

THE SYNTAX OF THE DIALECT OF BARI



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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation describes and analyses a selection of morphosyntactic phenomena from the nominal, verbal and clausal domains of Barese, an upper southern Italian dialect of Puglia.

Chapter 2 analyses pragmatically unmarked and marked sentential word orders in Barese. On a par with most Romance varieties, Barese is a null-subject language whose unmarked transitive word order is SVO. In line with discourse-configurational languages, Barese can displace syntactic constituents in accordance with their pragmatico-semantic relevance to the discourse. In particular, Barese allows a ‘permissive’ encoding of both informational and contrastive foci in both clausal peripheries, unlike, for example, Italian where the left-periphery is dedicated to contrastive focus, and the right-periphery to informational focus. One notable pragmatico-semantic peculiarity of Barese regards intransitives encoding a loco-temporal (c)overt argument, where VS and, surprisingly from a comparative Romance perspective, SV orders may both mark sentence-focus. While VS encodes a null loco-temporal argument, SV serves to encode broad focus whenever S is ‘accessible’ in the mind of both discourse participants forming part of their ‘common ground’.

Chapter 3 examines the structure of Barese nominal expressions, focusing on the interaction between adjectives, possessives and demonstratives. A notable tendency of Barese consists in the near-systematic placing of nominals to the left of such modifiers as adjectives and (tonic and clitic) possessives, with the exception of a small closed class of rudimentary evaluative adjectives which may occur in prenominal position. These orders derived via the phrasal movement of the nominal across its possessive and adjectival modifiers are contrasted with the head movement of a morphologically restricted class of kinship nominals which are modified by a defective set of enclitic possessives. The final section of the chapter analyses the behaviour of Barese demonstratives, which only occur in prenominal position. In particular, a peculiar Barese structure which combines the definite article with the distal demonstrative pronoun is described and analysed, highlighting how it specifically marks discourse-old referents, which are otherwise marked by the bare demonstrative elsewhere in Romance. These facts demonstrate the tendency of Barese to mark the pragmatically-oriented concepts of speaker’s perspective and discourse-salient information in the nominal domain as well.

Chapter 4 describes the mechanisms of auxiliary selection and past participle agreement operative in Barese. In relation to the former, Barese displays three different factors which may

determine auxiliary selection replacing the original transitive-unaccusative split, namely person, tense and mood. These three dimensions of variation are described and analysed in terms of parameter hierarchies which formalise the complexity of the semantic features involved in the selection of the auxiliaries HAVE and BE. It is argued that this complexity reflects different diachronic stages of auxiliary selection across different generations of speakers. The final section of the chapter investigates Barese active past participle agreement which, unlike auxiliary selection, displays a conservative distribution licensed by direct objects and Undergoer subjects. The peculiarity of Barese, however, is that agreement is morpholexically limited to a small number of ‘strong’ participles which mark agreement exclusively through metaphonetic alternation. Despite the limited surface evidence, it is claimed that the syntactic mechanism of past participle agreement with (underlying) internal arguments has been preserved and is still fully operative in Barese, although never marked on the invariable ‘weak’ past participles.

The final chapter is concerned with Barese progressive and andative periphrases which variously show inflected forms of the lexical verb restricted to the 2SG and 3SG of the present in place of the infinitive. These structures have been argued for Salentino and Sicilian dialects to have developed from instances of coordination with Latin AC ‘and’, which were then reinterpreted as instances of (pseudo-)coordination, namely subordination. In contrast, a different origin for these inflected forms of the lexical verb is proposed for Barese, where AC-coordination is not historically attested. It is argued that the loss of the infinitival ending -RE produced morphophonological identity, viz. syncretism, between the 3SG(/2SG) present and the infinitive, enabling the latter to be reinterpreted as a finite form within the periphrasis. This minimal extension of inflected forms in the Barese periphrases is shown to spread further across the neighbouring dialects to include more grammatical persons (3SG/2SG>1SG>3PL>all), as well as past and *irrealis* paradigms, even generalising to all periphrastic contexts in some varieties (cf. Salentino and some Sicilian dialects).

DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted or is being currently submitted for a degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted or is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person (/speaker)
2	second person (/addressee)
3	third person (/non-discourse participant)
A	agent
ACC	accusative
A(djP)	adjective (phrase)
Agr	agreement
Aux	auxiliary
B	auxiliary BE
C	consonant
CFoc	contrastive focus
Cl/CL	clitic
coin	coincidence (feature)
C(P)	complementiser (phrase)
Comp	complement
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
Dem(P)	demonstrative (phrase)
Dem _{CL}	demonstrative clitic
DIM	diminutive
Dm(AP)	direct adjectival modification
(D)O	(direct) object
D(P)	determiner (phrase)
EPP	extended projection principle
ESID	extreme southern Italian dialect
F	feminine
FinP	finiteness phrase
Foc	focus
ForceP	illocutionary force phrase
FUT	future
IFoc	informational focus
H	auxiliary HAVE
Im(AP)	indirect adjectival modification
IMP	imperative

INF	infinitive
I(nflP)	inflectional (phrase)
IPFV	imperfective
LCA	linear correspondence axiom
LOC	locative
LF	logical form ('lexico-semantic interface')
M	masculine
Neg	negation
NOM	nominative
N(P)	noun (phrase)
NumP	number phrase
PASS	passive
PF	phonetic/phonological form ('articulatory-perceptual interface')
PL	plural
Poss(P)	possessive (phrase)
P(P)	preposition (phrase)
Poss _{CL}	clitic possessive
Poss _W	weak possessive
PST	past
PtP	participle
P&P	principles and parameters framework
Q	quantifier
RF	<i>raddoppiamento fonosintattico</i> (phonosyntactic doubling)
S	subject
S _A	single argument of unergatives
S _O	single argument of unaccusatives
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
Spec	specifier
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
T(P)	tense (phrase)
Top(P)	topic (phrase)
UG	universal grammar
USID	upper southern Italian dialect
V ₁	first periphrastic conjunct

V_2	second periphrastic conjunct
VOC	vocative
V(P)	verb (phrase)
$v(P)$	little v (phrase)
θ	semantic/thematic role
ϕ	agreement features
\sim	reduplication
\approx	isomorphic

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Aims of the dissertation

This dissertation describes and analyses a selection of salient aspects of the clausal, nominal and verbal domains in the Pugliese dialect of Bari, Italy. Both descriptive and analytic aspects are given equal importance in this work, thereby making them accessible to both descriptive and theoretical linguists.

The descriptive side of the work sheds light on the grammatical forms and structures of Barese, which have never been the object of in-depth and systematic studies, especially in morphosyntactic terms. In particular, this dissertation offers a novel contribution not only to Italo-Romance dialectology, but also to comparative Romance linguistics in general. To this end, we provide a detailed introduction of the broader (Italo-)Romance scenario before introducing and explaining the forms and structures of Barese. Such forms and structures, variously characterised by speakers as displaying differing degrees of acceptability, are systematically contrasted with the ungrammatical, unavailable options of Barese to highlight the limitations of Barese morphosyntactic structures. Moreover, a large number of Barese textual records from the past two centuries are taken into consideration to trace the potential diachronic changes of the forms or structures under investigation.

The Barese data considered in this dissertation come from recordings of structured interviews and spontaneous conversations with native speakers of different age groups, thereby allowing the observation of a certain degree of diastatic variation. Printed and audio-visual sources were also consulted. The audio-visual material mainly consists of a few (freely accessible) videos, films, plays, TV series and programmes, which reflect the more recent stages of the language. This contrasts, in certain cases, with the more conservative linguistic scenario offered by older printed sources, which allow us to observe diachronic comparisons. In particular, a small number of available descriptive grammars and works on Barese¹ were consulted to highlight potential diachronic differences which could be tested for acceptability with modern speakers. Among the recent and limited Barese written output, only 20th-century prose texts have been considered (with some exceptions) since these tend to offer a more genuine reproduction of the spoken language, rather than imitating the poetic/literary register (and structures) of written varieties.

¹ See, among others, Abbatescianni (1896), Nitti de Vito (1896,1910), Zonno (1982), Lopez (1952), Giovine (2005[1964]), Scordia (1967,1972), Lacalendola (1969), Sada,Scordia&Valente (1971), Valente (1975), Stehl (1980). Melillo (1981), Barracano (2000[1981]), Romito (1985), Gentile&Gentile (2007).

The analytic part of this work aims to provide a first analysis of Barese morphosyntactic structures and relative pragmatico-semantic functions within the framework of Chomsky's generative grammar. Such a theoretical model for syntactic structures has been applied elsewhere (e.g. Manzini&Savoia 2005,2007; Torcolacci 2015; Ledgeway 2016b) to account for aspects of some neighbouring Apulo-Barese dialects, but never to Barese itself and never in a comprehensive fashion considering the clausal, nominal and verbal domains. Hence, this work represents a novel contribution to the field of generative linguistics focusing on (Italo-)Romance dialectology and micro-variation, inasmuch as it sheds light on the hitherto-unexplored morphosyntax of Barese. However, since the aim of this work is also descriptive, we adopt a 'lighter' version of the recent 'Minimalist Program' (Chomsky 1995 *et seq.*), modified by more 'cartographic' views and analyses (Rizzi 1997,2004; Cinque 1999; Belletti 2004, *i.a.*). The latter research programme is based on the 'Principles & Parameters' framework (P&P), and aims at a detailed mapping of the universal array of functional features and projections. As Shlonsky (2010:417) puts it: 'whereas Minimalism focuses on the driving force of uninterpretable features, Cartography is concerned with the inventory of interpretable ones'. This implies that they are not mutually exclusive, although many cartographic tenets have become untenable in minimalist terms. However, the P&P approach has been highly successful in understanding and accounting for micro-variation in terms of (minimally) different parametric settings. In this respect, we also exploit new models based on modified versions of the P&P approach, namely that of feature specifications on functional heads, and how they can be modelled into parametric hierarchies on the basis of their complexity (Roberts 2012; Biberauer&Roberts 2012a; *et seq.*). Our main purpose is to exploit existing, cross-linguistically valid analyses of syntactic structures to explain the syntactic behaviour of Barese in a comparative – and, indirectly, historical – fashion. By adopting the modern theoretical models of generative syntax, we are able to shed light on the descriptive structures of Barese and underlying generalisations, which would otherwise remain obscure. At the same time, the Barese data are exploited to further broaden and test specific domains and assumptions in generative syntax.

1.1. The dialect of Bari: historical and socio-linguistic considerations

Barese belongs to the larger family of Apulo-Barese dialects of central Puglia. This linguistic family forms part of the broader dialectal 'continuum' of upper-southern Italian dialects (USIDs),² whose most 'prestigious' and influential exponent is undoubtedly Neapolitan. In fact, Apulo-Barese (pink isogloss IIIc in Map1.1) behaves typologically more similarly to the more

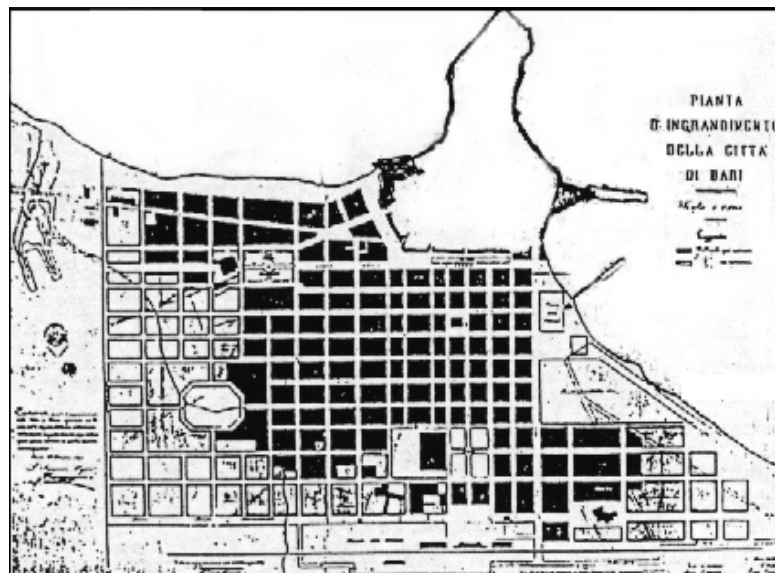
² Cf. Rohlfs 1972; Pellegrini 1975; Maiden&Parry 1997:chs.37-42; Loporcaro 2009:§4.5; Ledgeway 2016a; *i.a.*

peculiarities of this area may be better understood if we consider the historical succession of recorded ‘occupiers’ of the area. The active Peucetian harbour of present-day Bari was Romanised around the 3rd century B.C., acquiring the status of ‘independent’ *municipium cum suffragio* by the name of BARIUM. During the Middle Ages, Bari was variously ruled, as well as sacked and destroyed, by Lombards, Byzantines, Berbers, Normans, Swabians, Angevins, Venetians, and the Aragonese, yet eventually managed to establish itself as one of the most influential self-governed centres (*Universitates*) of northern Puglia. After the ‘golden age’ of Sforza-Aragonese rule, Bari fell into a ‘darker’ historical period until the post-revolution arrival of French rulers in southern Italy at the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Tateo *et al.* 1989-1997).

Until this time, the geographic extension of Bari was confined to a ‘walled peninsula’ hosting the medieval city centre, known today as *Bari Vecchia*, which included around 18,000 inhabitants. Hence, in this period, ‘urban’ Barese only coincided with the dialect spoken in the historical centre, *Barivecchiano*, which nowadays still represents the (phonetically and lexically) more conservative ‘linguistic epicentre’ compared to other parts of the city.

A major change for Bari and, consequently, for Barese can be identified in the pre-unitarian urbanisation process triggered by the construction of the Murattian *borgo nuovo* adjacent to the original *borgo antico* in the first half of the 19th century, and the subsequent redistributions of the population.

Map 1.2: *Expansion of the urban area of Bari at the beginning of the 19th century*



This first expansion of the urban area saw a steep population growth from less than 20,000 to 60,080 inhabitants in 1881, and 80,450 in 1897 (Strafforello 1899:18), whose redistribution across the urban area occurred according to social class. The ‘new’ urban bourgeoisie gradually

relocated into the newly built residential area, while the ancient noblemen and aristocrats (allegedly the only members of the local population educated in standard Italian, and thus, were bilingual)³ remained in the old centre with the lower, dialect-speaking members of the population. In this same period, only a few of these literates decided to adopt Barese as a literary language, notably Francesco Saverio Abbrescia (1813-1852), canon of St. Nicholas' Basilica.⁴ In the second half of the century, Barese became the object of the first morphophonological and lexical studies of Nitti de Vito and Abbatescianni.

The area of the city and its population continued to grow rapidly in the 20th century, and the city continued to expand in a semi-circle around the *borgo murattiano*, involving several relocations of many dialect speakers from the old city to the new peripheral neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, the central administrative, political and economical role of post-unitarian Bari as the capital city of the region led to a rapid increase of literacy at the cost of the dialect, whose use became more and more restricted to specific social classes, and to more familiar contexts. The fascist *ventennio* enforced and perpetrated a long period of repression of local languages, fearing that these might feed 'regionalistic' and 'localistic' uprisings (Còveri 1984:117-132) and, thus, reinforcing a situation of diglossia (Ferguson 1959:245).⁵ This is confirmed by De Mauro's (1970[1963]:130-131) post-war statistics from 1951, which demonstrate that most Italians did not abandon their local native languages and would speak dialect habitually along with their 'regional' Italian(s)' (cf. Pellegrini 1962:20-28; D'Achille 2002:26). In Puglia, this process failed to create an Pugliese dialectal *koiné* as in other regions (Pellegrini 1990), but produced 'interference varieties', i.e. *dialetto italianizzato* vs. *italiano dialettizzato* (cf. Valente 1975:10; Stehl 1990:266). In fact, the Barese situation can be best described through Berruto's (1995:242-250) notion of *dilalìa*, in which constant code-switching between the two varieties is the norm in informal contexts, but never in formal ones.

It is also not coincidental that written production in and on Barese increased after the war, when (semi-)learnèd and intellectual people, evidently bilinguals, felt the need to denounce

³ In 1881's Italy, the entire province of Bari occupied the third to last position for levels of illiteracy (in standard Italian), i.e. 84% of the population (Strafforello 1899:16); this is also confirmed by public complaints by the local *élite* on the poor primary education system in 1847 (DiCiommo 1988:1027). These factors indirectly suggest the high vitality of the dialect in that period among the middle-lower classes.

⁴ I am only aware of two 18th-century poems in Barese prior to Abbrescia's works, cf. Sada&Valente (1982) and Laporta (1988); see also Coluccia (1995) and Aprile,Coluccia,Fanciullo&Gualdo (2002:§VII) for a historical overview on Pugliese dialectal texts.

⁵ '[A] relatively stable linguistic situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects[...], there is a very divergent, grammatically codified[...] superposed variety[...], which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not[...] for ordinary conversation' (Ferguson 1959:245).

(explicitly or implicitly) the increasing tendency to abandon Barese by a large part of the population. At the same time, the first descriptive or pedagogic grammars of Barese (Lopez 1952; Giovine 2005[1964]) started to appear, followed by the work of linguists (Lacalendola 1969; Valente 1975; Melillo 1981). Indirectly, this ‘fruitful’ period of promotion and study of Barese came as a consequence of the scenario witnessed by the intellectuals: the rapidity with which the middle classes were increasingly more prone to abandon the dialect in favour of (regional) Italian monolingualism. This undesirable scenario of decay of the spoken dialect among the Barese middle and higher class has not changed to the present; in fact, it has probably worsened.

At this point, it is worth briefly considering the current vitality of Barese. In UNESCO’s red list of (potentially) endangered languages (Moseley 2010), the entire isogloss of USIDs is grouped under ‘South Italian’ (ISO 639-3 code ‘nap’), counting 7,000,000 speakers, and is considered as *vulnerable*. The rating implies that ‘most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains, e.g. home’.⁶ The situation of USIDs portrayed by UNESCO is clearly an approximation to the current situation of these varieties, whose vitality differs from case to case and from generation to generation. Both these domains of diatopic and diastratic variation play a crucial role in Barese, inasmuch as an urban variety is much more prone to show ‘innovative’ linguistic features than rural varieties. Moreover, the modern urban dimension has increasingly become ‘naturally’ incompatible with the local language. The use of Barese has been discouraged for almost a century as the language of uneducated people. Moreover, bilingualism was erroneously believed to slow down both language-acquisition and cognitive processes if learned alongside the national language, a notion that modern research has entirely discredited (cf., a.o., Antoniou, Grohmann, Kambanaros & Katsos 2016). Therefore, in the last 50-60 years, the transmission of Barese at home has drastically diminished, and has completely discontinued in certain social environments. For this reason, the youngest generations (<20) of Barese speakers have been not been considered in this work because of their clear tendency to adopt an *italiano dialettizzato*.

In sum, the situation of spoken Barese appears more critical than officially portrayed by UNESCO, hence the importance of carrying out further systematic linguistic research on it.

⁶ The following degree of endangerment comprises ‘definitely endangered’ languages, which are no longer transmitted to children as their mother tongue across generations.

2. Structure, organisation and content of the dissertation

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the content of the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

2.1. Chapter 2: (Un)marked word orders of Barese root clauses

Chapter 2 is concerned with the word order of the basic syntactic constituents, namely subject, verb and object(s), in Barese root clauses. We consider the major semantic-syntactic classes of predicate, i.e. transitives, unergatives and unaccusatives, to document and understand how the various constituents combine in discourse-neutral and pragmatically marked contexts. To this end, we introduce the pragmatico-semantic concept of ‘information structure’ (cf. Lambrecht 1994), i.e. how the information is ‘packaged’ within the sentence, distinguishing the concept of Theme/Rheme and Topic/Focus. We first describe the behaviour of pragmatically unmarked transitive sentences, for which expected SVO order is found, on a par with most other Romance varieties. Here we also discuss ‘transitive’ pronominal predicates, the status of Barese as a null-subject language, and the subject positions available in Barese clauses. Subsequently, we link the concepts of Topic and Focus to structural positions in the so-called ‘clausal peripheries’ (Rizzi 1997; Belletti 2004), those dedicated to the encoding of pragmatically salient information. The interaction of word order and intonation in Barese provides a specific interpretation of the information in a certain discourse-relevant context, highlighting its orientation towards a discourse-configurational type whose syntax accommodates specific discourse-related needs. In this respect, Barese displays a ‘permissive’ behaviour in terms of movement of pragmatically salient constituents with respect, for example, to Italian.

The second part of the investigation involves Barese unmarked word orders with ‘intransitive’ verbs, which have been distinguished in ‘unergatives’ and ‘unaccusatives’ since Perlmutter (1978). Following Benincà (2001[1988]), we identify a subclass of intransitive verbs, intersecting unaccusative and unergatives, which allows so-called ‘free subject-verb inversion’ due to an implicit locative argument. Hence, the availability of both pre- and postverbal intransitive subject positions in Barese responds to two different pragmatico-semantic requirements: the ability to access the common-ground information by both interlocutors, which triggers subject-fronting, and the covert presence of a pre-verbal loco-temporal deictic argument, which blocks subject-fronting. The latter situation is extensively discussed in the literature, whereas the former has gone unnoticed to date. We discuss the fine-grained semantics of such fronted subjects in relation to Lambrecht’s (1994) ‘Topic Acceptability Scale’ in order to capture the pragmatico-semantic mechanism which licenses the fronting of ‘accessible’ information to both interlocutors.

2.2. Chapter 3: Adjectives, Possessives and Demonstratives in Barese

The third chapter focuses on the internal structure of the Barese Determiner Phrase (DP). Although the nominal expression directly requires the Noun Phrase (NP) as its pivotal element, where the head N is hosted, current syntactic theory favours the DP-hypothesis (cf. Abney 1987). This lends central importance to the D-domain, on a par with C in the clausal domain, inasmuch as both domains are responsible for the final interpretation of the entire nominal and clausal expression and its components at the linguistic interfaces. Consequently, the DP is internally composed of a lower field where the lexical material, i.e. the N, is inserted, a middle functional field where the agreement/inflectional operations take place, and a higher field, the D-area, which determines the interpretation of all the material contained within the DP.

Given these assumptions, we interpret the behaviour of the Barese nominal expression according to the theoretical assumptions put forth by Cinque (1995,2005,2010,2014) based on cross-linguistic evidence. Drawing on Greenberg (1963)'s Universal 20, and assuming Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom, Cinque derives the different linear orders of nominal elements from an underlying order Dem-Num-Adj-N, the most frequently attested cross-linguistically. In particular, we follow Cinque's (2010) unifying analysis of Romance/Germanic (nearly) 'mirror' order of adjectives. These are derived via NP-movement with subsequent 'snowball' movement of the nominal modifiers, and we extend this to Barese adjectives, possessives and demonstratives. In this respect, Barese displays the behaviour characteristic of southern Italo-Romance varieties (and Romanian, to a lesser extent) which, in many respects, does not pattern with that of (other) standard Romance.

The first area investigated is that of Barese adjectival modifiers. We identify the main functions of adjectives, and conveniently group them under the two broad categories of (hierarchically ordered) 'direct' modifiers (DmAP) and (freer) 'indirect' modifiers (ImAP). We note that the main difference between Barese and standard Romance does not involve indirect modifiers, which obligatorily occur in DP-final position, but only direct modifiers. While these occur in both pre- and postnominal position in Romance (with relevant interpretative shifts), in Barese and most central and southern Italian varieties the distribution of direct adjectival modifiers is restricted to the postnominal position. Such a strict rule of postnominal placement of both indirect and direct modifiers finds its only exception with a handful of direct-modification adjectives allowed in pre-nominal position. We survey and discuss these exceptionally pre-nominal adjectives and their post-nominal counterparts, and test their 'prenominal productivity' on the basis of the number of modifiable referents. While most of these direct modifiers show severe limitations in accessing the prenominal position with most referents, and are favoured postnominally with their direct-modification reading, only two of these adjectives – three,

counting one that can only modify animate entities – can productively modify any NP. These types of prenominal AP denoting value/quality are argued by Cinque to be found in the highest part of the direct-modification AP-hierarchy. They mainly express the speaker’s rudimentary evaluation/judgement/opinion with respect to the NP they modify. In particular, these values oscillate between the basic polar interpretations of ‘good/nice’ and ‘bad’. In contrast, the process of fossilisation of the less productive preverbal adjectives is not uniform. Some of these have essentially completed the lexicalisation process, whereas some others show minor degrees of productivity, allegedly for the presence of the same concurring AP-structure in standard Italian.

In the final subsection on adjectival modification we follow Cinque (2010) in treating indirect modifiers as complements of a reduced relative clause which must be obligatorily climbed over by the NP. Direct modifiers, in contrast, are merged in the specifiers of their corresponding – hierarchically ordered – functional projections (on a par with adverbs, cf. Cinque 1999), below indirect modifiers and above the NP. Hence, the final order D-(DmAP)-NP-(DmAP)-ImAP is derived by means of NP-movement to the specifier of an Agreement Phrase (AgrP) merged immediately above the functional projections hosting the adjectives.

In the same spirit, we examine the behaviour of Barese possessives, which can be either tonic or clitic, hence adjective- or determiner-like respectively, which is not surprising from a cross-Romance perspective (cf. Cardinaletti 1998). However, the position of both Barese possessives is strictly postnominal, and follows the typical pattern of upper-southern Italo-Romance varieties and Romanian. In particular, Barese possessives require strict adjacency to the modified NP, i.e. no other modifier can intervene. Hence, it is argued that the first-merge position of tonic possessives is the closest to the NP, in the specifier of a Possessive Phrase (PossP) immediately above the NP layer and below the AP-spaces. The very first movement of the NP across the PossP will secure the first postnominal position to the latter. This will be pied-piped along with the NP without the possibility of interpolating any other constituent, e.g. AP, in between them.

Enclitic possessives behave differently to tonic possessives inasmuch as they behave like heads, rather than phrases: they are morphophonologically clitic in nature, morphologically syncretic in gender and number, and only able to modify a restricted nominal class of kinship terms. These terms also behave as heads (as opposed to NPs) which obligatorily move to incorporate onto the right of the defective enclitic. The combination of a limited set of highly referential kinship terms modified by [1sg], i.e. ‘the speaker’s’, and [2sg], i.e. ‘the hearer’s’, possessive enclitics refer to a specific individual evoked by the main discourse participants. Therefore, these highly referential nominal compounds are attracted to the D-area to license their definite, referential interpretation (Longobardi 1994).

The last section is devoted to the Demonstrative Phrase (DemP). Its main function is deictic, i.e. to refer to spatio-temporal coordinates of the referent and the discourse participants. In this sense, DemP fulfils a similar function to definite articles, and has the same distribution, at least in Barese. Hence, DemP is treated as a more independent syntactic constituent attracted to the D-domain to receive its definite, referential and deictic interpretation. Its movement does not interfere with the raising of the NP, which will always follow the Dem. One intriguing case study consists in the construction [definite article+(pronominal) distal demonstrative], ‘the that (one)’, which can (and must, at the same time) only be modified by ImAPs, genitive/possessive phrases or other complements, given that its principal use is for contrastive purposes. We identify its position in the discourse-relevant ‘left-periphery’ of the DP (cf. Giusti 2015), i.e. the same position which hosts (some pre- and) postnominal Spanish and Romanian demonstratives.

2.3. Chapter 4: Barese Auxiliary Selection and Past Participle Agreement

In chapter 4, the Barese analytic perfective construction is considered, in particular, the patterns of auxiliary selection and (metaphonetic) past participle agreement. While perfective auxiliaries encode person and number features of the subject and the tense and mood features of the entire construction, the past participle can potentially be specified for gender and number of the internal argument (with rare exceptions).

To understand the highly fragmented synchronic situation in modern Romance varieties and, ultimately, Barese, we discuss the diachronic emergence of perfective auxiliary structures in the passage from (late) Latin to early Romance varieties (cf. Vincent 1982). Perfective auxiliiation, as attested for early Romance, is claimed to be one of the reflexes of a wider typological change from a nominative-accusative syntax to an active-stative one, which in our case concerns the verbal domain. Early Romance auxiliaries develop from the grammaticalisation of the Latin resultative periphrasis [HABEO+object+participle] for predicates with active syntax (i.e. with agentive subjects), and from the expansion of BE from the Latin passive/deponents to those predicates which were incompatible with active syntax (i.e. with Undergoer subjects). This initial common ‘unaccusative split’ in early Romance subsequently underwent changes, giving rise to no less than seven recognisable patterns of auxiliary selection in modern Romance (Ledgeway 2012; Loporcaro 2016). Standard Italian is one of the Romance varieties in which auxiliary selection still operates on the basis of argument structure: predicates selecting Undergoers as their subjects (i.e. unaccusatives and the four different classes of pronominal predicates) license BE, whereas predicates with an agentive subject (transitives/unergatives) select HAVE.

This basic pattern, however, underwent constant ‘redetermination’ in other Romance varieties on the basis of constraints other than argument structure, namely person, tense, (non-)factual modality and finiteness. Alternatively, some other varieties generalised one of the two auxiliaries to all classes of predicates (but not passives), hence, they essentially lack a mechanism of auxiliary selection. Barese also abandoned the original active-stative split in favour of other semantic constraints such as grammatical person in the present perfect indicative, tense in the pluperfect indicative, and mood with counterfactuals. In the latter two contexts, auxiliary selection of BE and HAVE either show free alternation (B/H) or a lack thereof (H) respectively. In the present perfect, the alternation occurs across the different grammatical persons of the paradigm: the discourse participants [1]-[2] are marked with BE, especially in the singular, and are formally distinct from non-discourse participants [3] taking HAVE. On the basis of both diachronic and cross-linguistic evidence,⁷ we assume that BE is the default auxiliary and that HAVE has a more complex internal structure due to their respective intrinsic semantics (i.e. HAVE=[BE+P]; cf. Kayne 1993). Moreover, the situation presented above for Barese auxiliaries does not represent the full scenario, but can be further subdivided according to different diagenational patterns. The attested opposition is generally binary, i.e. younger vs older speakers, but may also be ternary, i.e. young vs middle-aged vs. elder speakers. The sensitivity of Barese auxiliaries to the tense/mood binary features [\pm present], [\pm realis] and [\pm past] as well as the person and number features [\pm 3] and [\pm singular] (active or inactive across those different age groups), are modelled as a parameter(/feature) hierarchy following the guidelines adopted by the ReCoS research project (Roberts 2012; *et seq.*).

In the same fashion, the behaviour of both metaphonetic and non-metaphonetic active past participle agreement in Barese is described and analysed within the seven different agreement patterns (i.e. parameter specifications) of Romance. While in late Latin and early Romance direct objects (as well as Undergoer subjects with unaccusative verbs) triggered agreement on their associated past participle, the situation in modern Romance presented different residual levels of such an agreement. In particular, Barese displays two forms of past participle: a strong metaphonetic one, which is morphologically bound to a limited class of verbs, and a weak non-metaphonetic one in *-tə* (Latin *-TUM*), which is increasingly becoming the preferred form. The latter, whose inflectional endings were morphophonologically eroded, would appear to pattern with Spanish or Romanian, inasmuch as Barese weak past participles do not show agreement with internal arguments. In contrast, we shall see that metaphonetic past participle agreement has

⁷ See also Lorusso’s (2015) work on the acquisition of auxiliary selection in Italian, which seems to confirm that the first auxiliary acquired by children is indeed BE.

remained operative in Barese, marking gender but never number of its associated internal argument. Although such agreement is now morpholexically restricted to very few past participles, the syntactic rule of agreement is nonetheless still fully operative.

2.4. Chapter 5: Progressive and Andative periphrases in (Apulo-)Barese

The last chapter is concerned with the behaviour of two aspectual periphrases, progressive and andative, expressed via the reflexes of Latin *STAND* and *GO* respectively (henceforth V_1), which combine with a lexical verb (henceforth V_2). Although the most common structure for these periphrases is hypotactic, Romance can also exploit parataxis, i.e. coordination of finite forms of V_1 and V_2 , to express the andative value. Likewise, southern Italo-Romance varieties have been claimed to historically form their progressive periphrasis paratactically by exploiting the reflex of Latin conjunction *AC* ‘and’ (Rohlf’s 1969). When we move onto considering in great detail the Pugliese situation, we find the split between the north (with the exception of Gargano varieties), where only non-finite V_2 is found, and the (centre-)south, where we can clearly observe how inflected V_2 forms start to be found below what we could name the ‘Poggiorsini-Bari’ isogloss, running between the Higher Murgia Plateau in the south-west to the Adriatic coast in the north-east of the Apulo-Barese speaking area (cf. Map 5.1, ch.5). In the northern-most part of the ‘inflected- V_2 ’ isogloss, which comprises Barese, the minimal amount of inflected forms is two, i.e. [2sg]-[3sg] of the present indicative of the two periphrases, which then spread to other persons, tenses and moods the further south-east one goes following specific morphomic patterns (cf. Maiden 2011,2016). The extreme generalisation of inflected forms to all possible contexts is found in the varieties of Salento, where the aspectual auxiliary becomes a free aspectual morpheme.⁸

We pursue an alternative scenario to Rohlf’s ‘*AC*-hypothesis’, arguing that morphophonological ambiguity between aphaeretic infinitives and [3sg] triggers the introduction of inflected forms wherever the infinitive was expected within the sole paradigm of the present, which gradually spreads southeast-wards. This is accompanied by the identity of forms of [2sg]-[3sg] *STAND/GO*, which have historically become fully syncretic, i.e. *sta/va*, and the relative absorption of the *a*. We argue that the morphophonological identity of [2sg]-[3sg] of the aspectual V_1 , and the syncretism of certain infinitives with [3sg] present indicative forms of V_2 , led to the spread of inflected- V_2 forms to other contexts. This is a clear instance in which morphology acts as a trigger for the systematisation of a syntactic rule for inflected V_2 s where

⁸ Here we intend Salento as the geographical area, therefore also including the ‘transitional’ dialects of the province of Taranto, rather than the more restricted linguistic group of Salentino varieties.

non-finite forms are expected. We follow Keenan (2002), Longobardi (2001b) and Roberts (forthcoming) in claiming that syntax tends to remain ‘inert’ if there are no morphophonological triggers to drive changes. Syntactically, these periphrases are treated as monoclausal entities in the sense of Cinque (2006), where the auxiliary is a functional head in the spine of the extended projection (cf. Grimshaw 2005) of the VP. We thus argue that there is a single head for agreement available in such aspectual expressions, which allow the V_2 to show overt agreement as a PF-interface operation whenever the auxiliary no longer presents the morphological ability to do that.

CHAPTER 2: BARESE (UN)MARKED WORD ORDER

1. Introduction: Information Structure

This chapter explores the word order of Barese simple root clauses, focusing on the most basic clausal constituents Subject (S), Verb (V) and Direct Object (DO), their possible combinations and pragmatico-semantic interpretations. We identify the most neutral, pragmatically unmarked word orders of constituents in relation to three main classes of predicates, namely transitives (§2.2), unergatives and unaccusatives (§2.4), as well as their pragmatically marked orders licensed for different discourse-related purposes (§2.3). In comparison with standard Romance, the linear orders found in Barese reveal a greater tendency towards what has been defined in the literature (Li&Thompson 1976; É.Kiss 1995) as a ‘discourse-oriented(/-configurational)’ syntax.

Both pragmatically marked and unmarked Barese root clauses will be analysed according to their ‘information structure’ (Halliday 1967:200; henceforth IS), which is described by Lambrecht (1994:5) as:

‘that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexico-grammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.’

In other words, each sentential constituent occurs in a well-defined, yet variable syntactic position to encode a specific pragmatico-semantic interpretation of the utterance within the discourse. A relevant example can be found in passive transformations, as shown in Table 2.1, whereby a direct object can be ‘promoted’ to passive subject to gain prominence within the discourse, becoming the (passive) subject of the predication (cf. Calabrese 1986; Cardinaletti 2004, Rizzi 2015; *i.a.*).

Table 2.1: *Active-to-passive transformation*

Active	DO/S _O	Passive
un camion ha tamponato		
	[un autobus]	
		è stato tamponato da un camion
‘a truck hit’	‘a bus’	‘was hit by a truck’

(adapted from Rizzi 2015:24)

The semantic import of the utterance and its formal expression(s) are referred to as ‘information packaging’ (Chafe 1976:28; cf. also Krifka 2007). Vallduví (1993:14) treats the ‘information packaging’, expressed by means of specific syntactic word orders, as a guideline for the hearer to retrieve certain background information. We are thus concerned with how Barese IS finds its formal representation in linguistic terms, i.e. how information is paired with explicit lexico-grammatical referents to be interpreted within the sentence and, in turn, the discourse.

Natural languages encode IS by means of different mechanisms, including word order, prosody, lexical items, morphemes and allomorphic variation. Clausal constituents are unmarkedly ordered according to a (configurationally determined) gradient scale of thematic prominence of arguments, as in Grimshaw (1990): [agent [experiencer [goal [theme/patient]]]], or can be ordered according to the major or minor relevance of the information they carry in the discourse (Lambrecht 1994; Reinhart 1995; *i.a.*). Alternatively, constituents may occur in their canonical position, i.e. remain *in situ*, yet their prosodic intonation suggests a specific role/prominence at an informational level.

At a discourse level, IS presupposes language users/interlocutors to share a common background to be able to infer contextual meaning. Hence, utterances can be understood as components of the more complex interlocutory act between speakers who share a dynamic Common Ground (CG; cf. Stalnaker 1974), i.e. the mutually-known background information which speakers share as an essential requirement for the ‘hypertextual’ nature of the discourse. The content of the CG is regularly modified by new inputs within the discourse, and, in turn, is embedded into a broader type of (extra-)linguistic knowledge of the world. By ‘knowledge’ here we do not (only) refer to the assignment of propositional truth-value, but to the set of propositions that form the ‘encyclopaedia’ in a speaker’s mind (Lambrecht 1994:44). Speakers form and process this ‘encyclopaedic knowledge’ (EK) on the basis of their personal experience of the world, creating a ‘knowledge store’ to be accessed to compute information inputs/outputs. Both CG and EK prove crucial for the analysis of a peculiar type of Barese fronting with intransitive subjects in pragmatically unmarked clauses (§3).

1.1. Segmenting the informational content

IS implies the segmentation of (complex) informational content into smaller parts with different degrees of relevance/prominence/emphasis within the discourse. Despite the abundant terminology used to describe roughly equivalent relations among the informational components (cf. von Stechow 1999:102), a basic distinction can be made between the two overlapping/interacting notions of ‘aboutness’, i.e. what an utterance is about, and ‘givenness’, i.e. which information is (un)known within the discourse.

1.1.1. ‘Givenness/Newness’

A first characterisation of the informative content is proposed by Halliday (1967, 1985), who draws the basic distinction between previously given, ‘discourse-old’ information, and textually and situationally *non-derivable* ‘discourse-new’ information (Halliday 1967:204). These are respectively referred to as Theme and Rheme; the former is defined as follows: ‘the Theme is a function in the *clause as a message*. It is what the message is concerned with: the point of departure for what the speaker is going to say’ (Halliday 1985:36). Halliday assumes the Theme to be the very first constituent to be uttered in a sentence, which generally coincides with the subject. This is (usually) followed by, and complementary to, the Rheme, which provides new information regarding the previously introduced Theme. Hence, a Rheme is likely to become the Theme of a following utterance, although entirely rhematic, discourse-new utterances do occur in out-of-the-blue and presentational/existential contexts.

In his overview of pragmatic-related phenomena in standard Italian, Salvi (2001[1988]:50-63)⁹ shows how the ‘Theme-Rheme’ relation may describe the progression of new information starting from the basic ‘subject-predicate’ grammatical relation, where the latter modifies the former. This is shown in (1)-(2), where the relative size of the [GIVEN] vs. [NEW] information (2a)-(2d) increases/decreases depending on the presupposed context (if any) within the discourse (1a)-(1d) in Italian:

- (1) a. (‘out of the blue’)
b. (Piero did something special...)
c. (Piero bought a present...)
d. (Piero gave a necklace to someone...)
- (2) [SUBJECT Piero][PREDICATE ha regalato una collana a Maria] (Salvi 2001:53)
Piero has given a necklace to Mary
- a. [NEW]
b. [GIVEN][NEW]
c. [GIVEN][NEW]
d. [GIVEN][NEW]

Within the discourse, utterances may or may not be linked to a previously mentioned, presupposed Theme. Lambrecht (1994:52) defines the concept of ‘pragmatic presupposition’ as

⁹ See also Antinucci&Cinque (1977); Lepschy&Lepschy (1988[1977]):152-155; Benincà (1986,2001[1988]).

‘the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered’. Whenever the presupposition is not overtly conveyed by explicit linguistic means (yet forms part of the CG), we are faced with cases of ‘rhematic’ sentences, (2a) in which the informational content is brand-new. Hence, the concept of ‘rhematic sentences’ will be employed in relation to the word order(s) licensed in pragmatically unmarked contexts. In contrast, (2b) shows the prototypical distinction between Theme and Rheme, opposing grammatical subject and predicate of the utterance respectively. The subject of (2b) is already ‘familiar’ to the speaker inasmuch as it forms part of the presupposed CG (1b) (hence, may remain silent), whereas the predicate provides a comment on the preceding Theme/subject. In the same fashion, discourse-old information can gradually include the other sentential constituents, i.e. the verb (2c) and the oblique arguments (2d), thus reducing the size of the rhematic content.

1.1.2. ‘Aboutness’

Informational categories can be further segmented according to the ‘aboutness’ of the information. This can be characterised as the pragmatic relation between the individuation of the referent, i.e. the ‘subject’ of the predication, and the pragmatic assertion predicated on the relative referent, which do not necessarily correspond to the grammatical subject and predicate. This distinction is made by Lambrecht (1994), among others, through the concepts of Topic (of the utterance; Lambrecht 1994:117-127) and Focus (informative comment on the Topic; cf. Lambrecht 1994:206-218). Hence, we are no longer simply focusing on the mere opposition between old and new information, although the concepts of Theme and Rheme on one the hand, and Topic and Focus on the other, may overlap.

The concept of Topic expresses a ‘pragmatically construed sentence relation’ (Lambrecht 1994:127; cf. also Reinhart 1982) whereby a referent is related to a proposition about the referent itself; it is the ‘matter of standing current interest or concern’ of the utterance beyond the grammatical relations it entertains with other constituents. In contrast, Focus distinguishes a novel semantic relation that a constituent creates (or not) with the presupposition, which makes this complementary to the pragmatic notion of Topic.

These functions are expressed differently cross-linguistically: they may be coded on morphemes and lexical items as pragmatico-semantic features, which are made interpretable at a syntactic and/or at a phonological level through prosody. É.Kiss (1995:6) assumes that the encoding of these two functions (either simultaneously or independently) is characteristic of ‘discourse-configurational’ languages, and usually involves certain syntactic operations:

- i) ‘The (discourse-)semantic function ‘topic’, serving to foreground a specific individual that something will be predicated about [...] is expressed through a particular structural relation ([...] associated with a particular structural position).’
- ii) ‘The (discourse-)semantic function ‘focus’, expressing identification, is realised through a particular structural relation (that is, by movement into a particular structural position).’

In Romance, Topic and Focus can be marked by means of morphological variation (e.g. null/clitic vs. tonic pronouns), word order and prosody, or a combination of these. Benincà (2001[1988]:129) distinguishes between pragmatic and syntactic markedness in Italian. Syntactic markedness mainly implies displacement of constituents to dedicated discourse-related positions, peripheral or internal to the core of the sentence; pragmatic markedness is characterised by a distinctive intonation/prosody of the utterance. Both strategies are used to convey a specific pragmatic interpretation of the information in question.

We will observe in §2.4 that Barese adopts both strategies, independently or in combination, to encode discourse-related concepts such as Focus and Topic: the position of a constituent in the sentence, along with the prosodic intonation it is given, will determine its interpretation as a discourse-marked category. For the time being, these two concepts will be used as descriptive terms, but will be analysed as features proper in §2.3.

1.2. Types of Focus

We must distinguish between two types of Foci, namely Informational and Contrastive Focus¹⁰. These underline different types of rhematic information which must be encoded in specific positions within the sentence to be interpreted ‘felicitously’, i.e. in the right pragmatic context of occurrence.

1.2.1. Informational Focus

Informational Focus (IFoc) roughly coincides with the concept of Rheme inasmuch as it consists in the new informational content which is predicated of a previously given Topic/Theme. It can be identified as the answer to a (usually implicit) WH-part of a constituent question (Krifka 2007:21), linking it to the presupposed CG of the discourse. Thus, the information that is not included in the presupposition is focused. In fact, IFoc can be classified on the basis of the scope

¹⁰ Informationally focused constituents are signalled in bold, contrastively focused constituents in small capitals, and topicalised constituents are underlined.

it licenses, which can be either narrow or broad. The two differ in size/number of sentential constituents involved in the expression of the novel, focalised information: narrow focus only scopes over a single constituent, whilst broad focus licenses focal scope over the entire sentence (also known as ‘sentential’ focus). Consider the interpretative variation of a simple declarative ‘allo-sentence’ (in Lambrecht’s (1994) terms), i.e. an utterance that can potentially have a wide range of interpretations depending on the question that elicits it:

- (3) a. ¿adónde fue José? b. José fue [_{FOCUS} a casa] (Spanish: Zagona 2002:209)
 ‘Where did José go?’ ‘José went [home]’
- (4) a. ¿qué hizo José? b. José [_{FOCUS} fue a casa]
 ‘What did José do?’ ‘José [went home]’
- (5) a. ¿qué pasó? b. [_{FOCUS} José fue a casa]
 ‘What happened?’ ‘[José went home]’

While the truth-conditions of the answers in (3b)-(4b)-(5b), on a par with (2), do not change, different chunks of information can be focused and receive saliency in the discourse, whereas anything that falls out of the scope of IFoc can be omitted. On the basis of the scope exerted on constituents within the same utterance, IFoc can be further subdivided into three types on the basis of the (Lambrecht 1994:222-223):

- *argument-focus structure*, which designates the identification of a specific referent within the utterance, i.e. narrow focus on a single constituent (3);
- *predicate-focus structure*, which instead provides a comment on the topic by (narrow-)focusing on the entire action/event, hence on the verb and its complement(s) (4);
- *sentence-focus structure*, in which all the constituents bear the same pragmatic prominence inasmuch as they are all rhematic, i.e. broad focus (5).

The last focus structure is usually found whenever a new discourse-referent is presented or an event is reported, i.e. the informational material responds to the *wh*-question ‘what happened?’ (Krifka 2007:23).

It is well known that, in languages that generally favour the syntactic strategy (e.g. Romance) rather than (mainly) the prosodic one (e.g. Germanic languages, cf. Jackendoff 1972:ch.6) to encode IS, the focused, ‘heavier’ informational material tends to occur in sentence-

final position. In terms of prosody, stress placement for such material can be systematically predicted by the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR; Cinque 1993; Zubizarreta 1998:56) on the basis of structural conditions: the lowest element in the c-command structure will acquire prosodic prominence and hence bear NS. Zubizarreta suggests that ‘in Romance, NS is always assigned to the last (metrically visible) constituent. In other words, in these languages only constituent structure is relevant in computing the position of NS’ (Zubizarreta 1998:78). For instance, Spanish and Italian ‘employ sentence-level scrambling operations that ensure that sentence-internal focused constituents end up at the rightmost edge of a phrase (i.e. in the lowest position in the c-command ordering)’ (Zubizarreta 1998:91). In contrast, the NRS fails to apply to contrastively focused constituents, for which a different stress-placement rule applies (cf. Zubizarreta 1998:77).

However, IFoc does not necessarily have to occur in sentence-final position in Romance; many modern Italian dialects and Romanian readily license informationally-focused constituents in sentence-initial position (§2.3). This specific pragmatic-semantic behaviour might be considered ‘conservative’, inasmuch as it parallels that of early Romance varieties in which the preverbal position was dedicated for discourse-salient information, including IFoc (cf. Benincà 2004; Benincà&Poletto 2004; Ledgeway 2009; Cruschina 2011; Poletto 2014; *i.a.*). This contrasts with the general tendency of standard Romance, in which the focus-fronted constituent can only be marked contrastively.

1.2.2. Contrastive Focus

Contrastive Focus (CFoc) is equally informative in nature, however unlike the IFoc. Rooth (1992,1996:279) argues that, semantically, CFoc-constituents introduce *alternatives* into the discourse, i.e. additional non-presupposed information to the speakers’ background. In other words, CFoc describes informational content that diverges from what is expected to be following from the presupposition, referring instead to another set of possible alternatives, i.e. eligible constituents.

Cruschina (2011:14-16) describes the pragmatic functions of contrastive focus on the basis of the categorisation of contrastive foci formulated by Dik (1989):

- *Corrective focus*: rectifying the imprecise presupposed/previously asserted information;
- *Expanding/restrictive foci*: either increasing or decreasing the set of contrasted informational possibilities (the former uses ‘focalising adverbs’ such as ‘also’ and ‘even’, whereas the latter selects ‘only’ and ‘not even/neither’);
- *Selective focus*: the CFoc-element is picked from a list given by one of the interlocutors.

Crucially, Cruschina (2011:16) notes that the sole focus categories relevant for the syntactic computation are the two main supersets of foci: IFoc and CFoc. Their subtypes find no concrete representation or particular reflex in the syntax of Romance. Furthermore, as indicated by Sheehan (2006:103), a crucial characteristic of CFoc-items is the fact that they do not find a counterpart in any WH-element in question/answer environments, unlike the IFoc-constituents. In contrast, CFoc felicitously occurs in such environments where corrections or rectifications on the initial assertion need to be made, in which case the CFoc-item of the following assertion will modify the previous one.

As previously mentioned, CFoc responds to different syntactic and prosodic constraints than the IFoc in most Romance varieties. We observe that contrastively focused information is generally fronted and bears a particular emphatic intonational contour as a consequence of a syntax-PF interface operation (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2010), for instance, in Italian (6) and Spanish (7):

(6) QUESTO Gianni ti dirà (non quello che pensavi)
 this Gianni to-you say.FUT.3SG not that which thought.2SG
 ‘It is this that Gianni will tell you (not what you thought)’ (Italian: Rizzi 1997:299)

(7) las ESPINACAS detesta Pedro (y no las papas)
 the spinach hates Pedro and not the potatoes
 ‘Pedro hates the spinach (not the potatoes)’ (Spanish: Zubizarreta 1998:103)

However, CFoc-constituents can also be marked only prosodically without (apparent) syntactic movement, as shown in (8) for subjects and in (9) for objects in Italian and Spanish respectively:

(8) GIANNI ha mangiato una mela (non Pietro) (Italian: Zubizarreta 1998:20)
 Gianni has eaten an apple not Pietro
 ‘Gianni ate an apple (not Pietro)’

(9) Fotografiaron su mejor MONUMENTO en cada ciudad (y no a sus habitantes)
 photographed.3PL its best monument in each city and not to its inhabitants
 ‘They took pictures of the best monument in each city (and not of its inhabitants)’
 (Spanish: Zubizarreta 1998:144)

Both IFoc and CFoc constituents, as well as Topics, can be considered to have been displaced from their base/first-merge positions to pragmatic-related positions in the higher (i.e. CP: Rizzi, 1997; *i.a.*) or lower (i.e. FocusP, above the *v*-VP: Belletti 2004) peripheries of the sentence. The same behaviour is attested in §2.3.2 for Barese; however, this appears ‘more permissive’ than in standard Romance.

