



UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI PADOVA

## Università degli Studi di Padova

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Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Linguistica  
Classe LM-39

Tesi di Laurea

### *Adjective ordering in Pescaraese: an empirical investigation*

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Anno Accademico 2019 / 2020



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## Introduction

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Adjectives have received less attention in the linguistics literature, as compared to the lexical categories of nouns and verbs. Moreover, the issue of adjective ordering has been considered “one of the most delicate topics in linguistics” (Hetzron 1978).

Several works focused on adjectives in Romance standard varieties (Cinque 1994, 2010 among others), whereas non-standard varieties have been generally neglected. Among Italian dialects, there is a lack of consideration given to the syntax of Abruzzese and, particularly to the syntax of Abruzzese Determiner Phrases (DPs).

The goal of the present study is to shed light on adjective ordering restrictions (AOR) in Pianellese, a variety of Eastern Adriatic Abruzzese (Pellegrini 1977) spoken in Pianella, a small village in the province of Pescara. The patterns of adjectival modification sparked our interest during a previous research conducted in the village for *ASIt (Atlante Sintattico dei Dialetti d'Italia)*. A specific survey with the purpose of analyzing adjective placement in Pianellese was developed and the collected data are here presented.

The work is organized as follows: in Chapter 1 a brief overview on the syntax of nominal expressions and on the parallel between nominal and clausal structure will be carried out, then we will focus on a review of the literature on the syntax of adjectives. We will address the issue of AOR on both cognitive and syntactic grounds, focusing on cartographic approaches as the one proposed in Cinque (2010). The chapter includes a short paragraph on the syntax of demonstratives, which introduces demonstrative doubling, a peculiar emphatic pattern of Abruzzese additionally taken into account in our dialect survey.

Chapter 2 is entirely devoted to a description of syntactic and semantic properties of Abruzzese adjectives, which are in turn compared to Italian adjectives, previously taken into account in Chapter 1.

Details on the development of the dialect survey are provided in Chapter 3: the first section will focus on the construction of the questionnaire administered to dialect speakers, while the second one will consider all the subsequent changes to the survey, made after the administration of a pilot test. Information on the speakers (gender, date

and place of birth, profession, whether they moved or worked away from the village) are instead given in the last section.

Data gathered during our research are summarized and analyzed with a cartographic approach in line with Cinque (2010) in Chapter 4. This final chapter includes some insights on those constructions involving demonstrative doubling as well as on metaphony, since some of the test items were specifically chosen with the purpose of checking whether metaphony is still productive in Pescarese.

Finally, a sample of the dialect questionnaire and the informants' answers are provided in Appendixes A and B.

## CHAPTER 1: State of the art

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### 1.1 The structure of nominal expressions (NEs)

The present work analyzes nominal expressions on the basis of the so-called ‘DP-Hypothesis, following traditional work by Abney (1987) and Szabolcsi (1983, 1987, 1994). Such hypothesis has the advantage of unifying the treatment of noun phrases and clauses. The behavior of DPs resembles in many aspects the one of CPs, as will be briefly sketched in the introductory part and further explored throughout the paragraph.

First of all, the role of the clausal head V can be compared to the role of the nominal head N, since the former is the semantic head of the VP, whereas the latter is the semantic head of the NP. Deverbal nouns are argued to have an argument structure, in parallel fashion to lexical verbs, which have thematic relations with their arguments.

As regards the thematic structure in general, there is a distinction between A- and A'-positions in the clause, with SpecCP being an A'-position and SpecTP an A-position that hosts the sentential subject. The same positions can be identified in the nominal expression, where SpecDP is considered a non-argumental position.

There is another similarity with respect to the realization of morphological features such as agreement, case, inflection: as there are specific functional projections in the VP-layer, there are similar ones between D and N (see § 1.1.3 for further details). However, there is an imperfect parallel between nominal and clausal structures, since Ns do not need a specification for Tense: “the intension of V refers to a situation which is associated to a point in time, while the intension of N refers to an individual” (Giusti 2015: 41).

Moreover, nominal expressions host a layer for (optional) adjectival modification, analogously to the functional projections hosting adverbs at clause level (see Cinque 1994, among others, and § 1.2 for further details).

Finally, it is claimed (for instance, Giusti (1996, 2005, 2012, 2015); Aboh (2004)) that there is a nominal counterpart of the clausal left periphery, with the DP layer having a more fine-grained structure, on a par with the one identified by Rizzi (1997).

### 1.1.1. The lexical and inflectional layer of NEs

As briefly sketched above, nouns are claimed to have an argument structure:

- (1) a. Caesar destroyed the city
- b. Caesar's destruction of the city
- (2) a. The city was destroyed by Caesar
- b. The city's destruction by Caesar

(Alexiadou, Haegeman, Stavrou 2007: 3)

In (1a) *Caesar* is assigned the Agent role, but the same thematic role can be assigned to *Caesar's* in (1b), since *Caesar* is the Agent of the action expressed by the N *destruction*. Other thematic roles can be assigned as well, as can be seen in (2a-b). *The city* (2a) is assigned the Theme role, while in the second example the Theme role is expressed by the genitive.

The examples lead to conclude that nouns mirror verbs, since they can take internal as well as external arguments. The only difference is the need for Vs to project the complete argument structure, whereas Ns may omit some arguments, as shown in the following examples:

- (3) a. The doctor examined \*(the patient).
- b. The doctor's examination (of the patient) was successful
- (4) a. They attempted \*(to reach the top)
- b. Their attempt (to reach the top) was successful

(Giusti 2015: 37)

However, in some cases, Ns cannot omit their arguments and behave like verbs: it is the case of event-denoting nouns, which, according to Giusti (2015) are the only projecting a complete argument structure. These nouns differ with respect to object-denoting nouns, which combine with a referential index provided by the determiner.

Another analogy between nominal and clausal structure is the hierarchical arrangement of arguments. Cinque's (1980) data on the Italian NP lead to hypothesize that nominal arguments follow an order: only the highest argument in the noun phrase can be extracted and possessivized, namely, only PPs as '[di NP]' are subject to extraction (examples from Cinque 1980: 47-8):



- (5) a. Una persona [<sub>PP</sub> di cui] apprezziamo [<sub>NP</sub> la grande generosità t] (è Giorgio)  
 'A person of whom we appreciate the great generosity (is Giorgio)'  
 b. [Ne]<sup>1</sup> apprezziamo [<sub>NP</sub> la grande generosità t]  
 'Of-him (we) appreciate the great generosity'

Many other studies focus on the hierarchical structure of the noun phrase, i.e. Longobardi (2001) identifies the Possessor > Subject > Object order. Possessors are higher than thematic subjects (e.g. agents), which are respectively higher than direct objects (e.g. themes) and other complements. Evidence of the aforementioned hierarchy is provided by Romance and Germanic languages, but there is parametric difference with respect to the number of arguments that can be syntactically realized, i.e. in English only one between P and S can be overtly expressed, whereas in Italian there are two syntactic positions simultaneously available for a genitive phrase<sup>2</sup>:

- (6) a. \*Mary's book of my favorite novelist  
 b. Il libro di Maria del mio romanziere preferito

(Longobardi 2001: 569)

Longobardi (2001: 577) summarizes the probably universal principles that govern the argument structure of nominal phrases and are shared with clausal structures:

- (7) a. the structural hierarchy and obligatoriness/optionality of thematic arguments,  
 b. the existence of two distinct Case positions for non-prepositional arguments,  
 c. the access to such positions,  
 d. the licensing of empty categories.

There are domains of parametric variation as well:

- (8) a. the number of external argument positions,  
 b. the number of active Case checking positions,  
 c. the actual forms of non-prepositional Case realization.

The distinction between A- and A'-positions is another analogy that has been highlighted in the comparative study of the nominal and clausal argument structure. As for the clause, SpecTP hosts the sentential subject and it is hence an argument position, whereas SpecCP is the landing site for *wh*-elements and can be labeled as an A'-position.

<sup>1</sup> Extraction is possible because *ne* is interpretable as a PP of the form [di NP (+pro)]

<sup>2</sup> Discussion on the number of arguments that are syntactically realized, as well as an analysis of Case realizations across languages is found in Longobardi (2001)

Extending this line of reasoning to the nominal structure, Valois (1991) claims that SpecDP is essentially an A'-position which hosts DP-internal *wh*-operators<sup>3</sup>. Evidence from English, provided by Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou (2007), shows that SpecDP, however, may also host non-interrogative constituents introduced by *so*, in parallel fashion to SpecCP:

- (9) a. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> So vivid] a picture] does [<sub>IP</sub> this program draw of these animals that the reader wants to react immediately]].  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> The article had [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> such] an important impact] that the proposal had to be withdrawn.

(Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007: 134)

The clausal structure has an inflectional layer between CP and VP, which offers room for several functional projections encoding Tense, Aspect, Agreement (TP, AspP, AgrP). Research by Abney (1987) and Szabolcsi (1983, 1987, 1994) proves that there is a parallel between verbal inflection and nominal inflection. More specifically, there are languages in which the possessed noun agrees with the possessor in the same way a verb agrees with the clausal subject:

- (10) *Hungarian*  
 a. Mari- $\emptyset$  alud-t- $\emptyset$

---

<sup>3</sup> In support of the claim that SpecDP is an A'-position, Szabolcsi (in Valois 1991: 32) provides the following examples from Hungarian, where only *wh*-phrases containing a dative possessor can be moved to SpecCP:

- a. \* (a) ki- $\emptyset$  vendég-e- $\emptyset$   
 the who-NOM guest -POSS-3SG  
 'Whose guest'  
 b. ki-nek a vendég-e- $\emptyset$   
 who-DAT the guest -POSS-3SG  
 'Whose guest'

The first sentence is ungrammatical because the possessor has not moved to SpecDP and, therefore, *wh*-movement is not allowed. Sentence (b) is possible because the possessor has become a *wh*-operator after a prior movement to SpecDP, which has in turn allowed another movement to SpecCP.

Valois then provides other examples from Tellier (1988) regarding the so-called double *dont*-constructions, where there is an empty operator which occupies the SpecDP position and allows subsequent *wh*-movement to SpecCP, as in (note that the italicized NP contains a possessor):

Un homme dont<sub>i</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> les fredaines t<sub>i</sub>] nuisent les à [<sub>NP</sub> la réputation t<sub>i</sub>]  
 'a man of whom the pranks harm the reputation'

Finally, there is direct evidence of the fact that SpecDP is a landing site for *wh*-phrases, and it is the case of pre-determiner APs introduced by an indefinite determiner. In English SpecDP can host DP-internal *wh*-APs, as examples from Stowell (1981) show:

- a. Fred bought a very big car  
 b. [How big]<sub>i</sub> a t<sub>i</sub> car did Fred buy?

Mary-NOM sleep-PAST-3SG

'Mary slept'

- b. A Mari- $\emptyset$  vendég-e- $\emptyset$   
the Mary-NOM guest-POSS-3SG  
'Mary's guest'

(Bernstein 2001: 539)

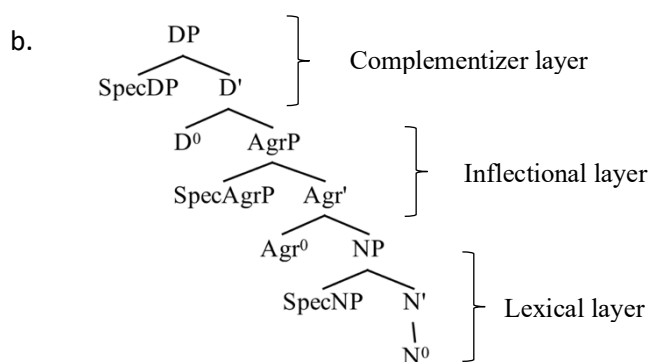
By virtue of the parallel between nominal and clausal structure, a number of functional projections encoding aspects of nominal inflection (for instance, number specification, gender, case...) has been proposed for the DP as well (see § 1.1.3 for further details).

As the inflectional layer of the clausal structure hosts optional adverbial modifiers, the inflectional layer of NEs is devoted to adjectival modification (§ 1.2). Moreover, as highlighted by Pollock (1989) in its comparative study on verb movement in French and English, V (optionally) raises across Adv. The lexical head N is claimed to behave the same with respect to adjectives. Arguments in favor of N-raising to explain the pre- and postnominal placement of adjectives were put forward by, among others, Valois (1991), Bernstein (1993) and Cinque (1994).

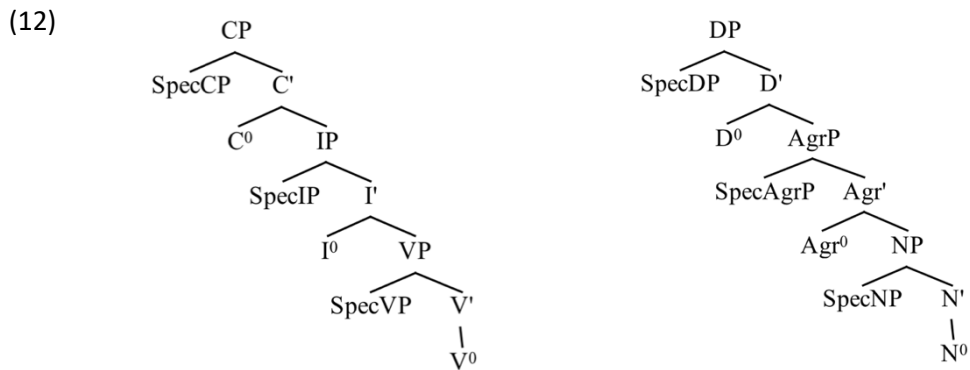
### 1.1.2 The parallel between DP and CP

So far, the discussion focused on the lexical and on the inflectional layer of nominal expressions. As the sentential structure consists of a Complementizer layer (CP), an Inflectional layer (IP) and a Lexical layer (VP), a speculation based on the tenet that DP is analogous to CP will lead to subdivide nominal expressions in three layers as well. The tripartite structure of NEs is therefore illustrated as follows (from Giusti 2006: 6):

- (11) a. DP = Complementizer layer  
AgrP = Inflectional layer  
NP = Lexical layer



The analogy between DP and CP structure is therefore quite straightforward<sup>4</sup>:



DP is a CP-type projection, since both function as a link to the discourse. CP provides information on the type of clause (declarative, question, etc...) and it is the interface between the proposition and the discourse, whereas DP has a referential function, because it specifies whether the referent has already been mentioned in the discourse (definite D) or it is new (indefinite D). In other words, “the function of the determiner is to specify the reference of a noun phrase” (Abney 1987: 77). Discourse-oriented features such as (in)definiteness, specificity, referentiality, identifiability, deixis, are encoded in the head D<sup>0</sup>.

DP and CP have a similar interpretive role, but they seem to be completely analogous to each other for their property of turning their complements into arguments. More specifically, C is the complementizer that takes an IP as a proposition and introduces a sentential argument. D, which has a referential feature, turns an NP (which is non-referential), into an argument, hence mirroring the role of the C head.

Furthermore, the clausal complementation layer is in turn subdivided in a series of functional projections, devoted to information on the type of clause (ForceP), to host discourse-related elements (TopicP and FocP), and to provide specification of inflectional information, i.e. finiteness (FinP). ForceP is related to FinP, which is connected to the Inflectional layer of the clause.

A fine-grained analysis of the DP will then establish a parallel between clausal and nominal left periphery: in both cases there are two different portions of structure, being

<sup>4</sup> The two X'-structures in (12) are simplified (i.e. VP shells are absent) in order to show the analogy between the layered CP structure and the DP one.

the landing sites of A and A' movements. A-movements are motivated by the need to satisfy the EPP feature, i.e. the requirement for every sentence to have a subject. On the other hand, A'-movements are triggered by discourse-related features.

DP is split in two functional projections, D and d (or Num, see Aboh 2004), located at the two edges of the Determiner Phrase: the former encodes Case and is related to the external syntactic context, whereas the latter encodes Number (Giusti 2006, 2015).

These two projections are considered to be analogous to Force and Fin. More specifically, Force is the Merge position for complementizers of inflected complement clauses, whereas complementizers of infinitival clauses are in Fin. If we turn to the nominal domain, there is a similar dichotomy between the aforementioned D° and d° heads: the former hosts definite determiners, while the latter is the functional projection for indefinite ones, when they are not taken as proper quantifiers (Poletto 2012).

A TopicP, as well as a FocusP, are claimed to be part of nominal expressions as well, sandwiched between DP and dP (NumP):

Like the C-system, the D-system involves topic and focus projections (TopP and FocP) whose specifiers host topic and focused constituents. TopP and FocP project between DP, the highest projection of the system, which expresses the interface between the discourse and the nominal expression, and NumP, the lowest projection, which links the D-system to the nominal I(nflectional)- system. As such, NumP encodes the agreement features and certain referential features (e.g., number, deixis) that parallel those of the nominal I-system.

(Aboh 2004: 3-4)

It has to be noted that these two projections are not necessarily present in all languages. Moreover, in some cases only one of them is lexically filled, while in others both topicalized and focused elements do appear in the DP, as Giusti (1996) proves for Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Italian. Further examples are provided by Aboh (2004) for Gungbe. The aforementioned languages display variation with respect to the displaced elements in the nominal periphery; moreover, these languages are clearly unrelated, hence it is likely to suppose that it is a universal phenomenon.

As regards Italian, an example of topicalized nominal element that might occur in the left periphery of DP is a non-restrictive adjective which denotes an intrinsic quality of N, i.e. *la bianca neve* “white snow”.  $A_{color}$  is normally postnominal in Italian, but in the case of an adjective that conveys shared knowledge, this can be placed on the left of the head noun for stylistic reasons. If  $A_{color}$  provides with new information, its position should be postnominal, instances such as *#la nera neve* ‘black snow’ would therefore appear rather peculiar (unless referred to a highly polluted place where snow has become darker because of contaminating agents)<sup>5</sup>.

We might conclude that a non-restrictive attributive adjective is fronted in Italian only when it expresses a prototypic quality or for emphatic purposes. Thematic adjectives can be fronted as well, for the purpose of conveying shared knowledge, as in the following example: i.e. *Sappiamo tutti che la brutale ultima vera invasione marziana al pianeta è la causa della distruzione dei dinosauri* ‘We all know that the last brutal real Martian aggression to the planet is the cause of the destruction of dinosaurs’<sup>6</sup>. The adjective *brutale* “brutal”, has been therefore moved to a higher position, immediately subsequent to DP because it is referred to an event supposedly known by anyone.

However, as briefly mentioned above, languages do not necessarily display both TopP and FocP projections inside nominal expressions. This prediction is borne out, at least for Italian<sup>7</sup>, which does not have a FocP:

- (13) a. \*I BIANCHI suoi capelli, non quell(i) neri  
           ‘the white his/her hair, (not the black ones)’  
       b. \*I suoi BIANCHI capelli, non quell(i) neri  
       c. i suoi capelli BIANCHI, non quelli neri

Giusti (1996: 121)

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<sup>5</sup> Example provided by Giusti (2012: 207).

<sup>6</sup> Giusti (1996: 120)

<sup>7</sup> Giusti (1996) shows that, for instance, Albanian has only a Focus position for prenominal emphatic adjectives. In Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, TopP and FocP projections are available, both following the demonstrative. Bulgarian noun phrase hosts as well a functional projection devoted to topicalized elements, namely PPs expressing a dative possessor. In definite noun phrases, such fronted possessor can be doubled by a subsequent clitic and each of them has a proper landing site (TopP and Cl(itic)P) inside the nominal expression, specifically on the left of DP. Data from Gungbe (Aboh 2004) show that there are a TopP and a FocP projections sandwiched between DP, which is the highest, and NumP, the latter being the interface between the nominal periphery and the nominal inflectional system.

Subsequent work by Giusti (2006), based on a minimalist approach, replaces TopP and FocP with a unique KonP: a topic position combined with a [ $\pm$  Kon] (Contrast) feature specification. No Focus appears in the noun phrase, and therefore only [+ Kon] or [- Kon] Topics are possible. The DP-layer is again split into two functional projections, D and d, with the latter being silent. [Kon] discourse feature is interposed between these two projections.

If there is a topicalized element, it will be located in the KonP layer inside the more articulated DP structure proposed by Giusti (2006):

- (14) [DP Kase [KonP [dP Number [AgrP . . . [NP]]]]]

Therefore, there is a single functional projection hosting displaced elements, whereas the only split features are Kase (D) and Number (d).

An example from Italian sheds light on the proposed structure and shows that any attributive adjective can be fronted, with a violation of Cinque's (1994, 2010) universal modification hierarchy (further illustrated in §1.2):

- (15) [DP D [KonP XP [FP possAP [FP ordAP [FP sizeAP N [FP colorAP N [NP N]]]]]]]

- a. queste/le sue prime grandi mele rosse  
     'these/the his/her first big apples red
- b. queste/le ROSSE sue prime grandi mele
- c. queste/le GRANDI sue prime mele rosse
- d. queste/le PRIME sue grandi mele rosse

(Giusti 2012: 207)

## 1.2 Adjectival modification

Cross-linguistic studies demonstrate that speakers tend to adopt precise criteria with respect to adjective ordering. Some sequences including two or more attributive adjectives, i.e. *a big red car* for English actually appear to be more natural compared to i.e. *a red big car*. However, the issue of adjectival ordering restrictions (henceforth AOR) has been defined a "hoary problem"<sup>8</sup> or one of "the most delicate topic in linguistics"<sup>9</sup> and still nowadays no consensus has been reached: that there is much debate on the

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<sup>8</sup> Sproat and Shih (1988: 486)

<sup>9</sup> Hetzron (1978: 175)

number of semantic categories of adjectives, on how these should be ordered, and, finally, whether such ordering is universal.

There are two general views with respect to the properties that determine adjective ordering preferences, namely a cognitive and a syntactic one. Cognitive approaches have psycholinguistic grounds and are based on the assumption that the sequence of adjectives in a nominal expression and the relative distance to the head noun are determined by the semantics of the adjective. However, in some cases the complexity of meaning might engender difficulties in choosing which aspect of the semantics of the adjective should be taken into account in order to place the modifier in the right position.

Syntactic accounts are based on the assumption that the sequence of adjectives belonging to different semantic classes is determined by the underlying syntactic structure. No criteria such as objectivity or absoluteness (see § 1.2.1 for further details on these features) are taken into account to establish which adjectives should be placed further to the lexical head.

We will first briefly consider cognitive/semantic accounts, then shift to the main syntactic approaches to the status and position of adjectival modifiers.

### **1.2.1 Cognitive approaches**

Psychological approaches predict ordering preferences on the basis of the absolute properties expressed by the adjective, namely, adjectives describing “inherent”, objective qualities<sup>10</sup> (i.e. color, material, physical state, function, provenance) tend to be placed closer to the noun (Whorf 1945). Other adjectives, for instance those expressing relative qualities (i.e. a judgement of value), or those describing size and shape, usually occur before the aforementioned ones. Context-dependence is another factor which is useful to define the hierarchical order; more specifically, adjectives whose meaning is less dependent to the context appear closer to N. Proximity to the head noun is also determined by the “privilege of occurrence”<sup>11</sup>, namely how common

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<sup>10</sup> Definition introduced by Whorf (1945: 5)

<sup>11</sup> Ziff (1960: 205)



is the combination of A + N or A + noun construction (i.e. *a little white house* is accepted, whereas *\*a white little house* seems odd)<sup>12</sup>. However, there are some cases in which frequency seems to be insufficient to account for the adjective ordering, namely in examples such as: *An intelligent old man*. The reversed order, *\*an old intelligent man*, appears to be marked, even though *old* is much more common than *intelligent*. Ziff thus proposes that nouns such as *man, girl*, etc. are endowed with some special features that play a role in establishing how adjectives should be ordered. However, it can simply be a matter of frequency of A + N combinations such as *old/young man*, which can be analyzed as collocations (Hetzron 1978).

Attributive adjectives generally belong to seven semantic types<sup>13</sup>, outlined in Dixon (1977: 15), where examples from English are provided:

- I. Dimension (*big, large, little, long, short, wide, narrow, thick, fat, thin*, etc.)
- II. Physical property (*hard, soft, heavy, light, rough, smooth, hot, cold, sweet, sour*, etc.)
- III. Colour (*black, white*, etc.)
- IV. Human propensity (*jealous, happy, kind, clever, generous, gay, cruel, rude, proud, wicked*, etc.)
- V. Age (*new, young, old*)
- VI. Value (*good, bad* and their relative hyponyms, such as *excellent, fine, atrocious*, etc.)
- VII. Speed (*fast, quick, slow*)

These semantic types determine the following unmarked adjective ordering:

- (16) Value > Dimension > Physical property > Speed > Human Propensity > Age  
> Colour

In general, it seems that objectivity is the main criterion which determines the order of adjectival modifiers: adjectives expressing objective (absolute) qualifications are closer

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<sup>12</sup> *ibidem*

<sup>13</sup> This general classification has been subject to further refinements. For instance, 'Value' is distinguished from 'Utilitarian', a category for those adjectives that usually modify objects. Another change involves the 'Dimension' and 'Physical property' categories, which have been in turn sub-divided in a number of more specific labels, i.e. 'Size', 'Height', 'Length', 'Taste', 'Temperature'... For further details, see discussion in Hetzron 1978.

to the noun, as opposed to the ones conveying a more subjective evaluation. All the adjectives which modify the head noun form a continuum based on a subjective-objective gradience.

However, adjectives which do not differ in absoluteness seem to be interchangeable with respect to their position inside the nominal expression. In these cases phonological constraints might be at work to determine the adjectival ordering: the shorter adjective tends to precede the longer one:

- (17) a. beautiful large house / large beautiful house  
b. ?serpentine green shape / green serpentine shape

(Sproat and Shih 1991: 588)

Conversely, when two or more adjectives of different absoluteness are part of the same nominal expression, only a possible order is available. Consider other examples from English:

- (18) a. Quality > Color: beautiful red house (\*red beautiful house)  
b. Size > Color: oversize red peach (\*red oversize peach)  
c. Size > Shape: oversize round table (\*round oversize table)  
d. Quality > Shape: beautiful round sundial (\*round beautiful sundial)

(Sproat and Shih 1991: 589)

However, AOR apply only in cases of hierarchical direct modifiers, namely those involved in a procedure of  $\theta$ -role assignment ( *$\vartheta$ -identification*, Higginbotham 1985) to the noun they modify.

Mandarin, English, Dutch and Greek are among those languages that involve direct modification, but there are other languages (i.e. French, examples in (20) and (21)) which display, on the other hand, examples of parallel modification: adjectives, in this case, do not modify  $[A_1, A_2 \dots A_n + N]$  as a whole, but they independently modify the lexical head. Parallel modification in English occurs when the adjectives preceding the N are treated as separate intonational phrases (*comma intonation*). Examples of direct and parallel modification are provided in (19a-b):

- (19) a. *Direct modification*  
She loves all those wonderful orange Oriental ivories  
QUALITY > COLOR > PROVENANCE

b. *Parallel modification*

She loves all those Oriental, orange, wonderful ivories

PROVENANCE > COLOR > QUALITY

(Sproat and Shih 1991: 578)

French postnominal adjectives are an example of parallel modification: if two adjectives A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> occur after the head noun, both A<sub>1</sub> + A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> + A<sub>1</sub> orders are allowed – at least for adjectives belonging to certain semantic types, namely SIZE, COLOR; SHAPE, COLOR and QUALITY, COLOR:

- (20) a. *chien moyen blanc*  
*chien blanc moyen*  
'medium-sized white dog'
- b. *maison blanche carée*  
*maison carée blanche*  
'square white house'
- c. *piano noir antique*  
*antique noir piano*  
'old black piano'

(Sproat and Shih 1991: 585)

Psycholinguistics confirm that subjectivity is the crucial factor involved in establishing the correct adjectival ordering (Scontras, Degen and Goodman 2017; 2018 *inter alia*). Empirical behavioral measures actually prove that more subjective adjectives tend to be placed further from the head (see Scontras *et al.* 2017 for discussion).

In addition to semantics, it is worth noting that other factors such as frequency of the adjectives, phonological length, contrastive as well as stylistic purposes contribute to choose certain orders with respect to others.

In conclusion, it seems that there is a universal cognitive tendency to build nominal expressions from the head noun outwards: less subjective content, which is considered as the most useful one, is placed right beside the lexical head, whereas adjectives conveying more subjective, and less useful content appear to be distant from N.

However, the claims put forward by cognitive accounts can be easily falsified: an example from English proves that more 'objective', 'undisputable' adjectives can occur

further from N, as in *a red Italian car*. Even though there might be disagreement with respect to different shades of a certain color, the car's color is more apparent than its origin. Further encyclopaedic knowledge is instead required in order to establish the nationality of the car's manufacturer. As for Italian, adjectival ordering is the 'mirror-image' of the English one: the above-mentioned example is hence translated as *un'automobile rossa italiana*. A principle other than subjectivity should therefore be at work to explain why different languages display different orderings.

Syntactic approaches provide evidence for a single underlying structure for all languages. Cross-linguistic differences are the result of (optional) NP-movement (see § 1.2.2.3 for further details) and AOR are structure-dependent instead.

### 1.2.2 Syntactic approaches

The hypotheses covered in the previous paragraph all departed from psychological grounds to explain why certain adjective orderings are grammatical and why others should be instead barred.

The following paragraph will provide an overview of several syntactic approaches that have been proposed throughout the years. The first part will be devoted to earlier approaches (§1.2.2.1), for instance, transformational accounts (Smith 1961, among others), which have been later taken into account by Kayne (1994) to restate that attributive adjectives have a relative clause source. Then, the focus will be on adjunction-based approaches (see Abney 1987, Sproat and Shih 1988, 1991; Bernstein 1993; Lamarche 1991, Valois 1991, Bouchard 1998).

Sub-paragraph §1.2.2.2 will instead cover a more recent claim in syntax, namely that adjectives are hosted in specifier positions (Cinque 1994, 2010; Crisma 1993, Scott 2002, Laenzlinger 2005, Svenonius 1994, 2008, Leu 2008). These approaches are based on the tenet that AOR are structure-dependent: there are specific functional projections, each associated with a precise semantic specification.

#### 1.2.2.1 Adjectives as relative clauses

Traditional transformational accounts consider all prenominal attributive adjectives as derived from a postnominal relative clause, which undergoes deletion first and it is then

preposed before the head noun. This process seems to be available to reduced relative clauses in general, for instance English allows both *The letters [recently arrived]* and *The [recently arrived] letters*. As for attributive adjectives referred to object-denoting nominals, the process which leads to i.e. *She has a green hat* is illustrated as follows (Smith 1961: 347):

- (21) (i) *Relative clause*
- |                  |   |                                |
|------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| She has a hat    | } | She has a hat [which is green] |
| The hat is green |   |                                |
- (ii) *Deletion*
- She has a hat [~~which is green~~]
- (iii) *Preposing*
- She has a hat [green] → She has a green hat
- 

However, such proposal has several drawbacks (Cinque 2010: 49-50), for instance not all prenominal adjectives are derived from a relative clause, as those which cannot be used predicatively (i.e. *former*: *\*The President of the USA which is former*). Another disadvantage is that it cannot be generalized to all types of adjectives, and several conditions for the application of the rules must be defined: for example, preposing must be obligatory with  $A_{color}$ , since DPs such as *\*the ball red* are clearly ungrammatical. On the other hand, preposing must be blocked with those adjectives that can only be placed after the noun, i.e. *ready*: *the people ready*<sup>14</sup>.

Another issue is the fact that there are several types of predication, hence, a certain property can be predicated using i.e. adverbials or other structures that do not involve the verb *to be*, as is clearly shown in the following examples:

- (22) a. a stray bullet  
 b. \*the bullet was stray  
 c. the bullet went stray
- (23) a. an eternal friend  
 b. \*the friend is eternal

<sup>14</sup> Other adjectives would be *ill, right, glad, present* (in its locative reading) (Cinque 2010: 50, 129)

c. S/he is eternally a friend

(Panayidou 2014: 32, from Bolinger 1967: 4)

Moreover, if one assumes that all attributive adjectives have a relative source origin, no ordering restrictions will be expected since relative clauses can be iteratively stacked without any change in meaning<sup>15</sup>:

- (24) a. The students [who failed the exam] [who are currently on holiday]  
b. The students [who are currently on holiday] [who failed the exam]

(Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007: 356)

Kayne (1994) reconsiders the hypothesis that prenominal attributive adjectives have a relative clause source by comparing adjectives with prenominal participial phrases. Relative clauses are CPs in complement position inside a [D<sup>0</sup> CP] structure. Assuming this base structure, prenominal participial phrases such as *the recently sent book* are derived via a preposing process. This analysis can be applied to attributive adjectives as well, which are generated in a postnominal relative clause source and then moved over the head noun. The difference between English attributive adjectives and participial phrases lies in the fact that the latter can remain in postnominal position, since i.e., *the book recently sent* is equally acceptable, whereas adjectives must undergo a preposing process:

- (25) [DP the [CP [AP green]<sub>i</sub> [C<sub>0</sub> [IP envelope [I<sub>0</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]
- 

The analysis is then extended to French, which allows postnominal adjectives. The status of participial phrases and attributive adjectives seems to be different, since the former are allowed in postnominal position in constructions introduced by *celui*<sup>16</sup>, 'the one', whereas the latter cannot appear in such a construction:

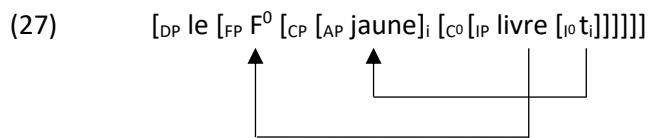
- (26) a. celui envoyé à Jean  
'the one sent to Jean'  
b. \*celui jaune  
'the one yellow'

<sup>15</sup> This is one of the syntactic properties of adjectives deriving from (reduced) relative clauses, as proposed by Cinque (2010). Further details on such adjectives will be provided in § 1.2.2.2).

<sup>16</sup> Full relative clauses are also admitted, as *celui qui a été envoyé à Jean* ('the one that has been sent to Jean) (Kayne 1994: 100).

(Kayne 1994: 100)

These data might lead to postulate that bare adjectives cannot occur postnominally, as shown in (39b), but as stated above, French allows postnominal adjectives: for instance, *le livre jaune* ('the yellow book') is grammatical. A solution is to claim that French postnominal adjectives are merged inside a relative clause which is the complement of a D<sup>0</sup> head, then advocate for a subsequent noun raising to an external functional head F<sup>0</sup>, which is outside the relative clause:



(adapted from Kayne 1994: 101)

### 1.2.2.2 Prenominal adjectives as adjuncts or heads

Other earlier approaches were the adjunction-based ones, that were widespread in a Government & Binding framework but lost their appeal after Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry and the development of N-raising theories (Bernstein 1993, Longobardi 1994, 1996, Cinque 1994).

The basic assumption is that prenominal adjectives are heads, which are left-adjoined to N, whereas postnominal ones are subject to right-adjunction, or merged as complements of N, as follows:



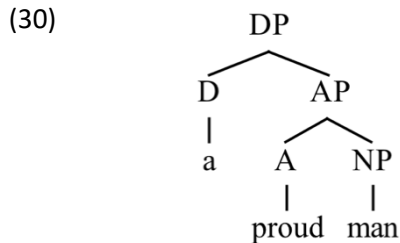
Prenominal adjectives are heads because they do not apparently behave as phrasal elements: for instance, in several languages prenominal adjectives do not allow adjuncts or complements:

- (29) a. *English*: \*the [proud of his son] man (Abney 1987: 208)  
 b. *French*: \*une [fière de sa fille] mère (Bouchard 1998: 17)

c. *Italian*: \*il [simile ad un vocabolario] libro di Gianni

(Giorgi 2001: 317)

The lack of such complements might be explained assuming that prenominal adjectives already selected the whole NP as their complement:



(Abney 1987: 208)

Another argument in support of the head status of prenominal adjectives is the liaison<sup>17</sup> between the attributive adjective and the head noun. It is a phonological phenomenon that occurs in French which is claimed, however, to have syntactic grounds (Lamarche 1991, Valois 1991a, 1991b, Bouchard 1998, 2002). The obligatory pronunciation of the adjective-final consonant signals a relation of proximity between the nominal head and its pre-nominal modifier, which is different to Spec-Head or head-complement relations<sup>18</sup>.

The fact that liaison between the noun and postnominal adjectives does not occur proves that there is another type of relation between N and AP, namely that the latter is a sister node of the nominal head. A comparison between French pre- and postnominal modification is hereby provided by Valois (1991a: 154):

- (31)
- a. Les frequentes ([z]) invasions de Jupiter  
'The frequent invasions of Jupiter'
  - b. Les invasions (\*[z]) infrequentes de Jupiter  
'The infrequent invasions of Jupiter'

This phonological relation is claimed to be the result of incorporation of the adjective into the head noun (Valois 1991b: 374), which is observed in his study on eventive nouns: in a NE such as *La fréquente complète invasion de Jupiter* ('The frequent

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<sup>17</sup> It is the overt realization of a word-final consonant when followed by a word starting with a vowel.

<sup>18</sup> There are examples of contexts where liaison is optional (i.e. between a lexical head and its complement, for instance in *Ils iron[[t]] a Paris*) or does not occur at all (i.e. between a lexical subject and the verb or in wh-phrases), see Lamarche (1991) and Valois (1991).



complete invasion of Jupiter'), *complète* and *invasion* constitute a complex to which the adjective *fréquente* is further incorporated.

Another hypothesis with respect to prenominal modification is that the head noun forms a compound with the adjective. Such a claim was first put forward by Sproat and Shih (1988), showing that the direct modification process involves the iterative adjunction of adjectives to the head noun. Both A and N are treated as heads which form a unitary complex: specifier material (i.e. quantifiers, determiners, possessives, etc.) do not intervene between the lexical item and the modifier. The following example shows an instance of such direct modification (Sproat and Shih 1988: 475):

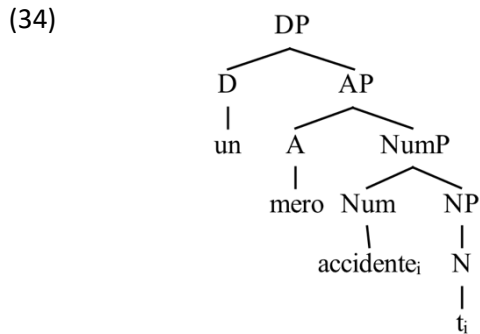
(32) [N' small [N' red apple N']]

Analogously, A and N are said to be in a 'head-on-head relation', since the prenominal adjective is generated as a head adjoined to a nominal head (Lamarche 1991). The sequence is interpreted as one semantic unit, where a whole set or a subset of N-features interact with A-features. More specifically, the modifier has a narrow scope reading if only a subset of N-features is involved, whereas the wide scope reading is yielded by the whole set of nominal features.

Some hypotheses, however, restrict the head status to a certain class of adjectives, namely those belonging to the '*mero-class*' (i.e. *mero, solo, altro* in Italian, *mere* or *utter* in English). These adjectives (i) only occur prenominally, (ii) they never appear in predicative contexts or in elliptical nominal constructions and (iii) cannot be modified:

- (33) a. *English* (Abney 1987: 209)  
the utter indignity  
\*the indignity is utter
- b. *Spanish* (Bernstein 1993: 23)  
un mero accidente  
'a mere accident'  
\*un accidente mero
- c. *Spanish* (Bernstein 1993: 61)  
\*el mero  
'the mere (one)'

Bernstein (1993) therefore proposes that these adjectives are  $X^{\circ}$  elements which select a whole NP with an overt noun as a complement. The head noun raises to  $\text{Num}^{\circ}$  with a head movement and amalgamates with noun inflection. The hypothesized structure is the following:



(Bernstein 1993: 61)

The head status is conferred to those prenominal adjectives that are interpreted restrictively (Zamparelli 1993): they can receive focus prenominally (35a), they are used in so-called 'A-generic' constructions, where a property of an indefinite noun is predicated (35b), they are not scalar and they are not subject to degree modification (35c):

- (35) a. Non voglio questa catapecchia, voglio una VERA/BELLA/\*ROSSA CASA!  
 'I don't want this shanty, I want a real/pretty/red house!'
- b. Una vera domanda deve avere una risposta possibile  
 'A real question must have a possible answer'
- c. \*La frequentissima/verissima/fintissima/sicurissima distruzione dei documenti  
 'The very frequent/very true/very fake/very sure destruction of the documents'

(Zamparelli 1993: 141, 161)

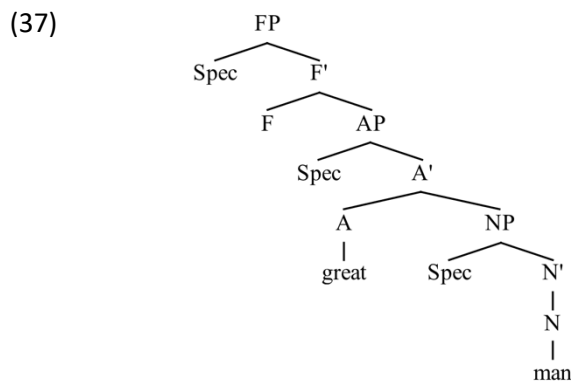
Moreover, Zamparelli notes that restrictive adjectives can occur postnominally as well, but only one of the adjectives belonging to such class appears after the noun (36a) and in the last position (36b). Furthermore, there is a shift in meaning depending on whether the same modifier is before or after N (36c).

- (36) a. L'invasione \*probabile frequente  
 'The invasion probable frequent'
- b. La invasione \*probabile/\*frequente americana  
 'The invasion probable/frequent American'

- c. Un alto ufficiale                      vs                      Un ufficiale alto  
       'A high-ranking officer'                      'A tall officer'

(Zamparelli 1993: 143-4)

These adjectives are postnominal because they must be interpreted as reduced relative clauses: as relative clauses they follow other modifiers and cannot be iterated. The final proposal is that – similarly to Bernstein (1993) - they are heads of a (reduced) AP structure that selects the NP as its complement. Other prenominal adjectives are recursively adjoined to the head and their ordering is determined by semantics. The resulting structure is given in (37):



(Zamparelli 1993: 145)

### 1.2.2.3 Adjectives in-Spec

Cinque (1994) first identifies an unmarked serialization for adjectives modifying object-denoting nouns and another for event-denoting nouns. The serialization for object-denoting nouns is mainly built on the semantic classes already identified in previous work by Dixon (1977), Hetzron (1978), Sproat and Shih (1988, 1991), among others.

The second serialization<sup>19</sup>, which outlines the order of adjectives modifying an event-denoting noun, follows the adverbial ordering, on the assumption that there is a parallel between clausal and nominal structure (§ 1.1.1).

- (38) a. *Object-denoting:*  
       Possessive > Cardinal > Ordinal > Quality > Size > Shape > Color > Nationality

<sup>19</sup> Cinque (1999) develops a fine-grained structure with many functional projections for adverbs, the one proposed for adjectives is much more simplified, on the grounds of previous work by Jackendoff (1975), Belletti (1990) and Crisma (1993)

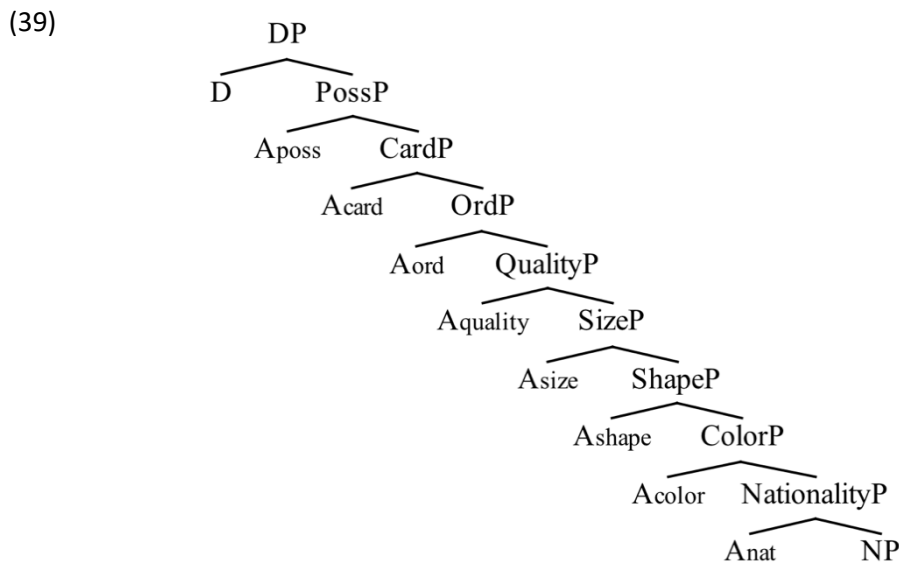
b. *Event-denoting*:

Possessive > Cardinal > Ordinal > Speaker-oriented > Subject-oriented > Manner > Thematic

Cinque (1994: 96)<sup>20</sup>

Adjectives belonging to the different semantic classes illustrated in the above-mentioned hierarchies occupy distinct specifier positions. Each specifier hosts an adjective of a specific semantic group: the whole DP will therefore host i.e. a ColorP, a SizeP, a QualityP, etc., between D and N. Grammar imposes ordering restrictions on the functional projections, but there is a tight correlation between syntax and semantics.

The proposed structure might be sketched as follows:



Cinque's hierarchy has been further refined by Scott (2002: 114) in his examination of AOR for simple and result nominals<sup>21</sup>:

- (40) Determiner > Ordinal > Cardinal > Subjective Comment > Evidential/Universal Comment<sup>22</sup> > Size > Length > Height > Speed > Depth > Width > Weight > Temperature

<sup>20</sup> It has to be noted that these orders might be violated when the modifiers are coordinated or when a marked interpretation has to be intended: in this case, one (or some of the) adjective(s) may be focused.

