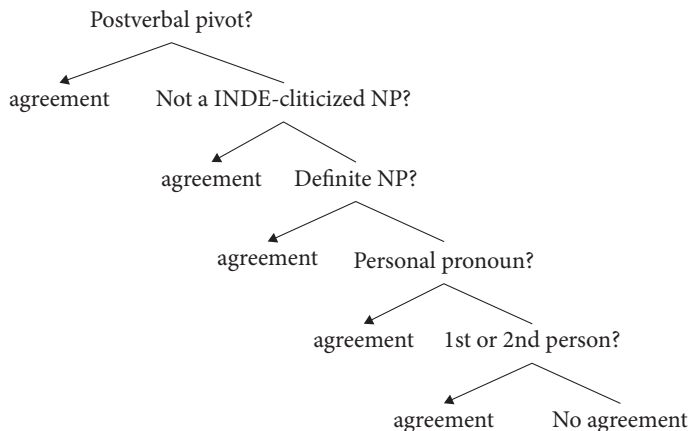
Figure 1. Parametrization of agreement in Italo-Romance existential constructions

The parametric correlation between referential properties and morphosyntactic agreement can also be captured by a decision tree like that in Figure 1. This decision tree can, of course, be integrated in an extended context that would include also missing agreement with postverbal subjects like those discussed in §4.2 below (cf. in particular examples (41)–(43)). Whereas with negation, discussed in §3.1, and modality, discussed in §3.2, the interplay of syntax and semantics was illustrated by syntactically conditioned interpretations, in the case of existential constructions the opposite case is observed, inasmuch as a morphosyntactic phenomenon like agreement is subject to microvariational parametrization conditioned by the semantic factors represented in Figure 1.

4. The syntax-pragmatics interface

The study of the interface between syntax and pragmatics has also provided a variety of insights into the nature and distribution of syntactic phenomena that can only be fully understood with reference to pragmatic licensing conditions or in terms of associations with pragmatic properties. In this section, we examine three syntactic phenomena in the dialects of Italy that have been proven to be subject to pragmatic conditions: (i) invariable subject clitics and sentence particles, (ii) postverbal subjects and subject-verb agreement, and (iii) focus fronting (FF).

The most apparent type of pragmatic influence on syntax comes from the realm of information structure. Given that it relates the presentation of the information to the context, information structure is in fact pragmatic in nature. The major factors in the relationship between information and context are generally characterized in terms of dichotomies such as focus/background, topic/comment, old/new, etc., which syntactically and prosodically modulate the structure of the sentence along specific parameters. Word order permutations are the most evident syntactic reflex of variation in the information structure of a sentence. In this respect, we will discuss the case of invariable (or expletive) clitics that flag specific focus structures, the position of the subject, which in turn affects agreement between subject and verb in several dialects, and the fronting of the focus, which characterizes specific Italo-Romance varieties.

In addition to information structure, pragmatics may also interact with syntax in terms of special pragmatic readings or implicatures. In this sense, some sentence particles in the dialects of Italy seem to contribute to aspects such as presupposition, point of view, and presentation of the event, which are typically related to the left periphery of the clause. Moreover, while signalling or marking a specific focus structure, invariable clitics and focus constructions can also be associated with secondary meanings (e.g. a mirative import) that can be analysed as implicatures.

Let us now review these syntactic phenomena and their pragmatic characterization one by one.

4.1   Invariable subject clitics and sentence particles

Ever since Benincà (1983), it has been shown that certain sentence-initial clitic elements, which are traditionally called subject clitics because they etymologically derive from pronominal forms, do not exhibit the typical properties and distribution of subject clitics. This is the case of the Paduan clitic *a*. In Paduan, the realization of subject clitics depends on a number of syntactic and pragmatic factors, including the information-structure status of the subject. Subject clitics, for example, are generally incompatible with postverbal subjects (32a–b), which are typically focal or at least part of the focus in an all-focus sentence. The clitic *a* does not obey this generalization (32c):

(32) a. *El   riva   Giorgio.   (Paduan)
          SCL.3MSG= arrive.3SG Giorgio
      b. Riva   Giorgio.   (Paduan)
          arrive.3SG Giorgio
      c. A   riva   Giorgio.   (Paduan)
          a= arrive.3SG Giorgio   (Benincà 1983: 19)

This clitic has, rather, a pragmatic function, namely to mark the whole sentence as new information:

(33) a. A vago   via.   (Paduan)
          a= go.1SG away
          'I go away.'
      b. A   se   incontremo sempre.   (Paduan)
          a= REFL= meet.1PL   always
          'We always run into each other.'
      c. A   sì   sempre qua.   (Paduan)
          a= be.2PL always   here
          'You are always here.'   (Benincà 1983: 18)

The marking of the entire sentence as new information has, in turn, given rise to exclamative overtones of emphasis and surprise (Benincà 1983, 1996), which have more recently been described in terms of mirativity (Benincà 2017):

(34) a. A l   riva   doman!   (Paduan)
          a= SCL.3MSG= arrive.3SG tomorrow
          'He's arriving tomorrow!' (unexpectedly)

  b. A l   ghe lo gà dà indrìo!
    a= SCL.3MSG= to-him= it= have.3SG given back
    'He gave it back to him!' (unexpectedly)   (Benincà 2017: 157)

The same or a similar vocalic clitic is found in other northern Italian dialects (Poletto 2000; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Cardinaletti and Repetti 2004, 2010; Bernini 2012; Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015). Poletto (2000) (see also Poletto and Tortora 2016) labels these types of clitic 'invariable' subject clitics, insofar as they show no person-driven alternations. On the basis of various tests, she shows that they belong to the CP domain (see also Benincà 1983). In the dialects where *a* is optional, the invariable clitic performs a function which is pragmatic in nature (thus, the optionality is in fact only apparent) and is sensitive to the information structure of the sentence. Since it marks the entire sentence as new information, the vocalic clitic is incompatible with any element that would yield a different focus structure such as wh-phrases, focalized constituents or dislocated XPs (Benincà 1983; Poletto 2000).

  Despite the different analyses that invariable subject clitics, sometimes called expletive or non-agreeing subject clitics, have received in the literature (see Goria 2004; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Cardinaletti and Repetti 2004, 2010; Floricic 2012), the existence of a link between their function and the information structure of the sentence seems to hold true for most northern Italian dialects. Indeed, they tend to occur in sentence-focus structures, like Paduan *a*, including presentational and existential constructions:

(35) E   nu puremu divursià: u   gh' è   i mati.
    SCL.1PL= not can.1PL divorce.INF EX.SCL= there= be.3SG the children
    'We cannot divorce: there're the children.'
              (Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 58)

In some dialects, they also occur in argument-focus structures with narrow focus on a constituent:

(36) A: Chi gh' é-l   in cusina?   (Grosio, Lombardy)
    who there= be.3SG=SCL.3MSG in kitchen
    'Who is in the kitchen?'
  B: Al gh' è la tóa surèla, in cusina.
    EX.SCL= there= be.3SG the your sister in kitchen
    '*Your sister* is in the kitchen.' (Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 58)

Crucially, they are incompatible with predicate-focus structures, that is, with sentences which feature a sentence-initial topical subject, which typically triggers the realization of an agreeing (deictic) subject clitic (see Vattuone 1975; Browne and Vattuone 1975; Parry 2013; Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015: 58).

(37) a.   Paolo l'   è   in giardin.   (Grosio, Lombardy)
          Paul SCL.3MSG= be.3SG in garden
          'Paul is in the garden.'

     b.   I   giugadur bravi in sta squadra i   gh'   é   mìga.
          the players   good in this team   SCL.3MPL= there= be.3SG not
          'The good players in this team are not here/there.'

We then arrive at the generalization that invariable subject clitics signal the lack of
a sentence-initial subject, either a left-dislocated subject or a canonical preverbal
subject in SubjP (in the sense of Cardinaletti 2004). An exclamative import of sur-
prise may derive from the marking of the sentence as sentence-focus, as in Paduan,
but this is not a necessary development or extension of the function of invariable
subject clitics and is in fact absent in other dialects.

In light of their pragmatic function, invariable subject clitics may actually be
viewed as discourse particles rather than subject clitics proper. This leads us to the
question of the pragmatic import of sentence particles in Italian dialects.

Unlike Italian, several dialects of Italy have at their disposal certain particles
which are generally located in the left periphery of the clause and which contribute
special meanings to specific sentence types (see, e.g., Munaro and Poletto 2003;
Obenauer 2004; Garzonio 2004). The special interpretations associated with these
particles, however, are generally of semantic nature and do not thus belong to inter-
face phenomena between syntax and pragmatics. Nevertheless, Munaro and Poletto
(2003) have highlighted that the presence and distribution of certain sentence par-
ticles involve not only semantic properties, but also interpretive distinctions that
are intrinsically tied to matters of context and can thus be seen as pragmatic in
nature. In Pagotto, for instance, in imperatives the particle *mo* encodes 'point of
view' because it makes implicit reference to the person who will benefit from the
action that has to be performed:

(38) a.   Magna,   mo (che te   deventa   grant)!   (Pagotto)
          eat.IMP.2SG *mo*   that you= become.2SG big
          'Eat (and you'll grow up)!'

     b.   Ledelo,   mo (che te   capisarà   tut)!
          Read.IMP.2SG=it *mo*,   that you= understand.FUT.2SG all
          'Read it (and you'll understand everything)!'

(39) a.   Nèteme   le scarpe, mo (che sion   in ritardo)!
          Clean.IMP.2SG=me the shoes *mo*   that be.3PL in delay
          'Clean my shoes (we're running late)!'   (Pagotto)

b.   Parèceme   da magnar, mo (che dopo avon   da
    Prepare.IMP.2SG=me to eat.INF   *mo*   that later have.1PL to
    'ndar   via)!
    go.INF   away
    'Make me something to eat (we'll soon have to leave)!'

In Venetian imperatives, *mo* is used to confirm an order that has already been given, demanding that the action be performed immediately; this is why it is incompatible with future-time adverbs:

(40) a.   Ciamime   (*tra un' ora), mo!   (Venetian)
      Call.IMP.2SG=me   in   an   hour *mo*
      'Call me (in an hour)!'

    b.   Lezilo   (*doman),   mo!   (Venetian)
      Read.IMP.2SG=it   tomorrow   *mo*
      'Read it (tomorrow)!'

In addition to these semantic specifications, according to Munaro and Poletto, the use of *mo* in Venetian imperatives contributes to the (pragmatic) presupposition that the hearer has no intentions to obey the order.

As mentioned above, in the domain of sentence particles and their interpretive contribution, it is often difficult to disentangle semantic from pragmatic properties. A more straightforward correlation between syntax and pragmatics is instead present in those word order permutations which reflect the information structure of the sentence and which can affect syntactic properties such as subject-verb agreement. We now turn to this issue.

4.2   Postverbal subjects and subject-verb agreement

In relatively free word order languages, the most evident syntactic reflexes of pragmatic properties, especially those related to information structure, involve word order variation. The parameters and conditions that modulate the presentation of the information conveyed by the sentence by means of a fairly wide range of syntactic and prosodic phenomena have been thoroughly studied across languages (see Cruschina 2016; Poletto and Bocci 2016 for Romance). Here, we simply discuss two phenomena that concern word order which, as witnessed by Italian dialects, correlates with further syntactic and pragmatic properties such as subject-verb agreement and the association with implicatures. Let us start with postverbal subjects and subject-verb agreement. In the next section, we will turn to FF and its implicatures.

The phenomenon of subject inversion in Italian and in Italo-Romance varieties has been extensively investigated over recent decades, showing that postverbal placement of the subject depends both on semantic aspects, such as verb class and its specific semantic/lexical properties, and on information-structure related properties such as focalization (Burzio 1986; Benincà 1988; Saccon 1993; Pinto 1997; Tortora 1997, 2001, 2014; Belletti 2004; Giurgea and Remberger 2012; Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina 2015; Bentley 2018; Bentley and Cruschina 2018). A further phenomenon which is intimately related to the position of the subject and is thus also contingent on the information structure of the sentence is the lack of subject-verb agreement. Significantly, this phenomenon is not present in standard Italian but is found in the dialects (41) (Brandi and Cordin 1989; Haiman and Benincá 1992; Saccon 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Mensching and Remberger 2006; Bentley 2013), as well as in regional varieties such as Tuscan Italian (42) (Nocentini 1999) and that spoken in the area of Ancona (43) (Cardinaletti 2002):[12]

(41) a. Gli   è   venuto   delle ragazze.   (Florence)
        EX.SCL= be.3SG come.MSG some girls
     b. È   vegnú   qualche putela.   (Trento)
        be.3SG come.MSG some   girl
        'Some girls have come.'   (Brandi and Cordin 1989: 121)

(42) a. Stasera viene   le tue amiche a trovarti?   (Tuscan It.)
        tonight come.3SG the our friends to find.INF=you
        'Are you friends coming to see you tonight?'
     b. Con quest' umido   nasce   i   funghi.   (Tuscan It.)
        with this dampness grow.3SG the mushrooms
        'Mushrooms grow in these damp conditions.'   (Nocentini 1999: 319)

(43) Questo disegno l' ha   fatto quei bambini lì.   (Ancona It.)
     this   drawing it= have.3SG done those children there
     'Those children there made this drawing.'   (Cardinaletti 2002: 21)

Postverbal subjects are typically focal or at least part of the focus in presentational or thetic structures. They are generally less 'apt' to control subject agreement than sentence-initial (topical) subjects (Samek-Lodovici 2002; Bentley 2013), as witnessed by the data from the dialects and regional varieties of Italy reviewed in this section. By contrast, preverbal subjects obligatory require agreement on the verb or must occur with the corresponding subject clitic displaying the relevant agreement features. Interestingly, the structures that allow lack of agreement are

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12. On the lack of agreement in existential constructions in the dialects of Italy, see Bentley (2013), and Bentley, Ciconte and Cruschina (2013, 2015).

often the same in which invariable or expletive subject clitics are used in northern Italian dialects, as in (35) (cf. §4.1). The lack of subject-verb agreement therefore clearly depends on the information structure of the sentence and, in particular, on the information-structure status of the subject.

4.3 Focus fronting (FF)

Investigations into the syntax and semantics of FF in Italo-Romance varieties have proven particularly important both for the theoretical study of movement and for our understanding of the fine-grained interpretive properties associated with this syntactic operation. Uniquely among Romance languages, Sardinian allows FF with a wide range of constituents, including past participles, infinitives and gerunds, and in a less restricted number of contexts (Jones 1993; Remberger 2010; Mensching and Remberger 2010; Cruschina and Remberger 2017: 508):

(44) a. E **bastare** diat. (Sardinian)
and suffice.INF must.PST.3SG
'And it should be enough!' (Pittau 1991: 141)

b. Emmo, **comporatu** l' appo. (Sardinian)
yes bought it=have.1SG
'Yes, I have bought it.' (Jones 1993: 355)

c. **Mandatu sa líttera** appo. (Sardinian)
sent the letter have.1SG
'I've sent the letter.' (Jones 1993: 338)

d. Eh, **mundende** so, … (Sardinian)
eh clean.GER be.1SG
'Eh, I'm cleaning, …' (Archivi del Sud 1996: 28)

Although with significant syntactic differences (see Cruschina and Remberger 2009), FF is also frequently found in Sicilian (Cruschina 2006, 2010; 2012) and in other southern Italian dialects (see, e.g., Ledgeway 2009a, b):

(45) A: Chi ci dasti a Mariu? (Sicilian)
what to-him= give.PST.2SG to Mario
'What did you give to Mario?'

B: **Un libbru** ci detti.
a book to-him= give.PST.1SG
'I gave him a book.' (Cruschina and Remberger 2009: 121)

These studies have shown that the interpretive correlates of FF are not limited to contrast: FF can be used with information focus in answers to questions (45) and also to express a mirative import of surprise and unexpectedness (46) (Cruschina

2006, 2010, 2012; Jones 2013; Cruschina and Remberger 2017; see also Paoli 2010 on Triestino):

(46) a. **A machina** m' arrubbaru!   (Sicilian)
           the car   me=steal.PST.3PL
           'They stole my car!'   (Cruschina 2012:71)

      b. **Unu figumoriscu** at   mandigadu Giuanne!   (Sardinian)
           a   prickly-pear have.3SG eaten   Gianni
           'Gianni has eaten a prickly pear!'   (Jones 2013:81)

Interestingly, starting with the analysis of interpretation and contexts of use associated with FF, several scholars have more recently observed that the same mirative reading is to some extent also possible in Italian (Cruschina 2012; Bianchi 2013; Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2015, 2016) as well as in other Romance languages (Jiménez-Fernández 2015; Cruschina, Giurgea and Remberger 2015; see also Cruschina 2016; Cruschina and Remberger 2017). In particular, Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina (2015, 2016) analyse the mirative import as the result of an association between the FF operation and a conventional implicature, that is, the implicature that there is at least one focus alternative proposition which is more likely than the asserted proposition. This implicature explains the effect of surprise and unexpectedness that is often associated with FF, and at the same time shows that the traditional partition of the sentence into a new and a given part is not a necessary condition for FF: indeed, mirative fronting can occur in contexts where this partition is not always guaranteed such as in out-of-the-blue contexts.

Another area in which studies on FF in Sardinian and in Sicilian have contributed to shedding light on the semantics and pragmatics of focus fronting concerns the interaction between this syntactic operation and sentence types (see Cruschina and Remberger 2017 for an overview). Despite the possible surprise nuances, declarative sentences with focus fronting must be distinguished from exclamatives proper (Cruschina, Giurgea and Remberger 2015), while in polar interrogatives FF contributes meanings that range from polarity focus, to a mirative import, and to the presupposition that one of the alternative propositions is true (Giurgea and Remberger 2014; Bianchi and Cruschina 2016). In other words, FF does not affect the sentence type and its core semantics, but, rather, contributes additional meanings that are built on the top of the sentence denotation and force.

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Inflectional uniformity in the present subjunctive in the dialects of central Friuli

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In the evolution of the Latin verb system into (Italo-)Romance varieties, affixal allomorphy based on inflectional classes ('conjugations') has normally been preserved (Maiden 2011). Yet the present subjunctive pattern looks exceptional: in this case, the original allomorphy has typically been neutralized, giving way to unprecedented, uniform patterns. A careful examination of data from the dialects of Friuli suggests that the inflectional changes leading to uniformity are due not to a propensity to destroy allomorphy, but to the fact that conjugational allomorphs are subject to some formal and distributional constraints, which, in this case, have been violated. These constraints crucially presuppose that inflectional affixes are signs that, under the right circumstances, can have 'inflectional class' as part of their content (Carstairs-McCarthy 1994).

Keywords: affixal allomorphy, conjugations, inflectional change, Italo-Romance dialects

1. Introduction: A curious diachronic development

The verbal systems of the dialects of Italy, like those of the Romance languages in general, are divided into inflectional classes (also called 'conjugations'), such that verbs which belong to different classes may exhibit different formatives in various parts of their inflectional paradigm.[1] Some examples of this phenomenon are

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1. Following Maiden (2016: 497, fn.2), the inflectional paradigm of a lexeme can be defined as "the array of inflected forms that expresses its lexical meaning in combination with grammatical values". The notion of inflectional paradigm is in effect much more complex than this definition suggests, as demonstrated by the fact that it has become a central issue in morphological theory (cf. Stump 2001, 2016: 8ff.). For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that the kind of inflectional paradigm that has been defined above implies another, more abstract, notion of paradigm, which Stump (2016: 2) terms "content paradigm" and which we can define as the

provided in (1) to (4) below, with data from two dialects of northern Italy, notably central Friuli and Veneto.[2] In the forms in (1) and (2), the relevant formatives are the so-called 'thematic vowels', i.e. tonic vowels that occupy the position immediately after the verbal stem and followed by person-number exponents. In the forms in (3) and (4), by contrast, the formatives are true 'conjugational allomorphs', i.e. inflectional affixes which, while expressing the same morphosyntactic content, may also take different forms depending on the inflectional class of the verb:

(1) Central Friulian, imperfect subjunctive

	First Conj(ugation)	Second Conj.	Third Conj.
	SPEAK	BE SILENT	SEW
1sg.	(k o) feve'l-a-ssi	ta'z-e-ssi	cu'z-i-ssi
	-a-	-e-	-i-

(2) Venetian, imperfect subjunctive

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.
	WATCH	BE SILENT	SLEEP
1sg.	(che mi) var'd-a-sse	ta'z-e-sse	dor'm-i-sse
	-a-	-e-	-i-

(3) Central Friulian, present indicative

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.
	SPEAK	BE SILENT	SEW
3sg.	(lui al) fe'vel-e	'tasi	'cusi
	-e	-ø	-ø

(4) Venetian, present indicative

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.
	WATCH	BE SILENT	SLEEP
3sg.	(el) 'vard-a	'taz -e	'dorm-e
	-a	-e	-e

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range of morphosyntactic property sets for which lexemes of a given lexical category inflect. In Stump's theory, content paradigms are divided into 'cells', namely specific combinations of morphosyntactic properties; the notion of 'paradigm cell' is particularly important for the present study, inasmuch as each of these 'cells' constitutes the domain of a potential allomorphy. Note that this approach to allomorphy clearly presupposes that inflectional paradigms are endowed with psychological reality, playing a crucial role in the definition of a language's inflectional morphology.

2. The data in (1) and (3) are from Vicario (2011). Those in (2) and (4), which have been elicited from native speakers, are consistent with the forms reported by Zamboni (1974) and Marcato and Ursini (1998: 240, 275).

The Romance verbs have inherited their inflectional classes from Latin and, in fact, much of their conjugational allomorphy can be traced back to Latin forms. In a sense, the diachronic persistence of these classes may seem odd. As the examples above suggest, the presence of conjugational allomorphs contributes to complicating the organization of the verbal system, implying redundant realization of the same morphosyntactic information. A reasonable expectation is therefore that these allomorphs should tend to be eliminated in the course of language evolution, being replaced by uniform (i.e. conjugation-independent) affixes.[3]

In practice, however, this is not the case. Neutralization of conjugational oppositions has actually occurred, sometimes, in the evolution of Latin verbs into Romance. However, this phenomenon lacks the systematicity that would allow us to regard it as a manifestation of a deeper principle disfavouring conjugational allomorphy. In fact, the observed neutralizations only rarely reach the stage of complete uniformity across conjugations and, in some cases at least, are due to phonological change.[4]

A noteworthy exception to the overall trend of 'morphological persistence' introduced above is the present subjunctive pattern in the dialects of Italy.[5] In this case, the original allomorphic pattern that contrasted Latin verbs of the first conjugation with verbs of the other classes[6] (cf. Table 1 below) has typically been neutralized, giving way to unprecedented, uniform patterns of inflection.

As the data below show, the details vary considerably from one dialect to another, making classification challenging.[7] A fine-grained classification is not our

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3. In this regard, it is worth observing that morphological categories such as inflectional classes are not a universal property of language in that they are typically absent in agglutinative languages (cf. Wurzel 1989). This fact led Aronoff (1998: 413) to suggest, provocatively and jokingly, that such morphological categories would be a "pathology of language".

4. The present indicative forms illustrated in (3) and (4) above are a case in point. As Maiden (2016: 510) argues, in this case the inflectional uniformity observed in non-first conjugation verbs is due to the regular merger of Latin unstressed short Ĭ and Ĕ that occurred virtually everywhere in Romance (except in Sardinian).

5. In considering the data below, it is worth bearing in mind that the present subjunctive has typically been lost in the dialects of southern Italy, as discussed by Loporcaro (1999) and Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014).

6. In particular, the opposition was signalled by a vocalic formative occurring before the person/number exponent, namely -e- for first conjugation verbs and -a- for verbs of the other classes. These formatives will be analysed in §2.

7. A preliminary classification of these patterns might be based on the identity or difference of the desinential vowel across persons. This would contrast the patterns in Tables 2 to 4, which display different vowels, with the patterns in Tables 5 to 7, which display an identical vowel in all the relevant persons. Note, however, that such a classification might be confusing, as it might lead

immediate concern, however, as the relevant point for our present purposes is what all these patterns have in common, notably the fact that, at least in the rhizotonic forms, verbs of all conjugations inflect by means of the same affix set, as reported in the rightmost column of each table:

Table 1. Classical Latin

	First Conj.	Other Conjugations				CONJUGATIONAL ALLOMORPHY	
	SING	FEAR	RECEIVE	SEND	SHARE		
1sg.	cant-e-m	time-a-m	recipi-a-m	mitt-a-m	parti-a-m	-e-	-a-
2sg.	cant-ē-s	time-ā-s	recipi-ā-s	mitt-ā-s	parti-ā-s	-e-	-a-
3sg.	cant-e-t	time-a-t	recipi-a-t	mitt-a-t	parti-a-t	-e-	-a-
1pl.	cant-ē-mus	time-ā-mus	recipi-ā-mus	mitt-ā-mus	parti-ā-mus	-e-	-a-
2pl.	cant-ē-tis	time-ā-tis	recipi-ā-tis	mitt-ā-tis	parti-ā-tis	-e-	-a-
3pl.	cant-e-nt	time-a-nt	recipi-a-nt	mitt-a-nt	parti-a-nt	-e-	-a-

Table 2. Ligurian, Ventimiglia (Azaretti 1982)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.	UNIFORM AFFIX SET
1sg.	cant-e 'may I sing'	lez-e 'may I read'	cüx-e 'may I sew'	-e
2sg.	cant-i	lez-i	cüx-i	-i
3sg.	cant-e	lez-e	cüx-e	-e
	…	…	' …	
3pl.	cant-e	lez-e	cüx-e	-e

Table 3. Piedmontese, Cairo Montenotte (Parry 2005)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.	UNIFORM AFFIX SET
1sg.	'maŋd-a 'may I send'	'vʊɹ-a 'may I be worth'	'pʊrt-a 'may I leave'	-a
2sg.	'maŋd-i	'vʊɹ-i	'pʊrt-i	-i
3sg.	'maŋd-a	'vʊɹ-a	'pʊrt-a	-a
	…	…	…	
3pl.	'maŋd-u	'vʊɹ-u	'pʊrt-u	-u

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us to focus on the phenomenon of syncretism, which is the opposite of what we are discussing in this study, namely allomorphy. In the case of syncretism, we observe an identity in form where we would expect a difference; in the case of allomorphy, by contrast, we observe a difference in form where we would expect an identity. I thank one of the referees for drawing my attention to this problem.

Table 4. Laziale, Ascrea (Fanti 1939)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.	UNIFORM AFFIX SET
1sg.	'mann-e 'may I send'	'tɛŋg-e 'may I hold'	'mɔr-e 'may I die'	-e
2sg.	'mann-i	'tɛŋg-i	'mɔr-i	-i
3sg.	'mann-e	'tɛŋg-e	'mɔr-e	-e
	…	…	…	
3pl.	'mann-enu	'tɛŋg-enu	'mor-enu	-enu

Table 5. Central Friulian (Marchetti 1952; Vicario 2011)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.	UNIFORM AFFIX SET
1sg.	fe'vel-i 'may I speak'	'taz-i 'may I be silent'	'cuz-i 'may I sew'	-i
2sg.	fe'vel-is	'taz-is	'cuz-is	-is
3sg.	fe'vel-i	'taz-i	'cuz-i	-i
	…	…	…	
3pl.	fe'vel-in	'taz-in	'cuz-in	-in

Table 6. Lombard, Bergamo (Sanga 1987)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.	UNIFORM AFFIX SET
1sg.	cànt-e 'may I sing'	mèt-e 'may I put'	dórm-e 'may I sleep'	-e
2sg.	cànt-et	mèt-et	dórm-et	-et
3sg.	cànt-e	mèt-e	dórm-e	-e
	…	…	…	
3pl.	cànt-e	mèt-e	dórm-e	-e

Table 7. Emilian-Romagnol, Lugo (Pelliciardi 1977)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.	UNIFORM AFFIX SET
1sg.	'lev-a 'may I wash'	'kɔr-a 'may I run'	'bɔl-a 'may I boil'	-a
2sg.	'lev-a	'kɔr-a	'bɔl-a	-a
3sg.	'lev-a	'kɔr-a	'bɔl-a	-a
	…	…	…	
3pl.	'lev-a	'kɔr-a	'bɔl-a	-a

In none of the patterns above is the observed neutralization of conjugational allo-morphy due to phonological change. Yet, as a morphologically driven innovation, this is entirely at odds with the tendency towards persistence of conjugational allo-morphy that characterizes the evolution of most other inflected forms. How can we explain this peculiar diachronic development? In this study, I will try to answer this question. Focusing on the development of the present subjunctive in the dialects of central Friuli, I will show that the inflectional uniformity of the present-day pattern

(as illustrated in Table 5) is the result of two concatenated, but logically separate, innovations, neither of which can be interpreted in terms of elimination of conjugational allomorphy. In fact, these innovations are best understood by assuming that both the form and the distribution of conjugational allomorphs are subject to some specific constraints that, in this particular case, have been violated.

These constraints will be discussed in due course. For the time being, the most important point to bear in mind is that they depend closely on a view of inflectional affixes as signs (i.e. meaningful units) that, under the right conditions, can have purely morphological information such as 'inflection class' as part of their content (Carstairs-McCarthy 1994).

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, I will show that conjugational allomorphy is not morphologically problematic in itself, suggesting that the first trigger for the inflectional changes that the Latin present subjunctive pattern underwent in diachrony was actually not morphological, but phonological. After that, I will illustrate, respectively, the development of the relevant forms in the dialects spoken in central Friuli (Section 3), and some of the theoretical implications of my analysis (Section 4).

2. A promising theoretical framework: Synonymy avoidance, and the present subjunctive pattern in Latin

In Section 1 above, I briefly mentioned the fact that the presence of conjugational allomorphs is easily interpreted as an unnecessary complication for an inflectional system, as it implies redundant realization of the same morphosyntactic information. Consider the inflectional pattern that was illustrated in (4), repeated again below. This pattern involves two different affixes, namely -a and -e, for inflecting forms that occupy the same set of paradigm cells. A possible interpretation, therefore, is that it involves two different forms for the expression of the same grammatical content, that is to say, two synonymous affixes.[8]

(4)   Venetian, present indicative

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.
3sg.	(el) ˈvard-**a**	ˈtaz -**e**	ˈdorm-**e**
	-a	-e	-e

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8.   The phenomenon of conjugational allomorphy is actually termed 'morphological synonymy' by some authors, e.g. Crocco-Galeas (1998: 66).

Now the problem with this interpretation of conjugational allomorphy is that it presupposes violation of a principle that, tacitly or explicitly, has long been claimed to be involved in the organization of linguistic systems, namely 'Synonymy Avoidance'.[9]

Note that the hypothesis that conjugational allomorphs are synonymous, when considered in the light of the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance, cannot explain the fact that these allomorphs are typically persistent in diachrony. If it were true that conjugational allomorphs are cognitively problematic because of their violating Synonymy Avoidance, we would expect elimination of conjugational allomorphy to be a systematic tendency in the evolution of inflectional systems, while we have seen that instances of complete deletion of conjugational allomorphy are in fact quite exceptional.

In the following, I will tackle the issue from a different perspective, arguing that the hypothesis according to which conjugational allomorphs are necessarily synonymous is wrong. First, I shall demonstrate that patterns of conjugational allomorphy can be reconciled with the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance in a straightforward way, namely by taking account of the distribution of allomorphs with respect to conjugations. Subsequently, I shall show that this kind of argument is also valid in the case of the Latin present subjunctive pattern.

This is a relevant point for our present purposes: once we accept the idea that conjugational allomorphy is not a problem in itself, the development of our present subjunctive pattern should no longer be regarded as the manifestation of a propensity to eliminate this alleged problem, and we should be ready to search for some other explanation.

Now, to demonstrate that conjugational allomorphs are not necessarily synonymous, we may start from a careful examination of the concept of synonymy. According to the definition provided by Carstairs-McCarthy (2010: 61), two linguistic units are synonymous if they are "perfectly interchangeable", that is, if they can be substituted for each other in a given linguistic construction, without altering the meaning or acceptability of that construction. In light of this new definition, two conjugational allomorphs like those appearing in the pattern in (4) above cannot be defined as synonymous, being clearly not interchangeable. Indeed, they are found

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9. As Carstairs-McCarthy (1994: 737) argues, the absence of exact synonymy, which has typically been regarded as a characteristic feature of lexical items, should be supposed to hold also for inflectional affixes. In fact, this would be a manifestation of a deeper principle, the so-called Principle of Contrast: "Every difference in form marks a difference in meaning" (Clark 1987, 1993). In Clark's view, this principle would guide children in the process of lexical acquisition, making sense of the impressive speed at which they learn new lexemes. An interesting discussion of the role of the Principle of Contrast in language acquisition is in Bloom (2000: 67f.), while its implications for the evolution of complex morphological systems are discussed by Carstairs-McCarthy (1999, 2002; 2010: 59ff.).

to be in complementary distribution, as one of them appears in all and only first-conjugation verbs, while the other invariably appears in verbs of the other classes.

Now observe something interesting about this distribution: because it is uniquely associated with first conjugation verbs, the allomorph -a can be taken as a reliable indicator that any verb that exhibits it in its present subjunctive forms belongs to that class. By the same logic, however, the 'rival' allomorph -e does not function as a reliable indicator of inflection class membership, being shared by verbs of different conjugations. At this point, if we can accept the idea that the allomorph -a functions as a 'reliable indicator' of inflectional class, we will also probably accept the suggestion that it has 'First conjugation' as part of the informational content it provides. Accordingly, we may say that the allomorph -e lacks any kind of information about the inflection class of the verbs in which it appears.[10] In the terminology coined by Carstairs-McCarthy (1994: 743), the former allomorph can be labelled a 'class-identifier', while the latter would be the 'class-default' for the relevant cluster of paradigm cells.

Diagram 1 below illustrates the relevant points of this analysis.

First Conjugation	Other classes ('elsewhere')	Distribution
-a	-e	Form
Present Indicative, third person singular First Conjugation (presence of information about inflection class)	Present Indicative, third person singular (absence of information about inflection class)	Content
'Class-identifier'	'Class-default'	Label

Diagram 1.

The idea that purely morphological information such as 'inflectional class' may be part of the informational content of inflectional affixes was first put forward by Andrew Carstairs-McCarthy (1994). At first, this may look extremely odd, as it crucially rests on the assumption that inflectional affixes are signs, i.e. meaningful units, which is admittedly a rather extreme view of the nature of the minimal sign

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10. As far as the allomorph -e is concerned, an alternative interpretation might be that it has a 'negative meaning', indicating that its host-verb does not belong to the first conjugation. However, as Carstairs-McCarthy (1994: 743, 1998) convincingly argues, this idea is to be rejected a priori, as negative meanings are not assigned to lexemes in the field of lexical semantics.

in linguistic analysis.[11] When considered more carefully, however, this hypothesis proves definitely worthy of consideration, for the following reasons.

First, it is logically coherent, as the information about conjugational class is not assigned to affixes in a trivial way. Indeed, the classification of an affix as a class-identifier follows precise considerations about its lexical distribution. In particular, it follows the principle of univocal association, which is actually one of the mechanisms whereby lexemes are assigned their meaning during the process of lexical acquisition.

Second, this hypothesis is heuristically fruitful, as it allows us to reconcile the phenomenon of conjugational allomorphy with the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance, and hence to explain the observed persistence of elaborate inflection class systems in diachrony in a straightforward way. Once we stop regarding conjugational allomorphy as a problem in itself, the idea that it can be preserved in the diachronic evolution of morphological systems becomes much more acceptable.

Returning now to our main research topic, we may observe that the Latin present subjunctive pattern lends itself to an analysis which is very similar to the one illustrated in Diagram 1.

This pattern, as we saw in §1, involves the two allomorphs -e- and -a-, the former occurring in first conjugation verbs, the latter appearing in verbs of the other conjugations.[12] Following the argument above, the formative -e- would therefore count as a 'class-identifier' for first-conjugation verbs, whereas -a- would be the 'class-default' for the relevant cluster of paradigm cells. This means that, other things being equal, the allomorph -e- should be assumed to include some extra information about the inflectional class of the verb to which it attaches, whereas the rival allomorph -a- should be assumed to lack this kind of information. This is summed up schematically in Diagram 2:

First Conjugation	Other classes ('elsewhere')	Distribution
-e	-a	Form
Present Subjunctive, First Conjugation (presence of information about the inflection class)	Present Subjunctive (absence of information about inflection class)	Content
'Class-identifier'	'Class-default'	Label

Diagram 2.

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11. The issue of the 'minimal sign' in linguistic analysis is discussed by Carstairs-McCarthy (2005), Enger (2005) and Blevins (2016), among others.

12. The vexed question of the origin of these formatives will not be addressed here. Cf. Ernout (1953) and Sihler (1995).

The gist of my argument so far is that an inflectional pattern like that of the Latin present subjunctive is not problematic in itself, or at least it is not morphologically problematic, inasmuch as it does not violate the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance. This leads us to expect that it should not undergo morphological change in diachrony. In the following section, we will see that the first trigger of the chain of changes undergone by this pattern in the course of its diachronic development was actually not morphological, but phonological.

3. Evolution of the present subjunctive pattern in the dialects of central Friuli

In the contemporary dialects of central Friuli, the present subjunctive pattern is indeed characterized by a virtually ubiquitous desinential -i. The relevant pattern, which was already illustrated in §1, Table 5, is repeated in Table 8:

Table 8. Central Friuli (Marchetti 1952; Vicario 2011)

	First Conj.	Second Conj.	Third Conj.
1sg.	-i	-i	-i
2sg.	-is	-is	-is
3sg.	-i	-i	-i
	…	…	…
3pl.	-in	-in	-in

The pervasiveness of -i in this pattern, peculiar in itself, is even more surprising inasmuch as this vowel is unexpected in most cases. In fact, the only forms in which a uniform -i can be motivated in phonological terms are the third person plural and, probably, the second person singular of non-first conjugation verbs.[13]

As for the other forms, the regular diachronic treatment of unstressed final vowels in this area leads us to expect not -i, but rather zero affixes for first conjugation

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13. In particular, the -i of the third person plural can be accounted for by phonological raising of all vowels in proparoxytonic position (cf. Benincà and Vanelli 2005: 264f.). The -i of the second person singular, on the other hand, would be due to raising of unstressed -a before -s. The exact nature of the latter change is controversial (cf. Francescato 1965; Iliescu 1969, 1970; Benincà 2005 [1989]; Iliescu and Mourin 1991; Vanelli 2007: 54, fn.7), but we may still regard this -i as a regular development in the dialects of central Friuli.

verbs and vocalic affixes in the form -a, -e, or -o for verbs of the other classes, as illustrated in Diagram 3.[14]

	First Conj.	Other classes
1sg	ø (< E)	-A
2sg	ø (< E)	
3sg	ø (< E)	-A

Diagram 3.

Note that present subjunctive forms with the expected endings are actually documented in earlier diachronic stages of these dialects (Maschi 2000: 206), and can still be observed in some particularly conservative varieties such as that spoken in the town of Erto,[15] which suggests that the introduction of -i must be the result of a (relatively recent) morphological innovation.

In a series of articles on the verbal morphology of the dialects of Friuli, Benincà and Vanelli account for the presence of this -i in terms of analogical extension from the first singular of the present indicative of first conjugation verbs. Considering that the final -i of the first singular of the present indicative is equally unexpected, however, one might wonder where this final -i originates. Greatly simplifying, Benincà and Vanelli's explanation of the origin and evolution of -i as a verbal ending is as follows. Final -i enjoys a peculiar status in the dialects of Friuli, being added as a phonological repair strategy in those words that would otherwise end in an unacceptable consonant cluster.[16] In the first singular of the present indicative, however, this -i would have been reanalyzed as a morphological unit and analogically inserted in place of the expected zero affix, as this could guarantee that all the three singular forms were provided with an identical number of syllables. [17] Having established itself as a verbal ending in the present indicative, this -i would extend to the present subjunctive forms, as a case of formal unification of the two present tenses that finds interesting parallels in a number of Romance languages (Figure 1):

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14. The relevant phonetic changes are the loss of unstressed final vowels except for Lat. -A, and the regular evolution of unstressed final -A, which can become -a, -e, or -o, according to the dialect. Cf. Vanelli (2005: 22), Benincà and Vanelli (2016).

15. Cf. Gartner (1892). Benincà (2005: 60) signals that etymologically expected forms are observed also in the dialects of Clauzetto, Collina, and Paularo.

16. See the treatment of the adjective MACRU > *magr-i* 'thin'.

17. The second and third singular forms of the first conjugation present indicative are vowel-final, due to persistence of Lat. -A. In §4, I will provide a slightly different explanation of the analogical introduction of -i in the first person singular of the present indicative.

	Indicative First Conj.	Subjunctive First Conj.	Second Conj.	First Conj.
1sg	-i	-i	-i	-i
2sg		-is		
3sg		-i	-i	-i

Figure 1. Analogical extension of -i in the present tenses

In evaluating this hypothesis, we should bear in mind that Benincà and Vanelli are well aware of the fact that the development of the present subjunctive forms leaves a number of questions unresolved, the focus of their investigation actually being on the evolution of the present indicative.[18] That notwithstanding, the idea of an analogical extension of -i from the first person singular of the present indicative to the present subjunctive forms seems to be open to a couple of objections.

First, the fact that the vowel that characterizes the present subjunctive endings in contemporary varieties is identical to the vowel that appears in the first person singular of the present indicative does not conclusively prove that this ending has been analogically extended from one context to the other. In fact, an alternative source of -i is not difficult to find. As we have already noted, final -i functions as the typical 'support vowel' in the dialects of Friuli, so we may expect first conjugation verbs ending in a consonant cluster to display this final -i in their present subjunctive forms long before the establishment of -i as the typical present subjunctive marker. Note that one such form, namely *monstri* '(may he) show', is actually documented in a Medieval text, showing that -i was potentially available as a present subjunctive ending at a chronological stage in which the typical desinence for first conjugation verbs was zero.[19] In light of this consideration, we might suppose that the phonological -i of verbs of the *monstri* type might for some reason have been reanalyzed as a morphological unit, triggering its analogical generalization as a present subjunctive marker.[20]

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18. The hypothesis that final -i would be analogically extended from the present indicative to the present subjunctive is actually made in response to a previous proposal by Iliescu (1969, 1970), according to which the extension of -i would occur in the opposite direction, i.e. from the subjunctive to the indicative.

19. The form is reported by Benincà (2005: 105).

20. The process, as we will see, is actually a little more complicated, but the idea of this alternative source of -i is still worth bearing in mind.

Apart from the source of -i, however, the other objection to Benincà and Vanelli's hypothesis is that, in claiming that -i would be extended from the first person singular of the present indicative to the present subjunctive forms, they fail to explain why this alleged analogical extension should occur.

In the case of the present indicative, as we have seen, the analogical introduction of -i in place of the expected zero affix was accounted for by observing that this could provide all the singular forms with the same number of syllables. In the case of the present subjunctive forms, however, this kind of argument is not valid. Indeed, in the present subjunctive, the presence of the zero exponent in all the singular forms of first conjugation verbs guarantees that these forms have the same number of syllables from the start, which might lead us to expect that no analogical introduction of -i should occur. Paradoxically, however, we find that the analogical introduction of -i in the present subjunctive targets not only those forms that originally had a zero affix, but also those forms that originally displayed an overt affix, namely the regular reflex of Lat. -A.

In fact, we have reason to believe that the introduction of -i in first conjugation verbs and the introduction of -i in verbs of the other classes represent two separate innovations in the evolution of the present subjunctive pattern. Whereas first conjugation verbs display inflectional -i in place of the expected zero until the XV century, verbs of the other classes are found to retain their etymologically expected ending until the XVI century at least (cf. Maschi 2000: 206). This suggests that inflectional -i must first have been introduced in first conjugation verbs, replacing the original zero affix. Later, it would have been extended to verbs of the other classes, replacing the regular outcome of Lat. -A.

As far as the latter innovation is concerned, it is likely to be related to the development -as > -is in the second person singular mentioned at the beginning of this section. This can explain why present-day dialects that do not have -is (< -AS) in the second singular typically have -i only in first conjugation verbs in the present subjunctive. Below are the relevant patterns of two such dialects, namely Collina (Table 9a) and Vito D'Asio (Table 9b):

Table 9a. Pres. Subj., Collina (UD)

	First Conj.	Other classes
1sg	-i	-o (< A)
2sg	-i	-o
3sg	-i	-o

Table 9b. Pres. Subj., Vito d'Asio (PN)

	First Conj.	Other classes
1sg	-i	-a (< A)
2sg	-i	-a
3sg	-i	-a

This reconstruction of facts, if correct, allows us to break up our original problem into two more specific problems, namely: (1) Why should inflectional -i be

analogically introduced in first conjugation verbs, replacing the original zero exponent? (2) What is the nature of the correlation, if any, between the introduction of -i in non-first conjugation verbs and the development -as > -is in the second singular forms? In what follows, I will try to answer these two questions, providing my own interpretation of the analogical changes at issue. In particular, I will argue that both the introduction of inflectional -i in first conjugation verbs and its extension in verbs of the other classes can be interpreted as 'remedial innovations' (Andersen 1980), that is, as solutions to 'problematic' inflectional patterns. Now the reason why the inflectional patterns on which analogical change acts are problematic can easily be understood by espousing the interpretation of conjugational allomorphs introduced in §2, according to which they are signs that can have information about the conjugation of the verb as part of their content.

3.1   Avoidance of a class-identifier zero and the introduction of -i in first conjugation verbs

In the passage from Latin to the dialects of Friuli, we have seen, the form of the two present subjunctive allomorphs was considerably altered by sound change. As far as the singular forms are concerned, the 'new' pattern involved zero affixes for first conjugation verbs and vocalic affixes for verbs of the other classes, as illustrated in Diagram 4:

	First Conj.	Other classes
1sg	ø (< ᴇ)	-V
2sg	ø (< ᴇ)	-V
3sg	ø (< ᴇ)	-V

Diagram 4.

Comparing this new pattern with the original one, we may observe one interesting thing: although the two allomorphs are totally different in shape, their distribution with respect to conjugations has remained exactly the same, the original opposition between first conjugation verbs and verbs of the other classes surviving intact.

This distributional identity might lead us to analyse the allomorphs of this new pattern in the same way as we analysed the Latin ones (cf. Diagram 2), treating the zero marker as a 'class-identifier' for first conjugation verbs and the vocalic marker as the 'class-default' for the relevant cluster of paradigm cells. As discussed in §2, this would allow us to reconcile this new pattern with the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance, because of the additional content carried by the 'class-identifier' allomorph.

The complete analysis of the relevant allomorphs is illustrated in Diagram 5 below:

First conjugation	Other classes	Distribution
-ø	-A	Form
Present Subjunctive, First Conjugation (presence of information about inflection class)	Present Subjunctive (absence of information about inflection class)	Content
Class-identifier	Class-default	Label

Diagram 5.

A closer look at Diagram 5, however, reveals that the new pattern differs from the original one in a fundamental aspect, turning out to be much more problematic than initially thought. In particular, the fact that the class-identifier allomorph of this new pattern is zero raises a problem, as it presupposes that, other things being equal, the extra information concerning the conjugational class of the verb is realized by the allomorph with less (notably 'zero') form. In these terms, the new pattern would be at variance with one of the most basic principles of morphological encoding, traditionally known as Constructional Iconicity, which requires that greater quantities of meaning should ideally be realized by greater quantities of form.[21]

To sum up, the problem with this new pattern can be stated as follows: on the one hand, the distribution of its allomorphs with respect to conjugations is such that they can be reconciled with the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance by treating them, respectively, as a 'class-identifier' and a 'class-default'. On the other hand, the form of these allomorphs is such that their counting, respectively, as a 'class-identifier' and a 'class-default' presupposes violation of another basic morphological principle, namely Constructional Iconicity.

The idea that the present subjunctive pattern illustrated in Diagram 5 is problematic for the reasons discussed above, however, might lead us to explain the first analogical change that it underwent in the course of its diachronic development, namely the replacement of the zero allomorph by -i. As it is easy to see, once the 'class-identifier' allomorph stops being represented by a zero affix, the pattern can

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21. This principle, which is one of the major tenets of Natural Morphology (Dressler et al. 1987; Wurzel 1989), is regarded as a fundamental principle of morphological coding in many other approaches. Cf. Jakobson (1939), Andersen (1989 and references therein), Bender (1998), Matthews (1991: 236ff.), Reiner et al. (2014).

easily be reconciled with the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance, without this implying any violation of the Principle of Constructional Iconicity.

The most plausible source of -i, as I have already suggested, is the small group of verbs that we might refer to as the *monstri* type. We have seen that the presence of final -i in these verbs can be explained as a phonological repair strategy aimed at avoiding the occurrence of an unacceptable consonant cluster in word-final position. Now my claim is that, at a certain point, this -i would have been reanalysed as a morphological repair strategy, notably as an alternative to zero as a class-identifier allomorph, leading to its analogical introduction in all first conjugation verbs.

3.2   Blur avoidance and the generalization of -i in non-first conjugation verbs

In Diagram 4 above, the concrete shape of the vowels in the affixes of non-first conjugation verbs was not specified. Now their shape becomes important, however. As we saw at the beginning of this section, by phonological change we expect two different vowels, namely -i in the second person singular, and the regular outcome of Lat. -A in the other two persons. Taking account of the analogical introduction of -i in first conjugation verbs (as discussed in §3.1), we may reconstruct an inflectional pattern like the one illustrated in Diagram 6 below:

	First Conj.	Other classes
1sg	-i	-A
2sg	-is	-is
3sg	-i	-A

Diagram 6.

A new comparison of this inflectional pattern with the original one reveals a difference not only in the form of the two allomorphs involved, but also, crucially, in their distribution. In the original pattern, as we have seen, one of the allomorphs occurred in first conjugation verbs, the other invariably appearing in verbs of the other classes. In this new pattern, by contrast, one of the allomorphs seems to be gaining ground, encroaching, so to say, on the domain of the other. This detail makes the pattern in Diagram 6 radically different from the original one and, in fact, morphologically problematic.

Conjugational allomorphs, as we saw in §2, can be assigned their value of 'class-identifier' and 'class-default' on distributional grounds. In particular, an allomorph can only be treated as a 'class-identifier' on condition that it is found to be univocally associated with verbs of a given conjugation.

Now the problem with an inflectional pattern like that illustrated in Diagram 6 above is that neither of the two allomorphs can be analysed as a 'class-identifier', as both of them are used in the inflection of verbs of different classes. On the other hand, the coexistence of two 'class-default' allomorphs in the same inflectional pattern raises another problem, as it presupposes violation of the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance. In fact, two such allomorphs cannot be differentiated in any consistent way, counting as exactly synonymous.

Carstairs-McCarthy (1994: 742) defines such allomorphs as 'blurred', claiming that their presence would be problematic for the reasons discussed above. A plausible expectation about inflectional patterns involving blurred affixes, therefore, is that they should tend to undergo inflectional change in the course of their diachronic development, evolving into patterns that do not violate the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance. My claim, in this regard, is that the second analogical change undergone by the present subjunctive pattern in the dialects of central Friuli, namely the generalization of inflectional -i in verbs of all conjugations, might be interpreted in terms of 'blur avoidance'. As it is easy to see, once the allomorph -i has replaced the original -A in the pattern of Diagram 6, the problem of 'blurred' affixes is solved, albeit at the cost of obliterating every trace of the original binary pattern of conjugational allomorphy.

Logically speaking, an alternative solution to the problem of 'blurred' affixes would be to reintroduce the affix -A in the second person singular of non-first conjugation verbs, realigning the allomorph -i with the first conjugation and hence restoring the original pattern of conjugational allomorphy. However, that is not what happened.

4.   Theoretical implications and conclusions

The hypothesis that purely morphological entities such as conjugational classes can function as the content of inflectional affixes has rightly been defined as "one of Carstairs-McCarthy's major insights" (Maiden 2011: 199). As we have seen, this hypothesis can reconcile complex inflection class systems with the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance, providing us with a straightforward explanation of the typical persistence of such systems in diachrony.

In this study, I have drawn attention to a curious exception to the overall trend of diachronic persistence of conjugational allomorphy mentioned above. In the passage from Latin to the dialects of Italy, the original allomorphic pattern contrasting first conjugation verbs with verbs of the other classes in the present subjunctive was almost systematically neutralized, giving way to unprecedented, uniform patterns of inflection.

At first sight, this could be regarded as evidence against our original hypothesis, suggesting that, at least in some cases, elimination of conjugational allomorphy – and the restoration of a one-to-one relationship between form and morphosyntactic content that this neutralization presupposes – is actually one of the principles of morphological change. What I hope to have demonstrated, however, is that this is not the case. Although the original conjugational allomorphy is actually eliminated in course of the diachronic development of the present subjunctive pattern, this neutralization does not undermine the hypothesis, as it can be explained in terms of inflectional changes that occurred for independent reasons.

According to my analysis above (cf. §3), the development of inflectional uniformity in the present subjunctive pattern of the dialects of central Friuli would consist of a complex chain of phonological changes and two major morphological ('analogical') adjustments. In the first one, final -i, which was originally a phonological repair strategy to avoid a complex consonant cluster in word-final position, was reanalysed as a morphological repair strategy that could avoid the occurrence of zero as a class-identifier allomorph, and was therefore analogically introduced in first conjugation verbs. In the second one, the ending -i was generalized in verbs of all conjugations, as this could be an alternative solution to a situation in which two allomorphs could not be differentiated in any consistent way.

If this interpretation of the facts is correct, this case study does not seem to prove that elimination of conjugational allomorphy is a trigger of inflectional change, as this final effect seems to be largely accidental.[22] What this example suggests is, rather, that, in complex inflection class systems, allomorphs are subject to two specific constraints. One of these constraints, we have seen, is about the form of class-identifier allomorphs, requiring that it should not be zero; the other is about the distribution of allomorphs with respect to conjugations, requiring that – within any relevant domain of potential allomorphy – no more than one allomorph should be shared by verbs of different conjugations.

Now the relevant point about these constraints is that they seem to follow directly from an approach to conjugational allomorphs like the one introduced in §2, an approach according to which these are signs that, under the right conditions, can have purely morphological content such as 'inflectional class' as part

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22. Observe that the first morphological innovation undergone by our present subjunctive pattern, namely the analogical introduction of the vowel -i in first conjugation verbs, could in principle favour the persistence of the original pattern of conjugational allomorphy, reconciling the original binary opposition with the Principle of Constructional Iconicity. The problem is that the vowel available for this purpose, -i, was fortuitously identical to the vowel appearing in the second person singular of non-first conjugation verbs. This means that the problem of zero as a class-identifier allomorph could be solved at the cost of creating another problem, namely a situation of potential exact synonymy between two competing allomorphs.

of their content. The fact that the inflectional changes observed in the evolution of the present subjunctive pattern in the dialects of central Friuli can be explained by these constraints, therefore, indirectly proves the validity of this approach. In particular, as I have argued, the constraint prohibiting a class-identifier zero can be seen as a manifestation of the Principle of Constructional Iconicity, providing that a class-identifier allomorph carries more informational content than a class-default one. The constraint prohibiting the presence of more than one class-default within any domain of conjugational allomorphy, on the other hand, can be seen as a manifestation of the Principle of Synonymy Avoidance, assuming that two class-default allomorphs cannot be differentiated in any consistent way in terms of their informational content.

The latter of these constraints is not new. Carstairs-McCarthy first discussed this restriction on the proliferation of class-default allomorphs in his 1994 article, christening it the No Blur Principle and showing that it can have interesting implications for the diachronic evolution of complex inflection class systems. Since then, the validity of the No Blur Principle has been amply demonstrated,[23] so the idea that it can account for one of the two analogical innovations that characterize the evolution of our present subjunctive pattern adds nothing new to our knowledge of the diachronic behaviour of complex inflection class systems.

The hypothesis that class-identifier allomorphs should not be realized by zero affixes, on the other hand, has to my knowledge never been formulated or discussed before, so it can be regarded as the major theoretical contribution of this study. That this hypothesis might be correct is suggested by the diachronic behaviour of zero allomorphs in other circumstances. For instance, most of the present subjunctive patterns reported in §1 passed through a stage with a zero affix in first conjugation verbs, but none of these patterns has retained the expected zero. Moreover, this hypothesis might lead us to a new interpretation of the analogical introduction of -i in the first singular of the present indicative in the dialects of Friuli (cf. §3). It is true that, in that case, the effect of the analogical change is to provide all singular verb forms with the same number of syllables. Nonetheless, it is also true that a class-identifier zero is avoided.

In conclusion, the approach to conjugational allomorphy that I have adopted in this study seems to contribute to a better understanding of the diachronic evolution of complex inflectional systems. Further research in this direction looks extremely promising.

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23. Cf. Carstairs-McCarthy (2010), Carstairs-McCarthy and Cameron-Faulkner (2000), Enger (2005, 2007).

Acknowledgements

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The Inflected Construction
in the dialects of Sicily

Parameters of microvariation

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Sicilian dialects display an instance of verbal Pseudo-Coordination (V1$_{[TAM.Agr]}$ *a* V2$_{[TAM.Agr]}$), here referred to as the Inflected Construction or IC (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003), that can occur in very different configurations. Aim of this paper is to discuss the following parameters of microvariation, by providing new data from recent fieldwork: (i) the restriction of the IC to some V2s; (ii) the possibility for the IC to occur across moods and tenses and to display complete paradigms for person features; (iii) the reduction of GO as V1, and of other possible V1s, to a prefix-like invariable form. In the paper, three major types of IC are identified: Type 1 IC is only possible in some persons of the indicative present and in the 2SG of the imperative; Type 2 IC features the extension of the paradigm to other simple tenses of the indicative; Type 3 IC displays a full-fledged paradigm in the indicative (3 simple tenses), subjunctive and imperative.

Keywords: Inflected Construction, Pseudo-Coordination, Sicilian dialects, motion verbs, restructuring verbs

1. Introduction

The discussion on the Sicilian verbal Pseudo-Coordination, which displays: (i) a verb (V1) taken from a restricted class of restructuring verbs; (ii) an optional connecting element *a*; (iii) a lexical verb (V2), sharing mood, tense and person features with V1, has a long tradition in literature (cf. Ascoli 1896, 1901; Sorrento 1950; Rohlfs 1969; Stefanini 1970; Leone 1973, 1978; Sornicola 1976). Compare the

examples of IC in Marsalese in (1)[1] with the examples in (2) showing the Infinitival Construction:[2]

(1) a. Vaju   a ppigghju u   pani.   (Marsala)
       go.1SG *a* fetch.1SG the bread
       'I go and fetch the bread.'

   b. Vegnu   a ffazzu a   spisa.
      come.1SG *a* do.1SG the shopping
      'I come and do the shopping.'

(2) a. Vaju   a ppigghjari u   pani.
       go.1SG to fetch.INF   the bread
       'I go to fetch the bread.'

   b. Vegnu   a ffari a   spisa.
      come.1SG to do.INF the shopping
      'I come to do the shopping.'

Only recently, however, have detailed syntactic accounts of the phenomenon emerged (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Manzini and Savoia 2005),[3] with some attempts at accounting for the defectiveness of the paradigms that resort to non-syntactic explanations (cf. Cruschina 2013 for a morphomic account).[4] Cardinaletti and Giusti's work, which focuses on the variety spoken in Marsala (in the province of Trapani) in comparison with similar constructions in Germanic (i.e. Swedish and American English),[5] is taken as a point of reference in the present paper and for this reason the term Inflected Construction, or IC, to refer to this Pseudo-Coordination is used here.[6]

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1.   The examples in (1a) and (2a) are from Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 373).

2.   The Infinitival Construction, which is the only possible construction in Italian, is generally possible in the Sicilian dialects and is used to fill the ungrammatical slots of the IC paradigms. Note, however, that the imperative 2SG is the slot where the IC is preferred most of the times.

3.   See also Ledgeway (2016), who describes the IC found in some dialects of Apulia with GO, STAND, and WANT as V1s.

4.   Cf. Del Prete and Todaro (this volume) for a semantic analysis of the IC, especially with *mannari* 'send' as V1. Their work also contains an interesting account of the IC as a possible instance of a Serial Verb Construction. See also Accattoli and Todaro (2017) who treat the IC with invariable GO as a case of morphologization.

5.   See Wiklund (1996, 2007) for Swedish Pseudo-Coordination and Shopen (1971), Carden and Pesetsky (1977) for the Pseudo-Coordination in American English.

6.   The use of the term Pseudo-Coordination comes from the fact that the connecting element *a* in the IC is diachronically a coordinator but the resulting construction does not instantiate

More recently, Di Caro (2015) has highlighted the high degree of microvariation the IC displays by providing data from many Sicilian varieties, covering different areas. Those data, which reported a wider set of possible V1s and described different patterns subject to lexical restrictions on V2, were later treated in a more organic way in Di Caro and Giusti (2015) and prompted a more fine grained syntactic analysis by Cardinaletti and Giusti (to appear), which clearly keeps the IC apart from another construction featuring two finite verbs, namely the Finite Construction (such as Milazzese *Vaju mi pigghju u pani* 'I go to fetch the bread', Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001: 373–374; see also Rohlfs 1969: §717; Calabrese 1993), more widespread in the dialects of southern Italy.

The present paper offers a way to handle important aspects that make the IC so rich in variation[7] and is organized as follows: Section 2 summarizes Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2001, 2003) account for what in this paper will be called the Type 1 IC found in Marsalese; Section 3 deals with a special case of lexical restriction on V2 in Palermitano; Section 4 introduces the IC Type 2; Section 5 introduces the IC Type 3; in Section 6 some other configurations of IC are considered; Section 7 draws the conclusions.

2.   Type 1: The IC in Marsalese

The IC in Marsalese is only possible in the indicative present, where it is limited to 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and 3PL, and in the imperative 2SG. No other moods or tenses are accepted. The available V1s are only four and are taken from a restricted class of motion verbs: *jiri* 'go', *vèniri* 'come', *passari* 'come by' and the motion causative verb *mannari* 'send' (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003).

Cruschina (2013) suggests that we refer to morphomes (first described in Aronoff 1994) to account for the defectiveness of the IC paradigms in Marsalese and call this particular combination of grammatical cells in the indicative present and imperative the N-Pattern, following Maiden (2004) (see also Dressler and Thornton 1991; Thornton 2007).[8] Besides the patterns used in the morphomic

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any real coordination (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003 and Wiklund 2007 for extensive argumentation against the coordination reading of the two verbs within the IC).

7.   Please note that the types this paper proposes focus mainly on the mood, tense and person restrictions, since some of the other features, such as the lexical restrictions on V1 and on V2, the possible presence of invariable V1s, and the optionality of the connecting element *a* seem to be orthogonal.

8.   We will see in Section 4 that some patterns in the IC emerging both from the same context (i.e. indicative present and imperative) and in other moods and tenses (i.e. indicative imperfect,

system, I will propose a more straightforward way to represent the different paradigms the various instances of IC display by using "0" and "1" for, respectively, ungrammatical and grammatical slots of the paradigm, separating the singular and the plural persons with a hyphen, so that, for example, the pattern for the indicative present in Marsalese is 111-001 (1SG, 2SG, 3SG, *1PL, *2PL, 3PL) and the pattern for the imperative is 1-0 (2SG, *2PL). In this way, we can describe the pattern of a specific paradigm (for example, the indicative present) without implying any correlated paradigm elsewhere (as the concepts of N-pattern or L-pattern do).

In order to account for the restrictions found in Marsalese, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 397–407) describe the V1 as a lexical verb that is merged as a functional head and thus loses (part of) its argument structure (for this reason, they call it a "semi-lexical verb"). V1 is merged at the point where the language realizes the inflected V2, which is subject to parametric variation: in dialects like Marsalese it is merged in T. The two verbs in the IC are therefore restructured in a monoclausal structure subject to the Single Event Interpretation (cf. Shopen 1971), and Clitic Climbing to V1 is obligatory (whereas it is optional in the Italian Infinitival Construction). It is the lexicon that crucially specifies which forms of a given verb, usually the less marked form, can fill the V1 position. Di Caro and Giusti (2018) propose to refer to this parameter, that should also be applied to V2, as a "nano-parameter", in the sense of Biberauer and Roberts (2012: 268).

The tables in (3) and (4) summarize the N-Pattern (i.e., 111-001 for the indicative present and 1-0 for the imperative) in Marsalese with all the four possible V1s and the transitive V2 'fetch':

(3)

	V1 GO	V1 COME	V1 COME BY	V1 SEND	V2 FETCH
1SG	vaju	vegnu	passu	mannu	a ppigghju
2SG	vai	veni	passi	manni	a ppigghji
3SG	va	vene	passa	manna	a ppigghja
1PL	*emu	*vinemu	*passamu	*mannamu	a ppigghjamu
2PL	*iti	*viniti	*passati	*mannati	a ppigghjati
3PL	vannu	vennu	pàssanu	mànnanu	a ppìgghjanu

(4)

	V1 GO	V1 COME	V1 COME BY	V1 SEND	V2 FETCH
2SG	va	veni	passa	manna	(a) pigghia!
2PL	*iti	*viniti	*passati	*mannati	a ppigghjati!

preterite and subjunctive) are not predicted by any morphomic account (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018).

All the other dialects that display the same IC found in Marsalese in terms of mood, tense and person restrictions will be referred to as Type 1. The IC in Marsalese also displays another interesting phenomenon: the possibility for the V1 GO to occur in the invariable form *va* for all the grammatical persons:[9]

(5) a. Vappigghju   u   pani.   (Marsala)
         va+a+fetch.1SG the bread
         'I go and fetch the bread.'
     b. Vappigghji   u   pani.
         va+a+fetch.2SG the bread
         'You go and fetch the bread.'
     c. Vappigghja   u   pani.
         va+a+fetch.3SG the bread
         'He goes to fetch the bread.'
     d. Vappìgghjanu   u   pani.
         va+a+fetch.3PL the bread
         'They go and fetch the bread.'

I will not take into consideration this feature to decide whether a dialect belongs to Type 1 or not, but it will turn out to be an important feature of Type 3 IC. The next section will present a dialect featuring Type 1 IC that displays a peculiar case of lexical restriction on V2.

3.   Restrictions on V2 in the dialect spoken in Palermo

The IC found in Palermo shares with Marsalese most of its features and restrictions. Thus, it is only possible in some persons of the indicative present and in the 2SG of the imperative with GO, COME, COME BY and SEND as V1s. It also shares with Marsalese the optional invariable V1 *va* 'go', as shown in (6b):

(6) a. Vaju a mmanciu a pasta.   (Palermo)
         go.1SG *a* eat.1SG   the pasta
     b. Vammanciu a pasta.
         va+a+eat.1SG the pasta
         'I go and eat pasta.'

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9.   Note that the pseudo-coordinator *a*, which is diachronically derived from Latin AC (cf. Rohlfs 1969: §761) is covert but still triggers the obligatory syntactic doubling on the starting consonant of V2 known as Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico.

According to the grouping system I am suggesting in this paper, this IC should be considered as a Type 1. However, with intransitive V2s it is limited to the indicative present 1SG (cf. Sorrisi 2010) and only with invariable GO as V1 (cf. (7a′)). This IC is structurally similar to the one of the imperative 2SG (Sorrisi 2010: 117–118), as shown in (7b):

(7) a. *Vaju a ttravagghju.
  go.1SG *a* work.1SG

 a′. Vatravagghju.
  va+work.1SG
  'I go to work.'

 b. Va   travagghja!
  go.IMPR.2SG work. IMPR.2SG
  'go to work!'

Such a restriction with intransitive V2s, which seems to be very specific to the area of Palermo, is a first instance of the interaction of the V2 in allowing for the IC to occur.[10] The next section will deal with a case of more selective restrictions on V2 in some dialects of central Sicily.

4. Type 2: The indicative preterite IC in Deliano

The mood, tense and person restrictions accounted for by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) for Marsalese are quite common in Sicily. However, some varieties, especially in central Sicily, display less restrictive versions in which the IC can also occur in the indicative imperfect and preterite, and even in the subjunctive (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005; Cruschina 2013; Di Caro 2015; Di Caro and Giusti 2015). The data collected so far in recent fieldwork suggest that if a dialect displays the IC in the indicative imperfect, preterite, or in the subjunctive, then it will display it in the indicative present and in the imperative too, according to the restrictions described for Type 1.[11] I will refer to such cases as Type 2.

The IC found in Delia (Caltanissetta) is a very interesting case of Type 2 IC that displays for the indicative preterite what in morphomic terms could be called the

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10. Sorrisi (2010: 112–113) shows that the intransitive V2 *ruòrmiri* 'sleep' displays the same restrictions as *travagghjari* 'work' in (7). I have personally checked with other native speakers the peculiar behaviour of intransitive V2s. My informants have confirmed this distribution.

11. Nevertheless, in the light of Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2001, 2003) claim that it is the lexicon that specifies which forms of a given verb can enter the IC, a dialect displaying the IC only in moods and tenses other than the ones found in Marsalese could, in theory, be possible.

W-Pattern.[12] This preterite IC, which excludes the 2sg and the 2pl persons (i.e., 101-101) features the same V1s of Type 1 (cf. (8a, b)) but can also occur with the restructuring verb *accuminciari* 'start' (as in (8c)) and, in a specific combination with *dari* 'give' as V2, also with *arristari* 'remain' (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2018):

(8) a. Arsira   jivu   a ffici   la   spisa.   (Delia)
       last night go.PST.1SG *a* do.PST.1SG the shopping
       'I went to do the shopping last night.'

   b. La   vinni   a scrissi   la littra?
      itCL come.PST.3SG *a* write.PST.3SG the letter
      'Did he/she come to write the letter?'

   c. Allura, cci   accuminciaru a ddìssiru   paroli.
      then   to-himCL start.PST.3PL *a* say.PST.3PL words
      'Then, they started insulting him.'

More interestingly, in Deliano this IC is only possible with a restricted class of V2s that display rhizotonic (i.e. root-stressed) and arhizotonic forms in their paradigm. In the preterite, it is possible only with the rhizotonic forms (cf. Di Caro 2015; Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018). The table in (9) summarizes the W-Pattern (101-101) for Deliano with GO, COME and START as V1 (but note that COME BY and SEND are also available) and DO and SAY as V2:

(9)

	V1 GO	V1 COME	V1 START	V2 DO	V2 SAY
1SG	jivu	vinni	accuminciavu	a ffici	a ddissi
2SG	*jisti	*vinisti	*accuminciasti	a ffacisti	a ddicisti
3SG	ji	vinni	accumincià	a ffici	a ddissi
1PL	jammu	vìnnimu	accuminciammu	a ffìcimu	a ddìssimu
2PL	*jìstivu	*vinìstivu	*accunciàstivu	a ffacìstivu	a ddicìstivu
3PL	jiru	vìnniru	accuminciaru	a ffìciru	a ddìssiru

We have seen in Section 3 that in some cases V2 can play a role in deciding whether a cell of the paradigm is available or not. If in Palermitano, according to Sorrisi (2010: 111–13), intransitive V2s limit the IC to the indicative present 1sg and the imperative 2sg, and to the invariable GO as V1, in Deliano it is an even more restricted class of V2s, namely the verbs diachronically derived from Latin third conjugation (cf. Di Caro 2015: 50; see also the up-to-date set of available V2s in Di Caro and Giusti 2018), that trigger the IC in the preterite.

Note that, while in Palermitano the lexical specification of V2 interacts with the one of the preceding verb, so that it is still the less marked form of GO as V1 to

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12. I refer the interested reader to Di Caro and Giusti (2018), who provide a very detailed syntactic account of this particular instance of IC in Deliano.

allow for the IC to occur, in the Deliano preterite IC the lexical specification of V1 is bypassed by the one of V2. As a consequence, the resulting paradigm (101-101) is decided by the markedness of V2 (2sG and 2PL are prosodically more marked) whereas the V1 GO displays the more marked allomorph (*ji-*/*ja-*).

However, along with the particular configuration instantiated by Deliano and some other dialects of central Sicily (such as the ones spoken in Campobello di Licata and Camastra, in the province of Agrigento), a more liberal configuration can be found in dialects such as Leonfortese (Giusi Todaro, p.c.), in the province of Enna, where the IC in the preterite displays the W-Pattern but V2 is not restricted to the rhizotonic forms, so that both (10a) with DO as V2 and (10b) with SING as V2, the latter displaying an arhizotonic form, are grammatical:

(10) a. Ivi   a ffici   a spisa.   (Leonforte)
          go.PST.1SG *a* do.PST.1SG the shopping
          'I went to do the shopping.'
      b. Ivi   a ccantaju.
          go.PST.1SG *a* sing.PST.1SG
          'I went to sing.'

It is not clear whether the IC did already display the restrictions found in Type 1 in its early versions or it was more liberal and has progressively lost some of the available cells of its paradigms for different reasons. Diachronically, however, data from Wilson (1999, cited in Cruschina 2013: 273) show some instances from the collection of Sicilian tales and short stories by Giuseppe Pitrè (see Pitrè 1993), in which the IC can occur in the indicative preterite also with V2s such as *lassari* 'deliver', which features only arhizotonic forms (cf. the example from Leonfortese in (10b)):

(11) Lu iju   a lassau   a lu funnacu.   (Pitrè III, 340)
      itsG go.PST.3SG *a* deliver.PST.3SG to the storehouse
      'I went to deliver it to the storehouse.'

This seems to indicate that the IC originally displayed less restrictions as regards both the lexical specification of V1 and V2 and the mood, tense and person features.

The following section will deal with a different type of IC, which on the one hand displays a wider range of mood, tense and person configurations, but on the other hand seems to be productive only with GO as V1.

5.   Type 3: The IC in the dialects of eastern Sicily

Many Sicilian dialects, regardless of their belonging to Type 1 or Type 2, display the optional invariable GO as V1.[13] Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 400) claim that the checking of the mood, tense and person features precedes the merging of the V1, which is merged in such a high head that cannot interact with the thematic structure of V2 and, thus, cannot check its features by moving to a designated functional head. Instead, V1 copies its features from the inflected V2 in a parasitic way. In the case of invariable V1, Cardinaletti and Giusti conclude that either no feature copying takes place or copying has an optional morphological manifestation.[14]

Some dialects of the eastern coast of Sicily, such as the ones spoken in Catania and Acireale, feature an IC in which V1 displays a high degree of grammaticalization. In these varieties, which feature a full-fledged paradigm (i.e. 111-111), the only available V1 is the invariable GO. V1 GO can occur as *va-*, *vo-*, *uo-* and, as a sign of the phonetic erosion typical of further grammaticalization process, even as *o-* (cf. Di Caro 2015: 62–68; Di Caro and Giusti 2015: 415–18).[15] The tables in (12)–(16) show the full-fledged paradigm of Type 3 in the dialect of Catania with the invariable V1 *uo-* (in this dialect it can also occur as *o-*) in the indicative present, imperfect, preterite, together with the subjunctive – also functioning as conditional – and the imperative (since there are no ungrammatical cells in the Type 3 IC, I will not rely on the distinction between grey and white cells):

(12)		*uo+a*+V2 Ind. Present FETCH	
	1SG	Uoppigghju u pani.	'I go and fetch the bread.'
	2SG	Uoppigghji u pani.	'You go and fetch the bread.'
	3SG	Uoppigghja u pani.	'(S)he goes to fetch the bread.'
	1PL	Uoppigghjamu u pani.	'We go and fetch the bread.'
	2PL	Uoppigghjati u pani.	'You go and fetch the bread.'
	3PL	Uoppìgghjunu u pani.	'They go and fetch the bread.'

