

## Article

# Number Morphology and Bare Nouns in Some Romance Dialects of Italy

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**Abstract:** This paper explores aspects of microvariation concerning the morphological realization of the feature Number within nominal structures in a selected subset of Romance dialects of Italy. First, the different strategies adopted in the dialects of the dataset for the realization of number alternations on various nominal categories (nouns/adjectives, articles, demonstratives, and possessives) are presented. Then, the relation between the latter and the distribution of “bare” argument nominals (i.e., of nominal structures which, in argument position, occur without any lexicalized determiner) is explored. It will be observed that the distribution of bare arguments in the dialects of the dataset is consistent with the hypotheses made in the literature, which suggest that there is a correlation between the realization of number alternations on nouns and the possibility for “null” (i.e., unpronounced) determiners to be licensed.

**Keywords:** Romance dialects of Italy; nominal structures; microvariation; Number



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## 1. Introduction

The relation between the morphological representation of the feature Number on nouns and the possibility for nouns to be realized as bare (i.e., not introduced by any overt determiner) in argument position was explored by [Delfitto and Schroten \(1991\)](#).<sup>1</sup> They propose that, in English, the licensing of argument bare nouns depends on the realization of number alternations through overt affixes “attached to a ‘free’ morpheme” ([Delfitto and Schroten 1991](#), p. 157): a silent “plural quantifier” is licensed when the affix raises to D at LF, “providing the correct quantificational representation” ([Delfitto and Schroten 1991](#), p. 162). By contrast, in French, where morphological number exponence on nouns is generally absent,<sup>2</sup> bare arguments are ungrammatical: argument nominal structures, including indefinite mass and plural nouns, require a visible “quantification operator” in D, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. J'ai vu \*(des) étudiants dans l' édifice  
I have seen of.the.PL student in the.SG building  
'I saw students in the building'
- b. Jean a bu \*(de l') eau  
Jean has drunk of the.SG water  
'Jean drunk water'

A similar proposal is presented in [Crisma and Longobardi \(2020\)](#), pp. 51–54; in their analysis, the possibility of identifying the feature Number via a null D is connected to the availability of overt morphological Number exponence on nouns, which distinguishes, for instance, languages like English, Italian, or Spanish—where number alternations are lexicalized on (almost) all nouns and bare arguments are possible—from languages like French, where nouns are generally unmarked for Number and bare arguments are impossible.

Concerning the realization of number alternations on suffixes, English, Italian, and Spanish exhibit three different strategies. In English, as already mentioned, plural suffixes

attach to the root, which has the status of a “free morpheme”; in Italian, number and gender/class information are collapsed in one single suffix attached to a bound root, as shown in (2); in Spanish, plural number is realized through the suffix *-s*, which in turn attaches to a “word marker”<sup>3</sup> suffix, as shown in (3).<sup>4</sup>

- (2) a. student-e  
student-M.SG  
b. student-i  
student-M.PL
- (3) a. estudiant-e  
student-WM  
b. estudiant-e-s  
student-WM-PL

In the Romance dialects of Italy, number marking on nouns is realized through various strategies (for a detailed survey, see [Manzini and Savoia 2005](#), vol. III). For example, there are dialects, such as Ladin or certain Friulian varieties, where “syncretic” suffixes of the Italian type alternate with the combination [WM + *-s*] (see, among others, [Manzini et al. 2020](#); [Pescarini 2020](#)). Since none of the dialects considered in this paper exhibit *-s* suffixes, this phenomenon will not be further explored here. By contrast, we focus on the effect of the loss/weakening of final vowels ([Tagliavini \[1949\] 1972](#)) on the realization of “syncretic” suffixes. We observe two types of dialects. In the dialects where final vowels were not lost/weakened, number alternations are realized on suffixes, which, like in Italian ([Manzini and Savoia 2005](#), vol. III, pp. 547–48), collapse class/gender and number information. By contrast, in the dialects where final vowels were dropped or became indistinct, the overt realization of number alternations on suffixes was blurred as well: in some such dialects, these phenomena affected almost all noun classes; in others, the weakening process affected only some final vowels: therefore, number alternations were retained on some suffixes and became lost in others. In turn, in some dialects, alternative strategies were developed to overtly mark singular vs. plural distinctions, through the re-analysis of stressed vowel alternations originally induced by metaphony ([Tagliavini \[1949\] 1972](#), p. 408; [Fanciullo 1994](#)).<sup>5</sup>

With respect to these phenomena, the languages of our dataset can be classified into two major types: (1) languages where final vowels were preserved and, consequently, number alternations are realized on suffixes on all/most nouns, and (2) languages where, as a consequence of the weakening/loss of final vowels, number alternations on suffixes were (entirely or partially) lost. The latter, in turn, split into two further types: (2a) languages where, due to the *loss* of final vowels, suffixes were lost as well on entire classes of nouns, and (2b) languages where, due to the *weakening* of final vowels, suffixes were retained but have lost (either partially or entirely) number distinctions. These outcomes are discussed in the first part of the paper and are summarized in (26). The first part of the paper also contains a survey of the strategies available in the languages of the dataset for marking number alternations on nouns, adjectives, articles, demonstratives, and possessives.

In the second part of the paper, we focus on the relation between the morphological realization of number on nouns and the availability of bare argument nouns.<sup>6</sup> Using original data collected from native speakers, we sketch a survey of the distribution of bare arguments in our sample of dialects. Two generalizations emerge from our data:

- (a) languages where there is regular/systematic number exponence on nouns have bare nouns;  
(b) the absence of suffixes on nouns seems to correlate with the absence of argument bare nouns.

The structure of the paper runs as follows. Section 2 introduces the languages of the dataset and presents some properties relevant for our discussion. Section 3 presents three parameters that govern the realization of the feature Number on nominal structures and describes the morphological strategies for number marking in the dialects of the dataset,

focusing on the following nominal categories: nouns, adjectives, articles, demonstratives, and possessives. Section 4 presents the distribution of bare nouns in argument position in the dialects of the dataset as compared to Italian and explores how it relates with the morphological realization of Number on nouns. Section 5 summarizes the conclusions.

## 2. The Dataset

The data discussed in this paper were collected from the 29 Romance dialects of Italy listed in (4) (see also Figure A1).<sup>7</sup>

- (4) a. six “Gallo-Italic”<sup>8</sup> dialects of northern Italy (Lombardia: Casalmaggiore,<sup>9</sup> Emilia: Parma,<sup>10</sup> Reggio Emilia,<sup>11</sup> Novellara,<sup>12</sup> Correggio;<sup>13</sup> Romagna: Savignano sul Rubicone)<sup>14</sup>  
 b. ten “upper” southern dialects (Abruzzo: Teramo;<sup>15</sup> Campania: Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Amalfi and Palma Campania;<sup>16</sup> Cilento: Felitto;<sup>17</sup> Puglia: Bari,<sup>18</sup> Barletta,<sup>19</sup> Taranto,<sup>20</sup> Lausberg area: Francavilla in Sinni,<sup>21</sup> Verbicaro)<sup>22</sup>  
 c. twelve “extreme” southern dialects (Salento:<sup>23</sup> Cellino San Marco, Mesagne, Botrugno; Calabria:<sup>24</sup> Cutro,<sup>25</sup> Nicastro,<sup>26</sup> Catanzaro,<sup>27</sup> Reggio Calabria;<sup>28</sup> Sicily:<sup>29</sup> San Filippo del Mela, Ragusa, Ribera, Mussomeli, Trapani)  
 d. one “Gallo-Italic”<sup>30</sup> dialect of Sicily (Aidone)

In what follows, we provide a brief description of some phenomena traditionally observed in these four groups of dialects that are relevant for our discussion.

The dialects of group (4a) share the generalized deletion of all final vowels except for *-a* (Tagliavini [1949] 1972, p. 399; e.g., *bras*, it. *braccio*, lat. *brāchium*, ‘arm’, vs. *pjasa*, it. *piazza*, lat. *plāteam*, ‘square’), a phenomenon that affects several other Romance dialects of northern Italy.<sup>31</sup>

In the dialects of group (4b), final unstressed vowels were centralized as  $-ə$ <sup>32</sup> (e.g., *fi.ʌ.ʌ.ə*,<sup>33</sup> it. *figlio/i/a/e*, lat. *filium/ii/am/ae*, ‘son/s, daughter/s’), except for Felitto, where they were generally maintained. With respect to this phenomenon, variation mostly concerns which final vowels are involved in the weakening process. Some dialects (e.g., Francavilla in Sinni, or various dialects of Puglia and Campania: Loporcaro 1988; De Blasi 2006) centralize *all* final vowels. Others (see Cangemi et al. 2010 for an overview) centralize *some* vowels while retaining others. In our dataset, one example of the latter type is the dialect of Verbicaro (Loporcaro and Silvestri 2015; Idone and Silvestri 2018), where final *-a* was retained, with the consequence that “the phonemic opposition  $\{-U(-); -O(-); -I(-); -E(-)\} > /ə/ \neq /a/ < \{-A(-)\}$  is preserved” (Idone and Silvestri 2018, p. 2)<sup>34</sup>, and, consequently, some gender/number alternations on suffixes (feminine singular vs. the rest) are maintained, as shown in (5)—adapted from Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, pp. 69–70).<sup>35</sup>

- (5) a. nu kwatrarə bbjeddə  
 a.M boy beautiful  
 ‘a beautiful boy’  
 b. na kwatrarə bbədə  
 a.F girl.F.SG beautiful.F.SG  
 ‘a beautiful girl’  
 c. tʃertə kwatrarə bbjeddə  
 some boy beautiful  
 ‘some beautiful girls/boys’

In the dialects of group (4c) and, as mentioned above, in Felitto, final vowels are generally preserved (*figgju*, it. *figlio*, lat. *filium*, ‘son’; *figgja*, it. *figlia*, lat. *filiam*, ‘daughter’; *figgji*, it. *figli*, *figlie*, lat. *filii/ae*, ‘sons, daughters’). Consequently, in these dialects, overt singular vs. plural distinctions on suffixes were preserved too; by contrast, gender distinctions were maintained in the singular, but were lost in the plural, due to phonetic changes occurred to unstressed  $-Ī/-Ī$  and  $-Ē$  (Lausberg 1971; Tagliavini [1949] 1972).

Like Verbicaro, Aidone (4d) has preserved final *-a* while generalizing all other vowels as  $-ə$ , as seen in (6) and (7).

- (6) a. u            ddibbrə    nuvə  
          the.M.SG    book        new  
          'the new book'
- b. i            ddibbrə    nuvə  
          the.PL        book        new  
          'the new books'
- (7) a. a            kasa            nuva  
          the.F.SG    house.F.SG    new.F.SG  
          'the new house'
- b. i            kasə        nuvə  
          the.PL        house        new  
          'the new houses'

The loss/weakening of final vowels in groups (4a), (most dialects of) (4b), and (4d) had consequences on the realization of number alternations on suffixes, which is blurred on most noun/adjective classes (with the exception of feminine nouns ending in *-a* in the dialects where the latter was preserved). Yet, in some dialects, number distinctions were partially maintained thanks to metaphony (Tagliavini [1949] 1972, p. 408; Fanciullo 1994). "Metaphony is a type of quality agreement of stressed mid or low vowels" (Savoia and Maiden 1997, p. 15) induced by final vowels. For example, in various dialects of our dataset, the continuers of the Latin unstressed final *-I* and *-U* triggered the raising of stressed mid-high vowels *-e-*, which became *-i-* (e.g., *mesə*, it. *mese*, 'month' vs. *misə*, it. *mesi*, 'months'), and *-o-*, which turned into *-u-* (e.g., *nəpotə*, it. *nipote*, 'nephew' vs. *nəputə*, it. *nipoti*, 'nephews'), and/or the diphthongization of mid-low vowels *-ε-* in *-je-* (e.g., *rendə*, it. *dente*, 'tooth', vs. *rjendə*, it. *denti*, 'teeth) and *-ɔ-* in *-wo-* (e.g., *fərtə*, it. *forte*, 'strong.SG', vs. *fwortə*, it. *forti*, 'strong.PL').<sup>36</sup> These processes obviously happened before the loss/centralization of final vowels.

In the dialects where final vowels became *-ə* (i.e., most dialects of group (4b)), nouns (and adjectives) originally ending in *-E*, which realized plural number through the suffix *-I*, were affected by metaphony in the plural (triggered, in fact, by *-I*), while no change happened in the singular (because final *-E* does not trigger metaphony). Consequently, when final unstressed *-E* and *-I* changed into *-ə*, singular vs. plural alternations were preserved through the alternation, on the stressed root vowel, between non-metaphonetic (singular) and metaphonetic (plural) outputs (e.g., *mesə*, 'month.SG' / *misə*, 'month.PL'). By contrast, nouns (and adjectives) ending in *-U*, whose plural was *-I*, were affected by metaphony both in the singular and in the plural (because both final *-U* and final *-I* trigger metaphony); thus, after the weakening of final *-U* and *-I*, no alternation was preserved (e.g., *nwovə*, 'new.M.SG' / *nwovə*, 'new.M.PL'). Finally, nouns and adjectives ending in *-A*, whose plural was *-AE>-E*, and were thus etymologically unaffected by metaphonetic changes, did not retain any singular/plural alternation after the weakening of final vowels (for example, in Campania, the item *rətə*, 'wheel', encodes both singular and plural number).<sup>37</sup> Nouns/adjectives of all classes whose stressed root vowel was *-a-*, *-i-*, or *-u-* are not expected to display any metaphonetic output. Yet, there are exceptions. For example, Fanciullo (1994) reports cases of lexical roots etymologically unaffected by metaphony whose stressed vowels display alternations signaling singular vs. plural interpretation; he concludes that, in these dialects, metaphony, which was originally a *phonetic/phonological* process, was turned into a *morphological* procedure (that he calls *morphometaphony*) to maintain/restore the overt realization of singular/plural alternations originally lexicalized on suffixes (Fanciullo 1994, pp. 574–77).

Various instances of these phenomena are visible in Teramano and other dialects of Abruzzo (Fanciullo 1994; Savoia and Maiden 1997; D'Alessandro and Van Oostendorp 2014, a.o.), where the extension of stressed root vowel alternations to non-etymological contexts also affected *-a-*, as shown in (8) (from Mantenuto 2015b, p. 11).

(8)	vasə	kiss.SG	vs.	visə	kiss.PL
	nasə	nose.SG	vs.	nisə	nose.PL

In various dialects of northern Italy (Rohlf 1966, §§ 141–47; Loporcaro 2009, p. 80; Foresti 1988), metaphony is triggered only by final -I, as in the following examples (from Foresti 1988, p. 579):

(9)	Ferrara	spoz	groom.SG	vs.	spuz	groom.PL
	Bologna	bon	good.SG	vs.	bun	good.PL
		pa	foot.SG	vs.	pi	foot.PL
		an	year.SG	vs.	en	year.PL
		gras	fat.SG	vs.	gres	fat.PL
	Fusignano	kan	dog.SG	vs.	ken	dog.PL
	(Badini 2002, p. 381)					

In the dialect of Savignano sul Rubicone (Pellicciardi 1977, pp. 45–48), like in other dialects of Romagna (Foresti 1988), the realization of number distinctions through alternations of the stressed vowel was extended to almost all classes of nouns (and adjectives) which, because of the loss of final vowels, have lost their suffixes (see Tables A4 and A5). Thus, in this dialect, three different types of nouns are identified on the basis of number marking strategies: indeclinable nouns (10a), nouns where singular vs. plural alternations are realized on suffixes (-a vs. -i, or -a vs. no suffix, as shown in (10b.i) vs. (10b.ii)), and nouns that have no suffix and realize number oppositions through stressed vowel alternations (10c).

(10)		SINGULAR	PLURAL	MEANING
	a.	bikir	bikir	glass
	b. i.	fneſtra	fneſtri	window
		ii. kriatura	kriatur	person
	c. i.	lamp	lɛmp	lightning
		ii. kapɛl	kapɛl	hat
		iii. kapɔt	kapɔt	coat
		iv. fʃor	fʃur	flower

To sum up, the dialect of Savignano sul Rubicone shares the absence of suffixes on most noun (and adjective) classes with the other dialects of group (4a), while it shares the overt realization of Number through alternations of the stressed root vowel with the dialects of group (4b), where, in contrast, all nouns/adjectives have suffixes (although often undistinguished for Number). In Section 3.3.1, we briefly explore these differences and their morphosyntactic consequences.

### 3. Number in Nominal Structures

In this section, we first describe three syntactic parameters that are responsible for the representation of Number within nominal structures (Section 3.1) and observe their manifestations in our sample of dialects (Section 3.2). Then (Section 3.3), we describe the morphological strategies observed in our sample of dialects to mark number alternations on nouns and adjectives (Section 3.3.1), articles (Section 3.3.2), demonstratives (Section 3.3.3), and (pronominal) possessives (Section 3.3.4). Concerning the latter two, we also highlight some aspects of variation in their distribution across the languages of the sample.