<sup>21</sup> This serialization might be organized using five subcategories, as proposed in Laenzlinger (2005): i) Quantificational (Ordinal > Cardinal); ii) Speaker-Oriented (Subject Comment > Evidential); iii) Scalar Physical Property (Size > Length > Height > Speed > Depth > Width); iv) Measure (Weight > Temperature > Wetness > Age); v) Non-Scalar Physical Property (Shape > Color > Nationality/Origin > Material)

<sup>22</sup> Scott (2002: 102) proposes a first universal hierarchy of AP functional projections where only Subj.CommentP appears. However, in the second version (42), such functional projection is decomposed

> Wetness > Age > Shape > Color > Nationality/Origin > Material > Compound Element  
> NP.

Instead of adopting a fine-grained hierarchy as the one proposed by Scott, a multi-layered DP where each layer provides different parameters of adjectival meaning could be preferred (for an extensive analysis, see Svenonius 2008). Orderings in (38) and (40) are often subject to variation, for instance when one of the modifiers is focused or it is used in an idiomatic expression. Svenonius suggests that there are separate layers for focused, count, subjective<sup>23</sup>, idiomatic and gradable meaning, and adjectives occupy Spec positions inside these layers.

The adoption of a generation-in-spec hypothesis seems favorable because the adjunction hypothesis does not account for ordering restrictions, since adjunction is free: no limit is set for the number and order of the elements that can be potentially adjoined to N. Also, previous accounts set no restrictions on directionality of adjunction; that is, As can be either left-adjoined (pre-nominal adjectives) or right-adjoined (post-nominal adjectives). The fact that such restrictions are widely attested might be explained by postulating that all the adjectives are phrasal and occupy distinct specifier positions inside the DP. The generation-in-Spec hypothesis corroborates the fact that there exists a semantic restriction on the adjective ordering, but also that there is a limit on the number of non-coordinated modifiers that can occur in a nominal expression, namely six or seven<sup>24</sup>: this derives from the number of functional projections that are available between D and N.

Furthermore, if we assume that the only available order for the subcomponents of a phrase is Specifier > Head > Complement (Kayne 1994), under the generation-in-Spec hypothesis there is no need to stipulate which is the position of adjectives with respect to N: it simply follows that adjectives are universally merged to the left of the head.

The assumption that all adjectives are generated in specifier position leads to re-analyze the status of prenominal modifiers as well as adjectives belonging to the '*mere-class*'.

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in two phrases, one for the speaker's subjective evaluation, and the other for expressing common knowledge.

<sup>23</sup> Subjective adjectives "target some sub-element of the sense of the noun" (Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007: 362)

<sup>24</sup> Cinque (1994: 96)

As regards the former, the selection of complements and adjuncts is not barred; moreover, some modifiers behave as reduced relative clauses: their status is hence undisputedly phrasal.<sup>25</sup> Thus, prenominal adjectives are not heads incorporated to another head, as in Lamarche's (1991) analysis for French, even though this hypothesis can be disproved by simply using Kayne's (1975) tests for cliticness for pronouns: prenominal adjectives can be modified, focalized and coordinated.

Adjectives such as *solo* ('only'), *mero*, *altro*, etc., are exclusively prenominal because there might be some features that block the raising of the NP over such adjectives, or the modifier is merged higher than the NP. Differences in meaning due to the pre- or post-nominal position of the adjectives depend on the fact that the adjective occupies two distinct positions, one for direct modification, which is higher in the structure and it is not crossed by the NP and a lower one, which might also be filled in by direct modification adjectives, or by indirect modification ones. This can be easily seen in examples such as: *Le numerose famiglie numerose* ('The many numerous families')<sup>26</sup>, where both positions are filled. (Cinque (2010) identifies a direct and an indirect modification source inside the DP structure; syntactic and semantic properties associated with each source will be further explained).

As previously mentioned, the Cinquean approach (1994) is based on Kayne's (1994) assumption that the only possible order is Spec > Head > Complement, hence, specifiers host adjectives and there is a single underlying structure for all languages. Therefore, even though Romance and Germanic vary with respect to their surface order, such order is not due to different base-generation of the adjectives (i.e. to the left of N in Germanic and on both sides of N in Romance), but to the optional N-raising.

This claim has the advantage of providing a uniform analysis for both Germanic and Romance, overcoming previous accounts such as Lamarche (1991) and Giorgi and

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<sup>25</sup> Evidence from several – unrelated – languages is provided in Cinque (2010: 45-6), i.e., from literary Italian:

- a. l'a noi più invisa sete di potere  
'the to-us more displeasing thirst of power  
'the thirst for power more hated by us'
- b. il da poco restaurato museo atestino  
'the recently renovated museum of-Este'

<sup>26</sup> Cinque (2010: 75)

Longobardi (1991), built upon the principle that adjectives are base-generated in different positions: the comparison drawn between French and English by Lamarche leads to predict that adjectives in English are the mirror-image of the French ones, since the former are base-generated on the left of N and the latter on the right of the head noun. Giorgi and Longobardi adopt a more complex parametric approach, but they come to the same conclusion: the distributional differences between Germanic and Romance are the result of the Head-Subject Parameter, “a parameter which determines the order of the argument being assigned the external  $\theta$ -role and of other phrases, among which APs”<sup>27</sup>. This parameter is set differently in the two language families, namely the base-generated  $\theta$ -position, where external semantic functions are encoded, is always on the right of N in Romance, whereas the same position is on the left in Germanic.

It is worth noting that Romance allows pre- and postnominal attributive adjectives, whereas in Germanic only prenominal adjectives are generally acceptable. Under the assumption that adjectives are normally merged either to the right of N in Romance, Giorgi and Longobardi propose that the prenominal position (as in *una simpatica ragazza* ‘a nice girl’) is the result of A-movement in Spec, with the adjective moving across the head noun. However, such an analysis cannot be available in a framework that establishes a parallel between nominal and clausal structure and treats adjectives as the nominal counterparts of adverbs: as Adv remains in-situ, A should analogously remain in its base position, with N optionally overpassing the adjective.

Cinque’s (1994) hypothesis, which accounts for N-raising as the reason for different word-order in Germanic and Romance, was subject to refinement (Cinque 2010), because N-raising itself cannot capture all the interpretive differences between pre- and postnominal adjectives in the two language families. It should be hence adopted an analysis based on phrasal movement: the whole NP (optionally) moves across the APs and not just the head noun.

The interpretive differences related to pre- and postnominal adjectives can be ascribed to certain well-known semantic distinctions, discussed in Cinque (2010, 2014):

- (41) a. individual-level vs stage-level

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<sup>27</sup> Giorgi and Longobardi (1991: 114)

- b. restrictive vs non-restrictive
- c. modal vs implicit relative clause reading
- d. intersective vs non-intersective
- e. relative (to a comparison class) vs absolute reading
- f. comparative vs absolute readings of superlatives
- g. specificity/ non-specificity-inducing
- h. evaluative vs epistemic reading of 'unknown'
- i. NP-dependent vs discourse-anaphoric of 'different'
- j. literal vs idiomatic reading

Cinque (2010: 5) observes that English and Italian display an opposite interpretive pattern, since English adjectives are ambiguous between the two values of the aforementioned semantic distinctions in prenominal position and have only one value in postnominal position (if available), whereas Italian adjectives are semantically ambiguous in postnominal position and display a single interpretive option in prenominal position. There is an exception to this pattern in Italian: there is ambiguity with respect to the semantic distinction in (41j) in both pre- and prenominal position, whereas in English adjectives have an idiomatic reading only in prenominal position. When placed after the noun, attributive adjectives can only be interpreted literally:

(42) *Italian*

- a. È un prodotto di bassa lega  
It's a product of low alloy (lit.)  
'It's a product of poor quality'
- b. Loro sono ai ferri corti  
They are at irons short (lit.)  
'They are at loggerheads (with each other)'

(43) *English*

- a. ?He has got a quicker temper than his father
- b. \*He has got a temper quicker than his father

(Cinque 2014: 13)



It seems that pre- and postnominal adjectives cannot have the same reading, but this is actually not true, as in the case of nonpredicative adjectives that can be placed pre- as well as postnominally, such as in: *questa è una vera e propria falsità* and *questa è una falsità vera e propria* ('this is a real lie')<sup>28</sup>. In general, there are many instances of adjectives which retain the same interpretation in different positions, as shown by Cinque with reference to several Romance languages (i.e. French, Spanish; Romanian)<sup>29</sup>. The mirror interpretive pattern of English (Germanic) and Italian (Romance) can be summarized in the following tables (from Cinque 2010: 16-17):

**Table 1.1 – Interpretive patterns of English (Germanic)**

Prenominal adjectives	N	Postnominal adjectives
Stage-level or individual-level reading		Stage-level (or individual-level) reading
Restrictive or non-restrictive reading		Restrictive reading
Implicit relative clause or modal reading		Implicit relative clause reading
Intersective or non-intersective reading		Intersective reading
Relative or absolute reading		[cannot be tested]
Comparative or absolute reading of superlatives		[cannot be tested]
Specificity- or non-specificity inducing reading		Specificity- or non-specificity inducing reading
Evaluative or epistemic reading of 'unknown'		[cannot be tested]
NP-dependent or discourse anaphoric reading of 'different'		[cannot be tested]
Literal or idiomatic reading		Literal reading

**Table 1.2 – Interpretive patterns of Italian (Romance)**

Prenominal adjectives	N	Postnominal adjectives
individual-level reading		Individual-level or stage-level reading
non-restrictive reading		Restrictive reading or non-restrictive reading

<sup>28</sup> Cinque (2010: 6)

<sup>29</sup> *ibidem*

modal reading	Modal or Implicit relative clause reading
non-intersective reading	Intersective or non-intersective reading
absolute reading	Relative or absolute reading
absolute reading of superlatives	Comparative or absolute reading of superlatives
Specificity-inducing reading	Specificity- or non-specificity inducing reading
Evaluative reading of 'unknown'	Evaluative or epistemic reading of 'unknown'
NP-dependent reading of 'different'	NP-dependent or discourse anaphoric reading of 'different'
Literal or idiomatic reading	Literal or idiomatic reading

The two interpretive possibilities that are available prenominal in Germanic and postnominal in Romance are in turn rigidly ordered (examples and discussion in Cinque 2010: 17-22):

(44) *English (Germanic)*

- a. stage-level > individual-level > N > stage-level
- b. restrictive > non-restrictive > N > restrictive
- c. implicit relative clause reading > modal > N > implicit relative clause reading
- d. intersective > non-intersective > N > intersective
- e. relative > absolute > N > relative (to a comparison class)
- f. [comparative superlative > absolute superlative N] (does not apply)
- g. [non-specificity-inducing > specificity-inducing N] (does not apply)
- h. epistemic > evaluative > N
- i. discourse anaphoric > NP dependent > N

(45) *Italian (Romance)*

- a. individual-level > N > individual-level > stage-level
- b. non-restrictive > N > non-restrictive > restrictive
- c. modal > N > modal > implicit relative clause reading
- d. non-intersective > N > non-intersective > intersective
- e. absolute > N > absolute > relative (to a comparison class)
- f. [N absolute superlative > comparative superlative] (does not apply)

- g. [N > specificity-inducing > non-specificity inducing] (does not apply)
- h. evaluative > N > evaluative > epistemic
- i. NP-dependent > N > NP-dependent > discourse-anaphoric

On the basis of the possible readings, APs can be distinguished between “direct modification” ones (associated with individual, non-restrictive, modal, non-intersective, absolute, specificity-inducing, evaluative, NP-dependent) and APs derived from reduced relative clauses APs or “indirect modification” APs, in Sproat and Shih’s (1988, 1991) terms.

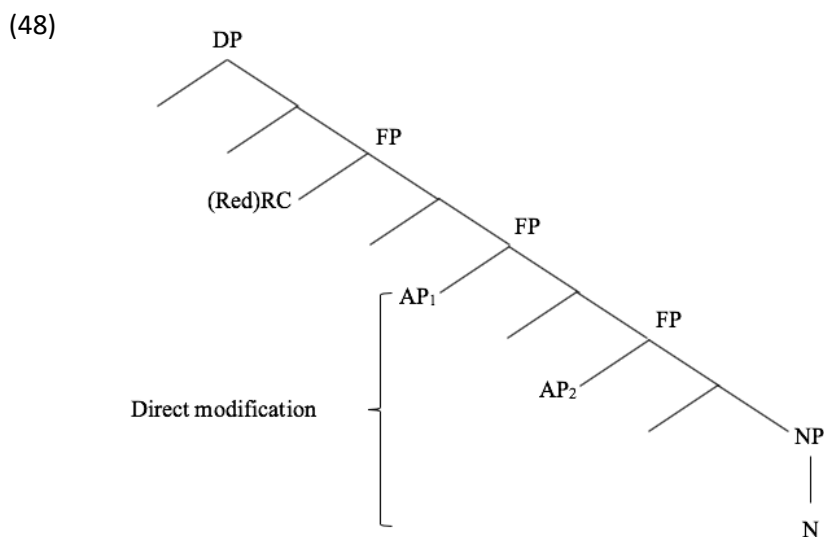
The orders displayed in (44) and (45) can thus be summarized as follows:

- (46) *English (Germanic)*  
AP from reduced RC > “direct modification” AP > N > AP from reduced RC
- (47) *Italian (Romance)*  
“direct modification” AP > N > “direct modification AP” > AP from reduced RC

(Cinque 2010: 22)

Each of the two above-mentioned classes is associated with a separate source inside the DP and only phrasal movement can account for the different interpretive possibilities. There is a single structure for both Romance and Germanic, in which the specifiers of the higher field host adjectives derived from (reduced) relative clauses, whereas the specifiers of the lower portion of DP are the Merge positions for direct modification APs.

The proposed structure is sketched as follows:



(Cinque 2010: 25)

In addition to the semantic properties associated with each source, there are syntactic properties as well:

(49) *Direct modification APs:*

- i) mostly non-predicative, but such adjectives might be used predicatively as well;
- ii) closer to the noun; iii) maximal projections; iv) a closed functional class<sup>30</sup>; v) rigidly ordered.

(50) *APs from reduced relative clauses:*

- i) predicative; ii) further to the noun; iii) maximal projections; iv) an open class; v) not subject to AOR<sup>31</sup>.

To summarize, Cinque (2014) distinguishes between predicative (APs from reduced relative clauses) and non-predicative adjectives (direct modification APs) on the basis of the cluster of syntactic and semantic properties that have been previously discussed.

The existence of two sources for adjectival modification is corroborated by crosslinguistic evidence, since there are languages lacking either direct modification adjectives or indirect modification ones (e.g. Yoruba for the latter, see Cinque 2006, 2010). Data from acquisition (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2011, for Italian) predict as well that there exist two sources for modification. Children first produce direct modification adjectives, then acquire knowledge of indirect modification. Stage-level adjectives are produced later than individual-level ones and follow the acquisition of relative and (reduced) relative clauses.

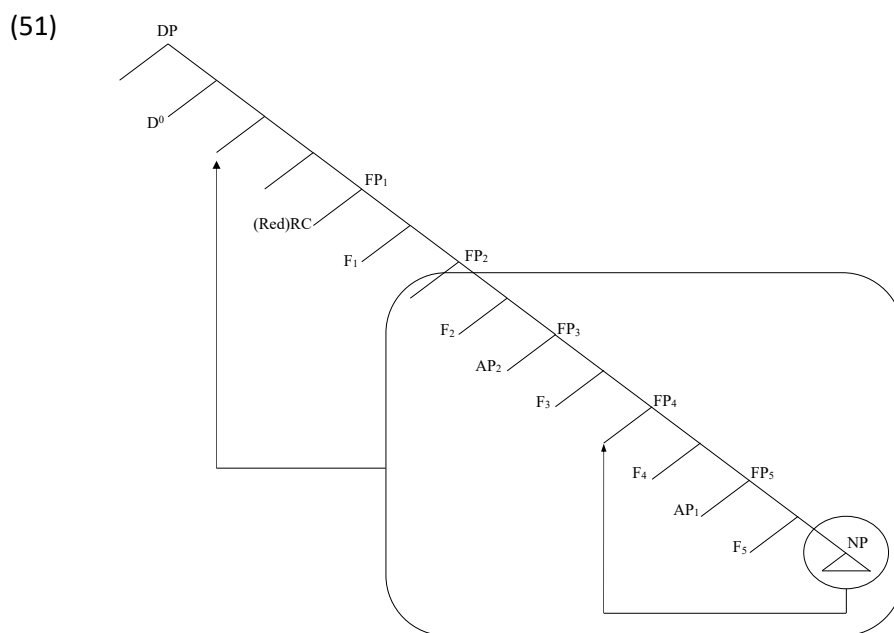
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<sup>30</sup> Direct modification adjectives are considered a closed functional class because, as noted in Niger-Congo languages, Papuan and other languages of India, America and Pacific (Dixon 1977), only a few elements belong to such category. Cinque (2010: 43) provides another piece of evidence from Uto-Aztecan languages for the functional nature of direct modification adjectives: adjectival modification is expressed via noun prefixes, or there are independent words in turn modified by special suffixes.

<sup>31</sup> Nonreduced relative clauses do not follow a rigid order with respect to each other, i.e. *Loro accettavano solo studenti che fossero stranieri che fossero (anche) ricchi* ('They used to accept only students that were from abroad that were (also) rich') and *Loro accettavano solo studenti che fossero ricchi che fossero (anche) stranieri* are equally acceptable. Thus, there are two possible orderings for the indirect modification adjectives from the aforementioned relative clauses, i.e. *Loro accettavano solo studenti stranieri ricchi* and *Loro accettavano solo studenti ricchi stranieri* (Examples from Cinque 2010: 31).

### 1.2.3.4 Cinque's (2010) analysis of Italian

The structure proposed in (51) exemplifies NP movement in Romance, where most direct modification adjectives are postnominal. The NP therefore moves across some of the direct modification APs, then the whole constituent that hosts direct modification adjectives raises above reduced relative clauses.



(Cinque 2010: 37)

When only direct modifiers are involved, the resulting order is the mirror-image of Germanic:

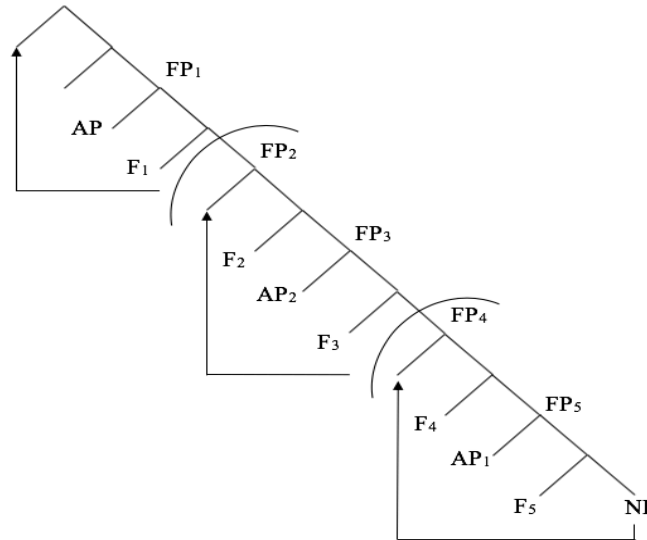
- (52)
- a. un cane nero enorme  
a dog black enormous  
'an enormous black dog'
  - b. un tavolo cinese rotondo  
a table Chinese round  
'a round Chinese table'
  - c. una piazza grande bellissima  
a square big beautiful  
'a beautiful big square'

(Cinque 2010: 73)

If one assumes that Germanic and Romance have the same underlying structure, such surface unmarked orders are derived via a "roll-up" movement: the NP raises to a Spec

position around A and then pied-pipes the category that dominates it, moving towards another specifier position (*whose-picture*<sup>32</sup> pied-piping). The (Dem Num) N A order is therefore derived from the basic (Dem Num) A N order<sup>33</sup>:

(53)



(Cinque 2010: 73)

Alongside the unmarked orders displayed in (52), other more ‘marked’ configurations are also allowed in Italian, for instance:

- (54)
- a. un cane nero enorme
  - b. un tavolo rotondo cinese
  - c. una piazza bellissima grande

This violation of AOR is due to the fact that the rightmost APs should be interpreted as reduced relative clauses and, hence, merged higher in structure. The NP and the direct modification AP then move across the other adjective merged in the Red(RC) source, therefore generating the orders in (54)<sup>34</sup>.

In Italian, the NP must move across classificatory adjectives and adjectives of nationality, whereas movement across APs denoting color, value, size, shape is optional. However, it is worth noting that differences in adjective ordering are found in the standard language (52) and, above all, in dialects: for instance, as will be further shown,

<sup>32</sup> It is defined as the movement of [NP [XP]] (Cinque 2005: 321).

<sup>33</sup> There is another way to derive the Dem Num A N order, namely via NP-movement to Spec positions, but without pied-piping. Such movement is considered to be marked, contrary to the *whose-picture* pied piping (Cinque 2005: 321-2).

<sup>34</sup> Cinque (2010: 74).

modification in Abruzzese (and in Southern Italian dialects) is mostly postnominal, with the NP raising above attributive as well as possessive adjectives (§1.2.5, chapters 2 and 3).

The analysis of Italian clearly demonstrates that only phrasal movement can account for pre- and postnominal placement of direct modification adjectives. Moreover, movement of the NP explains why obligatorily postnominal adjectives in Italian (i.e. classificatory and nationality ones) are not only prenominal, but also the closest to the head noun in Germanic.

### **1.2.3. Adjectives in Italian**

Italian adjectives generally agree with the head noun in gender and number, but there are other two agreement patterns: i) adjectives inflected only for number (i.e., *abbondante* ‘abundant’; *socievole* ‘sociable’; *amabile* ‘pleasant’, as well as  $A_{color}$  such as *arancione* ‘orange’; *marrone* ‘brown’; *verde* ‘green’); ii) invariable adjectives (i.e. *pari* ‘even’; *dispari* ‘odd’; loanwords such as *blu* ‘blue’ or *chic*, or adjectives referring to non-European ethnic groups, like *Bantu*)<sup>35</sup>

As for their position in the nominal expression, they can occur either before or after the noun:

- (55) una bella palla rossa  
a-F.SG. beautiful-F.SG. ball-F.SG. red-F.SG.  
‘a beautiful red ball’

However, when both a prenominal and a postnominal adjective modify the noun there are different scope relations: prenominal A takes scope over N *plus* postnominal A, whereas postnominal A takes scope only over N.

The two positions differ with respect to the function of the adjective, as illustrated in several grammars of Italian (Nespor 1988; Giorgi 1988; Serianni 1988; Guasti 1991; Dardano and Trifone 1997; Salvi and Vanelli 2004; Trifone and Palermo 2014): the main distinction is between an appositive/descriptive and a restrictive reading (Table 1.2 for further interpretive differences). Prenominal adjectives usually convey the speaker’s

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<sup>35</sup> Examples from Guasti (1988: 335-6), in *Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione*.

personal judgment, whereas postnominal adjectives tend to express inherent features of the N and qualify the N with respect to a specific set of entities, as in:

- (56) a. Ho visto la grande casa di mia zia  
b. Ho visto la casa grande di mia zia  
'I saw my aunt's big house'

The prenominal adjective in (56a) qualifies the house as being *big for a house*, whereas the one in (56b) distinguishes that house from another house owned by the person: there must be another house owned by the aunt, which is smaller in comparison to the one mentioned in the sentence.

However, the unmarked Italian word order is the following, with Adjectives occurring in postnominal position.

- (57) Determiner (Demonstrative)<sup>36</sup> > Numerals > Noun > Adjective > Complement

As for the unmarked serialization for adjectives, there is a difference between event nominals and object nominals, as previously shown (see also (38) in § 1.2.2.2 for Cinque's (1994) hierarchy):

- (58) a. *Event-denoting*  
D > Poss > Cardinal > Ordinal > Speaker-or. > Subject-or. > **N** > Manner > Thematic  
Le sue due altre probabili goffe reazioni immediate (alla tua lettera)
- b. *Object-denoting*  
D > Poss > Cardinal > Ordinal > Quality > Size > **N** > Shape > Color > Nationality  
I suoi due altri bei grandi quadri tondi grigi cinesi

(Cinque 1994: 96)

The vast majority of attributive adjectives appears after the noun<sup>37</sup>, providing therefore evidence for Greenberg's Universal 19:

"When the general rule is that the descriptive adjectives follows, there may be a minority of adjectives which usually precede, but when the general rule is that descriptive adjectives precede, there are no exceptions."

(Greenberg 1963: 87)

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<sup>36</sup> Determiners and demonstratives are in complementary distribution.

<sup>37</sup> Data is provided by Scarano's (1999) research on written and oral Italian: the vast majority of Italian adjectives occurs in postnominal position. Prenominal adjectives often appear in collocations, such as *bella giornata* ('a good day') or *bravi ragazzi* ('nice/good guys') or have a more 'idiomatic' reading compared to postnominal adjectives, which usually retain the literal meaning.



The present work investigates adjective ordering with respect to object-denoting nominals (see chapter 2 and 3), therefore we will now focus on the serialization displayed in (58b).

As previously explained (§ 1.2.3.4), Italian NP obligatorily raises above classificatory adjectives and adjectives of nationality:

(59) *Classificatory*

- a. la centrale **nucleare**  
\*la **nucleare** centrale  
'the nuclear power station'
- b. il dirigente **scolastico**  
\*lo **scolastico** dirigente  
'the head teacher'

(60) *Nationality*

- l'automobile **tedesca**  
\*la **tedesca** automobile  
'the German car'

Italian NP can optionally raise above shape, color, quality and size adjectives; however, while prenominal occurrences of  $A_{\text{size}}$  and  $A_{\text{quality}}$  are quite common, even in dialects (§ 2.3), prenominal  $A_{\text{color}}$  and  $A_{\text{shape}}$  are usually found in a polished writing style or for poetic purposes:

(61) *Color*

- a. Le **verdi** colline dell'Umbria
- b. Le colline **verdi** dell'Umbria  
'the green hills of Umbria'

(62) *Shape*

- a. Il **tondo** ovale del suo viso
- b. L'ovale **tondo** del suo viso  
'his/her oval face'

(63) *Size*

- a. L'**enorme** sagoma della cupola
- b. La sagoma **enorme** della cupola  
'the dome's huge shape'

(64) *Quality*

a. Il **simpatico** ragazzo

b. Il ragazzo **simpatico**

‘the nice guy’

(Examples in (61) and (62) from Cinque 2010: 72)

It is possible to have at most three adjectives in postnominal position, as in: *una gara gastronomica internazionale famosissima* (‘a very famous international gastronomic competition’)<sup>38</sup>. It has to be noted that these postposed adjectives are subordinated with each other, since every A added on the right of N modifies the newly formed cluster on its left: *gastronomica* modifies *gara*, [*gara gastronomica*] is modified by *internazionale*, then *famosissima* modifies [*gara gastronomica internazionale*]. Such formations with more than two attributive adjectives are considered to be marked, it is more common to find two subordinated adjectives instead. The relative order of subordinated adjectives can be easily established when there are two classificatory adjectives and one of them defines a smaller class with respect to the other, as in *la Chiesa Cristiana Cattolica* (‘the Christian Catholic Church’). On the other hand, when it is not possible to compare the two adjectives, the one which expresses the most relevant quality is usually placed closer to N, compare:

(65) a. Vorrei un vestito rosso leggero

b. Vorrei un vestito leggero rosso

‘I would like a lightweight red dress’

Nespor (1988: 451)

The meaning conveyed by (65a) is that the speaker would like a red dress which is also made of a lightweight fabric, whereas sentence (65b) is slightly different, because in this case the speaker prefers a dress which must be first and foremost lightweight and red as well.

When semantics is not sufficient to establish which is the most significant adjective, the two modifiers are ordered on the basis of phonological criteria: the shorter adjectives tend to be placed closer to N.

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<sup>38</sup> Example from Nespor (1988: 442), in *Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione*

Furthermore, the postnominal position offers room for adjectives with opposite meaning, i.e.:

(66) a. In quella strada ci sono case belle e brutte  
'There are nice as well as ugly houses in that street'

b. \*In quella strada ci sono belle e brutte case

(66b) is unacceptable because two adjectives with opposite meaning cannot occur in prenominal position because they both denote the same referent: (ii) is ungrammatical because a house cannot be nice and ugly at the same time. As shown in the previous example, postnominal adjectives can be coordinated. If the two (or more) adjectives belong to different semantic classes, they will not be subject to AOR, contrary to subordinated modifiers; for instance, *il mare caldo e tranquillo* is equivalent to *il mare tranquillo e caldo* ('the warm and calm sea').

Italian allows reduplication of postnominal adjectives in place of superlatives, i.e. *un film bello bello* (lit. 'a nice nice film'; 'a very nice film') or *un grido forte forte*<sup>39</sup> (lit. 'a loud loud shout'; 'a very loud shout'). Nominal expressions which display superlative forms are however equally acceptable, i.e., *un film bellissimo* or *un grido fortissimo*. It is worth noting that adjective reduplication is more common in non-standard varieties, since superlative suffixes are not part of the grammar, as in Abruzzese (Lanciano) *callà callà* (lit. 'hot hot'; 'very hot')<sup>40</sup>.

As stated in the first part of the paragraph, Italian adjectives can appear in prenominal position as well and, in some cases, the same adjective has a different meaning depending on the position with respect to N. More specifically, the prenominal position is associated with a more 'idiomatic' reading, whereas the postnominal position correlates with a literal interpretation of the adjective (examples from Trifone and Palermo 2014: 97):

(67) a. **alto**: *un alto magistrato* ('a senior magistrate') / *un magistrato alto* ('a tall magistrate')

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<sup>39</sup> Serianni (1988: 184).

<sup>40</sup> Verratti (1968: 50) underlines that superlative suffixes do not exist in Abruzzese, and other constructions are therefore used to convey the same concept. For instance, in addition to adjective reduplication, another option is to add emphatic words (*mbriachà a mmortà*, 'drunk to death') or adverbs (*ricch'addavera* 'truly rich').

- b. **vecchio**: *un vecchio amico* ('a long-time friend') / *un amico vecchio* ('a friend who is old')
- c. **buono**: *un buon medico* ('a person who is good as a doctor') / *un medico buono* ('a doctor who is good as a person')
- d. **certo**: *avere certe informazioni* ('to have certain information') / *avere informazioni certe* ('to have true, undisputable information')
- e. **grande**: *un grande libro* ('a great book, a masterpiece') / *un libro grande* ('a big book, big as an object')
- f. **povero**: *un pover'uomo* ('a pitiable man') / *un uomo povero* ('a man who is poor')

Another adjective which is often used in prenominal position is *bello* ('nice'). When such adjective occurs before the noun, it functions more as an intensifier, as in the sentence *ho fatto una bella dormita*<sup>41</sup> ('I slept well').

We will then shed light on possessive adjectives, which are prenominal in standard Italian and are the highest adjectives inside the DP, occurring right after the determiner, i.e. *il mio amico* ('my friend'). Postnominal occurrences of the possessive are to be considered acceptable, even though marked, i.e. *l'amico mio* (lit. 'the friend my'). Such expression would be considered natural by a Southern Italian speaker (because possessive adjectives are allowed only after N; for more details see § 2.1) or would be interpreted in several ways if pronounced by a speaker from a different area: (i) *mio* has a contrastive function, because it distinguishes a friend of mine from i.e., a friend of yours/his, etc.; (ii) it is ironic, used to refer to an annoying person, far from being considered a friend.

Possessives can occur postnominally in vocative constructions (75a, example from Longobardi 1994: 626) or in certain crystalized expressions (75b):

- (68) a. Gianni mio caro, vieni qui!  
'My dear Gianni, come here!'
- b. Casa/camera mia  
'My house/my (bed)room'

Non-standard varieties differ from standard Italian with respect to adjective placement.

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<sup>41</sup> Note that in this example, *bella dormita* should be considered as a sort of collocation.

The present work considers a Southern non-standard Italian variety (Eastern Adriatic Abruzzese<sup>42</sup>), whose attributive adjectives are predominantly postnominal, with only a few exceptions. The most relevant difference, however, is the postnominal placement of possessive adjectives, as will be shown in detail in the following paragraph.

### **1.3 Demonstratives**

This paragraph will briefly address the issue of how to analyze demonstratives, which have been differently categorized during the last decades. Bearing in mind that the present work is focused on adjective ordering, we will not delve into all the hypotheses regarding the status of demonstratives, but a short overview is in any case necessary in order to account for demonstrative doubling, a phenomenon tested in the dialectal inquiry carried out in Pianella (Pescara) (for further details see Chapters 3 and 4).

#### **1.3.1 Syntactic analyses for demonstratives**

No consensus has been reached with regard to the position and the status of demonstratives inside the DP structure. Earlier analyses (Dryer 1992; Delsing 1993) assign to demonstratives an adjectival status, whereas more recent accounts (Bernstein 1997, Cinque 2005, 2010; Leu 2007, 2008; Giusti 1993, 1997, 2015; Brugé 1996, 2002, Guardiano 2012) consider demonstratives to be phrasal elements merged in a Spec position. However, there are differences with respect to the Merge position of Dem: (i) there is a complex functional projection hosting a demonstrative and its reinforcer, which is immediately below DP; (ii) demonstratives are generated low and move higher in structure, having SpecDP as their landing site.

Leu (2007, 2008) and Cinque's (2010) accounts depart from Bernstein's (1997) hypothesis: demonstratives are phrasal elements, hosted in a functional projection FP together with the relative reinforcer. Such FP is right below DP and the demonstrative is hosted in Spec position, as shown in the following example from Cinque (2010: 84), which provides a bracketed structure for the Italian sentence *questi tre bei libri qui* (lit. 'these nice books here'):

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<sup>42</sup> Definition from Pellegrini (1977)

(69) [Det [<sub>XP</sub> questi qui] [tre [ bei [ libri]]]]

Det these-here three nice books

The surface Romance order Dem > A > N > Reinforcer is explained by presupposing that the demonstrative moves as a head to the left of FP, hence leaving the reinforcer in postnominal position.

These accounts are based on the assumption that there is a single, universal Merge order, which is Dem > Num > Adj > N (Greenberg's Universal 20<sup>43</sup>). Since there are languages allowing postnominal demonstratives, their Merge order is derived from the base one, where the only possible position for the demonstrative is high in structure (see Cinque 2005 for all the derivations from the base Merge order).

Accounts in (ii) depart from cross-linguistic observations from i.e. Spanish, Greek and Rumanian, where the demonstrative can occur DP-initially as well as non-DP-initially<sup>44</sup>. There must be a low Spec position (SpecFP) where demonstratives are generated and optionally raised to SpecDP. This specifier position is lower than all the APs but precedes the ones occupied by the postnominal possessive and the NP as well. On the basis of such assumption, Brugé (2012) slightly modifies Cinque's (2010) basic structure for nominals, distinguishing between event-denoting and object-denoting nominals:

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<sup>43</sup> "When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite" (Greenberg 1963: 87).

<sup>44</sup> Giusti (1997) provides the following examples:

*Rumanian*

- a. acest/acei (frumos) băiat (frumos)  
this/that (nice) boy (nice)
- b. băiatul acesta/acela (frumos)  
boy-il thisA/ thatA (nice)  
'this/that nice boy'

*Modern Greek*

- a. afto to oreo to vivlio  
this the good the book
- b. to oreo afto to vivlio  
the good this the book
- c. to oreo to vivlio afto  
the good the book this  
'this good book'

*Spanish* (from Brugé 1994)

- la reacción alemana esa a las críticas  
the reaction German this to the criticisms  
'this German reaction to the criticisms'

(70) *Event-denoting nominals*

[<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>XP</sub> ... [<sub>HP</sub> Subject-orientedAP H [<sub>LP</sub> Manner/ThematicAP L [<sub>FP</sub>DemonstrativeP F [<sub>NP</sub>Agent/Exper.PP [<sub>N'</sub> N Theme PP]]]]]]]

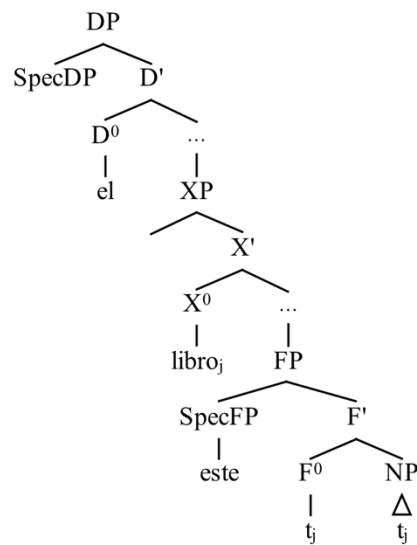
(71) *Object-denoting nominals*

[<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>XP</sub> ... ZPQualityAP Z [<sub>HP</sub>SizeAP H [<sub>LP</sub>ShapeAP L [<sub>MP</sub>ColorAP M [<sub>OP</sub>NationalityAP O [<sub>FP</sub>Demonstrative P F [<sub>NP</sub>PossessorPP N [<sub>NP</sub>Agent PP [<sub>N'</sub> N Compl.PP]]]]]]]]]]]

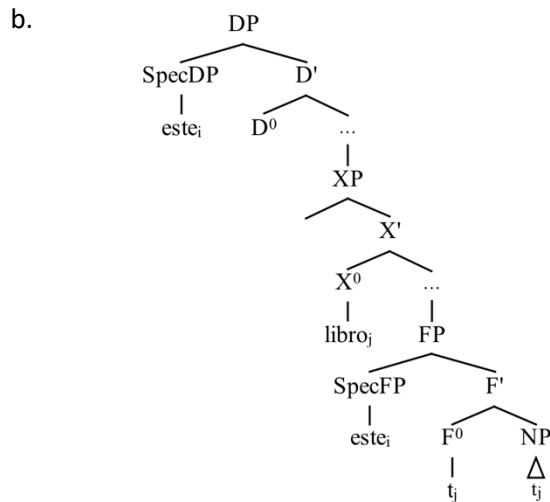
(Brugé 2012: 24-5)

A X'-structure which can account for both *el libro este/ese/aquel*<sup>45</sup> (lit. 'the book this/that'; 'this/that book') and *este/ese/aquel libro* ('this/that book') is therefore the following, with two possible positions for demonstratives, the base one (SpecFP) and the higher one (SpecDP):

(72) a.



<sup>45</sup> This construction is marked and it is acceptable only in colloquial Spanish (personal communication) and, as Brugé notes (2012: 44), when the demonstrative appears in postnominal position, the nominal expression is perceived to have a derogatory meaning.



(Adapted from Brugé 2012: 17)

The two positions are strictly related to each other: Dem can optionally raise to [Spec, DP] before Spell-Out, but there is no optionality for raising to [Spec, FP] at LF (Brugé 2012).

The idea of a strong syntactic connection between the high and the low layer of the DP is advocated by Guardiano (2012) as well<sup>46</sup>, who agrees with the hypothesis that there is a low Merge position for demonstratives and the high position is the derived one instead. Demonstratives can therefore move independently of the NP.

The basic Merge order is the following (Guardiano 2012: 108):

(73) D Num APs Dem NP

Even though there is a link between the two positions for demonstratives, it has been observed in literature that DP-initial and non-DP-initial demonstratives differ with respect to lexical, semantic and syntactic features, as summarized by Guardiano (2012: 109):

(74) *DP-initial demonstratives*

a. they can be reduced

<sup>46</sup> See Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou (2007) and Roberts (2010) for similar accounts.

AHS identify two positions for demonstratives inside the DP. The higher is DP<sub>1</sub>, whereas the generation site is low and located in DP<sub>2</sub>. The higher layer is associated with deixis, the other with determination. Roberts claims that UG makes available two Dem-positions, an initial and a final one. Demonstratives are generated in a low position and are defined as subject of nP. The proposed bracketed nominal structure with the nP projection is the following:



- b. they have a stronger deictic force
- c. D-properties<sup>47</sup> allowed; they have a fixed position

(75) *Non-DP-initial demonstratives*

- a. they are never reduced
- b. they are more adjectival, evaluative in nature
- c. D-properties are not allowed; more variability in the position

Typological studies<sup>48</sup> show that DP-initial demonstratives are more frequent than non-DP-initial ones, but also that there is a limited number of languages which allow two overt demonstratives in the same nominal expression<sup>49</sup>. This phenomenon, which has been labeled *demonstrative doubling*, is found in Abruzzese, as the following sub-paragraph will show.

### 1.3.2 Demonstrative doubling

Demonstrative doubling is an emphatic pattern which is typical of Abruzzese variety (see Finamore (1893), De Lollis (1901), Rohlfs (1968), Verratti (1968), Giammarco (1973), Pescarini and Pascetta (2014), Ledgeway (2015)).

Apparently, no other southern Italian variety displays such construction, where the NP is surrounded by two demonstratives: one is DP-initial, whereas the second is the corresponding reinforced form of the first one.

This pattern is available for all the three demonstrative pronouns, since Abruzzese is a ternary demonstrative system: *queštə* ('this', close to the speaker), *quessə* ('that', close to the hearer), *quellə* ('that', far from both the speaker and the hearer):

(76) a.	štu <sup>50</sup>	cavallə	queštə	šti	caviəllə	quištə
	this-M.SG.	horse-M.SG.	this-M.SG.	these-M.PL.	horses-M.PL.	this-M.PL.
	'this horse'			'these horses'		
b.	šta	pechərə	queštə	štə	pechərə	quištə
	this-F.SG.	sheep-F.SG.	this-F.SG.	these-F.PL.	sheep-F.PL.	these-F.PL.

<sup>47</sup> Among these properties, we can mention definiteness, person and, especially for demonstratives, locality, namely the relationship between the referent and the context.

<sup>48</sup> For instance, *World Atlas of Languages* (WALS), available online at <http://wals.info>

<sup>49</sup> WALS Chapter 88 lists 17 world languages which allow the order Dem > N > Dem

<sup>50</sup> This is the reduced masculine singular form for *queštə*, whereas (90b) displays the reduced feminine form. (90c-d) show the reduced forms, inflected for gender and number, of *quessə*.

	‘this sheep’		‘these sheep’
c.	ssu          canə          quessə		ssi          chiənə          quissə
	that-M.SG. dog-M.SG. that-M.SG.		those-M.PL. dogs-M.PL. that-M.PL.
	‘that dog’ (close to the hearer)		‘those dogs’ (close to the hearer)
d.	ssa          crapa          quessə		ssə          crapə          quissə
	that-F.SG. goat-F.SG. that-F.SG.		those-F.PL. goats-F.PL. those-F.SG.
	‘that goat’ (close to the hearer)		‘those goats’ (close to the hearer)
e.	chəlu          vovə          quellə		chəli          vuovə          quillə
	that-M.SG. ox-M.SG. that-M.SG.		those-M.PL. oxen-M.PL. those-M.SG.
	‘that ox’		‘those oxen’
f.	chəla          vacca          quellə		chələ          vacca          quillə
	that-F.SG. cow-F.SG. that-F.SG.		those-F.PL. cows-F.PL. those-F.PL.
	‘that cow’		‘those cows’

(Verratti 1968: 52-3)

However, it is worth noting that it is not necessary to use both demonstratives: as a matter of fact, nominal expressions displaying the DP-initial demonstrative only are perfectly grammatical, i.e. *štu libbrə* (‘this book’).

Examples (90a-d) show that the first demonstrative can be reduced, but there are cases in which both demonstratives undergo reduction: *štu lebbərə koštə* (San Valentino in Abruzzo Citeriore (PE), from Pescarini and Pascetta 2014: 107) is equivalent to:

- (77) *štu                  lebbərə          ko*  
 this-M.SG. book-M.SG. this-M.SG.  
 ‘this book’

The reduced form should not be considered a locative reinforcer as the Italian *qui* (‘here’) because it has a completely different morphological structure: the corresponding locative adverbial is instead *aecchə* (‘here’) and, as Pescarini and Pascetta (2014: 107) note, constructions such as *\*štu lebbərə aecchə* are ungrammatical.

As anticipated above, demonstrative doubling has been tested during our inquiry on adjectival ordering in Pianellese. Details on the survey development and on the data gathered during the research will be provided in Chapters 2 and 3.

## CHAPTER 2: Adjectives in Abruzzese

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A striking difference between Italian and Abruzzese adjectives is the lack of agreement in gender with the head noun. More specifically, Eastern Adriatic Abruzzese, (i.e. Pescaraese) displays a pattern of partial agreement with N, since all nouns and adjectives end in -ə, irrespective of gender and number:

(1) *Masculine*

a. lu            cavallə        bbonə  
the-M.SG. horse-M.SG. good-SG.

‘the good horse’

b. li            cavillə        bbunə  
the-M.PL. horses-M.PL. good-PL.

‘the good horses’

(2) *Feminine*

a. la            femməna      bbonə  
the-F.SG. woman-F.SG. good-SG.

‘the good woman’

b. lə            femmənə      bbunə  
the-F.PL. women-F.PL. good-PL.

‘the good women’

As regards adjectival modification on the whole, its analysis cannot depart from the one conducted for Standard Italian, as well as from the unmarked serialization sketched by Cinque (1994) (see (38a-b)). We will consider the hierarchy for object-denoting nouns provided in (38b) to highlight similarities and differences with respect to Italian.

### 2.1 Possessives

Possessives are always postnominal, as in all central-southern Italian dialects divided by the isogloss Rome-Ancona, which in turn separates Marche, Umbria and Lazio into northern and southern areas. Such postnominal possessives do not concord in gender with the head noun and there are plural forms only for 1PL. *nostrə* ‘our’ and 2PL. *vostrə*

‘your’, which are distinguished from their singular counterparts through metaphonic alternation.