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13. Note that the invariable form of GO is only possible within the IC. When GO is used as a lexical verb or within the Infinitival Construction, it never occurs in its invariable form. I thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting me to point this out.

14. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 402) relate the presence of the IC to the possibility for a variety to display invariable V1s and provide the cases of Italian and the dialect spoken in the town of Bovalino Marina (in the province of Reggio Calabria) which lack both invariable forms and the IC. Although microvariation is very high among the dialects taken into account, as a matter of fact all of them display the optional invariable V1 GO for, at least, the 1SG of the indicative present.

15. On the origin of *uo-* and *o-* as deriving from *va-* see also Leone (1973) and Ledgeway (1997).

(13)

	uo+(a)+V2 Imperative FETCH[16]	
2SG	Uopigghja u pani!	'Go and fetch the bread!'
2PL	Uoppigghjati u pani!	'Go and fetch the bread!'

(14)

	uo+a+V2 Ind. Imp. FETCH	
1SG	Uoppigghjava u pani.	'I used to go and fetch the bread.'
2SG	Uoppigghjavi u pani.	'You used to go and fetch the bread.'
3SG	Uoppigghjava u pani.	'(S)he used to go and fetch the bread.'
1PL	Uoppigghjàumu u pani.	'We used to go and fetch the bread.'
2PL	Uoppigghjàuvu u pani.	'You used to go and fetch the bread.'
3PL	Uoppigghjàunu u pani.	'They used to go and fetch the bread.'

(15)

	uo+a+V2 Ind. Preterite FETCH	
1SG	Uoppigghjai u pani.	'I went to fetch the bread.'
2SG	Uoppigghjasti u pani.	'You went to fetch the bread.'
3SG	Uoppigghjau u pani.	'(S)he went to fetch the bread.'
1PL	Uoppigghjammu u pani.	'We went to fetch the bread.'
2PL	Uoppigghjàsturu u pani.	'You went to fetch the bread.'
3PL	Uoppigghjaru u pani.	'They went to fetch the bread.'

(16)

	uo+a+V2 Subj. FETCH	
1SG	Uoppigghjassi u pani.	'I would go to fetch the bread.'
2SG	Uoppigghjassi u pani.	'You would go to fetch the bread.'
3SG	Uoppigghjassi u pani.	'(S)he would go to fetch the bread.'
1PL	Uoppigghjàssimu u pani.	'We would go to fetch the bread.'
2PL	Uoppigghjàssivu u pani.	'You would go to fetch the bread.'
3PL	Uoppigghjàssiru u pani.	'They would go to fetch the bread.'

Most of the centres of the areas in which the Type 3 IC occurs (mainly the coastal ones around Catania and Ragusa) are well connected to one another. As a consequence, speakers can generally use, or at least recognize, more than one invariable GO for their IC. This can account for the variety of forms found there and, above all, for the difficulty to attribute one form to one specific variety. I will provide two examples. First, in Mazzarellese it is possible to find another invariable GO, namely *adda-*, together with the most common *vo-* (*addappigghju u pani* being

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16. Note that in the imperative 2SG the connecting element *a* is usually missing, hence the lack of Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico on *pigghja*.

synonymous to *voppigghju u pani* 'I go and fetch the bread').[17] Despite being less common, *adda-* displays the same full-fledged paradigm and the same distribution of *vo-*, but most speakers, although understanding it, would rather attribute this form to Ragusano, the dialect spoken in the city of Ragusa, of which Marina di Ragusa is a frazione. Second, in the dialect of Ispica (Ragusa), the Type 3 IC in the imperative can display both the invariable V1s *vo-* and *o-*. According to some speakers, these V1s are used for different purposes: *o-* is preferred when giving orders, whereas *vo-* is used for invitations. This latter fact is further evidence that the V1 in Type 3 has undergone a process of grammaticalization in two steps, i.e. a semantic shift and phonetic erosion (cf. Bybee 2003, 2007), a phenomenon which is not new when the most basics motion verbs GO and COME are involved, especially because of their high frequency of use.

When V1 has undergone grammaticalization, it can retain its lexical meaning while becoming a progressive marker, as in (17a), or it can lose its motion semantics and become an emphatic marker involving emotional participation of the speaker in order to convey a sense of surprise or of a sudden action, as in (17b) (see also Cruschina 2013: 278–281, for the 'surprise effect' in the Type 1 IC):[18]

(17) a. Ora ottravagghju e   poi u   chjamu.   (Acireale)
          Now *o*-work.1SG and then himCL call.1SG
          'I'm going to work now. I'll call him later.'
    b. Ci   oddesi   un pugnu…
        to-himCL *o*-give.PST.1SG a   punch
        'I suddenly punched him …'

In the next session, other configurations of ICs featuring characteristics of more than one of the types proposed in the present paper will be presented.

6. Other configurations of Inflected Construction

As already stated above, the IC of the Sicilian dialects can occur in a number of configurations. Some of them share features of more than one type and could provide us with some hints on what the original IC could have looked like (if we presume

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17.   I propose this ethnonym for the first time, since there seems to be none for the dialect spoken in Marina di Ragusa. Mazzarellese is named after the toponym *Mazzarelli*, italianized version of the local *Mazzareddri*, original name of Marina di Ragusa.

18.   Interestingly, we can find similar emphatic effects in the Pseudo-Coordination displayed by Germanic languages (see, for example, the 'surprise effect' in Swedish in Wiklund 2008 and Josefsson 2014).

a common origin for all the instances of IC in Sicily, something which is still to be ascertained). In very few varieties does the IC occur without the mood/tense/person restrictions described by Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003 or the ones found in Type 2 and 3.[19] Let us consider some examples.

Manzini and Savoia (2005: 696) report for the dialect spoken in Modica (Ragusa) an IC displaying full-fledged paradigms in the indicative present, imperfect and preterite but with both V1 and V1 fully inflected ('V1 *a* V2'). The examples in (18) show the indicative imperfect:

(18)	V1 Ind. Impf. GO + V2 I. Impf. DO	
1SG	U ìa a ffascìa.	'I used to go and do it.'
2SG	U jèutu a ffascièutu.	'You used to go and do it.'
3SG	U ìa a ffascìa.	'(S)he used to go and do it.'
1PL	U jèumu a ffascièumu.	'We used to go and do it.'
2PL	U jèubbu a fascièubbu.	'You used to go and do it.'
3PL	U jèunnu a fascièunnu.	'They used to go and do it.'

Furthermore, the Calabrian dialect of Rossano, in the province of Cosenza, displays an IC that, similarly to Modicano, features a full-fledged paradigm but in the asyndetic 'V1 V2' configuration (Elvira Graziano, p.c.). This IC is possible in the indicative present and imperfect (the preterite is not used in Rossanese), in the imperative and further extends to subjunctive, like the Type 3 IC. In Rossanese, however, COME can also feature as V1. For reasons of space I will only show the 1SG (2SG and 2PL for the imperative) with GO as V1:

(19) a. Vaju piju u panə.   (Rossano)
   go.1SG fetch.1SG the bread
   'I go and fetch the bread.'

 b. Jia pijaja u panə.
   go.IMPRF.1SG fetch.IMPRF.1SG the bread
   'I used to go and fetch the bread.'

 c. Va pija u panə!
   go.IMP.2SG fetch.IMP.2SG the bread
   'Go and fetch the bread!'

 c′. Jitə pijatə u panə!
   go.IMP.2PL fetch.IMP.2PL the bread
   'Go and fetch the bread!'

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19. Note, however, that according to the data collected so far, the IC occurs only in simple tenses, regardless of the type it belongs to.

d. Jissa   pijassa   u   panə.
    go.SUB.1SG fetch.SUB.1SG the bread
    'I would go and fetch the bread.'

Another, perhaps more interesting, case is the one found in Mazzarino (Caltanissetta). The IC in Mazzarinese behaves in different ways according to the V1 selected and to its form. Extended V1 GO follows the Type 1 IC, whereas invariable V1 GO (*va-*) instantiates a Type 3 IC. But this dialect also features an invariable COME as V1 in the preterite (i.e. *vinn-*) that displays the W-Pattern as in the Type 2 IC.

The phenomenon under consideration is multifaceted, as these latter examples show, and further research is needed to establish the extent of the microvariation this construction displays.

7.   Conclusions

The IC of the Sicilian dialects is a syntactic structure occurring in many different configurations according to a number of features, such as the available persons, tenses and moods of the paradigm, the characteristics of the verbs involved as V1s and V2s in terms of meaning and morphological markedness, and the degree of grammaticalization of the first verb.

In this paper I have outlined the parameters of microvariation of the IC in the light of the data already present in literature (mainly Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018), together with some new data collected in recent fieldwork. I have taken into account three different parameters concerning, respectively, the lexical restriction of the IC to some V2s, the range of restrictions (from the very limited configuration of Marsalese as described by Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003, to the more liberal, full-fledged paradigms of the dialects of eastern Sicily), and, finally, the prefixation of the invariable V1 GO (or of other possible V1s) in a highly grammaticalized construction.

Throughout the paper I have outlined three different types of IC:

i.   Type 1 (see Section 2) basically coincides with the IC of Marsalese, featuring GO, COME, COME BY and SEND as available V1s, 1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 3PL of the indicative present and 2SG of the imperative as available cells of the paradigm, and an optional invariable form of GO as V1;
ii. Dialects such as Deliano, Camastrese and Campobellese (central Sicily) belong to Type 2 (see Section 4) and feature the same characteristics of Type 1 but with the addition of a special paradigm for the indicative preterite (1SG, 3SG, 1PL, 3PL) and invariable forms of GO as V1 generally limited to singular persons;

iii. Some dialects of eastern Sicily, such as Catanese, Acese and Mazzarellese, belong to Type 3 (see Section 5) and feature GO as only available V1, the possible loss of the semantics of motion of V1, the prefixation of V1 and complete six-person paradigms in the indicative present, imperfect and preterite, together with the subjunctive and 2SG, 2PL of the imperative.

Proposing three different types of IC does not imply that other types cannot be found. Actually, as data from further dialects are collected, new configurations emerge, but basically displaying the same features of the types suggested in this paper, and sometimes showing characteristics of more than one type.

Acknowledgement

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Mixed paradigms in Italo-Romance

A case of morphologization of auxiliary selection?

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This paper advocates a morphological approach to the phenomenon of mixed paradigms attested in a wide range of Italo-Romance varieties (cf. Loporcaro 2001, 2007, 2014; Manzini and Savoia 2005, among others). In these varieties, two auxiliary verbs, HABERE and ESSE, alternate within one and the same paradigm. As a result, such mixed paradigms exhibit various patterns which can range from morphosyntactically motivated to apparently unmotivated distributions ('morphomic'). Starting from the notion of 'inflectional periphrasis' (cf., e.g. Brown 2012 et al.), under which auxiliary verb constructions can be accommodated, and from the notion of 'lexical splits' (cf. Corbett 2013, 2015, 2016), I describe the attested splits induced by such intraparadigmatic auxiliary alternations. Following Bonami (2015) and Štichauer (2016, 2018), I introduce a typology of such splits and I provide examples from the rich array of Italo-Romance data drawn mainly from Manzini and Savoia (2005). I conclude with a brief discussion of the historical origin of mixed paradigms arguing that the commonly accepted explanation (Bentley and Eythórsson 2001) is in need of further verification.

Keywords: mixed paradigms, Italo-Romance varieties, auxiliary selection, morphologization, morphomes, inflectional periphrasis, lexical splits

1.   Introduction

In this paper, I address the interesting issue of 'mixed paradigms', attested in a rich array of Italo-Romance varieties and widely studied over the past decades (cf., for example, Bentley and Eythórsson 2001; Cennamo 2010; Legendre 2010; Loporcaro 2001, 2007, 2014; Ledgeway 2012: 317–327; in press: §3.2; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II/III: Chapter 5, 2011: Chapter 6). In these paradigms, in compound tenses,

we witness unexpected patterns of alternation of two auxiliaries HABERE and ESSE within one and the same tense-and-mood subparadigm, as in examples (1) and (2).[1]

(1)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	sɔ	dur'mito	semo	dur'mito
	I.am	slept.PTCP	we.are	slept.PTCP
2	si	dur'mito	sete	dur'mito
	you.are.SG	slept.PTCP	you.are.PL	slept.PTCP
3	a	dur'mito	a	dur'mito
	he/she.has	slept.PTCP	they.have	slept.PTCP

(2)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	sɔ	ffatt	am	fatt
	I.am	done.PTCP	we.have	done.PTCP
2	a	fatt	avet	fatt
	you.have.SG	done.PTCP	you.have.PL	done.PTCP
3	a	ffatt	an	fatt
	he/she.has	done.PTCP	they.have	done.PTCP

Example (1) illustrates the present perfect paradigm of *durmir* 'sleep' in the variety of Ortezzano (central Italy, Marche, prov. Fermi; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 682),[2] in which the 1st and the 2nd persons select ESSE, whereas the 3rd persons are realized with the auxiliary HABERE. Although this pattern of auxiliary alternation represents the most common distribution, it is by no means the only one attested in Italo-Romance, as example (2) demonstrates. In this paradigm of *fare* 'do, make', typical of the variety of Conversano (southern Italy, Puglia, prov. Bari; cf. Torcolacci 2015: 52), only the 1st person singular selects ESSE, while the rest of the paradigm is realized with HABERE.

I assume that in these types of mixed system auxiliary selection ceases to be a syntactically-driven phenomenon and becomes morphologized. Such intraparadigmatic auxiliary alternation thus becomes an inflectional phenomenon for which a purely paradigmatic organization can be presupposed. I aim to show that, once

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1. Given the variable phonetic outcome of the two auxiliaries across Romance, I shall refer to them using their etymological starting points HABERE 'have' and ESSE 'be'. Unless otherwise stated, I use grey shading for the paradigm cells where ESSE is selected.

2. I will use the label 'present perfect' for what is in traditional Italian grammars referred to as *passato prossimo* or *perfetto composto* (the latter being used, for example, by Salvi and Vanelli 2004: 114).

the inflectional nature of these mixed systems is recognized, they can follow various distributional patterns, ranging from morphosyntactically motivated patterns through to unmotivated ('morphomic') ones.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I first define the notion of inflectional periphrasis under which auxiliary verb constructions can be accommodated. In Section 3, I briefly review the basic facts about auxiliary selection both in standard Romance languages and in some Italo-Romance varieties with closely related auxiliation systems. In Section 4, I characterize mixed paradigms in terms of lexical splits and in subsequent sections I proceed to provide an overview of different splits, from those which can be said to be motivated to those for which such motivation is lacking. I also add, in this section, a note on the diachronic origin of mixed systems, although an in-depth analysis of this issue is beyond the scope of the present article. In Section 5, I conclude highlighting some problems left for future investigation.

2.   Auxiliary verb constructions as inflectional periphrasis

I espouse the widely recognized view that auxiliary verb constructions are multiword expressions in which the auxiliary is a functional, grammaticalized element exhibiting a wide range of peculiar properties different from full lexical verbs (cf. Heine 1993; Kuteva 2001). Standing thus in a clear opposition to Manzini and Savoia (2011: 203ff.),[3] I follow here Ledgeway (2012: 121–134) who gives a detailed overview of Romance auxiliary properties. I shall briefly summarize the basic facts.

Although it is extremely difficult to arrive at a common, unified characterization of Romance auxiliaries, which notoriously exhibit variable behaviour, it is nonetheless possible to highlight at least three major aspects in which auxiliaries show different properties with respect to full lexical verbs. First, auxiliary verbs are the result of a process of semantic weakening of the corresponding lexical verbs, in such a way that various location, motion, possession, volition and obligation verbs progressively develop grammaticalized meanings typical of auxiliaries (aspectual

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3.   Manzini and Savoia (2011: 203) reject the monoclausal nature of auxiliary verb constructions assuming that auxiliares function just like full lexical verbs. See also Manzini and Savoia (2005: 543): "(…) l'ausiliare non costituisce una categoria funzionale del verbo participiale, ma ha struttura argomentale propria che ne determina l'inserzione; questo implica che l'ausiliare non differisca sostanzialmente dai verbi lessicali." [… the auxiliary does not represent a functional category of the participial verb, but has an argument structure of its own which determines its insertion; this implies that auxiliaries do not differ fundamentally from lexical verbs.]. They thus arrive at the conclusion that no functional/lexical divide is actually needed (Manzini and Savoia 2011: 235).

and temporal values), as in (3) and (4), where the motion verb *venir* in French and *venire* in Italian mark, respectively, an immediate retrospective aspect and a dynamic (vs stative) value in a passive construction (cf. Ledgeway 2012: 121–124):

(3) Je viens   de   lire le   texte.   (Fr.)
     I   come.AUX from read the.MSG text
     'I have just read the text.'

(4) Le   lettere venivano   spedite subito.   (It.)
     the.PL.FEM letters came.AUX.IMPF   sent.FPL right away.
     'The letters were being sent immediately.'

Second, in the domain of morphosyntactic properties, auxiliary verbs typically lose the core selectional requirements (argument selection, restrictions on the animacy of the subject); the decategorialization is furthermore clearly visible in some paradigm gaps and other types of loss of verbal inflection (e.g. the absence of compound tenses with the Italian progressive construction with *stare: sto/ stavo/ starò mangiando* 'I am/was/will be eating' vs **sono stato/ero stato/sarò stato mangiando* 'I have been/had been/will have been eating'), in the incompatibility of some auxiliaries with a nominal complement, originally well-formed when the verb had its full lexical status (e.g. Spanish *haber* no longer functions as a verb of possession thus excluding **he/has/ha … una casa* 'I have/you have/(s)he has … a house', being replaced in this meaning by *tener* 'hold') (see, for other examples, Ledgeway 2012: 125–127).

Third, in a number of Romance varieties we witness a further morphophonological reduction of the auxiliaries giving rise to specialized paradigms. The phonologically reduced forms thus acquire clitic status (from which follow, in turn, other properties typical of auxiliaries). For instance, in Neapolitan, *avé* (HABERE) displays two distinct sets of forms depending on the auxiliary vs lexical status of the verb; a similar situation is also found in Catalan, Romanian and Corsican (cf. Ledgeway 2009: 383, 2012: 128, Table 4.4).

Given this peculiar behaviour, auxiliary verb constructions can be considered to be an instance of 'inflectional periphrasis', as defined by Ackerman and Stump (2004) and Brown et al. (2012), who posit three criteria for distinguishing inflectional periphrases from other multiword expressions. First, auxiliary verb constructions satisfy the feature intersectivity criterion: the combination of the auxiliary and the lexical element serves to fill a cell in the paradigm; the periphrastic construction thus functions as an *exponence strategy* (cf. Spencer and Popova 2015: 211[4]).

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4. "(…) the cells in the inflectional paradigm of a verb lexeme require (at least as their first preference) a non-compositional construction in order to express the content of those cells. Therefore, the periphrasis has to be the result of some kind of rule of exponence."

Second, they satisfy the criterion of non-compositionality: the value of a given set of mophosyntactic features (e.g. the 2nd pers.SG past tense) is not deducible from the values of the individual parts of the multiword expression. In fact, one of the elements expresses a conflicting value. By way of example, in standard Italian the pluperfect *tu avevi lavorato* (you had worked.PTCP) or in Czech *já jsem pracoval* (I am worked.PTCP), the auxiliaries *avevi/jsem* express, repectively, the imperfect and present tense conflicting with the past tense of the whole construction (cf., e.g. Spencer and Popova 2015: 213; Bonami 2015: 78). Third, they satisfy in part the distributed exponence criterion in that the person is realized on the auxiliary and the subject agreement, where applicable, on the participle. For instance, in standard Italian *sono arrivate* they.are.3PL come.PTCP.FPL 'they have come' (see, for discussion, Štichauer 2018: 2–4).

Having laid out this basic premise about the inflectional nature of auxiliary verb constructions, I now turn to a succinct overview of auxiliary selection in Romance.

3.   Auxiliary selection in standard Romance languages

It is well known that in some standard Romance languages, compound tenses can exhibit one generalized auxiliary, as in Spanish where H (*haber*) is used in all cells of all paradigms and across all verb classes. Such a situation is not limited to standard Romance languages, but is also found in various Italo-Romance dialects, where we witness generalization not only of the auxiliary H (e.g. in the variety of Santa Maria a Vico, Campania, upper southern Italy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 779), but also of the auxiliary E (e.g. in the variety of Offida, south of Marche, central Italy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 760).

Alternatively, auxiliary selection can depend on various criteria, a common pattern being the active/stative split (transitive/unergative *versus* unaccusative verbs, so-called 'split intransitivity', cf. Bentley 2006).[5] But, as is well known, even within such a syntactically grounded split, semantic factors can intervene (see, for example, Sorace 2000 for a more fine-grained classification of verbs selecting E/H auxiliaries; cf. also Bentley 2006: 41–55).

However, such clear-cut situations where, on the one hand, one perfective auxiliary is generalized, and where, on the other, auxiliary selection follows split intransitivity, are far from the only patterns of alternation attested in the Romance languages (see, for example, Loporcaro 2001, 2007, 2014: 53; Ledgeway 2012: 321,

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5.   The Unaccusative Hypothesis has a long history dating back to Perlmutter's seminal 1978 paper which has given rise to intensive research in this domain; Bentley (2006) provides a thorough investigation of split intransitivity on the basis of Italian data.

2015). Recent research has in fact demonstrated that crosslinguistic variation in Romance auxiliary alternation does not operate only at the level of argument structure, but also at the level of other categories or features which can be involved in auxiliary alternation. There are indeed languages where the alternations follow distinctions of mood, tense, finiteness, or even person and/or number (see Ledgeway 2015, in press: §3.2), giving thus rise to person-based mixed paradigms.

4.   Mixed paradigms and 'lexical splits'

Person-based systems (or 'person-driven systems',[6] cf. D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010; Ledgeway in press) have attracted, over the past decades, much attention, especially within the generative framework (see, for example, Bentley and Eythórsson 2001; Cennamo 2010; Legendre 2010; Loporcaro 2001, 2007, 2014; Ledgeway 2012: 317–327, in press: §3.2; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II/III: Chapter 5). I argue that the theoretical interest of person-driven systems also lies in the fact that the attested patterns include distributions which induce remarkable *splits within the periphrastic realization* (cf. Corbett 2013, 2015, 2016).

In what follows, I put forward a typology of such splits within periphrasis. Such a typology builds on Bonami (2015: 69), but extends his classificatory proposal so as to include some typical (and widespread) distributions, both motivated and unmotivated (see Štichauer 2016, 2018). However, first, a brief remark on terminology is in order. Although there are various uses of the term 'morphomic' (see, for example, O'Neill 2014; Bermúdez-Otero and Luís 2016),[7] I use it – rather innocuously – to refer to just those distributions or patterns where the set of cells involved in the selection of one or the other auxiliary does not seem to make up a *natural class*, i.e. a class that can be straightforwardly stated in morphosyntactic terms. A clear instance of a natural morphosyntactic class is a unique feature system,[8] e.g. number, where one set of alternants would be aligned with one value (singular), the other set with the other value(s) (plural, or dual). Of course for features with more than two values, such as person, to define a natural class is more difficult, since some collections of values, e.g. 1/2SG vs 3SG can be said to be motivated, while others, e.g.

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6.   It is important to note, as one anonymous reviewer points out, that it is more precise to define these systems as 'person-and-number driven systems' as not only is the person feature involved, but also number.

7.   See the volume edited by Bermúdez-Otero and Luís (2016) where a variety of different views on 'morphomicity' can be found.

8.   This is essentially what one anonymous reviewer claims: that a 'natural class' can be replaced with 'unique feature description'.

1sɢ vs 3ᴘʟ, cannot. However, I take the natural classes to be statable in morpho-syntactic terms, i.e. in terms of morphosyntactic (as opposed to morphosemantic or morphological) features with a fixed set of values, while acknowledging, as will be clear below in the next section, that also other classes can be motivated on other than morphosyntactic grounds.

4.1 Pragmatically motivated splits

We have seen above in example (1) a split where first and second persons are opposed to third persons. This pattern, which is the most common in Italo-Romance, has been widely studied and analysed in the literature (cf., e.g. Bentley and Eythórsson 2001: 64; Loporcaro 2001: 457, 2007: 185, 2014: 55; D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010: 44; Legendre 2010: 186; Ledgeway 2012: 323, in press: §3.2; see also Corbett 2013: 183–185).

This split can be found across different verb classes within the traditional (and well-motivated) split between active/stative predicates. For instance, in the variety of San Benedetto del Tronto (southeastern Marche, central Italy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 682), such a split holds, in the present perfect,[9] for all verb classes. example (5) illustrates with the verb *venire*:

(5)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	sɔ I.am	vəˈnuːtə come.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ	ʃɛmə we.are	vəˈnuːtə come.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ
2	ʃi you.are.sɢ	vəˈnuːtə come.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ	ʃɛtə you.are.ᴘʟ	vəˈnuːtə come.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ
3	a he/she.has	vəˈnuːtə come.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ	a they.have	vəˈnuːtə come.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ

In the literature, there is wide agreement (albeit with different theoretical implementations) on the motivation of such a split:[10] the split between speech act participants (1st/2nd person) and non-participants (3rd person) (see, for example, Ledgeway in press: §3.2.1). Such a distinction is also well represented typologically

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9. As we shall see, the situation with the other compound tenses tends to be quite different in that we find generalization of one or the other auxiliary throughout the paradigm (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 681).

10. Within the generative framework, the features associated with different persons obviously play a role in the treatment of this pattern (see e.g. D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010; Torcolacci 2015; Ledgeway in press).

by languages which only make a morphosyntactic distinction between 1/2 pers. and 3 pers. (cf. for instance, Corbett 2012: 124).[11] Given this pragmatically based motivation, I take these patterns to exhibit a pragmatically motivated split.

4.2   Balanced splits

Much more rare are motivated distributions which Bonami (2015: 69) calls 'balanced splits'. A balanced split is a clear instance of a motivated distribution according to a binary feature value (which thus constitutes a natural morphosyntactic class *par excellence*).

Let us consider example (6) from the variety of Popoli (Abruzzo, province of Pescara, central Italy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 688–689), where the auxiliary alternation corresponds to the natural singular/plural distinction:

(6)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	sɔ	vəˈniutə	aˈvemmə	vəˈniutə
	I.am	come.PTCP	we.have	come.PTCP
2	ʃi	vəˈniutə	aˈveːtə	vəˈniutə
	you.are	come.PTCP	you.have.PL	come.PTCP
3	ɛ	vvəˈniutə	annə	vəˈniutə
	he/she.is	come.PTCP	they.have	come.PTCP

It is important to note, however, that, in the variety in question, this balanced pattern holds only for the class of unaccusatives, while unergatives follow different patterns, e.g. EEH-HHH. This shows that within a larger motivated split (unaccusatives vs unergatives), there can also be other motivated as well as unmotivated patterns *nested* (cf. Corbett 2013, 2015).

4.3   'Elsewhere' splits

A large number of mixed systems follow an exponence strategy that has sometimes been referred to as the 'elsewhere condition', 'subset principle', or 'Pāṇini's principle' (Stump 2001): there is a general exponence rule, say the H auxiliary, which is overridden by a narrower rule – the E auxiliary (or vice-versa) – in a specific cell (or a set

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11. See also Corbett (2013: 173) on a similar split in Slovak verbs, where in the past tense the 1/2 persons maintain the auxiliary *byť* while the 3rd persons lack it. As Corbett notes, the pattern, shared with Czech and Macedonian, is *unique* in that it is not used elsewhere in the morphological system.

of cells) of the paradigm, as in the Abruzzi varieties of Introdacqua (HEH-HHH) or Notaresco (EHH-HHH) (Loporcaro 2001:457, 2007:184–185). Such a clear elsewhere split, though not common as a general pattern for all verb classes (see the overview in Manzini and Savoia 2005, II:728; see also Loporcaro 2014:54–55), is found *nested* within larger splits, as alluded to above. examples (7) and (8) illustrate this situation; in (7) the default strategy is H,[12] while E is restricted to the 3SG; in (8),[13] we have a sort of reverse situation with E as a general strategy, H being limited to the 3PL.[14]

(7)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	ad'dʒə	'na:tə	ammə	'na:tə
	I.have	born.PTCP	we.have	born.PTCP
2	a	'na:tə	atə	'na:tə
	you.have.SG	born.PTCP	you.have.PL	born.PTCP
3	ε	'na:tə	annə	'na:tə
	he/she.is	born.PTCP	they.have	born.PTCP

(8)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	sɔ	vvə'nutə	simə	və'nutə
	I.am	come.PTCP	we.are	come.PTCP
2	si	vvə'nutə	sitə	və'nutə
	you.are.SG	come.PTCP	you.are.PL	come.PTCP
3	jε	vvə'nutə	vɔnnə	və'nutə
	he/she.is	come.PTCP	they.have	come.PTCP

Such splits, referred to by Bonami (2015:69) as 'Pāṇinian splits', could probably be linked to the purported diachronic origin of the mixed systems: Bentley and Eythórsson (2001:67–70) argue that the spread of E was triggered by the need to avoid potential homonymy in the 2SG and the 3SG, where the diachronic evolution of *habes/habet* led to an identical outcome (*a*) (cf. also Ledgeway in press:§3.2.1.4). Since this is an important issue, I shall return to it below in §4.4.

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12. Example (7) illustrates the verb *nascere* in the variety of Pompei (Campania, prov. Naples, southern Italy; cf. Cennamo 2001:444; Loporcaro 2007:185).

13. Example (8) illustrates the verb *venire* in the dialect of Miglionico (Basilicata, prov. Matera, southern Italy; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II:726).

14. In this particular case, I exceptionally use grey shading for the H auxiliary as it is found in only one cell of the paradigm in accordance with the definition of elsewhere splits.

4.4   Morphomic splits

As anticipated above, I take morphomic distributions to be internal to morphology with, on the one hand, no external relevance to syntax, and, on the other hand, no apparent semantic or phonological motivation for the subset of cells involved (cf. Corbett 2015: 161–165; Bonami 2015: 69–70). My use of the term 'morpheme' thus differs from Maiden's view of morphomicity, and it is worth clarifying the difference (see Štichauer 2018: 4–6 for more discussion).

Traditionally, morphomic splits have been demonstrated to be involved in patterns of stem alternation in Romance verbs (Maiden 2005, 2011), but they can also be induced by other phenomena (see Corbett 2015: 162), such as split auxiliary alternation, as argued in the present paper. However, there is a clear difference between the morphomic L-, N-, U- patterns defined by Maiden (2005, 2011) and the unmotivated patterns which I wish to define at the level of mixed paradigms. Maiden's morphomic patterns involve more than one subparadigm covering a wider set of implicated cells, a 'partition class' (cf. Pirrelli 2000: 53–54; Pirrelli and Battista 2000: 316–318). What we witness in the case of mixed paradigms is definitely a narrower morphomic distribution in that the unmotivated subset of cells concerns only one partial paradigm: as we have seen, the present perfect usually behaves in a different way from the other compound tenses. In this sense, projecting Maiden's patterns onto the case of auxiliary alternation is not entirely correct. Thus, it might be more viable to speak about *narrower distribution schemata* that hold only for a given partial paradigm (much in the vein of the 'distribution schema' of Pirrelli and Battista 2000: 324–325).

Having clarified this difference,[15] I shall now present three examples. The first one actually regards two patterns that exhibit a kind of 'mirror-image' distribution; they hold, in both cases, only for the class of reflexives (although they belong to different dialectal areas).

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15. As one anonymous reviewer correctly points out, there is actually one more – and arguably more important – difference, namely the fact that the morphomic patterns involved in the Romance stem alternations are diachronically robust. Such morphomic patterns tend to be resistant to internal disruption and a change in the realization of one cell equally leads to the change in the other cells involved in the pattern. In this sense, the unmotivated distributions to which the intraparadigmatic auxiliary alternation gives rise might be different; it is thus important to investigate also the diachrony of such mixed systems which is an issue only touched upon here in §4.4.

In example (9), taken from the variety of Altomonte (Calabria, prov. Cosenza, southern Italy; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 652), *lavarsi* 'wash oneself' is realized with H in the 1SG and 1/2PL, while the rest of the paradigm selects the auxiliary E.

(9)

SINGULAR

1	**m**	**aju**	**la'vatu**
	myself=	I.have	washed.PTCP
2	**ti**	**si**	**lla'vatu**
	yourself=	you.are.SG	washed.PTCP
3	**s**	**ɛ**	**lla'vatu**
	himself=	he.is	washed.PTCP

PLURAL

1	**n**	**amu**	**la'vati**
	ourselves=	we.have	washed.PTCP.PL
2	**v**	**ati**	**la'vati**
	yourselves=	you.have.PL	washed.PTCP.PL
3	**si**	**su**	**lla'vati**
	themselves=	they.are	washed.PTCP.PL

The pattern is striking in that there is no apparent semantic or phonological motivation for such a distribution. The collections of paradigm cells – on both sides – do not make up a natural class in morphosyntactic terms. It would be extremely hard to come up with a morphosyntactic motivation for these sets of cells (1SG + 1/2PL vs 2/3SG + 3PL);[16] moreover, it is also impossible to associate these cells with one or the other auxiliary. Indeed, we also find a reverse distribution in which the same unmotivated collection of cells is realized with the inverted selection of the auxiliary, as example (10) shows (the variety of Velo Veronese, Veneto, prov. Verona, northern Italy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 652):

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16. One of the anonymous reviewers points out that it is not sufficient to explain away the unmotivatedness of the pattern by saying that it would be just hard to put forward a morphosyntactically motivated account. It is true that within a Distributed Morphology account such an explanation would be the major concern; however, as the same anonymous reviewer observes, such "motivation would require a complex derivational machinery every detail of which would need independent and plausible motivation."

(10)

SINGULAR			
1	**me** myself=	**soŋ** I.am	**la'va** washed.PTCP
2	**te** yourself=	**t ɛ** you.have.SG	**la'va** washed.PTCP
3	**el / la** he / she	**s a** oneself= has	**la'va** washed.PTCP

PLURAL			
1	**se** ourselves=	**semo** we.are	**la've** washed.PTCP.PL
2	**ve** yourselves=	**si** you.are	**la've** washed.PTCP.PL
3	**i / le** they.M / they.F	**s a** oneself= they.have	**la'va** washed.PTCP.PL

Here we find the auxiliary E in the 1SG and 1/2PL, while the rest of the paradigm is realized with H. Again, there do not seem to be any specific semantic or phonological reasons for such a pattern of distribution. It is nonetheless important to note that in these varieties there is a standard split between transitives/unergatives vs unaccusatives in the auxiliary selection and that only the class of reflexives follows this intraparadigmatic distribution (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 649–654). However, such an alternation pattern, though nested within a standard – motivated – split, is to be considered morphomic in the sense of being an unmotivated distribution pattern. Moreover, such mirror-image distributions are particularly interesting in that they explicitly show that what is important here is not a given auxiliary, associated with a given cell (or a feature specification), but the abstract pattern of alternation, which can thus be defined in isolation regardless of the concrete forms of the alternants.[17]

Mixed systems in Italo-Romance are further complicated by the phenomenon of 'free variation', i.e. free choice of E ≈ H.[18] In some varieties, such free choice is

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17. In this sense, therefore, the pattern does come much closer to Maiden's morphomic distributions because these can be defined, as one anonymous reviewer points out, as "something that makes reference to a particular, arbitrary, set of paradigm cells in abstraction from the particular alternant sets that realize them."

18. I will adopt this notation of free variation E ≈ H following Ledgeway in press: §3.2.1, although it is commonly signalled, in the literature, as E/H (Loporcaro 2007) or E/A (standing for *essere/ avere*) (Manzini and Savoia 2005).

usually found in only a specific subset of cells, and, most importantly, such a subset of cells can again constitute an unmotivated collection.

In the literature, various accounts of free variation have been proposed. I shall provide a brief summary (see, for more discussion, Štichauer 2018: 15–17), before focusing on the last proposal I adopt.

Within the generative framework, free variation is conceived of as coexistence of two competing (or multiple) grammars (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 740).[19] According to a different approach, free variation can be described in terms of 'triple auxiliation', where the alternative choice of E ≈ H represents a third empirical option (cf. Loporcaro 2007 for a detailed account of such 'triple-auxiliation systems'; see also Loporcaro 2014: 54–56). In yet another perspective, free variation can be taken to represent a case of 'no auxiliary selection rule' – at least where the free choice E ≈ H holds for the whole paradigm. In fact, according to Ledgeway (in press: §3.2, n. 10),[20] "varieties like Montebello Ionico [i.e. those with the generalized free alternation throughout the paradigm] can be treated on a par with varieties presenting the generalization of a single auxiliary since they too fail to present a 'rule' of auxiliary selection, allowing us to reduce 'generalization' and 'free variation' to equally legitimate outputs of a single unmarked option."[21] Finally, free variation could also be conceived of as a case of 'overabundance', in which a paradigm cell is occupied by two interchangeable forms (cf., e.g. Thornton 2011: 359, 362).[22] Under this view, free variation of E ≈ H, where two different auxiliaries can be used, is structurally analogous to well-known cases such as *sepolto/seppellito* ('buried').

I take the 'overabundance approach' as a useful way of treating the phenomenon of free variation: as well as the forms of the two auxiliaries, speakers also have to know which cells of a given paradigm are involved;[23] and again the subset of these cells can make up a morphosyntactically natural class or follow an unmotivated

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19. "In termini teorici, l'apparente opzionalità nella scelta dell'ausiliare viene ascritta alla compresenza di due grammatiche diverse, (…)." [Theoretically, the apparent optionality in auxiliary choice is due to the co-presence of two different grammars.].

20. The same point was first made by Loporcaro (2001: 470, 2007: 186).

21. It is clear, however, that this solution cannot be proposed for partial free variation, in which only a given subset of cells (within a given verb class) is involved in the free choice E ≈ H.

22. I thank Anna Thornton for pointing out this possibility and for valuable discussion of the issue. See also Stump (2016: 61, n. 1) who makes the same point.

23. I am well aware that this claim presupposes a relative paradigmatic stability of the patterns in diachrony. However, as Loporcaro (2014: 56, n. 8) observes, these triple systems, though sometimes stable, "often represent a delicate transitional stage, within a speech community in which they coexist with binary options."

pattern. In what follows, I will present two such cases with free variation which exhibit such a morphomic distribution.

Let us consider example (11), *dərmir* 'sleep' in the variety of Gallo Matese (Campania, prov. Caserta, southern Italy; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 717–718):

(11)

	SINGULAR			PLURAL	
1	**adʤə ≈ sɔ**	**dər'mu:tə**		**se:mə**	**dər'mu:tə**
	I.have ≈ I.am	slept.PTCP		we.are	slept.PTCP
2	**si**	**dər'mu:tə**		**se:tə**	**dər'mu:tə**
	you.are.SG	slept.PTCP		you.are.PL	slept.PTCP
3	**ɛ**	**dər'mu:tə**		**au ≈ sɔ**	**dər'mu:tə**
	he.is	slept.PTCP		they.have ≈ they.are	slept.PTCP

The cells implicated in this distribution make up – on both sides – morphosyntactically unmotivated classes: on the one hand, the 1SG + 3PL, and on the other hand the 2/3SG + 1/2PL. Therefore, it is again a kind of morphomic distribution. A comparison with Maiden's U-pattern might be tempting, but as already pointed out above, Maiden's morphomic patterns, including the U-pattern, involve more than just one subparadigm; in this sense, therefore, a much more plausible account would be to consider this distribution as a pattern of its own. In fact, the distribution schema exactly parallels what Thornton (2012: 193) dubs the R-pattern (which is followed, in standard Italian, by verbs such as *conoscere* 'know'). (See also for this distribution schema Pirrelli and Battista 2000: 325).

Let us now consider a similar example (12), which comes from the variety of Campli (Abruzzo, province of Teramo, central Italy; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 686). Here we find, in the present perfect, the common (pragmatically-based) pattern EEH-EEH described above, but, in the counterfactual, free variation E ≈ H. However – most importantly – the free variation involves, again, only the 1SG and the 3PL.

(12)

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
1	**'fusse ≈ a'vasse**	**arrə'vi:tə**		**'fussemə**	**arrə'vi:tə**	
	I.was ≈ had	arrived.PTCP		we.were	arrived.PTCP	
2	**'fusse**	**arrə'vi:tə**		**sa'reʃtə**[24]	**arrə'vi:tə**	
	you.were.SG	arrived.PTCP		you.were.PL	arrived.PTCP	
3	**'fusse**	**arrə'vi:tə**		**'fusse ≈ a'vasse**	**arrə'vi:tə**	
	s/he.was	arrived.PTCP		they.were ≈ had	arrived.PTCP	

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24. According to the data reported by Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 686), the paradigm is more complicated in that in some cells the auxiliary E surfaces both in the form of IMPF.SBJ (e.g. *fusse*)

The same example is also discussed by Ledgeway (in press: §3.2.1), and the fact that it is not a straightforwardly motivated distribution leads him to put forward a morphological explanation of the pattern: he assumes – for a synchronic pattern – a diachronic link (along with an analogical pressure) between the 1SG and the 3PL, and he explicitly claims:

> There may be various reasons why the 1SG and the 3PL frequently show formal convergence in auxiliary selection across dialects. One possible factor is the frequent formal homophony of the 1SG and 3PL of the present of BE (copula and auxiliary), which in many dialects, as in colloquial Italian, converge in the form **so** (< SU(M)/SU(N(T))). Consequently, given the occurrence of **so** as a 1SG auxiliary form in a classic person system, it is understandable how that same form, with independent 3PL reference as a copula or passive auxiliary, might be extended as a perfective auxiliary to the 3PL alongside the expected 3PL form of HAVE. Once 3PL **so** can freely alternate with its corresponding form of HAVE in the 3PL, then this same variation can be extended to the 1sg **so** and its corresponding form of HAVE. Once established in the 1SG and 3PL, it is understandable how further analogical extensions may then arise, e.g. extension of BE to 3SG by analogy with the 3PL or extension of HAVE to 2SG by analogy with 1SG and then, in turn, to the 1/2PL.

Such a claim is entirely in line with the present proposal according to which auxiliary selection may lose its syntactic motivation and may become morphologized. Under this view, paradigmatically (or analogically) driven auxiliary alternation is to be expected. Thus, the alternation patterns can range from those which are motivated on morphosyntactic grounds (such as the balanced split seen above in example (6)) or on some semantic (pragmatic) basis (such as the widespread EEH-EEH pattern, opposing the discourse participants to non-discourse participants), to those for such simple motivation is lacking. In fact, even such morphomic patterns can also be found. In these cases, the distributional unity of cells involved in the selection of one or the other auxiliary is a purely morphological phenomenon which speakers must handle by simply listing the specific paradigm environments (cf. Maiden 2016: 54–55 for a similar point).

In the next section, I turn to the problem of the diachronic origin, briefly alluded to above when discussing the nature of the 'elsewhere splits'.

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and COND. (e.g. *sa'ri*). In the 2PL, the only available form is apparently the conditional *sa'reftə*, while the expected **fuste* is missing (being regularly present in other varieties). Whether this is an accidental gap or some systematic defectiveness remains to be seen. In any case, the 2PL cell is still occupied by the auxiliary E, and so the E/H free variation is involved only in the 1SG and the 3PL.

4.5   A note on the diachronic origin of mixed paradigms

We have briefly mentioned above that, according to Bentley and Eythórsson (2001: 67–70), the spread of ɛ might have been triggered in order to avoid potential homonymy in the 2sɢ and the 3sɢ, where the diachronic evolution of *habes/ habet* produced an identical outcome (*a*) (cf. also Ledgeway in press: §3.2.1.4). In support of this claim they adduce various elements, such as the fact that all mixed systems present the ɛ auxiliary precisely in the 2sɢ with further spread to other persons; and they also highlight the fact that we find some intermediate stages with free variation ɛ/ʜ where the pattern is not yet stable.

I argue that, although this diachronic scenario might well be correct, it is not unproblematic. Not only is the diachronic record of these varieties too shallow (cf. Ledgeway in press, 3.2.1.1) to allow for a reliable reconstruction, but the homonymy view also presents some internal drawbacks. I will add only a couple of minor critical remarks on the potential homonymy, leaving a more elaborate account for future investigation.

First of all, in Italo-Romance varieties such homonymy is widely attested with the same auxiliary form of ʜ in the 2/3sɢ, but the choice of ɛ to resolve the problem is only one (and probably the last one) of at least two different solutions. The first solution, which I shall only touch upon, is typologically quite widespread: it is the expression of overt pronominal (clitic) subjects,[25] as in (13), (the variety of Ala di Stura, Piedmont, northwest Italy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 619):

(13)

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
1	ʤ	ɛ	dyr'mi	ʤ	ɛŋ	dyr'mi
	I=	have.1sɢ	slept.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ	I/we=	have.1ᴘʟ	slept.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ
2	t	a	dyr'mi	u l	e:s	dyr'mi
	you=	have.2sɢ	slept.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ	you=	have.2ᴘʟ	slept.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ
3	u l	a	dyr'mi	u l	aŋ	dyr'mi
	he=	has.3sɢ	slept.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ	they=	have.3ᴘʟ	slept.ᴘᴛᴄᴘ

Here we see that the homonymy in the auxiliary form for the 2/3sɢ does not pose any problem since the potential ambiguity is resolved through the obligatory presence of the subject clitic. Needless to say, the situation is comparable to the

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25. Of course, I do not mean that the overt expression of pronominal subjects is used in the grammar *in order to avoid* such a threatening homonymy. Pronominal subjects are a complex matter having to do with the intricate pro-drop parameter which I cannot go into in the present paper (see, for example, Roberts 2014). Furthermore, microparametric variation is, notoriously, very rich (see, e.g. Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 69–128).

well-known French distinction between *tu as parlé / il a parlé*, where the auxiliary is phonetically identical, viz. [a].

The second solution is, in my view, much more interesting, as it is inherent in the phonological system of only Italo-Romance varieties. The solution consists in the morphologization of phonosyntactic doubling (*rafforzamento fonosintattico*, RF). Recently, the issue of the distribution of RF within mixed paradigms has been explicitly addressed by Torcolacci (2015) who puts forward a series of generalizations. Torcolacci shows how RF is apparently unpredictable in its paradigmatic distribution. In general, the plural forms (regardless of the auxiliary selected) never allow for RF,[26] while the singular exhibits considerable variation. There are systems with RF throughout the singular (regardless of the auxiliary);[27] there are systems with RF triggered only by ε in the 1st and 2nd persons;[28] and there are paradigms where RF is never triggered.[29]

However, there is one straightforward tendency in the attested data (see the overview in Torcolacci 2015: 56, Table 73) which shows how RF is used to resolve potential homonymy between the identical outcome of *ha(be)s / ha(be)t > a* in the 2/3sg. We have already seen one such case in example (2) above, repeated here as (14); I use, for the sake of clarity, grey shading to highlight the relevant cells.

(14)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	sɔ	ffatt	am	fatt
	I.am	done.PTCP	we.have	done.PTCP
2	a	fatt	avet	fatt
	you.have.SG	done.PTCP	you.have.PL	done.PTCP
3	a	ffatt	an	fatt
	he/she.has	done.PTCP	they.have	done.PTCP

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26. This seems to be an overgeneralization. For instance, in the variety of Nocera Inferiore (Campania, prov. Salerno, southern Italy), RF is regularly triggered only by the monosyllabic forms of the auxiliary ESSE, so we have in the singular sɔ vvə'nutə, si vvə'nutə, ε vvə'nutə; and in the plural simmə və'nutə, sitə və'nutə, sɔ vvə'nutə. (Many thanks to Roberto Petrosino for providing me with this example from his own dialect.)

27. E.g., the variety of Castelvecchio Subequo (Abruzzo, prov. L'Aquila), cf. Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 692).

28. For instance, the variety of Amandola (Marche, prov. Fermo), cf. Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 684), Torcolacci (2015: 3, 11, 42).

29. For example, the variety of Ortezzano (Marche, prov. Fermo), cf. Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 682).

This solution is particularly evident in the case of those systems where H is generalized throughout the paradigm (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 779–797), as example (15) from the variety of Santa Maria a Vico (Campania, prov. Caserta; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 779) illustrates:

(15)

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	ad'dʒu	və'nutə	am'mu	və'nutə
	I.have	come.PTCP	we.have	come.PTCP
2	a	və'nutə	a'litə	və'nutə
	you.have.SG	come.PTCP	you.have.PL	come.PTCP
3	a	vvə'nutə	an'nu	və'nutə
	he/she.has	come.PTCP	they.have	come.PTCP

However, generalized H is not a necessary condition. What is relevant here is the auxiliary syncretism in the 2/3SG. The syncretism is remedied through RF which thus fulfils a clear morphosyntactic function.[30]

These facts thus show that the rise of mixed auxiliation systems cannot be solely ascribed to the 2/3SG auxiliary form syncretism, as there are other strategies for coping with such homonymy.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to sketch a morphological approach to the phenomenon of mixed paradigms, traditionally dealt with within various syntactic frameworks. The main idea argued for here is that even auxiliary selection within paradigms can undergo a process of gradient morphologization. The result of such morphologization is that within a larger motivated split (active/stative), further

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30. One anonymous reviewer aptly points out that RF is not triggered in the case of verbs beginning with a vowel and so the discriminating function of RF cannot be invoked. Resorting to an alternative auxiliary would thus seem to be a better strategy. However, in this particular case, the usual mechanism is the insertion of an epenthetic consonant just in the 3SG, as described by Torcolacci (2015: 85–86). For instance, in the variety of Mola di Bari, we thus have a'pi:rt you. have.SG opened.PTCP vs av a'pi:rt he/she.has opened.PTCP. Although Torcolacci puts forward a DM explanation of this fact (positing an empty mora which must be overtly encoded), we could independently take this to be a homonymy avoidance strategy – so long as one really wishes to assume the homonymy avoidance requirement as an essential factor in the organization of inflectional paradigms. In fact, as both reviewers jointly point out, such homonymy is widely tolerated across a wide range of inflectional systems.

splits may be nested,[31] ranging from motivated to strictly morphomic splits, depending on the type of intraparadigmatic distribution of the two auxiliaries.

I have put forward a typology of such internal splits, starting with what I term 'pragmatically motivated splits' (those that oppose the 1/2 persons to the 3rd persons), 'balanced splits', 'elsewhere splits' (those that exhibit a distribution in which only one cell of the paradigm is realized with one or the other auxiliary), and, finally, morphomic splits. I have offered only a limited number of morphomic distributions emphasizing the fact that a comparison with some of Maiden's morphomic patterns is purely superficial, although the essential lack of motivation for the patterns discussed is clearly visible.

In conclusion, I have also touched upon the important issue of the diachronic origin of mixed auxiliation systems. Although I have not put forward any positive hypothesis regarding the rise of mixed paradigms, I have at least attempted to point out some weaknesses of the view according to which the spread of ESSE is due to the need of potential homonymy in the identical outcome of HABERE in the 2/3SG. I leave a thorough investigation of this issue to future research.

Acknowledgements

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31. One anonymous reviewer is sceptical about the notion of 'nesting' of morphomic splits within motivated ones. Although Corbett's discussion of nesting (Corbett 2016) deals with examples of stem alternations (mainly in Russian), I use here this notion of nesting in a less technical way claiming only that unmotivated distributions of the two auxiliaries can be found only within a specific verb class. This seems to me entirely coherent with the view that the diachronically primary situation is the motivated split – transitives/unergatives vs unaccusatives – a split which is encoded in the different auxiliary selection. Such a split subsequently evolves into various systems where we find, on one extreme, generalization of just one auxiliary across all verb classes, and, on the other extreme, intraparadigmatic alternations of both auxiliaries giving rise to further motivated as well as unmotivated patterns of alternation. In this sense, therefore, a variety in which transitives/unergatives select H throughout the whole paradigm and unaccusatives display an intraparadigmatic pattern, say, EEH-EEH, is, in my view, a variety where the EEH-EEH pattern is *nested* within a larger motivated split.

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Selection and morphology of expletive subject clitics in northern Italian dialects

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This paper aims to sketch a morphological typology of 3sɢ expletive subject clitics (ESCs) in northern Italian dialects (NIDs). In order to show a variation greater than that reported in descriptive studies, a preliminary examination of the ESCs of some varieties of Piedmontese is made, with particular reference to the impersonal verbs *sembra* ('it seems') and *bisogna* (an impersonal only verb meaning 'it is necessary'). Keeping the same focus, such a microvariational analysis is then extended to the whole of NIDs, seeking to draw up a morphological typology linked to syntax-semantic interface hypotheses. Lastly, some suggestions about a crosslinguistic comparison and some diachronic facts are presented.

Keywords: subject clitics, expletives, impersonal verbs, semi-arguments

1. Impersonals in Piedmontese dialects

Subject clitics (SCs) are considered preverbal markers of subject-verb agreement and NIDs are believed to be *pro*-drop languages, albeit in an inconsistent way.[1] From a paradigmatic point of view, the theoretical model by Poletto (2000) provides for two positions of the third person, i.e. 3sɢ masculine (3sɢ.ᴍ) and 3sɢ feminine (3sɢ.ꜰ). Other studies, such as Parry (1993) add the category 3sɢ expletive, which includes all verbs with a non-referential subject. It can be useful to take into account a sample of five Piedmontese dialects (1) in order to reveal a great deal of

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1. See Cardinaletti and Repetti (2010: 119–122) for a review of the matter and some theoretical issues. *Pro* would be allowed only in some persons of the paradigm, namely those in which a SC does not appear (or it is optional).

variability in the occurrence of ESCs.[2] This sample, albeit narrow, highlights the fact that previous generalizations regarding Piedmontese, e.g. "[a]n expletive clitic pronoun occurs *obligatorily* […] with *all* impersonal constructions, as in French (*il faut*, *il pleut*)" (Parry 1993: 98, emphasis mine) are actually valid solely for Turinese, as other studies on specific varieties have shown (e.g. Goria 2004; Regis 2006, etc.).[3]

(1)

	3SG.M 'he eats'	weather verb 'it rains'	*sembra*	*bisogna*
Torino	**a** ˈmand͡ʒa	**a** pjœu̯	**a** ˈzmia	**a** ˈvɛnta
Astigiano (Goria 2004)	**a/al** (+varr.) ˈmand͡ʒa	**a/al** (+varr.) pjœu̯	**a** ˈzmia	**a** ˈvɛnta
Cairo Montenotte SV (Parry 1993 +ASIt)	**u** ˈmʊ nd͡ʒa	**u** pjœu̯	**u** ˈzmia	∅ ˈzɔɲa
Borgomanero NO (Tortora 2014 + ASIt + Manzini and Savoia 2005)	**al** ˈmond͡ʒa	**al** / ∅ ˈpjɔva	**a** ˈzmeja	∅ ˈnzɔɲa
Bene Vagienna CN (survey by Terry Marengo, personal communication)	**u** ˈmand͡ʒa	**u** ˈpjøva	∅ ˈzmia	∅ ˈvanta
Trino VC (native competence of the author and surveys)	**al** ˈmənd͡ʒa	**al** pjœv	∅ ˈzmeʲa	∅ ˈvɛnta

Note that these dialects comply with the hierarchy of Renzi and Vanelli (1983: 136), in that "solo se i meteorologici hanno il pronome, possono averlo anche gli impersonali e l'esistenziale" (only if weather verbs have the [clitic] pronoun, impersonal and existential verbs can have it too).[4]

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2. Western: Torino and an area surrounding Asti; southern: Bene Vagienna [Cuneo]; eastern: Trino [Vercelli]); a Piedmontese dialect with strong Ligurian features (Cairo Montenotte [Savona]); a Piedmontese-Lombard transition dialect with peculiar features (Borgomanero [Novara]).

3. Turinese is usually referred to as "Piedmontese" par excellence, through a synecdoche: see Regis (2013) in this regard.

4. Note that this hierarchy is to be considered a very strong tendency and not an implicational scale: see data in Manzini and Savoia (2005: 118–119) which violate the hierarchy.

2.   General issues

In morphological terms, a preliminary observation would indicate that among the forms which can appear with impersonal verbs there are two types of ESC, a masculine type (*al*, *u* < ILLE) and an indefinite type (*a*), referred to as "non specialized clitic" in Manzini and Savoia (2005). Moreover, it should be noted that ESCs also appear in contexts other than those listed above. For instance, the broad analysis in Manzini and Savoia (2005: 162–196) shows that ESCs can appear also with the following: "phrasal" expletives ('it is/it would be better that…') and expletives with a postverbal subject. As noted above, the morphological typology of these SCs can then be reduced to three fundamental types: *masculine SC*, *indefinite SC*, and also *locative-existential SC* which in spite of the name can be found in any of the three contexts.[5]

In order to identify some regularity in the morphological distribution of ESCs, it is useful to consider the hierarchy in (2) below, proposed in Pescarini (2014: 233), according to which the presence/absence of an ESC is linked to the kind of verb appearing with the ESC:

(2)   weather verb > existential > raising verb (*sembra*) > impersonal *si* > *bisogna*

This means that ESCs are more widespread with weather verbs than with impersonal constructions, i.e. the number of varieties that have an ESC with weather verbs is bigger than the number of varieties that have it with the other kinds of verbs. Thus, ESCs will appear in a smaller number of varieties with *sembra* ('it seems') and and in an even more limited number of dialects with *bisogna* ('it is necessary'). Such a hierarchy is built empirically by counting the number of varieties that have SCs with the aforementioned kinds of verb in the entire ASIt database. It has an important implicational value, given the relatively limited number of counterexamples.[6] Therefore, if a dialect has a SC with *bisogna*, then there is a high probability that it has it with each of the other verbs as well.

Pescarini's hierarchy seems to be motivated by factors relating to semantics-syntax interface: indeed, the presence of semi-arguments would favour the presence

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5. *Locative-existential SCs* can have locative but also existential and dative value and are usually composed by an *-i* element, at least in Piedmontese dialects. Actually, in Manzini and Savoia's (2005: I, 191–193) list of ESCs, only three instances of locatives do appear with weather verbs (Coazze, Coimo, Corsaglia): in my opinion only in the variety of Corsaglia is a locative-existential clitic clearly present: [u **i** 'pjøva] 'it rains' / [uɾ *a* pjø'vyj**e**] 'it has rained'. However, the presence of this kind of SC with weather verbs is quite rare.

6. Just six varieties as noted in Pescarini (2014: 236–237).

of ESCs, whereas the absence of such arguments would disadvantage it.[7] Pescarini hypothesizes the existence of various types of semi-arguments with weather verbs, existentials and in some cases with impersonal *si*: this issue, however, goes beyond the scope of this analysis.

2.1   Semi-arguments

There is evidence to confirm that the assignment of an ESC depends on the presence of a semi-argument. In addition to the control properties indicated by Pescarini (2014: 239), mention should be made of the hypothesis presented in Puglielli and Frascarelli (2008: 64–66), according to which in weather verbs the θ-role THEME is lexicalized in the verb as a shadow argument, i.e. a semantic argument not expressed in syntax (Puglielli and Frascarelli 2008: 111–113), because the participant is affected by the action and cannot be considered a θ-role ACTOR, while impersonal verbs and constructions have no θ-role assigned. This hypothesis would be confirmed by the fact that in languages such as Italian the THEME can be syntactically projected as the subject if the THEME is not the default referent, e.g. *è piovuta pioggia acida* ('it rained acid rain') but not **è piovuta pioggia* ('it rained rain', cf. shadow argument in Pustejovsky's (1996: 40) example: ?John buttered the toast with butter vs. John buttered the toast with an expensive butter from Wisconsin).

   It is possible to confirm that SCs are influenced by the presence of the θ-role THEME, as markers of subject-verb agreement (NIDs being considered null subject languages). In fact, all weather predicates (that is to say, not only weather verbs expressing static events but also those conveying temperature and light conditions) assign the same SC (a detail usually ignored in literature), revealing that verbal semantics is probably a key factor in determining the presence of a given SC in these contexts.[8] In other words, the presence of a "weather subject" activates the selection of the corresponding ESC. It can be seen from some examples from the dialect of Trino. All kinds of weather verbs select *al*: [**al** pjøv], 'it rains'; [**al** ˈfjɔka] 'it snows'; [**al** ˈtroŋa] 'it thunders'; [**al** ˈlɔsna] 'there is lightning', but also other weather predicates do select the same ESC: [**al** fa kou̯d] 'it is hot; [**al** fa frəd͡ʒ] 'it is cold'; [**al** veŋ asˈkyri] 'it gets dark', while other impersonals such as [ˈsmeʲa] 'it seems', [ˈventa] '*bisogna*' and the impersonal phrase [fa neŋ kaz] 'it is not the case' show no ESC.

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7.   Following the terminology of Huang (2000: 50–53), semiarguments are present with with +argumental and –referential subjects. Arguments are absent with –argumental and –referential subjects.

8.   For a typology of weather predicates, see Eriksen et al. (2012).

An interesting example comes from a survey of the dialect of Bene Vagienna, in which the weather verb usually has a SC *u* (3a), as the personal form of [ˈzmia], *sembra*, when the subject is masculine (3b), but the impersonal [ˈzmia] has no SC (3a, c). On the contrary, when [ˈzmia] has a weather subject (3d), the masculine SC *u* occurs. In this case, the presence of a SC could really be attributed to syntax-semantics interface factors.

(3) a. ɹ ø   paṷ pəɹˈke   **u=ˈlozna**
          AUXC=have.1SG fear because SC.3SG.M=there is lightning-3SG
          talˈmɛnt fort   ke ∅ˈsmia
          so   heavily COMP=(*pro*3SG)seem-3SG
          k=**u=sia**   di
          COMP=SC.3SG.M=be-3SG   day
          'I am scared because there is lightning so heavily that it seems to be daylight.'

     b. **u=ˈzmia**   tant   grand   ma
          SC.3SG.M=seem-3SG very much grown up but
          u ɹ ɛ   ˈsɛmpe əŋ   matuˈtiŋ ne
          SC.3SG.M=AUXC=be.3SG still   ART.SG.M child   Q
          'he seems grown up, but he is still a child, isn't he?'

     c. ∅ˈzmia   **k=u=ˈsia**   tant   grand
          (*pro* 3SG) seem-3SG COMP=SC.3S.M=be-3SG very much grown up
          ma u ɹ ɛ   ˈsɛmpe əŋ   matuˈtiŋ ne
          but SC.3SG.M=AUXC=be.3SG still   ART.SG.M child   Q
          'it seems that he is grown up, but he is still a child, isn't he?'

     d. ɹ ø   paṷ pəɹˈke   **u=ˈlozna**
          AUXC=have.1SG fear because SC.3SG.M=there is lightning-3SG
          talˈmɛnt fort   k=**u=ˈzmia**   di
          so   heavily COMP=SC.3SG.M=seem-3SG day
          'I am scared because there is lightning so heavily that it seems daylight.'

2.2 Hypothesis of morphological typology of NIDs

Table (4) below contains ASIt data from several NID groups (Gallo-Italic, Venetian, Friulian) which exhibit an ESC with weather verb, *sembra* (lexically, *par* and *s(o) meia*), and *bisogna* (lexically, also *toca* and *venta*). The table only includes those dialects with data available for all of the three verbs, and the SC of 3SG.M has been listed on the left to facilitate comparisons.[9]

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9. Optionality has not been taken into account (but see §5), because the focus is on the mere presence and morphology of ESC. The use of parentheses reproduces the layout of ASIt data. Note that in some varieties (especially Venetian and Friulian) it is sometimes difficult to assess if

(4)		3SG.M	'it rains'	*sembra*	*bisogna*
	1. Albosaggia SO	al	al piof	al par	al besogna/al besuga
	2. Carrara MS	al	al piov	al par	al tok/al besogn
	3. Cordenons PN	al	al plouf	al somea	al tocia/bisugna
	4. Collina UD	al	al ploof	(al) sameo	(al) biziño
	5. Alassio SV	u	u ciove	u pò	u besogna
	6. Altare SV	u	u cioev	u smija	u bzoegna
	7. Calizzano SV	u	u ciov	u smia	u bzogna
	8. Casarza GE	u	u ciove	u pae	(u) boegna
	9. Savona	u	u ciove	u pò	u bezogna
	10. Cesarolo 2 (S.M. al Tagliamento) VE	al	al plouf	al somea	a bisogna
	11. Semogo (Valdidentro) SO	al	al piov	al/a par	*various*
	12. Bormio SO	al	al piof	al par	*various*
	13. Finale Ligure SV	u	u ciove	u pò	besogna
	14. Pontinvrea SV	u	u ciov	u smia	bzogna
	15. Cairo Montenotte SV	u	u ciov	u smia	zogna
	16. Moimacco UD	el	el pluf	el par	bisugna
	17. Remanzacco UD	el	el pluf	el samee	bisugne
	18. Brione BS	u	u piof / a piof pu	u par	bisogna
	19. Oneglia (Imperia) IM	u	u ciove	a pa	bezogna
	20. Borgo San Martino AL	al	al pieuf	a smija	ambsogna*
	21. Alba CN	u	u piøv	smia	vanta
	22. Chiavari2 GE	u	u cieuve	pa	besogna
	23. Teglio Veneto VE	al	al plouf	somea	bisugna
	24. Tollegno BI	al	a piou	a smia	a venta

the clitic *a* is a real 3SG SC or a topic absence marker (cf. for the dialect of Padua, Benincà 1983), e.g. in the case of Cesarolo2 (10). The presence of the consonantal clitic *l*, in Cesarolo2, however, seems to comply with the hierarchy. Moreover, note that the Lombard varieties of Semogo (11) and Bormio (12) exhibit a wide array of verbal periphrases in the ASIt to translate *bisogna*, both personal (Semogo: *l'erès/t'eresc de* 'he/you should have to', *el faies* 'let him do', *al parlies* 'let him speak', Bormio: *al g'à* 'he has to', *ti te gàsc* 'you have to') and impersonal (Semogo: *al ghe* 'there is to'; Bormio: *se g'à* 'it has to'). Equivalents of *bisogna*-like verbs seem not to be found in these varieties. The only possible violation of the hierarchy would be *al ghe* because of the presence of the SC *al*, while *sembra* in this variety appears both with *al* and *a* (just one instance: *a par che al Piero al riverè doman,* ASIt 4.5). In the variety of Oneglia (19), the indefinite clitic *a* is homophonous with the feminine SC, while the 3SG *a* SC of Torino (32) is invariable in every context and it is also used with feminine subjects. The peculiar form *ambsogna* of Borgo San Martino (20) is found in an area surrounding Casale Monferrato: cfr. AIS map 1361, points 158 Ottiglio, 159 Isola Sant'Antonio, 270 Cozzo. Cf. in the dialect of Trino the noun [aṷˈzɔɲ] 'need' (it. *bisogno*).

25. Taglio di Po RO	el	a piove	a pare	a toca/bisogna
26. Bagnolo San Vito MN	al	a piov	a par	bisogna
27. Carmignano di Brenta PD	el	a piov	(a) pare	bisogna
28. Bondeno FE	al	a piov	a par	bisogna
29. Ferrara	al	a piov	a par	bisogna
30. Carpi MO	al	a piof	a pera	bisogna
31. Redondesco MN	el	a piof	par	bisogna
32. Torino	a	a pieuv	a smija	a venta

* Dark grey shade = masculine SC. Light grey shade = indefinite SC.

From a morphological point of view, there is a rather strong tendency whereby the masculine SC cannot appear with *sembra* and *bisogna* if it is not already selected by weather verbs, nor can it appear with *bisogna* if it is not already selected by *sembra*. This seems to be confirmed by the limited presence of the indefinite clitic *a*, which appears only according to this kind of distribution (i.e. if it appears with the weather verb, then it will appear also with *sembra* and *bisogna* and so on). Once again, this distribution complies with the hierarchy indicated above in (2), repeated here in (5):

(5)   weather verb > existential > raising verb *(sembra)* > impersonal *si* > bisogna
(Pescarini 2014: 233)

These facts correlate nicely with the hypothesized semi-argumental properties of the verb. The masculine form figures with the weather verb which, as has been noted, can be considered a monovalent verb with a thematic role lexicalized in the verb. Moreover, *sembra* is a raising verb (in which the argument of a subordinate clause can raise to the verb of the main clause, e.g. it seems that John is disappointed vs. John seems to be disappointed). Although its semi-argumental status is not very clear (its properties should be considered something intermediate between the semi-argumental weather verbs and the totally non-argumental *bisogna*, see below), it can be assumed that this property does not favour the selection of a SC marked as masculine, because it can already be found in the argumental construction of the verb. For instance, in the dialect of Trino this potential syntactical ambiguity is resolved by the absence of any ESC with impersonal *sembra*: ∅ [ˈzmeʲa] 'it seems' (impersonal) vs. [al aˈzmeʲa] 'he seems'. So, if *sembra* tends to select an indefinite ESC *a* only if it is available within the variety; otherwise it would select a morphologically masculine ESC only if it will already be used by the weather verb or it will not have an ESC at all. With *bisogna*, SCs do not occur frequently, as it is observed in Pescarini (2014) and in Benincà and Poletto (1994). This phenomenon can be related to some semantic properties of the verb:

> The verb *bisogna* only means a pure state of necessity, excluding any cause of the necessity itself as well as excluding that a particular person or object is individually concerned with it. (Benincà and Poletto 1994: 36)

> Having no thematic role to assign, *bisogna* and *toca2* are likely to be generated directly in a Modal Head, their VP being either inert or totally lacking.
> (Benincà and Poletto 1994: 53)[10]

Consequently, since no θ-role is present, and given that in some dialects verbal semantics can determine SC selection and morphology, it is possible to imagine that if a SC appears with *bisogna*, then that SC should be invariable, i.e. a pure expletive. In other words, it must be considered as an invariable 3sG SC (given that a SC marked as masculine cannot be used with *bisogna* when an indefinite SC is used for the weather verb or *sembra*). Generally speaking, only if the SC with a masculine form is used for every context, it can be considered as morphologically leveled, thus marking only the third person singular (dialects 1–9): hence the 3sG.M SC will be found with all kinds of impersonal verbs.[11] The variable extension of the masculine SC and the possible complementary extension of the invariable SC could then be interpreted as a different partition of the marking of what could be called a "semi-argumentality space" (see in particular dialects 10, 11, 19 and 20). Finally, in some dialects, all non-referential verbs are marked as impersonal with an invariable SC (dialects 24–31). There is but one single partial counterexample in 18, which, however, is limited to one occurrence in a particular context (with adverb *pu* 'no longer', 'anymore').

3. Crosslinguistic perspective

The wide range of morphological variety of ESCs in NIDs has been compared in Manzini and Savoia (2005: 194–196) to that of the Germanic languages. Indeed, in these languages, different expletives figure in different contexts: neuter pronouns or neuter demonstratives (English *it*, German *es*, Danish *het*, Swedish/Norwegian *det*, Icelandic *það*) or locative-existentials (English *there*, Dutch *er*, Danish *der*). In view of the masculine vs indefinite contrast a further parameter can be introduced in this comparative approach. Faroese, some coastal Norwegian dialects and Icelandic

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10. Toca 1 is an impersonal verb constructed with an experiencer in the dative case: es. "me toca…" ('I have to…').

11. The morphological levelling is due to the fact that there is only one homophonous form for the masculine and all kinds of expletives, while the feminine SC in most varieties retains its own form, but see the exception of (32) Torino in (4).

use the 3sg.m pronoun for weather verbs (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 285–289): Faroese *hann kavar* 'it (he) snows, **hann trilkar gulið** 'it (he) was cold yesterday'; Icelandic *hann var kaldur i gaer* 'it (he) was cold'. Faroese, however, assigns *tað* (Icelandic *það*) in the impersonal context with non-weather verbs:

> […] in Faroese (and Icelandic) *hann* 'he' is not possible as a "true expletive", i.e. an expletive element that corresponds to English *there* or Danish *der*, for instance, nor is it possible in extraposition constructions (sentences where the logical subject is a clause […]) (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 289)

A similar condition has been observed for Hausa, a Chadic language:

> […] there is an impersonal weak subject pronoun, which […] serves as an unspecified subject corresponding to English 'one/they'. Generally speaking, it is restricted to human referents […]. Second, [it] is used as the dummy subject of 'weather' sentences […] (Newman 2000: 271 in Eriksen et al. 2015)

This would confirm a more general tendency to mark the expletive of semi-argumental verbs such as weather verbs with a morphologically masculine pronoun. Eriksen et al. (2015) explain the employment of a masculine pronoun with a weather verb in a functional perspective:

> In Germanic, one could claim that these pronouns refer to entities involved in the weather event, which would otherwise be encoded by masculine nouns (e.g. Norwegian *himmel* 'sky' or *vind* 'wind'), but which have been grammaticalized into a masculine pronoun. This explanation, however, still leaves out the impersonal pronouns of Hausa. Alternatively, *a human pronoun may have been picked to mime the agent-role semantics normally found in prototypical subjects, and which may be more easily conceptualized in dynamic meteorological events than in static presentational sentences.* (Eriksen et al. 2015: 216; emphasis mine)

Thus, it would seem that the NIDs exhibit all of these varieties of expletives, i.e. masculine SCs, indefinite SCs (comparable to neuter pronouns), locative-existential SCs.[12]

4. Diachronic remarks

There is no clear explanation regarding the origin of the indefinite *a* clitic, though two hypotheses are listed in Vai (2014: 120–121): in both cases, its origins are considered to be pronominal in nature, after which it came to be used as a paradigmatic

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12. See §2, fn. 5.

filler; Bernini (2012: 270–276) hypothesizes a grammaticalization path 1SG personal pronoun > undifferentiated agreement marker > topic marker. There is, however, some evidence regarding the use of the 3SG SC *al* (modern: *el*) in the old dialect of Milan, which could be interesting, because, diachronically speaking, it reveals a process by which a SC specializes its use, initially being used with referential verbs and all types of expletives and eventually narrowing to referential verbs and weather verbs. In Vai (2014: 132, 135) it is reported that in Giovanni Ambrogio Biffi's pronunciation essay *Prissian da Milan* (1606) and in the works of the poet Carlo Maria Maggi (1630–1699) *al* appears with the verb *besogna*, while in contemporary Milanese only ∅ *besogna* is acceptable. Vai (2014: 136–137) quotes Francesco Cherubini's essay *Nozioni filologiche intorno al dialetto milanese* (Cherubini 1856), noting that by Cherubini's time the 3SG SC had become obligatory with referential subjects, while Maggi and Biffi could still omit it (Biffi: *El natural ∅ sporsg squas semper a tœù i cos par el so drizz* 'Nature almost always tends to make things go its own way'; Maggi: *Mi ghen doo vintott sold, lu ∅ se reffigna* 'I give him twenty-eight coins and he turns up his nose'; Cherubini: *El natural el sporg* 'Nature SC tends'; *Lu el se reffigna* 'He SC turns up his nose'). More interestingly, Cherubini adds some remarks for *besogna* (Cherubini 1856: 274, not cited in Vai 2014). After attesting that SC *el* is obligatory with weather verbs and that it can only be omitted in answers to questions (i.e. all-rheme sentences, "solo rispondendo a chi ne interrogasse" 'in answers to question'), he states:

> *Besognà* ha scossa questa legge a' nostri giorni, e diciamo ugualmente *Cosse besogna fà*, come *Besogna fà inscì*; ma fino all' '800 i vecchi dicevano *El besogna*, ec.
> [*Besognà* has thrown away this law in our time; and we say *Cosse besogna fà* ('what has to be done'), as well as *Besogna fà inscì* ('it has to be done this way'); but until the 1800s the elderly said *el besogna* etc.]