#### 3.1. Number in DPs

We start from a brief survey of three parameters that have been proposed in the literature to account for cross-linguistic variation in the representation of the feature Number in D and within DPs.<sup>38</sup>

Number is one of the features that can be realized in D.<sup>39</sup> Languages differ according to whether Number is “grammaticalized” or not, where “grammaticalized” means “obligatorily valued through some overt exponence in syntactically defined contexts” (Crisma and

Longobardi 2020, p. 21).<sup>40</sup> In the comparative parametric analysis of the nominal domain proposed since [Guardiano and Longobardi \(2005\)](#) and [Longobardi and Guardiano \(2009\)](#), until its most recent instantiations ([Crisma et al. 2020](#)), this cross-linguistic distinction is encoded by parameter *Grammaticalized Number*, whose empirical manifestations are summarized in (11). The parameter is active (i.e., Number is grammaticalized) in languages that display (at least one of) the patterns in (11) (e.g., English and Italian). By contrast, the parameter is not active in languages that do not display any such manifestations (e.g., Mandarin or Japanese).

- (11) *Grammaticalized Number* (adapted from [Crisma et al. 2020](#))
  - a. Nominal arguments display bound morpheme alternations (on the head noun and/or on a definite article/demonstrative/quantifier/adjective) that oppose singular to non-singular interpretation.
  - b. There is agreement in number between a singular/non-singular nominal argument and the verb.
  - c. There is agreement in number between a singular/non-singular noun (or a definite article/demonstrative/quantifier) and adjectives (within the same nominal structure).
  - d. There is agreement in number between a 3rd person reflexive and its antecedent.

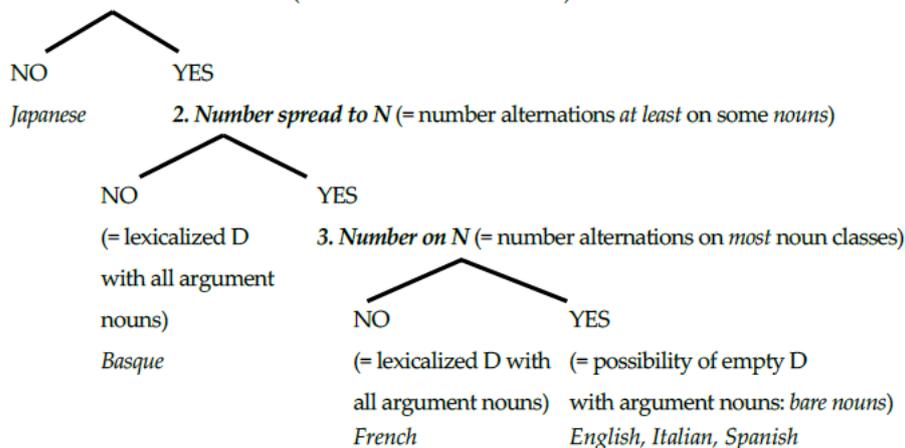
In turn, languages where parameter *Grammaticalized Number* is active are of two types ([Crisma and Longobardi 2020](#)): languages (e.g., Basque) where singular vs. plural alternations are realized overtly only in D, where the latter must thus be systematically lexicalized (i.e., bare arguments are ruled out, [Longobardi 2021](#)), and languages where number distinctions are overtly realized (also) on nouns and other nominal categories (e.g., Italian, English, and, more generally, Indo-European languages). This difference is assumed to follow from a further parameter, *Number spread to N* ([Longobardi and Guardiano 2009](#); [Longobardi et al. 2013](#); [Crisma et al. 2020](#)), that is active in Indo-European and non-active in Basque.

Finally, among languages where *Number spread to N* is active (i.e., where at least some nouns exhibit overt singular vs. plural alternations), there are languages where overt number exponence is generalized to *all* (or *most*) classes of nouns (like English, Italian, or Spanish) and languages (like French) where number alternations are visible only on a lexically restricted set of nouns (see note 2). The latter do not allow argument bare nouns, thus superficially behaving like Basque, while the former can allow empty Ds in argument nominals. This difference is encoded by parameter *Number on N*, which is active in English, Italian, and Spanish (see examples (2) and (3)), and non-active in French (see example (1)).

The implicational relations between these three parameters are summarized in (12).<sup>41</sup>

(12) Number in DPs: three parameters

1. *Grammaticalized Number* (= number alternations on D)



### 3.2. Parameter Manifestations in the Dialect Dataset

In what follows, we briefly explore the evidence available in the dialects of our sample concerning some of the patterns listed in (11), which define the empirical manifestations of parameter *Grammaticalized Number*.<sup>42</sup> In (13)–(19), we provide examples of manifestations (11b) (subject-verb agreement)<sup>43</sup> and (11c) (agreement in number between a noun or a definite article/demonstrative/quantifier and adjectives). Concerning (11a), an overview of how number alternations are realized on major nominal categories is provided in Section 3.3.

Example (13) is from Casalmaggiore (group (4a)). In this example, agreement in number between subject and verb is visible only on the participle: as in several other dialects of northern Italy, the auxiliary *be* does not agree in number with the subject (Manzini and Savoia 2005, chps. 2 and 5). Concerning DP-internal agreement, in the feminine, number agreement is visible on all DP-items (noun, adjective, definite article).

(13) Casalmaggiore (Vezzosi 2019, p. 26)

- |    |                                 |                |           |         |      |           |      |
|----|---------------------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|------|-----------|------|
| a. | la                              | bela           | ragasa    | l       | ε    | andada    | via  |
|    | the.F.SG                        | beautiful.F.SG | girl.F.SG | SUBJ.CL | be.3 | gone.F.SG | away |
|    | ‘The beautiful girl has left’   |                |           |         |      |           |      |
| b. | li                              | beli           | ragasi    | li      | ε    | andadi    | via  |
|    | the.F.PL                        | beautiful.F.PL | girl.F.PL | SUBJ.CL | be.3 | gone.F.PL | away |
|    | ‘The beautiful girls have left’ |                |           |         |      |           |      |

Examples (14) and (15) are from Teramo and Santa Maria Capua Vetere (group (4b)), respectively.<sup>44</sup> Both examples show subject-verb agreement. DP-internal agreement is realized on all DP-items: nouns and adjectives realize number alternations on the stressed vowel.

(14) Teramo (Mantenuto 2015a, pp. 2–3)

- |    |                              |          |          |        |                |
|----|------------------------------|----------|----------|--------|----------------|
| a. | lu                           | kanə     | roffə    | ε      | bbellə         |
|    | the.M.SG                     | dog.M.SG | red.M.SG | be.3SG | beautiful.M.SG |
|    | ‘The red dog is beautiful’   |          |          |        |                |
| b. | li                           | kinə     | ruffə    | so     | bbillə         |
|    | the.M.PL                     | dog.M.PL | red.M.PL | be.3PL | beautiful.M.PL |
|    | ‘The red dogs are beautiful’ |          |          |        |                |

(15) Santa Maria Capua Vetere

- |    |                            |                   |            |          |         |
|----|----------------------------|-------------------|------------|----------|---------|
| a. | o                          | wəllonə           | rojə       | a        | partutə |
|    | the.M.SG                   | young person.M.SG | sweet.M.SG | have.3SG | left    |
|    | ‘The sweet boy has left’   |                   |            |          |         |
| b. | e                          | wəllunə           | rujə       | annə     | partutə |
|    | the.M.PL                   | young person.M.PL | sweet.M.PL | have.3PL | left    |
|    | ‘The sweet boys have left’ |                   |            |          |         |

Examples (16)–(18) are from dialects of group (4c). Here, again, number agreement is visible between subject and verb and on all the items that belong to the same DP.

(16) Trapani

- |    |                                |                   |               |                |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|
| a. | u                              | pittfottu         | mirikanu      | paittiu        |
|    | the.M.SG                       | young person.M.SG | American.M.SG | leave.3SG.PAST |
|    | ‘The American boy has left’    |                   |               |                |
| b. | i                              | pittfotti         | mirikani      | paitteru       |
|    | the.PL                         | young person.PL   | American.PL   | leave.3PL.PAST |
|    | ‘The American boys/girls left’ |                   |               |                |

## (17) Reggio Calabria

- a. lu            figgjolu                    mirikanu            partiu  
 the.M.SG    young person.M.SG    American.M.SG    leave.3SG.PAST  
 'The American boy has left'
- b. i            figgjoli                    mirikani            parteru  
 the.PL    young person.PL    American.PL    leave.3PL.PAST  
 'The American boys/girls left'

## (18) Cellino San Marco

- a. lu            kane            bjanku            se            fatfe            sempre            kkju            jertu  
 the.M.SG    dog.SG    white.M.SG    SI            do.3SG    always            more            tall.M.SG  
 'The white dog is becoming increasingly taller'
- b. li            kani            bjanki            se            fannu            sempre            kkju            jerti  
 the.PL    dog.PL    white.M.PL    SI            do.3PL    always            more            tall.PL  
 'The white dogs are becoming increasingly taller'

Example (19) is from Aidone (group (4d)). Here, too, the verb agrees in number with the subject ((19a) vs. (19b)) and there is DP-internal agreement in number: the latter is only visible between items interpreted as feminine singulars.<sup>45</sup>

## (19) Aidone

- a. i. vinnə            na            pəttjidda            səmpatəka  
 come.3SG.PAST    a.F            child.F.SG            nice.F.SG  
 'A nice girl came'
- ii. vinnə            nu            pəttjiddə            səmpatəka  
 come.3SG.PAST    a.M            child            nice  
 'A nice boy came'
- b. vinnərə            (tʃertə)            pəttjiddə            səmpatəka  
 come.3PL.PAST    some            child            nice  
 'Some nice girls/boys came'

To sum up, all the dialects of our sample display subject-verb agreement in number (11b), and number agreement within DPs (11c). This constitutes positive evidence for *Grammaticalized Number*.

Concerning parameter *Number spread to N*, all the dialects of our sample display at least some nouns where number alternations are realized overtly (see Section 3.3.1 and Table A4); this means that, in these languages, parameter *Number spread to N* is active. In contrast, the empirical manifestations of parameter *Number on N* are more variable. We present the relevant data in Section 3.3.1.

## 3.3. Morphological Exponence of Number in the Dataset

## 3.3.1. Nouns (and Adjectives)

As shown in Sections 1 and 2, across the dialects of our dataset, two strategies (often in complementary distribution) for making number on nouns<sup>46</sup> are observed: suffix alternations and root vowel alternations<sup>47</sup>. The former strategy, as remarked in Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, p. 583), is "clearly computational, namely syntactic" ("chiaramente computazionale, cioè sintattico"). The latter has the properties of an "introflexive" mechanism ("un paradigma di flessione interna"), which yet is not generalized to all inflectional classes and, especially in some dialects, is not productive (Fanciullo, p.c.).

In the dialects of group (4c) and in Felitto, number alternations are visible on almost all classes of nouns (with isolated lexical exceptions),<sup>48</sup> and are realized through suffixes, which, like in Italian, collapse class/gender and number information, as shown in (20).<sup>49</sup> In most such dialects, gender alternations are visible in the singular and blurred in the plural, as shown in (21).<sup>50</sup>

(20) Reggio Calabria (adapted from Falcone 1976, p. 68)

- a. u            mulu            bbənu  
 the.M.SG    mule.M.SG    good.M.SG  
 'the mule of good quality'
- b. i            muli            bbəni  
 the.PL    mule.PL    good.PL  
 'the mules of good quality'

(21) San Filippo Del Mela

- a. a            figgjəla                    mirikana  
 the.F.SG    young person.F.SG    American.F.SG  
 'the American girl'
- b. u            figgjəlu                    mirikanu  
 the.M.SG    young person.M.SG    American.M.SG  
 'the American boy'
- c. i            figgjəli                    mirikani  
 the.PL    young person.PL    American.PL  
 'the American boys/girls'

The other dialects of our dataset display a “reduction of the internal articulation of the inflectional system” (‘una riduzione dell’articolazione interna del sistema flessivo’, [Manzini and Savoia 2005](#), vol. III, p. 574) as compared to Italian. For example, in the dialects of group (4a), number alternations are visible on suffixes only on one class of nouns, i.e., feminine nouns ending in *-a*, with plural *-i*.<sup>51</sup> The other classes do not exhibit any suffix (example (22) is from Casalmaggiore).<sup>52</sup> Finally, in Savignano sul Rubicone, like in other dialects of Romagna, there are nouns that have no suffixes but overtly mark singular and plural interpretation through stressed vowel alternations (see the examples in (10)).

(22) Casalmaggiore (Vezzosi 2019, p. 26)

- a. i. sotana            dʒalda  
 gown.F.SG    yellow.F.SG  
 'yellow gown'
- ii. sotani            dʒaldi  
 gown.F.PL    yellow.F.PL  
 'yellow gowns'
- b. ragas    grand  
 boy    tall  
 'tall boy/s'

In group (4b) (except for Felitto) and Aidone (4d), most final vowels have been weakened, and are now realized as  $-\emptyset$ . Thus, most number alternations on suffixes were lost. As already mentioned in Section 2 (see examples (5), (6), and (7)), in Vericaro (23) and Aidone (24), some alternations on suffixes have been maintained, because of the retention of final *-A*. In these languages, there are two different suffixes: *-a*, which corresponds to (feminine) singular interpretation (originally *-A*), and  $-\emptyset$ , which collapses masculine singular (originally *-U*) and plural (originally *-I*).<sup>53</sup>

(23) Verbicaro (adapted from [Loporcaro and Silvestri 2015](#), p. 69)

a.	i.	na	bbella	kasa
		a.F	beautiful.F.SG	house.F.SG
		'a beautiful house'		
	ii.	na	kasa	bbɛdda
		a.F	house.F.SG	beautiful.F.SG
		'a beautiful house'		
b.	i.	tʃɛrtə	bbellə	kasə
		some	beautiful.F.PL	house.PL
		'some beautiful houses'		
	ii.	tʃɛrtə	kasə	bbɛddə
		some	house.PL	beautiful.F.PL
		'some beautiful houses'		
c.	i.	nu	bbwellə <sup>54</sup>	kwatrarə
		a.M	beautiful.M	young person
		'a beautiful boy'		
	ii.	nu	kwatrarə	bbjeddə
		a.M	young person	beautiful.M
		'a beautiful boy'		
d.	i.	na	bbella	kwatrara
		a.F	beautiful.F.SG	young person.F.SG
		'a beautiful girl'		
	ii.	na	kwatrara	bbɛdda
		a.F	young person.F.SG	beautiful.F.SG
		'a beautiful girl'		
e.	i.	tʃɛrtə	bbellə	kwatrarə
		some	beautiful	young person
		'some beautiful boys/girls'		
	ii.	tʃɛrtə	kwatrarə	bbjeddə
		some	young person	beautiful.M
		'some beautiful boys/girls'		
	iii.	tʃɛrtə	kwatrarə	bbɛddə
		some	young person	beautiful.F.PL
		'some beautiful girls'		

## (24) Aidone

a.	i.	na	bbrava	karuza
		a.F	good.F.SG	young person.F.SG
		'a good girl'		
	ii.	na	karuza	bbrava
		a.F	young person.F.SG	good.F.SG
		'a good girl'		
b.	i.	un	bravə	karuzə
		a.M	good	young person.SG
		'a good guy'		
	ii.	un	karuzə	bbravə
		a.M	young person.SG	good
		'a good guy'		
c.	i.	tʃɛrtə	bbravə	karuzə
		some	good	young person.PL
		'some good guys'		
	ii.	tʃɛrtə	karuzə	bbravə
		some	young person.PL	good
		'some good guys'		

By contrast, in most dialects of group (4b), where final -A, -U, and -I turned into -ə, there is only one suffix, which is not specified for number (i.e., -ə). Yet, in some such dialects, suffixes -a, -u, and -i re-emerge in certain contexts/classes of items, which might suggest

that suffixes still encode number information, albeit often non-overtly.<sup>55</sup> For example, Ledgeway (2007, p. 106) observes that, in the dialect of Napoli (like in several other dialects of Campania), (some) pronominal adjectives (as well as other pronominal modifiers) retain the suffixes *-a* (feminine, singular), *-u* (masculine singular), and *-i* (plural), while post-nominal adjectives generalize *-ə*. Another case is exemplified by Francavilla in Sinni (examples in (25)). Here, on nouns, the feminine singular suffix is realized as *-a* when the noun is followed by an adjective (see (25a.i)); otherwise, it is realized as *-ə* (see (25a.ii)). Similarly, on adjectives, the feminine singular suffix is realized as *-a* when the adjective precedes the noun and as *-ə* when the adjective is post-nominal, as shown by the contrast between (25b.i) and (25a.i).<sup>56</sup> Similar patterns have been described for Bari (Andriani 2017, p. 92) and Teramo (Savini 1881, p. 58).