The following table illustrates possessive declension in a variety of Eastern Abruzzese:

**Table 2.1 – Possessives in Eastern Abruzzese**

Singular	Plural
mi	mi
ti	ti
si	si
noštrə	nuštrə
voštrə	vuštrə
si	si

An example of a nominal expression displaying a postnominal possessive is the following, where a common noun is:

- (3) lu libbrə mi  
 the-M.SG. book-M.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘my book’

(Giammarco 1973: 58)

Abruzzese postnominal possessives, contrary to Italian, are weak<sup>1</sup> because i) they can have non-human reference (4a-b) and ii) are ungrammatical in isolation (4c) and in predicative position (4d). The following data come from the dialect of Lanciano (Chieti):

- (4) a. lu cana mé/té/sé  
 the-M.SG. dogA-M.SG. my/your/his (her)-SG.  
 ‘my/your/his (her) dog’  
 b. lu cuperchia sé  
 the-M.SG. lidA-M.SG. its-SG.  
 ‘its lid’

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<sup>1</sup> See Cardinaletti (1998) for discussion on the tripartite distinction between clitic, weak and strong possessives.

c. Di chi è ssu libbrə? \*Mé  
of whom is-3SG. that-M.SG. book-M.SG.? my-SG.

‘Whose is that book? (It is) mine’

d. \*Ssu libbrə è mé  
that-M.SG. book-M.SG. is-3SG. my-SG.

‘That book is mine’

(Adapted from Cardinaletti and Giusti 2019: 144)

The possessives in (4c-d) should instead be preceded by a definite article:

(5) a. Di chi è ssu libbrə? (È) Lu mé

b. Ssu libbrə è lu mé

Possession can be also expressed by using copular constructions consisting of 3SG. verb *be* followed by a PP:

(6) La casə jè (di) lu mè<sup>2</sup>  
the-F.SG. house-F.SG. is-3SG. (of) the-M.SG. my-SG.

‘The house is mine’

(D’Alessandro and Di Sciullo 2009: 5)

It is worth noting that there is an apparent agreement mismatch between the head noun and the determiner occurring in the copular construction: D is always masculine, irrespective of the gender of the head noun, and agrees only in number. The possessive, on the other hand, agrees both in gender and number with N, i.e. *li casə jè (di) li mi* (‘the houses are mine’); *lu canə jè (di) li mi* (‘the dog is mine’); *li chinə jè (di) li mi* (‘the dogs are mine’)<sup>3</sup>. Similar expressions of possession are quite common throughout southern Italy (see AIS map 1108), especially in the case of nominal expressions introduced by an indefinite article, i.e. *n amikə daji mi* (Trasacco, L’Aquila)<sup>4</sup>.

Moreover, the postposed possessive does not often agree with the head noun, i.e. examples from AIS tables 13 and 14 (in 7a and 7b, respectively) which show that there is a single possessive form not inflected for gender and number<sup>5</sup>:

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<sup>2</sup> Example from Ariellese (a variety spoken in Arielli, Chieti). A similar construction has been provided by two informants from Cerratina di Pianella (Pescara), i.e. *sta casə è de lu mi* (‘this is my house’). For further details see Chapter 3.

<sup>3</sup> Examples from D’Alessandro and Di Sciullo (2009: 5)

<sup>4</sup> Renzi (1997: 166)

<sup>5</sup> Data gathered during research for ASIt (*Atlante Sintattico dei dialetti d’Italia*) in Pianella (Pescara) show that there is a single possessive form for both masculine and feminine nouns, i.e. *la casa mi* (‘my house’)

(7) *Bellante (Teramo)*

- a. li                fretilla            tu  
the-M.F.PL. brothersA-PL. your-PL.  
'your brothers'
- b. li                surella            tu  
the-M.F.PL. sistersA-PL. your-PL.  
'your sisters'

However, kinship nouns display a peculiar pattern, since 1SG. and 2SG. possessives generally become enclitic when occurring after these nouns<sup>6</sup>:

- (8) a. *zijəmə*  
uncle-my-CL-1SG.  
'my uncle'
- b. *fratətə*  
brother-your-CL-2SG.  
'your brother'

1SG. possessives are not expressed in some contexts. The following example shows that the bare noun *mammə* ('mother') can stand for 'my mother' (from ASIt Questionnaire 10):

- (9) *Mammə      mə      dicə      sembrə chə lu      fratellə      è      bbrava*  
mother-F.SG. CL.DAT. says-3SG. always that the-M.SG. brother-M.SG. is      good-  
SG.  
'My mother says that her brother is a good person'

Example (9) sheds light on another common phenomenon, which involves 3sg. possessives: they are often not used and instead replaced by the definite determiner<sup>7</sup>.

It has to be noted that N + 3SG. possessive (*lu fratell(a) si*; 'his/her brother') is in any

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and *lu cciardina mi* ('my garden'). Other examples are in Manzini & Savoia (2005: 558): i.e. in Mascioni (L'Aquila): *lu kane me* ('my dog') vs. *li kani me* ('my dogs'); Montenerodomo (Chieti): *lu vestitə mi/ti/si* ('my/your/his/her dress') vs. *lə vestitə mi/si/ti* ('my/your/his/her dresses').

<sup>6</sup> This is the most common pattern, but there are instances of an enclitic 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun with a vocative function, i.e. *mamməsé* ('my son'), *nonnasé* ('my grandson') and *fratəsé* ('my brother'). These three forms, which appear rather peculiar, can be understood only by presupposing a context, i.e. *mamməsé* has to be intended as a nominal expression pronounced by a mother, who defines herself as "I, the mother of my child" (Rohlf's 1968: 130). For further examples, see AIS maps 5,8,13,14,16,18,19,20,73.

<sup>7</sup> Finamore (1893: 22) mentions other examples: *sta nghe lu sòcera* ('he/she lives with his/her father-in-law'); *ha manutə nghə la mojjə* ('he came with his wife').

case acceptable. 3SG. possessive form is morphologically the same as the 3PL one, so we have ambiguity between the two forms. In order to overcome such ambiguity, PPs are in use, i.e. *də issə* ('theirs')<sup>8</sup>, *də quistə/də quissə/də quillə* ('of these/those')<sup>9</sup> or *dell'itrə* (lit. 'of the others') for 3pl. A prepositional phrase can be used to express 3SG. possession as well, as in *də questə/də quessə/də quellə* or, again, *də cussə/də cullə*, with metaphony at work.

## 2.2 Numerals

Numerals immediately follow possessives in Cinque's hierarchy for Italian, whereas in Abruzzese they are right beside the determiner, but before the noun as in standard Italian. The linear word order is therefore the following: Det > Num > N.

There are two different forms, inflected for gender, for the numeral 'one', namely *nu* (masculine) and *na* (feminine). Numerals 'two' (*ddu*) and 'three' (*trə*) are not inflected for gender and number, analogously to Italian. However, it is worth noting that Abruzzese (Pescarese) differs with respect to some other Central and Southern varieties where there are still some instances of declension, at least for numerals from 1 to 10<sup>10</sup>. This paragraph, and the following examples ((10) and (11)), focuses on *A*<sub>cardinal</sub> from 1 to 3 and on *A*<sub>ordinal</sub> 'first' and 'second', which are those chosen in the dialect survey (see Chapter 3 and 4 for further details).

- (10) a. (s)i        ccattatə **nu**        citronə?  
           are-2SG. bought one-M.SG. watermelon-M.SG.?  
           'Have you bought one watermelon?'  
 b. Giuannə    te'        **na**        surellə  
           Giovanni-M. has-3SG. one-F.SG. sister-F.SG.  
           'Giovanni has a sister'  
 c. so        magnatə **ddu**    ficurə  
           am-1SG. eaten two-PL. figs-F.PL

<sup>8</sup> Giammarco (1973: 58).

<sup>9</sup> More details on Abruzzese demonstrative system are in § 1.3 and in Chapters 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> As noted by Rohlfs (1968: 311), in some Southern Abruzzese dialects there are examples of a derivation from an ancient neuter form, i.e. *trejə* < *tria* (LAT.). See Rohlfs (1968: 309- 317) for a detailed discussion on the use of numerals from 1 to 100.





- b. na **grossa** casə vs. na casa **grossə**  
 a-F.SG. big-F.SG. house-F.SG.  
 ‘a big house’
- c. na **brutta** cosə vs. na cosa **bbrutta**  
 a-F.SG. bad-F.SG. thing-F.SG.  
 ‘a bad thing’
- d. li **puvərə** cuntadinə vs. li cuntadinə **puvərə**  
 the-M.PL. poor/pitiable-PL. farmers-PL.  
 ‘the poor/pitiable farmers’

The meaning associated with two positions is generally the same for adjectives *bella*, *grossə* and *brutta*, whereas *povərə* has to be interpreted literally only when occurring after the noun. Example (12d) shows that prenominal position is associated with both ‘poor’ and ‘pitiable’.

However, in some contexts the pre- or postnominal placement of the adjective causes a shift in meaning also for the adjectives *bbonə* and *bbellə* (from Finamore 1893: 20):

- (13) a. na **bbona** mammə vs. la mamma **bbonə**<sup>13</sup>  
 a-F.SG. good-F.SG. mother-F.SG. the-F.SG. mother-F.SG. good-F.SG.  
 ‘a good mother’ (= good as a mother) ‘the real mother’ (= not the stepmother)
- b. nu **bbellə** citələ vs. nu citələ **bbellə**  
 a-M.SG. nice-SG. child-M.SG. a-M.SG. child-M.SG. nice-SG.  
 ‘a nice child’ (= being healthy and likely chubby) ‘a nice child’ (= good-looking)

## 2.4 Adjectives of shape, color and origin/nationality

$A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$  and  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  are necessarily postnominal, as in standard Italian:

- (14) \*li **ruššə** pummadorə  
 li pummadorə **ruššə**  
 the-M.PL. tomatoes-M.PL. red-PL.  
 ‘the red tomatoes’
- (15) \*nu **rotonnə** taulə

<sup>13</sup> If preceded by an indefinite article, the second nominal expression would have been equivalent to the first one.

nu      taulə      **rotonnə**  
a-M.SG. table-M.SG. round-SG.

‘a round table’

(16) \*li **piscarisə** uagliunə

li      uagliunə      **piscarisə**  
the-M.PL. guys-M.PL. Pescaraese-PL.

‘the guys from Pescara’

In conclusion, the main asymmetries between standard Italian and Abruzzese are the postnominal placement of the possessive adjective and the enclitic possessive for singular kinship nouns. The vast majority of  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  occur in postnominal position, but a restricted number of modifiers belonging to these two semantic classes can be placed before the noun as well. Numerals are strictly prenominal and  $A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  must be placed after N, as in standard Italian.

An in-depth analysis of adjectival modification in Abruzzese will be carried out in Chapter 4, with a discussion of data gathered in the dialectal inquiry held in Pianella (Pescara).

## CHAPTER 3: Dialect survey

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As clarified in the Introduction and in Chapter 1, our research investigates adjective ordering in Pescara. The most convenient instrument to gather comparable syntactic data is a questionnaire, which, in this case, it was developed after having set precise conditions (§ 3.1 and sub-paragraphs). A pilot test was then necessary to verify whether any change was needed before the large-scale experiment (§ 3.2). Details on the experimental task, including information on the chosen speakers will be instead provided in paragraph § 3.3.

### 3.1 Development

The observation of an apparent optionality in the use of pre- and postnominal  $A_{quality}$  during fieldwork carried out for ASIt (*Atlante Sintattico dei Dialetti d'Italia*)<sup>14</sup> led to develop a questionnaire with the purpose of investigating adjective placement in a variety of Eastern Adriatic Abruzzese.

The ASIt questionnaire does not include many sentences displaying adjectives, apart from those nominal expressions expressing possession. As explained in Chapter 2, possessives are always postnominal; sentences including prenominal possessives are thus severely ungrammatical. Only one sentence displayed an attributive adjective, namely: *Ho comprato dei bei libri* ('I bought some good books').

The translations provided by the informants showed an almost 50:50 proportion between prenominal and postnominal  $A_{quality}$ . More in detail, eight speakers (53.3%) chose the prenominal  $A_{quality}$ :

(1) so    cumbratə de li            bbillə    libbrə<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Our research was conducted between April and August 2018 and involved 15 people from Pianella (Pescara). The administered questionnaire has been specifically arranged for Southern varieties with the aim of investigating a number of morphosyntactic features (i.e. auxiliaries, kinship nouns and their interaction with possessives, use of subjunctive and conditional, interrogatives, imperatives, clitics, differential object marking and so on). The interviewer read the 104 items included in the questionnaire and the interviewees in turn provided one (or more) translation(s) in their variety (*Pianellese*).

<sup>15</sup> This is the most common option, but other lexical choices are acceptable as well, i.e. *ccattatə* ('bought') instead of *cumbratə*, which is closer to the Italian form *comprato*. Some other speakers did not choose the partitive (which does not exist in Southern dialects, as noted by Rohlfs (1968: 118-9)): their version is

am-1SG. bought of the-M.PL. good-PL. books-M.PL.

'I bought (some) good books'

The others (seven informants, 46,7%) preferred postnominal  $A_{\text{quality}}$  instead:

(2) so cumbratə de li libbrə bbellə

am-1SG. bought of the-M.PL. books-M.PL. good-PL.

'I bought (some) good books'

Grammars provide examples of pre- and postnominal placement of  $A_{\text{quality}}$ : *le ggurnata bbellə* ('the beautiful days') (Verratti 1968: 49), *na femmāna bbellə / na bbellə femmāna* ('a beautiful woman'); *bbona rrobbə* ('good stuff') (Rohlf's 1968: 177), as well as those listed in § 2.3 from Finamore (1893: 20). In some cases, as in (79a-b), there is a shift in meaning between the pre- and the postnominal adjective: for instance, *nu bbellə citələ* ('a nice child, who is healthy') differs from *nu citələ bbellə* ('a nice, good-looking child')<sup>16</sup>. However, it is still not clear whether all adjectives of quality can be placed in pre- or postnominal position or whether this optionality is a prerogative of a closed class of adjectives, as Andriani (2015, 2017) suggests for Barese. Even though in some contexts a shift in meaning between the two positions is attested (see examples from Finamore), we still need to ascertain whether there is always a link between the position and a change in meaning. The aforementioned instances of prenominal modification seem nonetheless to go against the claims found in literature, for example Finamore (1893: 20): "In generale posponiamo l'aggettivo rispetto al sostantivo"<sup>17</sup>

A further questionnaire completely focused on adjectival modification is therefore needed to find an answer to the following research questions:

- **Are all adjectives postnominal? If not, which adjectives can precede the noun?**
  
- **Is meaning related to the position of the adjective? Pre- and postnominal occurrences of the same lexical item do always differ in meaning?**

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*so cumbratə billə libbrə* ('I have bought good books'). Finally, it is worth noting that a number of informants did not inflect the adjective for plural, hence using the singular form *bbellə* for plural.

<sup>16</sup> Finamore (1893: 20)

<sup>17</sup> 'In general, the adjective occurs after the noun' (our translation).

The answers to such questions will then help to find out the adjectival ordering of a variety of Pescararese (Pianellese).

The variety taken into account can be ascribed to Pescararese, a *koinè dialect* (see, for instance Pellegrini 1975 for a definition of *koinè*, and Regis 2012 for more recent discussion) whose development is due to the acquired prestige of Pescara, which has now become the most important center of the whole region after many population movements from both the nearby villages and the neighboring regions<sup>18</sup>. These small-scale migrations also determined a linguistic change, since the rural dialects succumbed to a more 'urban' dialect, which is deprived of the most 'rustic' phonological and lexical and it is therefore more similar to Standard Italian. The situation in the smaller villages around Pescara – Pianella, among others - is slightly different, although the bigger center has clearly a strong influence on them. Many people moved to Pescara during the years, and the younger generations decided to study or work there, but there are still many elder people who use the rural dialect for daily communication. Moreover, there is still great interest for folklore, popular traditions and several initiatives for the valorization of dialect have been undertaken throughout the last twenty years. These are the reasons why Pianella dialect has been chosen, as well as because previous fieldwork for ASIt allowed to create a network of informants inside the village. Some of the speakers involved in data collection for ASIt have been again consulted and asked for their contribution to this further research on adjectival modification.

After having identified the research questions and the variety to investigate, it was necessary to find the right instrument for data collection. The questionnaire is definitely the most suitable tool to analyze syntactic microvariation across dialects, because it allows to gather comparable answers.

The dialect survey was developed bearing in mind the following advice:

- (3) (i) it should include as rich and characteristic a selection as possible of the linguistic peculiarities of the dialect region to be studied;
- (ii) it should represent the cultural circumstances of the dialect region to be studied;

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<sup>18</sup> For a brief linguistic history of the Abruzzo region, see Vignuzzi (1992)

(iii) it should guarantee at the same time the spontaneity and indigenouslyness of the answers on the one hand and their comparability on the other.

(Jaberg and Jud 1928: 175, in Llamas 2018: 265)

Moreover, since the survey has the aim of investigating grammatical aspects of the language and word order, the right format is the direct questionnaire based on closed questions.

An interview administered on the basis of a direct questionnaire consists of a series of test items (in this case nominal expressions or whole sentences) presented in the standard variety. The informants are then asked to provide the corresponding form in their own dialect. The risk of such a method is the influence that the given test items can have on the subsequent answers: as a matter of fact, the responses might be unnatural because 'modeled' on the standard.

The sentences included in the questionnaire were constructed on the basis of Cinque's (1994) unmarked serialization for object-denoting nouns (also in Chapter 1, (38)), here repeated for reasons of clarity:

(4) Possessive > Cardinal > Ordinal > Quality > Size > **N** > Shape > Color > Nationality

(Cinque 1994: 96)

On the basis of such hierarchy we selected fourteen adjectives:

(5) a. **numerals**: *primo* ('first'), *secondo* ('second'); *tre* ('three');

b. **possessives**: *mio* ('my'), *suo* ('his/her');

c. **quality**: *bello* ('nice'), *stupido* ('stupid');

d. **size**: *grande* ('big'), *piccolo* ('small');

e. **shape**: *tondo* ('round');

f. **color**: *bianco* ('white'), *rosso* ('red');

g. **nationality**: *napoletano* ('Neapolitan'), *siciliano* ('Sicilian')

It is worth noting that we did not take into account the serialization for event-denoting nouns because we carefully avoided event nouns in the construction of the sentences.

The emphasis is on the concrete and the lexical items modified by attributive adjectives have been chosen from the core vocabulary (i.e. numbers, kitchen utensils, clothes, kinship nouns, everyday objects, etc...). Taboo words and nouns referred to i.e.

academic context, workplace or to situations where dialect should not be used, have been also avoided.

Moreover, the direct questioning method is an obstacle to the use of more subjective, affective and abstract vocabulary, that might instead be used in a free, unstructured conversation, as vividly pointed out in the following quote by Jaberg and Jud (1928):

“The range of adjectives referring to moral qualities is, in lively conversation, remarkably varied and subtle [...]; when one sits down with the village people in the tavern of an evening, one can get to hear a very juicy collection, and yet it is very difficult to bring out by questions a few local expressions for ‘miserly’, ‘lazy’, and ‘timid’”

(Jaberg and Jud 1928: 180, in Francis 1983: 59)

As already explained, we chose lexical items from core vocabulary, but at the same time we tried to avoid kinship nouns. The reason behind this choice lies in the fact that, as explained in § 2.1, possessives are placed in enclisis with respect to the singular kinship noun, i.e. *fratata* (‘your brother’) or *zija* (‘my aunt/uncle’). The presence of an enclitic unstressed possessive might have caused problems for our test on adjective ordering, therefore we associated possessives with other nouns, as in *I tre miei amici* (‘my three friends’). Kinship nouns are nevertheless present in the questionnaire, but only in sentences where no enclitic possessive occurs or when another adjective, belonging to a different semantic class, was involved in the grammaticality judgement task (see § 3.1.1 for further details).

The selection of  $A_{\text{numeral}}$  *tre* was made with the purpose of verifying whether such numeral is inflected in Pescara – analogously to *uno* (‘one’) and *due* (‘two’). As a matter of fact, all these numerals are inflected for gender in several Northern, Central and Southern varieties (examples in Rohlfs 1968: 309-11).

Furthermore, the choice of  $A_{\text{quality}}$ ,  $A_{\text{size}}$ ,  $A_{\text{shape}}$  and of the two  $A_{\text{color}}$  was driven by the aim to ascertain the productivity of metaphony in Pianellese<sup>19</sup>. The dialect counterparts of

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<sup>19</sup> Details on metaphony in Pianellese are provided in Giammarco (1973: 46-8). Pianellese is ascribed to Pennese, a dialect area whose most important centre is Penne (Pescara) and encompasses a quite large area across the province of Pescara, from the eastern side of mount Gran Sasso to Pescara. Giammarco mentions some of the main villages where variants of Pennese are spoken, i.e. Pianella, Catignano, Cepagatti, Villanova, Collecervino, Spoltore. Other examples of metaphonic alternations are the following (from Giammarco 1973: 48):

the chosen Italian adjectives should be subject to metaphonic alternation according to grammars, for instance:

- (6) a. **bello**: bellə (SG.) / billə (PL.)
- b. **grande**: grossə / grussə
- c. **tondo**: tonnə / tunnə
- d. **bianco**: bianghə / bianghə
- e. **rosso**: roššə / ruššə

The trigger of metaphony is final *-i*, therefore vowel alternation only allows to distinguish singular from plural nouns and adjectives. Nouns and adjectives are not inflected for gender, as seen in § 1.2.4.

As regard the choice of  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ , it was made bearing in mind one of the conditions suggested by Jaberg and Jud (1928), here provided in (3ii): the questionnaire “should represent the cultural circumstances of the dialect region to be studied”. Abruzzo has an uninterrupted relationship with the rest of the Southern Italy (Kingdom of Naples and Kingdom of the Two Sicilies afterwards) since the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Vignuzzi 1992: 597), we opted for the  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  *napoletano* (‘Neapolitan’).

Our survey involved two tasks: (i) evaluation and (ii) translation. Details on the two sections of the questionnaire will be provided in § 3.1.1 and § 3.1.2.

### 3.1.1 Evaluation task

The first part of the questionnaire consists of an evaluation task, which includes 20 sentences in Pescaraese. The aim of the evaluation task is to prove that adjectives are normally placed after the noun, apart from numerals (see § 2.2 for examples). This is the reason why the majority of the sentences (16/20) contains a single modifier, apart from those in (7a-d):

- 
- a. *norə* (SG.) / *nərə* (PL.) (‘black’). The form *nirə* has become widespread as well, probably influenced by Pescaraese.
  - b. *tembə* (‘time’) / *timbə* (‘times’)
  - c. *canə* (‘dog’) / *chinə* (‘dogs’)
  - d. *γallə* (‘cock’) / *γillə* (‘cocks’)
  - e. *bbonə* / *bbunə* (‘good’)
  - f. *mortə* / *murtə* (‘dead’)



(7) a. Ijrə ha štatə lu primə jurnə də scolə pə fratəmə  
 Yesterday has-3SG.been the-M.SG. first-SG. day-M.SG. of school-F.SG. for brother-  
 M.SG.-my-CL.SG.

‘Yesterday it was the first day of school for my brother’

b. Chištə è lə tre fijja mi  
 These-PL. is-3SG. the-PL. three sonsA-PL. my-PL.

‘These are my three sons’

c. Ha jitə a truà l’ amicizija si napulətanə  
 has-3SG. been to visit the-F.SG. friendsA-PL. their-PL. Neapolitan-PL.

‘They<sup>20</sup> went to visit their Neapolitan friends/their friends who come from Naples’

d. Alla cambərə tinghə nu taulə tonnə piccə  
 in-the-F.SG. room-F.SG. have-1SG. a-M.SG. table-M.SG. round-SG.small-SG.

‘I have a small round table in my room/There is a small table in my room’

As we explained in the previous paragraph, we generally avoided kinship nouns, but (7a) displays *fratəmə* (‘my brother’). Such noun was selected despite the interaction with the possessive clitic because the goal of this task is to check whether  $A_{ordinal}$  is prenominal and not to define which is the correct ordering between adjectives.

Again, (7b) was chosen to prove that  $A_{cardinal}$  is always prenominal, whereas  $A_{possessive}$  is always postnominal, as shown in grammars.

Sentence (7c) was included in the questionnaire to verify whether both  $A_{possessive}$  and  $A_{nationality}$  are postnominal and which is their order with respect to each other ( $A_{possessive} > A_{nationality}$ , as in 7c, or the reverse). The same argument applies to the choice of selecting (7d) to be part of the evaluation task. Moreover, the adjectives in (7c) and (7d), with exception of  $A_{possessive}$  and, in some cases,  $A_{size}$  as well, are obligatorily postnominal in Italian. Our final goal is to demonstrate that postnominal placement of  $A_{size}$ ,  $A_{shape}$  and  $A_{nationality}$  is mandatory in Pescaraese.

The evaluation task includes four sentences which have been chosen to test how possession is expressed. As shown in examples (4) – (6) from Chapter 2, possession can be expressed by: (i) using postnominal possessive after the head noun (i.e. *lu libbra mi*,

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<sup>20</sup> There is no distinction between 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural, this is why it has been glossed with ‘has’ even though the subject is supposed to be plural.

‘my book’); (ii) using copular expressions (a. *queštə è lu mi*, ‘this is mine’; b. *queštə è la casa mi*, ‘this is my house’; c. *štə casə è de lu mi*, ‘this house is mine’). The most common types are (i) and (ii; iib), as shown in grammar and in previous research for ASIt. As regards the latter, only two informants out of fifteen translated the sentence *questa è casa mia* (‘this is my house’) as:

- (8) *štə casə è de lu mi*  
 this-F.SG. house-F.SG. is-3SG. of the-M.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘This house is mine’

The pattern emerged during previous research thus led us to predict that this structure is less common than those provided in (i) and (ii; iib), but still we wanted to test whether Pianellese allows expression of possession through such copular constructions consisting of verb *be* + genitive PP).

Speakers were therefore asked to evaluate the following four sentences, which apparently display the most common way to express possession in deictic expressions, and differ with respect to the choice of the demonstrative (9a-b are introduced by a proximal demonstrative, whereas 9c-d are introduced by a distal one):

- (9) a. *queštə è la casa mi*  
 this-SG. is-3SG. the-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘This is my house’  
 b. *queštə è la machəna mi*  
 this-SG. is-3SG. the-F.SG. carA-F.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘This is my car’  
 c. *quellə è lu cciardina mi*  
 that-SG. is-3SG. the-M.SG. gardenA-M.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘That is my garden’  
 d. *quellə è la terra mi*  
 that-SG. is-3SG. the-F.SG. landA-F.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘That is my (plot of) land’

This first part includes a filler sentence as well, with a predicative  $A_{\text{colour}}$ :

- (10) *lu cana mi è nnerə*  
 the-M.SG. dogA-M.SG. my-SG. is-3SG. black-SG.

On the whole, this first section includes all active sentences and there is a sharp preference for singular over plural nouns, namely, only four DPs are plural (i.e. *lə trə fija mi*, ‘my three sons’; *li parinda ti*, ‘your relatives’; *lə fənəštrə tonnə*<sup>21</sup>, ‘the round windows’; *l’amicizija si napulətanə*, ‘their Neapolitan friends’).

### **3.1.2 Translation task**

The translation task is useful to gather comparable data, since all the informants respond to identical stimuli, but the so-called ‘repetition-effect’<sup>22</sup> is a considerable risk: speakers might be influenced by the standard construction and therefore inclined to copy Italian structures into the local dialect. Moreover, translation tasks rest on the assumption that the informants manage both the standard and the local dialect and are perfectly aware of the differences between the two, but it is not always the case.

Even though the chosen vocabulary items belong to everyday vocabulary, the combination of two (or more) adjectives might sound unnatural to dialect speakers, since the use of adjectives – apart from very frequent ones – is not so common in spoken language. However, since our aim is to discover which is the adjectival ordering in Pianellese, it has been necessary to combine adjectives in a single sentence (or nominal expression).

Bearing in mind advantages and drawbacks of translation in a dialect survey, we now move onto the description of the second part of the questionnaire. This section includes 21 sentences, which were chosen to be translated from Italian to dialect. Each of the sentences displays two of the adjectives in (5). However, not all the possible combinations are given in the chosen test items<sup>23</sup>, because the two parts should be balanced with respect to the number of sentences.

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<sup>21</sup> This is a non-metaphonetic plural, which is the most natural option for the developer of the questionnaire, even though metaphony can occur as well, i.e. *lə fənəštrə tunnə* is acceptable. It has not been proven yet whether metaphony is still productive in this dialect: an additional aim of the survey is thus to understand the actual status of metaphony.

<sup>22</sup> Poletto and Cornips (2005: 953)

<sup>23</sup> Adjectives belonging to the same semantic class are obviously not combined with each other, whereas some other possible couples have not been chosen, i.e.  $A_{\text{card}}$  has not been matched with  $A_{\text{ord}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{shape}}$  and  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ ;  $A_{\text{ord}}$  has not been matched with  $A_{\text{quality}}$ ,  $A_{\text{size}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{shape}}$  and  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ . Finally,  $A_{\text{quality}}$ ,  $A_{\text{shape}}$  and  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  are not combined with  $A_{\text{size}}$ .

In addition to finding out which is the ordering between two adjectives belonging to different semantic classes, several combinations have been made for specific purposes, which will be illustrated in the following part of the paragraph.

One of those combinations is the one in (11), which has the additional purpose of investigating whether Pescaresese allows the use of the  $A_{size}$  *grande* (“big”) as an adjective of quality, analogously to Italian.

- (11) quei            grandi    amici            napoletani  
         those-M.PL. big-M.PL. friends-M.PL. Neapolitan-M.PL.  
         ‘Those three close Neapolitan friends’

We chose the sentence in (12) with the aim of proving that  $A_{size}$  *piccolo* (‘small’) is uncommon in dialect because it is most likely replaced by diminutive suffixes attached to the head noun, i.e. *-etto*, *-ello* etc., whose semantics “can be derived from the basic concept of dimensional smallness”<sup>24</sup>. Italian speakers use suffixes instead of  $A_{size}$  quite frequently, also for the purpose of conveying emotional content or to ensure more immediacy in oral communication<sup>25</sup>.

- (12) la            piccola    chiesa            bianca    del            paese  
         the-F.SG. small-F.SG. church-F.SG. white-F.SG. of-the-M.SG. village-SG.  
         ‘The small white church of the village’

In addition to (12), we chose other two sentences ((13) and (14)) to be part of a short layer test. Such test was developed to demonstrate that dialect speakers prefer synthetic forms over analytic ones.

- (13) il            mio            piccolo    terreno    dove    pianto    i            pomodori  
         the-M.SG. my-M.SG. small-M.SG. land-M.SG.    where plant-1SG. the-M.PL. tomatoes-  
         M.PL.  
         ‘My small (plot of) land where I plant tomatoes’

- (14) il            suo            figlio            piccolo  
         the-M.SG. his/her-SG. son-M.SG. small-M.SG.

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<sup>24</sup> Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 116)

<sup>25</sup> D’Achille (2019: 197) mentions several examples from spoken Italian, highlighting the fact that diminutive, endearing, augmentative or pejorative suffixes are quite frequent in spoken varieties and they might assume different values depending on the situation, i.e. *cosine* (lit. ‘small things’), *maschietti* (‘boys’, normally referred to children), *famona* (lit. ‘big hunger’, something said when sb. is really hungry). Many other examples can be found in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (2001) as well.

‘His/her younger son’

A prediction that can be made by observing these three sentences is that the sequence N + A<sub>size</sub> which appears in (12) and (13) is likely to be replaced by a modified suffix, whereas in (14) the diminutive suffix would be ungrammatical, since A<sub>size</sub> identifies the smaller item in a set (i.e. the younger son).

The second part of the survey displays another A<sub>nationality</sub> in addition to *napoletano*. Such adjective, *siciliano* (‘Sicilian’), was chosen for the purpose of building a sentence with both A<sub>color</sub> and A<sub>nationality</sub> (15), because any other combination of A<sub>color</sub> (*bianco* or *rosso*) and A<sub>nationality</sub> (*napoletano*) would have resulted in a quite peculiar and unnatural sentence.

(15) le            arance            rosse            siciliane  
the-F.PL. oranges-F.PL. red-F.PL. Sicilian-F.PL.  
‘The red Sicilian oranges’

The translation task involves seven active sentences and fourteen nominal expressions (DPs). Even in this case there is a clear-cut preference for singular nouns, even though plural DPs are more present as compared to the evaluation task; namely, there are eight plural DPs. For further details on the test items, see the Appendix A section, where the whole questionnaire is provided.

The final step in the development of the survey is the choice of the sample of participants. Previous investigation carried out for ASIt shed light on the linguistic behavior of younger generations. As a matter of fact, people in their early 30s still use dialect, but their structures are much more similar to Standard Italian ones or they even mix up phonology and lexicon from different local dialects of the area. Their L1 is regional Italian and they use dialect in less contexts as compared to their parents or grandparents. This is why the chosen sample comprises people over 50 years of age, born and raised in Pianella. This choice is corroborated by statistics: ISTAT’s most recent survey (2017) shows that, even though speakers mostly use Italian in daily communication, older people (> 65 years old) are much more prone to use dialect in comparison to 25-44, 45-54 and 55-64 age groups<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> ISTAT’s 2017 survey *L’uso della lingua italiana, dei dialetti e di altre lingue in Italia* (‘The use of Italian, dialects, and other languages in Italy’, our translation) depicts the current situation in Italy with respect

### 3.2. Pilot test

After the development of the questionnaire, a small-scale pilot experiment was necessary to test the design of the full-scale experiment and then possibly modify the structure of the survey.

The test involved two informants, a man and a woman, who were previously interviewed face to face during fieldwork for ASIt. Their choice was driven by their propensity to provide their contribution to further research and by their ability to argue their answers. Moreover, they meet the age requirements (i.e. > 50 years of age) indicated in the previous paragraph, since they are 59 and 60 years old, respectively.

We read the sentences included both in the evaluation task and in the translation task, but the informants were not allowed to look at the printed version of the questionnaire. The informants' answers were then recorded after having asked for their personal consensus.

#### 3.2.1 Changes in the survey

It must be pointed out that the first version of the survey was developed in Pescara (the variety we have knowledge of), with some grammatical structures that closely resemble those of standard Italian. The use of non-native phonemes caused rejection to several sentences, which have been thus modified prior to the experimental phase, for instance:

(16) lu            secondə    mesə            dell'            annə            è            febbrajə  
the-M.SG. second-SG. month-M.SG. of-the-M.SG. year-M.SG. is-3SG. February-M.SG.



lu secondə mosə dell'annə è febbrajə ([e] > [o])

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to the use of dialect in several contexts (i.e. at home, with friends, with strangers, at work). As regards Abruzzo, dialect is used especially at home: 13,8% of the sample communicates with relatives using dialect. 12% of the speakers uses dialect when communicating with friends and only the 2% of them when talking to strangers. Moreover, the survey considers the behavior of different age groups: younger people (25-44) use dialect less than the other groups: 8,9% of them uses dialect at home; 7,3% with friends; 2,6% at work and 2% with strangers.

In order to avoid such rejections, it is important to have knowledge of phonological, lexical and grammatical features of the variety taken into account. Pianellese differs from Pescararese mainly for its vocalism, even though the two varieties can be both ascribed to Eastern Adriatic Abruzzese. More specifically, Italian [e] and [ɛ] have two different outcomes in Pianellese ([e] → [o], as in (16) and [ɛ] → [e]), whereas Pescararese has a single phoneme, which is [e].

Constructions such as the one in (8) are ungrammatical, therefore we predict that the informants who will be involved in the experimental task will consider these constructions to be unacceptable. The two informants pointed out that there are only two ways to express possession, as already explained in Chapter 2, examples (4) and (5):

- (17) a. *šta casə è lu mi*  
 this-F.SG. house-F.SG. is-3SG. the-M.SG. my-SG.  
 b. *quoštə è la casa mi*  
 this-F.SG. is-3SG. the-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘this is my house’

Due to the impossibility to test constructions as those in (8) we then decided to test demonstrative doubling (§ 1.3.2); namely, to verify whether informants accept constructions with the following word order: Dem > N > Dem, even though this doubling seems to be redundant and in decline as compared to the past (Telmon 1990: 128).

Furthermore, two versions of the same sentence (18) have been included in the experimental task, one with *A<sub>quality</sub>* in postnominal position and another with the same adjective placed before the noun. The choice was led by the fact that both informants argued that there is a slight difference in meaning depending on the position of the adjective. Therefore, the two options have been included in the final version in order to test whether other informants perceive such shift in meaning.

- (18) a. *Giovannə te’ na bbella casə*  
 Giovanna-F.SG. has (got)-3SG. a-F.SG. niceA-F.SG. house-F.SG.  
 ‘Giovanna has a nice house’  
 b. *Giovannə te’ na casa bbellə*  
 Giovanna-F.SG. has (got)-3SG. a-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. nice-F.SG.  
 ‘Giovanna has a nice house’

### 3.3 Experimental Task

The survey was carried out in the municipality of Pianella (Pescara) between March and April 2019 and involved 39 informants, 23 women and 16 men. The youngest informant is 47 years old, the eldest one is 86. As previously explained, (§ 3.1) younger informants has been excluded because their dialect is highly influenced by Italian or they rarely use dialect in daily communication. The sample was then divided in three sub-groups: 45-64 (15 informants); 65-74 (17 informants), and 75+ (7 informants). The mean age for the sample was = 66.6 years.

A crucial point was the acceptance by the member of the community, since we do not belong to it. Some of the informants already interviewed for ASIt have been involved a second time, others were chosen among those attending *Università della Terza Età* (University of the Third Age), who in turn helped to find other informants around the village.

All the informants understood both the evaluation and the translation task and, on the whole, did not require any clarification, apart from sentence *Quei grandi amici napoletani* (11), which resulted in being the most difficult sentence to translate because of  $A_{size}$  *grande* ('big'), here used as an  $A_{quality}$ .

Further changes to the survey have been made during fieldwork<sup>27</sup>, namely to those nominal expressions involving demonstrative doubling. In addition to questions such as: 'Does *šta casa quoštə* sound right to you?' (lit. 'Does *this house this* sound right to you?'), the interaction between nouns, adjectives<sup>28</sup> and demonstratives has been partially tested. The chosen N + A combinations are the following:

(19)  $A_{size}$

- a. balconə            grossə  
   balcony-M.SG. big-SG.  
   'big balcony'
- b. balcunə            grussə  
   balcony-M.PL. big-PL.

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<sup>27</sup> Only 23 out of 39 informants have been tested on the interaction between nouns, adjectives and demonstratives.

<sup>28</sup>  $A_{size}$  and  $A_{color}$  have been taken into account for the purpose. We will leave the interaction between demonstratives and the other semantic classes (as well as possessives) for further research.



‘big balconies’

*A<sub>color</sub>*

- a. casa                    bbianghə  
houseA-F.SG. white-SG.  
‘white house’
- b. casə                    bbianghə  
house-F.PL. white-PL.  
‘white houses’

Table 3.1 illustrates all the details for each informant (gender, date and place of birth, profession and, lastly, whether (s)he moved to another place).

The analysis of the collected data will be instead provided in the following chapter.

**Table 3.1 – Details for each informant involved in the test**

Informant	Gender	Date of birth	Place of birth	Education	Job	Time spent in another place
1	M	11/02/1955	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
2	M	18/03/1950	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
3	M	28/08/1942	Pianella (PE)	University	Retired, former professor	
4	F	17/09/1935	Pianella (PE)	High school (or equivalent)	Retired, former teacher	
5	F	31/03/1949	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired, former teacher	She has been living in Pescara for forty years while working in Pianella as a teacher
6	F	05/11/1949	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	She moved to Pescara around forty years ago
7	F	29/01/1950	Pianella (PE)	University	Retired, former professor and high school teacher	She spent six years in Canada working at University in her 20s, then worked in Pescara as a high school teacher

8	F	07/05/1964	Pianella (PE)	High school	Business owner	
9	F	28/05/1959	Pianella (PE)	High school	Butcher	
10	M	14/08/1971	Pescara (PE)	University	Lawyer and council member	
11	M	16/10/1945	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired, former insurance agent	He spent six years in Florence during high school, then he came back to Pianella and worked at first in Penne (PE) and then in Pescara. He lives in Castellana, a small neighborhood in the municipality of Pianella
12	F	08/07/1957	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired, former teacher	She lives in Castellana (Pianella)
13	F	07/04/1944	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
14	F	22/06/1969	Pianella (PE)	High school	Housewife	He moved to Pescara twenty years ago
15	M	06/05/1953	Torrevecchia Teatina (CH)	High school	Retired	He worked for many years in San Salvo (CH) and lives in Cerratina, a small neighborhood in the municipality of Pianella
16	M	23/09/1938	Pianella (PE)	Middle school	Retired	He lives in Cerratina (Pianella)
17	M	02/09/1947	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	He worked in Pescara for eleven years.

18	F	27/11/1949	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	She worked in Pescara for thirty-six years
19	F	02/03/1937	Pianella (PE)	Middle school	Retired	
20	F	08/04/1953	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
21	F	14/08/1940	Pianella (PE)	Middle school	Retired	
22	F	07/07/1945	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
23	F	02/10/1932	Pianella (PE)	Primary school	Retired	
24	F	06/06/1960	Pianella (PE)	University	Lawyer	She moved to Pescara twenty-five years ago, but she frequently visits her brother and friends who are from Pianella and live there.
25	F	14/01/1960	Pianella (PE)	University	Housewife	
26	M	09/02/1953	Pianella (PE)	University	Doctor	
27	F	08/12/1951	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
28	M	21/12/1958	Pianella (PE)	Middle school	Farmer and wine producer	
29	M	08/02/1955	Pianella (PE)	Middle school	Barber	
30	M	28/01/1958	Pianella (PE)	High school	Barista	
31	F	30/06/1960	Pianella (PE)	High school	Barista	
32	M	10/01/1962	Pianella (PE)	High school	Farmer	
33	F	24/07/1962	Pianella (PE)	High school	Barista	
34	F	16/06/1951	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
35	M	19/03/1952	Pianella (PE)	High school	Retired	
36	M	26/01/1959	Pianella (PE)	High school	Policeman	He lives in Cerratina (Pianella)
37	F	06/05/1953	Pianella (PE)	High school	Housewife	
38	F	30/03/1951	Pianella (PE)	High school	Housewife	
39	M	06/10/1945	Pianella (PE)	Middle school	Retired	



## CHAPTER 4: Data analysis

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Before turning to the analysis of data gathered during our dialect inquiry it is worth summarizing which are the similarities and differences between adjectival modification in Standard Italian and in Abruzzese (Pescarese).

The base position for Pescarese adjectives is the postnominal one, analogously to Italian. Italian clearly allows prenominal modification, even though in some cases – especially for  $A_{\text{shape}}$  and  $A_{\text{color}}$  – is restricted to poetry or to a polished writing style. One of our purposes is to check whether such possibility is allowed in Pescarese as well. Grammars (see § 2.3) provide several examples of prenominal modification, even though it seems to be limited to a small number of adjectives belonging to the semantic classes of size and quality (i.e. *bbellə*, ‘nice’; *bruttə*, ‘ugly’; *bbonə*, ‘good/good-hearted’; *grossə*, ‘big’). Numerals are in any case prenominal and they cannot occur after the noun, contrary to the above-mentioned  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  (§ 2.2).

Examples found in grammars seem therefore to be sufficient to find an answer to our first research question:

### **Are all Pescarese adjectives postnominal?**

Data in § 4.1 and § 4.2 will help provide a detailed answer to such question, focusing on two  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$ , namely *bbellə* and *grossə*. In addition, these two sections will investigate other issues:

- 1) Which are the semantic and syntactic features that allow the prenominal placement of an adjective in Pescarese?**
- 2) Is there a shift in meaning depending on the pre- or postnominal position of the adjective?**

The first two sections of Chapter 4 will help find out whether the *A<sub>size</sub> grossà* ('big') has an idiomatic reading in Pescarese, on a par with Italian *grande* ('big/great'), which normally precedes the noun when it has a figurate meaning. It is actually known several Pescarese adjectives may change their meaning depending on their pre- or postnominal placement (see § 2.3 and the table below), but *grossà* - differently from Italian – seems not to belong to this group of adjectives whose meaning is determined by their position in the nominal expression. We gathered and analyzed data to better understand the behavior of such *A<sub>size</sub>* (§ 4.2 and, more specifically, § 4.2.2).

As anticipated above, another adjective which will be taken into account in Chapter 4 is *bbellà*, which can be used both to convey its literal meaning ('to be good-looking') and as an intensifier which expresses a general appreciation by the speaker ('to be a good example of sth.').

**Table 4.1 – Comparison of Pescarese and Italian with respect to idiomatic reading of pronominal adjectives**

Italian pronominal adjectives with an idiomatic reading <sup>1</sup>	Pescarese pronominal adjectives with an idiomatic reading
<i>alto</i> ('high/senior/tall')	<i>bbonà</i> ('real <sup>2</sup> /attractive/a good example of x/good-hearted')
<i>vecchio</i> ('long-standing/former/ old')	<i>bbellà</i> ('healthy/robust <sup>3</sup> /a good example of x/good-looking')
<i>buono</i> ('kind/good-hearted/good')	<i>puvərə</i> ('pitiable/poor')
<i>certo</i> ('sure/certain/some')	
<i>grande</i> ('great/big')	
<i>povero</i> ('pitiable/poor')	

<sup>1</sup> See § 1.2.3 for an overview of Italian adjectives, examples in (67a-f) cover such pronominal adjectives which undergo a shift in meaning in accordance with the relative position with respect to the head noun.

<sup>2</sup> This is true for the example *la mamma bbonà*, provided by Finamore (1893: 20) and quoted in §2.3, which refers to the birth mother to distinguish her from a stepmother. It is quite a specific context, but in general such adjective is placed postnominally to refer, for instance, to something which works well, i.e. *è nu tələfənà bbonà* ('it is a technically advanced phone')

<sup>3</sup> These first two meanings are specifically related to *nu bbellà citələ*, another example from Finamore (1893: 20), quoted in §2.3.

Italian and Pescararese syntactically differ with respect to one another because the latter allows more instances of NP-raising.