If "until the 1800s the elderly" is to be interpreted as meaning that that people who were old at the beginning of the nineteenth century spoke that way, we can assume that speakers of the second generation before Cherubini's (1789–1851) still used ESCs still in Biffi and Maggi's same fashion. However, in some Lombard varieties, e.g. dialect no. 1 of (4), *al* is still used as in old Milanese.

5.   Conclusions

In conclusion, it has been shown that the morphology of ESCs can be influenced by facts of semantic-syntax interface. Nevertheless, there are still some issues that remain unresolved, as indicated below:

- the applicability of this morphological typology to the verbal contexts listed by Manzini and Savoia (2005) and in general to all kinds of impersonal verbs and constructions;
- the need, already raised in Pescarini (2014), to have a more precise and comprehensive typology of the various kinds of semi-arguments;
- a wider diachronic study of ESCs.

Moreover, methodologically speaking, it would be beneficial to consider also the chance of omission of SCs. In fact, the obligatoriness of SCs varies on the basis of the person and can be different for each dialect. If a SC does not appear in a given context, that is not necessarily to say that it is unacceptable, for it may simply have been omitted (cf. the quantitative analysis of Regis 2006 and the theoretical propositions in Goria 2004). This could be an issue with some varieties reported in the ASIt database, which could show no ESCs at all in some contexts due to a high level of optionality. Therefore, when taking surveys, it would be useful to conduct a grammaticality test with the speaker in order to better assess the acceptability of a SC in a given context.

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Can structural deficiency be parametrized?

Oblique pronouns in old Tuscan varieties

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This paper discusses the microvariation in the distribution of deficient pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) in old Tuscan texts, in particular of the 3PL dative forms derived from Lat. *illorum* 'of those ones', with the intent to understand if structural deficiency is subject to a predictable parametric variation. The form *loro* in old Florentine has many properties of the 'weak' class, while old Sienese *lo'* generally behaves as a clitic; however, both display many other properties which do not fit well into the 'weak'/'clitic' categories. It will be argued that the strong/weak/clitic divide is not regulated by specific parameters, but is instead a by-product of changes affecting more general word order properties of sentence structure, as the loss of V2.

Keywords: oblique pronouns, deficient pronouns, old Tuscan, parametric variation, V2 syntax

1. Introduction

Since Cardinaletti (1991) and Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), pronominal elements are classified into three categories, *strong, weak* and *clitic*. This tripartition is assumed to be universal, and each category is distinguished on the basis of morpho-syntactic, prosodic, and semantic properties. In particular, proposals have focused ever since on deficient pronouns with the intent of identifying very general and cross-linguistically valid properties which set *weak* pronouns apart from clitics. For modern standard Italian, Cardinaletti (1991) has proposed, for instance, that the language presents some *weak* elements, most notably among them the 3PL oblique *loro* 'to them', whose distributional properties do not pattern with any of the other pronominal elements (cf. also Monachesi 1999). However, according to Cardinaletti (2010), the previous stages of the language exhibited a larger set of *weak* pronouns and, impressionistically, one can suppose that modern Italian (modIt) *loro* might

be a relic surviving a process in which weak pronouns eventually became clitics (cf. Egerland 2010 on the 'strong-weak-clitic' diachronic cline).

Under this view then, the old Italian (OIt) oblique weak *loro* – and the whole class of oblique weak pronouns – should present the same properties as modIt *loro*, or at least a set of comparable characteristics. Though this is certainly true to a great extent, the distribution of oblique *loro* in old Florentine texts from the 1200s to the 1300s is not completely coherent with the by now traditional tests for the *weak/clitic* divide. In this contribution, we take into consideration the syntactic microvariation in the distribution of deficient oblique *loro* in the history of old Tuscan varieties (old Florentine and old Sienese in particular), focusing on its clausal position, and its co-occurrence with negation, the discourse particle *sì* and other clitics. It will be argued that data do not support the hypothesis that structural deficiency is subject to a predictable parametric variation in terms of a diachronic shift from a micro- to a nanoparameter (as in Roberts 2012 and other works of the *ReCoS* group), that is, a shift from a stage where the lexical property of having a 'weak' distribution is found across a set of functional elements to a stage where this property is vestigial in just one item of the original set. Instead, it will be claimed that the observed distributions are mainly dependent on the interaction of more general word order properties, in our case V2 across phases (Poletto 2006, 2014). At a more general level, it will be shown that the clitic/weak divide has no fixed distinguishing properties in its syntactic distribution but is a by-product of changing parameters. In other words, modIt *loro* does not have a specific position in the speakers' grammar, but it simply maintains the OIt distribution (in that sense it is a relic) in a grammar which has lost V2 in the left periphery.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents a brief overview of the development of 3rd person forms from Latin oblique forms, and discusses the strong/weak divide on the basis of Cardinaletti's (1991) data from modIt, in particular considering the opposition between the strong *a loro* 'to them' and the weak *loro* 'to.them'. Section 3 and 4 presents data for old Florentine *loro* and old Sienese clitic *lo'* respectively, focusing specifically on those instances which are not well accommodated in a clear-cut weak/clitic divide. An alternative analysis is presented in Section 5, where other factors are considered as crucial for the distribution of both OIt and modIt *loro*, namely the interaction of these pronouns with a V2 restriction which has been lost in the history of Italian. Section 6 concludes.

2. On *loro* and the strong/weak divide

Italo-Romance varieties, like other Romance domains, have developed a series of 3rd person pronouns, which were absent in Latin, a 'two-person' language, with

demonstratives used as 3rd person pronouns (cf. Bhat 2004; Cappellaro 2011). In many northern varieties 3rd person nominative/accusative forms derive from the oblique forms of the paradigm of the demonstrative *ille* 'that one': for instance in Salò (Lombard) *lü* 'he', *lé* 'she', *lur* 'they (M)', *lure* 'they (F)' (Razzi 1984: 131, cited by Cappellaro 2016: 736).[1] This paradigm is also found in Tuscan dialects, in other central varieties and in standard Italian, where it has prevailed on rival forms, like those based on the nominative, like *egli/elli* (Rohlfs 1968: 133ff.).

   The use of the forms derived from the Latin genitive plural *illorum* 'of those ones' as subjects, direct objects and with prepositions is attested since the earliest texts:

(1) a. i   den   aver fiol   anche **loro**
         they must have children also   they
         'They too must have children.'   (old Lombard, *Barsegapé*, 218)
     b. ci   torranno   la terra, e **loro** e   noi   cacceranno
         to.us   will.take.3PL the land   and them   and us   throw.out.3PL
         'They will take the land and throw out both us and them.'
                                                (OIt., Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, 1.15)
     c. fue abandonato quasi da tutti **loro**
         was left   almost by all   them
         'It was abandoned by almost all of them.' (OIt., Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*)

Interestingly, the modIt form *loro* has maintained a distribution as an oblique pronoun, both as genitive in the DP domain (where it is used as the 3rd person plural possessive, see Loporcaro 2002) and as dative in predicates.[2] The peculiar syntax of the dative variant of *loro* has been extensively analysed by Cardinaletti (1991) and Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), who have introduced a principled notion of 'weak pronoun' precisely on the basis of both the syntactic and semantic distribution of *loro* in Italian.

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1.   Notice that forms like It. *loro* derive from the genitive plural of Lat. *ille* 'that one'. The original meaning is preserved only when it is used as a DP-internal possessive: *il loro libro* '(lit. the their book) their book'. It must be pointed out that the gender distinction in the plural is an innovation, since there are no cases where the feminine form is based on the Lat. *illarum* (Cappellaro 2016: 736), but derives from the masculine one (< Lat. *illorum*) through analogy.

2.   The earliest example of *illorum* used as a dative pronoun known to us is found in a 7th-cent. Latin text reported in Tekavčić (1980):

(i) Hoc **illorum** dictum est.
     this to.them   said   is
     'This was said to them.'   (*Joca Monachorum*, 15)

The starting point of Cardinaletti's (1991) analysis is the contrast in distribution between the modIt oblique plural *loro*, and the full PP form *a loro* as the dative argument of ditransitive verbs. Cardinaletti (1991) argues that oblique *loro* displays distributional properties that identify it as a weak pronoun: (i) it must occur before a full-DP direct object (dative shift like position), cf. (2a); (ii) it can surface between the auxiliary and the past participle, (2b); (iii) it precedes low adverbials, like manner adverbs as *bene* 'well', and completive floating quantifiers like *tutto* 'all, completely' (Cinque 1999), cf. (2c); (iv) it cannot be coordinated, (2d), modified, (2d′), or topicalized/focalized (2d″).

(2) a. Ho   dato *loro* il   libro.
         have.1SG given them the book
         'I gave them the book.'

     b. Ho   *loro* detto [_CP che…]
         have.1SG them said   that…
         'I said to them that…'

     c. Ho   dato *loro* tutto.
         have.1SG given them everything
         'I gave them everything.'

     d. *Ho   dato il   libro *loro* e   *loro*.
         have.1SG given the book them and them
         'I gave the book to them and to them.'

     d′. *Ho   parlato tutti *loro*.
          have.1SG talked   them all
          'I talked to all of them.'

     d″. *LORO ho   dato il   libro.
          THEM have.1SG given the book
          'TO THEM I gave the book.'

In the last three cases only the full PP *a loro* can be used. While (iv) is also true of clitics, properties (i)–(iii) are specific to *loro* and are accounted for by Cardinaletti (1991) and Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) by assuming that *loro* obligatorily occupies the specifier of an AgrP projection (above the vP/VP layer) as a consequence of its pertaining to the universal category of mildly structurally-deficient pronouns, i.e. weak (but see Manzini 2014 for a critical discussion).

The analysis of *loro* proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 180ff.) is based on the assumption that the full PP *a loro* 'to them' is constructed out of the item *loro* plus the preposition *a*, seen as the transparent realization of a higher functional layer lacked by the weak form. This head lexicalizes the highest part of the functional structure of the pronoun, which they label C, arguing that it is the complementizer of the DP structure:

(3) $[_{CP}$ a $[_{ZP}$ $loro$ $]]$[3]

The CP layer of pronouns is associated with two different types of interpretative content: Case and a referential index (related to the [+ human] interpretation). While the latter is relevant for the semantic distribution of *loro* as opposed to *a loro*, which we do not discuss here, the special syntax of *loro* is a direct consequence of the lack of Case encoded by *a*. Since Case must be recovered, *loro* has to be inserted in the specifier of a 'displaced' AgrP projection assigning dative Case. Cardinaletti and Starke do not discuss the position of the dative AgrP in cartographic terms, but it can be assumed on the basis of examples like (2b) and (2c), where *loro* can surface before past participles or low adverbs, that AgrP is in the functional structure of the sentence, outside the vP/VP phase.

3.   (Not so) weak *loro* in old Florentine and other Tuscan varieties

Cardinaletti (2010) shows that in old Florentine (OFlor.), dative *loro* patterned like its modIt counterpart, that is, it was found in all of the positions exemplified in (2a–c). Yet in such positions, it was possible to find other oblique non-clitic pronouns for other persons, like the dative 3rd singular *lui* 'to.him' and the dative 1st plural *noi* 'to.us', cf. (4):[4]

(4)   a.   k'è   quella ke   noi demo **lui**   la   metade
           that is that   which   we gave   him the half
           'That is the thing of which we gave him half.'
                                            (OFlor., 1290; *Ricordi di compere*, p. 227)
      b.   … sì   nne deono dare **noi**   quello che   lloro piacie
           … so   of.it must   give   us   that   that them pleases
           '… they have to give us the part of it that they like.'
                                            (OFlor., 1275; Bene Bencivenni, p. 305)

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3.   The theory of Structural Deficiency proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 195ff) assumes that strong forms have all the three layers above the lexical layer: CP, ΣP (based on the sentential ΣP proposed by Laka 1990) and IP; weak forms lack CP; clitics lack both CP and ΣP:

(i)   strong pronouns: [CP [ΣP   [IP   [L]]]]
      weak pronouns: [ΣP   [IP   [L]]]
      clitics: [IP   [L]]

4.   Cardinaletti (2010: 421ff.) also reports a few cases of 1SG *me* 'to.me' and 2PL *vo* 'to.you'. Some texts even show instances of bisyllabic pronouns like *meve, teve* and *seve*, deriving etymologically from the Latin dative personal pronouns (with *meve* analogically formed on the other two, since it cannot be directly derived from Lat. *mihi* 'to me'), and which were used first as dative pronouns and later as direct objects (a shift found also with *loro*).

However, Cardinaletti (2010) notes that dative *loro* could also occur in positons no longer available in modIt,[5] that is before the tensed verb (5), and after a direct object, (6):

(5)   a.   …e   ***loro***   ha   donato   podere   delli   altri   giudicare
          …and to.them has   given   power   of.the other judge.INF
          '…and he has given them the power to judge others.'
                    (OFlor., 1310; Zucchero Benivenni, *Esposizione del Paternostro*, 27)
      b.   … da   che   ***lor***   non   piacessi….
          … from that to.them not   please.2SG
          '… since they do not like you…'
                    (OFlor, 1274; Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, v. 1754)

(6)   Allora dissi   queste parole ***loro***…
      then   said.1SG these   words   to.them
      'Then I spoke these words to them…'
                    (OFlor., 1293; Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, Chapter 18, Par. 1–9)

Starting from the cases of pre-T dative *loro* in (5), it is tempting to analyse these as instances of *loro* in the left periphery, where it occupies a specifier in a V2 config-uration, since as is well known, old Italian and old Romance in general had a V2 grammar (Benincà 1983; Adams 1987; most recently Poletto 2014; Wolfe 2015). Moreover, a case like (5b) shows that *loro* could appear before negation, a test Cardinaletti (2010) takes as evidence distinguishing weak pronouns from clitics.[6]

There are then hints indicating that pre-T *loro* occupies a position in the left periphery, but a more precise identification of its position is by no means straight-forward. Firstly, it seems that pre-T *loro* is not found in the higher portion of the left periphery, in what would be Topic positions, so that orders like dative *loro* + XP + V_{finite} are virtually absent from the texts in the OVI database.[7] In the same

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5.   Modern Italian marginally allows pre-T dative *loro* under complementizers with a small group of verbs like *piacere* 'to like' or *occorrere* 'to be necessary', where *loro* has an experiencer-like interpretation. These occurrences can be analysed either as oblique "quirky" subjects (Manzini 2014) or as relics of Stylistic Fronting, which has survived only in specific embedded clauses (Cardinaletti 2003; notice that in these cases *loro* occupies a peripheral IP position).

6.   As an anonymous reviewer suggests, it is well known that the position of the negator with respect to clitics is variable across both early and modern Romance. However, this does not seem to be the case in old Italian as Cardinaletti (2010: 441) explicitly states that in old Italian object clitics always follow negation. Thus, she considers object pronominals, like *me* or *te*, before ne-gation as instances of weak pronouns (see her discussion of her example (70a) on page 421).

7.   The OVI database is a searchable corpus of old Italo-Romance texts developed by the *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* institute of the CNR (the Italian national centre for scientific research).

vein, we found no instances of dative *loro* followed by a finite verb with enclitics: if, following Benincà (2006), Tobler-Mussafia cases – enclisis on finite verbs in root sentences – are to be analysed as movement of V to a C head in the Topic field, the impossibility for *loro* to occur before them indicates that pre-T *loro* is restricted to lower CP positions. This is again confirmed by cases like (7), in which pre-T *loro* occurs before the tensed verb but is preceded by another constituent:

(7) a. E   [lo rei] ***loro***   disse…
         and the king to.them   said.3sɢ
         'And the king told them…'
                            (old Pisan. 1330; *Storia di Barlaam e Iosafas*, Chapter 7)

    b. … tutto   quello ch'io ***loro***   ò   mandato.
        … everything that   that I to.them have.1sɢ sent
        '…everything I've sent them.'
                            (OFlor., 1363, *Libro del difenditore della pace*, Chapter 6, Par. 2)

    c. E   ['l nostro singnore] ***loro***   disse: Andate
        and the our   lord   to.them said.3sɢ go.ɪᴍᴘ.2ᴘʟ
        'And our Lord told them: 'Go!' '
                            (OFlor., 1363; *Libro del difenditore della pace*, Chapter 3, Par. 4)

    d. E   [così bell' e   savie e   virtuose parole de conforto]
        and so   nice and wise and virtuous words of comfort
        loro   disse
        to.them said.3sɢ
        'And he proffered so nice and wise and virtuous comforting words to
        them…'   (old Aretino, 1300: *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri* 7)

In order to better pin-point the position occupied by pre-T *loro* in the lower CP portion we can consider its relative order with respect to the discourse particle *sì*, which, following Benincà (2006), is analysed as an adverb hosted in the Focus field. The following cases show that pre-T *loro* follows the *sì* particle:

(8) a. ***Sì loro***   avviene come per ammonestamento di natura, che…
         sì to.them happens how   by   lesson   of nature, that…
         'It happens to them, as if by a lesson taught by nature, that…'
                            (OFlor., 1300; *Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato*, b. 5, Chapter 54)

    b. Allor la   donna […] ***sì lor***   dica…
        then the woman   *sì* to.them say.sᴜʙᴊᴠ.3sɢ
        'Then the woman […] should tell them…'
                            (OFlor., 1300; Dante Alighieri, *Fiore (II)*, 176, p. 354)

It can be accessed at: <http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it/(S(ivevcc55pr32ki45oemxoxba))/CatForm01.aspx>

c. sì ***lloro***   rienpie le   ciervella.
    sì to.them fills   the brains
    'It fills their brain.'
    (OFlor., 1310; Zucchero Bencivenni, *Santà del corpo*, Part 1, Chapter 16)

To the best of our knowledge, the reverse order, dative *loro > sì*, is not attested. This restriction might be expected, given that, as argued so far, *sì* occupies a position in the Focus field and dative *loro* seems to be banned from Topic positions. Yet the relative order *sì > loro* is not unproblematic as only clitics and negation can intervene between the particle *sì* and the finite verb. Hence, the cases in (8) seem to question the nature of pre-T dative *loro* as a weak pronoun. It could be argued, for instance, that in a split-CP configuration *sì* occupies a position in the Focus field and that dative *loro* is still a weak pronoun, an XP, hosted in one of the (lower) specifiers in that field, while the verb and clitics move to the C head of this projection.[8]

(9) $[_{Frame}$ C° $[_{Force}$ C° {$_{Topic}$ … C°}{$_{Focus}$ $[_{F1P}$ *sì*] $[_{F2P}$ *loro*] C° V$_{finite}$} $[_{Fin}$ C° $[_{IP}$ I°…]]]]]

An analysis in terms of (9) accounts nicely not only for the order *sì > loro* but also for those cases in which pre-T dative *loro* precedes negation, like (5b) and the following:

(10) a. …che ***loro***   non sovveniva   della   vergogna
          that to.them not came-to-mind of.the shame
          ch'aveano   ricevuta…
          that had.3PL received
          '… that they did not remember the offence they had received…'
                    (OFlor., 1350; *Deca prima di Tito Livio volgarizzata*, p. A331)
      b. il   re   ***loro***   non fece   altra risposta…
          the king to.them not made.3SG other answer
          'The king did not answer them…'
                    (OFlor., 1363; Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, p. B239)

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8. The lower portion of the CP layer has a series of distinct projections: Benincà (2006) identifies at least three in the Focus field (FocI for Contrastive Focus, FocII for New Information Focus and Wh for *wh*-elements), while Rizzi (2004) has argued also for a ModP in the lower CP layer for adverbs, between Focus and Fin. As for the exact locus of V2 in old Italian, it has been proposed that V movement in old Italian root clauses targets either Foc (Benincà 2006; Poletto 2014) or Fin (see Wolfe 2015 among others). We do not wish to take a precise stand on this matter, as V movement lays outside the scope of this paper. We maintain however that the old Italian verb targets a low C head, but can reach higher positions under specific circumstances (Topic, Tobler-Mussafia etc., cf. Benincà's 2006 analysis).

Notice that direct and indirect object clitics in old Italian follow the negative item *non*, hence, dative *loro* before negation has to be interpreted as a weak pronoun (cf. Cardinaletti 2010).

Yet there are also a number of cases in which pre-T dative *loro* follows negation:

(11) a. …quelle che pèrdono la vergogna, e' non ***loro*** rimane
…those that lose.3PL the shame, it not to.them remains
nessuno bene.
no good
'… no good remains to those who lose their dignity.'
(old Sienese, 1288; *Reggimento de' principi*, b. 2, Part 1, Chapter 15)

b. …e non ***lor*** dà il cuore di combattere, …
…and not to.them gives the heart of fight.INF…
'…and they did not have the heart to fight…'
(old Sienese, 1288; *Reggimento de' principi*, b. 3, Part 1, Chapter 7)

c. …che alcuno male ***non lor*** possa avenire, …
…that any harm not to.them might happen
'… so that no harm might happen to them…'
(OFlor., 1310; *Libro de le virtudi de le pietre preziose*, p. 321)

d. …se voi ***non loro*** lo date.
…if you not to.them it give.2PL
(OFlor., 1350; *Deca prima di Tito Livio Volgarizzata*, b. 7, Chapter 14)

e. però no· ***lloro*** avenrà punto dispeto
for this reason not to.them will.happen no contempt
né orgholglio…
nor pride
'for this reason no contempt or disdain will be directed towards them…'
(OFlor., 1363; *Libro del difenditore della pace*, d. 1, Chapter 16, Par. 15)

Cases like (11), which are attested around the same period as the ones in (10) and sometimes in the same text (cf. 10a vs. 11d), are not well accommodated in a grammar in which dative *loro* is a weak item, since pre-T dative *loro* here seems to behave as a regular clitic – a not so far-fetched proposal considering that in at least some cases it appears in a sort of cluster with another clitic (cf. 11d),[9] and as Cardinaletti (1991) shows, modIt weak *loro* does not cluster with clitics.

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9. Other cases of *loro* followed directly by an accusative clitic, showing that this order is not very common but not exceptional, are the following:

(i) …e non troverranno chi ***loro*** lo vieti.
…and not find.FUT.3PL who to.them it denies
'… and they will not encounter someone who can deny this to them.'
(OFlor., 1383; *Libro di Sidrach (II)*, p. 49)

So far then, there are at least two distinct facts indicating that dative *loro* in old Florentine and old Tuscan is not a well-behaved weak pronoun: (i) it occurs after the discourse particle *sì*, in a position generally restricted to clitcs and negation; (ii) it appears after negation, as regular clitics. Further hints that dative *loro* in old Italian might not be a weak pronoun come from cases of post-T dative *loro* as in (6) and the following:

(12) a. Molte terre donò   Cesare ***loro***
          many lands gave.3SG Caesar to.them
          'Caesar gave them much land.'

                                  (old Sienese, 1300; *Fatti di Cesare*, b. 7, Chapter 37)

      b. E   fe   sì   ***lor***   che ciascun se   ne   loda…
          and did.3SG so.much to.them that each   refl. of.it praises
          'And he did so much to them that each one is praised for it…'

                              (old Pisan, 1395; Fracesco di Bartolo da Buti, *Commento*, c. 22)

      c. … e   dirai   così ***loro*** …
          … and will.say.2SG so   to.them
          '… and you will say this to them…'   (OFlor., 1300; *Novellino*, 36)

      d. cominciossi monna Agnesina alle   più   sfacciate, e
          began.refl   lady   Agnesina to.the most cheeky,   and
          domandò prima ***loro***.
          asked   first   to.them
          'Lady Agnesina started from the cheekiest (nuns) and asked them first.'

                                          (OFlor., 1300; *Novellino*, 57)

It is worth repeating here that post-T dative *loro* in old Italian was found generally in the same positions as modern Italian, i.e. after the past particle and or between the tensed auxiliary and past participle – this last position sounding rather formal and archaic in present-day Italian. Modern Italian however does not tolerate cases like (12), where *loro* after the direct is object judged as strongly ungrammatical.[10] Thus, considering these cases, old Italian *loro* seems to have also strong-like properties,

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(ii) che ***loro***   lo manda a sapere per   lo   suo sancto angiolo
       that to.them it sends   to know through the his holy   angel
       'that He lets them know about it through His holy angel'

                                      (OFlor., 1383; *Libro di Sidrach (II)*, p. 219)

10. An anonymous reviewer points out that *loro* after a postverbal subject is acceptable in some varieties of spoken Italian. This suggests that post-T *loro* and *loro* after a direct object should be kept separate in modern Italian. However, for the present analysis of old Italian *loro*, this distinction has no particular impact as our main point is solely to show that *loro* does not have to be immediately adjacent to the inflected verb.

that is, it could occur in its base-generated position, a property usually restricted to strong pronouns.

The instances discussed thus far pose a serious problem for an unambiguous treatment of OIt dative *loro* as a weak pronoun, as this item showed properties of all the three classes identified by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). Moreover, there is other evidence, not strictly related to word order restrictions, confirming this intuition. There is, for instance, at least one case (in old Pisan) in which *loro* looks like a resumptive pronoun of a dislocated topic – a property which characterizes clitics in both old and modern Italian, but not modIt weak *loro*:

(13) A tutte le creature hae Idio data ***loro*** virtù e   sufficienzia
        to all   the cratures has God given them virtue and autonomy
        di potere   venire…
        of can.INF come.INF
        'God has given all his creatures the virtue and the independence for them to come…' (old Pisan, 1306; Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, 60, 297)

One last property found with OIt dative *loro* but not with its modern Italian counterpart, which this time is typical of strong forms, is the possibility of being modified by focalising adverbs like *anche* 'even, also':[11]

(14) a. …non bastò   anche ***loro***   grande tempo grande allegrezza.
            …not sufficed.3SG also   to.them much   time   great   joy
            '…for them too, their great joy did not last long.'   (OFlor., 1292; Bono
                                    Giamboni, *Delle Storie contra i Pagani* b. 4, Chapter 10)
        b. Aven   dato anche ***loro***   lb.   XVIJ e   s.   IIIJ
            have.1PL given also   to.them pounds 17   and shillings 4
            in mezzo settenbre, …
            in mid   September
            'In mid-September, we gave 17 pounds and 4 shillings also to them…'
                                    (OFlor., 1296; Bene Bencivenni, *Libricciolo di crediti*, p. 418)
        c. e   lasciò anche ***loro***   possessioni.
            and left.3SG also   to.them possessions
            'and he left some possessions also to them.'
                                    (OFlor., 1370; Donato Velluti, *Cronica domestica*, p. 102)

Similar facts, even though very much more restricted, can be found with 3SG dative *lui*: it could appear before T (15), after preverbal negation (16), and in dative shift-like positions (17).

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11. Note that the position of *anche loro* in all the examples in (14) is immediately after the verb, suggesting that the focalized pronoun is in a specific Focus position, likely at the vP edge.

(15) **lui**   rimase   il   podere   da   Marcigniano a   me i   Botoli
      to.him remained the land   from M.   to me the B.
      cho dugiento lb…
      with 200   pounds
      'He was left the land in Marcignano and I the Botoli and 200 pounds…'
                                              (OFlor. 1312; *Ricordanze di Guido Filippi dell'Antella*, 811)

(16) lo   qual   non perde alcun,   se non   **lui**   piace.
      the which not loses anyone, if not to.him pleases
      'which no one loses, if he does not like it.'
                                              (old Tuscan, 1294; Guittone d'Arezzo, *Rime*, poem 49)

(17) a.   e   lla pulciella promise **lui** fede e   lealtade.
           and the girl   promised him   faith and loyalty
           'and the girl promised him her faith and loyalty.'
                                              (OFlor. 1300; *Libro della distruzione di Troia*, 179)
      b.   Mostrata ho   **lui**   tutta la gente ria…
           showed   have.1SG to.him all   the people evil
           'I showed him all the evil folks….'
                                              (OFlor. 1321; Dante Alighieri, *Commedia*, Purg. I, 64)

To conclude, the distributional properties of old Florentine/Tuscan dative *loro* considered so far pose a non-trivial challenge to its unambiguous identification as a weak pronoun. In fact, there are instances of *loro* in which it exhibits patterns typical of all the three classes, in particular it displays:

–   *strong*-like properties, when it appears in a near sentence-final position (not directly after the verb, after direct objects and manner adverbs), and modified by a focalizer like *anche* 'even, too';
–   *weak*-like properties, when it distributes like modIt *loro*, i.e., between the tensed verb and the past participle, or immediately after the past participle before direct objects;
–   *clitic*-like properties, when it surfaces in positions where only clitics are encountered (between the discourse particle *sì* and the tensed verb; after preverbal negation), and when it appears as a resumptive clitic under left dislocation.

As to the other cases of pre-T *loro* like the ones in (5), (7) and (10), it is not completely clear how these should be treated. What these instances simply indicate is that *loro* seems to surface in a position adjacent to the verb in the left periphery in old Italian and on the basis of this evidence one can argue to treat them like weak pronouns since, if pre-T *loro* were more like a clitic in old Italian it should be subject to the Tobler-Mussafia Law, i.e., it should be banned sentence-initially. By contrast, the Tobler-Mussafia Law has no exception in old Sienese, which has a dative plural

form, *lo'* exhibiting clear clitic behaviour. We briefly turn to old Sienese *lo'* in the next section.

4. Old Sienese clitic *lo'*

Some old southern Tuscan varieties like old Sienese present a clitic *lo'* with the same etymological origin as *loro*.[12] Egerland (2010) establishes the clitic status of *lo'* since it patterns like other clitics: (i) *lo'* appears proclitically or enclitically according to finiteness of the verb (and it is subject to the Tobler-Mussafia's Law), cf. (18a); (ii) it forms clitic clusters, (18b), usually with the modern order dative > accusative; (iii) it always follows negation, (18c); (iv) we found also cases of reduced *l'* before tensed verbs and auxiliaries beginning with a vowel, (18d).

(18) a.   Iddio ***lo'***   dia   più   conoscimento che   non ànno;
         God   to.them give   more   knowledge   that   not   have.3PL
         ò   ***lo'***   scritto…
         have.1SG to.them   written
         'God may give them more sense than they have; I have written to them…'
                          (old Sienese, 1367; Giovanni Colombini, *Lettere*, 56, p. 163)

     b.   Ellino aveano perdute tutte lor   navi,   ché   la   tempesta
         they   had   lost   all   their   ships, since   the   storm
         lo'   *l'*avea tutte tolte
         to.them them   had   all   taken.away
         'They lost all their ships, since the storm took them away from them.'
         (old Sienese, 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La storia di Troia*, Chapter 537)

     c.   Sì   no   ***lo'***   feci   mai   nullo ladio, né   eglino a   me…
         so   not to.them did.1SG never no   harm, nor   they   to   me
         'I never did any harm to them, nor they to me…'
         (old Sienese, 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La Storia di Troia*, Chapter 345)

     d.   Poi   *l'*à   detto che   si   mantenghino   insieme.
         after to.them has   said   that   themselves keep.3PL together
         'Then he told them to keep together.'
         (old Sienese, 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La Storia di Troia*, Chapter 404)

Yet again, *lo'* also displays a few weak-like properties in that it does not appear to give rise to PCC effects and could appear proclitically on non-finite verbs when preceded by negation:

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12.   A clitic form derived etymologically from Lat. *illorum* 'of those ones' was found in old Aretino (*'ro*) and some other old central Italian varieties, old French (*lor*), old Spanish (*lur*), cf. Wanner (1987). In present-day Romance languages, a clitic counterpart of *loro* is rather uncommon but it is found in modern French and in some Friulian varieties.

(19) a. Cristo mai   non *me lo'*   parta   dall'anima.
          Christ never not me to.them take.away from.the   soul
          'Christ should never take me away from their souls.'
                              (old Sienese, 1367; Giovanni Colombini, *Lettere*, 28)
     b. altri   crede   che gli   debbia esser fatta alcuna cosa non
          others believe that to.him has   to.be done any   thing not
          lo'   domandata
          to.them asked
          'Others believe that no thing should be done to them that they haven't
          asked for.'   (old Sienese, 1268; Andrea da Grosseto,
                                                          Trattati morali di Albertano da Brescia, 2.49)

These last facts are interesting as they indicate that even in a variety where Lat.
illorum 'of those ones' developed into a what looks like a proper clitic, this clitic
form still does not pattern with standard clitics.

In the next section, we take into account the distributional patterns of the 3PL
dative forms discussed so far and will argue that these properties are better captured
by assuming that these pronominal forms cannot be categorize as either clitic or
weak, but that they are a by-product of changing macroparametric settings affecting
sentence structure.

5. Structural deficiency is not a parameter

The distribution of OFlor. dative *loro* presented in the above sections does not
allow us to assign it uncontroversially to the 'weak' category as identified since
Cardinaletti (1991) and Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), unless we assume the un-
likely idea that we are dealing with homophonous forms. Thus, from a synchronic
perspective, its categorial nature is arguably ambiguous, as, crucially, it displays
properties typical of all three pronominal classes. This ambiguity moreover might
prove rather problematic also from a diachronic perspective, if one even broadly
accepts a diachronic cline strong > weak > clitic for each individual lexical entry
(cf. Egerland 2010 on Lat. strong *ille* 'that' one' > OIt/modIt weak *egli* 'he' > OIt/
dialectal clitic *e'* 'he').

Despite the problematic identification of OFlor. *loro* as a genuine weak pro-
noun, what seems important to consider here is the fact that this form could appear
before the tensed verb and the past participle,[13] two positions clearly reminiscent

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13. There are, of course, also many cases of dative *loro* after the past participle. These can be
accounted for by assuming that past participle movement could target higher projections (as in
modern Italian, cf. Cinque 1999; see also Poletto 2014 and references for the derivation of VO/
OV orders in old Italian).

of a V2 constraint active in OperatorP in both peripheries, the higher one in CP and the lower one in vP/low IP (Poletto 2006; 2014), cf. (20).

(20) a. [$_{CP}$ [$_{OpP}$ [**loro**] Op° V$_{Fin}$/~~Aux~~ [$_{TP}$ … T° ~~V$_{Fin}$/Aux~~ … [$_{vP}$]]]]

b. [$_{Cp}$ [$_{OpP}$ Op° V$_{Fin}$/**Aux** [$_{TP}$ … T° ~~V$_{Fin}$/Aux~~ [$_{OpP}$ [**loro**] Op° V$_{pastpart}$ [$_{vP}$…~~V$_{pastpart}$~~]]]]]

In other words, these items satisfy the V2 property of old Florentine in both the lower and the higher phases (Poletto 2014): pre-T *loro* satisfies the V2 requirement in the higher periphery (CP), while the lower *loro* satisfies the V2 property of the lower periphery (vP). This proposal entails that these elements were generated in the lower clausal portion and then moved to the left peripheries as XPs (as expected under Cardinaletti and Starke 1999).

It should be pointed out, however, that many of these instances are found in 14th-century texts, a period in which the V2 restriction was already starting to 'relax'.[14] This entails that both positions of *loro* went through a sort of reanalysis in the speakers' grammar, who had to re-accommodate these forms: pre-T *loro* started to interact with clitics and negation, while pre-participial *loro* has been assigned to functional projections usually dedicated to 'predicate quantifier' items such as aspectual adverbs and floating quantifiers.

(21) [$_{CP}$ [$_{OpP}$ (**non**) **loro** V$_{Fin}$/**Aux** [$_{Tp}$ … T° ~~V$_{Fin}$/Aux~~ [$_{Agrp}$ [**loro**] [$_{FP}$ … F° V$_{pastpart}$ [$_{vP}$…~~V$_{pastpart}$~~]]]]]]

In other words, we propose that the grammar we observe in these texts is already in a stage where the preverbal position of *loro* is not the result of a V2 constraint in the CP, hence *loro* does not satisfy V2 proper. Instead, these texts instantiate a grammar where *loro* is an XP occupying the specifier of the complex clitics + T head, independently from the final position of the verb.

Moreover, as shown in Section 3, there are significant word order differences in the placement of dative *loro* with respect to negation: *loro* could appear before or after preverbal negation, but crucially both orders are found in texts from the same period and sometimes, in the same texts. These facts clearly can be accounted for by assuming a shift from weak *loro* (which yields the order *loro* > *non*) to clitic *loro* (which yields the order *non* > *loro*). Yet, this situation is unstable as *loro* is morphophonologically hypertrophic (Wanner 1987) with respect to the other deficient pronouns. In old Sienese, this is resolved with a morphophonological reduction of

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14. This is confirmed among other things, by the fact that in 15th-c. Florentine, V2 seemed rather marginal and pre-T oblique *loro* is absent (as can be inferred by considering the grammatical description of family books and diaries in Ricci 2005). Moreover, Poletto (2014: 61ff.) shows that in later texts, cases of postverbal subjects interpretable as instances of V2 are preceded by an aspectual adverb. This suggests that OperatorP was activated only with adverbs of this type.

loro to *lo*', which increases over time in texts (cf. Egerland 2010). In old Florentine, by contrast, this is resolved by promoting the already existing alternative clitic form *li/gli* (< Lat. *illis* 'to them'; Rohlfs 1968: 163), which is homophonous with the 3SG form derived from Lat. *illi* 'to him'.

In more general terms, an account of the historical development of OFlor. *loro* into modIt *loro* should take into consideration the changes regarding clause structure phenomena, which are considered the result of macroparametric settings (Holmberg 2015). In particular, the development OIt *loro* > modIt *loro* cannot be accounted for in terms of a change from a microparameter, formulated as 'weak distribution', which was positively valued for a large class of elements, to a nano-parameter found only in one single lexical item (cf. Ledgeway in press). In a wider crosslinguistic perspective, it would be difficult to find languages satisfying the higher binary choices of a parametric tree of this type (i.e. macroparameters): there are no languages where, say, all pronouns are ΣPs (weak), or all personal pronouns are ΣPs, or all object pronouns are ΣPs. German, for instance, has both a weak and a strong series of personal pronouns.

Interestingly, what has emerged in our survey of the distributional patterns of dative *loro* in old Tuscan texts is that the 'strong'/'weak'/'clitic' properties of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) can surface separately – something which is not expected if 'being strong/weak/clitic' is part of UG, i.e. a universal property determined by the co-occurrence of distinctive characteristics identifying each class. Under this view, our paper is in line with what has already been proposed in Manzini (2014) and Pescarini (to appear).

6.   Conclusions

The empirical evidence illustrated in this paper indicates that the strong/weak/clitic divide appears rather blurry in many old Tuscan varieties, in particular as regards the 3PL dative form *loro*, the ancestor of weak ModIt *loro*. We have argued that the syntactic behaviour of relic items like modIt *loro* is a direct consequence of the resetting (namely, loss) of a generalized V2 macroparameter which triggers separate microchanges in the grammar.

It seems that there was a clear and early tendency to re-organize these items according to a systematic and predictable (and thus more easily learnable) strong vs deficient partition: deficient elements had the tendency to occur in the higher phase (i.e. in the C/T domain), while strong pronouns had the tendency to occur in the lower lexical phase (i.e. the v/V domain). Thus, the distribution of OFlor. *loro* can be accounted for independently, without postulating a direct relation between

the positions it surfaces in and its categorial status. In other words, the observed patterns are a byproduct of more general sentential phenomena.

As a final remark, the present study lends support to the idea that major linguistic changes are not always the product of the sum of small steps (*pace* Kayne 1996), but rather, microvariation arises from microchanges following a 'great leap' (Ledgeway to appear), i.e. a macroparametric change.

Acknowldgement

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The morphosyntax-semantics interface and the Sicilian *Doubly Inflected Construction*

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We examine the *Doubly Inflected Construction* of Sicilian (DIC, Cruschina 2013; also known as *Inflected Construction*, Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003), in which a motion verb V_1 is followed by an event verb V_2, both verbs being inflected for the same person and TAM features. We propose to regard DIC as a Serial Verb Construction and analyze it in terms of an operation of lexical concatenation, whereby V_1 and V_2 are semantically composed as lexical verbs denoting spatio-temporally contiguous events and displaying argument sharing, to yield a complex predicate denoting concatenated events. The data we consider crucially include the causative motion verb 'send' and bring out a mismatch between the person features realized on V_1 and V_2 and semantic interpretation. We show how our analysis allows for a principled account of the morphology-semantics mismatch. The semantic analysis is implemented in a neo-Davidsonian framework (Parsons 1990).

Keywords: Doubly Inflected Construction, serial verb constructions, motion verbs, morphosyntax-semantics mismatch, event semantics

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the *Doubly Inflected Construction* (hereafter, DIC), a morphosyntactic construction attested in Sicilian and illustrated by (1):[1]

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1. We use the expression 'Doubly Inflected Construction' following Cruschina (2013), but the same phenomenon has been described in the literature under different headings, such as *Tipo paratattico* (Sornicola 1976), *Inflected Construction* (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Di Caro 2015; Di Caro and Giusti 2015) and, in ongoing researches, *pseudo-coordination* (Di Caro this volume; Wiklund 1996, 2007 uses this term to refer to similar syntactic structures in Swedish).

(1) Vaju   a   mmanciu   a   casa.
    go-1SG.PRS.IND a[2] eat-1SG.PRS.IND to home
    'I go eat at home.'

DIC is found in all varieties of Sicilian, with micro-variations among them (see Di Caro's contribution in this volume and Section 2 of this paper for more details). The data we present in this paper all belong to the variety of Trapani, unless otherwise specified. In DIC, a motion verb V_1, from a class which exhaustively includes *iri* 'go', *vèniri* 'come', *passari* 'pass', and *mannari* 'send', is followed by an event verb V_2, with the two verbs being inflected for the same person and TAM features (*Feature Matching*). DIC must be distinguished, both morphosyntactically and semantically, from a neighboring construction which is far more common in Romance languages, that is, the *infinitival construction*, exemplified in (2), in which V_1 is inflected and V_2 is in the infinitive form:

(2) Vaju   a   mmanciari a   casa.
    go-1SG.PRS.IND to eat-INF   to home
    'I go to eat at home.'

The plan of this paper is the following. In Section 2 we review syntactic and semantic evidence from the previous literature showing that DIC is a monoclausal construction in which V_1 and V_2 form a complex predicate referring to a single event; we also contribute new data supporting the view of a full lexical content for both V_1 and V_2 in DIC. In Section 3 we argue that DIC is an asymmetrical Serial Verb Construction (Aikhenvald 2006, 2011) by showing that it is characterized by typical "serial verb" properties. In Section 4, first we consider data with the causative motion verb *mannari* which give rise to a morphosyntax-semantics mismatch; the data are difficult to account for on previous syntactic analyses which are based on the idea that V_1 is auxiliary-like and V_2 is the lexical head of DIC. Then we present an analysis of DIC with two main properties: on the one hand, it accounts for the morphosyntactic properties of the complex (serial) predicate, including the particular way in which inflectional features are realized on V_1 and V_2, on the basis of an operation of lexical concatenation which takes the component verbs V_1 and V_2 as inputs and yields a "concatenated predicate" $[V_1 \, a \, V_2]$ as output; on the other hand, it accounts for the semantics of DIC by positing that V_1 and V_2 enter the semantic composition as lexical verbs each contributing an event to the sentence meaning, with the two events undergoing an operation of Event Concatenation.

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2.   We avoid glossing the connecting element *a* of DIC so as not to prejudge its categorial status. For more details on the latter, see Section 3.1.1.

Section 5 concludes by raising some questions about the productivity of DIC and the applicability of our analysis to other cases of serialization.

2.   Main properties of DIC

In this section, we consider morphosyntactic and semantic properties of DIC that distinguish it from well-known constructions in other Romance languages. In particular, the doubly realized inflection and the syntactic properties supporting its monoclausal status (§2.1), alongside the semantic properties bearing on the sort of event structure it involves (§2.2), distinguish DIC from the well-known infinitival construction with motion verbs, which underwent grammaticalization in languages like French (§2.3).

2.1   Morphosyntactic properties

Based on recent fieldwork conducted by the author, Di Caro (this volume) reports a great variability in the morphosyntactic realization of DIC across different varieties of Sicilian and he proposes a typology of DIC based on the following criteria: (c1) whether and how the paradigm is defective, (c2) what particular motion verbs are allowed as V_1 – whether all four verbs mentioned at the outset (*iri*, *vèniri*, *passari*, and *mannari*) or only some of them –, (c3) what sorts of verbs are allowed as V_2, and whether there is an interaction between the type of verb in V_2 and the aspects mentioned in (c1)–(c2). In light of the criteria in (c1)–(c3), he proposes a classification of DIC in three Types: Type 1, represented by the western Sicilian variety of Marsalese, is characterized by a restricted availability of the construction in the indicative present (limited to 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and 3PL) and in the imperative mood (limited to 2SG); Type 2, represented by the central Sicilian variety of Deliano, is characterized by a larger availability of the construction, which can also occur in the indicative imperfect, preterite and in the subjunctive mood; finally, Type 3, represented by eastern Sicilian varieties, is characterized by a full-fledged paradigm in the indicative present, imperfect, preterite, and in the subjunctive and the imperative, but it is limited to an invariable reduced form of $V_1 = go$. The DIC from Trapani's variety falls under Type 1 of this typology: (a) it is only available in the present tense; (b) it has the defective paradigm 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and 3PL (identified by Cruschina 2013 with Maiden's 2004 N-pattern); (c) the position of V_1 includes a closed class of verbs including *iri* 'go', *vèniri* 'come', *passari* 'pass', and *mannari* 'send', while V_2 corresponds to an event verb.

2.1.1   *Feature Matching*

DIC exhibits *Feature Matching*: the person and TAM features on V_1 and V_2 must be the same (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003). This is shown, for person features, by the contrast in (3a,b):

(3) a. Vaju   a ppigghiu   u   pani.
         Go-**1SG**.PRS.IND a fetch-**1SG**.PRS.IND the bread
         'I go fetch the bread.'
     b. *Vaju   a ppigghia   u   pani.
         Go-**1SG**.PRS.IND a fetch-**3SG**.PRS.IND the bread

Sentence (3a), in which V_1 and V_2 have the same person/TAM features (*Feature Matching*), is a good DIC and gets the reading indicated by the gloss; the minimally different sentence (3b), however, in which V_2 crucially differs from V_1 with respect to the person feature, is ungrammatical – in particular, (3b) cannot mean that I am going to some contextually relevant place and a third person is fetching the bread.

 As we have noted above, the varieties falling under Di Caro's Type 2 present an extension of the available slots of the paradigm to some persons of the indicative imperfect and preterite. If we look at Type 2 varieties, we observe that *Feature Matching* also extends to tense and aspect features. Thus, structures with mixed tense/aspect properties, as shown in (4b) and (5b), are not acceptable instances of DIC:[3]

(4) a. Vegnu   a ppigghiu   u   pani.
         come-1SG.**PRS**.IND a fetch-1SG.**PRS**.IND the bread
         'I come fetch the bread.'
     b. *Vegnu   a ppigghiaiu   u   pani.
         come-1SG.**PRS**.IND a fetch-1SG.**PST**.IND the bread

(5) a. Ìa   a ppigghiava   u   pani.
         Go-1SG.**IMPF**.IND a fetch-1SG.**IMPF**.IND the bread
         'I was going/would go fetch the bread.'
     b. *Ìa   a ppigghiaiu   u   pani.
         Go-1SG.**IMPF**.IND a fetch-1SG.**PST**.IND the bread

Unlike their minimally different counterparts with matching features (4a) and (5a), which are both acceptable as DICs and obtain the readings indicated by the glosses, sentence (4b), involving a tense mismatch, and sentence (5b), which involves an aspect mismatch, are both ungrammatical –in particular, (4b) cannot mean that I

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3.   These examples come from the variety of Leonforte, in the province of Enna. This variety allows for both imperfective and perfective past in DIC (Basilio Calderone and Angela Prestifilippo, p.c.).

am coming (to some place) now and I fetched the bread before, and (5b) cannot mean that I was going (to some place) and I fetched the bread on my way.

2.1.2   *No intervening elements*
As Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 389–390) shows, no linguistic element other than the connecting particle *a* can be inserted between V_1 and V_2 in DIC. In particular, neither clitic pronouns (6a) nor quantifying elements (7a) can:

(6) a.   (Lu) vaju   a (*lu) accattu.
          it-CL go-1SG   a it-CL buy-1SG
          'I'll go buy it.'
     b.   Vaju   e   lu   accattu.
          go-1SG and it-CL buy-1SG
          'I'll go and I'll buy it.'

(7) a.   I   picciotti vannu (*sempri) a ppigghianu (sempri) u   pani
          the boys   go-3PL always   a fetch-3PL   always   the bread
          ne sta   putìa.
          in this shop
          'The boys always go buy bread in this shop.'
     b.   I   picciotti vannu sempri a ppigghiari u   pani ne sta   putìa.
          the boys   go-3PL always to fetch-INF   the bread in this shop
          'The boys always go to buy bread in this shop.'

This is in sharp contrast with what we find in coordinations [V_1 and V_2] and subordinations [V_1 to V_2], as shown in (6b) and (7b) above.

2.1.3   *No syntactic dependency*
A property of DIC which distinguishes it from coordinate structures is based on *wh*-extraction facts relating to Ross' (1967) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*.[4] Consider (8a,b):

(8) a.   Soccu vai   a mmanci?
          What   go-2SG a eat-2SG
          'What do you go eat?'
     b. *Soccu vai   e   mmanci?
          What   go-2SG and eat-2SG
          'What do you go and do you eat?'

---

4.   See also Cardinaletti and Giusti (2003), Manzini and Savoia (2005: 700–701) and Cruschina (2013: 268) on this point.

In (8a), but not in (8b), we can extract the object of V_2 through the interrogative pronoun *soccu* 'what'. If *vai a mmanci* in (8a) were a coordinate structure (as *vai e manci* in (8b)), extraction of the direct object of *manci* would result in an unacceptable sentence.

We note that DIC also displays what we may call "locality effects" which sharply distinguish it from subordinations. This is shown in (9a,b), for the possibility of left dislocation of $[aV_2]$, and in (10a,b), for the possibility of uttering $[aV_2]$ in isolation as an answer to a *where*-question:

(9) a. *A mmanciu vaju.
          a eat-1SG   go-1SG

    b. A mmanciari vaju.
          a eat-INF   go-1SG
          'I'm going to eat.'

(10) a. Q: Unni vai?
              where go-2SG
        A: *A mmanciu.
              a eat-1SG

    b. Q: Unni   vai?
              where go-2SG
        A: A mmanciari.
              to eat-INF
        Q: Where are you going?
        A: To eat.'

The data in (3)–(10) compellingly show that V_1 and V_2 in DIC behave as a single predicate heading a single clause.

2.2 Semantic properties

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) try to show that the interpretation of a DIC involves a single event, in spite of the occurrence of two verb predicates (see also Cruschina 2013: 267). The authors use a test which is based on modification by the time adverb *gnignornu* 'every day' to show that there is a contrast between DIC and the infinitival construction with respect to what event is accessible for modification. They consider the contrast of acceptability between (11a) and (11b):

(11) a. Vaju   a accattari a cicoria gnignornu, ma unn' a
          go-1SG to buy-INF the chicory every-day but not it-CL
          ttrovu   mai.
          find-1SG never
          'I go to buy chicoree every day, but I never find it.'

b. ˀVaju   a   accatto   a   cicoria   gnignornu, ma unn' a
go-1SG a buy-1SG the chicory everyday   but not it-CL
ttrovu   mai.
find-1SG never
'I go and buy chicoree every day, but I never find it.'

While (11a) has the consistent reading 'On every day, I go to a contextually relevant place in order to buy chicoree there, but I never find chicoree there', (11b) has the inconsistent reading 'On every day, I go and buy chicoree, but I never find chicoree'. Cardinaletti and Giusti make the following remarks: (i) *gnignornu* only modifies the motion verb in (11a), thus this discourse entails that an event of going occurs on every day, while it does not entail that an event of buying chicoree occurs on every day; (ii) *gnignornu* modifies the whole predicate *vaju a accatto a cicoria* in (11b), thus this discourse entails that an event of buying chicoree occurs on every day. From (ii), they conclude that the complex predicate *vaju a accatto a cicoria* refers to one single event, which they fundamentally see as an event of buying chicoree. Hence, even though the complex predicate in question apparently contains the motion verb *vaju*, it would not involve reference to a motion event, according to Cardinaletti and Giusti.

It should be noted, though, that discourse (12) is also inconsistent, intuitively for similar reasons as discourse (11b):

(12) ˀVaju   o   mircato *e*   ci   accattu   a   cicoria   gnignornu,
go-1SG to-the market *and* there buy-1SG the chicory everyday
ma unn' a   ttrovu   mai.
but not it-CL find-1SG never
'I go to the market *and* I buy chicoree there every day, but I never find it.'

Since (12) contains an overt coordination of two clauses (one referring to a motion event and the other one referring to an event of buying chicoree), the fact that (12) is unacceptable shows that the unacceptability of (11b) does not depend on (11b)'s alleged reference to a single event of buying chicoree.

We submit that the contrast in (11a,b) shows that DIC and the infinitival construction differ from one another with respect to their *modal* properties: on the one hand, the infinitival construction (11a) is *intensional* with respect to V_2, in the sense that it does not entail that a V_2-event occurs on every day in the actual world but only that such an event occurs on every day in the possible worlds that are projected by the intentions of the subject; on the other hand, the DIC (11b) is *extensional* with respect to V_2, that is, it *does* entail that a V_2-event occurs on every day in the actual world. This is not meant to deny that DIC has a single event interpretation, in some sense to be made precise, but it suggests that the relevant sense of single

event is more complex than it has been thought so far. We'll come back to this issue in Section 3.6, while discussing the connection to serial verbs.

2.3 No grammaticalization of V_1 as a tense/aspect marker

When V_1 is one of the motion verbs *iri* 'go' and *vèniri* 'come', it may appear plausible to regard it as having the status of a tense/aspect marker. Indeed, crosslinguistically the verbs *go* and *come* have often been found to be recruited for the encoding of future/past tense notions. For example, in French the verbs *aller* and *venir* have both auxiliary uses as future and past tense markers, respectively, as shown in (13a,b):

(13) a. Je vais   manger chez moi.
           I go-1SG eat-INF by   me
           'I'm going to eat at home.'
      b. Je viens   d'   acheter ce   livre.
           I come-1SG from buy-INF this book
           'I've just bought this book.'

Notice that in such uses no restrictions are in place regarding the actional type of V_2, in particular V_2 can be a purely stative verb, as shown in (14a–d):

(14) a. Je vais   être   malade.
           I go-1SG be-INF sick
           'I'm going to be sick.'
      b. Je vais   le   savoir.
           I go-1SG it-CL know-INF
           'I'm going to know that.'
      c. Je viens   d'   être   malade.
           I come-1SG from be-INF sick
           'I have just been sick.'
      d. Je viens   de   le   savoir.
           I come-1SG from it-CL know-INF
           'I've just learnt that.'

Crucially, however, in DIC a purely stative V_2 is unacceptable, as shown in (15a–d) (see Accattoli and Todaro 2017):

(15) a. *Vaju   a ssugnu malatu.
             go-1SG a be-1SG sick
      b. *U   vaju   a ssacciu.
             it-CL go-1SG a know-1SG

c. *Vegnu   a   ssugnu   malatu.
    come-1SG   a   be-1SG   sick

d. *U   vègnu   a   ssacciu.
    it-CL   come-1SG   a   know-1SG

Notice that motion verbs, in their lexical uses, are not compatible with purely stative complements, as shown by the contrast between the following English examples:

(16)   a.   Mary went to the casino to win enough money to pay off her debts.
      b.   John came to my house to pick up a book.

(17)   a.   *Mary went to the casino to have enough money to pay off her debts.
      b.   *John came to my house to hold a book with him.

On the one hand, the events denoted by the infinitival complements in (16a,b) have a spatial location, and this overlaps with the goal of the motion events denoted by the main clauses, giving rise to an interpretation in which the subject moves to a certain location to perform a certain action *at that location*. On the other hand, the states denoted by the infinitival complements in (17a, b) do not have a spatial location in the first place, *a fortiori* they do not have a spatial location that may overlap with the goal of the motion events; as a result, those sentences lack a coherent interpretation. Therefore, if *go* and *come* in DIC retain the thematic requirements they have in their uses as motion verbs, the ungrammaticality of (15a–d) is expected.

     Previous work addressing the issue of the (non) grammaticalization of V_1 in DIC is Accattoli and Todaro (2017). The authors argue that DIC is not the output of a grammaticalization process.[5] In particular, they reply to an argument by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) which was aimed at showing the loss of lexical content of V_1 in DIC. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 377, 2003: 39) use a test involving the adverb *agghiri* ('toward') to show that the motion verb in DIC no longer projects a goal, unlike what it does in the infinitival construction. They claim that there is a contrast of grammaticality between (18a) and (18b), as indicated below:

(18)   a.   *Vaju   a   mmanciu   agghiri   a   casa.
         Go-1SG   a   eat-1SG   towards   to   house

      b.   Vaju   a   mmanciari   agghiri   a   casa.
         Go-1SG   a   eat-INF   towards   to   house
         'I go home to eat.'

---

5.   Considering those realizations of DIC which display a reduced form of *iri* 'go', Accattoli and Todaro propose that they should be analyzed as a case of morphologization (in Lehmann's 2002 sense) of V_1 as an andative prefix. A view of DICs with *iri* as involving an andative component is also proposed by Cruschina (2013).

Accattoli and Todaro (2017) observe that not only does *agghiri* have the directional meaning 'towards', but also the approximative sense 'around', which makes (18a) acceptable as indicated below:

(18a′)   Vaju   a mmanciu agghiri a[6]   casa.
         Go-1SG a eat-1SG   around the house
         'I go eat near home.'

The possibility of the approximative interpretation of *agghiri* is shown in the following real context, involving a stative verb:

(19)   […] lui pure c'è stato agghiri ccà (da queste parti, ndt)![7]
       'He has been around here too.'

Following Accattoli and Todaro (2017), we propose that a spatial adverb can be accepted in a DIC only if it is semantically and pragmatically compatible with both V_1 and V_2. Hence, (18a) *is* acceptable insofar as we interpret *agghiri a casa* as an (approximative) locative adverb and the latter is compatible both with *go* (e.g., *vaju agghiri a casa* 'I'm going near home') and *eat* (e.g. *manciu agghiri a casa* 'I'm eating near home'). The same is true of adjuncts, that is, an adjunct is acceptable in a DIC only if it is semantically and pragmatically compatible with both V_1 and V_2, as shown in (20a–c) (Accattoli and Todaro 2017: 192–193):

(20)   a. *Peppe va   a mmancia c'   a   machina.
              Peppe go-3SG a eat-3SG   with the car
       b. *Peppe va   a mmancia c'   a   furchetta.
              Peppe go-3SG a eat-3SG   with the fork
       c. Maria u   va   a ppigghia   c'   a   machina.
           Maria him-CL go-3SG a pick-up-3SG with the car
           'Maria goes to pick him up by car.'

Sentence (20a) is unacceptable because the adjunct *c'a machina* ('by car') is pragmatically incompatible with the V_2 *manciari* ('eat'), while the unacceptability of (20b) is due to the pragmatic incompatibility of the adjunct *c'a furchetta* ('with the fork') with the V_1 *iri* ('go'). On the other hand, sentence (20c) is acceptable because

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6.   Notice that the element *a* can also correspond to the definite article ('the').

7.   The example comes from a wiretap published in: <http://www.antimafiaduemila.com/home/primo-piano/62344-operazione-monte-reale-se-il-risolvi-problemi-e-messina-denaro.html>. Notice that the Italian translation of *agghiri cca*, indicated in parenthesis in (19), also makes it clear that this adverbial is interpreted as an approximative (Italian *da queste parti* means 'around here').

the adjunct *c'a machina* is semantically and pragmatically compatible with both the V_1 *iri* ('go') and the V_2 *pigghiari* ('pick up').

To summarize, the data considered in this section provide evidence that *iri* and *vèniri*, the likeliest verbs to be grammaticalized, have their ordinary lexical semantics in DIC. The same conclusion can be drawn, *a fortiori*, for the other motion verbs that can appear as V_1 in DIC.

3.   Serialization of events

In this section, we will argue that DIC exemplifies a particular kind of Serial Verb Construction (SVC; Aikhenvald 2006, 2011). By looking at a number of parameters that have been individuated in the literature on SVCs, we will show that DIC corresponds to Aikhenvald's asymmetrical contiguous SVC with concordant marking of inflectional features.

3.1   Definition and properties of Serial Verb Constructions

By SVC, one typically intends a sequence of verbs which belong to a single clause, describe a single event, and share one set of morphosyntactic features. Consider the following example from Yoruba (Niger-Congo):

(21)   Ó mú ìwé wá.   [Bamgbose (1974: 17)]
       he take book come
       'He brought the book.'

As remarked in Bamgbose (1974: 19), sentence (21) describes an integrated situation in which the 'take' event and the 'come' event must be spatio-temporally contiguous – whence the characteristic "serial verb" reading that the subject comes holding the book. In other words, (21) can be shown to involve a complex event, making up a single event structure. For what concerns the morphosyntactic properties of (21), one can observe that the two verbs (V_1 and V_2) share the 3rd person singular subject and therefore the morphosyntactic feature 3SG, which is not expressed explicitly because Yoruba is an isolating language.

Aikhenvald (2006) classifies SVCs as belonging to one or the other of two broad groups: asymmetrical SVCs and symmetrical SVCs. Asymmetrical SVCs consist of a minor verb from a closed class (possibly a class of motion verbs), and a major verb from an open class, which is seen as the head of the SVC and determines

whether the whole construction is transitive or intransitive (Aikhenvald 2006: 22);[8] as is well-known from the typological literature, minor verbs tend to grammaticalize into markers of direction, aspect, and valency-changing crosslinguistically. Symmetrical SVCs, on the other hand, consist of verb components chosen from major lexical classes. Aikhenvald identifies some properties as criterial for the status of SVCs (no matter whether symmetrical or asymmetrical):

(S1)   they are constructions containing no marker of syntactic dependency between the verb components;

(S2)   they are distinct from idiomatic double verb sequences which have restrictions on their mood, tense and aspect choices;

(S3)   their verb components share arguments;

(S4)   their verb components may bear the same inflectional features (concordant marking);

(S5)   they describe what is conceptualized as one integrated situation, or one single event –such an event may be composed of a series of sub-events.

Several authors have pointed out that there are similarities between DICs and SVCs (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Cruschina 2013). In the following subsections, we will check for the SVC status of DIC by considering the properties in (S1)–(S5) one after the other.

3.2   The empty marker

Although the connecting element *a* in DIC comes from the Latin coordinating particle *ac* (Rohlfs 1969),[9] synchronically it does not mark any syntactic dependency, be it a coordination or a subordination (see §2.1.3). Aikhenvald describes such elements as the connecting element of DIC as *empty markers*, which she characterizes as follows:

> An erstwhile marker of dependency between two verbs may lose its productivity, its meaning and gradually become an empty morpheme. The sequence of verbs containing such a semantically empty marker may have all the features of a serial verb construction. The marker itself no longer indicates a dependency relation – it is a pure and simple indicator of a serial verb.   (Aikhenvald 2011: 21)

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8.   The terms *minor/major verbs* were introduced by Durie (1997).

9.   The alternative hypothesis is that the connecting element *a* of DIC would derive from the Latin preposition *ad*, as the homophonous element that one finds in the infinitival construction.

As pointed out by Cruschina (2013), in some varieties of Sicilian DIC does not even have the connecting element *a*, thus V_1 and V_2 are contiguous at the surface in these varieties. This is shown in (22) for Pantesco, the variety spoken on the island of Pantelleria:

(22) Vaju   vidu.   [Cruschina 2013: 271]
      go-1SG see-1SG
      'I go see (it).'

Here the event verb occurs immediately after the motion verb and the interpretation of the sentence is the same as would be obtained for the full-fledged DIC *Vaju a vidu*.

3.3   No idiomaticity

Although they are known to display a defective paradigm in some varieties (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001; Cruschina 2013; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Di Caro 2015; Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Di Caro this volume), it is clear that DICs differ from idiomatic constructions, whose meaning is completely frozen and non-compositional, and they are the result of productive morphosyntactic processes: indeed, they are attested in the indicative and imperative mood, in both the present and (imperfective and perfective) past tense in at least some varieties of Sicilian (see type 2 discussed in §2.1.1).[10]

3.4   Argument sharing

Turning to the argument sharing property in (S3), we observe that the verb components V_1 and V_2 in DICs systematically share arguments. Usually, the shared argument is the subject. To be precise, subject sharing occurs in DICs featuring as V_1 any one of the motion verbs *go*, *come*, and *pass by*. However, most interesting for us are DICs with the causative motion verb *mannari*, which display a different pattern of argument sharing, as we will see in Section 4.1.

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10. While discussing the issue here would take us too far afield, we note that the problem of defectivity is orthogonal to the serial verb status of DIC. We refer the reader to Cruschina (2013) for an in-depth analysis of the relevant data based on Maiden's (2004) concept of *N-pattern* configuration.

3.5   Feature Matching

Finally, let's turn to the (optional) property of SVCs by which their verb components bear the same inflectional features (*Feature Matching*). Although not all SVCs have this property, *Feature Matching* characterizes an important subclass of SVCs – in Aikhenwald's terminology, those SVCs that show "concordant marking of inflectional features". DIC pattern like SVCs belonging to this subclass: as we saw in Section 2.1.1, V_1 and V_2 are inflected for the same person and tense/aspect features in DIC.

3.6   Single event

DIC has been claimed to describe a single event, fundamentally of the same type as a V_2-event. However, the test used to prove this "single event" property, as we saw in Section 2.2, actually shows that DIC is extensional with respect to V_2 and the infinitival construction intensional with respect to the same position. As far as the test examined in Section 2.2 goes, DIC might still involve a complex event e_3 encompassing a separate motion event component e_1. We do believe that the interpretation of DIC involves such a motion component (there is evidence for this, which we discuss in 2.3) but we also believe that the intuitive characterization of DIC as involving a single event interpretation is correct, in some sense. The difficulty with assessing the single event property is due to the fact that the notion of a 'single event' (or 'one integrated situation') is hard to define and capture formally. There have been attempts to formalize this notion in terms of the *macro-event property* (Talmy 2000; Bohnemeyer et al. 2007; Bohnemeyer et al. 2011). Bohnemeyer et al. (2011: 48) define the Macro-Event Property (MEP) as follows:

> An event-denoting construction has the MEP iff it combines only with those time-positional or durational operators [tenses, time adverbials, temporal clauses] that have scope over all subevents it entails.

We suggest that a fruitful way to prove that DIC has a single event property might consist in showing that DIC has the MEP. Starting from tense, that DIC has the MEP is immediately clear from the property of *Feature Matching* discussed in Section 2.1.1 above. In particular, we saw that the verb components in DIC necessarily bear the same tense/aspect features and are interpreted in the scope of the same tense/aspect operator. Moving to temporal adverbials/clauses, one can show that DIC has the MEP also relative to this kind of temporal operators. Consider (23a, b):

(23) a. ˀVaju   a ppigghiu   u   picciriddro rumani   ma mi   lu
          go-1SG a take-1SG the kid   tomorrow but to-me him
          runano   vènnare.
          give-3PL Friday
          'I go pick up the kid tomorrow but they'll give him to me on Friday.'

      b. Vaju   a   ppigghiari   u   picciriddro rumani   ma mi   lu
          go-1SG to take-INF   the kid   tomorrow but to-me him
          runano   vènnare.
          give-3PL Friday
          'I go to pick up the kid tomorrow but they'll give him to me on Friday.'

On the one hand, the temporal adverb *rumani* 'tomorrow' in (23a) refers to the whole predicate *vaju a ppigghiu* '(I) go pick up', as a consequence, the event of picking up the kid has to occur on the day denoted by *rumani* and continuing by saying that the kid will be picked up on Friday instead gives rise to oddness. On the other hand, *rumani* in (23b) can selectively scope over *vaju* '(I) go', to the exclusion of *pigghiari u picciriddro* 'to pick up the kid', as a consequence only the event of going has to occur on the day denoted by *rumani* and the continuation is fine.

Summing up, in Section 3 we have considered five properties taken by Aikhenvald as criterial for the status of SVC and we have shown that DIC has all of them. The general conclusion, assuming Aikhenvald's typology of SVCs, is that DIC can be naturally regarded as a *contiguous asymmetrical SVC with Feature Matching*.

4.   The analysis

4.1   DIC with the causative motion verb mannari

Previous formal analyses of DIC (e.g. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001) assume that the motion verb V_1 in DIC is auxiliary-like. According to such analyses: (i) V_1 is not a verb with full lexical content, truly denoting a property of events of motion, but a "semi-lexical" verb merged in the extended projection of V_2; (ii) only V_2 has full lexical content and interpreted inflectional features, while V_1 inherits its features from V_2. Problematic for this analysis are DICs with the causative motion verb *mannari* 'send'. Consider (24):

(24) Ti   mannu   a   ddicu   ddra cosa.
      To-you send-1SG a   say-1SG that   thing
      'I'm sending someone to say that thing to you.'

By *Feature Matching*, the person feature on *mannu* is the same as the one on *ddicu*, that is, first singular. However, this feature appears to be interpreted only on *mannu*: indeed, the agent of *ddicu* is not the speaker but some other person x such that the speaker sends x so that x says the relevant thing to the hearer. This is most clear in (25):

(25) Un ti   lu   mannu a ddicu, ti   lu   ricu   iu.
     NEG to-you it-CL send-1SG ac say-1SG to-you it-CL say-1SG me
     'I do not send anyone to say it to you, I say it to you myself.'

If the agent of *ddicu* were the speaker, (25) would be contradictory, as it would imply both that I do not say it to you and that I say it to you. But (25) is a perfectly consistent discourse.

4.2   Formal analysis

In this section we present our analysis of DIC, both at the level of morphosyntactic configuration (§4.2.1) and at the formal semantic level (§4.2.2); then we show how our analysis accounts for the main properties of DIC, including the morphosyntax-semantics mismatch described in Section 4.1 (§4.2.3).

4.2.1   *Morphosyntax*

We propose that V_1 and V_2 are lexical verbs which combine according to an operation of "lexical concatenation" to form a complex verb predicate $[_v\ V_1\ ac\ V_2]$[11] with specific argument structure and semantic properties, the latter of which will be discussed in Section 4.2.2. Concerning the argument structure of $[_v\ V_1\ ac\ V_2]$, this is so determined that its external argument (subject) is the same as the external argument of V_1, while its internal arguments are the same as the internal arguments of V_2.[12] Crucially, although it is formed from two verbs, the complex predicate $[_v\ V_1\ ac\ V_2]$ counts as just one single predicate from the morphosyntactic point of view. This aspect of the analysis has important consequences regarding how inflectional features are realized in DIC (for reasons of space we will uniquely focus on person features in what follows, though our claims may be extended to TAM features): (a) on the one hand, the person features occur only once at Logical Form,

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11. From now on, we will use the sign *ac* as standing for the element (sometimes non-overt) which concatenates V_1 and V_2 in DIC. This choice reflects the historical derivation of the connecting element of DIC from the Latin particle *ac* (Rohlfs 1969).

12. For a thorough presentation of Lexical Concatenation, see Del Prete and Todaro (under revision).

in a position in which they apply to the whole predicate $[_v V_1 ac V_2]$, being thus interpreted relative to the external argument of the latter – intuitively, this external argument is what appears as the subject of V_1, e.g. the implicit 1SG person subject in (25) –; on the other hand, those same features have to be morphophonologically realized twice in $[_v V_1 ac V_2]$, i.e., once on the V_1 component and once on the V_2 component, although they are not interpreted relative to the external argument of V_2. As we'll see shortly, this consequence of the morphosyntactic analysis, taken along with the semantic ingredients given in Section 4.2.2 below, makes it possible to predict that the agent of *ddicu* in (25) is not the speaker uttering (25), being rather identified with the theme of *mannu* according to the composition rule in (33) below.

Before presenting our semantic analysis, we make a short excursion to examine an alternative account that might be proposed for the particular way in which inflectional features are realized in DIC, namely one based on Kratzer's (2009) mechanism of *Feature Transmission Under Binding*. The conclusion will be that the alternative account does not constitute a viable solution to our problem. As some colleagues have suggested to us, the morphosyntax-semantics mismatch brought out by the 1SG person feature showing up on V_2 (25) is reminiscent of the morphosyntax-semantics mismatch that has been observed in sentences like (26) and (27) (both from Kratzer 2009), taken in the bound readings specified below:

(26) I'm the only one around here who can take care of **my** children.
   Bound reading: *I am the only person x such that x can take care of x's children*

(27) Only you eat what **you** cook.
   Bound reading: *You are the only person x such that x eats what x cooks*

On the bound readings of these sentences,[13] the boldfaced 1st/2nd person pronouns in them appear to be interpreted as plain variables bound by quantifiers, not as the indexical pronouns referring to the speaker/hearer of the context, which they *prima facie* seem to be (Partee 1989; Schlenker 1999; Heim 2008; Kratzer 2009). Kratzer's idea, closely elaborating on Heim (2008), is that the boldfaced pronouns in these examples are "minimal pronouns", i.e., pronouns which are born without certain features superficially appearing on them (in this case, without the 1st/2nd person feature) and are thus interpreted by the semantic component *without those features*. For instance, the minimal pronoun **you** in (27) is interpreted as the plain variable x in the logical structure (27′):

(27′) $[[\text{Only you}]_x \lambda x [x \text{ eat what } x \text{ cook}]]$

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13. A non-bound reading should also be possible for (26) and (27). On their non-bound reading, (26) entails that no one other than me can take care of my children and (27) entails that no one other than you eats what you cook.

How does a minimal pronoun such as **you** in (27) come to acquire the 2nd person feature that it shows at the surface? Kratzer proposes that this comes about via a morphophonological mechanism that she calls *Feature Transmission Under Binding*: simplifying a little bit, under the bound reading of (27), **you** (corresponding to the rightmost occurrence of $x_{[n]}$ in the Logical Form (27″) below) receives its 2nd person feature from the closest element that binds it in the structure; this closest binding element in (27″) is the v head, which in turn has to agree via Specifier-Head Agreement with the pronoun $x_{[n]}$ in its specifier position, which receives the 2nd person feature via Feature Transmission from its binder $\lambda[n][2]$, which in turn originates from raising of the inherently 2nd person DP [Only you]$_{[n][2]}$. Hence, ultimately, the source of the (uninterpreted) 2nd person feature of **you** in (27) – under the bound reading of this sentence – is the occurrence of the genuinely 2nd person pronoun *you* in the subject DP *only you* (in this DP only is the 2nd person feature truly interpreted).