(25) Francavilla in Sinni

a.	i.	a	makəna	bbellə
		the.F.SG	car.F.SG	beautiful
			'the beautiful car'	
	ii.	i	makənə	bbellə
		the.PL	car	beautiful
			'the beautiful cars'	
b.	i.	a	bbella <sup>57</sup>	makənə
		the.F.SG	beautiful.F.SG	car
			'the beautiful car'	
	ii.	i	bbellə	makənə
		the.PL	beautiful	car
			'the beautiful cars'	
c.	i.	u	pallonə	bbellə
		the.M.SG	ball.SG	beautiful
			'the beautiful ball'	
	ii.	i	pallunə	bbellə
		the.PL	ball.PL	beautiful
			'the beautiful balls'	
d.	i.	u	bbellə	pallonə
		the.M.SG	beautiful	ball.SG
			'the beautiful ball'	
	ii.	i	bbellə	pallunə
		the.PL	beautiful	ball.PL
			'the beautiful balls'	

To sum up, concerning morphological exponence of Number on nouns, four major types of languages are identified in our dataset:<sup>58</sup>

- (26) a. Languages where number distinctions are visible on suffixes on all noun classes as a rule (with few lexical exceptions), and all noun classes have suffixes. The extreme southern dialects (group (4c)) belong to this type, as well as Felitto (4b).
- b. Languages (i.e., Verbicaro and Aidone) where number alternations are visible on suffixes only on one class (i.e., nouns originally ending in *-A*), and suffixes appear on *all* nouns. In these languages, the suffix *-a* encodes feminine gender and singular number; masculine nouns and plurals have the suffix *-ə*.
- c. Languages where no number alternations are visible on suffixes, and suffixes appear on *all* nouns. In some nouns, number distinctions are realized through alternations of the stressed vowel. Dialects of group (4b), except for Felitto and Verbicaro, belong to this type.
- d. Languages where suffixes encode number alternations only on a subset of nouns (i.e., those ending in *-al/-al/-el*), while the other nouns do not display *any* suffix. Dialects of group (4a) belong to this type. In some such dialects (e.g., Savignano sul Rubicone), number alternations are also realized through alternations of the stressed root vowel.

In Section 4, we explore the relations between these number marking strategies and the distribution of bare nouns in the languages of the dataset, to check whether the predictions

made by [Delfitto and Schroten \(1991\)](#) and [Crisma and Longobardi \(2020\)](#) are met in this domain of languages.

Before closing this Section, we provide a short survey of three categories (articles, demonstratives, and possessives) that display variation across the dataset in terms of how they realize number alternation and their DP-internal distribution.

### 3.3.2. Definite Articles

All the dialects of our sample have a definite article, normally inflected for gender and number, as shown in Table 1 (full paradigms are given in Table A1).<sup>59</sup> Few dialects display four-member paradigms; by contrast, most of the dialects have three-member paradigms, with only one plural item that syncretizes masculine and feminine.

**Table 1.** Number and gender distinctions on definite articles.

Language	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
Casalmaggiore, Savignano	al, el	la	i	li
Parma, Reggio Emilia, Novellara, Correggio	al	la	i	al
Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Amalfi, Palma Campania <sup>60</sup>	o	a	e <sub>[-RF]</sub>	e <sub>[+RF]</sub>
Botrugno	u	a	i	e
Teramo, Felitto, Cellino San Marco, Mesagne, Reggio Calabria	lu	la		li
Bari (BA), Taranto (TA)	u	la (BA) a (TA)		lə
Barletta, Francavilla in Sinni, Verbicaro, Cutro, Nicastro, Catanzaro, Sicily (incl. Aidone)	u	a		i

### 3.3.3. Demonstratives

In all the dialects of the database, demonstratives are incompatible with articles (i.e., they are D-checking, [Guardiano and Stavrou 2020](#)). Most dialects display two different items for adnominal and pronominal demonstratives: adnominal demonstratives are usually “reduced” as compared to pronominal ones (monosyllabic vs. disyllabic).<sup>61</sup> Almost all the dialects of the sample realize number distinctions on both forms (full paradigms are given in Tables A2a and A2b). Like definite articles, only a few dialects display four-member paradigms, e.g., Casalmaggiore (27) and Palma Campania (28); in the latter, feminine plural demonstratives trigger Rafforzamento Fonosintattico (see note 60). In most of the other dialects, masculine and feminine gender are collapsed into one and the same item in the plural, while they take two separate forms in the singular.

(27) Casalmaggiore (adapted from [Vezzosi 2019](#), p. 55)

- a. kul        lebar    ke/le  
DEM.M.SG    book    here/there  
'this/that book'
- b. ki        lebar    ke/le  
DEM.M.PL    book    here/there  
'these/those books'
- c. kla        duna        ke/le  
DEM.F.SG    woman.F.SG    here/there  
'this/that woman'
- d. kli        duni        ke/le  
DEM.F.PL    woman.F.PL    here/there  
'these/those women'

- (28) Palma Campania
- |    |                        |   |           |            |
|----|------------------------|---|-----------|------------|
| a. | stu                    | / | killu     | maʎʎonə    |
|    | this.M.SG              |   | that.M.SG | sweater.SG |
|    | 'this/that sweater'    |   |           |            |
| b. | sti                    | / | killi     | maʎʎunə    |
|    | this.PL                |   | that.M.PL | sweater.PL |
|    | 'these/those sweaters' |   |           |            |
| c. | sta                    | / | kella     | kandzonə   |
|    | this.F.SG              |   | that.F.SG | song.SG    |
|    | 'this/that song'       |   |           |            |
| d. | sti                    | / | kelli     | kkandzunə  |
|    | this.PL                |   | that.F.PL | song.PL    |
|    | 'these/those songs'    |   |           |            |

In Francavilla in Sinni, pronominal demonstratives realize number distinctions through alternations of the root vowel, as shown in (29a), while suffix alternations are visible only on adnominal demonstratives (29b–d).

- (29) Francavilla in Sinni
- |    |                    |           |                 |         |
|----|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|---------|
| a. | i.                 | kwistə    | kwestə          | kistə   |
|    |                    | this.M.SG | this.F.SG       | this.PL |
|    | ii.                | kwillə    | kwellə          | killə   |
|    |                    | that.M.SG | that.F.SG       | that.PL |
| b. | stu /              | killu     | waʎʎonə         |         |
|    | this.M.SG          | that.M.SG | young person.SG |         |
|    | 'this/that boy'    |           |                 |         |
| c. | sta /              | kwellə    | waʎʎonə         |         |
|    | this.F.SG          | that.F.SG | young person.SG |         |
|    | 'this/that girl'   |           |                 |         |
| d. | sti /              | killi     | waʎʎunə         |         |
|    | this.PL            | that.PL   | young person.PL |         |
|    | 'these/those boys' |           |                 |         |

A further aspect of variation in the languages of our dataset concerns the realization of deictic interpretation (Guardiano and Stavrou 2020). Some dialects of group (4a) (Casalmaggiore, Correggio, Novellara, and Reggio Emilia) are like French: adnominal demonstratives are usually realized as two separated lexical items (as shown in (27) and (30), from Vezzosi 2019, p. 26), wherein one (*ku/ki, kla/kli*) occurs in the D-area, does not encode any deictic information (i.e., it is “deictically neutral”) and is inflected for gender and number, and the other (*ke/le*, a deictic “reinforcer”, Bernstein 1997) occurs DP-finally (after adjectives and prepositional phrases), realizes deictic reference and is uninflected. A difference between Casalmaggiore and the other dialects is that, in Casalmaggiore, the reinforcer seems to be required in all contexts (and with all interpretations, Vezzosi 2019), while in the other dialects (like in French) it is not obligatory when the demonstrative does not have deictic meaning.

- (30) Casalmaggiore
- |    |                         |       |       |            |
|----|-------------------------|-------|-------|------------|
| a. | kul                     | ragas | grand | ke/le      |
|    | DEM.M.SG                | boy   | tall  | here/there |
|    | 'this/that tall boy'    |       |       |            |
| b. | ki                      | ragas | grand | ke/le      |
|    | DEM.M.PL                | boy   | tall  | here/there |
|    | 'these/those tall boys' |       |       |            |

In Parma and Savignano sul Rubicone, and in the other groups, deictic demonstratives do not require reinforcers; like in Italian, they take different forms according to whether they encode proximal or distal distinctions, as shown in (31).

- (31) Parma
- a. i. sto/kol                      gat  
       this.M.SG/that.M.SG    cat  
       ‘this/that cat’ (M)
  - ii. sta/kla                      gata  
        this.F.SG/that.F.SG    cat.F.SG  
        ‘this/that cat’ (F)
  - iii. sti/kil                      gati  
        this.PL/that.PL        cat.F.PL  
        ‘these/those cats’ (F)
  - b. i. koste (ki) /              kol (la)              l                      ε  
       this.M.SG here        that.M.SG there    3SG.CL.SUBJ    be.3SG  
       l                      me        libor  
       the.M.SG    my        book  
       ‘This/that is my book’
  - ii. kosti (ki) /              koi (la)              i                      in  
        this.PL here        that.M.PL there    3PL.CL.SUBJ    be.3PL  
        li                      me        libor  
        the.M.PL    my        book  
        ‘These/those are my books’
  - iii. kosta (ki) /              kola (la)              l                      ε  
        this.F.SG here        that.F.SG there    3SG.CL.SUBJ    be.3SG  
        la                      me        kamiza  
        the.F.SG    my        blouse.F.SG  
        ‘This/that is my blouse’
  - iv. kosti (ki) /              koli (la)              i                      in  
        this.PL here        this.F.PL there    3PL.CL.SUBJ    be.3PL  
        al                      me        kamizi  
        the.F.PL    my        blouse.F.PL  
        ‘These/those are my blouses’

A peculiar case is instantiated by the dialect of Teramo. As noted in [Mantenuto \(2016\)](#), Teramano features “demonstrative doubling”: two demonstratives can occur in the same DP, one DP-initially, in the reduced form of adnominal items, and the other DP-finally, in the non-reduced form of pronominal items. Doubling is not obligatory but is preferred when the DP has deictic interpretation.

- (32) Teramo ([Mantenuto 2016](#), pp. 35–39)
- a. ʃtu/llu                      libbrə (kwaʃtə)/(kwallə)  
    this.M.SG /that.M.SG    book    this.M.SG/that.M.SG  
    ‘this/that book (here)/(there)’
  - b. ʃta/lla                      pərnindzə (kaʃtə)/(kallə)  
    this.F.SG/that.F.SG    apron.F.SG    this.F.SG/that.F.SG  
    ‘this apron (here)’
  - c. ʃti/lli                      kinə (kəʃtə)/(kəllə)  
    this.PL/that.PL        dog.PL    this.PL/that.PL  
    ‘these/those dogs (here)/(there)’

### 3.3.4. Possessives

By the label “possessive”, we refer here to pronominal forms interpreted as arguments of the head noun (i.e., expressing one of the following relations: Possessor, Subject, Object; [Crisma et al. Forthcoming](#)). In several Romance dialects of Italy,<sup>62</sup> like in Italian (and unlike in English), adnominal possessives must co-occur with a determiner (e.g., an article or a demonstrative: *il/un/questo mio libro*, lit. ‘the/a/this my.M.SG book.M.SG’ vs. *\*mio libro*) and do not assign any definite reading to the noun phrase they modify.<sup>63</sup>

In various dialects of our dataset, possessives agree in gender and number with the head noun, like in Italian,<sup>64</sup> while in others they don’t.<sup>65</sup> For example, in group (4a), adnominal possessives are prenominal (with exceptions, see [Vezzosi 2019](#), p. 50) and

uninflected.<sup>66</sup> Pronominal possessives display number alternations only on some forms: 1st and 2nd person plural, except for Savignano (*nɔstra.F.SG* vs. *nɔstre*, *vɔstra.F.SG* vs. *vɔstre*), exhibit the same suffix alternations as adjectives (like in most other dialects, [Manzini and Savoia 2005](#), p. 573), i.e., *-a/-i* in the feminine (*nɔstra/nɔstri*, *vɔstra/vɔstri*) and no alternations in the masculine (*nɔster*, *vɔster*); 3rd person plural forms are uninflected (*lor*); 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular are uninflected for gender when modifying a plural head noun (*me*, *to*, *so*), while, in some dialects, gender alternations (through the suffixes *-o/-a*, masculine and feminine, respectively) are visible on possessives modifying a singular head noun (e.g., *mio/mia*, *tuo/tua*, *suo/sua* in Reggio Emilia and Novellara).

More variation is observed in group (4b), mostly resulting from the combination of the weakening of final vowels and metaphony. Barletta has uninflected items for all persons but 1st singular, which has two forms opposing masculine (*mejə*) vs. feminine (*ma*), with no number oppositions. In Bari ([Andriani 2017](#), p. 106), Amalfi, and Palma Campania, possessives are inflected for gender but not for number, except for 1st person singular in Amalfi and Palma Campania, where *mijə* encodes singular (masculine and feminine), *mjejə* encodes masculine and plural, and *mejə* encodes feminine and plural—note that no such alternation is realized through suffixes. In Verbicaro, all items are invariable ([Silvestri 2016](#), p. 135), except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which, as in most other dialects, display gender/number alternations identical to adjectives. In Teramo, except for 1st person singular (*mi*), possessives are inflected for number (*to* vs. *tu*, *so* vs. *su*, *nɔstrə* vs. *nustrə*, *vɔstrə* vs. *vustrə*, *so* vs. *su*) but not for gender. In Francavilla in Sinni, 3rd person plural is uninflected (*lorə*) and 1st and 2nd person plural, like adjectives, have two forms, one encoding feminine singular (*nɔstə/vɔstə*), and the other (*nwostə/vwostə*) encoding plural and masculine singular. The other forms (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular) are inflected for number (*mijə* vs. *mejə*; *tujə* vs. *tojə*, *sujə* vs. *sojə*) but not for gender; in all forms, number distinctions are realized through root vowel alternations only. In Taranto, possessives exhibit the same gender/number alternations as adjectives (see Table A4). In Santa Maria Capua Vetere, the suffix *-a* encodes feminine gender and singular number on all persons but 3rd plural. Plural number and masculine gender are realized as *-ə*. In the 1st person singular, root vowel alternations encode singular vs. plural and masculine vs. feminine oppositions (*mijə.M.SG*, *mija.F.SG*, *mjejə.M.PL*, *mejə.F.PL*). Finally, in Felitto, number alternations are realized through suffixes (*-u/-a* for the singular, masculine and feminine, respectively, *-i/-e* for the plural); in 1st and 2nd person plural, gender alternations are also visible on the stressed vowel (*-wo-* vs. *-ɔ-*, masculine and feminine, respectively).

In group (4c), the dialects of Sicily and Reggio Calabria have two types of possessives ([Manzini and Savoia 2005](#), vol. III, pp. 552–74; [Guardiano et al. 2018](#)). Pre-nominal possessives are uninflected and realized attached to D (called “Wackernagel possessives” in [Guardiano et al. 2018](#)); by contrast, inflected adnominal possessives are post-nominal and identical to pronominal “strong” items. The latter are inflected for gender and number in Ragusa, Trapani, and Reggio Calabria; in Ribera, San Filippo del Mela, and Mussomeli, possessives are uninflected (except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which display the same suffix alternations as adjectives). In Salento (Cellino San Marco, Mesagne, Botrugno) and the rest of Calabria (Cutro, Catanzaro and Nicastro), possessives are post-nominal only; in Cellino San Marco, they are inflected for number but not for gender, except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which display the same suffix alternations as adjectives and stressed vowel alternations (*nweʃʃu/vweʃʃu.M.SG*, *nɔʃʃa/vɔʃʃa.F.SG*, *nweʃʃi/vweʃʃi.PL*), and for 3rd person plural, which is invariable (*lɔru*); in Nicastro, Mesagne, and Cutro, possessives are uninflected (except for 1st and 2nd person plural and, in Nicastro, also 1st person singular), and in Botrugno and Catanzaro (except for 3rd person plural), they are inflected for number and, in the singular, also for gender.

In Aidone (4d), possessives are uninflected, except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which, as in the other dialects, display the same alternations as adjectives.

#### 4. The Distribution of Bare Nouns

Based on the premises sketched in Section 3.1, and on the data discussed in Section 3.2, we can now attempt some preliminary predictions concerning the availability of bare nouns in argument position in the dialects under investigation.

- (33) a. Concerning the realization of number on nouns, type (26a), where number alternations are systematically realized on suffixes on all classes of nouns, does not display significant differences with respect to Italian; hence, it is expected that these languages allow bare nouns, arguably with a distribution similar to that observed in Italian.
- b. Type (26b) displays number alternations (on suffixes) on a subset of nouns (the *-a* class). Similarly, in type (26d), number distinctions are realized only on a subset of classes (*-a*, *-al*, *-el*). The difference between the two types is that in type (26b) all nouns have a suffix, while in type (26d) there are noun classes that do not display any suffix. One might wonder whether the “partial” encoding of the feature Number on nouns is *sufficient* to license empty Ds (i.e., bare nouns) or, by contrast, whether, for the licensing mechanisms described in Delfitto and Schroten (1991) and Crisma and Longobardi (2020) to be activated, it is *necessary* that Number be systematically realized on all noun classes.
- c. In type (26c), all nouns have suffixes, but the latter are never overtly specified for Number. However, number alternations are realized through (semi-)productive introflexive strategies. According to Crisma and Longobardi (2020, p. 52), “for an empty D the value of Number is recovered via formal agreement between such a D and some category on which it is spelt out”. Thus, these languages should, in principle, license bare nouns. Yet, the fact that, in most languages of this type, number marking is not systematically realized on all noun classes raises the same issues as in (33b).