(1) a. *Italian*

$A_{\text{poss}} > A_{\text{card}} > A_{\text{ord}} > (A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{shape}} > A_{\text{color}})^4 > \mathbf{N} > A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{shape}} > A_{\text{color}} > A_{\text{nationality}}$

b. *Pescarese*

$A_{\text{card}} > A_{\text{ord}} > (A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{size}}) > \mathbf{N} > A_{\text{quality}} > (A_{\text{poss}}) > A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{shape}} > A_{\text{color}} > (A_{\text{poss}})^5 > A_{\text{nationality}}$

The comparison drawn in (1) clearly shows that the postnominal position is much more available to adjectival modification in Pescararese. All such adjectives that can occur postnominally are analyzed in § 4.3.

The fact that almost all adjectives – with the exception of numerals – follow the noun is connected to the issue of interpretive ambiguities. Italian postnominal adjectives are normally associated with indirect modification, whereas prenominal ones are labeled as direct-modification ones (see § 1.3.3 for all the interpretive values). As we already pointed out, almost all Pescararese adjectives occur after the noun, therefore it follows that they should be interpreted as attributive, irrespective of their postnominal placement. Such issue will be addressed in § 4.4, before considering the problem of  $A_{\text{size}}$  *picca/piccirilla* ('small'), which, as opposed to its counterpart *grossa* cannot precede the head noun (§ 4.5). Furthermore, it seems to be used only to provide a restrictive interpretation, whereas the attributive adjective is more likely to be replaced by diminutive suffixes.

In the end, after having considered all the semantic classes and Cinque's (2010) unmarked serialization for object-denoting nouns, we will try to answer to one of our research questions:

### **Which is the adjective ordering in Pescararese?**

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<sup>4</sup> These adjectives are in brackets because, as seen in §1.2.3, they can occur prenominaly, but the normal and unmarked position is the postnominal one.

<sup>5</sup> It seems that there are two possible positions for the possessive, which is necessarily postnominal. Further details, as well as the interpretive implications of such double placement are provided in § 4.3.3 and in § 4.4.

The subsequent paragraphs will not be strictly focused on adjectival modification: § 4.6 offers a syntactic analysis of demonstrative doubling in Pescararese which considers the interaction of demonstratives and (some) adjectives. Finally, a brief insight on metaphony will be offered in the concluding section (§ 4.7).

#### 4.1 Prenominal adjectives in Pescararese

As previously explained in § 3.1.1, the evaluation part of the dialect survey was developed with the purpose of checking whether adjectives in Pescararese normally follow the noun, with the only exception being  $A_{\text{possessives}}$ . All the informants accepted the sentence *Giovanna te' na casa bbellā* ('Giovanna has (got) a nice house'), provided in ((18) Ch. 3), but  $A_{\text{quality}}$  seems to be interchangeable between a pre- and a postnominal position, without any shift in meaning according to the vast majority of the speakers involved. It is worth noting that 15 people (38,5%) preferred the prenominal adjective over the postnominal one, even though they did not judge the given sentence to be ungrammatical. Two informants, however, justified the double choice on the grounds of a difference in meaning related to the position of the adjective: prenominal *bbellā* conveys the idea of a general appreciation of the house, but if the same adjective is placed after the noun there is emphasis on the aesthetics: it is a really nice house as compared to others. What these data suggest is that the adjective *bbellā* is characterized by an interpretive versatility: its meaning depends on the context and on the N it is attached to. We will delve into this issue in § 4.2.

The translation section provides other instances of prenominal modification, involving  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbellā* and  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossā*. These are the only  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$  chosen in the test which can occur prenominally. It is worth noting that their relative counterparts behave differently: *bbruttā* ('ugly') can precede the noun (see § 2.3), whereas *piccā/piccirillā* ('small') is allowed only in postnominal position. We will focus on the latter afterwards, in § 4.5.

On the whole, the distribution of prenominal adjectives is much more limited as compared to Italian: only a few can normally occur before the noun in Abruzzese and in other Southern varieties (Rohlf's 1968: 330, but also see Ledgeway 2009 for Neapolitan,



Guardiano 2014 for other Southern and extreme Southern dialects, as well as Gallo-Italic varieties, Andriani 2015-7 for Barese)<sup>6</sup>.

Our translation task shows that there is a clear predominance of postnominal modification, since only 29,9% of the adjectives is placed before the noun<sup>7</sup>.

Speakers' productions displaying prenominal placement of  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbellə* (2) and  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossə* (3) are hereby provided<sup>8</sup>:

(2) *Bbellə*

- a. Lu            bbellə    vəštita        mi  
the-M.SG. nice-SG. dressA-M.SG. my-SG.  
'My nice dress'
- b. Ha            lettə tre    bbillə        libbrə  
has-3SG. read three good-M.PL. books-M.PL.  
'S/He read three good books'
- c. So            cumbratə də lə        bbjəllə    lənzolə        bbjəngħə  
am-1SG. bought    of the-F.PL. nice-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. white-F.PL.  
'I bought some nice white blankets'
- d. Tingħə    na        bbella    lambada    tonnə    dondrə alla    cambra    mi  
have-1SG.a-F.SG.niceA-SG.lampA-F.SG.round-SG.into-the-F.SG.    roomA-F.SG.my-SG.  
'I have a nice round lamp in my room/There is a nice round lamp in my room'
- e. So            vištə na        bbella        machəna    roššə  
am-1SG. seen a-F.SG. niceA-F.SG. carA-F.SG. red-SG.

<sup>6</sup> Ledgeway (2009: 224-5) provides a list of adjectives which typically occur in prenominal position, namely: *antico* ('ancient'), *bello* ('nice'), *buono* ('good'), *brutto* ('ugly'), *caro* ('dear'), *cierto* ('sure'), *giovene* ('young'), *granne* ('big, great'), *gruosso* ('large'), *luongo* ('long'), *malo* ('bad'), *miezo* ('half'), *nuovo* ('new'), *povero* ('poor, pitiable'), *santo* ('holy'), *sulo* ('only'), *vecchio* ('old'). The majority of such adjectives are distinguished from those occurring in postnominal position by an agreement suffix, i.e. *n'antica muneta* ('an ancient coin') or *nu vero signore* ('a real gentleman'). Guardiano (2014: 79-80) states that Southern varieties generally allow *bello* and *buono* (as well as synonyms) in prenominal position, whereas *brutto* and *cattivo* are less frequent. Speakers in Reggio Calabria seem to be more prone to use  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  in prenominal position: they also accept *vecchio/nuovo*, *grande*, *simpatico*, *antico*. Italiot Greek dialects spoken in Puglia and Calabria follow the same restrictions at work in Southern Italian dialects.

Andriani (2017: 78) lists "a closed class of eleven APs", which includes more or less those already mentioned for Neapolitan: *bbu(é)nə*[M]/*bbòna*[F], *màla*, *bbèlla*, *bbrùtta*, *bbràvə*, *grànnə*, *pòvərə*, *vècchia*, *sànda*, *(j)àlda* ('tall/higher'), and *vàscə*(*bbàssə*) ('short/lower')...

<sup>7</sup> This percentage comprises  $A_{\text{ord}}$  and  $A_{\text{card}}$ , which are always prenominal, as well as  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$ , which can optionally occur before the noun.

<sup>8</sup> The most common translation for each Italian sentence is chosen, due – of course – to limited space.

'I saw a nice red car'

(3) *Grossə*

a. Ellə ci šta na grossa casa bbjaghə

There CL.LOC. is-3SG. a-F.SG. bigA-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. white-SG.

'There is a big white house (over there)'

b. Chelə grussə amicizijə napulətanə

those-F.PL. great-PL. friends-F.PL. Neapolitan-PL.

'those great Neapolitan friends'

c. Tinghə tre grussə bbuttijə d'ujjə alla cucinə

have-1SG. three big-F.PL. bottles-F.PL. of oil-M.SG. to-the-F.SG. kitchen-F.SG.

'I have (got) three big bottles of oil in the kitchen'

All the examples in (2) and (3) are instances of prenominal modification involving  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$ . As seen in the paragraph related to the behavior of these two semantic classes of adjectives in Pescaraese (§ 2.3) and in (1),  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  are more likely to occur in postnominal position. The pre- or postnominal placement of the adjective does not often affect its interpretation, but there are some exceptions, which are illustrated in the following paragraph.

## 4.2. Different interpretation of pre- and postnominal $A_{\text{quality}}$ and $A_{\text{size}}$

The conclusion to the previous paragraph anticipated that pre- and postnominal  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$  sometimes differ with respect to their interpretation. Prenominal modification seems to be more used when the speaker wants to convey a general positive attitude towards the referent or to express an inherent quality of the noun, whereas postnominal adjectives are interpreted in their literal meaning: *bbellə* means 'good looking, aesthetically pleasing' and *grossə* means 'big, large'. This is why prenominal adjectives have been especially chosen when the focus of the sentence was not on the physical appearance of the entity denoted in the nominal expression. However, there are some instances of prenominal modification, i.e. (2e) that cannot be apparently explained by referring to such arguments, as we will further explore in the following two sub-paragraphs.

#### 4.2.1 $A_{\text{quality}}$ : *Bbella*

As already anticipated above, the adjective *bbellà* is characterized by an interpretive versatility: it can modify all kind of nouns, but the semantic interpretation depends on the class of referents the N belongs to, as Andriani (2015: 197) points out for Barese<sup>9</sup>:

- (4) na      bbella      scolà/      medacənà/      pizzà/      lunà  
a-F.SG. niceA-F.SG. school-F.SG. medicine-F.SG. pizza-F.SG. moon-F.SG.

‘a(n example of) good school/adequate medicine/tasty pizza/nice and bright moon’

Prenominal *bbellà* should then be generically interpreted as ‘a good example of *x*’ and conveys a personal judgement. The genericity of an adjective seems to be strictly related to the prenominal placement, as Alisova (1968) claims for Italian. Moreover, if such an adjective does not modify the semantics of the whole nominal expression, it acquires the status of an *intensificatore banale*<sup>10</sup> (‘banal/trivial intensifier’). An intensifier is not syntactically required and does not provide fundamental information on the head noun. It is the case of nominal expressions where two adjectives are used, i.e. a prenominal and a postnominal one, as in (2c-e). As regards (2c) and (2d), the primary quality is the one expressed by the postnominal adjective, namely *bjəŋghə* (‘white’) and *tonnə* (‘round’) and this is proven by the overwhelming majority of translations which display the prenominal placement of the adjective (30 and 38 productions, respectively). Hence, *bbellà* should definitely be considered an intensifier, as an informant pointed out during the translation task for sentence (2c): if someone buys some new white blankets, it follows that they are nice; therefore, the use of adjective *bbellà* is not necessary. Moreover, speakers might have been influenced by the input sentences, which both display a prenominal  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and are quite unlikely to be produced by a dialect speaker in daily communication.

(2e) shows an unexpected pattern, since all the informants opted for prenominal modification even though  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbellà* could have been used to convey its literal meaning, because it is referred to a car’s design. The prenominal adjective should therefore be considered as an ‘umbrella term’ to convey a number of qualities that

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<sup>9</sup> It is exactly the same for Pescarese, since there are no differences wrt. vocabulary.

<sup>10</sup> Alisova (1968: 263).

might be related to a car, i.e. fast, new, large, luxury, etc... Furthermore, we agree with Scarano (1999) that *bella machana* can be ascribed to those combinations of an A + N, which are now ‘fossilized’ in Italian as well as in dialect: A<sub>quality</sub> first conveyed the speaker’s positive judgement, but due to the high frequency of the adjective, its meaning can be inferred by the whole nominal expression. The same applies to (2b), even though less speakers opted for the prenominal position: 24 informants chose *billə libbrə*, whereas 17 preferred *libbrə bbillə*<sup>11</sup>.

The DP in (2a), on the other hand, has been provided by 14 informants only. The majority of the informants opted for postnominal A<sub>quality</sub> instead, because in this context it is likely to be interpreted in its literal meaning:

- (5) lu            vəštītə        bella        mi  
           the-M.SG. dress-M.SG. niceA-SG. my-SG.  
           ‘my nice dress’

The translation in (5) has been chosen by 19/39 people but, on the whole, 24/39<sup>12</sup> informants opted for the postnominal placement of A<sub>quality</sub> because, in this case, it is clear that the adjective qualifies the referent for its aesthetics (i.e. for its design, color, fabric etc...).

#### 4.2.2 A<sub>quality/size</sub> Grossə

*Grossə* is another highly frequent adjective in dialect and denotes – similarly to A<sub>quality</sub> – rudimentary size. However, it can be interpreted as an evaluative adjective (= ‘great’) when placed in prenominal position. This process of ‘dephysicalization’<sup>13</sup> occurs when the referent has both a [measure-animate] and a [measure+animate] feature, as *ommə* (‘man’) or *amicizijə* (‘friend’) (see Conte 1973 for Italian); therefore, in this case, A<sub>size</sub> *grossə* has to be intended as an A<sub>quality</sub> meaning ‘great, impressive’. There is a difference between [+ animate] and [- animate] nouns: *grossə* retains the same literal meaning

<sup>11</sup> Two informants chose both the prenominal and the postnominal adjective, claiming that there is no difference in meaning.

<sup>12</sup> 5/39 informants provided the alternative version *lu vəštita mi bbellə*, where A<sub>quality</sub> has its prototypical meaning, analogously to the case in (5), but the interpretation of the DP as a whole can vary according to the different position of the possessive with respect to A<sub>quality</sub>. We will delve into this issue in §4.3.3, which analyzes A<sub>poss</sub> and in §4.4, which investigates the problem of interpretive ambiguities.

<sup>13</sup> D’Addio (1974: 91-2)

when modifies nouns denoting inanimate referents, whereas there might be ambiguity between an evaluative and a literal meaning (= ‘elderly’, ‘big’) if modification involves a [+ animate] noun. For instance, if we take into account sentence (3b), *grussə amicizijə* can only be interpreted as ‘great, close friends’, whereas *amicizija grussə* might be interpreted as ‘elder friends’. However, 15 informants provided a translation with prenominal *grussə*, which parallels the Italian input sentence and hence conveys the same evaluative meaning. It is worth noting that difficulties arose in translating the Italian sentence because dialect speakers are more prone to use other constructions to convey the same meaning, i.e. *amicizijə də lu corə* (‘best friends’); *amicizijə strittə* (‘close friends’) or nominalizations such as the one in (6), or preferred another  $A_{\text{quality}}$  (*bbunə*, ‘good’):

- (6) *chelə frəgnəttunə de l’ amicizijə napulətanə*  
 those-M.PL. cool (guys)-M.PL. of the-F.PL. friends-F.PL. Neapolitan-F.PL.  
 ‘those cool Neapolitan friends’

As for sentences (3a) and (3c) the situation seems very straightforward: the adjective *grussə* modifies nouns denoting inanimate entities, therefore speakers preferred the base postnominal position (on the whole<sup>14</sup>, 28/39 for sentence (3a) and 23/39 for sentence (3c) or conveyed the direct modification meaning by using an augmentative suffix<sup>15</sup> (6/39, for sentence (3c) only). The tendency for speakers to prefer postnominal  $A_{\text{size}}$  when modification involves an inanimate entity was actually clear also in the evaluation task, where no one provided an alternative version for the following two clauses, where the head noun is modified by  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grussə*:

- (7) a. *a la casə tenomə na cucina grossə*  
 in-the-F.SG. house have got-1PL. a-F.SG. kitchenA-F.SG. big-SG.  
 ‘We have a big kitchen in (our) house’  
 b. *a lu pajosə ci šta na cchijša grossə*  
 in-the-M.SG. village-M.SG. CL.LOC. is-3SG. a-F.SG. churchA-F.SG. big-SG.

<sup>14</sup> Two options available, one displaying  $A_{\text{color}} > A_{\text{size}}$  (chosen by 11/39) and the other displaying the reverse order (chosen by 17/39). As for the other sentence, two options were available as well: *tre buttijə grussə d’ujjə* ( $A_{\text{size}} > \text{PP}$ ), chosen by 18/39 and exemplified in (9) without the PP and *tre bbuttijə d’ujjə grussə*, whose  $A_{\text{size}}$  is an indirect modification adjective. More details about the difference between the two nominal expressions will be provided in § 4.3 on postnominal adjectives.

<sup>15</sup> Details on augmentative (and diminutive) suffixes will be given in § 4.5.

‘There is a big church in the village’

It is thus clear that  $A_{\text{size}}$  can be interpreted as an  $A_{\text{quality}}$  when it modifies an animate referent and it is placed in prenominal position. As for inanimate referents, its meaning does not depend on the position of the adjective and *grossa* is hence read as an  $A_{\text{size}}$ .

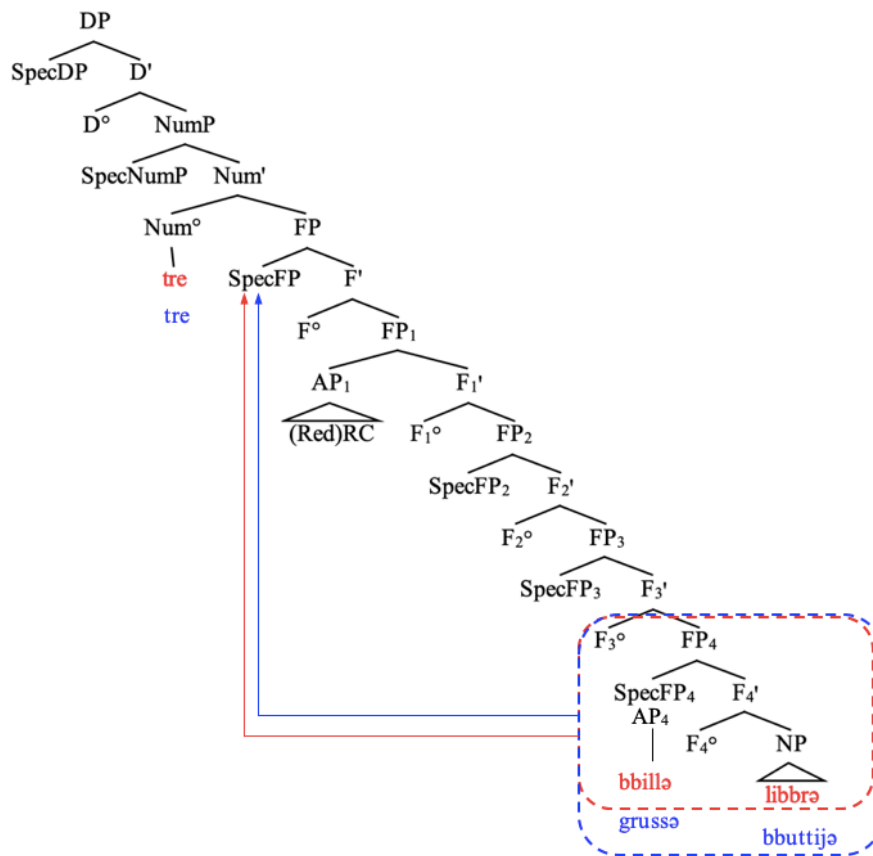
### 4.2.3 Syntactic analysis

This paragraph will provide a syntactic analysis of Pescaresse prenominal adjectives.  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  are allowed in postnominal position as well, and it therefore follows that other movements are involved. Some of these sentences will be taken into account throughout §4.3 and §4.4 as well, since the presence of two postnominal adjectives may result in an ambiguous nominal expression.

First, we would like to shed light on those few sentences which display both a prenominal  $A_{\text{card}}$  and a prenominal  $A_{\text{size/quality}}$ , namely *Ha letta tre bbilla libbra* (2b) and *Tingha tre grussa bbuttià d’ujja alla cucina* (3c).

We consider the two DPs only and a syntactic structure is provided on the following page.

(8)



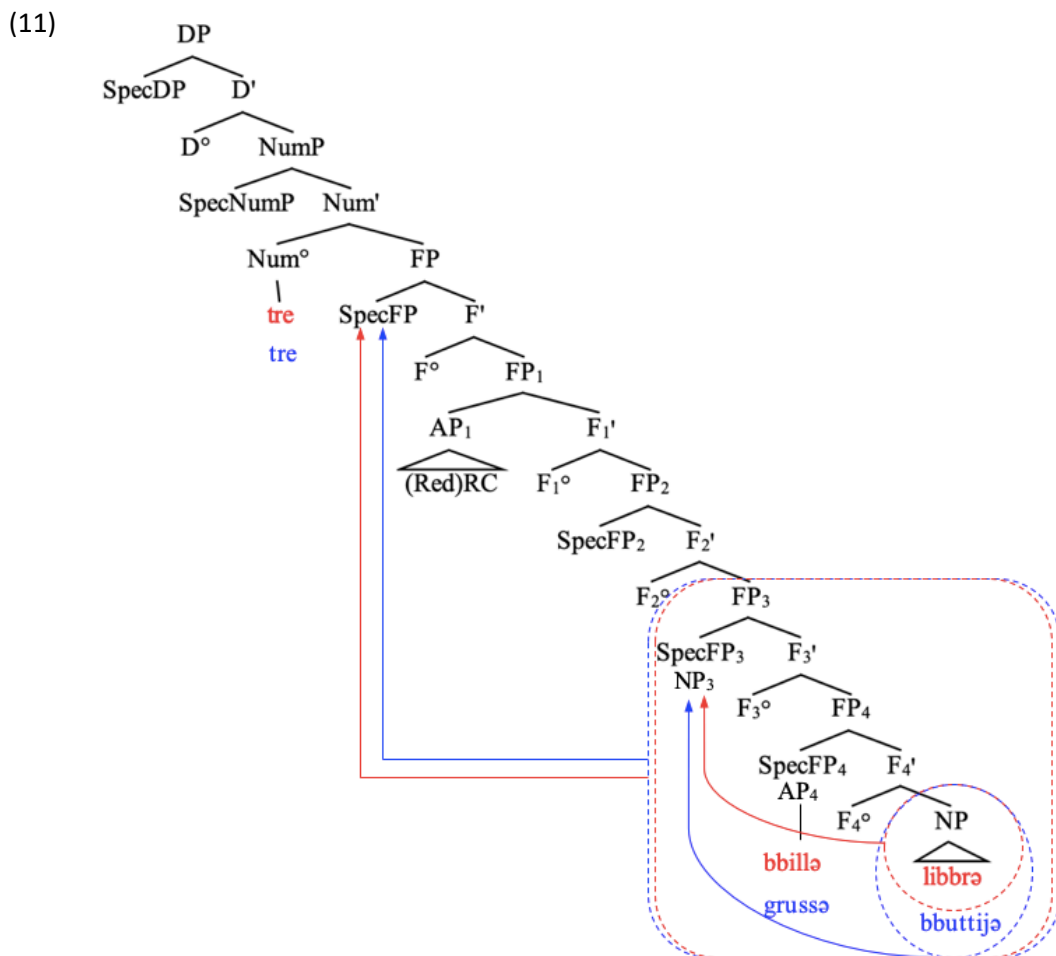
Bearing in mind Cinque (2010), the functional projections immediately above NP host DmAPs, which are merged in accordance with the unmarked hierarchy for object-denoting nouns, therefore  $A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{shape}} > A_{\text{color}} > A_{\text{nationality}}$ . SpecFP<sub>1</sub> hosts adjectives from reduced relative clauses, and in this case such functional projection is empty because both *bbillə* and *grussə* are direct modification adjectives. If we look at (8) we first notice that the Merge order is the correct word order at S-structure, so no movement is apparently needed. However, a functional projection labeled FP, located right above the Merge position for indirect modification adjectives is required. Its specifier, SpecFP, is the landing site for [ $A_{\text{size/quality}} + \text{NP}$ ]. Such movement is required in order to achieve a Spec-Head configuration between the numeral *tre* ('three'), the NP which is not inflected for gender and number and the relative adjective, which is only inflected for number through metaphonic vowel alternation.

The two sentences whose DPs have been represented in (8) are the dialect translation of the original Italian sentences *Ha letto tre bei libri* ('S/he read three good books') and

*Ho tre grandi bottiglie d'olio in cucina* ('I have three big bottles of oil in the kitchen'). Even though this second section is devoted to prenominal adjectives, we would give an insight on the same  $A_{size}$  and  $A_{quality}$  which have been instead placed postnominally by a number of informants. Their translations are therefore the following:

- (9)    ha       lettə tre   libbrə       bbillə  
       has-3SG. read three books-M.PL. good-M.PL.  
       'S/he read three good books'
- (10)   tinghə   tre   bbuttəjə   grussə   d'ujjə       alla       cucinə  
       have-1SG. three bottles-F.PL. big-M.PL. of oil-M.SG. in-the-F.SG. kitchen-F.SG.  
       'I have three big bottles of oil in the kitchen'

With respect to (9) and (10), the NP crosses over  $A_{quality/size}$  and then, the whole [N + A] complex is merged higher in structure, in SpecFP for the above-mentioned reasons. The structure in (11) subsumes the representation of both DPs:





We now move to other instances of prenominal modification, more specifically to those cases in which there is a prenominal direct modification  $A_{\text{size/quality}}$  and another direct modification adjective which is placed after the head noun. Such postnominal adjectives ( $A_{\text{color}}, A_{\text{shape}}, A_{\text{nationality}}$ ) will be taken into account in the following paragraph as well.

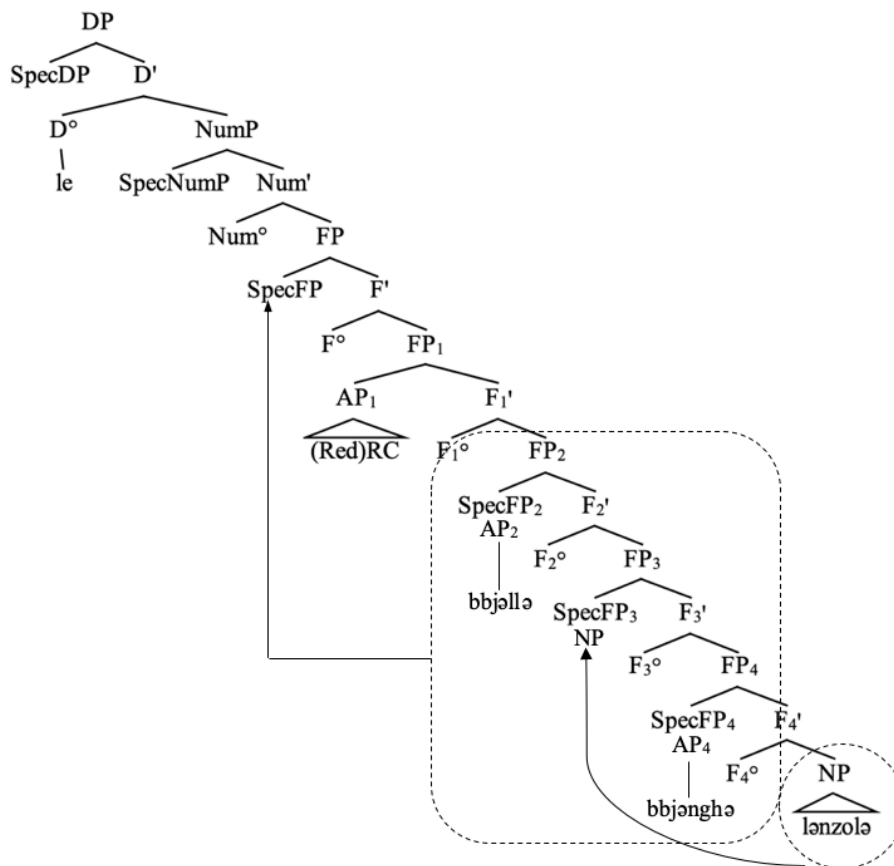
We consider sentences (2c-e), focusing on the DPs: *lā bbjəllā lənzolā bbjəŋhə, nā bbella lambada tonnə, nā bbella machəna roššə*. As explained in § 4.2.1,  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbellə* functions more as a sort of intensifier: it does not convey a primary quality of the referent, it should be instead interpreted as ‘a good example of  $x$ ’ (i.e. *lā bbjəllā lənzolā bbjəŋhə* can be interpreted as ‘good examples of white blankets’). Such reading is obtained when  $A_{\text{quality}}$  is placed prenominally, whereas the literal meaning is associated with the postnominal placement of the adjective. Nominal expressions such as *lā lənzolā bbjəŋhə bbjəllā, nā lambada tonnə bbəllā* or *nā machəna roššə bbəllā* are not banned<sup>16</sup>, but speakers provided a higher number of translations displaying prenominal  $A_{\text{size}}$ .

(12) represents the structure for the DP in (2c), *lā bbəllā lənzolā bbjəŋhə*. The same applies to the other two above-mentioned sentences, with the only difference being in the categorial status of the indefinite quantifier *nā*, ‘a’.

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<sup>16</sup> As for the first nominal expression, *lā lənzolā bbjəŋhə bbjəllā* (both direct modification adjectives) has been chosen by six people, whereas *lā lənzolā bbjəllā bbjəŋhə* was preferred by two people only. In this case, *bbjəŋhə* is clearly an indirect modification adjective, derived from a reduced relative clause. *Nā lambada tonnə bbjəllā* (or *nā lambada bbjəllā tonnə*) have not been chosen by the informants involved in the inquiry, even though they are both grammatical options. The same applies for *nā machəna roššə bbəllā* (or *nā machəna bbəllā roššə*). However, we suggest that informants did not produce translations which display the order  $N > A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{color/shape}}$  because such sentences would have a different meaning as compared to the input. More specifically, *bbəllā* would be a reinforcer for  $A_{\text{color/shape}}$ , meaning ‘really white/red’ or ‘very round’. We will provide details on interpretive ambiguities between postnominal adjectives in § 4.4.

(12)



The NP *lənzolə* undergoes NP-raising to an available Spec position, namely the one preceding SpecFP<sub>4</sub>, which hosts the A<sub>color</sub> *bbjəŋhə*. A<sub>quality</sub> occupies a functional projection which is higher in structure (recall (39) in Chapter 1). After such NP-raising, the [<sub>FP</sub> *bbjällə lənzolə bbjəŋhə*] raises to SpecFP.

#### 4.2.4 Figurate meaning of A<sub>size</sub> *grossə*

The final section of the paragraph concerns the analysis of the most problematic sentence<sup>17</sup> throughout the whole dialect survey, namely the translation of Italian *Quei*

<sup>17</sup> Speakers provided many translations, which in some cases do not adhere to the original Italian version for several reasons, i.e. a possessive adjective appears in isolation or in combination with A<sub>quality</sub>. The presence of an A<sub>possessive</sub> is claimed to be useful to express a bond, a strong relationship between the speaker and the referent denoted by the nominal expression. Example (5) in § 4.2.2 shows that nominalizations are also possible (*Chelə fragnəttunə de l'amicizijə napulətanə*). A speaker chose not to translate the sentence because *grossə* apparently cannot convey the same meaning associated with Italian *grande*, whereas others opted for idiomatic expressions, PPs such as *amicizijə de lu corə* (lit. 'friendship of the heart') or relative clauses which describe the kind of relationship between the speaker and his/her friends, i.e. *l'amicizijə chə mə vo bbənanə* ('the friends who love me'); *quellə chə vajə a truà spessə* ('those whom I often visit'). All the detailed answers are provided in Appendix B.

*grandi amici napoletani*, ('those great Neapolitan friends'). As explained in § 3.1.2, such sentence was chosen to verify whether  $A_{\text{size}}$  can be used as an  $A_{\text{quality}}$  in Pescara. The majority of the speakers opted for a translation which parallels the Italian version, and the structure of this translation will be therefore provided in (14). The only way to convey the same meaning associated with the original Italian sentence is to place  $A_{\text{size}}$  prenominal, which is automatically interpreted as an  $A_{\text{quality}}$ . It is noteworthy that 4/19 translations with a prenominal  $A_{\text{size/quality}}$  display  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbillə*. All those informants who opted for postnominal modification preferred other adjectives, particularly *strettə*, 'tight' (or its variant *štrottə*<sup>18</sup>). Two other options include  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *carə*, 'dear' and *bbunə*, 'good/good-hearted'.

- (13) *chel' amicizijə štrettə napulətanə*<sup>19</sup>  
 those-F.PL. friend(s)-F.PL. tight-F.PL. Neapolitan-F.PL.  
 'Those close Neapolitan friends'

The choice of a postnominal adjective, however, may result in ambiguities, especially when  $A_{\text{size/quality}}$  *grossə* is used: when such adjective is used, the first and most frequent meaning associated with the postnominal position is 'big/large' or 'elder'. In this case, only three informants provided the nominal expression *Chel'amicizija grossə (grussə) napulətanə*, which has potentially two – or even three meanings: the friends the speaker is talking about are i) close friends; ii) elder people; iii) tall, robust<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, we observe that the word order is not the mirror image of  $A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{nationality}}$  (Cinque 1994), so we should hypothesize that in this case,  $A_{\text{size}}$  is a direct modification adjective, whereas  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  is an indirect modification one. Further details on interpretive ambiguities will be given in § 4.4.

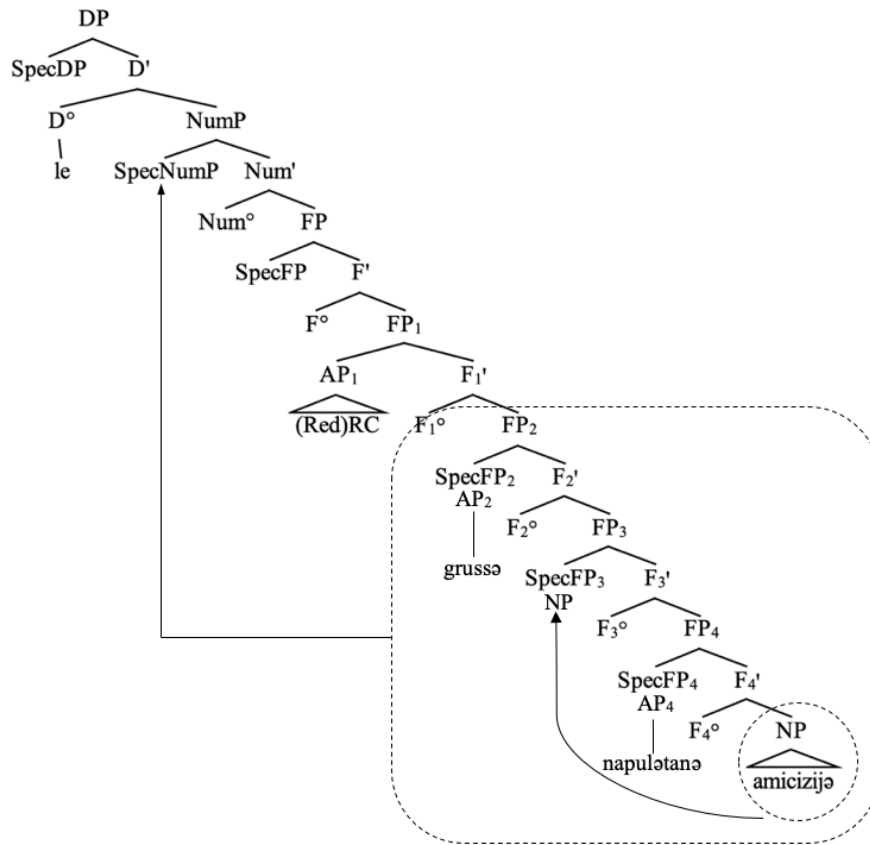
We conclude that in any case, Italian  $A_{\text{quality}}$  is rendered by a corresponding  $A_{\text{quality}}$  in dialect.

<sup>18</sup> This variant follows the phonological rules of Pianellese, whereas *strettə* resembles more the Italian adjective *stretto* and it would have been used in Pescara instead.

<sup>19</sup> Both adjectives are not inflected for number, as the head noun. This is why such DP might denote both a singular and a plural referent. However, two informants provided another version which displays a metaphonic  $A_{\text{quality}}$ , namely *štrittə*. We here use the PL. gloss only because the Italian version includes plural noun and adjectives.

<sup>20</sup> It is the less frequent meaning.

(14)



### 4.3 Postnominal adjectives

As pointed out in the introduction to Chapter 4, there is a large majority of postnominal adjectives in our corpus (73,2%). The only adjectives occurring in prenominal position are  $A_{\text{ordinal}}$  and  $A_{\text{cardinal}}$  and some  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$  (see § 2.2 and § 2.3). With respect to  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$ , we noted that *grussə* can occur before the noun, and such prenominal placement can affect the interpretation of the adjective, as in *Chelə grussə amicizijə napulətanə*. Furthermore, there are two adjectives that have not been considered yet, namely *štupptə* ('stupid') and *piccə/piccirillə*<sup>21</sup>. Such adjectives are strictly banned in prenominal position, and this is particularly noteworthy, especially for the latter: if both *bbellə* and its counterpart *bbruttə* ('ugly') are allowed in pre- as well as in postnominal position (see

<sup>21</sup> Informants provided both variants, which are equally acceptable and have the same meaning.

(12) in § 2.3), it is not the same for *grossə* and *piccə*<sup>22</sup>. Furthermore, in many cases the latter is not even expressed and instead replaced by diminutive suffixes (§ 4.5).

$A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  and  $A_{\text{possessive}}$  always occur after the NP, without exception.

The first part of section 4.3 (§ 4.3.1) will consider those postnominal  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$ , with further reference to *grossə*, which has been already analyzed in the previous section.

The second part (§ 4.3.2) focuses on those adjectives which – similarly to Italian – necessarily appear after the noun ( $A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ ), while the final part (§ 4.3.3) analyzes postnominal tonic possessives, in interaction with pre- and postnominal adjectives.

#### 4.3.1 $A_{\text{quality/size}}$

Examples of postnominal  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$  have already been mentioned in (9)-(10) and analyzed in (11), but we will now focus on another issue that has not been highlighted in § 4.2.3 with respect to the sentence *Tinghə tre bbutijə grossə d’ujjə alla cucinə*. Structure (11) covers [DP [NumP tre [FP [FP1 bbutijə grossə] [FP2 bbutijə] [DmAP grossə] [NP bbutijə]]]] without considering the PP *d’ujjə* (lit. ‘of oil’).

Only 5/39 informants provided the following translation, with the PP >  $A_{\text{size}}$  order, which is the unmarked one:

- (15) Tinghə    tre    bbutijə    d’ujjə    grossə    alla    cucinə  
have-1SG. three bottles-F.PL. of-oil-M.SG. big-F.PL. into-the-F.SG. kitchen-F.SG.  
‘I have three big bottles of oil in (my) kitchen/ In the kitchen there are three big bottles of oil’

In this case, there is a whole [NP + PP] complex which is moved across the  $DmAP_{\text{size}}$  in the lower DP field (direct modification space).

On the other hand, 11/39 speakers chose the  $A_{\text{size}}$  > PP order in their translation, which is marked as compared to the standard word order and should be analyzed as a case of emargination (16b). Such hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that all in all productions a prosodic pause – of different length – occurs after the postnominal  $A_{\text{size}}$ .

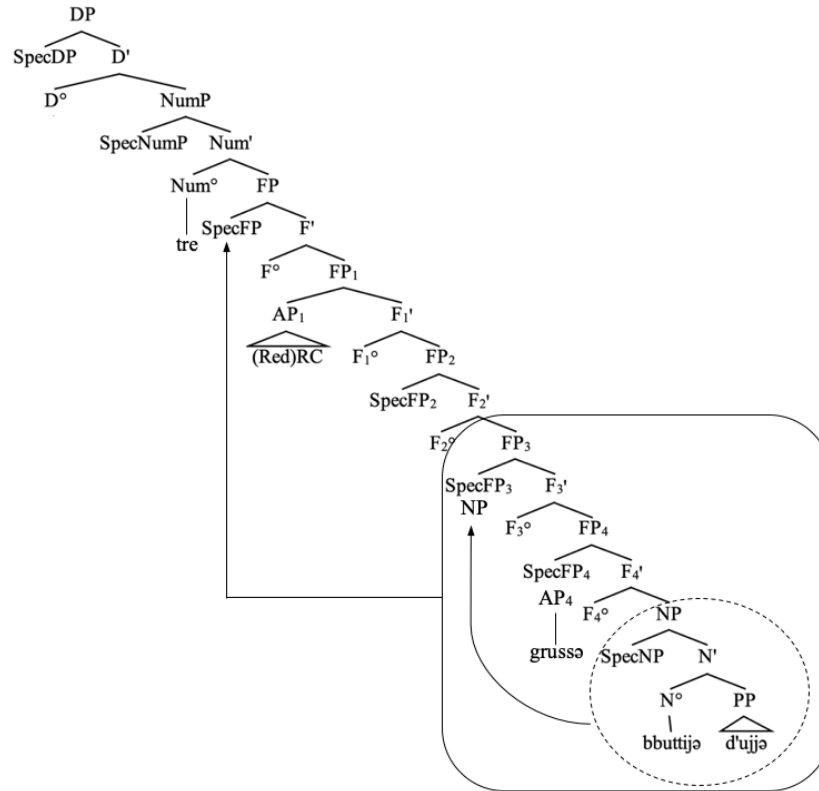
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<sup>22</sup> Other couples of antonyms show the same pattern, i.e. *bbonə* is allowed both before and after the head noun, whereas its counterpart *malamendə* can only be placed postnominally. Similarly, *poverə* is accepted in both positions, whereas *ricchə* is claimed to be only postnominal (personal communication).

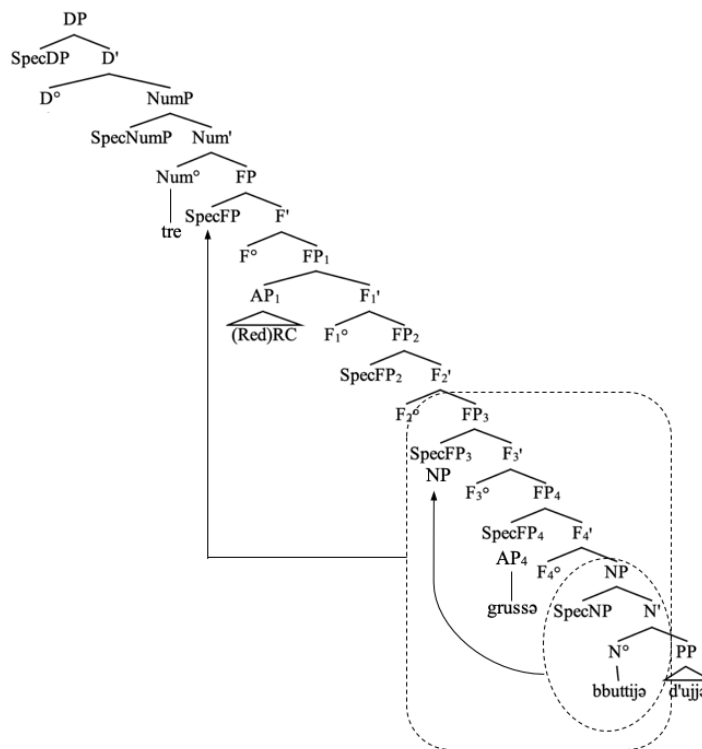
Structure (16a) shows that there is a roll-up movement of the whole NP + PP complex, together with the  $A_{size}$  *grussə*, to SpecFP, in order to establish an adjacency relationship with the numeral *tre*.

The two structures are compared below:

(16) a.



b.



An additional remark on such sentence concerns the fact that not all the informants opted for  $A_{\text{size}}$  to provide details on the dimension of the referent ‘bottle’: 6/39 chose *buttijunə* (‘big bottle’), where the augmentative suffix *-onə* (*-unə* for plural) is used in place of  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossə*. The different use of augmentative and diminutive suffixes in place of  $A_{\text{size}}$  will be covered in § 4.5, with a comparison between *grossə* and *piccə*. The latter seems to be much more frequently avoided and replaced with the corresponding diminutive and endearing suffixes. We will turn to this later.

Finally, a single informant judged the lexical item *fiaschetta* (PL. *fiaschittə*) to be more natural instead. Such lexeme stands for ‘big bottle’, therefore no  $A_{\text{size}}$  is necessary.

Postnominal  $A_{\text{size}}$  appears in two possible translations of the Italian sentence *Lì c’è una grande casa bianca* (‘There is a big white house over there’):

- (17) a. Ellə ci      šta      na      casa      bbjanga      grossə  
           there CL.LOC is-3SG. a-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. whiteA-F.SG. big-SG.
- b. Ellə ci      šta      na      casa      grossa      bbjanhə  
           there CL.LOC is-3SG. a-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. bigA-F.SG. white-SG.

(17a), whose order is the mirror image of Germanic  $A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{color}} > N$ , has been chosen by 11/39 informants, whereas (17b) was preferred by a higher number of speakers (17/39), despite the fact that it does not mirror the order outlined in Cinque (1994).

More specifically, in (17a) both  $A_{\text{color}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  are DmAPs, whereas we claim that in (17b)  $A_{\text{size}}$  only is a direct modification adjective, whereas  $A_{\text{color}}$  should be analyzed as an ImAP and its Merge position is higher as compared to  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossə*, in parallel fashion to Cinque’s (2010) marked examples<sup>23</sup> from Italian (see (38) in Chapter 1).

Sentences (17a-b) clearly show what are the implications of multiple postnominal modification. It is possible to have two DmAPs, as in (17a), or a direct and an indirect modification one. Pescaresse does not clearly distinguish between direct – attributive – adjectives and indirect – restrictive – adjectives because, as we clarified earlier,

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<sup>23</sup> The marked examples are the following (Cinque 2010: 74):

- a. un cane enorme nero
- b. un tavolo rotondo cinese
- c. una piazza bellissima grande

They are marked as compared to *un cane nero enorme*, *un tavolo cinese rotondo* and *una piazza grande bellissima*.

postnominal modification is much more frequent and only a limited number of adjectives can occur before the head noun. We will consider further interpretive ambiguities in § 4.4.