2. Barese (and Romance) marked and unmarked word orders

We begin our survey of Barese word orders by considering the material contained within the sentential ‘core’ of simple, unmarked Barese root clauses, S, V, (O), which we then contrast in §2.3 with pragmatically marked movements to discourse-related positions.

With the major exceptions of Romanian and Spanish¹¹, Hulk&Pollock (2001:3) highlight that ‘[t]here is a consensus among both traditional and generative grammarians that the canonical surface word order of the Romance languages is subject-verb-object’. This follows from the hierarchical mapping of prototypical semantic roles of the arguments selected by transitive verbs, i.e. (agentive/causer) subject and direct object, onto the clausal spine. Unsurprisingly, Barese transitive sentences conform to the general trend found in standard Romance, namely presenting SVO as the only possible unmarked word order. As for ‘intransitives’, the situation in Barese appears slightly more complex and, therefore, will form the focus of our attention in §2.4-§3.

We will generally assume Barese (unmarked) root clauses to be derived via syntactic operations as standardly assumed in Chomsky (1981,1982;1995,2000,2001), together with some necessary cartographic adjustments along the way. Hence, a simple transitive Barese sentence (10) is compositionally derived through the basic operations of binary Merge (i.e. hierarchically-ordered set formation) and Agree (i.e. feature-matching) in the narrow syntax.

¹¹ Motapanyane (1989) suggests that VSO in Romanian can be freely licensed in pragmatically unmarked contexts, but is less frequently adopted than the SVO (cf. Pană Dindelegan 2013:125). Motapanyane (1989:83-86,1994,1995) argues that SpecIP is always projected yielding unmarked SVO *contra* the idea that all preverbal subjects are in a left-peripheral A’-position (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Cornilescu 2000; cf. §2.1).

Ordóñez (1997) supports the felicity of Spanish VSO in unmarked contexts, but only when occurring as XP-V-S-O or C-V-S-O: ‘VSO [...] seems to require an initial XP before the verb’ or ‘might also be preceded by the conjunction *que*’ (Ordóñez 1997:58), as part of the presupposition, otherwise the bare VSO is ungrammatical. Corr’s (2012) analysis also reveals the preference for the unmarked SVO in Ibero-Romance.

Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Belletti (2004) link the availability of Romanian, Spanish and Greek VSO orders to the presence of the prepositional accusative. However, this correlation does not hold for southern Italian dialects, among which Barese (Andriani 2015) and Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2000:ch.2), as these consistently license prepositional accusative with animate and specific referents, though VSO in sentence-focus contexts is never felicitous.

- (10) Ciccillə vènnə u ppànə
 Frankie sells the bread
 ‘Frankie sells bread’

A transitive verbal head V selects its complement/internal argument to form the VP ‘to sell bread’, while its subject is first-merged VP-externally, in the specifier of ν P where agentive(/causer) subjects are introduced by the ν head (11):

- (11) [ν P Ciccillə_i [ν ν [ν P [ν [ν vènnə_j][ν DP u_D ppànə_N]]]]]]

Subsequently, Agree takes place for the evaluation/matching of features on the relevant functional heads. These functional heads act as ‘probes’ attracting/moving the matching features of the ‘goal’ element to make them interpretable to the semantic linguistic module, Logical Form (LF), and externalised at the phonological interface, the Phonetic Form (PF). The functional head responsible for verb-related feature evaluation is T, to which V moves in Romance (cf. Pollock 1989; Schifano 2015). Likewise, T projects its specifier to host the subject; this is attracted from the VP by virtue of its (unvalued) nominal feature D probed by T (cf. Chomsky 1995), resulting in agreement and (Nominative-)Case assignment. The outcome of such operations is given in the (simplified) representation in (12) for Barese:

- (12) [ν P Ciccillə_i [ν vènnə_j] [ν P Ciccillə_i [ν vènnə_j][ν DP u_D ppànə_N]]]]

The status of the preverbal subject position above has been under debate since Chomsky’s (1981:27,1982:10) ‘Extended Projection Principle’ (EPP), postulating the universal presence of an (c)overt nominal element in subject position, SpecI(/T)P (susceptible to language-specific parametrisation). Rizzi (1997) considers the preverbal subject position as a ‘halting’ point for clause-internal A-movements, inasmuch as the ‘Criterial configuration’ Spec-Head obtains, and the subject is ‘frozen in place’ (see also Rizzi 2004,2006,2015). In null-subject languages, this position may be filled by an empty pronominal *pro* (Rizzi 1982,1986), a silent subject pronoun with both referential and [3] arbitrary interpretations which can satisfy the EPP-requirement of finite clauses (cf. §2.2).¹²

¹² Empty categories such as *pro* could not ‘survive’ in Chomsky’s (1995) work, and already Borer (1986) had argued against a universal EPP-position/feature. Later on, Barbosa (1995), McCloskey (1996), Ordóñez (1997), Bošković (1997), Alexiadou&Anagnostopoulou (1998), *i.a.*, claim that the EPP can be satisfied via V-movement only, by a pronominal D-feature on T, so that SpecTP need not be projected whenever empty. In contrast, Chomsky

2.1. Subject positions

Contrary to the assumption that preverbal subjects in pro-drop languages can only be instances of A'-movements (cf. fn.12), we follow the proposals by Cardinaletti (2004), Holmberg (2005), Sheehan (2006,2010) and Roberts (2010), *i.a.* Along the lines of the classic EPP account (Chomsky 1981,1982; Rizzi 1982,1986:518-519), these scholars argue for the presence of a 'parametrised', language-specific EPP, i.e. a 'movement-diacritic' feature, on T. Hence, not all overt preverbal subjects should be treated as dislocated, A'-moved constituents. As for *pro*, the 'deletion hypothesis' (cf. Perlmutter 1971) treats it as a defective, weak pronoun (cf. Cardinaletti&Starke 1999) in SpecTP which undergoes deletion at PF (Roberts 2010:§2.4, cf. also Holmberg 2005:538).

The main reason to maintain these assumptions is that we find at least one (discourse-related) preverbal element in the sentential core of Barese unmarked sentences (cf. §3). Moreover, we will observe that certain classes of predicates allow other elements than subjects to (c)overtly satisfy the EPP. However, this does not exclude the possibility that Barese subjects may be able to occur in a dislocated, A'-position (cf. §2.3).

In particular, we follow Cardinaletti's (2004) cartographic approach to subject positions within the inflectional field. Cardinaletti (2004:121) claims that the sole SpecTP is not sufficient to account for cross-linguistic variation, and suggests a split into two different projections: SubjP, hosting the 'subject of the predication', i.e. semantic 'strong' subjects¹³ such as lexical or pronominal DPs, and AgrSP, hosting weak/non-referential subjects, among which *pro* (on the opposition between strong and weak pronouns see Cardinaletti&Starke 1999). While the AgrSP is occupied by weak subjects for (Case and ϕ -)features, strong subjects will continue the derivation upwards to the specifier of SubjP in order to check the 'Subject-of-the-predication feature' (Cardinaletti 2004:122). 'Sandwiched' between the lower and the higher subject projections, she indicates the presence of a dedicated EPPP projection for EPP-feature checking; however, she suggests that EPPP and SubjP respond to independent requirements, hence the one does not entail the presence¹⁴ of the other (Cardinaletti 2004:151).

(2000:109) maintains the EPP as the optional projection of the specifier of any of the 'core' functional heads, among which T(P).

¹³ SubjP may also be filled by dative experiencer subjects e.g. those of the unaccusative psych verb *piacere* 'like':

i) [SubjP A Ffranghinə_i [AgrSP *pro*_{expletive} (ngə) piàscə_j [assa' [v-VP t_j t_i la vitə də cambàgnə]]]]
'Frankie likes a lot of the country life'

¹⁴ Or rather, the need for each feature to be checked in the same instance.

A simplified representation of dedicated subject positions within the clause is given below in (13), adapted from Cardinaletti (2004:154):

(13) SpecSubjP SpecEPPP SpecAgrSP...Spec(v-)VP/V-Comp

Cardinaletti's unified account also suggests that there is no reason to think that overt preverbal subjects (unlike overt subject pronouns) are instantiations of topicalisations. Rizzi (2015:§2), building on Cardinaletti (2004), Rizzi&Shlonsky (2007) and Shlonsky (2013), agrees with the presence of an independently motivated head, higher than T(/Phi) and lower than C, which 'attracts' preverbal subjects, i.e. Cardinaletti's Subj^o. More specifically, this head attracts to preverbal position the nominal D-feature of DP subjects, which Shlonsky (2013) and Rizzi (2015) later identify with a ([3])Person head (cf. also Richards 2008). This follows naturally from the fact that most Romance varieties are null-subject languages, hence overt [1-2] subject pronouns (as well as [3] pronouns) can only be emphatic, i.e. left-peripheral. In contrast, only referential and pronominal DPs are able to move overtly to the specifier of SubjP/PersonP and satisfy the EPP-feature on either Cardinaletti's EPP^o, or directly on T^o (as in Chomsky 2000). Hence, we may collapse the two SpecEPPP and SpecAgrS into a single position, i.e. SpecTP, and maintain the higher 'semantic' subject position SpecSubj(/Person)P dedicated to overt strong subjects (of the predication), as shown in (14):

(14) SpecSubjP SpecTP...Spec(v-)VP/V-Comp

The functions of the relevant projections do not change from Cardinaletti's (2004) ones, inasmuch as SpecTP hosts weak pronouns, among which *pro*, whereas SubjP is reserved for (inherently [3]) referential subjects within the core of the sentences.

2.1.1. Barese as a 'consistent' null-subject language

Over 60% of the world's languages allows the omission of subject pronouns (Dryer 2013:map101A). On a par with most Romance varieties and, more specifically, central and southern Italian dialects,¹⁵ Barese displays the properties of 'consistent'¹⁶ null-subject languages.

¹⁵ Italian: Benincà (2001[1988]); Spanish: Zagona (2002:37); Catalan: Valladuví (1993:99); Galician: (Gupton 2014); European Portuguese: Costa (2004:11); Brazilian Portuguese: Kato (2000); Romanian: Motapanyane (1989:75); Cornilescu (2000); Pană Dindelegan (2013); among many others. Neapolitan: Ledgeway (2009:281); Abruzzese: D'Alessandro&Alexiadou (2006); Sicilian: Cruschina (2011); Sardinian: Jones (1993:14).

¹⁶ Holmberg 2005, Roberts&Holmberg 2010:§1.2.1; cf. also Perlmutter 1971:115; Chomsky 1982; Rizzi 1982:143.

This means that definite subject pronouns in Barese are covert in non-emphatic contexts¹⁷, and their realisation always implies some sort of pragmatic saliency (cf. Jespersen 1924:213). This was traditionally connected to the rich agreement morphology on finite verbs, from which the null subject can be retrieved (known as Taraldsen’s (1978) Generalisation, see also Chomsky 1981:241; Roberts 1997:151). For instance, consider the present-indicative conjugation of the Barese unergative(/transitive) *acchiamèndà (u màrə)*, ‘look at (the sea)’, in which morphological agreement with the null pronominal subject is distinctive for all grammatical persons (and operative across all paradigms):

(15)	(ji)	acchiamèndə- chə	(u màrə)
	I	look	-1SG the sea
	(tù)	acchiamìndə	
	(jiddə/jèddə)	acchiamèndə	
	(nnù)	acchiamənd- əmə	
	(vvù)	acchiamənd- ətə	
	(lórə)	acchiamènd- ənə	

While there is never syncretism in the [plural], the [2SG] metaphonetic agreement appears on all verbs but a few (with thematic -A/I/U- in Latin, e.g. *càndə* ‘you/(s)he sings’; cf. Valente 1975:34). Less systematically, the generalised *-chə/-ghə*¹⁸ for [1SG] can be omitted, especially with auxiliaries. Three more syntactic properties characterise Barese as a null-subject language:

- i. the availability of ‘free inversion’, i.e. VS, with intransitive predicates (but never VSO with transitives, as in Romanian and Spanish; cf. fn.11), discussed in §2.4;
- ii. [3] null subjects can only be interpreted as definite/referential, whereas arbitrary/impersonal [3] subjects need an overt marker, i.e. *zə* ‘self’ (16):

(16)	non	(zə)	pòtə	tərə	nnànzə	adacchəsi
	not	self	can.3SG	pull	in-front	so
	‘(one/s)he cannot get by like this’					

¹⁷ Barese shows no expletive subjects of the English/French/Northern Italian dialect-type, e.g. *Ø chióvə* ‘(it) rains’.

¹⁸ See Nitti di Vito (1896:27-28); Rohlf’s (1968:559); Valente (1975:33); even though *-chə/-ghə* is not always obligatory in Barese, it is still more frequently used than in other upper southern Italian dialects (cf. Ledgeway 2016a:§16.3.2.1).

iii. the absence of complementiser-trace effects (cf. Perlmutter 1971; Chomsky&Lasnik 1977; Rizzi 1982), such that complementisers fail to block the movement/extraction of an embedded subject (17):

- (17) **ci_i** jè ca sì dditte c' _____i avev' a scì ddà?
 who is that are.2SG said that (who) had.3SG to go there
 'who did you say was supposed to go there?'

The English counterpart of (17) would not be possible if there were an overt complementiser *that* introducing the embedded clause, e.g. 'who_i did you say (*that)_____i was supposed to go there?', whereas in Barese the embedded missing *wh*-subject is still retrievable despite the intervening cleft-construction of the *wh*-element and the following subordinate clause with a [2SG] subject.

These considerations highlight how Barese pronominal subjects, if overt, are considered to be pragmatically salient. For this reason, we will only be focusing on Barese DP subjects, as only these represent genuine arguments internal to the core under sentential focus.

2.2. Unmarked transitive word order

On a par with modern (Italo-)Romance varieties, Barese exhibits SVO as the only unmarked word order in declarative main clauses with transitives. This word order mirrors the mapping of the information packaging onto syntactic constituents whose thematic roles are hierarchically ordered, in the sense of Grimshaw (1990). The out-of-the-blue question 'what happened?' (Krifka 2007:23; cf. also Rizzi 1997), uttered *ex abrupto* for event-reporting, can be used to elicit sentential focus. The sole felicitous answer to Barese *c'ha stàtə/ssəccìəssə?* 'what happened?' out of the six possible word-order combinations in (18) is, unsurprisingly, SVO (18a):

- (18) [c'ha stàtə/ssəccìəssə?]
- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| a. | Ciccillə | ha | vvənnùtə | u | səttànə | SVO |
| | Frankie | has | sold | the | house | |
| | 'Frankie has sold his street-level house' | | | | | |
| b. | #Ciccillə | u | səttànə | ha | vvənnùtə | SOV |
| c. | #ha | vvənnùtə | Ciccillə | u | səttànə | VSO |
| d. | #ha | vvənnùtə | u | səttànə | Ciccillə | VOS |
| e. | #u | səttànə | Ciccillə | ha | vvənnùtə | OSV |
| f. | #u | səttànə | ha | vvənnùtə | Ciccillə | OVS |

Like the majority of Romance languages, Barese unmarked transitive root clauses do not admit parallel unmarked word orders to SVO (where O can be ‘differentially marked’ by *a* if [+animate] and [+specific]; cf. Andriani 2015). However, in §2.3.2 we will observe that the five remaining options are all available and felicitous in the appropriate pragmatic contexts.

2.2.1. ‘Pronominal’ predicates

The category of pronominal predicates cuts across the Romance transitive/unergative vs unaccusative split (cf. ch.4), as both the syntax and semantics of the predicate undergoing reflexivisation do not change. We thus distinguish at least four subtypes of pronominal predicates on the basis of the semantico-syntactic relation they select with the arguments. Therefore, the different types of pronominal predicates will be discussed under the relevant verb categories. ‘Inherent reflexives’ where the clitic only refers to the patient/Undergoer subjects, may be considered unaccusative-like predicates inasmuch as they lack a non-reflexive counterpart (cf. §2.4.3). Likewise, ‘indirect unergative reflexives’ pattern with unergatives in having agentive subjects and dative-case complements (cf. §2.4.2). In the present section we consider the unmarked word order of those transitive pronominal predicates such as ‘direct/reciprocal reflexives’ (19)-(20), whose arguments are, at the same time, agents and patients of the action/event, ‘indirect transitive reflexive’ (21), whose pronominal clitic is an indirect object with the role of benefactor/recipient, which is co-referential with the subject and marks inalienable possession over the internal argument:

(19) [c’ha statə/səccjəssəʔ]

a. la pəccənənnə s’ ha ttagghiàtə (c’ u chərtiddə)
 the little-girl self has cut with the knife
 ‘the little girl has cut herself (with the knife)’

b. #s’ ha ttagghiàtə la pəccənənnə
 self has cut the little-girl

(20) a. Mənguccə e Ppasquələ s’ ənnə salutàtə
 Domenico and Pasquale self have.3PL greeted
 ‘Domenico and Pasquale have greeted each other’

b. #s’ ənnə salutàtə Mənguccə e Ppasquələ
 self have.3PL greeted Domenico and Pasquale

(21) a. la pəccənənnə s' ha llavàtə lə capiddə
 the little-girl self has washed the hair
 'The girl has washed her hair'

b. #s' ha llavàtə lə capiddə la pəccənənnə
 self has washed the hair the little-girl

In terms of information structure, these pronominal predicates only allow preverbal subjects in sentence-focus utterances, ruling out any other combinations (which more readily yield narrow focus on the fronted constituent; cf. §2.3).

Unsurprisingly, SVO is also the unmarked word order of certain Barese transitive predicates, e.g. 'eat(/up)' (22), 'drink(/up)' (23), which appear more commonly in their pronominal variant. In this construction, only when the DO is overtly express will the clitic be licensed to refer to the transitive subject:

(22) cittə cittə, Franghinə [?](s')ha bbəvùtə/*(s')ha cchiəcàtə *(dò bbəttigghiə də miərə)
 quiet~quiet Frankie self has drunk self has bent two bottles of wine
 'Frankie has drunk up/downed two bottles of wine without anyone noticing it'

(23) attànə-mə [?](s') ha mmangiàtə/*(s') ha ffrəcàtə *(u pulpə sanə sanə)
 father=my self has eaten self has stolen the octopus entire~entire
 'my father has eaten up/devoured the whole octopus'

This type of (pseudo-)reflexive, which do not actually introduce any extra argument to the predicate, is also common to many Southern Italian dialects, e.g. Neapolitan (24), as well as Spanish (25):

(24) s' ha nchiavato ncuorpo cchiù de duje litre de vino (Ledgeway 2000:210)
 self has locked in-body more of two litres of wine
 'He has knocked back more than two litres of wine'

(25) mi padre (se) comió *(el pulpo completo)
 my father self ate the octopus complete
 'my father ate up the whole octopus'

Rohlf's (1969:640) suggests that these clitics emphasise the active involvement of the subject in the (punctual) action/event. Although these pronominal predicates are often grouped together with 'indirect transitive reflexives', e.g. (21), LaFauci (1984:224ff.) and Loporcaro (1998:106-107) treat these as antipassives (cf. Silverstein 1972; also Ledgeway 2016a:265), in which the transitive subject is marked by an oblique reflexive, i.e. the antipassive marker.

2.3. Marked word orders

In this section, we consider how the same 'core' syntactic material, i.e. S, V, O, can be displaced to the clausal peripheries in Barese to fulfil discourse-related functions dictated by IS. The concepts of Theme/Topic, IFoc and CFoc introduced in §1 can now be linked to semantic features which are structurally mapped onto devoted 'peripheral' syntactic positions/functional projections. Discourse-related features are argued to be 'predetermined' whenever a lexical item is inserted in the syntactic numeration (Aboh 2008), hence from the narrow syntax, in order to be displaced to their dedicated (A'-)position to meet their IS-related Criteria, and interpreted according to their pragmatic function at the interfaces. In this respect, we follow Rizzi (1997 *et seq.*) and Belletti (1999,2001,2004), who adopt a cartographic approach to the so-called (left- and right-) 'peripheries' of the clause (cf. a.o. Cinque 1990; Cecchetto 1999; Ledgeway 2000; Benincà&Poletto 2004; Frascarelli&Hinterhölzl 2007; Paoli 2007).

The left- and right-peripheries, identifiable as the edges of functional phase heads C and *v* respectively, appear to be especially active in Romance (though not uniformly, e.g. French: Harris 1988:235-236; Kayne&Pollock 2001; Bentley 2007:49; Ledgeway 2012:162). However, we will observe that this general statement is true to the extent that the same peripheral positions can express different functions in different Romance languages. Among (Italo-)Romance varieties, Barese displays 'permissive' behaviour in the syntactic encoding of these functions in the peripheries, which are crucially distinguished by a specific prosodic intonation (IFoc), pitch-accent (CFoc), or intonational/comma break (Topic). The combination and interaction of these factors allow Barese to exploit more syntactic options for the expression of pragmatically-salient information than we generally find in standard Romance, e.g. Italian.

2.3.1 Left- and right-peripheries

The many word-order variations in Romance have been explained by Rizzi (1997) as reflexes of discourse-driven movements from the syntactic core of the sentence (cf. §2) to dedicated functional projections in the clausal left periphery, viz. CP, comparable to that of *wh*-items and quantifiers. According to the 'Split-CP Hypothesis' (Rizzi 1997), the CP-layer can host a series of functional projections into which pragmatically salient constituents can be dislocated from the

lexical domain, where they are first-merged. The first formulation of the Split-CP is in (26):

(26) [_{CP} ForceP [_{TopP}* [_{FocusP} [_{TopP}* [_{FinP} [_{IP}]]]]]]

Sandwiched between ForceP, expressing illocutionary force, and FinP, responsible for the finite/non-finite status of the clause due to its immediate adjacency to the IP, we find a series of (iterable: *) Topic positions, but a unique (contrastive) Focus position. Hence, a given syntactic constituent, specified as discourse-salient in the lexicon as [+Top] or [+Foc], is attracted by the relative functional head in CP (which may be overtly realised in some languages, e.g. Gungbe: Aboh 2004) to meet its Criterion in a Spec-Head configuration (cf. also Rizzi 2006:102).

As far as Topics are concerned (cf. also §3), further studies on their interaction with other discourse-related functions have shown that different types of Topic occupy different CP-related positions. The ‘Aboutness(-shift) Topic’ (Reinhart 1981), which indicates what the sentence is about, is not recursive as initially thought, and can only occupy the left-most Top-position in the CP (if more topics are present). In contrast, ‘Familiarity Topics’ (Pesetsky 1993) convey discourse-given/old information, are recursive and optional, provided that they are resumed by an anaphoric clitic pronoun whenever available (see also Frascarelli&Hinterhölzl 2007; Büring 2003 for contrastive topics). We can observe this distinction in Rizzi’s (1997:290) example:

	<u>About-Top</u>	<u>Fam-Top</u>	<u>Fam-Top</u>		IFoc	
(27)	<u>il libro_j</u> ,	<u>a Gianni_i</u> ,	<u>domani</u> ,	glie _i -lo _j	darò	senz’altro
	the book	to John	tomorrow	to-him-it	give.FUT.1SG	without other
	‘Tomorrow I will give the book to John for sure’					

The three dislocated topics are distributed according to the specific topical function they fulfil: the first topicalised constituent sets the Aboutness of the utterance, whereas the following ones convey discourse-old information, whence their definition as ‘familiar topics’ with respect to the discourse. These constituents are hosted in the specifier of functional projections, i.e. TopPs, dedicated to these two types of Topic.

As far as Focus is concerned, the initial formulation of FocusP by Rizzi (1997) identifies a single left-peripheral position which is only interpreted contrastively, and appears in complementary distribution with *wh*-elements (hence, quantificational in nature). This is essentially what we identified as CFocP. In contrast, we observed in §1.2.1 and (27) above that IFoc-constituents in Romance occupy a ‘lower’, pragmatically-salient position within the sentence according to the natural ‘progression of new information’. This sharp distinction

between the higher position of CFocP and the lower position of IFocP is operative in standard Italian, as shown in (28)-(29) (examples from Ledgeway&Roberts, forthcoming):

(28) **chi** ha risposto al telefono? ha risposto **Carlo** al telefono(, *non io)
 who has replied to-the telephone has replied Carlo to-the telephone not I
 ‘who answered the phone? Carlo answered the phone’

(29) (*chi ha risposto al telefono?) CARLO ha risposto al telefono, non io
 who has replied to-the telephone Carlo has replied to-the telephone not I
 ‘(who answered the phone?) It was Carlo who answered the phone, not me’

The pragmatically marked subject conveying (new) informational content surfaces post-verbally and is prosodically marked according to the C-NSR (Zubizarreta 1998:56; cf. §1.2.1). In contrast, the same subject surfacing preverbally is assigned a contrastive interpretation, if not under sentential focus. Note that CFoc does not correspond to the IFoc-answer to a *wh*-element as part of the presupposition, i.e. *chi?* **Carlo** ‘who? Carlo’; likewise, IFoc cannot be given as an alternative, as shown in (28).

Hence, as observed for Topics, the subject in (29) specified for [+CFoc] vacates the *v*-VP to target the SpecCFocP in the CP. Here it is interpreted as contrastive and occupies a criterial position where the Spec-Head relation obtains, e.g. (30):¹⁹

(30) [CP [SpecCFocP CARLO_i [CFoc’ CFoc [TP ~~Carlo~~_i [T ha risposto_j] [_vP ~~Carlo~~_i [_v’ [VP [_v’ [V ~~risposto~~_j]...
 ...[PP al telefono]]]]]]]]]]

As for the IFoc-subject in (28) sitting in a low position and forming the informational focus of the utterance, Belletti (2004) argues for the presence of a lower periphery immediately above *v*P, parallel to the left CP-periphery (cf. (26)), but only able to host IFoc-constituents, as well as clitic-right-dislocated Top-constituents. Hence, the subject in (28), specified for [+IFoc], will target the specifier of IFocP of the low left-periphery, appearing in post-verbal position where it can receive narrow-IFoc:

(31) [TP [T ha risposto_j] [IFocP **Carlo**_k [FocP’ Foc [_vP ~~Carlo~~_k [_v’ [VP [_v’ [V ~~risp~~_j] [PP al telefono]]]]]]]]]]

¹⁹ We leave aside the issue of auxiliary and past participle placement, treated here as a verbal complex targeting T.

However, such a division of labour between these two discourse-devoted fields for hosting IFoc and CFoc is not as strict across modern Romance as initially assumed, especially when we consider early Romance varieties. Early Romance displayed a particularly ‘active’ CP-field, whose positions were systematically lexicalised by discourse-salient constituents (except forthetic sentences VSO), assuming that V needed to move obligatorily to a C-head as a structural requirement. While this is no longer the case in modern Romance, many varieties have retained to different degrees the possibility of encoding specific pragmatico-semantic functions in the different clausal peripheries.

Consider the following case of CFoc constituents in southern (32a) and northern (32b) regional Italian varieties respectively (examples from Ledgeway&Roberts, forthcoming):

- (32) a. UNA MARGHERITA Sandra voleva, non una quattro stagioni (sth. reg. It.)
 a margherita Sandra wanted not a quattro stagioni
- b. Sandra voleva UNA MARGHERITA, non una quattro stagioni (nth. reg. It.)
 Sandra wanted a margherita not a quattro stagioni
 ‘Sandra had ordered A MARGHERITA PIZZA, not a quattro stagioni’

As in standard Italian, southern regional Italian fronts CFoc-constituents, whereas northern regional Italian will apparently use the lower periphery, somehow invalidating the initial assumptions discussed above. These regional varieties mainly mirror the behaviour of the local dialects, whereby northern varieties tend to disallow any focalised elements in the CP, e.g. Torinese (Paoli 2007), whereas southern varieties extensively favour fronting to this position.

A similar case of ‘unexpected’ lower CFoc comes from Spanish, which equally allows both the ‘regular’ CFoc-fronting and the lower CFoc (e.g. (6)-(9) respectively in §1.2.). Hence, the subject in (33) can felicitously occur post-verbally in the low periphery (above the *in-situ* object *los platos* ‘the dishes’) and receive a contrastive reading:

- (33) lavó NINA los platos (no María) (Zubizarreta 1998:108)
 washed Nina the dishes (not María)
 ‘It was Nina who washed the dishes, (not María)’

In contrast, French does not allow any CFoc/IFoc constituents to occur in the left periphery,²⁰ thus having to resort to cleft-constructions (34), on a par with English.

- (34) (*LA CLÉ/) c' est la clé que j' ai perdue (Ledgeway 2012:162)
 the key it is the key that I have lost
 'It's the key that I've lost (not something else)'

Likewise, the canonical sentence-final position for IFoc (the specifier of an IFocP) is not the only position able to host IFoc-constituents. Some modern Romance varieties, including Romanian (Zafiu 2013a:§13.4), Sardinian (Jones 1993:§7.1; Mensching&Remberger 2010), Triestino (Paoli 2010) and southern Italian varieties (Ledgeway 2009:784-790; Cruschina 2011:22), tend to front new information to the CP-domain, rather than the vP-periphery. For instance, Cruschina (2011:39) discusses the Sicilian IFoc-fronting (35)-(36), which is allowed in parallel to the lower IFoc:

- (35) (Who killed Turiddu?)
 (a Turiddu) **Alfiu** u ammazzà (a Turiddu) (O)SV(O)
 ACC Turiddu Alfiu him killed.3SG ACC Turiddu
 'Turiddu, Alfiu killed him'

- (36) (Who did Alfiu kill?)
 (Alfiu) **a Turiddu** ammazzà (Alfiu) (S)OV(S)
 Alfiu ACC Turiddu killed.3SG Alfiu
 'Alfiu, he killed Turiddu'

In this respect, these varieties might be considered 'more conservative' (Cruschina 2011:130; cf. Benincà 2004:268-269) than other Romance varieties, inasmuch as they share similarities with medieval Romance varieties (Benincà 2004; Benincà&Poletto 2004; Ledgeway 2011; Salvi 2011; Poletto 2014; *i.a.*).

Hence, the properties and positions of the two peripheries can be summarised by the structures in (37) (in which only the specifiers of functional projections are represented):

²⁰ The only exceptions are preverbal [3] pronouns *lui/eux* 'he,him/they,them'. Kayne&Pollock (2001:116-118) claim that French has a silent preverbal [3] subject clitic licensing such topicalised structures and subject-inversions in non-root clauses.

- (37) a. [_{CP} [About-TopP [(CFocP) [Fam-TopP* [(IFocP/*wh*-)...[TP]]]]]]
 b. [_{TP} [C/IFocP [Fam-TopP [_v-VP]]]]

The left-periphery in (37a) shows the distribution of different Topics (a single Aboutness-TopP and recursive Fam-TopPs) and the distinction between the two Focus positions, which occur in complementary distribution and lexicalise two distinct positions. As for the lower *v*P-periphery in (37b), it features ‘poorer’ content than the CP, inasmuch as it can only host Fam-Top/CLRD-constituents, whereas CFoc and IFoc must compete for a single Focus position.

2.3.2. Barese marked transitive word order

Recall the set of 6 word-order combinations in (18), §2.2, in which the only felicitous transitive unmarked order is SVO. In contrast, these 6 combinations are all available in Barese as marked options, whereby displacement of constituents to the CP- and *v*P-peripheries must necessarily be accompanied by specific prosodic patterns to felicitously convey the salient information. The dislocated constituent can only be correctly interpreted if uttered with the appropriate stress types (i.e. IFoc vs. CFoc) and intonational breaks (Topics) for each constituent. This provides Barese with more word-order combinations than e.g. standard Italian. The entire set of possible dislocations, i.e. IFoc (a-d; in bold), CFoc (e-h; in small caps), and Topics (underlined), of the unmarked sentence *Colinə ha'ccattàtə lə pəmədùrə* ‘Nick has bought tomatoes’ are presented in (38)-(43):

(38) **SVO**

IFoc:

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| a. | Colinə <u>ha'ccattàtə</u> <u>lə pəmədùrə</u> | [who bought tomatoes?] |
| b. | <u>Colinə</u> l' ha'ccattàtə , <u>lə pəmədùrə</u> | [what did Colinə do with those tomatoes?] |
| c. | <u>Colinə</u> <u>ha'ccattàtə</u> lə pəmədùrə | [what did Colinə buy?] |
| d. | <u>Colinə</u> ha'ccattàtə <u>lə pəmədùrə</u> | [what did Colinə do ?] |

CFoc:

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------|
| e. | <small>COLINƏ</small> <u>ha'ccattàtə</u> <u>lə pəmədùrə</u> | (not Finèllə) |
| f. | <u>Colinə</u> , l' <small>HA'CCATTÀTƏ</small> , <u>lə pəmədùrə</u> | (he hasn't stolen them) |
| g. | <u>Colinə</u> <u>ha'ccattàtə</u> <small>LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ</small> | (not oranges) |
| h. | <u>Colinə</u> <small>HA'CCATTÀTƏ</small> <small>LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ</small> | (he didn't do something else) |

(39) SOV

IFoc:

- a. *Colinə lə pəmədùrə (l')ha'ccattàtə
b. Colinə, lə pəmədùrə ha'ccattàtə [what did Colinə buy?]
c. Colinə, lə pəmədùrə, l'ha'ccattàtə [what did Colinə do with those tomatoes?]
d. *Colinə lə pəmədùrə ha'ccattàtə

CFoc:

- e. *COLINƏ lə pəmədùrə (l')ha'ccattàtə
f. Colinə, LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ ha'ccattàtə (not oranges)
g. Colinə, lə pəmədùrə, l'HA'CCATTÀTƏ (he hasn't sold them)
h. *Colinə LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ HA'CCATTÀTƏ

(40) VSO

IFoc:

- a. l'ha'ccattàtə, Colinə, lə pəmədùrə [what did Colinə do with those tomatoes?]
b. l'ha'ccattàtə Colinə, lə pəmədùrə [who bought tomatoes?]
c. *ha'ccattàtə Colinə lə pəmədùrə
d. *ha'ccattàtə, Colinə, lə pəmədùrə

CFoc:

- e. L'HA'CCATTÀTƏ, Colinə, lə pəmədùrə (he hasn't sold them)
f. l'ha'ccattàtə COLINƏ, lə pəmədùrə (not Mike)
g. *ha'ccattàtə Colinə LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ
h. *HA'CCATTÀTƏ, Colinə, LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ

(41) VOS

IFoc:

- a. l'ha'ccattàtə, lə pəmədùrə, Colinə [what did Colinə do with those tomatoes?]
b. ha'ccattàtə lə pəmədùrə, Colinə [what did Colinə buy?]
c. ha'ccattàtə lə pəmədùrə Colinə [who bought tomatoes?]
d. ha'ccattàtə lə pəmədùrə, Colinə [what did Colinə do?]

CFoc:

- e. l'HA'CCATTÀTƏ, lə pəmədùrə, Colinə (he hasn't sold them)
f. ha'ccattàtə LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ, Colinə (not oranges)
g. *ha'ccattàtə lə pəmədùrə COLINƏ (not Mike)
h. HA'CCATTÀTƏ LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ, Colinə (he didn't do something else)

(42) **OSV**

IFoc:

- a. ***lə pəmədùrə**, Colinə ha'ccattàtə
- b. lə pəmədùrə, **Colinə** l'ha'ccattàtə [who bought tomatoes?]
- c. lə pəmədùrə, Colinə, l'**ha'ccattàtə** [what did Colinə do with those tomatoes?]
- d. ***lə pəmədùrə**, Colinə, **ha'ccattàtə**

CFoc:

- e. *LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ Colinə ha'ccattàtə
- f. lə pəmədùrə, COLINƏ l'ha'ccattàtə (not Mike)
- g. lə pəmədùrə, Colinə l'HA'CCATTÀTƏ (he hasn't sold them)
- h. *LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ, Colinə, HA'CCATTÀTƏ

(43) **OVS**

IFoc:

- a. **lə pəmədùrə** ha'ccattàtə Colinə [what did Colinə buy?]
- b. ***lə pəmədùrə**, l'**ha'ccattàtə** Colinə
- c. lə pəmədùrə, l'ha'ccattàtə **Colinə** [who bought tomatoes?]
- d. ***lə pəmədùrə** **ha'ccattàtə**, Colinə

CFoc:

- e. LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ ha'ccattàtə Colinə (not oranges)
- f. lə pəmədùrə, l'HA'CCATTÀTƏ, Colinə (he hasn't sold them)
- g. lə pəmədùrə, l'ha'ccattàtə COLINƏ (not Mike)
- h. *LƏ PƏMƏDÙRƏ HA'CCATTÀTƏ, Colinə

Out of the 48 possible combinations (including VO, i.e. IFoc-/CFoc-/Top-VPs), the interaction between constituent-displacement and prosodic contour provides 32 available pragmatically marked structures, involving (contrastive/informational) focusing and topicalisation of single arguments (S and O), predicates (V) or entire VPs (VO). We observed in §2.3.1 that a great deal of southern Italian regional and dialectal varieties allow both informational and contrastive focus to surface both in preverbal and postverbal position; likewise, Barese allows discourse-salient constituents to be moved around rather freely in the peripheries, provided that they carry the adequate (contrastive or informational) stress which contributes in determining the pragmatic import of the information.

From the set of marked utterances shown above we observe that:

- i. the linear adjacency of VO in SVO and VOS word orders, i.e. the lack of constituent scrambling, favours a greater syntactic freedom, possibly due to the more direct local syntactic relation (and cohesion) between the verb and its direct object. In fact, IFoc and CFoc of entire VPs are only allowed when the V c-commands the O, while no adjacency (VSO, OSV) only yields narrow-focus.
- ii. CFoc is available for every constituent (VO predicate-focused structures included) surfacing in both left- and right-peripheries, provided it bears CFoc-intonation. Note that VOS with a CFoc-subject (41g) is not allowed as it violates the strict CFoc>TopP order. Further evidence of the occurrence of CFoc in both periphrases can be found in (44), where it is either preceded by an About-Top (in the CP) or followed by a Fam-Top (in the vP-periphery):
- (44) (la màghənə), (jìDDƏ) la ténə (jìDDƏ), (la màghənə) (no ji)
 the car he her holds he the car not I
 ‘As for the car, it’s him who’s got it, (not me)’
- iii. IFoc is allowed in sentence-initial position (or following a Topic), on a par with those Romance varieties with a ‘more conservative’ word order. The IFoc-fronted constituent(s) often occur(s) whenever the new information is unexpected or surprising, i.e. ‘mirative’²¹, but this is by no means a necessary requirement in Barese.
- iv. Both IFoc- and CFoc-fronted objects (42a)-(42e) require adjacency with the verb, hence disallowing OSV structures (cf. also Spanish: Zubizarreta 1998).

Lastly, Barese presents an additional possibility to mark CFoc, a cleft-focalisation similar to that of e.g. English and French:

- (45) (U CƏRVİDDƏ/) jè U CƏRVİDDƏ ca non də funzióne a ttè (no llə vràzzə)
 the brain is the brain that not to-you function to you (not the arms)
 ‘It is your brain that doesn’t work properly, (not your arms)!’

²¹Typologically, ‘mirativity’ (cf. DeLancey 1997; Cruschina 2010,2011) is a grammatical category used to express unexpected/surprising new information (which appears to be almost antithetic to the presupposed, ‘accessible’ subjects in §3).

We observed that Barese marked constructions offer more possibilities in terms of discourse relevant position, confirming its status as a discourse-configurational language.

We now move on to examining the word order of simple intransitive sentences. However, we will mainly concentrate on broad-focus orders, rather than narrow-foci which function exactly as discussed above for transitives. In contrast, we will observe how more out-of-the-blue orders are possible in Barese under certain pragmatico-semantic conditions.

2.4. Intransitives: a brief overview

The traditional idea of intransitivity as the simple inability of a predicate to select a DO was found inadequate and therefore revised in Perlmutter's (1978,1989:81) 'Unaccusative Hypothesis'. He observed that intransitive predicates do not form a homogeneous category, and present considerable differences in their underlying syntactic configurations. He identifies two types of intransitive predicates, i.e. unergatives and unaccusatives, whose traditional underlying representation is given in (46):

- (46) a. unergative(/transitive) [S_A [VP V (O)] John sings (*a gospel*)
 b. unaccusative [VP V S_O] John arrives

This cross-linguistic phenomenon was later called 'Split Intransitivity' (Van Valin 1990, Dowty 1991; Primus 1999; *i.a.*), and discussed, among others, by Burzio (1986), La Fauci (1988), Sorace (2000), Bentley (2006) and Loporcaro (2004,2007,2016) for (Italo-)Romance (see ch.4 for details and references).

The crucial distinction between these two classes of predicates consists in the thematic/semantic roles of their grammatical subjects ([agent [experiencer [goal [theme/patient]]]]), which map directly onto the different hierarchically-structured syntactic positions. On the one hand, unergatives, on a par with transitives, select agentive subjects (S_A) which are merged as external arguments, whereas unaccusatives take an Undergoer S_O as their internal argument, a position typically reserved for patients/themes/Undergoers, i.e. DOs(/passive subjects). On this view, the considerable similarities between transitives and unergatives become evident, as they both share the same type of agentive subject. Hale&Keyser (2002) explain this parallelism between transitives and unergatives through the presence/absence of an internal argument incorporated into a 'light verb' of the *do*-type. This process of 'conflation' (Hale&Keyser 2002:47), gives rise to unergatives, which are essentially transitives (i.e. both with an agentive subject) without an overt internal argument. Likewise, Benincà (2001:189), in the domain of standard Italian, defines these implicit/conflated arguments as

‘internal objects’ whose root is identical to that of the verb, e.g. *cantare (una canzone)* ‘to sing (a song)’, or whose meaning already constitutes part of the verb’s meaning, e.g. *dormire (*un sonno)* ‘to sleep (a sleep)’.

Standard Italian clearly shows how the unaccusative/unergative divide operates on different syntactic levels. The difference between unergative vs unaccusative subjects is immediately evident from the relative subject position, i.e. pre- and postnominal respectively. Moreover, unergatives and unaccusatives show a distinctive behaviour in the selection of perfective auxiliaries (cf. ch.4 for a detailed overview on Romance). Unergatives (47), on a par with transitives, select *avere* ‘have’, along with no overt subject-agreement on the past participle (Belletti 2001:17; Loporcaro 1998; 2016; cf. ch.3, §2.2.1-§4.2.5 respectively for details); their subjects cannot be replaced by the partitive clitic *ne*; and they allow the formation of deverbal agentive nouns in *-tore/-trice*:

(47) questo mese Maria_i (*ne) **ha** lavorat-**o**_i tutte le domeniche:
 this month Maria of-them has worked-M.SG every the Sundays

è davvero un’ instancabile lavora-**trice**
 is really a tireless work-er.F.SG

‘This month, Maria has worked every Sunday: she’s really a hard worker’

On the other hand, the category of standard Italian unaccusatives (48) is characterised by the opposite set of features to that displayed by unergatives. Unaccusatives, mainly verbs of (physical and figurative) motion/change of state, license patient/Undergoer subjects which behave as underlying objects. In most Romance varieties, these appear postverbally in sentence-focus contexts due to their lower position in the thematic hierarchy. Unaccusatives require perfective auxiliary *essere*, unlike transitive/unergatives; show \varnothing -feature agreement on the past participle, as do transitive objects/passive subjects (Kayne 1988; Belletti 1988; D’Alessandro&Roberts 2008:477), and resist passivisation. Moreover, unaccusatives cannot form deverbal nouns, e.g. *cadere*> **cadi-trice*_F/*-tore*_M ‘fall>*fall-er_{F/M}’, but their subjects do allow the partitive *ne*-cliticisation whenever the NP is pronominalised for discourse-related reasons:

(48) (ne) **sono** cadut-**i**_i due (vasi)_i
 of-them are.3PL fallen-M.PL two pots
 ‘two (vases) fell down’

However, the behaviour of a subset of unergatives (47) and unaccusatives (48) does share an inherent pragmatico-semantic feature which is reflected in their unmarked word order. In particular, this ‘hybrid’ set of predicates expresses location, motion or direction in their semantics, and is claimed to license a different type of silent argument than *pro* with a temporal/locative (LOC henceforth) reading, which favours VS as the unmarked word order (see Benincà 2001[1988]).

2.4.1. The (null-)locative inversion

A fine-grained categorisation of properties blurring the unergative/unaccusative divide has been discussed in Levin&Rappaport-Hovav’s (1995:215; L&R-H henceforth) chapter ‘The problem of locative inversion’. They identify a sub-category of unaccusatives and unergatives whose inherent locative/directional component in their semantics allows subject-verb inversion. Here we are mainly concerned with verbs of ‘inherently directed motion’, in particular unaccusative *arrive, come* and *go, enter* and *exit*²², or the change-of-state *die*, as well as ‘change-of-possession’ unergatives, such as *call, knock* and *buzz*. These verbs are claimed to ‘lexicalise a particular deictic orientation for the motion’ (L&R-H 1995:241), which can be a (concrete or abstract) source, goal, or static location. Relevant to our purposes, L&R-H (1995:261) discuss Bresnan’s (1993) work on the matter of pre- and postverbal (c)overt PPs (although they modify her hypothesis). Building on Perlmutter’s (1971) considerations of PPs and *that*-trace effects, Bresnan (1993) claims that overt preverbal PPs in locative-inversion constructions (PP-V-S) function as the grammatical subject of sentences presenting inversion, and are first-merged in subject position, whereas postverbal subjects behave as a proper object.²³

In (Italo-)Romance, Benincà (1988:123-125[2001:138-139]) was the first scholar to note that the canonical VS order of many standard Italian unaccusatives and unergatives (also known as ‘free inversion’) implied a locative/temporal reading which ‘anchors’ the action/event to the deictic centre of the utterance/discourse, i.e. the speaker. Although pragmatically unmarked in sentence-focus contexts, Benincà claims that the VS order is syntactically marked as it implies

²² Note that these unaccusatives have a transitive/causative variant in Barese (see also Andriani 2011:ch.4), on a par with other southern Italian dialects and many Spanish varieties (cf. English ‘walk the dog’), but unlike Italian:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|---|----------|------------|------------|-----|----------|
| i. | so | ttrasùtə/ | assùtə/ | ascənnùtə/ | ccrəsciùtə | lə | pəmədùrə |
| | am | entered | gone-out | gone-down | grown | the | tomatoes |
| | | ‘I’ve brought in(side)/brought out(side)/brought downstairs/grown the tomatoes’ | | | | | |

²³ See also Stowell (1981), who first proposes that these overt preverbal PPs are better characterised as Topics; his position is adopted and refined by Rizzi&Shlonsky (2006) who analyse these PPs as occupying the lowest projection in the CP domain, FinP; cf. also Corr (2016) for Ibero-Romance.

the ‘presence’ of an additional silent temporal/locative deictic argument (LOC) selected by the predicate in question:

(49) (LOC) è arrivato il postino (Benincà 2001:138-139)
 is arrived the mailman
 ‘the mailman has arrived (here/now)’

(50) (LOC) ha suonato il postino
 has rung the mailman
 ‘the mailman has rung (here/now)’

Pinto (1997) and Tortora (1997,1998,2001) followed Benincà’s intuition and further investigated the properties of Italo-Romance subject inversion in null-LOC constructions. Pinto (1997) argues that the unergative SV and VS configurations, albeit both pragmatically unmarked, do encode a semantic difference. The former surfaces when there is no explicit temporal/spatial determination, whereas the latter implies that the event is bound to an implicit ‘here and now’ situational/contextual meaning. Hence, the unmarked unergative SV option for *Il postino ha suonato* would also imply under-specification of time and place, meaning that the mailman has rung a(ny) bell at an unspecified given moment.

Remarkably, Tortora (1997,1998,2001) observes that the covert loco-temporal argument of this type of unaccusative motion verbs – and acknowledging Benincà’s intuition for unergatives too in Tortora (2001:314,fn.4) – finds its overt realisation in the Piedmontese Borgomanerese (51). An overt locative subject clitic *ngh* (LOCSCL) systematically appears enclitic to the verb and doubles the ‘genuine’ post-verbal locative (pro)clitic *ghi* (LOC), after which she labels this as the ‘*ghi*-construction’:

(51) *ngh* è rivà -gghi na fjola (Tortora 2001:317)
 LOCSCL is arrived -LOC a girl
 ‘a girl (has) arrived’

Whenever the SV is used (52), the locative clitics are replaced by the regular subject clitic (SCL):

(52) na fjola l’ è rivà (Tortora 2001:318)
 a girl SCL is arrived
 ‘a girl (has) arrived’

Tortora's evidence from Borgomanerese reinforces the claim that VS order with certain motion predicates implies a loco-temporal deictic reading, which in this variety is overtly realised syntactically. However, she shows that the '*ghi*-construction' of Borgomanerese exclusively surfaces with goal-entailing motion unaccusatives, e.g. *rivé*, 'to arrive' (51)-(52), and is ruled out with non-goal entailing predicates, e.g. *partì*, 'to leave' (53) (cf. also standard Italian; Benincà 2001[1988]:139).

- (53) a. l' è partè la me amisa (Tortora 1998:291)
 SCL is left the my friend
 'My friend (has) left'
- b. *Ngh è partè -gghi la me amisa²⁴
 LOC SCL is gone -LOC the my friend

More restricted than in Borgomanerese, Sardinian shows an overt locative clitic *bi* surfacing preverbally only in case of indefinite-subject inversion with unergatives (cf. Manzini&Savoia 2005). The verb in (54c) fails to agree with the post-verbal plural indefinite subject *metas pessones*, 'many people', agreeing instead with the *there*-type of clitic.

- (54) [Itte est sutsessu?]
- a. su mastru de muru at telefonatu (Jones 1993:20)
 the master of wall has telephoned
 'the builder has called (somewhere/at some point in time)'
- b. (como/inoke) at telefonatu su mastru de muru
 (now/here) has telephoned the master of wall
 'the builder has called (here/now)'
- c. **b'** at telefonatu metas pessones
 LOC has telephoned many people
 'many people have called (here)'

²⁴ Corr (2012:33) points out that Tortora (2001:317) does not provide evidence for the ungrammaticality of *partì* 'leave' with an indefinite DP; hence, the ungrammaticality of (53b) may be due to definiteness effects, and not necessarily to the source-entailing predicate 'leave'.

For exposition purposes, I will label ‘Benincà’s verbs’ (‘B-verbs’ henceforth) the subset of verbs encoding a null loco-temporal argument in VS structures. We will discuss the syntactic and (pragmatico-)semantic behaviour of B-verbs, without attempting to provide an exhaustive list. In particular, we will discuss the nature of the null locative following Corr’s (2012) analysis of Ibero-Romance varieties, as well as clarify the ‘underspecified’ location of the event/action pointed out by Pinto (1997) for unmarked SV orders, which in Barese shows a peculiar discourse-salient function relating to the speakers’ Common Ground (§3).