In what follows, we illustrate the distribution of bare nouns in argument position in the dialects of the dataset, to check whether the predictions suggested in (33) are borne out. To do so, we test (a) whether bare arguments are grammatical in the dialects investigated and, if they are, (b) whether their distribution displays any differences with respect to Italian.

##### 4.1. Data Collection

The data used to test the predictions in (33) were collected from native speakers and further integrated, when possible, with those available in the literature. When not otherwise specified, the examples presented in this Section come from elicited data. For each dialect, we interviewed one speaker. If needed, speakers were consulted multiple times to refine and double-check the material they provided.

We arranged a list of syntactic environments where testing the degree of acceptability of various types of nominals when used with no visible determiner (i.e., bare). Our starting point is the distribution of bare nouns in Italian (Crisma and Longobardi 2020), which is summarized in (34) and exemplified in (35)–(39).

- (34) a. Singular count nouns cannot be bare in any argument position (35).  
 b. Plural (and mass) nouns cannot be bare in pre-verbal subject position (36a), unless they are modified by an adjective, a PP or a relative clause (36b).  
 c. Plural (and mass) nouns can be bare in post-verbal subject position (37), as pivots of existential clauses (38), and in object position (39).
- (35) a. \* ho visto studente (americano)  
 have.1SG seen student.M.SG American.M.SG  
 Intended: ‘I saw a(n American) student/the (American) student’
- b. \* studente (americano) è arrivato  
 student.M.SG American.M.SG be3SG arrived M.SG  
 Intended: ‘A(n American) student/the American student has arrived’

- (36) a. \* studenti sono entrati nell' edificio  
 student.M.PL be.3PL entered.M.PL in.the.SG building.M.SG  
 'Students have entered the building'
- b. studenti da ogni parte del mondo sono  
 student.PL from every part of.the.M.SG world.M.SG be.3PL  
 entrati nell' edificio  
 entered.M.PL in.the.SG building.M.SG  
 'Students from all over the world have entered the building'
- (37) a. sono entrati studenti nell' edificio  
 be.3PL entered.M.PL student.M.PL in.the.SG building.M.SG  
 'Students have entered the building'
- b. è caduta acqua sul tavolo  
 be.3SG fallen.F.SG water.F.SG on.the.M.SG table.M.SG  
 'Water has dropped on the table'
- (38) a. ci sono studenti nell' edificio  
 there be.3PL student.M.PL in.the.SG building.M.SG  
 'There are students in the building'
- b. c'è acqua sul tavolo  
 there be.3SG water.F.SG on.the.M.SG table.M.SG  
 'There is water on the table'
- (39) a. ho visto studenti nell' edificio  
 have.1SG seen student.M.PL in.the.SG building.M.SG  
 'I saw students in the building'
- b. ho bevuto acqua  
 have.1SG drunk water.F.SG  
 'I drank water'

Based on this material, we created a list of 41 different patterns/sequences (see Table A6) that contain modified and unmodified plural nouns, singular count nouns, and mass nouns, in the following positions in non-negative sentences:

- (40) a. Object  
 b. Post-verbal subject  
 c. Pivot of existential clause:  
 i. with a "locative" coda  
 ii. with a relative clause as the coda  
 d. Pre-verbal subject

The list was then used as a "lexically-flexible" guide to collect the relevant data from the speakers and test their judgements.<sup>67</sup> During the interviews, for each of the 41 patterns, speakers were asked to generate a sentence in their language with the same properties of that pattern. The language used in the interviews was Italian. It has been shown (Pinzin and Poletto 2022) that the use of Italian (i.e., the other native language for most of the speakers) as the input language in this type of task is likely to induce non-trivial priming effects (Cornips and Poletto 2005; Van Craenenbroek et al. 2019). To control for this, when possible, we provided sentences in the dialect of the speaker, asking about their grammaticality.<sup>68</sup> Each pattern was tested twice, using different lexical items. When the answers provided by a speaker were unclear or inconsistent, we tested the relevant pattern multiple times, controlling for potentially infelicitous lexical choices and/or pragmatic contexts.

In what follows, we present the data that are relevant to test the predictions in (33).

#### 4.2. Data Description

In the dialects of group (4c) and in Felitto (type (26a)), bare argument nouns are grammatical, and their distribution is constrained by the same restrictions as in Italian (see

(34): (a) bare singulars are ungrammatical in all argument positions (see examples (41a–c) from Ragusa); (b) plural (and mass) nouns are ungrammatical as pre-verbal subjects (41d) and very marginally accepted when modified by an adjective, a relative clause, or a PP (41e); and (c) unmodified bare plural (and mass) nouns can only occur as objects (41f–g), post-verbal subjects (41h–i), and pivots of existential sentences (41j–k). Prediction (33a) is therefore borne out.

- (41) Ragusa
- a. \*    preparai            torta            (bwonissima)  
 prepare1SG.PAST    cake F.SG    excellent  
 Intended: 'I prepared an excellent cake'
- b. \*    pittfotta            (mirikana)        arruvau  
 young person.F.SG    American.F.SG    arrive.3SG.PAST  
 Intended: 'A(n American)/the American girl arrived'
- c. \*    arruvau            pittfotta            (mirikana)  
 arrive.3SG.PAST    young person.F.SG    American.F.SG  
 Intended: 'A(n American)/the American girl arrived'
- d. \*    pittfwotti            arruvarru        ri  
 young people.PL    arrive.3PL.PAST    from  
 tutta            a            Sitfilja  
 all.F.SG    the.F.SG    Sicily  
 Intended: 'Young people arrived from all over Sicily'
- e. ??    turisti            spajpwoli        arruvarru        ajeri  
 tourist.PL    Spanish.PL    arrive.3PL.PAST    yesterday  
 Intended: 'Spanish tourists arrived yesterday'
- f.    ddʒovanni    vinniu            libbra        ppi    na    vita  
 Giovanni    sell.3SG.PAST    book.PL    for    a.F    life.F.SG  
 'Giovanni sold books for his entire life'
- g.    ddʒovanni    fabbrica    kasi            ranni  
 Giovanni    build.3SG    house.PL    big  
 'Giovanni builds big houses'
- h.    ri            tutta            a            Sitfilja        arruvarru        pittfwotti  
 from    all.F.SG    the.F.SG    Sicily        arrive.3PL.PAST    young people.PL  
 'There arrived young people from all over Sicily'
- i.    ajeri            arruvarru        turisti        spajpwoli  
 yesterday    arrive.3PL.PAST    tourist.PL    Spanish.PL  
 'There arrived Spanish tourists yesterday'
- j.    ttʃi    su    fformikuli    nta    tutta    a            kasa  
 there    be.3PL    ant.PL    into    all    the.F.SG    house.F.SG  
 'There are ants all over the house'
- k.    ttʃi    su            pittfwotti        ka    nun    vwɔnu    sturjari  
 there    be.3PL    young people.PL    that    NEG    want.3PL    study  
 'There are young people who do not want to study'

Let's now explore (33b). In the dialects of type (26d), bare nouns are ungrammatical in all contexts, as shown in (42). By contrast, in type (26b), bare nouns are possible and occur with almost the same distribution as (34). As shown in (43), a difference with respect to (34) is that plural (and mass) nouns are only marginally accepted in pre-verbal position, even when modified.

As mentioned, there is one difference between type (26d) and type (26b), i.e., the absence, in type (26d), of suffixes generalized to all nouns. In this latter group, like in French, there are nouns that do not exhibit any specification for Number and have no suffixes; according to [Delfitto and Schroten's \(1991\)](#) analysis of French, this type of nouns do not allow the licensing of empty Ds. Apparently, the persistence of number alternations on a restricted class of suffixes (e.g., *-a/-al/-el*) and, in some dialects (e.g., Savignano sul Rubicone), the realization of number alternations through other strategies (i.e., alternations of the stressed vowel) are not sufficient to license bare arguments. By contrast, one can assume that, in type (26b), because of the alternation between the suffix *-a* and the suffix *-ə*,

the latter is assigned number/gender interpretation (e.g., non-singular, non-feminine) even though it is not overtly specified for number/gender. If this line of reasoning is on the right track, a possible conclusion is that, among languages that *partially* mark number on nouns, what sets a difference between those which allow bare nouns and those which do not is not the *amount* of nouns that overtly display number exponence, but rather the *morphological structure* of nouns themselves, and the mechanisms that, through this structure, make the retrieving of number information possible even when the latter is “silent” (i.e., not overtly specified).

(42) Novellara

- a. dʒwani al kunteva \*(dal) buzei  
Gianni 3SG.CL.SUBJ tell.3SG.PAST of.the.F.PL lie.F.PL  
'Gianni used to tell lies'
- b. dʒwani al kunteva \*(dal) grand buzei  
Gianni 3SG.CL.SUBJ tell.3SG.PAST of.the.F.PL big lie.F.PL  
'Gianni used to tell big lies'
- c. i in rivè \*(di) turesta  
3PL.CL.SUBJ be.3PL arrived of.the.M.PL tourist  
'Tourists have arrived'
- d. i in rivè \*(di) turesta spanol  
3PL.CL.SUBJ be.3PL arrived of.the.M.PL tourist Spanish  
'Spanish tourists have arrived'
- e. a g ε \*(dal) matʃi insema al visti  
CL.SUBJ there be.3 of.the.F.PL stain. F.PL above the.M.SG dress  
'There are stains on the dress'
- f. a g ε \*(dal) matʃi k i van  
CL.SUBJ there be.3 of.the.F.PL stain. F.PL that 3PL.CL.SUBJ go.3PL  
mia via  
NEG away  
'There are stains which never go away'

(43) Aidone, Verbicaro

- a. ajə læddʒutə libbrə Verbicaro  
have.1SG read books  
'I have read books'
- b. a skola vɔ pəggjə pruvæssurə ddʒugənə Verbicaro  
the.F.SG school.F.SG want.3SG hire teacher young  
'The school wants to hire young teachers'
- c. an a vənì a ferə-mə visəta amiʒə Aidone  
have.3SG to come to do-1SG.CL.DAT visit.F.SG friend.PL  
'Friends are coming to visit me'
- d. an a vənì a ferə-mə visəta Aidone  
have.3SG to come to do-1SG.CL.DAT visit.F.SG  
amiʒə fədzjunarə  
friend.PL beloved  
'Beloved friends are coming to visit me'
- e. ggjə su bbeddə karuʒə nt a Aidone  
there be.3PL nice young person.PL in the.F.SG  
fotografia  
picture.F.SG  
'There are nice boys in the picture'

A further similarity between the dialects of type (26d) and French is that, in all the dialects of this group, like in French, the item that overtly realizes D with non-definite plural/mass nouns is a “partitive-like” article (DE+definite article; for a recent detailed survey of the distribution of this item in northern Italy, including Emilian varieties, see [Pinzin and Poletto 2021](#)). In all the other dialects of our dataset, this item is never used to lexicalize D with non-definite plural/mass nouns in argument position.<sup>69</sup>

Finally, concerning prediction (33c), the data collected from languages of type (26c) show the highest variability. Speakers of Francavilla in Sinni, Taranto, and Amalfi accept argument bare nouns under the same conditions as types (26a) and (26b), as shown in (44)–(46).

## (44) Francavilla in Sinni

- a. i. Pumbejə vennə pummədorə ka  
 Pompea sell.3SG tomato that  
 so ddiɛtʃ annə  
 be.3PL ten year  
 ‘Pompea has been selling tomatoes for ten years’
- ii. ajierə i tsijə ennə munnætə  
 yesterday the.PL uncle have.3PL peeled  
 fasulə tutt a jurnætə  
 bean all the.F.SG day  
 ‘Yesterday my uncles were peeling beans all day long’
- b. kwella dittə frabbəkə kəsə grannə  
 that.F.SG firm build.3SG house big  
 ‘That firm builds big houses’
- c. ennə arrəvætə (tʃertə) furəstjerə utəmamendə  
 have.3PL arrived some foreigner.3PL recently  
 ‘Foreigners have arrived recently’
- d. sopə u vəstitə tʃə so  
 above the.M.SG dress there be.3PL  
 makkjə  
 stain  
 ‘There are stains on the dress’
- e. tʃ arənə wəʃɲunə<sup>70</sup> ka  
 there be.3PL.PAST young person.PL who  
 kurrijənə sendza maʎʎə  
 run.3PL.PAST without shirt  
 ‘There were children running without their shirts’

## (45) Taranto

- a. əggjə vənnutə patənə pə ttrendə annə  
 have.1SG sold potato for thirty year  
 ‘I have been selling potatoes for thirty years’
- b. passənə makənə tuttə lə ddʒurnə sus ə pəndə  
 pass.3PL car all the.PL day on to.the.M.SG bridge  
 ‘Cars cross the bridge every day’
- c. jəssə fumə da susə  
 go.out.3SG smoke from above  
 ‘Smoke comes out from above’

## (46) Amalfi

- a. kella dittə frabbəkə kasə grəssə  
 that.F.SG firm build.3SG house big.F  
 ‘That firm builds big houses’
- b. ennə vənutə (tʃertə) turistə spaɲɲwolə ind o paesə  
 have.3PL come some tourist Spanish.M in the.M.SG village  
 ‘Spanish tourists have arrived at the village’
- c. tʃə stannə sturjendə ka nu vənnə fa njendə  
 there stay.3PL student.PL that NEG want.3PL do nothing  
 ‘There are students who do not want to do anything’

In Teramo, according to [Mantenuoto \(2015a, 2015b, 2016\)](#), bare nouns are ungrammatical, as shown in (47). The ungrammaticality of bare nouns in this dialect seems to be a recent phenomenon: older varieties of Abruzzese accepted bare (plural) nouns at least in

some argument function, for example in object position, as shown in (48)—from [Finamore \(1882, pp. 112, 148, respectively\)](#).<sup>71</sup>

## (47) Teramo

- a. \*(li)    ʃtudentə    annə    skrittə    \*(li)    latterə  
the.PL   student.PL   have.3PL   written   the.PL   letter  
'(The) students wrote (the) letters'
- b. ʃʃi    ʃta    \*(i)    sidʒə    dentra    la    kasə  
there   stay.3SG   the.PL   chair.PL   inside   the.F.SG   house  
'There are chairs in the house'
- c. so    arrivitə    \*(li)    pittsə  
be.3PL   arrived   the.PL   pizza  
'Pizzas have arrived'

## (48) Abruzzese (19th century)

- a. è    ddispiacere    chi    pèrdə    parèndə  
be.3SG   pain   who   lose.3SG   relative  
'It is painful for those who lose their relatives'
- b. se    métt'    a    lett'    e    ccèrche    medecine  
SE   put.3SG   on   bed   and   search.3SG   medication  
'He goes to bed and looks for medications'

Similarly, our speakers of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Palma Campania, Bari, and Barletta do not accept bare nouns in argument position: argument nominals require an overt D-like item (e.g., an article, a demonstrative, or a quantifier); a difference with respect to French and type (26d) is that these dialects never use the “partitive article” to introduce indefinite arguments (see [Pinzin and Poletto 2021](#)). However, in all these dialects, there are signals that bare nouns are not entirely ruled out. For example, the speaker of Palma Campania accepts bare plurals as pivots of existential constructions when the coda is a relative clause, as shown in (49). Moreover, in the literature about other dialects of Campania (e.g., the dialect of Napoli, [Ledgeway 2009, p. 191](#)), instances of argument bare nouns are attested, as shown in the examples in (50), which show that, in Napoli, plural bare nouns in object position have been grammatical at different diachronic stages, and mass nouns as pivots of existential clauses were possible at least until the 20th century. Instances of argument bare nouns are also reported in the literature about the dialect of Bari, as can be seen in (51).

## (49) Palma Campania

- a. ʃʃə    stannə    sturjendə    ʃʃatikətə  
there   stay.3PL   student.PL   laggard  
'There are laggard students (= there exist students who are laggard)'
- b. ʃʃə    stannə    makkjə    kə    nun    sə    lləvənə  
there   stay.3PL   stain   that   not   SI   go-away.3PL  
'There are stains which don't fade away (= there exist stains...)'

(50) Napoli (adapted from [Ledgeway 2009, p. 191](#))

- a. facevano    pertose    alle    mure  
make.3PL.PAST   hole   to.the.PL   wall  
'They made holes in the walls' (16th cent.)
- b. cuoglie    fasule    e    torna    fra    doje    ore  
pick.2SG   bean   and   come.back.2SG   in   two.F   hour  
'Go pick beans and come back in two hours' (17th cent.)
- c. quannə    vedə    uommənə    sə    ncə    mena    ncuollo  
when   see.3SG   man.PL   SI   LOC   throw.3SG   in.neck  
'When she sees men, she jumps in their arms' (19th cent.)
- d. ce    sta    casə    si    vulitə  
there   stay.3SG   cheese   if   want.2PL  
'There is cheese if you want' (20th cent.)