The same applies to the DPs of the following clauses:

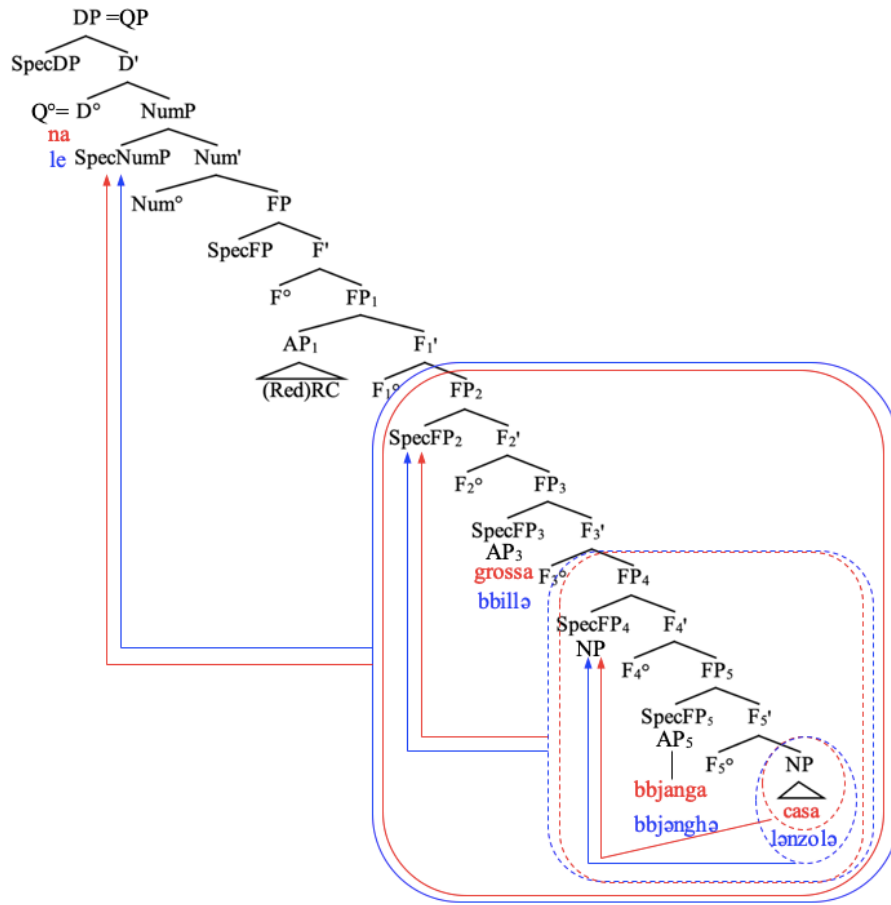
- (18) a. so        cumbratə də lə        lənzolə        bbjəŋghə bbjillə  
         am-1SG. bought    of the-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. white-PL. beautiful-PL.  
      b. so        cumbratə də lə        lənzolə        bbjllə        bbjəŋghə  
         am-1SG. bought    of the-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. beautiful-PL. white-PL.  
         'I bought some beautiful white blankets'

However, the main difference with respect to (17a-b) is that the majority of the speakers who opted for two postnominal adjectives chose a sequence that follows the unmarked Italian order (6/19), whereas only 2/19 opted for  $A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{color}}$ . As for (18a), both adjectives are DmAPs, whereas in (18b), where the two adjectives are ordered as in Germanic,  $A_{\text{quality}}$  is a direct modification adjective, while  $A_{\text{color}}$  should be analyzed as an ImAP.

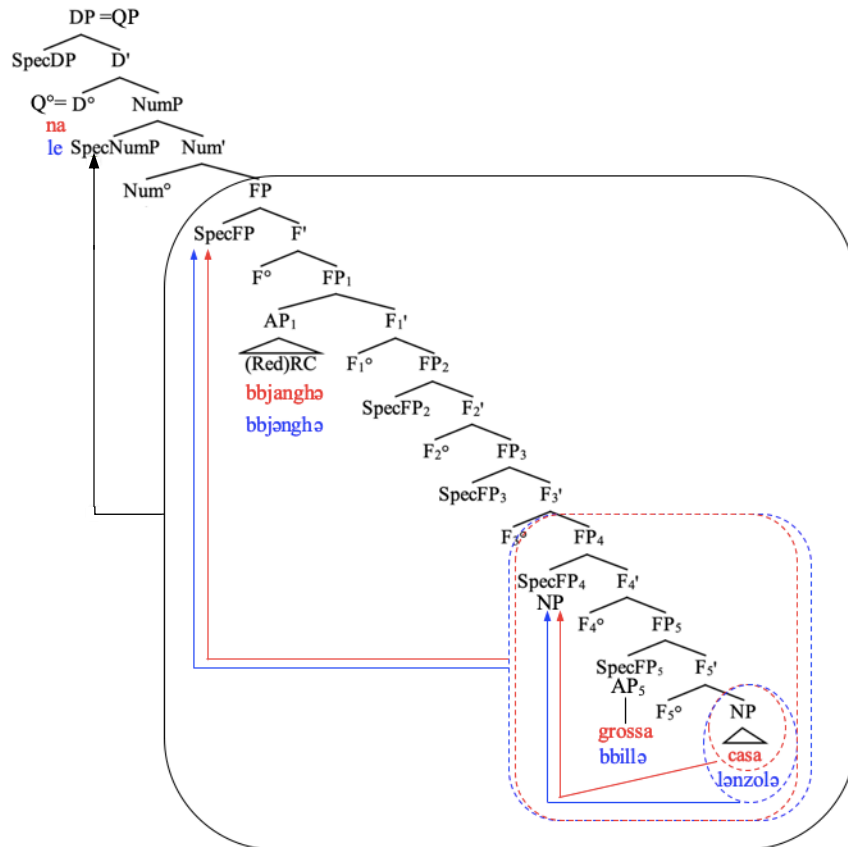
The two different derivations are provided in (19a-b), where the former is related to (17-18a) and the latter to the second example of each couple (17-18b):



(19) a.



b.



The analysis with respect to postnominal  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$  so far dealt with *bbellə* and *grossə*, which have already been taken into account in § 4.1, focused on prenominal modification. Our survey, however, included the  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *štupətə*, which can only occur after the head noun. The informants were asked to translate the Italian sentence *Quei tre ragazzi stupidi* ('Those three stupid guys') and the most frequent answer (33/39) is the following<sup>24</sup>:

- (20) *chəli tre bbardiššə štupətə*  
 those-M.PL. three guys-M.PL.stupid-PL.

The same analysis provided in (11), which shows movements undergoing in two DPs (*Tre libbrə bbillə* and *Tre bbuttijə grossə*) applies to (20) with the only difference being in the presence of a demonstrative, whose Merge position is SpecDP.

An additional issue concerning the nominal expression in (19) is the use of a nominalized adjective modified by an augmentative suffix, namely *štupətonə* (lit. 'big stupid (person)'). 6/39 informants opted for a DP whose word order is Dem > Num > N, without employing any  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$ . Such usage of suffixation has nevertheless a different function as compared to the choice of replacing an  $A_{\text{size}}$  (*grossə* or *piccə*) with an augmentative or diminutive suffix, as we will point out in § 4.5.

#### 4.3.2 $A_{\text{shape}}$ , $A_{\text{color}}$ , $A_{\text{nationality}}$

We now turn to those adjectives which are necessarily postnominal in Pescara, without any exception.  $A_{\text{shape}}$  and  $A_{\text{color}}$  are generally postnominal in Italian as well, but there might be instances of prenominal modification.  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  are always postnominal in Romance, due to their relational/classificatory nature<sup>25</sup> (see Bosque and Piccallo 1996 and Alexiadou and Stavrou 2011). Pescara, as we will see further, does not differ in this respect.

<sup>24</sup> Synonyms were provided as well, i.e. *uagliunə*, *bardaššunə*, *sgattunə*, *giuənə*, which all denote an adolescent.

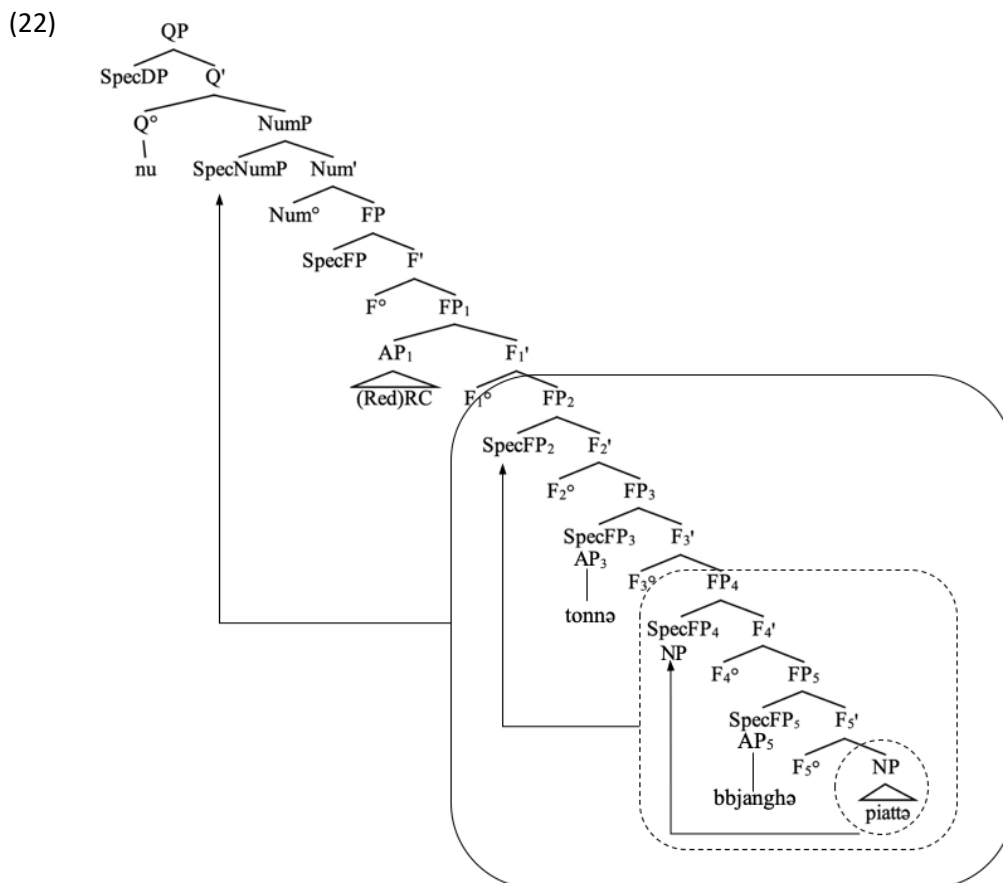
<sup>25</sup> In this case we refer to homophonous ethnic adjectives which differ from thematic ones, namely those which encode a thematic role assigned by the noun they modify (i.e. *the American invasion* = 'the invasion carried out by the Americans'). Such adjectives are claimed to be 'deep adjectives' (Alexiadou and Stavrou 2011: 120)

First of all, we consider a DPs which contains  $A_{color}$  *bbjānghə* ('white'), already seen in combination with  $A_{size}$  *grossə*, an adjective which can optionally occur before the noun. In (21) the two modifiers of the noun are both postnominal. In this case all informants chose a translation in which  $A_{color}$  precedes  $A_{shape}$  and the unmarked Italian order is therefore followed.

- (21) nu        piattə        bbjānghə tonnə  
 a-M.SG. plate-M.SG. white-SG.round-SG.  
 'a white round plate'

Following Cinque (1994, 2010) and Sproat and Shih (1991), in parallel fashion to the analysis in (18a), we conclude that both  $A_{color}$  and  $A_{shape}$  are DmAPs because – as has just been mentioned – they follow the unmarked order for adjectives.

The derivation for (21) is hereby provided for the sake of clarity, even though it is analogous to the one presented for the DP *na casa bbjānga grossə*:



The NP crosses over  $AP_{color}$  *bbjānghə* then the  $AP_{color}$  and the modified NP both undergo phrasal movement, crossing over  $A_{shape}$  *tonnə*. The whole complex moves in roll-up

fashion towards SpecNumP in order to be in a Spec-head relationship with the indefinite in Q°.

We shall now look at  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  *napulətana* ('Neapolitan') and *siciljana* ('Sicilian'). The former appears in one sentence included in the evaluation task and in other three sentences from the translation task.  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  *siciljana*, on the other hand, has a single occurrence: as explained in § 3.1.2, it was specifically selected for the combination with  $A_{\text{color}}$  *bbjanġha* or *rošša*, the two adjectives of color chosen for our survey.

Before turning to syntactic analysis, it is worthwhile pointing out that, in many cases, speakers opted for the PP [*də* + N] instead of the adjective or considered both possibilities to be acceptable. The choice of a PP rather than the  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  is driven by semantic factors: more specifically, it seems that the use of  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  conveys information on the origins of the person qualified by the adjective, irrespective of the place such person lives in at the moment. The use of a PP leads to a change of perspective, since the focus is more on the place rather than on the person.

Compare, for instance, the two following sentences:

- (23) a. ha        jitə    a truà l'        amicizija        si        napulətana  
          has-3SG. gone to find the-F.PL. friendsA-F.PL. his/her-SG. Neapolitan-PL.  
      b. ha        jitə    a truà l'        amicizija        si        də Napulə  
          has-3SG. gone to find the-F.PL. friendsA-F.PL. his/her-SG. of Naples  
          'S/he went to visit his/her Neapolitan friends/friends who come from Naples'

As some informants pointed out, the meaning associated with (23a) is that the speaker visited his/her friends who were born in Naples, but they do not necessarily live here anymore. On the other hand, the friends mentioned in (23b) are currently living in Naples and the speaker went there to visit them.

Both possibilities are hence grammatical, but they slightly differ with respect to their interpretation.

The same line of reasoning applies to the other nominal expressions which include an  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  and denote a referent characterized by the [+animate] feature, i.e. *L'amicizija si napulətana/də Napulə* ('His/her friends from Naples') and *Chelə grussa amicizija napulətana/də Napulə* ('Those great friends from Naples').

However, 4/39 informants avoided  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  because they judge it to be inappropriate in the context of a nominal expression referred to friends: as a matter of fact, *napulətanə* is actually claimed to identify a fraud or an unreliable person in general. Such argument is put forward also when the reference is to a person coming from Pianella itself or Pescara: using a nominalized adjective such as *lu pəscarosə* ('the one from Pescara') or *lu pianellosə* ('the one from Pianella') would result in a negatively connotated nominal expression.

If we consider a non-animate referent instead, as in the input DP *Una pizza napoletana tonda* ('a Neapolitan round pizza'), speakers can only choose  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  because such adjective has the function of qualifying the pizza recipe. The version provided by 34/39 informants<sup>26</sup> is provided below:

- (24) na      pizza      napulətana      tonnə  
 a-F.SG. pizza-F.SG. NeapolitanA-SG. round-SG.  
 'A round Neapolitan pizza'

The fact that  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  here refers to a precise recipe is corroborated by the translation choice of using the phraseme *pizza alla napulətanə*<sup>27</sup>, proposed, however, by 2/39 speakers only.

Another non-animate referent is the one denoted in the Italian nominal expression *Le arance rosse siciliane* ('The red Sicilian oranges'). Despite the apparent analogy with sentence (24), for it being a traditional Italian speciality, in this case speakers chose both  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  and PP in their translations (25a-b).

- (25) a. l'      arangə      ruššə      sicilijanə  
 the-F.PL. oranges-F.PL. red-F.PL. Sicilian-F.PL.  
 b. l'      arangə      ruššə      də la      Sicilijə  
 the-F.PL. oranges-F.PL. red-F.PL. of the-F.SG. Sicily-SG.  
 'The red Sicilian oranges'

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<sup>26</sup> One informant only chose the option *na pizza tonnə də Napulə*, as a result of his avoidance of the adjective *napulətanə*, which has been claimed as to be non-existent in Pianellese. 2/39 produced *na pizza tonnə*, without any  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ , because *pizza* is obviously associated with Naples and the adjective *napulətanə* would therefore be redundant.

<sup>27</sup> *Dizionario Italiano De Mauro*, accessible online at: <https://dizionario.internazionale.it/parola/pizza-alla-napoletana>

This might have occurred for a number of reasons: i) interference from the input sentence; ii) interference from the phraseme *arancia rossa di Sicilia*, a designation of *Protected geographical indication* (PGI) approved by the European Commission<sup>28</sup>; iii) analogy with sentence (23b), in which the use of a PP allows to focus on the place of provenance: as friends come from Naples, similarly oranges ‘come from’ Sicily, since they have been imported. Before analyzing the DPs in (23-25) from a syntactic point of view, we make a final observation with respect to the perception of the  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  *sicilianə*: contrary to *napulətanə*, it has a neutral connotation and seems to be interchangeable with the PP *di Sicilijə/della Sicilijə*.

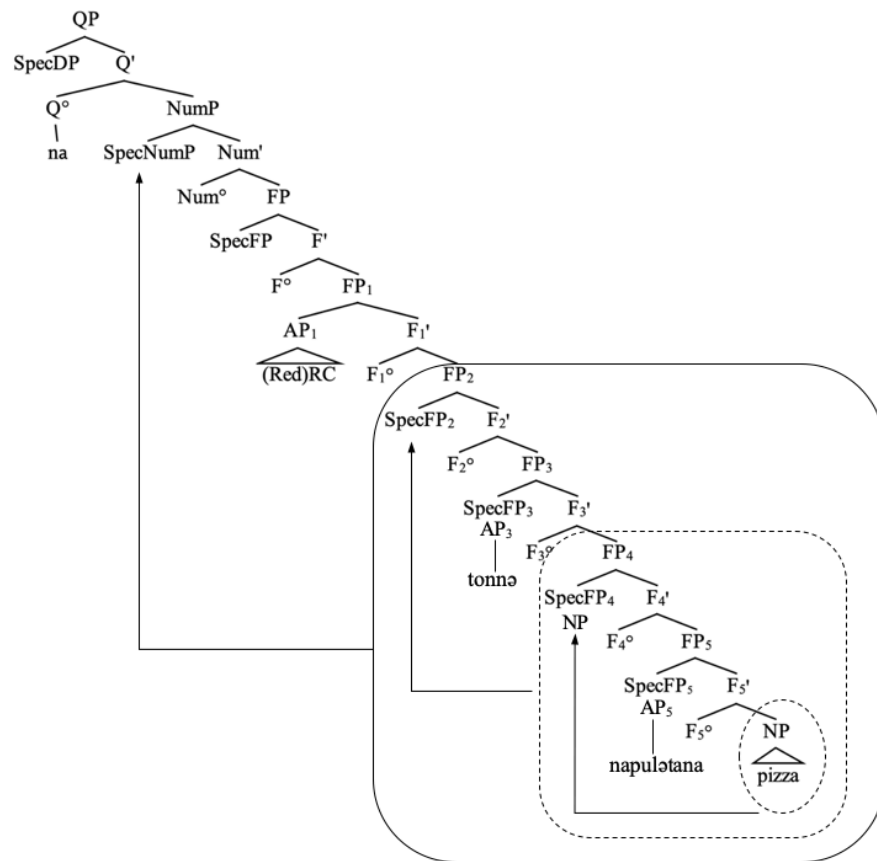
The DPs in (24) and (25) can be analyzed in a similar way to the one shown in (22), with the NP first crossing over  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ . The [NP + AP] complex then raises to an available higher Spec position in a roll-up fashion, and a final further snowball movement occurs in order to instantiate a Spec-head agreement between the  $Q^{\circ}$  head and the NP plus its two direct modifiers (26).

As for (25a-b), the two structures for the available translations are shown in (27a-b). These structures are slightly different, because the NP position at S-structure is the result of a two-step movement: the NP *arangə* first crosses over  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  and then has its landing site in a Spec position right above the one which hosts  $A_{\text{color}}$  *ruššə*. The resulting nominal complex undergoes further and final movement towards SpecNumP. As for (25b), no two-step movement is clearly required, since  $A_{\text{color}}$  is the only adjective which modifies the noun, whereas indications of origin are provided by the PP *de la Sicilijə/di Sicilijə*, which does not move. However, the whole [NP + AP + PP] undergoes movement to SpecNumP.

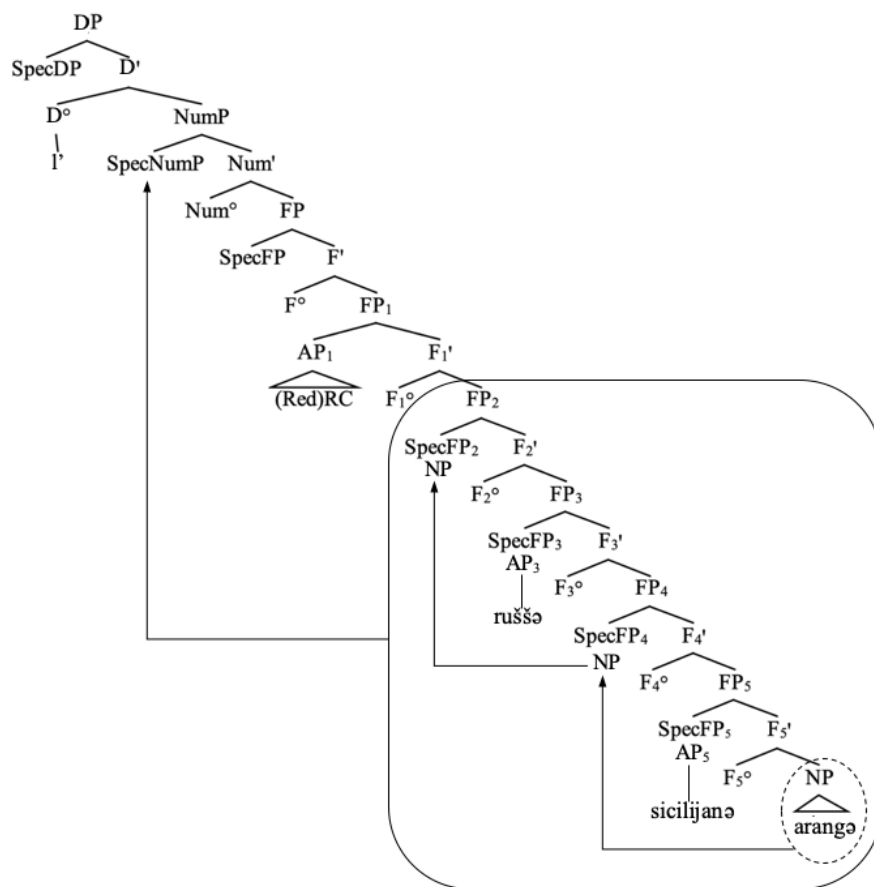
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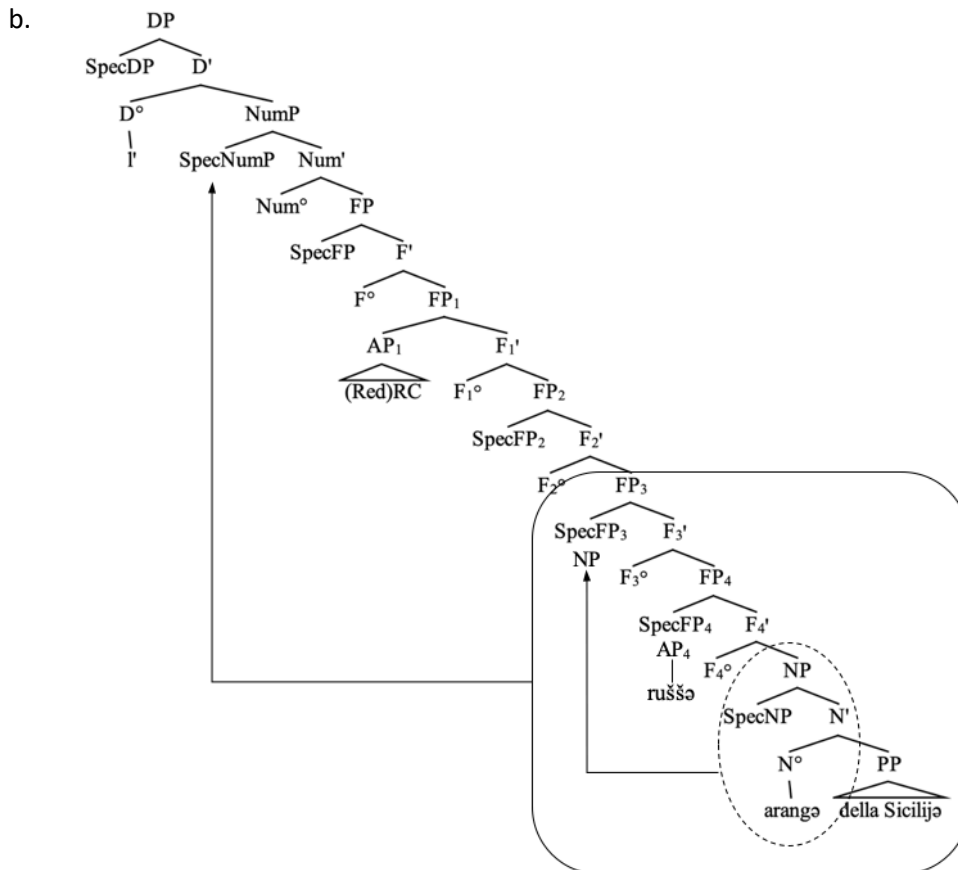
<sup>28</sup> *Official Journal of the European Union* L299/18, accessible at: [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg\\_impl/2013/1117/oj](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg_impl/2013/1117/oj)

(26)



(27) a.





### 4.3.3 Possessives

As we clarified in the introductory part to § 4.3, tonic possessives are always postnominal in Pescara. Our survey includes tonic possessives only, since we excluded enclitic possessives and kinship nouns (see § 3.1 for the *Development* section).

Bearing in mind Cardinaletti's (1998) tripartite generalization for possessives, Pescara  $A_{\text{POSS}}$  are to be analyzed as weak<sup>29</sup> (see § 2.2 for examples).

As for their Merge final position, we here consider the schematization provided by Andriani (2017: 104, his (60)):

$$(28) [_{\text{DP}} [_{\text{D}} \text{POSS}_{\text{CL}} [_{\text{FP}_2} \text{POSS}_{\text{PW}} [_{\text{F}_2} [_{\text{FP}_1} \text{POSS}_{\text{P}} [_{\text{F}_1} \text{NP}]]]]]]]]^{\text{30}}$$

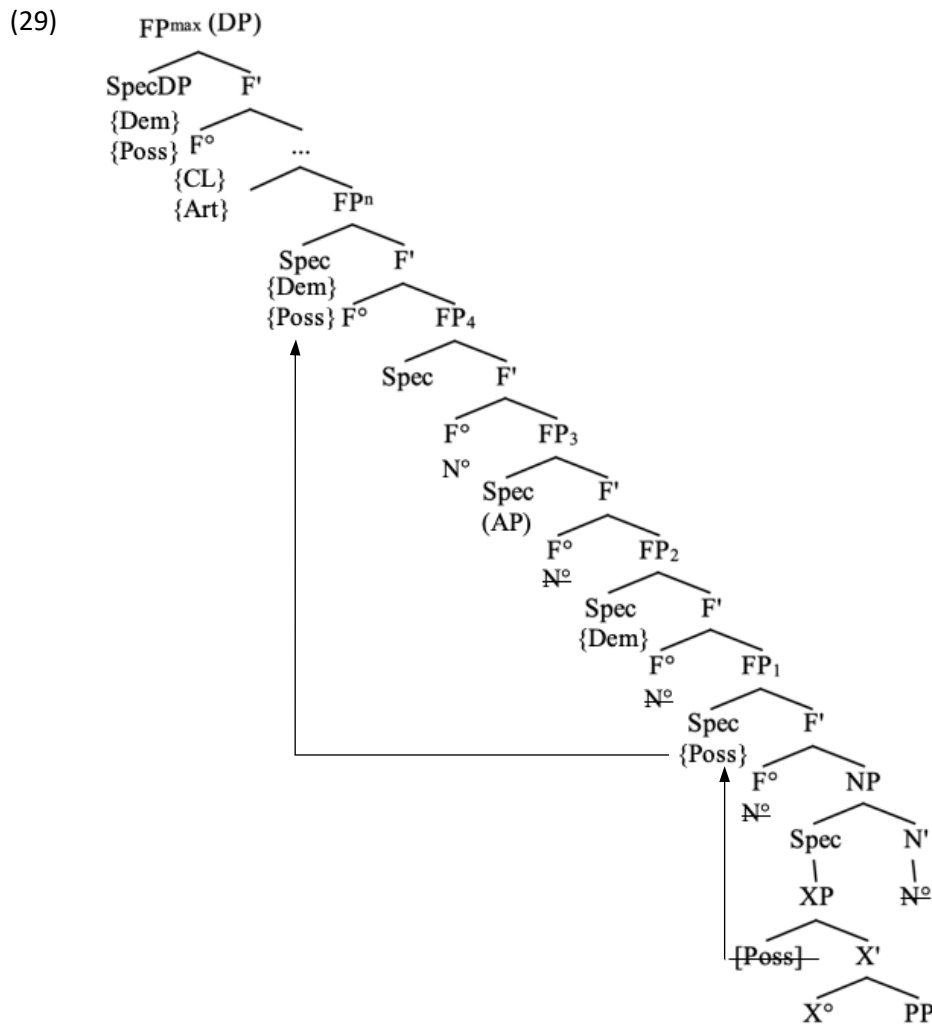
<sup>29</sup> We here provide the properties which characterize weak possessives and differentiate them from clitics and strong ones: i) they can have non-human reference; ii) are ungrammatical in isolation and predicative position; iii) they cannot be focused or contrasted. Furthermore, as shown in Table 2.1 in Chapter 2, Pescara possessives are not inflected for gender and number, apart from 1PL. *nuštrə* and 2PL. *vuštrə*, which differ from their singular counterparts due to the application of metaphony.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Cardinaletti (1998); Cardinaletti and Starke (1999); Giusti (2002).



In line with Giusti's (2002) framework, we claim that possessives are first-merged in SpecNP to receive the  $\theta$ -role from the noun, they then move to check  $\varphi$ -features against those of N. At this point, the possessive can either stay in this low position (those of strong possessives) or cross the direct modification space and have as its landing site another SpecFP (weak possessives) or even raised to a SpecFP<sup>max</sup> if they are strong prenominal possessives. As for the latter, they have undergone raising to the D-area in order to check for referential features. We will not go into further detail as regards clitics, since we decided not to consider them in our research.

The different types of movement which involve PossP, Poss<sub>W</sub> and Poss<sub>CL</sub> are hereby exemplified, taking into account Giusti's (2002) structure for possessives in Old Italian:



Adapted from Giusti (2002: 98)

Southern Italian dialects show a tendency to prefer postnominal over prenominal possessives. Furthermore, in some cases there seems to be a double placement for the attributive adjective with respect to the (postnominal) possessive. Such behavior is exemplified in Manzini and Savoia (2005), who provide many examples from Southern dialects. It is therefore interesting to compare, among their data, those gathered in several villages in the Abruzzo region and then check whether the same pattern emerges in data collected during our dialectal survey:

(30) a. *Popoli (PE)*

u            vestoitə      mojə    niuwə  
 the-M.SG. dress-M.SG. my-SG. new-SG.  
 'my new dress'

b. *Campoli (TE)*

lu            vəštītə      nova      mi  
 the-M.SG. dress-M.SG. newA-SG. my-SG.  
 'my new dress'

c. *Montenerodomo (CH)*

la            casa            meja      novə  
 the-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. my-F.SG. new-SG.  
 'my new house'

d. *Civitaluparella (CH)*

la            seggia          nova      me  
 the-F.SG. chairA-F.SG. newA-SG. my-SG.  
 'my new chair'

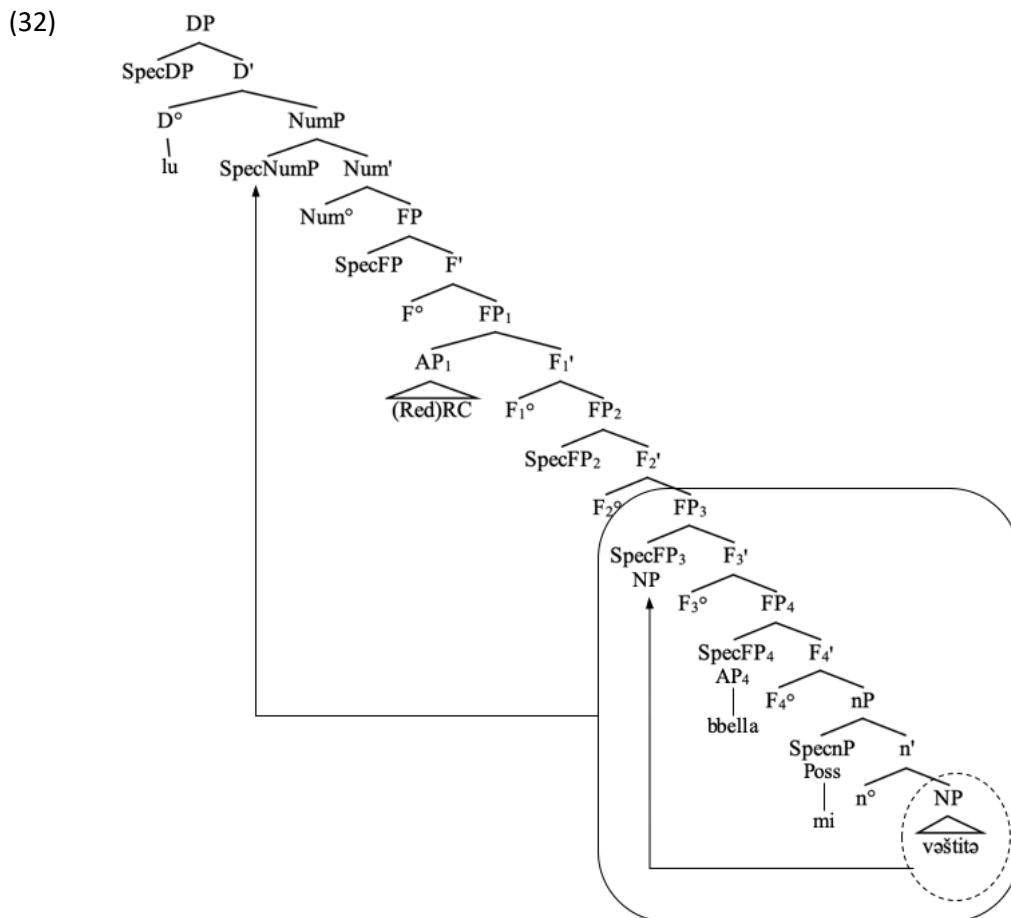
Manzini and Savoia (2005: 568)

Examples in (30a-d) show that  $A_{\text{quality}}$  has a possible double placement with respect to the possessive: either  $A_{\text{poss}} > A_{\text{quality}}$ , as in (30a) and (30c), or  $A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{poss}}$ , as in (30b) and (30d). If we turn to our data from Pianellese, the choice seems however far more restricted to the second word order. The only DP which includes both  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{poss}}$  is *Il mio bel vestito* ('my nice dress'), which has been translated in three ways: a first possible translation is the one with prenominal  $A_{\text{quality}}$ , and in this case the possessive is undisputably the last element of the nominal expression, whereas the other two include postnominal  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{poss}}$ . If there are two postnominal modifiers, speakers can opt

for the  $A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{poss}}$  order or for the reverse one. Despite data in (30a-d) might lead to claim that there is apparent optionality in the choice of one of the two possible orders, what we found in the inquiry contradicts this hypothesis. The two answers provided by our sample of speakers are provided below:

- (31) a. lu            vāštītā        bbella        mi  
           my-M.SG. dress-M.SG. niceA-SG. my-SG.  
       b. lu            vāštīta            mi        bbella  
           my-M.SG. dressA-M.SG. my-SG. nice-SG.  
           ‘my nice dress’

(31a) has been chosen by the vast majority of those who preferred postnominal placement of  $A_{\text{quality}}$ : namely 18/39 vs. 5/39 for (31b). the relative structure for (31a) is given below. Notice that we here introduce the functional projection  $nP^{31}$ , whose Spec position is the initial Merge position for possessives:



<sup>31</sup> The little  $n$  is treated as a non-Core functional projection (see Cinque 2017) which is merged on top of the NP projection, which in turn represents the core functional notion.

The NP *vəštītə* crosses  $Poss_W$  in SpecnP and reaches the first available Spec position, then moves above the DmAP *bbella*. The final movement is in a roll-up fashion, towards SpecNumP, in order to establish a Spec-head relation with the determiner in  $D^\circ$ .

$A_{poss}$  appears in the last position also in those nominal expressions which display  $A_{cardinal}$  and  $A_{ordinal}$ , that are necessarily prenominal:

- (33) a. *lə tre (a)mməcizija mi*  
 the-F.PL. three friendsA-F.PL. my-PL.  
 ‘my three friends’
- b. *lu səcondə fijja mi*  
 the-M.SG. second-SG. sonA-M.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘my second son’
- c. *lu primə jurnə də scola mi*  
 the-M.SG. first-SG. day-M.SG. of schoolA-F.SG. my-SG.  
 ‘my first day of school’

A distinction must be made between (33a-b) and (33c). As regards the first two nominal expressions, the totality of the informants provided the two translations above, meaning that if both  $A_{num}$  (cardinal or ordinal) and  $A_{poss}$  occur, the unmarked word order is  $A_{num} > N > A_{poss}$ . The structure for (33a) is provided in (34a).

On the other hand, (33c) is not the only possible translation<sup>32</sup>, but it is the most chosen one (27/39). 9/39 informants placed the PP *də scolə* after Poss, with the result of eliciting a quite marked construction, since [NP + PP] *jurnə də scolə* should be considered as a sort of nominal complex. This is why it should be treated as another case of emargination (see structure 16b for a similar example).

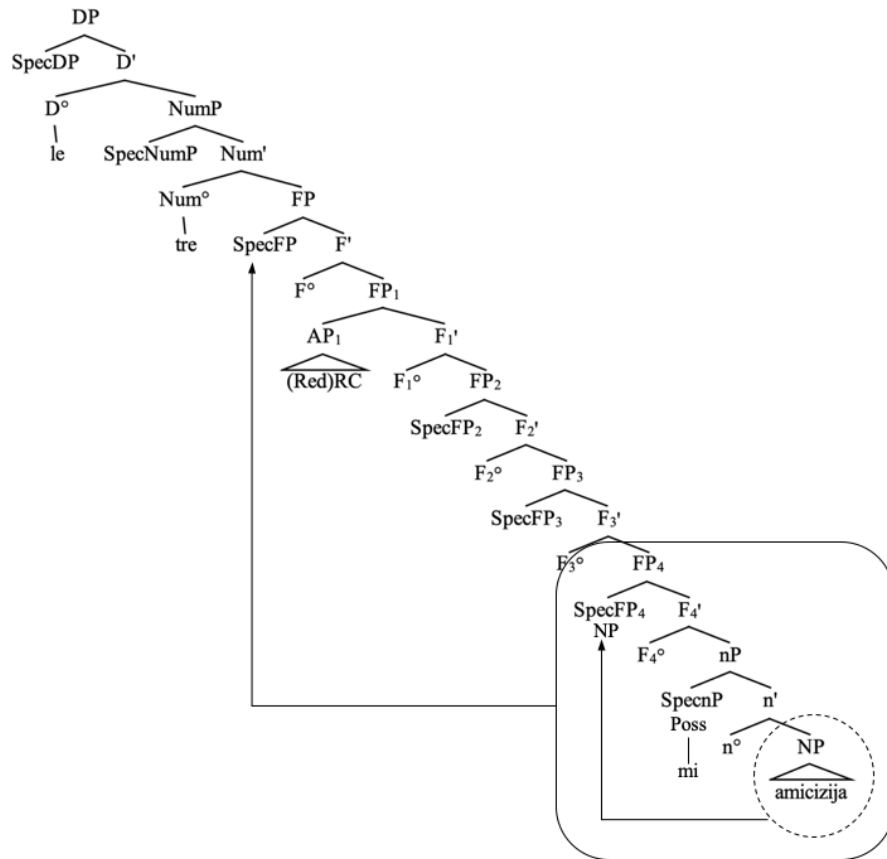
The structure in (34b) shows that the [NP + PP] complex moves across the possessive in SpecnP. The whole phrasal complex undergoes a further raising above  $A_{ordinal}$  *primə*, which is hosted in a Spec position in the direct modification space. The final step is the movement towards SpecNumP in order to establish a relation of proximity with the determiner *lu* in  $D^\circ$ .

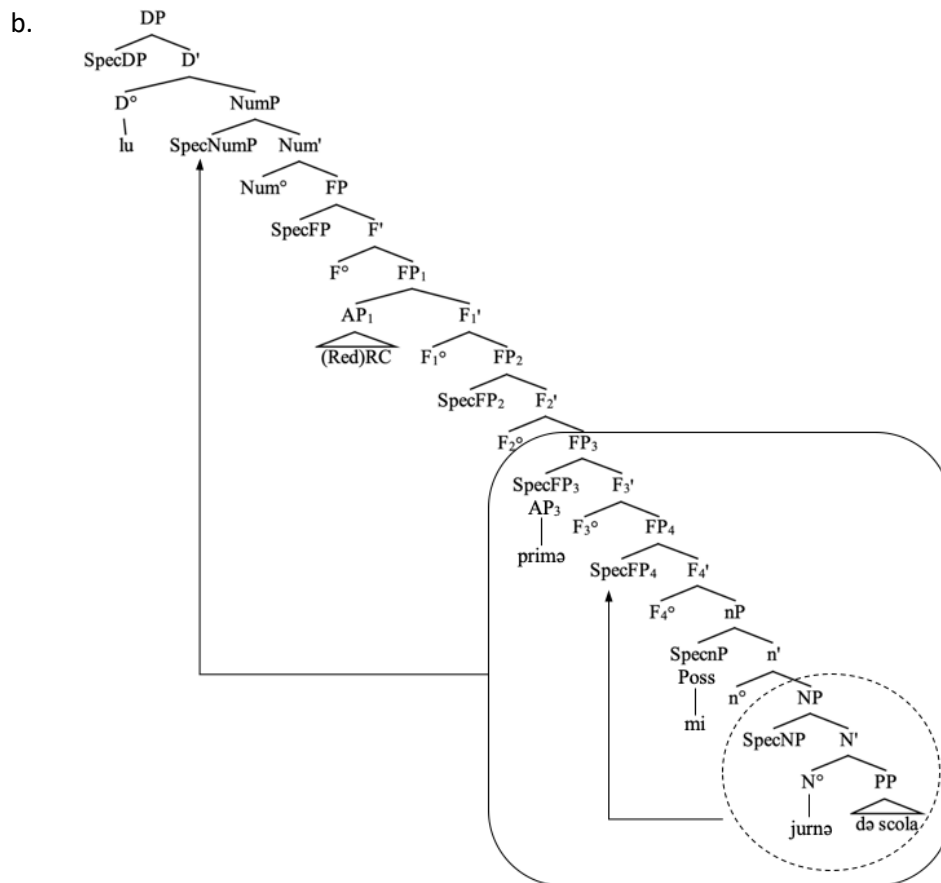
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<sup>32</sup> In addition to the possibilities here presented, it is worth noting that 5/39 informants opted for the relative clause *chə so jītə a la scolə* instead of using  $A_{poss}$  and the PP *də scolə*, because such construction has been judged to be more natural.

The DP in (31b) can be analyzed in an easier way as compared to the one just taken into account: the NP is raised to a higher Spec position, crossing over  $A_{\text{poss}}$ . The phrasal complex moves to SpecFP, right below the numeral in  $\text{Num}^\circ$ .

(34) a.





The adjectives we took into account so far are those which must always appear before the noun ( $A_{\text{cardinal}}$  and  $A_{\text{ordinal}}$ ) or those which may surface prenominally ( $A_{\text{quality}}$ ). The possessive has SpecPossP as its final landing site and we observe that it fails to cross the  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbəllə*, a direct modification adjective.

As for the other DPs which include possessives, they all involve postnominal adjectives:  $A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  and a specific instantiation of  $A_{\text{size}}$  which must necessarily occur after the noun, i.e. *piccə*. The possessive behaves the other way round as compared to the examples in (30) and (32), because in all these cases it crosses the modifiers of the DP and the most frequent order is Poss >  $A_{\text{shape/color/nationality}}$ . The reverse order is nevertheless allowed, but it is not the preferred one.

Evidence from our dialect survey seems therefore to suggest that the unmarked linear order in Pianellese is Poss >  $A_{\text{shape/color/nationality}}$ . This apparently contradicts the findings by Silvestri (2012: 116), who claims that:

‘[...] the normal, unmarked linear order in Romance non-standard varieties with postnominal adjectives is D-N-Adj-Poss.’

We identify a parallel behavior of the possessive with respect to these classes of obligatorily postnominal adjectives, as it can be seen in the examples below:

- (35) a. lu            fija            si            piccə  
           the-M.SG. sonA-M.SG. his-SG. small-SG.  
           ‘his young(er) son’
- b. lu            rrəlloggja            mi            tonnə  
           the-M.SG. watchA-M.SG. my-SG. round-SG.  
           ‘my round watch’
- c. lu            majona            mi            roššə  
           the-M.SG. dressA-M.SG. my-SG. red-SG.  
           ‘my red sweater’
- d. l’            amicizija            si            napulətanə/            də Napulə  
           the-F.SG. friendsA-F.PL. his/hers-PL. Neapolitan-PL. of Naples  
           ‘his/her friends from Naples’

It is nevertheless necessary to point out that while we are sure that  $A_{\text{size}}$  in (34a) is restrictive, because it denotes the younger member of a larger set of sons, the other adjectives in (34b-d) are ambiguous between a DmAP attributive reading and an ImAP reading.  $A_{\text{shape/color/nationality}}$  might be used to simply describe a quality of the object ‘owned’ by the possessor, or for contrastive purposes<sup>33</sup>.