2.4.2. Barese unergatives

Barese unergatives share with transitives an identical underlying syntactic and thematic configuration, i.e. $S_A V(O)$, modulo the presence of the overt complement. This implies the sole felicity of the $S_A V$ word order in sentence-focus contexts, while the VS_A configuration’s felicity is ruled out, as it would yield narrow-scope focus of the subject:

(55) [c’ha statə/səccìəssəʔ]

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. Pasquàlə ha ffadəgàtə | b. #ha ffadəgàtə Pasquàlə |
| Pasquale has worked | has worked Pasquale |
| ‘Pasquale has worked’ | |

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (56) a. la sróchə ha sparagnàtə | b. #ha sparagnàtə la sróchə |
| the mother-in-law has saved | has saved the mother-in-law |
| ‘the mother-in-law has saved (money)’ | |

An exception can be found among a limited set of those unergatives, namely B-verbs licensing a covert deictic argument, i.e. locative or temporal. For instance, the Barese unergative B-verbs ‘call’ (57) and ‘knock’ (58) may license both $S_A V$ and VS_A configurations in sentence-focus contexts; only the latter receives a loco-temporal deictic reading with respect to the speaker’s coordinates:

(57) [c’ha statə/ssəccìəssəʔ]

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. Giuànnə ha ttələfonàtə | b. (mo’/ddó) ha ttələfonàtə Giuànnə |
| John has telephoned | now here has telephoned John |
| ‘John has called’ | ‘John has called (now/here)’ |

- (58) a. Gisèllə ha ttəzzuàtə
 Gisella has knocked
 ‘Gisella has knocked’
- b. (mo’ddó) ha ttəzzuàtə Gisèllə
 now here has knocked Gisella
 ‘Gisella has knocked (now/here)’

If we consider the case in which the loco-temporal PP is instead overtly realised, the most natural and felicitous word order for Barese B-verbs is S_A -V-PP: the deictic argument is overt and surfaces postverbally, following the more common pattern with the agentive subject surfacing preverbally:

- (59) [c’ha statə/ssəcciəssə?]
 quacchedùnə ha ssənàtə a(lla càsə də) Jènzə
 someone has rung to(-the house of) Vinnie
 ‘someone has rung Vinnie’s (doorbell)’

In §3, we will shed light on a peculiar characteristic of Barese B-verbs in SV configurations, whereby the preverbal subject does not simply convey a loco-temporal underspecification of the event (cf. Pinto 1997). Rather, the subject seems to acquire pragmatic salience even though it occurs in the scope of sentential focus.

2.4.3. Barese unaccusatives

Considering Barese unaccusatives in pragmatically unmarked contexts, we come across a less expected word-order pattern similar to that observed for unergative B-verbs. Recall that the main characteristic of Romance unaccusatives (cf. §2.4) is that they display the neutral VS_O word order. Yet, besides the classical unaccusative alignment VS_O , Barese consistently displays the inverted S_OV order in unmarked contexts. This is shown in (60)-(61), accompanied by a context description:

(Speakers A and B are knitting on the streets. Suddenly, A stops and B asks:)

- (60) [pərcé də sì affərmàtə, c’ ha stàtə/ssəcciəssə?]
 why self are.2SG stopped what has been/happened
 ‘why did you stop, what happened?’

- a. Mari st’ a vvéne
 Mary stands to come
 ‘Maria is coming’
- b. st’ a vvéne Mari
 stands to come Mary

(A daughter calls her mother for updates on their relatives; the mother is crying and she asks:)

(61) [pərcé st' a cchiàngə, c' ha statə/səccìəssə?]
 why stand.2SG to cry what has been/happened
 'why are you crying, what happened?'

a.	u zziànə ha mmuèrtə	b.	ha mmuèrtə u zziànə
	the uncle has died		has died the uncle
	'the uncle has died'		

The Barese answers in (60a) and (61a) genuinely reflect an instance of sentence-focus, whereby both constituents convey rhematic information without any particular intonation which would signal narrow focus. It seems that both S_0V and its inverted counterpart are acceptable answers in unmarked contexts if the S_0 of the unaccusative V is part of the CG and both constituents occur in the scope of the broad focus. The S_0V word order will be discussed in §3. On the other hand, the answer in (60b) and (61b) readily patterns with the VS_0 configuration of B-verbs, where a deictic reading is conveyed; in the case of *məri*, 'die', rather than a locative interpretation, the VS_0 word order conveys a temporal reading, i.e. 'now', as observed by Pinto (1997:24) for standard Italian.

As for pronominal verbs their behaviour is identical to the regular unaccusatives in that both canonical VS_0 and S_0V are felicitous in sentence-focus contexts:

(62) a.	*(s')ha ppənditə u bbòssə	b.	u bbòssə *(s')ha ppənditə
	self has repented the boss		the boss self has repented
	'the (criminal) boss has repented himself'		

(63) a.	*(s')ha ngazzàte u mèstə	b.	u mèstə *(s')ha ngazzàte
	self has pissed-off the master		the master self has pissed-off
	'the <i>master</i> got pissed off'		

Predictably, these verbs also allow for both VS and SV alternations under sentence-focus: the former word order implies a temporal specification (closely related to the change of state/condition these convey) with a deictic reading linked to the speaker's collocation, the latter instead conveys the accessibility-reading shown above in (60a) and (61a), to which we devote §3.

2.4.4. Null-locatives as EPP-satisfiers

Corr (2012), in her analysis of Ibero-Romance ‘(null-)locative inversion’, identifies the inherently semantic features of such a set of (abstract or physical) motion verbs, which covers a great deal of the unaccusative category on the basis of the classification laid out by Levin (1993) and L&R-H (1995). Following Kayne (2005) and Svenonius (2010), she provides a fine-grained categorisation of the semantic functions encoded by these null-locative constructions. These correspond to specific locative/temporal features scattered across dedicated projections in a multi-layered PP-structure, summed up in Table 2.2 for Ibero-Romance (Corr 2012:40):

Table 2.2. *The encoding of P-related features in Ibero-Romance intransitives*

Type of P	Projections/Features	Verbs
SourceP	Source, Deixis, Goal, Location	<i>salir/sair; irse</i> (‘go out; leave’)
DeixisP	Deixis, Goal, Location	<i>venir/vir; llamar/ligar</i> (‘come; call’)
GoalP	Goal, Location	<i>entrar; morir/morrir/morrer</i> (‘enter; die’)
LocationP	Location	<i>llorar; gritar; dimitir</i> (‘cry; shout; resign’)

The features/projections are structured into an implicational hierarchy of (silent) PP-arguments c-selected by the intransitive verb. The covert presence of these projections allows the null-locative inversion under sentence-focus, which licenses a loco-temporal deictic reading of the action/event. Corr shows that these features are language-specific, i.e. only subsets of them may be available in a given (Ibero-Romance) variety. On the basis of this ‘parametrised’ accessibility of PP-features, she concludes that (examples from Corr (2012:17,19,50)):

- i. **DeixisP** is the only feature available to all Ibero-Romance languages taken into account (Peninsular, Mexican, and Argentinian Spanish; Asturian; European and Brazilian Portuguese):

(64) a. #María ha venido	b. ha venido María
María has come	has come María
‘María has come’	‘María has come (here/now)’

- ii. **GoalP** is present in all languages, except European and Brazilian Portuguese (which only have DeixisP; Corr 2012:49; cf. also Costa 2004):

(65) a. Juan ha entrado	b. ha entrado Juan
Juan has entered	has entered Juan
‘Juan has entered (somewhere)’	‘Juan has entered (this place/now)’

3. Preverbal subjects with Barese ‘B-verbs’

From our survey of possible Barese unmarked word orders, an unexpected pattern emerges among B-verbs, i.e. unaccusatives (and unergatives) encoding an additional loco-temporal element anchoring the action/event to the speaker’s spatio-temporal coordinates, which allows subject-verb inversion. In particular, the unmarked SV order is immediately evident with unaccusatives (and unergative B-verbs), for which the VS order is expected. We argue that the availability of both pre- and postverbal surface positions of the subject is connected to two different pragmatico-semantic functions. On the one hand, we have pan-Romance (null-)locative inversion yielding (LOC)VS (§2.4.4). On the other, SV is licensed whenever the subject (of predication) is mentally accessible to, i.e. retrievable from the CG of, the speakers involved in the speech act. This phenomenon requires both pragmatico-semantic (§3.1-§3.2) and syntactic clarifications (§3.3). A relevant correlation can be found in the pragmatic analysis proposed by Prince (1992), in which postverbal subjects of *there*-sentences tend to convey ‘hearer-new’ information, i.e. not part of the CG. This intuition seems to be the counterpart of our ‘accessibility of the subject’ intuition, which favours old/known, i.e. accessible, information to the hearer occurring preverbally in Barese.

Recall the example in (61), repeated here as (74), eliciting entirely rhematic information in sentence-focus context:

(74) [pərcé st’ a cchiàngə, c’ ha statə/ssəcciəssə?]
why stand.2SG to cry what has been/happened
‘why are you crying, what happened?’

a. u zziànə ha mmuèrtə
the uncle has died
‘the uncle has died’

b. ha mmuèrtə u zziànə
has died the uncle
‘the uncle has died (recently in time)’

In the ‘unexpected’ order (74a), the preverbal subject is not contrastively focused/stressed (Zubizarreta 1998), nor is any CLLD comma-break heard between S and V (although *u zziànə, ha mmuèrtə* with a topical subject is perfectly grammatical, it is infelicitous in this context). Moreover, no topicalised or other constituents (75a) – apart from clitics (75b), negation and intervening adverbs (75c) – can be interposed between the preverbal subject and its associated finite verb.

(75) [c'ha statə/ssəcciəssə?]

- a. #u zziànə **de təmórə** ha mmuèrtə [**< còm('jé ch')ha mmuèrtə u zziànə?**]
the uncle of tumor has died how is that has died the uncle
'the uncle has died of tumor' [**< how did the uncle die?**]
- b. u zziànə ng' ha mmuèrtə (a Ccolinə)
The uncle to-him has died to Nick
'Nick's uncle has died'
- c. màmə-tə angórə nònn' ha 'rrəvətə
mum-yours yet not has arrived
'your mother hasn't arrived yet'

The SV order is felicitous under sentential focus because of the nature of the 'fronted' subject: [3] definite (but, crucially, also indefinite), specific, referential and, most importantly, retrievable/accessible from the CG of the hearer and speaker. This leads us to argue for the presence of a (pragmatico-)semantic feature which may attract B-verb (as well as other predicates') subjects to this non-canonical preverbal position – yet, not an instantiation of A'-movement. In particular, we identify this A-position as the specifier of Cardinaletti's (2004) 'subject of the predication' projection, right above her EPPP. This position does not only host syntactic subjects, for which TP (Cardinaletti's AgrSP) is also employed, but also 'semantic' subjects. Their referents are functional to the discourse and, at the same time, EPP-satisfiers. We will argue that the trigger for this discourse-driven fronting is a semantic feature encoded in the Subj head, which is linked to the intrinsic semantic properties of this type of subject within the discourse.

3.1. A Theme within the Rheme

The preverbal position filled by Barese B-verb subjects in rhematic contexts clashes with the usual assumption for a configurationally determined thematic-role mapping for (Romance) unaccusatives, in which non-agentive arguments surface lower, i.e. post-verbally, in the scale of agentivity (Grimshaw 1990). We will consider this preverbal position to be (pragmatically-)activated at the moment in which the speaker presupposes mutual CG information with the hearer. In particular, the speaker will front the B-verb subject whenever the hearer/addressee can mentally access the (supposedly) shared referent.

In contrast, the fronted subject may be infelicitous in sentence-focus contexts as the hearer

cannot fully interpret the presupposition, i.e. mentally access the ‘familiar’ referent, as it is evidently not part of the shared CG. A clear pragmatic consequence of the inaccessibility of the referent (in both VS or SV) is that the hearer may ask for clarifications, i.e. ‘who/what V?’, thus eliciting (informational) narrow-focus on the subject (§2.3). Consequently, despite occurring in the scope of sentential focus, these subjects can, at the same time, be considered a type of topic, in the sense that the information they carry must necessarily be shared knowledge between the interlocutors. The ‘topical information’ must be initially ‘identifiable’ (Lambrecht 1994:105), but also retrievable from the shared (extra-linguistic) CG of the discourse-participants. Nonetheless, this should not be treated equally to the topics of CLLD structures (discussed in §2.3) found in other (Italo-)Romance varieties. Following Chafe (1987), Lambrecht (1994:165) identifies a ‘Topic Acceptability Scale’, reproduced in (76), which provides the different degrees of acceptability for the successful ‘retrieval’ of topical information in the interlocutors’ minds:

(76) Active	(Most acceptable)
Accessible	
Unused	
Brand-new anchored	
Brand-new unanchored	(Least acceptable)

The higher levels of acceptability in the scale are directly proportional to the effort of the hearer in processing/accessing/retrieving the topical information; if the topic is still active in the interlocutors’ shared CG, it will rank as most acceptable, and vice-versa. In §3.2 we provide a range of suitable Barese referents for these levels of Topic acceptability, in order for the subject/referent to appear in preverbal position. Predictably, the referents which are identifiable by both speakers, hence able to be fronted, should not belong to Lambrecht’s ‘brand-new unanchored’ topical information. In contrast, unidentifiable information/referent is beyond the knowledge, memory or consciousness of the hearer who cannot relate to what the speaker is referring. In other words, fronting is infelicitous if the hearer ignores the ‘existence’ of the relevant information itself. This relates to Strawson’s (1964:97) ‘Principle of Relevance’, for which ‘we do not, except in social desperation, direct isolated and unconnected pieces of information at each other’.

Clearly, every fronted subject could potentially be identifiable from the speaker’s perspective, as this constitutes the starting point of the communication, where the selection of CG information, i.e. the shared presupposition, takes place. In order to be fully felicitous, i.e. uttered in the relevant pragmatic context in which referents and events are identifiable by the

discourse-participants, the fronted referent must also be accessible/identifiable by the hearer.

3.2. A closer look at ‘interpretable’ information

We now discuss *active*, *accessible* and *unused* ‘topical’ information by testing them with Barese referents in order to assess at what level on Lambrecht’s acceptability scale fronted subjects can be licensed as ‘topical’ information within sentence-focus contexts. We introduce each type of information according to Chafe (1987), from which these terms are borrowed.

3.2.1. Active information

In Lambrecht’s discussion, the ‘active’ topic reflects the fact that it is: present, effortlessly retrievable, immediately accessible, and relevant in the propositional domain in which it occurs. In other words, the presupposed CG shared by the discourse-participants, particularly by the addressee of the utterance with respect to the presupposition of the speaker.

Chafe (1987) describes an item as active if it is ‘currently lit up’ in the interlocutor’s consciousness; as soon as another item gets activated, the former will pass its status onto the new activated item. The relation established between the interlocutor and the active piece of information requires ‘low-cost’ effort on behalf of the addressee to be able to access the relevant information. Thus, the effort a speaker makes to retrieve stored information, within which a set of entities cannot reasonably be constantly active, is minimal. Moreover, a ‘discourse-active item’ also relies on the speaker’s assumption in relation to what (s)he expects to be active in the hearer’s mind. Chafe identifies as common properties of active items their prosodic tendency to bear weak, i.e. ‘neutral’ stress; their morphosyntactic tendency to be pronominalised (but not subjects in e.g. Romance), or undergo (retrievable) phonological omission. Hence, a relevant example of ‘active’ topical subject in Barese is indeed the null *pro*:

- (77) so ccangiàtə na rôtə_i e Ø_i ss’ ha sckattàtə arrétə
am changed a wheel and (it) self has destroyed again
‘I replaced the wheel and it broke again’

The indefinite DO *na rôtə* in (77) of the first coordinate conjunct remains active in the following sentences as *pro*, which can be interpreted as the subject of the second coordinate conjunct.

3.2.2 Accessible information

Below ‘active’ information, hence (partially) excluding it, we find the more complex concept of ‘accessibility’, i.e. ‘semi-activeness’ in Chafe’s (1987) terms. Relevant to our purposes,

Lambrecht states that ‘the difference between accessible and inactive referents can have syntactic consequences; in particular it can influence the position of a constituent in the sentence or the choice of one rather than another grammatical construction’ (1994:100). In this respect, Lambrecht (1994:100) draws a finer-grained distinction within the class of ‘accessible topics’, for which we provide relevant Barese examples:

- i. *Textually accessible*: a referent whose state has recently been deactivated in the discourse;

(78) A: discə ca Mari ha stətə tåndə də chidd’annə nzimə a Ccolinə...
 says that Mary has been many of those years together to Nick
 ‘they say that Mary has been together with Nick for so many years...’

B: e nzòmmə, c’ ha ssəcciəssə?
 and in-sum what has happened
 ‘and so, what’s happened?’

A: Mari sə n’ ha ffəsciùtə
 Mary self from-there has run-away
 ‘Mary has run away’

The subject *Mari* is no longer entirely active once the new informationally focused item *Colinə* is introduced and thus activated. In ‘Mary ran away’, the inactive subject is still textually accessible and the sentence-focused utterance will therefore be felicitous with a preverbal subject.

- ii. *Inferentially accessible*: a referent which is accessible through inference from some other active or accessible material in the discourse (both linguistic and extra-linguistic context);

(79) A: c’ ha ssecciəssə? non dinə lùscə a ccàssə-tə?
 what has happened not hold.2SG light at home-your
 ‘what happened? A black-out in your place?’

B: sinə, la cəndralinə ha zzəmbàtə
 yes the electric-box has jumped
 ‘yes, the electrical box melted/broke down’

In (79), the referent ‘electric box’, although previously unmentioned in the discourse, becomes accessible to the hearer as the information *black-out* is activated (as in ‘you don’t have electricity at home?’). The latter felicitously relates through deduction to the event of an electric box melting down, and the pitch darkness in which the addressee finds himself/herself makes the ‘electric box’ an active/accessible referent.

iii. *Situationally accessible*: a referent which is present in the text-external world.

(80) (*A car with a foreign registration has crashed and its driver lies on the ground beside it. Passenger A and driver B both eye-witness this while driving in the other direction.:*)

A: mudù, c’ ha ssecciæssø?
 INTJ what has happened
 ‘oh my God, what happened?’

B: nu fræstiærø ha mmuærtø!
 a foreigner has died
 ‘a foreigner died!’

Morphologically, one would expect a non-topical subject such as *a foreigner*, indefinite and ‘unanchored’ to any modifier phrase which may activate its representation in the hearer’s mind, to be inactive and therefore unexpected preverbally in a rhematic answer. However, in this case the *foreigner* does have a specific, ‘situationally accessible’ referent in both interlocutors’ minds since they both eye-witnessed (as part of the text-external world) that such a foreigner may have died in a car accident. Consider instead the case in which only the driver in (81B) realises that the car’s registration is foreign and the passenger (81A) only notices a person lying on the ground and not his geographical provenance:

(81) A: c’ ha ståtø?
 what has been
 ‘what happened?’

B: nu cræstiànø/ #nu fræstiærø ha mmuærtø
 a person a foreigner has died
 ‘a person/a foreigner died’

The hearer in (81A) will not be able to access the referent *a foreigner* in the answer (81B), but only what forms part of the CG of the hearer, namely *a person*. Therefore, despite the fact that both subjects are indefinite and occur in sentence-focus, the only felicitous, interpretable option to occur in preverbal position is the subject *a (dead) person*, whose mental representation of the hearer does not need to meet any other specifications such as [+foreigner]. The activation status of *nu crăstiănă* (i.e. a (dead) human being) is satisfied on the basis of the prompt accessibility of the referent, and activated in the hearer's mind through text-external information, i.e. eye-witness status. The same does not hold for *a foreigner*, which is an element within the superset of *people*, and if the extra [+foreigner] specification is no longer shared by both interlocutors, it will be unidentifiable, hence inaccessible in the mind of the hearer.

3.2.3 'Unused' information

One level below 'accessible information', we find 'unused' topical information. This includes referents that are still remotely identifiable/accessible in the mental imagery of the interlocutors, but are far from being active:

(82) (*Nephew A notices that his grandfather B, a fan of Mina ('60s Italian singer), is sad:*)

A: u no', c' ha statø?
 the grandpa.VOC what has been
 'Grandpa, what's the matter?'

B: Min' ha sparəsciütø!
 Mina has disappeared
 'Mina has disappeared (i.e. went missing)!'

The preverbal subject *Mina*, assumed as CG knowledge by the grandfather B with the nephew A, is a completely inactive referent stored distantly in the nephew's mind. Nonetheless, *Mina* is a retrievable and accessible referent for the nephew, as it was previously introduced by the grandfather and forms part of their shared CG. Hence, the SV order is felicitous because the nephew does know who the grandfather's favourite singer is, and thus can access the unused and remotely identifiable topical information his grandfather is referring to. Were the grandfather referring to the disappearance of one of his long-forgotten school friends named *Mina*, the nephew would not be able to access the referent in question and would need further clarification to identify her, thus leading to the infelicity of (82B).

Summing up, the pragmatico-semantic nature of Barese ‘topical’ subjects must be accessible – to different extents – to the hearer, whereas ‘inaccessible’ fronted subjects are infelicitous preverbally, requiring the hearer to further disambiguate the relevant information. We can now turn to the syntax of this pragmatico-semantic phenomenon in Barese.

3.3. The syntax of Barese preverbal subjects of B-verbs

In the previous sections, the Topic Acceptability scale and related Barese evidence helped us to detect which sets of topical information (active, accessible and unused) can have access to a non-canonical argumental subject position. In Barese only those subjects whose mental representation is (remotely) stored, i.e. unused yet still identifiable and accessible by speaker and, especially, hearer, will be able to surface in preverbal position.

One might claim that the landing site where the subject is attracted to could be the lowest topic projection in the CP domain identified by Frascarelli&Hinterhölzl (2007): the ‘familiarity topic’, given and accessible (cf. Chafe 1987; Pesetsky 1993). Despite the conceptual similarities shared between both types of topical information, Barese subject-fronting does not really convey pragmatic saliency of any constituents as it occurs under sentence-focus, i.e. inthetic/rhematic sentences.²⁵ This suggests that no syntactic material is dislocated to the peripheries, i.e. the subject remains in A-position. One revealing piece of evidence (cf. (75a)) shows the infelicity of the utterance in (83) whenever a (focused) constituent intervenes between subject and verb. This would be unexpected if the subject were in an A’-position:

- (83) #u zziàṇə **de təmórə**/DE TƏMÓRƏ ha mmuèrtə
 the uncle of tumor of tumor has died
 ‘(as for) the uncle, he died of tumor’

Following Cardinaletti’s (2004) typology of preverbal subject A-positions hosting both semantic subjects, it can be argued that their distribution is not (entirely) determined by purely syntactic factors, i.e. thematic roles. In particular, Barese makes especially visible the preverbal ‘subject of predication’, i.e. a ‘semantic’ subject with specific semantic features ‘regulating’ its occurrence in dedicated positions within the clause. It is well-known that semantic features, e.g. ‘specificity’ (Enç 1991; Diesing 1992; *i.a.*), determine the interpretation of a number of relevant (pragmatico)-semantic properties encoded in the elements of the discourse. These features can be triggers for movement, e.g. ‘specificity’ in the case of prepositional accusatives (see Torrego

²⁵ These two adjacent positions (Rizzi&Shlonsky 2006; Shlonsky 2013; Rizzi 2015) deserve further research.

(1998) for Spanish; Ledgeway (2000) for Neapolitan; Andriani (2015) for Barese). Likewise, the [\pm accessible] feature expresses a semantico-pragmatic function which presupposes the processing of accessible material in the speaker's mind, drawing their attention to the fact that the [+accessible] element is 'felicitously' present within their shared CG. Conceptually, the [+accessible] subject thus pertains to the intersecting set formed by the individual sets of the speakers' knowledge; the intersection of these two sets will constitute the CG information accessible by both speakers, who will be able to unambiguously compute the individuation of the referent, be it unique (one precise item of the intersection set) or exhaustive (an entire class/collection of items within the intersection set).

Hence, accessibility seems to entail 'referentiality' and 'specificity' with respect to discourse-external, yet 'known' referents. When accounting for the split of preverbal subject positions, Cardinaletti (2004:121) suggests that 'referentiality' be encoded in the semantics of the preverbal subject in the highest subject position (SpecSubjP), where 'strong' semantic subjects are attracted. Moreover, we have noted that these subjects must be [3] persons, but need not to be morphologically definite as long as they are specific (see also how Richards (2008) formalises 'specificity' in minimalist terms by appealing to the feature [person]). In §2.1, we saw Shlonsky's (2013) proposal that one of the attracting features of Subj^0 is indeed [person] (cf. also Rizzi 2015). On the basis of these intuitions, the semantic and syntactic prominence of subjects of B-verbs is determined by what we have identified as being [+accessible] information, which is marked in Barese syntax by means of subject raising to a dedicated semantic-related preverbal position within the clausal core. We argue that the Barese preverbal subject position is activated due to the [+accessible] feature encoded on the DP-subject. Such a feature(-checking) is the main driving force for the subject to be attracted to the specifier of the 'subject-of-the-predication' projection (SpecSubjP), a 'criterial position' (Rizzi 2006:102,2015) in which a local checking configuration is established with the relevant functional head Subj which encodes the matching [+accessible] feature. The derivation in (84) captures the movement of the subject:

- (84) [SubjP **u zziàno**<sub>[+accessible]_j] [Subj ' Subj [TP **u zziàno**<sub>[+EPP]_j] [T' **ha mmuèrtə**_i] [VP t_i **u zziàno**_j]]]
 'the uncle has died'</sub></sub>

Hence, whenever the preverbal null-LOC-argument is not selected as a default option, Barese B-verbs will lack an EPP-satisfier and the structural requirement of projecting the specifier of TP (as postulated in §2.4.4) will not be met. However, the (LOC)VS configuration does not necessarily entail the inaccessibility of the subject, but simply the presence of the additional covert argument which is responsible for the loco-temporal deictic interpretation of the utterance. From a

structural point of view, Barese shows evidence for the presence of an EPP-feature that needs checking (against T) whenever the covert LOC argument is not selected, hence unavailable to check the EPP-feature. The [+accessible] subject, first-merged in the lexical domain, will act as EPP-satisfier in TP on its way to check [+accessible] and [+subject of the predication] features on Subj° and land in SpecSubjP. This [+accessible] subject-raising to SpecSubjP is overtly realised with the subjects of B-verbs, but the same could allegedly be claimed for strong subjects of other verb classes. Hence, we can conclude that the two main driving forces causing Barese subjects to be attracted from the VP-complement(/Spec-vP) position(s) are the need to check an EPP-feature (for structural reasons) and a [+accessible] feature (for pragmatico-semantic reasons), respectively on T and Subj. At the same time, nominative-Case can be checked and assigned by T, whose specifier will be the very first landing site of the subject outside the VP-domain.

The behaviour of these Barese subjects – and perhaps those of other spoken (Italo-)Romance varieties – is peculiar among Romance languages. Barese syntactically encodes the semantic feature of [±accessibility] of referents in its grammar which is reflected by overt subject raising to a preverbal position. Elsewhere in Romance, in contrast, the locative reading systematically ‘overrides’ the [accessible] feature, which is allegedly not parametrically encoded in the syntax. Presumably, the Barese feature in question is rather a bundle of features (viz. [person], [referential], [specific], [accessible], [EPP]), whose encoding in standard Romance is simply not present, or sufficiently ‘strong’ to be attracted to SpecSubjP (and satisfy the EPP). The lack of a loco-temporal reading noted by Pinto (1997) for SV in standard Romance is not interpreted in Barese as an underspecified direction of motion, but as a pragmatico-semantic property of [+accessible] subjects. This feature needs checking against the head of the highest available preverbal subject position, attracting the subject; this, in turn, is unable to access the higher CP phase since it is frozen in place (SpecSubjP) whenever its [+accessible] feature is checked and its Criterion is met (Rizzi 2004,2006). Hence, the preverbal position of Barese, dedicated to ‘strong’ DP-subjects, may signal a particular context-related interpretation of the subject, namely its being accessible to the interlocutors’ knowledge.

4. Conclusions

In this chapter we have discussed the (un)marked word orders available in Barese simple declarative root clauses. The three main classes of Barese verbs considered seem to display a ‘permissive’ syntactic behaviour, inasmuch as Barese can overtly realise more articulated pragmatico-semantic nuances in its syntax that, for example, Italian and Spanish are unable to mark. We observed that Barese pragmatically marked structures may exploit both left- and right-peripheries for IFoc, CFoc and Topic, provided that they are marked by the right intonation,

pitch-accent, or comma break. As for intransitives, we observed that both VS and SV occur under broad focus whenever a loco-temporal argument is implicit, or the subject is [+accessible] in both speakers' minds, respectively. Taking discourse-configurationality to form a continuum, Barese proves to be more inclined to such behaviour than other standard Romance languages, where left-peripheral IFoc, right-peripheral CFoc and SubjP are generally left unused.

1. Introduction: The nominal domain

This chapter explores the internal structure of the Determiner Phrase (DP) of Barese, focusing mainly on adjectival, possessive and demonstrative modifiers. We employ the term DP to refer to the entire nominal expression, rather than Noun Phrase (NP), on the basis of the theoretical assumptions developed by Abney (1987), building on Jackendoff (1972) and Szabolcsi (1981,1983,1987). The ‘DP-hypothesis’ correlates/equates the structure and the transformations of the nominal domain with those assumed for the clausal domain.²⁶ Abney (1987) first hypothesised that the lexical N projects at phrase-level the NP, which, in turn, is selected as the complement of a series of functional projections. The maximal projection is headed by D, which determines the category of the entire nominal expression, the DP, and constitutes the extended projection of the N (cf. Grimshaw 2005). Hence, the NP is treated as the lexical constituent of a more comprehensive DP structure. The tripartite DP-structure (1b) parallel to that of the clause (1a) is represented in (1):

	[Complementation layer	[Inflectional layer	[Lexical layer]]]
(1) a.	[CP	[IP	[VP]]]
b.	[DP	[Agr/FP(s)	[NP]]]

Both structures present a lexico-thematic domain where the N/V are first-merged. Both V and N check features in the Inflectional domain against functional heads. Finally, the highest portion of the two structures is where the heads C/D are merged so that the following material can be interpreted accordingly.

Crosslinguistically, these domains reveal considerable parametric micro-variation in terms of the language-specific morpho(phono)lexical forms adopted, their surface orders and relative interpretation (as well as scope properties). We adopt these general guidelines to understand the distribution of Barese DP-internal elements in a comparative Romance perspective. The main functional categories forming the extended projection of N are Adjective Phrases (AP), Possessive(/Genitive) Phrases (PossP), Demonstrative Phrases (DemP), discussed in this chapter in §2-§3-§4 respectively, as well as Numeral Phrases (NumP) and Quantifier Phrases (QP), left for future research. Their structural positions are assumed to follow a fixed underlying order

²⁶ Cf. Giorgi&Longobardi 1991; Bernstein 1991,1993,2001; Cinque 1995,2002,2005; Longobardi 1994,2001,2005; Longobardi&Silvestri 2013; Lyons 1999; Giusti 2002,2006,2015; Alexiadou,Haegeman&Stavrou 2007; Roberts 2011.

which applies cross-linguistically, as in Cinque (1995,2005). He draws his generalisation on a revised version by Hawkins (1983:119) of Greenberg's (1966:87) 'Universal 20', suggesting that the universal unmarked DP-structure is D-Num-A-N (Cinque 2005:321,2010). This sequence constitutes the initial, first-merge order from which the other (23) possible combinations can be derived via phrasal movement of the NP (Cinque 2010): whenever DP-internal constituent is merged in the structure, the NP (or a more complex XP containing it) raises to the specifier of the relevant DP-internal functional projection(s), e.g. APs (§2.4). In turn, each functional projection is governed by its own Agr/FP, whose head is endowed with a nominal feature; their specifiers will be filled by the NP (or XP containing it), which is attracted from the lexical domain (cf. Cinque 2005:325-326). However, certain determiner-less Ns, e.g. proper names and kinship Ns with enclitic possessive pronouns (§3.1.2), will be argued to undergo head (vs phrasal) movement to the empty D position (Longobardi 1994). Finally, we discuss Barese demonstratives, which display a peculiar structure involving definite articles and distal demonstrative pronouns (§4.6).

In the light of these assumptions, it will be shown how the structure of a complex Barese DP gradually expands when merging the relevant elements. This enables us to detect which positions are lexicalised by the different Barese DP-constituents, and where the NP will have to sit to obtain a grammatical order with respect to adjectives, possessives and demonstratives.

2. Adjectives

2.1. 'Direct' and 'indirect' modification

Adjectival modification can be characterised according to which binary pragmatic-semantic relations the modifiers enter into with the modified N. Adjectives may either describe a semantic 'extension' of the original set of properties of/about a referent N, or its inherent, prototypical properties. These relations have been described and classified in the literature according to different viewpoints, and with different terminology, e.g.:

- 'attributive/predicative' (Bolinger 1967);
- 'reference-/referent-modifying' (Bolinger 1967);
- '(non-/)restrictive' (Bolinger 1967; Kamp 1975);
- '(non-/)intersective' (Kamp 1975; Siegel 1976);
- 'individual-/stage-level' (Carlson 1980[1977]);
- 'thematic/rhematic' (Vincent 1986);

Despite the many labels, these binary sets of pragmatico-semantic functions can be conveniently collapsed under two coherent macro-classes (cf. Bolinger 1967; Sproat&Shih 1988,1991; Cinque 2010,2014):

- ‘direct modification’ (Dm) expresses attributive, figurative, non-restrictive, non-intersective, individual-level, reference-modifying, thematic properties of the referent/reference;
- ‘indirect modification’ (Im) describes additional sets of properties predicated on the referent, i.e. predicative, literal, restrictive, intersective, stage-level, rhematic.

These fine-grained differences in the nature of AP-modification are manifested via distinct reflexes in the (language-specific) morphosyntax; this led Sproat&Shih (1988,1991) and Cinque (2005,2010,2014) to argue for the underlying heterogeneity of the entire AP-category, and the hypothesis for a double syntactic source for these binary functions. In particular, most adjectives can modify the noun ‘directly’ or ‘indirectly’, except for some Dm-adjectives, e.g. ‘classificatory’, ‘reference-modifying’, which do not have Im-variants, and vice-versa, e.g. ‘stage-level’. This suggests that the two types of modification imply different syntactic relations among the nominal components. In this respect, Dixon (1982) had already suggested that ordering restrictions applied crosslinguistically to the distribution of DmAP only. Sproat&Shih (1988,1991:566) and Cinque (2005,2010,2014) interpret this as the reflex of the minor or major syntactic proximity of the N head to the DmAPs, which are rigidly ordered in accordance with the crosslinguistic hierarchy in (2):

(2) value/quality < size < shape/colour < nationality

In other words, DmAPs are not semantically autonomous, and require the closest syntactic proximity to the noun, similar to that of a complex [(A-)N(-A)] nominal compound (cf. Vincent 1986). In contrast, ImAPs are semantically more autonomous than Dm, reflected in their syntactic behaviour as a reduced (i.e. silent) relative clause [N-[(that is)-A]] within the nominal expression, without ordering restrictions (cf. also Scott 2002).

2.2. Romance adjectival positions

Our analysis builds on Cinque's (2010) unitary account of AP-positions and interpretations in Germanic and Romance. The most neutral adjectival order attested in Romance²⁷ varieties is given in (3), adapted from Cinque's (2010:22) schematic representation for Italian (cf. also Nespor 2001[1988]; Longobardi 2001; Giusti 2002; *i.a.*):

(3) DmAP>NP<DmAP<ImAP

The surface position of the NP is obtained via its obligatory movement (in Romance) across certain fixed, hierarchically ordered AP-classes (cf. §2.4). The distribution of the NP with respect to the two types of APs is decisive for its interpretation. Modern Romance languages tend to unmarkedly host most DmAPs and ImAPs in postnominal position, i.e. [N-DmAP-ImAP] (cf. Vincent 2007:59). However, it is well-known that certain adjectival modifiers can occur both pre- and postnominally. In fact, while the Im-reading can only be conveyed in postnominal position without following any ordering restrictions, DmAPs can occur both pre- and postnominally. Such a distribution implies that Romance postnominal adjectives can be semantically ambiguous between Dm and Im when occurring in isolation (cf. Cinque 2010). In contrast, prenominal modification in Romance can only unambiguously host DmAPs, which are able to license non-literal, idiomatic readings.

The Dm-ordering restrictions can be observed in example (4) from Italian:

(4)		<i>(possessive></i>	<i>cardinal></i>	<i>ordinal>)</i>	<i>quality></i>	<i>size></i>	
	(I)	suoi	due	altri	bei	grandi	
	The	his/her	two	other	beautiful	big	
		<i>shape></i>	<i>colour></i>	<i>nation</i>			(Cinque 1995:298)
	quadri	tondi	grigi	cinesi			
	paintings.M	round	grey	Chinese			

²⁷ Except for Wallon (Bernstein 1991:105,1993), which allows the noun to appear very low in the adjectival hierarchy (cf. Germanic), and Romanian (Cornilescu&Nicolae 2011; Brăescu 2013:427-428), in which, in contrast, most adjectival classes tend to appear postnominally (similarly to the Italo-Romance varieties discussed here).

In Italian, size and quality/value-APs²⁸, i.e. *grandi* and *bei* may optionally surface both in pre- and postnominal position whereas the remaining classes, i.e. shape *tondi*, colour *grigi* and nation *cinesi*, are obligatorily postnominal.²⁹ Similarly, ‘classificatory/relational’ adjectives, e.g. *sportiva* in (4), which modify the referent by denoting ‘kinds’ thereof (cf. Carlson 1980), obligatorily occur postnominally in Italian (from Cardinaletti&Giusti 2010:75):

- (5) la bella grande macchina sportiva italiana rossa aerodinamica
 the nice big car.F sport(ive) Italian red aerodynamic
 ‘the nice big aerodynamic red Italian sport car’

The prenominal position seems to be reserved for distinct interpretive functions, and may be unavailable to certain classes of Dm-adjectives, and to all Im-interpretations. However, higher registers of modern (Italo-)Romance varieties (cf. Vincent 2007; Ledgeway 2012:51) may allow these classes of Dm-adjectives in prenominal position with semantic repercussions:

- (6) a. li guardò con **materna** dolcezza (Maiden&Robustelli 2000:94)
 them looked.3SG with maternal tenderness.F
 ‘She looked at them with maternal tenderness’
- b. li guardò con dolcezza **materna**
 them looked.3SG with tenderness.F maternal
 ‘(S)he looked at them with motherly tenderness’

The prenominal *materna* ‘maternal’ in (6a) is used to ‘underscore a known or inherent property of the noun’ (Vincent 2007:59), whereas the postnominal one (6b) qualifies the ‘motherly’-type of ‘tenderness’, distinguishing an additional, non-inherent property of the referent, i.e. ‘mother-like’, potentially contrasting other types of tenderness, e.g. ‘father-like’. Vincent (2007:§2), among others, observes that the syntactic relation of the prenominal *materna* to its referent is ‘tighter’ than that in the postnominal counterpart (i.e. the reduced relative clause), as if they formed a complex nominal compound.

²⁸ As well as colour- and shape-APs, but in a more constrained fashion, and thus less frequently, if compared to size- and (quality/)value-APs.

²⁹ In his recent work, Cinque (2010; cf. also Cardinaletti&Giusti 2010) observes that Romance postnominal Dm-adjectives reverse their hierarchical order in postnominal position, i.e. N<relational<nation<colour<shape. Nonetheless, these ordering restrictions on multiple Dm are not the main concern of this chapter.

Similarly, other prototypically postnominal adjectives, i.e. shape/colour/nation, can be preposed to the noun in order to convey inalienable, intrinsic, prototypical or figurative Dm-properties of the referent. Among these, nation/origin adjectives appear to be the most rigidly ordered in Romance, obligatorily appearing postnominally in unmarked contexts. However, formal Italian allows the distributional contrast between *romanticismo italiano* ‘Italian romanticism’, which literally conveys the origin of the referent, and *un italiano romanticismo* ‘a typically-Italian romanticism’, in which the adjective is interpreted as a stereotypical property (i.e. Italian-style) characterising the reference, rather than literally. At the same time, the option *#un americano romanticismo* will not be a felicitous option in the Italian lexicon, given that ‘American’ does not prototypically entail an inherent property associated with ‘romanticism’.

In early Italo-Romance, this pre- vs. postnominal distributional asymmetry behaved differently from the way it does now. Many scholars³⁰ observed that early Italo-Romance could exploit the prenominal position for both Dm- and Im-readings, cf. old Neapolitan *li spagnoli soldati* ‘the Spanish soldiers’ (Ledgeway 2009:241); In contrast, the postnominal position was exclusively used for Im-readings. Prenominal adjectives were also common in Latin. However, many scholars claim that these continue an archaicising (early Latin) tendency of adjectival preposing for emphatic/stylistic purposes, as opposed to postposing for literal, Im-readings (cf. Adams 1976; Vincent 2007:64; Ledgeway 2012:210ff.). Indeed, these literary varieties, which used stylistic devices for emphatic purposes, did not necessarily reflect the reality of the spoken language. Despite the unmarkedness of the postnominal position, quality/value- and size-adjectives, such as *bello/brutto*, *buono/cattivo*, *grande*, *povero*, etc., frequently occurred prenominally. ‘MAGNUS HOMO was more important than HOMO MAGNUS’, given that ‘[t]he preposed adjective would receive more relevance’ (Rohlf s 1969:327). Adams (1976:80) calls this the prenominal ‘subjective’ reading, whereby the speaker is actually providing an ‘affective’ evaluation of the referent, i.e. ‘great man’, as opposed to the ‘objective’, literal reading of ‘big man’. A similar continuity can be found in modern Italian, whose greater availability of the prenominal position is allowed in formal registers, except for a few unmarked exceptions characterised by a ‘subjective’ Dm-interpretation.

Indeed, modern Romance quality/value- and size-adjectives also show interpretative shifts from post- to prenominal position (i.e. literal vs. figurative/evaluative respectively). Consider the difference in meaning between prenominal (7a) and postnominal (7b) orders in the following examples:

³⁰ Cf. Rohlf s 1969:329; Alisova 1967:277ff.; Vincent 2007; Ledgeway 2007,2009:238-245; Thiella 2008; Giusti 2010; Poletto 2014; *i.a.*

- (7) a. un **gran(de)** libro **(*grande)**
 a great book.M great
 ‘a great book’
- b. un **(*gran/#grande)** libro **grande**
 a big book.M big
 ‘a big book’

Grande, among others, can assume two different meanings on the basis of its position in (Italo-)Romance (cf. Ledgeway 2012:53-55). The literal, Im-meaning of *grande* ‘big’ (7b) is only accessible in postnominal position (except in higher registers of the language if interpreted as ‘thematic’, i.e. discourse-old information). In contrast, prenominal *grande* is interpreted figuratively as ‘great’, with an evaluative reading, rather than a size-adjective. These Dm-adjectives may also vary morphologically from their Im-counterparts, witness the reduced form *gran*, which is only allowed in prenominal position with the meaning of ‘great’.

The clear interpretative divide between the pre- and postnominal syntactic positions leads us to observe that the unmarked position of the NP will be medial with respect to the DmAP-hierarchy, readapted here in (8):

- (8) DmAP_{value/quality>size}>NP<DmAP_{(value/quality<size<)>shape<colour<nation}<ImAP

However, the situation of (southern) Italo-Romance varieties, including Barese, shows substantial differences from that of standard Romance.

2.2.1. Italo-Romance varieties

According to Rohlfs, in central and southern Italo-Romance varieties, ‘postnominal adjectival placement is even more frequent and generalised than in Italian. Only a few adjectives (e.g. *bello*, *buono*, *grosso*, *grande*) can be placed prenominally’ (Rohlfs 1969:330). More recently, Cinque (2010:73) makes a similar observation on Sardinian and central Italian dialects as being varieties which only allow a ‘handful’ of exceptions in prenominal position. Unsurprisingly, Barese is no exception to this, as we shall see in §2.3.

In general, non-standard (Italo-)Romance varieties operate a more ‘extreme’ interpretative distinction between Dm and Im by adopting separate morpholexical and/or morphophonological realisations of adjectives. A case in point is the Sardinian counterpart of Italian *grande*, whose

pre- vs. postnominal semantic distinction is identical, but is encoded into two separate lexical items with fixed positions, (invariable) *grandu* (9a) and *mannu* (9b):

- (9) a. una **grandu** festa (Campidanese: Jones 1993:42)
 a great feast.F
 ‘a great feast’
- b. una tassa **manna**
 a glass.F big.F
 ‘a large glass’

Rohlf's (1969:329,fn.3) notes that in some southern varieties prenominal adjectives may receive a less relevant, ‘secondary’ value, accompanied by the lack of the regular, expected phonetic developments found in the postnominal counterpart:

- (10) a. nu **bonu** miedicu/nu medicu **buonu** (Sicilian)
 ‘a skilled(/good-hearted?) doctor’
- b. nu **bell**’uóminu/nu cane **biellu** (Calabrese)
 ‘a good-looking(/nice?) man/dog’
- c. na **brutta** giòvunə/nu quanə **brittə** (Abruzzese: Vasto)
 ‘an ugly(/bad?) boy/dog’

This morphophonological differentiation is not uncommon in other Romance varieties, e.g. Sursilvan (Haiman&Benincà 1992:141ff.). Indeed, the particular semantico-syntactic status of this ‘handful’ of prenominal modifiers becomes particularly visible in non-standard (Italo-)Romance varieties. Recall that southern varieties are distinct from standard Romance in that most adjectival modifiers obligatorily appear postnominally, except for this limited set of exceptionally prenominal adjectives with ‘evaluative’ readings.³¹

Ledgeway (2009:231) provides an extensive list of prenominal adjectives in Neapolitan, such as *bello*, *buono*, *brutto*, *caro*, (*cierto*), *curto*, *gióvene*, *granne*, *gruosso*, *luongo*, *malo*, (*meglio*,

³¹ Cf. Jones (1993:42-43) for Sardinian; Saltarelli (1999) for central Italian varieties; Ledgeway (2007:111,2009:232-236) for Neapolitan, Silvestri (2016) for northern Calabrese, and Guardiano (2011) for extreme southern Italian varieties.

miezo.) *nuovo*, (*peggio*.) *pòvero*, *santo*, (*sulo*.) *vero*, *vecchio*. Regarding their interpretation, Jones remarks for Sardinian that, preminally, ‘such adjectives convey an affective attitude of appreciation or depreciation, rather than describing an inherent property of the referent’ (Jones 1993:42). On southern Italo-Romance, Rohlfs (Rohlfs 1969:330) comments more generally that ‘this exceptional position’ usually gives the adjective a different meaning, as in (11):

- (11) a. fimmana **bòna/bòna** fimmana (Southern Calabrese)
 ‘good-looking woman’/‘woman of ill repute’
- b. na **bbona** mammə/la mamma **bbona** (Abruzzese: Lanciano)
 ‘a good(-hearted) mother’/‘the legitimate mother’
- c. nu **bbèlla** cìttə̀/nu cìttə̀ **bbèlla**
 ‘a hefty boy’/‘a handsome boy’

He adds that ‘colourful notations with a translated meaning are preposed to the noun, for instance Calabrese *la niura sorte mia* ‘my unlucky fate’ and Neapolitan *la negra serpe* ‘the evil serpent’ (Rohlfs 1969:330). Similarly, D’Ovidio&Meyer-Lubke (1906:191) provide the Abruzzese/Northern Pugliese (sic) minimal pair *fèbbra fòrte* vs (*)*fòrta fèbbre* ‘a high fever’. In his 1964-grammar of Barese, Giovine (2005:58-59) deems (*)*ròssa fèmmene* acceptable, alongside *fèmmena ròsse* ‘red(-haired) woman’, as well as the cluster *bbèlla garbàta fèmmena ròssa ròssa gendile* ‘kind very-red(-haired) extremely well-mannered woman’.

However, the sort of adjectival preposing exemplified above may not reflect the genuine situation of spoken dialects. In his more recent survey of Pugliese dialects, Melillo (1981:82) notes that the the [A-N] configuration *grande miseria* can be found alongside *miseria grande*, both with the meaning of ‘great misery’. However, the type *vitello grasso* ‘fat calf’ never has a counterpart (*)*grasso vitello* in these varieties, and the only options are either *bel vitello* ‘a nice calf’ or *il meglio vitello* ‘the best calf’ (Melillo 1981:83).

We will observe that Barese, on a par with the southern varieties discussed above, places the majority of Dm-, and all Im-adjectives postnominally; in contrast, the prenominal position displays limited accessibility, due to the partial-to-complete fossilisation of such a position.

2.3. Barese adjectival modifiers

A few morphophonological remarks are in order before we turn to the semantico-syntactic description and analysis of Barese adjectives. Gender and number agreement in Barese are residually marked via ‘word-internal’ inflection, and no longer by inflectional endings, which historically merged to [ə].³² The metaphonetic raising of stressed mid-vowels was due to final high vowels,³³ in particular by -U in masculine singular adjectives, *rùssə*_[M] vs. *ròssə*_[F] ‘red’, and by -I for masculine plural, e.g. *barésə*_[SG] vs. *barìsə*_[PL] ‘Barese’, leaving the feminine untouched.³⁴

Unlike the neighbouring dialects of Mola di Bari (Cox 1982:78–84,1986) and Altamura (Loporcaro 1997b:343;2009:149), in Barese there is no evidence of the morphological distinction between [±animate] or [±human] (operative only among masculine) referents, except the innovative case of postnominal *bbuénə/bbù(ə)nə*_[M] ‘kind/tasty’, only accepted by a few speakers (§2.3.2.5).

A final, descriptive remark concerns adjectival degree. Similar to Romanian (Brăescu 2013:§7.4), the Barese ‘absolute’ superlative is formed analytically by the bare adjective and a postnominal intensifier (cf. Renzi 1997:166), such as *assà(jə)* (<*AD SATIS) and *pròpria/pròbbria* ‘indeed’ (cf. Abbatescianni 1896:59; Lacalendola 1969:15; Rohlf s 1969:288). Some synthetic exceptions are found, e.g. the invariable *sandìssəmə* ‘holiest(/most blessed)’ and *bravìssəmə* ‘very skilled’, commonly used in exclamative contexts. Alternatively, adjectival reduplication is also a common superlative-formation strategy, e.g. *lènghə lènghə*_[M] ‘very long’ (Lopez 1952:21; Valente 1975:35).

2.3.1. Postnominal modification

The distribution of Barese adjectival modifiers is predominantly postnominal. This contrasts with what has been observed for Italian, where (at least) quality- and size-adjectives are (optionally) available preminally with a ‘subjective’ reading. In contrast, Barese seems to disallow (most)³⁵ APs from surfacing preminally (12):

³² Except for the -A of feminine singular adjectives/nouns which resurfaces on all (but the last) constituents within the same nominal phrase: *bbrùtta_A disgrazziàta_N lòrda_A mməquàtə_A* ‘rotten filthy scoundrel’ (Abbatescianni 1896:48; Lopez 1952:19; Valente 1975:29,36; Loporcaro 1997b:342).