- (51) Bari (Lacalendola 1972, p. 22, in Andriani 2017, p. 76)
- a.   ji       akkattə    səmbə    cosə      mərçatə  
      1SG     buy.1SG   always   thing     cheap  
      ‘I always buy cheap stuff’
  - b.   u        cùddə     c’        avànzə    tərrisə,   tə        préchə  
      the     that.M    that     exceeds   money.PL  2SG.CL.DAT  praises  
      la     vità  
      the.F.SG life  
      ‘The person who is owed (by you) will praise your life’

The conclusion seems to be that, in the dialects of type (26c) where bare nouns are not currently accepted by the speakers, they were possible, and presumably productive, at older diachronic stages. Prediction (33c) is therefore partially met. What remains to be explained is why—although there is no visible difference among languages of type (26c) in the realization of number on nouns—in some dialects bare nouns have become lost while in others they remained productive.

#### 4.3. A Summary of the Results

Table 2 compares the two groups of phenomena considered so far in the dialects of the dataset: the morphological representation of number on nouns and the availability of bare arguments. In the Table, the label S indicates that all nouns have suffixes that realize number alternations systematically. The label S/ə indicates that all nouns have suffixes, but number alternations are overtly realized only in a subset of nouns. The label S/0 indicates that suffixes (which also show number alternations) are visible only on a subset of nouns, while the other nouns have no suffixes and do not realize number alternations. The label S/0/M indicates that some nouns have suffixes specified for number, while other nouns have no suffixes, but some of them realize overt number alternations on the root vowel. The label ə/M indicates that all nouns have suffixes unmarked for number (-ə) and number distinctions are realized through stressed vowel alternations. The label YES indicates that bare nouns are grammatical, (roughly) in the same syntactic configurations as in Italian (summarized in (34)).<sup>72</sup> The label NO indicates that speakers do not accept bare nouns under any condition. Finally, the label NO\* signals that bare nouns are generally ungrammatical, but there are exceptions.

**Table 2.** Number marking on N and bare nouns.

		Number on N	Bare Nouns
(1)	Casalmaggiore	S/0	NO
(2)	Parma	S/0	NO
(3)	Reggio Emilia	S/0	NO
(4)	Novellara	S/0	NO
(5)	Correggio	S/0	NO
(6)	Savignano sul Rubicone	S/0/M	NO
(7)	Teramo	ə/M	NO*
(8)	Santa Maria Capua Vetere	ə/M	NO*
(9)	Amalfi	ə/M	YES
(10)	Palma Campania	ə/M	NO*
(11)	Felitto	S	YES
(12)	Bari	ə/M	NO*
(13)	Barletta	ə/M	NO*
(14)	Taranto	ə/M	YES
(15)	Francavilla in Sinni	ə/M	YES
(16)	Verbicaro	S/ə	YES
(17)	Cellino San Marco	S	YES
(18)	Mesagne	S	YES
(19)	Botrugno	S	YES
(20)	Cutro	S	YES
(21)	Nicastro	S	YES
(22)	Catanzaro	S	YES
(23)	Reggio Calabria	S	YES
(24)	San Filippo del Mela	S	YES
(25)	Ragusa	S	YES
(26)	Ribera	S	YES
(27)	Mussomeli	S	YES
(28)	Trapani	S	YES
(29)	Aidone	S/ə	YES

## 5. Summary

The data observed in Section 4 support the hypothesis that there is a relation between the possibility for nominal structures to occur *bare* in argument position and the realization of the feature Number on nouns. In our dataset, languages where number alternations are systematically realized on nouns *can* have bare arguments (type (26a)). This sets a first split between languages where number marking is generalized to all (or most) nouns and those where it is not (see the schema in (52)).

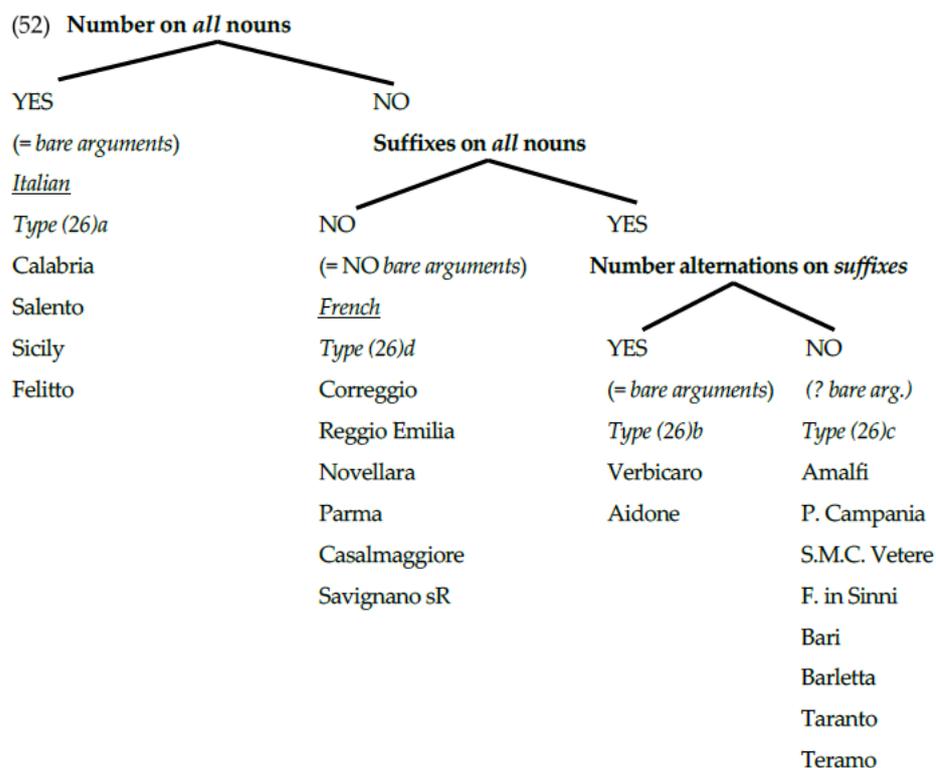
Concerning languages where number alternations are only found on some (classes of) nouns, it appears that generalized number marking is not a necessary condition for bare nouns to be licensed; as a matter of fact, bare nouns are also possible in languages where not all noun classes exhibit overt number alternations (type (26b)). Yet, having “partial” number alternations is not sufficient by itself for bare nouns to be licensed (type (26d)). As seen above, a difference between types (26d) and (26b) is that, in the former, there are nouns that do not have suffixes at all. By contrast, in type (26b), all nouns have suffixes, although not all suffixes display number alternations. Thus, the property of having suffixes on all nouns vs. not having suffixes (or having suffixes only on a subset of noun classes) seems to set a further split between languages that *can* have bare nouns and languages that never license them, respectively (i.e., the second split in (52)).

Finally, among languages where all nouns have suffixes but only some noun classes display overt number alternations (i.e., where number marking is not generalized to all nouns, types (26b) and (26c)), there is more variability. Concerning languages where bare nouns are allowed, we make the hypothesis that, in these languages, there exists some mechanism that allows the speakers to extract number information even from nouns where such information is not visible on the surface. In this respect, the nature of the suffix  $-\text{ə}$  and the way it interacts with the alternations of the stressed root vowels (in type (26c)) require better investigation. In what follows, we provide some preliminary hints.

We make the hypothesis that final  $-\text{ə}$  is not merely the “relic” of a phonetic change but has rather retained the morphological properties of a *suffix* that contains number information. In the dialects where final  $-a$  was not lost (type (26b)), the plural interpretation of  $-\text{ə}$  is presumably induced by pairs like *a fava* (lit. ‘the.F.SG fava bean.F.SG’) vs. *i favə* (lit. ‘the.PL fava bean’), where  $-\text{ə}$  is associated with plural interpretation by opposition to singular  $-a$ . By contrast, in the dialects where overt number alternations are realized through the stressed root vowel only, one might assume that  $-\text{ə}$  harmonically agrees (Manzini and Savoia 2016) in number with it, thereby replicating number information “silently”.

The realization of plural number through multiple morphemes on the same item has been recently explored by Koopman (2020) who, capitalizing on previous proposals by Alexiadou (2011) and Schwarzschild (2015), analyzes “two plural morphemes” in Dutch—one realizing the “inner plural” (often through vowel alternations), and the other realizing the “outer plural”, in the form of a suffix. This analysis can be tentatively extended to our dataset under the assumption that suffixes realize the outer plural and root vowel alternations realize the inner plural. As a rule, only one such morpheme overtly realizes number alternations, while the other silently agrees with it. Yet, in the dataset, there are also instances (again, like in Dutch) of nouns (and/or other DP-items, e.g., possessives or adjectives) where both the root vowel and the suffix overtly encode number information (see for instance the examples from Felitto in Table A4).

What also remains to be explored, through the investigation of diachronic data, is whether the different degrees of acceptability of bare argument nouns in the dialects of type (26c) correlate with potential differences in the productivity of the number marking strategies available in these dialects, how the latter are related with class/gender marking, and how the phonetic processes of weakening/loss of final vowels are diachronically related with the persistence of morphological information on suffixes.



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**Informed Consent Statement:** Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study.

**Data Availability Statement:** Most of the data we collected are listed in the examples and in the tables found in the text and in the Appendices A–C. Further data and material can be found on the project website: [www.parametriccomparison.it](http://www.parametriccomparison.it), in particular at this link: <http://www.parametriccomparison.unimore.it/site/home/projects/prin-2017/documents-and-materials.html> (last accessed: 18 August 2022; the content of this section is regularly updated as work progresses).

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**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

### Appendix A. Map



Figure A1. The dialects investigated.

Appendix B. Tables

Table A1. Definite articles.<sup>73</sup>

	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
Casalmaggiore <sup>74</sup>	al	la	i	li
Parma	al	la	i	al
Reggio Emilia <sup>75</sup>	al	la	i	al
Novellara	al	la	i	al
Correggio	al	la	i	al
Savignano s. Rubicone <sup>76</sup>	e(l)	la	i	li
Teramo <sup>77</sup>	lu	la	li	li
S.M. Capua Vetere <sup>78</sup>	o	a	e[-RF]	e[+RF]
Amalfi	o	a	e[-RF]	e[+RF]
Palma Campania	o	a	e[-RF]	e[+RF]
Felitto <sup>79</sup>	(l)u	(l)a	(l)i	(l)i
Bari <sup>80</sup>	u	la	lə	lə
Barletta <sup>81</sup>	u	a	i	i
Taranto <sup>82</sup>	u	a	lə	lə
Francavilla in Sinni <sup>83</sup>	u	a	i	i
Verbicaro <sup>84</sup>	u	a	i	i
Cellino San Marco <sup>85</sup>	lu	la	li	li
Mesagne <sup>86</sup>	lu	la	li	li
Botrugno <sup>87</sup>	u	a	i	e
Cutro <sup>88</sup>	u	a	i	i
Nicastro	u	a	i	i
Catanzaro	u	a	i	i
Reggio Calabria <sup>89</sup>	(l)u	(l)a	(l)i	(l)i
San Filippo del Mela	u	a	i	i
Ragusa	u	a	i	i
Ribera	u	a	i	i
Mussomeli	u	a	i	i
Trapani <sup>90</sup>	u	a	i	i
Aidone	u	a	i	i

Table A2. (a) Adnominal demonstratives. (b) Pronominal demonstratives.

(a) Adnominal demonstratives				
	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
Casalmaggiore <sup>91</sup>	kul ... ke kul ... le	kla ... ke kla ... le	ki ... ke ki ... le	kli ... ke kli ... le
Parma	sto kol	sta kla	sti kil	sti kil
Reggio Emilia <sup>92</sup>	kost, ste kol, kal kal ... ke kal ... le/la	kosta / sta kola, kla kla ... ke kla ... le/la	sti ki ki ... ke ki ... le/la	ste(l) kal, koli kal ... ke kal ... le/la
Novellara	kəl ... ke kəl ... le	kla ... ke kla ... le	ki ... ke ki ... le	kal ... ke kal ... le
Correggio	kal ... ke kal ... le/la	kla ... ke kla ... le/la	ki ... ke ki ... le/la	kal ... ke kal ... le/la
Savignano s. Rubicone <sup>93</sup>	ste ke(l)	sta kla	sti /stal kli	sti kli

Table A2. Cont.

Teramo <sup>94</sup>	ftu ssu llu	fta ssa lla	fti ssi lli	fti ssi lli
S.M. Capua Vetere <sup>95</sup>	stu ssu killu	sta ssa kella	sti <sub>[-RF]</sub> ssi <sub>[-RF]</sub> killi <sub>[-RF]</sub>	sti <sub>[+RF]</sub> ssi <sub>[+RF]</sub> kelli <sub>[+RF]</sub>
Amalfi	stu ssu killu	sta ssa kella	sti <sub>[-RF]</sub> ssi <sub>[-RF]</sub> killi <sub>[-RF]</sub>	sti <sub>[+RF]</sub> ssi <sub>[+RF]</sub> kelli <sub>[+RF]</sub>
Palma Campania	stu ssu killu	sta ssa kella	sti <sub>[-RF]</sub> ssi <sub>[-RF]</sub> killi <sub>[-RF]</sub>	sti <sub>[+RF]</sub> ssi <sub>[+RF]</sub> kelli <sub>[+RF]</sub>
Felitto <sup>96</sup>	stu ssu kiru	sta ssa kera	sti ssi kiri	sti ssi kiri
Bari <sup>97</sup>	stu kuddə	sta kɛdda	sti kiddə	sti kiddə
Barletta <sup>98</sup>	stu kuddə	sta kɛdda	sti kiddə	sti kiddə
Taranto <sup>99</sup>	stu kwiddə	sta kwɛdda	sti kiddə	sti kiddə
Francavilla in Sinni <sup>100</sup>	stu ssu kwillu	sta ssa kwella	stə/-i ssə/-i killə/-i	stə/-i ssə/-i killə/-i
Verbicaro <sup>101</sup>	stu ssu kwiddə	sta ssa kwidda	stə ssə kwiddə	stə ssə kwiddə
Cellino San Marco <sup>102</sup>	ftu ddu	fta dda	fti ddi	fti ddi
Mesagne <sup>103</sup>	ftu ddu	fta dda	fti ddi	fti ddi
Botrugno <sup>104</sup>	stu ddu	sta dda	sti ddi	ste dde
Cutro <sup>105</sup>	ssu kiru	ssa kira	ssi kiri	ssi kiri
Nicastro	stu ssu killu	sta ssa killa	sti ssi killi	sti ssi killi
Catanzaro	stu ssu kiru	sta ssa kira	sti ssi kiri	sti ssi kiri
Reggio Calabria <sup>106</sup>	stu ddu	sta dda	sti ddi	sti ddi
San Filippo del Mela	stu ssu ddu	sta ssa dda	sti ssi ddi	sti ssi ddi
Ragusa	stu ssu ddu	sta ssa dda	sti ssi ddi	sti ssi ddi
Ribera	stu ssu ddu	sta ssa dda	sti ssi ddi	sti ssi ddi
Mussomeli	stu ssu ddu	sta ssa dda	sti ssi ddi	sti ssi ddi

Table A2. Cont.