If we presuppose that all the adjectives involved have a restrictive interpretation, we would have a uniform analysis, where  $A_{\text{size/shape/color/nationality}}$  are merged in SpecFP<sub>1</sub> as derived from reduced relative clauses, and the possessive is merged in SpecPossP hence

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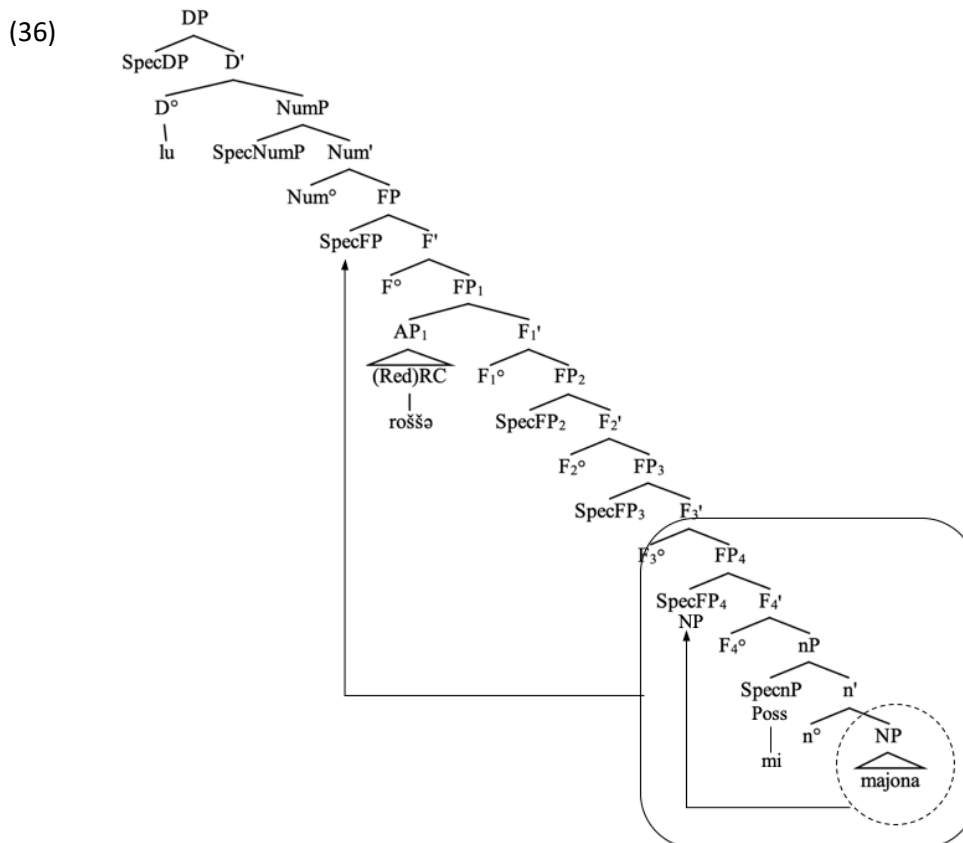
<sup>33</sup> See, for instance Silvestri (2012: 114-5), who provides examples from Verbicarese dialect (Verbicaro, Cosenza). Both AP > Poss (1a-b) and Poss > AP (2a-b) are possible, but the options in (1) sound more natural as compared to the others:

- (1) a. a terra jersa mija  
           ‘my fallow field’  
       b. a kammisa lorda mija  
           ‘my dirty shirt’
- (2) a. a terra mija jersa  
           ‘my FALLOW field’  
       b. a kammisa mija lorda  
           ‘my DIRTY shirt’

Silvestri notes that the contrastive function of the adjective can be conveyed even when the word order is the one in (1a-b) thanks to suprasegmental features, i.e. the lengthening of the stressed vowels or a pause occurring after the salient words.

crossing the aforementioned modifiers. However, if the only restrictive adjective is  $A_{size}$ , such analysis applies to (34a), whereas in (34b-d) more complex movements occur.  $A_{shape/color/nationality}$  are generated in the lower-DP field, in the direct modification space. The NP raises above the possessive, which is first merged in SpecnP and the resulting [NP + Poss] complex crosses the DmAP. Such phrasal complex is finally merged to SpecFP.

We hereby adopt a syntactic analysis that treats  $A_{size/shape/color/nationality}$  as restrictive adjectives (36), hence merged in SpecFP<sub>1</sub> (indirect modification space). The ImAPs identify a precise item inside a larger group, i.e. a round watch among a number of watches owned by the speaker (*lu rralloggija mi tonna*) or a red sweater, which is different from the other sweaters which belong to the possessor (*lu majona mi rošša*). Interestingly, the translations which display the AP > Poss order, might convey different meanings: i) the final possessive has a contrastive function and distinguishes the possessor; ii)  $A_{size/shape/color/nationality}$  is a DmAP, on a par with (29a). If we follow ii), then we must agree with Silvestri (2012) that the unmarked order in non-standard (Southern) Italian varieties is D-N-Adj-Poss.





#### 4.3.4 Is -a part of the possessive construction?

The examples provided in (30), (33) and (35) all show that there is an /a/ which surfaces right before the possessive adjective, which might resemble the preposition used in French possessive constructions, i.e. *ce livre est à moi*. The presence of a final vowel is uncommon in Pescarese, since all adjectives and nouns do not dispose of inflectional suffixes for gender or number and therefore normally end in -ə.

Since such /a/ appears even counteretymologically (compare *majona* (M.) *mi* vs. *scola* (F.) *mi*), we might be prone to analyze it as a preposition, because it does not have any apparent relationship with the head noun and it seems to be instead part of the possessive construction.

However, we chose another path in our syntactic analysis, since we decided to treat this /a/ as a 'prosodic -a'<sup>34</sup>: we will not go into further details, but we will provide several examples to show that it is a wide phenomenon that covers several areas of the language: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon and it does not involve possessive constructions only.

We now quickly go through data to define which are the conditions that trigger the introduction of -a as a linking vowel.

##### (37) Contexts for -a insertion

- a. Before possessives, irrespective of gender and number of the head noun;
- b. Before  $A_{color}$ : *la maja rošša mi* ('my red sweater'); *na casa bbjanga grossə* ('a big white house'); *la cchijsa bbjangħə* ('the white church');
- c. Before  $A_{size}$ : *na casa grossa bbjangħə*; *la cchijsa piccə* ('the small church'); *la terra piccə* ('the small land'); *na cucina grossə* ('a big kitchen'); *na cchijsa grossə* ('a big church');
- d. Before and after  $A_{quality}$ : *na bbella machəna rošša* ('a nice red car'); *na casa bbella/na bbella casə* ('a nice house');
- e. Before  $A_{shape}$ : *na bbella lambəda tonna* ('a nice round lamp'); *na pizza tonna napulətanə* ('a round Neapolitan pizza');
- f. The numeral *prima* ('first'): *la prima votə* ('the first time').

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<sup>34</sup> Melillo (1986) in Passino (2014: 59)

g. Before demonstratives<sup>35</sup>: *šta casa quoštə* ('this house'); *clu balconə quollə* ('those balcony').

Examples in (37) show that: i) /a/ surfaces in nouns before or after different semantic classes of adjectives; ii) /a/ may surface at the end of adjectives; iii) /a/ surfaces before the doubled demonstrative; iv) apart from possessives and doubled demonstratives, the other cases are examples of apparently etymological /a/, since all nouns and adjectives are feminine.

This first overview offers grounds for claiming that /a/ does not involve possessive constructions only. A syntactic explanation is offered by Rohlfs (1968), who observes that in Abruzzese and other upper-Southern dialects unstressed *-a* resists reduction when it is in an intermediate position inside the constituent. For instance, Rohlfs first considers Abruzzese *femmanə* ('woman'), *bbellə* ('nice/beautiful'), *trendə* ('thirty'), *crapə* ('goat'), *appənə* ('just/barely'), *natə* ('born'). If we combine the above-mentioned items to form a constituent, this will result in i.e. *bbellə femmenə/femmena bbellə* ('beautiful woman'); *trendə crapə* ('thirty goats'); *appənə natə* ('just born')<sup>36</sup>. The mechanism of analogy then operated for masculine nouns and adjectives, for instance Apulian *quandə tiembə* ('how much time') or Abruzzese *la carnə freschə* ('fresh meat'), *na notta solə* ('a single night'). Hence, this *-a insertion* is an overarching strategy, which applies irrespectively of gender, number or grammatical category and it might be considered as to be a linking vowel which surfaces in a 'weak' position. /a/ cannot occur in the 'strong' final position, where the only possible ending is *-ə*, as in (37a-f) and in the other examples.

Such claim can be justified by recurring to phonological rules, namely that /a/ occurs in 'intrinsically pretonic environments'<sup>37</sup>: both etymological and counteretymological *-a* appears right before phrasal stress: the reason why /a/ occurs before demonstratives or possessives is due to the fact that both a doubled demonstrative and a possessive carry

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<sup>35</sup> The analysis of demonstratives and, more specifically, of demonstrative doubling, will be covered in § 4.6. The two examples are here provided for a better understanding of the *-a insertion* phenomenon, but all the DPs produced by the informants will be extensively analyzed later.

<sup>36</sup> Rohlfs (1968: 177)

<sup>37</sup> Maiden (1995: 123)

phrasal stress. This can be seen in the following example from Casalıncontrada (Chieti) dialect:

- (38) a. li           vuva           mi           [li 'vuva "mi]  
the-M.PL. oxenA-M.PL. my-PL.  
'my oxen'
- b. chəli           tjemba           chillə           [kəli 'tjemba "killə]  
those-M.PL. timesA-M.PL. those-M.PL.  
'those times'

As far as we know, the first description of the phenomenon in an Abruzzese dialect concerns data from the above-mentioned variety: De Lollis (1901), in addition to the conditions listed in (37), identified the occurrence of /a/ in interrogatives introduced by *quanto* ('how much'): *quanda ne vu?*<sup>38</sup> ('how much do you want?'); *dove* ('where'): *addova vi?* ('where are you going?') or *come* ('how'): *coma faceme?* ('how do we do?')<sup>39</sup>. All these examples can be subdivided into two categories (Passino 2014): i) those displaying an etymological /a/; ii) those displaying a counteretymological /a/, which has been inserted to fill in an empty CV unit. We will not delve into the phonological analysis of all the examples taken into account in this short paragraph because it is beyond the scope of our research, but we can attempt to find an answer to the question in the title. It is certainly true that a counteretymological -a appears right before the possessive, but due to the number of contexts in which it occurs, we claim that it is a *sandhi* phenomenon that involves weak positions in the phonological phrase. Such /a/ has to be considered as a linking vowel, since it does not convey any morphological information.

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<sup>38</sup> De Lollis (1901: 280)

<sup>39</sup> *ivi*, p. 284

## 4.4 Interpretive ambiguities

The proposed analysis shows that postnominal modification is much more frequent than the prenominal one, with  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$  being the only productive Dm-APs that can occur before the noun. As seen in Cinque's (2010) analysis for Italian, postnominal adjectives are ambiguous between two interpretive values (restrictive, stage-level, intersective, among others), whereas the prenominal position is generally associated with a single interpretive value and hence unambiguous. Such ambiguity is instead evident in Pescaraese, with the great majority of adjectives occurring after the head noun, possessives included.

We will again refer to some of the nominal expressions analyzed in the previous paragraphs and focus on the interpretive issues that may arise when multiple postnominal adjectives modify the same noun.

Before moving to a paragraph specifically devoted to interpretive ambiguities involving  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbella*, we will briefly comment on a few examples which include  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossa* as well as other instances of multiple postnominal modification.

### 4.4.1 Multiple postnominal modification

The presence of two adjectives right after the head noun leads to interpretive ambiguities that are quite evident in Italian, but much more straightforward in Pescaraese, since all adjectives – except for numerals – occur postnominally. We here focus on those adjectives which necessarily follow the noun (i.e.  $A_{\text{color}}$ ,  $A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{nationality}}$ ) and on one of those APs which can occur in both pre- and postnominal position, namely the  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossa*. The latter appears in the most puzzling sentence of our survey, *Chelà grossa amicizija napulātana* ('Those great Neapolitan friends'). If  $A_{\text{size}}$  is placed before a noun endowed with the [+human] feature it is interpreted as an  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and no ambiguity arises because *grossa* is clearly a DmAP. On the other hand, if  $A_{\text{size}}$  occurs postnominally, the DP *amicizija grossa* can be interpreted in at least three different ways, as pointed out in § 4.2.4:

(39) *Meanings of grossa:*

- i) close friends;
- ii) elder people;

iii) tall, robust friends.

The latter sense is closer to the basic meaning of the adjective, which is allowed in many contexts in Pescarese and can acquire a broader meaning depending on the modified noun. Our analysis showed that the informants mostly reproduced the Italian structure with a prenominal  $A_{\text{size(quality)}}$ , but in several cases opted for alternative versions with postnominal adjectives of quality in order to convey the same meaning.  $A_{\text{quality}}$  such as *bbunə* ('good/kind-hearted'), *bbellə* ('nice'), *carə* ('dear'), *štrottə* ('tight/close') are clearly unambiguous and this might be the reason why they have been chosen in place of *grossə*, which is instead the literal translation of the Italian *grande*.

It is worthwhile noticing that the number of interpretive possibilities increases when the referent is characterized by the feature [+ human], whereas if it is an object, as in (38), the only possible meaning associated with  $A_{\text{size}}$  is the literal one. In this case, the issue concerns the Merge position of the two APs.

- (40) a. na casa bbjanga grossə  
a-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. whiteA-F.SG. big-SG.  
b. na casa grossa bbjanghə  
a-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. bigA-F.SG. white-SG.

We already observed<sup>40</sup> that (40a) follows the unmarked order for adjectives in Italian, with  $A_{\text{color}}$  preceding  $A_{\text{size}}$ . The two of them are both analyzed as DmAPs, contrary to the adjectives in (40b), where  $A_{\text{size}}$  is an attributive modifier - hence generated lower in structure - and  $A_{\text{color}}$  is an ImAP. However, since in both cases the adjectives are in predicate position and the latter of them can receive a contrastive interpretation, i.e. *na casa bbjanga gròssə* ('a BIG white house' = not small) or *na casa grossa bbjángħə* ('a WHITE big house' = not - for instance - red), they can access the ImAP space.

The same applies to other couples of postnominal adjectives, i.e. *nu piattə bbjanghə tonnə* ('a white round plate') (41) or the above-mentioned *chel'amicizija grussə napulətanə* (42).

- (41) a. nu piattə bbjanghə tonnə  
a-M.SG. plate-SG. white-SG. round-SG.

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<sup>40</sup> Example (17) in § 4.3.1.

b. nu        piattə    tonnə    bbjanghə  
 a-M.SG. plate-SG. round-SG. white-SG.

(42) a. chel'        amicizija        grussə napulətanə  
 those-F.PL. friendsA-F.PL. big-PL. Neapolitan-PL.

b. ?chel'        amicizijə        napuletanə        grussə  
 those-F.PL. friends-F.PL. Neapolitan-PL. big-PL.

(41a) is the only translation provided by our informants (see (21) as well), with both adjectives analyzed as DmAPs. We do not exclude that  $A_{\text{shape}}$  might be interpreted as a contrastive one ('a ROUND white plate' = not a square white plate). Furthermore, the possibility of having the reverse order (39b) is not banned, but none of the informants opted for such translation choice. In this case  $A_{\text{color}}$  is judged to be an ImAP because it follows the  $A_{\text{shape}}$ , contrary to the unmarked order for Romance (Italian). Aside from the issue of word order,  $A_{\text{color}}$  can be analyzed as an ImAP if it is again interpreted as a contrastive adjective ('a WHITE round plate' = not a black round plate).

With regard to (42), it should be noted that we question the acceptability of the DP in (42b), since no one provided such translation to the Italian *Quei grandi amici napoletani*. We suggest that (42b) could be instead a possible translation for *Quegli amici napoletani grandi*, with *grandi* meaning 'elder/adult'. The meaning listed in (39iii) could be accepted as well, but it is less frequent than the one we have just suggested.

The  $A_{\text{nationality}} > A_{\text{size(quality)}}$  order reflects the unmarked order for Italian, so we assume that such adjectives are both to be considered as DmAP.

Both  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  in (42a) and  $A_{\text{size}}$  in (42b) can be interpreted either as ImAPs (when they are used contrastively, i.e. i) 'those NEAPOLITAN great friends' = there are great friends coming from different towns and the reference is to those from Naples; ii) those ELDER Neapolitan friends = there are older and younger friends all coming from Naples and the reference is to the elder ones.) or as DmAPs.

Finally, we would like to mention the interpretive ambiguities that involve possessive adjectives, which always occur after the NP. The analysis in (36) treats all  $A_{\text{size/shape/color/nationality}}$  co-occurring with  $A_{\text{poss}}$  as restrictive, hence merged higher in structure (SpecFP<sub>1</sub>). Such conclusion is reached by observing that the most common word order is  $N > \text{Poss} > A_{\text{size/shape/color/nationality}}$  with the adjective describing the most

salient property of the referent being in a ‘strong’, ‘final’ position. The reverse order might be an instantiation of direct modification, but also a case of contrastive interpretation of the  $A_{\text{poss}}$ . For instance, the DPs in (35)<sup>41</sup> can be read as follows:

- (43) a. lu            fijə            pičča            SI  
           the-M.SG. son-M.SG. smallA-SG. his/her-SG.  
           ‘HIS/HER younger son’ (=to distinguish his/her younger son from another person’s younger son)
- b. lu            rrəloggja    tonna            MI  
           the-M.SG. watch-M.SG. roundA-SG. my-SG.  
           ‘MY round watch’ (= not yours/his/hers)
- c. lu            majonə            rošša            MI  
           the-M.SG. sweater-M.SG. redA-SG. my-SG.  
           ‘MY red sweater’ (= not yours/his/hers)
- d. ?l’            amicizijə    napoletana    SI  
           the-F.PL. friends-F.PL. NeapolitanA-PL. his/her-SG.  
           ‘HIS/HER Neapolitan friends’ (=not someone else’s Neapolitan friends)

As for (43d), we question its acceptability because a more natural version would be *l’amicizijə napulətanə də cullə* (lit. ‘the Neapolitan friends of him/her’), with a PP that is equivalent to the possessive adjective. Furthermore, no one provided a translation with  $A_{\text{poss}}$  in final position. This is due to the fact that such construction might be perceived to be marked and can be used only in specific contexts for contrastive purposes.

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<sup>41</sup> a. lu            fija            si            piccə  
           the-M.SG. sonA-M.SG. his-SG. small-SG.  
           ‘his young(er) son’

b. lu            rrəloggja    mi            tonnə  
           the-M.SG. watchA-M.SG. my-SG. round-SG.  
           ‘my round watch’

c. lu            majona            mi            roššə  
           the-M.SG. dressA-M.SG. my-SG. red-SG.  
           ‘my red sweater’

d. l’            amicizija    si            napulətanə/    də Napulə  
           the-F.SG. friendsA-F.PL. his/hers-PL. Neapolitan-PL. of Naples  
           ‘his/her friends from Naples’

#### 4.4.2 Intensifying or contrastive $A_{\text{quality}}$

Two sentences, namely (2d-e), display an interesting pattern: all the informants opted for the  $A_{\text{quality}} > N > A_{\text{shape/color}}$  order<sup>42</sup>, even though the postnominal position for  $A_{\text{quality}}$  is certainly available, as we have seen in § 4.3.1 or in sentences such as *so cumbratə de li libbrə bbillə* ('I bought some good books') or *Giuwannə te' na casa bbellə* ('Giovanna has a nice house').

Two other orders are potentially available, but none of the informants selected either (44) or (45):

(44) a. na      lambəda      bbellə      tonnə  
a-F.SG. lampA-F.SG. nice-SG.      round-SG.

b. na      lambəda      tonnə      bbellə  
a-F.SG. lampA-F.SG. round-SG. nice-SG.

(45) a. na      machəna      bbellə      roššə  
a-F.SG. carA-F.SG. nice-SG. red-SG.

b. na      machəna      roššə      bbellə  
a-F.SG. carA-F.SG. red-SG. nice-SG.

From a syntactic point of view, the adjectives in (44) and (45) have different sources: the two modifiers in (44a) and (45a) do not follow the unmarked order for Italian, since  $A_{\text{quality}}$  precedes  $A_{\text{shape/color}}$  as in Germanic. We conclude that  $A_{\text{shape}}$  *tonnə* and  $A_{\text{color}}$  *roššə* are to be analyzed as ImAPs, hence derived from a reduced relative clause. Their Merge position is therefore higher in structure as compared to the one for the DmAP *bbellə*.

As for (44b) and (45b), the two adjectives follow the unmarked order for Italian, with  $A_{\text{shape/color}} > A_{\text{quality}}$ , but such translation has not been chosen by any of the speakers involved in our inquiry.

With regard to the interpretation of (44) and (45), these nominal expressions might convey other meanings as compared to the one expressed by the input Italian sentences

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<sup>42</sup> d. Tinghə    na      bbella      lambəda      tonnə      dondrə alla      cambra      mi  
have-1SG. a-F.SG. niceA-SG. lampA-F.SG. round-SG. into-the-F.SG. roomA-F.SG. my-SG.  
'I have a nice round lamp in my room/There is a nice round lamp in my room'

e. So      vištə na      bbella      machəna      roššə  
am-1SG. seen a-F.SG. niceA-F.SG. carA-F.SG. red-SG.  
'I saw a nice red car'



(*Ho una bella lampada tonda nella mia stanza*, ‘There is a nice round lamp in my room’ and *Ho visto una bella macchina rossa*, ‘I saw a nice red car’) and this is the reason why speakers opted for other translation choices. More specifically, in both (42a) and (43a) the  $A_{\text{quality}}$  precedes the  $\text{ImAP}$  and functions as an intensifier: it stresses fact that i.e. the car is *really* red (a bright and intense red, for instance<sup>43</sup>) or the lamp is *really* round (and plausibly big<sup>44</sup>): *bbellə* is a sort of ‘booster’ of the other quality possessed by the head noun (D’Achille and Thornton 2017: 36).

The DPs in (44) and (45) can be compared to another nominal expression already analyzed in § 4.3.1, devoted to  $A_{\text{quality/size}}$ . In this case, contrary to the previous examples, the informants chose both the word orders available in postnominal position, although one of them is slightly more common than the other:

- (46) a. *le lənzolə bbjillə bbjəŋhə*  
           the-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. beautiful-PL. white-PL.  
       b. *le lənzolə bbjəŋhə bbjillə*  
           the-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. white-PL. beautiful-PL.

First of all, we record that informants clearly prefer the prenominal placement of  $A_{\text{quality}}$ . With respect to the few cases of postnominal modification, as we already reported in § 4.3.1, (46a) has been chosen by 2/39 only, whereas (46b) was selected by 6/39 people. We follow the same argument put forward earlier to justify the avoidance of (44a) and (45a), namely that  $A_{\text{quality}}$  might function as a sort of adverbial reinforcer of the  $A_{\text{color}}$  *bbjəŋhə*. If the adjective of quality is interpreted as an intensifier of the adjective of color, the DP would have another ‘flavor’ as compared to (46b) or to *lə bbjillə lənzolə bbjəŋhə*, which resulted in being the most common translation choice. As for prenominal  $A_{\text{quality}}$ , its scope is over  $[\text{NP} + \text{AP}_{\text{color}}]$ , but the same applies to final *bbjillə* as well. When  $A_{\text{quality}}$  is placed right before  $A_{\text{color}}$ , the former has scope only over the latter and this explains the possible interpretive ambiguity.

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<sup>43</sup> “*Bello* precede un termine di colore nominale, per indicare, più che la bellezza, la saturazione, cioè l’intensità cromatica, che costituisce una delle tre variabili psicosensoriali del colore, accanto alla tonalità e alla luminosità” (Grossmann 1988, in D’Achille and Thornton 2017: 44)

<sup>44</sup> We make such an assumption because, as noted by D’Achille and Thornton (2017), *bello* often precedes an  $A_{\text{size}}$  and it is the most common context of occurrence, both in Old and in Modern Italian.

Alongside with this interpretation, both  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{color}}$  can be used with their literal meaning, but in the case of (46a) one is a DmAP (*bbjilla*), whereas the other one (*bbjəŋhə*) is an ImAP, since it does not follow the unmarked order for Italian.

Differently to the above-mentioned examples, (44b), (45b) and (46b) follow the unmarked order for adjectives in Italian, but the fact that the rightmost adjective is  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbellə* somehow has an influence on the overall meaning of the sentence, because such modifier might have a contrastive function or have the purpose of focusing on the nice appearance of the referent modified by the adjectives:

(47) a. *Tinghə na lambəda tonnə bbellə dondrə alla cambra mi* = i) there are different round lamps in a house and the one in the speaker's room is nice; ii) the round lamp in the speaker's room is *really* nice;

b. *So vištə na machəna roššə bbellə* = i) the speaker could have seen an ugly red car and s/he wants to stress that this one is nice as compared to the other; ii) this red car is *really* nice;

c. *So cumbratə də lə lənzolə bbjinhə bbjilla* = i) there could be a set of ugly blankets and the speaker wants to specify that s/he bought the nice one instead; ii) the white blankets bought by the speaker are particularly nice.

If these two adjectives are associated with a contrastive interpretation, they should be analyzed as ImAPs, hence merged higher in structure. The ambiguity associated with the postnominal position leads however to claim that such adjectives can be interpreted as DmAPs as well and so, they are hosted in Spec position in the low DP-field, crossed over by the NP.

#### 4.5 Expressing smallness and bigness

Languages vary with respect to the devices used to express smallness and bigness. Alongside with analytic expressions of dimension ( $A_{\text{size}}$ ), there are various means of expressing the notions of 'small' and 'big', involving phonology, morphology or, less recognizably, functional lexicon<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Cinque (2015: 68, fn. 1) mentions a number of means used to express diminution and augmentation, as well as endearment and derogation, i.e. alteration of consonants/vowels, tonal variation (phonology); addition of affixes, change of noun class, reduplication, etc. (morphology); use of particles or functional adjectives (functional lexicon). See Jurafsky (1996) and Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) *inter alia*.

Pescarese (Pianellese), analogously to Romance (Italian) employs both size adjectives and augmentative/diminutive suffixes to convey information on the size of the referent. The main difference between  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossə* ('big') and *piccə/piccirillə* ('small') and the respective diminutive suffixes (*-onə* to express 'bigness' and *-inə/-ottə/-ollə/-(r)ellə/-uccə*<sup>46</sup> to express 'smallness') is that the latter are associated with further connotative meanings in addition to the basic denotative semantics of dimensional smallness/bigness. Such connotative meanings are, for instance, endearment, familiarity, understatement, etc. for diminutives and, among others, a pejorative connotative meaning for augmentatives (see Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994). The analytic forms are to be preferred when the aim of the communication is to express small or big size without adding any personal evaluation on the referent.

A section specifically devoted to the expression of 'smallness' and 'bigness' is necessary because the collected answers show a different pattern as compared to the Italian one: diminutives and augmentatives are quite frequent in Italian, but analytic forms are nevertheless allowed, as shown by the input DPs of our translation task (see § 4.5.1 or Appendix A for all test items). Pescarese *grossə* is much more frequent than its counterpart *piccə/piccirillə*, which is seemingly used only with a restrictive connotation (hence analyzed as an ImAP). The Italian DmAP *piccolo* is instead rendered by the use of several diminutive suffixes (see above, § 4.5.1 and § 4.5.2).

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<sup>46</sup> *-inə* is clearly equivalent to the Italian *-ino/a/i/e*, which is the most productive diminutive suffix (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 97, Noccetti *et alii* 2015: 129), but no occurrences were found in our data, since it rarely has a diminutive value in Southern varieties (Rohlf's 1968: 412). *-ottə* is the Pianellese counterpart of Pescarese *-ettə* and Italian *-etto/a/i/e*. Despite what has been observed by Rohlf's, who claims that such suffix is almost absent in Southern dialects (*ivi*: 453), survey data show that it is available in Abruzzese, even though it has to be considered as a reproduction of the Italian suffix *-etto/a*, adapted to Pianellese vocalism: for instance, *pəzzottə də terrə* ('small plot of land') or *chijəstəttə* ('small church') correspond to St. Italian *pezzetto di terra* and *chiesetta*, respectively.

*-ollə* is typical of Southern Italian dialects only, as pointed out by Rohlf's (*ivi*: 404). Its frequency seems not to be high: as a matter of fact, only one informant attached the suffix to the [NP + PP] complex *pəzzə (də terrə)* ('plot of land'), to have *pəzzəttollə*. *-ellə* is a quite productive suffix instead, which is commonly preceded by an *-r*. Rohlf's (*ivi*: 403) mentions an adverbial example for Abruzzese, namely *bunarellə* ('pretty well'), but it can modify nouns, as the example *chijəzarellə* ('small church') from survey data. In Abruzzese *-uccə* is claimed to be associated with a diminutive value only, whereas in Italian it might be endearing as well, i.e. *dəttuccə* ('little finger') or *cappəlluccə* ('small hat') (*ivi*: 371). Such suffix appears only once in our survey, i.e. in *tauluccə*, 'small table'.

#### 4.5.1 $A_{size}$ or suffixes?

As we explained in § 3.1,  $A_{size}$  *grossə* was first chosen in order to check whether metaphony is still productive in Pescarese. However, the selection of its counterpart *picca/piccirillə* was made for a different motive, which is the verification of the current usage of the adjective. As a matter of fact, from our knowledge of the dialect we claim that the use of diminutive suffixes is a much more common means to express smallness as compared to  $A_{size}$  *picca/piccirillə*. Such hypothesis has been verified by developing a short layer test which included three different DPs, already listed in § 3.1.2, but here repeated for clarity:

- (48) a. la           piccola       chiesa       bianca       del           paese  
the-F.SG. small-F.SG. church-F.SG. white-F.SG. of-the-M.SG. village-SG.  
'The small white church of the village'
- b. il           mio       piccolo       terreno       dove   pianto       i           pomodori  
the-M.SG. my-M.SG. small-M.SG. land-M.SG. where plant-1SG. the-M.PL. tomatoes-M.PL.  
'My small (plot of) land where I plant tomatoes'
- c. il           suo       figlio       piccolo  
the-M.SG. his/her-SG. son-M.SG. small-M.SG.  
'His/her younger son'

Data gathered during our inquiry show that several translations of (48a-b) display diminutive suffixes in place of  $A_{size}$  *piccə*, which is not banned, but may sound less natural than the suffix. As for (48a), 29/39 chose a diminutive suffix and, 14 of them provided another version with  $A_{size}$ . Two of the possible answers are provided below:

- (49) a. la           cchijsarellə/cchijotta       bbjanghə də lu       pajosə  
the-F.SG. church-DIM-F.SG.       white-SG. of the-M.SG. village-M.SG.
- b. la           cchijsa       piccə       bbjanghə də lu       pajosə<sup>47</sup>  
the-F.SG. churchA-F.SG. small-SG. white-SG. of the-M.SG. village-M.SG.  
'The small white church of the village'

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<sup>47</sup> The reverse order of adjectives ( $A_{color} > A_{size}$ ) is possible as well, even though it was chosen by 1/39. This is nevertheless interesting, since as pointed out by Cinque (2010: 73), the  $A_{color} > A_{size}$  order is the unmarked order for Italian, being the mirror image of the English (Germanic) one.

Therefore, *chijsarellə/chijsottə* seems to be equivalent to *cchijsa piccə*, even though diminutive suffixes are often associated with a connotative meaning, so no exact parallel between  $A_{\text{size}}$  and suffixes can be established. More specifically, *-ellə* is attached to those nouns denoting objects of everyday use, sometimes of small size, and is quite widespread in Southern Italy.<sup>48</sup> As for *-ottə*, one of its meanings is ‘of little importance’, as in *operetta* (a shorter and less complex work than *opera*)<sup>49</sup>. The other may denote affection as well, as in Standard Italian *casetta* (‘little, lovely house’) or *ometto* (‘little man’). The majority of the speakers opted for the former, probably for the connotative meaning of familiarity associated with the suffix *-ellə*: it does not only give the meaning of “little” but it also portrays the personal bond that the people of the village have to this church. Since both suffixes are can be interpreted with an endearing meaning, the choice of *-ellə* over *-ottə* in this case might be due to a matter of frequency. Similar considerations can be made for (48b), whose translation(s) are provided in (50). Speakers chose both a diminutive suffix and an analytic form, but the range of possible translations is wider<sup>50</sup> than those elicited for the input NE in (48a).

- (50) a. lu            pəzzottə<sup>51</sup>            də terra            mi            ddua            pʃandə            lə  
           pəmmadorə  
           the-M.SG. piece-DIM-M.SG.            of landA-F.SG. my-SG. whereA plant-1SG. the-  
           M.PL. tomatoes-M.PL.
- b. la            terra            mi            piccə            ddua            pʃandə            lə            pəmmadorə

<sup>48</sup> Merlini Barbaresi, in Rainer Grossmann (2004: 286).

<sup>49</sup> *ivi*, p.285

<sup>50</sup> It is possible to refer to a small plot of land by simply using the [NP + PP] complex *pəzza də terrə* (plot of land’) and without adding the  $A_{\text{size}}$  *piccə/piccirillə*. The noun *ortə* ‘vegetable garden’, is also acceptable and no adjective is necessary because it denotes a small piece of land itself. Both possibilities can be however followed by the adjective or by a diminutive suffix, as in (48a) or in *urticiollə* (‘little vegetable garden’). Another way of conveying the same concept is by employing the [NP + PP] *nu cconə də terrə*, where ‘*cconə*’ is a shortened form for *boccone* (‘bite’). Such form is typical of the Adriatic area (Eastern Abruzzese). It means ‘as much as a bite’ (Finamore 1893: 159) and it is generally referred to a small quantity (Bielli 1930: 79). All the translation data are displayed in Appendix B.

<sup>51</sup> The diminutive suffix appeared in combination with another diminutive suffix in:

**pəzzattollə**  
 piece-DIM-DIM  
 ‘little piece’

It is worth noting that such translation choice was made by 1/39 only, hence, it may not have any statistic relevance. This is one of the rare instances of combination of the two suffixes *-ottə* and *-ollə* (*-etto* and *-ello* in St.Italian). See e.g. *cicciottello* (‘plump’) in Italian.

the-F.SG.landA-F.SG. my-SG. small-SG. whereA plant-1SG. the-M.PL.tomatoes-M.PL.

On the whole, there are 23/39 productions which display diminutives and only 9/39 where the  $A_{size}$  is used. Furthermore, there are two cases of occurrence of both diminutivized noun and size adjective, more specifically:

(51) a. la **chijsarellə** **piccə** bbjaghə də lu pajosə  
 the church-DIM-F.SG. small-SG. white-SG. of the-M.SG. village-M.SG.  
 ‘The small white church of the village’

b. a lu **pəzzəttə** **piccirillə** cə piandə lə pəmmadorə  
 in the-M.SG.piece-DIM-M.SG. small-SG. CL.LOC.plant-1SG.the-M.PL.tomatoes-M.PL.  
 ‘I plant tomatoes in the small plot of land’

The employment of  $A_{size}$  together with the diminutive suffix has the aim of conveying the pragmatic meaning of endearment (affixation) and the semantic meaning of ‘smallness’ (adjective). This claim is strengthened by acquisitional evidence (Nocchetti *et al.*: 2015), since children adopt the same strategy in their protomorphology stage, i.e. *gatt-ino piccino* ‘cat-DIM little-DIM’, produced by a (2;11) child<sup>52</sup>.

The fundamental difference between the DPs in (48) is the fact that the  $A_{size}$  in (48a-b) is a DmAP, whereas the one in (48c) is an ImAP, to which it is associated the restrictive interpretive value, since it refers to a son who is younger than other ones. In this case, none of the informants chose the diminutive suffix and the use of  $A_{size}$  *piccə/piccirillə* was instead necessary (see (35a) for translation).

However, such pattern was somehow unexpected after the administration of the evaluation task, since only 3/39 informants negatively judged the input sentence (52) and therefore provided an alternative version with a diminutivized noun:

(52) Alla cambərə tinghə nu taulə tonnə piccirillə/piccə  
 in the-F.SG. bedroom-F.SG. have-1SG. a-M.SG. table-M.SG. round-SG. small-SG.  
 ‘I have a small round table in my bedroom’

The three suffixed nouns are *taulinə* ‘table-DIM’ and its variant *tauluccə* ‘table-DIM’, which can also occur together with  $A_{size}$  *piccirillə*, in parallel fashion to (51). The short number of negative judgements led us to predict that  $A_{size}$  is instead common in dialect

<sup>52</sup> Nocchetti *et al.* (2015: 144)

usage, at least after such preliminary recognition. On the basis of the data collected so far, we might however claim that the reason why (52) was considered as to be acceptable lies in the interpretation given to  $A_{\text{size}}$ : if it is interpreted as an  $\text{ImAP}$ , its usage is mandatory, whereas if it is a  $\text{DmAP}$ , a diminutive suffix replaces *piccə/piccirillə*. On the other hand, the occurrence of the  $A_{\text{size}}$  denoting ‘bigness’ follows an opposite pattern. The sentences included in the evaluation task which displays *grossə* (53) were positively judged by all informants and no one proposed alternative versions with a suffixed noun.

- (53) a. A la casə tenomə na cucina grossə  
 in the-F.SG. house-F.SG. have-1SG. a-F.SG. kitchenA-F.SG. big-SG.  
 ‘We have a big house at home/ In our house there is a big kitchen’
- b. A lu pajosə ci šta na cchijša grossə  
 in the-M.SG. village-M.SG.CL.LOC. is-3SG. a-F.SG. churchA-F.SG. big-SG.  
 ‘There is a big church in the village’

With regard to the translation task, we must however distinguish a context where the choice of the augmentative suffix *-onə* was allowed (54), and another in which the usage of such suffix would have led to an additional (negative) interpretation (55):

- (54) a. Tinghə tre bbuttijə d’ujjə grussə alla cucinə  
 have-1SG. three bottles-F.PL. of oil-M.SG. big-PL. in-the-F.SG. kitchen-F.SG.  
 b. Tinghə tre bbuttijunə<sup>53</sup> d’ujjə alla cucinə  
 have-1SG. three bottles-AUG-F.PL. of oil-M.SG. in the-F.SG. kitchen-F.SG.  
 ‘I have three big bottles of oil in the kitchen’
- (55) a. Ellə ci šta na casa bbjanga grossə  
 there CL.LOC. is-3SG. a-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. whiteA-F.SG. big-SG.  
 b. Ellə ci šta na casona/nu casonə<sup>54</sup> bbjanghə  
 there CL.LOC. is-3SG. a-F.SG. house-AUG-A-F.SG. white-SG.  
 ‘There is a big white house over there’

<sup>53</sup> Other ways to express bigness, in addition to diminutives, e.g. the lexical item *fiaschetta* (on a par with the examples chosen to translate *piccolo terreno* (‘a small plot of land’). However, such lexeme was selected by 1/39 only.

<sup>54</sup> *Nu casonə* is a masculine noun which exists alongside the feminine *na casonə*. The same occurs in Spanish *casón* vs. *casona*, as well as in Italian *manona* vs. *manone* (‘big hand’) or Neapolitan *femmenone* vs. *femmenona* (Rohlf 1968: 415).

Both the possibilities in (54) have been chosen by the speakers, but the analytic form, with the overt  $A_{\text{size}}$  is definitely more common than the synthetic one: 35/39 vs. 6/39<sup>55</sup>. As for (55), the only possible option for our informant is (55a). (55b) is grammatical and it is also found in dialect, but the augmentative suffix is associated with a negative connotative meaning, as clarified in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), who provide the exact same example with reference to Standard Italian:

‘In *cas-ona/e*, *macchin-ona*, *barc-ona* ‘big house/car/boat’ the increase in size is generally perceived as being accompanied by a decrease in aesthetic qualities’

(Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994: 445)

Since augmentative formation can be assigned a negative connotation, if speakers are asked to convey the only denotative meaning of ‘bigness’ the most suitable strategy is to use the  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossə*. This is the reason why in the evaluation task no one proposed *na cucinonə* in place of *cucina grossə* or *na cchijsonə* for *na cchijsa grossə*. The former would have conveyed the meaning of ‘a big kitchen, which is probably too big in comparison to the other rooms of the house’, whereas the latter would have been interpreted as ‘a big church, which is too big for a small village or which is an example of ugly architecture’.

We can therefore conclude that the wider usage of diminutives as compared to augmentatives is due to the unmarked or, at most, positive/endearing value associated to diminutive suffixes.

#### **4.5.2 Augmentative and diminutive heads**

We here consider Cinque’s (2015) analysis for augmentative, pejorative, diminutive and endearing morphemes, which are claimed to be heads of the extended nominal projection. Such morphemes are ordered with respect to each other, in parallel fashion to what we have seen with APs. More specifically, there are an Aug(mentative)P, a Pej(orative)P, a Dim(inutive)P and an End(earing)P.

Evidence for such heads is provided by the fact that the basic notions of ‘small/big’ are cross-linguistically associated with affective (i.e. ‘nice/lovely’) or derogatory notions

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<sup>55</sup> Three informants opted for both  $A_{\text{size}}$  and augmentative suffix.



('bad/ugly') (see Jurafsky 1996 and Cinque 2015). This phenomenon is encoded in grammar and there are several devices for its realization, which depend on the language. What is clear is that it is a very common phenomenon and its width led to hypothesize that there are specific heads which host augmentative, pejorative, diminutive and endearing morphemes.

In order to establish the hierarchical order of the heads, we now consider the rules of word-formation in Italian when the above-mentioned suffixes are involved:

- (56) a. **cas-ett-ina** vs. \*cas-in-etta  
house-**END-DIM**-F.SG.  
'small cozy house'
- b. **om-acci-one** vs. \*om-on-accio  
man-**PEJ-AUG**-M.SG.  
'big ugly man'
- c. **zi-ett-accio** vs. \*zi-acc-etto  
uncle-**END-PEJ**-M.SG.  
'dear ugly uncle'
- d. **pezz-ett-one** vs. \*pezz-on-etto  
piece-**END**<sup>56</sup>-**AUG**-M.SG.  
'big small piece'
- e. **om-in-one** vs. \*om-on-ino  
man-**DIM-AUG**-M.SG.  
'big small man'

(Cinque 2015: 69-73)

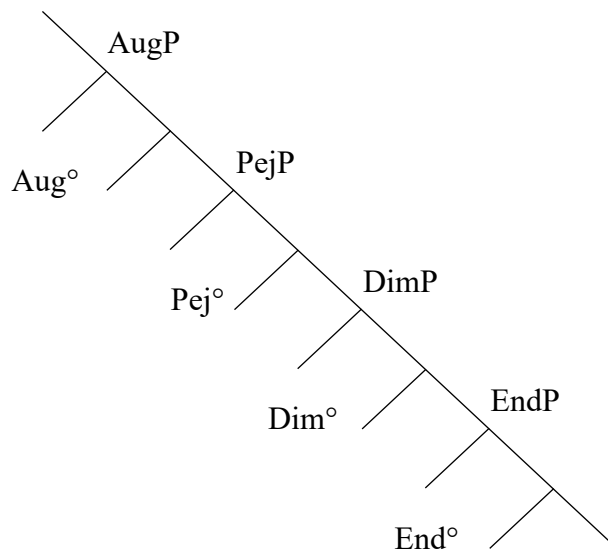
Bearing in mind these word-formation rules<sup>57</sup> and Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle, the syntactic derivation mirrors the order of the suffixes: lower functional heads are closer to the root of the noun, whereas higher ones are placed further. The hierarchy is proposed below:

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<sup>56</sup> The suffix might be associated with a diminutive value as well.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to such evidence from Italian, the same Merge order seems to apply to other languages as well. See Cinque (2015) for examples from German, Piapoco and Russian.

(57)



(Cinque 2015: 71)

Suffixed nouns can be combined with other elements (i.e. adjectives) inside the extended nominal projection (see (49a) or (55b) for examples from Pescarese). We shall now investigate the position of the functional heads inside the DP, which is identified by Cinque (2015) on the basis of the behavior of English *little*. Such adjective can be used both as an  $A_{\text{size}}$ , on a par with *small*, or in a weak form, similarly to a diminutive Romance suffix. In the latter case, it is attributive (never predicative) and does not receive stress (or even reduced to *li'l*). These two features are a hint of the functional nature of *little*, therefore we can clearly establish a parallel between weak *little* and diminutive/endeared Romance suffixes (see Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994).

In order to establish the position of such functional *little* and consequently those of the augmentative, pejorative, diminutive and endearing heads, we must first consider the unmarked hierarchy for adjectives modifying object-denoting nouns:

(58) Value > Size > Shape > Color > Nationality > **NP**

(59) a. That's quite a nice *little* discovery you've made there

b. That's a *little* big discovery you've made there

c. You, my *little* round baby face

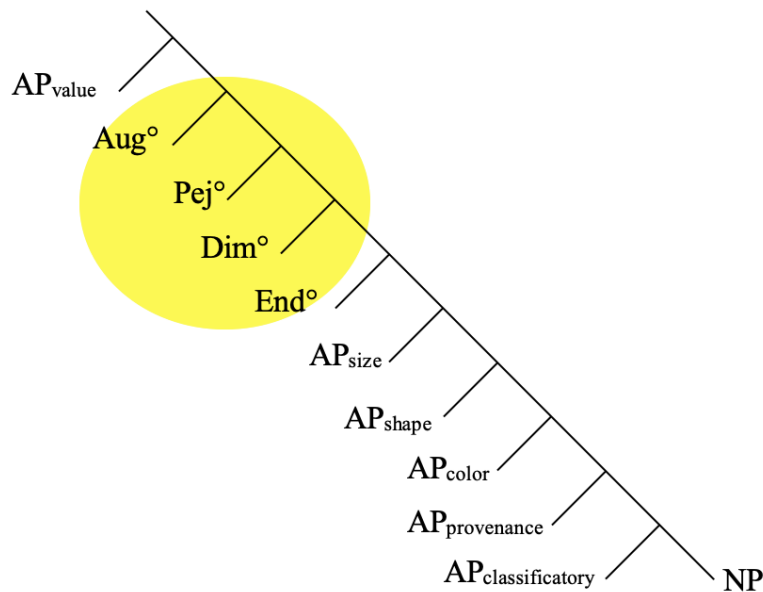
d. You, my *little* white guinea pig

e. My *little* Chinese doll

(Cinque 2015: 77)

On the basis of the examples in (59), we can infer the Merge position for the diminutive functional projection and where it is located with respect to the other projections hosting adjectives inside the DP. The diminutive (augmentative, pejorative, endearing) projections are placed right below the one hosting  $AP_{value}$  and above  $AP_{size, shape, color, provenance, classificatory}$ .