³³ Cf. Valente 1975:§1.1.5; Stehl 1980:183-189,232-233 for Barese; Maiden (1991); Calabrese (2011:§110); *i.a.*, for (Italo-)Romance.

³⁴ Metaphony in the nominal domain was already recorded in notarial acts written in medieval (1065) Latin in Byzantine-ruled Bari, (cf. Nitti di Vito 1900:IV.42), e.g. *sabano rusato_A* (<*ROSATU) ‘rose-decorated linen(M.SG)’; *octo scaptuni_N et uno scaptone_N petalato* ‘eight ewers(M.PL) and one ewer(M.SG) with precious ornaments’.

³⁵ Cf. §2.3.2 for the exceptions.

- (12) (*lèngə/*rùssə/*'taliànə/*amməquàtə) pəmədóɾə grèssə/ rùssə/'taliànə/amməquàtə
 long red Italian rotten tomato.M big red Italian rotten
 ‘a big/red/Italian/rotten tomato’

Adjectives denoting size, shape, colour and nation(ality) systematically follow the modified N. Contrary to standard Romance, the postnominal position becomes the only option in Barese for both Im- and DmAPs. This causes ambiguity of interpretation in case of co-occurrence, even more so than in standard Romance where the prenominal position is also available. Consider, for instance, the example in (13):

- (13) agghi' a 'ccattà n' àbbətə n(u)évə (Lacalendola 1972:56)
 have.1SG to buy a suit.M new
 ‘I have to buy a new suit’

Compare now Barese *n(u)évə* ‘new’ to the corresponding standard Italian *nuovo*, whose meaning differs in pre- and postnominal position:

- (13) devo comprare...
 must.1SG buy
 ‘I have to buy...’
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. ...un abito nuovo
 a suit.M new
 ‘...a (brand-)new suit’</p> | <p>b. ...un nuovo abito
 a new suit.M
 ‘...another suit’</p> |
|---|---|

Both pre- and postnominal meanings, Dm ‘another’ (13b) and Im ‘new’ (13a) respectively, must be expressed postnominally in Barese, e.g. (13), giving rise to interpretative ambiguity between Dm- and Im-readings. Consider the case in which *n(u)évə/nóvə* is employed as a DmAP in postnominal position:

- (14) s' ha ffàttə la càpa nóvə
 self has done the head.F new
 ‘(s)he’s got a new hair-cut’

Once again, Italian would express the Barese DP *càpa nòvə* ‘new hair-cut’ with a prenominal DmAP, i.e. *nuovo taglio di capelli* ‘new hair-cut’.

Another illustrative example of licensing both Im- and DmAP in postnominal position is found in (15), where the restrictive colour-ImAP *ggnórə* ‘black’ (15a) undergoes an interpretative shift to Dm yielding the idiomatic reading ‘adverse, unfortunate, disastrous’, e.g. (15b) or the fossilised *tènda ggnórə* ‘jinxer (lit. curtain black)’:

- (15) a. pòrtə na cammisa **ggnórə** còmə ó təzzónə (Lacalendola 1972:58)
 brings a shirt.F black like to-the firebrand
 ‘(s/)he’s wearing a very dirty shirt’ (lit. ‘as black as coal’)
- b. chèdda figghiə av’avùtə na sòrta **ggnórə** (Lacalendola 1972:75)
 that daughter.F has had a fate.F black
 ‘that girl has experienced an adverse fate’

Similarly, the examples in (16a) and (16b) respectively show two instances of postnominal size-DmAPs, *pəccə̀nùnnə* ‘small/little’ and *grèssə* ‘fat/big’, which define intrinsic, permanent properties of their referents *discə̀tə* ‘finger’ and *pèscə* ‘fish’, namely ‘little finger’ and ‘big-sized (type of) fish’. This contrasts with their – still postnominal – ImAP counterparts (17), which will receive a restrictive, contrastive reading:

- (16) a. mə so’ ccazzàtə u discə̀tə **pəccə̀nùnnə**
 self am crushed the finger.M small
 ‘I crushed my little finger’
- b. ssə pótə acchià qquàcchə ppèscə **grèssə** (Lacalendola 1972:20)
 it can.3SG find some fish.M fat
 ‘some big-sized fish might be found’
- (17) mə so’ accattàtə na màghəna **pəccə̀nònnə/gròssə**
 self am bought a car.F small fat
 ‘I bought myself a small/big car’

This same generalisation holds for other APs, e.g. (18), which yield translated, ‘idiomatic’ Dm-interpretations and yet only occur postnominally (cf. Italian *un vero cretino* ‘a real cretin’ for Barese (18a)):

- (18) a. Cənzinə jè nnu cretinə **originàlə**
 Vinnie is a cretin.M original
 ‘Vinnie is a real cretin’
- b. s’ ha gnəttùtə na tiànə **(sàna) sànə**
 it has swallowed a baking-tin.M healthy~healthy
 ‘(s)he’s devoured the entire (content of the) baking tray’
- c. Chelinə ténə na zzita **tóstə**
 Mike holds a girlfriend.F hard
 ‘Mike’s girlfriend is very hot’
- d. stu uagnónə ténə la càpa **frèscə**
 this guy holds the head.F fresh
 ‘this guy does as it pleases him’
- e. ténə na lèngua **lòngə** (Lacalendola 1972:58)
 holds a tongue.F long
 ‘(s)he uses inappropriate language’
- f. məgghierà-mə ténə na rēcchia **finə** (Lacalendola 1972:62)
 wife -my holds a ear.F fine
 ‘my wife has sensitive hearing’

If we were to force an Im interpretation of the APs and to contrast them, their counterparts would not be e.g. *lèngua còrtə* ‘short tong’ (18e), nor *rēcchia dōppiə* ‘thick ear’ (18f), as their interpretation ‘inappropriate language’ and ‘good/fine-tuned hearing’ does not denote actual size, but rather refers to a gradable value/quality of the referents. Semantically, both elements seem to form a compound expression with figurative meaning of evaluative content, roughly translatable into the polar [positive] and [negative] semantic values. These will be observed to characterise Barese prenominal APs and, at the same time, limit their semantic import (§2.3.2).

Nonetheless, the ambiguous postnominal DmAP core classes may access the Im-space to convey a predicative, restrictive or contrastive reading (19):

- (19) a. parti ppə nnu paisə **ləndàna** (Caratù *et al.* 1989:37)
left.3SG for a country.M far
‘he left for a far-away country’
- b. jè nna mattənàta **frèddə** (Maurogiovanni 1988:33)
is a morning.F cold
‘it’s a cold morning’
- c. u stòmache **chiəna** non vasçə sənđi friddə (Maurogiovanni 1988:33)
the stomach.M full not makes feel cold
‘one cannot feel the cold with a full belly’
- d. jì accàttə sèmbə còsə **mərcàtə** (Lacalendola 1972:22)
I buy.1SG always thing.F cheap
‘I always buy cheap stuff’
- e. lə dùlcə **t(u)èstə** ngàppənə ngànnə (Lacalendola 1972:18)
the sweets.M hard stumble.3PL in-throath
‘hard sweets are difficult to swallow’

In (19a)-(19e), *ləndàna* ‘far away’, *frèddə* ‘cold’, *chiəna* ‘full’, *mərcàtə* ‘cheap’ and *t(u)èstə* ‘hard’ do not refer to the core properties of (i.e. directly modify) their respective referents, but all receive predicative readings, which are conceptually in contrast with their antonyms *vəçinə* ‘close’, *càldə* ‘warm’, *vacàndə* ‘empty’, *càrə* ‘expensive’, *mòddə* ‘soft’.

The extensive list of examples from (12) to (19) testify to the obligatory [N-A] order found in most contexts of Barese adjectival modification, thus forcing the NP to surface in the highest positions across the Dm-adjectival hierarchy and the Im-space. This implies that Cinque’s (2010) prediction concerning the Romance ambiguity between DmAP vs ImAP in postnominal position is particularly borne out in the case of Barese.

2.3.1.1. Multiple postnominal modification

Barese shows resistance to the formation of multiple, serial AP clusters, favouring parallel or coordinated sequences of APs (Sproat&Shih 1991:578) where the independent modification of the NP obtains. This tendency also includes certain quantifiers, e.g. *assà* ‘a lot’ in (21), whose position is usually prenominal in Romance:

(22) stònn’ a ffà ttànda palàzzə n(u)évə e ggrànnə (Lacalendola 1971:32)
stand.3PL to do many buildings.M new and big
‘many new big apartment houses are being build (lit. they are building)’

(21) àcqua assà e ssalàtə (Sada 1971:64)
water.F much and salted
‘a lot of salted water’

However, Barese does allow reduced series of APs to occur postnominally, as in (22). Under this view, the proximity of the adjective to the noun determines whether Dm or Im may apply. The prototypically Dm-property *rùssə* ‘red’ referring to a tomato can also function as an ImAP when co-occurring with another ImAP *appənnùtə* ‘hung’:

- (22) a. lə pəmədùrə rùssə appisə/appənnùtə
the tomatoes.M red hung/hung
‘red tomatoes hung-up (i.e. not sun-dried/lying on the table)’
- b. lə pəmədùrə appisə/*appənnùtə rùssə
the tomatoes.M hung/hung red
‘red (i.e. not green) hang-preserved tomatoes’

In (22a)-(22b), both adjectives in phrase-final positions are pragmatically interpreted as rhematic, ‘discourse-new’ information, and syntactically behave as reduced relative clauses whose interpretation is restrictive/contrastive (Im). In contrast, the adjectives closer to the noun are semantically and syntactically more ‘dependent’ on it on account of their tighter Dm-relation, similar to a complex nominal compound [N-A]. Moreover, (22) shows the morpholexical specialisation of the two so-called ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ participial forms, *appisə* and *appənnùtə* respectively (cf. ch.5,§4). The ‘weak’ form *appənnùtə* cannot receive a Dm-interpretation, whereas the strong form can, albeit with semantic differences. Hence, (22a) describes

prototypically ‘red tomatoes’ which are hung/hanging. In this case, *appənnùtə* only conveys the Im-interpretation, i.e. the ‘red tomatoes’ are hanging, not lying on the table. In contrast, *appìsə* usually receives the Dm-reading of ‘preserved in a suspended position’ in the [N-DmAP] complex (22b), whereas it can also be interpreted contrastively in Im-position, i.e. ‘hang-preserved(/not sun-dried’).

We may now turn our attention to the behaviour of the extremely exiguous number of DmAPs allowed in prenominal position.

2.3.2. Prenominal modification

We have observed that standard Romance may exploit the prenominal position for direct modification only (§2.2). However, Barese only does so in a very constrained fashion (Lopez 1952:II.19-20; Lacalendola 1969:11-12; Melillo 1981; Giovine 2005[1964]). In fact, Barese prenominal position appears largely unproductive,³⁶ and is only accessible to an exceptional, closed class of eleven APs: *bbu(é)nə*_[M]/*bbònə*_[F] ‘good/good-hearted’, *màlə* ‘bad’, *bbèllə* ‘beautiful/nice’, *bbrùttə* ‘ugly/bad’, *bbràvə* ‘skilful/good-natured’, *grànnə* ‘big/great’, *pòvərə* ‘poor/pitiful’, *vècchiə* ‘old/long-standing/former’, *sàndə* ‘holy/blessed’, *(j)àldə* ‘tall/higher’, and *vàsca* (*bbàssə*) ‘short/lower’.

Given their limited number, each of these APs will be exemplified and discussed individually from the least to the most productive, and in turn contrasted with their postnominal counterparts. These highly frequent DmAPs mainly describe semantically opposite primitive qualities and sizes, and crucially show clear signs of fossilisation in terms of their morpho(phono)logical shape and semantic meaning when licensed in prenominal position. Their literal meanings can only be retained postnominally, whereas their Dm-interpretation can be licensed both pre- and postnominally. However, we observe two specific trends of semantic shifts in prenominal position: a radical shift, i.e. the AP is interpreted as its antonym, and a partial shift, i.e. the AP is interpreted ‘subjectively’. The figurative, subjective interpretation of these prenominal APs suggests that their inherent nature implies Dm.

Further evidence on the idiomatic nature of these prenominal APs will come from a sub-class which is only allowed to occur with a limited, recurrent type of N head, forming mostly fossilised, idiomatic expressions with fixed interpretations. This is allegedly due to the co-existence of different stages of a lexicalisation process, whereby the two elements become fused

³⁶ Exceptions to this generalisation are sparsely found throughout the recent literary production in Barese, but these constitute exceptions, e.g. imitation of literary registers, unheard in the spoken variety; see §2.2.1.

together into a nominal [A+N] compound, sometimes accompanied by the opacification of the semantics of the AP.

In contrast, a sub-class of (seemingly) productive Barese prenominal APs can be ascribed to the presence of the (lexical and semantic) equivalent standard Italian counterparts, which have possibly ‘restored’ the – once more productive – Barese prenominal position.

At the end of this study, only a limited sub-set of these prenominal APs will show greater signs of semantic ‘productivity’, i.e. ability to modify a broader class of nouns; these APs express the speaker’s basic [positive/negative] evaluation/opinion on the referent.

One crucial premise to Barese prenominal modification is that such a position is available to at most one DmAP at a time, which is in line with the Barese tendency for a higher productivity of the postnominal position (cf. § 2.3.1). Consider the ungrammaticality of the co-occurring prenominal DmAPs in (23a)-(23b); they can only surface in the ‘ambiguous’ postnominal position, where their Dm- vs Im-interpretation relies on the pragmatic context of occurrence:

- (23) a. nu bbuénə (*pòvərə) crəstianə pòvərə
 a good poor person.M. poor
 ‘a poor good-hearted person’
- b. nu pòvərə (*bbuénə) crəstianə bbuénə
 a poor good person.M good
 ‘a pitiful good(/simple-minded) person’

The impossibility of multiple prenominal modification corroborates the hypothesis of the truly limited access to the prenominal position in Barese. Historically, this suggests an erstwhile greater syntactic ‘freedom’ of the prenominal position, preserved only for these speaker-oriented adjectives to three different extents: ‘non-productive’, i.e. fossilised compounds, ‘semi-productive’, and fully ‘productive’.

2.3.2.1. *Màlə* ‘bad’

Considering the purely evaluational interpretation of Barese prenominal adjectives, the full productivity of [+negative] *màlə*, ‘bad/evil’, would be expected. Instead, *màlə* appears as the most advanced case of fossilisation, with two recognisable semantic and syntactic tendencies. Morpholexical factors entirely determine the occurrence of prenominal *màlə*, as it can only occur with a closed class of referents. This suggests that the ‘productive’ usage of prenominal (and postnominal) *màlə* must have been more extensive in earlier stages of the dialect. What survives

is a (morphologically determined) historical relic, which is by no means uncommon in Italo-Romance (vs Spanish) and other southern Italian dialects.

In the most advanced stage of fossilisation encountered, *màlə* can synchronically be treated as an unproductive [+negative] evaluative prefix, similar to a pejorative suffix. This is confined to a minimal amount of idiomatic [*màlə*-N] compounds, e.g. *mala-vità* ‘organised crime(/lit. bad-life’), *mala-càrnə* ‘delinquent’ (lit. ‘bad-flesh’), *mal-òmbərə* ‘elusive person(/jinxer)’ (lit. ‘bad-shadow’), *mala-lènguə* ‘rumour-monger’ (lit. ‘bad-tongue’), *mal-aciàddə* ‘owl/jinxer’ (lit. ‘bad-bird’), *mal-èrvə* ‘weeds’ (lit. ‘bad-grass’).

The second tendency is the same operative in Romance, inasmuch as it implies the subjective interpretation of ‘bad, evil, disgraceful’ of the prenominal adjective. However, the restriction in place here is again morphological, as the referents modifiable by prenominal *màlə* also form a closed class, e.g. *màla ggèndə* ‘bad, evil people’, *mala mòrtə* ‘disgraceful death’, *mala criànzə* ‘bad manners’, *mala nóva* ‘bad news’. Possibly due to the non-figurative nature of the referents, these readings of *màlə* are more transparent than those in the fossilised [*màlə*-N] compounds.

Crucial evidence in favour of this distinction comes from the further prenominal modification of the lexicalised [*màlə*-N] compounds (16a) with another prenominal adjective:

- (24) a. *pòvəra/vècchia* *màla-vità*
 old poor bad-life.F
 ‘the pitiful/old(-generation of) organised crime’
- b. **brùtta*/**sanda*/**pòvəra* *mala mòrtə*
 ugly holy poor bad death.F
 ‘disgraceful death’

Further prenominal modification is not allowed for the group of less lexicalised compounds (24b), which suggests that prenominal syntactic restrictions are still in place. In contrast, whenever prenominal modification is allowed, the *màlə*-component functions as a sub-part of a nominal compound in which its semantics are barely distinguishable. Nonetheless, all examples point to a once-greater productivity of prenominal *màlə*, which is now entirely lost, or morphologically constrained. Curiously, Latin ablative *MALA MENTE* lit. ‘(with) bad/evil/wicked mind’ underwent a similar process, giving rise (via category-change to adverbial) to *mala-mèndə*, the most ‘successful’ postnominal counterpart of *màlə* in southern Italo-Romance varieties, discussed below.

In postnominal position, *màlə* is entirely unproductive, i.e. it lacks a postnominal variant altogether. Its function has been replaced either by postnominal-only *mala-mèndə* (lit. ‘bad-ly’), *malignə* ‘malign’ (with [+human] referents), or by *brùttə* ‘bad(/ugly)’ in pre- (and post)nominal position (§2.3.2.7) with most referent types:

- (25) (màla) ggèndə (*màlə)> (bbrùtta/) ggèndə malamèndə/ malignə
 bad people.F bad bad people.F mean malign
 ‘mean, wicked people’

Although *malamèndə* may appear as one of the Barese fossilised [A-N] compounds, its diachrony presupposes an intermediate change from nominal to adverbial, as the [A-MENTE] configuration was highly exploited for (manner-)adverb formation in most of Romance. In contrast, in southern Italo-Romance *-mente* adverbs are quite rare,³⁷ and adverbs are syncretic with adjectives (cf. Rohlfs 1969:243; Ledgeway 2011,2016:§16.4.3.4; Silvestri 2016). Therefore, *mala-mèndə*, originally ‘bad-ly’, could readily fulfil the adjectival function of an increasingly unproductive *màlə*, but only postnominally. Unlike Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009:224), Barese *malamèndə* can only modify [+animate] referents (cf. Abbatescianni 1896:68) meaning ‘bad/mean/wicked’. Equally restricted to [+animate] referents, *malignə* also means ‘evil/mean’ (on a par with Italian *cattivo*), and behaves like any other postnominal adjective. The [+animate] restrictions imposed on *malamèndə* and *malignə* are usually by-passed through the ‘productive’ option *brùttə*, meaning literally ‘ugly’, but figuratively ‘bad’. This typically modifies [-animate] referent with the meaning of ‘bad/wicked/disgraceful’ both in pre- and postnominal position:

- (26) a. malə parólə (*malə)> (#brùttə) parólə brùttə(/*malamèndə)
 bad words.F bad bad words.F bad mean
 ‘swearings’ ‘swearings(/#mean words)’
 b. mala-fèmmənə (*malə)> fèmməna malamèndə (*màlə/#brùttə)
 bad- female bad female.F mean.F bad ugly
 ‘woman of ill-repute’ ‘woman of ill-repute(/#ugly girl)’

³⁷ However, see e.g. Barese disjunction *oppura-mèndə* ‘or’ and a few Neapolitan adjectives: *allegra-mente* ‘happy’ (Ledgeway 2009:224).

Postnominal *brüttə* (§2.3.2.7) usually receives the Im-meaning of ‘ugly’ with [+human] referents (26b), as the specialised postnominal *malamèndə* is used in that context.

2.3.2.2. *Jàldə/bbàssə* ‘higher/lower’

The two size/height adjectives, *jàldə* ‘tall’/*vàscə* [ˈvaʃ:(ə)] ‘short’, represent another case of fossilised [A-N] compounds. The first morphophonological ‘anomaly’ comes from the contrast between the productive postnominal size-adjectives *jàldə/vàscə* and their prenominal-only counterparts *(j)àldə/bbàssə*. The latter pair, *(j)àldə/bbàssə* (<*ALTU/BASSU), appear morphophonologically more conservative if compared to *jàldə/vàscə*. Their semantics also varies, shifting from ‘tall/short’ to ‘higher/lower’, as in most Romance. However, the Barese prenominal *(j)àldə/bbàssə* only surfaces with a handful of geographical terms and toponyms, e.g. *àlda/bbàssa mändàgnə* ‘upper/lower mountain’, *ald’/bass’Ità(gg)liə* ‘northern/southern Italy’, *Alda/Bassa Mùrgə* ‘upper/lower Murgia Plateau’, and *(J)alda-mùrə* ‘Altamura’ (lit. ‘high-walls’). These behave as completely fossilised [A-N] compounds, whose ‘reference-modifying’ interpretation also became crystallised with it:

- (27) pòvəra **bbàss’** Ità(gg)liə bèllə
 poor.F tall Italy.F nice
 ‘nice pitiful southern Italy’

Example (27) shows that these compounds can be further modified, hence testifying to their completed fossilisation. In contrast with the *[(j)àldə/bbàssə-N]* compounds, the Dm-readings of the more recent variants *jàldə/vàscə* are allowed postnominally. The two are invariably ruled out in prenominal position, leading to Dm-/Im-semantic ambiguity:

- (28) a. (*bbàssə/*vàscə) crəstiànə **vàscə**
 short person.M short
 ‘short person’
- b. (**(j)àldə*) scólə **jàldə**
 high schools.F high
 ‘secondary/higher education’

As expected, postnominal *jàldə/vàscə* may ambiguously convey their literal, restrictive reading ‘tall’/‘short’ (28a), along with their Dm-readings ‘high(er)/low(er)’ (28b).

speakers under possible Italian influence (cf. ‘??’ instead of ‘*’ in (30a)), arguably *grànnə* cannot freely access the prenominal position, and is preferably replaced by other expressions with approximatively equivalent semantics. For instance, the Dm-meaning of ‘great/extremely valuable/impressive’ can often be replaced by postnominal [+positive] *bravə (assa)*, lit. ‘(very) skilful’, or *fòrtə (assa)*, lit. ‘(very) strong’, only with [+animate] referents, e.g. *prəfəssòrə bravə/fòrtə (assa)* ‘an impressive professor’, or the by the constructions [*sòrtə/sfaccimə də* N], e.g. *nu sòrtə də cavàddə/ggiardìnə/càldə* and *na sfaccim(m)ə də chiàzzə/uèrrə/sfazzionə*, freely translatable as ‘great, impressive’ for all referents.

The behaviour of prenominal *vècchiə* resembles that of *grànnə*. Its meaning shifts from ‘old’ to the ‘situation-bound’, abstract ‘long-standing’ or ‘former/previous’. Also *vècchiə* cannot freely modify all referents, having to resort to the postnominal position for both Dm- and Im-readings depending on the nature of the referent/reference.

- (31) a. (^{??})**vècchiə** chəmbàgnə b. chəmbàgnə **vècchiə**
 old friend.M friend.M old
 ‘long-standing friend’ ‘elderly/long-standing/former friend’
- c. (*^{??})**vècchia** cliènda **vècchiə**
 old customer.F old
 ‘old/long-standing/former customer’
- d. (*^{??})**vècchiə** zitə/ cavàddə/ fàttə **vècchiə**
 old partner.M horse.M story.M old
 ‘the old/former partner/horse/story’

In order to resolve this postnominal ambiguity, the Dm-meaning of ‘long-standing’ can also usually be expressed adverbially via the construction in (32):

- (32) nu chəmbàgnə (c’ accanòscəchə) **vècchiə**
 a friend.M that know.1SG old
 ‘long-standing friend’

Note that the ‘long-standing’ reading only obtains prenominal in a few fossilised expressions, e.g. *vècchia canəscénzə* ‘long-time acquaintance’. In the modern dialect, prenominal *vècchiə* may have increased its occurrence due to its Italian equivalent *vecchio* ‘long-standing’ with

[+human] referents (hence the notation ‘*/??’). In contrast, it is favoured in prenominal position, where only the pragmatic context can dismiss the ambiguity between ‘old’ and ‘long-standing/former’.

The last prenominal adjective, the [+negative] *pòvərə* ‘pitiful’, appears to be able to modify a larger number of referents, possibly due to its semantic content, which allegedly secured its semi-productivity in prenominal position. ‘Pitiful’ can be idiomatically extended to [-animate] referents, provided that they ‘deserve the speaker’s pity’:

- (33) a. **pòvərə** famìgghia/ màghəna
 poor family.F car.F
 ‘pitiful family/car (i.e. after an accident)’
- b. **pòvərə** cristə(-iàna)/ cavàdda
 pitiful person.M horse.m
 ‘pitiful person/horse (i.e. mistreated)’
- c. famìgghia/ cristə(-iàna)/ *cavàdda/ *màghəna **pòvərə**
 family.F person.M horse.M car.F poor.F
 ‘poor family/person/*horse/*car’

Pòvərə retains its literal meaning ‘impoverished’ in postnominal position (25c), frequently appearing in the diminutive *povəriddə*_[M]/*povərèddə*_[F] as the morpholexical Im-variant³⁸, e.g. *na famìgghia povərèddə* ‘a poor(/?pitiful) family’. Interestingly, the Im-reading of ‘pitiful’ in copular constructions is expressed by the substantivisation of *pòvərə* plus a prepositional pronominal complement [*pòvərə-a-pronoun*] identifying the [+human] referent: *Giànnə*_[M]/*Mari*_[F] *jè nu pòvərə-a-jiddə*_[M]/*na pòvərə-a-jèddə*_[F] ‘John/Mary is a pitiful person’.

2.3.2.4. *Sànda* ‘blessed’

The semi-productive *sànda* ‘blessed’ can only modify a recurrent class of referents. Its original prenominal function designates saints, e.g. *Sànda Nəcòla* ‘Saint Nicholas’, and other religious terms with the literal meaning of ‘holy/sacred’, e.g. *sànda təmórə də Ddì*, ‘holy fear of God’, *sànda mèsə* ‘holy mass’, *sànda pascènə (də Ddì/G(g)əsù)* ‘holy patience (of God/Jesus)’. However, the Im-meaning of *sànda* would not be allowed prenominally in modern Barese, and,

³⁸ Pronominally, *povəriddə/povərèddə* can also refer to a ‘pitiful (person)’.

conveys its [+negative] opposite in set expressions, i.e. fossilised nominal compounds. Below, we present a selection of possible [(A)-N-(A)] combinations showing the variable interpretations:

(36) [+human]

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. bbuénə crəstiànə/ figghia
good person.M son.M
‘good-hearted person/son’</p> | <p>b. crəstiànə/ figghia bbu(é)nə
person.M son.M good
‘good-hearted/simple-minded person/son’</p> |
| <p>c. bbóna fèmmənə
good woman.F
‘ill-repute woman’</p> | <p>d. fèmmənə bbónə
woman.F good
‘good-hearted/hot woman’</p> |
| <p>e. (*^{/??}bbuénə) sinnəchə/ scarpàrə bbu(é)nə
good mayor.M shoe-maker.M good
‘kind/simple-minded(/skilful) mayor/shoe-maker’</p> | |

(37) [+animate]

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. (*^{/??}bbuénə) ciùccə
good donkey.M
‘well-behaved donkey’</p> | <p>b. ciùccə bbu(é)nə
donkey.M good
‘well-behaved/hard-working/tasty donkey’</p> |
|---|---|

(38) [-animate]/[+abstract]

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. bbón’ ànəmə
good soul.F
‘deceased person’</p> | <p>b. ànəmə bbónə
soul.F good
‘kind soul (i.e. person)’</p> |
| <p>c. (*^{/??}bbóna) mənèstra/ scóla/ soluzziòna bbónə
good soup.F school.F solution.F good
‘good soup (i.e. tasty)/school (i.e. prestigious)/solution (i.e. convenient)’</p> | |
| <p>d. bbuén’ esèmbiə
good example.M
‘role-model’</p> | <p>e. esèmbiə bbu(é)nə
example.M good
‘relevant/good example’</p> |

The original meaning of ‘good/kind_[+human/animate]’ is retained by postnominal *bbuénə/bbònə*, which can be also interpreted as ‘skilled’, i.e. ‘good (at doing something)’ in predicative contexts, overlapping with the Im-reading of postnominal *bbràvə* ‘skilful’ (36e). Alongside the Im-readings, different ‘translated’ readings are found in postnominal position. The ‘simple-minded’ meaning of *bbuénə* in (36b)-(36e) for [+animate] referents allegedly comes from the elliptical comparative clause *nu cristianə bbuénə (cóm’ò ppànə)* ‘a person (as) good (as bread)’, i.e. ‘a fool’; however, the monophthongised *bbùnə* can only convey the literal interpretation. The meaning of ‘good-looking’ (36d) for the feminine *bbónə*, instead, comes as no surprise in Italo-Romance.

In contrast, prenominal *bbuénə/bbónə* conveys [+positive] values such as ‘good-hearted/well-behaved/pleasant’ as an inherent, non-contrastive property of a set of recurrent referents. For [+human] referents (36a), Giovine claims that ‘the quality is spiritual and can refer to a calm and hard-working person’, whereas ‘if referring to the animal, it will only concern its character’ (Giovine 2005[1964]:58), such as in (37a). However, the latter prenominal *bbuénə/bbónə* seems marginal with [+animate] referents, e.g. animals, and their ‘tame’ character is best described postnominally, alongside the ‘tasty’ reading as possible food. It is not clear whether Giovine is referring to a metaphoric [+human] reading for [-human] referents, as the acceptability of the prenominal *bbuénə* depends on the ability of the referent to be ‘tamed/tamable’, thus ‘well-behaved’, as opposed to ‘untamable’ animals, i.e. **na bbòna zzambànə* ‘a good mosquito’. Nonetheless, most of these interpretations amount to the speaker’s evaluations/opinion of the referent, which is allegedly why these prenominal adjectives can (or used to) appear in prenominal position.

As for the [-animate]/[+abstract] referents, we come across set expressions, e.g. (38a)-(38f), in which the prenominal *bbuénə/bbònə* shows a more or less opaque meaning if compared to [+animate], behaving like fossilised [A-N] compounds (but cf. *bbóna-nónə* ‘good news’). Similarly, prenominal *bbuénə/bbónə* receives an idiomatic [+negative] value with a few [+animate] referents, forming one single semantic entity with it, e.g. (36c). Hence, the ‘good-hearted, kind’ interpretation for *fèmmənə* can by no means be prenominal, and the only option for Barese is the postnominal position. A crucial morphophonological remark concerns the masculine forms *bbuénə* and *bbùnə*, as the latter cannot occur in prenominal position, while the former can. *Bbuénə* is the most conservative of the two forms, whereas *bbùnə* is only a recent phonological development (Valente 1975:17-18). Nitti Di Vito (1896:9) already attests the on-going diastratic change from *bbuénə* to *bbù(ə)nə*, the latter representing the pronunciation of ‘less vulgar people’. Unsurprisingly, the innovative form cannot access the ‘unproductive’ position. Postnominally, elder Barese speakers accept *bbùnə* as an innovation, the younger

The postnominal variant of *bbràvə* can also be interpreted as ‘skilful’ (except for [-human] in (39e)), but nowadays the figurative ‘good-natured’ for [+human] and ‘good-natured/well-behaved’ for [-human] referents are more readily available in both positions. However, some minor prenominal restrictions are found with some referents (39d-e); prenominal *bbràvə* seems to imply a more ‘inherent-property’ reading than in postnominal position, similarly to [+negative] *bbrüttə*. It cannot be excluded that the productivity of *bbràvə* is linked to its Italian counterpart, e.g. *un brav'uomo* ‘a good-natured man’, considering that the concept of ‘good-natured’ was once more naturally conveyed by the (now ‘semi-productive’) prenominal *bbuénə*. Their semantic overlap becomes even clearer by the alternation of postnominal *bbràvə* ‘skilful’ with the postnominal Im-reading of *bbuénə* ‘good (at doing something)’.

2.3.2.7 *Bbrüttə* ‘bad’

Bbrüttə, literally ‘ugly’, can potentially prenominally modify any referent by shifting its literal meaning to a more generic [+negative] ‘bad’, reflecting the speaker’s perspective when denoting the referent. The prenominal interpretations of *bbrüttə* may vary from context to context, yielding e.g. ‘disgraceful N’, ‘inconvenient N’, ‘bad-tasting N’, etc. Its semantic versatility to describe a range of [+negative] qualities/values of the referent makes *bbrüttə* the most suitable replacement of the fossilised *màlə*⁴⁰, and among the most productive pre(/post)nominal adjectives.

Besides forming set idioms, *bbrüttə* is used in both declarative and exclamative contexts to intensify the [+negative] connotation of the referent, e.g. *bbrüttə disgrazziàtə* ‘scoundrel’. However, the evaluative, non-literal interpretation of *bbrüttə* (where applicable) will concur with the literal ‘ugly’ one in postnominal position:

(40) [+animate]

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|----------------|
| a. | bbrüttə | crəstiànə | b. | crəstiànə | bbrüttə |
| | bad | person.M | | person.M | ugly |
| | ‘dodgy person’ | | | ‘ugly/dodgy person’ | |
| | | | | | |
| c. | (bbrüttə) | òmənə/ | camarérə/ | cànə | bbrüttə |
| | bad | man.M | waiter.M | dog.M | ugly |
| | ‘ugly-looking/bad son/man/waiter/dog’ | | | | |

⁴⁰ *Bbrüttə* rarely means ‘mean, evil’ with [+animate] referents, which is instead conveyed by *malamèndə*. However, adverbial *bbrüttə* may replace adverbial *màlə*, e.g. *mə stògg’a ssəndì màlə/bbrüttə* ‘I’m starting to feel ill’.

(41) [-animate]

- a. (**bbrùtta**) maràngia/ màghèna/ fatiga (**bbrùttə**)
bad orange.F car.F job.F ugly
'bad-tasting/ugly-looking orange; bad/ugly car; unpleasant/bad job'
- b. (**bbrùtta**) fàccia/ zzóna (**bbrùttə**)
bad face.F zone.F ugly
'dodgy/ugly-looking face/neighbourhood'

Prenominal *brùttə* appears to be one of the most productive adjectives discussed so far, as it expresses a subjective [+negative] property of the referent N. However, the availability of the Dm-reading in postnominal position is favoured over the prenominal one despite the possible interpretative ambiguity with the literal, Im-reading.

2.3.2.8 *Bbèlla* 'nice'

The behaviour of evaluative *bbèlla*, literally 'beautiful', appears to be the most productive exception in the panorama of Barese adjectival modification. Its original meaning, similarly to *bbrùtta*, shifts to the generic [positive] evaluative reading 'nice', which is arguably the reason for its high degree of productivity in both pre- and postnominal position.

Somewhat like the unproductive *màla/malamèndə* 'bad/mean', the first striking morpholexical restriction is found in the pre- vs. postnominal alternation between *bbèlla* 'nice' and the literal postnominal counterpart *bbərəfàttə_M/bbərəfàttə_F* 'good-looking/beautiful':

(42) [+human]

- a. **bbèlla** crèstiànə
nice person.M
'good-natured, pleasant person'
- b. crèstiànə bbərəfàttə (**bbèlla**)
person.M beautiful nice
'good-looking(/good-natured) person'

(43) [-animate]

- a. **bbèlla** ggiardìnə
nice garden.M
'well-kept/nice garden'
- b. ggiardìnə bbərəfàttə (**bbèlla**)
garden.M beautiful nice
'beautiful(/nice, well-kept) garden'

(44) [+abstract]

a.	bbèll'	esèmbiø	b.	esèmbiø	bbèllø	(/*bberəfàttø)
	nice	example.M		example.M	nice	beautiful
	'role-model/nice example'			'nice example'		

The literal meaning of 'good-looking' is usually not conveyed by the postnominal lexical variant *bbèllø* alone, but by the once-periphrastic [adjective+past participle] *bbərə_[M]/bbərə_[F]+fàttø* from Latin <*BELL-U/-A+FACTU, lit. 'beautiful-made'.⁴¹ Semantically, the specialised *bbərəfàttø/bbərəfàttø* is allowed postnominally (*pace* Giovine 2005:55) provided that 'physical beauty' is involved. This makes *bbərəfàttø/bbərəfàttø* not suitable for [+abstract] referents (44b), for which only postnominal variant is allowed with the generic meaning 'good/nice/pleasant'. Hence, *bbərəfàttø/bbərəfàttø* is the dedicated Im-form, whereas *bbèllø* is employed for both Im- and Dm-readings with its 'subjective' meaning.

Prenominaly, the same generic interpretation of [+positive] 'nice' can apply to any referents, as it does not define a specific property of the referent, but expresses the speaker's evaluation/opinion/comment about a(n 'ideal') referent, roughly paraphrasable as 'a good/fine/nice (kind of) N'. This generic [+positive] value of *bbèllø* justifies its different semantic interpretations with certain classes of referents:

(45) [+animate]

bbèllø	chəmbàgnø/	attànø/	sinnəchø/	cavàddø
nice	friend.M	father.M	mayor.M	horse.M
	'a good (example of) friend/father/mayor/horse'			

(46) [-animate]

bbèllø	scólø/	mədəcìnø/	pizzø/	lùnø
nice.F	school.F	medicine.F	pizza.F	moon.F
	'a(n example of) good school/adequate medicine/tasty pizza/bright moon'			

In (45)-(46), prenominal *bbèllø* presents general interpretive tendencies, rather than clear-cut readings, reflecting its higher degree of semantic productivity compared to other prenominal adjectives. In this way, the speaker can attribute different [+positive], 'subjective'

⁴¹ Cf. Loporcaro 2009:151 (vs *BENE+FACTU: Giovine 2005[1964]:64). The unproductive, morphophonologically reduced *bbərə_{-M}/bbərə_{-F}* may have directly developed from Latin BELLU(M), rather being than a later development from the (now-obsolete) indigenous *bbèddø*; cf. (old) Neapolitan varieties (Ledgeway 2009:82).

qualities/values (e.g. ‘pleasant’, ‘good-looking’, ‘tasty’, ‘efficient’, etc.) to the referent on the basis of its nature.

However, we also find fossilised instances of prenominal *bèllə*. One example is the pan-southern Italo-Romance expression for ‘summer’, *la (bbèlla) staggiónə*, lit. ‘the beautiful season’ (Lacalendola 1972:54). However, given the uniqueness of the referent *la staggiónə* ‘summer’, the adjective is very frequently omitted. Moreover, *bbèllə* can also be interpreted idiomatically as its antonym ‘bad’ for sarcastic/ironic purposes, e.g. *ccə bèlla finə c’ha ffàttə!* ‘what an unpleasant (lit. nice) fate (s)he suffered!’, or as an intensifier, e.g. *bèllə grèssə* ‘pretty fat’. This interpretative versatility of *bbèllə* allows it to be able to modify preminally any class of referent, making it the most productive adjective in pre- and postnominal position.

2.3.3. Barese prenominal position: interim conclusions

We have observed that all Barese prenominal adjectives do not denote properties of the referent, but express two rudimentary values related to the referent, ranging between [+positive] and [-negative]. The representation of the three main tendencies of ‘productivity’ discussed above is summarised in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1. *Productivity of prenominal Barese adjectives*

	+Productive	-Productive	Fossilised
1.	<i>bbèllə</i>		
2.		<i>bbrùttə</i>	
3.		<i>bbràvə</i> _[+animate]	
4.		<i>bbuénə/bbónə</i>	
5.		<i>sàndə</i>	
6.		<i>pòvərə</i>	
7.		<i>vècchia</i>	
8.		<i>grànnə</i>	
9.			<i>àldə</i>
10.			<i>bbàssə</i>
11.			<i>màlə</i>

In Table 3.1 we can isolate three main groups of prenominal adjectives:

- i. *màlə* ‘evil, bad’, *àldə* ‘higher’, *bbàssə* ‘lower’ are entirely fossilised in both their semantics, i.e. they can be interpreted as their antonym, and syntax, i.e. the [A-N] compound can be modified prenominally, which is not allowed in Barese. These behave as semantically complex entries stored in the lexicon as nominal compounds.
- ii. pan-Romance *bbu(é)nə*_[M]/*bbònə*_[F] ‘good-hearted’, *grànnə* ‘great’, *vècchiə* ‘long-standing/former’, *pòvərə* ‘pitiful’, and the typically Italo-Romance *sàndə* ‘blessed/cursed’, are ‘semi-productive’ inasmuch as they either allow their prenominal ‘subjective’ readings with a limited class of referents, or are found in fossilised [A-N] nominal compounds with a ‘translated’ meaning.
- iii. *bbèllə* ‘nice’, *bbrùttə* ‘bad’, *bbràvə* ‘good-natured’ (for animates) are the most productive prenominal adjectives, since they express the speaker’s basic evaluations/opinions/comments on the referent/reference.

We may now readapt Cinque’s scheme of Romance adjectival positions to Barese as shown below in (47):

$$(47) \text{DmAP}_{\text{value/quality}} > [(\text{DmAP}_{\text{quality}} > \text{size}) > \text{NP}] < \text{DmAP}_{\text{value/quality}} < \text{size} < \text{shape} < \text{colour} < \text{nation} < \text{ImAP}$$

The highest part of the hierarchy, reserved for quality and size-DmAP in the majority of Romance languages appears to be in an advanced process of (complete or partial) fossilisation in Barese. This is represented by group (i) and by some instances of group (ii). On the other hand, the top-most field of the Dm-hierarchy (iii), dedicated to value/quality-DmAPs, is the only genuinely productive area for Barese adjectival modification; however, the same DmAP readings can be licensed in postnominal position, leading to interpretive ambiguities with the Im-variants. Therefore, while ImAPs seem to behave uniformly across Romance appearing in DP-final position, the main difference between standard Romance and Barese seems to be the degree of NP-movement across the DmAP-hierarchy. In particular, the Barese NP is forced to move to the highest positions available in the Dm-space, given that the prenominal position is largely unproductive (with a few apparent exceptions).

2.4. The syntax of Barese adjectives

We have observed that Barese, on a par with other southern Italian varieties, limits the prenominal position to an extremely small set of APs, leaving the postnominal position as the only option. To account for the Barese facts, I adopt Cinque's (2010,2014) phrasal-movement approach, based on Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (cf. also Laenzlinger 2005; Alexiadou 2001; Dehé&Samek-Lodovici 2009; Samek-Lodovici 2010).⁴² Cinque (2005,2010,2014) assumes that APs are merged as specifiers (rather than adjuncts) of their own functional projections in close proximity to the N head (cf. Giusti 2002:67), and follow a fixed ordering which is claimed to apply universally (e.g. West-African: Aboh 1998; Austronesian: Pearson 2000; Semitic: Shlonsky 2004; *i.a.*). However, in Romance, as opposed to Germanic, the raising of the NP necessarily implies the subsequent pied-piping (Ross 1967) of its modifier(s) at each step of the derivation, in a so-called 'snowball' fashion (Shlonsky 2004:1483). Hence, the higher the NP raises, crossing over the Dm-hierarchy and, consequently, the Im-space, the larger the size of the postnominal AP-sequence will become. The final semantic interpretation is determined by the structural proximity of the relevant APs to the N head, which heads its own projection, the NP. In (48), we provide a sketch of the DP-structure, adapted from Cinque (2010:55):

- (48) [_{DP} D [_{FP3} NumP [_{F3} [_{FP2} [_{IP} [PRO [_I ImAP]]]]...
...[_{F2} [_{FP1} DmAP_{value/quality<size<shape<colour<nation} [_{F1} [_{NP} N]]]]]]

Following Cinque (2010), we assume that the NP, first-merged in the lowest position of its extended projection, and adjacent to the lowest DmAP slot, undergoes leftwards raising to the specifiers of an Agr(eement)P (Cinque 2005,2010; Shlonsky 2004), whose head serves the purpose of (overt, in Barese) agreement between the N head and each AP. Therefore, an Agr-head will be merged above the APs, projecting a specifier to host the NP on its way up to its ultimate (language-specific) landing site.

We observed in §2.3 that the two types of adjectival modification present different syntactic and semantic properties. In fact, building on Sproat&Shih (1988,1991), Cinque (2010) argues for two distinct AP-fields to accommodate both types of AP-modification. Sproat&Shih (1988,1991) provide cross-linguistic evidence supporting the double AP-source. For instance, they show that languages such as Mandarin (Sproat&Shih 1991:556; cf. also Li&Thompson 1981) distinguish

⁴² Roughly, any surface structure which is not linearised as Specifier-Head-Complement has undergone movement. For a non-LCA-based approach see Abels&Neeleman (2009).

the two types of adjectival modification by means of ordering restrictions for DmAPs (49a)-(49b)-(49c), and by morphological marking, i.e. *-de*, and unconstrained ordering for ImAPs (49b')-(49c')⁴³.

- (49) a. xiào hóng pánzi (Sproat&Shih 1991:589-590)
 'small red plate'
- b. *xiào hào pánzi
 b'. xiào-de hào pánzi
 small(-de) good plate
 'good plate (which is) small'
- c. *hào xiào pánzi
 c'. hào-de xiào pánzi
 good(-de) small plate
 'small plate (which is) good'

This formal distinction in some languages led these scholars to claim that adjectival modification appears not to be a unitary phenomenon, not only semantically, but also structurally.

Leaving language-specific behaviours aside, the representation in (48) considers DmAPs and ImAPs to be generated as separate structures. DmAPs, the closer of the two to the N head, are treated by Cinque (1995,2005,2010) as phrasal elements hierarchically merged in the specifiers of the functional projections dominating the NP. In contrast, ImAPs are treated as complements of a reduced relative clause (RRC), situated above the Dm-slot(s) and below numerals. In particular, the RRC, viz. IP in (50) is merged in one of the (higher) functional projections of the extended projection of the NP; the ImAP itself is merged in the complement position of a silent head I (i.e. the silent predicate of the RRC):

- (50) [DP [FP [IP [SpecIP PRO[_I I **ImAP**]]]...[NP]]]

This head enters into a predicative relation with a PRO in the specifier of the IP, replacing/coinciding with the head N (see Cinque 2010:54 for details on the RRC).

⁴³ Note that the copular construction 'the plate is good/small/red' is rendered by the order NP-AP(s).

We now discuss how the right-most ImAP position is derived in Romance, e.g. standard Italian in (51a) when a prenominal DmAP is also merged in the structure; the first-merge position of the constituent is argued to be the one in (51b):

- (51) a. il bel quadro macchiato
 the beautiful picture.M stained
 ‘the beautiful painting stained’

- b. $[_{DP} \text{il} [_{FP2} [_{IP} \dots [_{ImAP} \text{macchiato}]]] [_{F2} [_{FP1} [_{DmAP} \text{bel}_{\text{quality}}] [_{F1} [_{NP} [_{N} \text{quadro}]]]]]]]]]$

The Dm-field is adjacent to the N head, but the NP does not obligatorily raise past the highest DmAP *bel* (even though agreeing with it via the F1 head); consequently, the entire complex FP1, containing the DmAP-NP, moves leftwards as a phrase past the RRC into the specifier of an AgrP, as shown in the (simplified) representation in (52):

- (52) $[_{DP} \text{il} [_{AgrP} [_{FP1} [_{DmAP} \text{bel}]]] [_{F} [_{NP} \text{quadro}]]] [_{Agr} [_{IP} \dots [_{ImAP} \text{macchiato}]]] \dots$
 $\dots [_{FP1} [_{DmAP} \text{bel}]] [_{F} [_{NP} \text{quadro}]]]]]]]$

Once the entire pied-piped complex [DmAP+NP] lands in the specifier position of an AgrP merged above the ImAP in question, the final, grammatical order *un bel quadro macchiato* ‘a beautiful painting stained’ obtains (see Cardinaletti&Giusti 2013 for an account of prenominal Italian *bel*).

In light of the facts, the different linearisation found in Barese with respect to standard Romance is interpreted in terms of distinct degrees of NP-movement across the DmAP-classes; however, NP movement across ImAPs is obligatory in all modern Romance varieties. NP-movement in Barese targets the highest position available entire Dm-hierarchy, yielding potential ambiguity with ImAP-interpretations; however, the Barese NP can optionally remain in a lower position with a limited number of prenominal evaluative DmAPs.

2.4.1. Barese postnominal APs

The order of Barese DP-internal constituents is analysed with Cinque’s (2010,2014) phrasal NP-movement, especially because the lexical material in N-complement position, e.g. the PP in (53), is pied-piped along with the N head when crossing the different adjectival positions.

Below is presented the surface linear order of the complex DP formed of the [NP+PP] complex *àgəna də gràna* ‘grains of wheat’, the DmAP *grèssa* ‘big’ and the ImAP *pələzzàtə*

In (54b'), we note that the entire NP+PP complex undergoes leftward movement across the DmAP, to the specifier of AgrP, yielding the partial [NP+PP]-DmAP sequence.

Similar derivational mechanisms apply when the complex NP+PP is modified by ImAPs:

(54) c. [DP [FP [IP PRO [I [ImAP **pələzzàtə**]]] [F [NP [N **àgə̀nə** [PP **də grà̀nə**]]]]]]]

c'. [DP [AgrP **àgə̀nə də grà̀nə**_i [Agr [FP [IP PRO [I [ImAP **pələzzàtə**]]] [F...
...[NP ~~àgə̀nə də grà̀nə~~_i]]]]]]]

From the initial underlying order in (54c), where the ImAP is first-merged as the complement of a RRC, the entire NP+PP complex undergoes the same phrasal movement to the specifier of an AgrP merged above the RRC. This will yield the surface order [NP+PP]-ImAP.

Whenever both DmAP and ImAP apply, the 'snow-ball' movement, i.e. the pied-piping of all DmAPs modifying the complex NP, applies. The partial derivation of the order NP-DmAP in (54b'), i.e. the first part of the more complex derivation, is repeated below:

(54) b'. [DP [AgrP **àgə̀nə də grà̀nə**_i [Agr [FP [DmAP **grèssə**] [F [NP ~~àgə̀nə də grà̀nə~~_i]]]]]]]

In order to derive the final order [NP+PP]-DmAP-ImAP *àgə̀nə də grà̀nə grèssə pələzzàtə* 'big cleaned grains of wheat', the NP and the now-postnominal DmAP(s) are pied-piped across the ImAP-field, the left-most adjectival position of the extended projection of the NP:

(54) d. [DP [AgrP2 [**àgə̀nə də grà̀nə**_i [DmAP **grèssə**_j]]] [Agr2 [FP2 [IP...[ImAP **pələzzàtə**]]] [F2...
...[AgrP1 ~~àgə̀nə də grà̀nə~~_i [Agr [FP1 [DmAP ~~grèssə~~_j] [F1 [NP ~~àgə̀nə də grà̀nə~~_i]]]]]]]]]]]

This final derivational operation in (54d), the complex [NP+PP]-DmAP raises to SpecAgrP2 above the RRC, providing the only grammatical order and the correct interpretation of the DP, as in (54e):

(54) e. [DP [NP [N **àgə̀nə** [PP **də grà̀nə**]]] [DmAP **grèssə**] [ImAP **pələzzàtə**]]]

We can now turn to those rare cases in which the NP can optionally cross the highest quality/value-DmAPs, allowing only a few of these in prenominal position.