Trapani <sup>107</sup>	stu ssu ddu	sta ssa dda	sti ssi ddi	sti ssi ddi
Aidone	stu ssu ddu	sta ssa dda	stə ssə ddə	stə ssə ddə
(b) Pronominal demonstratives. <sup>108</sup>				
	<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>	
	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Masculine</i>	
	<i>Feminine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
Casalmaggiore	kostu (ke) kol (le)	kosta (ke) kola (le)	kosti (ke) koli (le)	kosti (ke) koli (le)
Parma	koste (ki) kol (la)	kosta (ki) kola (la)	kosti (ki) koi (la)	kosti (ki) koli (la)
Reggio Emilia	kost/ste/kus ke kol le/li lor	kosta/sta/kosta ke kola le	kost/sti/kwis ke kwi le	kosti/ste/kosti ke koli le/kwi le/li lor
Novellara	kus ke kul le	kosta ke kola le	kwis ke kwi le	kosti ke koli le
Correggio	kost ke kol le/la	kosta ke kola le/la	kwis ke kwi le/la	kosti ke koli le/la
Savignano sul Rubicone	kwest kwel	kwesta kwela	kwest kwei	kwesti kwei
Teramo <sup>109</sup>	kwaftə kwassə kwallə	kaftə kassə kallə	kəftə kəssə kəllə	kəftə kəssə kəllə
S.M. Capua Vetere	kistə kissə killə	kestə kessə kellə	kistə kissə killə	kestə kessə kellə
Amalfi	kistə kissə killə	kestə kessə kellə	kistə kissə killə	kestə kessə kellə
Palma Campania	kistə kissə killə	kestə kessə kellə	kistə kissə killə	kestə kessə kellə
Felitto	kistu kissu kiru	kesta kessa kera	kisti kissi kiri	keste kesse kere
Bari <sup>110</sup>	kussə kuddə	kəssə kəddə	kissə kiddə	kissə kiddə
Barletta	kussə kuddə	kəssə kəddə	kissə kiddə	kissə kiddə
Taranto <sup>111</sup>	kwistə kwiddə	kwəstə kwəddə	kistə kiddə	kistə kiddə
Francavilla in Sinni	kwistə kwissə kwillə	kwəstə kwəssə kwellə	kistə kissə killə	kistə kissə killə
Verbicaro	kwistə kwissə kwiddə	kwista kwissa kwidda	kwistə kwissə kwiddə	kwistə kwissə kwiddə
Cellino San Marco	kwiftu kwidda	kwifta kwidda	kwifti kwiddi	kwifti kwiddi
Mesagne <sup>112</sup>	kuftu kuddu/kwiru	kwəfta kwədda/kwera	kwifti kwiddi/kwiri	kwifti kwiddi/kwiri
Botrugno <sup>113</sup>	kwistu kwiddu	kwista kwidda	kwisti kwiddi	kwiste kwidde

**Table A2.** *Cont.*

Cutro	kistu kiru	kista kira	kisti kiri	kisti kiri
Nicastro	kistu kissu killu	kista kissa killu	kisti kissi killi	kisti kissi killi
Catanzaro <sup>114</sup>	kistu kissu kiru	kista kissa kira	kisti kissi kiri	kisti kissi kiri
Reggio Calabria <sup>115</sup>	kistu kissu kiddu	kista kissa kidda	kisti kissi kiddi	kisti kissi kiddi
San Filippo del Mela	kistu kissu kiddu	kista kissa kidda	kisti kissi kiddi	kisti kissi kiddi
Ragusa	kistu kissu kiddu	kista kissa kidda	kisti kissi kiddi	kisti kissi kiddi
Ribera	kistu kissu kiddu	kista kissa kidda	kisti kissi kiddi	kisti kissi kiddi
Mussomeli	kistu kissu kiddu	kista kissa kidda	kisti kissi kiddi	kisti kissi kiddi
Trapani	kistu kissu kiddu	kista kissa kidda	kisti kissi kiddi	kisti kissi kiddi
Aidone	kustə kussə kuu	kusta kussa kudda	kustə kussə kuddə	kustə kussə kuddə

**Table A3.** Pronominal possessives.<sup>116</sup>

Language	Person	Singular M/F	Plural M/F
Casalmaggiore <sup>117</sup>	1 SG	me / mia	me
	2 SG	to	to
	3 SG	so	so
	1 PL	nəster / nəstra	nəster / nəstri
	2 PL	vəster / vəstra	vəster / vəstri
	3 PL	lor	lor
Parma	1 SG	me / mea	me
	2 SG	to	to
	3 SG	so / so, sua, soa	so
	1 PL	nəster / nəstra	nəster / nəstri
	2 PL	vəster / vəstra	vəster / vəstri
	3 PL	lor	lor
Reggio Emilia <sup>118</sup>	1 SG	mio / mia	me
	2 SG	tuo, to(vo) / tua, to(va)	to
	3 SG	suo, so(vo) / sua, so(va)	so
	1 PL	nəster / nəstra	nəster / nəstri
	2 PL	vəster / vəstra	vəster / vəstri
	3 PL	lor	lor
Novellara <sup>119</sup>	1 SG	mio / mia	me
	2 SG	tuo, to / tua, to	to
	3 SG	suo, so / sua, so	so
	1 PL	nəster / nəstra	nəster / nəstri
	2 PL	vəster / vəstra	vəster / vəstri
	3 PL	lor	lor

Table A3. Cont.

Language	Person	Singular M/F	Plural M/F
Correggio	1 SG	me / mia (mea)	me
	2 SG	to	to
	3 SG	so / so, sua, soa	so
	1 PL	noster / nostra	noster / nostri
	2 PL	voster / vostra	voster / vostri
	3 PL	lor	lor
Savignano sul Rubicone	1 SG	mi / mi(a)	mi
	2 SG	tuv / tua	tu
	3 SG	suv / sua	su
	1 PL	nastre / nostra	nastre
	2 PL	vastre / vostra	vastre
	3 PL	suv	su
Teramo <sup>120</sup>	1 SG	mi	mi
	2 SG	to	tu
	3 SG	so	su
	1 PL	nastrə	nustrə
	2 PL	vostrə	vustrə
	3 PL	so	su
Santa Maria Capua Vetere <sup>121</sup>	1 SG	mijə / mija	mjejə / mejə
	2 SG	twojə / toja	twojə / tojə
	3 SG	swojə / soja	swojə / sojə
	1 PL	nwestə / nosta	nwestə / nosta
	2 PL	vwostə / vosta	vwostə / vosta
	3 PL	lɔrə	lɔrə
Amalfi	1 SG	mijə / mijə	mjejə / mejə
	2 SG	twojə / tojə	twojə / tojə
	3 SG	swojə / sojə	swojə / sojə
	1 PL	nwestə / nosta	nwestə / nosta
	2 PL	vwostə / vosta	vwostə / vosta
	3 PL	lɔrə	lɔrə
Palma Campania	1 SG	mijə / mijə	mjejə / mejə
	2 SG	twojə / tojə	twojə / tojə
	3 SG	swojə / sojə	swojə / sojə
	1 PL	nwestə / nosta	nwestə / nosta
	2 PL	vwostə / vosta	vwostə / vosta
	3 PL	lɔrə	lɔrə
Felitto	1 SG	mmiu / meja	mi(e)i / me(j)e
	2 SG	twoju / toja	t(w)oi / to(j)e
	3 SG	swuju / soja	s(w)oi / so(j)e
	1 PL	nwestu / nosta	nwesti / noste
	2 PL	vwostu / vosta	vwosti / voste
	3 PL	lɔru	lɔru
Bari <sup>122</sup>	1 SG	mi(jə) / me	mi(jə) / me
	2 SG	tu(jə) / to	tu(jə) / to
	3 SG	su(jə) / so	su(jə) / so
	1 PL	n(w)estə / nosta	n(w)estə / nosta
	2 PL	(v)westə / vosta	(v)westə / vosta
	3 PL	(də) lɔrə	(də) lɔrə
Barletta <sup>123</sup>	1 SG	mejə / ma	mejə / ma
	2 SG	towə	towə
	3 SG	sowə	sowə
	1 PL	nosta	nosta
	2 PL	vosta	vosta
	3 PL	lorə	lorə

Table A3. Cont.

Language	Person	Singular M/F	Plural M/F
Taranto <sup>124</sup>	1 SG	miə / me(ə)	miə
	2 SG	tuə / to(ə)	tuə
	3 SG	suə / so(ə)	suə
	1 PL	nwestə / nɔstə	nwestə
	2 PL	vwestə / vɔstə	vwestə
	3 PL	lorə	lorə
Francavilla in Sinni <sup>125</sup>	1 SG	mijə	mejə
	2 SG	tujə	tojə
	3 SG	suja	soja
	1 PL	nwestə / nɔstə	nwestə
	2 PL	vwestə / vɔstə	vwestə
	3 PL	lorə	lorə
Verbicaro <sup>126</sup>	1 SG	mija	mija
	2 SG	tuwa	tuwa
	3 SG	suwa	suwa
	1 PL	nwestə / nɔsta	nwestə / nɔstə
	2 PL	vwestə / vɔsta	vwestə / vɔstə
	3 PL	lorə	lorə
Cellino San Marco <sup>127</sup>	1 SG	mia	mei
	2 SG	tua	toi
	3 SG	sua	soi
	1 PL	nweffju / nɔffa	nweffji
	2 PL	vweffju / vɔffa	vweffji
	3 PL	loru	loru
Mesagne <sup>128</sup>	1 SG	mia	mia
	2 SG	tua	tua
	3 SG	sua	sua
	1 PL	nwefftru / nɔftra	nwefftri
	2 PL	vwefftru / vɔftra	vwefftri
	3 PL	loru	loru
Botrugno <sup>129</sup>	1 SG	mɛu / mia	mɛi
	2 SG	tɔu / tɔa	tɔi
	3 SG	sɔu / sɔa	sɔi
	1 PL	nɔstru / nɔstra	nɔstri / vɔstre
	2 PL	vɔstru / vɔstra	vɔstri / vɔstre
	3 PL	loru	loru
Cutro <sup>130</sup>	1 SG	mia	mia
	2 SG	tua	tua
	3 SG	sua	sua
	1 PL	nwastru / nɔstra	nwastri
	2 PL	vwastru / vɔstra	vwastri
	3 PL	sua	sua
Nicastro	1 SG	miu / a mia	mia
	2 SG	tua	tua
	3 SG	sua	sua
	1 PL	nwastru	nuastri
	2 PL	vwastru	vuastri
	3 PL	loru	loru
Catanzaro <sup>131</sup>	1 SG	mɛu / mia	mɛi
	2 SG	tɔu (tɔi) / tua	tɔi
	3 SG	sɔu (sɔi) / sua	sɔi
	1 PL	nɔstru / nɔstra	nɔstri
	2 PL	vɔstru / vɔstra	vɔstri
	3 PL	loru	loru

Table A3. Cont.

Language	Person	Singular M/F	Plural M/F
Reggio Calabria <sup>132</sup>	1 SG	mɛu / mia	mɛi
	2 SG	tɔu / tua	tɔi
	3 SG	sɔu / sua	sɔi
	1 PL	nɔstru / nɔstra	nɔstri
	2 PL	vɔstru / vɔstra	vɔstri
	3 PL	lɔru	lɔru
San Filippo del Mela	1 SG	mɛ	mɛ
	2 SG	tɔ	tɔ
	3 SG	sɔ	sɔ
	1 PL	nɔstru / nɔstra	nɔstri
	2 PL	vɔstru / vɔstra	vɔstri
	3 PL	sɔ	sɔ
Ragusa	1 SG	miu / mia	miei
	2 SG	tuu (twɔu) / tua	twɔi
	3 SG	suu (swɔu) / sua	swɔi
	1 PL	nwɔstru / nɔstra	nwɔstri
	2 PL	vwɔstru / vɔstra	vwɔstri
	3 PL	sɔ	sɔ
Ribera	1 SG	mɛ	mɛ
	2 SG	tɔ	tɔ
	3 SG	sɔ	sɔ
	1 PL	nɔstru / nɔstra	nɔstri
	2 PL	vɔstru / vɔstra	vɔstri
	3 PL	sɔ	sɔ
Mussomeli	1 SG	mia	mia
	2 SG	tua	tua
	3 SG	sua	sua
	1 PL	nwastru / nwastra	nwastri
	2 PL	vwastru / vwastra	vwastri
	3 PL	lɔru (di iddi)	lɔru (di iddi)
Trapani <sup>133</sup>	1 SG	meu / mia	mei
	2 SG	tou / tua	toi
	3 SG	sou / sua	soi
	1 PL	nostru / nostra	nostri
	2 PL	vostru / vostra	vostri
	3 PL	loru	loru
Aidone	1 SG	mia	mia
	2 SG	tɔ	tɔ
	3 SG	sɔ	sɔ
	1 PL	nɔstrə / nɔstra	nɔstrə
	2 PL	vɔstrə / vɔstra	vɔstrə
	3 PL	sɔ	sɔ

Table A4. Nouns.<sup>134</sup>

Language	Class	Singular		Plural	
Casalmaggiore <sup>135</sup> , Parma, Reggio Emilia, Novellara, Correggio	-U	ragas, gat	boy, cat	ragas, gat	boy, cat
	-A	ragasa, gata	girl.F.SG, cat.F.SG	ragasi, gati	girl.F.PL, cat.F.PL
	-E	krus	cross	krus	cross
	-VI	kaval kapel	horse.SG hat.SG	kavai kapei	horse.PL hat.PL

Table A4. Cont.

Language	Class	Singular		Plural		
Savignano s. R. <sup>136</sup>	-U	kavəstar	Halte, cherry tree	kavəstar	halter, cherry tree	
		klomb	dove	klomb	dove	
	-A	lamp[-metaph]	lightning.SG	lamp[+metaph]	lightning.PL	
		kapel[-metaph]	hat.SG	kapel[+metaph]	hat.PL	
		kapot[-metaph]	coat.SG	kapot[+metaph]	coat.PL	
		fnestra	window.F.SG	fnestri	window.F.PL	
		dʒurneda	day.F.SG	dʒurnedi	day.F.PL	
		kriatura	person.F.SG	kriatur	person.PL	
		-E	bikir	glass	bikir	glass
			kanon	cannon	kanon	cannon
	kan[-metaph]	dog.SG	ken[+metaph]	dog.PL		
	fjor[-metaph]	flower.SG	fjur[+metaph]	flower.PL		
	pedar[-metaph]	father.SG	pedar[+metaph]	father.PL		
Teramo <sup>137</sup>	-U	fijjə	child	fijjə	child	
		vafə[-metaph]	kiss.M.SG	vifə[+metaph]	kiss.PL	
		lettə[-metaph]	bed.M.SG	littə[+metaph]	bed.PL	
		mənəkə[-metaph]	friar.M.SG	mənəkə[+metaph]	friar.PL	
	-A	fijjə	child	fijjə	child	
		fulmənə	thunder	fulmənə	thunder	
	-E	petə[-metaph]	foot.M.SG	pitə[+metaph]	foot.PL	
		dulorə[-metaph]	pain.M.SG	dulurə[+metaph]	pain.PL	
S.M. Capua Vetere, Palma Campania, Amalfi	-U	fiλλə	child	fiλλə	child	
	-A	fiλλə	child	fiλλə	child	
		ʃpitalə	hospital	ʃpitalə	hospital	
	-E	mesə[-metaph]	month.M.SG	misə[+metaph]	month.PL	
		pɛrə[-metaph]	foot.M.SG	pjerə[+metaph]	foot.PL	
		mələnə[-metaph]	melon.M.SG	məlunə[+metaph]	melon.PL	
Felitto <sup>138</sup>	-U	fiλλu	child.M.SG	fiλλi	child.M.PL	
	-A	fiλλa	child.F.SG	fiλλe/ə	child.F.PL	
		spitale	hospital.SG	spitali	hospital.PL	
	-E	mese[-metaph]	month.M.SG	mis[+metaph]	month.M.PL	
		pere[-metaph]	foot.M.SG	pjeri[+metaph]	foot.M.PL	
		piʃkone[-metaph]	stone.M.SG	piʃkuni[+metaph]	stone.M.PL	
Barletta	-U	figgjə	child	figgjə	child	
	-A	figgjə	child	figgjə	child	
		spətālə	hospital	spətālə	hospital	
	-E	masə[-metaph]	month.M.SG	misə[+metaph]	month.PL	
		pātə[-metaph]	foot.M.SG	pitə[+metaph]	foot.PL	
		wajunə[-metaph]	boy.M.SG	wajunə[+metaph]	boy.PL	
Bari, Taranto	-U	figgjə	child	figgjə	child	
	-A	figgjə	child	figgjə	child	
		spətālə	hospital	spətālə	hospital	
	-E	mesə[-metaph]	month.M.SG	misə[+metaph]	month.PL	
		petə[-metaph]	foot.M.SG	pitə[+metaph]	foot.PL	
		wajunə[-metaph]	boy.M.SG	wajunə[+metaph]	boy.PL	
Francavilla in Sinni	-U	fiλλə	child	fiλλə	child	
	-A	fiλλə	child	fiλλə	child	
		spətælə	hospital	spətælə	hospital	
	-E	mesə[-metaph]	month.M.SG	misə[+metaph]	month.PL	
		pedə[-metaph]	foot.M.SG	pjedə[+metaph]	foot.PL	
		wajunə[-metaph]	boy.M.SG	wajunə[+metaph]	boy.PL	
Verbicaro <sup>139</sup>	-U	kwatrarə	child	kwatrarə	child	
		stəndənə	gut	stəndənə	gut.PL	
	-A	kwatrarə	child.F.SG	kwatrarə	child	
		misə	month	misə	month	
-E	məlunə	melon	məlunə	melon		

Table A4. Cont.