(60)



(Cinque 2015: 78)

Cinque's (2015) analysis will be applied to data from Pescararese provided in §4.5.1, as we will see in the following paragraph, where the related syntactic structures are shown.

### 4.5.3 A syntactic analysis of Pescararese diminutive and augmentative suffixes

We now move to a syntactic analysis of the nominal expressions provided in §4.5.1. The extended nominal projection will be now enriched with the augmentative, diminutive, pejorative and endearing functional projections which are claimed (Cinque 2015) to be part of the DP.

Data collected during our dialect inquiry will provide evidence for the position of the diminutive and augmentative heads with respect to the other adjectives and, more

specifically, for their Merge position right above  $AP_{\text{size}}$ . Such prediction is borne out by those productions which display both a diminutive suffix and  $A_{\text{size}}$  *piccə/piccirillə* (51).

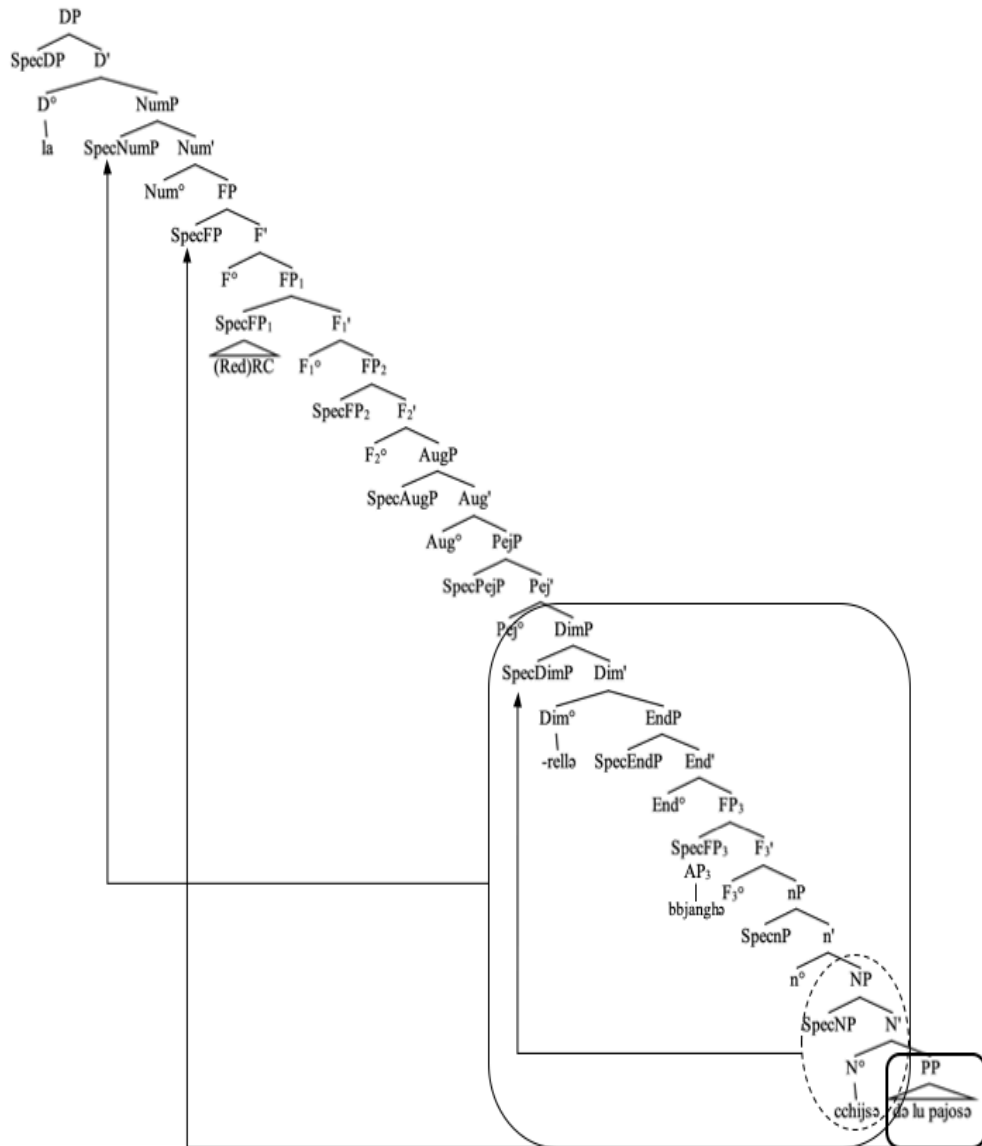
The three DPs including a diminutive ((49a) and (50a) and an augmentative (54b) suffix are shown below. In all such cases an NP-raising around the Dim/Aug morpheme occurs before a subsequent movement of the suffixed NP to a higher Spec position.

We first consider the two DPs which include a diminutive suffix, namely *la cchij sarellə bbjānghə də lu pajosə* ('The small white church of the village') and *lu pəzzottə də terra mi* ('My small plot of land'). (61a) shows that the NP *cchij sə* crosses both  $A_{\text{color}}$  *bbjānghə* and  $\text{Dim}^\circ$  *-rellə*. As for the latter, it is in a Spec-head configuration with the noun, since *bbjānghə* has  $\text{SpecDimP}$  as its landing site. The whole [NP + AP] is then pied-piped to  $\text{SpecNumP}$  and the PP *də lu pajosə* is moved as well, since it reaches the specifier of an FP below  $\text{NumP}$ . The only difference between (61a-b) is that the latter structure also hosts a possessive adjective, which is first merged in  $\text{SpecnP}$ . The mechanisms of NP-raising are exactly the same, with the head noun moving towards the diminutive suffix in  $\text{Dim}^\circ$  and a final pied-piping to the higher DP-field.

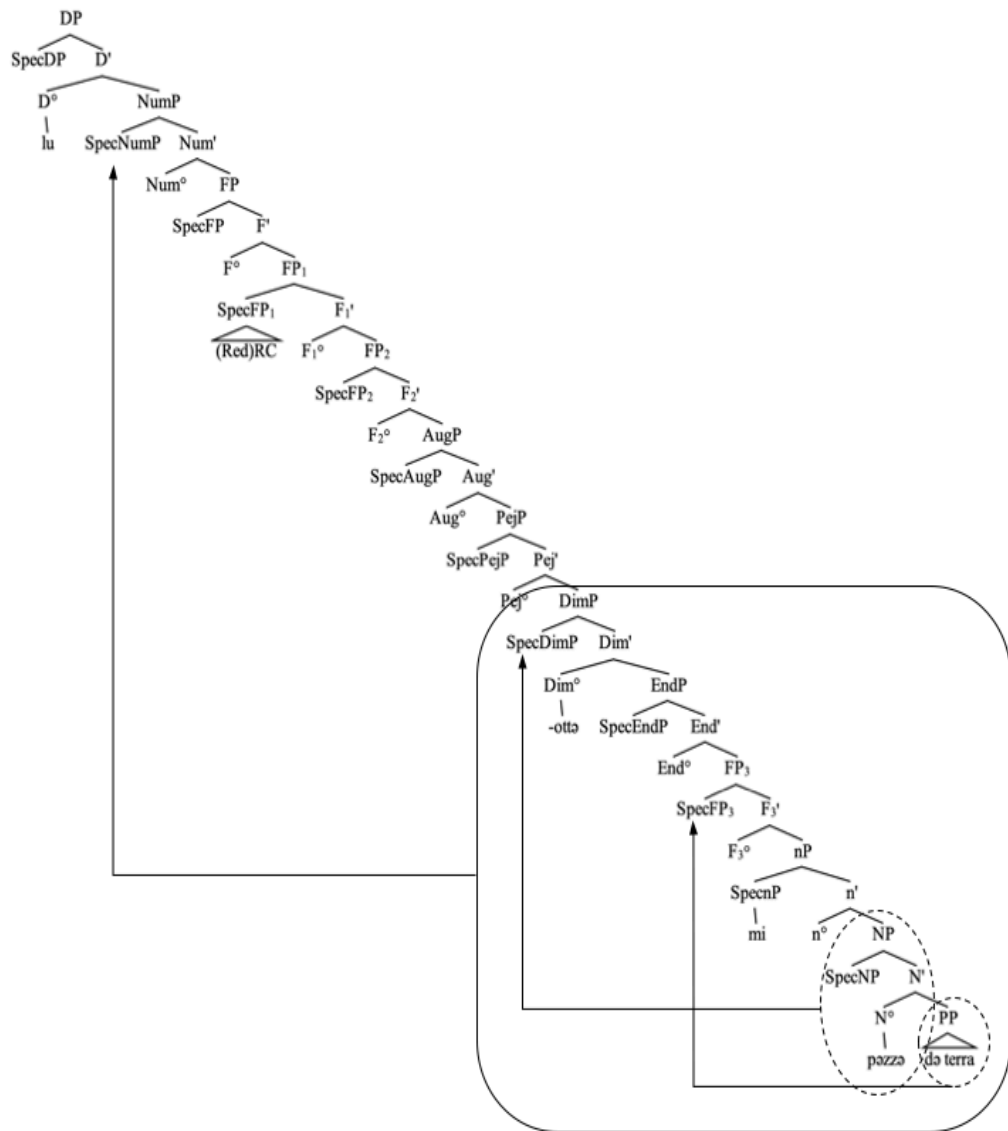
The only DP which includes an augmentative suffix and has been actually elicited by the informants is *tre buttijunə d'ujjə* (62), which can be analyzed in parallel fashion to the others, with a difference: the NP crosses  $\text{Aug}^\circ$  and the suffixed noun *buttijunə*, together with the PP *d'ujjə*, is pied-piped to  $\text{SpecFP}$ , being in proximity with the numeral *tre*, which is merged to  $\text{Num}^\circ$ .

The structures described above are provided in the following pages.

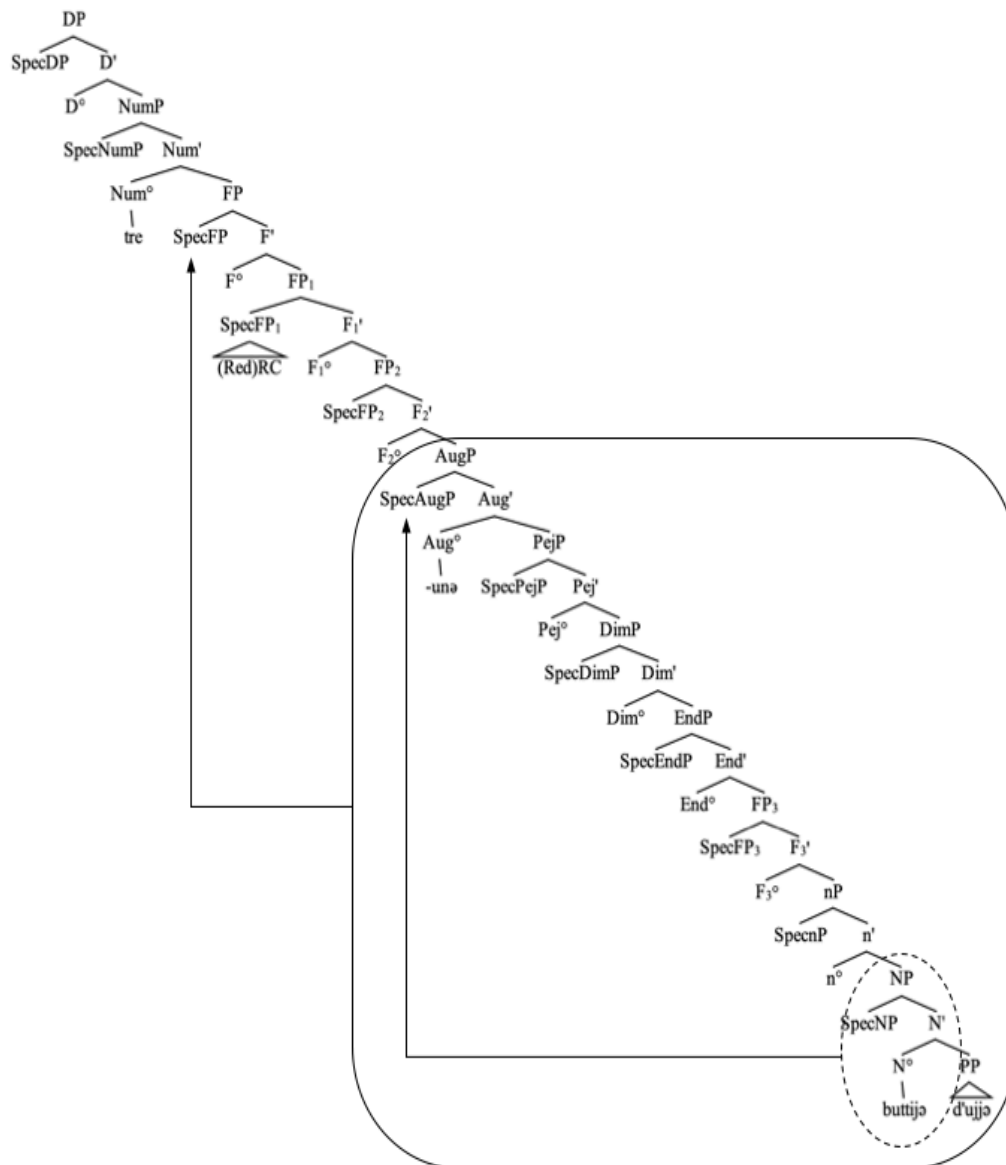
(61) a.



b.



(62)



In addition to these nominal expressions, which display a suffixed noun modified by another adjective (i.e.  $A_{color}$ , as in *la chjisarellà bbjanghà*) or followed by  $A_{poss}$ , or not even followed by an adjective, there are two peculiar instances of suffixed nouns followed by  $A_{size}$  *piccà/piccirillà*. It might be perceived as redundant, but as seen in § 4.5.1, the suffix has the aim of conveying the connotative endearing meaning, whereas the adjective has to be interpreted literally. The structure in (63) subsumes the two structures for DPs *la chjisarellà piccà bbjanghà* (lit. ‘the church-END small white’) and *lu pazzottà (da terrà) piccirillà*.





## 4.6 Demonstrative doubling

The paragraph investigates an emphatic pattern which is quite peculiar across Romance varieties and, to the best of our knowledge, it is characteristic of Abruzzese.

As previously explained in § 3.2.1, one of the aims of our dialect inquiry was to test whether Pianellese allows partitive possessives in nominal expressions introduced by demonstratives, i.e. *šta casa è de lu mi* (lit. 'this house is of the my'; 'this is my house'). Since neither of the two informants initially involved for the pilot test accepted such constructions, we decided to shift our interest towards demonstrative doubling (see § 1.3.2 for examples from grammars).

It is important to point out that all the 39 speakers were asked to provide a grammatical judgement of DPs whose word order was Dem > N > Dem, but only 23 of them were tested on the possibility of interposing an adjective between the demonstratives and the head noun in order to analyze the interaction between adjectives and demonstratives. More specifically, they were first asked whether Dem > N > Dem was possible in their variety, then whether one of the following two orders was acceptable:

(64) a. Dem N A Dem

b. Dem N Dem A

We here adopt Brugè (2002) and Giusti's (2002) analyses, which consider the higher position of the demonstrative (SpecDP) to be derived from a lower one, which is below the direct modification space for APs. This claim can accommodate data from all the languages which allow non-DP-initial demonstratives, i.e. Celtic languages (Irish and Welsh), Hebrew, Greek, Spanish<sup>58</sup> and, hence, Abruzzese.

The first section (§ 4.6.1) provides a syntactic analysis of demonstrative doubling, with reference to the DPs in our inquiry, whereas § 4.6.2 will be focused on the interaction between postnominal demonstratives and postnominal adjectives.

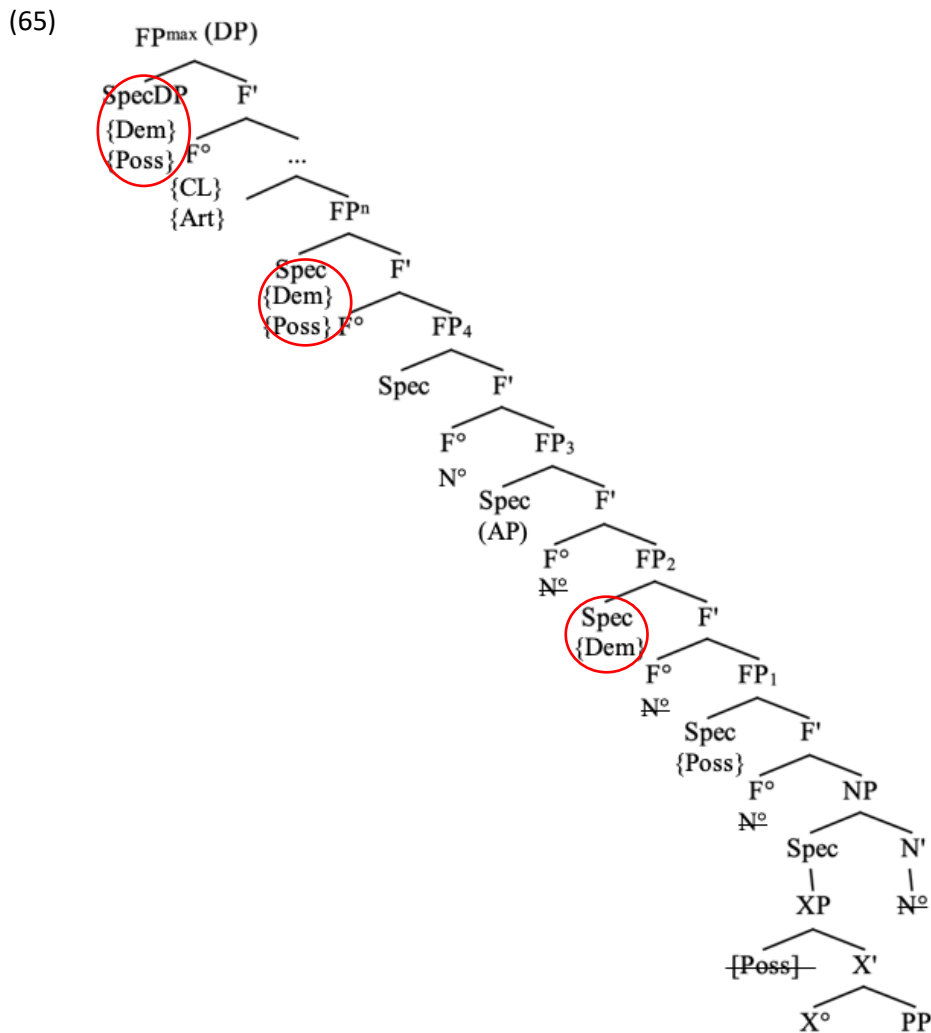
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<sup>58</sup> See examples in Brugè (2002), who also mentions Catalan and Bosnian, and Guardiano (2012).

#### 4.6.1 A syntactic account

As stated in the introductory part to the paragraph, the analysis here taken into account are the ones in Brugè (2002) and Giusti (2002). Such hypotheses have different grounds with respect to i.e. Cinque's (2005) hypothesis, which is based on Greenberg's (1963) Universal 20: the universal Merge order is Dem Num A N and all other possible orders are to be derived from this basic one via NP-raising or pied-piping.<sup>59</sup>

The syntactic structure adopted for the analysis of possessives (see (29)) is again provided below to show which is the basic position for demonstratives and other Merge positions.



(adapted from Giusti 2002: 98)

<sup>59</sup> See Cinque (2005) for all possible derivations from Dem Num A N.

These analyses are based on the idea that the basic position for demonstratives is a low one (SpecFP<sub>2</sub>), right above the one hosting possessives and below the ones for APs. Demonstratives raise to SpecDP because they are ‘intrinsically definite elements’<sup>60</sup>, since they are specified for the features [+Referential] and [+Deictic]<sup>61</sup>. Since all D positions are endowed with the feature [±R]<sup>62</sup>, a demonstrative generated in the low-DP field is necessarily subject to movement in order to check such [±R] feature. What is claimed by both Brugè and Giusti is that the checking of [±REF] is mandatory at Logical Form, but there is cross-linguistic parametric variation in this respect, depending on whether such feature is weak or strong:

- (66) a. The Demonstrative checks its [+REF] feature in [Spec, DP] before Spell-Out when this feature is *strong*.  
 b. The Demonstrative checks its [+REF] feature in [Spec, DP] after Spell-Out when this feature is *weak*.

(Brugè 2002: 41)

The parameter in (66a) is positively set for languages such as Italian, French, German and Albanian, hence the demonstrative raises to SpecDP because the feature is checked before Spell-Out. As for (66b), it applies to Hebrew and Irish: no overt movement occurs and the checking can take place only at LF. However, there are several languages in which the feature [±REF] can be either strong or weak, i.e. Spanish or Romanian<sup>63</sup>. Demonstrative can also raise to an intermediate position (SpecFP<sub>n</sub>, in (66)). It is the case of Romanian possessives, which can only be crossed over by the head noun (see Giusti 2002 for examples, as well as fn.63).

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<sup>60</sup> Lyons (1999) in Guardiano (2012: 101).

<sup>61</sup> Brugè (2002: 30).

<sup>62</sup> Notation used in Longobardi (1994), which is interpreted by Brugè (2002: 31) as “referential”.

<sup>63</sup> *Spanish* (Brugè 2012: 42)

- a. esta reacción al problema  
 this reaction to-the problem  
 b. la reacción esta al problema  
 the reaction this to-the problem

*Romanian* (Giusti 2002: 71)

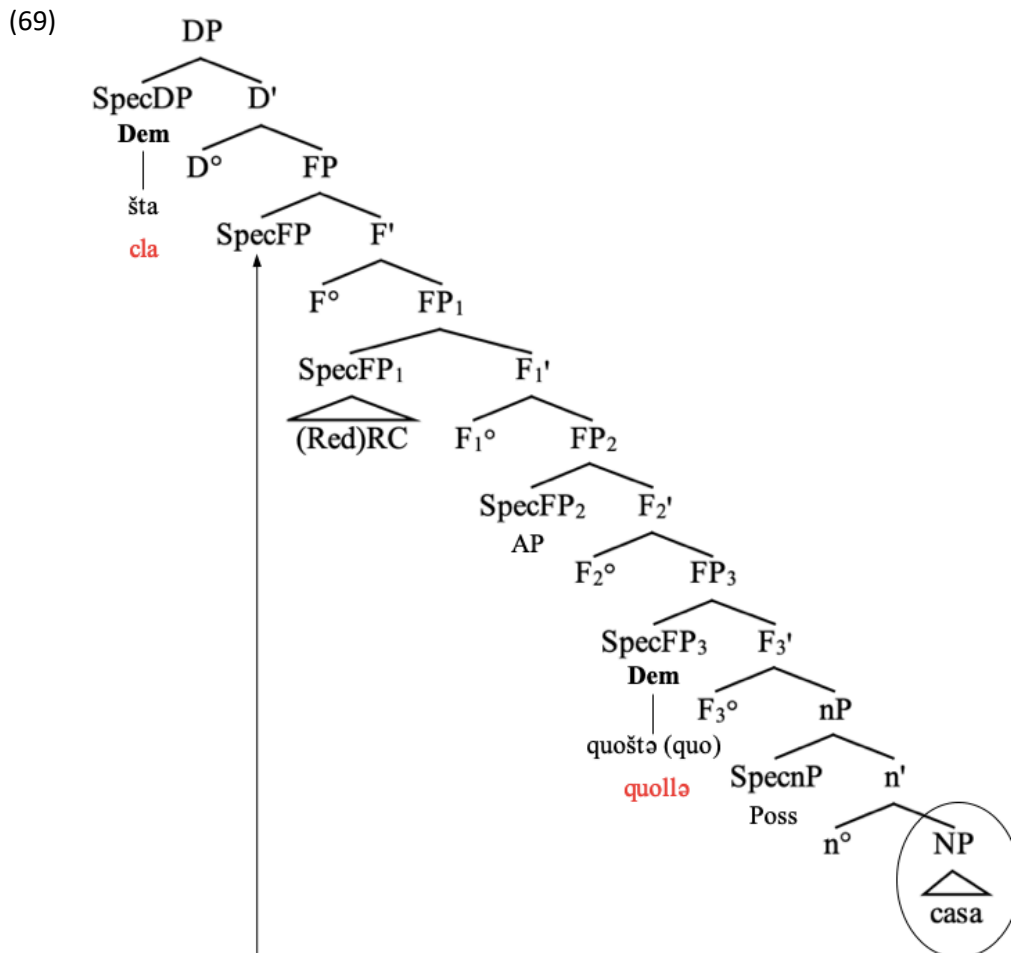
- a. acest băiat frumos  
 this boy nice  
 b. băiatul acesta frumos (vs. \*băiatul frumos acesta)  
 boy-the this nice

If we apply Principle (66) to Pescarese, we can say that [+REF] is strong and, in addition, there is a copy in-situ which is not deleted. This can be easily seen in the following examples, whose syntactic structure is provided in (69):

(67) a. **šta** casa **quoštə** è lu mi  
 this-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. this-SG. is-3SG. the-3SG. my-SG.

b. **šta** casa **quo** è lu mi  
 this-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. this-SG. is-3SG. the-3SG. my-SG.  
 ‘this house’

(68) **cla** casa **quollə** è lu mi  
 that-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. that-SG. is-3SG. the-3SG. my-SG.  
 ‘that house’



The Dem N Dem constructions provided in both (67) and (68) have been positively judged by the overwhelming majority of the speakers involved in the inquiry (37/39).

It is most likely that the speakers use the structures in (67), especially if they are inside the house they are referring to. The Dem-doubling construction in (68) is equally acceptable, but less used: a copular construction seems more natural, i.e. *quollà è la casa mi* or *cla casà è lu mi*.

However, none of the informants provided a construction with a postnominal demonstrative introduced by a determiner, as in:

- (70) a. la casa quoštà  
the-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. this-SG.  
b. la casa quo  
the-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. this-SG.  
‘this house’

This configuration is acceptable in Pianellese, even though it is perceived as slightly marked and less common than the one with the Dem-doubling (p.c.). Pianellese patterns with Spanish in this respect: when demonstratives occur after the noun, a definite article is compulsory in D<sup>o</sup><sup>64</sup>. Furthermore, when Dem is in DP-initial position, it cannot co-occur with a determiner. Hence, we can ascribe Pianellese to Type 6 demonstratives<sup>65</sup>, according to Guardiano’s (2012) typological description.

If we take into account a nearby variety spoken in the Pescara province, namely the dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo Citeriore, constructions as (67) and (68) are allowed (see example (77), § 1.3.2: *štu lebbra ko*<sup>66</sup> (lit. ‘this book this’, ‘this book’), which is perfectly equivalent to *štu lebbra koštà*, where the postnominal demonstrative is not reduced instead). On the other hand, configurations such as the ones in (70) are ruled out: *\*lu lebbra ko* or *\*lu lebbra koštà* are ungrammatical<sup>67</sup>.

Another possibility that emerged in data gathered during our survey is the typical Italian pattern of Demonstrative – Noun – Adverb of Place, as in It. *quella casa lì* (‘that house

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<sup>64</sup> Spanish (Brugè 2002: 30)

el libro este/ese/aquel fue publicado en 1990  
the-M.SG. book-M.SG. this/that/that-M.SG. was-3SG. published in 1990  
‘This/that book was published in 1990’

<sup>65</sup> For all the Dem-types see Guardiano (2012), description and examples of Type 6 demonstratives are provided at p.106

<sup>66</sup> Pescarini and Pascetta (2014: 107)

<sup>67</sup> *ivi*, p. 109

over there’). Pianellese speakers accepted the relative counterpart and judged it to be even more natural than the one with demonstrative doubling:

- (71) *cla casa ellə*  
 that-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. there  
 ‘that house over there’

We conclude that, even though demonstrative doubling constructions are accepted within the province of Pescara and Abruzzo (see Finamore (1893), Rohlf’s (1968), Verratti (1968), Giammarco (1973), Ledgeway (2015)), there is variability with respect to the possibility of having D N Dem or Dem N Adv word orders.

As seen above, Dem-doubling constructions consist of a pre- and a postnominal demonstrative. The prenominal one is normally reduced, whereas postnominal demonstratives can be reduced only if they are proximal and singular. With regard to distal ones (68), the reduced postnominal form would be ungrammatical, and actually no one produced *\*cla casa quo*, because the postnominal demonstrative would be ambiguous with the proximal one.

Data from these two varieties of Abruzzese seem to contradict Guardiano’s (2012) comparison between DP-initial and non-DP-initial demonstratives established on the basis of a cross-linguistic study, whose results have been already summarized in § 1.3.2, (75). The two possible types of demonstratives differ with respect to: i) lexical shape; ii) pragmatic/semantic impact; iii) syntactic nature<sup>68</sup>. As regards lexical shape, DP-initial demonstratives can be reduced, whereas non-DP-initial ones are never reduced. This seems untrue, as shown in (67b) and in the example from San Valentino dialect. However, if both demonstratives are reduced, the two lexical shapes differ from each other:

- (72) a. ~~(quo)šta~~ casa ~~quo(šta)~~  
 b. *\*quo(šta)* casa ~~quo(šta)~~  
 c. *\*~~(quo)šta~~* casa ~~(quo)šta~~

(72b) is completely ruled out: the higher demonstrative does not show agreement in gender or number with the head noun, whereas in all Dem-doubling constructions the

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<sup>68</sup> Guardiano (2012: 109), Table 2.

NP agrees in gender and number at least with the demonstrative merged in SpecDP (when the second one is reduced). If the postnominal demonstrative is not reduced, the head noun agrees in gender and number with Dem1, whereas it agrees only in number with Dem2. On the other hand, (72c) displays agreement in gender between NP and both Dem1 and Dem2 but is equally unacceptable because ambiguities would arise between the second demonstrative and a possible 3SG. form of verb *stare* ('to be'). This 'doubling' phenomenon can be somehow compared to other instances of doubling that occur in Italian non-standard varieties. Compare, for instance (67) and (68) with the following examples from two Northern Italian varieties:

(73) *Illasi (Verona)*

**Ndo** e-lo            ndat **endoe?**  
 where is-3SG-CL. gone where  
 'Where has he gone?'

(74) *Monno (Brescia)*

**Ngo** fet            majà **ngont?**  
 where do-2SG. eat where  
 'Where do you eat?'

(Poletto and Pollock 2005: 136)

(73) and (74) offer instances of *wh*-doubling configurations, where Wh1 and Wh2 have different lexical shapes but are basically the same element. We can establish a first parallel between the two phenomena for such reason, even though we are referring to the DP domain on one side and to the CP domain on the other. However, it is acknowledged that there is a clear analogy between the nominal and the clausal domain (§ 1.1.2): DP is a CP-like projection.

The analysis of data from *Illasi* and *Monno* led Poletto and Pollock (2005) to consider *wh*-elements (i.e. *ndo* and *ngo*) as *wh*-clitics, for their impossibility to occur in isolation or separated from the main verb, but also because they cannot be focused, contrasted or modified. For such reasons, the doubled elements are merged in a complex element which is labeled CliticPhrase (CIP): the *wh*-clitic is the head, whereas the longer counterpart is in the clitic's specifier:

(75) a. [CIP endoe ndo]

b. [<sub>CIP</sub> ngont ngo]

Such analysis can be adapted to data from Pianellese if we consider the ‘short’ demonstrative as to be a ‘*Dem-clitic*’<sup>69</sup>: shortened forms such as *šta/u/i/ə* cannot occur in isolation (i.e. separated from the head noun) nor focused, contrasted or modified, hence can be treated as heads of an hypothetical CIP, whose specifier is the doubled rightmost demonstrative:

(76) [<sub>CIP</sub> quoštə šta]

However, issues arise when both Dem1 and Dem2 are shortened and have the same clitic properties, i.e. in (67b). This issue is left for future research, for the time being we adhere to the analysis proposed in (69), where the NP raises to a higher Spec position, in-between the two possible functional projections for demonstratives, as sketched by Giusti (2002). Such functional projections are both filled, with a shortened version of the lower copy that occupies SpecDP.

#### **4.6.2 Interaction between demonstratives and adjectives**

The previous paragraph investigated the basic pattern of demonstrative doubling, where the NP is ‘sandwiched’ between two demonstratives and neither adjectives nor PPs intervene in the construction.

As pointed out in the introduction to section 4.6, not all the informants involved in the dialect survey were asked to provide a grammaticality judgement on *dem-doubling* constructions whose NP is modified by an adjective. Furthermore, not all the adjectives in Cinque’s (1994, 2010) hierarchy have been tested: we chose  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossə* and  $A_{\text{color}}$  *bbjanghə* only. The DPs display both a postnominal adjective and a postnominal demonstrative and our aim was to define how A and Dem are ordered in the nominal expression. Speakers were proposed feminine (*casə*) and masculine (*balconə*) nouns, both inflected for number in order to check whether metaphony is still productive (for information on metaphony see § 4.7, for all data see Appendix B).

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<sup>69</sup> Poletto and Pollock (2005: 150, fn.5) suggest that many different parts of speech have been treated as clitics in the literature, i.e. adverbial forms in Greek, negation in French and Italian, auxiliaries in Slavic, among others.

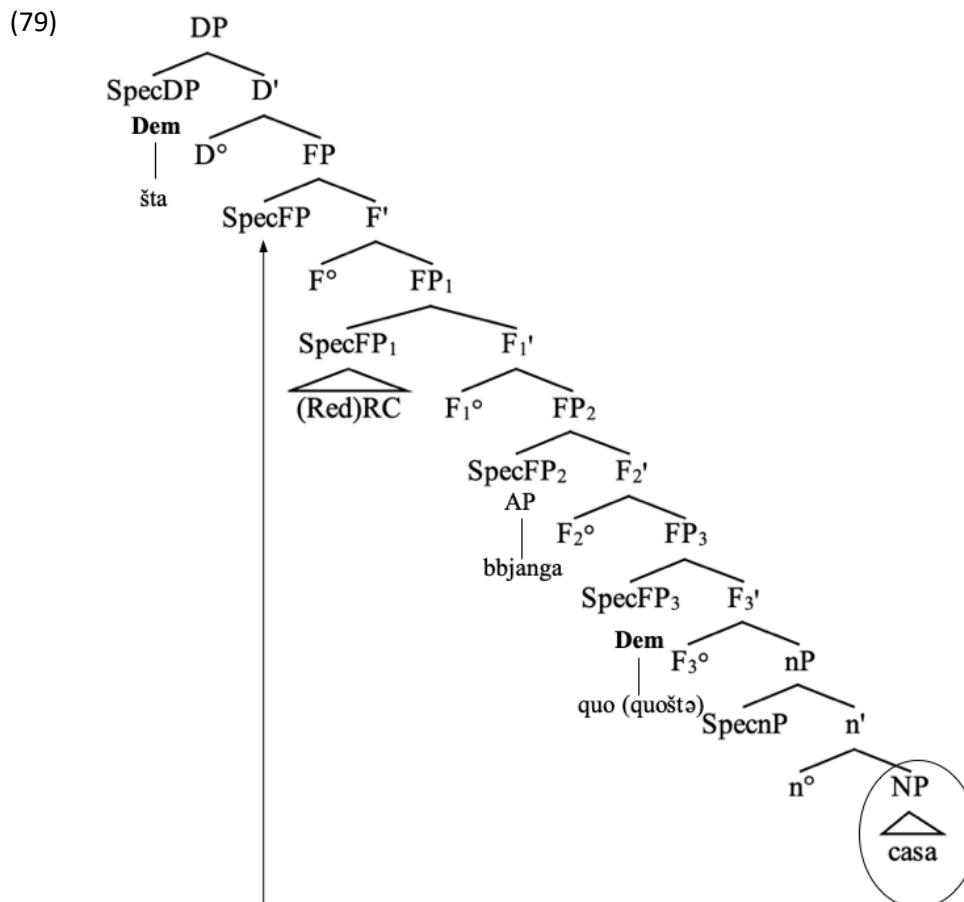


Firstly, it is noteworthy that not all the sample accepted DPs including both *dem-doubling* and adjectives. If speakers need to use an adjective, the most suitable construction seems to be a copular one, with the adjective in predicate position (chosen by 10/23 informants). In this case, the demonstrative can be either DP-initial only or both pre- and postnominal:

- (77) a. clu balconə è ggrossə  
 that-M.SG balcony-F.SG. is-3SG. big-SG.  
 b. clu balcona quollə è ggrossə  
 that-M.SG. balconyA-F.SG. that-SG. is-3SG. big-SG.  
 ‘that balcony is big’

Fewer people accepted the Dem N A Dem configuration (9/23 informants), whose syntactic structure is provided in (79):

- (78) šta casa bbjanga quo  
 this-F.SG. houseA-F.SG. whiteA-SG. this-SG.  
 ‘this big house’.



The word order in (78) is the result of NP-raising to SpecFP, the specifier position immediately below SpecDP. AP<sub>size</sub> is first merged above the lower position for demonstratives, therefore no further movements are needed.

In addition to (77) and (78) we mention another answer, which cannot be properly defined as an instance of demonstrative doubling: as a matter of fact, the postnominal demonstrative is anaphoric and has been introduced after a prosodic pause (which is here signaled by a comma):

- (80) šte            case            bbjanghə<sup>70</sup>, quešta            ecchə  
           these-F.PL. houses-F.PL. white-SG. theseA-F.PL. here  
           ‘these white houses over here’

On the whole, none opted for constructions where the adjective follows the demonstrative, therefore we conclude that if a postnominal adjective occurs in a *demonstrative doubling* construction, it should precede Dem2. The grammatical word order for the demonstrative doubling configuration in Pianellese is:

- (81) Dem N Adj Dem

This order again matches the one found in Spanish<sup>71</sup>, whereas it differs from the one which is typical of San Valentino (Pescara) dialect: Sanvalentinense adjectives and demonstratives occur in the reverse order, with adjectives being the rightmost elements in the construction (Pescarini and Pascetta 2014). Compare (82) with (78):

- (82) *Sanvalentinense*

- a. štu            lebbərə            koštə            bbjanghə  
           this-M.SG. book-M.SG. this-SG. white-SG.  
 b. \*štu            lebbərə            ko            bbjanghə  
           this-M.SG. book-M.SG. this-SG. white-SG.  
           ‘this white book’  
 c. štu            lebbərə            koštə            ma  
           this-M.SG. book-M.SG. this-SG. my-SG.

<sup>70</sup> The singular form of the adjective is here used to modify a plural referent, but in the same context some other informants provided the metaphonic plural *bbjanghə*.

<sup>71</sup> From Brugè (2002: 42, her (77)):

el            libro            gordo            este            de sintaxis  
 the-M.SG. book-M.SG. big-M.SG. this-M.SG. of syntax-F.PL.  
 ‘this big book on syntax’

‘this book of mine’

In addition to the different word order, another issue that differentiates Pianellese from Sanvalentinese is the impossibility for the latter to have a reduced demonstrative co-occurring with an adjective. As seen in (78), Pianellese does not ban reduced demonstratives from appearing right next to the adjective.

(82c) is an instance of interaction between Dem and  $A_{\text{POSS}}$ , which has not been verified in our research. We predict that Pianellese patterns with Sanvalentinese for the possessive placement, since Poss is merged in SpecnP and it is always postnominal in Eastern Abruzzese varieties. On a par with (79), only NP raises to SpecFP, whereas for both Dem1, Dem2 and Poss the surface order actually reflects the original Merge order. However, due to the limited number of test items involved in this short research on demonstratives, we could not analyze in depth the position of pre- and postnominal adjectives belonging to the different semantic classes, as well as the position of PPs with respect to Dem1 and Dem2. We leave this issue for further research.

#### 4.7 Metaphony and agreement

One of the aims of our dialect survey is to verify whether metaphony is still at work in Pescarese (Pianellese). As most of the upper-Southern Italian dialects, the endings have been all reduced to -ə and the only morpho-phonological means to distinguish a singular from a plural form is the raising of the stressed mid-vowel. The original trigger for metaphony was -i, but as we will see further, there has been an overextension to feminine nouns and adjectives as well, whose endings never had a high vowel. This is why cases such as *lə lənzolə bbjəŋhə* (‘the white blankets-F.PL’) are to be considered as examples of analogy from the masculine ‘metaphonized’ forms.

As previously explained in § 3.1, a number of adjectives were specifically chosen to test the productivity of metaphony, namely:

(83) a. **bello**: bellə (SG.) / billə (PL.)

b. **grande**: grossə / grussə

c. **tondo**: tonnə / tunnə

d. **bianco**: bianghə / biəŋhə

e. **rosso**: roššə / ruššə

The answers provided during both the evaluation and the translation task show that metaphony is still productive, but there is a clear influence from standard Italian, since in many cases a single form for both singular and plural is chosen.

We will now go through some data gathered during the interviews, but the complete tables with all answers are given in Appendix B.

An example of generalization of metaphony to feminine nouns and adjectives is in the following sentences, which are part of the evaluation task:

- (84) a. šta      casə      te'      le      fənəštrə      tonnə  
          this-F.SG. house-F.SG. has-3SG. the-F.PL. windows-F.PL. round-SG.
- b. šta      casə      te'      le      fənəštrə      tunnə  
          this-F.SG. house-F.SG. has-3SG. the-F.PL. windows-F.PL. round-PL.

The majority of the informants (22/39) opted for (84b), but the fact that it is not a clear majority leads us to hypothesize that metaphony is optional in this context (i.e. with a feminine plural noun). An in-depth analysis of data based on gender was necessary to check whether the application of metaphony was connected to the gender of our informants. Since women generally tend to conform to the standard, we expect that (84a) has been chosen mostly by women. Actually, data show that there is a complete balance between the two options: (84a) has been chosen by 7 M (41,2%) and 10 F (58,8%), whereas (84b) has been chosen by 9 M and 13 F (59,1%). The number of female informants is higher, but this is because the overall number of speakers chosen for the survey was not completely balanced (16 M – 41% vs. 23 F – 59%). On the whole, we can confirm that in this context the application of metaphony to signal plural feminine nouns/adjectives is optional.

Another example of application of metaphony to feminine nouns is the following:

- (85) a. Tinghə    tre    bbuttəjə    d'ujjə grussə<sup>72</sup> alla    cucinə  
          have-1SG. three bottles-F.PL. of oil big-PL.    in-the-F.SG.kitchen-F.SG.
- b. Tinghə    tre    grossə buttijə    d'ujjə alla cucinə  
          have-1SG. three big-SG. bottles-F.PL. of oil in-the-F.SG.kitchen-F.SG.

It is worth noting the striking difference between pre- and postnominal adjectives and the relationship between adjective placement and application of metaphony: more

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<sup>72</sup> Another possibility is to have a diphthong [uo] instead of simple [u].

specifically, among the 23 postnominal occurrences of postnominal *A<sub>size</sub> grossə*, only three of them are not subject to metaphonic alternation. If *A<sub>size</sub>* precedes the noun, it is more likely that the mid-vowel [o] will not be modified into a high [u] (see 85b): as a matter of fact, in 7 out of 12 cases of prenominal placement of *grossə*, metaphony does not apply. On the whole, 25/39 informants opt for a metaphonic form of the adjective. In this case, we are above chance level, so we are prone to say that the application of metaphony is not optional with feminine nouns and adjectives.

Sentence (86) displays a more intricate pattern, because speakers went for several translation choices: i) metaphony applies on both adjectives (86a); ii) metaphony applies on *bbellə* only (86b); iii) metaphony applies on *bjanghə* only (86d); iv) none of the adjectives is inflected for number (86c). The most common path is i), chosen by 15/39 speakers. However, in general, the majority of the speakers partially or totally applied metaphony to the two adjectives, which both modify a feminine noun.

- (86) a. So        cumbratə de lə        **billə**        lənzolə        **bjinghə**  
           am-1SG. bought    of the-F.PL. nice-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. white-PL.
- b. So        cumbratə cirtə        **billə**        lənzolə        bjanghə  
           am-1SG. bought    some-F.PL. nice-F.PL. blankets-F.PL. white-SG.
- c. So        cumbratə de lə        bbellə        lənzolə        **bjinghə**  
           am-1SG. bought    of the-F.PL. nice-F.SG. blankets-F.PL. white-PL.
- d. So        cumbratə de lə        bellə        lənzolə        bjanghə  
           am-1SG. bought    of the-F.PL. nice-F.SG. blanket-F.SG. white-SG.
- ‘I bought some nice white blankets’

The picture depicted by (86) provides further arguments in favor of the claim put forward after the analysis of (85): the application of metaphony to feminine adjectives is far from being optional or casual.

This is confirmed by the translations of the sentence *Quei grandi amici napoletani* (‘those great Neapolitan friends’), where the chosen head noun (*amicizijə*) is a feminine noun in dialect, even though the Italian test item is a masculine one<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> It is noteworthy that 3/39 chose the masculine noun *cumbagnə*. In all these three cases metaphony applied and both noun and adjective display metaphonic vowel alternation, i.e. *bbillə cumbignə* (‘nice mates’), *cumbignə cchiù ffurtə* (lit. ‘the strongest mates’, but also ‘the coolest friends’ or ‘the closest friends’)

(87) Chelə      grussə      amicizijə      napulətanə

Those-F.PL. big-F.PL. friends-F.PL. Neapolitan-SG.

Metaphony applies on both pre- and postnominal  $A_{\text{size/quality}}$ , and 14/39 productions where *grussə* has been chosen, display a metaphonic adjective.