2.4.2. Barese prenominal APs

The Barese facts concerning the closed class of prenominal APs (§2.3.2) have led us to assume a further split of the types of prenominal DmAPs in terms of their actual productivity, or fossilisation. We have distinguished a completely fossilised subset of prenominal DmAPs, which must be considered as complex nominal expressions stored in the lexicon, and a partially fossilised subset, in which adjectival modification is morpholexically constrained (and may have been preserved thanks to the same Italian structures). In contrast, only three DmAPs describing the speaker's most basic evaluations on the referent, i.e. [positive]/[negative], are the truly productive ones in pre(and post)nominal position, namely *bbèlla*, 'nice', *bbrùtta* 'bad', *bbràvə* 'good(-hearted)'.

Recall the least-marked Romance adjectival distribution with respect to the noun, which is repeated below in (55) with a specific focus on the prenominal adjectival classes:

(55) $\text{DmAP}_{\text{value/quality}>\text{size}} > \text{NP} < \text{DmAP} < \text{ImAP}$

Considering the basic assumption that prenominal modification imposes one DmAP at a time, we argue that the 'comprehensive' $\text{DmAP}_{\text{value/quality}}$ be split two-ways in Barese: a single, unified lower space for quality/size-DmAPs, used by the majority of Romance languages but essentially in an advanced process of fossilisation in Barese, and a distinct, higher position for value-DmAPs, the only productive part of the entire Barese prenominal AP-space. The semantics of this productive position may only license the polar values [positive]/[negative], lexicalised by *bbèlle* and *bbràvə*, and *brùtta* respectively. This can be schematised as follows:

(56) $\text{DmAP}_{\text{value}} > (\text{DmAP}_{\text{quality}>\text{size}}) > \text{NP} < \text{DmAP} < \text{ImAP}$

The rest of the APs that can occur in prenominal position, represented in brackets in (56), appear fossilised to different degrees. In other words, unless in conjunction with the limited set of nouns examined in (§2.3.2), any other NPs must obligatorily climb over these classes of APs to be grammatical, e.g. **(jàldə) palàzzə jàldə* 'tall building(s)':

(57) a. $[\text{DP} [\text{AgrP} [\text{NP } \text{palàzzə}] [\text{Agr} [\text{FP} [\text{DmAP } \text{jàldə}_{\text{size}}] [\text{F} [\text{NP } \text{palàzzə}]]]]]]]$

b. $**[\text{DP} [\text{FP} [\text{DmAP } \text{jàldə}_{\text{size}}] [\text{F} [\text{NP } \text{palàzzə}]]]]]$

Cinque (1995,2005,2010,2014) in that these two AP-functions have different underlying structure. ImAPs are first-merged as complements of RRCs high up in the functional DP-spine, lack a strict hierarchical ordering, and always surface in DP-final position in Romance (including Barese). In contrast, DmAPs are merged as specifiers of lower functional projections in the immediate proximity of the NP, are hierarchically organised, and surface adjacent to the NP. We derived the final DP-internal order in Barese via NP-movement across most classes of DmAPs and all ImAPs, which are pied-piped with the NP in a ‘snowball’ fashion:

(59) $\text{DmAP}_{\text{value}} > [(\text{DmAP}_{\text{quality} > \text{size}}) > \text{NP}] < \text{DmAP}_{\text{value/quality} < \text{size} < \text{shape} < \text{colour} < \text{nation} < \text{ImAP}$

In comparison to other standard Romance varieties, the peculiarity of Barese AP-modification consists in the particular behaviour of NP-movement. In standard Romance, quality-/size-DmAPs may occur preminally in unmarked contexts. However, every class may potentially surface preminally in higher registers of the relevant languages to receive a ‘subjective’ interpretation (cf. §2.2). In other words, the NP partially moves to land in an(y) intermediate position of the DmAP-hierarchy. In contrast, in Barese, the NP is forced to move across most DmAP-classes, forcing or preferring even those ‘subjective’ DmAPs to surface postnominally. This obligatorily high NP-movement in Barese, I have argued, is a reflex of fine-grained structural differences with other standard Romance varieties. In particular, I claimed that the top end of the Barese DmAP-hierarchy, hosting a single value-DmAP, is largely unproductive; this becomes evident for the limited amount of referents that most prenominal adjectives are able to modify. Thus, on the basis of early Italo-Romance evidence, we have claimed most prenominal DmAPs to be residues of earlier, more productive stages of the prenominal position, which now show varying degrees of lexicalisation into [A-N] compounds. In contrast, the very top end of the hierarchy turns out to be the only productive part of it, where the encoding of the speaker’s most basic evaluations/opinions/judgements on the referent takes place, ranging between [positive] and [negative].

Crucially, these Barese facts provide us with important evidence concerning prenominal adjectival modification which does not overtly surface when considering other standard Romance varieties.

3. Possessives

Possessives express an (in)alienable predicative relation between a referent, ‘the possessor’, and an entity NP, the ‘possessed’ (Giorgi&Longobardi 1991; Longobardi 1994; Hasplmath 1999; Longobardi&Silvestri 2013), hence they are always referential. Possessives are identifiable with (lexical or prepositional) genitive constructions, with which they are in complementary distribution, e.g. *John’s (*his) car/his car (*of John)*; hence, possessives and genitives may be thought of as competing for the same structural position.⁴⁴

Possessive expressions may either display the categorial behaviour of determiners, e.g. English, in complementary distribution with a genuine overt D head, e.g. *(*the/a) my car* (cf. Jackendoff 1977), or of proper adjectival modifiers, e.g. Italian, **(la) mia macchina*, lit. ‘the my car’ (Giorgi&Longobardi 1991; cf. also Lyons 1986,1999:24). Cardinaletti (1998) expresses this distinction in terms of clitic possessives, i.e. D-like⁴⁵ and ‘weak’ possessives, i.e. AP-like, respectively, on the basis of their co-occurrence with the overt D. However, a further AP-like option available postnominally is found in Romance (e.g. Catalan: Picallo 1994; Spanish: Brugé 2002:29). In Cardinaletti’s (1998) typology these are labelled as ‘strong’ possessives, i.e. AP-like, which are considered the source to derive the ‘weak’ and ‘clitic’ forms. In fact, ‘strong’ possessives and, more generally, genitives are claimed to be base-generated in this lower position cross-linguistically, with an AP-like distribution (Longobardi 1994:623).

From a diachronic perspective, these three forms were not morphosyntactically distinct prior to the first early Romance attestations (Lyons 1986:19). Eventually, the three forms were in use simultaneously in most early Romance varieties (cf. Lyons 1986:22; Ledgeway 2011:417;2012:112), until they grammaticalised according to language-specific patterns, and depending on the class of referents they modify.

In standard Italian, the ‘weak’ prenominal possessive, **(la) mia macchina*, lit. ‘the my car’, preceded by the article, is the pragmatically unmarked option, while the ‘strong’ postnominal possessive, **(la) macchina MIA* ‘MY car’, lit. ‘the car MY’, is emphatic, i.e. can be interpreted contrastively (Cardinaletti 1998; Bernstein 2001; Samek-Lodovici 2010). In contrast, the determiner-less clitic form may only occur with a limited class of Ns, mainly kinship terms, e.g.

⁴⁴ However, Venetan varieties do allow the co-occurrence of the (clitic) possessive adjective and the overt genitive complement with kinship terms: *so fradéo de Toni* ‘Tony’s brother’, lit. ‘his brother of Tony’ (Renzi 1997:164).

⁴⁵ Cliticisation applies to items ‘of functional, non-lexical categories such as pronouns and determiners that “lean on”[...] a preceding or following host word, and cannot appear as phonological words by themselves’ (Booij 2007:116)

(**la mia madre*,⁴⁶ lit. ‘(the) my mother’ (see Longobardi 2005 for an in-depth discussion). This contrasts with modern French and Spanish, which lack a ‘weak’ form, so that the clitic form is the only available for unmarked contexts (Lyons 1986:10; Brugé 2002:28).

In line with the behaviour of adjectives, possessives tend to be postposed to the noun in southern Italo-Romance varieties (except for Sicilian varieties), co-occurring with the (in)definite article (cf. Renzi 1997:165; Loporcaro 2009:138-139; Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2009:247; Verbicarese (CS): Silvestri, forthcoming). This is particularly evident in copular constructions with a pronominal possessive, where the article in D must be overtly expressed, e.g. Barese *chèdda màghana jè *(la) mé*, lit. ‘that car is the mine’. In contrast, standard Italian may optionally employ the possessive pronoun with overt determiner, e.g. *quella macchina è (la) mia*, lit. ‘that car is (the) mine’. However, we limit our discussion to DP-internal possessive modification only.

Regarding the determiner-less clitic option, enclitic possessives surface only with a closed class of kinship terms, whose gender can never be expressed on the enclitic, but number partially can. These occur in most southern varieties (except for Sicilian),⁴⁷ as well as some Tuscan-based varieties (Corsican and Elban: Ledgeway 2016b:218) and Romanian (Cornilescu&Nicolae 2011; Ledgeway 2012:112). However, enclitic possessives also featured in a number of early Italo-Romance varieties, e.g. Florentine (Rohlf 1968:125; Benincà&Penello 2007), Roman and Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009:252,268-270), but eventually were lost in central Italy (with the mentioned exceptions).

The generalisation of a three-way strength for strong (PossP), weak (PossP_w) and clitic (Poss_{CL}) possessives is schematised in (60) (cf. also Cardinaletti&Starke (1999) who extend this idea to other pronouns):

(60) [DP [D POSS_{CL} [FP2 PossP_w [F2 [FP1 PossP [F1 NP]]]]]]]]

In the broader context of DP-internal modification, PossPs/GenPs are argued to be universally first-merged in the specifier of their own functional projection situated immediately above the NP and below the AP-spaces (Cardinaletti 1998; Brugé 2002; Giusti 2002; *i.a.*), as shown in (61).

⁴⁶ Northern regional Italian and Tuscan varieties do allow the co-occurrence of article and possessive (Renzi 1997:164-165; Giusti 2002:75), on a par with old French, old Tuscan and old Spanish (Lyons 1986).

⁴⁷ See Rohlf (1968:125); Salvi (2011:337); Neapolitan: Ledgeway (2009:247); Molisan and Catanzarese: Egerland (2013:69). This contrasts with standard Italian and other central and northern varieties, e.g. Anconetano (Giusti 2002) and Venetan (Penello 2003), where procliticisation onto the NP is the norm (cf. also Renzi 1997:164).

Table 3.2: *Barese possessive forms*

Person	Tonic (m.)	Tonic (f.)	Enclitic
1SG	mì(jə)	mè(a)	-mə
2SG	tù(jə)	tò(a)	-tə
3SG	sù(jə)/də jiddə	só(a)/də jèddə	
1PL	n(u)èstə ⁵⁰	nòstə	
2PL	(v)uèstə	vòstə	
3PL	(də) lórə	(də) lórə	

The present section will only be concerned with strong possessives, as the enclitics require a separate discussion (§3.2).

3.1.1. Tonic possessives

The unmarked syntactic distribution of the strong possessives is always postnominal, immediately adjacent to the ‘possessed’ NP (cf. Nitti di Vito 1896:26,1910:26; Abbatescianni 1896:58; Valente 1975:33). The strong possessive can never occur without an overt article, i.e. *(D)-(*Poss)-NP-Poss:

- (62) *(u) (*mì/tù...) palàzzə mì/ tù/ sù/ néstə/ uèstə/ lórə
the my your building.M my your his/her our your.PL their
‘my/your/his/her/our/your_[PL]/their building’

The prenominal weak form of the possessive in (62) is entirely ruled out, perhaps due to the general limitations of the Barese prenominal position (cf. §2.3.2). The lack of this option implies that Barese does not have a syntactic strategy to distinguish between pragmatically (un)marked possessives, as Italian (§3) or Spanish do (cf. Ledgeway 2012:111). Hence, Barese postnominal strong possessives do not (necessarily) convey pragmatic markedness, i.e. contrastive/restrictive interpretations (63a), but can do so only by means of prosody and pitch-stress (63b):

⁵⁰ The presence of the glide /w/, represented by the grapheme -u-, represent the archaic variant of the monophthongised modern form *néstə*, already attested as early as Abbatescianni (1896:20,58), then by Lopez (1952:II,24,32) and Giovine (2005 [1964]:67), yet *nuéstə* reappears in the works of Lacalendola (1969:13); cf. also *n(u)évə*, for which Abbatescianni (1986:20) attests the variant without the glide vs Lacalendola (1972:32). However, this rimonophthongisation is also found in Altamura and Lecce (Rohlf 1966:154; Cox 1981:4-7), and, in Barese, is usually blocked after /k p b f m/ (Valente 1975:17).

- (63) a. la màghəna **mè'** jè dda scəttà
 the car.F my is to throw-away
 'my car is ready to be replaced'
- b. chèdda ddà jè la màghəna **MÈ'**, no *(la) TÒ' o *(la) SÒ'
 that.F there is the car.F my not the your or the his/her
 'that one over there is MY car, not YOURS or HIS/HERS'

Strong possessives show the general properties characteristic of tonic pronouns: they can be coordinated/disjoined with other possessives; they bear contrastive focus; they survive N(P)-ellipsis without the support of a pronoun, e.g. 'one', but obligatorily require the D head (e.g. *la*, or a demonstrative or a quantifier) to be overt.

As mentioned in §3, the superficial distribution of PossPs shows parallels with that of most APs (§2.3.1). Likewise, the underlying structural make-up of PossPs may resemble that of DmAPs, inasmuch as they too are argued to be merged in the specifier of a functional projection situated immediately above the lexical NP-area (cf. Cardinaletti 1998; Giusti 2002), and they both show agreement features. However, what makes the behaviour of possessives different from that of APs in Barese is the strict adjacency required between the NP and the PossP in unmarked contexts (similarly to Romanian; Cornilescu&Nicolae 2011). In other words, no other constituent such as APs can be interpolated between the two to break their linear adjacency, and the DP-remaining material will necessarily have to follow the [NP-PossP]:

- (64) a. la (***méa**) màghəna **mèa** ròssa (***mèa**) pəccə̀nònə (#**mè'**)
 the my car.F my red my small my
 'my little red car'
- b. figghia **mèa** bbóne (#**mè'**) (Abbatascianni 1896:24)
 daughter.F my good-hearted my
 'my good daughter'

This can be explained through different landing sites for NP-movement. We argue that the NP targets a more embedded position than that we posited above for APs, resulting in the PossP being more solidly 'anchored' to the NP. The solely postnominal occurrence of the possessive, systematically followed by AP-modifiers confirms that PossP is merged very early in the structure, i.e. immediately above the NP, being the first modifier whose specifier will be

occupied by the raising of the NP. The movement of the NP to a PossP-internal position determines the impossibility of any other constituent to occur in between the NP and the (always) postnominal PossP. Thus, it may be argued that the NP raises to the specifier of the the PossP (whose head Poss hosts the tonic possessive), which is, in turn, embedded in the specifier of the functional projection in (65):

(65) [DP D [FP [PossP SpecPossP [PossP' Poss]] [F [NP]]]]

In this way, the [PossP [SpecPossP NP] [PossP' [Poss]]] will continue its movement up-/leftwards as a phrase across the different AP-spaces. This contrasts with the behaviour of APs (cf. §2), which require the merger of an Agr-head above them, projecting the specifier to host the NP. Recall the simplified DP-structure presented in §3 and modified here in (66), and consider the derivation of the linear order [NP-Poss] *la màghəna mé* ‘my car’, in (66a)-(66b):

(66) [DP D [FP3 [IP...[ImAP]] [F3 [FP2 DmAP [FP1 [PossP [PossP' Poss]] [F [NP]]]]]]]

a. [DP *la* [FP [PossP [PossP' *mì*']] [F [NP *màghəna*]]]]

b. [DP *la* [FP [PossP [SpecPossP [NP *màghəna_i*] [PossP' [Poss *mè*']] [F [NP ~~*màghəna_i*~~]]]]]

The NP *màghəna* raises to the SpecPossP (whose maximal projection is embedded into the specifier of FP), where it enters into a Spec-head relation with the Poss head, traditionally assumed to be the trigger of overt morphological agreement between the two positions. In this way, Barese derives the only grammatical, obligatory [NP-PossP] linear order. The overt marking of PossP agreement morphology contrasts with the lack of agreement displayed by PossCls, where no Spec-Head relation can be established between two heads (§3.1.2).

Even though the NP-to-SpecPossP movement results in a different, tighter underlying configuration than the NP-movement across DmAP-classes, the complex [NP-PossP] equally forms a unique, inseparable constituent (unlike standard Italian, where other material can intervene between NP and PossP).

In case of AP-modification of the [NP-PossP], this complex constituent undergoes phrasal movement across the AP-fields, in the exact same fashion shown in §2.4 for simple NPs. Hence, the operations to derive the DP *la màghəna méa ròssa pəccənnə* ‘my small red car’ require an AgrP-projection above the APs. The [NP-PossP] constituent raises as a phrasal constituent to SpecAgrP of the relevant AP-modifier, triggering overt agreement. The simplified operations to

Table 3.3: *Barese kinship nouns and possessive enclitics*

F	M	English	N _[F] -[1SG]/[2SG]	N _[M] -[1SG]/[2SG]
màmmə	attànə	‘mum/dad’	(màmmə)/màmə-tə	attànə-mə/dattàn-də
sòrə	fràtə	‘sister ⁽⁵²⁾ /brother’	sòrə-mə/-tə	fràdə-mə/fràt-tə
məgghiérə	maritə	‘wife/husband’	məgghiè(ə)-mə/-tə	mari(d)də-mə/marit-tə
figghiə		‘daughter/son’		figghiə-mə/-tə
zziànə		‘aunt/uncle’		zziànə-mə/-tə
chəgginə		‘cousin’		chəgginə-mə/-tə
nəpótə		‘niece/nephew’ ⁽⁵³⁾		nəpòdə-mə/nəpòt-tə
sròchə	sréchə	‘mother-/father-in-law’	sròchə-mə/-tə	sréchə-mə/-tə
canàtə		‘sister-/brother-in-law’		canàdə-mə/canàt-tə
nórə	scinərə	‘daughter-/son-in-law’	nórə-mə/-tə	scinə(rə)-mə/-tə
chəmmàrə	chəmbàrə	‘godmother/godfather’	^(?) chəmmàrə-mə/-tə	chəmbàr(ə)-mə/-tə
matrichə [†]	patrichə [†]	‘step-mother/-father’	matrighə-mə/-tə [†]	patrighə-mə/-tə [†]
zitə		‘fiancee, partner’		zittə-mə/zit-tə
sirə [†]		‘ancestor’		sir(ə)-mə/-tə [†]
càsə		‘house’		càs(s)ə ^(?) -mə/càssə-tə

According to Egerland (2013:82), these are inherently definite, specific (i.e. unique) referents, whose semantics (and pragmatics) is comparable to that of proper names (cf. also Longobardi 2005). Penello (2002:342) classifies these referents according to four kinship relationships: ‘blood relationships> legal relationships> religious relationships> simple relationships’, where the former is more likely to take the enclitic, and viceversa. Barese offers a wide range of possible referents well beyond the class of blood relationships, which is not always common in the other varieties.

Pragmatically, the deficiency of the enclitic paradigm limited to [1sg] and [2sg] in Barese can be linked to the main discourse participants. As we shall see for Barese auxiliary selection in the present perfect (ch.4,§2), it is not uncommon for these varieties to encode and mark discourse participants. In this case, these are speaker [1sg] and hearer [2sg], the possessors of the ‘inalienable possession’, i.e. a family member.

⁵² Lacalendola (1969:13) attests the plural form *sərùrə* ‘sisters’ as a host for enclitic possessives, e.g. *sərùrə-mə* ‘my sisters-my’ and *sərùrə-tə* ‘sisters-your’; however, these forms have fallen out of usage in modern Barese.

⁵³ Giovine 2005[1964]:69 attests the plural form *nəpùtə* ‘nephews/nieces’ as a host for enclitic possessives, e.g. *nəpùdə-mə* ‘nephews/nieces-my’ and *nəpùt-tə* ‘nephews/nieces-your’; however, these forms have fallen out of usage in modern Barese.

[1sg]/[2sg] enclitics are merged in F immediately adjacent to the NP, where the kinship N is first-merged. In line with the Relativised Minimality constraint (Rizzi 1990 *et seq.*), the kinship N will undergo the first head-movement to the nearest c-commanding F, the functional head that normally projects the specifier hosting PossP, and which is lexicalised by the Poss_{CL}, in this case. The N is thus probed by the Poss_{CL} head, and incorporates by left-adjunction to the defective enclitic to satisfy the morphophonological well-formedness of the complex head [N [Poss_{CL}]]. This is represented below in (72) for Barese *màmə-tə* ‘mum-your’:

- (72) a. [DP D [FP POSSP [F' [F [Poss_{CL} -tə] [NP [N màmə]]]]]]
 b. [DP D [FP POSSP [F' [F [N màmə] [Poss_{CL}-tə]]] [NP [N màmə]]]]]]

Once the incorporation has taken place, the newly-formed [N [Poss_{CL}]] complex is attracted to D as a head rather than a phrase, on account of both elements’ semantic content, i.e. highly definite and inherently referential. The claim for N-movement to D of this particular class of Ns finds cross-linguistic syntactic evidence; the most prominent piece of evidence is that these (Poss_{CL})-N-(Poss_{CL}) complex heads must always occur in DP-initial position, thus ruling out the presence of an overt D (or other DP-initial constituents; cf. Longobardi 1994,2005). This is the case of Spanish and Italian, where the overt (prenominal) clitic possessives modifying kinship terms does allow an overt D, e.g. *(*la) mi madre/(*la) mia madre*⁵⁴ ‘(*the) my mother’ respectively. This is due to the intrinsic referential nature of this type of N, whose entities denote the speaker’s personal domain. In Barese, the pragmatic function of the enclitic possessives is to anchor these kinship terms to the discourse domain by morphosyntactically encoding only its main participants/possessors, i.e. [1sg] and [2sg]. Therefore, the definiteness and the referentiality encoded in these complex heads can be directly interpreted in D via movement. In other words, the incompatibility of overt Ds with these complex heads leads us to assume, in the spirit of Longobardi (1994,2005:§4), that the empty D position is thus filled by the raising of N. In our case, the complex head [N [Poss_{CL}]] *màmətə* ‘your mum’ moves to the empty D to receive its definite/referential interpretation (72c):

- (72) c. [DP [D [N màmətə]] [FP POSSP [F' [F màmətə] [NP [N màmə]]]]]]

⁵⁴ As for the classes of N modified by pronominal possessive proclitics, Italian appears stricter than Spanish: see Longobardi 2005 for a syntactic and semantic classification of D-less Ns.

Further evidence of the particular syntactic status of these complex heads is that they cannot be directly, but only indirectly modified (postnominally) by ImAPs with a predicative, contrastive interpretation. This contrasts with Italian, where prenominal, determiner-less possessives and their associated nominal heads cannot be modified by any other constituent, e.g. *(*la) mia madre (*adorabile)* ‘(*the) my mother (*adorable)’ (cf. Giusti 2002). Consider the structural representation of the constituents’ first-merge position forming the DP *màməta ngazzàtə* ‘your angry mum’ (i.e. ‘not calm’):

- (73) a. [DP D [FP2 [IP PRO [I [ImAP **ngazzàtə**]] [F2 [FP1 POSSP [F1' [F1 [PossCL-**tə**]]...
 ...[NP [N **màmmə**]]]]]]]]

As discussed in §2.4, the ImAP *ngazzàtə* is merged as the complement of the DP-internal IP, i.e. the RRC. In turn, the whole IP sits in the specifier of a functional projection FP2 merged in the higher AP-section of the extended projection of N, which was partly the reason for the tighter semantico-syntactic relation between DmAPs and NPs, but less so with ImAPs. In the case of [N [PossCl]], the operations required to secure the well-formedness of the complex head independently occur at an early stage of the derivation. Likewise, its subsequent movement to lexicalise the D-position occurs independently. Hence, the syntactic operations to derive *màməta ngazzàtə* do not differ from those exemplified above in (73b) and (73c), as the [N [PossCl]] complex needs to fill the empty D position regardless of any other type of modification present:

- (73) b. [DP [FP2 [IP...[ImAP **ngazzàtə**]] [F2 [FP1 POSSP [F1' [F1 [N **màmə** [PossCL-**tə**]] [NP [N **m**]]]]]]]]
 c. [DP [D [N **màməta**]] [FP2 [IP...[ImAP **ngazzàtə**]] [F2 [FP1 POSSP [F' **màmətə** [NP [N **m**]]]]]]]]

In Barese, indirect modification proves compatible with these particular instances of N-movement, and ImAPs can thus be licenced as they do not seem to interfere with the independently-driven movement of the [N [PossCl]] head to D. This constitutes further evidence for the hypothesis that ImAPs enjoy a greater syntactic independence than DmAPs or PossPs. The former behaves as a RRC merged structurally distant from the N head in the DP-inflectional domain and crossed over by the N/NP only in the latest step of the derivation, while the latter enter into a syntactically-tighter relation with N. This may explain why both Barese DmAPs and PossPs require the NP to move as a phrase, pied-piping all its modifiers, while ImAPs can modify ‘at no computational cost’ nominals which move either as a regular NP, or as a head N.

At the same time, Barese syntax prevents any attempt of licensing pre- or postnominal instances of DmAP whenever there is N-movement, which would cause the derivation to crash.

4. Demonstratives

Cross-linguistically, demonstrative modifiers form a closed class of functional elements traditionally associated with the broader functional category of D(eterminer)s, e.g. definite article(s). Their semantic nature encodes definiteness and, in particular, referentiality (Lyons 1999; Brugé 2002:30; Giusti 2002). In earlier theories, demonstratives and definite articles were treated as a unitary category because of their complementary distribution (in English: cf. Jackendoff 1977). In practice, they were thought to compete for the same structural position within the nominal expression, however, this idea has recently been challenged in favour of a more heterogeneous treatment of these elements. In fact, despite both being D-elements, demonstratives and definite articles differ greatly in their semantic import. Provided that both elements also need a precise – yet not identical – pragmatic context for their felicitous licensing, demonstratives are employed to fulfil more complex discourse-related functions than definite articles, which is reflected in the greater syntactic independence of demonstrative over definite articles (cf. Giusti 2002).

Crucially, Lyons (1999) points to the diachrony of languages with definite articles, in which these functional elements seem to universally arise from the semantico-syntactic and subsequent morphophonological weakening of demonstrative forms (cf. also Hopper&Traugott 2003[1993]; Harris&Cambell 1995; Ledgeway 2011). This explains why definite articles display an ‘impoverished’ semantic content compared to demonstratives.

4.1. Semantic properties of demonstratives

The semantic content of demonstratives cannot simply be characterised in terms of definiteness or generic referentiality, typical of definite articles (Lyons 1999:159). Although these are both used as anaphoric expressions (cf. Lyons 1999:113-116), there are a number of reasons to believe that they must be treated separately. As Giusti (2002) points out, demonstratives often fail to replace definite articles on account of the inability of the former to receive a generic (i.e. denoting a ‘kind’) referential interpretation, e.g. **quell/il genere umano* ‘*that/the human kind’. Thus, demonstratives encode ‘referentiality’, i.e. the ‘identification’ of the referent, more strongly than definite articles. Moreover, a major difference between the two D-elements is that demonstratives encode spatio-temporal (i.e. deictic) relations, whereas definite articles entirely lack the encoding of (loco-temporal) deixis.

By deixis, we refer to that pragmatico-semantic property which describes the spatio-temporal coordinates of a given referent relative to the discourse participants (Anderson&Keenan 1985; cf. ‘null-locative predicates’ in ch.2). In particular, demonstratives can identify a particular referent contrastively, thus restrictively, e.g. *that book on the table (not another)* (Lyons 1999:18; cf. also

Hawkins 1978), whereas definite articles cannot. Hence, the deictic function of demonstratives implies localisation and identification of a referent, and their correct interpretation relies on the pragmatic context of occurrence (Lyons 1977:637). The main deictic interpretation of demonstratives operates according to a binary distinction involving (loco-temporal, physical or figurative) proximity/distance with respect to the coordinates of the speaker, e.g. English ‘*this*’ and ‘*that*’ respectively. For convenience, we adopt the term ‘proximal/distal’ descriptively to refer to the respective morphological forms, whereas the [±speaker] will refer to the relative semantic value they encode within bipartite systems.

However, Lyons (1999) underlines a general diachronic tendency whereby languages with a bipartite system have undergone a reduction from an initial tripartite system. The latter systems additionally encoded a [±medial] deictic value, describing contexts in which the referent is spatio-temporally closer to the addressee, rather than the speaker. He outlines a universal person/distance-based deictic system, where proximal equals speaker [1sg], medial equals addressee [2sg], and distal equals non-participant(s) [3]. On a par with the binary [±speaker] distinction, we adopt [1sg]/[2sg]/[3sg] to refer to the semantic features respectively encoded by the proximal/medial/distal morphological forms of demonstratives.

An example of Lyons’ ‘ternary-to-binary’ reduction can be found in the early stages of the English deictic system. *That* was originally the medial form encoding [2sg] deixis, whereas the archaic ‘yon(der)’ was used as the distal, [3] form (Lyons 1999:111). Likewise, Latin (Lyons 1986,1999:108; Vincent 1999; *i.a.*) used a tripartite deictic system whose structure (but not forms) was inherited by most early Romance varieties, but not all (e.g. northern Italo-Romance dialects: Ledgeway 2015a:76-78). The ternary system has been preserved in many modern Romance varieties (e.g. Spanish and Portuguese; Ledgeway&Smith 2016) and, crucially, in some Italo-Romance varieties (Ledgeway 2004,2015a). In particular, Ledgeway (2004:65-66,2015a) highlights a strong diachronic tendency for a shift to binary systems in central and southern Italo-Romance. The reduction of available demonstrative forms brought about specific semantic readjustments of the deictic values these forms came to encode. In fact, the shift to binary systems in central and southern Italy does not imply that a relevant deictic value stopped being encoded once the form was lost, but was simply reassigned to the remaining forms. Hence, the main pragmatico-semantic distinction in (Italo-)Romance demonstratives can still be grouped according to the values [±speaker], e.g. Italian (Maiden 1995:125; Maiden&Robustelli 2000:83; DaMilano 2015), or [±discourse participants], e.g. Barese (§4.2). The former value is equivalent to [±proximal] observed above, and marks the distinction between the deictic domain of the speaker only and the remaining [-speaker] values, i.e. addressee and non-discourse participants. In contrast, the latter value can either be expressed by the three forms, yielding systems which

formally distinguish the domains of each discourse-participant, i.e. [1sg/proximal] vs. [2sg/medial] vs. [3/distal], or by two forms only. The two-form paradigm no longer distinguishes between speaker and addressee, grouping them together [+discourse participants], as opposed to [-discourse participants], i.e. [3] persons.

The category of deictic expressions does not include only demonstratives, but also locative adverbial elements with a spatial semantic interpretation. These deictic adverbials may be optionally employed in combination with demonstratives as locative reinforcers, e.g. ‘*here/there*’, in order to emphasise the deictic import of bare demonstratives without altering their interpretation, e.g. *questo/quello qui/li*, ‘this/that one **here/there**’ (cf. Giusti 2015:134).

We now examine the forms and interpretation of Barese demonstratives, before discussing their syntactic behaviour in relation to other Romance varieties.

4.2. Barese Demonstratives

Numerous Italo-Romance varieties, i.e. some central and southern varieties (Ledgeway 2015a:92), including Tuscan (DaMilano 2015), preserved a genuine ternary demonstrative system which encodes the three degrees of deixis with three distinct forms (e.g. Spanish and Portuguese). In contrast, in central and southern Italo-Romance, Ledgeway (2004:66) identifies two broad diachronic tendencies of demonstrative-system reduction from ternary (Ledgeway’s (2004) ‘type A’ CHISTO_[1SG]/CHISSO_[2SG]/CHILLO_[3SG])⁵⁵ to binary ones. These changes generally left untouched the distal [3]-person demonstrative form to refer to non-discourse participants.⁵⁶ In contrast, the ‘readjustments’ mainly took place between the [1sg]/[2sg] demonstrative forms, yielding either systems which lost the medial form, i.e. ‘type B’ CHISTO/CHILLO, or the proximal one, i.e. ‘type C’ CHISSO/CHILLO. In this respect, Ledgeway (2004:66) highlights that Rohlfs (1968:II.207) discussed the early disappearance of the archaic proximal form *cùstə/chèstə* in large pockets of northern Puglia, leaving the originally medial form *cùssə/chèssə* as the only option. Indeed, Barese patterns with type-C dialects with a binary system of (tonic) demonstrative forms: the medial *cùssə_[M]/chèssə_[F]/chìssə_[PL]* and the distal *cùddə_[M]/chèddə_[F]/chìddə_[PL]* (Table 3.4; cf. Abbatescianni 1896:38,57; Nitti di Vito 1986; Lopez 1952:23,33; Valente 1975:27):

⁵⁵ The three demonstratives are respectively the reflexes of Latin (EC)CU-ISTU/-IPSU/-ILLU; cf. Rohlfs 1968:II.202-208.

⁵⁶ Except for the isolated case of Salento, where the distal form spread further to encode [2sg], albeit with the specialisation of two distinct morphophonological forms for [2sg]-[3] (Ledgeway 2015a:91)

Table 3.4. *Barese demonstratives and locative reinforcers*

	Clitic proximal		Tonic proximal		LOC	Tonic distal		LOC
	M	F	M	F	<i>here</i>	M	F	<i>there</i>
SG	stu	sta	cùssə	chèssə	ddó	cùddə	chèddə	ddà
PL	sti		chìssə		ddó	chiddə		ddà

However, Barese also display a clitic, adnominal form *stu*_[M]/*sta*_[F]/*sti*_[PL] ‘this/these *(NP)’ alternating with the tonic counterpart *cùssə*_[M]/*chèssə*_[F]/*chìssə*_[PL]. The former can only be licensed with an overt referent NP, whereas the latter is preferred in the pronominal form.⁵⁷ The clitic form allegedly comes from the reinforced, and then reduced, proximal form *cù(i)stə*_[M]/*chèstə*_[F]/*chìstə*_[PL] ‘this/these’ from Latin (EC)CU-ISTE. Although the tonic form is present in the areas bordering Apulo-Barese to the south (Imperio 1993:195) and in the Gargano to the north (Valente 1975:27), it is not currently attested in Barese except for its clitic form *stu*_[M]/*sta*_[F]/*sti*_[PL] (Lopez 1952:II.23-24).

However, it would be at odds with the entire early and modern Romance panorama if Barese never developed a reflex of Latin (EC)CU-ISTE as a demonstrative. Following Vincent (1999) and Ledgeway (2004,2015a), we argue that Barese may have undergone the same reduction process hypothesised for Latin: once the full-fledged tripartite system is lost, the medial form comes to encode [+discourse participants]/[-3]. This allegedly occurred in Latin when the use of the proximal demonstrative HIC ‘this’ declined, and the medial [2sg] ISTE ‘this (close to the addressee)’ could take over the entire encoding of [+discourse participants]. Likewise, Barese can be argued to have had the same ternary organisation, until the loss of the proximal form *cù(i)stə* formally led the medial form *cùssə* to take over the encoding of both [1sg]-[2sg] values, i.e. [+discourse participants]. Moreover, the existence of a tonic proximal form in earlier stages of the dialect is supported by its weakened, clitic form *stu/sta/sti*, which only survives as part of a new suppletive, hybrid paradigm in which it alternates with *cùssə* (cf. Ledgeway’s (2015:90) ‘Type B_{3C} mixed system’). Indeed, pronominal and determiner-like tonic forms such as *questo/questa/quisti/queste* appear in one of the first 14th-century Apulo-Barese textual records from the cathedral of Giovinazzo (Carabellese 1898:303).

These ‘readjustments’ of demonstrative forms and meanings have been extensively discussed by Ledgeway (2004:98,2009:212) for modern Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2015a:88-90), and described briefly by Giovine (2005[1964]:66) for Barese (74)-(75) (cf. also Ledgeway&Smith

⁵⁷ See Cox (1982:87-88) for the identical situation in Mola di Bari, and (Ledgeway 2004:70) for southern Italo-Romance dialects.

2016). Although these two varieties respectively use the proximal and the medial forms, both are able to encode the domain of [+discourse participants], unlike standard Italian *quel(lo)* ‘this’ (74b)-(75b):

(74) (*Two friends meet up after shopping; one likes the new purchase of his friend and says:*)

a. c’ jè bbèllə **stu/ cùssə** (/ *cùddə) cappiddə!
 what is nice this this that hat.M

b. che bello (*questo/) **quel** cappello!
 what beautiful this that hat.M
 ‘that hat (of yours) is so nice!’

(75) (*A customer chooses an octopus in the basket of a fisherman. The fisherman picks up the one closer to him, and the buyer corrects the fisherman by pointing at the desired octopus:*)

a. non vògghiə **cùssə** (pùlpə) (Giovine 2005:66)
 not want.1SG this octopus.M

b. non voglio **quello** (/ *questo) (polpo)
 not want.1SG that this octopus.M
 ‘I don’t want that (octopus)’

The answers in (74a)-(75a) and (74b)-(75b) show a clear difference in the encoding of deixis between Barese (on a par with Neapolitan) and standard Italian respectively. In the context described in (74)-(75), the only two discourse participants are the speaker [1sg] and the hearer [2sg]. Clearly, Italian only encodes the distinction between [+1sg] *questo* ‘this (close to the speaker)’, and [-1sg] *quel(lo)* ‘that (far from the speaker)’ (Maiden 1995:125; Maiden&Robustelli 2000:83), where only the [-1sg] form is grammatical in an addressee-oriented context.⁵⁸ In contrast, Barese cannot select the distal demonstrative *cùddə* when

⁵⁸ (Tuscan-based) Literary Italian displays an archaic ternary system which includes the medial, addressee-oriented form *codesto/cotesto* ‘this (close to you)’ from Latin *(EC)CU-TI(BI-I)STU ‘behold-for you-this, where an additional [2sg] dative pronoun grammaticalised in between the presentative particle and the Latin demonstrative (cf. Maiden 1995:116).

referring to the addressee's domain, but only the tonic medial form *cùssə* (pronominal or emphatic) or *stu* (non-emphatic) 'this', both marking the domain of [+discourse participants], rather than [±speaker] only. In fact, if the contexts of (74a)-(75a) had the speaker as the main point of deictic reference, the demonstrative [1sg] forms would still be both *stu* *(NP)/*cùssə* (NP), e.g. 'this (hat of mine)' and 'this octopus (near me)' respectively.

Barese bipartite system of LOC/spatial adverbials *ddó* 'here' and *ddà* 'there'⁵⁹ can optionally reinforce the respective demonstrative form with an identical deictic value, i.e. **cùssə*_[M]/*chèssə*_[F]/*chìssə*_[PL] *ddà* 'this/these there'; **cùddə*_[M]/*chèddə*_[F]/*chìddə*_[PL] *ddó* 'that/those here'. Interestingly, the locative reinforcer *ddò*, initially defining the domain of the addressee, must have extended its original [2sg] deictic value to also include [1sg] (for which no other independent forms are attested). In fact, the tonic *cùssə* (NP) *ddó* can alternate with *stu* *(NP) *ddó* depending on the pragmatic context, yet both encode [+discourse participant] deixis. Both options with the overt NP are in contrast with standard Italian, where the entire demonstrative-reinforcer complex is only licensed with pronominals (Brugé 2002:37).

In contrast, the Barese distal demonstrative and reinforcer *cùddə*_[M]/*chèddə*_[F]/*chìddə*_[PL] (NP) *ddà* 'that/those there' did not undergo any remapping of deictic values. These are still unambiguously specified for the distal interpretation with respect to the discourse participants, i.e. [-discourse participants]/[+3]. Moreover, the distal demonstrative does not present any reduced form **(cù)ddu*_[M]/**(chè)dda*_[F]/**(chì)ddi*_[PL] analytical to the [-3] forms *stu/sta/sti*.

The distal demonstrative may drop its purely spatial characterisation of distance between referent and referee in favour of a more abstract, figurative 'distance'. This implies psychological/emotional distance of the speaker from the referent, characterised pejoratively, even when the referent is an inalienable body part of the speaker, hence in his/her immediate deictic domain:

- (76) **chèdda** (/*chèssa/*sta) càpa mèa scèmə!
 that this this head my silly
 'this silly head of mine!'

Consider now the Barese example (adapted from Giovine 2005:68), contrasted with its Italian counterpart:

⁵⁹ Rohlfs (1968:III.248,257) identifies these forms as reflexes of Latin [2sg] ILLOC 'thither' and [3sg] ILLAC 'there'. See also Ledgeway (2015a:96).

(77) (*A mother addresses one of her two daughters, both in front of her, to tell them off:*)

- a. a ttè e a **cchèdda** (/ *cchèssa) svrəgognatə də sòrə-tə!
 to you and to that this impudent of sister.F-your
- b. a te e a **questa** (/ *quella) svergognata di tua sorella!
 to you and to this that impudent of your sister.F
 ‘(I’m telling this to) you and that impudent of your sister!’

In Barese, the spatial deictic coordinates, viz. proximity, of the speaker to the addressees are overridden by psychological deixis to express the speaker’s emotional detachment from the referent. In contrast, the Italian demonstrative responds to proximity of the referent to the speaker, hence the selected form is the [+speaker] *questa* ‘this’. In section §4.6, we will discuss an unusual Barese construction where the distal demonstrative is preceded by the definite article to serve other discourse-related purposes.

4.3. Syntactic properties of demonstratives

In languages like English or Italian, the apparent complementary distribution between demonstratives and definite articles may suggest that these compete for the same ‘high’ D-related position, as assumed in earlier syntactic theory (for English, cf. Jackendoff 1977). However, cross-linguistic evidence suggests that these elements do not occupy the same syntactic position (cf. Giusti 2002; Lyons 1999, *i.a.*). Giusti (2002:64) points out that the distribution of demonstratives is less constrained than that of definite articles. Demonstratives can be pronominalized in Italian and English, whereas definite articles cannot, being phonologically and morphosyntactically dependent on the NP, e.g. *ho comprato (*il/lo/la/ questo_[M]/questa_[F]* ‘I bought (*the/)this’ (Giusti 2002:60). However, under N-ellipsis, Spanish (78a) also allows the definite article to be followed directly by a prepositional phrase (cf. Bosque *et al.* 2010:337, §17.3.2.a), where Italian (78b) only allows the demonstrative, Romanian (78c) uses a dedicated (pronominal) form of ‘demonstrative’ article (Nicolae 2013:309, 2015), and Barese (78d) allows the co-occurrence of definite article and distal demonstrative (cf. §4.6):

- (78) a. **la/ esa** (bufanda) de lana (Spanish)
 the that scarf of wool
- b. ***la/ quella** di lana (Italian)
 the that of wool

- c. (eșarfa) **cea** de lână (Romanian)
 scarf-the CEL of wool
- d. **la cheddə** də lanə (Barese)
 the that of wool
 ‘the wool one(/scarf)’

Another convincing piece of evidence comes from languages such as Spanish, (formal registers of) Catalan and Occitan (Ledgeway 2012:ch.4) and Romanian (Nicolae 2013:297-299,2015), which optionally allow the discontinuous distribution of both D-elements to produce the order definite article-noun-demonstrative (cf. Brugé 2002; Giusti 2006,2015). Consider the pre- and postnominal demonstratives in Spanish (79a)-(79b) and Romanian (80a)-(80b), which contrast with prenominal-only demonstratives in Italian (81a)-(81b):

- (79) a. este/ ese/ aquel libro (Brugé 2002:30)
 [1sg] [2sg] [3sg] book
- b. el libro este/ ese/ aquel
 the book [1sg] [2sg] [3sg]
 ‘this/that (close to the hearer)/that book’
- c. el chico (*este) hermoso este (suyo) (Giusti 2015:136)
 the boy this handsome this his/her
 ‘this nice boy of his/hers’
- (80) a. **acest** (frumos) băiat (frumos) al Mariei (adapted from Brugé 2002:36)
 this handsome boy handsome of Mary
- b. băiat-ul **acesta**(/ăsta) frumos al Mariei
 boy-the this handsome of Mary
 ‘this handsome boy of Mary’s’
- c. băiat-ul frumos (***acesta/ăsta**) al Mariei (***acesta/ăsta**)
 boy-the handsome this of Mary this

- (81) a. **questo/quel** (bel) ragazzo (bello)
 this that nice boy nice
 ‘this/that nice boy’
- b. *il (bel) ragazzo (**questo/quello**) (bello) (**questo/quello**)
 the nice boy this/ that nice this/ that

We interpret this as evidence for the optional movement of demonstratives from a lower first-merger position to the D-area for feature-checking reasons. In the examples, besides the expected prenominal position in (79a)-(80a)-(81a), we can distinguish language-specific behaviours of postnominal demonstratives on the basis of their interaction with other modifiers. In Spanish (79b)-(79c), interpretative factors such as pejorative readings or topical information, determine whether the demonstrative may occur pre- or postnominally (Bosque *et al.* 2010:337-338). Romanian demonstratives (80b) can be found postnominally in full or reduced forms only if immediately preceded by a definite noun, i.e. strictly adjacent to the postnominal determiner (Nicolae 2013:297-299). Both full and reduced forms of the postnominal demonstrative can be considered the unmarked option in spoken Romanian, but they are otherwise also used for pejorative evaluations, or to convey contrast, much more ‘naturally’ than the prenominal variant. However, the position of adjectives in (79c)-(80c) suggests that Spanish and Romanian behave differently in the modifier(s) they allow between the noun and the demonstrative. Spanish seems to allow mainly DmAPs before the postnominal demonstrative (but not tonic PossP or ImAPs), whereas Romanian blocks them all, except evaluative prenominal adjectives DmAPs (cf. §2 for Barese) and postnominal relational DmAPs (Cornilescu&Nicolae 2011).

In contrast, Italian demonstratives must obligatorily (move to) occupy a position in the D-area, being ungrammatical postnominally. Barese seems to pattern with Italian in many respects, inasmuch as it lacks an emphatic postnominal position for demonstratives of the type we see in Spanish and Romanian. However, the Barese structure in (78d) with a pronominal demonstrative preceded by the definite article evidently shows that there is at least a ‘postnominal’ position right-adjacent to D, possibly licensed by interpretative and discourse-related features (cf. Giusti 2006,2015). This is in line with the idea presented in §1 that the nominal and the clausal domains share a similar internal structure. In particular, the complementation layers determine the interpretation of the material within the core of the extended projections below them, and as such are able to encode discourse-related features (cf. the CP in ch.2).

The facts discussed above support the hypothesis that demonstratives and definite articles are generated in different structural positions. We argue that definite articles, which show the

properties of morphophonologically weak clitic heads, are first-merged directly in the D position. In contrast, demonstratives are universally specifiers base-generated in their own functional projection above possessives and below the AP-fields (Giusti 2002,2006,2015:134; Brugé 2002). These obligatorily move to a D-related position to check their [+definite] and [+referential] features, or may optionally occupy a discourse-related position in the D-area provided that an overt definite article occupies the D position to check the relevant nominal features, e.g. in Spanish, Romanian (Giusti 2015) and, differently, Barese. Consider this contrast in (82):

(82) [DP **D** [FP4 [IP...[ImAP]] [F4 [FP3 DmAP [F3 [FP2 **DemP** [F2 [FP1 PossP [F1 [NP]]]]]]]]]]]

In §4.2 we saw that Barese (and other non-standard Italo-Romance varieties; cf. Ledgeway 2015a; Ledgeway&Smith 2016) additionally displays a set of NP-dependent, reduced demonstrative clitics, i.e. *stu_M/sta_F/sti_[PL]* ‘this/these’. Similarly to possessives (§3.1), we propose a more complex internal structure for DemPs in which the tonic (DemP) and the clitic (Dem_{CL}) demonstratives sit respectively in the specifier and in the head of DemP:

(83) [DP...[FP2 [**DemP DemP** [**Dem**, **Dem_{CL}**]]][F2 [FP1 PossP [F1 [NP]]]]]]]]]

These two elements will be argued to raise respectively as a phrase or as a head to D for feature-checking, the latter competing with the definite article for the same D-position.

A clue for the lower merger position of demonstratives comes from the optional presence of the spatial/LOC adverbial reinforcer in all of these languages. Unlike sentential locatives, these behave like DP-internal PP-adjuncts in which the proximal/medial/distal locative form obligatorily agrees with the respective demonstrative. Brugé (2002) argues that these reinforcers are first-merged within DemP to form a complex deictic expression. The reinforcer essentially acts as the ‘tail’ of the complex DemP, whose specifier is occupied by the genuine demonstrative. Hence, once the demonstrative moves to the D-related position before Spell-Out, it may optionally leave the locative reinforcer stranded in a lower position.⁶⁰ This hypothesis finds parallels at the clausal level in Sportiche’s (1988) proposal that floating quantifiers indicate the initial, first-merger position of the NP they modify. In the same spirit, Brugé (2002) analyses the locative reinforcer as a cue to identify the first-merger position of the entire deictic complex. Following Brugé’s (2002:29) proposal for Spanish (cf. also Giusti 2015:ch.5), both

⁶⁰ Interestingly, Scandinavian languages seem to show a grammaticalised locative reinforcer ‘here/there’ as part of the demonstrative, which precedes the noun, e.g. Swedish *den här skjortan*, lit. ‘this here shirt’ (Nordström 2010).

demonstratives and locative reinforcers are argued to form one complex constituent which hosts the two deictic elements in a precise internal order. In this respect, Brugé (2002:27) adopts Kayne’s (1994:106-110) proposal for French *de*-constructions (such as *quelqu’un de célèbre*, lit. ‘someone of famous’) to derive the internal structure of this deictic complex in Spanish, Catalan and Romanian. In these languages, the locative reinforcer is obligatorily introduced by *de* ‘of’, whereas standard Italian and Barese do not:

- (84) a. el chico hermoso este *(de) aquí (Spanish: adapted from Giusti 2015:138)
the boy handsome this of here
- b. băiat-ul acesta frumos *(de) aici (Romanian: A.Nicolae p.c.)
boy-the this handsome of here
- c. questo bel ragazzo (*di) qui
this handsome boy of here
- d. cùssə/stù uagnónə bbèrəfàttə (*də) ddò
‘this/CL boy handsome of here’
‘this handsome boy here’

Despite the presence of *de*, these languages appear to have the demonstrative c-commanding and agreeing with the reinforcer, witness the ungrammaticality of both Spanish **de aquí este* and Barese **ddò cùssə*, lit. ‘(of) here this’.⁶¹ To account for the locative reinforcer, we propose a slightly different structure than Brugé’s (2002) by assuming that the PP-reinforcer is optionally merged in the complement position of the structure observed above in (83). The new internal structure of the complex DemP can be represented as follows:

- (85) [DP [FP [DemP [SpecDemP **DemP** [DemP’ [Dem **DemCL**][PP [P’ [P (de)]] [CompP LOC]]]]] [F [NP]]]]]]]]

In (85), the PP-complement is headed by P *de* which can be overt (Spanish/Romanian) or covert (Italian/Barese), whose complement is the adverbial LOC (in Brugé’s analysis DemP sits in my SpecPP and moves to SpecDemP).