(27″)

FTUB   FTUB

$[[\text{Only you}]_{[n][2]}\ \lambda[n][2]\ [_{TP}\ T\ [_{vP}\ x_{[n]}\ v\lambda_{[n][2]}\ \text{eat what } x_{[n]}\text{cook}]]]$

Spec-head
agreement
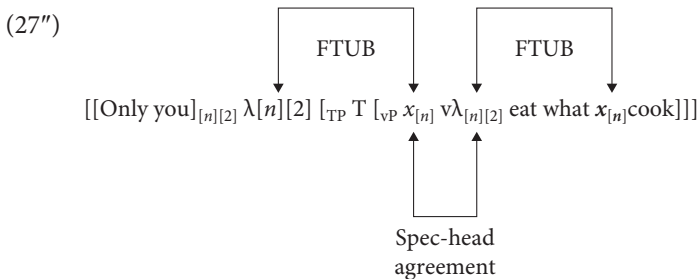
Turning to our problematic sentence in (24), repeated here as (28), we assume that its underlying structure is as in (28′):

(28)   Ti mannu a ddicu ddra cosa.
       'I'm sending someone to say that thing to you.'

(28′) $[[\text{pro}]_{[n][1]}\ \lambda[n][1]\ [_{TP}\ T\ [_{vP}\ [^{\text{agent}}\ x_{[n]}]\ v_{\lambda[n][1]}\ [\text{send ac say}][^{\text{theme}}\ \text{that thing}]$
       $[^{\text{beneficiary}}\ \text{to you}]]]]$

In spite of the similarity between the problems they raise – both (28) and (26)–(27) have a certain feature superficially showing up which is not interpreted by the semantic component – it should be clear that Kratzer's mechanism of Feature Transmission, which was originally intended to deal with (26)–(27), does not apply in the case of (28): the syntactic configuration of the DIC, given in (28′), does not allow for transmission of the 1st person feature to the two verb components *send* and *say* of the concatenated predicate.

4.2.2   Semantics

We cast the semantic analysis of DIC in an event semantics framework (Parsons 1990), in which verb predicates denote properties of events, as shown in (29a, b) below for the verbs *iri* and *manciari*, and event participants are introduced through thematic (θ) role functions, illustrated in (30) for the θ-role *agent*.[14] We assume a type-theoretic framework with **E** as the semantic type of events; other semantic types are as in Montagovian semantics (e.g. **e** is the type of individuals and **t** the type of truth values).

(29) a. $[[[_{vP} iri]]] = \lambda e_E.\ GO(e)$
     b. $[[[_{vP} mangiari]]] = \lambda e_E.\ EAT(e)$

(30) $[[agent]] = \lambda x_e.\ \lambda f_{<E, t>}.\ \lambda e_E.\ f(e)\ \&\ AGENT(e) = x$

We assume an indexical analysis of person features, according to which these features denote functions that take theta roles θ as arguments and impose on θ the condition that the selected participant be suitably related to (in the simplest case, be identical with) the speaker/hearer of the context. This is illustrated in (31) for the 1SG person[15] (*c*, *w* are the context and world parameter, respectively, of the denotation function $[[...]]$, c_a is the speaker of context *c*, "$x = c_a$" is the definedness condition requiring identity to the speaker):

(31) $[[1SG]]_{c,\ w} = \lambda\theta_{<<e,<E,\ t>>,<E,\ t>>}.\ \lambda x_e\colon x = c_a.\ \lambda f_{<E,\ t>}.\ \lambda e_E.\ f(e)\ \&\ \theta(e) = x$

The semantics of the concatenated predicate $[_v V_1\ ac\ V_2]$ is based on an operation of *event concatenation*, defined in (32):

(32)   Let e_1 and e_2 be spatio-temporally contiguous events. The event concatenation $(e_1 \bullet e_2)$ is an event whose temporal trace $\tau(e_1 \bullet e_2)$ is the convex interval obtained by summing the temporal traces of e_1 and e_2.
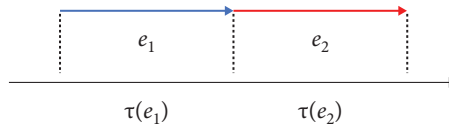
Figure 1. Event concatenation

Notice that the concatenated event $(e_1 \bullet e_2)$ is a single (although complex) event, not a set of two single events. As such, it can be argument of a higher concatenation, e.g.

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14. Structurally similar interpretations are provided for the θ-roles *theme*, *goal*, *location*, etc.

15. For simplicity, we do not give a separate analysis of person and number features here.

$((e_1 \bullet e_2) \bullet e_3)$ (this is arguably what happens in the event composition of sequences like *Go, buy and come home*).

The semantic value of $[_{vP}\ V_1\ ac\ V_2]$ is computed according to the composition rule in (33) (we present this rule as the semantic value of the connecting element *ac*; f_1 and f_2 are the properties of events corresponding to the verb predicates V_1 and V_2, respectively):

(33) $[[\ ac\ ]] = \lambda f_{2<E,\ t>}.\ \lambda f_{1<E,\ t>}.\ \lambda e_3.\ \exists e_1\ [f_1(e_1)\ \&\ \exists e_2\ [f_2(e_2)\ \&\ e_3 = (e_1 \bullet e_2)\ \&$
        $\mathrm{THEME}(e_1) = \mathrm{AGENT}(e_2)\ \&\ \mathrm{GOAL}(e_1) = \mathrm{LOCATION}(e_2)]]$

This complex function provides for argument sharing between V_1 and V_2: in particular, the theme of V_1 (i.e., the participant in the motion event which undergoes the change of location) is identified with the agent of V_2, which predicts that for $V_1 = iri/vèniri/passari$ the shared argument is the subject of both V_1 and V_2 (see the interpretation of (1), repeated here as (34)), while for $V_1 = mannari$ the shared argument is the object of V_1 and the subject of V_2 (see the interpretation of (28)).

Finally, as standard in neo-Davidsonian event semantics, we assume that a default sentence-level closure operation determines existential binding of the event variable.

4.2.3   *Application of the analysis to some examples*
Let's start from the simple example (34). In (34′) we give the Logical Form of (34), which makes it clear that the person features occur only once at the level of semantic interpretation. Logical Form (34′) is evaluated as in (34″) (for limits of space, we skip the steps of the full semantic derivation):

(34)   Vaju a mmanciu a casa.
       'I go eat at home.'

(34′)   [∃-closure [1SG [[agent(pro)] [go ac eat] [location(home)]]]]

(34″) $[[\ (34')\ ]]_{c,\ w} = 1$ *iff* $\exists e_3\ \exists e_1\ \exists e_2\ [\mathrm{GO}(e_1)\ \&\ \mathrm{EAT}(e_2)\ \&\ e_3 = (e_1 \bullet e_2)$
                $\&\ \mathrm{THEME}(e_1) = \mathrm{AGENT}(e_2)\ \&\ \mathrm{GOAL}(e_1) =$
                $\mathrm{LOCATION}(e_2)\ \&\ \mathrm{LOCATION}(e_3) = \text{the-house-of-}c_a$
                $\&\ \mathrm{AGENT}(e_3) = c_a]$

According to (34″), sentence (34) is true (in a context c) at the complex factual condition that: (a) there is an event e_3 which is the concatenation of an event e_1 of going and an event e_2 of eating, (b) the participant in e_1 which undergoes change of location is the same as the eater in e_2, (c) the location in space to whom e_1 is directed is the same as the location in which e_2 takes place, namely the house of the speaker who utters (34) (in context c), and (d) the agent of the concatenated event e_3 is the speaker who utters (34) (in context c).

We now turn to (28), repeated here as (35). In (35′) we give the logical form of (35), which is then evaluated as in (35″) (c_a, as before, is the speaker of context c, while c_h is the hearer of c):

(35) Ti mannu a ddicu ddra cosa.
'I'm sending someone to say that thing to you.'

(35′) [∃-closure [1SG [[agent(pro)] [send ac say] [theme(that-thing)] [beneficiary(you)]]]]

(35″) $[[(35')]]_{c, w} = 1$ *iff* $\exists e_3 \exists e_1 \exists e_2$ [SEND(e_1) & SAY(e_2) & $e_3 = (e_1 \bullet e_2)$
& THEME(e_1) = AGENT(e_2) & GOAL(e_1) =
LOCATION(e_2) & THEME(e_3) = that-thing &
BENEFICIARY(e_3) = c_h & AGENT(e_3) = c_a]

According to (35″), sentence (35) is true (in a context c) at the complex factual condition that: (a) there is an event e_3 which is the concatenation of an event e_1 of sending and an event e_2 of saying, (b) the participant in e_1 which undergoes change of location is the same as the person who says something in e_2, (c) the location to whom e_1 is directed is the same as the location in which e_2 takes place, (d) the content that is said in e_3 is the thing referred to by uttering "that thing" (in context c), (e) the person who receives the content said in e_3 is the hearer (of context c), and (f) the agent of the concatenated event e_3 is the speaker who utters (35) (in context c).

Finally, we analyze example (20c), repeated here as (36), which involves an adjunct expressing an instrumental role. In (36′) we give the logical form of (36), which is then evaluated as in (36″):

(36) Maria u va a ppigghia c'a machina.
'Maria goes to pick him up by car.'

(36′) [∃-closure [3SG [[agent(Maria)] [go ac pick-up] [theme(him)] [instrument(the-car)]]]]

(36″) $[[(36')]]_{c, w} = 1$ *iff* $\exists e_3 \exists e_1 \exists e_2$ [GO(e_1) & PICK-UP(e_2) & $e_3 =$
$(e_1 \bullet e_2)$ & THEME(e_1) = AGENT(e_2) & GOAL(e_1) =
LOCATION(e_2) & THEME(e_3) = him &
INSTRUMENT(e_3) = the-car & AGENT(e_3) = Maria]

According to (36″), sentence (36) is true (in a context c) at the complex factual condition that: (a) there is an event e_3 which is the concatenation of an event e_1 of going and an event e_2 of picking up, (b) the participant in e_1 which undergoes change of location is the same as the person who picks up someone in e_2, (c) the location to whom e_1 is directed is the same as the location in which e_2 takes place, (d) the person who is picked up in e_3 is the one that the clitic *u* ('him') refers to (in context c), (e) the instrument used in e_3 is the relevant car (in context c), and (f) the

agent of the concatenated event e_3 is the agent of both e_1 and e_2, i.e. Maria. Notice that the entity playing the instrumental role in the concatenated event e_3 also refers to its sub-components e_1 and e_2, that is, this entity is understood as playing the instrumental role in each of e_1 and e_2 as well and it has thus to be compatible with both e_1 and e_2 (recall the unacceptability of (20a,b), in which the instrumental adjunct has been found to be compatible with only one of the two event components).

5. Conclusion

Our analysis contributes to the formal study of complex event predicates both at the level of morphosyntax and semantics and sheds light on new data. We have argued that a proper formal treatment of DIC calls for an operation of Lexical Concatenation building complex event predicates out of a motion event predicate V_1 and an event predicate V_2, whose semantic counterpart is an operation of event concatenation which builds complex events sharing thematic participants. The data with *mannari* that we have considered are problematic for previous analyses based on syntax, in particular Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2001) analysis holding that V_1 is auxiliary-like and inherits its features from the lexical head V_2 of DIC. The analysis we have proposed uniformly accounts for DICs with any of the admissible motion verbs in V_1. The morphosyntax/semantics mismatch brought out by the data with *mannari* is naturally explained on the assumption that the inflectional (person) features apply to the complex (serial) verb [V_1 ac V_2] yielded by Lexical Concatenation and are thus interpreted only once with respect to the external argument of this complex verb. At the same time, at the level of morphophonological structure, the features are realized twice, once on each verb component. In passing we have also explained why a mechanism such as Kratzer's Feature Transmission under Binding could not be invoked to explain the morphosyntax/semantics mismatch in DIC.

A further aspect of DIC that we have discussed is the similarity with serial verb constructions (SVCs) attested in typologically different languages and analyzed in literature. We have argued that DIC is an instance of what Aikhenvald (2006) calls *asymmetric SVC*. To our knowledge, the analysis proposed here is the first attempt to provide an explicit account of such SVCs encompassing both a formal semantic and a morphosyntactic component. Our analysis opens the question of what the relation is between event concatenation and other kinds of complex event-building operations that one may need to assume to formally account for other types of SVCs.

Finally, a problem to be addressed in future research concerns the *productivity* of DIC: why is the general operation of event concatenation apparently restricted to those combinations [motion verb + event verb] that involve the four motion verbs mentioned at the outset? What is the reason for the reported restriction to the

motion verbs in question? Although variation is reported between more restrictive and more liberal varieties of Sicilian regarding what motion verbs are allowed in DIC, it seems that speakers of no variety recognize sentences such as (37) as possible DICs (Di Caro 2015):

(37) *Scinnu   / Curru   a   ppigghiu u   pani.
  go-down-1sg / run-1sg ac   fetch-1sg the bread
  'I go down / I run to fetch the bread'

Still, we clearly see the intelligible sense that such sentences would convey, were they used in a suitable context (notice that their infinitival counterparts *Scinnu/Curru a ppigghiari u pani* are unproblematic). We leave this as an open issue.

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Matrix complementizers in Italo-Romance

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Based on uncharted evidence from Italo-Romance, we describe and discuss three types of matrix clauses, i.e. jussives, concessives and optatives, which reveal a certain degree of consistency but also display different patterns of microvariation. We show how such clauses may be introduced by complementizers, whose insertion is strictly dependent on the utterance of speech-act material at the outset of the sentence. The variation in the overt realization of the complementizers and the utterance of initial interjections conveys different pragmatic information. We finally interpret the morpho-syntactic behaviour of jussive, concessive and optative matrix clauses through the interplay of three semantico-syntactic variables, i.e. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality.

Keywords: matrix clauses, left periphery, speech act, complementizers, Italo-Romance

1. Introduction

In Romance, complementizers convey a number of functions, other than the core role of subordinators (Evans 2007: 367, 2009; see also Ledgeway 2000, 2005; Reis 2006; Truckenbrodt 2006; Heycock 2006; Franco 2009; Cable 2007; Hill 2012; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2014 a.o.). Namely, like in other languages of the world, in Romance too complementizers (e.g. *if*) can introduce insubordinate clauses, i.e. apparent subordinates that display the distribution of main clauses. A typical case of insubordination is represented by free-standing conditional predicates like the following in (1):

(1) *Se* solo potessi   tornare indietro nel   tempo…   (standard Italian)
     if only could.1SG return back   in.the time
     'If I only could turn back time…'

Recent studies show that, especially in Ibero-Romance and in Italo-Romance, complementizers may introduce other types of non-embedded matrix clauses. Crucially,

the morphological makeup of the complementizer reveals the semantico-pragmatic type of the clause (cf. Etxepare 2008; Cruschina 2012; Demonte and Fernández Soriano 2014; Haegeman and Hill 2014; Hill 2012; Villa-García 2015; Corr 2017, a.o.). As for Italo-Romance, it has been noticed that in modern varieties the selection of a specific type of complementizer may depend on certain information with respect to the semantico-pragmatic meaning of the whole sentence. For instance, in modern Abruzzese the examples in (2) represent a minimal pair where the contrast in the pragmatic interpretation is conveyed by the selection of the complementizer (D'Alessandro and Di Felice 2015: 130; cf. Roberts 2004): the sentence introduced by *ca* expresses a reassuring meaning, whereas *chi* is selected to convey a warning stance (Prins 2014: 4).

(2)   a.   Ca   nin   chischə!
           that not   fall.2sG
           'You won't fall!'
           [Interpretation: 'Don't worry. It is the case that you will not fall.']
      b.   Chi   nin   chischə!
           that not   fall.2sG
           'You might fall!'
           [Interpretation: 'Watch out! It is the case that you might fall.']
                            (modern Abruzzese, D'Alessandro and Di Felice 2015: 2)

In this contribution we will discuss a selection of Italo-Romance matrix clauses introduced by the complementizers CA and CHI (and allomorphic forms thereof).[1] In particular, we will describe the morpho-syntactic behaviour of three types of matrix clauses: jussives, concessives and optatives.

2.   Complementizers in matrix clauses in southern Italian dialects

We will provide a description of new data from extreme and upper southern Italian dialects (henceforth ESIDs and USIDs, respectively). We will discuss different patterns of complementizer selection in non-embedded contexts which, in turn, correlate with the modality of the whole utterance and the morphological exponence of the verb complex. The relevant data come from three USIDs, i.e. Teramo, Santa Maria Capua Vetere (Caserta) and Santa Maria del Cedro (Cosenza), and two ESIDs, i.e. Melito di Porto Salvo (Reggio Calabria; henceforth Melito) and Vernole (Lecce). All utterances have been elicited through face-to-face interviews to native speakers conducted by the authors. The selection of these Italo-Romance varieties witnesses the different distribution of complementizer forms between USIDs and

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1.   CA and CHI are the outcomes of Latin QUIA and QUID, respectively (Rohlfs 1969: §786a).

ESIDs (see Ledgeway 2016: 1018ff and references therein). In particular, in all the matrix clause types described below (cf. §§2.1–2.3) the USIDs may employ either CA or CHI.[2] As exemplified in (3) for the variety of Santa Maria del Cedro, in embedded contexts CA introduces declarative (realis) complements (3a) and CHI volitional (irrealis) complements (3b):

(3) a. Rita dìcia ca non chiova.
          Rita says   CA not rains
          'Rita says that it is not raining.'
     b. Rita vulera   chə stèrəsə   afòra.
          Rita want.3SG.COND CHI stay.2SG.COND outside
          'Rita would like for you to stay outside.'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

By contrast, in the ESIDs the matrix clauses taken into consideration below (cf. §§2.1–2.3) are introduced only by complementizer forms (i.e. MI/CU)[3] which usually introduce embedded volitional (irrealis) complements. In particular, while in the dialect of Melito the complementizer MI introduces volitional (irrealis) complements (4a), in the dialect of Vernole the same irrealis complements are introduced by the complementizer CU (4b):

(4) a. Mariu volìa   mi canta.
          Mario wanted MI sings
          'Mario wanted/would like to sing.'   (Melito)
     b. Lu Mariu ulìa   cu canta.[4]
          the Mario wanted CU sings
          'Mario wanted/would like to sing.'   (Vernole)

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2. However, we acknowledge within USIDs a great wealth of microvariation concerning complementizer selection, see Ledgeway (2000, 2009, 2012); Manzini and Savoia (2005: vol. 1, Chapter 3); Colasanti (2015, 2017, 2018) *inter alia*.

3. MI and the allomorphs *(m)i*, *(m)u* and *ma* attested in central and southern Calabria derive from Latin MŎDO, whereas CU is the outcome of Latin QUOD (for further etymological details and different proposals see Roberts and Roussou 2003: 88ff; De Angelis 2017: 77). We will discuss in detail the *status* of MI and CU in §3.1.

4. In Vernole, as in several dialects of Salento, CU triggers *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico* (RF, phonosyntactic doubling; (i)). More specifically, when CU is a subordinator (ia), it may remain unpronounced in some cases (ib). However, the RF occurs anyway and signals the presence of a phonologically and syntactically active CU (Rohlfs 1969: 105; Ledgeway 2015):

(i) a. Lu Mariu ole   cu [kk]anta
          the Mariu wants CU sings
     b. Lu Mariu ole   [kk]anta   (Vernole)
          the Mariu wants sings

Consistently with the distribution of complementizers among the ESIDs, in the dialect of Melito and Vernole declarative subordinate clauses are introduced by CA (cf. 4):

(5) a. Mariu dici ca no   chiovi.
         Mariu says CA not rains
         'Mario says that it is not raining.'   (Melito)
     b. Lu Mariu tice ca nu   chiòe.
         the Mariu says CA not rains
         'Mario says that it is not raining.'   (Vernole)

The syntactic function of MI-clauses has been object of a number of studies (Calabrese 1993; Loporcaro 1995; Ledgeway 1998, 2007, 2012, 2015; Roberts and Roussou 2003: 88ff; Damonte 2005, 2009, 2011; De Angelis 2014, 2017). It has been shown that in the present day ESIDs, other than the function of complementizers, such elements are irrealis mood markers. Following Ledgeway (1998, 2007, 2013), MŎDO-forms have been reanalysed from complementizers to non-finite markers. For the purpose of this contribution, based on our first-hand data on matrix clauses in USIDs and ESIDs, we observe that the distributional properties of MI and CU validate the hypothesis (Ledgeway 1998, 2007, 2013) that MI and CU show a different distribution with respect of the complementizers found in the USIDs (cf. (3) with (4) and (5)). Hence, the distinct nature of MI and CU becomes evident both in embedded and non-embedded contexts (see §3.1 for more details).

2.1   Jussive clauses

The first type of clause which we call 'jussive' is related to the expression of command or exhortation. In order for the speakers to spontaneously produce the target-utterances of jussive type, we provided the description of a likely context situation. The discourse context given to the speakers was about some guy, Mario, who does not really want to go somewhere. Yet, the speaker demands that he goes and expresses the coercive stance to the hearer. The resulting utterances are the followings:

(6) a. (Ca) (Mario) vənissə   (Mario)!
         CA   Mario   come.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ Mario
         'Mario had better come!'   (Teramo)
     b. (Ca) (Màriə) facessə   u bravə (Màriə)!
         CA   Mario   do.3SG.PST.SUBJ the good Mario
         'Mario had better behave!'   (Santa Maria Capua Vetere)
     c. (Ca) (Màriə) vənissa   (Màriə)!
         CA   Mario   come.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ Mario
         'Mario had better come!'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

d. (Mariu) *(mi) (*Mariu) veni (Mariu)!
   Mario MI   come.3SG Mario
   'Mario had better come!'   (Melito)

e. (Lu Mariu) *(cu) (*lu Mariu) begna (lu Mariu)!
   the Mariu CU   come.3SG.PRS.SUBJ the Mario
   'Mario had better come!'   (Vernole)

In the varieties of Teramo (6a), Santa Maria Capua Vetere (6b) and Santa Maria del Cedro (6c) the speakers may select the complementizer CA in jussive clauses. The subject of the clause (i.e. *Mario/Màriə*) may linearly occur in pre- or postverbal position (6a–c). In the varieties of Melito (6d) and Vernole (6e), by contrast, MI and CU have to be obligatorily selected. Moreover, the subject (i.e. (*lu*) *Mariu*) may linearly occur in pre- or postverbal position but never between MI/CU and the verb (cf. 6a–c with 6d, e). Specifically, *mi veni* (6a, 7a) and *cu begna* (6b, 7b) form an unbreakable unity in that no constituents, such as the subject (*lu*) *Mariu*, can intervene between them.

More specifically, we tested if the declarative complementizer CA found in our ESID varieties (cf. 5) and the optative matrix complementizer CHI[5] can co-occur with MI/CU (7). The result is that the jussive clauses below are ungrammatical:

(7) a. (*Chi/ *Ca) *(Mi) veni Mariu!
       CHI   CA   MI   come.3SG Mario
       'Mario had better come!'   (Melito)

b. (*Ci/ *Ca) *(Cu) begna moi lu Mariu!
   CHI CA   CU   come.3SG.PRS.SUBJ now the Mario
   'Mario had better come now!'   (Vernole)

As we can see in (8), speakers of USIDs often utter these clauses with an initial monosyllabic non-lexical interjection, typically *Oh!*.[6] Whenever the interjection is realized, the complementizer CA in the USIDs is mandatorily uttered too.[7] Also, in jussives a prosodic pause occurs between the initial interjection and the beginning of propositional clause, revealing that the prosodic continuum of the utterance can

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5. Other than CA and MI/CU the ESIDs discussed here avail themselves of CHI which in the varieties of Melito and Vernole occurs only in matrix clauses of the optative type (§2.3; see also De Angelis 2017: 142ff.).

6. The graphical realization of the interjection is merely conventional. The non-lexical interjections that the speakers may use are more frequently monosyllabic and often correspond to a vocalic segment which can be lengthened for expressive purposes, e.g. *Oh!* corresponds to [o:(:)].

7. This co-occurrence finds striking parallels in Emilian and Venetan dialects, as well as standard Italian, where lexical interjections require the realization of the complementizer (cf. Munaro this volume).

be broken before CA. In particular, this prosodic space between the interjection (i.e. *Oh!*) and the complementizer (i.e. CA) can host other speech-act elements, such as vocatives (i.e. *Combà! / Guagliù!*).[8] Moreover, as we highlight in the examples (8b) and (8c) below, the utterance of a speech-act element, i.e. either the interjection or the vocative, makes the realization of CA obligatory in the USIDs.

(8) a. Oh! Combà! *(Ca) vənissə   Mariə!
         INTJ VOC   CA   come.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ Mario
         'Hey! Pal! Mario had better come!'   (Teramo)
     b. Oh! Guagliù! *(Ca) (Màriə) facessə   u bravə (Màriə)!
         INTJ VOC   CA   Mario do.3SG.PST.SUBJ the good Mario
         'Hey! Guys! Mario had better behave!'   (Santa Maria Capua Vetere)
     c. Oh! Guagliù! *(Ca) (Màriə) vənissa   (Màriə)!
         INTJ VOC   CA   Mario come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
         'Hey! Guys! Mario had better come!'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

From a pre-theoretical perspective, the complementizer CA in (8) seems to mark the boundary between the speech-act field, placed at the leftmost area of the whole utterance, and the propositional clause structure (Ross 1970). Prosody consistently signals such configuration, as a pause (#) is realized between the two parts. A neat prosodic division within the same act of speech production arises. The utterance (8b) shows the prosodic organization in (9):

(9) [_{speech-act} Oh! (#) Guagliù! … # [_{propositional} *(Ca) (Màriə) facesse u brave (Màriə)]][9]

The speech-act area is further potentially endlessly expandable with the insertion of other speech-act elements, such as interjections (i.e. *Oh!/Ja!*), and vocatives (i.e. *Guagliù!*):

(10) Oh! Ja! Guagliù! Ja!… *(Ca) facessə   u bravə (Màriə)!
      INTJ INTJ VOC   INTJ CA   do.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ the good Mario
      'Hey! Come on! Guys! Come on!… Mario had better behave!'

To conclude, the main properties of jussives concern the optionality of CA in the USIDs and the obligatory presence of MI/CU in the ESIDs. Concerning the complementizer CA, we pointed out that it must be realized whenever the speaker utters

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8. The pragmatic purpose of this type of vocatives is for the speaker to catch the hearer's attention.

9. The speech-act elements used in jussives and concessives can also be uttered in isolation, as their semantico-pragmatic stance is conveyed even if they are not integrated in the prosodic contour of a propositional clause.

initial speech-act elements (cf. 8). As for the internal organization of the clause, we noticed that the subject of the clause can be placed before or after the verb in all USIDs, whereas it cannot stand between MI/CU and the verb in ESIDs.

2.2 Concessive clauses

We now move to the second type of matrix clauses, which we call 'concessives', whose characteristic is the expression of acquiescence. In order to elicit the relevant data, the speakers were given a discourse context whereby a guy, Mario, really wants to take part in something, although he is not welcome by the speaker. Eventually, despite the initial situation, the speaker lets Mario participate and notifies the hearer. The relevant utterances are the followings in (11):

(11) a. (Ca) (*Màriə) vənissə Mariə.
       CA come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
      'Mario may come.' (Teramo)

    b. (Ca) (*Màriə) vənessə Màriə.
       CA come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
      'Mario may come.' (Santa Maria Capua Vetere)

    c. (Ca) (*Màriə) vənissa Màriə.
       CA come.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ Mario
      'Mario may come.' (Santa Maria del Cedro)

    d. (*Mariu) *(Mi) veni Mariu.
           MI comes Mariu
      'Mario may come.' (Melito)

    e. (*Mariu) *(Cu) begna lu Mariu.
           CU come.3SG.PRS.SUBJ lu Mariu
      'Mario may come.' (Vernole)

In the upper southern varieties of Teramo (11a), Santa Maria Capua Vetere (11b) and Santa Maria del Cedro (11c) concessive clauses are optionally introduced by CA, i.e. the complementizer that in these varieties introduces the declarative clauses (cf. (3a)). Conversely, the extreme southern varieties of Melito (11d) and Vernole (11e) employ MI and CU, respectively, which are not subject to optionality and rule out the insertion of a complementizer, be it CHI or CA.

(12) a. (*Chi/ *Ca) Mi veni Mariu.
       CHI CA MI come.3SG Mariu
      'Pietro may come.' (Melito)

    b. (*Ci/ *Ca) *(Cu) begna lu Mariu.
       CHI CA CU come.3SG.PRS.SUBJ lu Mariu
      'Mario may come.' (Vernole)

Some common properties can be singled out. The position of the subject is consistently postverbal across all varieties. Also, the verb expresses 'irrealis' mood through the synthetic subjunctive morphology in the USIDs (i.e. *vənessə/vənissa*; 11a–c). In the ESIDs the 'irrealis' mood can be realized with the synthetic present subjunctive, as in the variety of Vernole (i.e. *begna*; 12b), or analytically with the complex 'MI+verb', as in Melito (i.e. *mi veni*; 12a). The different status of the ESIDs with respect to the distribution of the complementizers is also confirmed against the concessive clauses in that no complementizer can be inserted before 'MI+verb'.

It is worth considering the response of native speakers to the request of uttering some speech-act elements before the concessive clause. It turns out that interjections and vocatives are uttered in a separate prosodic space, which is not integrated within the prosodic domain of the clause. The speaker can utter (12a) and (12b) consecutively, as two parts of the same sentence. Yet, the two utterances are prosodically autonomous, since an intonational break occurs.

(12) a. Eh sì! Guagliù!…
          INTJ yes guys
          'Alright, guys!'
      b. (Ca) (*Màriə) vənessə   Màriə.
          CA   COME.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
          'Mario, may come.'   (Santa Maria Capua Vetere)

More specifically, (12a) can convey the concessive stance through intonation only and independently from the utterance of the concessive predicate (12b). Such prosodic division and pragmatic interpretation is further corroborated by the distribution of CA. Namely, uttering the speech act elements (12a) right before the propositional part of the sentence (12b) does not make the realization of CA obligatory.

2.3   Optative clauses

We now sketch the third type of matrix clauses that in both the USIDs and the ESIDs of our database display a structural internal consistent behaviour, i.e. optatives with a negative stance (viz. curses). The context provided to our informants during data elicitation was a situation whereby the speaker is extremely upset about the hearer's behaviour to the point of imprecating curses on him/her. Speakers resorted to the inventory of curses available in each variety which prove to be highly formulaic in terms of lexical content.

In all the varieties of our database, the complementizers CHI/CA are optionally inserted (13).

(13) a. (Chə/ *Ca) tə   pozzənə   accidə!
CHI   CA   YOU.OBJ CAN.3PL.PRS.SUBJ kill.INF
'May they kill you!'   (Teramo)

b. (*Chə/ Ca) tə   putessərə   accidə!
CHI   CA you.OBJ can.3PL.IMPF.SUBJ kill.INF
'May they kill you!'   (Santa Maria Capua Vetere)

c. (Chə/ *Ca) tə   pəgghjissa   nu lampə!
CHI   CA   you.OBJ take.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ a lightning
'May lightning strike you!'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

d. (Chi/ *Ca) *(mi) ti   mangianu i   cani![10]
CHI   CA   MI   you.OBJ eat.3SG   the dogs
'May dogs devour you!'   (Melito)

e. (Ci/ *Ca) *(cu) mueri![11]
CHI CA   CU   die.2SG.PRS.IND
'May you die!'   (Vernole)

As a remark on the variation concerning the complementizer selected, we notice that all varieties employ CHI,[12] with the exception of the upper southern variety of Santa Maria Capua Vetere which may insert the complementizer CA (13b). From a pragmatic point of view, the speakers were strikingly consistent in providing the interpretation of the clause introduced by CHI/CA. Namely, the insertion of the complementizer corresponds to a stronger stance of the curse, mirroring a deeper involvement of the speaker. Further revealing properties of optatives become evident when the utterances in (13) are realized with an initial interjection which makes the pragmatic stance even more salient. Again, the utterance of the initial interjection makes the realization of CHI or CA mandatory (14).

(14) a. Ih *(chə) tə   pozzənə   accidə!
INTJ CHI   you.OBJ can.3PL.PRS.SUBJ kill.INF
'May they kill you!'   (Teramo)

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10. In the dialect of Melito CHI and MI coalesce and form an unbreakable element, phonetically resulting in ['kɪmmi]. Allomorphic variants (*chimma*, *chimmu*) are attested in several Calabrian varieties and introduce optative matrix clauses (Rohlfs 1972: 335–336; Ledgeway 1998; De Angelis 2017).

11. As pointed out in fn. 5, CU may remain unpronounced. Yet, in Vernole CU cannot be deleted in optative clauses introduced by CHI.

12. In some other northern Calabrian varieties (Cosenza), which in the past an opposition between CA and CHI, nowadays CA is the only complementizer used and CHI is only employed in restricted contexts such as optatives (Ledgeway 2009: 9).

    b.   Ih   *(ca) tə   putessərə   accidə!
        INTJ CA   you.OBJ can.3PL.IMPF.SUBJ kill.INF
        'May they kill you!'   (Santa Maria Capua Vetere)

    c.   Ih   *(chi) mi ti   mangianu i   cani!
        INTJ CHI   MI you.OBJ eat.3SG   the dogs
        'May the dogs devour you!'   (Melito)

The prosodic contour of the utterance reveals that the interjection and the complementizer form an unbreakable speech unit, as no further element, such as a vocative, i.e. *Marì* (15a) and *Pè* (15b) can intervene.

  (15) a.   Ih (*Marì) chə tə   pəgghjissa   nu lampə!
          INTJ VOC   CHI you.OBJ take.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ a   lightening
          'May lightning strike you!'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

      b.   Ih   (*Pè) chi mi ti   mangianu i   cani!
          INTJ VOC CHI MI you.OBJ eat.3SG   the dogs
          'May the dogs devour you!'   (Melito)

One can argue that the interjection and the complementizer form one prosodic unit. Evidence to support this claim comes from the elliptical use of the optative that speakers resort to in order to censor themselves and mitigate the invective. In this case, what is uttered is the unit 'INTJ+COMP' only (16a), necessarily followed by MI/CU in the ESIDs (16b, c).

  (16) a.   Ih-chə…!   (Santa Maria del Cedro)
          INTJ+COMP

      b.   Ih chi-mi …!   (Melito)
          INTJ+COMP+MI

      c.   Ih ci cu …!   (Vernole)
          INTJ+COMP+CU

The utterances in (16) display prosodic and pragmatic autonomy. To conclude, optatives, as jussives and concessives, provide a complex picture based on the different degrees of pragmatic stance conveyed by the presence or the absence of the complementizer. In either event, the morphological mood expresses the irrealis modality of the sentence. In the unmarked word order of the clause the subject is placed in postverbal position. Finally, whereas for jussives and concessives all USIDs select CA, for optatives they may employ CHI (13a, c).

3. Microvariation in matrix clauses

The empirical evidence described above (§2) from the USIDs and the ESIDs reveals a certain degree of consistency in the behaviour of jussive, concessive and optative matrix clauses with respect to different factors of internal variation. Namely, the optional overt realization of the complementizers CHI/CA, the utterance of initial interjections and the differences in the interpretive outcomes based on these elements result in recurrent patterns. In particular, we noticed that, when the speakers utter some speech-act related material, such as interjections or vocatives, the realization of the complementizer is obligatory. As for the selection of different complementizer forms, the most interesting case concerns optatives. Whereas in jussives and concessives USIDs make optional use of CA, in optatives CHI may be selected. Moreover, the realization of the interjection and the complementizer in optatives show a peculiar co-occurrence, as the two elements prosodically weld together. Given this evidence, we will account for the complementizer selection as a fact related to a specific pragmatic stance of the utterance. The realization of the complementizer and the pragmatic value of the utterance set, in turn, a specific modality of the whole clause. Therefore, we will provide an interpretation for the correlation between the presence of complementizer, the modality of the sentence and the verb mood morphology in jussive, concessive and optative matrix clauses (§§4–5).

3.1 The status of MI and CU

Among the dialects we described in the previous section (cf. §2), the extreme southern varieties of Melito and Vernole set apart, due to a number of properties contrasting with the USIDs. We observed that jussives and concessives in USIDs are optionally introduced by CA. In ESIDs jussives and concessives are obligatorily headed by MI/CU and no complementizer can be simultaneously realized, not even when the propositional clause is preceded by speech-act elements. One might wonder what the common behaviour of MI/CU in matrix clauses could reveal of their syntactic status of subordinators. It has been shown that in the syntax of subordination of the present-day ESIDs of southern Calabria MI functions as an infinitival marker (Ledgeway 1998, 2007, 2013) rather than a complementizer. One piece of syntactic evidence for such conclusion comes from the ordering of MI with respect to other clausal elements, such as the preverbal negator (Ledgeway 2007: 345ff.). In the ESIDs of southern Calabria the reflexes of MŎDO invariably follow the

preverbal negator *non*. The same ordering occurs in jussive (17a)[13] and concessive (17b) matrix clauses:

(17)   a.   (*mi) Non mi parra   troppu   Petru!
                        not   MI speak.3SG too.much Pietro
            'Pietro had better stop speaking!'
       b.   (*mi) Non mi canta   allura Petru, si no   voli!
                        not   MI sing.3SG   then   Pietro if not want.3SG
            'Pietro may not sing, if he does not want to!'   (Melito)

In contrast, in the ESID variety of Salento (i.e. Vernole) CU precedes the preverbal negator *nu* in both jussives (18a) and concessives (18b):

(18)   a.   Cu nu   (*cu) begna   moi Petru!
            CU not   come.3SG.PRS.SUBJ now Petru
            'Pietro had better not come now!'
       b.   Cu nu   (*cu) begna   chiùe   Petru, si nu bole!
            CU not   come.3SG.PRS.SUBJ anymore Petru if not wants
            'Pietro may not come anymore, if he does not want to!'   (Vernole)

In the dialects of Melito (13d) and Vernole (13e) the optative clauses may be introduced by the complementizer CHI (cf. 13d and 13e, respectively; §2.3). We observed that the same complementizer obligatorily precedes MI/CU when interjections and vocatives are realized at the outset of the utterance (cf. 14c; §2.3). Whenever a negator is inserted in the structure, the two varieties result in different configurations. More specifically, in the dialect of Melito the negator follows CHI and, predictably, precedes MI, giving rise to the sequence CHI > NEG > MI (19a; cf. 17a, b). Such sequence is ruled out in the variety of Vernole, as the negator follows CU which, in turn, follows CHI (CHI > CU > NEG) (19b; cf. 18a, b):

(19)   a.   Chi nu mi (*nu) ti   faci   jornu!
            CHI not MI   you.DAT= makes day
            'May tomorrow never come for you!'   (Melito)
       b.   Ci (*no) cu nu pozza   mai ire   bene!
            CHI   CU not can.2SG.PRS.SUBJ never go.INF well
            'May you never live well!'   (Vernole)

The different placement of negator in all the three types of matrix clauses corroborates the different syntactic position and function of the heads MI and CU. More specifically, CU occupies a structural higher position than MI. This would mirror

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13. For a detailed account of the morphosyntax of negative imperatives in the varieties of the extreme south of Calabria see Ledgeway et al. (2016).

the syntactic status MI and CU when functioning as subordinators. As shown in previous works, CU and MI occupy the head of two different syntactic fields of subordinate clauses, i.e. CP and TP, respectively. Namely, following Ledgeway's (1998, 2007, 2013) analysis based on Rizzi's (1997) rich structure of the CP, CU would occupy the lower head of Fin(iteness) P(hrase), whereas MI is a mere infinitival marker to be mapped in the TP field.

3.2   The role of intonation

We showed extensively that the utterance of a non-lexical monosyllabic interjection at the outset of the matrix clause requires the spell-out of CA/CHI (§§2.1–2.3), which would be otherwise optional. Also, we observed that, whenever some speech-act elements are realized, a different prosodic configuration distinguishes jussives and concessives from optatives. While in the former a prosodic pause occurs between the interjection and the complementizer, so that other speech-act related material (i.e. vocatives) can be inserted, in optatives the interjection and the complex 'CHI+MI/CU' coalesce. It follows that the outset of such matrix clauses hosts the most prosodically salient elements of the utterance. However, whereas in jussives and concessives the interjections and the vocatives can be analysed as a sequence of independent exclamations, in optatives the same speech-related elements fully integrate in the prosodic configuration of the propositional clause. Therefore, an optative clause introduced by interjections qualifies as a fitting case of exclamative prosody. As shown by Sorianello (2010, 2011) for standard and regional Italian, the syntactic elements which head an exclamation bear the highest tonal pitch, whereas the rest of the utterance displays a lower frequential level. The resulting prosodic contour of the whole utterance is of a descending type (D'Eugenio 1976; Avesani and Vayra 2005; Grice et al. 2005). Even though we do not provide here the results of an instrumental analysis of the intonation of matrix clauses,[14] we argue that optatives present a descending prosodic contour as the highest tonal pitch falls on the initial elements of the utterance, i.e. 'INTJ+CHI(+MI/CU)', which plausibly belong to the same tonal unit (Gussenhoven 1984: Chapter 6; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990; Truckenbrodt 2012). The prosody of jussives and concessives too can be accounted for in terms of exclamative type. Yet, they display an overall different prosodic configuration with respect to optatives. Given that the speech-act elements preceding jussives and concessives can be prosodically isolated by means of pauses, they are able to bear their own tonal configuration. The prosodic contour

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14. The present work is part of a more extended study on the matrix clauses and speech act across standard and non-standard Romance varieties (Colasanti and Silvestri in progress).

of the rest of the utterances shows a pattern in which, arguably, the highest tonal pitch falls on the verb. However, jussives are further distinguished from concessives through a different sequence of high and low tones.

Such prosodic properties, i.e. the high tonal contour of the utterance outset as well as the intonation status of the syntactic heads of the matrix clauses (see 16), are to be accounted as by-products of different structural configurations. We assume that syntax determines prosody, thus we shall interpret the prosody of interjections and syntactic heads as necessarily mediated by syntactic functions (Heim 2017). What the prosody of such matrix clauses indisputably reveals is the strict interplay between the CP (and TP) field and the non-propositional, speech-act related field that exists beyond the last projection of the CP. Furthermore, the utterance and the distribution of the interjections reveals that such clauses cannot be embedded (20a–c).

(20) a. *Dicə   ca   oh   guagliù (ca)   vənissa   Màriə!
         say.1SG CA   INTJ guys   CA   come.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ Mario
     b. *Dicə   ca   oh   (ca)   stissədə   accurtə Màriə!
         say.1SG CA   INTJ CA   stay.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ careful Mario
     c. *Dicə   ca   ih   (chə)   tə   pəgghjissa   nu lampə.
         say.1SG CA   INTJ CHI   you.OBJ take.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ a   lightning
                                                        (Santa Maria del Cedro)

The embedding of jussives (20a), concessives (20b) and optatives (20c) introduced by the interjections is impossible. Hence, it seems that the speech-act elements do not display an unconstrained distribution. Namely, interjections and vocatives (*Oh! Marì!* in 21a) can occur at the beginning of the matrix clauses and cannot be realized at the outset of the subordinates (cf. *ca no chiova chjù* in 21):

(21) Oh! Marì! Mə   para   ca (*oh!) (*Marì!) no   chiova chjù.
     INTJ VOC me.DAT= seems CA   not rains anymore
     'Hey! Mary! It seems that it stopped raining.'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

Therefore, we argue that in non-embedded jussives, concessives and optatives the interjections occupy a structural higher non-propositional area. If spelt out, they interact with the syntactic lower structure and trigger the spell-out of the CP and TP heads.

In the next sections we provide a sketch of a unified structural interpretation for jussives, concessives and optatives. We will show how the interactions of three semantico-syntactic variables ultimately map the microvariation within the domain of matrix clauses.

4. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality

In order to interpret the syntactic behaviour of matrix jussives, concessives and optatives, we will introduce three semantico-syntactic variables that play a crucial role in these clauses, i.e. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality.

We adopt the label *Force* with two different, albeit related, purposes. According to Rizzi (1997), Force corresponds to the highest projection of the split-CP, which among all its functions, it seems to be also involved in the specification of the clause type (e.g. declarative vs interrogative). In structural terms the activation of a split-CP in southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2000, 2003, 2005; Paoli 2007; Damonte 2011; Cruschina 2012; Colasanti 2015, 2017, 2018 a.o.) will be here assumed to be subject to crosslinguistic variation. As already shown for other Italian varieties, the dialects of our database (cf. §2) present a rich left peripheral structure of the sentence. By way of illustration, in the upper southern variety of Santa Maria del Cedro in volitive sentences a Topic or a Focus can precede the complementizer CA (22):

(22) a. [$_{TP}$ Vulera [$_{ForceP}$ Force [$_{FocP}$ ALLƏ GUAGLIUNƏ [$_{FinP}$ ca
      want.COND.1SG   to.the kids   CA
      [$_{TP}$ derənə   i   solətə]]]]
      give.COND.3PL the money
      'I would like that they would give the money TO THE KIDS.'

   b. [$_{TP}$ Vulera [$_{ForceP}$ Force [$_{TopP}$ dumanə   [$_{FinP}$ ca [$_{TP}$ derənə
      want.COND.1SG   tomorrow   CA   give.COND.3PL
      i   solətə   allə   guagliunə]]]]
      the money to.the kids
      'I would like that tomorrow they would give the money to the kids.'
                                                  (Santa Maria del Cedro)

However, as we can see in the variety of Santa Maria del Cedro the unmarked structures are given too (23):

(23) a. [$_{TP}$ Vulera   [$_{FinP}$ ca [$_{TP}$ derənə   i   solətə
      want.COND.1SG   CA   give.COND.3PL the money
      allə   guagliunə]]]
      to.the kids
      'I would like that they would give the money to the kids.'

   b. [$_{TP}$ Vulera   [$_{FinP}$ ca [$_{TP}$ derənə   i   solətə   allə
      want.COND.1SG   that   give.COND.3PL the money to.the
      guagliunə dumanə]]]
      kids   tomorrow
      'I would like that tomorrow they would give the money to the kids.'
                                                  (Santa Maria del Cedro)

Given the possibility of a rich articulate CP,[15] we assume that the higher position Force may be activated and involved in the expression of speech-act related information. Specifically, the higher area of the CP seems to be involved in mapping speech-act material which we assume is lexicalized outside of the CP.[16] Therefore, we label such structural field as 'BEYOND-FORCE'.

We consequently assume that a relation holds between the utterance of interjections (and vocatives) BEYOND-FORCE and the realization of the position Force in the CP in the matrix clauses of our database. In particular, we will show that in some cases what is crucial for the structural account of prosodically and pragmatically marked matrix clauses is the area above Force. In matrix clauses the activation of Force is strictly related to one of the three variables, i.e. Mood, which encodes features within the TP through the verb morphological exponence (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 205 a.o.).[16]

Finally, all variables play a role in expressing the sentence modality which identifies the clause type at the semantico-pragmatic level.[17] 'Modality' ultimately defines a composite semantico-syntactic setting through the necessary combination of specific factors, such as the utterance of interjections (and vocatives) BEYOND-FORCE, the presence of the complementizer within the CP and the verb morphology ('Mood'). By way of illustration, compare the clauses in (24) where neither complementizer nor speech-act material are uttered at all. Verb morphology only is sufficient to disambiguate the clause modality:

(24) a. Ti   pigghia   nu lampə.   [declarative]
          you.OBJ take.3SG.PRS.IND a   lightning
          'A lightning strikes you (because you are nearby a tree during a storm).'
      b. Ti   pəgghiera   nu lampə.   [counterfactual]
          you.OBJ take.3SG.PRS.COND a   lightning
          'A lightening could strike you (if you were nearby a tree during a storm).'

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15. We claim here that this structure undergoes the phenomenon of truncation (Rizzi 1997, 2001). In short, we witness a reduction of a given structure at the lower layer that blocks the projection of higher functional categories. Hence, in our perspective the presence of a split-CP is possible but not always necessary in the varieties investigated in this paper.

16. See §5.

In this paper we will not present a formalization of the variable BEYOND-FORCE and its syntactic structure. We acknowledge the presence of a great wealth of literature concerning the syntacticization of the conversational domain (cf. Speas and Tenny 2003; Sigurðsson 2004; Bianchi 2006; Baker 2008; Giorgi 2010; Cruschina 2012; Miyagawa 2012; Haegeman and Hill 2014; Haegeman 2014; Wiltschko and Heim 2016; Hinterhölzl and Munaro 2015; Corr 2017, a.o.). However, for a formalization of 'BEYOND-FORCE' adopting Martina Wiltschko's neo-performative approach (2016, in progress) see Colasanti and Silvestri (in progress).

17. For a definition of modality see Palmer (1986) and Bybee and Fleischman (1995).

c.   Ti   pəgghissa   nu lampə!   [optative]
     you.OBJ take.3SG.IMPF.SUBJ   a   lightening
     'May lightning strike you!'   (Santa Maria del Cedro)

Therefore, it goes without saying that the three variables we build our interpretation on are tangled to each other and act concurrently. Therefore, modality in the matrix clauses is mapped through the setting of interjections (and vocatives) BEYOND-FORCE, the position Force in the CP and Mood, namely by the lexicalization of CP material and the indicative versus the subjunctive opposition within the TP (cf. Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014).

Furthermore, as we observed before, whenever some speech-act particles are realized at the outset of the utterance of all three types of matrix clauses, a different prosodic division emerges (see §3.2).

In the next section (§5) a unified interpretation of jussives, concessives and optatives will be put forward. We will show how the interactions of the three variables ultimately gives us the key to interpret the microvariation across the domain of matrix clauses in Italo-Romance.

5.   Interpreting jussives, concessives and optatives

With the definition of the three variables in mind, i.e. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality, we will proceed with the interpretation of the matrix clauses we described in this paper (viz. jussives, concessives and optatives). Moreover, it is worthwhile noticing that while the three variables are all necessary to interpret matrix jussives, concessives and optatives in Italo-Romance, these are not always at work simultaneously, as it will be clear below (§§5.1–5.4).

5.1   Jussive clauses

As shown in §2.1 above, three generalizations can be made concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of jussive clauses in the southern Italian varieties: (a) in all the varieties investigated in this paper the selection of the matrix complementizer appears to be optional.[18] However, when an interjection (or a vocative) is present, the realization of the complementizer is obligatory; (b) the subject of the clause may linearly occur in preverbal or postverbal position; (c) the morphological mood present in jussive clauses is always an irrealis subjunctive.

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18. We do not consider MI in the varieties of the extreme south of Calabria to be a complementizer (see §3.1).

As we can see in example (25) below, if there is no speech-act material beyond the higher position Force in the split-CP and the complementizer CA does not lexicalize any positions in the CP, the sentence has a weak jussive stance (25a).[19] As we can see in (25b), if the complementizer CA lexicalizes the lower position Fin in the split-CP, the stance of the sentence is strong. However, if we have an interjection beyond Force (viz. *Oh*), then the complementizer CA in the higher position Force cannot be dropped (25c). In the sentence in (25b), we assume that the complementizer CA lexicalizes the lower position in the CP Fin and carries an [irrealis] feature which has to be checked with the verb *vinissədə* in the TP (that is endowed as well an [irrealis] feature). However, in the example in (25c) CA lexicalizes the higher position Force and carries a [speech] feature,[20] which has to be checked with the interjection *Oh* BEYOND-FORCE.[21]

(25) a. [$_{ForceP}$ Force [$_{TopP}$ (Màriə) [$_{FinP}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ vinissədə$_{[irrealis]}$ (Màriə)]]]]
            Mario   come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
        'Mario would come!'   [weak jussive]

    b. [$_{ForceP}$ Force [$_{TopP}$ (Màriə) [$_{FinP}$ ca$_{[irrealis]}$
            Mario   CA
        [$_{TP}$ vinissədə$_{[irrealis]}$ (Màriə)]]]]
            come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
        'Mario had better come'   [strong jussive]

    c. Oh$_{[speech]}$ [$_{ForceP}$* (ca$_{[speech]}$) [$_{TopP}$ (Màriə) [$_{FinP}$ Fin
        INTRJ   CA   Mario
        [$_{TP}$ vinissədə$_{[irrealis]}$ (Màriə)]]]]
            come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario
        'Mario had better come!'   [very strong jussive]
                                                            (Santa Maria del Cedro)

By reinterpreting jussive clauses through the three variables described above (§4), we can see that all the three variables *can* be in action at the same time. Specifically, if speech-act material occupy the layer outside the CP (viz. BEYOND-FORCE), the

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19. In particular, our informants pointed out that the speaker is less involved towards what is being said when *ca* is dropped. Hence, the 'jussivity' can be 'weak', 'strong' and 'very strong' according to our informants' judgements.

20. We are considering the [speech] feature BEYOND-FORCE as an *edge*-feature (see Munaro 2010, this volume).

21. For the specific of feature checking and other syntactic mechanisms in action, especially concerning the structural relationship(s) between the CP and the 'conversational domain' above it (viz. BEYOND-FORCE) see Colasanti and Silvestri (in progress).

force of the sentence is shared between BEYOND-FORCE (viz. interjection *Oh!*) and the complementizer CA in Force.

Moreover, in all sentences the subjunctive mood expresses an [irrealis] feature. Hence, it seems that the irrealis modality of the sentence can be expressed only overtly or overtly and covertly at the same time. In particular, modality marking can be shared between the complementizer in Fin and the subjunctive verb in the TP (cf. 25b) or can be only expressed by verbal morphology (cf. 25a). More generally, depending on the interaction of the three variables (viz. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality), a matrix jussive can convey a different stance (i.e. weak, strong and very strong jussive stance).

To conclude, in matrix jussive clauses the three variables can be in action at the same time and the following interactions between BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality are possible (Table 1):

Table 1. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality in jussive matrix clauses.

Sentence-type	BEYOND-FORCE	Mood	Modality	Examples
Weak jussive	✗	✓	✓	(25a)
Strong jussive	✗	✓	✓	(25b)
Very strong jussive	✓	✓	✓	(25c)

As we can see in Table 1, the variable BEYOND-FORCE plays a role only when a speech-act layer beyond the CP is activated, i.e. when speech-act material such as interjections and vocatives are present. As we can notice in the examples (25a) and (25b) for Santa Maria del Cedro, the stance of the sentence can be only weak and strong if the variable BEYOND-FORCE is not playing any role. At the same time, the other two variables, i.e. Mood and Modality are always active in all jussives. However, when all the variables are active at the same time, the sentence has a very strong jussive stance (25c).

5.2 Concessive clauses

As shown in §2.2, three generalization can be put forward concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of concessive clauses in the southern Italian varieties: (a) in concessive matrix clauses it is not possible to have interjections BEYOND-FORCE; (b) the subject is always postverbal; and, (c) the morphological mood is always an irrealis subjunctive.

As we can see in (26) for the variety of Santa Maria del Cedro, if in concessives the complementizer CA does not lexicalize any positions in the CP, the clause is a weak matrix concessive (26a). However, if the complementizer CA lexicalizes the

lower position Fin in the split-CP, the sentence has a stronger stance. As in all the sentences in (26) the morphological mood is always an irrealis subjunctive, we assume that in the case of matrix concessives the complementizer CA can only lexicalize the lower position Fin in the split-CP as its [irrealis] feature has to be checked with the verb *vinissədə* in the TP, which is endowed with the same feature. Hence, as revealed by the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (26b), it seems that, at least in concessive matrix clauses, the complementizer cannot lexicalize the higher position in the CP, i.e. Force, and thus cannot carry a [speech] feature, as we have seen above for jussive clauses (cf. 25).

(26) a.   [$_{ForceP}$ Force … [$_{FinP}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ (*Màriə)
                                                    Mario

     vinissədə$_{[irrealis]}$ (Màriə)]]]
     come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario

     'Mario may come.'   [weak concessive]

  b.   [$_{ForceP}$ Force … [$_{FinP}$ ca$_{[irrealis]}$ [$_{TP}$ (*Màriə)
                                      CA   Mario

     vinissədə$_{[irrealis]}$ (Màriə)]]]
     come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario

     'Mario may come!'   [strong concessive]

  c. *Oh$_{[speech]}$ [$_{ForceP}$ ca$_{[speech]}$ [$_{FinP}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ (*Màriə)
      INTRJ   CA   Mario

     vinissədə$_{[irrealis]}$ (Màriə)]]]
     come.3SG.PST.SUBJ Mario

     'Mario may come!'   [very strong concessive]
                                              (Santa Maria del Cedro)

By providing an interpretation of concessive clauses through the three variables described above (§4), we can notice that in matrix clauses the three variables do not have to be active at the same time. In particular, the speech-act material cannot occupy the layer outside the CP (viz. BEYOND-FORCE). Therefore, we have to assume that the force of the sentence cannot be modified through the interaction between BEYOND-FORCE (viz. interjection *Oh!*) and the complementizer CA in Force. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (26c). Moreover, in all sentences the subjunctive mood carries an [irrealis] feature. Hence, it seems that the irrealis modality of the sentence can be expressed either overtly only or overtly and covertly at the same time. In particular, in matrix concessives the modality ot the whole sentence can be shared between the complementizer in Fin and the subjunctive verb in the TP (cf. 26b) or can be only expressed by verbal morphology (cf. 26a).

On the basis of the interaction of BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality, a matrix concessive sentence can have a different stance, i.e. weak and strong, but never very strong concessive stance.

To conclude, in matrix concessive clauses it is impossible to have all the three variables in action at the same time. Only the following interactions between BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality are given (Table 2):

Table 2. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality in concessive matrix clauses.

Sentence-type	BEYOND-FORCE	Mood	Modality	Examples
Weak concessive	✗	✓	✓	(26a)
Strong concessive	✗	✓	✓	(26b)
*Very strong concessive	✗	✗	✗	(26c)

As we can see in Table 2, in concessives the variable BEYOND-FORCE does not play any role, at least overtly.[22] However, both variables Mood and Modality are always at play since the mood in the TP is always a morphological subjunctive and the modality of the sentence is always irrealis. As we have shown for jussives (cf. §5.1), the complementizer CA in concessive matrix clauses can be optional. The only difference between (26a) and (26b) above is the force of the sentence (i.e. weak or strong). It follows that the presence of the complementizer CA can have an influence on the force of the sentence. Moreover, it is impossible to have very strong concessives, since the speech-act field above the CP (i.e. BEYOND-FORCE) cannot be activated in concessive matrix clauses.

5.3   Optative clauses

As shown in §2.3, optative clauses display similarities with jussives clauses (cf. §2.1, §5.1) rather than with concessive clauses (cf. §2.2, §5.2). Specifically, three generalizations can be put forward concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of optatives: (a) in all the varieties of our database the selection of the matrix complementizer appears to be optional. However, when an interjection (or a vocative) is present, the realization of the complementizer is obligatory; (b) the subject of the clause may linearly occur in preverbal or postverbal position; and, (c) the morphological mood present in jussive clauses is always an irrealis subjunctive.

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22. Following a comment of an anonymous reviewer, we want to specify that there is always an activation of the speech-act field in every embedded-clause we took into consideration in this paper. However, in the case of concessives the structure is just silent.

As we can see in example (27a) below, when there is no speech-act material beyond the higher position Force and the complementizer CHI does not lexicalize any positions in the CP the sentence is a weak optative. However, when the complementizer CHI lexicalizes the lower position in the CP (i.e. Fin), it carries a [irrealis] feature, which has to be checked with the irrealis subjunctive verb *ruppissədə* in the TP. The sentence results in a strong optative (27b). An optative matrix clause has a stronger optative stance when an interjection, i.e. *Ih*, is present beyond Force and the complementizer CHI lexicalizes the higher position in the split-CP, Force, and carries a [speech] feature which has to be checked with the interjection *Ih* lying beyond Force (27c).

(27) a. [ForceP Force … [FinP Fin [TP si ruppissədə[irrealis]   nu vrazzə]]]
                                        CL break.3SG.PST.SUBJ an arm
          'May he break his arm!'   [weak optative]

      b. [ForceP Force … [FinP chə[irrealis] [TP si ruppissədə[irrealis]
                                 CHI   CL break.3SG.PST.SUBJ
          nu vrazzə]]]
          an arm
          'May he brak his arm!'   [strong optative]

      c. Ih[speech] [ForceP *(chə[speech]) [FinP Fin [TP si ruppissədə[irrealis]
          INTJ   CHI   CL break.3SG.PST.SUBJ
          nu vrazzə]]]
          an arm
          'May he break his arm!'   [very strong optative]
                                                            (Santa Maria del Cedro)

All the three variables involved in the interpretation of jussives *may* be in action at the same time in optatives as well. In particular, the activation of the layer above the CP, namely BEYOND-FORCE, is possible and plays a role in conveying the force of the sentence together with the complementizer in Force (cf. 27c).

In all the optative sentences in (27) the subjunctive mood carries an [irrealis] feature, so that the irrealis modality of the sentence can be expressed either overtly only or overtly and covertly at the same time. In particular, the whole modality of the sentence shared between the complementizer in Fin and the subjunctive verb in the TP (cf. 27b) or can be only expressed by verb morphology (cf. 27a). More generally, depending on the interaction of BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality a matrix jussive sentence can have a different stance, i.e. weak, strong and very strong jussive stance.

To conclude, in matrix optative clauses the three variables can be in action at the same time but also the following interactions between them are possible (Table 3):

Table 3. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality in optative matrix clauses.

Sentence-type	BEYOND-FORCE	Mood	Modality	Examples
Weak optative	✗	✓	✓	(27a)
Strong optative	✗	✓	✓	(27b)
Very strong optative	✓	✓	✓	(27c)

As we can see in Table 3, the variable BEYOND-FORCE plays a role only when a speech-act layer beyond the CP is activated,[23] i.e. an interjection is uttered. The sentence results in a weak or strong stance when the variable BEYOND-FORCE is not at work. At the same time, the other two variables, i.e. Mood and Modality, are always in action. Finally, if all the variables are simultaneously activated (27c), the sentence has a very strong optative stance.

5.4 Three variables for a unified interpretation

The interpretation of jussives, concessives and optatives through three variables, i.e. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality, allows us to put forward certain generalizations concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of matrix clauses in Italo-Romance. Specifically, not in all matrix clauses the variable BEYOND-FORCE is relevant, as only in jussives and optatives we observe the activation of the speech-act layer. While the variable BEYOND-FORCE is not playing any role at all in concessives (cf. §5.2), it may be active in optatives (cf. §5.3) and jussives (cf. §5.1). Furthermore, we showed that the variables Mood and Modality affect all matrix clauses. This might suggest that modality is a primitive phenomenon to be expressed in the language. In curse optatives the irrealis subjunctive mood is the only morphological option. More generally, this is linked to the fact that the modality of the sentence can be expressed either overtly only or overtly and covertly at the same time. In particular, the expression of the modality of the whole sentence can be shared between the complementizer in FinP and the subjunctive verb in the TP or it can be only expressed by verbal morphology. In all the matrix clauses of our database Modality plays a key role in any case. Namely, all sentences refer to an irrealis discourse context, i.e. a situation referring not to a scenario actually existing at the time of the utterance. What is more relevant in jussives and optatives is that the strongest stance of the sentence can be expressed employing specific means, i.e. utterance of interjections, realized with high pitch intonation, and presence of complementizers.

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23. See fn. 22.

6.   Conclusions

In this contribution we assessed and described new empirical evidence concerning three types of matrix clauses in southern Italian dialects, i.e. jussives, concessives and optatives. Our description highlights that the optional presence of the complementizer contributes to define the pragmatic function of the sentence. We also proved that peculiar patterns arise by realizing interjections right at the outset of the utterance. The speech-act material requires the spell-out of CHI/CA. In order to accommodate these microvariation facts within a maximally unifying interpretive account, we singled out three semantico-syntactic variables, i.e. BEYOND-FORCE, Mood and Modality, and their interactions at the structural level.

As a general point, we argue that the parameters of variation related to the speech-act material occupying an area placed BEYOND-FORCE, the irrealis morphological exponence (Mood) and its semantic/syntactic realization (Modality) are all paramount for the explanation of the microvariation in matrix clauses. Excluding or underrating one of the three would lead to an inadequate descriptive and interpretative account.

Arguably, most of the empirical observations concerning the matrix clauses in Italo-Romance can be said for other Romance varieties as well, in particular Ibero- and Gallo-Romance. We envisage that some of the intuitions on the variables which play a role in the morpho-syntactic distribution of matrix clauses in Italo-Romance represent the first step towards a more comprehensive understanding of the syntactic status of matrix clauses in Romance varieties and beyond. A wider comparative assessment of such matrix clauses is left for further research (Colasanti and Silvestri in progress).

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On the syntactic encoding of lexical interjections in Italo-Romance

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Based on evidence from Italo-Romance, in this article I argue that lexical interjections can be split into three categories, depending on whether they must, they can or they cannot be integrated with the associated clause; the degree of integration with the co-occurring clause depends on the merge position of the interjection. Only interjections lexicalizing the functional head SpeechAct° represent autonomous linguistic acts and are therefore prosodically and syntactically independent from the associated clause; from this position they can attract the associated clause to the corresponding specifier position or raise to the adjacent head Speaker° in order to provide the necessary contextual anchoring. Interjections lexicalizing the lower projection EvalSP do not have these properties and are intrinsically discourse-linked.

Keywords: interjections, left periphery, speech act, Italo-Romance

1   Introduction

Building on previous studies on the syntactization of logophoric and conversational features (cf. Speas and Tenny 2003; Sigurðsson 2004; Bianchi 2006; Baker 2008; Giorgi 2010; Cruschina 2011; Miyagawa 2012; Haegeman and Hill 2013; Haegeman 2014; Hinterhölzl and Munaro 2015; Zanuttini 2016 among others), in this work I will sketch a formal account of the syntactic and interpretive properties of lexical interjections based on empirical evidence from Emilian and Venetan dialects and standard Italian.

In particular, adopting a cartographic approach to the functional layout of the left periphery, I will argue for the necessity of a syntactic encoding of information pertaining to the interface between utterance and discourse within the highest layer of clause structure, above what is usually referred to as the C-domain.

I will basically claim that, from a descriptive point of view, lexical interjections can be split into three categories, depending on whether they must, they can or

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they cannot be prosodically and syntactically integrated with the associated clause; according to the formal analysis proposed, the degree of integration depends on the merge position of the interjection, which is in turn is strictly connected to its discourse linking properties.

The article is structured as follows: in Section 2 I discuss the properties of the first class of interjections, that must be integrated with the associated clause and are intrinsically discourse-linked, and propose that they lexicalize an Evaluative-Speaker projection encoding the speaker's evaluative reaction in reply to an utterance of the addressee; in Section 3 I analyze the properties of the second category of interjections, the ones that can (but need not) be integrated with the associated clause, suggesting that they are structurally ambiguous in that they may lexicalize either the head EvalS° or a higher SpeechAct° head encoding speech-related features; in Section 4 I describe the properties of the third type of interjections, namely the ones that cannot be integrated with the associated clause, and do not need any linguistic antecedent in the speech situation, and put forth a proposal concerning how the contextual anchoring of non-integrated interjections can be achieved; Section 5 concludes the paper.

2.   Discourse-linked interjections

The first class includes the interjections that must be integrated with the associated clause and are intrinsically discourse-linked, in the sense that they can only be used to reply to a previous utterance in the discourse situation.

2.1   Emilian dialects

These interjections are exemplified in (1) with *mo vaca* in the Emilian dialect of Modena; the complex clause initial interjection is obligatorily followed by the complementizer *se* and is clearly prosodically integrated with the rest of the clause:

(1)   *Mo vaca*   *(s')   l'è   gnù   èlt!
        Interjection *(if) he=is become tall
        'He has become tall indeed!'

As discussed in detail by Alessandrini (2012), no lexical element can intervene between *mo* and *vaca*; so for example an overtly realized subject like *Luigi* can appear either in clause final position, like in (2a), or immediately after the complementizer *se*, like in (2b), but not after the particle *mo*, as witnessed by the ungrammaticality of (2c):

(2) a.   *Mo vaca*   s' l'è   èlt, Luigi!
          Interjection if he=is tall, Luigi
     b.   *Mo vaca*   se Luigi l'è   èlt!
          Interjection if Luigi he=is tall
     c.   **Mo*   Luigi *vaca* s' l'è   èlt!
          Interj. Luigi interj. if he=is tall
          'Luigi is tall indeed!'

The same holds for the complex interjection *mo deg* attested in the dialect of Reggio Emilia, which is obligatorily followed by the complementizer *che* and can not be split by intervening lexical material:

(3) a.   *Mo deg*   c' l'è   èlt, Luigi!
          Interjection that he=is tall, Luigi
     b.   *Mo deg*   che Luigi l'è   èlt!
          Interjection that Luigi he=is tall
     c.   **Mo*   Luigi *deg* c' l'è   èlt!
          Interj. Luigi interj. that he=is tall
          'Luigi is tall indeed!'

Moreover, as pointed out by Alessandrini (2012), a topicalized constituent like *a so/to surela* in (4)/(5) cannot intervene between the complex interjection and the complementizer *se/che*, which strongly suggests that the complementizer occupies the head Force° rather than a lower head of the CP layer if, as proposed by Rizzi (1997), Topic projections are located lower than Force in the clausal spine:

(4) a.   *Mo vaca*   se a so surela Mario al gh'à   telefunè!
          Interjection if to his sister Mario he=her=has phoned
     b.   **Mo vaca*   a so surela se Mario al gh'à   telefunè!
          Interjection to his sister if Mario he=her=has phoned
          'Mario has called his sister indeed!'

(5) a.   *Mo deg*   che a to   surela a gh'ò   regalè un
          Interjection that to your sister I=her=have given an
          bel   leber!
          interesting book
     b.   **Mo deg*   a to   surela ch' a gh'ò   regalè un
          Interjection to your sister that I=her=have given an
          bel   leber!
          interesting book
          'I have given an interesting book to your sister indeed!'

Based on this evidence, Alessandrini (2012) proposes that interjection and complementizer occupy respectively the specifier and the head of the left-peripheral projection ForceP, as represented in (6):

(6)   a.   [ForceP *Mo vaca* [Force° s'] [FinP l'è èlt!]]
      b.   [ForceP *Mo deg* [Force° c'] [FinP l'è èlt!]]

Notice that in exclamative clauses the items *vaca* / *deg* can also appear in sentence initial position without *mo*, suggesting that the structural relation between the particle *mo* and the following element might be somewhat looser:[1]

(7)   a.   *Vaca* s'   l'è   fureb!
           Prt. if   he=is   sly
      b.   *Deg* c'   l'è   furob!
           Prt. that he=is   sly
           'How sly he is!'

(8)   a.   *Vaca* s'   l'èra   elegant!
           Prt. if   he=was   elegant
      b.   *Deg* c'   l'èra   elegant!
           Prt. that he=was   elegant
           'How elegant he was!'

In my view, a plausible structural analysis for (7)/(8) is the one reported in (9), which is perfectly compatible with the exclamative reading, by which the speaker states that the degree of slyness/elegance is situated beyond an expected threshold:

(9)   a.   [ForceP *Vaca* [Force° s'] [FinP l'èra elegant!]]
      b.   [ForceP *Deg* [Force° c'] [FinP l'èra elegant!]]

The exclamative reading is in fact generally taken to be linked to the activation of ForceP, the functional projection encoding clause typing features (cf. Rizzi 1997; Benincà 2001). Moreover, this proposal captures in terms of spec-head agreement the selectional link between the element filling the specifier of ForceP and the type of complementizer lexicalizing the head Force°.

However, the structural representation in (9) raises an obvious question concerning the position of the discourse particle *mo* in examples like (2)/(3), where

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1.   As to the etymological origin of these items, it looks as if they represent the grammaticalized version of different lexical categories, the particle *vaca* deriving from the noun 'cow', and the particle *deg* from the verbal form 'tell-him'. According to Rohlfs (1969) *mo* is etymologically related to the Latin temporal adverb *modo* 'now', and has retained the original temporal value in most central and southern Italian dialects, while in some northern Italian dialects it has developed a slightly adversative meaning.

mo is intrinsically related to the speaker's perspective and to his evaluation of the relevant propositional content in reply to an utterance of the addressee; more precisely, the presence of *mo* before *vaca/deg* adds an evaluative shade in the sense that it requires a linguistic antecedent towards which the speaker expresses an emotionally salient reply.

Munaro and Poletto (2008), Poletto and Zanuttini (2010) have proposed that the semantics of *mo* – a grammaticalized temporal adverb – contains an evaluative component and a point of view valence which is clearly present in the examples above;[2] building on this work, Hinterhölzl and Munaro (2015) suggest that *mo* is linked to (the head EvalS° of) an Eval(uative)S(peaker) projection immediately dominating ForceP.[3]

Capitalizing on this analysis, I will propose that the particle *mo* appearing in the complex interjections *mo vaca / mo deg* is first merged as the head EvalS° of the projection EvalSP. Modifying slightly Alessandrini (2012)'s analysis reported in (6), I suggest the following structural representation, where *mo* lexicalizes EvalS°, while *vaca/deg* occupy the specifier position of ForceP:

(10) a. [EvalSP [EvalS° *Mo*] [ForceP *vaca* [Force° s'] [FinP l'è gnù èlt!]]]
     b. [EvalSP [EvalS° *Mo*] [ForceP *deg* [Force° c'] [FinP l'è èlt!]]]

Given the contrast in (4)/(5), that is, the impossibility for a left-dislocated constituent to intervene between *vaca/deg* and the complementizers *se/che*, the latter arguably occupy the head Force°.

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2. The reader is referred to Manzini (2015) for a different analysis of discourse particles in Italo-Romance dialects, according to which there is no evidence that lexical items functioning as discourse particles correspond to specialized functional heads, or that they have a truncated internal structure. Manzini claims that they have rather the syntactic distribution of adverbs, with which they coincide lexically, and that the label 'discourse particle' corresponds to a special interpretation of adverbs, which also have a conventional temporal/aspectual/manner interpretation: discourse particles take the entire utterance as their argument, relating it to the store of propositional contents shared by speaker and hearer.

3. In particular, Hinterhölzl and Munaro (2015) propose that modal particles in exclamations and special questions function as evidential markers interacting with the evaluative component to derive the diverse expressive meanings. In order to provide an adequate syntactic account of the distribution of these particles, they propose that their semantic impact requires the syntactic representation of separate evaluational and evidential phrases pertaining to speaker and hearer as well as the syntactic representation of the speech act operator. The intrinsic relation between the evidence of a discourse participant and his evaluation is made visible in Italo-Romance by a paradigm of minimal oppositions of particles occupying the evidential projections.

2.2 Standard Italian

The interjections that must be integrated with the associated clause can be exemplified in standard Italian with *eccome* and *altroché*:

(11) a. *Eccome/Altroché* se Gianni ha passato l' esame!
  Interjection if Gianni has passed the exam!
b. *Eccome!/*Altroché*! Gianni ha passato l' esame!
  Interjection Gianni has passed the exam
c. *Gianni ha passato l' esame! *Eccome*!/*Altroché*!
  Gianni has passed the exam Interjection
  'Gianni did pass the exam indeed!'

In (11a) the clause initial interjection is obligatorily followed by the complementizer *se* and is clearly prosodically integrated with the rest of the clause, as witnessed by the ungrammaticality of (11b–c).

A topicalized constituent, like *l'esame* in (12), can not intervene between the interjection and the complementizer, but must follow the complementizer *se*, which suggests that the two elements entertain a rather close structural relation:[4]

(12) a. **Eccome/Altroché* l' esame se Gianni l'ha passato!
  Interjection the exam if Gianni it=has passed!
b. *Eccome/Altroché* se l' esame Gianni l'ha passato!
  Interjection if the exam Gianni it=has passed!
  'Gianni did pass the exam indeed!'