Although many speakers chose other adjectives in place of  $A_{\text{size}}$  (see § 4.2.4 for details on the figurative meaning of  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grussə*), i.e. *štrittə* ('tight'), *furtə* ('strong'), *bbunə*<sup>74</sup> ('good/good-hearted'), they nevertheless applied metaphony. On the whole, 22/39 occurrences display a metaphonic plural adjective.

It is worth noting that there seems to be a correlation between pre-nominal placement of the adjective *grussə* and non-application of metaphony: non-metaphonized *grussə* appears postnominally only once, in other three cases such adjective is prenominal. Further research involving a sufficient number of both pre- and postnominal adjectives is though needed in order to ascertain whether there is a link between the position of the adjective and the occurrence of metaphonic vowel alternation.

However, the translation of Italian *Le arance rosse siciliane* ('The red Sicilian oranges') shows a slight decrease in the application of metaphony (15/39), since the informants preferred (22/39) the base form of the adjective over the one where metaphony applies.

(88) a. L'      arangə      rusšə      sicilijanə

the-F.PL. oranges-F.PL. red-F.PL. Sicilian-SG.

b. L'      arangə      rosšə      sicilijanə

the-F.PL. oranges-F.PL. red-F.SG. Sicilian-SG.

Finally, we analyze the only clause where the NP is a masculine plural noun:

(89) a. so      lettə bbillə<sup>75</sup> libbrə

am-1SG. read nice-PL. books-M.PL.

b. so      lettə libbrə      bbillə

am-1SG. read books-M.PL. nice-PL.

'I read some good books'

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<sup>74</sup> The metaphonic form is here provided.

<sup>75</sup> Another possibility is to produce the diphthong [je] instead of [i] to signal the plural.

Irrespective of pre- or postnominal placement of the adjective, there is an overarching application of metaphony (only 4/39 chose not to inflect the adjective). This is evidence of the productivity of metaphony with masculine nouns.

To conclude, the presence of the phenomenon in feminine adjectives is a sign of the productivity of metaphony in present-day Pianellese: we should have expected an application of metaphony in masculine nouns and adjectives only, since the trigger of the change in vowel quality is normally suffixal *-i*. Hence, there has been an extension by analogy from the masculine adjectival paradigm.





## Conclusion

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The purpose of this study was to investigate adjective placement in Pescarese and, in the end, to determine how adjectives are ordered inside the DP.

Our first aim was to check whether all Pescarese adjectives are postnominal. Although the preferred position for adjectival modification is the postnominal one, data collected during the administered interviews show that not all the adjectives are always postnominal and only a limited number of  $A_{\text{quality}}$  and  $A_{\text{size}}$  (i.e. *bbellà* ('nice') and *grossà* ('big') but not *štupptà* ('stupid') or *piccà* ('small')) can be placed before the NP. This small group of adjectives which can occur before the NP is characterized by the property of denoting rudimentary quality or size. Their meaning can slightly change depending on the position with respect to N.  $A_{\text{quality}}$  *bbellà* conveys a generic positive judgement on the referent if placed prenominal and a more specific meaning ('to be good-looking') when it follows the noun. As for  $A_{\text{size}}$  *grossà*, there is a difference between [+human] and [-human] referents: if  $A_{\text{size}}$  occurs in prenominal position and modifies an NP which is endowed with the [+human] feature, the adjective should be interpreted as an  $A_{\text{quality}}$ , i.e. with the meaning of 'great'. On the other hand, if the NP is characterized by a [-human] feature,  $A_{\text{size}}$  retains its literal meaning both in pre- as well as in postnominal position.

On the basis of the answers provided in the translation task and on the subsequent syntactic analysis based on Cinque (2010) we attempt to outline the adjective ordering in Pescarese:

$$A_{\text{card}} > A_{\text{ord}} > (A_{\text{quality}} > A_{\text{size}}) > \mathbf{N} > A_{\text{quality}} > (A_{\text{poss}}) > A_{\text{size}} > A_{\text{shape}} > A_{\text{color}} > (A_{\text{poss}}) > A_{\text{nationality}}$$

This serialization shows that the NP crosses over almost all the adjective classes, differently from Italian, where the NP-raising is mandatory only when  $A_{\text{shape}}$ ,  $A_{\text{color}}$  and  $A_{\text{nationality}}$  occur. The clear majority of postnominal adjectives over prenominal ones is connected to the issue of interpretive ambiguities: APs are therefore systematically ambiguous between a DmAP and an ImAP interpretation. This is already visible in Italian,

since the preferred basic position for adjectival modification is the postnominal one, but the ambiguity is definitely more straightforward in Pescararese.

A secondary issue emerged from the inquiry is that the use of diminutive suffixes to convey 'smallness' is much more effective than the use of attributive  $A_{\text{size}}$  *piccà* ('small'). The synthetic form seems to be used only with a restrictive value instead. It is not the same for the counterpart *grossà*, which appears more frequently than *piccà* and, as a consequence, the use of augmentative suffixes in place of the corresponding adjective is less common.

The choice of certain adjectives was made with the purpose of testing the productivity of metaphony in Pescararese (Pianellese). The outcomes of the inquiry showed that metaphony is still a productive means to distinguish singular from plural forms, due to the absence of 'strong' inflectional suffixes. This is especially confirmed by the presence of metaphonic vowel alternation in feminine nouns and adjectives, where metaphony applies due to the extension by analogy from masculine nouns and adjectives.

Finally, the study shows that, despite previous observations (see Telmon 1990 for instance), the emphatic pattern of demonstrative doubling is still widespread and is judged to be grammatical by the majority of the speakers involved in the inquiry. As for the interaction between demonstratives and adjectives, the scenario is not clear enough, since not all the adjective classes have been taken into account. The fact that there are both a high and a low demonstrative and DmAPs occur before demonstratives (Dem N A Dem) lead us to follow Giusti (2002) and Brugè (2002) in their hypotheses: the basic Merge position for demonstratives is a lower one, which is located right below the ones for direct modification adjectives.

In the end, it should be pointed out that some problematic issues unfortunately arose during the study. First of all, some of the proposed test items sounded as artifacts and the corresponding translations closely resembled the original Italian version, as in the case of *Quei grandi amici napoletani*. An additional study might involve recordings of spontaneous speech or semi-structured interviews, in order to gather more realistic samples of dialect production. Such a choice, however, has certainly several drawbacks, since data is less comparable than those gathered during a translation task.

Secondly, it was not possible to provide a full-fledged analysis of the interaction between adjectives and demonstratives inside the DP because not all the AP-types had been chosen. Since the objective of our research was the outline of Pescararese adjective ordering, we did not develop a complete survey on the use of demonstratives in the nominal expressions.

To conclude, our study shed light on the DP structure of Pescararese, which had not been investigated in past research. However, further investigation on a number of topics (especially demonstrative doubling) is nevertheless necessary in order to better understand the structure of the Determiner Phrase.



## Appendix A: Dialect survey

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### Prima parte: Valutare la posizione dell'aggettivo rispetto al sostantivo

1. Ijrə ha štatə lu primə jurnə də scolə pe' fratəmə
2. È la prima votə chə vajə ellə
3. Lu secondə mōsə dell'annə è ffebbrajə
4. Chištə è lə tre fija mi
5. La machəna mi sta aɲɲinzə alla casə
6. Lu cana mi è nnōrə
7. So ngundratə l'amicizija ti
8. I jītə a mmagnà a li parinda ti chell'atrə dumonəchə?
9. Quoštə è la casa mi
10. Quoštə è la machəna mi
11. Quollə è lu cciardina mi
12. Quollə è la terra mi
13. a. Giovanna tē na casa bbellə  
b. Giovanna tē na bbella casə
14. A la casə tenōmə na cucina grōssə
15. A lu pajōsə ci šta na cchijsa grōssə
16. Pccò ndi mittə lu vištītə rossə pe la feštə?
17. La nōnnə ha rlavatə la mandirə bianghə
18. Šta casə te' lə fəneštrə tunnə
19. Alla cambərə tinghə nu taulə tonnə piccirillə/piccə
20. a. Ha jītə a truà l'amicizija si napulətanə  
b. Ha jītə a truà l'amicizija si də Napulə

### Seconda parte: Individuare l'ordine degli aggettivi

1. I tre miei amici
2. Il mio bel vestito
3. Il mio primo giorno di scuola
4. Il mio secondo figlio
5. I suoi amici napoletani

6. Il mio orologio tondo
7. Il mio maglione rosso
8. Lì c'è una grande casa bianca
9. Ho tre grandi bottiglie di olio in cucina
10. Quei grandi amici napoletani
11. Quei tre ragazzi stupidi
12. Ha letto tre bei libri
13. Ho comprato delle belle lenzuola bianche
14. Ho una bella lampada tonda nella mia stanza
15. Ho visto una bella macchina rossa
16. La piccola chiesa bianca del paese
  - 16a. Il mio piccolo terreno dove pianto i pomodori
  - 16b. Il suo figlio piccolo
17. Un piatto bianco tondo
18. Una pizza tonda napoletana
19. Le arance rosse siciliane

## Appendix B: Data

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### A.1: Details for each informant – Short Version<sup>1</sup>

Informant	Gender	Date of birth	Place of birth
1	M	11/02/1955	Pianella (PE)
2	M	18/03/1950	Pianella (PE)
3	M	28/08/1942	Pianella (PE)
4	F	17/09/1935	Pianella (PE)
5	F	31/03/1949	Pianella (PE)
6	F	05/11/1949	Pianella (PE)
7	F	29/01/1950	Pianella (PE)
8	F	07/05/1964	Pianella (PE)
9	F	28/05/1959	Pianella (PE)
10	M	14/08/1971	Pescara (PE)
11	M	16/10/1945	Pianella (PE)
12	F	08/07/1957	Pianella (PE)
13	F	07/04/1944	Pianella (PE)
14	F	22/06/1969	Pianella (PE)
15	M	06/05/1953	Torrevecchia Teatina (CH)
16	M	23/09/1938	Pianella (PE)
17	M	02/09/1947	Pianella (PE)
18	F	27/11/1949	Pianella (PE)
19	F	02/03/1937	Pianella (PE)
20	F	08/04/1953	Pianella (PE)
21	F	14/08/1940	Pianella (PE)
22	F	07/07/1945	Pianella (PE)
23	F	02/10/1932	Pianella (PE)
24	F	06/06/1960	Pianella (PE)
25	F	14/01/1960	Pianella (PE)
26	M	09/02/1953	Pianella (PE)
27	F	08/12/1951	Pianella (PE)
28	M	21/12/1958	Pianella (PE)
29	M	08/02/1955	Pianella (PE)
30	M	28/01/1958	Pianella (PE)
31	F	30/06/1960	Pianella (PE)
32	M	10/01/1962	Pianella (PE)
33	F	24/07/1962	Pianella (PE)
34	F	16/06/1951	Pianella (PE)
35	M	19/03/1952	Pianella (PE)
36	M	26/01/1959	Pianella (PE)
37	F	06/05/1953	Pianella (PE)

<sup>1</sup> See Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 for the extended version.

38	F	30/03/1951	Pianella (PE)
39	M	06/10/1945	Pianella (PE)

## A.2: Answers provided in the translation task

	Italian	Translation	Informant(s)
1	I tre miei amici	<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lə tre <sup>(1)</sup> / tro <sup>(2)</sup> /mmicizija <sup>(3)</sup> /amiča <sup>(4)</sup> /cumbigna <sup>(5)</sup> mi	- <sup>(1)(3)</sup> : 3, 4, 8-13, 16-18, 24, 25, 27, 29-31, 33, 35, 37, 39 - <sup>(1)(4)</sup> : 5, 6, 15, 20, 21, 36 - <sup>(1)(5)</sup> : 2, 7, 14, 22, 23, 32, - <sup>(2)(3)</sup> : 1, 26, 28, 34
		<b>clitic resumption</b> : l'amicizija mi ni è ttre	19, 38
		<b>V &gt; Num &gt; N</b> : tjenghə tre amicizijə	38
2	Il mio bel vestito	<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; A<sub>quality</sub></b> : lu vəštita mi bbellə	1, 18, 22, 33
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lu bbellu vəštita mi	2-6, 10, 12-16, 28, 34, 36
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lu vəštita (la veštə) bbella mi	7, 8, 11, 17, 19 - 21, 23-27, 29-32, 35, 37, 39
		<b>predication</b> : lu vəštita mi è bbellə	9
		<b>relative clause</b> : lu vəštita cchə tinghə bbellə / lu vəštita bbellə cchə tinghə	17
		<b>V &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N</b> : tinghə nu bbellə vəštita	23, 28
3	Il mio primo giorno di scuola	<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; PP</b> : lu primə jurna mi də scolə	1, 3, 4, 7, 14, 20, 23, 35, 37
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; relative clause</b> : lu primə jurnə che so jitə a la scolə	2, 7, 15, 21, 28
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; PP &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lu primə jurnə də scola mi	5, 6, 8-13, 15-18, 19, 22, 24-27, 29- 34, 36, 38, 39
4	Il mio secondo figlio	<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lu secondə fijja mi	<b>all informants</b>
5	I suoi amici napoletani	<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; PP</b> : L'amicizija/l'amiča/lə cumbigna si də Napulə	1-4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 18, 21, 24-26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 39
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub></b> : L'amicizija/ l'amiča/lə cumbigna si napulətanə	4-10, 13-17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 29- 32, 34-38
		<b>predication</b> : l'aməcizjə də cussə annaəssə è də Napulə/ napulətanə	10
		<b>prosodic pause</b> : l'amicizijə/amičə də cullə, napulətanə	22, 23



6	Il mio orologio tondo	<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; A<sub>shape</sub></b> : lu rrälloggija mi tonnə	1-6, 8, 12, 14-24, 26-30, 32-34, 36-38
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>shape</sub> &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lu rrälloggə tonna mi	7,8, 10, 11, 25, 30, 35, 39
		<b>predication</b> : lu rrälloggija mi è tonnə	13
7	Il mio maglione rosso	<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; A<sub>color</sub></b> : lu majona/la maja mi roššə	1-4, 9, 13-20, 22-24, 26, 27, 29, 32-34, 35, 37, 38
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>poss</sub></b> : lu majonə/la maja rošša mi	5-8, 10-12, 21, 25, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 39
		<b>relative clause</b> : lu majonə cchə tinghə roššə	17
8	Lì c'è una grande casa bianca	<b>N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; A<sub>color</sub></b> : annaellə/ayelle/alliù/là/ellə ci šta na casa grossa bbjānghə	1, 3, 9, 13, 15, 16, 22-25, 27-28, 33, 35, 36, 38
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>size</sub></b> : Yellə/aellə/alləllə/là ci šta na casa bbiānga grossə	2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 17, 18, 21, 28
		<b>A<sub>size</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>color</sub></b> : aellə/li/alliù/là/alləllə ci šta na grossa casa bbiānghə	5, 6, 12, 14, 19, 20, 24, 26, 30-32, 34, 37, 39
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> + prosodic pause</b> : Annaellə ci šta na casa grossə, bbjānghə	10
9	Ho tre grandi bottiglie d'olio in cucina	<b>Num &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; N &gt; PP (metaphony)</b> : tjəngħə trə ggrussə <sup>(1)</sup> /ggruossə <sup>(2)</sup> bbuttijə d'ujjə (alla cucinə)	1 <sup>(1)</sup> , 8 <sup>(1)</sup> , 26 <sup>(2)</sup> 31 <sup>(2)</sup> , 37 <sup>(2)</sup>
		<b>Num &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; N &gt; PP (non-metaphonic)</b> : tinghə tre ggrossə buttijə d'ujjə alla cucinə	3, 5, 6, 12, 24, 32, 39
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; PP &gt; A<sub>size</sub> (metaphony)</b> : tinghə tre buttijə d'ujjə grussə <sup>(1)</sup> /gruossə <sup>(2)</sup> alla cucinə	2 <sup>(1)</sup> , 19 <sup>(2)</sup> , 27 <sup>(1)</sup> , 30 <sup>(2)</sup> , 35 <sup>(2)</sup>
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; PP &gt; A<sub>size</sub> (non-metaphonic)</b> : tinghə tre buttijə d'ujjə grossə alla cucinə	15, 16
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; PP (metaphony)</b> : tinghə tre buttijə grussə <sup>(1)</sup> /gruossə <sup>(2)</sup> d'ujjə alla cucinə/alla cucina d'ujjə*	9 <sup>(1)</sup> , 10 <sup>(1)*</sup> , 14 <sup>(1)</sup> , 20 <sup>(2)</sup> , 22 <sup>(2)</sup> , 23 <sup>(1)</sup> , 25 <sup>(2)</sup> , 33 <sup>(1)</sup> , 34 <sup>(2)</sup> , 37 <sup>(1)</sup> , 38 <sup>(2)</sup>
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> (metaphony + d'ujjə is not specified)</b> : tinghə tre buttijə grussə <sup>(1)</sup> /gruossə <sup>(2)</sup> alla cucinə	4 <sup>(2)</sup> , 17 <sup>(1)</sup> , 18 <sup>(1)</sup> , 29 <sup>(1)</sup>
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> (non-metaphonic + d'ujjə is not specified)</b> : tinghə tre buttijə grossə alla cucinə	19
		<b>augmentative suffix</b> : tjəngħə tre bbuttijunə d'ujjə alla cucinə	7, 11-14, 18
		<b>lexical item</b> : tjəngħə tre fiaschittə d'ujjə alla cucinə	28

10	Quei grandi amici napoletani	<b>A<sub>quality/size</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub> (metaphony):</b> chelə grussə amicizijə <sup>(1)</sup> /amičə <sup>(2)</sup> (mi) napulətanə	5-6 <sup>(2)</sup> , 12 <sup>(1)</sup> , (26) <sup>(1)</sup> , 27 <sup>(1)</sup> , 30 <sup>(1)</sup> , 34- 35 <sup>(1)</sup> , 37 <sup>(1)</sup>
		<b>A<sub>quality/size</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub>/PP (non- metaphonic):</b> chelə grossə amicizijə (mi) napulətanə/də Napulə*	16, 24, (32)*
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>quality/size</sub> &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub> (metaphony):</b> chelə amicizijə grussə napulətanə	31
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>quality/size</sub> &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub> (non- metaphonic):</b> l'aməča grossə napulətanə	36
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>quality/size</sub> &gt; PP (metaphony):</b> chelə grussə amicizijə də Napulə	39
		<b>choice of A<sub>num</sub> tre:</b> chelə tre ggrussə amicizijə napulətanə <sup>(1)</sup> /chelə tre ggrussə amicizija mi napulətanə <sup>(2)</sup> / tinghə tre amicizija ggruossə napulətanə <sup>(3)</sup> /chelə tre amicizija mi də Napulə <sup>(4)1</sup>	1 <sup>(1)</sup> , 19 <sup>(2)</sup> , 20 <sup>(3)</sup> , 29 <sup>(4)</sup>
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> bbella (metaphony):</b> chələ billə cumbignə <sup>(1)</sup> /amicizijə <sup>(2)</sup> /amičə <sup>(3)</sup> (mi) də Napulə*/napulətanə**	- (1)*: 2 -(2)*: (11) -(3)*: 3 - (1)**: (14)
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> bbonə (metaphony):</b> cirtə amicizijə bbunə a Napulə/də Napulə	28
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> štretta (metaphony and non- metaphonic):</b> chel'amicizijə stretta (nuštrə) napulətanə*/də Napulə**, l'amicə cchiù strittə napulətanə***	(8)*, 10, 30*, 33**, 38***
		<b>PP də lu corə:</b> chel'amicizija napulətanə də lu corə	22
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> fortə (comparative + metaphony):</b> chelə cumbigna mi napulətanə cchiù ffurtə	23
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> carə:</b> chel'amicizijə carə napulətanə/də Napulə	9
		<b>nominalization:</b> chelə frəgnəttənə de l'amicizijə napulətanə	7
		<b>no A<sub>quality</sub>:</b> chel'amicizijə də Napulə <sup>(1)</sup> , chel'amicizija mi napulətanə <sup>(2)</sup> , chel'amicizija mi də Napulə <sup>(3)</sup> , chel'amicizija napulətanə <sup>(4)</sup>	4 <sup>(1)</sup> , 17 <sup>(2)</sup> , 18 <sup>(3)</sup> , 21 <sup>(4)</sup> , 26 <sup>(4)</sup> ,
<b>predicative:</b> chəl'amicizijə napulətanə è na forzə / chelə napulətanə è proprijə n'amicizija grrussə	13		

<sup>1</sup> These translations are all grouped together despite the differences in adjective placement because they are all results of a priming effect caused by the previous sentence in the task, i.e. *Ho tre grandi bottiglie d'olio in cucina* ('I have three big bottles of oil in the kitchen').

		not translated	15
11	Quei tre ragazzi stupidi	<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> (metaphony):</b> chelə tre <sup>(1)</sup> /tra <sup>(2)</sup> / tro <sup>(3)</sup> bardiššə/bbardaššunə*/sgattunə**/ua gliunə***/giunə**** štupptə	-(1): 1,2,7, 9,10, 15, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 32, 34, 35 -(1)*: 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 18, 22, 23, 30, 36, 39 -(1)**: 26 -(1)***: 27 -(1)****: 33 -(2): 16 -(3)*: 31
		<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> (non-metaphonic):</b> chelə tro bbardaššə štupptə	5
		<b>nouns or nominalizations:</b> chelə trə štupətnə <sup>(1)</sup> , štraccapiazzə/voccapertə <sup>(2)</sup> , pijəllunə <sup>(3)</sup> , štupətə <sup>(4)</sup>	8 <sup>(1)</sup> , 14 <sup>(1)</sup> , 29 <sup>(1)(3)</sup> , 10 <sup>(2)</sup> , 19 <sup>(4)</sup>
12	Ha letto tre bei libri	<b>Num &gt; N &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> (metaphony):</b> ha lettə tre/tra <sup>(1)</sup> libbrə bbillə/bjəllə*/bbunə**	1*, 4*, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 <sup>(1)</sup> , 19*, 20*, 24, 27, 28**, 33, 36, 38
		<b>Num &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N (metaphony):</b> Ha lettə/ləggiutə <sup>(1)</sup> tre billə/bbjəllə* libbrə	2, 3, 9, 11, 13*, 17, 18 <sup>(1)</sup> , 19*, 21, 22*, 23*, 25, 26, 30-32, 35*, 37 <sup>(1)*</sup> , 39
		<b>Num &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N (non-metaphonic):</b> Ha lettə/ləggiutə <sup>(1)</sup> tre/tro* bbəllə libbrə	5 <sup>(1)*</sup> , 6, 29, 34
13	Ho comprato delle belle lenzuola bianche	<b>(metaphonic)A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; (non-metaphonic)A<sub>color</sub>:</b> So cumbratə/ccattatə <sup>(1)</sup> de lə/cirtə^ bbjəllə/bbillə* lənzolə bbjəngħə	5, 6, 11^, 16*, 24*, 32*, 37^
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> (both metaphonic):</b> So/(Aj) cumbratə/ccattatə <sup>(1)</sup> de lə/cirtə^ bbjəllə/bbillə* lənzolə bbjəngħə	7^, 9*, (12)*^, 20, 25*, 30, 34^
		<b>(non-metaphonic)A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; (metaphonic)A<sub>color</sub>:</b> So cumbratə de lə bbəllə lənzolə bbjəngħə	14, 18, 22, 26, 27, 31, 33, 38
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> (both metaphonic):</b> So cumbratə/ccattatə <sup>(1)</sup> de lə/cirtə^ lənzolə bbjəngħə bbjəllə/bbillə*	2*, 4 <sup>(1)</sup> , 8*, 19, 35
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; A<sub>color</sub> (both metaphonic):</b> So/(Aj) cumbratə/ccattatə <sup>(1)</sup> de lə/cirtə^ lənzolə bbjəllə/bbillə* bbjəngħə	13
		<b>N &gt; (metaphonic)A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; (non-metaphonic)A<sub>color</sub>:</b>	(1)*

		So/(Aj) cumbratə/ccattatə <sup>(1)</sup> de læ/cirtə^ lænzolə bbjəllə/bbillə* bbjanghə	
		<b>A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> (non-metaphonic):</b> So cumbratə de læ bbellə lænzolə bbjanghə	17, 21, 36
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>quality</sub> (non-metaphonic):</b> So cumbratə de læ lænzolə bianghə bbellə	15
		<b>another structure:</b> so vištə tre bbellə lænzulə bjənghə e l'aj cumbritə	28
		<b>no A<sub>quality</sub>:</b> so cumbratə/ccattatə de læ lænzolə bbianghə	3
		<b>choice of A<sub>num</sub> tre:</b> so ccattatə tre billə lænzolə bjinghə <sup>(1)</sup> , so cumbratə tre bbjəllə lænzolə bjənghə <sup>(2)</sup> , so vištə tre bbellə lænzolə bjənghə <sup>(3)</sup> , so cumbratə tre bbellə lænzolə bjənghə <sup>(4)2</sup>	10 <sup>(1)</sup> , 23 <sup>(2)</sup> , 29 <sup>(3)</sup> , 39 <sup>(4)</sup>
14	Ho una bella lampada tonda nella mia stanza	<b>A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>shape</sub>:</b> tinghə na bbella lambada/lambadinə <sup>(1)</sup> nu bellu lumə <sup>(2)</sup> /cannəlijrə <sup>(3)</sup> /lambadarijə <sup>(4)</sup> /lambjionə <sup>(5)</sup> tonnə (dondrə) alla štanza mi	1 <sup>(2)</sup> , 2 <sup>(1)</sup> , 4 <sup>(5)</sup> , 5,6, 7-9 <sup>(4)</sup> , 10 <sup>(2)</sup> , 11 <sup>(1)</sup> , 12-13, 14 <sup>(4)</sup> , 15-22, 24 <sup>-(1)(4)</sup> , 25-27, 28 <sup>(3)</sup> , 29-39
		<b>relative clause:</b> tjənghə nu bbellə lambadarijə alla stanza chi è ttonnə	4
		<b>prosodic pause:</b> tinghə na lambəda bbellə alla štanza mi, tōnnə	23
15	Ho visto una bella macchina rossa	<b>A<sub>quality</sub> &gt; N &gt; A<sub>color</sub>:</b> so/(aj) vištə na bbella machəna roššə	<b>all informants</b> (aj: 6, 12, 28, 35)
16	La piccola chiesa bianca del paese	<b>N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; A<sub>color</sub>:</b> la chijsə piccə/piccirillə* bbjanghə də lu paosə/allu pajosə ci šta na cchijsa piccə bbjanghə <sup>(1)</sup> / la chijsa piccirillə bbianghə che cə šta a lu paesə <sup>(2)</sup> / chela cchijsə piccirilla bbjanghə che šta allu paosa mi <sup>(3)</sup>	1, 6, 10 <sup>(3)</sup> , 14 <sup>(1)</sup> , 15-16 <sup>(2)</sup> , 18-19*, 22, 24-26, 27*, 31, 37-38
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>size</sub>:</b> la cchijsa bbjanga piccirillə de lu paosə	8
		<b>diminutives:</b> la chijsotta/chijsarellə* bbianghə də lu pajosə	2, 3*, 7*, 11-13, 14-19*, 20, 22-28*, 29-30, 32*, 33-35, 37, 38*, 39
		<b>coordination:</b> la chijsə piccirijellə/piccə* e bbijanghə de lu pajosə	4, 37*
		<b>predicative:</b> la chijsa piccə de lu paosə è bbjanghə <sup>(1)</sup> / la chijsə è piccə e bjənghə <sup>(2)</sup> / la cchijsə də štu pajosə è piccə e bbjanghə <sup>(3)</sup>	5 <sup>(1)</sup> , 30 <sup>(2)</sup> , 35 <sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In parallel fashion to the DP in 10, priming effects occur due to the presence of A<sub>num</sub> tre ('three') in the previous sentence *Ha letto tre bei libri* ('S/he read three good books').

		<b>prosodic pause:</b> la cchijsa piccirillə de lu pacsə, quellə bjanghə	9
17	Il mio piccolo terreno dove pianto i pomodori	<b>N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; A<sub>poss</sub>:</b> la terra/lu pezzə də terrə <sup>(1)</sup> / l'ortə <sup>(2)</sup> /lu terrenə <sup>(3)</sup> pičča/piccirilla* mi addu (a) pjandə lə pəmmadorə	4, 9 <sup>(1)*</sup> , 10 <sup>(2)*</sup> , 13, 37 <sup>(3)</sup>
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; A<sub>size</sub>:</b> la terra/lu terrenə <sup>(1)</sup> mi piccə ddo piandə lə pəmmadorə	5, 6, 19 <sup>(1)</sup> , 24
		<b>diminutives:</b> lu pəzzottə/pəzzəttə <sup>(1)</sup> də terra/urticollə <sup>(2)</sup> /pəzzəttollə <sup>(3)</sup> mi ddu a pjandə li pəmmadorə / (Tinghə nu pəzzottə də terrə ddo (a) pjandə lə pəmmadorə)	1, 2 <sup>(2)</sup> , 7 <sup>(2)</sup> , 8 <sup>(3)</sup> , 11 <sup>(2)</sup> , 12 <sup>(1)</sup> , (14), 16-18 <sup>(1)</sup> , 20-23, 25, 26-27 <sup>(2)</sup> , (28), 29-31, 32 <sup>(1)</sup> , (34), 38, 39 <sup>(2)</sup>
		<b>diminutive + A<sub>size</sub>:</b> a lu pəzzettə piccərrillə cə piandə lə pəmmadorə	15
		<b>lexical item denoting 'smallness':</b> lu pezzə də terra mi ddu (a) piandə lə pəmmadorə <sup>(1)</sup> / chəlu cconə də terrə dova pjandə lə pəmmadorə <sup>(2)</sup> / l'orta mi du (a) pjandə lə pəmmadorə <sup>(3)</sup>	2 <sup>(1)</sup> , 15 <sup>(1)</sup> , 33 <sup>(2)</sup> , 35 <sup>(1)</sup> , 37 <sup>(3)</sup>
18	Il suo figlio piccolo	<b>N &gt; A<sub>poss</sub> &gt; A<sub>size</sub>:</b> lu fijja si piccə/piccirillə <sup>(1)</sup>	1, 3 <sup>(1)</sup> , 4, 5-6 <sup>(1)</sup> , 9 <sup>(1)</sup> , 12-13 <sup>(1)</sup> , 17 <sup>(1)</sup> , 18, 19-20 <sup>(1)</sup> , 21, 22 <sup>(1)</sup> , 24 <sup>(1)</sup> , 26 <sup>(1)</sup> , 30-31, 32 <sup>(1)</sup> , 36-39
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; A<sub>poss</sub>:</b> lu fijjə pičča/piccirilla <sup>(1)</sup> si	2, 7, 8, 11 <sup>(1)</sup> , 16 <sup>(1)</sup> , 25, 29, 33-35
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>size</sub> &gt; PP:</b> lu fijjə pičča/piccirillə <sup>(1)</sup> də cussə/cullə	10 <sup>(1)</sup> , 24 <sup>(1)</sup> , 30
		<b>partitive:</b> lu piccirjəllə de li fija si	8
		<b>predicative:</b> cullə è lu fijjə piccirillə/chəlu bardaššə è lu fijjə	28
19	Un piatto bianco tondo	<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>shape</sub>:</b> nu piattə bbianghə tonnə	<b>all informants (except 4)</b>
		<b>coordination:</b> nu piattə bbianghə e tonnə	4
20	Una pizza napoletana tonda	<b>N &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub> &gt; A<sub>shape</sub>:</b> na pizza napulətanə tonnə	1, 4-9, 11-25, 27, 29-39
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>shape</sub> &gt; PP:</b> na pizza tonnə də Napulə	3
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>shape</sub> &gt; adverbial(manner):</b> na pizzə tonnə alla napulətanə	10
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>shape</sub>:</b> na pizza tonnə	2, 26, 28
21	Le arance rosse siciliane	<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub> (non-metaphonic):</b> l'arangə/lə purtəyallə <sup>(1)</sup> roššə siciljanə	5-6 <sup>(1)</sup> , 8-9 <sup>(1)</sup> , 10, 11 <sup>(1)</sup> , 20, 31, 32, 34 <sup>(1)</sup> , 35, 37, 38 <sup>(1)</sup>
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; A<sub>nationality</sub> (metaphony):</b> l'arangə/lə purtəyallə <sup>(1)</sup> ruššə siciljanə	15, 16 <sup>(1)</sup> , 17-18, 27 <sup>(1)</sup> , 39
		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; PP (non-metaphonic):</b> l'arangə/lə purtəyallə <sup>(1)</sup> roššə de la Sicilijə	1 <sup>(1)</sup> , 3 <sup>(1)</sup> , 8 <sup>(1)</sup> , 12 <sup>(1)</sup> , 15, 21, 24, 25, 29, 31, 35, 36

		<b>N &gt; A<sub>color</sub> &gt; PP (metaphony):</b> l'arangə/lə purtəɣallə <sup>(1)</sup> ruššə de la Sicilijə	2 <sup>(1)</sup> , 4 <sup>(1)</sup> , 12, 13, 15, 16 <sup>(1)</sup> , 19 <sup>(1)</sup> , 26, 28 <sup>(1)</sup> , 30, 33
		<b>no A<sub>color</sub>:</b> l'arangə siciljanə	23
		<b>lexical item:</b> lə/lu tarocchə	10, 22

### A.3: Pre- and postnominal adjectives<sup>3</sup>

Test item	Translations			
	Prenominal		Postnominal	
I tre miei amici	A <sub>num</sub>	38	A <sub>poss</sub>	39
Il mio bel vestito	A <sub>quality</sub>	16	A <sub>quality</sub>	25
			A <sub>poss</sub>	39
Il mio primo giorno di scuola	A <sub>num</sub>	39	A <sub>poss</sub>	36
Il mio secondo figlio	A <sub>num</sub>	39	A <sub>poss</sub>	39
I suoi amici napoletani			A <sub>nationality</sub>	29
			A <sub>poss</sub>	37
Il mio orologio tondo			A <sub>poss</sub>	39
			A <sub>shape</sub>	39
Il mio maglione rosso			A <sub>poss</sub>	40
			A <sub>color</sub>	40
Lì c'è una grande casa bianca	A <sub>size</sub>	13	A <sub>size</sub>	26
			A <sub>color</sub>	39
Ho tre grandi bottiglie d'olio in cucina	A <sub>num</sub>	39	A <sub>size</sub>	23
	A <sub>size</sub>	12		
Quei grandi amici napoletani	A <sub>size/quality</sub>	19	A <sub>size/quality</sub>	10
			A <sub>nationality</sub>	29
			A <sub>poss</sub>	11
Quei tre ragazzi stupidi	A <sub>num</sub>	39	A <sub>quality</sub>	34
Ha letto tre bei libri	A <sub>num</sub>	38	A <sub>quality</sub>	17
	A <sub>quality</sub>	24		
Ho comprato delle belle lenzuola bianche	A <sub>quality</sub>	30	A <sub>quality</sub>	7
	A <sub>num</sub>	5	A <sub>color</sub>	39
Ho una bella lampada tonda nella mia stanza	A <sub>quality</sub>	38	A <sub>color</sub>	39
			A <sub>quality</sub>	1
			A <sub>shape</sub>	38
			A <sub>poss</sub>	31
Ho visto una bella macchina rossa	A <sub>quality</sub>	39	A <sub>color</sub>	39
La piccola chiesa bianca del paese			A <sub>size</sub>	23
			A <sub>color</sub>	39
Il mio piccolo terreno dove pianto i pomodori			A <sub>poss</sub>	20
			A <sub>size</sub>	10
Il suo figlio piccolo			A <sub>poss</sub>	37
			A <sub>size</sub>	42
Un piatto bianco tondo			A <sub>color</sub>	39
			A <sub>shape</sub>	39

<sup>3</sup> The table considers all productions elicited by the speakers. This is why the overall number of adjectives per each DP is in some cases higher than the total number of informants (39).

Una pizza tonda napoletana			A <sub>shape</sub>	39
			A <sub>nationality</sub>	34
Le arance rosse siciliane			A <sub>color</sub>	37
			A <sub>nationality</sub>	20
	<b>TOTAL</b>	428 (26,8%)	<b>TOTAL</b>	1164 (73,2%)

**A.4.1: Acceptance of constructions involving demonstrative doubling**

Informant	Dem N Dem	Dem N A Dem	Dem N Dem A	Dem N Dem + predicate
1	✓			
2	✓			
3	✗			
4	✓			
5	✗			
6	✓			
7	✓			
8	✓			
9	✓			
10	✓			
11	✓			
12	✓			
13	✓			
14	✓			
15	✓			
16	✓			
17	✓	✗	✗	✗
18	✓	✗	✗	✗
19	✓	✓	✗	✗
20	✓	✓	✗	✗
21	✓	✗	✗	✓
22	✓	✓	✗	✗
23	✓	✗	✗	✗
24	✓	✗	✗	✓
25	✓	✗	✗	✓
26	✓	✓	✗	✗

27	✓	×	×	✓
28	✓	✓	×	×
29	✓	✓	×	×
30	✓	×	×	×
31	✓	×	×	✓
32	✓	×	×	×
33	✓	×	×	×
34	✓	×	×	✓
35	✓	×	×	×
36	✓	×	×	✓
37	✓	×	×	✓
38	✓	✓	×	✓
39	✓	✓	×	✓

Note: Informants 1-16 were tested on Dem N Dem only.



#### A.4.2 Productions involving demonstrative doubling and adjectives

Informant	M Singular	M Plural	F Singular	F Plural
17	clu balconə grossə, quellə aellə štu balconə grossə, queštə aecchə	cli balcunə grussə, quillə aellə šti balcunə grussə, quištə aecchə	queštə è na casa grossə/bjanghə; šta casa bbjānghə, queštə aecchə; cla casa bbjānghə, quellə aellə	šte casə bbjānghə, queštə aecchə; cle casə bbjānghə, quellə aellə
18	Štu balconə grossə quo Clu balconə grossə quollə	Šti balcunə grussə quištə Cli balcunə grussə quillə	Šta casa bbjānga quo Cla casa bbjānga quollə	Štə casə bbjānghə queštə Clə casə bbjānghə quellə
19	Štu balconə grossə quo Chəlu balconə grossə quollə	Šti balcunə grussə quištə Chəli balcunə grussə quillə	Šta casa bbjānga quo Chəla casa bbjānga quollə / Chəla casa chell'atrə, quollə bbjānghə	Štə casə bbjānghə queštə Chələ casə bbjānghə quellə
20	Štu balconə grossa quo Chəlu balconə grossa quollə	Šti balcunə gruossa quištə Chəli balcunə gruossa quillə	Šta casa bbjānga quo Chəla casa bbjānga quollə	Štə casə bbjānghə queštə Chələ casə bbjānghə quellə
21	Štu balcona quoštə è ggrossə Chəlu balcona quollə è ggrossə	Šti balcuna quištə è ggrossə Chəli balcuna quillə è ggrossə	Šta casa quoštə è bbjānghə Chəla casa quollə è bbjānghə	Štə casə queštə è bbjānghə Chələ casə quellə è bbjānghə
22	Štu balconə grossa quo Chəlu balconə grossa quollə	Šti balcunə gruossa quištə Chəli balcunə gruossa quillə	Šta casa bbjānga quo Chəla casa bbjānga quollə	Štə casə bbjānghə queštə Chələ casə bbjānghə quellə
23				
24	Štu balcona quo è ggrossə Chəlu balcona quollə è ggrossə	Šti balcuna quištə so ggrossə Chəli balcuna quillə so ggrossə	Šta casa quo è bbjānghə Chəla casa quollə è bbjānghə	Štə casə queštə so bbjānghə Chələ casə quellə so bbjānghə
25	Štu balconə è ggrossə Chəlu balconə è ggrossə	Šti balcunə so ggrussə Chəli balcunə so ggrussə	Šta casə è bbjānghə Chəla casə è bbjānghə	Štə casə so bbjānghə Chələ casə so bbjānghə
26	Štu balconə grossə quo Chəlu balconə grossə quollə	Šti balcunə gruossə quištə Chəli balcunə gruossə quillə	Šta casa bbjānga quo Chəla casa bbjānga quo	Štə casə bbjānghə queštə Chələ casə bbjānghə quellə

27	Štu balconə è ggrossə Chəlu balconə è ggrossə	Šti balconə è ggrussə Chəli balconə è ggrussə	Šta casə è bbjjanghə Chəla casə è bbjjanghə	Šte casə è bbjjanghə Chəla casə è bbjjanghə
28	Štu balconə grossə quo Clu balconə grossə quollə	Šti balconə grossə quištə Cli balconə grossə quillə	Šta casa bbjanga quo Cla casa bbjanga quollə	Štə casə bbjjanghə queštə Clə casə bbjjanghə quellə
29	Štu balconə grossə quo Clu balconə grossə quollə	Šti balconə grossə quištə Cli balconə grossə quillə	Šta casa bbjanga quo Cla casa bbjanga quollə	Štə casə bbjjanghə queštə Clə casə bbjjanghə quellə
30	Štu balcona quo è ggrossə Chəlu balcona quollə è ggrossə	Šti balcuna quištə è ggruossə Chəli balcuna quillə è ggruossə	Šta casa quo è bbjjanghə Chəla casa quollə è bbjjanghə	Šte casə queštə è bbjjanghə Chəla casə quellə è bbjjanghə
31	Štu balcona quo è ggrossə Chəlu balcona quollə è ggrossə	Šti balcuna quištə è ggruossə Chəli balcuna quillə è ggruossə	Šta casa quo è bbjjanghə Chəla casa quollə è bbjjanghə	Šte casə queštə è bbjjanghə Chəla casə quellə è bbjjanghə
32				
33				
34	Štu balcona quo è ggrossə Chəlu balcona quollə è ggrossə	Šti balcuna quištə è ggruossə Chəli balcuna quillə è ggruossə	Šta casa quo è bbjjanghə Chəla casa quollə è bbjjanghə	Šti balcuna quištə è ggruossə Chəli balcuna quillə è ggruossə
35	Štu balconə è ggrossə Chəlu balconə è ggrossə	Šti balconə è ggruossə Chəli balconə è ggruossə	Šta casə è bbjjanghə Chəla casə è bbjjanghə	Šte casə è bbjjanghə Chəla casə è bbjjanghə
36	Štu balconə è ggrossə / štu balconə grossə Clu balconə è ggrossə / clu balconə grossə	Šti balconə è ggrussə / šti balconə grussə Cli balconə è ggrussə / cli balconə grussə	Šta casə è bbjjanghə / šta casə bbjjanghə Cla casə è bbjjanghə / cla casə è bbjjanghə	Šte casə so bbjjanghə / šte casə bbjjanghə Cle casə so bbjjanghə / cle casə bbjjanghə
37	Štu balconə è ggrossə / štu balconə grossə Clu balconə è ggrossə / clu balconə grossə	Šti balconə è ggrussə / šti balconə grussə Cli balconə è ggrussə / cli balconə grussə	Šta casə è bbjjanghə / quošta/šta casə bbjjanghə Cla casə è bbjjanghə / quolla/cla casə bbjjanghə	Šte casə so bbjjanghə / šte casə bbjjanghə Cle casə so bbjjanghə / cle casə bbjjanghə

38	Štu balconə grossə quo / štu balconə quo è ggrossə Chəlu balconə grossə quollə / chəlu balcona quollə è grossə	Šti balcunə grussə quištə / šti balcunə quištə è ggrussə Chəli balcunə grussə quillə / chəli balcunə quillə è ggrussə	Šta casa bbjianga quo / šta casa quo è bbjianghə Chəla casa bbjianga quollə / chəla casa quollə è bbjianghə	Šte casə bbjianghə queštə / šta casə queštə è bbjianghə Chələ casə bbjianghə quellə / chələ casə quellə è bbjianghə
39	Štu balconə grossə quo Clu balconə grossə quollə	Šti balcunə grussə quištə Cli balcunə grussə quillə	Šta casa bbjanga quo / Šta casa quo è bbjianghə Cla casa bbjianga quollə / Cla casa quollə è bbjianghə	Štə casə bbjianghə queštə Clə casə bbjianghə quellə

Note: Informants 23, 32, 33 did not accept any construction which includes both a doubled demonstrative and an adjective.



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## Acknowledgements

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Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare in primo luogo la professoressa Cecilia Poletto per la sua disponibilità e per il suo aiuto nel corso della stesura di questa tesi, oltre che per avermi fatto avvicinare alla sintassi generativa e alla dialettologia. I miei ringraziamenti vanno senz'altro anche al professor Jacopo Garzonio e a tutti i docenti che ho avuto modo di incontrare durante il mio percorso a Padova, che sono stati in grado di trasmettermi tutta la passione per il loro lavoro, nonché di fornirmi gli strumenti necessari per affrontare questo lavoro finale.

La ricerca non sarebbe stata possibile senza gli informatori, ai quali sarò sempre infinitamente grata. Ringrazio gli iscritti all'Università della Terza Età della sede di Pianella e tutti i pianellesi incontrati in paese, che molto gentilmente mi hanno concesso un po' del loro tempo.

Ringrazio inoltre il mio papà Massimo, che non soltanto mi ha accompagnata in paese innumerevoli volte, ma ha anche assistito a diverse interviste (imparando a memoria il contenuto del questionario) e gli zii Mirella e Alfonso, i quali mi hanno aiutato nella ricerca degli informatori.

Oltre a ringraziare i miei genitori, che hanno sempre creduto in me e mi hanno sempre sostenuto, anche se lontani, desidero rivolgere un pensiero agli amici che ho conosciuto nel corso degli ultimi due anni a Padova e alle mie amiche di Pescara, ora un po' sparse per l'Italia. Tra queste, vorrei ringraziare in modo particolare Daniela, che mi è sempre stata accanto, anche nei momenti più difficili, ed è stata inoltre un'ottima consulente per la tesi, sempre pronta a rispondere ai miei quesiti dialettali.

L'ultimo ringraziamento, ma non meno importante, va a Nicola per il suo affetto e la sua presenza costante in questi mesi. Non sono brava a trovare le parole giuste in queste circostanze, quindi mi limito a dire Grazie.