⁶¹ Note that in many north-eastern dialects, e.g. Emilia Romagna, this order is available, at least optionally (Ledgeway 2015a).

At this point, the NP can raise across the FPs to land in an AgrP above DemP, triggering agreement and successive movement to the highest D-related position available after Spell-Out. Both DemP/Dem_{CL} are independently attracted to the D-domain prior to Spell-Out in order to make [+deictic] and [+referential] features interpretable; this is also the case for postnominal demonstratives, which must still be interpreted in D. In languages like Italian and Barese (§4.2), the DemP movement obligatorily targets SpecDP (or D for demonstrative clitics), leaving LOC behind in DP-final position (if present):

(86) a. [DP [FP2 [DmAP **bello**] [F2 [FP1 [DemP **questo** [Dem' Dem [PP [P' P [CompP **qui**]]]]]]...
 ...[F1 [NP **ragazzo**]]]]]]

b. [DP **questo**_j [FP2 [DmAP **bel**] [F2 [AgrP1 **ragazzo**_i [Agr1 [FP1 [DemP **questo**_j [Dem' [PP [P' P...
 ...[CompP **qui**]]]]]] [F1 [NP **ragazzo**_i]]]]]]

On a par with Italian, Barese behaves as a ‘high-demonstrative’ language, forcing movement to SpecDP where deictic and referential features of the definite NP are interpreted. We argue that this raising does not interfere with the raising of the NP across the other functional phrases (i.e. PossP, DmAP and ImAP respectively). Recall that kinship terms and proper nouns are argued to raise to fill the D position for their intrinsic highly definite and referential nature (Longobardi 1994), and the same mechanism could be at work for demonstratives.

For Spanish and Catalan, Brugé (2002:34) argues that DemP optionally moves to SpecDP on the basis of interpretative factors. Likewise, she claims that Romanian DemPs never surface *in situ* after Spell-Out, and their first-merger position never becomes immediately evident (Brugé 2002:37). However, Giusti (2015) points out that this analysis would not predict the different adjectival distribution in the two languages. In this respect, we maintain the intuition that the first-merger position is never entirely visible in either of the two ‘low-demonstrative’ languages, because neither postnominal demonstrative is the unmarked option, and both invoke discourse-related concepts. Although ‘pejorative’ readings have to do with attitudes, the referent in question will always be interpreted as topical information in some sense. Likewise, we saw that Romanian postnominal demonstratives are the ‘naturally’ favoured option for contrastive purposes (except, for instance, when the distal and proximal demonstratives are explicitly in contrast, e.g. *ACEST, nu acel om m-a lovit* ‘THIS, not that person hit me’ (A.Nicolae, p.c.). In this respect, we follow Giusti (2015), who proposes that Romanian demonstratives always move out of their base-generated position (leaving the LOC as a cue) to a position within the ‘split-DP’ (Giusti 2005,2006). This is what we have previously identified as the lower position with respect

to D, which is able to host the postnominal demonstratives, including the Barese demonstrative which follows an overt definite article (§4.6). Hence, on a par with the CP (cf. §2.3,ch.2), the DP also has its left-peripheral area reserved for interpretative/discourse-related purposes, consisting of a Topic and a (contrastive) Focus layer (Giusti's (2006) KonP):

(87) [DP SpecDP [D [TopP [CFocP...[NP]]]]]

Hence, the postnominal DemPs move to the specifiers of the relevant functional projections of the split-DP to check their discourse-related features against the relevant heads in a Spec-Head configuration. However, both Brugé (2002) and Giusti (2015:142-143) claim that Spanish demonstratives remain *in situ*, as opposed to the higher movement of the Romanian DemP. We argue that both move independently from the NP to the DP-periphery, but the difference is the material these languages allow to be pied-piped along with the NP. While Romanian does not allow any modifier between the noun and the postnominal determiner (80c), Spanish only allows certain material, i.e. the DmAPs (79c), to occur between the NP and the demonstrative. This may be due to the fact that Romanian resorts to head-movement of N to create a well-formed N-D complex with the enclitic article in D (Nicolae 2015:5-6), hence cannot pied-pipe the remaining material from the larger NP. In contrast, Spanish does pied-pipe DmAPs only across the lower DemP. Hence, we can unify the accounts of DemP-movement to the DP-left-periphery by assuming that these two languages vary parametrically in the size of the NP allowed to cross left-peripheral DemPs, and the Romanian last-resort N-movement to D where the enclitic article is merged. Likewise, the rare Abruzzese varieties allowing postnominal doubling of the Dem_{CL}-NP with a tonic DemP, e.g. *chelu vove quèlle* lit. 'that ox THAT' (Ledgeway 2015a:84), can fit this system inasmuch as both Dem_{CL} and (emphatic) DemP are attracted to D and the lower SpecFocus/TopicP respectively. Further evidence in favour of a split-DP hypothesis will be presented in §4.6 for the Barese D+DemP construction, which encodes topical information.

4.4. Barese DemP

As an obligatorily 'high-Dem' language, Barese demonstratives necessarily surface prenominal in complementary distribution with the definite article (cf. Chomsky 1981; Lyons 1999:302). However, in line with Brugé's (2002) intuition, we claim that DemP is merged in its own functional projection, given its phrasal, adjective-like status (Giusti 2015; Nicolae 2015), as a more complex entity formed by the tonic and clitic pronoun and the optional locative reinforcer. In particular, in (88), the tonic pronoun DemP is merged in the specifier of the larger DemP, whose head, in turn, can be lexicalised by the NP-dependent Dem_{CL} (§4.5). This head may

optionally select a locative reinforcer, which is a PP-adjunct whose head can (parametrically) be filled by an overt P *de*, but not in Barese or Italian. The actual spatial PP sits in the complement of the P-head, and agrees with the relative demonstrative. Whenever expressed, the spatial adverbial is usually considered to delimit the right-edge of the DP after Spell-Out, as its surface position can only be DP-final. This is repeated in (88):

(88) [DP...[FP [DemP **DemP** [DemP' Dem_(CL)] [PP [P' P [CompP **LOC**]]]] [F [NP]]]]]]]]

On a par with a great number – though not the entirety – of Italo-Romance varieties, the distribution of Barese demonstratives is exclusively prenominal, e.g. *cùddà càṇà ddà* ‘that dog there’. Thus, we argue for the obligatory independent movement of DemP(/Dem_{CL}) to the D-area in order to check its deictic, definite and referential features. Barese does not allow the types of structures found in those ‘low-Dem’ languages, where the demonstrative may occur postnominally for interpretive reasons, yielding the sequence D-NP-DemP(-de-LOC), ungrammatical in Barese: **u càṇà cùddà (*de) ddà*, lit. ‘the dog that (of) there’.

We now exemplify a simplified derivation of the DP *cùddà pòvərə càṇà tu zzèppə ddà* ‘that poor cripple dog of yours there’. The first-merger order of the DP internal constituents is given below in (89):

(89) [DP [FP4 [ImAP **zzèppə**] [F4 [FP3 [DmAP **pòvərə**] [F3 [FP2 [DemP **cùddə** [DemP' Dem [PP [P' P...
...[CompP **ddà**]]]]] [F2 [FP1 [PossP [Poss' [Poss **tu**]]] [F1 [NP **càṇə**]]]]]]]]]]

As discussed in §3.1, the specifier of a complex PossP is the first landing site for the NP, below the first-merger position of DemP (in turn, formed by the demonstrative and locative reinforcer):

(89) a. [DP [FP2 [DemP **cùddə** [DemP' Dem [PP **ddà**]]]] [F2 [FP1 [PossP [SpecPossP **càṇə_i** [Poss' **tu**]]]...
...[F1 [NP **càṇə_i**]]]]]]

The NP thus forms a complex constituent with the postnominal PossP, which will move upwards to the different SpecAgrPs merged above each remaining functional projection. This is also the case for the DemP-complex, which overtly agrees with the NP it modifies. Hence, the NP pied-pipes PossP to cross over the larger DemP, landing in SpecAgrP2 (89b):

(89) b. [DP [AgrP2 [NP **càṇə** [PossP **tu**]]] [Agr2 [FP2 [DemP **cùddə** [DemP' Dem [PP **ddà**]]]]...
...[F2 [FP1 [PossP **càṇə** [Poss' **tu**]]] [F1 [NP **càṇə_i**]]]]]]

At this point, the DemP is not pied-piped along with the NP, but procrastinates until Spell-Out so that the NP can ‘pick up’ the remaining modifiers in its extended projection. However, this may vary according to language-specific parametric settings, as observed for the different sizes of the NP allowed to occur between D and postnominal DemP in Spanish and Romanian.

In Barese, the derivation proceeds identically to that observed in §2.4 for the two types of AP-modification. DmAPs and ImAPs are merged above the large DemP, e.g. (89c), and the NP and the pied-piped material move cyclically to the respective SpecAgrPs:

(89) c. [DP **cùddə** [D [AgrP4 [NP [DmAP **pòvərə**] [NP **cànə** [PossP **tu**]]] [Agr4 [FP4 [ImAP **zzèppə**] [F4 [FP3 [DmAP **pòvərə**] [F3 [AgrP2 [NP **eànə** [PossP **tu**]]] [Agr2 [FP2 [DemP **eùddə** [DemP' Dem [PP **ddà**]]] [F2 [FP1 [PossP **eànə** [Poss' **tu**]]] [F1 [NP **eànə**]]]]]]]]]]]

DemP *cùddə*, once the agreement process is completed, is not pied-piped by the NP but is directly probed to SpecDP for its D-features, i.e. [+definite]/[+referential], and above all [+deictic] features. Although the DemP in SpecDP binds its trace in its first-merger position, the LOC *ddà* ‘there’ remains *in situ*, delimiting the right edge of the DP, yielding the only possible final order *cùddə pòvərə cànə tu zzèppə ddà*.

4.5. Barese Dem_{CL}

On a par with definite articles $u_{[M]}/la_{[F]}/lə_{[PL]}$,⁶² the morphophonologically reduced Barese demonstratives $stu_{[M]}/sta_{[F]}/sti_{[PL]}$ display a clitic status, and, consequently, a more constrained syntactic distribution than their tonic counterparts. Applying Kayne’s (1975:81-85) tests for cliticness to *stu/sta/sti*, its status as a clitic is confirmed:

- i. it cannot occur in isolation, i.e. it does not survive NP-ellipsis:
*stu *(chiangónə)* ‘this (stone)’;
- ii. it cannot be coordinated; unlike its tonic counterpart:
**stu/cùssə e ccùddə chiangónə* ‘this and that stone’;
- iii. it cannot be modified:
**stu/cùssə (*də) ddò* ‘this one here’;
- iv. it cannot be contrastively focused:
*vògghiə CÙSSƏ/*STU pùlpə, no cudd’aldə* ‘I want THIS octopus, not the other one’.

⁶² See Abbatescianni 1896:50-51; Lopez 1952:II.6; Lacadolola 1969:8; Valente 1975:29-30.

Crucially, no other constituent can intervene between the clitic and the noun, or rather, the larger NP containing it. As discussed in §4.3, if DemPs move as phrases to SpecDP, Dem_{CLS} should be treated as heads, first-merged in the larger DemP, which raise to D independently of the NP. In this way, *stu* can also license the only optional PP-adjunct, the [-3] locative reinforcer *ddó* ‘here’, before the former is probed by D for feature checking, leaving the latter behind. Agreement of Dem_{CL} *stu* takes place when the NP lands in the specifier of an AgrP right above the functional projection containing the larger DemP, as observed in (88) in §4.4. While the NP undergoes further modification, the Dem_{CL} procrastinates until Spell-Out and is thus attracted to D. However, given its unmarked pragmatic nature (iv), it follows naturally that *stu* cannot occupy discourse-related positions on its way up to D, as the focus field is not activated.

We now consider the derivation of the sentence *stu Chiangónə də tùfə ddó* ‘this turf rock here’, where the presence of Dem_{CL} implies identical operations as those observed for DemPs (modulo the final landing site; cf. §4.4). Once the complex NP is merged, the functional projection hosting the large deictic complex DemP in specifier position is merged above the NP:

(90) a. [DP [FP [DemP [DemP' [DemCL **stu**] [PP [P' P **ddó**]]]]] [F [NP [N Chiangónə] [PP də tùfə]]]]

The entire NP undergoes phrasal movement to the AgrP responsible for agreement with Dem_{CL}:

(90) b. [DP [D [DemCL **stu**] [AgrP [NP **Chiangónə də tùfə**] [Agr [FP [DemP [DemP' [DemCL **stu**]]...
...[PP **ddó**]]]]] [F [NP [N **Chiangónə**] [PP **də tùfə**]]]]

Once the NP has been modified, the Dem_{CL} is probed by the empty D-head, whereas the locative reinforcer will remain *in situ*.

We can thus conclude that both clitic and tonic Dems seem to function in exactly the same way. However, although they both land in the D-area, they are morphophonologically and syntactically distinct, i.e. clitic demonstratives are weak while tonic demonstratives are strong (cf. Cardinaletti&Starke 1999). This determines whether X- or XP will be probed to the D-area.

4.6. Barese double demonstrative in NP-ellipsis

We observed in §4.3 that, in Barese, pronominal DemPs *cùddə*_[M]/*chèddə*_[F]/*chiddə*_[PL] ‘that/those’ can be preceded by overt agreeing definite articles *u*_[M]/*la*_[F]/*lə*_[PL] (the latter historically derived from the former). The D-DemP-complex cannot appear with an overt noun, and requires linear adjacency between the two elements, e.g. (91a)-(91c), to be licensed in any argumental position, i.e. subject (92), direct object (93) or prepositional adjunct (94).

(91) a. **u** (*uagnónə) **cùddə** (*uagnónə)
 the.M boy.M that.M boy.M

b. **la** (*uagnèddə) **chèddə** (*uagnèddə)
 the.F girl.F that.F girl.F
 ‘that_[M/F] one’

c. **lə** (*uagnùnə/ *uagnèddə) **chiddə** (*uagnùnə/ *uagnèddə)
 the.PL boys.M girls.F those boys.M girls.F
 ‘those ones’

(92) **u cùddə c’** avànzə tərrišə, tə préchə la vitə
 the that.M that exceeds money to-you praises the life
 ‘he who is owed (by you), will praise your life’

(93) (*A man, buying prickly pears off a street seller, makes sure he is given good ones:*)
 e nnon zì pəgghiànnə **lə chiddə** ca dònna ddə bbenzinə
 and not be.2SG picking the that.PL that give.3PL of gasoline
 ‘and do not pick those that smell of gasoline!’

(94) **lə cchiù** struitə ndr a **lə chiddə** ca stədièscənə chissə cósa
 the more learned among to-the those.M that study.3PL these things
 ‘the most erudite among those who study these things’

Despite the redundancy of the two D-elements, such a complex (henceforth D-DemP) designates an anaphoric antecedent in the realm of the discourse, whence its inability to select for overt NPs.⁶³ The interpretation of the D-DemP-complex oscillates depending on the properties of the referent. With [+human] entities, the complex is essentially the equivalent to Italian *colui/colei/coloro* ‘(s)he/they who’, referring to an entity which is spatially, temporally or

⁶³ It appears that marked double determiner constructions with a non-pronominal demonstrative are also (marginally) found in Spanish, *la aquella afligida mujer* ‘(the) that afflicted woman’, (colloquial Brazilian) Portuguese *todas as aquelas pessoas que contribuiram[...]* ‘all (the) those people who would contribute’, and medieval Judeo-Ibero-Romance *en la aquella aluerca* ‘in (the) that pond’ (Beinart 1974-1984:I.323). The status of this construction in Ibero-Romance deserves further research.

figuratively distant [+3] from the speaker. Whenever it refers to [-animate]⁶⁴ entities, it is employed to refer to topical, contextually salient referents. Indeed, this complex may also describe the distal coordinates of the referent, but, more so, it expresses an anaphoric relation with a topical antecedent within the discourse. Consider, for instance, the deictic relation between discourse-participants and the referent described in (93). The ‘prickly pear’ to which the complex refers is not necessarily distant from the interlocutors, which we have seen in §4.2. to be expressed in Barese with *cùssə*, specified for [+discourse participant].

In this respect, although archaic in modern Barese, a specific fossilised use of the feminine form *la chèddə də* ‘the that of’ is attested in various authors as a fixed expression with a generic, ‘neuter’ interpretation, paraphrasable by ‘the event/story of; the fact that’:

- (95) a. **la chèddə** də la chiaranzànə fàscə l’acquàgghiə a la màtinə
 the that.F of the dawn-gleam makes the hoarfrost at the morning
 ‘(the fact of the) dawn gleam creates hoarfrost in the morning’ (Lacalendola 1972:64)
- b. **la chèddə** d’ u friddə mə fàscə scì trəmuànnə
 the that.F of the cold me makes go trembling
 ‘(the fact that it’s) cold makes me keep shivering’ (Lacalendola 1972:68)

The D-DemP-construction, where the weak definite article is essentially doubled by the following strong demonstrative form, has not received much attention in the literature, except for the recent work by Barbiers *et al.* (2015,2016) and vanCraenenbroeck&vanKoppen (2016), who discuss the same phenomenon in Dutch/Flemish dialects:

- (96) a. **de dien** (*opa)
 the that grandfather
 ‘that one’
- b. **de dieje** (*twee) (*rode) liggen op de tafel
 the those two red lay.3PL on the table
 ‘those are on the table’

⁶⁴ The construction with feminine indefinite articles and demonstratives has grammaticalised in many Italo-Romance varieties as the indefinite quantifier ‘much (of NP)’, comparable to English *a lot*: Marchigiano *na quella de gente* ‘a lot of people’; Abruzzese *na quellə də fruttə* ‘a lot of fruit’; Sicilian: *na chiddə* ‘much’ (Rohlf’s 1968:§492;1969:288).

The first-merger position of the Barese D-DemP-complex is represented below:

(99) [DP [D **u** [FP [DemP [SpecDemP **cùddə** [DemP' Dem]]] [F [NP Ø]]]]]]]

We suggest that, for the D-DemP-complex to be felicitously licensed and select the required predicative material, the DP-internal reduced relative clause (RRC) described by Cinque (2010) as the ImAP-source (cf. §2.4) is also present in the structure. This position is assumed because the complements of the D-DemP-complex have a predicative nature, of the type ‘X (that is) Y’, which was also the case for highly referential kinship terms (§3.2). This is clear if we consider that *la chèdda pòvərə* can never mean the DmAP ‘the pitiful one’, but only the ImAP ‘the poor one’. Hence, we argue that the DemP moves directly to SpecTopP, without being able to select any constituents but a covert NP, which must in fact be null in the structure:

(100) a. [DP [D **u** [FP2 [IP PRO [I' I Comp-I]]] [F2 [FP1 [DemP **cùddə**] [F1 [NP Ø]]]]]]]

b. [DP [**u** [TopP **cùddə** [Top [FP2 [IP PRO [I' I Comp-I]]] [F2 [FP1 [DemP ~~cùddə~~] [F1 [NP Ø]]]]]]]]]

DemP raises to check topical, discourse-related features right above the RRC. In practice, whenever the Barese D-DemP-complex does not select for a DP-external relative clause with an overt complementiser, the DP-internal RRC turns out to be the *locus* where the predicative relation between the distal DemP in SpecTopP and the following material (e.g. ImAP, PossP/GenP, PP) is established. Thus, exactly as ImAPs imply an implicit copular construction, e.g. ‘the car (that is) red’, the DemP in SpecTopP will have predicative ImAPs, PossPs/GenPs or PPs available as its complement. This means that expressions like *u cuddə grèssə* ‘the big one’, *la chèdda mì/də Giuànnə* ‘that of mine/John’s’, or *u cuddə c’u cappiàddə* ‘that one with the hat’ will imply a predicative construction of the type ‘D-DemP (that is) big’, ‘D-DemP (that is) of mine/John’s’ and ‘D-complex (that is) with the hat’, as their interpretations suggest. Structurally, the material selected by the D-complex will occur in the Comp position of the RRC.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter we have discussed three main building blocks of the Barese nominal expression: adjectives (§2), possessives (§3) and demonstratives (§4). In Table 3.5 we provide an overview of the full Barese DP:

Table 3.5: *Barese nominal expression* (adapted from Ledgeway 2016a:§4.1)

Q	D	Q	A	N	Comp	Poss	A	Adj
<i>tùttə</i>	<i>chiddə</i>	<i>tànda</i>	<i>bbèllə</i>	<i>màzzə</i>	<i>de cimə də còlə</i>	<i>tù</i>	<i>viərdə</i>	<i>ddà</i>
all	those.PL	many	fine	bunches.M	of tops.F of cauliflower	your.M	green.M.PL	there

The general tendency of the Barese DP is to restrict syntactic material to occur between article and noun, with the exception of numerals, quantifiers, and one single prenominal adjective. §2.3 provided a survey of Barese prenominal adjectives, the exceptions to the postnominal rule. Out of the handful of Barese prenominal adjectives, only three of them prove fully productive inasmuch as they can modify any NP referent by describing its [+positive] or [-negative] characteristics from the speaker's perspective. Besides these exceptions, Barese was observed to favour the postnominal placement of most nominal modifiers, e.g. (en)clitic and tonic possessives (immediately after the noun), and Dm- and Im-adjectives. In particular, we have argued that most of these modifiers are 'picked up' by the NP on its way up across the extended projection of N. However, we have also argued that a closed class of kinship terms, only modifiable by enclitic possessives and Im-adjectives, moves as a head to the empty D position, *à la* Longobardi (1994), rather than as a phrase. Lastly, we have observed that the Barese definite articles and demonstratives pattern with those of Italian, inasmuch as they mainly occur in complementary distribution. However, we do find an exception to this in the Barese D+DemP construction, which is used to refer to topical, discourse-old information, hence, material hosted in the 'periphery' of the nominal domain (§4.6).

1. Introduction

This chapter examines both auxiliary selection and (metaphonetic) past participle agreement within Barese perfective periphrases. Despite their compositional interpretation, these two periphrastic components must be analysed independently for reasons that will become clear from their syntactic behaviour. Indeed, the perfective auxiliary encodes the person and number features of the subject, as well as the tense and mood features of the periphrasis. This combines with the lexical past participle, potentially specified for gender and number. Syntactically, these elements lexicalise positions in the (I)/TP and (v-)VP layer respectively (§3-§5).

Historically, the Latin *perfectum* encoded both temporal and aspectual values (cf. Harris 1982; Tuttle 1986:239), but gradual processes of reanalysis and grammaticalisation led to the formation of an alternative, periphrastic form to express (resultative) aspect, and then ‘present relevance’ as a pan-Romance innovation.

Before proposing a syntactic analysis in (§3)-(§5.2), I shall first provide some background information on the diachronic emergence of perfective auxiliary structures in the passage from (late) Latin to early Romance varieties (§1.1-§4.1).⁶⁵ These facts will enable us to better understand the semantico-syntactic factors behind the highly fragmented situation of auxiliatio patterns and active past participle agreement found synchronically in modern Romance varieties (§1.2-§4.2), and ultimately in Barese (§2-§5).

1.1. Diachronic development of perfective periphrases in Romance

Classical Latin displayed a highly synthetic verbal system, where ESSE ‘be’ was possibly the only legitimate auxiliary (Ledgeway 2012:133ff.; Adams 2013:616; *i.a.*) for the formation of the perfect paradigm of passives and (semi-)deponents, e.g. NATUS EST ‘he/it has been born (lit. ‘born is’), a natural semantic class characterised by Undergoer subjects (cf. ch.2,§2.4). In contrast, the precursor of the other perfective auxiliary, HAVE, can be found in the Latin ‘resultative’ construction object+PtP+HAVE,⁶⁶ the internal structure of which we illustrate in (1), adopting a head-initial structure for expository convenience:

⁶⁵ See Vincent 1982; Tuttle 1986; Loporcaro 1998,2007; Ledgeway 2012:ch.4; Adams 2013:ch.24; Roberts 2013.

⁶⁶ See Vincent 1982:84; Tuttle 1986:239; Ramat 1987; Salvi 1987; Maiden 1995:146; Ledgeway 2012:ch.4-5; Adams 2013:ch.24. Note that modern Ibero-Romance and southern Italian express resultative aspect with their own lexical variant of ‘have’, i.e. HOLD+PtP (cf. Harre 1991), e.g. Galician: *Téñoche visto cousas ben máis raras* ‘I’ve seen much stranger things from you (before)’ (Rico Vereá 2004:96); Barese: *tə tènghə vistə a ttə* ‘I’ve seen you (before)’

- (1) [VP [NP (LOC_i)] [V' [V HABEO] [NP [N' [N LITTERAM] [AP SCRIPTAM_{i/j}]]]]]
 possess.1SG letter.F.ACC. written.F.ACC
 'I've got a letter written (by me_i/by someone else_j)'

In this periphrasis, *habeo* still displays its full lexical meaning 'possess, own', selecting a locative (LOC) subject and a theme/patient object, whereas the transitive adjectival 'participle' still functions as a predicative modifier of the object (Adams 2013:616). This implies that the implicit agentive participial subject could either coincide (SCRIPTAM_i), or not (SCRIPTAM_j), with the LOC_i subject of *habeo* (Vincent 1982:84; Tuttle 1986:243; Ledgeway 2012:130). In time, this ambiguity led to the reanalysis of the internal structure of the resultative construction which, according to Adams (2013:§2.2), had already started in late Latin when subject co-reference increasingly became the unmarked option:

- (2) [VP [NP (LOC_i)] [V' [V HABEO] [NP LITTERAM] [P_iPP SCRIPTAM_i]]]
 have.1SG letter.F.ACC written.F.ACC
 'I've got a letter written (by me_i)> I've written a letter'

Such a change implied that the past participle was reanalysed as the head of the verb phrase, in turn triggering the 'weakening' of the overt agreement with the direct object; however, agreement is still visible in some modern Romance varieties (cf. Smith 1995; Loporcaro 1998,2016; cf.§4). In parallel, lexical *habeo* undergoes a process of 'desemanticisation' and 'functionalisation' as it 'inherits the argument structure[...] of its associated participle' (Ledgeway 2012:132), spelling out the agreement features of the subject of the participle, as well as the tense and mood features of the entire construction. This reanalysis is argued to have first occurred with transitive verbs of mental acquisition with experiencer subjects, e.g. *cognoscere* 'know, learn' (Benveniste 1968:87; Vincent 1982:84-85; Adams 2013:625), where subject co-reference was the only option. In contrast, those intransitive predicates with non-volitional Undergoer subjects (i.e. unaccusatives), continuing late Latin (semi-)deponents, were naturally drawn into *esse* periphrasis (Ledgeway 2012:133; cf. also Vincent 1982).

The gradual and discontinuous process of grammaticalisation of the resultative periphrasis 'I have got a written letter' (1) into a temporal one with present relevance 'I have written a letter' (2) caused the recession of the latter function from the synthetic preterite in many varieties (cf. Harris 1982; Tuttle 1986:239; Bertinetto&Squartini 1996,2016; Squartini&Bertinetto 2000).

1.2. Romance patterns of auxiliary selection

The type of auxiliary selection following the active/stative alignment (or ‘split intransitivity’, cf. La Fauci 1988:51-52; see also ch.2,§2.4) permeated into every early Romance variety at different times to different degrees. A comparative overview of the development of the (Italo-)Romance scenario (Loporcaro 2007,2016; Ledgeway 2012:ch.7) testifies multiple, language-specific parameters of variation of auxiliary selection, which grammaticalised differently over time and space across the entire Romance-speaking area.

1.2.1. Active-Stative split: transitives/unergatives vs unaccusatives

The late Latin auxiliary pattern sensitive to verb class continued into early Romance⁶⁷ and is currently attested in some modern Romance varieties, namely standard Italian (Vincent 1988:301; Bentley 2006; Loporcaro 2007:187; Ledgeway 2012:321), other Italo-Romance varieties (e.g. Cagliaritano: Loporcaro&Putzu 2013:228; Romanesco, Florentine: Loporcaro 2014:62), Occitan (Wheeler 1988:264), some Catalan dialects, (e.g. Alguerés: Loporcaro 1998:119f.; Balearic: Wheeler,Yates&Dols 1999:311) and French (Harris 1988:225; Bentley 2006:62).

The syntactic mechanism of auxiliary selection in these varieties operates according to an active vs stative split. Unlike the nominative-accusative split, in which any type of subject (whether Agent or Undergoer: A/S_A/S_O) is marked differently from direct objects, the active-stative split operates a finer-grained distinction among intransitive subjects: agentive intransitive subjects (S_A) are marked like Agents of transitive predicates (A), while Undergoer subjects (S_O) align with direct objects/passive subjects (O) (cf. Rosen 1982; La Fauci 1984:224-229,1988; Loporcaro 1998,2007:189-192; Mithun 1999:326; Ledgeway 2012:ch.7). Hence, argument structure dictates the choice between the two auxiliaries: transitive/unergative predicates with [+agent] subjects select HAVE, whilst unaccusatives with [-agent] subjects select BE (cf. ch.2,§2.4), regardless of TAM values. The pronominal variants of such unaccusative vs. unergative/transitive splits constitute the intermediate levels in which the stative-to-active continuum is organised; pronominal verbs can thus be mapped onto an implicational hierarchy which reflects the varying degrees of subject [\pm agentivity], witness the Italian facts in Table 4.1:

⁶⁷ Cf. old Castilian: Benzing (1931); Aranovich (2003); old Catalan: Tuttle (1986:264.fn.61); Mateu (2009); old Portuguese: Huber (1933:221); old Sicilian: La Fauci (1992:202ff.).

Table 4.1. *Stative-to-active hierarchy in Italian auxiliary selection*

-/+ active	Predicate	Perfective paradigm	Auxiliary
-active	unaccusative	<i>Sono arrivato</i> 'I've arrived'	B
	inherent unaccusative refl.	<i>Mi sono pentito</i> 'I've repented myself'	B
	direct (monadic trans.) refl.	<i>Ci siamo guardati</i> 'We've looked at each other'	B
	indirect unergative refl.	<i>Mi sono risposto</i> 'I've answered myself'	B
	indirect (dyadic trans.) refl.	<i>Mi sono messo il cappello</i> 'I've put the hat on (myself)'	B
+active	unergative/(transitive)	<i>Ho mangiato (un panino)</i> 'I've eaten (a sandwich)'	H

Hence, systems like that of Italian have 'preserved' intact the active-stative alignment, inasmuch as every reflexive predicate, be it unaccusative, unergative or (monadic/dyadic) transitive, 'conservatively' aligns with BE on a par with pure unaccusative predicates with S_O. In contrast, transitives/unergatives selecting A/S_A align with HAVE to mark active syntax.

This 'default' auxiliary selection functioned as a common departure point for redetermination of a number of auxiliation patterns in different Romance varieties. The most prominent tendency consists in the gradual generalisation of HAVE/recession of BE into the four classes of (monadic/direct/indirect/dyadic) pronominal predicates, and even among unaccusatives (cf. §1.2.7). Indeed, pronominal predicates represent the transitional area where most language-specific variation in auxiliary selection is found. For instance, in the Pugliese dialect of Mattinata (Granatiero 1987:81), north-Calabrese Cosentino (Lombardi 1997; Ledgeway 2012:322), Logudorese Sardinian (Loporcaro 2007:190-191; cf. also Jones 1988:334,1993:131; Remberger 2006) and Gascon (Rohlf's 1970:§546; Tuttle 1986:264.fn.61), we find the permeation of HAVE exclusively into the indirect transitive reflexive class of predicates, whereas the rest of the continuum retains stative syntax, selecting BE:

- (3) a. **m' hési** sciaquète la fâce (Mattinatese: Granatiero 1987:81)
 self have.1SG rinsed the face
 'I have washed my face'

- b. Maria **z** **a** ssamuna:ðu zal ma:nəs (Logudorese: Loporcaro 2007:191)
 Maria self has washed the hands
 ‘Mary has washed her hands’
- c. que **m’** **ey** labat las mas (Gascon: Rohlfs 1970:224)
 that self have washed the hands
 ‘that I’ve washed my hands’

This diachronic ‘instability’ among auxiliary selection of pronominal predicates can already be observed in some early Italo-Romance varieties. In Old Romanesco (Formentin 2002:236-237; Ledgeway 2012:322; Loporcaro 2014:53), HAVE had further spread to indirect (unergative) reflexive predicates (4), formally distinguishing them from direct reflexives.

- (4) secun(d)o ch(e) **se** **áo** lassato (O.Romanesco: Ledgeway 2012:322)
 according that self has left
 ‘in accordance with what he has left for himself (in his will)’

However, (4) must represent a transitional stage, since a similar extension of HAVE into indirect reflexives is not attested in any modern varieties (Loporcaro 2007:190; Loporcaro 2014:53,57). Two (partial) exceptions to this claim have been found in the Gallo-Italic dialect of Picerno (PZ; Loporcaro 2014:68;2016:815), and in Agnone (IS; Manzini&Savoia 2005:II.706,2007; Loporcaro 2014:64): both show HAVE for indirect unergative predicates, albeit in alternation with BE, e.g. (5a)-(5b), typical of mixed auxiliatiion systems (§1.3.2):

- (5) a. **mə** **so** ddəʃpəʃtə/ **m** **addʒə** rəʃpəʃtə ra solə
 me am replied me have.1SG replied by alone
 ‘I’ve answered myself’ (Picernese: Loporcaro 2014:68)
- b. **m** **ai** rediutə/ **mə** **so** rrediute mbattʃə
 me have.1SG laughed me am laughed in-face
 ‘I’ve laughed at myself’ (Agnonese: Loporcaro 2014:64)

Another transitional stage testifying to the further expansion of HAVE into (pronominal) stative syntax can be found in old Florentine (La Fauci 2004; Loporcaro 2011:77-

81,2014:57,2016:814-815; Ledgeway 2012:322), where HAVE had spread to dyadic transitive reflexives (6), leaving BE with inherent reflexives and pure unaccusatives:

- (6) la donna che[...] ci s' **hae** mostrata (Ledgeway 2012:322)
the woman that to-us self has shown
'the woman that showed herself to us'

The last pronominal predicates into which HAVE extended – until complete generalisation to pure unaccusative syntax – are inherent reflexives, prototypically associated with unaccusativity for the lower agentivity of their subjects. Hence, varieties such as Salentino (Loporcaro 1998:73; Ledgeway 2012:322), as well as the Engadine and Surmiran Raeto-Romance varieties, e.g. Vallader (Loporcaro, 2007:187-189; Ledgeway 2012:322) retain BE only with genuine unaccusatives.

- (7) a. **m' aggiu** lavatu (Scorrano: Presicce 2011)
self have.1SG washed
'I have washed myself'
- b. ella **s' ha** lavada (Vallader: Ledgeway 2012:322)
she self has washed
'she has washed herself'

Table 4.2 (adapted from Ledgeway 2012:321) summarises our (Italo-)Romance overview, showing that HAVE has spread gradually following a semantically motivated hierarchy, until its generalisation as the universal auxiliary of many Romance varieties (cf. §1.2.7):

Table 4.2: *The expansion of HAVE into stative syntax*

	Stative				Active
	unaccusatives	reflexives			trans./unerg.
		inherent	dir.trans.	ind.unerg.	
Italian	B				H
Cosentino	B				H
Picernese	B				H
OFlorentine	B				H
Salentino	B				H
Neapolitan					H

However, this gradual pan-Romance extension of HAVE across the predicate hierarchy was *actively* counterbalanced by the ‘resistance’ of BE in the intermediate pronominal area with stative syntax. We find an instructive example of this when comparing old and modern Florentine. In the former, the ‘innovative’ HAVE had already extended to some pronominal predicates (i.e. Tuttle 1986; La Fauci 2004; Loporcaro 2014; a.o.), whereas in modern Florentine, auxiliary selection operates as in modern Italian/Occitan in Table 4.1 (cf. Loporcaro 2016:814-815). However, in the 13th century BE already showed alternation with the less frequent HAVE in both direct transitive and inherent reflexives (Loporcaro 2014:57-58), until the ‘default’ paradigm was re-established by the 16th century (Loporcaro 2014:61), lasting until today.

1.2.2. Nominative-Accusative split: person-oriented auxiliary systems

In a large number of Italian dialects⁶⁸ and some northern Catalan dialects (Krüger 1913:53ff.; Badía i Margarit 1951:326), auxiliary selection is sensitive to factors other than argument structure. In such varieties, auxiliary selection operates according to the grammatical person of the (nominative) subject, thereby displaying a ‘conservative’ nominative-accusative system which distinguishes all types of subject, i.e. A/S_A/S_O, from objects (Ledgeway 2012:341-342). Generally, BE tends to align with persons [1]-[2] and HAVE with person [3] (Tuttle 1986; Cocchi 1995; Ledgeway 2000; 2012:232ff.; Bentley&Eypórrsson 2001; Cennamo 2001; Manzini&Savoia 2005; Loporcaro 2007; D’Alessandro 2010; *i.a.*). These person-oriented systems thus encode the deictic prominence/(un)markedness of discourse participants, i.e. speaker(s) [1]/hearer(s) [2] with BE vs non-interlocutors [3] with HAVE, as captured by the

⁶⁸ Particularly wide-spread throughout central and upper-southern Italy, but attested also in Piedmont (Tuttle 1986:276; Kayne 1993:14ff; Ledgeway 2000:193-194)

animacy/agenthood hierarchy (Greenberg 1966:84ff.; Silverstein 1976; Comrie 1981; DeLancey 1981; Grimshaw 1990; Dixon 1994:84-90).

In the present section, we will mainly consider the centre-upper south of Italy (cf. Manzini&Savoia 2005,2007,2011 for an extensive Italo-Romance overview). Consider, for instance, the [±3] split in Ariellese (CH; D’Alessandro&Roberts 2010:43-44) on both extremes of the transitive/unergative vs unaccusative hierarchy in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: *Ariellese* ‘...has/have fallen/worked/made a cake’

Person	Aux	Unaccusative	Unergative	[Transitive	DO]	Aux
1SG	so’	cascate/	fatijate/	fatte	na torte	B
2SG	si	cascate/	fatijate/	fatte	na torte	B
3SG	a	cascate/	fatijate/	fatte	na torte	H
1PL	seme	caschite/	fatijite/	fitte	na torte	B
2PL	sete	caschite/	fatijite/	fitte	na torte	B
3PL	a	caschite/	fatijite/	fitte	na torte	H

We see that both HAVE and BE have extended to predicates with stative and active syntax respectively, confirming the (re-)generalisation of a rigid nominative-accusative person-based split over that sensitive to split intransitivity. However, in-depth studies on person-oriented auxiliation systems⁶⁹ have revealed enormous micro-variation in combinatorial patterns of auxiliary distribution. From a micro-comparative perspective, the ‘default’ person-oriented pattern of Ariellese may be most frequently attested, but it is far from the only one found across those varieties that show sensitivity to person. For instance, Tuttle (1986:270) discusses the synchronic distribution of auxiliation patterns found in a number of Abruzzese dialects, suggesting that permeation of BE into the ‘active’ syntax occurred gradually in different persons of the paradigm. Person [2sg] may have been the ‘initial breach’ of BE into predicates which would normally select HAVE (Table 4.4.a), as observed in the dialect of Introdacqua (AQ) in Table 4.4.b. From [2sg], BE gradually spread to [2pl] and both [1sg]-[1pl], following a discontinuous geographical diffusion/distribution across the neighbouring varieties (cf. Tuttle 1986:270,fn78). In fact, BE does not directly replace HAVE in [1]-[2pl], but freely alternates with

⁶⁹ See Loporcaro (1998,2007) and Torcolacci (2015) for the province of Bari; Ledgeway (2000,2003,2009), Cennamo (2001,2010), Vitolo (2005) for the Neapolitan-speaking area; Tuttle (1986), D’Alessandro (2010), D’Alessandro&Roberts (2010:44) for Abruzzese dialects; Cennamo (2010:211) for Molisano; Tuttle (1986), Cocchi (1995), Colasanti (forthcoming) for southern Lazio; cf. also Manzini&Savoia (2005).

it, as in Lanciano (CH), e.g. Table 4.4.c. Finally, on a par with Ariellese, but also also attested by Tuttle (1986:270) for urban centres such as Pescara, Avezzano and L’Aquila (Giammarco 1973:162), the alternating HAVE forms are entirely replaced by BE as the only auxiliary for persons [1]-[2], yielding the ‘default’ person-oriented pattern:

Table 4.4: *Tuttle’s spread of BE into HAVE-predicates*

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
a) Transitive/Unergative predicate [+active]	H	H	H	H	H	H
b) Introdacqua (AQ)	H	B	H	H	H	H
c) Lanciano (CH)	H/ B	B	H	H/ B	H/ B	H
d) L’Aquila/Avezzano/Pescara/Arielli (CH)	B	B	H	B	B	H

Tuttle’s (1986) evidence, summarised in Table 4.4, captures the gradual expansion of BE into active syntax, which leaves persons [3] untouched. Our unifying interpretation for person-based auxiliary patterns, discussed for Barese in §2, will rely on the semantico-pragmatic category of [±discourse participant(s)], i.e. [±3]. On this view, different varieties can variously mark certain sub-features encoded by specific grammatical persons on the basis of their prominence in the realm of the discourse.⁷⁰

A comparable situation to that described for Abruzzese is attested for the Apulo-Barese-speaking area, for instance, in the dialect of Bisceglie. De Gregorio’s (1939:50) Biscegliese data (in Loporcaro 2007:195) on auxiliary selection show an identical situation to that observed for Introdacqua, i.e. BE only in [2sg] for all verb classes (Table 4.4.b). However, Biscegliese data from Manzini&Savoia (2005:221,2011:202) in Table 4.5 show the presence of the ‘default’ contrast [1]-[2] with BE vs. [3] with HAVE only in the singular, on a par with the nearby dialects of Molfetta (Manzini&Savoia 2007) and Giovinazzo (Manzini&Savoia 1998:130-131):

⁷⁰ See Bentley&Eythórrsson (2001:71;2003:93); Loporcaro (2007:185,2014:53f.) for morphological accounts

Table 4.5: *Giovinazzese* ‘...has/have come/slept/washed the car’

Person	Aux	Unaccusative	Unergative	[Transitive	DO]	Aux
1SG	sə	vənéutə/	drəmméutə/	lave:tə	la məkənə	B
2SG	si	vənéutə/	drəmméutə/	lave:tə	la məkənə	B
3SG	a	vənéutə/	drəmméutə/	lave:tə	la məkənə	H
1PL	ammə	vənéutə/	drəmméutə	lave:tə	la məkənə	H
2PL	avi:tə	vənéutə/	drəmméutə/	lave:tə	la məkənə	H
3PL	annə	vənéutə/	drəmméutə/	lave:tə	la məkənə	H

The varieties of Molfetta, Giovinazzo (cf. Table 4.5) and (the innovative idiolect of) Biscegliese differ from Ariellese (cf. Table 4.3) inasmuch as the former have generalised (or retained) HAVE in the plural persons. This exact tendency is also attested in person-oriented systems in the province of Benevento (Radtke 1997:87-88; Ledgeway 2009:622) and in the Gulf of Naples (Ledgeway 2000:192,2007:622-623; Cennamo 2001:438-439). We interpret these facts by assuming that [+plural], being a cross-linguistically discrete, more complex feature in terms of semantic import (Smith 2013:254-255) and acquisition (cf. Harley&Ritter 2002:28) than [-plural], receives a distinctive, less prominent marking than the persons specified as [-plural].

At this point, it is clear that person-oriented systems are prone to constant distributional redetermination, such as that discussed above for the two patterns of Biscegliese; these reflect the on-going tension between the two options, witness those varieties where free auxiliary alternation (for certain persons) is attested. This may also lead to the co-existence of more patterns across the different diachronic/diatopic/diastratic dimensions of each dialect (cf. Barese in §2), in which multiple options may arise and interact, possibly resulting in the availability of parallel or mixed auxiliary systems within the same synchronic stage of the dialect.

1.2.3. Triple auxiliation

The instability of the auxiliation system and the co-existence of multiple synchronic patterns may create sufficient conditions for a language-internal ‘systematisation’ of an additional auxiliation pattern for certain classes of predicates, or even single grammatical persons. Loporcaro (2007) claims that a ‘third auxiliary’ can arise by the systematisation of genuine free alternation between BE and HAVE. Although ‘diachronically unstable’, Loporcaro (2007:212) considers these systems as the necessary intermediate step towards a more stable binary (or single-auxiliary) solution. ‘Triple auxiliation’, summarised in Ledgeway (2012:324), follows at least five different patterns (cf. Loporcaro 2011) in which reflexives shows sensitivity to the

c. marí s ε/ s a llavɛ:tə la mɛin
 Mary self is self has washed the hand
 ‘Mary has washed her hand’

d. marí ^(?)ε/ a mmandʒeit (la past)
 Mary is has eaten the pasta
 ‘Mary has eaten pasta’

In contrast, in the [3pl], most classes of predicates show free alternation, e.g. unaccusatives in (9a), whereas indirect transitive reflexives (9b) marginally allow BE⁷¹; crucially, the active/stative split is only preserved with transitives/unergatives (9c), which exclusively select HAVE:

(9) a. awənnə romwəsə/ sə r:omwəsə (Ledgeway 2012:324)
 have.3PL remained are.3PL remained
 ‘they remained’

b. marí e ffrandʒiske s awənnə lavɛ:t/ ?sə sə llavɛ:t i mɛin
 Mary and Frank self have.3PL washed self are.3PL washed the hands
 ‘Mary and Frank have washed their hands’ (Loporcaro 2007:204)

c. nan awənnə/ *dzə skrittə mɛ (Ledgeway 2012:324)
 not have.3PL are.3PL written never
 ‘they’ve never written’

The following two patterns in Table 3.6 are found within two idiolects of the same dialect, namely Agnonese, already presented in §1.2.1 in (5b). The BE/HAVE alternation spread to both indirect transitive and unergative reflexives in the most innovative variety, i.e. Agnone_B (on a par with Genovese: Toso 1997:142), whereas the most conservative one, i.e. Agnone_A, exhibits (discontinuous) alternation only in the indirect unergative reflexives, with the remaining predicates behaving like the Cosentino-type (cf. §1.2.1, Table 4.2). Auxiliary alternation across all reflexives except indirect transitives provides us with another type of triple auxiliiation system

⁷¹ A progression towards the split-intransitive system of the Italian-type (at least in person [3]) among younger speakers of Altamurano is also confirmed by my informants (30 y.o. males). They accept triple auxiliiation for dyadic reflexives, yet favour *esse* over ^(?)*avere* in both singular and plural.

found in Castrovillarese (CS). The final pattern, found in Venice (Lepschy 1984), Trento/Telve Valsugana (Loporcaro&Vigolo 1995:98) and Canton Ticino (Loporcaro 2007:200 for references), operates across all pronominal predicates according to the person-oriented split [1]-[2] with BE vs [3] where free alternation is expected. While certain conservative dialects show BE/HAVE alternation (e.g. Casale Corte Cerro; VB: Weber Wetzel 2002:128), other innovative dialects only select HAVE (e.g. Telve Valsugana; Loporcaro&Vigolo 1995:98). Consequently, the auxiliary selection in pure transitive/unergative and unaccusative contexts remains anchored to the active-stative split.

In sum, Loporcaro (2007) recognises that a ‘triple auxiliatio’n strategy, consisting of free BE/HAVE alternation, is ‘systematised’ in ‘unstable’ auxiliatio’n systems, which, nonetheless, continue to show an active-stative split (even if only in persons [3]).

1.2.4. Tense split

So far, we have focused on the present perfect, assuming that the rest of the periphrastic paradigms mark the ‘default’ active/stative split. Indeed, many of the varieties discussed above (e.g. Italian) do select BE with unaccusatives and reflexives (to different extents) and HAVE with transitives/ unergatives. Remnants of the active-stative split in the pluperfect can be found in some Catalan dialects, e.g. Pont de Suert (Lleida; Alturo Monné 1995) and Alguerés (Loporcaro 1998:120), which, unlike Italian, have generalised HAVE in the present perfect for all verb classes (cf. §1.2.7).

However, auxiliary selection may also show sensitivity to tense (especially, but not exclusively) in person-based auxiliatio’n systems (cf. Loporcaro 2016:813). From the Campanian (Ledgeway 2007b:201ff.,2009:624-626; Cennamo 2010), Apulo-Barese (Torcolacci 2015; Loporcaro 2016) and Abruzzese (D’Alessandro 2011) data, we note that the main tendency is to generalise one of the two auxiliaries, regardless of the verbal class.

Generalisation of BE in non-present-perfect contexts (including counterfactuals, §1.2.5) is attested in some Campanian dialects, e.g. Procida (NA; Ledgeway 2007:201,2009:625) and San Leucio del Sannio (BN; Iannace 1983:§119; Ledgeway 2007:203), as well as in some Apulo-Barese, e.g. Martina Franca (TA; Manzini&Savoia 2005,II:793), and Laziale, e.g. Acquafondata (FR; Cocchi 1995:124) varieties:

- (10) a *primma lenza nen lu fovo canisciuto* (Procidano: Ledgeway 2007:202)
 at first look not him was.1SG known
 ‘At first, I had not recognised him’

- (11) $\varepsilon\partial/$ $i\partial/$ $\varepsilon\partial/$ $\varepsilon m\partial/$ $i r v\partial/$ $i \varepsilon n\partial$ $l a v \varepsilon : t \partial$
was.1SG was.2SG was.3SG were.1PL were.2PL were.3PL washed
‘I/you/(s)he/we/you_[PL]/they had washed’ (Martina Franca: Manzini&Savoia 2005:II,793)

The opposite trend can be observed especially in those varieties with person-driven auxiliaries, which generalise HAVE to all predicates in non-present-perfect contexts. The examples in (12a)-(12b) are from Gravina di Puglia (BA; Manzini&Savoia 2005:III,26), but the generalisation of HAVE also occurs in the Apulo-Barese dialects of Bisceglie, Bitetto, Giovinazzo, Molfetta and Ruvo di Puglia (Manzini&Savoia 2007:227):

- (12) a. **avajə** $v \varepsilon n \partial u t \partial / d \varepsilon r m \partial u t \partial$ b. m **avajə** $l a v \varepsilon t \partial$
had.1SG come slept self had.1SG washed
‘I had come/slept’ ‘I had washed myself’

One last crucial remark for our discussion of Barese concerns the morphological forms of both auxiliaries in the pluperfect. These forms tend to assume ambiguous, sometimes syncretic morphophonological shapes which (superficially) neutralise the semantico-syntactic contrast between the two auxiliaries (cf. Manzini&Savoia 2005; Cennamo 2010; D’Alessandro&Ledgeway 2010; Loporcaro 2016:813), as we shall also see for Barese in §2.2 and §3.3.