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4. An anonymous reviewer points out that in his Italian a topicalized constituent can precede the interjection, which might cast some doubts on the hypothesis that these interjections are merged beyond Force:

(i) a. L' esame, altroché se Gianni l'ha passato!
  The exam interjection if Gianni it=has passed
  'The exam, Gianni has passed indeed!'
b. A sua figlia, eccome se gliela compra una macchina nuova!
  To his daughter, interjection if her=it buys a car new
  'To his daughter, he buys a new car indeed!'

In fact, the example in (i-b), where the apparently displaced PP *a sua figlia* appears in sentence initial position preceding the interjection, sounds better to my ear if the preposition *a* is dropped, which suggests that the constituent appearing at the beginning of the clause is not left-dislocated, but should rather be analyzed as a hanging topic; this analysis is compatible with the current assumption that hanging topics, unlike left-dislocated constituents, occupy a structural slot which is higher than Force.

Interestingly, the sequence in (11a) is typically uttered in response to a previous question or to a contrary statement, and is used to underline the speaker's commitment in stating the relevant propositional content, that is, to express emphatically his personal stance.

This leads me to hypothesize that also in this case the functional projection EvalSP is activated; in particular, on the basis of their compositional nature – both *eccome* and *altroché* being transparently decomposable into *e + come* and *altro + che* – I will assume that these interjections are (at least originally) maximal projections from the categorial point of view, hence presumably occupy the specifier position of EvalSP:

(13)   [EvalSP *Eccome/Altroché* [ForceP [Force° se] [FinP Gianni ha passato l'esame!]]]

Most likely, in the course of time *eccome* and *altroché* are being reanalyzed as filling the head EvalS°, as a consequence of a well attested diachronic process of specifier to head reanalysis taking place within the CP layer, along the lines of the proposal put forth by van Gelderen (2004a)/(2004b).[5] As in (1)/(3) above, the interjection is still fully integrated with the associated clause, and does not represent an independent illocutionary act.

3.   A hybrid class of interjections

The second class includes the interjections that can (but need not) be integrated with the associated clause, that is, the ones that are only optionally linked to a discourse antecedent.

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5.   On the specifier to head reanalysis process within the left periphery the reader is referred also to Willis (2007). It should be pointed out here that the word order in (11c) with *eccome* following the associated clause is grammatical, provided there is no intonational break between the clause and the interjection:

(i)   Gianni ha   passato l'   esame *eccome*!
      Gianni has passed   the exam   interjection
      'Gianni has passed the exam indeed!'

This might suggest that once the reanalysis of *eccome* from specifier to head is completed, the interjection, lexicalizing the head EvalS°, can become an attractor for the associated clause, which can raise to the specifier of EvalSP, yielding the sequence in (i).

3.1   Emilian dialects

The second category of interjections is exemplified by *sorbla* in the Emilian dialect of Bologna and *madosca* in the dialect of Reggio Emilia; the interjection can either be followed by *se*, like in (14a)/(15a), or be prosodically and syntactically independent, in which case it usually precedes the associated clause, as exemplified in (14b)/(15b):

(14)   a.   *Sorbla*   s'   l'è   gnù   èlt!
           Interjection if   he=is become tall
           'He has become tall indeed!'
       b.   *Sorbla*!   L'è   gnù   propria èlt!
           Interjection   He=is   become   really   tall
           'He has become really tall!'

(15)   a.   *Madosca*   s'   l'è   gnù   èlt!
           Interjection if   he=is become tall
           'He has become tall indeed!'
       b.   *Madosca*!   L'è   gnù   propria èlt!
           Interjection   He=is   become   really   tall
           'He has become really tall!'

The structural representation proposed for these examples is reported in (16a–b); as a first working hypothesis, we can assume that this type of interjections are structurally ambiguous in the sense that they can be analyzed by the speakers either as the head EvalS°, like in (16a), or as the head of a contiguous SpeechAct projection, like in (16b):

(16)   a.   [EvalSP [EvalS° *Sorbla/Madosca*] [ForceP [Force° se] [FinP l'è gnù èlt!]]]
       b.   [SpeechActP [SA° *Sorbla!/Madosca!*]$_x$ [EvalSP t$_x$ [ForceP [FinP L'è gnù propria èlt!]]]]

Crosslinguistic evidence for the postulation of a very high Speech Act projection dominating ForceP within the left periphery of the clause is provided by Munaro (2010), Haegeman and Hill (2013), and Haegeman (2014) among others.[6]

In fact, we can surmise that the two representations in (16) are derivationally related, in the sense that the interjection, being first merged in the head EvalS°,

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6.   In particular Haegeman (2014) focuses on the distribution and interpretation of West Flemish discourse markers located at the edge of the clause and elaborates an articulated Speech Act layer, offering further support for the grammaticalization of pragmatic features at the interface between syntax and discourse and for the hypothesis that the relevant computation at the interface is of the same nature as that in Narrow Syntax.

raises to the adjacent head SpeechAct° in order to license a formal feature (possibly related to clause-typing) within the Force projection, which in this case is not overtly lexicalized by any complementizer.[7] This raising analysis is supported by the incompatibility attested in Emilian dialects between these interjections and interjections of the first class; more precisely, if the head EvalS° contains the trace of the raised interjection, as represented in (16b), we predict the impossibility to insert lexical material in that structural position.[8]

The raising of the lexical interjection to SpeechAct° results in an independent speech act, which accounts for the prosodic non integration of the interjection – separated from the associated clause by a clear intonational break – as well as for the different pragmatic conditions associated to (14b)/(15b), which do not require a discourse background and can be freely uttered out of the blue.

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7.   The existence of a relation between the Speech Act layer and the Force layer is confirmed by the research carried out by Colasanti and Silvestri (this volume): they show that in some southern Italian dialects jussive, concessive, and optative matrix clauses may be introduced by complementizers whose insertion is strictly dependent on the utterance of speech act material at the outset of the sentence. In particular, they observe that the presence of a clause initial non-lexical interjection triggers the mandatory realization of a complementizer in Force°, like in the following examples from the upper southern Italian dialect of Santa Maria Capua Vetere (cf. their examples (8b) and (14b)):

(i)   a.   Oh   *(ca) Màriə facesse u   brave!
          Interjection (that) Mario did   the   good
          'Mario had better behave!'

      b.   Ih   *(ca) tə   putessərə   accidə!
          Interjection (that) you   can.3PL.IMPF.SUBJ kill.INF
          'May they kill you!'

The jussive example in (i-a) is used in a context in which Mario is not behaving properly and the speaker wants him to behave, while the optative example in (i-b) is used by the speaker to curse the hearer; according to the authors, in both cases the complementizer *ca* lexicalizes the head Force° and carries a [+speech] feature that has to be checked with the non-lexical interjection situated beyond the Force layer. We can surmise that a similar process of agreement at a distance with respect to a speech-related formal feature is activated in the examples discussed in the main text.

8.   So for example in the dialect of Reggio Emilia we cannot apparently combine *madosca* with *mo deg*, as witnessed by the ungrammaticality of (i):

(i) *Madosca   mo deg   c'   l'è   èlt!
       Interjection interjection   that he=is tall

3.2   Standard Italian

This second category of interjections is exemplified by items like *caspita* or *accidenti* in standard Italian; they can either be followed by *se*, like in (17a), or be prosodically and syntactically independent, in which case they can either precede or follow the associated clause, as exemplified in (17b) and (17c) respectively:

(17) a. *Caspita*/*Accidenti* se Gianni ha   passato l'   esame!
             Interjection   if Gianni has passed the exam!
             'Gianni did pass the exam indeed!'
    b. *Caspita*!/*Accidenti*! Gianni ha   passato l'   esame!
             Interjection   Gianni has passed the exam!
             'Surprisingly, Gianni has passed the exam!'
    c. Gianni ha   passato l'   esame! *Caspita*!/*Accidenti*!
             Gianni has passed the exam!   Interjection
             'Gianni has passed the exam, surprisingly!'

Interestingly, the interpretation of (17a) differs from the one of (17b–c): while (17a), exactly like (11a), can only be uttered in response to a question about Gianni's passing the exam (and the speaker already knows that Gianni has passed the exam), in (17b–c) the speaker rather conveys emphatically his surprise about Gianni's passing the exam (that is, he learns in that precise moment that Gianni has passed the exam and wants to underline that this fact is contrary to his expectation).

    The structural representation proposed for the examples in (17a–c) is reported in (18a–c):[9]

(18) a. [EvalSP [EvalS° *Caspita/Accidenti*] [ForceP [Force° se] [FinP Gianni ha passato l'esame!]]]
    b. [SpeechActP [SA° *Caspita/Accidenti*!] [EvalSP [ForceP [FinP Gianni ha passato l'esame!]]]]

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9. Notice that for standard Italian I do not adopt a raising analysis for the interjections *caspita/ accidenti*, which are presumably first merged directly in the head SpeechAct°; this is due to the fact that these interjections, unlike what happens in Emilian dialects, are compatible with interjections of the first class:

(i) a. Caspita,   altroché   se Gianni ha passato l'   esame!
          Interjection interjection if Gianni has passed the exam
    b. Accidenti,   eccome   se Gianni ha passato l'   esame!
          Interjection interjection if Gianni has passed the exam!
          'Gianni has passed the exam indeed!'

If the head EvalS° does not contain any trace, we expect that it can host lexical material, as witnessed by the examples in (i).

    c.   [SpeechActP [FinP Gianni ha passato l'esame!]$_x$ [SA° *Caspita/Accidenti*!]
           [EvalSP [ForceP t$_x$]]]

In (18a) the clause initial interjection lexicalizes the head EvalS° and is linked to the associated clause by the complementizer *se* located in Force°, while in (18b) it lexicalizes the head SpeechAct° and the complementizer is not overtly realized. As for the clause final position of the interjection, it can be derived from the raising of the nuclear clause FinP to the specifier of SpeechActP, as represented in (18c), possibly in obeyance to a criterial requirement à la Rizzi to the effect that the interjection and the associated clause must enter, at some level of representation, a spec-head agreement configuration (cf. also Munaro and Poletto 2008, Munaro 2010).[10]

4.   Non-integrated interjections and contextual anchoring

Let us turn finally to the third type of interjections, namely the ones that cannot be integrated with the associated clause, and do not need any linguistic antecedent in the speech situation.

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10. An anonymous reviewer raises some interesting issues concerning the nature of the Speech Act projection mentioned in the text, which I will address in what follows. First, although the status of extra-clausal constituents is still highly controversial (cf. Kaltenböck et al. 2016 for a recent overview), as to its degree of syntactic independence with respect to the associated clause, in the spirit of Haegeman and Hill (2013) I will submit that, despite codifying an autonomous linguistic act, the SpeechActP is still part of the clausal spine of the extended clausal projection. Second, I would follow the reviewer's suggestion that the associated clause may be endowed with its own SpeechActP, as it must be somehow anchored in the discourse as well; hence, still following Haegeman and Hill (2013), we could well postulate a recursive SpeechAct layer, articulated in a higher SA°, lexicalized by the interjection and encoding an 'attention seeking' attitude of the speaker, and a lower SA° encoding a 'bonding' function and anchoring the associated clause to the discourse; in this way, the raising of the associated clause – a SpeechActP – to the specifier of the higher SA° would be plausibly driven by a sort of SpeechAct criterial condition. Third, as to the nature of the interface between utterance and discourse, I would assume that, much in the spirit of the cartographic approach, this relation is encoded in the feature inventory of single functional projections of the left-peripheral functional spine, namely in the structural area devoted to connecting the propositional content to the context, that is, to the linking with the conversational or situational background.

4.1   Venetan dialects

This third class of interjections can be exemplified with Venetan *ciò*, which, besides appearing in isolation, can appear either in sentence initial or in sentence final position, like in the following examples from central Venetan:

(19) a. *Ciò*!   Che   roba bela che la se ga   comprà!
          Interjection! What thing nice that she=herself=has bought
      b. Che   roba bela che la se ga   comprà, *ciò*!
          What thing nice that she=herself=has bought, interjection
          'She bought herself a really nice thing!'

(20) a. *Ciò*!   Te pari   na singana vestìa   cussì!
          Interjection! You=look a gipsy   dressed so
      b. Te pari   na singana vestìa   cussì, *ciò*!
          You=look a gipsy   dressed so,   interjection
          'You look like a gipsy with that dress!'

As discussed in Del Gobbo, Munaro and Poletto (2015), the crossdialectal distribution of *ciò* in Venetan strongly suggests a derivational cline according to which this discourse marker was originally a specifier which was eventually reanalyzed by the speakers as a discourse-related head of the left periphery (arguably a Speech Act head), and became then in the central Veneto area an attractor for the associated clause, giving rise to the sequence in (19b)/(20b), represented structurally as in (21):[11]

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11. In fact, in some Venetan varieties *ciò* can occur with or without a following complementizer, but the pragmatic import of the two variants differs:

(i) a. *Ciò*   che   ghe vago!
         Interjection that there=go
         'I will surely go there!'
     b. *Ciò*!   Vago via.
         Interjection! Go   away
         'Ehi listen, I am leaving!'

The utterance in (i-a) is used pragmatically to convey a sense of surprise by the speaker at the question of the interlocutor, hence is used to reply to a previous utterance, while in (i-b) *ciò* has the pragmatic function of drawing the attention of the interlocutor to what is being said. I will assume that in (i-a) *ciò* should be analyzed as a discourse particle still syntactically and prosodically integrated with the associated clause, while in (i-b) it displays the distinctive properties of an interjection, as witnessed by the strong prosodic break intervening between *ciò* and the rest of the clause.

(21) a. [SpeechActP [FinP Che roba bela che la se ga comprà]$_x$ [SA° *ciò*!]
[ForceP t$_x$]]

b. [SpeechActP [FinP Te pari na singana vestìa cussì]$_x$ [SA° *ciò*!]
[ForceP t$_x$]]

4.2 Standard Italian

As for standard Italian, we find interjections like *toh* and *però*, expressing slight surprise and mirativity respectively, both of which can either precede or follow the associated clause:

(22) a. *Toh*!   Maria ha   dimenticato le   chiavi!
Interjection! Maria has forgotten   the keys!

b. Maria ha   dimenticato le   chiavi! *Toh*!
Maria has forgotten   the keys!   Interjection

c. *Toh   se/che Maria ha   dimenticato le   chiavi!
Interjection if/that Maria has forgotten   the keys!
'Look, Maria has forgotten the keys!'

(23) a. *Però*!   Gianni ha   passato l'   esame!
Interjection! Gianni has passed the exam!

b. Gianni ha   passato l'   esame! *Però*!
Gianni has passed the exam!   Interjection

c. *Però   se/che Gianni ha   passato l'   esame!
Interjection if/that Gianni has passed the exam!
'Surprisingly, Gianni has passed the exam!'

I surmise that this kind of interjections are first merged as heads of the SpeechAct projection, giving rise to the basic word order in (22a)/(23a); as for the reverse word order in (22b)/(23b), as suggested above, the clause final position of the interjection can be derived again from the optional fronting of the nuclear clause FinP to the specifier of SpeechActP, as represented in (24):[12]

(24) [SpeechActP [FinP Gianni ha passato l'esame!]$_x$ [SA° *Toh/Però*!] [ForceP t$_x$]]

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12. Although clause fronting to the specifier of SpeechActP has no evident interpretive effects, it can be pointed out that the interjection in clause final position is perceived as a sort of afterthought, optionally added by the speaker in order to spell out the speaker's mental attitude towards the propositional content of the associated clause.

4.3   On contextual anchoring

Elaborating on Poggi (1988)'s detailed description of Italian interjections, in Munaro (2010) I tried to decompose their interpretive import, pointing out that (25a–b) can be rephrased as in (26a–b):

(25) a. *Toh*! [Maria legge un libro!]
          Interjection! [Maria is reading a book!]
      b. *Però*! [Gianni sta studiando!]
          Interjection! [Gianni is studying!]

(26) a. *This* [= the fact that Maria is reading a book] arouses in me a slight surprise
      b. I am positively struck by *this* [= the fact that Gianni is studying]

The rephrased versions in (26) reveal the propositional content of the interjection, which includes the two following components:

a. *the mental state of the speaker*, which is conventionally codified by the interjection;
b. *a deictic expression*, typically a demonstrative, that refers to the event of the external world that is the source of that mental state; this part can be made explicit by the clause associated to the interjection, otherwise it must be recovered from the linguistic or situational context.[13]

Indeed, interjections have an intrinsically deictic nature in the sense that they can only be uttered in the presence of the mental state they give vent to, that is, their use entails a crucial reference to the speaker's spatio-temporal coordinates.

Interestingly, only the interjections belonging to the second and third class can be uttered in isolation in out of the blue contexts; this property can be derived by the hypothesis that only interjections occupying the head SpeechAct°, after attracting the associated clause into the corresponding specifier, can reach by head movement the head of the adjacent Speaker projection where, according to Giorgi (2010), the speaker's spatio-temporal coordinates are codified:

(27) [SpeakerP [Sp° *Sorbla!/Caspita!/Però!*$_x$] [SpeechActP [FinP Ø]$_y$ [SA° t$_x$]
      [ForceP t$_y$]]]

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13. Notice that the triggering event does not need to take place at the moment of the utterance, as is clear from the following examples:

(i) a. *Toh*!   [Maria ieri   ha   dimenticato le   chiavi!]
          Interjection! [Maria yesterday has forgotten   the keys!]
      b. *Però*!   [Gianni la   settimana scorsa ha   passato l'esame!]
          Interjection! [Gianni the week   last   has passed the exam!]

Under this analysis, only after the interjection has reached the next higher head Speaker° can the spatio-temporal anchoring of the utterance come about; in other words, only in that case can take place the deictic reference to the event of the external world that is the source of the speaker's mental state, which allows for the non-realization of the associated clause.

As for the interjections of the first class, such as *eccome* and *altroché*, they can only be uttered in isolation in response to a previous utterance of the interlocutor: not being merged as heads of SpeechActP, they are correctly predicted to require a linguistic antecedent in the discourse, with which they form presumably a unique syntactic object.[14]

5. Conclusions

On the basis of empirical evidence from some northern Italian dialects and from standard Italian, in this article I have proposed that, with respect to the degree of integration with the associated clause, lexical interjections can be split basically into three categories, depending on whether they must, they can or they cannot be integrated with the associated clause; the degree of integration with the co-occurring clause depends on the merge position of the interjection.

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14. Arguably, in virtue of being endowed with an edge-feature in the sense of Chomsky (2008); in fact Munaro (2010) argues that minimal syntactic elements like interjections, short answers and particles do have an edge-feature and tries to unify the syntactic analysis of interjections and particles with the one of prepositions as attractors formulated by Kayne (2002).

Let me add here a final speculation on non-lexical vocalic interjections such as *ah/eh/ih/oh/uh*, which, unlike lexical ones, are not etymologically related to a lexical item and are used to emphatically express the speaker's emotional reaction to a linguistic or extra-linguistic event that is manifest in the speech situation. As witnessed by (i-a), they appear systematically in clause initial position and can co-occur with a lexical interjection, obligatorily preceding it:

(i) a. [Ah/Eh/Ih/Oh/Uh], eccome/altroché/accidenti/caspita se Gianni ha passato l'esame!

b. *Eccome/Altroché/Accidenti/Caspita se Gianni ha passato l'esame, [ah/eh/ih/oh/uh]!

[Interjection] Interjection if Gianni has passed the exam [Interjection]
'Gianni has passed the exam indeed!'

On the basis of their distributional and interpretive properties, it is extremely tempting to analyze non-lexical interjections as the lexicalization of the highest head Speaker°; under the plausible assumption that the corresponding specifier is occupied by the speaker's spatio-temporal coordinates, and is therefore inaccessible to the fronting of the associated clause, we straightforwardly derive the ungrammaticality of (i-b).

I have suggested that interjections lexicalize different functional heads which are computed syntactically at the edge of the clause, above what is usually referred to as the CP domain.

Only interjections lexicalizing (by first or second Merge) the head SpeechAct° represent autonomous linguistic acts, and are as such prosodically and syntactically independent from the associated clause, if this is present; from this position they can attract the associated clause to the corresponding specifier position and raise to the adjacent head Speaker° in order to provide the necessary contextual anchoring by entering a local relation with the speaker's coordinates.

Interjections lexicalizing the lower projection EvalSP do not have these properties and are intrinsically discourse-linked in the sense that they can only be used to reply to a previous utterance in the discourse situation.

Acknowldgement

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A person split analysis of the progressive forms in some southern Italian varieties

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This paper explores the distribution of finite and non-finite constructions in the progressive periphrasis of (southeastern) Apulian varieties. The periphrases are formed by an inflected *stay* auxiliary, an optional connecting element *a* (=to) and an embedded verb which can be inflected or uninflected. Since progressives are commonly realized as locative constructions crosslinguistically (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994), we propose a unique locative-like structure for both inflected and uninflected constructions. They differ for their aspectual interpretation: only uninflected progressives allow frequentative readings (Chierchia 1995). In some varieties, the 1st and 2nd plural persons cannot be found in the inflected periphrasis but they allow only the infinitive (uninflected) counterpart. This is due to the referential complexity of the 1st and 2nd plural persons.

Keywords: progressive, locative, constructions, person-split, finite complement, aspect

1. Introduction

In the present paper we shall discuss the syntax and the semantics of the progressive periphrasis found in the (southeastern) Apulian varieties. We will refer mainly to the variety of Conversano in the southern Italian province of Bari, but we will also introduce the data of the varieties of the same area. In the variety of Conversano the present continuous is expressed periphrastically through an embedded finite complement (in the terms of Manzini and Savoia 2005 and Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017): it is formed by an inflected stative auxiliary *stɛ* (=to stay), a connecting element *a* (=to) and an embedded inflected lexical verb (present indicative) which agrees in person and number with the matrix subject. The example in (1) shows the progressive aspectual construction in the variety spoken in Conversano (Apulia).

(1) Stek   a fatsə   upɛn.
     stay.1SG to do.1SG the bread.
     'I am making bread.'

In the same variety we can find a parallel construction to express the progressive in which the embedded lexical verb is not inflected. This construction is found with all persons of the inflectional paradigm. In (2) the embedded verb fɛ (=to do) is infinitive.

(2) Stek   a fɛ   u pɛn
     stay.1SG to do.INF the bread
     'I am making bread'

In Conversanese the aspectual inflected construction is not found with 1st and 2nd plural persons (3): only the construction with an embedded infinitive lexical verb is available to express the progressive (4).[1]

(3) a. *Nojə stɛmə   a mandʒɛmə
              we   stay.1PL to eat.1PL
     b. *Voʊ stɛtə   a mandʒɛtə
              you   stay.2PL to eat.2PL

(4) a. Nojə stɛmə   a man'dʒɛ
             we   stay.1PL to eat.INF
             'We are eating.'
     b. Voʊ stɛtə   a man'dʒɛ
             you   stay.2PL to eat.INF
             'You are eating.'

We propose a unique locative-like structure for both finite and infinitival constructions. The progressives are commonly realized as locative constructions crosslinguistically (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Mateu and Amadas 1999; Laka 2006). We will argue, following Mateu and Amadas 1999, that progressives are expressed as locative constructions since they imply a process of unaccusativization involving an abstract *central coincidence relation* preposition. The unaccusativization is given by the fact that the subject of a progressive structure enters in a *central coincident relation* (Hale and Keyser 1993) which relates two entities (a subject-figure and a location-ground, in the terminology of Talmy 1985) in a constant, unchanging way: the subject of the stative auxiliary is anchored to the event described by the embedded lexical verb. We will further link the difference between the two parallel

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1.   Similar patterns are found in the varieties of the same area (i.e. in the South East of Bari: Mola di Bari, Rutigliano, Castellana, Turi). We will sketch some relevant differences between the variety of Conversano and some other varieties of the same group in Section 2.

constructions (1)–(2) to the aspectual marking denoted by each of them: while the embedded inflected constructions (1) denote an event identification between the auxiliary and the lexical verb, the uninflected constructions (2) involve a slightly different reading which is marginally found with proper progressive constructions, namely they imply a frequentative reading (Chierchia 1995). We will try to show that although both constructions share a similar aspect, the inflected constructions, at least in the varieties under investigation, present a more restrict progressive entailment (the instantiation of a central coincidence relation) than uninflected ones. The 1st and 2nd plural persons are not found in the aspectual inflected constructions (3) but they allow only the infinitive counterpart (4). We will show that this is a general morphosyntactic inflectional pattern found across Romance languages: 1st and 2nd plural usually show a distinct inflectional morphology along the inflectional paradigm (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011). Furthermore, 1st and 2nd plural imply a more complex referentiality than the other persons (Bobaljik 2008): they are not mere plurals of the discourse participants (as 1st and 2nd singular) but they may refer to other referents not directly involved in the discourse (event participants).

In Section 2 the distribution of the pattern of inflection across the different varieties is described: the insights of previous accounts are also listed. Section 3 introduces the analysis of progressive as locative/unaccusative construction (in the terms of Mateu and Amadas 1999) in contrast with other languages that do not show such locative constructions (Cinque 2017). Section 4 presents the current syntactic analysis of the phenomenon in which we will first propose a biclausal structure to account for both the inflected and the uninflected progressive constructions in the varieties under investigation. In Section 5 we will show that a central coincidence relation is essential for the interpretative issues linked to the two types of progressive constructions. Section 6 is devoted to some notes on the person split pattern found in the progressive constructions especially in the variety of Conversano which will allow us to formulate a general claim about the inflectional paradigms of 1st and 2nd plural persons in Romance. Section 7 resumes the insights and the main concerns of the present analysis.

2.   The distribution of aspectual inflected constructions

Different studies have focused on verbal periphrases in southern Italian varieties that involve two inflected verbs.[2] The main characteristic of these construction is

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[2].   In this paper we are dealing mainly with the auxiliary 'stare' (=stay) in the progressive constructions, which is not a raising predicate, as the ones involved by the derivation of the hyper-raising constructions (Harford and Perez 1985; Martins and Nunes 2005; Nunes 2008; Zeller 2006). However, similar aspectual constructions are found in many southern Italian varieties

that a matrix aspectual auxiliary inflected for number and person selects an inflected lexical verb. The lexical embedded verb can be introduced by a preposition or not. The auxiliary loses its lexical meaning and the complex VP is interpreted as a unique predicate, being the embedded lexical verb the one that gives the referential meaning to the event denoted by the complex VP. For example, in (5) the subject *Maria* is not *staying* and then *eating*, but she is just *eating*.

(5) Mari ste   a mandʒə.
     Maria stay.3SG to eat.3SG
     'Maria is eating.'

Similar patterns are found in different southern Italian varieties. Ledgeway (1997) labels asyndectic construction the imperative structures in Neapolitan which involve two inflected verbs. A fully inflected verb is embedded under another fully inflected matrix verb (6). No preposition introduces the embedded element. In his terms, these constructions define a family of coordinative constructions grammaticalized into subordination.[3] These imperative constructions are paratactic in the sense that 'they contain as many assertions as there are clause' (Ledgeway 1997: 231), in (6), in fact, there are two assertions (7), whereas the progressive construction in Conversanese (5) contains only one assertion ranging over the entire constructions.[4]

(6) Va   spanne   'e panne nfuse.
     go.IMP.2SG hang-out.IMP.2SG the clothes wet
     'Go and hang out the washing.'   (Ledgeway 1997: 232)

(7) a. Va!
         go.IMP.2SG
         'go!'

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also with motion verbs (go, come) or modal auxiliaries (want) (Manzini and Savoia 2005; Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, to appear; Cruschina 2013; Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017), but not proper raising predicate is involved. We will argue that the subject is base generated (and case assigned) under the T of the matrix verb: these constructions share more similarities with finite control constructions found in Balkan languages (Landau 2004, 2013; Manzini and Roussou 2000) and in southern Italian varieties (Manzini and Savoia 2005; Ledgeway 2015; Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017).

3. But see also Ledgeway 2007 (among others) for a more recent account of these structures.

4. However, there are some Salentino and Sicilian varieties (Cruschina 2013; Ledgeway 2016) where 'go +V' are further grammaticalized, and are interpreted as a single event (i.e. no motion interpretation).

b. Spanne ˈepanne nfuse!
    hang-out.IMP.2SG the washing
    'hang out the washing!'   (Ledgeway 1997: 232)

Most Sicilian dialects display a construction with a functional verb (usually of
motion), followed by the linking element *a* and a lexical inflected verb. Cardinaletti
and Giusti (2001, 2003) label these structures Inflected Constructions.[5] They are
'similar to what is generally known as 'Serial Verb Construction' in other language
families (cf. Aikhenvald 2006), in which the two verbs (V1 and V2) share the same
inflection for Tense and person' (Di Caro and Giusti 2015: 392). The examples in
(8) from the dialect spoken in Delia (Caltanissetta) are considered by Di Caro and
Giusti (2015) as monoclausal constructions with a functional verb in opposition
to their infinitival counterparts (9), which are the only available option in standard
Italian (10) and are biclausal constructions.[6]

(8) La sira   mi   veni   a ccunta du cosi.
     the evening to-me.CL come.3SG to tell.3SG two things.
     'He comes to tell me some stories at night'

(9) La sira   mi   veni   a ccuntari du cosi.
     the evening to-me.CL come.3SG to tell.INF   two things.
     'He comes to tell me some stories at night'

(10) La sera   mi   viene   a raccontare/ *racconta delle storie.
      the evening to-meCL come-3SG to tell_INF/   tell-3SG   some stories.
      'He comes to tell me some stories at night'   (Di Caro and Giusti 2015: 394)

In the present analysis both the inflected and the infinitival constructions will
be analysed as biclausal structures following the intuition of Manzini and Savoia
(2005): while the inflected construction imply an event identification (cf. §§4–5),
the infinitival counterparts do not. The differences in the aspectual reading (cf.

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5. In Cruschina (2013), these are called Doubly Inflected Constructions.

6. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) propose four diagnostics for Marsalese to demonstrate
that the Sicilian Inflected Construction is monoclausal: (i) the two verbs in the inflected con-
struction share inflectional features, (ii) the two verbs in the inflected construction refer to a
single event, (iii) the obligatory clitic climbing, and (iv) the fact that a quantifier or a frequentative
adverb cannot follow the motion verb and must follow the lexical verb. In the present analysis
we will show that the diagnostic (i), (ii), and (iv) are not incompatible with a biclausal analysis in
Section 4 and 5. As for diagnostic (iii) we will show that in many Apulian varieties clitic climbing
is optional (cf. §4). For a direct reply to Cardinaletti and Giusti's diagnostics of monoclausality,
see Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017): the authors propose a syntactic account of the phe-
nomenon which is slightly different from the present work since they introduce the concept of
expletive inflection of the matrix auxiliary within a biclausal syntactic representation.

§5) of the two types of progressive construction in Conversanese will confirm this analysis.

Manzini and Savoia (2005) propose an event identification analysis for all the aspectual constructions with finite verbs found in Apulian, Calabrian and Sicilian varieties. These aspectual constructions are found with different matrix verbs: progressive (stay) in (11), motion verbs (go, come) in (12) and modal (want, will) in (13).

(11) Stɔk   a   bbeivə.   (Taranto, Apulia)
      stay.1SG to drink.1SG
      'I am drinking'

(12) a. Vaju   a   mmaɲtʃu.   (Modica, Sicily)
          go.1SG to eat.1SG
          'I go to eat.'
      b. U   vəju   cəmu.   (Umbriatico, Calabria)
          him.CL   go.1SG   call.1SG
          'I go to call him.'

(13) a. Ti   vɔffu   a   vveʃu.   (Brindisi, Apulia)
          you.CL   want.1SG   to see.1SG
          'I want to see you.'
      b. Vɔffu   mmaɲʤu.   (Mesagne, Apulia)
          want.1SG   eat.1SG
          'I want to eat.'

In the present work we will be dealing mainly with the progressive constructions involving the auxiliary *stay*, but many assumptions of the present analysis apply also to the other aspectual inflected constructions as argued in Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017).

2.1 The progressive constructions with finite verbs in the Apulian varieties

In the southern Apulian variety of Conversano the present continuous is expressed through an aspectual inflected construction involving the inflected present indicative of the stative verb stɛ (=to stay), a connecting element *a* (=to) and the present indicative of the lexical verb which agrees in person and number with the matrix verbs. In Table 1 the paradigm of inflection for the present indicative is presented. The same pattern of inflection is not found for past tenses or imperative. The inflected constructions are not found for the 1st and 2nd plural persons.[7]

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7.   Other varieties have the very same paradigm with respect to the lack of aspectual finite construction for the 1st and 2nd plural person and with past tenses and imperatives: the varieties of

Table 1. Progressive for the verb "ma'nʤɛ" (= to eat) in the variety of Conversano

Present indicative	Auxiliary stay	Prep.	Lexical verb
1SG	stek	a	manʤə
2SG	ste	a	manʤə
3SG	ste	a	manʤə
1PL	stɛm	a	*manʤɛmə
2PL	stɛt	a	*manʤɛtə
3PL	stan	a	manʤənə

In the southern area of Conversano, there are varieties as the one of Putignano (Table 2) and Martina Franca (TA) (Table 3) (Manzini and Savoia 2005) where specialized forms are found in the inflection for the auxiliary *stay* (2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL) which differs from the inflected forms of the lexical verb *stay*. With 1SG and 3PL the inflected forms of the auxiliary coincide with the ones of the lexical counterpart *stay*.

Table 2. Progressive for the verb "ffɔ" (= to make) in the variety of Putignano

Present indicative	Auxiliary stay	Prep.	Lexical verb
1SG	**stok**	a	ffatsə
2SG	ste	Ø	ffaʃə
3SG	ste	Ø	ffaʃə
1PL	sta	Ø	ffaʃeimə
2PL	sta	Ø	ffaʃeitə
3PL	**ston**	a	'ffaʃənə

Table 3. Progressive for the verb "ccɛ'mɛ" (= to call) in the variety of Martina Franca

Present indicative	Auxiliary stay	Prep.	Lexical verb
1SG	**stɔ**	Ø	ccɛmə
2SG	stɛ	Ø	ccɛmə
3SG	stɛ	Ø	ccɛmə
1PL	stɛ	Ø	ccamɛ:mə
2PL	stɛ	Ø	ccamɛ:tə
3PL	**stɔnə**	a	'ccɛmənə

In the varieties of Putignano and Martina Franca (Table 2, Table 3) when the forms of the auxiliary coincide with the form of the lexical "stay" the embedded predicate

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Castellana, Turi, Rutigliano, Mola, Polignano. These towns are also in the southeastern area of Bari.

is introduced by the preposition *a* (see 1sg and 3pl for Putignano and 3pl for Martina Franca). Along this line, in the variety of Mesagne (Brindisi) the auxiliary "stay" shares just the root with the lexical "stay": a specialized form with reduced inflection is found just with the progressive construction which is different form the lexical use of the verb (Table 3) as noted by Manzini and Savoia (2005). There seems to be a correlation, at least for some persons, between the presence of the specialized forms of the aspectual auxiliary and the overt/null preposition introducing the embedded lexical verb, at least in the varieties examined in the present work.[8]

Table 4. Progressive for the verb "ffari" (= to make) in the variety of Mesagne

Present indicative	Auxiliary stay	Prep.	Lexical verb
1sg	sta	Ø	ffatsu
2sg	sta	Ø	ffatʃi
3sg	sta	Ø	ffatʃi
1pl	sta	Ø	ffatʃimu
2pl	sta	Ø	ffatʃiti
3pl	sta	Ø	ffannu

Furthermore, in all the varieties in which there are specialized forms for the aspectual auxiliary, we do not find any restriction on the inflection of the embedded verb (no person split). So while in Conversanese (Table 1) there are no specialized forms for the auxiliary and we do not find with the full inflected embedded verb 1st and 2nd person plural, in the other varieties when the aspectual auxiliary has specialized forms the embedded verb is always inflected.[9]

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8.   However, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, what is referred to by the *a* preposition could, in theory, be covert in Table 2 (2sg, 3sg, 1pl 2pl) and in all the paradigm of Table 4, if we take into consideration the *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico* on the lexical verb. Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017) account for both the *a* and the bare finite embedding in the same terms. In the present work we focus on the progressives involving *a* embedding, see Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017) for a general discussion on the *a/k*u.

9.   While the correlation between specialized forms for the aspectual auxiliary and no person split in the inflection of the embedded verbs seems to hold for Apulian varieties, in the Sicilian variety of Modica with motion verbs (go, come) it is possible to find a full-fledged paradigm with both the aspectual (motion verb) auxiliary and the embedded predicate, as acknowledged in Manzini and Savoia (2005) and Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017). As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, some varieties might display no specialized forms for the auxiliary but still display full inflected embedded verbs in 1pl and 2pl. So, this is a mere descriptive correlation found in the progressive inflectional pattern of the Apulian varieties under analysis but it is not a generalization that holds for the aspectual inflected constructions found in other varieties.

This pattern of inflection is quite widespread in the varieties in the southeastern area of Bari. The parametric variation found across varieties is linked to:[10]

i.   the aspectual auxiliary that enters in the constructions (progressive, modal, motion verb);
ii. the tense (present, past);
iii. the mood (imperative, indicative).

In the present analysis, we will not account for the variation across varieties but we will be referring mainly to the present indicative constructions involving the auxiliary *stay*. In our respect, progressive aspectual inflected constructions across varieties share locative properties (for example the second verb introduced by the preposition *a*). In next section a crosslinguistic analysis of the locative-like system of the progressive will be presented in order to introduce our syntactic proposal in Section 4.

3.   The progressives as uaccusative constructions

In the typological literature (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994 among others) progressives have been claimed to often involve crosslinguistically locative constructions. However, other types of constructions (not properly locatives) are also found across languages. While we will first introduce the data about languages that encode progressive through locative constructions, in Section 3.2 we will present the data from Cinque (2017) in which languages that encode progressive through non-locatives constructions are listed. The main idea is that all progressive constructions do not share an abstract PROG functional projection, as Cinque (2017) argues, but they result from an unaccusativization of the subject and languages may vary on how they represent such a thematic variation.

3.1   The progressives as locative construction

The pervasiveness of the grammatical isomorphism between progressive and spatial location was documented in the typological overview undertaken by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994). The progressive involving locative constructions can be distinguished for how the locative relation is expressed: either by preposition or auxiliary.

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10. See Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017) for a detailed analysis of the parametric variation across the varieties of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily.

Languages like Italian or Spanish may encode the progressive through the use of the auxiliary "stay": *stare* (in Italian) in (14) and *estar* in Spanish (15). The same auxiliary is found with locative expression and with stage level predicates, as in the Spanish examples (16) and (17).

(14)   Gianni sta mangiando.   (Italian)
       'Gianni is eating'

(15)   Juan está estudiando.   (Spanish)
       'Juan is studying.'

(16)   Juan está en la habitación.   (Spanish)
       'Juan is in the room.'   *Locative construction*

(17)   Juan está cansado.   (Spanish)
       'Juan is tired.'   *Stage-level predicate*

Mateu and Amadas (1999), among others, show that in a wide range of languages the progressives are also expressed through the use of locative prepositions. The examples (18)–(20) show that progressives are expressed through an overt locative preposition in Dutch (18), French (19) and Middle English (20) expressed the progressive through the preposition *on*.

(18)   Ik ben aan het/'t werken.   (Dutch)
       I am on   the   working.
       'I am working'.   (van Gelderen 1993: 180–182)

(19)   Zazie est en train de miauler.   (French)
       Zazie is   in along of miaowing.
       'Zazie is miaowing'.   (Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria 1997: 9, 1998: 25)

(20)   He is on hunting.   (Middle English)
                                                            (Jespersen 1949: 168, apud Bybee et al. 1994: 132)

In languages like Gungbe there is a progressive particle *tò* which means literally "be at". When the lexical verb follows directly the progressive particle, similarly to what happens in Apulian varieties, may undergo a process of reduplication (Aboh 2004, 2009, 2016) as in (21) where *ɖa* (cook) is the verb and *ɖiɖa* is its reduplicated

form.[11] The locative-progressive constructions coexist in some languages with a morphological reduplication.[12]

(21)   ɛtɛ   wɛ   mi   tò   ɖiɖa   na   Aluku.   (Gungbe)
       what FOC 2PL PROG cook.cook to   Aluku.
       'What are you cooking for Aluku?'   (Aboh 2016: 162)

Mateu and Amadas (1999) referring to the analysis of progressives as locative constructions further argue that progressives are universally unaccusative. In their proposal two assumptions are made in order to match progressive and unaccusatives: first, since progressive are expressed in the majority of the languages in the world by a locative structure and locative verbs are unaccusative, the progressive represents a process of unaccusativization for the lexical verbs that enter the progressive derivation. The second assumption is strictly linked to the first assumption: the process of unaccusativization is given by the fact that the subject of a progressive structure enters in a *central coincidence relation* (Hale and Keyser 1993) with the event denoted by the lexical verb (i.e. its lexical aspect or Aktionsart). The term *central coincidence*

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11. Since Gungbe is an isolating language, the verb *ɖa* (cook) is a mere lexical item and it does not show overt morphology attached on the verb to express tense and aspect, but particles expressing tense and aspect can precede or follow the verb. As for the example in (21), when the verb occurs after the PROG particle, the presence of the aspectual particles influence the reduplication, however, if the verb precedes the aspectual progressive and the operator follows the verb, the reduplication is not obligatory. For a description and an analysis of it, please see Aboh (2004, 2009).

12. The reduplication in Gungbe seems to pattern with the double inflection described in the present work. However, as Cinque (2017) points out, some kind of morphological reduplication of different segments of the verb root is found to express the progressive although no overt locative marking is present in Oceanic languages as the Mekilese example (i) shows (Hyslop 2001: 341).

    (i)   a.   wadek 'to read'
          b.   wadwadek 'to bereading'
    (ii) a.   piload 'to pick breadfruit'
          b.   pilpiload 'to be picking breadfruit'

Nevertheless, it is difficult to find an immediate connection between the morphological reduplication in some language and double inflections of Apulian varieties and it is far from the aim of the present work to find it. Future analysis are needed to compare the two types of progressives. However, we may hypothesize that both the reduplication and the double inflection are the surface representation of the same aspectual event identification in which the subject enters in a central coincidence relation within the event denoted by the embedded verb, as it will become clear in Section 4. For the present purposes, it is relevant that the progressive particle can be associated to a locative element and that its presence may imply a morphological change on the lexical verb. For a detailed discussion on the progressive in Gungbe, see Aboh (2004, 2009).

was introduced by Hale (1986), as opposed to the *terminal coincidence*. Roughly, the opposition between *central* and *terminal* coincidence parallels a basic semantic opposition that exists throughout language: the opposition between a stative relation, as in sentences like '*Mary stood on the platform*', and a dynamic change, as in '*Mary run to the platform*'. In our respect, the *central coincidence relation* is the location within the locative structure: it is one precise moment within the event.[13] For telic predicates as 'John built the house' (22), the event has a natural endpoint in the sense that John 'finished' to build the house. In the progressive version (23) the subject John is centrally located within the temporal contour of the event of building the house, so he is taken on the process of building and consequently he has not finished to build the house.[14]

(22) John built the house
JOHN BUILT THE HOUSE

(23) John was building the house
JOHN DID NOT BUILD THE HOUSE

In ergative languages like Basque, the single argument ("subject") of an intransitive verb behaves like the object of a transitive verb and is marked with the absolutive case and it differs from the agent ("subject") of a transitive verb which is marked with the ergative case. Laka (2006) argues that progressive structures in Basque are homomorphic with locative/unaccusative structures. The *ari* progressive auxiliary involves a biclausal syntactic structure (26): the main verb *ari* 'to be engaged' takes a locative PP ('in something')' expressed through the locative suffix as in the

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13. Mateu and Amadas (1999) argues that there is a syntactically relevant semantic structure, which can be represented in a tree structure (cf. Bouchard 1995 for the same proposal). In their lexical-conceptual structure (LCS), the argument structure of the verbs (including locative constructions) can be viewed as a spatial relation in the sense that it purely relates elements into our cognitive space: "Figure" (i.e. the subject) and "Ground" (the locative complement), to use Talmy's (1985) terminology. By these approach, the timeframe of an event is also represented through spatial relation. The analysis of other inflected constructions, as the Sicilian ones involving motion verbs (go, come), may involve the *terminal coincidence relation*, implying different aspectual readings. The central/terminal coincidence relation does not explain *per se* the appearance of the inflected constructions, but allows us to describe the different aspectual reading that the inflected constructions imply. Describing all the aspectual characteristics of the inflected constructions in all the southern varieties is out of the scope of the present work, since we are dealing mainly with the auxilairy *stay* in the progressive in Apulian varieties, for a more general account that includes also the motion verbs see Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017).

14. For an analysis on how languages encode the central coincidence relation or terminal coincidence relation firstly introduced by Hale and Keyser (1993), see Mateu (2002), Ramchand (2002).

intransitive structure in (24). The PP can take either a nominal complement (24b) or a VP (26b).

(24) a. emakume-a   danza-n   ari   da.
          woman-the ABS dance-LOC   engaged   is.
          'The woman is (engaged in) dancing.'   (Laka 2006: 174)

     b.
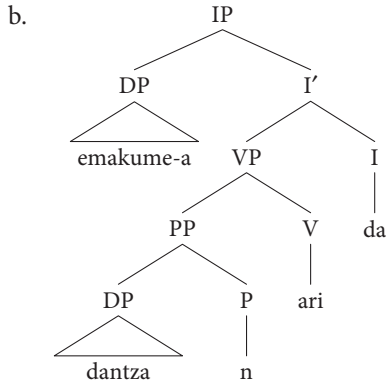
Laka (2006) points out that there is a contrast between canonical transitive sentences which selects ergative case for the subject (25) and their progressive equivalents which select the absolutive case (zero marked) for the subject and the nominalized clause *ogia jaten* (26).

(25) emakume-a-k   ogi-a   jaten   du.
       woman-the ERG bread-the   eating   has.
       'The woman eats (the) bread.'

(26) a. emakume-a   ogi-a   jaten   ari   da
          woman-the ABS bread-the   eating   engaged   is
          'The woman is (engaged in) eating the bread.'

b.
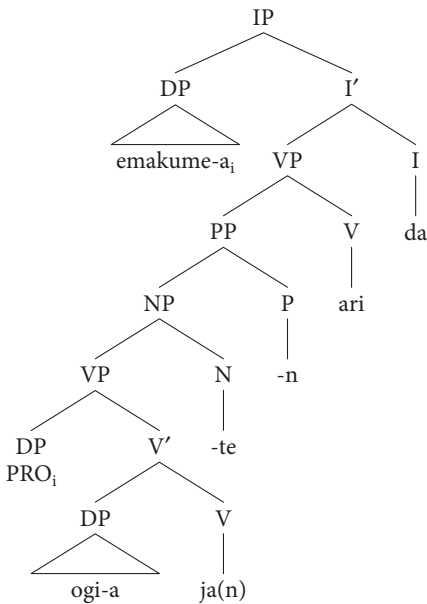
(Laka 2006: 175)

These data about the overt case marking in Basque confirm that progressive structures imply an unaccusativization of the event: when the progressive auxiliary is expressed, the subject is marked with an absolutive case as in all intransitives (unaccusative) structures. Furthermore, the presence of a PP as a complement of the auxiliary supports the crosslinguistic generalization for which progressives are unaccusative locative constructions.

3.2   The progressives as non-locative construction

Locative constructions are not the only way through which progressives can be expressed crosslinguistically. Cinque (2017) proposes a list of the different ways in which progressives are encoded across languages, although we will not go into the details of his analysis, we will mention here the constructions that although do not present any overt locative elements can be accounted forms in the terms of unaccusativization involving a central coincidence relation preposition.

A first group of non-locative progressives (Cinque 2017) involve some auxiliary that are not found in any locative construction (as in the examples (14)–(17)): the

Abruzzo-Molise dialects present the auxiliary *hold* (27),[15] Persian presents the auxiliary *have* (28), the English creole language Gullah presents the auxiliary *do* (29).

(27) a. Təném a mmagná. (Abruzzo-Molise)
hold.1PL to eat.INF
'We are eating.' (Rohlfs 1970: 133, apud Cinque 2017: 555)
b. Té ppjove.
hold.3SG rain.INF
'It is raining.' (Ledgeway 2016: 266)

(28) Man dār-am dars mi-khon-am. (Persian)
I have.PRS-1SG lesson DUR-read.PRS-1SG
'I am studying.' (Vafaeian 2012: 13)

(29) dem duh eat and duh laugh (Gullah)
they do eat and do laugh.
'They were eating and laughing.' (Jäger 2006: §6.2.2.2)

Furthermore, Cinque reports data from some languages that use a non-locative preposition, such as *with* in some African languages. See the Lunda example in (30). Other languages use temporal prepositions as *after* in Quebecois (31).

(30) ní.dí na.kuzáta. (Lunda)
be.1SG with-work.INF
'I am working.' (Cinque 2017: 556)

(31) Y était après chanter quand j'ai ouvert la porte. (Québécois)
there was after singing when I have opened the door
'He was singing when I have opened the door.' (Cinque 2017: 551)

All the constructions in (27)–(31) are not locative constructions, however they still share similar relations with the locative constructions we have been listing in Section 3.1. Locative Ps, and specifically the Romance *a* preposition involved by the Apulian constructions under investigation, according to Manzini and Savoia (2011), Manzini and Franco (2016) instantiates a relation ($\subseteq$) whose content they take to be part/whole, similarly to what Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) call zonal inclusion.

So in sentences like '*there is a party at the club*' the preposition *at* introduces a relation between '*club*' and '*party*' as a specialization of the part-whole relation, which involves instances where the internal argument of ($\subseteq$) is a location (i.e. 'x included by y, y location') or is otherwise locatively restricted. Roughly the examples

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15. Even if the etymological meaning of this verb is *hold* (as with Italian *tenere*), in fact this verb is now used with the meaning of possessive *have* in these dialects.

in (27)–(31) can be accounted for in the terms of this primitive relation, namely the part-whole relation, that subsumes also non locative constructions. In the case of auxiliary+verb the part-whole relation is instantiated between the embedded lexical verbs which is the whole (introduced or not by any preposition) and the auxiliary which represent the instantiation of the part-whole relation within the event denoted by the embedded lexical verb.[16]

In our respect it is important to notice that the progressive implies an unaccusativization as in Mateu and Amadas (1999) but not linked directly to the locative nature of progressives but to the more general primitive part-whole ($\subseteq$) relation. The part-whole relation is instantiated between the subject of the matrix auxiliary and the event denoted by the embedded verb: the subject is seen in a given/partial moment of the entire event represented by the verb. Since the part-whole relation is not strictly linked to the locative patterns that Mateu and Amadas use in order to reduce syntax to a cognitive space as in Talmy's account (see footnote 13), it allows us to account for the relations that cannot be reduced directly to a cognitive space. The central coincidence relation is a special flavour of the part-whole relation. In other words, the subject of the matrix verb of a progressive construction is in a part whole relation with the event denoted by the embedded verb. It means that it is caught at a particular point in the unfolding of the event: a central point. This could be an explanation for the fact that progressives are not usually found with states and achievement following the Vendler's class (see Section 4, example (43)): the event structure cannot be decomposed in subevents so that a subject can be centrally located within the unfolding of the event.[17]

For the purpose of the present work we will not provide a detailed analysis of the implication of using either the locative or the part-whole relation, since we will

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16. The proper description of the part-whole relation falls out of the scope of the present analysis. For a detailed discussion of its primitive nature behind locative, instrumental and dative relations see Manzini and Savoia (2011), Manzini and Franco (2016), Franco and Manzini (2017), Franco, Savoia and Manzini (2015).

17. As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, we can still find states and achievement that are found in progressive constructions, such as in the Italian sentence '*Stasera sto avendo pazienza*' (=tonight I am having patience). Many authors Dowty (1977, 1979), Mourelatos (1978), Bach (1981), among others, argued against Vendler's (1967) generalization about the impossibility of progressive with states or achievement. They propose that when a state or an achievement are found with progressive, a special interpretation is involved (Bach's 1981 "temporary" or "dynamic states"): it depends on whether the state predicate can be coerced into expressing a contingent property that change over time or not. The main purpose of the present work is not to propose a lexical analysis of the predicate that enters into the progressive constructions but to describe the double inflection of progressives in Apulian varieties and their aspectual implication at semantic interface.

be mainly referring to the Apulian constructions involving the locative prepositions *a*, so we will be defining progressives as locative constructions. However, it was important to notice that instead of mapping any relation to an abstract cognitive space, it seems, in our opinion, easier to take a more abstract relation such as the part-whole which is involved in more contexts than the mere spatial one. It allows us, in fact, to account for the similitude between different progressives, including the ones that, according to Cinque (2017) are not proper locative constructions (27)–(31). After this brief excursus we can go back to the analysis of the progressive constructions in Conversanese (1)–(2) as locative constructions.

4.   Syntactic analysis of the progressive inflected constructions

The progressive constructions in Conversanese (32) are formed by an inflected stative verbs stɛ (=to stay) a locative preposition *a* and an inflected lexical verb. It patterns with the unaccusative locative construction (33) formed by a stative auxiliary and a locative phrase.

(32)   Stek   a   fatsə   u   pɜn.
       stay.1SG to do.1SG   the bread.
       'I am making the bread.'

(33)   Stek   a   kɜsə
       stay.1SG at home
       I am at home

The main difference between the two sentences is that in (33) the complement of the preposition is an NP: the subject is in a spatial relation with the NP kɜsə (=home). In (32) the subject is centrally located within the timeframe denoted by the telic event of making the bread. The progressive involves a PP that introduces an IP.[18] We propose for (32) the derivation suggested by Manzini and Savoia (2005): the

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18. Following Manzini and Savoia (2005) we do not need to project a CP selected by the IP, the PP can also selects a finite complement without the projection of any CP layer, as in the Early Romanian example in (i) where a finite verb is selected by the preposition (see Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017 for a detailed analysis).

(i)   au   poruncitŭ de au   făcut un sicreiu
      has ordered   of have.3PL made   a   coffin
      'he has ordered them to make a coffin.'   (Hill 2013: 10)

The obligatory coreference of the subjects works like in control constructions: the subject of the embedded sentence either a PRO or a variable x created by lambda-abstraction (Manzini and Savoia 2007; Landau 2015).

aspectual inflected construction involves a connecting preposition which is selected by the aspectual auxiliary (34).

(34) a. Stek a fatsə u pɜn
'I am making bread.'

b.
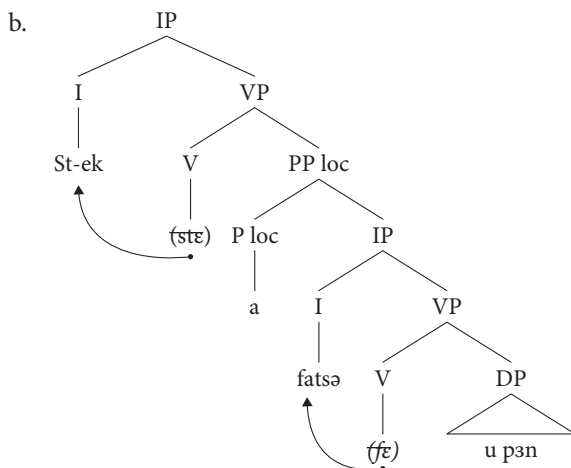
The sentence in (34) is a biclausal structure since both the auxiliary and the embedded verb show overt indicative morphology. These constructions can be considered biclausal if we follow one of the diagnostics proposed to account for the biclausality of present perfect (see Chomsky 1957, 1981, 1995 for English, and Kayne 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011 for the Romance languages): that is, the optionality of the clitic placement in romance languages (Manzini and Savoia 2011).[19] The progressive in Conversanese shows a long distance clitic placement (35), the clitic climbs in a proclitic position before the auxiliary as in the 'restructuring' present perfect constructions, in the sense of Rizzi (1982). However, there are also varieties in which the clitic is found as a proclitic of the embedded verb, as in the examples of aspectual inflected construction of Brindisi (36) Montemilone (37) Mesagne (38) and Alliste (39). The examples of Mesagne (38) show that the optionality of clitic placement are found within the same variety (38a vs. 38b).

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19. Clitic climbing is not a direct diagnostic for monoclausality or biclausality, if it was, the fact that there are varieties which allow different clitic placement may lead us to the conclusion that the same constructions may have a monoclausal representation in one variety and a biclausal representation in the other (Kayne 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011), but this would create many theoretical problems about the model of syntax we adopt: why should the same structures imply different representation? In our respect, monoclausal structures make clitic climbing possible, not necessary; therefore, if it is necessary, it is because of some parameter which is independent from monoclausality/biclasuality (Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017: 43).

The optionality of clitic placement across and within varieties in Romance shows that the parameter is independent by the monoclausal vs biclausal status of the construction involved. In this respect the long distance clitic placement cannot be taken as a proof of monoclausality (see Manzini and Savoia 2011; Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017; for further discussion).

(35) (U) stek a *(u) mandʒə. (Conversano, Apulia)
it.CL stay.1SG to it.CL eat.1SG
'I am eating it.'

(36) Vɔli a ssi lu mandʒa. (Brindisi, Apulia)
want.3SG to himself.CL it.CL eat.3SG
'He wants to eat it by himself.' (Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017: 44)

(37) Va / Vinə u camə. (Montemilone, Basilicata)
go.2SG/ come.2SG him.CL call.2SG
'you go to call him.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 689)

(38) a. Vɔffu lu veʃu (Mesagne, Apulia)
want.1SG it/him.CL see.1SG
'I want to see it.'
b. Lu sta ffattsu (Mesagne, Apulia)
it.CL stay do.1SG
'I am doing it.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 691)

(39) ʃta llu tʃɛrku (Alliste, Apulia)
stay him/it.CL search.1SG
'I am searching for him/it.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 694)

As pointed out in Laka (2006) for the Basque progressive auxiliary *ari*, the verb *stɛ* is a proper lexical verb: the same form of the verb is used for both locative/progressive constructions and for sentences involving other PPs (40). In some varieties where the progressive auxiliary differs from the lexical *stay*, as in Putignano, we can have the progressive forms without the connecting preposition (41) and the lexical *stay* with a preposition (37), however this is not a stable pattern across varieties (see the 1SG in Table 3 for Martina Franca).

(40) Stɛm kə la makənə. (Conversano, Apulia)
stay.1PL with the car.
'We are by car.'

(41) Sta ffaʃeimə. (Putignano, Apulia)
stay do.1PL
'We are doing.'

(42) a. Stam   kə   la   mɛkənə.   (Putignano, Apulia)
          stay.1PL with the car
          'We are by car'
      b. Stam   a   kɛsə.
          stay.1PL at home
          'We are at home.'

These biclausal progressive constructions, as Manzini and Savoia (2005) initially suggests, involve an event identification between the two inflected verbs, contrary to the asyndetic constructions of the imperative in Neapolitan (Ledgeway, 1997) where each verb represents an assertion (see example in (6)–(7)).[20] *Event Identification* is defined by Kratzer (1996) as a recursive operation involving the external argument and the aspectual reading that is applied on the event denoted by the embedded lexical VP.[21] It relates the external argument introduced by a *v*/V head or by aspectual heads to the predicate via an identification of the event variable of the embedded predication. Roughly, *Event Identification* allows us to add further aspectual information to the event described by the verb. Only if the two predicates

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20. However, Ledgeway (2016) in his analysis of the inflected constructions involving the verb *va* in Sicilian proposes a single event analysis (see also Cruschina 2013). This is to acknowledge, as an anonymous reviewer suggests, that Ledgeway used the two event analysis just for the Neapolitan Imperative constructions that crucially differ from the constructions we are describing here and that we have used here only for comparative reason. As it should be clear by now, the asyndetic constructions of the Imperative in Neapolitan are not the focus of the present proposal: they are used only as a benchmark, the difference between the asyndetic constructions and the aspectual inflected constructions can help us in performing our proposal.

21. In Kratzer (1996) the lexical root (embedded verb) contains information about the internal argument, but the external argument is introduced by a hierarchically superior functional head *v*. It was initially posited by Kratzer as a mechanism for joining the external argument onto a verb using Voice. An event identification between a Voice and a verb adds the condition that the verb has an Agent/Causer. Event Identification takes one function of the type <e, <s, t>> (a function from individuals to functions from events to truth values) and another function of the type <s, t> (a function from events to truth values) and returns a function of type <e, <s, t>>. In other words, Event Identification combines two predicates of events by abstracting over both of their event arguments. The insight of Event Identification of Kratzer (1996) is that it is a recursive operation that allows a n-clausal syntactic structure to be mapped on to a mono-eventive semantic representation. Although T is usually assumed to close off the event variable introduced by V and *v*, successive event identification with higher functional heads allow a different aspectual interpretation. In our respect the recursive use of event Identification allows to add (as a second recursive operation after the introduction of the external argument) further aspectual information about the event denoted by the embedded lexical verbs.

have compatible aktionsarten event identification may take place.[22] In our respect the progressive auxiliary allows the event identification, following Vendler's (1967) class, with embedded predicates involving activities and accomplishment but not with achievements or state.

(43) a. Stek   a   mandʒə.   (activity)
          stay.1SG to eat.1SG
          'I am eating.'

      b. stek   a   fatsə   la   kɜsə.   (acccomplishment)
          stay.1SG to build.1SG the house.
          'I am building the house.'

      c. #Stek   a   sattʃə.   (state)
          stay.1SG to know.1SG
          'I am knowing.'

      d. #Stek   a   canəskə   u   sennəkə.   (achievement)
          stay.1SG at know.1SG   the mayor.
          'I am knowing the mayor.'

The structure in (34) cannot be accounted for in the terms of a serial verb construction if we follow Baker's (1989) analysis, for which the serial verbs must share the same object. However, as Cruschina (2013) suggests, we can consider these aspectual inflected constructions serial verb construction if we adopt a less rigid statement on serial verbs as the one introduced by Aikhenvald (2006: 12): 'Prototypical serial verb constructions share at least one argument. Serial verb constructions with no shared arguments are comparatively rare, but not non-existent'. In our respects these aspectual progressive constructions share the same subject which is also marked on the overt morphology of both verbs.

    The presence of a connecting element *a* should support an analysis of the aspectual inflected constructions as non-serial verb construction. Nevertheless, in the varieties of Putignano, Martina Franca and Mesagne, we do not find such a connecting element (see Table 2, 3, 4).[23] With regard to such 'unstable' connect-

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22. As discussed in footnote 17, we can have progressive with state and achievement when a special interpretation is involved (see also the examples (48)–(49)).

23. Two hypotheses are found in the literature regarding the origins of *a*: (i) it comes from the Latin preposition ad; and (ii) it derives from the Latin coordinating conjunction ac used in spoken and late Latin (cf. Rohlfs 1969: §§710, 761). Although in other southern Italian varieties there are cases in which the *a* is used both as a locative preposition and a pseudo-coordinator, in the present analysis we analyse the *a* as a locative proposition (given the locative nature of the progressive) for both inflected and uninflected constructions since the conjunction found in these varieties is *e* and crucially differs from the preposition *a*. Further evidence comes from the non-inflected aspectual construction in (39).

ing element found with serial verbs, Aikhenvald (2006: 20) admits that serial verb constructions 'may include a special marker which distinguishes a SVC from other types of constructions but does not mark any dependency relations between the components'. So in our respect, the locative progressive inflected structure in (34) is a serial verb construction since the two verbs are inflected and the connecting locative preposition is a special marker of the instantiation of a central coincidence relation (not a dependency relation) between the two verbs: the output is a unique event. In contrast, the progressive locative construction with the embedded un-inflected verb has a different structure and distribution: it does not imply event identification and it is not a serial verb construction since the embedded verb is an infinitival complement which is in a dependency (locative) relation with the matrix auxiliary.

4.1 The uninflected progressive constructions

As we have been repeating so far, in Conversanese there is a parallel progressive construction we repeat here in (44). It is formed by an inflected stative verb *stɛ* (=to stay) the locative preposition and an uninflected lexical verb (infinitive). It differs from the aspectual inflected construction mainly for its syntactic structure and aspectual entailment.

(44) Stek   a fɛ   u pɜn.
     stay-1SG to doINF the bread.
     'I am making bread.'

As the aspectual inflected progressive (35) it allows only a long distance clitic place-ment (45). But since the embedded verb is an infinitive, it allows enclitics (46), which are not possible with the finite verbs in the inflected aspectual counterpart.

(45) (U) stek   a (*u) man'dʒɛ.
     it CL stay-1SG to it.CL eat.INF
     'I am eating it.'

(46) Stek a   mandʒa-llə.
     stay to eat.INF-it CL
     'I am eating it.'

As for the locative structures in (38) and the aspectual inflected constructions (37) we have a locative construction where the aspectual auxiliary selects a locative PP, but in (44) the PP introduces an infinitive that is a full indefinite CP_I in the terms of Manzini and Savoia (2003): 'The domain, labelled C_I to suggest Indefiniteness, is identified with the "indefinite" modality lexicalized by infinitivals' (Manzini and

Savoia 2003: 97). The infinitive verb raises to a CP$_I$ position and the accusative enclitic is embedded in a nominal position before the inflectional domain as in (47).

(47) a. Stek a mandʒa-llə.
          'I am eating it.'

b.
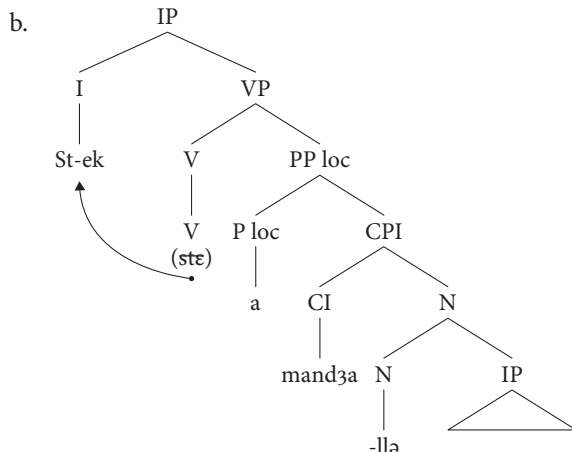
The structure in (47) is a locative structure: the subject is located in a position within the indefinite event expressed by the embedded infinitive verb. While in (34) we have been saying that the subject is centrally located within the event denoted by the embedded lexical verb, in (47) the subject is simply located within the event and it can imply inchoative reading or any other special interpretation (i.e. Bach's 1981 "temporary" or "dynamic states", see footnote 17). For example, this type of progressive constructions is found also with states (48) and achievements (49) that were banned for the aspectual inflected construction. In (48) and (49) the interpretation of the sentence is inchoative: the subject is located in the starting point of the event denoted by the embedded verb and although the subject of the auxiliary controls/is coreferential with the subject of the embedded infinitive, there is no such any event identification that makes impossible the instantiation of a central coincidence relation with already stative predicates (as in (43c–d) above).

(48) Stek   a   sa'pe.   (state)
      stay.1sg to know.inf
      'I am realizing it (= I am starting to know).'

(49) Stek   a   canəʃə   u   sennəkə.
      stay-1sg to know.inf the mayor
      'I am getting to know the mayor.'

Further data and diagnostics are needed to understand the difference between the aspectual reading of the inflected and the uninflected constructions. However, intuitively, the uninflected constructions seem to not be interpreted as monoeventive. These constructions, en fact, do not identify always a unique event. Similarly to the asyndetic imperative constructions in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 1997) in (6) and (7) these constructions may be decomposed in two subevents:[24] the auxiliary denotes both a locative and a progressive periphrasis. Due to the indefiniteness of the infinitive verb in CP_I, the subject is controlled by the matrix subject.[25] This is confirmed by the presence of the accusative enclitic (46–47). No special entries are found for the matrix auxiliary with uninflected construction in the varieties under analysis (as the specialized matrix auxiliary for the inflected construction in the varieties of Putignano, Martina Franca and Mesagne) and the connecting element can never be omitted. Nevertheless, the aspectual infinitive constructions with the verb *stay* are still interpreted as progressive constructions: they are the sole progressive forms available for 1st and 2nd plural person (§6). Next section is devoted to sketch the aspectual differences between the inflected and non-inflected aspectual progressive constructions.

5. Aspectual analysis of the inflected and non-inflected progressive constructions

Both inflected and uninflected progressives are interpreted as truly progressive: in both case the events entails ongoingness since no endpoint of the event is achieved (as in Arosio 2011, among others). In other words, the event has not an entailment of termination. So, the telic events with a natural endpoint, as 'eat the bread', are interpreted as not finished both in inflected (51) and non-inflected constructions (52).

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24. They do differ from the asyndetic constructions of Ledgeway (1997) since there is a connecting element between the two verbs and they cannot be interpreted as truly paratactic constructions.

25. For the purpose of the present work the CP_I has to be interpreted merely as tenseless, in the sense that it lacks independent tense specification and thus it agrees in tense with the matrix auxiliary. However, for a complete analysis of the CP_I see Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011). Both the inflected and the uninflected constructions imply a control relation between the matrix and the embedded subject, however while in the inflected construction the inflections allow the identification of the subject also through the overt agreement of the embedded verb (see the expletive inflection analysis of Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia 2017), in the uninflected construction no overt marking on the embedded verb is present.

(51) Stek   a mandʒə u   paninə.   (Inflected construction)
      stay.1SG to eat.1SG   the sandwich
      'I am eating the bread.'
      I HAVE NOT EATEN THE BREAD.

(52) Stek   a manˈdʒɛ u   paninə.   (Uninflected construction)
      stay-1SG to eat.INF   the sandwich
      'I am eating the sandwich.'
      I HAVE NOT EATEN THE BREAD.

They are no compatible with the habitual interpretation which is commonly assigned, also in Conversanese, to the simple present forms as shown in (53): in (53a) the temporal modifier 'every year' is found with the present tense, while we cannot find this 'habitual' temporal modifier with inflected (53b) and uninflected (53c) progressives.

(53) a. Tottə i   annə vek   o   mɛr.
          all   the years go.1SG to-the sea
          'Every year I go to the sea.'
      b. #Tottə i   annə stek   a vekə   o   mɛr.
          all   the years stay.1SG to go.1SG to-the sea
          #'Every year I am going to the sea'.
      c. #Tottə i   annə stek   a ʃʃi   o   mer.
          all   the years stay.1SG to go.INF to-the sea
          #'Every year I am going to the sea.'

A main difference is found between the aspectual interpretation of the two constructions. It is linked to the episodic value of progressives: Chierchia (1995), among others, suggest that while individual level predicates express properties of individuals that are permanent or tendentially stable, progressives and stage level predicates, in contrast, attribute to individuals transitional and episodic properties. Frequentative adverbs roughly indicate the repetition of the same action and, thus, are mainly incompatible with progressive episodic operators. We might expect, then, that both inflected and uninflected constructions can not be found with frequentative adverbs, but this is not the case: uninflected progressive can be found with frequentative adverbs.

In both type of constructions, the morpheme *a* is the only element which can intervene between the two verbs. Adverbs like *sembə* (=always), which encodes frequentative aspectual properties (Cinque 1999), can not be found between the functional and the lexical verb but they are only allowed after the complex predicate with both type of constructions (55) and (56). Furthermore, with the 'uninflected' construction in (56) we can also find the frequentative adverb between the matrix

auxiliary and the locative PP, while it is ruled out with the inflected construction in (55).[26]

(55) Mari stɜ   (*sembə) a (*sembə) manʤɜ (sembə).
      Maria stay.3sɢ always)   to always   eat.3sɢ always
      'Maria is always eating.'   (Inflected embedded verb)

(56) Mariː stɜ   (sembə) a (*sembə) manˈdʒɛ (sembə).
      Maria stay-3sɢ always   to always   eat.ɪɴꜰ   always
      'Maria is always eating.'   (Uninflected embedded verb)

Cardinalettti and Giusti (2003) in their analysis of aspectual inflected constructions with motion verbs in Sicilian, take the different distribution of frequentative adverbs as a proof of the fact that the inflected version is monoclausal while the uninflected one is biclausal. Our proposal, on the contrary, is that both types of progressive are biclausal. The presence of the frequentative temporal quantifier with the uninflected construction is linked to the indefinite CP_I selected by the locative preposition. The subject of the embedded verb in CP_I must receive a variable/operator interpretation since no person and number morphology is found on it, as in the control constructions. The frequentative adverbial modifier can bind the variable introduced by the embedded infinitive verb in (56) and allow a frequentative interpretation of the progressive locative construction.[27] The double inflection of (55), on the other side, remarks the event identification has taken place and the fact that the subject is centrally located within the event denoted by the embedded predicate: no temporal and aspectual binding is possible since both the auxiliary and the embedded verbs show the same inflectional morphology.[28] Nevertheless, besides these minor aspectual differences, both type of constructions still imply a progressive reading: the 'uninflected' construction, in fact, is the only progressive form found with 1st and 2nd plural persons. Next section is devoted to the analysis of the distribution of the aspectual inflected for person and number.

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26. As an anonymous reviewer suggested, the frequentative adverbs can be found with both constructions in case of focus fronting of the embedded predicate. Further analysis is needed to understand the nature of this contrast between the declarative sentences in (55)–(56) and the sentences in which the embedded predicate is fronted.

27. Since the embedded verb is tense-less and aspect-less, an adverb can work as an operator that binds it, intervening, as a modifier, in the auxiliary-embedded V temporal and aspectual binding.

28. In varieties such as those of Putignano, Martina Franca and Mesagne (Table 2, 3 and 4) the embedding auxiliary shows forms with a reduced inflection which differs from the lexical auxiliary. In the terms of Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017), the embedding verbs show expletive inflectional morphology.

6. Person split in the inflected progressive constructions

The progressive aspectual inflected construction is not found with 1st and 2nd plural person. As we mentioned in Section 1, (3)–(4) repeated here as (57)–(58), 1st and 2nd plural person do not allow the progressive constructions involving the inflected embedded verb (57) but they are only found with the constructions involving an embedded infinitive verb (58).

(57) a. *Nojə stɛmə   a   mandʒɛmə
          we   stay.1PL to eat.1PL
      b. *Vou stɛtə   a   mandʒɛtə
          you stay.2PL to eat.2PL

(58) a. Nojə stɛmə   a   man'dʒɛ
          we   stay.1PL to eat.INF
          'We are eating.'
      b. Vou stɛtə   a   man'dʒɛ
          you stay.2PL to eat.INF
          'You are eating.'

Similar data are also found in different varieties. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2003) found a similar pattern in their analysis of the inflected constructions in the dialect of Marsala. Manzini and Savoia (2005) show many other southern varieties (not only in Apulia) in which the aspectual inflected constructions are not found with 1st and 2nd plural person, while the other persons allow it, in (59) and (60) the examples of the motion verb aspectual constructions in the Sicilian varieties of Villadoro and Calascibetta.

(59) Jamo / Jete   a   mmanɲdʒarɪ.   (Villadoro, Sicily)
      go.1PL go.2PL to eat INF.
      'We/You go to eat.'

(60) Imu / Iti   a   mmaɲdʒarɪ.
      go.1PL go.2PL to eat INF
      'We/You go to eat.'