Language	Class	Singular		Plural	
Mesagne <sup>140</sup>	-U	libbru	book.M.SG	libbri	book.PL
	-A	makina	car.F.SG	makini	car.PL
	-E	fukaliri	fireplace	fukaliri	fireplace
		mesi <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	month.M.SG	mesi <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	month.PL
		peti <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	foot.M.SG	pjeti <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	foot.PL
		kulɔri <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	colour.M.SG	kuluri <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	colour.PL
Cellino S. Marco <sup>141</sup>	-U	libbru	book.M.SG	libbri	book.M.PL
	-A	makina	car.F.SG	makine	car.F.PL
	-E	mise	month.M.SG	misi	month.M.PL
		pete	foot.M.SG	pjeti	foot.M.PL
		kulture	colour.M.SG	kuluri	colour.M.PL
Botrugno <sup>142</sup>	-U	libbru	book.M.SG	libbri	book.M.PL
	-A	makina	car.F.SG	makine	car.F.PL
	-E	mese	month.M.SG	mesi	month.M.PL
		pete	foot.M.SG	peti	foot.M.PL
		kulture	colour.M.SG	kuluri	colour.M.PL
Cutro	-U	figgju	child.M.SG	figgji	child.PL
	-A	figgja	child.F.SG	figgji	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		niputi	nephew	niputi	nephew
Nicastro	-U	higgju	child.M.SG	higgji	child.PL
	-A	higgja	child.F.SG	higgji	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		niputi	nephew	niputi	nephew
Catanzaro	-U	pittfuliru	child.M.SG	pittfuliri	child.PL
	-A	pittfulira	child.F.SG	pittfuliri	child.PL
	-E	paisa	village.SG	paisi	village.PL
		previta	priest.SG	previti	priest.PL
	lutfa	light.SG	lutfi	light.PL	
Reggio Calabria <sup>143</sup>	-U	figgju	child.M.SG	figgju	child.PL
	-A	figgja	child.F.SG	figgja	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		peri	foot	peri	foot
San Filippo del Mela, Ribera	-U	karusu	child.M.SG	karusi	child.PL
	-A	karusa	child.F.SG	karusi	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		niputi	nephew	niputi	nephew
Ragusa	-U	pittfwottu	child.M.SG	pittfwotti	child.PL
	-A	pittfotta	child.F.SG	pittfwotti	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		niputi	nephew	niputi	nephew
Mussomeli	-U	pittfwattu	child.M.SG	pittfwatti	child.PL
	-A	pittfwatta	child.F.SG	pittfwatti	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		niputi	nephew	niputi	nephew
Trapani	-U	pittfottu	child.M.SG	pittfotti	child.PL
	-A	pittfotta	child.F.SG	pittfotti	child.PL
	-E	misi	month	misi	month
		rendi	tooth	rendi	tooth
Aidone	-U	ddibbrə	book	ddibbrə	book
	-A	makəna	car.F.SG	makəna	car.F.SG
	-E	sarturə	taylor	sarturə	taylor
	-ng-ə	tavulingə	table.SG	tavulij	table.PL
	-z-ə	karuzə	boy.SG	karuzə	boy.PL

**Table A5.** Adjectives.<sup>144</sup>

Language	Class	Singular		Plural	
Casalmaggiore <sup>145</sup> , Parma, Reggio Emilia, Novellara, Correggio	-U	rus	red	rus	red
	-A	rusa bela	red.F.SG nice.F.SG	rusi bèli	red.F.PL nice.F.PL
	-E	grand	big	grand	big
	-VI	bel	nice	bei	nice.PL
Savignano s. R.	-U	kativ, furb elt <sub>[-metaph]</sub> amer	bad, shrewd tall.M.SG bitter.M.SG	kativ, furb ilt <sub>[+metaph]</sub> amer	bad, shrewd tall.M.PL bitter.M.PL
	-A	kativa elta	bad.F.SG tall.F.SG	kativi elti	bad.F.PL tall.F.PL
	-E	grand afabil <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	big outgoing.M.SG	grand afebil <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big outgoing.M.PL
Teramo <sup>146</sup>	-U	ɲɲutə bjangə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	naked white.SG big.SG	ɲɲutə bjingə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grüssə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	naked white.PL big.PL
	-A	ɲɲutə bjangə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	naked white.SG big.SG	ɲɲutə bjingə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grüssə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	naked white.PL big.PL
	-E	karnalə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	carnal.SG	karnilə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	carnal.PL
S.M. Capua Vetere, Palma Campania, Amalfi	-U	vaffə vjekkjə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low old.M big.M	vaffə vjekkjə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low old.M big.M
	-A	vaffə vεkkjə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low old.F big.F	vaffə vεkkjə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low old.F big.F
	-E	grannə roʃə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> føtəndə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	big sweet.SG stinky.SG	grannə ruʃə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> føtjəndə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big sweet.PL stinky.PL
Felitto	-U	vaffu vjekkju <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössu <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low.M.SG old.M.SG big.M.SG	vaffi vjekkji <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössi <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low.M.PL old.M.PL big.M.PL
	-A	vaffa vεkkja <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössa <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low.F.SG old.F.SG big.F.SG	vaffe/ə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> vεkkje/ə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grösse/ə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low.F.PL old.F.PL big.F.PL
	-E	mbortande arotʃe <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	important.SG sweet.SG	mbortandi arutʃi <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	important.PL sweet.PL
Barletta	-U	bbellə	beautiful	bbellə	beautiful
	-A	bbellə	beautiful	bbellə	beautiful
	-E	grənnə ddʒavənə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	big young.SG	grənnə ddʒəvənə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big young.PL
Bari	-U	vaffə apirtə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low open.M big.M	vaffə apirtə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low open.M big.M
	-A	vaffə apertə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low open.F big.F	vaffə apertə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low open.F big.F
	-E	grannə dotʃə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> føtəndə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	big sweet stinky	grannə dutʃə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> føtində <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big sweet.M.PL stinky.M.PL
Taranto	-U	vaffə apirtə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low open.M big.M	vaffə apirtə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low open.PL big.PL
	-A	vaffə apertə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	low open.F big.F	vaffə apirtə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> grwössə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	low open.PL big.PL
	-E	grannə doʃə <sub>[-metaph]</sub> føtəndə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	big sweet.SG stinky.SG	grannə duʃə <sub>[+metaph]</sub> føtində <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big sweet.PL stinky.PL

Table A5. Cont.

Language	Class	Singular		Plural	
Francavilla in Sinni	-U	vaffə	low	vaffə	low
		apjertə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	open.M	apjertə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	open.PL
		grwossə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big.M	grwossə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	big.PL
	-A	vaffə	low	vaffə	low
		apertə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	open.F	apjertə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	open.PL
		grössə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	old.F	grwossə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	old.PL
	-E	grannə	big	grannə	big
		ddʒuvənə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	young.SG	ddʒuvənə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	young.PL
		pəttsendə <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	scrooge.SG	pəttsjendə <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	scrooge.PL
Verbicaro <sup>147</sup>	-U	vaffə	low	vaffə	low
		vaffə	low	vaffə	low.PL
	-A	vaffja	low.F.SG	vaffə	low
	-E	grannə	big	grannə	big
	ddʒugənə	young	ddʒugənə	young	
Mesagne	-U	vaffju	low.M.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-A	vaffja	low.F.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-E	krandi	big	krandi	big
		tɔʃi <sub>[-metaph]</sub>	sweet.SG	tuʃi <sub>[+metaph]</sub>	sweet.PL
Cellino S. Marco <sup>148</sup> , Botrugno	-U	(v)affju	low.M.SG	(v)affji	low.M.PL
	-A	(v)affja	low.F.SG	(v)affje	low.F.PL
	-E	krande	big.SG	krandi	big.PL
Catanzaro	-U	vaffju	low.M.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-A	vaffja	low.F.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-E	granda	big.SG	grandi	big.PL
Reggio Calabria	-U	vaffju	low.M.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-A	vaffja	low.F.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-E	grandi	big	grandi	big
Cutro, Nicastro, Sicily	-U	vaffju	low.M.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-A	vaffja	low.F.SG	vaffji	low.PL
	-E	(g)ranni	big	(g)ranni	big
Aidone	-U	nuvə	new	nuvə	new
	-A	nuva	new.F.SG	nuvə	new.F.PL
	-E	grannə	big	grannə	big
		ddʒuvənə	young	ddʒuvənə	young
	-ng-ə	bungə	good.SG	bunə	good.PL

Appendix C. List of Patterns for Data Collection (Bare Nouns)

Table A6. Patterns for data collection.<sup>149</sup>

	Italian Version	English Translation
<i>Plural object</i>		
(1)	Ieri zia Maria e zio Giovanni hanno sbucciato fagioli per tutto il pomeriggio	Yesterday Aunt Maria and Uncle Giovanni peeled beans all afternoon long
(1)	Gianni vende patate	Gianni sells potatoes
(2)	Quel negozio vende frigoriferi?	Does that shop sell fridges?
(3)	L'altro giorno ho trovato formiche nel salone	The other day I found ants in the living room
<i>Plural object modified by an adjective</i>		
(4)	Zia Maria e zio Giovanni sbucciano fagioli bianchi da quando erano piccoli	Aunt Maria and Uncle Giovanni have been peeling white beans since they were young
(5)	La polizia ha interrogato Gianni e lui ha raccontato bugie enormi	The police questioned Gianni and he told huge lies
(6)	Quella ditta costruisce/ha costruito case grandissime	That firm builds/built huge houses
(7)	Ho comprato pomodori maturi per fare la salsa	I bought ripe tomatoes to make the sauce
<i>Mass object</i>		
(8)	Ho trovato polvere da tutte le parti	I found dust everywhere
(9)	Hai farina?	Do you have flour?
<i>Mass object modified by an adjective</i>		
(10)	Ieri alla fiera hanno distribuito vino rosso per tutti	Yesterday at the fair they distributed red wine for everyone
(11)	Hai pesce fresco?	Do you have any fresh fish?

Table A6. Cont.

	Italian Version	English Translation
<i>Singular object</i> (12)	Ho preparato torta	I prepared a cake
<i>Singular object modified by an adjective</i> (13)	Ho preparato torta buonissima	I prepared a very good cake
<i>Plural subject</i> (14) (15)	Turisti sono arrivati in città Foglie sono cadute su tutta la strada	Tourists arrived in town Leaves have fallen all over the road
<i>Plural subject modified by an adjective</i> (16) (17)	Turisti spagnoli sono arrivati in città Rami secchi sono caduti sulla strada	Spanish tourists have arrived in town Dead branches have fallen on the road
<i>Mass subject</i> (18)	Polvere piove dappertutto	It is raining/has rained dust
<i>Mass subject modified by an adjective</i> (19)	Polvere rossa piove dappertutto	It is raining/has rained red dust
<i>Singular subject</i> (20)	Studentessa è venuta a parlarmi	A student came to talk to me
<i>Singular subject modified by an adjective</i> (21)	Studentessa americana è arrivata	An American student came
<i>Plural postverbal subject</i> (22) (23)	Sono arrivati turisti in questo periodo Sono cadute foglie su tutta la strada	Tourists arrived in this period Leaves have fallen all over the road
<i>Plural postverbal subject modified by an adjective</i> (24) (25)	Sono arrivati turisti spagnoli in città Sono caduti rami secchi sulla strada	Spanish tourists have arrived in town Dead branches have fallen on the road
<i>Mass postverbal subject</i> (26)	Piove/Ha piovuto polvere	It is raining/has rained dust
<i>Mass postverbal subject modified by an adjective</i> (27)	Piove/Ha piovuto polvere rossa	It is raining/has rained red dust
<i>Singular postverbal subject</i> (28)	È venuta studentessa a parlarmi	A student came to talk to me
<i>Singular postverbal subject modified by an adjective</i> (29)	È venuta studentessa americana	An American student came
<i>Plural subject of existential sentence (with locative coda)</i> (30)	Sul vestito ci sono macchie	There are stains on the dress
<i>Mass subject of existential sentence (with locative coda)</i> (31)	C'è acqua sul tavolo	There is water on the table
<i>Plural subject of existential sentence (with locative coda) modified by an adjective</i> (32)	Sul vestito ci sono macchie nere	On the dress there are black stains
<i>Mass subject of existential sentence (with locative coda) modified by an adjective</i> (33)	C'era aria viziata di là	There was spoiled air over there
<i>Plural subject of existential sentence (with a relative clause as the coda)</i> (34)	Ci sono studenti sfaticati (= esistono studenti che sono sfaticati)	There are laggard students (= there exist students who are laggard)
(35)	Ci sono bambini spensierati (= esistono bambini che sono spensierati)	There are carefree children (= there exist children who are carefree)
(36)	Ci sono macchie che non se ne vanno	There are stains that do not fade away
<i>Mass subject of existential sentence (with a relative clause as the coda)</i> (37)	C'è vino che migliora quando invecchia	There is wine that gets better when it gets old
<i>Singular subject of existential clause</i> (38)	C'è pianta in giardino	There is a plant in the garden
(39)	C'è pianta malata	There is a sick plant
(40)	C'è pianta che sta appassendo	There is a plant that's withering

## Notes

- Concerning the relation between the representation of (morphological and semantic) Number and the realization and meaning of bare nouns, see also, among many others, at least Cheng and Sybesma (1999), Munn and Schmitt (2002, 2005), Zamparelli (2000), Dayal (2001), Déprez (2005), Heycock and Zamparelli (2005, p. 234), Tsoulas (2009), Stark (2016), Pinzin and Poletto (2022), and literature therein.
- Except for the class of nouns ending in *-al* (plural *-aux*) and few other lexical instances. The suffix *-s* is only pronounced under liaison. We refer to Massot (2014, pp. 1837–40) for a list of the environments where visible traces of number morphology appear on nominal items in French.
- WM in the gloss.
- See especially Harris (1991), Ritter (1993), Marantz (1997), Di Domenico (1998), Ferrari (2005), Acquaviva (2008), Picallo (2008), Déchaine et al. (2014), Lampitelli (2014), Kramer (2015), Manzini and Savoia (2017, 2018, 2019), Manzini (2020) and literature therein.

5 See also Maiden (1991), Fanciullo (1995), Loporcaro (2011) and literature therein.

6 See, on this same topic, recent work by Pinzin and Poletto (2022).

7 The data were collected from native speakers and, when possible, double-checked against the existing literature. A description of the areas under investigation, with the relevant literature, can be found at <http://www.parametriccomparison.unimore.it/site/home/projects/prin-2017/documents-and-materials.html> (accessed on 18 August 2022; the content of this section is regularly updated as work progresses). For a discussion of their classification and major features, we refer to Pellegrini (1977), Maiden and Parry (1997), Cortelazzo et al. (2002), Manzini and Savoia (2005), Loporcaro (2009), Ledgeway and Maiden (2016), among many others.

8 Rohlfs (1966, 1968, 1969), Pellegrini (1977).

9 Vezzosi (2019).

10 Bernini (1942), De Marchi (1976), Michelini (2017). Data collected by C. Guardiano.

11 Foresti (1987); Ferretti (2016). Data collected by M. Bagni.

12 Malagoli (Malagoli 1910–1913). Data collected by B. Ferrari.

13 Foresti (1988), Hajek (1997), Badini (2002). Data collected by G. Roversi and C. Guardiano.

14 Schürr (1974), Pellicciardi (1977). Data collected by C. Guardiano.

15 Savini (1881); Mantenuto (2015a, 2015b, 2016). Data provided by I. Mantenuto.

16 Avolio (1989), Del Puente and Fanciullo (2004). Data collected by G. Silvestri (Santa Maria Capua Vetere), V. Stalfieri (Amalfi) and I. della Corte (Palma Campania).

17 Rohlfs (1937), Cerullo (2018, 2021) and literature therein. Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

18 Andriani (2017). Data provided by G. Andriani.

19 Valente (1975), Tarantino (1992). Data collected by R. Colavito and V. Stalfieri.

20 De Vincentis (1872), Peluso (1985), Gigante (1986, 2002). Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

21 Lausberg (1939), Stalfieri (2021). Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

22 Martino (1991), Silvestri (2013). Data provided by G. Silvestri.

23 Mancarella (1975, 1981, 1998), Urgese (2003). Data provided by F. Fanciullo (Cellino San Marco) and collected by V. Stalfieri (Mesagne and Botrugno).

24 Rohlfs (1962), Trumper (1997), Krefeld (2007), Maddalon (2016).

25 Anastasio (2022). Data collected by A. Anastasio.

26 Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

27 Cotronei (1895), Sorrenti (2005). Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

28 Falcone (1976). Data collected by C. Guardiano and V. Stalfieri.

29 Ruffino (1984, 1991, 1997), Leone (1995), Trovato (2002). Data collected by V. Stalfieri (Trapani), M. Cambria (Ribera and San Filippo del Mela), C. Guardiano (Ragusa). The data from Mussomeli were provided by S. Cruschina.

30 Peri (1959), Varvaro (1981), Trovato (1998, 2013), Raccuglia (2003), Trovato and Menza (2020). For a recent survey, see also Costa (2020). These dialects are assumed to originate from migrations from northern Italy which took place starting from the Norman Conquest of Sicily (1061–1091). Our data were provided by F. Ciantia.

31 See also Loporcaro (2009, pp. 97–106).

32 Rohlfs (1966, §§ 141–47), Loporcaro (2009, p. 80), see Cangemi et al. (2010, Section 2) for a discussion and for the literature.

33 In the transcriptions of the examples, we mark only the allophones which are relevant for the purposes of our description, are peculiar of individual dialects, or oppose different dialects. To signal such phonetic peculiarities, we adopted conventional IPA symbols (<https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/ipa-chart>, accessed on 3 May 2022), with one exception: the symbol <â> signals the low-mid central vowel (allophone of /a/ in open stressed syllable) found in Barletta and Taranto (Mancarella 1998). Vowel length and stress are generally not marked, with the exception of stressed final vowels. Geminates are signalled by the repetition of the relevant symbol. As for affricates, only the occlusive moment is duplicated (e.g., ts → tts). The examples taken from the literature, unless otherwise specified, are reproduced in their original form.

34 See also Fanciullo (1986, 1988), Rizzi and Savoia (1993), Loporcaro and Silvestri (2011, 2015).

35 See also Idone and Silvestri (2018, Section 2), to which we also refer for a description (and examples) of the conditions on metaphony in Verbicarese.