1.2.5. Modal split

Besides argument structure, person and tense, modality may also play a role in the auxiliary selection of Romance. By modality, we mainly refer to the semantic opposition between factual contexts, i.e. *realis*, and non-factual or counterfactual contexts, i.e. *irrealis*. The internal organisation of the functional content of (*ir*)*realis* modality has been long debated in the literature (cf. Palmer 1986; Chafe 1995; Mithun 1995,1999; Bybee 1998; *i.a.*), though the general consensus opposes events verifiable through direct perception in the moment of the utterance, i.e. *realis*, to events which are non-verifiable in objective reality, i.e. *irrealis* (Chafe 1995:349). In the world’s languages, these two groups often form discrete grammatical categories, which is only partially comparable to the mood-based indicative vs. subjunctive distinction. If we observe how such modality is encoded in Romance, *realis* is expressed by the present and (all forms of factual) past tense, whereas *irrealis* modality characterises contexts such as negation, future, interrogative, possibility, conditional and imperative (Chafe 1995:350).

Some of the varieties discussed in §1.3.1-§4 display sensitivity to modality, contrasting the unaccusative split of *realis* contexts with a different auxiliary-selection mechanism in *irrealis*

contexts. The modal split is essentially characterised by the tendency of predicates with stative syntax to realign with HAVE. Historically, HAVE has been observed to have spread to *irrealis* contexts (including future and negation, cf. Stolova 2006; Ledgeway 2012:344) in a number of early literary Romance varieties, notably old Neapolitan (Formentin 2001:94-99; Ledgeway 2003; 2009:§15.1.1.6; Cennamo 2002:198), old Sicilian (La Fauci 1992; Ledgeway 2003) and old Spanish (Stolova 2006; Loporcaro 2016:803). Unlike their modern counterparts (see §1.2.7), these early varieties still selected their auxiliary according to the active/stative split in *realis* contexts, whereas in *irrealis* contexts HAVE started to occur in the domain of stative syntax, including unaccusatives, e.g. (13)-(14):

(13) **averrria**-me ben potuto bastare, commo **èy** bastato ad onnuno[...]
 have.COND.3SG-me well been-able suffice like is sufficed to each-one
 ‘it could have sufficed me, like it sufficed each one’ (O.Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2009:602)

(14) si killa dirrupa **avissi** caduta (O.Sicilian: Ledgeway 2012:345)
 if that cliff had.SBJV.3SG fallen
 ‘if that cliff had collapsed’

For instance, the contrast provided in the old Neapolitan example (13) clearly shows how the same unaccusative (stative) predicate ‘to suffice’ regularly selects BE in *realis* contexts, but HAVE in *irrealis* contexts, i.e. conditional.

In this respect, Ledgeway (2000:205-206,227;2009:220-223;2012:344) and Stolova (2006) have argued that auxiliary HAVE, the prototypical marker of active syntax, initially permeated into stative syntax through *irrealis* contexts (cf. McFadden&Alexiadou 2006,2010 for old English). The spread of HAVE in contexts of *irrealis* modality may be due to the semantic relation between *irrealis* predicates and their ‘contextually agentive’ subjects, which is not strictly determined by argument structure. By ‘agentive’ here we mean subjects with a higher control on the uncommenced, unaccomplished and/or prospective action/event (Ledgeway 2009:620), which made BE, the prototypical marker of stative syntax, incompatible with *irrealis* modality. Under this assumption, unaccusative/stative syntax realigned with HAVE due to the nature of the potential ‘contextual’ agent of the *irrealis* event. Hence, *irrealis* contexts provided fertile ground for a (conservative) shift (back) to a nominative-accusative syntax. Unsurprisingly, the modern descendants of these varieties have generalised HAVE to all contexts but passives (§1.2.7); for instance, the absence of BE in Spanish is already attested from the 16th century (Benzing 1931:413).

early Romance active-stative split, inasmuch as all nominative subjects, which realign with HAVE to different degrees, are distinguished from accusative objects, similarly to the Latin nominative-accusative split (La Fauci 1988; Zamboni 1998; Loporcaro 1998; Ledgeway 2012; *i.a.*).

The generalisation of HAVE into stative syntax and across all TAM dimensions (except for passives, whose subjects are pure Undergoers) is attested in most Ibero-Romance varieties, e.g. Galician (17)⁷², in many (extreme) southern Italian varieties, e.g. Tarantino (18), and in some extinct varieties of Dalmatian, e.g. Vegliot (19) (cf. Loporcaro 2007; Ledgeway 2012 and references therein):

(17) cando deamos chegado, xa **terà** acabado a festa
 when give.SBJV.1PL arriving already hold.FUT.3sg finish the party
 ‘when we’re be able to go, the party will already be over’ (Galician: Rico Vereá 2004:96)

(18) agghjə/ a/ à/ amə/ atə/ anə zappétə/vənùtə
 have.1SG have.2SG has have.1PL have.2PL have.3PL hoed come
 ‘I/you(s)he/we/you_[PL]/they have/has hoed/come’ (Mottola (TA): Imperio 1993:201)

(19) i **ju** insegnut/ venájt (Vegliot: Ledgeway 2012:341)
 they have.3PL taught come
 ‘they have taught/come’

The spread of HAVE is also affecting ‘popular’ French (Tuttle 1986:268,fn.65) and Quebecois French (Manente 2008) with predicates of direct motion/change of state. This is claimed by Nordahl (1977) to have started in old French with verbs like *alé* ‘go’ in specific semantic contexts, e.g. under negation. Under similar semantic circumstances, we have observed the expansion of HAVE over BE in old Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2003,2009), old Spanish (Stolova 2006), old Catalan (Mateu 2009), old Portuguese (Huber 1933:221) and old Sicilian (LaFauci 1992:202ff.).

In contrast, in §1.2 we have observed that BE must have had its own mechanisms of ‘resistance’ against the spread of HAVE, so much so that it is found as the generalised auxiliary in

⁷² Galician and Portuguese historically replaced *haber* with *ter* ‘HOLD’. Despite the preference for synthetic forms to encode most perfective values (Rojo 1974:135-136), Galician admits both auxiliaries *haber/ter*+PtP. The latter, like in Portuguese, has an iterative/resultative interpretation, whereas the former (not a Castilianism) is only licensed in *irrealis* contexts (Pérez Bouza 1996:44-45; cf. §1.2.5): *houberan estado millor na súa terra* ‘they’d have been better off in their land’.

some varieties. One alleged example of this is the dialect of Terracina (20) discussed in Tuttle (1986:267), or the Italo-Romance dialect of Bova (RC) in (21), which coexists with the local Greek dialect (Squillaci 2017:ch.2):

(20) so/ si/ è/ semə/ setə/ ennə bbəútə (lu wínə)
 am are.2SG is were.1PL were.2PL were.3PL drunk the wine
 ‘I/you/(s)he/we/you_[PL]/they have/has drunk (the wine)’ (Terracina: Tuttle 1986:267)

(21) eru/ eri/ era/ eramu/ eravu/ eranu cucinatu/ leggiutu
 was.1SG was.2SG was.3SG were.1PL were.2PL were.3PL cooked read
 ‘I/you/(s)he/we/you_[PL]/they had cooked/read’ (Bova: Squillaci 2017:55-56)

However, Bovesese (21) can only express the present perfect synthetically, with the analytic perfect with generalised BE limited to the pluperfect in all persons and with all predicates.

2. Perfective auxiliary selection in Barese

Like upper-southern Italo-Romance varieties, spoken urban Barese (unlike its written counterpart) entirely abandoned the original pan-Romance active-stative split (§1.2.1) in favour of multiple mechanisms of auxiliary selection sensitive to grammatical person in the present perfect (§2.1), tense in the pluperfect indicative (§2.2), and mood in the pluperfect subjunctive/conditional (§2.3).

The entire paradigm of lexical and functional BE (*j)èsse* (Table 4.7) and HAVE *avè*⁷³ (Table 4.8) is presented in isolation, showing every available morphophonological variation of the forms, or even attested obsolete forms, i.e. *x*[†] (cf. Nitti de Vito 1896:27-28; Abbatescianni 1896:62-63; Lopez 1952:II.42-49; Giovine 2005[1964]:96-107; Lacalendola 1969:23; Valente 1975:33-35). In particular, the forms below display reduced vs full variants, (non-)rhotic variants, optional glide-insertion, and the disambiguating morphemes *-chə/-ghə*_[1SG] and *-və*_[2PL]:

⁷³ Lexical *avè* can only be used with a punctual aspectual meaning ‘receive’.

Table 4.7: *jèssə* ‘be’

Person	Present Indicative	Imperfect Indicative	Imperfect Subjunctive
1SG	só(ngħə < sòndə [†])	(j)évvə; (j)érvə	fòssə(chə)
2SG	sì(ndə [†])	(j)ìvvə; (j)ìrvə	fùssə (< fuèssə [†])
3SG	(j)è	(j)évvə; (j)érvə	fòssə
1PL	sìmmə	(j)èmmə (< (j)èvvəmmə); (j)èrrəmmə	fòssəmmə
2PL	sìttə	(j)ìvvə(və); (j)ìrrə(və)	fùssə(və) (< fuèssəvə [†])
3PL	só(ndə [†])	(j)èvvənnə; (j)èrvənnə	fòssərvə

Table 4.8: *avé* ‘have’

Person	Present Indicative	Imperfect Indicative	Imperfect Subjunctive
1SG	(j)àgghjə(chə)	avévə	avèssə
2SG	(j)æ	avìvə	avìssə
3SG	(j)à(və)	avévə	avèssə
1PL	àm(m)ə (< avìmmə)	avèmmə (< avèvvəmmə)	avèssəmmə
2PL	avìttə	avìvvə(və)	avìssə(və)
3PL	ànnə/ònnə (< avònnə)	avèvvənnə	avèssərvə; avèssənnə

Of these morphophonological alternations, speakers often favour reduced over full forms for auxiliaries, often resulting in ambiguity in the less frequent tenses (i.e. pluperfect indicative).

2.1. Present perfect indicative

The present perfect is exclusively used in Barese to describe those past actions or events that display ‘present relevance’ to the moment in which they are uttered by the speaker (cf. Harris 1982:44; Bertinetto&Squartini 1996,2016; Squartini&Bertinetto 2000):

- (22) *ajìrvə/ jòscə/ mmò’ so’ ppəlzàttə
 yesterday today now am cleaned
 ‘today/now I’ve cleaned’

In contrast, completed actions or events that occurred in the past (i.e. entirely lacking a temporal link with the present) are expressed by the preterite:

- (23) *ajirə/ *jóscə/ *mmò' pəlzàbbə*
 yesterday today now cleaned
 'yesterday I cleaned'

This distinction becomes more evident when we consider minimal pairs opposing the present perfect (24a) to the preterite (24b), accompanied by context-relevant temporal expressions:

- (24) a. *m' ònnə arrəbbàtə la màghənə (e mmò j-a sci all'appétə)*
 to-me have.3PL stolen the car and now have.1SG-to go by-foot
 'my car has been stolen (and I now have to walk)'
- b. *m' arrəbbòrənə la màghənə (*e mmò j-a sci all'appétə)*
 me stole.3PL the car and now have.1SG-to go by-foot
 'my car was stolen (*and I now have to walk)'

The temporal expressions in both (24a), i.e. with present relevance, and (24b), i.e. without present relevance, clearly force the use of the present perfect and the preterite respectively, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the relative temporal markers. This same aspectual distinction is attested for the entire province of Bari, e.g. Altamurano (Loporcaro 1995:148, 1997b:348, 2009:148), contrasting with the more widespread use of the present perfect in the neighbouring (northern) Salento.

We now consider Barese auxiliation in conjunction with seven different predicate types:

- (25) a. **Unaccusative:** *sci* 'go'
- | | | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1SG | <i>so'/(àgghiə)¹</i> | (s)sciùtə | B/(H) |
| 2SG | <i>sì/*æ</i> | ssciùtə | B |
| 3SG | <i>*jè/à</i> | ssciùtə | H |
| 1PL | <i>sìmə/(àmmə; avimə)¹</i> | sciùtə | B/(H) |
| 2PL | <i>sità/(avitə)¹</i> | sciùtə | B/(H) |
| 3PL | <i>*so'/ànnə; (av)ònnə</i> | sciùtə | H |

b. **Inherent Unaccusative Reflexive:** *pəndirsə* ‘repent oneself’

1SG	mə	so’/(əgghiə) ¹	(p)pənditə	B/(H)
2SG	tə	sì/*æ	ppənditə	B
3SG	sə	*jè/à	ppənditə	H
1PL	ngə	sìmə/(əmmə; avimə) ¹	pənditə	B/(H)
2PL	və	sità/(avitə) ¹	pənditə	B/(H)
3PL	sə	*so’/ənnə; (av)ənnə	pənditə	H

c. **Direct Transitive Reflexive:** *acchiaməndàssə* ‘look at oneself’

1SG	mə	so’/(əgghiə) ¹	acchiaməndətə	B/(H)
2SG	tə	sì/*æ	acchiaməndətə	B
3SG	sə	*jè/à(və)	acchiaməndətə	H
1PL	ngə	sìmə/(əmmə; avimə) ¹	acchiaməndətə	B/(H)
2PL	və	sità/(avitə) ¹	acchiaməndətə	B/(H)
3PL	sə	*so’/ənnə; (av)ənnə	acchiaməndətə	H

d. **Indirect Unergative Reflexive:** *arrəspənnətə* ‘answer oneself’

1SG	mə	so’/(əgghiə) ¹	arrəspənnütə	B/(H)
2SG	tə	sì/*æ	arrəspənnütə	B
3SG	sə	*jè/à(və)	arrəspənnütə	H
1PL	ngə	sìmə/(əmmə; avimə) ¹	arrəspənnütə	B/(H)
2PL	və	sità/(avitə) ¹	arrəspənnütə	B/(H)
3PL	sə	*so’/ənnə; (av)ənnə	arrəspənnütə	H

e. **Indirect Transitive Reflexive:** *mèttəsə* ‘wear (the hat)’

1SG	mə	so’/(əgghiə) ¹	(m)misə	u cappiddə	B/(H)
2SG	tə	sì/*æ	mmisə	u cappiddə	B
3SG	sə	*jè/à(və)	(m)misə	u cappiddə	H
1PL	ngə	sìmə/(əmmə; avimə) ¹	misə	u cappiddə	B/(H)
2PL	və	sità/(avitə) ¹	misə	u cappiddə	B/(H)
3PL	sə	*so’/ənnə; (av)ənnə	misə	u cappiddə	H

f.	Transitive/Unergative: <i>mangià(rsə)</i> ‘eat (sea-urchins)’			
1SG	(mə) so’/(àgghiə) ¹	(m)mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/(H)
2SG	(tə) si/*æ	mmangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B
3SG	(sə) *jè/à(və)	mmangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H
1PL	(ngə) sìmə/(àmmə; avimə) ¹	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/(H)
2PL	(və) sitə/(avitə) ¹	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/(H)
3PL	(sə) *so’/ànnə; (av)ònnə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H

g. **Modal** (*pəté* ‘can’)+**Unaccusative** *trasi* ‘enter’/**Unergative(/Trans.)** *bbévə* ‘drink (beer)’

1SG	so’/àgghiə ¹	(p)pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	B/(H)
2SG	si/*æ	ppətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	B
3SG	*jè/à(və)	ppətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H
1PL	sìmə/a(vi)mə ¹	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	B/(H)
2PL	sità/avitə ¹	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	B/(H)
3PL	*so’/ànnə; (av)ònnə	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H

¹Receding, yet grammatical form

Barese auxiliary selection in the present perfect indicative follows the ‘canonical’ person-alternation pattern *so’/si/à/sìmə/sità/ònnə*, i.e. B-B-H-B-B-H, marking the opposition between [3] persons with HAVE and [1]-[2] persons with BE. This person-based auxiliation pattern is consistently and invariably found throughout the implicational gradient scale of the seven semantic classes of predicates that follows the ‘stative’-to-‘active’ alignment (cf. Rosen 1982; La Fauci 1984:224-229): from the classes of [-active] predicates, namely unaccusatives (25a) and the four classes of reflexives (i.e. unaccusative/inherent (25b), indirect unergative (25d), direct/monadic (25c) and indirect/dyadic (25e) transitive reflexives) to those two classes of [+active] transitives and unergatives (25f). In this respect, a crucial observation is that the semantic classes of the lexical verbs have no repercussions on Barese auxiliary selection. This claim is also confirmed by the attested persistence of B-B-H-B-B-H with restructuring predicates, such as the epistemic/deontic modal auxiliaries, e.g. *pəté* ‘can’ (25g), where the semantics of the lexical verb governing it (i.e. unaccusative *trasi* ‘to enter’ and unergative/transitive *bbévə* (*la bbirrə*) ‘to drink (the beer)’ have no influence on the selected auxiliary. In contrast, Italian restructuring predicates may inherit the auxiliary selected by the lexical verb (cf. Rizzi 1976,1982; Burzio 1986; Cinque 2001,2003,2004,2006; see also ch.5).

Besides the greater frequency of the canonical person-based split B-B-H-B-B-H, attested also for older speakers from *Bari Vecchia* by Torcolacci (2015:50), we observe the presence of two receding, yet perfectly grammatical patterns **H-B-H-B-B-H** and **B-B-H-B(/H)-B(/H)-H**. These represent the two archaic patterns adopted by elders and middle-age speakers respectively, which are used in parallel with the canonical pattern, the most common across generations, especially for younger speakers.

As discussed for other Italian dialects in §1.2.2, the grammatical persons that remain untouched by the alternation across the predicate hierarchy in Barese are [2sg], which systematically selects BE, and [3sg]-[3pl], which always select HAVE. On the one hand, the grammatical person [2sg] is argued by Tuttle (1986:270) to have been the (potential) ‘initial breach’ in which the systematic selection of BE occurred within a generalised transitive paradigm with HAVE (cf. §1.2.2 for details). On the other hand, the second condition is also discussed by Tuttle (1986:269-270), and formally accounted for by Ledgeway (1998:136), both of whom observe that those dialects whose tendency is to generalise HAVE will retain such an auxiliary in both [3sg]-[3pl]. Such a generalisation is also borne out in the three patterns of Barese, where HAVE is consistently found in persons [3].

When comparing the three patterns available, the ‘older’ secondary pattern of the three, i.e. **H-B-H-B-B-H**, minimally differs from the canonical B-B-H-B-B-H in [1sg] with HAVE. We consider this archaic especially in the case of transitives, in which HAVE represents a residue of an earlier generalised transitive pattern for all persons (even with unaccusatives and reflexives, attested by Zonno (1892:78,80) as early as 1892), now replaced by BE in the newer patterns. Cross-dialectal evidence for the (more) archaic nature of HAVE in [1sg] is discussed in Tuttle (1986:269), who points to a fairly recent change in the Abruzzese dialect of Lanciano (CH) comparable to that of Barese. In Lancianese, Finamore (1893) records the HAVE/BE alternation in [1sg], while in Giammarco (1973) this alternation was already lost in favour of BE.

The ‘newer’ secondary pattern **B-B-H-B(/H)-B(/H)-H** allows free BE/HAVE alternation in [1pl]-[2pl], with a preference for BE of the canonical pattern. Similarly to the ‘older’ secondary pattern, it can be argued that BE permeated the [2sg] and extended later into [1sg]-[1pl]-[2pl] leaving the BE/HAVE alternation in [1pl]-[2pl]. This same situation in [1pl]-[2pl] is also attested from 19th-century textual records (Zonno 1892), from which this alternation might have been ‘inherited’.

2.2. Pluperfect Indicative

The Barese pluperfect indicative, in which the auxiliary has the form of an imperfect indicative, is generally used to describe actions/events that took place prior to a (punctual) past action/event. The pluperfect pattern of Barese auxiliary selection is given below:

(26) a. **Unaccusative:** *sci* ‘go’

1SG	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avénə	sciùtə	B/H
2SG	(j)ìvə; (j)ìrə/avìvə	sciùtə	B/H
3SG	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avénə	sciùtə	B/H
1PL	(j)èmmə/avèmmə	sciùtə	B/H
2PL	(j)ìvə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvə(və)	sciùtə	B/H
3PL	(j)èvnəə; (j)èrəə/avèvnəə	sciùtə	B/H

b. **Inherent Unaccusative Reflexive:** *pəndìrsə* ‘repent oneself’

1SG	mə (j)évnə; (j)érə/avénə	pəndìtə	B/H
2SG	tə (j)ìvə; (j)ìrə/avìvə	pəndìtə	B/H
3SG	sə (j)évnə; (j)érə/avénə	pəndìtə	B/H
1PL	ngə (j)èmmə/avèmmə	pəndìtə	B/H
2PL	və (j)ìvə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvə(və)	pəndìtə	B/H
3PL	sə (j)èvnəə; (j)èrəə/avèvnəə	pəndìtə	B/H

c. **Direct Transitive Reflexive:** *acchiaməndàrsə* ‘look at oneself’

1SG	mə (j)évnə; (j)érə/avénə	acchiaməndàtə	B/H
2SG	tə (j)ìvə; (j)ìrə/avìvə	acchiaməndàtə	B/H
3SG	sə (j)évnə; (j)érə/avénə	acchiaməndàtə	B/H
1PL	ngə (j)èmmə/avèmmə	acchiaməndàtə	B/H
2PL	və (j)ìvə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvə(və)	acchiaməndàtə	B/H
3PL	sə (j)èvnəə; (j)èrəə/avèvnəə	acchiaməndàtə	B/H

d. **Indirect Unergative Reflexive:** *arrəspənnùtə* ‘answer oneself’

1SG	mə	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	arrəspənnùtə	B/H
2SG	tə	(j)ìvnə; (j)ìrə/avìvnə	arrəspənnùtə	B/H
3SG	sə	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	arrəspənnùtə	B/H
1PL	ngə	(j)èmmə/avèmmə	arrəspənnùtə	B/H
2PL	və	(j)ìvnə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvnə(və)	arrəspənnùtə	B/H
3PL	sə	(j)èvnənə; (j)èrənə/avèvnənə	arrəspənnùtə	B/H

e. **Indirect Transitive Reflexive** *mèttəsə* ‘wear (the hat)’

1SG	mə	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	mìsə	u cappiddə	B/H
2SG	tə	(j)ìvnə; (j)ìrə/avìvnə	mìsə	u cappiddə	B/H
3SG	sə	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	mìsə	u cappiddə	B/H
1PL	ngə	(j)èmmə/avèmmə	mìsə	u cappiddə	B/H
2PL	və	(j)ìvnə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvnə(və)	mìsə	u cappiddə	B/H
3PL	sə	(j)èvnənə; (j)èrənə/avèvnənə	mìsə	u cappiddə	B/H

f. **Transitive/Unergative** *mangià(ssə)* ‘eat (sea-urchins)’

1SG	(mə)	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/H
2SG	(tə)	(j)ìvnə; (j)ìrə/avìvnə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/H
3SG	(sə)	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/H
1PL	(ngə)	(j)èmmə/avèmmə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/H
2PL	(və)	(j)ìvnə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvnə(və)	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/H
3PL	(sə)	(j)èvnənə; (j)èrənə/avèvnənə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	B/H

g. **Modal** (*pəté* ‘can’)+**Unaccusative** *trasi* ‘enter’/**Unergative(/Trans.)** *bbévə* ‘drink (beer)’

1SG	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbìrrə)	B/H
2SG	(j)ìvnə; (j)ìrə/avìvnə	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbìrrə)	B/H
3SG	(j)évnə; (j)érə/avévnə	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbìrrə)	B/H
1PL	(j)èmmə/avèmmə	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbìrrə)	B/H
2PL	(j)ìvnə(və); (j)ìrə(və)/avìvnə(və)	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbìrrə)	B/H
3PL	(j)èvnənə; (j)èrənə/avèvnənə	pətùtə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbìrrə)	B/H

Auxiliary selection in the Barese pluperfect indicative displays no sensitivity to the original active/stative split, nor to person, as it does in the present perfect. In contrast, the temporal trigger [+past] favours the indiscriminate use of both BE or HAVE for every semantic class of

predicate (cf. §1.2.4; also attested in Altamura (BA): Loporcaro 1988:285). The possibility of free BE/HAVE alternation can be explained on diastratic grounds: older speakers tend to use BE, especially in the rhotic variant *(j)érə*, and accept HAVE at the same time (see Lopez 1952:II.56); younger speakers (including middle-aged ones) feel equally comfortable when using both auxiliaries, with a preference for HAVE. Nevertheless, these groups deem both forms grammatically acceptable.

We observed in §1.2.4 that a plausible reason for this alternation consists in the highly syncretic, hence ambiguous, morphophonological forms of both auxiliaries. It is unlikely that the more archaic (and nearly obsolete) rhotic form of BE, *(j)érə* (< Latin ERA(M)⁷⁴), has independently undergone phonological change into the non-rhotic form *(j)évə* (which is also found in Barese copular constructions and passives). In contrast, the reduced, aphaeretic form of HAVE, *évə*, is always preferred to the full form *avévə*, as is common for auxiliaries. The almost identical forms of the two auxiliaries *érə/(av)évə* must have converged into one syncretic form *évə* to express both auxiliaries, cf. similar patterns in other dialects. One piece of evidence for this in Barese (cf. also §3.3) is the presence of *(j)évə*, but not of *(j)érə*, as the future/deontic-modal auxiliary construction *avè+(d)a+infinitive*, e.g. *(j)év'/*(j)ér'a mangià ddə cchiù* 'I had to eat more', which signals that *(j)évə* is an instantiation of HAVE, rather than the morphophonologically close form of BE, *(j)érə*. These Barese facts find a welcome parallel in Neapolitan, for which Ledgeway (2009) proposes that *eva* 'was' actually comes from HAVE (cf. also Cennamo 2010; *pace* Manzini&Savoia 2005, for whom *eva* is BE inasmuch as it surfaces in copular constructions). Hence, we conclude that the (reduced) morphological form of HAVE has (almost) entirely replaced the archaic form of BE, which was the original generalised auxiliary for [+past] contexts in Barese. This created the appropriate conditions for HAVE to spread among younger generations as the innovative auxiliary in the pluperfect indicative, and to be accepted by elders.

⁷⁴ Rohlfs (1969:49,93-fn.1,§674) unconvincingly links the form *érə* to a development of the pluperfect indicative of Latin HAVE, i.e. (HABU)ERA(M), which came to serve the function of the imperfect HABEBAM. In Barese, *(j)érə* is attested in Lopez (1952:II.42) and Lacalendola (1969:25) and still found in peripheral Apulo-Barese dialects, e.g. Martina Franca (TA): Manzini&Savoia 2005,II:793.

2.3. Counterfactuals

The Barese pluperfect subjunctive, formed by the imperfect subjunctive auxiliary, is confined to *irrealis* modality, oscillating between its original function and that of the conditional perfect. This is exemplified by its use in both apodosis and protasis of the hypothetical period:

- (27) cə u **avèssəmə** sapùtə apprimə, non **avèssəmə** vənùtə ndùttə
 if it had.SBJV.1PL known before not had.SBJV.1PL come at-all
 ‘If we had known it before, we wouldn’t have come at all’

Auxiliary selection in the Barese conditional perfect patterns as follows:

- (28) a. **Unaccusative:** *sci* ‘go’

1SG	*fòssə(chə)/avèssə	sciùtə	H
1SG	*fùssə/avìssə	sciùtə	H
3SG	*fòssə/avèssə	sciùtə	H
1PL	*fòssəmə/avèssəmə	sciùtə	H
2PL	*fùssə(və)/avìssə(və)	sciùtə	H
3PL	*fòssərə/avèssərə	sciùtə	H

- b. **Inherent Unaccusative Reflexive:** *pəndissə* ‘repent oneself’

1SG	mə	*fòssə(chə)/avèssə	pənditə	H
1SG	tə	*fùssə/avìssə	pənditə	H
3SG	sə	*fòssə/avèssə	pənditə	H
1PL	ngə	*fòssəmə/avèssəmə	pənditə	H
2PL	və	*fùssə(və)/avìssə(və)	pənditə	H
3PL	sə	*fòssərə/avèssərə	pənditə	H

- c. **Direct Transitive Reflexive:** *acchiaməndàssə* ‘look at oneself’

1SG	mə	*fòssə(chə)/avèssə	acchiaməndàtə	H
1SG	tə	*fùssə/avìssə	acchiaməndàtə	H
3SG	sə	*fòssə/avèssə	acchiaməndàtə	H
1PL	ngə	*fòssəmə/avèssəmə	acchiaməndàtə	H
2PL	və	*fùssə(və)/avìssə(və)	acchiaməndàtə	H
3PL	sə	*fòssərə/avèssərə	acchiaməndàtə	H

d. **Indirect Unergative Reflexive:** *arrəspənnəse* ‘to answer oneself’

1SG	mə	*fəssə(chə)/avəssə	arrəspənnütə	H
1SG	tə	*füssə/avissə	arrəspənnütə	H
3SG	sə	*fəssə/avəssə	arrəspənnütə	H
1PL	ngə	*fəssəmə/avəssəmə	arrəspənnütə	H
2PL	və	*füssə(və)/avissə(və)	arrəspənnütə	H
3PL	sə	*fəssərə/avəssərə	arrəspənnütə	H

e. **Indirect Transitive Reflexive** *məttəsə* ‘wear (the hat)’

1SG	mə	*fəssə(chə)/avəssə	mīsə	u cappiddə	H
1SG	tə	*füssə/avissə	mīsə	u cappiddə	H
3SG	sə	*fəssə/avəssə	mīsə	u cappiddə	H
1PL	ngə	*fəssəmə/avəssəmə	mīsə	u cappiddə	H
2PL	və	*füssə(və)/avissə(və)	mīsə	u cappiddə	H
3PL	sə	*fəssərə/avəssərə	mīsə	u cappiddə	H

f. **Transitive/Unergative** *mangià(rsə)* ‘eat (sea-urchins)’

1SG	(mə)	*fəssə(chə)/avəssə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H
1SG	(tə)	*füssə/avissə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H
3SG	(sə)	*fəssə/avəssə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H
1PL	(ngə)	*fəssəmə/avəssəmə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H
2PL	(və)	*füssə(və)/avissə(və)	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H
3PL	(sə)	*fəssərə/avəssərə	mangiàtə	(lə rizzə)	H

g. **Modal** (*pətə* ‘can’)+**Unaccusative** *trasi* ‘enter’/**Unergative**(/**Trans.**) *bbévə* ‘drink (beer)’

1SG	*fəssə(chə)/avəssə	pətütə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H
1SG	*füssə/avissə	pətütə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H
3SG	*fəssə/avəssə	pətütə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H
1PL	*fəssəmə/avəssəmə	pətütə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H
2PL	*füssə(və)/avissə(və)	pətütə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H
3PL	*fəssərə/avəssərə	pətütə	trasi/ bbévə	(la bbirrə)	H

We have discussed in §1.2.5 the crucial role of the *realis* vs. *irrealis* distinction in the auxiliary selection of a number of early (and modern) Romance varieties. In particular, *irrealis* contexts were the first in which the active-stative split began to weaken in favour of the generalisation of

HAVE (cf. Ledgeway 2000,2009; Stolova 2006), which eventually also spread to *realis* contexts in certain varieties (§1.2.7). However, while early Romance *irrealis* contexts include negation, future and counterfactuals, in modern Romance and in Barese, auxiliary selection is only sensitive to non-/counterfactuals. In (28a)-(28g), HAVE is the only auxiliary allowed in [-realis] contexts throughout the predicate hierarchy. Hence, on a par with many southern Italian varieties, we can consider HAVE to have reached the status of ‘prototypical’ *irrealis* marker in Barese.

3. Barese Auxiliary selection: a parameter hierarchy

In the previous sections, the behaviour of Barese auxiliary selection has been described and discussed in a comparative Romance perspective. In this section, we identify which features govern the selection of auxiliaries in Barese, and propose an analysis in line with the developing work on parameter hierarchies developed by Roberts (2012), Biberauer&Roberts (2012a,2012b), Biberauer,Holmberg,Roberts&Sheehan (2014; henceforth BHR&S) *et seq.* These scholars depart from Chomsky’s (1981) early notion of parameters as innately pre-specified options of Universal Grammar (cf. Chomsky’s (2005) first factor of language: ‘innate endowment’), considering it to be far less specified than conceived in earlier versions of the ‘Principles and Parameter’ framework. In their view, parameters (i.e. feature specifications on functional heads) are set during the acquisition process (BHR&S 2014:107-108) as result of the learnability path, during which emerging properties of a given linguistic system are defined/specified. In this system, Parameters will be set according to three main types of (under)specification (BHR&S 2014:108):

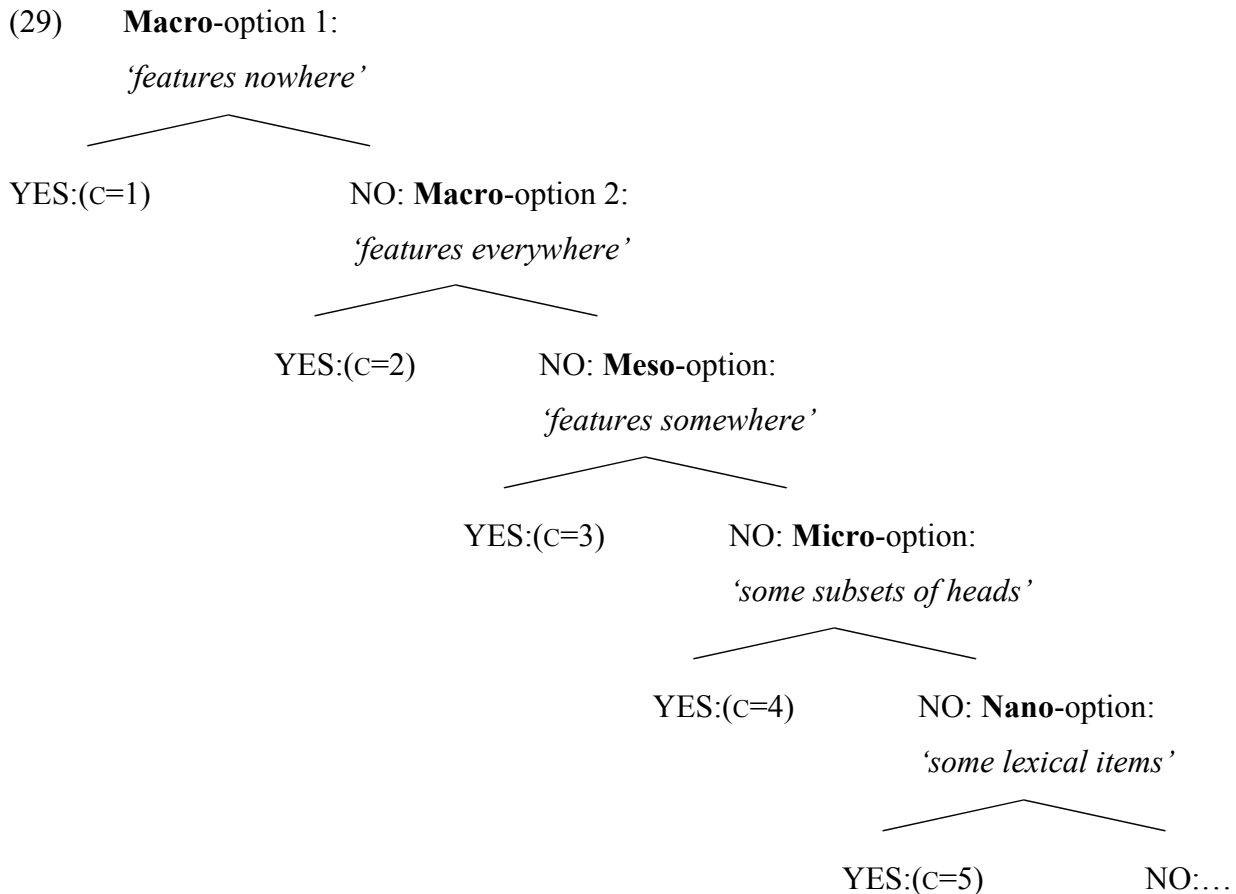
- i) the mapping of features onto specific heads;
- ii) the presence vs the absence of features on heads;
- iii) the different triggers for feature displacement (i.e. movement).

Parameters are hierarchically organised into binary-branching options, in which the least marked, i.e. least complex parameter is placed at the top of the hierarchy (and vice-versa). This option corresponds to the lack of the given option, i.e. ‘features nowhere’ in BHR&S’s (2014:113) terms, initially generalised to all contexts provided in the input; this is immediately followed by its counterpart, namely the presence of that same feature in every context, i.e. ‘features everywhere’. From this option downward, the system becomes increasingly more marked, requiring more precise feature specifications, i.e. ‘features somewhere’.

Such hierarchical options for feature setting can be subdivided into four groups of parameters on the basis of their c(omplexity), hence markedness (cf. also Baker 2008):

- i) **macro**-parameters: a certain feature with a specific value is encoded on all functional heads;
- ii) **meso**-parameters: a certain value is only present on functional heads of a specific category;
- iii) **micro**-parameters: a certain value is only shared by a sub-class of functional heads;
- iv) **nano**-parameters: a certain value is found on one or more lexical items.

These are represented in (29) with the relative ‘index of complexity’ of the parametric options (adapted from BHR&S 2014:125):

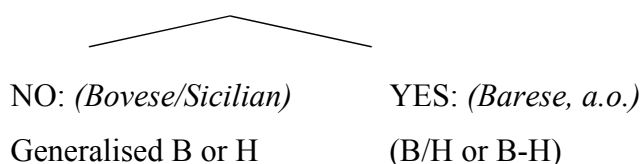


However, BHR&S’s hierarchy captures the different, language-specific complexity of parameter specification on certain functional heads across languages, whereas our hierarchy will only deal with the complexity of the different features involved in a single linguistic systems, that of Barese, across generations. In particular, we will only be dealing with the sensitivity of the auxiliary head to specific semantic environments, and the relative syntactic operations involved. These feature specifications will be informally translated into hierarchically-organised questions, which may reflect the acquisition process – without being actual ‘acquisition questions’ – of increasingly more complex features.

3.1. Alternating vs generalised auxiliaries

A non-trivial premise is that our hierarchy takes for granted the presence/availability of at least one perfective auxiliary in the grammar of the given language; otherwise, we would encounter a void option whereby the given language either expresses perfective TAM values (and agreement features) entirely synthetically on T, or lacks an overt, formal encoding of these values altogether (cf. Ritter&Wiltschko 2014). Hence, after being exposed to the Primary Linguistic Data containing perfective auxiliary structures, a learner of Barese(/Romance languages) will need to set the first option. This consists in binary-branching YES/NO options whose nodes containing settings which are hierarchically organised according to their complexity. In this system, the very first binary option is the ‘simplest’, least marked and most stable setting (Biberauer&Roberts 2012; BHR&S 2014:§6.3): in the present hierarchy, this coincides with the presence/absence of auxiliary alternation (30a):

(30) a) Is there B/H alternation at all?



The first crucial distinction implies that the dedicated functional head which hosts auxiliaries exhibits (YES) or not (NO) auxiliary alternation within a given (Romance) language. On the one hand, NO implies a single-auxiliary option, i.e. generalised HAVE or BE to all contexts; hence, no actual auxiliary-selection mechanism is at work in these varieties (cf. §1.2.7). On the other hand, the YES setting gives the speaker/learner the basic cue of the presence of more articulated mechanisms of auxiliary ‘selection’, which needs to be further specified (i.e. B/H vs B-H) in order to motivate why one auxiliary is selected in place of the other in at least one structural context. Hence, the positive answer requires more complex ‘rules’ of auxiliary selection than the negative answer where there is lack of alternation, hence, selection. As discussed in §2, BE and HAVE do alternate in Barese according to person, tense and mood, requiring more specific feature-settings.

We can now introduce the different internal structure of auxiliaries BE and HAVE in line with Kayne’s (1993[2000]) analysis of auxiliary selection. He conflates the intuitions of Benveniste (1966), Szabolsci (1981,1983) and Freeze (1992) on possessive BE/HAVE constructions of Latin/Romance, Hungarian and Slavonic respectively (cf. also Den Dikken 1997,2006; Belvin&DenDikken 1997; Postma 1997) to derive the structure of (Romance) perfective

auxiliaries and their mechanisms of selection. Consider, for instance, the following possessive constructions in Russian (31), where HAVE is expressed by BE+P(reposition)+GEN:

- (31) u Koli est' mašina (Harves 2002:164)
 at Kolja.GEN is car.NOM
 'Kolja has (got) a car'

In Kayne's view, the structure of auxiliary BE and HAVE is essentially identical to that of possessive BE and HAVE; the only difference lies in the type of complement they select, i.e. either an NP or a VP respectively, assuming that these are both headed by a covert D/P head:

- (32) ...BE [_{DP} Spec D/P...[_{VP} Spec [V DP]] (adapted from Kayne 2000:111)

Thus, BE is considered the 'default', basic auxiliary form which is spelt out as HAVE if, in the syntax, the silent P head incorporates into BE. Kayne's decompositional intuition was further developed in minimalist terms by Ledgeway (2000:§6), who takes the DP in (32) to be a clausal complement instead, namely a CP participial clause (headed by C/P), licensed by the distinct properties of T and *v* (which replace Kayne's AgrPs):

- (33) ...BE [_{CP} Spec C/P...T [_{VP} Spec...*v* [_{VP} V DP]] (Ledgeway 2000:196)

For our purposes, we follow Ledgeway's modified analysis of BE and HAVE (see also Roberts 2013), assuming that the covert incorporation of P via movement to obtain HAVE entails a greater complexity than the lack of movement, i.e. BE. Therefore, in our hierarchy, the selection of HAVE will imply an additional derivational process and, hence, higher levels of complexity/markedness.

3.2. Tense-Aspect options: [±present relevance]

Question (b) is decisive for the – still underspecified – distinction between those contexts in which auxiliary selection is either entirely free (both B and H) or not (either B or H). In the latter case, the two auxiliaries alternate according to principled selectional rules (B vs. H), e.g. Italian (cf. §1.2.1); however, as observed in the Introduction, Barese auxiliary selection does not operate according to the [±agentivity] of subjects in all structural contexts, but according to multiple mechanisms in different contexts. Hence, question b) specifies, on the one hand, contexts in which there is no principled auxiliary selection, i.e. free alternation or single auxiliary, and, on the other, contexts in which an actual process of auxiliary selection is operative:

(34) a) Is there B/H alternation at all?

NO: (*Bovese/Sicilian*)

Generalised B/H

YES: (*Barese, a.o.*)

b) Is Aux alternation
sensitive to [+present]?

NO: **B/H [-present]**

YES: **B-H [+present]**

In Barese, this distinction represents a split between the perfect used in [+present (relevance)] contexts, in which auxiliaries alternate for semantic factors such as [person], and the remaining [-present] contexts such as [+past] and [+irrealis] in which no systematic alternation is found. These two branches define the most basic opposition [+present] vs [+past] and, at the same time, [+present] vs [+irrealis]. In the [+present] branch, the learner/speaker is aware that auxiliaries alternate in a constrained fashion, which will need further specifications to regulate the selection of both auxiliaries. On the other hand, we will see that [+past] and [+irrealis] are subject to free alternation or single-auxiliary selection instead, which we consider as instances of no alternation.

In a broader perspective, this split represents a cross-linguistically widespread opposition between the default Tense value [+present] and the remaining, more marked [-present] contexts (Greenberg 1966:87), where auxiliary selection operates differently (cf. §3.4 and §3.3 respectively). I maintain the idea that [+present] is set as the default tense value in the system for pragmatic-semantic reasons. In the case of perfective auxiliaries, this feature fulfils the anaphoric function of anchoring the past event (described by the past participle) to the deictic context of the utterance, i.e. relevant to the present.⁷⁵ This automatically determines its higher frequency compared to the [-present] tenses (cf. Smith 2011:293). The anchoring operation can be described in terms of ‘event-utterance coincidence’ (cf. Hale 1986:238). This is captured in Ritter&Wiltschko (2009,2014) by an unvalued [COIN(cidence)] feature on their minimalist re-adaptation of the Principles-and-Parameter idea of INFL(ection), the functional layer of the clause which is responsible for TAM-encoding. In their view, Tense (35a) is seen as just one of the available (language-specific) realisations of INFL, next to [person] (35b), and [deixis] (35c), which become unified into a single INFL category for the ‘anchoring’ properties they display (Ritter&Wiltschko 2014:1342, from which the schema below is adapted):

⁷⁵ See also Enç (1987); Zagana (1995); See Reichenbach (1947) and Partee (1984) for semantics accounts.

- (35) a. [IP [INFL_[Tense] [VP [V_{[present/past]]]]]] (English)}
- b. [IP [INFL_[Person] [VP [V_{[(non-)/partecipant]]]]]] (Blackfoot)}
- c. [IP [INFL_[Deixis] [VP [V_{[proximal/distal]]]]]] (Halkomelem)}

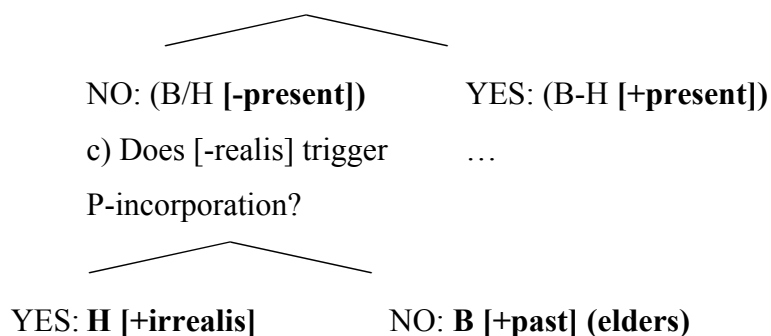
We will observe in §3.4 that the specification of [+present] will mark both [person] and discourse [deixis], both encoded by the (bundle of) feature(s) [± 3], i.e. [\pm discourse participants], and spelt out by means of auxiliary alternation. The alignment of perfective auxiliaries with the grammatical person/discourse participants represents a widespread pattern for the marking of (Ritter&Wiltschko's idea of) INFL, which in Barese is manifested via auxiliary alternation (see also Torcolacci 2015). It appears that the [\pm present (relevance)] of the (past) event in the moment of the utterance plays a crucial role in determining the different auxiliary selection mechanisms in Barese.

3.3. [-Present]: Past and Irrealis options

We first consider the negative answer to question (34b), representing those contexts (under)specified for [-present]. In contrast with the [+present] contexts, the [-present] temporal and modal contexts bear 'non-default' pragmatico-semantic import in terms of event structure and relative anchoring to the moment of the utterance. This is immediately reflected in their lower frequency of usage, which must also delay their acquisition process, whence their higher degree of pragmatico-semantic markedness. Morphosyntactically, however, auxiliary selection in generic [-present] contexts is essentially not operative, unlike in the [+present] branch where BE and HAVE do create a 'meaningful' contrast (§3.4). In practical terms, the [-present] option initially stipulates/generalises the free alternation of BE and HAVE in the pluperfect indicative (which is indeed the case, albeit subject to diagenational variation between younger and older speakers), but would also erroneously predict free alternation with counterfactuals (which is only marked by HAVE in all contexts). For this reason, the next specification, provided by question (36c), needs to be set.

Hence, the next obligatory specification question constrains the ambiguous 'freedom' of the indistinct alternation between BE and HAVE, leading to the temporary stability of this system. This is obtained by marking all the [-realis] contexts with P-incorporation, yielding HAVE; this, in turn, automatically sets BE as the default auxiliary for [+past] contexts (i.e. [-coin]/[+realis]) in which P fails to incorporate:

(36) ... b) Is Aux alternation sensitive to [+present]?



The positive option under (36c) with P-incorporation yields the pattern found in Barese counterfactuals (§2.3), i.e. [+irrealis] contexts, where HAVE has generalised. In contrast, no incorporation, hence no P-movement, sets BE as the generalised auxiliary in [+past] contexts (i.e. [-coin]/[+realis]); such a split is the one attested among elder speakers of Barese. This suggests that, in earlier stages of the dialect, the generalisation of either BE or HAVE in [-present] contexts occurred systematically to create a clear-cut opposition between ‘dedicated’ auxiliaries for [+irrealis] vs [+past]: HAVE as the ‘prototypical’ marker for [+irrealis] modality (§1.2.5) and (the default) BE as the ‘prototypical’ marker for [+past] contexts (§1.2.4). This setting, opposing the default auxiliary BE in the pluperfect indicative and the more complex – due to P-incorporation – HAVE with all counterfactuals, mirrors the higher level of complexity/markedness of [-realis] contexts with respect to [+past] ones. The learner of Barese will discern the opposition between [+present] vs [+past], both specified for [+realis], via marking the more complex [\pm realis] distinction with HAVE. Ritter&Wiltschko (2014:1370f.) view the [\pm realis] distinction to be attributed to the properties of the C(omplementiser) head, rather than the properties of INFL (or T, in our case). This means that, in [+irrealis] contexts, the [-coin] feature is not valued by T (as it happens in [+past] contexts), but by the C head, which determines the clause type [+irrealis] rather than the sole Tense value.

Crucially, this sharp opposition in the selection of [-realis] HAVE and [+past] BE has also been blurred by the expansion of HAVE in [+past] contexts, yielding (apparent) free alternation as a single grammatical option in the current synchronic stage of the dialect. This optionality may have arisen gradually in recent times due to the syncretism between the aphaeretic forms of HAVE (*av*)*évə* and the established form of BE, originally (*j*)*érə*, which is now rendered as (*j*)*évə* (also in copular constructions).

Two possible explanations for the spread of HAVE to [+past] contexts may be hypothesised on the basis of its use in other contexts in modern Barese. A straightforward reason consists in the possibility of expressing [+irrealis] with the pluperfect indicative (cf. §2.2), which may have allowed the prototypical [+irrealis] marker HAVE to spread to these contexts in alternation with

the original [+past] marker BE. This is in line with the hypothesis presented for some early Romance varieties whereby HAVE first spread to [+irrealis] contexts before being generalised to all contexts (cf. §1.2.5). In the same way, the [+irrealis] function assumed by the pluperfect indicative may have favoured the spread of HAVE first to those [+irrealis] contexts expressed by the pluperfect indicative morphology, and then spread further to the regular [+past]/[+realis] contexts. A second type of evidence involving *irrealis* modality can be found in the pan-southern Italian periphrastic construction *avere+(d)a+infinitive* to express deontic modality and futurity (cf. Maiden 1995:158-159). Although this construction historically uses auxiliary HAVE, in modern Barese it can be expressed with both auxiliaries as *avévə/(j)évə+a+infinitive*, lit. ‘(I) had/**was** to V_{INF}’ only in the pluperfect indicative⁷⁶ (cf. **so’/*fossə+a+infinitive* ‘I am/would be to V_{INF}’). Note that *avè* in the pluperfect usually surfaces in its aphaeretic form when used as an auxiliary; this creates morphophonological identity between HAVE and BE, yielding the ambiguous *évə* for both HAVE and BE. Hence, the syncretism of the aphaeretic forms (*av*)*évə* (HAVE) and *évə* (BE) in the deontic/future construction may have favoured the spread of the latter into the domain of the former. Similarly, this same syncretism could have acted as a plausible cue to reinterpret the perfective auxiliary BE of older speakers into HAVE (used by the younger generations), but only in pluperfect indicative forms.