Why do not 1st and 2nd plural persons allow the a+inflected form construction? Is it worth to talk about a person split? Our answer is that 1st and 2nd plural persons are referentially more complex than the other singular and plural (3rd) persons. Their complexity is linked to the fact that 1st and 2nd plural person are not the mere plural versions of the 1st and 2nd singular persons. In this sense we are dealing with a person split different from the one attested for the singular person in the auxiliary selection (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011).

Bobaljik (2008) proposes a two-valued binary feature system [±speaker] and [±hearer] to account for the person pronominal system across languages.[29] The two-valued person feature system lacks a feature "third person", which is then analysed as [−speaker, −hearer]. For plural persons Bobalijk (2008) argues, along the lines of Lyons (1968) and Benveniste (1966), that 1st and 2nd plural person are not the mere plurals of the singular 1st and 2nd:

> *we* ('first person plural') does not normally stand in the same relationship to *I* ('first person singular') as boys, cows, etc., do to boy, cow, etc. The pronoun *we* is to be interpreted as *I*, in addition to one or more other persons […]. In other words, *we* is not 'the plural of *I*': rather, it includes a reference to 'I' and is plural.
>
> (Lyons 1968: 277)

So Bobalijk suggests that: 'It is indeed meaningful to speak of a first person plural, but it is important to note that plural, for the first person, normally means an associative or group plural, rather than a multiplicity of individuals sharing the property [speaker]' (Bobaljik 2008: 209). The same is true also for the 2nd plural person which is not the mere plural of you singular. So while 1st plural person is not just a sum of [speaker] but it is the sum of speaker plus others, 2nd plural person is not just a sum of [hearer] but hearer plus others. Furthermore Bobaljik (2008) resumes this discussion saying that while 1st plural person is the sum of all person (61), 2nd plural person is the sum of all person excluding the [speaker] (62).

(61)   'we' is 1st (+ 2nd) (+ 3rd)

(62)   'you' is 2nd (+3rd).   (adapted from Bobalijk 2008)

Following similar considerations on the person system, Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2011) use a person split analysis to describe the patterns found in other constructions (i.e. auxiliary selection with present perfect) where 1st and 2nd singular persons (discourse anchored pronouns: [+speaker, +hearer]) and 3rd singular person (event-anchored pronouns: [-speaker, -hearer]) show different morphosyntactic patterns. For the analysis of plural persons Manzini and Savoia (2011) argue that:

> Thus the 1st person plural does not necessarily denote a plurality of speakers (though it may), or the speaker and hearer only (though again it may); rather its denotation routinely involves one speaker and a certain number of other individuals that are being referred to together with the speaker. The same is true for the 2nd person singular, which does not necessarily (or normally) denote a plurality of hearers but simply refers to the hearer taken together with a certain number of other individuals […]. Because of this referential structure of the so-called 1st and

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29. With varying choices of the feature labels, a similar argument has been presented and defended in one form or another by Ingram (1978), Harley and Ritter (2002), and Noyer (1997: Chapter 2).

> 2nd plural, it is reasonable to propose that even varieties that activate the person split in the singular may not do so in the plural.   (Manzini and Savoia 2011: 213)

In a lexical parametrization approach (Manzini and Wexler 1987; Manzini and Savoia 2011), languages involve a parametric distinction for plural on the one side and the discourse participants and event participants may not apply in plural.

In our respect the person split we found in the aspectual inflected progressive of Conversanese is not directly linked to the split involving discourse vs event participants, but to the referential complexity of the 1st and 2nd plural person. More precisely we have been contending that the progressive aspectual inflected constructions are based on a locative structure where the subject of the matrix subject enters a central coincidence relation within the event denoted by the embedded predicates (as in Mateu and Amadas 1999; Laka 2006). 1st and 2nd plural person may not enter into this derivation because the referential complexity or the multiple referents identified by these plural persons do not allow the instantiation of a central coincidence relation as tight as the one found in the aspectual inflected constructions with other persons. To express the progressive with 1st and 2nd plural person the only available option in Conversanese is the one in which there is no event identification between the two subevents, so the complex referential subjects can bind only the indefinite variable introduced by the embedded verb.

7.   Conclusions

In this paper we presented a preliminary analysis of the progressive form in some Apulian dialects, we focused on the variety of Conversano (Apulia). Conversanese shows a mixed progressive paradigm of inflected and uninflected forms of the lexical verb. Both constructions are formed by an inflected stative verb a connecting preposition and a lexical verb. The two constructions differ on the inflection of the lexical verb selected by the preposition: one typology of constructions implies an inflected embedded verb and we have labelled them as aspectual (progressive) inflected construction (following Manzini and Savoia 2005), the other typology of constructions implies an uninflected embedded lexical verb and we have labelled them as the aspectual uninflected construction.

Both types of structure share a locative periphrasis, as progressives in many languages (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Mateu and Amadas 1999; Laka 2006). In (34) and (47) we proposed a biclausal syntactic derivation for both inflected and uninflected progressive constructions. The difference is that while in the inflected constructions the locative preposition selects a full IP in the uninflected ones the locative preposition selects an indefinite CP_I. The distinction in the structures has

been used to account for the different syntactic and aspectual properties of the two progressive constructions.

On the one hand, the aspectual inflected progressive constructions: (i) denote an event identification between the auxiliary and the lexical verb, (ii) allow long distance clitic placement and (iii) entail a matrix subject which is centrally located within the event denoted by the embedded verbs, both verbs being identified by the same agreement inflectional morphology, (iv) do not allow frequentative adverbs to intervene in the tight relation of event identification instantiated by the locative preposition *a*.

On the other hand the aspectual uninflected constructions: (i) may denote an inchoative reading, (ii) do allow enclitic placement on the embedded infinitival verb, (iii) entail a subject located within the embedded event in order to bind its indefinite/variable interpretation (no agreement features), (iv) allow frequentative adverbs to bind the variable introduced by the embedded infinitival predicate.

The 1st and 2nd plural person are not found in the aspectual inflected constructions but they allow only the infinitive counterpart. Differences in the pattern of the morphological derivation of 1st and 2nd plural person is quite common (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011) across Romance languages: these persons are more complex than other persons (Bobaljik 2008) because they involve a complex reference to the discourse participants (as 1st and 2nd singular), to the plurality of participants and to the event participants. In a lexical parametrization analysis (Manzini and Savoia 2011), languages involve a parametric distinction for plural and the difference discourse participants and event participants may not apply in plural.

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Contact-induced phenomena in the Alps

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The main question underlying this chapter is to what extent language contact can affect syntactic structure. To tackle this issue we examine two relevant phenomena found in two minority languages spoken in the region Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol: clitic climbing in Dolomitic Ladin and the use of the Romance complementizer *ke* in Cimbrian. Both phenomena are usually considered as the result of a contact-induced change influenced by the neighbouring Italo-Romance varieties. However, it is shown that the rising of clitic climbing is a language-internal process which is only accelerated by the contact with Italian. Similarly, the lexical borrowing of the complementizer *ke* in Cimbrian does not entail that its syntactic properties are also borrowed.

Keywords: language contact, Ladin, Cimbrian, clitic climbing, complementizer

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the phenomenon of language contact in the Trentino-Alto Adige (South Tyrol) region, where Romance and German varieties – both genetically and typologically different – have been in contact with each other and with both standard Italian and standard German for several centuries. The investigation on the effects of contact in this geographic area was pursued by a dedicated research unit within the European project AThEME ('Advancing the European Multilingual Experience', www.atheme.eu) based at the Universities of Trento and Verona.

    In this paper, we show that – in apparent contradiction with the title of the paper – the label "contact-induced" is overestimated and somehow misleading when it comes to language change: we put forward that external factors (i.e. the actual exponence that is borrowed) are key only if internal change has already begun for independent reasons. The two case studies presented in this paper show that language contact ends up playing a relatively little role especially when it comes to grammatical categories that require integration into a different grammatical system

(cf. Hickey 2010: 13–14). We are not denying the role of contact in e.g. lexical borrowings, which is unquestionable: what we would like to do is restate the concept of "syntactic borrowing" whose very existence has been questioned for that matter (cf. a.o. Sankoff 2004). The core of our idea is that language contact might only affect the speed of language-internal change (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994): in other words, what superficially looks like a syntactic copy of a given structure is only the epiphenomenon of otherwise independent grammatical change.

In this paper we deal with clitic climbing in Dolomitic Ladin (a group of Rhaeto-Romance varieties spoken in the Italian Dolomites) and with the hybrid complementizer system in Cimbrian. Although these two phenomena are not directly related to one another, they have been chosen as they are both assumed to be the prototypical syntactic environments under the influence of (other) Romance varieties.

In fact, clitic climbing represents a widely studied phenomenon of Romance linguistics, starting from Rizzi (1976a,b). Scholars have always been extremely interested in it because of its great deal of variation in the different Romance languages. On the other hand, the complementizer system of Cimbrian has been focused on in the last decade as it represents the ideal case in which a functional element such as a complementizer is borrowed (Grewendorf and Poletto 2011; Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2014; Casalicchio and Padovan 2018).

2. Clitic climbing in Romance

The first case analysed in this chapter is clitic climbing, a well-studied phenomenon connected to the more general process of "Restructuring" (Rizzi 1976a,b, 1978; Longobardi 1978, 1979; Kayne 1991; Roberts 1997; Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004; Cinque 2006; Gallego 2016, a.o.). Restructuring applies with functional verbs (modal, aspectual and motion verbs), which may form a verbal unit with the infinitive that they select:

(1) a. Maria vuole mangiare la   mela
        Maria wants eat.INF   the apple
        'Maria wants to eat the apple.'

(2) a. [$_{TP}$ Maria vuole [$_{vP}$ ~~Maria vuole~~ [$_{CP}$ mangiare la mela]]
    b. [$_{TP}$ Maria vuole [$_{vP}$ ~~Maria~~ mangiare la mela]]

(2a) illustrates the simplified structure of a modal verb selecting an infinitival clause. In (2b), restructuring has applied, and thus the whole sentence is monoclausal, since both the modal verb and the infinitive are within the same CP. This

has consequences on the position of the clitics: They attach either to the infinitive, in non-restructured sentences, or to the functional verb, when restructuring applies:

(3) [TP Maria vuole [CP mangiar=la]]   (biclausal sentence without CC)

(4) [TP Maria la vuole [VP mangiare ~~la~~]]   (monoclausal sentence with CC)

When the clitic attaches to the higher verb (4), restructuring is assumed to have occurred. Clitic Climbing ('CC') is considered one of the main diagnostics of restructuring.

  Another property of restructuring related to CC is constituency: in a language with optional CC like Italian, the clitic can form a constituent with the infinitive, as a constituency test like focus preposing shows (5). Cinque (2006) takes this point to argue that even sentences without CC have just a monoclausal structure, the functional verb being merged in a functional projection of the TP and the infinitive in VP (6):

(5) [PORTARLO A CASA] voleva.   (Cinque 2006: 14)
     take.INF=it.CL to home   he.wanted

(6) a. [CP … [FP … [FP V_restr [FP … [VP V]]]]]   (Cinque 2006: 12)
     b. [TP Paolo (lo)   voleva [vP portar(lo)   a casa]]
           Paolo (it.CL) wanted   take.INF (=it.CL) to home
         'Paolo wanted to take it home.'

Finally, note that even in Italian, where CC is optional, there are some restrictions, e.g. if the functional verb also shows up as an infinitive the clitic cannot attach to the lower verb (Longobardi 1978, 1979):

(7) a. Lo   vorrei   poter fare.   (Italian)
         it.CL I.would.like can   do.INF
     b. Vorrei   poterlo   fare.
         I.would.like can=it.CL do.INF
     c. *Vorrei   poter(e) farlo.
         I.would.like can   do.INF=it.CL
         'I would like to be able to do it.'

Romance languages do not behave in a consistent way with respect to CC, and they can be divided into three groups (Rizzi 1978; Napoli 1981; Benincà 1986; Salvi and Skytte 1991: 513ff.; Cinque 2006: 31ff.; Gallego 2016, a.o.):

a. Varieties in which CC is obligatory: Central and southern Italian dialects, Sardinian, old Romance (Benincà 1986), (8);
b. Varieties in which CC is ungrammatical: Modern French, Venetan dialects (see also below, §3.2) (9);

c. Varieties in which CC is optional: standard Italian, Spanish, Gallo-romance dialects (§3.2), (10).[1]

  (8) a. Li   vujə   magnà./ *Vujə magnàli.   (Fossacesia, Abruzzese)
             them.CL I.want eat.INF   I.want eat.INF=them.CL
             'I want to eat them.'

       b. Je la   voudrai   marier   bien. (old French; Foulet 1928: 135 f.[2])
           I   her.CL would.like marry.INF well
           'I would like to marry her well.'

       c. e' no-l   pos   tor.   (old Venetan; Lio Mazor 22r, 16[3])
           I   not=it.CL can   take.INF
           'I can't take it.'

  (9) a. Marie doit le   faire. / *Marie le   doit faire.
             Maria must it.CL do.INF   Marie it.CL must do.INF
                                         (Modern French)

       b. A Maria ga da farlo.   / ??A Maria o   ga da fare.
           the Maria has to do.INF=it.CL   the Maria it.CL has to do.INF
           'Maria must do it.'   (Padua)

  (10) a. María quiere comprarlo.   / María lo   quiere comprar. (Spanish)
            María wants buy.INF=it.CL   María it.CL wants buy.INF

       b. Maria vuole comprarlo.   / Maria lo   vuole comprare. (Italian)
           Maria wants buy.INF=it.CL   Maria it.CL wants buy.INF
           'Maria wants to buy it.'

Dolomitic Ladin belongs to the last group, since both CC and non-CC can be found. However, CC is considered a recent phenomenon, stigmatized by normative and semi-normative grammars as due to Italian influence (Lardschneider 1909; Anderlan-Obletter 1991; Gallmann, Siller-Runggaldier and Sitta 2013). They consider it "external" to the Ladin system; in this respect, the following quotation is quite telling:

> "… *Abweichungen von der natürlichen Sprache*"
> [deviations from the natural language]   (Lardschneider 1909: 162)

A similar opinion is common in more recent grammars as well. On the other hand, to the best of our knowledge there are no specific formal studies on modal verbs in

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1. Note that Uriagereka (2002) and Gallego (2016) have proposed that the choice of the clitic position (i.e., presence or absence of CC) has a discourse-oriented effect in Spanish.

2. Cited in Benincà (1986/1994: 133).

3. Cited in Benincà (1986/1994: 134).

Ladin. We thus aim at investigating if CC is in fact a contact-induced phenomenon or if it is internal to the Ladin system. In order to do so, we will first focus on the Romance varieties surrounding Ladin, which have been in a long-lasting contact situation with it. We show that they do not have (or strongly disprefer) CC either, so if CC in Ladin is a contact-induced change, it must come from standard Italian or central and southern Italian varieties. The following step is to establish a *post quem* date for the introduction of CC in Ladin. We examine two of the oldest grammars (dating back to the XIX century), which show that CC was already present, and even preferred, at that time, long before we can think of an influence of standard Italian or central/southern Italian varieties on Ladin. Therefore, CC in Ladin is an old, possibly internal, phenomenon of Ladin varieties.[4]

3.   Clitic climbing as a contact phenomenon?

3.1   Clitic climbing in the varieties surrounding Dolomitic Ladin

In order to answer our research question about the status of CC in Ladin (is it a native or a borrowed phenomenon?), considering standard Italian only is not sufficient but we also have to consider the surrounding Italo-Romance varieties, which have been in contact with Ladin for centuries. Overall, north-eastern Italy is an area in which non-CC prevails (although there are no specific studies on this phenomenon). Therefore, before analysing the Ladin situation in detail, we will first sketch the distribution of both constructions in the Trentino and Venetan varieties that are contiguous to the Ladin area.

Over the centuries, Ladin people have mainly had contacts with speakers from the current Trentino and from Veneto. The varieties spoken in these regions belong to two groups: Gallo-italic, spoken in western and central Trentino, and Venetan, spoken in almost the whole Veneto and in southern and eastern Trentino, mainly in the area of Rovereto and in the Valsugana. The area surrounding Trento, up to the Fiemme Valley (which is adjacent to the Ladin area) belongs to a "mixed" area, where Venetan intersects Gallo-italic (Pellegrini 1977; Casalicchio and Cordin in preparation).[5]

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4.   It is impossible to trace back exactly the evolution of CC in Ladin before the XIX century, because there are only few, very short or formulaic written texts before that time.

5.   Note that this classification is mainly based on phonological properties and also considers some lexical and morphological differences. Syntax, however, is not considered in traditional classifications like Pellegrini's (1977). See Casalicchio and Cordin (in preparation) for a discussion of the morphology and syntax of central Trentino.

In AThEME fieldwork, we have collected data from Brentonico (Venetan, south-western Trentino), Fondo (Gallo-italic/Ladin transition area, Non valley) and Salorno/Salurn (central Trentino with strong German influence) for the Trentino varieties; from Soraga (Fassan variety) and Pieve di Livinallongo (Fodom variety) for Ladin.

As far as the Trentino varieties are concerned, our data show that CC is apparently ruled out in Brentonico and rather marginal in Fondo. Salorno falls out of this picture because – on the contrary – CC is the preferred option:[6]

(11) a. Devo   lavarli   zo   subit. / *I   devo   lavar
          I.must wash.INF=them.CL down   now   them.CL I.must wash.INF
          zo   subit.   (Brentonico, TN)
          down   now
          'I have to wash them (i.e. the dishes) right now.'

      b. Cogni parlarji   doman. / ??/*Ji   cogni
          I.must talk.INF=him.DAT.CL tomorrow   him.DAT.CL I.must
          parlar   doman.   (Fondo, TN)
          talk.INF tomorrow
          'I have to talk to him tomorrow'

      c. Devo   parlarghe   doman. / Ghe   devo
          I.must speak.INF=him.DAT.CL tomorrow   him.DAT.CL I.must
          parlar   doman.   (Salorno, BZ)
          speak.INF tomorrow
          'I have to talk to him tomorrow.'

On the other hand, the data from the Ladin area show that there is a clear gap between varieties that accept CC as rather free alternative to non-CC (Soraga), and others that only allow the non-CC variant (Fodom), like the Venetan dialects. If we consider the geographical and demographic situation of the Ladin valleys this is not surprising, because Fodom is contiguous to the Venetan area (actually it is also part of the Veneto region), while Fassa is contiguous to the Fiemme valley, where a Trentino dialect is spoken. As we have seen, CC is more easily accepted in Trentino than in Venetan varieties, although it remains the dispreferred option. Note that clitics are proclitic to infinitives in Ladin.

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6.   When approaching the data from Salorno, we have to consider that it has a peculiar sociolinguistic situation, because there has been a very intensive contact between German and Romance speakers for centuries, and there is a very high degree of bilingualism. In this chapter, we do not go further into the Salorno data (see Cordin 2016 for a specific analysis of the Trentino dialect spoken in Salorno).

(12) a. (*Ie)   mosse (ie)   descore doman.
         (him.DAT.CL) I.must (him.DAT.CL) talk.INF tomorrow
                                          (Fodom, AThEME)

      b. (Ge)   cogne (ge)   rejonar doman.
         (him.DAT.CL) I.must (him.DAT.CL) speak.INF tomorrow
         'I must talk to him tomorrow.'   (Fassa, AThEME)

Table 1 summarizes the results in the fieldwork. In our fieldwork, we interviewed three informants in each village (six in Salorno), belonging to different age groups (one below 35 years, one between 35 and 65, one over 65 years). Informants were provided with standard Italian sentences to be translated into their native variety. The functional verbs contained in the questionnaire are the three modal verbs *want*, *must* and *can*, the aspectual verb *start* and the andative verb *go*. All the Italian stimulus sentences contained an instance of CC.

In Table 1, the first number of each cell corresponds to the number of answers with CC, the second number is the total number of sentences containing the functional verb. The number of sentences with functional verbs changes from variety to variety because sometimes the informants changed the sentence, avoiding the use of the indicated functional verb, or used a full DP instead of a clitic; moreover, in Salorno we interviewed six instead of three people.

The results show that in the Trentino dialects, CC is ungrammatical in Brentonico, and clearly dispreferred in Fondo, while it seems to be fully optional in Salorno (cf. *supra* for its particular position within the Trentino group). In Ladin, CC is completely ungrammatical in Fodom (province of Belluno), and optional, even preferred, in Fassan.

Table 1. Answers with CC collected in the fieldwork of the AThEME project

	Trentino dialects			Ladin dialects	
	Brentonico	**Fondo**	**Salorno**	**Soraga (TN)**	**Fodom (BL)**
volere ('want')			1/1		
dovere ('must')	0/3	1/7	7/10	4/7	0/5
potere ('can')		0/3	6/9	3/4	0/3
cominciare ('start')	0/1	1/2	4/6	0/1	0/3
andare ('go')	0/1	1/2	1/3	3/4	0/3

3.2   Discussion of the data and analysis

After considering the data about CC taken from different sources we can now try to tackle the question about the origin of CC in Ladin: is it really due to Italian influence, as pointed out by some authors? The scenario they draw describes that

the "original" or "authentic" Ladin lacks non-CC; CC, then, is seen as a recent, foreign element, which is ascribed either to Italian influence or to the *topos*, widespread within normative grammarians of all languages, of the decay of the original grammar rules.

In order to approach this question in a scientific and principled manner we first consider which Italo-Romance varieties have been in contact with Ladin, and thus where CC could really have entered from. If we consider the sociolinguistic and geographic position of Ladin we can distinguish between an "older" and a more recent contact situation: in the past centuries and until 1919, Ladin was mainly in contact with the surrounding varieties, i.e. Trentino and Venetan.[7] Moreover, some parts of the population had a passive, basic knowledge of literary Italian, which was the main language of the Church and in some valleys also used in schools.[8] Crucially, neither Trentino nor Venetan have CC as a default option and the contact with written Italian, where CC is optional and not obligatory, does not seem to be strong enough to allow this feature to be passed to Ladin.

Thus, if these authors are on the right track, we can make the prediction that the end of the First World War (1918) is the *post quem* date for the borrowing of this feature from Italo-Romance: in fact, it is only after this date that, due to immigration from other parts of Italy, Ladin speakers started having more intense contact with standard Italian, with different varieties of regional Italian and also – to a lesser degree – with dialects displaying optional or obligatory CC in their system, as Aemilian, Romagnolo or the central and southern varieties. In the following decades, the Italian media (radio and later television) also reached the Ladin valleys, increasing thus the proficiency in Italian.

The consequent prediction is that if CC is a syntactic borrowing from Italian, we will not find it in texts that were written before 1918. Therefore, we have looked for modal and aspectual verbs in two grammars written in the XIX century (Bacher [1833] 1995 and Vian 1864), a long time before we can think of a contact-induced borrowing from standard Italian or other Italian varieties with CC. Most interestingly, in Vian's (1864) grammar of Gardenese it is possible to find some (limited) examples of CC, alongside cases of non-CC; cf. (13a and b):

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7.   We do not consider the contact with German varieties here, because German has no clitic pronouns.

8.   The influence of literary Italian in the Ladin valleys before 1918 is shown by the presence of several lexemes borrowed from this language and concerning the religious domain, such as Gardenese *Iddie Padre, Figliùolo e Spirt Sant, la Santiscima Trinità, la Madòna, l angiul custode* (Vian 1864: 104), but its influence was mainly confined within the ecclesiastic domain. Note also that the use of Italian at school does not seem to correspond to a real influence in Ladin. This is shown by the very absence of CC in Fodom, one of the valleys that have always had the school in Italian, and generally a stronger Italian influence.

(13) a. Ël no uel ve l dì.   (Vian 1864: 100)
          he not wants you.CL it.CL say.INF
          'He doesn't want to tell you.'

      b. …, ch' ël la ulëss spieghé.   (*ibid.*: 195)
          …, that he it.CL want.SBJV explain.INF
          '… that he would want to explain it.'

Both examples are built with the same modal verb, *ulëi* ('want'). In the first case, the clitics attach to the infinitive *dì* ('say') (recall that clitics are proclitics to infinitives in Ladin). The second case is more revealing for our research, because in this case the clitic has climbed to the modal verb. Thus, this is clear evidence for the fact that CC was present in Ladin already before it started to be influenced by Italian.

But things become even more interesting if we look at Bacher ([1833] 1995), the oldest grammar of a Ladin variety (Badiot) that has been published. In this case, a sample survey has shown that the overwhelming majority of occurrences of modal verbs (7 out of 8 occurrences) displays CC (14a); just one instance has non-CC (14b):

(14) a. Jeu me 'n vó ĝi.   (Badiot; Bacher [1833] 1995: 249)
          I me.CL from.here.CL want go.INF
          'I want to go away.'

      b. Ne pòste pa 'n pü les cončie?   (*ibid.*: 250)
          not can=you PRT a little them.CL repair.INF
          'Can't you fix them a bit?'

This finding has two important consequences for our understanding of the use of CC in Ladin: first, it gives a conclusive answer to the question whether CC is due to Italian influence, because CC is attested much earlier than the start of the pervasive contact with Italian. Second, it points to the fact that we have to turn the traditional picture of CC in Ladin upside down: the "original" (i.e., older) setting turns out to be the one with CC, the version without it being the real innovation. This fact is not surprising if we take into account Benincà's (1986) paper on clitic climbing in old Romance. She shows that all old Romance languages had uniformly CC (cf. examples (8b–c)), and that the instances of non-CC in French, Venetan and Italian are a later innovation (see also Benincà 1995: 111 for Friulian). Before concluding, we can also tackle the ancillary claim found in traditional grammars, which say that CC is an "external" element of the Ladin grammar (i.e., only a superficial feature). In this case, we can apply the constituency test discussed for Italian in (5). In Gardenese, Lardschneider (1909) shows that when the infinitive is fronted, CC is not only possible, but even obligatory (cf. 15 with 5):

(15) a. [Auzé] ne l dauses. (Gardenese; Lardschneider 1909: 162)
lift.INF not it.CL you.may

b. *[L auzé] ne dauses. (*ibid.*)
it.CL lift.INF not you.may
'You may not lift/raise it.'

Most interestingly, in Fodom, where as we have seen CC is completely ruled out in synchrony, the opposite pattern occurs: the infinitive can only be fronted together with the clitic, although speakers generally prefer not to front it altogether (16):

(16) a. *[Descore] ie mosse doman. (Fodom)
talk.INF him.DAT.CL I.must tomorrow

b. ?[Ie descore] mosse doman.
him.DAT.CL talk.INF I.must tomorrow
'I must talk to him tomorrow.'

This shows that this variety has gone further, and that it has completely replaced the variant with CC from its grammar. Unlike Gardenese, hence, in this variety CC is really external to the system.

The analysis of CC in Ladin, which shows that this phenomenon is much older than previously thought and still internal to the system (apart from Fodom), leaves us now with another question open: has the contact with Italo-Romance varieties played any role in the grammar of CC? We think that it has: Ladin arguably had only CC in the Middle Ages, as all attested Romance varieties. Starting from the XIX century, the occurrences of non-CC increase dramatically, especially in Fodom, where it becomes obligatory. This amounts to saying that the *real* Italian "influence" does not affect the presence of CC in Ladin; on the contrary, the contact with Venetan and Trentino varieties has caused Ladin to adopt the innovation found in these dialectal groups, concerning the non-climbing position of the clitic. Hence, contact with Italo-Romance varieties has had the opposite effect of that described by normative grammars.

Thus, the contact with Italian has not led Ladin to introduce a foreign syntactic construction in its inventory because it has been internal to the Ladin system for centuries. On the other hand, if the cases of CC have indeed increased again in the last decades after a period in which non-CC was predominant, as claimed by normative grammars, contact (in this case with Italian) can be responsible for this quantitative alternation.[9] However, it did not introduce a new syntactic

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9. Actually, it is impossible to check if there has indeed been a quantitative alternation in the last century. The written texts are strongly influenced by the norm, and there isn't a corpus of oral data that covers the last decades. Therefore, we cannot assess if the claim of normative grammarians really reflects the actual situation or not. Anyway, if there were indeed an increase of CC in the

configuration, because both CC and non-CC were already in the system, but just reinforced the use of one of them. What contact cannot do, on the other hand, is to lead a language to introduce a completely alien structure – unless there is a gap in the system, as in the Cimbrian case discussed in Section 4. This result is in line with papers that have dealt with the role of contact in other syntactic constructions of Ladin: Benincà (1985/86) and Casalicchio and Cognola (2018, in press) on the Verb-Second rule and Bidese, Casalicchio and Cordin (2016) on the 'Verb + locative' constructions.

4. Cimbrian

There is no general consensus as to whether functional words (FWs) are borrowed. The point is that these elements (like e.g. complementizers) are endowed with a set of formal features that fit the environment of the model language. When it is indeed the case that a FW is borrowed, the real question amounts to what extent the replica language "copies" the FW's formal features (or a subset thereof).

The case we focus on here regards complementizers. It is a well-known fact in the literature (see Bayer 1999) that languages that borrow a complementizer are likely to undergo a partial "restructuring" in their complementation system.

Let us briefly recap the basics of the Cimbrian complementation system: in the Cimbrian variety of Luserna there has been a double system of complementizers for at least a century. Beside the native *az*, the borrowed complementizer *ke* has come along at least as far back as Bacher's gathering of spoken tales (Bacher 1905). Although they both correspond to English 'that', they are specialized in different contexts and only partially overlap.

Az typically requires embedded subjunctive in non veridical contexts and triggers embedded word order: basically, V_{fin} occurs after Neg and sentential adverbials (this is why it is taken not to move from its V/v-internal position: see Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2014). What is more, *az* hosts clitics and the expletive subject form -*da*, which is also clitic (cf. Kolmer 2005 and Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2012) in the same fashion as finite verbs do. *Az* can also select indicative mood either when it means *whether* and in turn is selected by 'ask', 'wonder' etc. or in "sloppy style" when subjunctive mood would otherwise be expected. In fact, we noticed that Cimbrian speakers tended to replicate exactly the same pattern of the Italian stimulus sentence: indicative mood selected by verbs of thinking is considered sloppy or even substandard (cf. *Penso che lui è intelligente*, 'I think that

last decades, then it could be effectively due to contact with Italian, as stated in the full text. We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this fact.

he **is**.IND intelligent): the Cimbrian translation reproduces this pattern with *az* selecting for indicative, see ex. in (17c).

The other complementizer, *ke*, has a different behaviour: it is used in veridical contexts and typically shows up in declarative clauses (e.g. verbs of saying) with indicative mood and, to a certain extent, in non-restrictive relative clauses:[10] crucially, it does not trigger word order asymmetry. In other words, a main clause and a clause introduced by *ke* display identical word orders: V_{fin} precedes both negation and sentential adverbials, and subject/verb inversion is possible in the same fashion as in main clauses, i.e. there can be fronted constituents after *ke*. Moreover, *ke* can host neither clitic pronouns nor the expletive *-da*. For this reason, it is more generally taken to be a generalized "subordinator" in the sense of Bhatt and Yoon (1991) (see also Grewendorf and Poletto 2011 and Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2014) rather than a full-fledged clause-typer like *az*.

> (17) a. I bill   **az**=ta[11] mai sunn mach   herta i   kompiti
>   I want **that**=*da* my son do.SUBJV always the homework
>   vor   tschoi.
>   before dinner
>   'I want my son to do his homework before dinner time'
>   b. In land   khöun=sa **ke** dar-sell cameriere(n) sto(a)lt.
>   in village say=they **that** that   waiter   steals
>   'In the village that waiter is said to be a thief.'
>   c. I pensar **azz**=ar iz in ferie   / I pensar **ke** dar iz
>   I think **that**=he is in holiday / I think **that** he is
>   in ferie.
>   in holiday
>   'I think he is on holiday.'

4.1 The double complementizer system in Cimbrian: The state of the art

To make sense of the double system of complementizers in Cimbrian, a recent strand of research (cf. Grewendorf and Poletto 2009, 2011; Kolmer 2012; Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2012, 2014) suggested a structural distinction for the two complementizers. Independently of subtler details in the derivations there is common agreement on the relative hierarchy of the two complementizers in the CP field. We labeled the *az*-type complementation "old pattern" since it is the native

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10. We will discard relative contexts here as there is a great deal of variation among speakers.

11. In (17a) *-da* appears as *-ta* due to assimilation with the preceding voiceless affricate.

option for embedding: it is reasonable to assume that a system displaying an asymmetry between main and embedded clauses is oldest one.

(18) a. $[_{\textbf{SubordP}}$ *ke* $[_{ForceP}$ [… $[_{FinP}$ V_{fin}-*cl* $[_{TP}$ … Neg $[\cancel{V_{fin}}$]]]]]] → "novel pattern"
b. $[_{\textbf{SubordP}}$ $[_{ForceP}$ [… $[_{\textbf{FinP}}$ *az-cl* $[_{TP}$ … Neg [V_{fin}]]]]]] → "old pattern"

From a syntactic viewpoint, the difference between *az* and *ke* has to be derived in terms of merger in two distinct positions: *az*-type complementizer are assumed to be merged in the lowest C-head, namely Fin^0, which is the same position where the finite verb moves in main clauses giving rise to V2. The "novel pattern" exploits the topmost left periphery leaving Fin^0 available for the finite verb to move: this is why there is no main vs embedded asymmetry. At any rate, an important proviso is in order here: even if, at first sight, it might be tempting to assume that *ke* simply behaves like its Romance counterpart *che* in not triggering embedded word order, the similarity with Italian is only apparent as Cimbrian still behaves like German in displaying V-to-C movement (see Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2014 and Bidese and Tomaselli 2018), which is obviously excluded in Italian main clauses.

4.2 The unexpected pattern *ke* + subjunctive

As we have seen, according to traditional descriptions of Cimbrian there seems to be a pretty clear-cut scenario where *ke* and *az* introduce indicative and subjunctive clauses respectively. Note that subjunctive in Cimbrian has nothing to do with its morphologically (and etymologically) closest cognate, namely the German *Konjunktiv I*: in fact, present subjunctive mood is used in reported speech in (Modern) German and has to do more with evidentiality than with non-veridicality, as is the case of Cimbrian (and, for that matter, Romance). Quite on the contrary, Romance subjunctive is typically selected by either verbs of thinking or negative matrix predicates: Cimbrian patterns exactly like Romance in following the so-called *consecutio modorum*, or sequence of moods. At a first blush, a clear-cut distinction where *az* selects indicative or subjunctive and *ke* only indicative could be easily explained assuming that *az* (merged in Fin^0) has an unvalued Mood feature and acts as a probe checking the goal T which is [Mood: sвjv]; on the contrary, *ke* is not expected to do so being merged in SubordP and apparently not being connected with embedded mood (see Bidese, Padovan and Tomaselli 2014):

(19) a. … $[_{FinP}$ $az_{[Mood:\_\_]}$ $[_{TP}$ … [$V_{fin[Mood:\ SBJV]}$]]]]]]
b. $[_{SubordP}$ *ke* $[_{ForceP}$ [… $[_{FinP}$ $V_{fin[Mood:\ IND]}$ $[_{TP}$ … $[\cancel{V_{fin}}$]]]]]]

In the questionnaires we administered to our informants a novel pattern turned up, though. In the translation tasks the mood of the Italian stimulus sentence played

a role in affecting mood selection in Cimbrian and – quite surprisingly – in also extending the usage of *ke*.

(20) a. 'Z iz nèt khött **ke**   dar Gianni **khemm**   pit üs.[12]   [ke+SBJV]
          it is not said   that the Gianni come.SBJV with us
          'It is not sure that Gianni is coming along.'

      b. I gloabe **ke**   dar Gianni **iz** za   gerift   ka Tria.   [ke+IND]
          I think that the Gianni is already arrived in Trento.
          'I think that Gianni has already arrived in Trento.'

      c. I gloabe **ke**   dar Gianni **sai**   za   gerift   ka Tria.
          I think that the Gianni be.SBJV already arrived in Trento
          'I think that Gianni has already arrived in Trento.'   [ke+SBJV]

Obviously, *az* is also possible in all contexts under (20) – and in the grammar of some speakers this is the only viable option.

Why do traditional grammars point to a clear-cut distinction between *az* and *ke* when it comes to mood selection? Moreover, some metalinguistically aware speakers also confirm that *ke* and subjunctive mood should not cooccur in the same clause and examples like (20) are to be considered deviant.

Notice that the structures in (19) capture the clear-cut case, that is when subjunctive is univocally connected with *az*. To account for [ke+SBJV] it is not unreasonable to invoke a system with two competing grammars, the former based on the model language, i.e. Italian/Trentino, and the latter on the replica language, Cimbrian. Several features of the stronger grammar – i.e. the model language's – infiltrate the functional structure of the replica language. Take mood features: if we observe the paradigm of subjunctive mood in Cimbrian it is quite striking that we find obligatory indicative mood where morphological ambiguity leads to favor indicative, i.e. the unmarked option. In fact, 1 pers. pl. verb forms in Italian are identical in subjunctive and indicative mood:

(21) Penso che partiamo   domani.
      I.think that we.leave.SBJV/IND tomorrow
      'I think we are leaving tomorrow.'

This might be the reason why in Cimbrian the paradigm of embedded subjunctive (in grey) has a gap in the 1 pers. pl. See Table 2 for details:

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12. Notice that the stimulus sentences for (20a–c) are 'Non è detto che il Gianni venga (SBJV) con noi', 'Penso che il Gianni è ("sloppy style" IND) già arrivato a Trento' and 'Credo che il Gianni sia (SBJV) già arrivato a Trento' respectively.

Table 2. The gap in the paradigm of *az* + SBJV

Traditional pattern (*gloaben*+az=CL+SBJV)	"Novel" pattern (*gloaben*+ke+pron+IND)
i gloabe az-to + SBJV I think that=you	i gloabe ke du + IND I think that you
i gloabe azz=ar + SBJV I think that=he	i gloabe ke er + IND I think that he
*i gloabe az=par + SBJV I think that=we	i gloabe ke biar + IND I think that we
i gloabe azz=ar + SBJV I think that=you.PL	i gloabe ke dar + IND I think that you
i gloabe az=ze + SBJV I think that=they	i gloabe ke sa + IND I think that they

To make sense of this, we assume morphological ambiguity to give rise to "weak points" in the functional structure, which favor an unmarked option i.e. the indicative.

The system starts out with a single unmarked option, which in turn favors two parallel trends: (i) the spreading of indicative as default mood in the whole paradigm and (ii) the possibility of having an unvalued mood feature in SubordP. We emphasize the importance of (ii): a borrowed complementizer takes on some features of the Germanic native complementizer – at least in some speakers' grammars[13] – and controls embedded mood.[14]

To sum up, we put forward that "contact-induced" change in mood selection depends on three crucial factors:

i. the topmost left periphery hosts elements (mostly) endowed with a minimum of formal features that may range from discourse-related particles to conjunctions;

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13. There is a great deal of variation, to say the least. Older speakers tend to maintain the clear-cut division of work between *az* and *ke*, while younger generations have both options available for the merger of *ke*.

14. Following the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, we propose that *ke* is merged in SubordP even when the verb shows up with subjunctive morphology: actually, there are no compelling reasons in the data we have hitherto gathered to assume that *ke* is merged in Fin^0. In fact, no encliticization onto *ke* is possible and V$_{fin}$ precedes Neg (hence it must have moved from inside v/V). Thus, it is more convincing to assume that, under certain circumstances and in the grammar of a subpart of speakers, subordinators can acquire mood specification.

ii. what is more marked (e.g. subjunctive vs indicative) is likely to be assigned a default value whenever this is possible (for morphological reasons), e.g. 1st p.pl. subjunctive changes into 1st p.pl. indicative;

iii. "enrichment" of the higher C layer (due to pressure of the model); the same Agree relation between FinP and T (Mood$_{Irrealis}$) is replicated by SubordP and V/T.

(22) a.
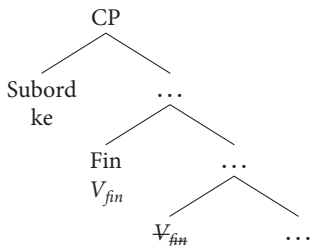
b.
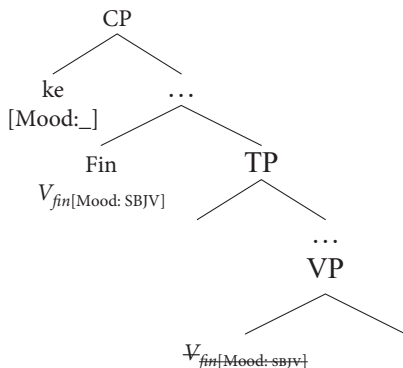
Notice that the structure in (22b) reproduces the structural relation occurring in standard Italian: in fact, the Italian complementizer *che* mostly occurs in the top-most left periphery (apparently in Force, see Rizzi 1997 and much subsequent work for details) and controls embedded mood:

(23) $[_{ForceP}$ ***che***$_{[Mood: \_\_]}$ $[$ ... $[_{FinP}$ $[_{TP}$ ... V$_{fin[Mood: SBJT]}$ $[$ V$_{fin}$ $]]]]]]$

5. Conclusions

The results arrived at in the AThEME project tackled this question taking into account the different varieties spoken in the region Trentino-Alto Adige (South Tyrol), which offer an exceptional situation of different kinds and stratifications of contact and are therefore considered a privileged scenario for describing what contact does and what does not.

In this paper we have shown that syntactic elements cannot be introduced as such through language contact: the phenomena investigated here show that contact may influence the speed of an internal process, or lead to the lexical borrowing of a functional word, but these elements do not come with their feature configuration even if it might seem to be the case at a first look. In other words, functional elements do not merely transfer grammatical categories from a language to another: their role only serves to support internally-driven tendencies of the (replica) language and possibly to speed up, or, in other cases, slow down, innovations that are internal (see also Padovan et al. 2016).

Acknowledgement

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N morphology and its interpretation

Romance feminine singular/plural *-a*

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This contribution deals with the *-a* inflection in Italian varieties, which realizes plural as well as feminine singular. Thus the *-a* inflection externalizes apparently irreducible contents (singular/plural). We try to answer the question whether it is possible to unify these two readings. Feminine plural *-a* alternating with masculine singular characterize standard Italian and many South-Italian dialects (§§1–3). On the contrary, in North-Lombard, Romansh and North-Tuscany varieties *-a* characterizes feminine singular and plural, while the specialized (-)*i* plural morphology occurs on determiners (§§4–7). We argue that in both types of languages, the *-a* plural externalizes a nominal class property [aggregate]. We propose that [aggregate] is at the basis of the superficial syncretism between plural and singular/feminine in the occurrence of the *-a* inflection. Indeed [aggregate] introduces a notion of plurality as aggregate of individuals compatible at least with mass singulars (aggregates of parts). In general, the inflectional vowels of Romance languages, or in any event Italian *-a*, are not mere byproducts of paradigmatic organization, but are lexical items, endowed with interpretive content.

Keywords: agreement, gender, number, feminine, plural, nominal class

1.   *-a* plurals in standard Italian and central Calabrian

In this section we briefly present the Romance *-a* plurals that are the object of our discussion. In standard Italian, *-a* appears to be feminine and singular by default; however (apart from occurrences as masculine singular, not relevant here), it also introduces the plural of a set of nouns characterized by a distinctive semantics, denoting "a plurality of weakly differentiated parts" (Acquaviva 2008), as illustrated in (1b) (note that *-a* is simply indicated as A in the glosses). The singular of these nouns is masculine, as in (1a) and it sometimes displays a regular masculine plural with a pure count interpretation such as (1c), referring to artifacts. Romance languages

have only two target genders, namely masculine and feminine – and the *-a* plural agrees in the feminine with determiners and adjectives in (1b). A comparison can usefully be made with other language families that have genders, for instance the Semitic languages (Fassi Fehri 2016; Kramer 2015), which display the same syncretism between feminine singular and plural (non-gender specific), despite the fact that they involve morphology unrelated to Italian.

(1) a. il   bracci-o   lung-o
         the.M.SG arm-M.SG long-M.SG
         'the long arm'
     b. l-e   bracci-a lungh-e
         the-F.PL arm-A   long-F.PL
         'the long arms'
     c. i   bracc-i   più   lungh-i   (del fiume)
         the.M.PL arm-M.PL more long-M.PL (of the river)
         'the longest branches of the river'

The potential theoretical interest of taking up the classical topic of the feminine/plural syncretism is that recent formal syntax and semantics studies revise traditional notions of singular and plural, gender and number – yielding potential insights into their syncretism.

   In the dialects spoken in Italy, the distribution of *-a* as plural of masculine nouns displays microvariation, which only partially repeats the Italian paradigm. A case in point is provided by the central Calabrian varieties which in the singular distinguish two genders [fem] and [masc] and three inflectional classes *-a, -u, -ɛ*, as illustrated in (2)–(4) for the variety of Iacurso. At least *-ɛ* can combine with feminine or masculine bases, as in (4). The plural has the gender-neutral realization *-i* on nouns, on adjectives and on functional categories of the noun.[1]

(2) [masc, sg] l-u puɐrk-u [plural] l-i puɐrtʃ-i
                 'the pig'   'the pigs'
(3) [fem, sg]   l-a buffɛtt-a [plural] l-i buffiɐtt-i
                 'the table'   'the tables'

---

(4) [masc, sg] l-u mɛlun-ɛ [plural] l-i mɛlun-i
       'the melon'   'the melons'
     [fem, sg]   l-a cav-ɛ   [plural] l-i cav-i
       'the key'   'the keys'   *Iacurso*

Iacurso also has -*a* plurals, illustrated in (5), for -*u* masculine singular bases. The set of nouns to which *a* plurals apply in this variety suggests that they are semantically characterized like their Italian counterparts.[2] Recall that Italian -*a* plurals in (1) switch the gender to the feminine. In Iacurso, in the absence of gender distinctions on adjectives and on functional categories of the noun, no such switch is visible. In Iacurso, as in Italian, some Ns can further be seen to alternate between the -*a* plural and the -*i* plural.

(5)   [masc, sg]   [plural]
    a. l-u jiðit-u   a′. l-i jiðit-a
        'the finger'   'the fingers'
    b. l uɐv-u   b′. l ɔv-a
        'the egg'   'the eggs'
    c. l-u liɐttu   c′. l-i lɛtt-a
        'the bed'   'the beds'
    d. l-u kurtiɛɽ-u   d′. l-i kurtɛɽ-a/l-i kurtiɛɽ-i
        'the knife'   'the knifes'   *Iacurso*

As already mentioned, plural agreement on determiners and adjectives is systematically -*i*, independently of whether the singular is masculine or feminine, and whether the plural inflection is -*i* or -*a*, as further illustrated in (6). This allows the differentiation of -*i* from -*a* plural to emerge as independent of the alternation between masculine and feminine.

(6) a. kir-i   ɔman-i ɣruɐss-i
         that-PL   man-PL big-PL
         'those big men'
     b. st-i   buffiɐtt-i sunu luɐŋg-i
         this-PL   table-PL   are   long-PL
         'These tables are long.'
     c. l-i   kurtɛɽ-a sunu lavat-i
         the-PL   knife-A are   washed-PL
         'The knives are washed'

---

2. Thus where the two plurals alternate, as in (5), we may think of the -*a* plural as designating 'knives' in the same sense in which English speaks of 'a knife set'.

> d. l-i   jiðit-a/dient-i   lueŋg-i
>   the-PL finger-A/tooth-PL long-PL
>   'the long fingers/teeth'   *Iacurso*

Applying tests devised by Acquaviva (2008) we find that in partitive constructions with a singular head of the type 'one of…', the gender of the noun on the numeral is determined by its singular form – regardless of whether an -*a* plural is involved, as in (7).

> (7) un-u   dɛ kir-i   ɔv-a
>   one-M.SG of that-M.PL egg-A
>   'one of those eggs'

We conclude that there is no evidence in central Calabrian for the switch of gender, in other words for a *genus alternans*, and we simply see the alternation of two plurals, in -*i* and -*a*. Thus across the Romance languages, the -*a* plural is not necessarily feminine, though it is in the better known examples of Italian.

2.   The internal structure of the noun

In this section we briefly lay out the model of the internal structure of the noun on which we base our discussion. We adopt a morpheme-based analysis of inflectional phenomena and we assume that the same basic computational mechanisms, i.e. Merge, underlie syntax and morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993). We do not assume a separate Morphological Structure component (Halle and Marantz 1993: 114) capable of rearranging the syntax prior to Vocabulary Insertion; in other words, we do not assume any morphological operations (for instance Impoverishment, Halle and Marantz 1993) taking place between the output of the syntax and lexical insertion. Rather we posit that the syntax projects structures from actual lexical items – and we propose to treat the so-called inflectional morphology of the noun directly within the syntax.[3]

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3.   From our perspective, the weakness of Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz 1993) comes from its general conceptual structure, that assigns a complete pre-established set of interpretive categories to each syntactic node, which, later, morphology takes care of obscuring. This is an effect, that we think of as inconsistent with the requirements of evolvability and learnability of the units and mechanisms of language design (in the sense of Chomsky et al. to appear). Indeed it is not clear how such opacity would have evolved – or how the rules that derive it could (efficiently) be learned. Our idea is that in many instances the traditional characterization of functional categories (case, inflectional classes, etc.) is misleading, and tends to introduce too many morphosyntactic specifications with respect to the real syntactic material externalized.

In the morphemic analysis of Indo-European nouns (Halle and Vaux 1998; Calabrese 1998, 2008), the leftmost component is the root; following Marantz (1997), the root √ is category-less. Proceeding from left to right, next to the root a vocalic morpheme encodes properties that (depending on the language) include gender and/or number and/or declension class. A third slot may be available, specialized for number (e.g. Spanish *-s*) or for number and case (e.g. Latin *-s, -m, -(r)um* etc.). In the syntactic literature, this morphemic sequence is translated into two functional projections corresponding roughly to gender and number (Picallo 2008; cf. Déchaine et al. 2014 on Bantu nominal classes; Fassi Fehri 2016 on Arabic). In keeping with the crosslinguistic comparison with Bantu languages (and possibly with Chinese classifiers, Crisma et al. 2011), the lower category is often labelled Class, the higher category is Num, as in (8).[4] We do not pursue the identification between Class in (8) and Marantz's (1997) nominalizing category *n* proposed by other scholars (Kihm 2005; Ferrari Bridgers 2008; Kramer 2014, 2015).

(8)

```
              Num
             /   \
          Class   Num
         /    \
        √    Class
```
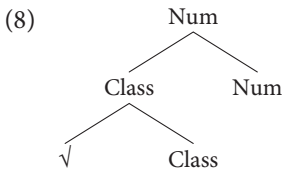
Following standard generative assumptions, even non-eventive nouns are predicates and have an argumental slot, called the Referential-role (R-role, Higginbotham 1985; Williams 1994). Further binding of the R-role by higher Q/D operators yields a referring DP. Class properties restrict the content of the argumental variable ultimately bound by D/Q. Similarly, Percus (2011) entertains the possibility of a conjunctive semantics for the (root, gender) pair. As for the traditional Class/gender

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We adopt a model that presupposes that each morpheme is associated with a content able to predict its distribution. As a consequence, the different occurrences, say, of *-a* are not an instance of syncretism in the sense of DM, but an instance of ambiguity, in the sense that the interpretive category the morpheme is associated to, is sufficient to explain its ability to express plurality and feminine. In other words, what for us is the ability of a lexical item to externalize superficially different interpretations (ambiguity, cf. Kayne 2010b), is downgraded by DM to a deficiency or opaqueness of the lexicon (syncretism); the possibility of a deeper characterization of lexical content is not entertained. The reader is referred to the discussion of Romance (and Albanian) mesoclisis by Harris and Halle (2005), Kayne (2010b), Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2011d) for a comparison between DM and what Arregi and Nevins (2017) call the "Occam's syntactic razor" approach, i.e. effectively the theoretical position endorsed here.

4. The tree reflects the order of the surface string. Indeed we do not assume that structures are necessarily right branching and that mirror orders are created by movement, as one would in the Kaynian/cartographic tradition.

vs. Number categorization in (8), Déchaine et al. (2014) assume that in reality Class is a field of categories including at least two projections for sortal Class elements (gender) and count/mass Class elements (number), labelled Inner and Outer NAsp. Conversely, the layered structuring of gender is advocated in current literature. Thus for Steriopolo and Wiltschko (2012), gender can be distributed over at least three nodes, namely the root, the *n* node and the D node.

Extra complexity arises in Indo-European languages from the fact that there is no one-to-one mapping between the content of Class, which enters agreement with determiners and modifiers, and the inflections of the noun. The latter are instead sensitive to inflectional class. The match between roots and inflectional classes can be obtained by the standard mechanism of selection. For instance, according to Oltra-Massuet and Arregi (2005), Kramer (2015) a Thematic vowel node Th is adjoined to Class/*n* postsyntactically in the Morphological Structure component. For Kramer, in Spanish the diacritics [I], [II], [III] are inserted under Th and then interpreted as vocalic endings, namely -*a* for [II], etc. In turn, the rule that inserts the class diacritics [I], [II], [III] is sensitive to the context determined by certain sets of roots, √*padr*, √*madr*, etc. This means precisely that we are in the presence of a selectional restriction. Indeed, this is the position taken by Kayne (2010a: 73–74). A similar approach is suggested by Acquaviva (2009: 5), namely that "morphological and semantic information can be dependent on the choice of a root without being encoded on the root itself". To say that "a noun has gender X", for instance, means in this perspective "a root Vocabulary item is licensed in the context of [n] with gender X". In other words, the standard notion of selectional restriction is powerful enough to encode the fact that a certain Class content is associated with a certain lexical base and not with others.

As for nominal Class (i.e. gender) content, it may be determined directly by the root, as in Italian *donn-a* 'woman', feminine or *marit-o* 'husband', masculine – where the female or male sexual characters denoted by the root are mapped to feminine and masculine gender. What is more, some (root, Class) combinations are interpreted compositionally, as in *figli-o* 'son', *figli-a* 'daughter'. In other instances, the standard notion of selectional restriction is again powerful enough to encode the fact that a certain Class content is associated with a certain lexical base and not with others.

Theorists generally do not question the fact that Class (i.e. gender) may sometimes be interpreted and sometimes not and simply seek to model it. For Kramer (2015), the difference is to be expressed via the [interpretable] feature. Yet this cannot be assimilated to Chomsky's (2000) feature of the same name. In Chomsky (2000), a given category is never associated with optionally interpretable or uninterpretable features; for instance N is always associated with interpretable φ-features, while *v* or T are always associated with uninterpretable φ-features. In the same

way, we would expect Class/*n* to be always interpretable or always uninterpretable – which is not the case. We keep to the original understanding of this feature and do not extend it to the distinctions required here. We may simplify matters by assuming that all gender is alike; its composition with the root yields a sex interpretation only in case the root has the relevant content. Therefore interpreted gender is a property of the configuration or ultimately of the root, not of the Class feature.

Similarly, it is problematic to find that there are morphological exponents, namely inflectional class vowels, that do not introduce any semantic content at all. The lack of meaning is particularly unexpected in a framework like the present one where we try to enforce the idea that morphology is syntax. The possibility that inflectional class vowels have in fact a semantic content is one of the foci of the discussion to follow.

We apply the model sketched in (8) to the Calabrian data presented in Section 1. The structure in (9) corresponds to the feminine examples *cavɛ* 'key', *buffɛtta* 'table', while the structure in (10) corresponds to the masculine examples *mɛlunɛ* 'melon' and *puɐrku* 'pig'. These structures contain one novelty. Rather than introducing the inflectional vowel countercyclically as a Th node (see the discussion of Kramer 2015 above) we host it in a dedicated Infl position, generated above Class and hence capable of reflecting Class content. The Class slot hosts the specifications feminine and masculine.

(9)

```
                    Infl
                   /    \
               Class     Infl
              /    \      -ɛ/-a
            √       Class
          cav-      [fem]
        buffɛtt -
```

(10)

```
                    Infl
                   /    \
               Class     Infl
              /    \      -ɛ/-u
            √       Class
         mɛlun-     [masc]
         puɐrk-
```
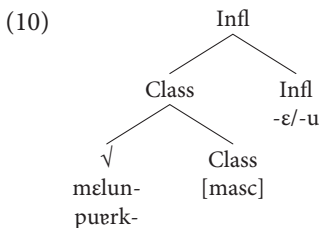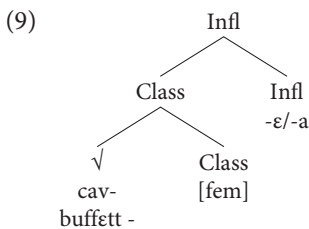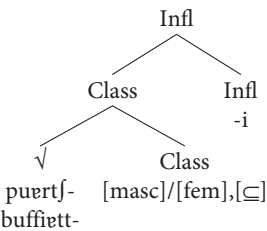
Differently from languages like Spanish, which have a specialized lexicalization for the plural, namely *-s*, in Italian varieties pluralization is obtained by a change of the Infl morpheme. One possible conclusion is that while in Spanish plural is represented higher than the Infl vowel, as part of the specialized Num node (as in (8)), in Italian varieties it is represented lower, hence in the same Class node that

hosts gender. This in turn is only possible if plurality is a nominal Class property of sorts (see in particular the discussion of Déchaine et al. 2014 above). Following Manzini and Savoia (2011a, b), we formalize plural content as $\subseteq$; this says that the denotatum of the predicate can be partitioned into subsets. Therefore the $\subseteq$ property contributes plurality as schematized in (11) – namely by isolating a subset of the set (or set of sets) of all things that are *puɐrk-/buffɛtt-*; [5] in other words, $\subseteq$ says that subsets can be partitioned off the set (the property) denoted by the lexical base.

(11) $\exists x \ [x \subseteq \{puɐrk\text{-}/ buffɛtt\text{-}\}]$
      i.e. there is an x such that x is a subset of the set of individuals with the property 'pig/table'

In these terms, the plurals *puɐrtʃ-i* 'pigs' and *buffiɐtt-i* 'tables' have the structure in (12a). Note that we have kept the [masc]/[fem] Class property in the representation in (12a). This is because partitives like (7) show the availability of gender to anaphoric material in the singular. Since in Calabrian (and in fact in standard Italian) *-i* has dedicated plural content, we can associate this Infl vowel with the interpretive content in (12b).[6]

(12)   a.

```
                        Infl
                       /    \
                  Class      Infl
                 /    \       -i
                √      Class
            puɐrtʃ-    [masc]/[fem],[⊆]
            buffiɐtt-
```

      b.   *-i*: Infl, [$\subseteq$]

---

5.   The alternation *buffetta/buffietti* is due to metaphony, the phonological process that in many South Italian dialects affects a stressed mid vowel followed by a [+high] post-tonic vowel. In this dialect the low mid stressed nucleus changes into a diphthong, specifically [iɐ uɐ] depending on the articulatory place of the vowel.

6.   An anonymous reviewer notes that the lexical entry for *-i* in (12b) includes properties belonging to two different nodes in the representation in (12a). Though the present framework does not allow string lexicalization (unlike nanosyntax), there are several possible formalizations from which to choose. One is that *-i* is hosted by Class, and therefore is not Infl. Another possibility is that *-i* is inserted under the Class node and moves to Infl. Alternatively, lexical entries such as (12b), encompassing properties of adjacent nodes, could be read as in (i) below; in other words properties of the Class node, such as [$\subseteq$], are selected for.

      (i)   *-i*: Infl, selects for [$\subseteq$]

Attributing an interpretive content to inflection also connects to rethinking the notion of agreement, given that the same *(-)i* element is found both as an inflection on the Noun in (12) and as a D. As is fairly well known, the agreement seen in Romance (or Bantu) DPs, even in the simplest of examples, pose special problems to minimalist probe-goal Agree (Carstens 2001 and subsequent literature). In D-N sequences D would be expected to be an uninterpretable probe on c-command grounds. However, D can be interpreted in isolation, namely as a (clitic) pronoun – which means that its φ-features must be interpretable. On the other hand, if we associate the N head with uninterpretable features, we are faced with a probe that looks upwards rather than downwards – namely to the interpretable D head that eventually checks it. This type of difficulty has recently given rise to a stream of literature about multidirectional probing/agreement (Baker 2008; Béjar and Rezac 2009). Probing indifferently upwards and downwards may achieve empirical adequacy. Theoretically, however it weakens the minimalist conception of agreement originally defined by Chomsky (2000) in terms of c-command.

For these and similar reasons, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011a), propose that the Agree rule matches n-tuples of elements that are all interpretable. In other words, there are only positively specified properties in language. Therefore, there are no uninterpretable properties; all lexical material is interpreted at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface. Consequently they renounce the distinction between probes (uninterpretable) and goals (interpretable). Still we can say that an argument agrees with the predicate, in the sense that the Identity relation (or Match) holds of them, under conditions of c-command and Locality (Minimal Search). Agree, *qua* Minimal Search and Match (Chomsky 2001), is furthermore triggered by Full Interpretation at the C-I interface. The only difference is that for Chomsky the result of the operation is the deletion of all uninterpretable feature clusters. For Manzini and Savoia it is the creation of an equivalence set (a 'chain' of occurrences) of feature clusters, interpreted as a single argument. In either instance, Agree insures the satisfaction of the Theta Criterion, requiring a one-to-one mapping between argumental slots and referential arguments.

This theoretical background of assumptions means that in the discussion to follow we will not worry about the interpretable/uninterpretable status of the φ-features (gender, number) we postulate on Ns and Ds. However it should be kept in mind that this issue is orthogonal to those directly addressed in this contribution.

3.   Analysis of *-a* plurals in central Calabrian

So far we have outlined some general assumptions about the syntactic structure of N and we have introduced the analysis of inflectional gender and number in Italian

varieties. Next, we address the inflectional element that directly interests us here, namely plural -*a*. Acquaviva's (2008) semantic characterization of standard Italian -*a* plurals as consisting of 'weakly differentiated parts' appears to hold for Calabrian as well, witness the body part Ns present among -*a* plurals (*labbr-a* 'lips', *jiðit-a* 'fingers'). This characterization applies not only to body part Ns but also to foodstuff with very much the same properties, such as *ɔv-a* 'eggs', *pir-a* 'pears', *pum-a* 'apples'. Other -*a* plurals attach to artifacts; like *kurtɛʈ-a* 'knives'.

We assume that the -*a* inflection corresponds to a set whose members are rather more like parts of whole than like individuated atoms. At the same time, of course, basic tests like the possibility of partitive structures in (7) confirm that we are dealing with plurals. The notion of an aggregate is used by Chierchia (1998, 2010) to characterize the common core of mass and plural denotation. Manzini and Savoia (2017a, 2017b) assume the existence in Romance (and Indo-European) of an [aggr(egate)] class accounting for mass singulars. Assuming the existence of such a class it is tempting to differentiate the -*a* plural from the -*i* plural by associating [aggr] with the former. This raises the question how [aggr] specifications on N, represented by the -*a* morphology, come to agree with the [⊆] specifications that we have imputed to -*i* hence with the *li* determiner. One possibility is that -*a* plurals are in fact [aggr, ⊆]. This yields structures of the type in (13) for *li jiðit-a* 'the fingers'.

(13)

The structure in (13) implies a very elementary ontology, consisting in the squaring of the two properties [⊆] [aggr] – each of which can be represented by specialized morphology in the languages we are considering.[7] Thus in Italian varieties, including Iacurso, -*i* is a dedicated morphology for plural [⊆] while central Italian varieties have a dedicated neuter, i.e. [aggr], morphology -*o* (with residual attestation in the determiners of languages like Spanish), cf. Manzini and Savoia (2017a and

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7. To be more precise, our claim is not strictly speaking about the underlying ontology of natural languages but rather about the ontology which is syntactically represented (in the type of languages we are considering). Indeed we hold that the syntax and the lexicon are relatively impoverished, albeit efficient means to restrict meaning, which is ultimately determined by contextual enrichment.

references quoted there). Acquaviva (2008: 155–156) comments on "the dimness of some grammatical intuitions" going on to state that "the lack of individual distinctive properties is a matter of how the lexical predicates are conceptualized, and this often leads to variation among speakers and uncertain intuitions for one and the same speaker". This is consistent with what we are proposing here; rephrasing Acquaviva, the Iacurso speakers who indifferently render Italian *coltell-i* 'knives' with *kurtɛɽ-a* or *kurtiɛɽ-i* simply have two different ways of presenting the predicative content 'knife' – namely as consisting of individuated atoms [⊆] or as consisting of non-individuated atoms [aggr ⊆].

We are finally in a position to come back to the question concerning the nature of the -*a* ending in (13). In the structure in (12) we have embedded the assumption that the Infl element -*i* is associated with interpretive content, namely [⊆]. As mentioned in the text, -*i* never turns up as nominal Infl except as a plural; this is made explicit in the lexical entry in (12b), reproduced below in (14a). In turn, we assume that -*a* in (13) does in fact have an [aggr] content, as in (14b). In the absence of other restrictions, we predict that the property [aggr] may be present on -*a* in the singular as well; this is verified by the fact that the inflectional -*a* class will include mass nouns (e.g. Iacurso's *pɛtɽ-a* 'stone', cf. English 'made of stone').

(14)   a.   -*i*:   Infl, [⊆]
       b.   -*a*:   Infl, [aggr]

Obviously, in the (feminine) singular, -*a* selects roots with individual content as well, like 'table' in (3), (9). If we are to continue assuming that there is a single Infl item -*a*, we need to resolve the potential conflict between -*a* nouns like (9) and the [aggr] content in (14b). There are essentially two possible approaches. One is to say that the [aggr] content in (14b) is optionally associated with -*a*; this configures a disjunctive lexical entry, which does not seem particularly desirable. Another, more principled possibility is to apply to [aggr] the same considerations that we applied to [fem] and [masc] in discussing structure (8). In essence, we proposed that the interpretation of [fem] and [masc] depends on the composition with the lexical base. If the latter is human, the [masc]/[fem] opposition is normally interpreted compositionally, as referring to sexual characters. Otherwise, lack of a compositional interpretation of nominal Class and the lexical base leaves the meaning of the lexical base unmodified at the C-I interface. We need not think of this as a failure of interpretation, but simply as a failure of compositional interpretation (i.e. an idiom of sorts).

Since in present terms conventional number is in fact a Class specification, similar assumptions could be made about [aggr] as about [fem] or [masc], namely that though the -*a* Infl implies [aggr], the latter is compositionally interpreted only with plural [⊆] or mass content. With singular count bases, the conditions for such

an interpretation are lacking. This approach to the Class [aggr] makes the obvious prediction that the set plural [⊆] could also be found on bases that do not return a compositional interpretation. This appears the case for *pluralia tantum* such as English *news* (cf. *I heard the news/*new*) or Italian *ferie* 'vacations' (cf. *Vado in ferie/*feria* 'I am going on vacation'). With these provisos, the lexical entry in (14b) provides an explanation of sorts for the syncretism of gender and number morphology that we are seeking. Indeed, (14b) points to a positively specified property of *-a* that bridges between singular and plural namely [aggr]. In other words, it is in virtue of the property [aggr] that *-a* turns up both as a plural, and a singular inflectional class marker.[8]

4.   *-a* plurals in North Lombard dialects: Tresivio (Valtellina)

In the next sections we will consider several patterns of occurrence of *-a* inflections, whereby *-a* externalizes both singular and plural in feminine nouns. The relevant pattern characterizes Bregaglia Valley and North Lombardy varieties and appears in the dialects spoken in North-West Tuscany (Lunigiana and Garfagnana).[9]

   We begin with the North Lombardy variety of Tresivio (Valtellina). In this variety, the same determiner *i* and the same *-i* inflection on demonstratives cover feminine and masculine plural, as illustrated in (15)–(16). The adjectives have *-a* both in singular and plural feminine, as shown by the plural forms in (15). In the masculine, prenominal adjectives can take the *-i* plural inflection, behaving like prenominal determiners, as in (16). Otherwise masculine nominal bases and post-nominal adjectives appear bare in both the singular and the plural. Plural *-i* occurs in a subset of masculine nominal bases, as illustrated in (16e–f).

(15)   a.   l-a   femm-a
             the-F   woman-F
             'the woman'

---

8.   The classical historical account of Indo-European feminine singular and neuter plural *-a* (Clackson 2007: 107 for a summary) is that a neuter/collective plural *-a* was extended to a new inflectional class for collective/abstract singulars – which only secondarily came to coincide with the default class for feminine animates. Viewed as a projection on the historical, external axis of an analysis motivated on internal grounds, this reconstruction appears to be quite compatible with the present discussion.

9.   A hypothesis proposed in historical studies is that this feminine plural *-a* could derive from the Latin ending *-as* in consequence of the loss of the final *-s* (Ascoli 1873; Salvioni 1902; Rohlfs 1968 [1949]).

a′. i   femm-a
   the.PL   woman-F
   'the women'

b. kwel-a bɛl-a   femm-a
   that-F   nice-F   woman-F
   'that nice woman'

b′. kw-i   bɛl-a   femm-a
   that-PL   nice-F   woman-F
   'those nice women'

c. n-a femm-a   weʒ-a
   a-F woman-F old-F
   'an old woman'

c′. kw-i   femm-a   weʒ-a
   that-PL   woman-F old-F
   'those old women'

(16) a. l   kaŋ
      the dog
      'the dog'

   a′. i   kaŋ
      the.PL   dog
      'the dogs'

   b. l   dʒiˈnø:tʃ
      the knee
      'the knee'

   b′. i   dʒiˈnø:tʃ
      the.PL   knee
      'the knees'

   c. kwe-l bɛl   kaŋ
      that   nice dog
      'that nice dog'

   c′. kw-i   be-i/braw-i   kaŋ
      that-PL   nice-PL/good-PL   dog
      'those nice/good dogs'

   d. kwe-l om   ve:tʃ
      that   man   old
      'that old man'

   d′. kw-i   o:m   ve:tʃ
      that-PL   man   old
      'those old men'

    e. əl   kurˈtɛl
        the knife
        'the knife'

    e′. i   kurˈte-i
        the.PL knife-PL
        'the knives'

    f. əl   fraˈdɛl
        the brother
        'the brother'

    f′. i   fraˈde-i
        the.PL brother-PL
        'the brothers'   *Tresivio*

The morphologization of the plural takes place also in prenominal possessives, in the form of a metaphonetic outcome of the tonic vowel in the masculine, as in (17). By contrast, the morphology of the plural possessive combining with feminine nouns is *-a* exactly as for the singular, as in (18).

(17) a. əl me/tɔ/sɔ   fraˈdɛl
        the my/your/his brother
        'my/your/his brother'

    a′. i   me/tø/sø   fraˈde-i
        the.PL my/your.PL/his.PL brother-PL
        'my/your/his brothers'

    b. əl nɔs/vɔs/sɔ   fraˈdɛl
        the our/your/their brother
        'our/your/their brother'

    b′. i   nøs/vøs/sø   fraˈde-i
        the.PL our.PL/your.PL/their.PL brother-PL
        'our/your/their brothers'

(18) a. l-a   mi-a/to-a/so-a   surɛl-a
        the-F my-F/your-F/his-F sister-F
        'my/your/his sister'

    a′. i   mi-a/to-a/so-a   surɛl-a
        the.PL my-F/your-F/his-F sister-F
        'my/your/his sisters'

    b. l-a   nɔs-a/wɔs-a/so-a   surɛl-a
        the-F our-F/your-F/their-F sister-F
        'our/your/their sister'

    b′. i   nɔs-a/wɔs-a/so-a   surɛl-a
        the.PL our-F/your-F/their-F sister-F
        'our/your/their sisters'   *Tresivio*

In short, the data in (15)–(18) show that inside the DP the plural is realized as *(-)i* in determiners and partially in masculine nouns and adjectives, as well as in possessives (where *i* is realized through the metaphony of the vocalic nucleus). Feminine nouns, adjectives and possessives in the plural preserve the *-a* inflection. In the phrasal domain, the *-i* morpheme does not occur on perfect participles in (19) so that the distinction between singular and plural is carried entirely by the object clitic.

(19) a. a ll a tʃamað-a
          3 3 has called-F
          'He has called her.'
     a'. i a tʃamað-a
          3.PL has called-F
          'He has called them(f).'
      b. a ll a tʃamat
          3 3 has called
          'He has called him.'
     b'. i a tʃamat
          3.PL has called
          'He has called them(m).'   *Tresivio*

Furthermore, in the Tresivio dialect, verbs do not externalize 3rd person number agreement by means of a specialized plural inflection; in the verbal paradigm, 3rd singular, 3rd plural as well as 2nd singular and 1st plural coincide in an identical form, as illustrated in (20). It is subject clitics that differentiate 3rd person singular from plural (and masculine from feminine in the singular). Specifically, the plural is lexicalized by the *i* clitic, for both masculine and feminine, as happens with the determiners of nouns. Thus subject clitics do the same work as determiners in lexicalizing, or contributing to lexicalizing, the plural interpretation [⊆], for instance in (21).

(20)   dɔrm-i
      te   dɔrum
      əl/la dɔrum
      əŋ   dɔrum
             dur'm-i
      i   dɔrum
      'I sleep/you sleep/etc.'

(21) a. ly əl dɔrum
          he 3.M sleep
          'He sleeps.'

  a′. i   rɛˈdas i dɔrum
    the.PL boy 3.PL sleep
    'The boys sleep.'
  b. le l-a dɔrum
    she 3-F sleep
    'She sleeps.'
  b′. i   femm-a i dɔrum
    the.PL woman-F 3.PL sleep
    'The women sleep.'   *Tresivio*

The fact that the plural *(-)i* systematically lexicalizes the plural independently of gender distinctions means that its only content is the plural property [$\subseteq$], like *-i* in the Iacurso dialect, cf. the lexical entries in (14). This content characterizes both the inflectional occurrence of *-i* and its occurrence as an object or subject clitic, as in the representation in (22) for its subject clitic occurrence.

(22)

IP
 / \
D   IP
[$\subseteq$] / \
i I …
  [$\subseteq$]
  dɔrum
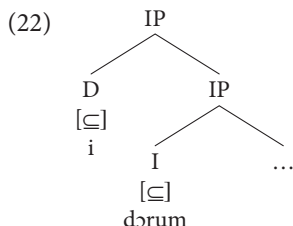
The data in (16) show that in the masculine, the plural agreement morphology *-i* may occur in prenominal adjectives and on some nouns; possessives in turn lexicalize [$\subseteq$], even if by means of a morphophonological device, i.e. metaphony, as in (17). In the feminine, however, only determiners host *(-)i*. Relevant comparison data come from Costa and Figueiredo (2002) concerning some Brazilian Portuguese varieties in which the plural inflection *-s* only occurs on the determiners of prenominal adjectives, as in *o-s/est-es/algun-s/un-s livr-o muit-o bonit-o* 'the/these/ some book very nice'. Costa and Figueiredo adopt a distinction between dissociated and singleton morphemes. According to Embick and Noyer (2001), agreement and case morphemes are not syntactic projections and so they are not represented in syntax but they are added postsyntactically "during Morphology". Typically, dissociated morphemes convey an information "separated from the original locus of that information in the phrase marker" (Embick and Noyer 2001: 557). In European Portuguese, where plural agreement occurs on all of the elements internal to DP, plural is a dissociated morpheme, that combines "post-syntactically with all items able to bear plural mark" according to Costa and Figueiredo (2002: 24). The plural in Brazilian Portuguese corresponds to a singleton, i.e. a specialized interpretable

morpheme, which combines only with the "element anchoring the information concerning number", namely Determiners.[10]

The distinction dissociated/singleton could be rephrased as the split between agreement properties with general occurrence and those associated only with one category, i.e. with specialized occurrence. In the Tresivio variety, the element *(-)i* could then be understood as a specialized morpheme. However in Brazilian Portuguese the same restricted distribution of *-s* involves both feminine and masculine. This correlates with the fact that in Portuguese and Spanish and other Romance varieties, *-s* introduces plural without interacting with the Class category and the vocalic inflection. By contrast, recall that Italian dialects, as well as Italian, express plural by changing the inflection (and possibly Class) as seen for the *-a* plural in standard Italian and in the Iacurso dialect in Section 3. In Tresivio, the occurrence of *(-)i* as inflection of determiners or as autonomous lexicalization of plural articles is crucially restricted to the feminine; the distribution of *(-)i* in the masculine, as inflection of determiners and of pre-nominal adjectives/possessives as well as of some nouns, shows that we are not dealing with a singleton at all.