36 Metaphony has different manifestations across the Romance dialects of Italy. We refer to the literature for more detailed typologies and examples, e.g., among many others, Rohlfs (1966, 1968, 1969), Calabrese (Calabrese 1984–1985, 1998, 2008), Maiden (1991), Fanciullo (1994), De Blasi and Fanciullo (2002), Russo (2007), Barbato (2008), Loporcaro (2016), and literature therein. We also refer to Savoia and Maiden (1997) for a detailed survey of the internal variability concerning these phenomena in the Romance dialects of Italy. For the purposes of the present paper, we want to stress the role of metaphony, originally a *phonetic/phonological*

phenomenon, in preserving *morphological* number alternations on nominal structures; this, in turn, has consequences on the realization of bare nouns in argument position, i.e., a *syntactic* process. For this reason, in what follows, we mostly refer to those dialects (especially group (4b) and Savignano sul Rubicone, (4a)), where metaphony impacts the morphological realization of Number.

In some dialects, root vowel alternations superficially matching singular vs. plural interpretation also result from *propagation* (Rizzi and Savoia 1993). Manzini and Savoia (2016, p. 221) describe propagation as “the result of the spreading of [U] properties from an unstressed nucleus to the stressed nucleus (or [a] vowel) immediately to the right”. Phenomena of this type are visible for instance on the stressed vowel of nouns preceded by the masculine singular form of the definite article (e.g. *u lwibrə* ‘the book’ vs. *i libbrə* ‘the books’ in Verbicaro; see also Idone and Silvestri 2018).

37 Yet, in some dialects (e.g., Francavilla in Sinni, Taranto: see Tables A4 and A5) adjectives ending in *-u/-a* developed a different paradigm: in the masculine (*-u/-i*), as expected, the combination of metaphony and weakening of final *-u/-i* generated one item undistinguished for singular and plural (e.g., *nwovə* < NOVU(M) and NOVI); in the feminine, the expected form *nɔvə* (< NOVA(M) and NOVAE) is only used in the singular, while the plural analogically generalizes *nwovə*.

38 Detailed descriptions of these parameters and their internal dependencies, which are summarized in (12), can be found in Longobardi et al. (2013, Appendix) and Crisma and Longobardi (2020). The updated list of their manifestations can be found in Crisma et al. (2020, Supplementary Material).

39 For a recent description of the featural composition of the head D, see Crisma and Longobardi (2020).

40 For a typological analysis of Number systems across languages, see Corbett (2000).

41 For the representation of parameter dependencies and implications, see Longobardi and Guardiano (2009), Guardiano and Longobardi (2017), Roberts (2019), and literature therein.

42 We also refer to Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, chp. 8) for a detailed list of examples.

43 See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, chps. 2, 4, 5).

44 See also Bari (Andriani, p.c.): *stu pumədorə jə da fəttà* (‘this tomato must be thrown away’) vs. *sti pumədurə so da fəttà* (‘these tomatoes must be thrown away’).

45 See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. I, pp. 52, 200, 229, 302, 415, vol. II, pp. 528, 802).

46 In the languages of the sample, nouns and adjectives display very similar patterns concerning number marking. In some dialects, metaphony affects the representation of gender on adjectives (on the strict relation between Gender and Number in these dialects see also note 49 below). Here, we focus on nouns only. Examples of number marking on adjectives in the dialects of the sample are reported in Table A5. See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 574–660).

47 However, items exhibiting both strategies are found across Italy (cf. Foresti 1988): see, for instance, *fjore* vs. *fjiuri* ‘flower/s’ in Padova (Trumper 1972, pp. 13–18), *lepre* vs. *lepri* ‘hare/s’ in Macerata (Biondi 2012 cited in Fanciullo 2015, p. 130), *fɔrte* vs. *fuerti* ‘strong.SG/PL’ in Central Salento (Fanciullo 1994, p. 574).

48 See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 583–90).

49 But see Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 642–60) and Pescarini (2020). The literature on Romance nominal systems has shown that the realization of Number on nouns is strongly related to that of Gender: “the assignment of grammatical Number depends on the assignment of a formal class to a linguistic category” (Picallo 2008, p. 47). We refer to Picallo (2008), and to work by (e.g., Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2017, 2018, 2019) and Pinzin and Poletto (2021, 2022) for a discussion and a summary of the literature. To account for the relation between Number, Gender and inflectional Class, and for their morphosyntactic realization, the hypothesis of a “layered view of plural” (Manzini 2020, p. 6), suggesting multiple Number positions, has been variously explored in the literature (see, e.g., Wiltschko 2008; Landau 2016; Manzini 2020 and literature therein).

50 In some dialects of Sicily, a plural ending *-a* is visible on nouns ending in *-u* in the singular: *stu rrɔddʒu* (this.M.SG clock.M.SG), *sti rrɔddʒa* (this.PL clock.PL) [Ribera]; *u libbru bbellu* (the.M.SG book.M.SG beautiful.M.SG), *i libbra bbelli* (the.PL book.PL beautiful.PL) [Mussomeli, Ragusa]. Also, some nouns ending in *-i* (< -E(M)) take the plural affix *-a*: *u prufissuri pittʃwottu* (the.M.SG professor.M.SG young.M.SG), *i prufissura pittʃwotti* (the.PL professor.PL young.PL). These *-a* plurals are well-known to the literature: we refer to Rohlfs (1968, § 368) and Sornicola (2010) for an overview.

51 Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 590–99) suggest that *-a* is to be analyzed as a noun class morpheme, while *-i* is a “quantificational denotation morpheme” (“morfema a denotazione quantificazionale”, 596), denoting *both* plural number and feminine gender. In other items, such as demonstratives and quantifiers, *-i* would only express quantificational information (i.e., plural number, 596–597). See also Pescarini (2020). It is not unreasonable that the plural suffix *-i* instantiates an innovation probably introduced after the loss of final *-I*, *-U*, and *-E*. The origin of this suffix is unclear. Rohlfs (1968, § 363) suggests it to be an analogical creation based on Latin feminine nouns ending in *-ĪAE* (such as in *BESTĪAE* > *bestij*), where final *-i* was reanalyzed as a plural feminine morpheme. Reasonably, the creation of plural *-i* happened after the loss of final vowels.

52 There are exceptions: for example, like in French (see note 2), masculine nouns ending in *-al/-el* in the singular take the suffix *-ai/-ei* in the plural (*kaval/kavai*, ‘horse.SG, horse.PL’; *kavel/kavei* ‘hair.SG, hair.PL’).

53 See, for a discussion of these systems, Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 637–42). As it can be seen in the examples (23) and (24), gender alternations are maintained on (some) adjectives.

- 54 The form *bbwellə* results from *propagation* (see note 36).
- 55 See, e.g., [Manzini and Savoia \(2005, vol. III, pp. 637–39\)](#), [Giuliani \(2001, pp. 145–46\)](#), [Ledgeway \(2007, pp. 106–7\)](#).
- 56 For a discussion of similar phenomena in other Romance dialects of Southern Italy, see [Manzini and Savoia \(2016, Section 3\)](#).
- 57 In Francavilla in Sinni, most adjectives are only post-nominal; by contrast, the adjective *bbellə* (along with few additional others) can be realized either pre- or post-nominally.
- 58 See Tables [A4](#) and [A5](#) for a list of examples of number alternations on nouns and adjectives in the dataset.
- 59 See also [Manzini and Savoia \(2005, vol. III, pp. 574–75\)](#).
- 60 In several dialects of Campania, the plural form of the definite determiner triggers Rafforzamento Fonosintattico ([Fanciullo 1997](#); [Loporcaro 1997](#)) in the feminine: *a fiλλə ~ e ffiλλə* ‘the daughter ~ the daughters’ vs. *o fiλλə ~ e fiλλə* ‘the son ~ the sons’. On the relation between RF and morphosyntactic structures, see also [D’Alessandro and Scheer \(2013\)](#).
- 61 See also [Manzini and Savoia \(2005, vol. III, pp. 582–83\)](#).
- 62 [Manzini and Savoia \(2005, vol. III, pp. 552–74\)](#), [Guardiano \(2014\)](#), [Guardiano et al. \(2016, 2018\)](#), [Silvestri \(2020\)](#), and references therein).
- 63 Kinship expressions are exceptional: when a possessive modifies a kinship noun in the singular, and the latter refers to a unique individual, it does not co-occur with any determiner and has a “definite” reading only: *mio padre* (lit. ‘my father’) vs. *\*il mio padre* (lit. ‘the my father’). In some dialects of our sample (e.g., Salentino, Santa Maria Capua Vetere), when occurring with a kinship noun in the singular, with the interpretation described above, possessives are realized as enclitic ([D’Alessandro and Migliori 2017](#) and literature therein; [Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, pp. 660–749](#)).
- 64 *Il mio libro* (lit. ‘the.M.SG my.M.SG book.M.SG’) vs. *i miei libri* (lit. ‘the.M.PL my.M.PL book.M.PL’), *la mia macchina* (lit. ‘the.F.SG my.F.SG car.F.SG’) vs. *le mie macchine* (lit. ‘the.F.PL my.F.PL car.F.PL’).
- 65 In several dialects, adnominal possessives display “weaker” morphophonological structure as compared to pronominal ones ([Cardinaletti 1998](#); [Cardinaletti and Starke 1994, 1999](#); [Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, pp. 570–74, a.o.](#)). In Table [A3](#), for each dialect, we list the pronominal forms, whose paradigms are more variable than those of articles and demonstratives with respect to the realization of number alternations.
- 66 For further examples, see [Manzini and Savoia \(2005, vol. III, pp. 554–55\)](#).
- 67 For some dialects (e.g., those used in [Guardiano et al. 2016](#)), data concerning the distribution of bare nouns had been collected during previous fieldwork. These data were integrated with novel ones, with the exception of two dialects: Santa Maria Capua Vetere (because the speaker was no more available) and Teramo. For the latter, we found extensive material in the literature, especially [Mantenuto \(2015a, 2015b, 2016\)](#), and the data found in the TerraLing group SSWL (<http://test.terraling.com/groups/7>, accessed on 3 August 2022; [Koopman and Guardiano 2014–2018](#)): properties O 01 1\_Indef mass\_can be bare to O 09 5\_PN+A\_Order PN A and S01\_Existential constructions to S 04 3\_Indef PI Ns (Subj) must have an article.
- 68 The sentences provided by the speakers for each dialect can be found here: <http://www.parametriccomparison.unimore.it/site/home/projects/prin-2017/documents-and-materials.html>; accessed on 18 August 2022 (the content of this section is regularly updated as work progresses).
- 69 On the relation between the morphological exponence of gender and number and the realization of nominal determination systems in Romance, see at least [Stark \(2007, 2016\)](#); for a recent analysis of the alternation between bare nouns and partitive articles, [Pinzin and Poletto \(2021\)](#).
- 70 Both variants *wɑɲɲunə* and *wɑλλunə* are found in Francavilla.
- 71 For older varieties, see also [Ugolini \(1959, p. 120\)](#).
- 72 A difference between Italian and the dialects where bare nouns are grammatical concerns the acceptability of bare plurals/mass modified by an adjective, a PP or a relative clause as preverbal subjects. These are grammatical in Italian while they are only marginally accepted in the dialects.
- 73 All the paradigms listed in the tables have been provided by our informants and double-checked against the available literature, including [Manzini and Savoia \(2005, chp. 8\)](#). For each dialect, we mention at least one bibliographical source.
- 74 [Vezzosi \(2019, p. 27\)](#).
- 75 Dialects of Emilia: [Badini \(2002\)](#), [Foresti \(1988, p. 579\)](#), [Hajek \(1997\)](#), [Rohlf \(1968, pp. 104–5\)](#). Reggio Emilia: [Ferretti \(2016, p. 10\)](#); Parma: [Bernini \(1942\)](#), [Michelini \(2017\)](#).
- 76 [Pellicciardi \(1977\)](#).
- 77 [Savini \(1881, pp. 55–56\)](#).
- 78 Dialects of Campania: [Rohlf \(1968, p. 106\)](#); [Ledgeway \(2009, p. 167\)](#), a.o.
- 79 [Cerullo \(2018, pp. 122–32\)](#).
- 80 [Andriani \(2017, p. 130\)](#).
- 81 [Digaeta \(1985, pp. 13–14\)](#).
- 82 [De Vincentis \(1872, p. 12\)](#).

- 83 Lausberg (1939, p. 139).
- 84 Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, p. 68).
- 85 Mancarella (1975, 1981).
- 86 Mancarella (1975, p. 14).
- 87 Mancarella (1998, p. 145).
- 88 Anastasio (2022, p. 14).
- 89 Falcone (1976, p. 66).
- 90 Dialects of Sicily: Rohlfs (1968, p. 106); Leone (1995, p. 30), Ruffino (1991, 1997).
- 91 Vezzosi (2019, pp. 54–55).
- 92 Dialects of Emilia: Badini (2002), Foresti (1988, p. 581). Reggio Emilia: Ferretti (2016, p. 10); Parma: Bernini (1942), Michelini (2017).
- 93 Pelliciardi (1977).
- 94 Savini (1881, pp. 61–62), Mantenuto (2016, pp. 16–24).
- 95 Dialects of Campania: Rohlfs (1968, pp. 207–8); Ledgeway (2004, 2009, pp. 195–212), a.o.
- 96 Cerullo (2018, p. 165) for distal demonstratives. Cerullo (p.c.) for proximal and medial demonstratives.
- 97 Andriani (2017, p. 119).
- 98 Digaeta (1985, p. 17).
- 99 De Vincentis (1872, p. 13).
- 100 Lausberg (1939, p. 143) lists some paradigms of various dialects of the area, which slightly differ from those of Francavilla.
- 101 Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, p. 68).
- 102 Stehl (1988, p. 706), Mancarella (1975, pp. 159–60).
- 103 Mancarella (1975, p. 14).
- 104 Mancarella (1998, p. 156ff).
- 105 Anastasio (2022, p. 16).
- 106 Falcone (1976, p. 69).
- 107 Dialects of Sicily: Rohlfs (1968, pp. 207–8); Leone (1995, pp. 28–30), Ruffino (1991, 1997).
- 108 The references for this table are the same as those for table S2/A, unless otherwise specified.
- 109 Mantenuto (2016, pp. 23–37).
- 110 Andriani (2017, pp. 118–22).
- 111 De Vincentis (1872, p. 13).
- 112 Mancarella (1975, p. 17).
- 113 Mancarella (1998, p. 156ff).
- 114 Falcone (1976, p. 72).
- 115 Falcone (1976, p. 72).
- 116 See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, chp. 8), Silvestri (2016).
- 117 Vezzosi (2019, pp. 50–51).
- 118 Dialects of Emilia: Badini (2002), Foresti (1988, pp. 580–81). Reggio Emilia: Ferretti (2016, p. 35); Parma: Bernini (1942), Michelini (2017).
- 119 Malagoli (Malagoli 1910–1913, pp. 63–65).
- 120 Mantenuto (2016, p. 9), Savini (1881, p. 61).
- 121 Dialects of Campania: Ledgeway (2009, p. 247).
- 122 Andriani (2017, p. 106).
- 123 Digaeta (1985, p. 18).
- 124 De Vincentis (1872, p. 14).
- 125 Lausberg (1939, p. 144).
- 126 Silvestri (2016, p. 135).
- 127 Mancarella (1998, p. 153).
- 128 Mancarella (1975, p. 16).
- 129 Mancarella (1998, p. 153).
- 130 Krefeld (2007), Anastasio (2022, p. 16).

- 131 Falcone (1976, p. 69).
- 132 Falcone (1976, p. 69).
- 133 Dialects of Sicily: Rohlfs (1968, p. 123); Ruffino (1991, 1997). Trapani: Trovato (2002, p. 844).
- 134 The table provides a selection of examples which show the number marking strategies visible on different noun classes in the dialects of the sample.
- 135 Vezzosi (2019, pp. 21–26).
- 136 Pelliciardi (1977, pp. 45–54).
- 137 Mantenuto (2015b, p. 11ff).
- 138 In Felitto several nouns have *both* root vowel alternations and suffixes.
- 139 Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, pp. 69–72). The suffix *-a* in the word *stændena* is a residual of the neuter Latin suffix *-A*.
- 140 Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48). In Mesagne, final *-E* and final *-I* are both realized as *-i* (Mancarella 1998, pp. 106–7). Thus, there is no suffix alternation between singular and plural on nouns originally ending in *-E*. In some such nouns, number alternations are realized through metaphonetic alternations of the root vowel, as shown in the examples. This sets a difference with the two other dialects of Salento (Botrugno and Cellino San Marco), where the alternation *-E/-I* was maintained.
- 141 Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48).
- 142 Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48).
- 143 Falcone (1976, p. 68).
- 144 The table provides a selection of examples which show the number marking strategies visible on different adjective classes in the dialects of the sample.
- 145 Vezzosi (2019, pp. 21–26).
- 146 Mantenuto (2015b, p. 11ff).
- 147 Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, pp. 69–72). The suffix *-a* in the word *vaʃʃa* is a residual of the neuter Latin suffix *-A*.
- 148 Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48).
- 149 Sentences 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 29, 30, 39, 40, 41 are ungrammatical in Italian. Sentences 17, 18 and 20 are marginally accepted by some speakers of Italian.

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