Instead, one may describe the Tresivio data by saying that the occurrence of *(-)i* is not the only realization of plural. Rather, in feminine combinations *-a* is able to externalize the plural. Thus in possessives and prenominal adjectives the *-a* inflection with plural value is retained in the feminine, independently of the fact that the specialized *-i* morphology for the plural is available in the masculine. In a word, *-a* is really the plural inflection of feminines and as such it is in complementary distribution with *-i* on prenominal adjectives, possessives and nouns.

The question is why *-a* is compatible with both the singular and the plural – while we have no attestations of comparable patterns with the masculine (*-u, -o* inflectional classes) in those Romance languages that form plurals via switch in Infl vowel. We argue that this is just a different manifestation of the fact that *-a* has the content that in Section 3 we have characterized as [aggr]. Specifically, we obtain a structure like the one in (23), where the [⊑] specification is externalized by the [aggr] content associated with the *-a* inflection. This is sufficient to lexicalize plural on the noun (adjectives, etc.) – though determiners require a specialized plural inflection [⊑] also in the feminine. Since in the Tresivio dialect this inflection is

---

10. Costa and Figueiredo (2002) differentiate the Spec-head configuration, that is responsible for the triggering of Subject-I agreement, from the D-N relation, where the plural singleton occurs. Despite the partial lack of Verb agreement in Brazilian Portuguese, they conclude that it requires V-to-I movement and agreement just like European Portuguese. Indeed, following Vikner (1997), they assume that the presence of a specialized inflection in a subset of forms allows us to assume that the usual verbal agreement mechanisms apply. Perfect participle agreement is independently excluded in Ibero-Romance.

the same as for masculine, namely *(-)i*, we conclude that it is a pure gender-neutral plural, as already proposed for the clitic in (22).

(23)

```
                        D
                 _____/_____
                D              Infl
               [⊆]        _____/\_____
                i       Class        Infl
                    ___/\___         [aggr]
                                       -a
                   √        Class
                femm-    [fem], [⊆, aggr]
```
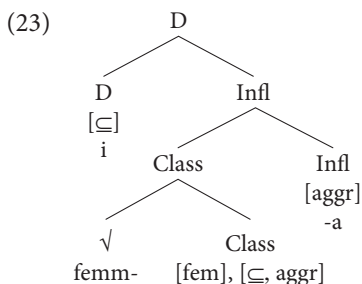
The structure of the noun in (23) is consistent with the conclusion of Section 3, that *-a* is assigned the content [aggr], which subsumes the plural reading in the Tresivio dialect in combination with the feminine Class. We refer the reader to the discussion following the lexical entries in (14) for our understanding of what happens in the singular. In short, our proposal is that when it combines with a count base, [aggr] has plural interpretation if the syntax licences it, as in (23); otherwise there is no compositional interpretation for a count noun followed by [aggr] and their combination returns the meaning of the lexical base unmodified. If [aggr] combines with a mass noun it can again receive a compositional interpretation.

A different question concerning (23) is why the specialized plural morphology should single out D elements, at least in the feminine; we may add that the specialized plural morphology similarly singles out the subject clitic in (19). We will return to distributional issues in Section 6, after reviewing one further set of data from Lombard dialects.[11]

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11. An anonymous reviewer reiteratedly inquires about the possibility of treating the data in terms of DM. Since we are not aware of DM treatments of Italian *-a* plurals, it is difficult fo us to address this question properly. In some instances, it is relatively easy to envisage what a DM model could look like. Thus we could deal with the particularly simple pattern of Tresivio by deleting [plural] in the context [fem] by means of an Impoverishment rule, on all nominal categories but determiners. We could then assume that the morpheme *-a* is not specified for number, so that it is inserted under any [fem] specified node. However this treatment would yield no obvious continuity with the *-a* plurals of Italian or of central Calabrian in Section 3 – where *-a* is specified for plural and not for gender. The desirability of establishing such a continuity is the central theme of this work.

5.   *-a(-ŋ)* plurals in Bregaglia Valley dialects (Casaccia)

In the Lombard Alpine dialects of the Bregaglia Valley, the nominal inflection of
the feminine is *-a* both in the singular and in the plural, while the plural inflection
-ŋ appears on determiners/quantifiers, as in (24). The data in (24) show that the
-ŋ inflection occurs once in a given DP, on the first nominal modifier; in the case
of two (or more) modifiers, the modifiers between the leftmost modifier and the
noun lack the *-ŋ* inflection.

(24)   a.   l-a   don-a
             the-F   woman-F
             'the woman'
       a′. l-a-ŋ   don-a
             the-F-PL   woman-F
             'the women'
       b.   kwel-a bel-a   don-a
             that-F fine-F woman-F
             'that fine woman'
       b′. kwel-a-ŋ bʀav-a don-a
             that-F-PL good-F woman-F
             'those good women'
       c′. kwel-a-ŋ don-a   veil-a
             that-F-PL woman-F old-F
             'those old women'
       d′. kwel-a-ŋ altʀ-a   don-a
             that-F-PL other-F woman-F
             'those other women'
       e′. altʀ-a-ŋ/tant-a-ŋ   don-a
             other-F-PL/many-F-PL woman-F
             'other/many women'
       f.   l-a   ti/nɔs-a   fi-a
             the-F   your/our-F   daughter-F
             'your/our daughter'
       f′. l-a-ŋ   mi/nɔs-a   fi-a
             the-F-PL   my/our-F   daughter-F
             'my/our daughters'
       g.   l-a   mi fi-a   py   grand-a
             the-F   my daughter-F more big-F
             'my oldest daughter'   *Casaccia*

As for masculine nouns, they generally lack inflectional endings, both in the singu-
lar and in the plural, though determiners have the *(-)i* inflection in the masculine

plural, as in (25). The *-i* inflection in the masculine also appears in a subset of adjectives, i.e. the prenominal adjectives in (25b′–c′), and as on some nouns, as in (26). So, in these varieties, the plural feminine inflection differs from the masculine one both on nouns and on determiners/quantifiers.

(25) a. kwel kaŋ
      that dog
      'that dog'

   a′. i/   kw-i/   kwiʃt-i/   tantʃ-i   kaŋ
      the.M.PL/ that-M.PL/ this-M.PL/ many-M.PL dog
      'the/those/these/many dogs'

   b. al   bɛl kaŋ
      the fine dog
      'the fine dog'

   b′. i   b-i   kaŋ
      the.M.PL fine-M.PL dog
      'the fine dogs'

   c. kwel buŋ   om
      that good man
      'that good man'

   c′. kw-i   bryt-i/   pɔk-i   omaŋ
      this-M.PL ugly-M.PL/ few-M.PL men
      'these ugly/few men'

   c″. kw-i   omaŋ veil
      that-M.PL men   old
      'those old men'

   d. al   me/nɔs fi
      the my/our son
      'my/our son'

   d′. i   me/nos fi
      the.M.PL my/our son
      'my/our sons'

(26) a. kuʀtɛl
      'knife'

   a′. kuʀte-i
      'knives'

   b. maʀtɛl
      'hammer'

   b′. maʀte-i
      'hammers'   *Casaccia*

In copular contexts, in the presence of the plural form of *be*, the *-ŋ* feminine plural inflection does not occur on the predicative adjective or noun, as in (27a–b), though it inflects the postcopular demonstrative in (27c). In the masculine, *-i* may be lexicalized in a subset of lexical entries, including the subject clitic, postcopular quantifiers and demonstratives, prenominal adjectives as in (27b′–c′).

(27) a. l e-ŋ nøv-a/veil-a/buŋ-a
    3 are new-F/old-F/good-F
    'They are new/old/good.'

  b. l e-ŋ don-a (veil-a)
    3 are woman-F (old-F)
    'They are old women.'

  b′. i e-ŋ omaŋ veil
    3.M.PL are men old
    'They are old men.'

  b″. i e-ŋ bʀav-i faɲtʃ
    3.M.PL are good-M.PL boy
    'They are good boys.'

  c. l e-ŋ kwel-a-ŋ
    3 are that-F-PL
    'They are those.'

  c′. i e-ŋ kwiʃt-i/pok-i
    3.M.PL are this-M.PL/few-M.PL
    'They are these/few.'   *Casaccia*

A comparable distribution characterizes perfect participles of unaccusative verbs, in (28), where the *-ŋ* inflection on the auxiliary is sufficient to interpret the plural number of the subject in the feminine. The participle shows the *-a* inflection, exactly as the adjectives in the predicative construction in (27).

(28) a. l e ɲid-a
    3 is come-F
    'She has come.' 'They(f) have come.'

  a′. l e-ŋ ɲid-a
    3 are come-F
    'They(f) have come.'

  b. l e ɲi
    3 is come
    'He has come.'

  b′. i e-ŋ ɲi
    3.M.PL are come
    'They(m) have come.'   *Casaccia*

The historical literature relates the *-ŋ* ending of the feminine plural in these dialects to the 3rd plural person morphology of the verb (Salvioni 1902; Rohlfs 1968 [1949]: §371). This reconstruction is supported by the fact that the plural feminine inflection *-ŋ* is in complementary distribution on the subject clitic and the verb. The subject clitic never presents the plural *-ŋ*, as long as the latter is realized on the verb, as can further be seen in (29a–a′); note the presence of the *-a* inflection on the subject clitic in front of the consonant-initial verb, absent in the pre-vocalic, copular contexts in (28a–a′). In (28)–(29) the masculine 3rd person subject clitic has a specialized plural *i* form, contrasting with singular *al*. Importantly, both *i* and *l-a-ŋ* occur as determiners in the masculine and feminine plural in (24); therefore the absence of a subject clitic *l-a-ŋ* form in (29a′) is syntactically determined.

(29) a. l-a dɔʀm
          3-F sleep
          'She sleeps.'
      a′. l-a dɔʀm-aŋ
          3-F sleep-3l
          'They(f) sleep.'
      b. al dɔʀm
          3.M sleep
          'He sleeps.'
      b′. i   dɔʀm-aŋ
          3.M.PL sleep-3l
          'They(m) sleep.'   *Casaccia*

What is more, both *i* and *l-a-ŋ* occur as plural object clitics, respectively masculine and feminine, as seen with lexical verbs in (30). The legibility of the data in (30) is somewhat obscured by two phenomena, which however characterize a large set of Lombard dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005) and can thus be shown to be entirely uninfluential on the issue at hand. First, in the presence of a 3rd person object clitic, a 3rd person subject clitic takes a reduced form *a*. Second, the singular object clitic in (30a–b) takes a form not differentiated for gender – which seems to be the feminine *la*; however Manzini and Savoia (2005) show that this *la* form may trigger both masculine and feminine agreement. The example in (31c) shows that various occurrences of *-ŋ* combine, specifically a plural feminine subject (*-ŋ* on the determiner and on the agreeing verb inflection) combines with a feminine plural object clitic (*-ŋ* on the clitic itself).[12]

---

12. Thus we are not faced with "omnivorous number" in the sense of Nevins (2011). In Nevins (2011: 8, 5) "omnivorous number" indicates "the phenomenon […] in which an agreement morpheme dedicated to realizing number shows up under the condition that either or both of the

(30) a.　a　ll-a　ve
　　　　　3　3-A　see
　　　　　'He sees her.'

　　a′.　a　l-a-ŋ　ve
　　　　　3　3-F-PL　see
　　　　　'He sees them(f).'

　　b.　a　ll-a　ve
　　　　　3　3-A　see
　　　　　'He sees him.'

　　b′.　a　i　　　　ve
　　　　　3　3.M.PL　see
　　　　　'He sees them(m).'

　　c.　laŋ　mi　fia　　　　a　l/　　　i/　　　l-a/l-a-ŋ　vendaŋ
　　　　　the　my　daughters　3　3.M.SG/　3.M.PL/　3-F/3-F-PL　sell
　　　　　'My daughters sell it/them'　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Casaccia*

In participial structures, in (31), the plural feminine object clitic again has the plural inflection -*ŋ*, while the participle has the simple -*a* feminine inflection. In the masculine, an analogous distribution shows up, in that the specialized plural object clitic *i* occurs, while the participle, like most adjectives, lacks inflectional endings.[13]

(31) a.　a　ll　a　　klamɛd-a
　　　　　3　3　has　called-F
　　　　　'He has called her.'

　　a′.　a　l-a-ŋ　a　　klamɛd-a
　　　　　3　3-F-PL　has　called-F
　　　　　'He has called them(f).'

　　b.　a　ll　a　　klama(:)
　　　　　3　3　has　called
　　　　　'He has called him.'

---

subject and object is plural". For Nevins, the ability of number in ambiguously extending to object or subject descends from the underspecified treatment of singular, whereby "unmarked values of number, e.g. [–singular], are never syntactically active and never referred to in the syntax." By contrast, "person features are always fully specified on syntactic arguments", thus excluding generalization processes.

13. An anonimous reviewer suggests that long final stressed -*a:* in the participles in (31b–b′) could include inflectional information. However if long -*a:* continued the etimological final -*i*, we would expect it only in the plural. This is not so, suggesting a different conclusion. In this variety, as in many Lombard Alpine varieties, the lengthening of the stressed vowel occurs in contexts where a following (C)V element has fallen, as in [føːg] 'fire' (Savoia 2015; Baldi and Savoia 2017); the realization in final position is optional, like in [al veː]/[al ve] 'he sees', and, similarly in the examples in (31).

b′. a i   a   klama(:)
    3   3.M.PL   has   called
    'He has called them(m).'   *Casaccia*

The data we have considered so far can be schematized as in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of *-ŋ/-i* plurals in the variety of Casaccia

(a) DP phase:	D/Q	Adj	N	Adj
	-ŋ/-i	Ø/(-i)	Ø/(-i)	Ø
(b) CP phase:	SubjCl	I		
	Ø/i	-ŋ		
(c) vP phase:	ObjCl	Participle		
	-ŋ/i	Ø		

As we can see, the distribution of *(-)i* is similar to the one generally attested in Italian varieties. Specifically, *(-)i* occurs on nouns (N) and on adjectives (Adj), though with severe restrictions, as well as on determines and quantifiers (D/Q); it also occurs as subject clitic (SubjCl) and as object clitic (ObjCl). By contrast (a) schematizes the distribution of *-ŋ* within DP, where *-ŋ* is excluded on nouns and on adjectives, while the functional element D/Q realizes it in the DP phase. (b) schematizes the distribution illustrated in (30), where *-ŋ* associates with the verb in I and not with the subject clitic (CP phase). (c) corresponds to the distribution in (31), where *-ŋ* is on the object clitic and is excluded from the participle (vP phase); as shown in (28) *-ŋ* does not occur even on unaccusative participles, being realized on the finite auxiliary.

    Two theoretical questions are raised by the Casaccia data. One is has to do with the distributional restrictions on *-ŋ* summarized in table 1; we return to it in Section 6. The other question concerns the nature of the *-a* inflection, insofar as it is compatible with both singular and plural reading. Consider for instance the structure in (32) for sentence (31a′). As schematized in Table 1, within the *v* phase, the *-ŋ* inflection on the object clitic combines with the *-a* inflection on the participle (here labelled as Res(ult)).

(32)

```
                              vP
                    _____
                   D                        v′
            _____               _____
           D          ⊆              v          ResP
      _____       ŋ                       _____
     D        Infl                            Res
   _____      a                          _____
  D     Class                             Res       Infl
  1-  [fem][⊆, aggr]                   _____      -a
                                      Res    Class
                                   klamɛd- [fem] [⊆, aggr]
```
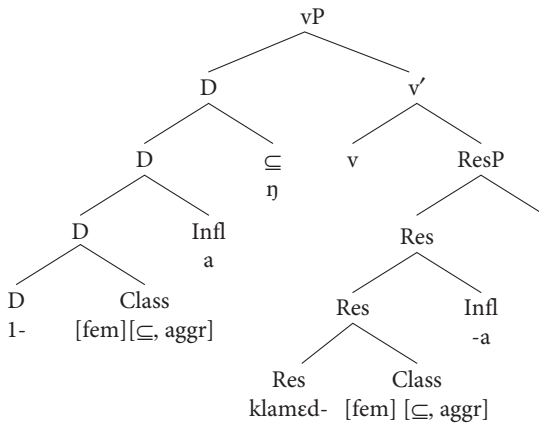
The morphological question raised by structures like (32) is that the *-a* inflection can combine with *-ŋ*, as in the object clitic in (32), but it also admits a plural interpretation by itself, as on the perfect participle in (32). With respect to this question, we adopt the same approach as for the Tresivio variety in Section 4, and ultimately for central Calabrian *-a* plurals in Section 3, namely that *-a* is fundamentally an [aggr] inflection. As such it can externalize plurality alone, though nothing prevents it from combining with pure exponents of plurality [⊆] – which is what we assume *-ŋ* to be.

6.   A note on the syntactic distribution of plural inflections

The object of study of this article is the internal structure of the Noun and specifically the realization of gender and number (Class) properties within it. Nevertheless in discussing Tresivio in Section 4 and Casaccia in Section 5 we reviewed significant facts concerning the distribution of their plural markers in phrasal syntax. An explicit account of this syntactic distribution is not crucial to our thesis that the *-a* inflection of Italian varieties has an [aggr] property that allows it to realize plurality. Nevertheless it is important to indicate along which lines such an account may be sought. The main thread of the discussion is picked up again in Section 7 where we introduce a North Tuscan variety where the distributional issues debated here do not arise.

The common property shared by the Tresivio and Casaccia dialects is the fact that plural inflection is regularly expressed on the determiners, which take the plural *(-)i* in Tresivio and the *-ŋ* inflection in Casaccia, in the context of feminine nouns. Recall that the distribution of feminine *-ŋ* of Casaccia is summarized in Table 1 above, compared to masculine *(-)i*. The data of Tresivio in (15)–(18) are

summatized in Table 2 below. The *(-)i* morphology is a specialized pluralization morpheme that encompasses feminines on a par with masculines, introducing the plural reading [⊆]. However in the DP, the distribution is markedly different for feminine and masculine.

Table 2. Distribution of *-i* plurals in the variety of Tresivio

(a)	DP phase:	D/Q	Adj	N	Adj
		-i	F:Ø/M:(-i)	F:Ø/M:(-i)	Ø
(b)	CP phase:	SubjCl	I		
		i	Ø		
(c)	vP phase:	ObjCl	Participle		
		i	Ø		

There are conceptual/interpretive reasons, relating the interpretive role of D, why the distribution in tables 1-2 is interesting. For Costa and Figueiredo (2002), briefly reviewed in Section 3, the occurrence of plural *-s* only on determiners (in Brasilian Portuguese varieties) is connected to the fact that the specialized plural morpheme "must be attached to the head responsible for establishing the link with semantic interpretation", that is the determiner, introducing the definite reading. Though we rejected their implementation in terms of dissociated vs. singleton morphemes, we of course agree with the general idea that determiners have a crucial interpretive role, in that they provide definiteness and other deictic information to the C-I system.[14] In other words, we may expect some type of morphosyntactic split, whereby definiteness and deictic elements are endowed with specialized morphology given the role they play in the identification of the participants in (arguments of) the event. Specifically, in the analysis of Higginbotham (1985), discussed in Section 2, the nouns are predicates endowed with an argumental slot; the noun's argument is lexicalized by the determiner, i.e. by its definiteness content coupled with its φ-features, i.e. inflectional, content.

In varieties where the plural specification is externalized on deictic/definiteness elements to the exclusion of other DP nodes, the noun inflection does not introduce the φ-features information relevant for fixing the argumental reference. The masculine coincides with the nominal/adjectival root, except for a reduced class of plurals in *-i*; the feminine has the same *-a* inflection in the singular and in the plural. The overall result is that nouns in themselves do not provide morphological means for differentiating interpretive categories like count/mass, singular/plural, necessary

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14. Manzini and Savoia (2005, III: 625) also conclude that "the existence of a specialized inflectional paradigm for determines […] is obviously related to the fact that they lexicalize the D definiteness properties of the noun phrase".

for interpretation. Rather, the externalization of the specialized plural inflection is found in the lexical elements associated to a referential reading. The occurrence of the *(-)i* and *-ŋ* morphology in the D-Adj-N-Adj contexts of Tresivio and Casaccia respectively, as in Tables 1–2 fits in with this generalization.

There are also formal syntactic reasons that make the distribution in Tables 1–2 interesting. In current minimalist theorizing, it is generally accepted that DP is a phase and D is a phase head. In Chomsky (2001), sentential phase heads, namely C and *v* have a special role in Agree in that they are probes, endowed with uninterpretable φ-features. At the end of Section 2, we discussed the difficulties involved in extending Chomsky's conception of Agree from the sentential domain to the DP domain; indeed one of our reasons was precisely that the φ-features on the D phase head surely must be interpretable. As a consequence, we suggested eliminating the interpretable/uninterpretable asymmetry from Agree; all φ-feature bundles are interpretable and Agree creates an equivalence set of identical φ-feature bundles, interpreted as multiple copies of the same argument.

In short, the discussion which precedes highlights the correspondence between referential content (definite/deictic) and φ-feature specialization. The D phase head carries the crucial referential content (definiteness/deixis) made available by it to further computation. Agree matches its φ-features with those of the nominal and adjectival heads in the DP phase; D makes these φ-features available to the next phase as well. In languages like Italian these φ-features are symmetrically realized on all heads internal to DP. In the Casaccia or Tresivio varieties, externalization privileges the phase head interfacing with the higher phase. Thus only the D phase head (or quantifiers in its absence) are endowed with the *-i/-ŋ* unambiguous plural morphology in addition to (or instead of) the *-a* inflectional class present on all phase-internal elements.

Other choices are known to be possible. For instance, Manzini and Savoia (2005: §8.2.5) report Lunigiana (northern Tuscany) varieties where the D element is deprived of plural (feminine) morphology, which instead appears on nouns or adjectives. On the evidence of morphological (and external) continuity we expect these varieties to admit a unified account with those in Tables 1–2; further potential problems therefore arise for Costa and Figueredo's (2002) opposition between dissociated and singleton morphemes, to the extent that the latter are predicted to be associated with D. We leave these further distributional facts, as well as the evidence from sentence internal contexts, namely (b) and (c) in Tables 1–2, for future work.[15]

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15. In the SubjCl-I environment of Casaccia, *-ŋ* is excluded from the subject clitic and lexicalized on I, as summarized in (b) in Table 1. According to Chomsky (2001), I inherits its features from the C phase head; hence we may think of C-I as a discontinuous phase head. The fact that *-ŋ* shows up on I is therefore consistent with the generalization that it is associated with phase

7. North Tuscany singular/plural -*a*

In a number of North West Tuscany (Garfagnana and Lunigiana) dialects, the -*a* inflection externalizes both singular and plural in every nominal element, as in the examples of Viano in (33). So, not only nouns and adjectives or participles, but also determiners externalize plural and singular feminine reference through the same -*a* inflection, both in DP-internal and in sentential contexts. Note that in this dialect, the original (Latin) III class nouns have converged with the I class (-*a* inflection) in the feminine, as in (33f).

(33) a. l-a/ kol-a/ kweʃt-a femən-a/dɔnn-a
　　　　the-F/ that-F/ this-F　woman-F
　　　　'the/that/this woman', 'the/those/these women'

　　b. koɖ altr-a dɔnn-a
　　　　that-F other-F woman-F
　　　　'that other woman/those other women'

　　c. kol-a bɛl-a dɔnn-a
　　　　that-F fine-F woman-F
　　　　'that fine woman/those fine women'

　　d. kol-a dɔnn-a vɛc-a
　　　　that-F woman-F old-F
　　　　'that old woman/those old women'

　　e. ɖ ɛ vɛc-a/bɛl-a/no-a
　　　　3-F is old-F/fine-F/new-F
　　　　'She/it(f) is old/fine/new.'

　　e'. ɖ eŋ vɛc-a/bɛl-a/no-a
　　　　3-F are old-F/fine-F/new-F
　　　　'They(f) are old/fine/new.'

　　f. noʒ-a
　　　　'walnut(s)'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Viano*

The masculine in (34) is characterized by the specialized plural inflection -*i*, in nouns, determiners, adjectives and clitics. In the singular, the masculine -*o*

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heads. On the other hand, in ObjCl-participle environments, the object clitic bears -*ŋ* inflection, whereas the perfect participle does not, as schematized in (c) in Table 1. This is unexpected, since the v head of the vP phase should correspond to the participle. Perhaps we may say that the object clitic is the actual spellout of the φ-features of v (cf. Roberts 2010).

　　In Casaccia, the lexicon is immaterial, since -*ŋ* is associated with the verb (CP phase) or with a clitic (vP phase) depending on the syntactic configuration. Matters however are less clear in Tresivio in (b–c) in Table 2, where it is always the clitic that carries plurality. This distribution may therefore be built into the lexicon.

inflection emerges. (Latin) III class nouns have converged with the II class in the masculine (-*o* inflection), as in (34h).

(34) a. əl gatt-o/ɖ ɔm-o
the cat-M/the man-M
'the cat/man'

a′. i gatt-i/i ɔm-i
the.M.PL cat-M.PL/the.M.PL man-M.PL
'the cats/men'

b. kol bɛɖ ɔm-o/kol gatt-o
that fine man-M/that cat-M
'that fine man/that cat'

b′. k-i bɛ-i ɔm-i/gatt-i
that-M.PL fine-M.PL man-M.PL/cat-M.PL
'those fine men/cats'

c. koɖ/ʃt ɔm-o
that/this man-M
'that/this man'

c′. k-i/ʃt-i ɔm-i
that-M.PL/this-M.PL man-M.PL
'those/these men'

d. koɖ altr-o ɔm-o
that other-M man-M
'that other man'

d′. k-i altr-i ɔm-i
that-M.PL other-M.PL man-M.PL
'those other men'

e. koɖ ɔm-o vɛc-o
that man-M old-M
'that old man'

e′. k-i ɔm-i vɛc-i
that-M.PL men old
'those old men'

f. i ɛ kweɖ-o/kweʃt-o
3-M is that-M/this-M
'He is that/this one.'

f′. i eŋ kwe-i/kweʃt-i
3-M are that-M.PL/this-M.PL
'They are those/these.'

g. i ɛ vɛc-o/no-o
3-M is old-M/new-M
'He/it(m) is old/new.'

g′. i   eŋ vɛc-i/no-i
    3-M are old-M.PL/new-M.PL
    'They are old/new.'

h. kor-o
    'heart'   *Viano*

In the clitic paradigm, the feminine forms *l-a* (preconsonantally) and *ḍ* (prevocalically) characterize both subject and objet clitics, both in the singular and in the plural, as in (35); these forms further coincide with those of the determiner. Thus singular and plural are disambiguated only by the finite verb in (35a–b); in object position the ambiguity is not resolved, as in (35c–d).

(35) a.   l-a dɔrm-ənə
          3-F sleep-3PL
          'They(f) sleep.'

      a′. l-a dɔrm-ə
          3-F sleep-3SG
          'She sleeps.'

      b.   ḍ   eŋ vnut-a
          3-F are come-F
          'They(f) have come.'

      b′. ḍ   ɛ vnut-a
          3-F is come-F
          'She has come.'

      c.   a   l-a veð-ə
          SUBJCL 3-F I.see
          'I see her/them(f).'

      d.   a   ḍ ɔ   viʃt-a
          SUBJCL 3 I.have seen-F
          'I have seen her/them(f)'

In the masculine object clitic paradigm in (36c–d), *l* (preconsonantally) and *ḍ* (prevocalically) externalize the singular; the plural is lexicalized by *i*. This again parallels the determiner system. The masculine subject clitic has the sole form *i*, for singular and plural, prevocalically and preconsonantally as in (36a–b).

(36) a.   i   dɔrm-ə
          3-M sleep-3SG
          'He sleeps.'

      a′. i   dɔrm-ənə
          3-M sleep-3PL
          'They(m) sleep.'

b. i   ɛ   vnut-o
    3-M is come-M
    'He has come.'

b'. i   eŋ vnut-i
    3-M are come-M.PL
    'They(m) have come.'

c. a   l   veðə
    SCL 3-M   I.see
    'I see him.'

c'. a   i   veðə
    SubjCL 3-M.PL I.see
    'I see them.'

d. a   ɖ ɔ   viʃt-o
    SCL 3 I.have seen-M
    I have seen him.'

d'. a   i   ɔ   viʃt-i
    SubjCL 3-M.PL I.have seen-M.PL
    'I have seen them(m).'

The data in (33) exclude the hypothesis that the ability of *-a* to introduce a plural interpretation depends on the presence of an unambiguous inflectional category for the plural (e.g. *-i* in Tresivio or *-ŋ* in Casaccia) on the D phase head. Recall that the singleton morpheme hypothesis formulated by Costa and Figuereido (2002) for Brazilian Portuguese data does not account for the masculine/feminine asymmetry found in North Lombard varieties. In addition, the fact that plural morphology in Tresivio, both masculine and feminine, is represented by an inflectional vowel (*-i*) and not by an additional morpheme (*-s*, *-ŋ*) introduces additional complexities in turn. In any event, differently from the data of Tresivio in Section 4 and Casaccia in Section 5, in the Viano variety the plural interpretation associates to *-a* independently of the co-occurrence with an unambiguously plural inflection in the nominal domain or, in fact, in the verbal domain, if we consider object clitic examples. Thus the sequences in (33) and in (36c–d) are ambiguous between plural or singular interpretation. Only agreement with the finite verb, in (35a–b), avoids this interpretive ambiguity. This brings out the fundamental feminine/masculine asymmetry in a particularly stark form. As we mentioned at the beginning, we know of no Italian or Romance variety where the asymmetry is reversed. Note that there is no morphological reason why it couldn't be reversed in Viano, where *-a* feminine inflection is paralleled by masculine *-o*.

We conclude that the Viano evidence supports our thesis that *-a* is able to cover both singular and plural readings. This is so because it has semantic content corresponding to the [aggr] property characterizing singular mass terms (divisibility

into parts) and plurals (divisibility into subsets). In the discussion in Section 3, we have argued that the [aggr] class in Italian and in central Calabrian is responsible for a type of plural whose semantic content corresponds to a set whose members are rather more like parts of whole than like individuated atoms of a plural set. What is more, we have hypothesized that there is only one inflectional *-a*, which preserves [aggr] also in the singular. This feature is interpreted compositionally with mass nouns; with count singular it returns no compositional interpretation. Other nominal Class specifications, namely [fem]/[masc], similarly return a compositional interpretation only when combining with a subset of roots (animates). When applied to examples like (33a), with the structure displayed in (37), this analysis allows us to account for the compatibility of *-a* with plural and singular interpretation – whereas no comparable phenomenon is observed in the masculine.

(37)

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                           DP
                  ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                  D                   Infl
             ┌────┴────┐         ┌─────┴─────┐
             D        Infl     Class        Infl
            kol-       -a    ┌───┴───┐        -a
                            √       Class
                          femən-    [fem]
                                  [aggr, (⊆)]
```
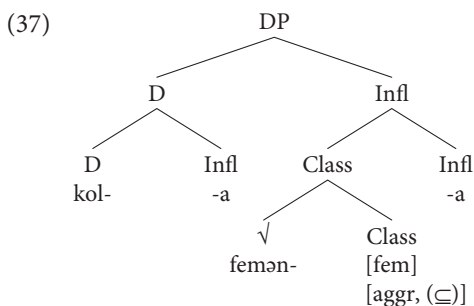
Let us then briefly review the masculine data. In Iacurso in Section 3 and in the North Lombard dialects in Sections 4–5, we have associated *(-)i* with the specialized interpretive content [⊆], i.e. plural. In the Viano dialect *(-)i* is restricted to the masculine. Following the discussion in Section 2, we may connect its restricted distribution in Viano with a selectional mechanism, whereby the inflectional morpheme selects a sub-set of nominal roots, here masculine ones. This leaves out the subject clitic *i* which lexicalizes also with singular. Manzini and Savoia (2011c, 2014) discuss a similar syncretism involving *-s*, which is both plural and (nominative) singular in Latin (e.g. *die-s* 'day/days') and residually in some Romance varieties (Sursilvan masculine singular adjectives in *-s*).

One possible way out of this predicament is offered by the systematization of number provided by Borer (2005). Borer argues that a category Div is necessary for count interpretation, both in the singular and in the plural. One could then surmise that [⊆] morphology is compatible both with plurals and with singulars because it really corresponds to the count category. Under this account, the masculine clitic subjects of predication in Viano would introduce an individuating property (what Manzini and Savoia call quantificational in their discussion of Latin and Sursilvan

-s). The issues that this account raises are beyond the scope of the present contribution, whose focus is the feminine and plural *-a*.

8.   Conclusions

This work deals with the theoretical status of nominal inflections, on the basis of Romance variation data – in an effort to better understand the relevant phenomena and more generally the interface between the computational system and externalization (more or less the traditional syntax/morphology interface).

Specifically, languages vary in the arrangements they make for the externalization of syntax via morphology and the lexicon. From a theoretical point of view, a large class of generative grammar models confront this wide and subtle linguistic differentiation by assuming that what matters in syntax are abstract underlying patterns that are mostly universal; all that is left is differences in pronunciation that are by definition removed from both structure and interpretation. This is true of the cartographic approach in the syntax and of the DM approach in the morphology. Our proposal is that syntactic structures and computations are built from morphemes endowed with semantic content; hence syntax is externalized without the mediation of a morphological buffer, and traditional morphological variation must be dealt with directly within the syntax.

From an empirical point of view, in the theoretical literature nominal inflections in Romance have mostly been studied in relation to the system of Ibero-Romance (Kramer 2015 for a recent survey), where plural is denoted by a specialized *-s* morpheme. Italian has attracted attention because of *-a* plurals (Acquaviva 2008), while Romanian has been studied in relation to its *genus alternans* (masculine singular, feminine plural) sometimes connected to Italian *-a* plurals. We have focussed our attention on Italo-Romance, where plurality is denoted by a change in inflectional vowel. In a sense the Italo-Romance configuration is more similar to the Bantu one, where pluralization is effected by change in nominal class (Déchaine et al. 2014 for a recent survey).

Within this general typology, the *-i* inflection belongs to the etymological background of Romance varieties, and in general works along predictable lines in all grammars. Its extension from the masculine plural to the gender neutral plural seen in Tresivio in Section 4 is a phenomenon that affects many North Italian varieties (for South Italian varieties see Iacurso in §§1–3). By contrast, we have concentrated on *-a*, introducing a plural interpretation besides the feminine one that it normally lexicalizes in Romance.

In central Calabrian, the *-a* plural essentially corresponds to the standard Italian *-a* plural, although the set of nouns which take this type of plural is bigger

and the inflectional paradigm of this dialects is slightly different from the Italian one. We argued that the *-a* inflection includes the [aggr] content, that contributes to the plural interpretation. The *-i* Infl is specialized for the canonical plural reading, that we identify with the subset content [⊆]. In the three north Italian varieties that we examined (Tresivio, Casaccia, Viano), the *-a* inflection encompasses the singular and the plural feminine. Thus, the distribution of *-a* is different from that of Italian and Calabrian varieties. However, also in northern Italian varieties we argued that it is the same intrinsic property of *-a* that allows it to lexicalize the plural, namely [aggr].

Another aspect of our discussion concerns the fact that the occurrence of *-a* as both singular and plural inflection often goes together with the presence of an unambiguous inflection for plural lexicalized by determiners (in Tresivio and Casaccia). Thus in DPs where nouns and adjectives lack an explicit inflection for the properties of plural, non-ambiguous referential specifications may nevertheless be externalized by determiners. Similar distributions have been described in the literature in connection with Ibero-Romance (Costa and Figuereido 2002), where however the masculine/feminine asymmetry is not observed. We connect the lexicalization of specialized plural properties to the definiteness/quantificational content introduced by the determiners of the noun, and to the phase head nature of D.

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Indefinite articles and licensing
of nominals in two Slavic varieties

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I address the status of an indefinite article in two understudied Slavic varieties spoken in Italy, Resian and Molise Croatian. By applying standard diagnostics, I show that both varieties have grammaticalized an indefinite article. I further compare the distribution of nouns in these two varieties, which allow bare nominals in argument position, on a par with other Slavic articleless languages, and conclude that Resian, but not Molise Croatian, has also developed a definite article. Considering that the distribution of the definite article in Resian is restricted to nouns with prenominal modifiers, I argue that the rise of the definite article is related to adjectival syntax – if adjectives are placed prenominally, which is the case in Resian but not in Molise Croatian, they prevent the noun from being in a local relation with a definite D(eterminer). I also claim that the development of an indefinite article is completely independent of the emergence of a definite article, which explains the similarities between the two varieties.

Keywords: indefinite articles, grammaticalization, bare nouns, Resian, Molise Croatian

1. Introduction

Over the last couple of decades a substantial amount of research has been devoted to the question of what licenses bare nominal arguments in both languages with articles and languages without articles. The answer to this puzzle has been provided from both syntactic and semantic standpoints. On the syntactic side, the most influential account is Longobardi (1994), according to which the category of D(eterminer) is needed for nominal reference and argumenthood, thus universal. A diametrically opposed viewpoint takes D to be needed only if nouns denote properties (Chierchia 1998); otherwise languages can dispense with it altogether (for instance Slavic).

In Chierchia's proposal, the burden of variation among languages and within a single language is placed on the denotation of nouns: if nouns denote properties, they will necessarily project D, considering that properties must be turned into arguments. On the other hand, if nouns denote arguments and properties, they will allow bare arguments.[1] The former group of languages is represented by the Romance languages, the latter by Slavic and Germanic. By way of illustration, bare nominal arguments in Romance are possible only if inserted under a null D, which needs to be properly licensed, as any other silent category. In the Germanic languages bare nominals are allowed since they can switch between the available semantic types without the necessity of projecting D (one such case is given by plural and mass nouns in English, which can be bare when kind-referring). Nouns can change their semantic type in accordance with the availability of type shifting.[2] Type shifting, however, cannot occur freely – its availability depends on the presence of determiners in a language, since these are overt type shifters. Therefore, given considerations of economy, type shifting will be blocked whenever a determiner performing the same function is present in a language (cf. *Blocking Principle* in Chierchia 1998: 360). For instance, type shifting from the predicative to the argumental type in English is blocked because of the availability of the definite article as a genuine exponent of D.

With respect to the Slavic languages, only Bulgarian and Macedonian have definite articles, whereas the other Slavic languages are considered to be articleless languages with no determiners, hence no overt type shifters (Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004, 2011; Bošković 2005 and subsequent works, among others). In addition, all Slavic languages have been taken to have no indefinite articles (Geist 2013), although the Bulgarian and Macedonian numeral *one* is on its way to becoming a full-fledged indefinite article (Weiss 1996, 2004; Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić 2009; Geist 2013; Gorishneva 2013a, among others).

In this paper, I analyse data from two endangered Slavic varieties spoken in Italy, Resian (related to Slovenian), and Molise Croatian (related to Croatian). In light of the above premises, both varieties constitute exceptions. Resian allows the occurrence of bare nominals but at the same time it seems to have both definite and indefinite articles, and hence contradicts the predictions of Chierchia's proposal. In (1), the first occurrence of the noun is determinerless, whereas the second is preceded by a definite determiner, although both nouns are endowed with kind interpretation.

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1.   A third type is given by languages in which nouns denote kinds – they allow bare arguments to occur unrestrictedly (e.g. Chinese).

2.   For a full array of type shifting operations in natural languages, the reader is referred to Partee (1987).

(1) Ćelular   jë   prajal   to modernasto kulturo.[3]
     cell phone AUX changed the modern   culture
     'The cell phone has changed modern society.'   (Stolvizza)

That we are dealing with the definite article and not the weak demonstrative (in Resian *to* 'that/the' may have both values) is confirmed by the fact that the use of a weak demonstrative is ruled out in this context. Moreover, if a determiner is used with kind nominals then it is a definite article, since there are no dedicated kind determiners crosslinguistically (Dayal 2004; Dayal 2011: 1101–1103).

   Contrary to what has been assumed for Slavic languages, both Resian and Molise Croatian have developed a full-fledged indefinite article. In example (2), taken from Resian, the scalar reading (meaning 'numerically *one*') of the indefinite determiner is unavailable, which points to its clear status as an indefinite article (cf. Dayal 2004).

(2) Skorë wsaka ïša   ma no televižjun, aliböj no radio […]
     almost every house has one television or   one radio
     'In every house there is either a television or a radio […]'   (NG)

Another curious fact concerns the distribution of determiners in Resian. As was shown in (1), both nouns receive a kind interpretation, yet, only the second is preceded by a determiner. This leaves us with another puzzle: Resian distinguishes overtly between modified and unmodified nominals, regardless of their status as either definite or indefinite, and requires the obligatory use of a determiner only with modified nouns. The asymmetry for definites has been illustrated by (1). As for non-specific indefinites, the asymmetry is shown in (3).

(3) a. Matë   otroke?
         have.2PL.PRS children
         'Do you have children?'
     b. Wsën   našën judin   awgurawamö ne   lipe fjëšte.
         all.DAT our.DAT people.DAT wish.2PL.PRS one.PL nice holidays
         'We wish happy holidays to all our people!'   (NG)

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3. All Resian examples but one come from available written sources. These include either transcripts of spontaneous oral production or newspaper articles and stories. The written and internet sources consulted comprise: *Näš Glas* (NG), a local periodical featuring articles written in standard Resian; *Resianica* (RE), a web site containing a collection of studies on Resian and a dozen texts in Resian; and *Raccontami una favola* (RF), transcripts of oral Resian edited by Luigia Negro and Roberto Dapit. For every example, I provide a written source by using the corresponding abbreviation and the location. Examples drawn from the magazine *Näš glas* lack any geographical indication since they are written in standard Resian. Most examples have been double-checked with native speakers. Only example (1) was collected during my fieldwork in Resia and comes from the variety of Stolvizza.

Several questions emerge from the above facts: What is the exact status of the indefinite article in the two Slavic varieties? What are the distribution and interpretation of bare nouns? Where does the asymmetry between modified and unmodified nominals originate? In this paper, I will address these questions and offer part of the solution by claiming that both Slavic varieties under investigation have developed a full-fledged indefinite article. In order to do so, I will rely on standard diagnostic tests from the grammaticalization and formal semantics literature (Givón 1981; Heine 1997; Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004, 2011; Geist 2013). By applying diagnostics for the definite article (Löbner 1985), I will show that Resian has also developed a definite article, albeit subject to specific structural conditions, related to the presence of prenominal modifiers. Considering that the condition on prenominal placement of adjectives is not met in Molise Croatian, I will claim that this is the reason why this variety has not developed a definite article. Finally, I will argue that the development of the indefinite article is not contingent on the rise of the definite article, as confirmed by Molise Croatian, which has developed an indefinite article only.

2.   The status of the indefinite determiner in Resian and Molise Croatian

2.1   From the numeral *one* to the indefinite article

The principal source of the indefinite article crosslinguistically is the numeral *one*. In order to account for various functions performed by this item on its way to becoming a full-fledged indefinite article, Heine (1997: 72–73) proposes a five-stage model of grammaticalization. In addition, Heine's scale is to be interpreted not only as a diachronic grammaticalization cline, but also as a crosslinguistic synchronic implicational scale (cf. Geist 2013):

(4)   numeral – presentative marker – specific marker – non-specific marker – generalized article

The main idea behind this proposal is that the numeral *one* should be used progressively in a number of contexts in which its connection with cardinality is being lost. A comparable, but less elaborated scale is proposed by Givón (1981):

(5)   quantification – referentiality/denotation – genericity/connotation

Languages unfold along this scale depending on the array of functions accessible to the numeral *one* (and its unstressed variant *a* in English, cf. Perlmutter 1970): if in a language X, the numeral *one* is used only to signal cardinality (quantification

in (5)) and/or specificity (referentiality in (5)), then that language is taken to not have grammaticalized an indefinite article.

In Heine's proposal specificity is understood as a pragmatic notion of referential intention taken to denote "the referent 'the speaker has in mind'" (von Heusinger 2011: 1026). However, besides referentiality, a number of other pragmatic and semantic properties have been associated with specificity, the most important among which are (a) rigid designation; (b) wide scope; (c) licensing discourse anaphora; (d) presuppositionality; (e) discourse prominence (von Heusinger 2011: 1026).

If we bear in mind that a language has grammaticalized an indefinite article only if the numeral *one* is used in non-specific/non-referential contexts (Givón 1981; Heine 1997), such indefinites should be able to exhibit properties that are the opposite of those characteristic of specific indefinites, i.e. non-referentiality, non-rigid designation, narrow scope, etc. Givón (1981) subdivides non-specific contexts into three principal domains: predicative, generic and non-specific in the scope of negation or modals. As a result, these contexts are generally taken to assess the status of the numeral *one* in a language. By comparison, in the formal semantics literature, it is assumed that a language lexicalizes the existential operator $\exists$ if the numeral *one* is able to function generically (Chierchia 1998: 374). Or, according to Dayal (2004: 478, 2011: 1104), the numeral *one* should be able to yield (neutral) narrow scope interpretation with negation. As a rule, scopal properties of true indefinites are tested with intensional operators, with respect to which they should be able to display both wide and narrow scope (Abush 1994), and with universal quantifiers, in which case they should not induce scalar (cardinal) interpretations.

The results yielded by the application of the above-mentioned diagnostic tests can be illustrated with Italian, a language with a full-fledged indefinite article, and by comparison with Slovenian, a language in which the numeral *one* can only perform the function of a specificity marker (cf. Bažec 2011; Franks 2013), subsuming accordingly presentative and cardinality functions, as predicted by the implicational scale in (4).

Italian

(6) a. Marco è un insegnante.   (predicative context)
        Marko is one teacher
        'Marco is a teacher.'

  b. Un insegnante ha sempre ragione.   (generic sentences)
       one teacher has always right
       'A teacher is always right.'

  c. Vorrei baciare un eschimese.   (intensional context)
       would.1sg kiss one eskimo
       'I would like to kiss an Eskimo.'

    c′. che   ho   conosciuto l'   anno scorso al   Polo Nord.
        whom AUX met   the year last   at.the Pole North
        'whom I met last year at the North Pole.'   (wide scope)

    c″. ma non so   se ci   riuscirò   mai.
        but not know.1SG.PRS if there succeed.1SG.FUT ever
        'but I don't know if this will be ever possible.'   (narrow scope)

    d. Martino non ha   letto un libro di Dostoevsky.[4]
        Martino not AUX.3SG read one book of Dostoyevsky
        'Martino didn't read any book by Dostoyevsky.'   (with negation)

    e. In ogni casa c'è   un televisore.   (with universal quantifiers)
        in every house there.is one television
        'In every house there is a television.'

In (6a), it is possible to use a noun phrase headed by a numeral in a predicative context as an answer to the question 'What does Marco do?', and not only to the question 'Who is Marco?'.[5] (6b) has a generic reading, whereby *un insegnante* 'a teacher' can be any teacher. In (6c), scopal properties of true indefinites are shown in intensional contexts: *un eschimese* 'an Eskimo' gives rise to two readings, illustrated by compatible continuations in (6c′) and (6c″), respectively: in (6c′), the noun phrase takes wide scope over the modal verb, whereas in (6c″) it receives a narrow scope interpretation. In (6d), *un libro di Dostoevsky* 'a book by Dostoyevsky' takes narrow scope with negation, as can be seen from the English translation of the example. Finally, (6e) illustrates interpretation of true indefinites with universal quantifiers: (6e) is true even if there is more than one television in every house (as long as there is at least one), thus eschewing the scalar (cardinal) interpretation.

    In Slovenian, on the other hand, the available readings of noun phrases headed by the numeral *one* are only those associated with cardinality and specificity.[6]

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4. In order to obtain a narrow scope reading with negation, intonational focus on the numeral is required (Mariachiara Berizzi, p.c.). It is also possible to have wide scope reading (but not all informants have the same intuitions), if we postulate in the background a set of books known to both the speaker and the hearer, out of which this book is selected. It is generally very hard to obtain the narrow scope reading due to the availability of the negative quantifier *nessuno* 'nobody/ no one'.

5. This is another important diagnostic test for true indefinites, as elaborated in Geist (2013). Only predicational copular sentences in which a postcopular noun denotes a property ('What does X do?') can be employed as a diagnostic test for the indefinite article, whereas copular sentences with an identification function ('Who is X?') cannot.

6. Colloquial Slovenian has been argued to have developed an indefinite article (Bošković 2008; Marušič and Žaucer 2006, 2008, 2013). Yet, Bažec (2011) and Franks (2013) claim that noun phrases headed by the numeral *one* can only have a specific interpretation.

Slovenian

(7)   a.   Marko je en   učitelj.   (predicative context)
           Marko is one teacher
           'Marko is one teacher.' (only as an answer to 'Who is Marko?')

      b.   En učitelj   ima vedno prav   (generic sentences)
           one teacher has always right
           'One teacher is always right.'

      c.   Rada bi   poljubila enega   igralca   (intensional context)
           glad.F would.1SG kissed.F one.ACC actor
           'I would like to kiss an actor.'

      c′. ki   sem   ga   spoznala lani.   (wide scope)
           whom AUX.1SG.PRS him met   last.year
           'whom I met last year.'

      c″. #a   ne   vem,   če se   bo   to   kdaj zgodilo.
           but NEG know.1SG.PRS if REFL will that ever happen
           'but I don't know if that will ever happen.'   (narrow scope)

      d.   Martino ni   prebral ene   knjige od Dostojevskega.
           Martino not.is   read   one.GEN book   of Dostoyevsky
           'Martino didn't read one book by Dostoyevsky.'   (with negation)

      e.   Vsak dom   ima eno televizijo.   (with universal quantifiers)
           every house has one television
           'Every house has one television.'

Accordingly, (7a) can be an answer only to the question 'Who is Marko?'; (7b) receives a scalar interpretation, hence giving rise to nonsensical readings, such as 'Teachers are right only when they are not more than one', besides the available, specific interpretation; (7c) can only have the continuation illustrated in (7c′) but not the one where the indefinite noun phrase receives narrow scope interpretation (7c″); with negation, the interpretation is only specific and/or scalar (7d); (7e) receives a scalar interpretation, which means that the truth conditions of (7e) are such that it is false if there is more than one television in every house.[7]

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7.   As pointed out by Petra Mišmaš (personal communication), indefinite noun phrases in (7b) and (7d) can be endowed with a specific interpretation only if the referent identification is provided in an immediate continuation of the sentence, as seen in (i):

(i)   EN učitelj ima vedno prav in   to   Marko.
      ONE teacher has always right and that Marko
      'There is one teacher who is always right, and that is Marko.'

Aditionally, from that, the numeral has to be focused. Otherwise, in out-of-the-blue contexts, it is impossible to obtain the specific interpretation.

Besides the available interpretations, obligatoriness in indefinite contexts is another criterion generally employed to assess the level of grammaticalization of the indefinite article. In Italian, the mandatory use of an indefinite article is confined to singular arguments, whereas bare plurals are possible (cf. Chierchia 1998 and licensing conditions for bare arguments in Italian). As for the predicative use, bare singular count nouns are possible with certain nouns indicating profession, kinship or a specific role, such as *neighbour* and alike (all defined as *role nouns* in Zamparelli 2008), e.g. '*Lei è insegnante*'. According to Zamparelli, these nouns have a time-bound character, this being one of the features that generally license bare predicative nouns.

2.2   The numeral *one* in Resian and Molise Croatian

In this subsection, empirical evidence for the existence of an indefinite article in Resian and Molise Croatian is provided based on the diagnostic tests discussed in the previous subsection. Both varieties use the unstressed variant of the numeral *one* as an indefinite article (for Resian cf. Steenwijk 1992: 126; for Molise Croatian cf. Breu 2005: 117).[8] Resian has a full-fledged indefinite article, which covers a full array of indefinites, both specific and non-specific, as predicted by the implicational scale in (4). Examples of the use of indefinite articles and their relative interpretation in Resian are provided as follows:

Specific indefinites

(8)   Lëta 1996 tu-w   Kapodištriji/Kopru an   jë   ričäväl
      year 1996 here-in Capodistria/Kopar   he.CL   AUX.3SG received
      *(**dan**) **premjö**.
      one   award
      'In 1996 it [the choir] received an award in Capodistria/Kopar.'   (NG)

(9)   Maeštro to bil   *(**den**) **karnjel**.
      teacher it was one   Carnic
      'Our teacher was from Carnia.'   (RF, Prato)

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8.   In Resian, the unstressed variant of the numeral *one* lacks the initial *d-* throughout the paradigm, except for the masculine singular nominative form *din* 'one' (which is syncretic with the accusative form of inanimate objects). Both stressed and unstressed forms consist of six case forms (NOM, GEN, DAT, ACC, INS, LOC). The unstressed form has also the plural paradigm, whereas the plural form of the numeral is used only with pluralia tantum (since semantically singular). In Molise Croatian, the unstressed numeral lacks the initial syllable *je-* (*na* versus *jena*) and its paradigm is morphologically defective, since it has only NOM and ACC forms. Furthermore, Molise Croatian completely lacks plural forms of the unstressed variant of the numeral.

(10) […] ki   romonïjo tej mï *(**ne**) **slavinske djalëte**.
       who speak   like us one.PL Slovenian dialects
      '[…] who speak, as we do, Slovenian dialects.'   (NG)

(11) Koro jë   pël karjë (**nih**)   **wuž**   […]
      choir AUX.3SG sang many one.GEN.PL songs
      'The choir was singing a lot of songs […].'   (NG)

Non-specific indefinites

Predicative context

(12) a. Ko   si   bil   ä *(**dan**) **mali**   […]
         when AUX.1PL.PRS was I one   small
         'When I was a child […].'   (RF, Uccea)
     b. Ki   somo   bili *(**ni**) **mali**   […]
         because AUX.1PL.PRS were one.PL small
         'Because we were children […].'   (RF, Prato)

(13) Isi   mus te   biu *(**dan**) **comunista**.
      this man that was one   communist
      'This man was a communist.'   (RE, Oseacco)

(14) Lisïca? Vï stë *(**na**) **lïsica**? – rëkal Jakumčić.[9]
      fox   you are one fox   said Jakumčić
      'Fox? You are a fox? – Jakumčić said.'

Generic sentences

(15) […] ni   so   paršly pošlušet ano vïdet kako se   paraćawa
       they AUX.3PL came hear   and see   how REFL make
   (**no**) **tražmišjun.**
   one program
   'They came to hear and see how a program is made.'   (NG)

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9. It is important to note that in (14) we are not dealing with the intensifying use of *den* 'one' (Gorishneva 2013b), which induces a scalar reading on the predicate noun, as it does the indefinite determiner *uno* in *Sei un cretino* 'You are an idiot'. This use of an indefinite determiner requires the predicate noun to denote a gradable property, which is not the case with the noun in (14) – the noun *fox* is not used metaphorically – the example is taken from a story in which a real fox is having a conversation with other animals.

Narrow-scope reading

Intensional context

(16)   […] litus   be   tëli radë organizät *(**no**) **ǧito** za
       this.summer would.1PL like gladly organize one   trip to
poznät kakë lipë mëstu.
know   some nice place
'This summer we would like to organize a trip in order to get to know nice
places.'   (NG)

(17)   Tu-w Reziji mamo   si   mïslit za te   mlode, za jin
       here.in Resia have.1PL.PRS REFL think for those young for they.DAT
dati *(**no**) **okažjon** za moret živit ano stat izdë w noši
give one   occasion for can   live and stay here in our
lipi   dolïni […].
beautiful valley
'Here in Resia we need to think about the young people in order to provide
them with an opportunity to be able to live and stay in our beautiful valley
[…].'   (NG)

Non-scalar reading with universal quantifiers

(18)   Skorë wsaka iša   ma *(**no**) **televižjun**, aliböj *(**no**) **radio** […].
       almost every house has one   television   or   one   radio
'In every house there is either a television or a radio […].'   (NG)

Examples of bare nominal predicates are also attested, as can be seen in (19) and
(20). However, bare nouns in predicative context can be subsumed under the cate-
gory of nouns with time-bound character. We have seen that they can be bare even
in languages with a full-fledged indefinite article.[10]

(19)   Na jë   bila **wduvïca** karjë lit.
       she AUX.3SG was widow   many years
'She was a widow for many years.'   (NG)

(20)   Ko   so   bile **hćere** […].
       when AUX.3PL were girls
'When they were (young) girls […].'   (RF, Oseacco)

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10. As for generic nouns and the optionality of the use of an indefinite article, I assume that it is
due to the fact that codification of generic/kind-denoting nominals is replicated from Romance.
In Italian, for instance, they can be introduced by both definite and indefinite articles. Since
definites are always bare in Resian, hence the optionality of the use of an indefinite article (see
an explanation along these lines for Molise Croatian below).

I take the above data to offer sufficient empirical evidence for the existence of an indefinite article in Resian. However, its mandatory use is restricted to singular arguments (leaving aside for the moment the asymmetry between modified and unmodifed nominals). As for the plural forms, it seems that there is an asymmetry between specific and non-specific plural nouns, with specific nouns being more readily used with indefinite articles (cf. §3).[11]

As for Molise Croatian, it has developed a full-fledged indefinite article, but only for singular nouns. Plural nouns (omitted here for reasons of space) can be bare or are introduced by an indefinite determiner *neki* 'some', signalling specificity (Breu 2005). All examples of Molise Croatian are taken from Breu (2005).[12]

Specific indefinites

(21) Sfe skupa je uliza *(**na**) jud **tusti**.
     all together AUX.3SG entered one person fat
     'All of a sudden a fat guy came in.'

Non-specific indefinites

(22) Zov *(**na**) **medik**!
     call one doctor
     'Call a doctor!'

(23) Tigra je (**na**) **nimaldža**.   (predicative context)
     tiger is one animal
     'A tiger is an animal.'

(24) (**Na**) **džokatol** dobri uči dita.   (generic sentences)
     one toy good teaches child
     'A child can learn from a good toy.'

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11. Non-specific plural nouns are generally bare, unless they are nominalized adjectives, as in (12b). Admittedly though, interpretation and distribution of plural bare indefinites, as well as their scope properties, remain to be understood. Research on bare nouns has become a field of its own, with many issues still waiting for an explanation (for an overview the reader is referred to Wall and Kabatek 2013).

12. Another instance of indefinite bare nominals is given by mass nouns both in Resian and in Molise Croatian (cf. Breu 2005: 121–122). Crosslinguistically, mass nouns share many properties with plural nouns, and according to Chierchia (1998: 347) they "come out of the lexicon already pluralized". Their codification in Resian and Molise Croatian is the same as in Romance: when kind-denoting/generic, they side with definites (which are bare in these two varieties); when indefinite, they side with plural, non-specific indefinites. Accordingly, I abstract away from the mass/count distinction, as it is not relevant for the languages discussed here. Rather, I leave discussion of mass nouns for future research on bare indefinite plurals.

Narrow scope reading

(25) Ja ču   jimat *(**na**) **mičicij**.   (intensional context)
    I would have one   friend
    'I'd like to have a friend.'

(26) Nimam   (**jenu**)   **maginu**.   (with negation)
    have.not.1SG.PRS one.ACC car
    'I don't have a car.'

In Molise Croatian the numeral *one* is obligatory in all the above contexts apart from (23), (24) and (26), in which case the noun can also be bare. Nonetheless, when bare, a noun conveys a different meaning: in (23) it denotes a property of being animal; in (24) and (26), the indefinite noun is in complementary distribution with definite/kind-denoting nouns, which are canonically bare. Compare to that effect Italian: *Il bambino può imparare da un buon giocattolo* vs. *Il bambino può imparare dal buon giocattolo*, with the former referring to a typical representative of the class and the latter referring to the entire class. With respect to negation, in Italian it is possible to use definite/kind denoting noun: *Non ho la macchina*. Therefore, I take this type of variation to arise as a consequence of language contact (cf. Breu 2005).[13],[14]

3. The asymmetry between modified and unmodified nominals

In the previous section it has been shown that both varieties under investigation have developed a full-fledged indefinite article, with the difference that Resian has also developed plural forms. Another difference pertains to the development of a definite article, which is present in Resian but absent in Molise Croatian. The existence of a definite article is demonstrated by the use of a Resian weak demonstrative with semantically unique descriptive content (Löbner 1985), as can be seen in (27).

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13. With respect to Resian and Molise Croatian, Bulgarian and Macedonian seem to lack an indefinite article. In these two languages, the use of the numeral *one* is confined to specific indefinites and generics, whereas non-specific indefinites are canonically bare. Even with specific indefinites it is possible to use a bare noun unless topical (Geist 2013 for Bulgarian) or when the identity of the referent is not known to the speaker (Weiss 1996 for Macedonian in Breu 2005:121).

14. As correctly pointed out by the reviewers, the analysis of the described phenomena would be more accurate and exhaustive if carried out from the perspective of contact with Romance. While I agree with the stance that contact can shed more light on the causes and development of attested changes, I disagree with the idea that this is the only way to address the grammar of Resian and Molise Croatian. Therefore, I leave this interesting question for future research.

Semantically unique descriptions are incompatible with a demonstrative by default. Therefore, the weak demonstrative can be claimed to have access to definite article semantics.

(27) Ja mu   dal **roko,** ja mu   dal *(**to**) **hüdo ruko.**
     I he.DAT gave hand I he.DAT gave that left   hand
                                             (definite, singular)
     'I gave him my hand; I gave him my left hand.'   (NG)

The Resian data are somewhat intricate considering that Resian distinguishes overtly between modified and unmodified nominal expressions, regardless of their status as either definite (cf. (27)) or indefinite (cf. (28) as opposed to (29)), and requires the obligatory use of a determiner only with modified nouns. The following two examples show this asymmetry with plural nouns.[15]

(28) Matë   **otroke?**   (non-specific, plural, unmodified)
     have.2PL.PRS children
     'Do you have children?'   (NG)

                                                   (specific, plural, modified)
(29) Wsën našën judin   awgurawamö *(**ne**) **lipe fjëšte**
     all.DAT our.DAT people.DAT wish.1PL.PRS one.PL nice holidays
     'We wish happy holidays to all our people!'   (NG)

Besides, the asymmetry bearing on the presence of prenominal modifiers intersects with another asymmetry that concerns the definiteness status of a nominal: whereas unmodified indefinites require the obligatory use of an indefinite determiner (with the exception of plural non-specific indefinites), as shown in (31), definites are always bare (30).

(30) Mamö   zahvalit karjë […] pa **kumün,**
     have2PL.PRS thank   much   PRT municipality
     komunita montano, provïnču anu   **reǵun.**
     community   mountain province and   region
     'We have to thank a lot about the municipality, the mountain community, the province and the region.'   (NG)

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15. The parallel specific – non-specific is lost here since adding descriptive content to a noun (by a modifier, for instance) increases its chances of being interpreted as specific (cf. Fodor and Sag 1982).

(31) W saböto   27 dnuw satembarja […] jë   bil *(**dan**)
in Saturday 27 day   September   AUX.3SG was one
konvenjo za morët rumunet od   jazïkuw   anu turizma.
conference for can   talk   about languages and tourism
'On Saturday September 27th, there was a conference dedicated to languages
and tourism.'   (NG)

The distributional facts of Resian nominals are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of unmodified and modified nominals in Resian

Interpretation	Unmodified		Modified	
	±Determiner		±Determiner	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
Definite	−	−	+	+
Specific	+	±	+	+
Non-specific	+	−	+	+
Kind-denoting (Generic)	−	−	+	+

As can be seen in Table 1, indefinite nominals show a distinct behaviour only in
case of (non)specific plurals, otherwise they present an indefinite determiner uni-
formly throughout (modified or unmodified). Definite and generic nominals, on
the other hand, show a consistently distinct behaviour for modified and unmodified
nominals.

In Molise Croatian no asymmetry bearing on modification or the definiteness
status of the noun is attested. Nominals are consistently either bare (cf. (32), (33)
and the noun *tigra* 'tiger' in (34)) or are introduced by an indefinite article (cf.
the noun *na nimaldža* 'an animal' in (35), repeated here for convenience, (36)),
depending on the availability of a determiner. Recall that Molise Croatian has only
a singular indefinite article. Examples (32) and (33a) are taken from Breu (2010a)
and Breu (2010b), and (33b) from Breu (2008).

Bare nouns

(32) […] e   nondeka jimaša   **vičina**   **nove**.
and there   have.3SG.IPFV neighbours new
'And there she had new neighbours.'   (specific indefinite, plural, modified)

(33) a.   […] vamita naveče **telič lipi** oni   naveče lipa tusti, vamita oni.
take most   calf   nice that most nicely fat   take   that
'Take the nicest calf, the nicest and fattest one, take that one.'
(definite, singular, modified)

      b. Večaru   ripetivaša   **riče   nove**.
            evening.ACC   repeat.3SG.IPFV words new
            'In the evening they were repeating (all) the new words.'

                                      (definite, plural, modified)

(34) **Tigra** je   na nimaldža.   (kind-denoting, singular, unmodified)
       tiger is   one animal
       'A   tiger is   an animal.'

Non-bare nouns

(35) Tigra je **na nimaldža**.   (non-specific, singular, unmodified)
       tiger is   one animal
       'A   tiger is   an animal.'

(36) **Na džokatol dobri** uči   dita.   (generic, singular, modified)
       one toy   good teaches child
       'A child can learn from a good toy.'

The distributional facts of Molise Croatian are summarized in Table 2. Although the presence of modifiers bears no effect on the insertion of a determiner, this division is given nevertheless for the sake of clarity and comparison with Resian.

Table 2. Distribution of unmodified and modified nominals in Molise Croatian

Interpretation	Unmodified		Modified	
	±Determiner		±Determiner	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
Definite	−	−	−	−
Specific	+	±	+	±
Non-specific	+	−	+	−
Kind-denoting (Generic)	−	−	−	−

4. Resian vs. Molise Croatian: Licensing of bare nominals

In what follows I offer part of a solution to the above asymmetry – consisting of the distinct behaviour between modified and unmodified nominals in Resian – by claiming that such asymmetry is only apparent (and accidental), since licensing

conditions on definite and indefinite nominals differ.[16] This proposal also attempts to capture differences between two Slavic varieties under investigation.

As far as definite nominals are concerned, the definite D has to be licensed either by merger of the definite article in the head of D (and hence the obligatory use of the definite article with definite modified nominals), as in (37b), or by the presence of the appropriate lexical material, endowed with (pro)nominal features in a local relation with D (Spec-head), and hence the use of bare definite nominals, as in (37a) (cf. Runić 2015: 420–422).[17]

(37)   a.

```
            DP
           /  \
        NP_i    DP
               /  \
              D    t_NP
```

   b.

```
            DP
           /  \
          D    AgrP
          te   /  \
             AP    NP
                  /__\
```
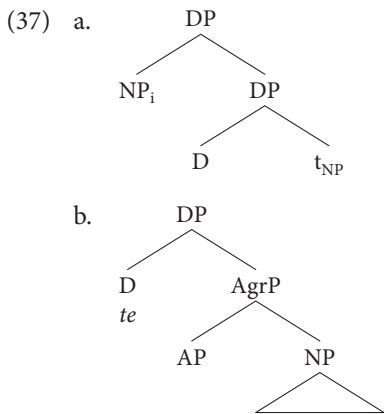
The configuration in (37a) is responsible for definite and kind-denoting bare nouns, whereas the structure in (37b) represents their modified counterparts. The licensing conditions for definites in Resian offer an explanation for why only prenominal modifiers (in the case of Resian, adjectives) count in blocking the movement of the noun, hence triggering the obligatory insertion of a definite determiner (38c). If modification consists of prepositional phrases (38a) or relative clauses (38b), which are rigidly placed after the noun, it is possible to omit the article.

(38)   a.   (te) wuže   z   Rezije
            the songs from   Resia

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16. Again, I do not address the question of bare plurals and mass nouns since they are allowed even in languages with (in)definite articles, their distribution and interpretation being subject to robust crosslinguistic variation (cf. Dayal 2011).

17. In order to account for the inability of APs to raise as high as SpecDP and provide overt material in a local configuration with a null D, Julien (2005) relies on Baker's (2003) assumption that among lexical categories nouns are the only bearers of a referential index and as such the only candidates for SpecDP (alongside demonstratives).

b. So   bile (te) žane ki so   predle   wolno.
    AUX.3PL were the women who AUX.3PL spinning wool
    'Women who were spinning wool were also there.'

c. *(te) rozajanske wuže
    the Resian   songs

Resian in this sense is different from Slovenian, in which it is possible to have bare modified nouns, as can be seen in (39), thus allowing for the configuration in (40), in which the AP is an appropriate licensor of the null definite D.

(39) Živela sta   dva brata,   reven in bogat. **Bogati   brat**
      lived AUX.3DU two brothers poor and rich   rich.DEF brother
      se   je   odpravil…
      REFL AUX.3SG went
      'Once upon a time, there were two brothers, a rich one and a poor one. The rich brother went…'

(40)

```
            DP
          /    \
       APi      AgrP
              /     \
           tAP       NP
                    /__\
```
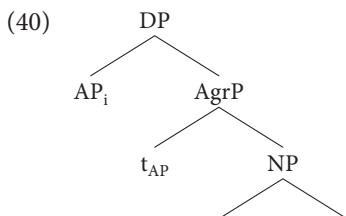
Where does this difference between Resian and Slovenian stem from? The AP is no longer an appropriate licensor of the null definite D, unlike in Slovenian (and Croatian for that matter), due to the fact that the semantic distinction between adjectives (long/definite and short/indefinite) has been lost in Resian. This double adjectival inflectional paradigm, typical of Slavic (and Baltic), has been traditionally associated with definiteness (long-form adjectives) and indefiniteness (short-form adjectives) (Bailyn 1994, a.o).[18] Now, the long/short distinction has had different outcomes across the Slavic language family, with Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, to a limited extent, being the only modern Slavic languages which retain long-form adjectives as markers of definiteness (Sussex and Cubberley 2006: 454). Accordingly, in these languages the configuration in (40) is allowed, as confirmed by the data from standard Slovenian in (39).

This difference can be best illustrated with the Slovenian example in (39). In (39), the long/definite adjective *bogati* '(the) rich (one)' appears with the second mention of the noun *brother*, *bogati brat* 'the rich brother'. In languages with articles, the second mention of the noun would be typically introduced by a definite

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18. For a different view of the function of long-form adjectives, cf. Rießler (2016).

article, in its anaphoric use – to refer back to entities present in the linguistic context of an utterance. Resian in this sense behaves like article languages in ruling out the option in (39). The second mention of the noun would obligatorily bear the weak demonstrative – *te bogäti bratar* 'the rich brother'. I assume that this is so because, regardless of the presence of both types of adjectives, long/definite and short/indefinite, their distinction is only positional and not semantic. Long adjectives occur only in prenominal position but cannot license a null definite D presumably due to the fact that they both occur with definite and indefinite nominals. Therefore, the interpretive locus of the noun in Resian consistently lies with the determiner, as shown in (41), and not with the adjective, as in standard Slovenian.[19]

(41) a. dan lipi   člověk
          one handsome   man
          'a handsome man'
      b. te   lipi   člověk
          the handsome   man
          'the handsome man'

Turning to the indefinite article, considering that it is fully grammaticalized, as amply shown in §2, it needs no specific licensing conditions. The development of an indefinite article seems to be completely independent from the definite article; the prediction being that the indefinite article and the definite article have had separate paths of grammaticalization in these two varieties.[20] This is not unexpected considering that in articleless Slavic languages the use of an indefinite determiner

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19. Colloquial Slovenian is different from standard Slovenian, since it lost the distinction between long/short adjectives in prenominal position, hence allowing only short-form adjectives. This (traditional) distinction has been replaced by the regular use of articles *en* 'one' and *ta* 'the' with short form adjectives, so that $lep_{SHORT} = en\ lep_{SHORT}$; $lepi_{LONG} = ta\ lep_{SHORT}$ 'a/the handsome' (Toporišič 2000: 771). Marušič and Žaucer (2006, 2008, 2013) analyze colloquial Slovenian *ta* 'the' as an adjectival article, generated in the extended projection of the adjective. This conclusion is based on the compatibility of *ta* with indefinite nominals, the possibility of stacking in nominal expressions with multiple adjectives, and the possibility of showing up on any of the multiple adjectives, and not necessarily on the first one. In addition, they propose that the semantic contribution of *ta* is to turn any adjective into a classificatory one, giving rise to some sort of adjectival definiteness. While there are a number of similarities between the Resian and colloquial Slovenian definite article, there are also a number of substantial distributional and semantic divergences (cf. Runić 2015), which exclude a unified analysis of the two items.

20. If a parallel is to be drawn, Bažec (2011) examines texts written in old Slovenian (starting from the 9th century and all the way to present-day Slovenian) and concludes that the definite article arose somewhat earlier than the indefinite article. She further notes, based on the distribution of the indefinite article, that its rise was not contingent upon the loss of the distinction between short- and long-form adjectives (Bažec 2011: 21).

is obligatory in some cases, for instance with topics, as illustrated in (42), in rela-
tion to Russian. The same holds true for Croatian, illustrated in (43). According to
Geist (2010), indefinite bare nouns are always interpreted as non-specific (but for
an alternative view that bare singular nouns are underspecified for specificity, see
Borik 2016). The indefinite determiner *odin/jedan* 'one' is a canonical marker of
specificity in these two languages. More importantly, in both examples the use of
an indefinite determiner is obligatory if a nominal is to be interpreted as indefinite.

(42)　*(Odna)　malen'kaja　DEVOCHKA,　ona　　　chotela　otpravit'ja
　　　　one　　　little　　　　girl,　　　　PRON.3SG　wanted　travel
　　　　vo　Franciju.
　　　　to　France
　　　　'Once, a little girl wanted to travel to France.'　　　　(Geist 2010: 209)

(43)　Poslije　polusatne　ugodne　šetnje　došli　su　　　do　*(jednoga)
　　　　after　　half-hour　pleasant　walk　arrived　AUX.3PL　to　one
　　　　trga　i　　na tom　se　　trgu　zadržali　do　kasnih　večernjih sati.
　　　　square　and　at that　REFL　square　stayed　till　late　　evening　hours
　　　　'After a pleasant half-an-hour walk they arrived at a square and stayed there
　　　　till late in the evening.'　　　　(Pranjković 2000, in Caruso 2012: 274)

Summing up what has been said thus far, the prediction is that the indefinite arti-
cle will develop independently of the definite article, and that the rise of a definite
article will bear on: (i) the semantic distinction between long/definite- and short/in-
definite adjectival forms – if preserved, no true definite article is expected; (ii) their
position with respect to the noun – only prenominal placement will have effects on
the insertion of a definite determiner by default.

　　　These predictions are borne out by Molise Croatian data: this variety has only an
indefinite article, but no definite articles whatsoever. According to Breu (2005: 133),
Molise Croatian is an exception to a typological universal due to Heine (1997: 69):
"If a language has a grammaticalized indefinite article, it is likely to also have a
definite article, while the reverse does not necessarily hold true." However, this is
not unexpected in light of the requirements on the development of the indefinite
article; in Molise Croatian adjectives are typically placed after the noun, just as in
Romance. Consequently, licensing of the definite D relies on the mechanism illus-
trated in (37a), allowing definites and kind-nominals to always occur in bare form.
Besides, the long/short adjective distinction is semantically irrelevant considering
that only long-form adjectives appear within nominal expressions (Walter Breu,
p.c.). Consequently, the presence of adjectives does not interfere with the obligatory

insertion of a determiner, as shown by the contrast in (44) and (45), taken from Breu (2010c) and Breu (2010d), respectively.[21]

(44) E   mečaš   **ulja dobri**   zgora.   (definite, singular)
     and put.2SG.PRS oil good.DEF up
     'And you pour the good oil over.'

(45) […] dòp ne   greda   na lip(i)… **na ulja torko lipi.**
       then NEG came.3SG.PRS one nice.DEF one oil so   nice.DEF
       'Then it doesn't turn out to be a very nice oil.'   (indefinite, singular)

5.   Conclusions

In this paper I have investigated the degree of grammaticalization of the numeral *one* in two Slavic varieties spoken in Italy, Resian and Molise Croatian, respectively. The status of the numeral *one* in Molise Croatian has already been investigated in the work of Breu (2005), whereas the status of Resian indefinite determiner has not been the subject of a dedicated study, at least not one which relies on standard diagnostic tests for indefinite articles. The application of standard diagnostic tests has given positive outcomes for the treatment of the numeral *one* as a genuine indefinite article in both varieties. In this sense, Resian and Molise Croatian are unique among Slavic languages, which have been traditionally assumed to lack indefinite articles altogether.

    Since the two Slavic varieties exhibit notable distributional differences within the nominal domain, I have proposed that these are attributable to several factors, key among which being the placement of adjectives with respect to the head noun. I have argued that the position of adjectives in these two varieties, either pre- or

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21. As correctly pointed out by one of the reviewers, the picture might be more complicated than presented here. Actually, this mechanism might not work for Molise Croatian, since a couple of adjectives are allowed to occur prenominally (the same group of adjectives that may occur prenominally in Italian, Walter Breu, p.c.), without interfering with the definiteness status of the noun. In that case, it would be difficult to claim that Molise Croatian has grammaticalized definiteness, as this requires certain syntactic dependencies to be established. However, it should be noted that the pattern of prenominal placement of adjectives is replicated from Italian (and is not productive). That is why it is not clear to me what their syntactic status is. As for Molise Croatian being an exception to Heine's typological universal, the same reviewer proposes that this might not be true after all, considering that the same generalization can be recast along the lines "you cannot grammaticalize indefinite determiners unless you grammaticalize definiteness". I thank the reviewer for opening up this interesting line of thought.

postnominal, is responsible for the rise of a definite article (Resian) and the lack thereof (Molise Croatian).

The proposal put forward in this paper represents an attempt to capture and formalize intuitions of some traditional work on Resian (Benacchio 1996, based on Baudouin de Courteney 1894, 1913).[22]

Acknowldgement

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22. Many questions have been left unanswered. One such question relates to the interpretation and licensing conditions of bare plural indefinites. Another interesting line of research pertains to the role of contact with Romance. Considering that similar asymmetric phenomena between modified and unmodified nominals in displaying the definite determiner have been observed in colloquial Slovenian, with different outcomes for the distribution and semantics of the definite determiner, I assume that there is likelihood that contact with Romance and standard Slovenian (in the case of colloquial Slovenian) has played a role in shaping this process. Contact with surrounding varieties (Friulian or Molisan) with respect to the presence of plural indefinite articles or lack thereof is also a promising object of study.

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Syntactic variation across Greek dialects

The case of demonstratives

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The syntax of demonstratives in the Greek varieties of southern Italy and more broadly in diaspora Greek can serve as a case study of how long-term unbalanced contact can give rise to syntactic borrowing, shedding light on both necessary and sufficient formal conditions of contact-induced reanalysis and change. Diachronically, Greek features adjective-like demonstratives. In southern Italy and Asia Minor, the adjectival syntax of demonstratives is being and has been lost under pressure from Italo-Romance dialects and Turkish respectively. This radical departure from the traditional Greek pattern is, arguably, impossible in the absence of contact. Crucially, however, a new grammatical rule can only be borrowed if its most characteristic outputs are already possible in the target language, or are made possible through language-internal dynamics.

Keywords: demonstratives, syntactic contact, dialects of southern Italy, Italiot Greek, Asia Minor Greek, polydefiniteness

1. Introduction

In this paper we investigate the syntax of demonstratives in a selection of Greek dialects (namely, Cypriot, Italiot and Asia Minor Greek). We suggest that such a study can inform and be informed by a more general theory of the syntax of demonstratives (in the spirit of Guardiano in prep.) and we put forth an account which attempts to settle outstanding issues in the formal analysis of demonstratives in standard Greek and its dialects, and in the syntax of related types of adjectival modification. We focus in particular on the adjective-like behavior of demonstratives in the Greek diasystem and on the loss of such a distribution in southern Italy and Asia Minor (as opposed to standard and Cypriot Greek). Italiot Greek has developed a pattern superficially identical to that of southern Italy Romance, namely DP-initial placement and incompatibility with the definite article. This is paralleled

by gradual changes in Asia Minor Greek, in which DP-initial placement has also prevailed. In that case too the language Greek interacts with (namely, Turkish) has a similar superficial distribution of demonstratives. To appreciate the actual role of contact, we examine in some detail what really supports the adjective-like distribution of demonstratives in the varieties that have it and what is consequently responsible for its loss. We also account for other cases of microvariation, seeking to understand developments independently occurring in several Greek varieties even in the absence of contact.

We ultimately aim to establish that: (i) syntactic change took place in the two dialectal groups most exposed to unbalanced contact (namely, Italiot and Asia Minor Greek); (ii) such a change was the result of the combination of group-internal dynamics on the one hand (with Italiot Greek, in particular, following paths independently attested in other Greek dialects) and secondary convergence on the other; (iii) syntactic change under horizontal pressure only happens if surface evidence that makes it structurally possible is independently available in the language, as predicted by Guardiano et al.'s (2016) *Resistance Principle*.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents some general information about the dialects studied. Section 3 describes the data per dialect group and draws a preliminary analysis of some aspects of the syntax of demonstratives in the languages under observation. Section 4 explores the patterns of internal variability, as well as the potential role of external influences. Section 5 sums up the conclusions.

2.   The dialects

In the Greek domain, we present data from the following varieties (see the map in the Appendix):[1]

(1)   a.   Standard Modern Greek.
      b.   Cypriot Greek.

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1.   The data discussed in this paper come from the authors' own investigations: most of them have been collected specifically for the purposes of the present paper, others have been taken from our previous works. The data from currently spoken languages have been elicited from native speakers (Eleni Savva for Cypriot Greek; Arhonto Terzi, Amalia Moser, Stergios Chatzikyriakidis, Stavroula Tsiplakou, Costas Canakis, Eleni Agathopoulou, Evelina Leivada, Fryni Panayidou, Theodore Markopoulos, Pepy Bella and Sila Klidi for standard Greek). The data from Italiot Greek have further been double-checked against some of the written sources available. The data from Romeyka Pontic were collected by Ioanna Sitaridou, those from Cappadocian and Pharasiot by Metin Bagriacik, to whom we are deeply grateful. All the examples of DPs cited in the paper have been tested as occurring in argument position.

    c.   Asia Minor Greek:
        i.   Romeyka Pontic (spoken in the region of Caykara in Turkey);[2]
        ii.   Cappadocian (spoken by the descendants of refugees originally from the village of Mistì);[3]
        iii.   Pharasiot (spoken by the descendants of refugees originally from the village of Varašós).[4]
    d.   Italiot Greek:[5]
        i.   Salento Greek (spoken in various villages in the province of Lecce, an area called *Grecìa Salentina,* Apulia);
        ii.   Calabria Greek (spoken in various villages in the province of Reggio Calabria, an area called *Bovesìa*, southern Calabria).

As can be seen from the map, the languages selected cover the whole spectrum of the Greek-speaking world today.

The comparison of the three groups of non-standard varieties listed in (1b–d) shows a graded distribution of certain variable properties in the syntax of demonstratives. Such a distribution suggests that the variation observed depends on the interaction between several different factors, none of which seems to be sufficient on its own to determine any actual syntactic change. Such factors are: (a) constraints imposed by the morphophonological structure of the language; (b) isolation from the core of the Greek-speaking world; (c) contact with dominating languages not belonging to the Greek group, in a small geographic area and in strongly bilingual contexts (like in southern Italy);[6] (d) lack of continuous written tradition, that makes a grammar more conservative/resistant.

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2.   Cf. Guardiano et al. (2016) for a short description and relevant literature.

3.   Cf., a.o., Dawkins (1916), Janse (1998, 1999, 2001, 2006).

4.   Cf., a.o., Andriotis (1948), Anastasiadis (1976, 1994).

5.   Cf. Guardiano (2014), Guardiano and Stavrou (2014), Guardiano et al. (2016) and references therein.

6.   We compared Italiot Greek to the following Romance languages spoken in southern Italy: two upper southern dialects (Pellegrini 1977; cf. also, for more recent overviews of the classification of the dialects of Italy, Maiden and Parry 1997; Loporcaro 2009; Ledgeway 2016), namely Campano (Santa Maria Capua Vetere) and northern Calabrese (Verbicaro, a Lausberg dialect; cf. Lausberg 1939) and five from the extreme southern dialectal area, namely Salentino (Cellino San Marco), southern Calabrese (Reggio Calabria) and three dialects of Sicily (Mussomeli, Ragusa, Aidone, the latter of remote Gallo-Italic origin). A more detailed overview of the history and sociolinguistic structure of these varieties (and the relevant literature) is provided in Guardiano (2014), Guardiano and Stavrou (2014), Guardiano et al. (2016).

3. Demonstratives across Greek

3.1 Standard Greek

In standard Greek, a DP that contains a demonstrative always contains a definite article as well. The examples in (2) show that co-occurrence of definite articles and demonstratives is obligatory when the demonstrative modifies a full lexical nominal.[7]

(2) a. to vivlio afto
       the.N.S book.N.S this.N.S
       'this book'
   b. afto to vivlio
   c. *afto vivlio
   d. *vivlio afto

As far as word order is concerned, there are three distinct positions available in Greek for demonstratives with respect to the other DP-constituents: (i) after the head noun (2a) and (but non-obligatorily) its modifiers, such as structured Genitives[8] (3a) or prepositional phrases (3b); (ii) before the article (2b); (iii) after the first prenominal adjective, if any (4a). Prenominal demonstratives immediately following an article are ungrammatical in standard Greek, as shown in (4b) and (4c).

(3) a. i. to vivlio afto tu Jani
          the.N.S book.N.S this.N.S the.GEN.M.S John.GEN.M.S
          'this book of John's'
      ii. ?to vivlio tu Janni afto[9]

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      b. i.   to   vivlio   afto   me   tis   fotografies

             the.N.s book.N.s this.N.s with the.ACC.M.P photographs.ACC.M.P

             'this book with the photographs'

        ii. ᵗto vivlio me tis fotografies afto

(4) a. to   kokino afto   vivlio

          the.N.s red.N.s this.N.s book.N.s

          'this red book'

      b. *to afto kokino vivlio

      c. *to afto vivlio

It has been shown (Manolessou and Panagiotidis 1999) that the postnominal position of demonstratives in standard Greek is associated only with anaphoric readings (e.g. second mention), while the pre-article position is preferred in contexts where the demonstrative has strong deictic force (while an anaphoric interpretation is still possible). Morphologically, demonstratives in standard Greek agree with the head noun in gender, number and case, like adjectival modifiers. In fact, the distribution of postnominal demonstratives shown in (3)–(4) seems to parallel that of a particular type of adjectival modifiers, namely indirect modification adjectives (Cinque 2010), which are assumed to originate postnominally in standard Greek (Stavrou 2012, 2013) and require polydefinite structures[10] in definite DPs. In other words, in definite DPs adjectival modifiers instantiating indirect modification are always found in a complex constituent that contains a visible definite article as well ([DefArt+AP]): demonstratives can occur in every position where this type of constituent surfaces, with exactly the same degree of acceptability, as shown in (5).

(5) a. i.   to   vivlio   to   kokino

             the.N.s book.N.s the.N.s red.N.s

             'the red book'

        ii. to   vivlio   afto

             the.N.s book.N.s this.N.s

             'this book'

      b. i.   to   vivlio   to   kokino tu   daskalu

             the.N.s book.N.s the.N.s red.N.s the.GEN.M.s teacher.GEN.M.s

             'the red book of the teacher'

        ii. to   vivlio   afto   tu   daskalu

             the.N.s book.N.s this.N.s the.GEN.M.s teacher.GEN.M.s

             'this book of the teacher'

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10. The construction, also known as *definiteness (or determiner) spreading*, has been variously analyzed in the literature (see, for recent outlines, Alexiadou et al. 2007; Alexiadou 2014; Stavrou 2012; Chatzikyriakidis 2015 and, for a broader crosslinguistic perspective, Franco et al. 2015, a.o.).

c. i. ?to vivlio tu daskalu to kokino[11]
the.N.S book.N.S the.GEN.M.S teacher.GEN.M.S the.N.S red.N.S

ii. ?to vivlio tu daskalu afto
the.N.S book.N.S the.GEN.M.S teacher.GEN.M.S this.N.S

d. i. ?to doro tis Marias sto Jani
the.N.S gift.N.S the.GEN.F.S Mary.GEN.F.S to.the John.ACC.M.S

to kalo
the.N.S nice.N.S

'Mary's beautiful gift to John'

ii. ?to doro tis Marias sto Jani
the.N.S gift.N.S the.GEN.F.S Mary.GEN.F.S to.the John.ACC.M.S

afto
this.N.S

'this beautiful gift to John by Mary'

e. i. to kokino to vivlio[12]
the.N.s. red.N.s. the.N.s. book.N.s.

'the red book'

ii. afto to vivlio
this.N.s. the.N.s. book.N.s.

'this book'

We follow here an analysis proposed by Stavrou (2012, 2013) according to which Greek postnominal adjectives are indirect modifiers and are generated in a clausal structure of the type suggested by Campos and Stavrou (2011, 2012) for Greek nominal appositions,[13] namely a small clause whose head encodes a predication relation. In Stavrou's analysis, the definite article occurring before the adjective in polydefinite DPs is the spell out of a nominal head (Pred in (6)) that encodes predicativity and is roughly the nominal counterpart of the sentential copula; the merge position of the postnominal adjective (that acts as the predicate) is in the complement of PredP; the noun phrase (that acts as the subject) is in the specifier

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11. For the graded acceptability of these structures, cf. fn 9. Speakers' judgements of (5c) and (5d) are not uniform. What is interesting, though, is that speakers who accept (5c.i) also accept (5c.ii), speakers who do not accept (5c.i) also do not accept (5c.ii). In cases of gradient grammaticality (5.c.i) and (5.c.ii) are equally acceptable. The same holds with (5d).

12. The examples in (5e) show that XPs generated postnominally do not necessarily surface postnominally, but may also be fronted to a pre-D position.

13. E.g. *o vlakas o aderfos tu* (lit. 'the idiot the brother his'), *o aderfos tu o vlakas* (lit. 'the brother his the idiot').

of PredP. PredP is, in turn, the complement of RP (Relator Phrase), a category that mediates the predication relation (den Dikken 2006).[14]

(6) [$_{DP}$ D   [$_{RP}$ SpecRP   R [PredP   [$_{NP}$ N]   Pred   [$_{AP}$ A   ]]]]

[+def]   [+def]

to   vivlio   ~~vivlio~~ to   kokino

In this structure, Pred, as the equivalent of a copula in clausal predicational structures, carries uninterpretable features that identify the subject of the small clause (Campos and Stavrou 2011, 2012). In indefinite DPs, Pred carries only Number and Gender, and remains null. In definite DPs, Pred also carries a feature [+def], which is matched by the [+def] feature on D. Pred, thus, agrees with D in definiteness, Gender, Number and Case.[15] In Stavrou's (2012, 2013) analysis, the feature [+def] must be spelled out at PF. The second definite article in a polydefinite DP is precisely the spell out of [+def]; hence, "it does not have semantic weight and does not contribute to the interpretation of the combination noun-adjective" (Guardiano and Stavrou submitted).[16] In this configuration, Pred acts as a mediator of agreement between the noun and the adjective: when an adjective is merged prenominally (in the Spec position of a dedicated functional head above N, Guardiano and Stavrou 2017), phi-feature concord between the noun and the adjective takes place in a Spec-Head configuration; instead, when an adjective is merged outside of the NP, as in (6), concord via Spec-Head is unavailable (Stavrou 2012, 2013; Guardiano and Stavrou submitted).

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14. In Stavrou's (2012, 2013) account, Case, assigned to D by an external assigner, is valued in SpecRP: this forces movement of the subject of PredP (i.e. the Noun Phrase) to SpecRP (as shown in 6).

15. An anonymous reviewer suggests that the Case feature of the NP could be valued by D rather than R, "thereby dispensing with the (string vacuous) NP raising to SpecRP". Here, we don't get into the details of the analysis of the structure and function of RP: this category was first proposed by den Dikken (2006) and subsequently adopted by Campos and Stavrou (2011, 2012) and Stavrou (2012, 2013) to describe the predicational nature of nominal appositions and postnominal indirect modification adjectives in Greek, respectively. We refer to those works for more detailed explanation. An argument in favor of NP raising to SpecRP has independently been provided by Crisma et al. (2017), which show that NP raising to SpecRP is not always string vacuous: when the remnant PredP is fronted (or extracted), the only pronounced copy of the NP is the one in SpecRP, e.g. [$_{DP}$ to [$_{RP}$ [$_{NP}$ vivlio] R [$_{PredP}$ ~~NP~~ [$_{Pred}^{0}$ to] [$_{AP}$ kokino]]]] → [[$_{PredP}$~~NP~~ [$_{Pred}^{0}$ to] [$_{AP}$ kokino]] [$_{DP}$ ~~PredP~~ to [$_{RP}$ [$_{NP}$ vivlio] R ~~PredP~~].

16. The need for a copula-like element bearing agreement features every time predication is involved in the nominal domain, thus ultimately taking the form of a definite article, is also manifested in reduced relative clauses, either adjectival or participial (e.g. in Classical Greek, cf. Panayidou 2014).

The order *to kokino to vivlio* (5e.i) is obtained through fronting of the whole PredP, namely the complex [DefArt+AP], to the left of D. This fronting appears to be sensitive to Alexiadou's (2014) notion of *Prominence* (originally formulated by Anagnostopoulou 1994 in relation to clitic doubling), a requirement that the referent of the DP must be named in the previous discourse. As is well-known since Kolliakou (1995, 1999, 2004), and also pointed out by Stavrou (2012, 2013), the main interpretive property of postnominal and (polydefinite) fronted adjectives in Greek is a necessarily restrictive reading of the adjective itself; subsequent literature (cf. Alexiadou 2014 and references therein) has also pointed out the role of familiarity. However, adapting Anagnostopoulou's original diagnostic, it appears that mere familiarity with the referent of the DP does not suffice when the polydefinite AP is prenominal (7). This is what ultimately differentiates the fronted from the non-fronted version. Therefore, it seems that there is a left peripheral position in the DP, the semantic contribution of which is exactly the discourse prominence of the individual which is referred to. APs move to the DP's left periphery arguably through SpecDP.

(7)   Context A: When studying, I like to make scribbles on my notebook. Take a look at it: it is full of red and green marks and drawings. However, today…
      Context B: When studying, I always have a red and a green pencil to scribble on my notebook. However, today…

    a.   echasa   to   molivi   to   kokino.   (Context A:√, Context B:√)
        lost.1SG   the   pencil   the   red
        'I have lost the red pencil.'

    b.   echasa to kokino to molivi.   (Context A:*, Context B:√)

Here we claim that demonstratives are generated in the same position as postnominal adjectives, namely in a small clause of the type shown in (8). We assume, following Guardiano (in prep.) and partly in the spirit of Leu (2008), that demonstratives intrinsically contain both a definiteness feature (or rather the feature-bundle it is associated with, including *person*, Longobardi 2008) and a category of adjectival nature[17] broadly corresponding to proximity/distality. As such, demonstratives in Greek are able to check the [+def] feature of Pred and, consequently, to realize the features of the whole constituent that [DefArt+AP] units realize.[18]

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17. Guardiano (2012), Roberts (2011), and references therein.

18. In the spirit of DM-treatments of portmanteaus (Radkevich 2010; Bobaljik 2012), the morpheme corresponding to the demonstrative can be taken to be a vocabulary item that realizes the features of the two sister nodes Pred and DemP (8) (see also Guardiano et al. 2018).

(8) [DP D   [RP SpecRP R [PredP   [NP N]   Pred   [DemP Dem]]]]
        [+def]   [+def]

                                                            Dem

        to   vivlio   ~~vivlio~~   afto/ekino
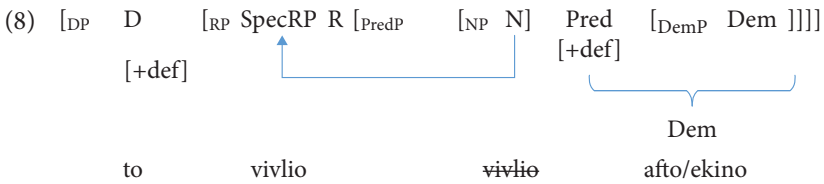
The order *afto/ekino to vivlio* is obtained through movement to the left of D of the PredP containing the demonstrative. As in the case of the unit [DefArt+AP], such a movement is driven by discourse-related purposes: prenominal placement of the demonstrative requires prominence of the individual in the discourse or the situational context and, in turn, the deictic use of demonstrative requires that this prominence be guaranteed. Therefore, deictically marked demonstratives are only possible in the prenominal position (Manolessou and Panagiotidis 1999).

In standard Greek the occurrence of multiple [DefArt+AP] constituents in one and the same DP is possible, as shown in (9), even though unusual and not uniformly accepted by speakers (some speakers accept strings like (9) only with an intonational break between the two adjectives).

(9) a.   to   vivlio   to   kokino to   akrivo
          the.N.S book.N.S the.N.S red.N.S the.N.S new.N.S
          'the new red book'
     b.   to vivlio to akrivo to kokino

Multiple [DefArt+AP] units can also be fronted (as shown in (10)), with different degrees of acceptability).

(10) a.   to kokino to vivlio ? (#) to akrivo[19]
      b.   to akrivo to vivlio ? (#) to kokino
      c.   %to akrivo ?? (#) to kokino to vivlio
      d.   %to kokino ? * (#) to akrivo to vivlio

Given Stavrou's analysis, the status of RP as the (necessarily unique) complement of D and the status of PredP as the complement of R, the orders in (10) (but also the ones in (12)) can be derived from (6) only assuming a recursive structure, namely as *nouns with appositions taking a further apposition*. If what takes an apposition is in SpecPredP, then that same position should host even more complex units taking an apposition. In our case this is a predicational (=appositional) structure, as built in (6) or (8), arguably without the DP-layer (because the overall DP, as in simpler appositions, can only be headed by one definite D). So, if every additional

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19. (#) = intonational break; % = there are speakers who consider the examples degraded; everyone agrees that some sort of special intonation is required.

AP enters a predicational/appositional relationship with an already apposititional relation/construction, then presumably the existing appositional RP becomes the specifier of a PredP hosting the additional AP, (11). This parallelism with recursive appositions, which are harder to process, arguably also explains why, for many speakers, strings such as the ones in (10) are less preferred or even degraded and/or require an intonational break separating additional APs.

(11)
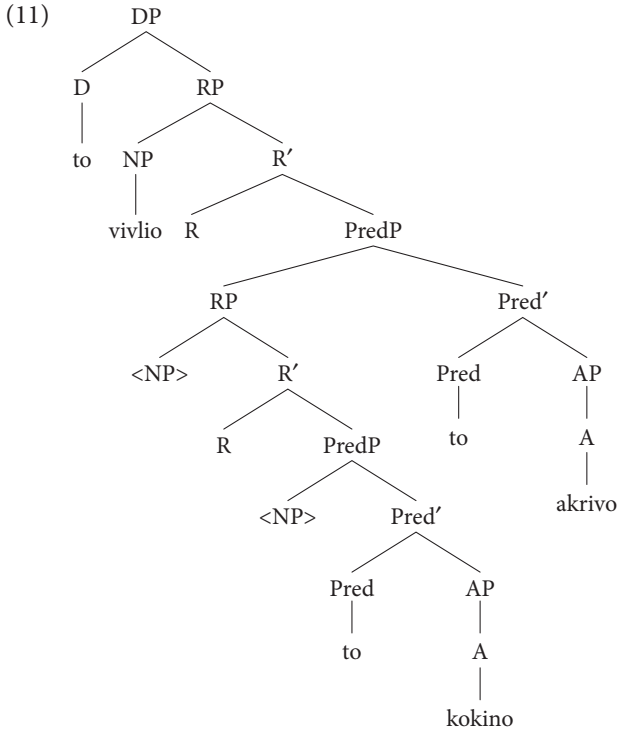
The behavior of demonstratives with respect to multiple modification is consistent with the flexibility observed above (the relevant examples are repeated in (12)), with analogous gradience in terms of grammaticality judgements and similar prosodic requirements.

(12) a. to   vivlio   afto   to   kokino
          the.N.s book.N.s this.N.s the.N.s red.N.s
          'this red book'
      b. afto to vivlio to kokino
      c. afto to kokino to vivlio
      d. %/??to vivlio to kokino afto
      e. %/??to kokino to vivlio afto
      f. %/??to kokino afto to vivlio

(12a) is derived by embedding the RP from a representation such as (8) into the Spec of PredP. The derivation then proceeds as described above, with ultimate movement of NP to SpecRP, to establish the local relationship needed for between D and the NP for Case checking, as shown in (13).

(13)
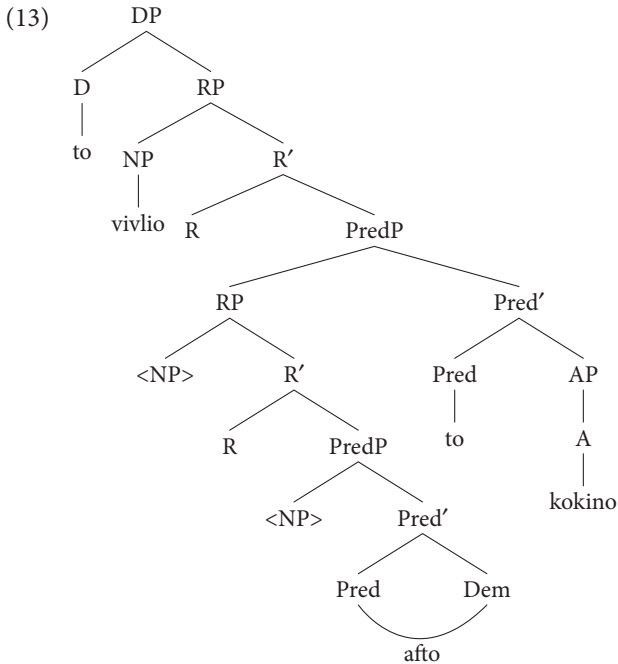
Fronting of the demonstrative and of the demonstrative and the AP yields (12b) and (12c) respectively. This fronting obeys Superiority: if one XP moves, it is the highest, e.g. in our case only the demonstrative is fronted (12b); if both move, the higher moves above the lower, cf. (12c) where the demonstrative precedes the AP. (12d), on the other hand, involves embedding of the RP into the Spec of PredP. Interestingly, (12d) and the orders derived from it through Superiority respecting fronting of one or two modifiers (cf., (12e) and (12f) respectively) are substantially less preferred. It appears that, once a constituent with N and an AP in PredP is built, further building of appositional structure is less acceptable.

A pattern that is not expected is the one in (4a), *to kokino afto vivlio*, where a fronted (articulated) adjective and a demonstrative precede a non-articulated noun. This construction is unanimously judged grammatical in standard Greek. The contrast between *to kokino afto vivlio* and **to afto kokino vivlio* suggests that *to kokino* behaves as a constituent and has moved from its postnominal source as such. What is unexpected here is the absence of a visible D heading the definite

DP, which is commonly assumed to be ungrammatical in definite DPs in Greek.[20] In principle, at least three hypotheses can be advanced.

(14)   The article *to* on *to kokino*, when [*to kokino*] raises from PredP to SpecDP, checks the [+def] feature of D.

(15)   When the demonstrative raises (as part of PredP) to SpecDP, it checks the [+def] feature of D.

(16) a.   Multiple fronted XPs occupy multiple Specifiers of D on their way to peripheral positions;

b.   there is only one SpecDP, which poses some restrictions on how many XPs can be fronted.

All the derivations implied by the three hypotheses above involve fronting of both the demonstrative and the AP to discourse-related positions to the left periphery of the DP, over D. They must both move through SpecDP, even though neither of them surfaces there. This is the kind of fronting that also underlies (5e.i–ii).

(14) implies that it is only the definite AP that can check D on its way to its surface position, rendering the definite article in D redundant. A significant disadvantage of this hypothesis is that the AP would check D only optionally. So, in principle, fronting of a postnominal definite AP should be able to give rise to either (17a) or (17b).

(17) a.   [to   kokino] to   vivlio   [~~to kokino~~]
           the.N.s red.N.s   the.N.s book.N.s
           'the red book'

b.   [to   kokino] *e* vivlio   [~~to kokino~~]
           the.N.s red.N.s   book.N.s

Nevertheless, (17b) clearly does not have the discourse effects commonly associated with the polydefinite construction, e.g. a necessarily restrictive reading, topicalization or emphasis etc.[21] Such differences in interpretation between (17a) and (17b) suggest that (17b) has a different derivation than (17a), with the article in D and the adjective in a dedicated prenominal functional projection (Guardiano and Stavrou 2017, submitted). It would therefore be odd to claim that the string in (17b) is structurally ambiguous without the two structures having clearly distinguishable interpretive (or prosodic) effects.

(15), like (14), is based on the idea that one of the fronted definite XPs checks [+def]. However, this solution is even more problematic. If the demonstrative can

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optically check [+def], then it should be able to do so, and thus render the definite article in D unnecessary, even in the absence of a fronted AP. The result is however completely ungrammatical:

(18)   *[afto [$_{DP}$ afto [$_{D'}$ [$_D$ e] [$_{RP}$…vivlio… afto]

Therefore, it seems safer to conclude that in (at least standard) Greek the [+def] feature of D cannot be checked in its Spec. Instead, it appears that in certain cases of competition for the edge of D the definite article can disappear. (16) precisely suggests the two theoretical possibilities for this 'congestion' at the edge. If (16a) were on the right track, it would imply some sort of optional PF deletion of D when SpecDP is (multiply) filled, in a way reminiscent of the licensing of null C in cases of doubly-filled Comp.[22] Nevertheless, as we will see below, there are good reasons to assume that in other cases elements in SpecDP count as interveners, blocking fronting/extraction of another XP. The conclusion is that there must be something special about the combination of fronting an AP and a demonstrative within the same DP.[23] Note that, of the two elements, demonstratives are not necessarily phrasal: the fronted constituent comprises just one lexical item. In the light of this, we propose the following:

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22. Cf. Koopman (2000) for a generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter.

23. There are speakers that, alongside [Art Adj Dem N], also accept [Art Adj Dem Art N], (11f), though only as topics in certain contexts which are either strongly anaphoric or favour a slightly parenthetical/concessive interpretation of the adjective. Nevertheless, as pointed out to us by Sila Klidi (p.c.), even in such contexts, the [Art Adj Dem Art N] construction always fails to resume kinds, while [Art Adj Dem N] is perfectly compatible with kind reference (i). We take this to be convincing evidence that the two constructions do not involve the same derivation, whereby the article is in D and is optionally spelled out or deleted at PF. The necessarily individual-referring reading of [Art Adj Dem Art N] suggests that the overt article in D is really interpretable and has a distinct role to play. Furthermore, the intonation pattern in [Art Adj Dem Art N] is akin to that of multiple fronted APs, so it arguably also involves recursive (hence slightly degraded) PredPs. Alexiadou (2014: 29) suggests that "Greek determiner spreading has a semantic/pragmatic effect associated with familiarity in the strictest possible sense": as such, it is not expected to occur with kind readings.

(i)   a.   (*Context: Mary's dog gave birth to a cute puppy and she wants to give it away*)
           to   kalo   afto   to   zoaki   pjos tha to pari?
           the.N.S good.N.S this.N.S the.N.S animal.DIM.N.S who will it take.3.S
           'Who will adopt this cute little animal?'
      b.   (*Context: In a documentary about elephants, the presenter says that this animal lives in groups and is nice/agreeable. Also…*)
           to   kalo   afto   (*to)   zoaki   troi xorta.
           the.N.S good.N.S this.N.S the.N.S animal.DIM.N.S eats vegetables
           'This nice animal is a herbivore.'

(19)   If (and only if) SpecDP is occupied, a fronting demonstrative moves as a head into D. Being intrinsically definite, it checks D's [+def].

Head movement from a complement position of elements which are simultaneously minimal and maximal projections is not unheard of: for instance, this is arguably the status of object clitics adjoining to functional heads (Kayne 1991; Chomsky 1995; Roberts 2010). In our case, we have to say that this head movement is a last resort operation, taking place only if the specifier of the target is already filled. Interestingly, this is also true of clitic movement most of the time.[24] This suggests that there may really be a generalization/deep principle regarding minimal/maximal elements and head movement, but we will not pursue the parallelism any further in this paper.

Instead, we will focus on some empirical predictions of the core hypothesis underpinning our analysis of fronted APs and, therefore, fronted demonstratives, namely the idea that, at least in standard Greek: (i) all DP-internal fronting is fronting of a unique constituent through SpecDP, and (ii) in such cases, both minimal and maximal elements can move into D. One piece of empirical evidence about (ii) is that, apart from demonstratives, personal pronouns may also be both minimal and maximal. Then, if they are to behave exactly like demonstratives in the relevant respects, we predict the following when they appear in a definite DP with a lexical NP: (i) they must occupy SpecDP in all cases in which nothing is fronted (except possibly the pronoun itself) and D must be filled by the definite article; (ii) when a definite AP is fronted, showing up to the left of the pronoun, the personal pronoun replaces the definite article and, being inherently definite, it checks D's [+def]. Both predictions are indeed borne out, as shown in (20a) and (20b) respectively:

(20)   a.   emis   *(i)   polites
             we   the.M.P citizen.M.P
             'we citizens'

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24. This is patently true in the case of pronominal object clitics for internal arguments of transitive predicates. Those are analysed (e.g. by Roberts 2010) as undergoing head movement to v, followed by movement of the CL-v complex to T. Being transitive, such v heads always have their specifier filled by the external argument. In the more challenging cases of clitics originating in the complement position of intransitive predicates, e.g. partitive clitics, a case can still be made that such cliticization is only possible as long as there is an abstract external argument. For example, Bentley (2004) argues that ne-cliticization is possible with predicates for which a locative argument can be motivated or adjectival predicates that select an "agentive quale", while other intransitive predicates do not support ne-cliticization. But a more complete discussion in this direction in this paper would lead us too far afield.

b. i   apli   emis polites
the.M.P simple.M.P we   citizen.M.P
'we simple citizens'

Note also that, in standard Greek, there is phonological evidence for the occasion-
ally non-phrasal status of personal pronouns and demonstratives: when adjacent to
adjectives, personal pronouns and demonstratives (at least proximal ones, namely
the *aft*- series), as in (20b) and (4a), respectively, lose their primary stress, retaining
at best a secondary stress on the final syllable, e.g. [i aplíemìs polítes], [to kalóaftò
vivlío], on a par with bisyllabic pronominal (en)clitic clusters that attach to the right
of imperative verbs or gerunds, e.g. [pézmutò] (= 'say it to me').

The other core part of our theoretical hypothesis (i), namely the idea that all
fronting/extraction takes place through an unique escape hatch (SpecDP), has been
independently argued by Horrocks and Stavrou (1987) for fronted and wh-extracted
genitives. Taken together, these two assumptions (namely that SpecDP is a unique
escape hatch and that (poly)definite APs move through SpecDP) predict that
wh-extraction from a DP should be impossible in the presence of a fronted XP such
as a definite AP. This is indeed the case, as noted by Panagiotidis and Marinis (2011):

(21) a. tinos ides   [to   petrino   spiti   ~~tinos~~]?
whose saw.2.S the.N.S of.stone.N.S house.N.S whose
'whose stone house did you see?'
b. *tinos ides   [to   petrino   to   spiti   ~~tinos~~]?
whose saw.2.S the.N.S of.stone.N.S the.N.S house.N.S whose
Intended: 'whose stone house did you see?'

Finally, this analysis predicts the ungrammaticality of fronted postnominal adjec-
tives in indefinite DPs (22b): unlike definite articles, indefinite determiners and
cardinal numerals in (contemporary) Greek arguably occupy SpecDP rather than
D, thus blocking any movement past D.[25]

(22) a. ena vivlio   kalo
a.N.S book.N.S good.N.S
'a good book'
b. *kalo ena vivlio ~~kalo~~

A further prediction is that, being in SpecDP, overt indefinite determiners also
block wh-extraction, as indeed shown in (23).

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25. Unlike definite determiners, indefinite ones must be phrasal (cf. also Alexiadou 2014), as
shown for example by the fact that they can be complex, comprising more than one word (e.g.
tria ke miso vivlia 'three and a half books').

(23) tinos   ides   [[{tin/Ø/*mia} fotografia   ~~tinos~~]?
      whose saw.2.s   the/Ø/a/one.F.s photograph.F.s whose
      Intended: 'who did you see a picture of/by?'

3.2   Cypriot Greek

In Cypriot Greek, as in standard Greek, the distribution of demonstratives is identical to that of polydefinite adjectives (as shown in (24)).

(24) a.   to   vivlion   to   kotʃinon
           the.N.s book.N.s the.N.s red.N.s
           'the red book'
      b.   to   vivlion   tuton
           the.N.s book.N.s this.N.s
           'this book'

Both polydefinite adjectives and demonstratives can be fronted, as shown in (25a) and (25b), respectively.

(25) a.   to kotʃinon to vivlion
      b.   tuton to vivlion

Two peculiarities emerge from the comparison with standard Greek. The first is a morphophonological property: Cypriot Greek systematically features contracted forms of prenominal demonstratives when the definite article starts with /t/; for instance, a possible variant of (25b), actually preferred in the spoken language, would be *tundon vivlion* (see also (26)).[26]

(26) a.   tundon   anthropon
           this.ACC.S.M-the.ACC.S.M man.ACC.S.M
           'this man'
      b.   tundin   jenekan
           this.ACC.S.F-the.ACC.S.F woman.ACC.S.F
           'this woman'
      c.   tundo(n)   praman
           this.ACC.S.N-the.ACC.S.N thing.ACC.S.N
           'this thing'

The examples in (27) show that contraction is instead unavailable when the phonological conditions mentioned above are not met (namely, when the definite article does not start in /t/, as in the nominative case).

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26. Contracted forms are also available in other non-standard Greek varieties/dialects.

(27) a. tutos   o   anthropos
        this.NOM.S.M the.NOM.S.M man.NOM.S.M
        'this/that man'
     b. tutes   i   jenekes
        these.NOM.P.F the.NOM.P.F women.NOM.P.F
        'these/those women'

Table 1 shows the full paradigm for demonstratives in Cypriot Greek.

Table 1. Demonstratives in Cypriot Greek

		Singular		Plural	
		Proximal	Distal	Proximal	Distal
Nom.	M	tutos o	dʒinos o	tuti i	dʒini i
	F	tuti i	dʒini i	tutes i	dʒines i
	N	tuton to/tundo	dʒino to dʒindo	tuta ta/tunda	dʒina ta/dʒinda
Gen.	M	tutu tu/tundu	dʒinu tu/dʒindu	tuton ton/tundon	dʒinon ton/dʒindon
	F	tutis tis/tundis	dʒinis tis/dʒindis	tuton ton/tundon	dʒinon ton/dʒindon
	N	tutu tu/tundu	dʒinu tu/dʒindu	tuton ton/tundon	dʒinon ton/dʒindon
Acc.	M	tuton ton/tundon	dʒinon ton/dʒindon	tutus tus/tundus	dʒinus tus/dʒindus
	F	tutin tin/tundin	dʒinin tin/dʒindin	tutes tes/tundes	dʒines tes/dʒindes
	N	tuton to/tundo	dʒinon to/dʒindo	tuta ta/tunda	dʒina ta/dʒinda

The second peculiarity of Cypriot Greek, as compared to standard Greek, is that in Cypriot Greek sequences of the type [Art A Dem N] (like (12a) in standard Greek) are ungrammatical (28): it seems that the definite article in D cannot be absent in such cases.

(28) a. *to   kotʃinon   tuton/dʒinon   vivlion
        the.N.s red.N.s   this.N.s/that.N.s book.N.s
        'this red book'

This difference with respect to standard Greek may be due to several different reasons that prevent the demonstrative from replacing the definite article: (i) demonstratives are just XPs, therefore they cannot occupy a head position,[27] or (ii)

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27. An anonymous reviewer suggests that "This hypothesis […] would imply a stipulation – why can't Cypriot demonstratives be simultaneously heads and phrasal?". In fact, the intrinsic/lexically specified phonological properties of demonstratives in Cypriot Greek are such that they do not allow them to cliticize/lose their primary stress: they all start with a consonant and, unlike standard Greek, there is no such thing as bisyllabic enclitics with a secondary stress in Cypriot Greek (as also seen in the behaviour of pronominal clitic clusters in Cypriot Greek and the respective stress patterns).

the feature specification of definite D in Cypriot is such that it can only be checked by the definite article. In either case, anything which is not a definite article is not allowed in that same position. Indeed, Cypriot also disallows personal pronouns in definite DPs with lexical NPs if the pronoun is not followed by a definite article, (29).

(29) a. emis   i   pelli   athropi
          we   the.M.P   crazy.M.P   people.P
          'we crazy people'

     b. *i   pelli   emis   athropi
          the.M.P   crazy.M.P   we.P   people.P

Note that Cypriot Greek lacks the rule of phonological enclisis mentioned in §3.1. Demonstratives and personal pronouns never lose their primary stress; likewise, enclitic clusters do not follow the standard Greek pattern, disallowing a secondary stress on either syllable of the cluster. Thus, possibly due to the lack of this phonological cue, an X^0 syntax for personal pronouns and demonstratives cannot be acquired, hence they are never treated as minimal/non-phrasal.

3.3   Asia Minor Greek

The structure of DPs in Asia Minor Greek displays at least two peculiarities, as compared to standard Greek, which turn out to be relevant in order to understand the behavior of demonstratives in these varieties. They are briefly summarized in (30).[28]

(30) a. There are no adjectives generated postnominally: the structure in (6) is unavailable in all the Asia Minor varieties considered here. Adjectives are merged only prenominally, and there is (some) evidence that they can be fronted to the left of (the base position of) numerals (see (31), (32) and (33) from Romeyka Pontic, Cappadocian and Pharasiot, respectively).

     b. Definiteness agreement is generalized: all +N items within a DP must take a definiteness morpheme. The feature [+def] is not spelled out in D, but is visible on all D-items (see (34), (35) and (36) from Romeyka Pontic, Cappadocian and Pharasiot, respectively).

(31) a. ta   tria   ta   trana   ta   muxtera
          the.N.P   three.N.P   the.N.P   big.N.P   the.N.P   animals.N.P
          'the three big animals'

     b. ?ta trana ta tria ta muxtera

     c. *ta tria ta muxtera ta trana

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28. For Romeyka Pontic, cf. Guardiano et al. (2016).

(32) a. da   tria   da   kalan   da   peškirja
        the.N.P three.N.P the.N.P good.N.P the.N.P towels.N.P
        'the three good towels'
    b. da kalan da tria da peškirja
    c. *da tria da peškirja da kalan

(33) a. ta   tria   ta   ka   ta   peškira
        the.N.P three.N.P the.N.P good.N.P the.N.P towels.N.P
        'the three good towels'
    b. ˀta ka ta tria ta peškira
    c. *ta tria ta peškira ta ka

(34) a. to   tranon to   muxteron
        the.N.s big.N.s the.N.s animal.N.s
        'the big animal'
    b. *to tranon muxteron
    c. *tranon to muxteron

(35) a. da   kalan   da   peškirja
        the.N.P good.N.P the.N.P towels.N.P
        'the good towels'
    b. *da kalan peškirja
    c. *kalan da peškirja

(36) a. ta   ka   ta   peškira
        the.N.P good.N.P the.N.P towels.N.P
        'the good towels'
    b. *ta ka peškira
    c. *ka ta peškira

In Romeyka Pontic and Cappadocian demonstratives display the following properties:

(37) a. They are never found postnominally, and always occur DP-initially, namely to the left of numerals and adjectives, even when the latter are fronted (see (38) and (39) from Romeyka Pontic and Cappadocian, respectively).
    b. They never take the definiteness morpheme which, as mentioned in (30b), is obligatory on all +N elements, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of (40a) and (40b) (Romeyka Pontic and Cappadocian, respectively).

(38) a. ata   ta   tria   t-askema ta   muxtera
        these.N.P the.N.P three.N.P the-ugly.N.P the.N.P animals.N.P
        'these three ugly animals'
    b. ata t-askema ta tria ta muxtera
    c. *ta tria ata t-askema ta muxtera

    d. *ta tria t-askema ata ta muxtera

    e. *ta tria t-askema ta muxtera ata

(39) a.
itxja	da	tria	da	kalan	da	peškirja
these.N.P	the.N.P	three.N.P	the.N.P	good.N.P	the.N.P	towels.N.P

        'these three good towels'

    b. *da tria itxja da kalan da peškirja

    c. *da tria da kalan itxja da peškirja

    d. *da tria da kalan da peškirja itxja

(40) a. *ta ata (ta) muxtera

    b. *da itxja (da) peškirja

The examples show that in Romeyka and Cappadocian demonstratives do not have access to any of the positions available to adjectives (e.g., unlike adjectives, they never occur below numerals), and are systematically found to the left of (all types of) adjectival modifiers. We argue here that they occupy a specialized position found in the leftmost area of the DP (higher than D, when available), that Guardiano (in preparation) calls LocP. This position is not accessible to any other item and is available, crosslinguistically, only to those adnominal (XP-)demonstratives which for independent reasons (namely the absence of certain structural prerequisites, see Guardiano et al. 2018), cannot be realized in positions available to adjectives.

    Pharasiot displays a further option: demonstratives, which can occur to the left of numerals and fronted adjectives (as shown in (41a) and (41b)), are also (marginally) found to the right of numerals, namely in a position that seems to be compatible with that of adjectives (41c). As in Romeyka Pontic and Cappadocian, they are never found postnominally (41e) and never take the definiteness morpheme (42).

(41) a.
ato	ta	tria	ta	ka	ta	peškira
these.N.P	the.N.P	three.N.P	the.N.P	good.N.P	the.N.P	towels.N.P

        'these three good towels'

    b. ˀató ta ka ta tría ta peškíra

    c. ˀ(?) ta tría ató ta peškíra

    d. ˀ(?) ta ka ató ta peškíra

    e. (ta tría) (ta ka) ta peškíra (* ató)

(42) *to ató to peškíri

Superficially, Pharasiot appears to reflect a residue of the initial state grammar, whereby demonstratives are APs, and both APs and demonstratives can be fronted in almost any order. Note that Asia Minor Greek lacks the appositional/predicative structure that normally serves as the source of fronted polydefinite APs and demonstratives. However, the possibility for APs to be fronted from their "structured"/direct-modifier position to a left peripheral position is likely to be related

to their obligatory definiteness agreement morpheme (Crisma et al. 2017). Under the hypothesis that in Pharasiot demonstratives are adjectival, their fronting is predictable through the same mechanism that licenses fronting of APs, and is assumed to produce the same interpretive effects: fronting is preferred when a deictic reading (prominence) is intended. Remember that Pharasiot is the Asia Minor Greek variety with the most fronting possibilities and therefore the most active/flexible DP-periphery. Nevertheless, the rather marginal status of examples such as (41c–d) does not provide sufficient empirical support for any hypothesis. This variety seems to reveal an ongoing change (in fact, close to completion) towards a stage of obligatory placement of demonstratives in SpecLocP, which is already concluded in the two other varieties of Asia Minor Greek.

3.4   Italiot Greek

One of the most significant changes that happened to the syntax of adjectival modification in Italiot Greek (Guardiano and Stavrou 2014, 2017 submitted) is the loss of the structure in (6), namely of the possibility for adjectival modifiers to be generated in a postnominal predicational (=appositional) structure. According to Guardiano and Stavrou (submitted), this change had three main consequences: (a) the loss of polydefiniteness; (b) the loss of fronted adjectives; (c) the reanalysis of postnominal adjectives as merged prenominally and crossed over by the noun. These phenomena seem to have happened at a different speed in the two Greek-speaking areas of southern Italy: indeed, some varieties of Calabria Greek seem to have retained (non-productive) instances of articulated postnominal adjectives until recent times.

We believe that the loss of polydefiniteness also induced changes in the syntax of demonstratives, the most salient consequence of which is that the behaviour of demonstratives in Italiot Greek (most notably in Salento) is now almost identical to that of southern Italo-Romance.

Table 2 shows the paradigm of (some forms of) proximal and distal demonstratives in Salento Greek.[29]

The examples in (43), from traditional texts,[30] show the proximal demonstrative in adnominal function.

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29. Karanastasis (1984) lists the following demonstrative items, for Salento Greek: *etuto(s) -i -o, tutos -i -o, tuso -i -o, uso -i -o, tuo -i -o, ecino -i -o, ciso -i -o, tuno -i -o*. Cf. also Morosi (1870), a.o.

30. See Aprile (1972, 1998); Aprile et al. (1978); Aprile et al. (1980); Mancini (1903); Montinaro (1994); Palumbo (1886, 1887, 1910, 1912, 1978); Sicuro (1999); Stomeo (1980); Tommasi (1998).

Table 2. Demonstratives in Salento Greek

		Singular		Plural	
		Proximal	Distal	Proximal	Distal
Nom.	M	tuso	(e)cino(s)	(t)usi	(e)cini
	F	tusi	(e)cini	(t)use	(e)cine
	N	tuso	(e)cino	tusa	(e)cina
Gen.	M	tunù	(e)cinù	tuto	(e)cino
	F	tuni(s)	(e)cini(s)	tuto	(e)cino
	N	tunù	(e)cinù	tuto	(e)cino
Acc.	M	tutto(n)	(e)cino(n)	tuttus	(e)cinus
	F	tutti(n)	(e)cini(n)	tutte(s)	(e)cine(s)
	N	tutto	(e)cino	(t)utta	(e)cina

(43) a.   utta   loja
          these.ACC.N.P words.ACC.N.P
          'these words'
      b.   tusi   Abbrei
          these.NOM.M.P Jews.NOM.M.P
          'these Jews'

The examples in (44), from Karanastasis (1984), show the distal dimonstrative in pronominal function.

(44) a.   eĝo imme ecinos(e)   pu   su   epaĝespe to debito.
          I   am   that.NOM.M.S who to.you paid   the debt
          'I am the one who paid your debt.'
      b.   ekhi digghio cini.[31]
          has   reason   that.NOM.F.S
          'that one/she is right.'

According to some descriptions (Karanastasis 1984, a.o.), the forms *(c)iso, (c)isi, (c)itto*, which in adnominal position frequently replace the distal demonstrative *cino, cini, cino*, originate from the fusion of the demonstrative ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖνο with the definite article ο, η, το. In (45), we list some examples provided by Karanastasis (1984).

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31. The distal demonstrative *cino* is frequently used as a 3rd person pronoun, as further shown in the following example (from traditional texts):

(i)   cino   panta pramata tze partite ce   tze makkia lei.
      that.NOM.M.S all   things   of games   and of macchia tells
      'he (that one) always tells stories about games and "macchia".'

(45) a. ittu   lliku
       that.GEN.S wolf.GEN.S
       'of that wolf'

     b. cittin   imera
       that.ACC.S.F day.ACC.S.F
       'that day'

     c. citta   amparia
       that.ACC.P.N day.ACC.P.N
       'those horses'

Similar cases are also found in traditional texts (46).

(46) a. ite   olo   citto   gheno.
       see.PAST.3 all.ACC.N.S this.ACC.N.S people.ACC.N.S
       'he saw all these people.'

     b. citte   porte
       that.ACC.F.P door.ACC.F.P
       'those doors'

As far as their distribution is concerned, in Salento Greek demonstratives seem not to have access to any of the syntactic positions where adjectives are found, as shown in (47).[32]

(47) a. i. ida ton   antrepo gioveno/makreo.
           saw.I the.ACC.M.S man   young
           'I saw the young man.'

        ii. *ida   ton   antrepo tu(tt)o/cino.
           saw.I the.ACC.M.S man   this/that.ACC.M.S
           Intended: 'I saw this/that man.'

     b. i. ida   ton   antrepo gioveno/makreo apu   Martana.
           saw.I the.ACC.M.S man   young   from Martana
           'I saw the young man from Martana.'

        ii. *ida   ton   antrepo tu(tt)o/cino   apu   Martana.
           saw.I the.ACC.M.S man   this/that.ACC.M.S from Martana
           Intended: 'I saw this/that man from Martana.'

     c. i. ?ida ton   antrepo apu   Martana gioveno/makreo.
           saw.I the.ACC.M.S man   from Martana young
           'I saw the young man from Martana.'

        ii. *ida   ton   antrepo apu   Martana tu(tt)o/cino.
           saw.I the.ACC.M.S man   from Martana this/that.ACC.M.S
           Intended: 'I saw this/that man from Martana.'

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32. Examples provided by native speakers.

d. i. *ida   gioveno/makreo ton   antrepo.
        saw.I young   the.ACC.M.S man
    ii. ida   tuo/cino   *(ton)   antrepo.
        saw.I this/that.ACC.M.S the.ACC.M.S man

Rather, as shown in (47d.ii) and (48), they systematically occur to the left of every other DP-item (with the exception of some universal quantifiers, as shown for instance in (46a), here repeated in (49)), a position where adjectives are not allowed.

(48) a. ida   tu(tt)o   antrepo.
         I saw this.ACC.M.S   man
         'I saw this man.'
     b. ida   cino   antrepo (gioveno).
         I saw that.ACC.M.S   man   young
         'I saw that young man.'
     c. *ida antrepo tu(tt)o/cino/iso (gioveno)

(49) ite   olo   citto   gheno.
     see.PAST.3 all.ACC.N.S   this.ACC.N.S people.ACC.N.S
     'he saw all these people.'

Finally, demonstratives never co-occur with a separate article, but some of their forms result from morphophonological fusion with definite articles. We already mentioned that similar phenomena are attested in other Greek dialects, and even in some texts (e.g. folk songs) from earlier stages of standard Greek.[33] We will see below that such phenomena are also attested in Calabria Greek.

To sum up, Salento Greek differs from standard Greek in two respects: (i) the non-adjectival behaviour of demonstratives; (ii) their rigid DP-initial placement, along with their compatibility with a D-checking position. Such a pattern closely resembles those of the neighbouring Romance languages, including Salentino (the label given to the group of Romance dialects spoken in the same area as Salento Greek), and might lead to the hypothesis that Salento Greek borrowed the pattern as a whole from (southern Italo-)Romance.

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33. For instance, the contraction in the example below (τούτ' την, from a folk song, source: http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/literature/education/greek_history/item.html ?iid=2812) is impossible in standard Greek.

(i) ακόμα τούτ' την άνοιξη ραγιάδες, ραγιάδες.
     still   this-the spring, slaves   slaves
     'we're still going to be slaves (just) this spring.'

Table 3 lists the paradigms of (some of) the demonstrative forms used in Calabria Greek.[34]

Table 3. Demonstrative patterns in Calabria Greek

		Singular		Plural	
		Proximal	Distal	Proximal	Distal
Nom.	M	tuto(s) / tundo	(e)cino(s)*	tuti	(e)cini
	F	tuti / tundi	(e)cini	tute	(e)cine
	N	tuto / tundo	(e)cino	tuta	(e)cina
Gen.	M	tutù	(e)cinù	tuto	(e)cino
	F	tuti(s)	(e)cini(s)	tuto	(e)cino
	N	tutù	(e)cinù	tuto	(e)cino
Acc.	M	tuto(n) / tundo(n)	(e)cino(n) / (e)cindo(n)	tutus / tundus	(e)cinus / (e)cindu(s)
	F	tuti(n) / tundi(n)	(e)cini(n) / (e)cindi(n)	tute(s) / tunde(s)	(e)cine(s) / (e)cinde(s)
	N	tuto / tundo	(e)cino / (e)cindo	tuta / tunda	(e)cina / (e)cinda

* Like in Salento Greek, the distal demonstrative is also frequently used as a 3rd person pronoun (cf. Falcone 1973 a.o.).

The examples in (50), from Falcone (1973), show the distal demonstrative in adnominal function.

(50) a. e   θθorite ti   kanni ecino   peδi?
        no see.2.P what does   that.NOM.M.S boy.NOM.M.S
        'don't you see what that boy is doing?'

    b. ecini   γinèka   eθθeniʃete kaθe purri.
        that.NOM.F.S woman.NOM.F.S combs   each morning
        'that woman combs her hair every morning.'

    c. ecino   ssiddo   ehi ta llissa.
        that.NOM.M.S dogNOM.M.S has the rabies
        'that dog has rabies.'

    d. ecino   spiti   e hhalamènno.
        that.NOM.N.S house.NOM.(N).S is in disrepair
        'that house has been left to fall in disrepair.'

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34. Karanastasis (1984) lists the following forms for Calabria Greek: *etuto(s) -i -o, tutos -i -o, tuto(s) -i -o, tuso -i -o,'uso -i -o, ecino -i -o, ettuno -i -o, ettùnose - ettuni -o.* Cf. also, for more exhaustive descriptions and further examples, Falcone (1973), Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi (1959: LXIV–LXXII), Capialbi and Bruzzano (1885), Crupi (1980), Condemi (1995) a.o.

According to the literature (cf. fn 34), the forms *tundon/tundin/tundo* of the accusative singular originate from the combination of the proximal demonstrative *tuton/tutin/tuto* with the definite article *ton/tin/to*, and similarly those of the accusative plural. The forms of the nominative singular are probably analogical with the accusative. Similarly, the forms *(e)cindo(n)/(e)cindi(n)/(e)cindo*, as well as *(e)cindu(s)/(e)cinde(s)/(e)cinda*, originate from the combination of the unarticulated forms of the distal demonstrative with the definite article. Some examples are given in (51).[35]

(51) a. tundin   eĝa
          this.ACC.S.F goat
          'this goat'
      b. tundo   jo/lloγo
          this.ACC.S.M son/word
          'this son/word'
      c. tunda   peδia
          these.NOM/ACC.P.N kids
          'these kids'
      d. cin to   peδi
          that.ACC.S.N kid
          'that kid'
      e. cin din   alèa/γinèka
          that.ACC.F.S olive tree/woman
          'that olive tree/woman'

A demonstrative item frequently used in Calabria Greek (and is also found in Salento Greek) is *ettuno(s)/ettuni/ettuno*, with the meaning "close to you". This item has been etymologically related to the Byzantine Greek word αὐτοῦνος -η- ο, presumably generated from the genitive form αὐτουνοῦ, analogically to ἐκεινοῦ (Karanastasis 1984). Contracted forms which combine the demonstrative and the definite article are also attested, as shown in (52).

(52) a. ACC M S = ettunon ton > ettundo(n)
      b. ACC F S = ettunin tin > ettundi(n)
      c. ACC N S = ettunon to > ettundo
      d. ACC M P = ettunus tus > ettundu(s)
      e. ACC F P = ettunes tes > ettunde(s)
      f. ACC N P = ettuna ta > ettunda

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35. From Falcone (1973). In written texts, the two items are often written separately, even when they do not technically originate from a 'proper' contraction.

(53) provide some examples of pronominal and adnominal uses of the non-contracted forms, (54) of adnominal uses of the contracted forms.

(53) a. ettuno   en' o   ciuri su.
          yonder.NOM.M.S is   the.NOM.M.S fater your
          'that is your father.'

      b. ettunù   'u piacei.
          that.GEN.M.S CL like
          'he likes it.'

      c. khoris t'   em   baddhaglia ettuni   khristiani?
          see   that are.3 crazy   younder.NOM.M.P men
          'you see? Those guys are crazy?'

(54) a. ettundon   khristiano
          this.ACC.S.M man
          'this man'

      b. ettundin   eĝa
          this.ACC.S.F goat
          'this goat'

      c. ettundes   alupude
          this.ACC.P.F foxes
          'these foxes'

Contracted forms of all types of demonstratives are frequently used by speakers, who seem to freely alternate between them and the (unarticulated) non-contracted ones. Notice that, when using non-contracted forms, speakers tend to avoid the definite article: it seems that demonstratives and definite articles cannot co-occur as separate items within one and the same DP. However, in older stages of the language, as well as in some grammars,[36] there are instances of such cases. In written sources, all the three cases (articleless demonstratives, fused forms, and non-fused demonstrative + article) are found, as shown in (55), ((56), from Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi 1959) and (57), respectively.

(55) a. ecini   γineka
          that.NOM.F.S woman.NOM.F.S
          'that woman'

      b. tuti   θθiγaθera
          this.ACC.F.S daugther.ACC.F.S
          'this daughter'

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36. Cf. for instance Falcone (1973) or Caracausi and Rossi Taibbi (1959).

    c.   tuti   kroni
         this.NOM.M.P time.NOM.M.P
         'these times'

(56) a.   ecinde   δio γinecese
         that+art.ACC.F.P two woman.ACC.F.P
         'those two women'

      b.   tundi   θθiγaθera
         this+art.ACC.F.S daugther.ACC.F.S
         'this daughter'

(57) a.   ecino   to   cendrima
         that.ACC.N.S the.ACC.N.S graft
         'that graft'

      b.   ecini   ti   γineka
         that.NOM.F.S the.NOM.F.S woman.NOM.F.S
         'that woman'

      c.   ecinose   o   pluso
         that.NOM.M.S.SE the.NOM.M.S rich.NOM.M.S
         'that rich man'

      d.   tutese   i   δio monakese
         this.NOM.F.P.SE the.NOM.F.Pt two nun.NOM.F.P.SE
         'these two nuns'

As can be seen from the examples provided so far, demonstratives in Calabria Greek surface to the left of every DP-item (including numerals,[37] but with the exception of some universal quantifiers).[38] No other position seems to be accepted in any of the sources checked: postnominal demonstratives are impossible. This contrasts with the position of adjectives, which (with very few exceptions, Guardiano and Stavrou 2014) are postnominal as a rule. In fact, as in Salento Greek, in Calabria Greek demonstratives do not have access to the positions normally available to adjectives. Nonetheless, the existence of pre-article demonstratives (especially in written sources) and of articulated postnominal adjectives (in written sources) suggest that, at some earlier stage of the language, polydefinite structures with postnominal adjectives of the type in (6) and adjectival demonstratives (namely, generated in the same position as postnominal adjectives and subject to the same

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37. Cf. (53c) and also Falcone (1973): *cini δio* ('those two').

38. As shown for instance by the following example (from Falcone 1973):

    (i)   olin   ecin din   aγrikaδa
          all.ACC.F.S that.ACC.F.S savageness
          'all that savageness'

type of movement(s) as the latter) actually existed, as in standard Greek. As a consequence of the loss of the appositive structure as a source of postnominal (indirect modification) adjectives and the subsequent disappearance of fronted prenominal adjectives and polydefiniteness (Guardiano and Stavrou 2017, submitted), demonstratives ceased to be analysed as adjectives; the generalization of DP-initial demonstratives co-occurring with articles presumably induced their reanalysis as having moved to SpecLocP.[39] In the DP-initial position, demonstratives are linearly adjacent to the definite article, a condition which in Cypriot Greek, as shown above, leads to morphophonological reduction/fusion, as observed in Italiot Greek as well. Nevertheless, there is a phenomenon which is found in Italiot Greek but not in Cypriot Greek, namely, the analogical extension of forms with the same morphophonological shape as the fused ones to cases which do not exhibit the morphophonological conditions for the fusion. The consequence is that the definite article is no longer perceived as obligatory with demonstratives. As a result, the latter are reanalysed as *systematically* D-checking, like those of southern Italo-Romance and unlike those of Standard Greek, which, as shown in Section 3.1, are instead only *exceptionally* D-checking.

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39. An anonymous reviewer points out that the DP-initial demonstrative could in theory be taken to occupy SpecDP (entering a spec-head agreement relation with the article in D), and that this structural contiguity might be the initial trigger for the morphophonological fusion of the two elements and ultimately for the reanalysis of demonstratives as D-checking. In our own view, the SpecLocP analysis has a number of advantages. First of all, it is crosslinguistically consistent, namely it uniformly accounts for the non-adjectival behaviour of demonstratives even in languages without D (e.g. Japanese) and where definiteness is not a grammatically relevant notion (e.g. Hindi; Guardiano in prep.). Second, it consistently accounts for the development of non-adjectival demonstratives in the two groups of Greek varieties considered here (Asia Minor and Italiot Greek). As we have seen above, each of the two groups developed this change independently from the other; yet, (i) the process started from one and the same source, namely varieties where frontable adjectival demonstratives were available, and (ii) in both groups, the loss of AP-fronting seems to be the crucial factor which led to the reanalysis. Thus, it is not unreasonable to assume that in both groups the loss of the fronted position (as a derived position) resulted in the reanalysis of fronted demonstratives as in SpecLocP. Finally, structural contiguity is not a necessary triggering condition for the morphophonological phenomena that seems to be associated with the reanalysis of DP-initial demonstratives as D-checking: fusion/incorporation of the definite article does not require structural adjacency, as seen in Cypriot Greek.

3.5   Summary

Table 4 summarizes the properties of demonstratives in the Greek varieties observed in this section, and, for purposes of comparison, in southern Italo-Romance.[40]

Table 4. Summary

	SG	CyG	RPG, CapG	PhG	CG (old sources)	ItG	SIR
Adjectival demonstrative	YES	YES	NO	YES(?)	NO(?)	NO	NO
Demonstrative in *Loc*	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
D-checking demonstrative	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
exceptionally D-checking demonstrative	YES	NO	NO	NO	?	–	–

4.   Patterns of internal variability and the role of contact

The data described above reveal a significant amount of internal variability in the syntax of demonstratives across the Greek-speaking world. One major divide between the Greek varieties explored here is between (a) the varieties where demonstratives have the same syntax as originally postnominal adjectives (standard Greek, Cypriot, probably Pharasiot) and (b) those where they behave differently (Romeyka Pontic, Cappadocian, Italiot Greek). In the latter group demonstratives are found in a DP-initial position and do not co-occur with definite articles in D.

We have shown that the Greek varieties with no adjectival demonstratives do not feature appositive structures of the type shown in (6), which have been proposed by Stavrou (2012, 2013) to be the source of postnominal adjectives in standard Greek and which we assume to be the source of standard Greek demonstratives as well. In Italiot Greek, the loss[41] of the postnominal source for (indirect modification) adjectives (and, as a consequence, for demonstratives) and of the possibility of AP-fronting presumably led to a rigid DP-initial placement of demonstratives and their subsequent reanalysis as occupying the (Spec)Loc(P)position.

Note that, when occurring in the DP-initial position, demonstratives are adjacent to a definiteness morpheme: in this situation, under specific phonological conditions, the two items are subject to morphophonological fusion, as shown by Cypriot Greek. Similar phenomena are also seen in Italiot Greek. Here, contracted

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40. Abbreviations: SG = standard Greek; CyG = Cypriot Greek; RPG = Romeyka Pontic; CapG = Cappadocian Greek; PhG = Pharasiot Greek; CG = Calabria Greek; ItG = Italiot Greek; SIR = southern Italo-Romance.

41. Cf. Guardiano and Stavrou (2017, submitted).

forms coexist with 'simple' demonstratives (namely, demonstratives not cooccurring/fused with articles) and with 'split' demonstratives (namely, demonstratives cooccurring with a separated definite article). 'Anomalous' contracted forms are also attested in contexts where fusion is not justified by any of the (morpho)phonological conditions which normally generate it. The generalization of such forms, which presumably became progressively less transparent, favoured the reanalysis of demonstratives as D-checking. At this stage, the different forms (namely, both those which incorporate the article and those which do not) seem to be perceived as synonymous/free variants by speakers. In Cypriot Greek, on the other hand, morphophonological fusion did not produce any reanalysis: in this dialect demonstratives have a strong adjectival behaviour, because the (postnominal) adjectival source is fully available.

A final comment is in order with regard to the role of contact with Romance in the aforementioned changes. As seen above, the syntax of demonstratives in Italiot Greek is identical to that of southern Italo-Romance, and is likely to be the consequence of a change from an originally adjectival syntax (like in standard Greek and in other varieties). The role of contact in such convergence is likely to be indirect, and not sufficient on its own: contact pressures combined with independent language-internal phenomena. It has been suggested above that one of the major sources for the reanalysis of adjectival demonstratives as D-checking in Italiot Greek is arguably the modification of the syntax of adjectives, a change that, in turn, was presumably triggered by contact with Romance (Guardiano and Stavrou 2014). The other important condition which is assumed to have triggered the reanalysis of adjectival demonstratives as D-checking, namely the creation of DP-initial contracted forms incorporating a demonstrative and a definite article, is purely-language internal, as it does not depend on contact with Romance: indeed, such phenomena are also attested in non-Italiot Greek varieties as well. Note that the hypothesis that a process of syntactic reanalysis is triggered by an originally morphophonological phenomenon is in line with *inertial* theories of syntactic change.[42] It cannot be excluded, though, that contact with languages where only DP-initial (and D-checking) demonstratives are available might have favoured the process of generalization of the DP-initial position, and ultimately the reanalysis itself. Our hypothesis is that such a process would not have started without the language internal condition that triggered it. If correct, this would bring further

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42. Keenan (1994, 2002), Longobardi (2001), Roberts (2017). "Syntactic change (e.g., categorial reanalysis and parameter resetting) would only take place as a totally predictable reaction by a deterministic core of the language acquisition device (LAD) either to different primary data (typically classical interference, essentially in Weinreich's (1953) sense) or to a change in other more 'superficial' components of grammar" (Longobardi 2001: 278).

support to the *inertial* nature of syntax, and in particular to its intrinsic resistance to accepting changes even when they are motivated by external pressures (such as contact), as advocated by Guardiano et al.'s (2016) *Resistance Principle*.

5.   Conclusion

The investigation of the syntax of demonstratives in the Greek diasystem proposed in this paper crucially included two types of varieties: (i) varieties that were subject to contact with another, dominant language/language group (Italiot and Asia Minor Greek), and (ii) varieties that were not (standard and Cypriot Greek). The analysis uncovered the complex interplay between exposure to contact and a number of intrinsic structural properties. Regarding the latter factors, it seems that in cases of contact one also needs to consider (a) diachronic, otherwise inert, properties of L1 syntax that make reanalysis under contact possible, as well as (b) language-internal dynamics, traces of which are to be found even in non-contact varieties.

In the case of Italiot Greek, contact pressure from the Romance languages of the area, which feature exclusively D-checking demonstratives, was only successful because the target output of a potential change was already independently derivable thanks to two Greek-specific processes: (i) morphophonological fusion of DP-initial demonstratives and articles, independently possible and found elsewhere in Greek, and (ii) morphologically triggered loss of postnominal indirect modifiers, which we identified as the base position of adjectival demonstratives.

Likewise, in Asia Minor Greek, the loss of this source of 'flexible' demonstratives led to a reanalysis of pre-article demonstratives. What was formerly analyzable as fronted is now taken to occupy a dedicated position, termed Loc. Given the prefix-like nature of the article in those varieties (and arguably also the emptiness of D), morphophonological fusion with elements preceding them was impossible, and the development of D-checking demonstratives was thus not an option.

To put it slightly more schematically, the diachronic paths that Greek seems to provide evidence for are: (i) fusion, coupled with loss of the postnominal base position, gives rise to D-checking demonstratives; contact may have played a role in the generalization of fusion with the article (and subsequent absorption) even beyond cases where this was originally phonologically motivated; (ii) loss of postnominal indirect modifiers without fusion gives rise to the activation of *Loc*, and (iii) the retention of a structure licensing postnominal indirect modifiers is enough of a cue for the survival of adjectival demonstratives (if already available in the language), regardless of fusion (as in Cypriot Greek).

Acknowledgement

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Appendix
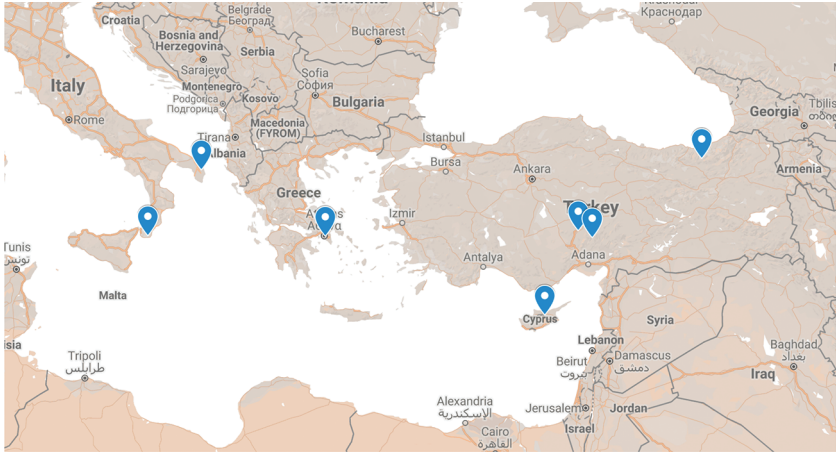
Map. The Greek dialects explored in this paper

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Recent years have seen a growing interest in linguistic phenomena whose formal manifestation and underlying licensing conditions represent the convergence of two or more areas of the grammar, an area of investigation particularly invigorated in recent generative research by developments such as phase theory (cf. Chomsky 2001; 2008) and the cartographic enterprise (cf. Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999). In this respect, the dialects of Italy are no exception, in that they present comparative Romance linguists and theoretical linguists alike with many valuable opportunities to study the linguistic interfaces, as highlighted by the many case studies presented in this volume which provide a series of original insights into how different components of the linguistic system – syntactic, phonetic, phonological, morphological, semantic and pragmatic – do not necessarily operate in isolation but, rather, interact to license phenomena whose nature and distribution can only be fully understood in terms of the formal mapping between the interfaces.

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