A similar situation, whereby the forms of BE and HAVE have morphologically blended to create a single grammatical option, can be found in the Campanian and Molisan dialects considered by Cennamo (2010:210), but also in Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany and Abruzzo (Rohlf 1969:§727; Manzini&Savoia 2005:III,ch1) and, historically, already attested in the early literary texts of such varieties (Meyer-Lübke 1890:§449). These varieties have adopted the opaque forms of *seva* which alternate with the less opaque *eva*: following Rohlf (1968:§553), the former is considered by Giammarco (1979:193-194) as the result of the merger of the two auxiliaries, where the *s-* represents one of the roots of BE which attaches and blends with the root of the imperfect of HAVE. For those northern varieties that present the opaque form *seva*, Manzini&Savoia (2005:III,16) argue that such a form results from the reanalysis of a reflexive clitic *si/se* which attached to the stem of BE. In contrast, Cennamo (2010:223) claims that the *seva* form can be a possible realisation of the auxiliary HAVE, resulting from the ‘functional equivalence’ of HAVE and BE in some varieties and leading to its use as a copula and a marker of unaccusativity. Of these three options, the first one appears more plausible as it is substantiated by one revealing piece of evidence provided by D’Alessandro&Ledgeway (2010:§10) for

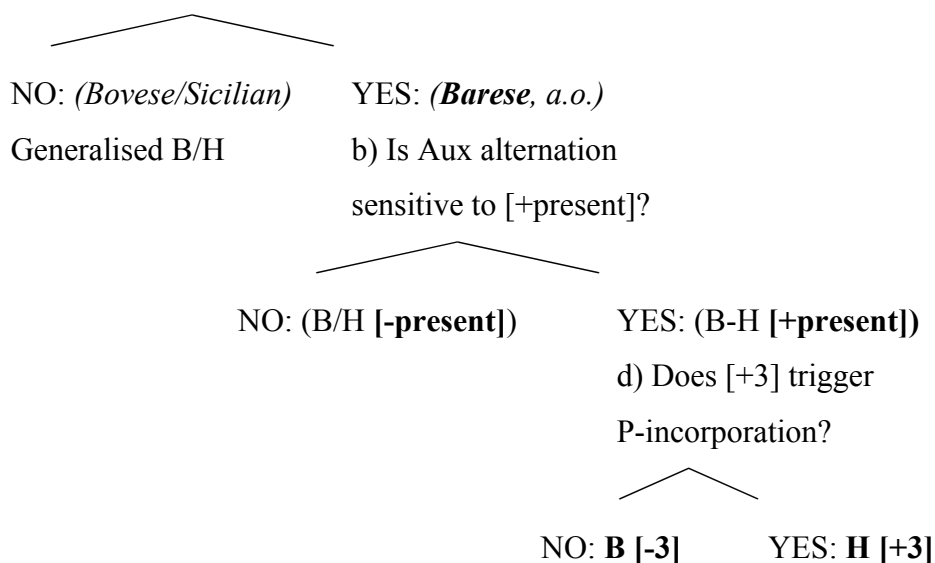
⁷⁶ Unlike in Materano, where BE spread to the present indicative too in the future/deontic construction: *ccə ssit’(are)_[2PL] a ffæjə stasàrə?* ‘what do you have/are you going to do tonight?’.

3.4. [+Present]: Present Relevance and Person

Parallel to these contexts ‘without’ selection, we have contexts in which not only is auxiliary alternation available (B/H), but it operates according to precise selectional rules (B-H). Such an option obtains as the positive answer to question (34b) in §3.4, i.e. (39b) below, namely whether any mechanism of auxiliary selection is ‘active’ at all in [+present (relevance)] contexts. The positive cues for the presence of an auxiliary-selection mechanism in [+coin]/[+realis] contexts require further specifications as for which feature(s) govern(s) such selection. In Barese (§2.1), similarly to other Italo- and Ibero-Romance varieties (§1.2.2), we saw that [+present] is the ‘default’ context in which auxiliary selection operates according to the grammatical person of all nominative subjects. Typologically, this marking is consistently found in what Ritter&Wiltschko (2014:1336ff.) refer to as *participant-based* languages. This label suggests that such languages (e.g. Dyrbal: Dixon 1994; Blackfoot: Ritter&Wiltschko 2004) overtly encode (non-)discourse participants, rather than tense. In Barese, we observed that auxiliaries in [+present] contexts do overtly encode Tense(-Aspect) alongside [discourse participants], which unifies the two INFL-feature specifications for [person] and [deixis] inasmuch as the discourse participants are considered the deictic centre of the utterance. In this respect, Barese auxiliaries do mark the [±discourse participants] feature, which we will represent with [±3].

However, Barese displays (at least) three synchronically co-existing patterns of person-oriented auxiliary selection, which roughly correspond to three different generations of speakers: young (25-45), middle-aged (46-65), elderly (66+). Unsurprisingly, the most regular pattern is that acquired by the younger generation, namely B-B-H-B-B-H, which, in a short diachronic perspective, seems to have generalised a ‘simpler’ rule of auxiliary selection than that of the other two generations, namely B-B-H-B/H-B/H-H of middle-aged speakers and H-B-H-B-B-H of older speakers. In practice, the first option currently in use among younger speakers singles out persons [3sg]-[3pl] by marking them with HAVE irrespective of the predicate type, whilst the ‘default’ BE surfaces in [-3]. This is shown under question (39d):

(39) a) Is there B/H alternation at all?



When we take into consideration the middle-aged and older speakers' auxiliatation patterns, the picture becomes evidently more complex. However, it appears that transmission process which brought about the default pattern currently in use is the result of the simplification of the two other patterns. In particular, we note that these more complex patterns do display a certain degree of similarity: the pattern of middle-aged speakers, i.e. **B-B-H-H**(/B)-H(/B)-H, sharply marks the recurrent B-B-H/[+3] distinction only in the singular (with free alternation in the plural), while older speakers, i.e. H-B-H-**B-B-H**, mark such a distinction only in the plural (and partly in the singular, except for [1sg]). These facts lead us to assume that these (more complex) patterns operate(d) their auxiliary selection on the basis of the polar feature [\pm group] (Harley and Ritter 2002), i.e. [singular] vs [plural]. This determines whether the B-B-H/[+3] selection applied either in the singular (middle-aged: question (40f)) or in the plural (elders: question (40g)). According to Harley&Ritter's (2002:9) inventory of features, those ones determining 'individuation' can be subdivided into [minimal] vs [group]: the former is claimed to be set as the default, less marked value in the acquisition process, whereas the latter is only acquired and conceptualised later (Harley&Ritter 2002:28). In our terms, these two basic features coincide with [singular] and [plural]. The degrees of complexity encoded in these features can explain the prominence of the least marked system (middle-aged speakers) over the most marked one (older speakers):

(40) a) Is there B/H alternation at all?

NO: (*Bovese/Sicilian*)

YES: (*Barese, a.o.*)

Generalised B/H

b) Is Aux alternation sensitive to [+present]?

NO: (B/H [-present])

YES: (B-H [+present])

d) Does [+3] trigger P-incorporation?

NO: **B [-3]**

YES: **H [+3] (young)**

f) Is this operative only with [+singular]?

YES:

(middle-aged)

NO:

g) Is this operative only with [+plural]?

YES:

(elders)

(NO:...)

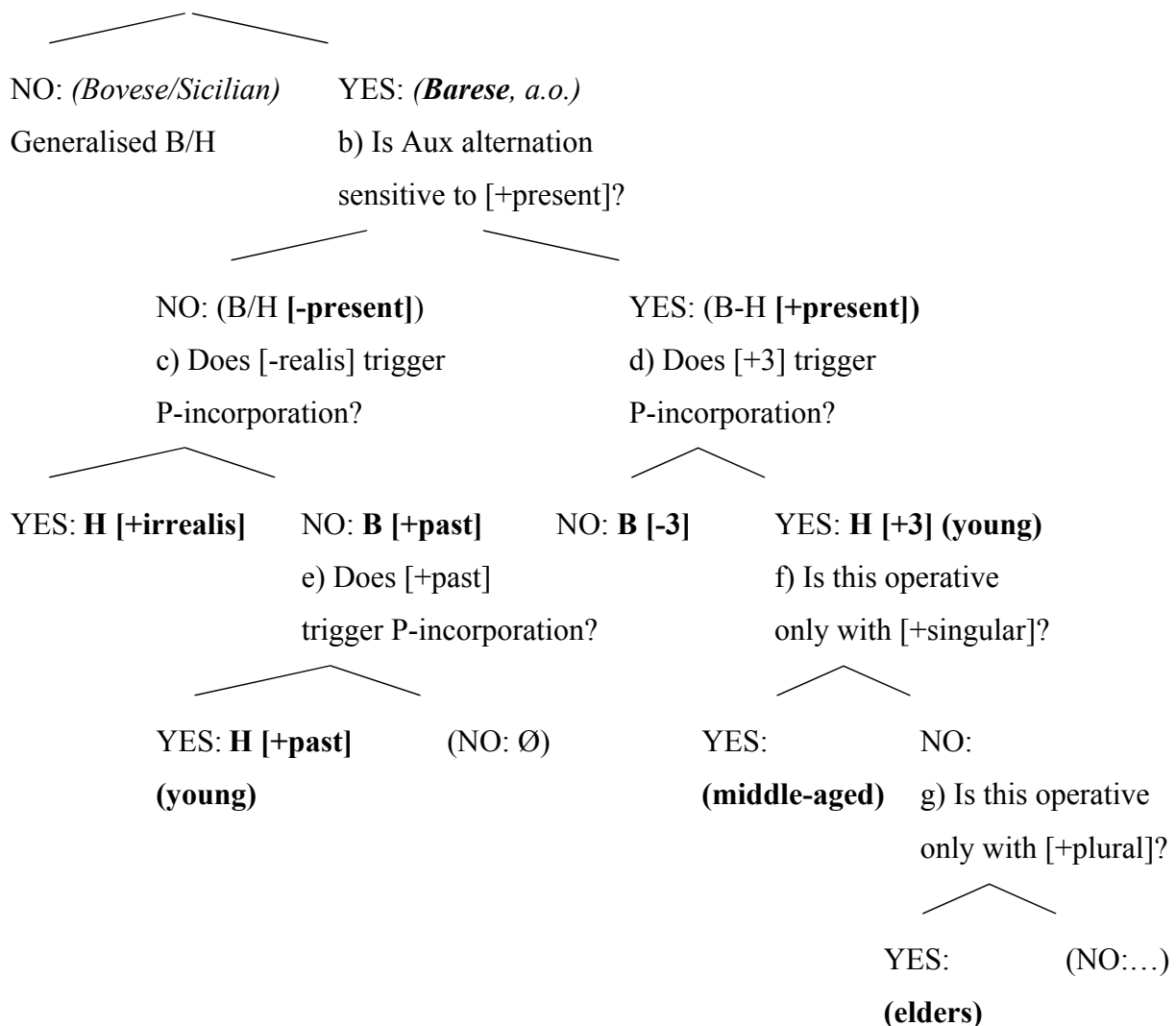
Questions (40f) and (40g) show the settings which are responsible for the rise of the ‘generalised’ pattern as the outcome of the transmission/exposition to such an input. We assume that, in the transmission process, middle-aged speakers acquired the B-B-H/[+3] pattern from the [+plural] contexts of the elders and adopted it in less marked [+singular] contexts. In contrast, [+plural] contexts of middle-aged speakers display the same B-B-H/[+3] pattern, but allow BE/HAVE alternation in [1pl]-[2pl], whose source may be found in the same alternation attested in textual records from the beginning of the 20th century. When it comes to accounting for the ‘default’ pattern of younger speakers, we suggest that this generation was simultaneously exposed to the pattern of middle-aged speakers, [+3] in [+singular], and to that of elder speakers, [+3] in [+plural]. This has led younger speakers to acquire a compromise between the two older patterns as their own regular/simplified hybrid pattern, yielding the generalisation of [+3] to all [+present] contexts (cf. the ‘feature everywhere’ option). In other words, the younger generation

has eliminated the [\pm group] alternation/distinction present in the other two patterns by generalising the input B-B-H in both singular and plural, i.e. the entire paradigm.

3.5. Barese Auxiliary selection: interim conclusion

The final representation of the feature hierarchy for Barese auxiliary selection is given in (41):

(41) a) Is there B/H alternation at all?



Beside the specific conditions discussed for each individual option in §3, the general trend in Barese auxiliary selection is to mark more prominently [-realis] of the left branch and [+3] in the right one with HAVE, leaving the default BE in the remaining contexts. The most marked specifications of [+past] with HAVE (41e) and the active [\pm group] feature in the [+present] contexts (41f)-(41g) can be treated as the more innovative (the former) and the more conservative (the latter) terminal features of our hierarchy, hence reflecting higher degrees of complexity in the Barese auxiliary system.

4. Past Participle Agreement

In the present section, we complement the discussion on Barese auxiliary selection with that of past participle agreement. As the label itself suggests, we assume this to be the overt manifestation of the operation Agree (cf. Chomsky 2001) between the (bundles of) features, i.e. gender and number, of a lexical or pronominal DP and the past participle (cf. Loporcaro 1998; Manzini&Savoia 2007:162ff.; D'Alessandro&Roberts 2010; *i.a.*). In order to understand the specific factors triggering past participle agreement in Barese (§5.1) within the broader context of modern Romance (§4.2), we briefly discuss the status of past participle agreement in (late Latin/early Romance varieties (§4.1). In §5.2 we will show that the micro-variation found across modern Romance varieties, including Barese, can also be understood through the parametric hierarchies discussed in §3 (cf. Ledgeway 2013).

4.1. Latin and early Romance

In the formation of the perfective periphrasis (§1.1), we have observed the gradual consolidation of an active-stative split system within the verbal domain of later Latin, inherited by early and some modern Romance varieties (§1.2.1). Adjectival participles and passive past participles in Latin only displayed number and gender agreement with their internal argument, i.e. direct objects or Undergoer (unaccusative/passive/(semi-)deponent) subjects respectively, but never with (in)transitive agentive subjects (Ledgeway 2012:316-317). In late(r) Latin, the auxiliary BE was gradually extended to those unaccusative predicates whose Undergoer subjects proved semantically incompatible with HAVE. Hence, such predicates marked past participle agreement with their internal argument, on a par with deponents.

While participles of unaccusative predicates continued to display agreement with their subjects (S_O) in early Romance (and currently in many modern Romance varieties in which the active/stative split has been preserved; cf. §1.2.1), the situation for the transitive HAVE+participle construction was different. In the resultative construction *habeo*+ [DO+Ptp] (§1.1), the adjectival participle functioned as the predicative complement of the object, and systematically agreed with it. During the reanalysis of the adjectival participle as the verbal head of the perfective construction, most transitive participles retained gender and number agreement with their DO-complement (cf. Adams 2013:644).

However, over time, the erstwhile predicative adjectival participle began to weaken its syntactic cohesion with the DO, since it ceased to be a modifier of the object of HABEO and came to be reanalysed as the verbal head of the periphrasis selecting the object as its complement. This is reflected in the weakening of participle agreement, as verbs do not standardly agree with their complements in Romance (Väänänen 1982:255; Ledgeway 2012:132; Adams 2013:645).

Smith (1995:161) considers the loss of past participle agreement with objects as a process of ‘actualisation’ (in Timberlake’s (1977:141) terms), namely a predictable consequence of linguistic systems that undergo processes of reanalysis. In the specific case of active past participles of transitive predicates, the outcome of reanalysis consisted in the categorial change from nominal to verbal elements, which is concretely manifested through different outputs. In other words, this change affected the Romance participle agreement to different degrees, which can be interpreted in terms of different language-specific parameter settings (cf. §5.2). Consider, for instance, the following early Romance varieties, e.g. old French (42) (cf. Loporcaro 1998:196-199; Roberts 2013), old Italian (43) (cf. Rohlfs 1969:III.330-331; Maiden 1995:149-150; Poletto 2014) and old Spanish (44) (cf. also Loporcaro 2016:803):

(42) *si com elle ot sa proiere feni-e* (O.French: Buridant 2000:376)
si how she had.3SG her prayer.F finished-F.SG
 ‘when she had concluded her prayer’

(43) *quali denari avea Baldovino lasciat-i loro* (O.Italian: Poletto 2014:4)
 ‘which coins.M had.3SG Baldwin left-M.PL to-them
 ‘which money Baldwin had left them’

(44) *los seys dias, pasad-os los an[...]* (O.Spanish: Menéndez Pidal 1964:360)
 the six days.M passed-M.PL them have.3PL
 ‘the six days, they have spent them[...]

In early Romance, participle agreement with the direct object still obtained, however, under specific syntactic conditions. For instance, participle agreement was obligatory in old Italian whenever the object was focused in the lower left periphery under V2, e.g. (43), and optional whenever the object remained *in situ* (Poletto 2014), e.g. *avea lasciat-o_[SG] i denar-i_[PL]*. Moreover, unlike in modern Romance (§4.2), the direct object could still precede the past participle, reflecting partial syntactic cohesion between them in their distribution.

As for the object position (and consequent retention of agreement), Roberts (2013:20) suggests that the shift from the consistent (early) Latin head-final to an early Romance head-initial configuration (cf. Ledgeway 2012:64ff.) had not yet been completed when the grammaticalised perfective value was still expressed with the word order of the original resultative construction (cf. also Loporcaro 1998:196-199; Salvi 2011:341). This transitional stage in which the OV order was still available must have also had its effects on past participle

agreement. In this respect, following Smith (1995:165ff.), Ledgeway (2012:132) points out that agreement was, in fact, first lost with post-verbal objects and only later with pre-verbal ones (including person [3] clitics), due to ‘perceptual’, parsing-related reasons: ‘agreement with a following direct object[...] has less functional value than agreement with a direct object which precedes the verb’ (Smith 1995:166). Crucially, the pre- or postverbal position of (lexical or pronominal) direct objects is one of the main conditions under which past participle agreement is triggered in a number of modern Romance varieties.

4.2. Modern Romance: loss and (degrees of) retention of participial agreement

4.2.1. Loss of agreement

Many – though not all – modern Romance varieties in which the active-stative auxiliary split was lost (cf. §1.2.7) have completely eliminated participial agreement with direct objects (including S_O). Among these varieties we find Sicilian (45) (Bentley 2006:242-243) and southern Calabrese varieties (Loporcaro 1998:167;2010:238), Romanian (46) (Pană Dindelegan 2013b:226), and many Ibero-Romance varieties, e.g. Galician (47) (cf. Smith 1995:169-170; Loporcaro 1998; Bentley 2006:242-243; Ledgeway 2012:347-348, 2013:189-190):

(45) *i babbalucci 'un ti l' a' manciat-u* (Sicilian: Bentley 2006:242)
 the snails.M not self them have.2SG eaten-M.SG
 ‘the snails, you have not eaten them’

(46) *cărți-le pe care le- am cumpărat*
 books.F-the on which them-have.1SG bought.M.SG
 ‘the books that I bought’ (Romanian: Pană Dindelegan 2013b:226)

(47) *tivéramos feit-o unha casa* (Galician: LUGRÍS FREIRE 1931:97)
 have.COND.1PL done.M.SG a house.F
 ‘we would have made a house’

In these modern Romance varieties, the internal argument, be it an O or an active S_O , never triggers agreement on the past participle, which always surfaces in the default (masculine singular) form. In contrast, these varieties have retained past participle agreement in the passive and resultative constructions (Bentley 2006:243; cf. §1.1, fn.66).

However, many modern varieties have preserved a (more or less robust) ‘stative-oriented

agreement with O' (Ledgeway 2012:348; cf. also Smith 1995; Loporcaro 1998; Ledgeway 2011:457-458,468-469; Salvi 2011:341; *i.a.*), similarly to late Latin and early Romance in §4.1. This is exemplified with Aragonese below in (48):

- (48) o pai de Chuan ha bendid-as as güellas
 the father of Juan has sold-F.PL the sheep.F.PL
 'Juan's father has sold the sheep' (Aragonese: Ledgeway 2012:69)

In (48), the transitive participle *bendidas* 'sold' agrees in gender and number with its complement, the feminine plural object DP *güellas* 'sheep'. However, Aragonese represents only a single instance of as many as seven parametric 'actualisation outputs' attested in modern Romance.

4.2.2. Retention: 'omnivorous agreement'

The exact counterpart of those varieties presented in §4.2.1 can be found in Ariellese (D'Alessandro&Roberts 2010:45). Ariellese participle agreement, signalled through metaphonetic alternation, is triggered by every [+plural] pronoun or DP, be it the internal (49a)-(50b) or the external (49b) argument (examples from D'Alessandro&Roberts 2010:44-45):

- (49) a. Giuwanne a pittite ddu mure
 John has painted.PL two walls
 'John has painted two walls'
- b. Giuwanne e Mmarije a (*pittate/) pittite nu mure
 John and Mary have.3PL painted.SG painted.PL a wall
 'John and Mary have painted a wall'
- (50) a. jì so' cascate (/ *caschite) b. nu seme caschite (/ *cascate)
 I am fallen.SG fallen.PL we are.1PL fallen.PL fallen.SG
 'I've fallen' 'we've fallen'

The contrast in (49) and (50) highlights the so-called 'omnivorous' number agreement (cf. also Nevins 2011:941), where any plural argument, either the direct object (49a), the agentive subject (49b) or the patient subject (50b), triggers number (but never gender) agreement on the past participle.

4.2.3. Retention: ‘conservative agreement’

A large number of southern Italo-Romance varieties, e.g. Altamurano ((51a)-(51b): Loporcaro 2010:235) and Castiglione dei Genovesi ((52a)-(52b): Vitolo 2005:151,157; Loporcaro 2010:236),⁷⁷ as well as Gallo-Romance varieties such as Occitan ((a)-(b): Wheeler 1988:270; Ledgeway 2013:189) retained a ‘conservative’ past participle agreement, inasmuch as it continues the late Latin/early Romance types in §4.1. In these varieties, there is always gender (and number, in Occitan) agreement with pre- and postverbal direct objects, e.g. (51b)-(53b) and (51a)-(53a) respectively:

- (51) a. *əʃʝə kɔttə (/kueʦtə) la past* (Altamurano: Loporcaro 2010:235)
have.1SG cooked.F cooked.M the pasta.F
‘I cooked the pasta’
- b. *u bbroʦə l əʃʝə kueʦtə (/kɔtt)*
the broth.M it have.1SG cooked.M cooked.F
‘the broth, I cooked it’
- (52) a. *e wɑʎʎunə ɛnnə roʦtə (/rutʦə) e ttattʦə*
the boys.M have.3PL broken.F broken.M the mugs.F
‘the boys have broken the mugs’ (Castiglione: Vitolo 2005:151)
- b. *e vasə, l ɛddʒə rutʦə (/roʦtə) iə*
the pots.M them have.1SG broken.M broken.F I
‘the pots, I’ve broken them’ (Castiglione: Vitolo 2005:157)
- (53) a. *avètʦ pres-as de fotòʦ?* (Occitan: Ledgeway 2013:189)
have.2PL taken-F.PL of picture.F.PL
‘did you take any photos?’
- b. *la n’ ai volgud-a far sortir*
her from-there have.1SG wanted-F.SG make go-out
‘I wanted her to go out of (t)here’ (Occitan: Wheeler 1988:270)

⁷⁷ Cf. also Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2000:228f./306,2009:577ff.); Trepuzzi, LE (Loporcaro 1998:72); San Biase, CS (Ledgeway 2000:306); Castrovillarese, CS (Loporcaro 1998:111-113); *i.a.*

In the examples above, number (where available) and gender agreement of the past participle obtains irrespective of the object position, and whether this is realised as a clitic or a full DP.

4.2.4. Retention: participial agreement with fronted DP_{ACC}

A restriction for the presence or not of participial agreement can be determined by the syntactic distribution of the object, as is the case of standard French (Smith 1995:171; Jones 1996:94; Rowlett 2007:227; Loporcaro 2010:237) and most of its dialects⁷⁸. Consider the following contrast in standard French:

- (54) a. j' ai repaint/ (*-es) les maisons
 I have.1SG repainted.M.SG -F.PL the houses.F
 'I've repainted the houses'
- b. le maisons que vous avez repaint-es (Rowlett 2007:227)
 the houses.F that you.PL have.2PL repainted-F.PL
 'the houses that you've repainted'
- c. (le maisons,) je les ai repaint-es (Rowlett 2007:227)
 the houses.F I them have.1SG repainted-F.PL
 '(the houses), I've painted them'

French displays past participle agreement exclusively when the direct object, either lexical (54b) or pronominal (54c), is fronted, according to the (prescriptive) *règle de position* (cf. Grevisse 1968:§907) whereby 'the participle agrees with a preceding direct object, but not with one which follows' (Smith 1995:162). This means that the internal argument has either undergone A-movement (e.g. unaccusative subjects) or A'-movement (e.g. fronted wh-element, relatives). In contrast, the past participle surfaces in the unmarked form whenever the object is placed postverbally (54a).

4.2.5. Retention: participial agreement with accusative clitics

The overt realisation of past participle agreement becomes more limited to specific syntactic environments when we consider standard Italian (Burzio 1986; Belletti 1988; Smith 1995:168; Maiden 1995:148-150; Loporcaro 2010), where only clitic objects trigger agreement (55b):

⁷⁸ With the exception of eastern ones, patterning with Sicilian, Spanish and Romanian; see Smith (1995:162).

- (55) a. **abbiamo comprat-**o** (/*-a)** **quella casa**
 have.1PL bought-M.SG -F.SG that house.F
 ‘we’ve bought that house’
- b. (quella casa,) **l’ abbiamo comprat-**a** (/*-o)**
 that house.F her have.1PL bought-F.SG -M.SG
 ‘(that house), we’ve bought it’
- c. **QUELLA CASA abbiamo comprat-**o** (/*-a), non questa**
 that house.F have.1PL bought-M.SG -F.SG not that
 ‘it is that house that we’ve bought, not this one’

In contrast, full DPs, either in postverbal (55a) or in preverbal position without a resumptive clitic (55c), fail to license agreement on the participle. Note that, in Italian, third-person accusative clitics trigger obligatory agreement, e.g. (55b), whereas optional agreement is found with [1]-[2] persons (Loporcaro 2016:804), though it is increasingly avoided in the standard language. The same optionality in [1]-[2] persons is no longer available in Sardinian (§4.2.6), which appears to be even more restrictive than Italian.

4.2.6. Retention: participial agreement with [3] accusative clitics

In Sardinian, past participle agreement is exclusively licensed with [3] person clitics of both genders (Pittau 1972:139; Smith 1995:172; Ledgeway 2013:190; Loporcaro 2016:804), witness the ungrammaticality of the agreement with [1pl] object clitic in (56b):

- (56) a. **los as vist-**os**** (Lula: Ledgeway 2013:190)
 them.M have.2SG seen-M.PL
 ‘you’ve seen them’
- b. **nos as vist-**u** (/*-os/*-as)**
 us have.2SG seen-M.SG -M.PL/-F.PL
 ‘you’ve seen us’

On a par with [3sg] object clitics in standard Italian (§3.2.5), Sardinian participial agreement with [3sg] clitics is the only means to retrieve the gender of the pronominal’s intended referent (Smith 1995:172). This is due to the syncretism created between masculine and feminine

singular clitics, which are always elided to *l'*(-a/-o) in front of the vowel-initial auxiliary HAVE, unlike [3pl] clitics which always mark gender features.

4.2.7. Retention: participial agreement with [3] feminine accusative clitics

Finally, the most constrained pattern of past participle agreement is found in Catalan⁷⁹, in which the past participle only agrees with [3] feminine object clitics (57b), but never with their DP-counterparts, e.g. (57a):

- (57) a. he portat la revista (/les revistes)
 have.1SG brought the magazine.F the magazines.F
 ‘I’ve brought the magazine(s)’
- b. I’ (/les) he portad-a (/portad-es)
 her them.F have.1SG brought-F.SG -broughtF.PL
 ‘I’ve brought it(/them)’

According to Wheeler, Yates&Dols (1999:411), [3sg] feminine clitics are the only obligatory triggers for participial agreement, whereas optionality is attested with [3pl] feminine clitics.

Bearing in mind these seven Romance patterns, we now turn to Barese past participles and the (residual) realisation of agreement with the verb’s internal argument.

5. Barese past participles

On a par with most upper southern Italian dialects (e.g. Altamurano: Loporcaro 1988:§227; Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2000:228-234;2009:§14.4), Barese displays two morphological forms of past participles: a ‘strong’ form, which can overtly mark gender (but never number) metaphonetically (triggered by original post-tonic -U), and an invariable, ‘weak’ form in *-tə* (Latin -TU(M); cf. Valente 1975:34; Tuttle 1986:239). Hence, we shall not be dealing with inflectional endings, as these have historically been neutralised to [-ə] in Barese (and most upper-southern Italian dialects; cf. Ledgeway 2016; Mola di Bari: Cox 1992:62), including the agreement morphology of both weak and strong participles.

In Table 4.9, I provide a list of Barese strong and weak participles, signalling (with †) the obsolete forms attested in previous stages of the dialect, or leaving blank the unattested forms:

⁷⁹ See Smith (1995:172); Wheeler, Yates&Dols (1999:410-412); Ledgeway (2013:190); Loporcaro (2016:803-804).

Table 4.9: *Weak and strong participles in Barese*

Weak Past Participles	Strong Past Participle	English
accədùtə	accisə	‘killed’
achiədùtə	achiùsə	‘closed’
(al)læssàtə	(al)lèssə	‘boiled’
angiùtə	jùndə	‘greased’
	apìərtə _[M] /apèrtə _[F]	‘opened’
appənnùtə	appisə	‘hung’
	arrədùttə _[M] /arrədòttə _[F]	‘reduced’
assədùtə/assəttàtə	assisə	‘sat’
assəquàtə	assùttə	‘dried’
asscənnùtə	(as)scisə [†] _[M] (Valente 1975:34)/scésə _[F]	‘gone down’
bendəsciùtə (Romito 1985:69)	bənədittə _[M] /bənədèttə _F	‘blessed’
chəsciùtə	cuèttə _[M] /còttə _[F] (Lopez 1952:II.53)	‘cooked’
	decisə	‘decided’
	dittə	‘said’
dərəggiùtə [†]	dərèttə	‘directed’
	fàttə	‘done’
fəlgiùtə [†]	fòldə [†]	‘obstructed’
frəsciùtə	frittə	‘fried’
ləsciùtə	lèttə	‘read’
	malədittə	‘cursed’
mbənnùtə [†]	mbisə	‘hung’
mbənnùtə [†]	mbùssə _[M] /mbòssə _[F] (Romito 1985:137)	‘drenched’
mbəttùtə [†]	mbottitə	‘stuffed’
məttùtə	misə	‘put’
məvùtə	mòssə	‘moved’
	muèrtə _[M] /mòrtə _[F] (Abbatascianni 1896:20)	‘dead’
nəsciùtə	nàtə	‘born’
ndənnùtə [†]	ndisə [†]	‘intended’
pərdùtə	pìərsə / pèrsə	‘lost’
pənùtə [†]	puèstə _[M] /pòstə _[F]	‘put’
pəngiùtə	pùndə	‘stung’

prətəggiùtə	protètə	‘protected’
	risə	‘laughed’
rəmbùtə	rùttə _[M] /ròttə _[F]	‘broken’
scəgghiùtə [†]	scèldə	‘chosen’
schəmməvùte	smòssə	‘budgeted’
scrəvùtə	scrittə	‘written’
schəsciùtə	scòttə	‘overcooked’
sfəlggiùtə [†]	sfòldə [†]	‘unobstructed’
spannùtə	spàsə (Abbatecianni 1896:37) (now only used for ‘large basket’)	‘spread’
spənnùtə	spìsə [†] _[M] (Abbatecianni 1896:14)/spésə _[F]	‘spent’
spərdùtə	spìərtə [†]	‘lost’
stənggiùtə	stìndə	‘bleached’
stənnùtə	stìsə [†] >stésə	‘laid down’
strənggiùtə	strìttə _[M] /strèttə _[F] (Romito 1985:207)	‘tightened’
strəsciùtə	strùttə	‘wasted’
vədùtə	vìstə	‘seen’
vənggiùtə	vìndə	‘won’

Historically, a large number of predicates developed these ‘weak’ past participle forms in addition to those irregular ‘strong’ ones which continued Latin passive participles (cf. Penny 2002:268-271; Alkire&Rosen 2010:§7.11). Both past participle forms became simultaneously operative in many early Italo-Romance varieties (cf. Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2000:229,302,fn.26), as well as in the rest of the Romània, e.g. Spanish (Bello 1988[1847]:424) and Portuguese (Parkinson 1988:162-163; Loporcaro,Pescia&Ramos 2004). In these varieties, including Barese, these two participles are now specialised for a precise aspectual distinction: ‘weak’ participles in *-utə* are exclusively specified for [+durative], whereas ‘strong’ participles encode both [+durative] and [+punctual] values. Thus, the former proves incompatible with the copular auxiliary *stà* ‘stand’ indicating a [+punctual] state (58a)-(59a)-(60a), or with the resultative periphrasis with *təné* ‘hold’ (cf. §1.1,fn.66):

- (58) a. stòggə **accisə** (/ *accədùtə) jóscə
 stand.1SG killed killed today
 ‘I feel dead-tired/sickly today’
- b. u ònnə **accisə/ accədùtə** a Ccolinə
 him have.3PL killed killed to Nick
 ‘Nick, he’s been killed’
- (59) a. la pòrtə sté **achiùsə** (/ *achiədùtə)...
 the door stand.3SG closed closed
 ‘the door is closed...’
- b. ...la so **achiùsə/achiədùtə** stamatinə
 her am closed closed this-morning
 ‘...I’ve closed it this morning’
- (60) a. pəsìəddə e scarciòffə stònnə **cuèttə** (/ *chəsciùtə)
 peas.M and artichokes.M stand.3PL cooked.M cooked
 ‘peas and artichokes are cooked’
- b. acquànnə s’ àvə **còttə** (la fəcàzzə)
 when self has cooked.F the focaccia.F
 ‘when (the focaccia) has cooked’
- c. acquànnə pəsìəddə e scarciòffə s’ avònnə **chəsciùtə**
 when peas and artichokes self have.3PL cooked
 ‘when peas and artichokes have cooked’

Both participial forms can be used in [+durative] contexts, witness (58b)-(59b)-(60b)-(60c) where both forms are employed interchangeably in the exact same embedded context introduced by *acquànnə* (*ca*) ‘when (that)’. In contrast, we observe aspectual restrictions in the incompatibility of weak participles in [+punctual] contexts, e.g. (58a)-(59a)-(60a), where only the strong forms are grammatical (and favoured as adjectival modifiers, e.g. *patàna allèssa* ‘boiled potatoes’; *pàna assùtta* ‘plain bread’; *pəmədùrə appisə* ‘hang-preserved tomatoes’ (cf. ch.3, §2.3.1)).

5.1. Participial agreement

The Barese predicates which may (marginally) exploit strong participial forms are the only ones which mark overt (gender) agreement through metaphonetic alternation; this implies that Barese participial agreement is limited morpholexically. Hence, only metaphonetic past participles, e.g. *cuèttə*_[M]/*còttə*_[F] ‘cooked’, *muèrtə*_[M]/*mòrtə*_[F] ‘dead’, *rùttə*_[M]/*ròttə*_[F] ‘broken’, can mark gender agreement with direct objects of transitives and Undergoer subjects of unaccusatives, regardless of their syntactic position:

(61) a. n’ and’ e mmuèssə, e avévə **muèrtə**(/***mmòrtə**)! (Solfato 2008:36)
 a other and bit and had.1SG died.M died.F
 ‘a little longer, and I (a male child) would have died!’

b. quàndə va ca ha **mmòrtə** (//***muèrtə**) màmə-tə? (Solfato 2008:95)
 how-much goes that has died.F died.M mum-your?
 ‘how long ago did your mum die?’

(62) a. Mari’ ha **rrùttə** (//***rròttə**) tùttə lə bbəcchirə
 Mary has broken.M broken.F all the glasses.M
 ‘Mary has broken all the glasses’

b. Mari’ l’ ha **rrùttə** (//***rròttə**) tùttə (lə bbəcchirə)
 Mary them has broken.m broken.f all the glass.m.pl
 ‘Mary has broken them all (the glasses)’

c. lə bbəcchirə ca sìmə **rrùttə** (//***rròttə**)
 the glasses.M that are.1pl broken.M broken.F
 ‘the glasses that we’ve broken’

(63) a. Colinə s’ ha **rròttə** (//***rrùttə**) la càpə
 Nick self has broken.F broken.M the head.F
 ‘Nick has injured his head’

b. Colinə sə l’ ha **rròttə** (//***rrùttə**) (la càpə)
 Nick self her has broken.F broken.M the head.F
 ‘Nick has injured it (his head)’

- c. LA MÀNƏ s' ha **rròttə** (**/*rrüttə**) Colinə, non u vràzzə
 the hand.F self has broken.F broken.m Nick not the arm.M
 'it's HIS HAND that Nick broke, not his arm'

The examples above suggest that Barese has retained a robust participial agreement based on the active-stative split with Undergoer subjects, such as the omitted masculine *jì* 'I (i.e. a male child)' in (61a) and the feminine *màmətə* 'your mum' in (61b), and both full DP-objects, either post- (62a)-(63a) or preverbal (62c)-(63c), and pronominal objects, such as the masculine plural *bbəcchìrə* 'glasses' (62b) and the feminine singular *càpə* 'head' (63b). This places Barese on a par with Occitan/Altamurano (§4.2.3), displaying agreement with every Undergoer, be it a direct object or an unaccusative subject. However, in modern Barese, the use of these metaphonetic forms is in sharp decline, moving towards the disappearance of the alternation and the choice of the (unmarked) masculine form, or its replacement with the weak form in *-tə*. Although the small class of strong participial forms is conditioned by morpholexical factors, Barese can, nevertheless, be argued to display a robustly operational syntactic rule of agreement which fully obeys the active-stative rule, i.e. agrees with any Undergoer. The surface effects of Barese participial agreement are simply not visible if the participial form has been replaced by/coexists with the non-metaphonetic form (e.g. *cuèttə/còttə* > *chəsciùtə* 'cooked') and/or whether the original metaphonetic alternation has been lost in favour of the generalisation of either one of the metaphonetic forms (e.g. **stisə_[M]* > *stèsə_[M/F]*) (cf. also Loporcaro 2010:§6).

5.2. Barese participial agreement: a parameter hierarchy

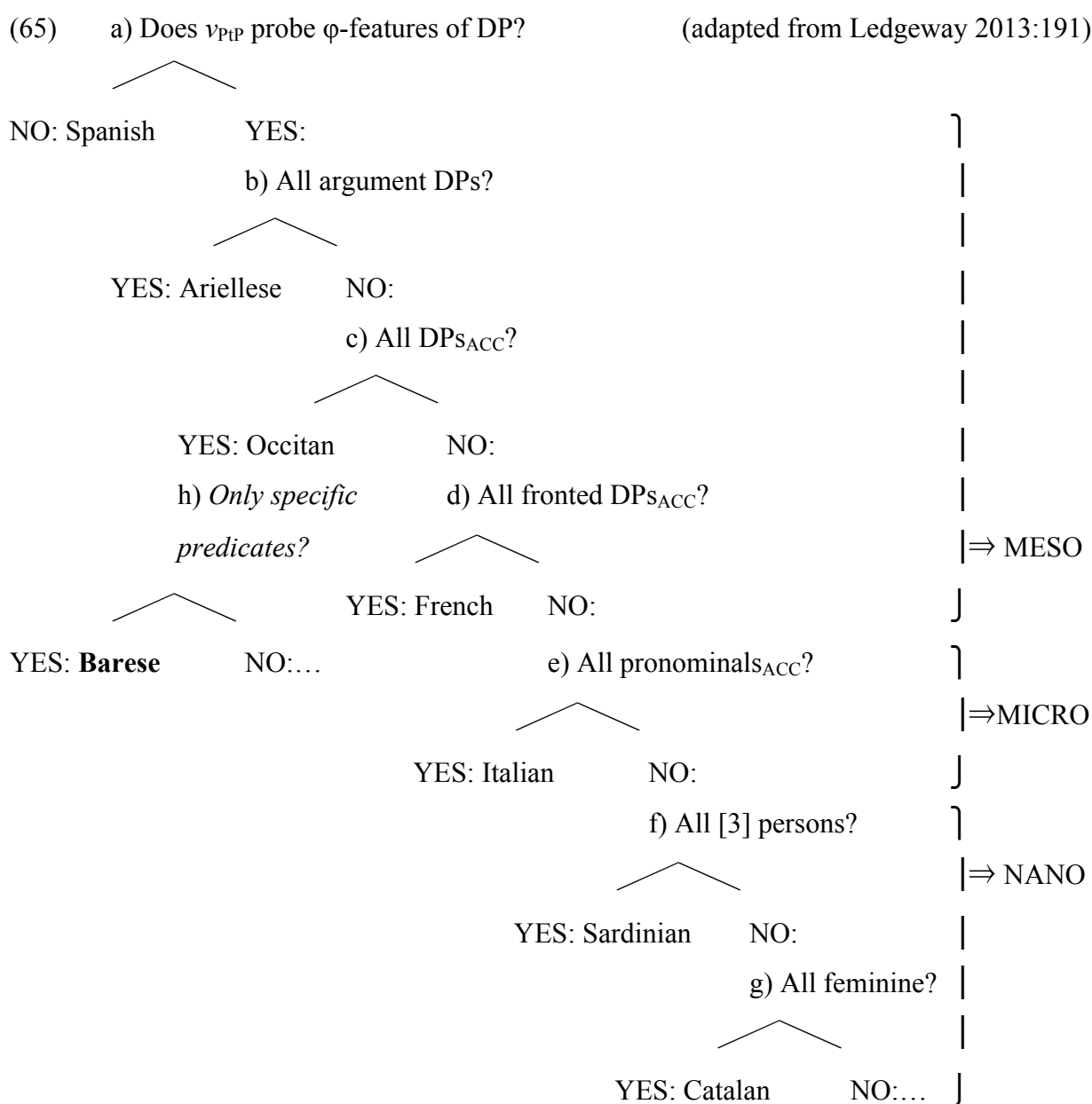
In this section, Barese participial agreement is analysed comparatively as one of the possible realisations of different language-specific parametric choices. Following Ledgeway (2000,2013,2015b), (Romance) participial agreement is the result of the operation Agree (Chomsky 2001). This determines a relation between participle and Undergoers which relies on the language-specific mechanism of ϕ -feature-checking on either T or *v*, resulting in the overt expression of morphological agreement. Recall Ledgeway's (2000:196) representation given in §3.1 for the internal structure of perfective expressions:

- (64) ...BE [_{CP} Spec C/P...T [_{VP} Spec...*v* [_{VP} V DP]] (Ledgeway 2000:196)

We assumed that the alternation between auxiliaries is derived via the (failure of) P-incorporation into BE, depending on the properties of T/INFL (§3.2). In contrast, the functional head *v* is responsible for the participial agreement (*v_{PTP}*) with the structurally associated nominal

argument, i.e. direct object for transitive, Undergoer subject for unaccusatives. This is obtained by probing (i.e. copying) the nominal features of the given DP (D’Alessandro&Roberts 2010).

We adopt a parameter-hierarchy approach, introduced in §3 for Barese perfective auxiliaries, to determine the nature and complexity/markedness of the features involved in the Barese active participial agreement within the Romance scenario. The different types of Romance participial agreement in §4.2 have been modelled by Ledgeway (2013:§2;2015b:§3.1) into the parameter hierarchy in (65), readapted here for Barese. Ledgeway deduces seven parameters attested across Romance;⁸⁰ the diverse specifications of agreement are predicted on the basis of the nominal features probed by the v_{PTP} head (cf. D’Alessandro&Roberts 2010) and subdivided in meso-parameters in (65a)-(65d), micro-parameters (65e), and nano-parameters (65f)-(65g)-(65h):



⁸⁰ See Ledgeway (2015b:§3.1) for additional (non-Romance) parameters above (65a).

The first four options (65a)-(65d) instantiate what have been labelled ‘meso-parameters’ in BHR&S (2014:109): all functional heads of a given class share a certain value/feature. For instance, the Spanish active v_{PIP} in (65a) shows no sensitivity to the ϕ -features of the DP-object it selects, therefore displays no agreement (except for passives). Likewise, Barese non-metaphonetic participles could be argued to display a ‘non-agreement rule’ *à la* Spanish, whereby non-metaphonetic v_{PIP} never probes the ϕ -features of its DP complement. However, Barese non-agreement is only a superficial historical consequence of the morphophonological erosion of desinences, and a participial agreement rule is indeed operative in metaphonetic active v_{PIPS} , albeit restricted morphologically.

Ariellese (65b) behaves as the exact counterpart of Spanish, exceptionally agreeing ‘omnivorously’ with any plural DPs, be these internal or external arguments. Despite the fact that Ariellese marks participial agreement metaphonetically on a par with Barese, the ϕ -features probed by the Ariellese active v_{PIP} are only those encoding number, and never gender (D’Alessandro&Roberts 2010:59; cf. §4.2.2), whereas (those few instances of) agreeing v_{PIP} in Barese can only probe gender features of its Undergoer.

Further down the hierarchy, Occitan (65c) ‘conservatively’ retains the same active participial agreement conditions attested for Latin (§4.1), in which thematic role and, therefore, structural position of the DP play a crucial role. In particular, Occitan only allows internal arguments, be they pre- or postverbal full DPs or their (accusative) pronominal counterparts, to trigger participial agreement.

The remaining parameter settings (65d)-(65h) become increasingly more constrained and restrictive. The last meso-parameter (in which a certain value is still shared by all functional heads) is found in French (65d), whose participial agreement becomes sensitive to the syntactic pre- or postverbal distribution of the DP. Only when French DPs raise to an A’-position does participial agreement obtain.

The passage from meso- to micro-parametric options is determined on account of the greater restrictions that apply to the latter: only a sub-class of functional heads is able to trigger the presence of overt ϕ -features on v_{PIP} . This option is found in Italian (65e) in which only pronominals (and no longer full DPs alone, unlike old Italian; cf. §4.1) trigger agreement.

Proceeding towards the bottom of the hierarchy, we find further, more marked sub-specifications, i.e. nano-parameters, of the previous micro-parameter (65e). In practice, the internal argument’s ϕ -features copied on the participle can only mark subsets of preverbal pronominals (i.e. the micro-parametric option) specified for a specific [person], i.e. [+3] in Sardinian (65f), or [gender], i.e. [+feminine] in Catalan (65g).

We suggested in §5.1 that Barese patterns with Occitan (65c) inasmuch as all (pre- or

postposed full or pronominal) internal arguments trigger overt metaphonetic agreement on the past participle. This means that a ‘conservative’ active-stative syntactic rule is fully operative in Barese, but is simply not visible on the invariable weak and strong participial forms for morphophonological reasons. Indeed, although the syntactic conditions/rules for marking participial agreement in the two languages are identical, a major difference is represented by the morpholexical restrictions of the Barese predicates, which are able to mark overtly (gender) ϕ -features on the participle (cf. Table 4.9). However, the morphosyntactic hierarchy above is mainly concerned with the nature of the GOAL (i.e. preverbal, nominal vs pronominal, person [3] or feminine), whereas the restrictions in question concern the nature of the PROBE, i.e. the Barese v_{PTP} . Barese does not display the type of syntactic restrictions imposed by the other parameters below (65c), such as A’-position and the various sub-specifications on pronominals. In fact, the restrictions in Barese are clearly not syntactic, but morpholexical, so that the effects of the syntactic rule are only visible on the residual set of predicates which can overtly mark participial agreement metaphonetically. In order to represent such restrictions of Barese in our hierarchy, we may invoke the notion of ‘nano-parameter’ (Biberauer&Roberts 2012a,2012b; BHR&S 2014:109), inasmuch as this includes a limited number of lexical items specified for a certain value. In particular, we observed that the further specifications required, i.e. (65h) under (65c), concern a selective small set of Barese strong metaphonetic participles, which may be considered ‘nano-parametric’ triggers which determine the low-level lexical variation we observe. Hence, the relative ‘freedom’ of Barese participial agreement in terms of contexts of occurrence of the GOAL is overridden by the morpholexical limitations imposed by this (residual) subset of metaphonetic participles, i.e. the PROBE. This option thus becomes the independent nano-parametric choice (64h) in our hierarchy, under which we can place Barese past participle agreement.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter we have discussed the perfective auxiliary selection and the metaphonetic past-participle agreement in Barese. These periphrastic components lexicalise the T/I and the v_{PTP} heads whose properties vary parametrically according to the semantic features these heads encode. We have initially observed the enormous variation in Romance auxiliary selection between BE and HAVE, their grammaticalisation from Latin into early Romance, and their further diachronic developments.

This overview was necessary to understand the current situation of Barese, in which three mechanisms of auxiliary selection are at work depending on the semantic context:

- i. grammatical person/discourse participants in the present perfect indicative;
- ii. past (in the past) in the pluperfect indicative;
- iii. *irrealis* in the subjunctive/conditional.

These mechanisms of auxiliary selection have been discussed and explained in relation to different generation of speakers and the relative transmission processes. At the same time, these different patterns have been analysed through parametric hierarchies in terms of the feature complexity of their feature specification. The hierarchy manages to show how the changes across generation of speakers implied more or less complex features to be present/specified on the relevant syntactic heads in the relevant syntactic contexts.

For the context in (i), the elder speakers have the most complex system which has gradually been levelled across the younger generation. In fact, the most common and widely used pattern of auxiliary selection in Barese is the ‘canonical’ B-B-H-B-B-H, where non-discourse participants are marked with HAVE.

In contrast, contexts (ii)-(iii), less frequently used and than (i), present a ‘simpler’ mechanism of auxiliary selection where there is either generalisation of one of the auxiliary, or free alternation irrespective of the predicate type. In Barese, while the established *irrealis* auxiliary is HAVE, BE seemed to be reserved for pluperfect contexts for elder speakers until morphophonological identity between the two auxiliary allowed their free alternation.

As far as active past participle agreement is concerned, we surveyed its several Latin ‘relics’ in modern Romance varieties in order to place among these the behaviour of Barese past participle agreement. Barese employs two forms of past participles, a weak and a strong one – which are (residually) specified for durative and punctual aspectual readings. The weak participles, whose endings have been neutralised to schwa, have replaced most of the strong participles, the only ones able to show metaphonetic agreement. Nonetheless, these participles do ‘conservatively’ mark agreement with internal arguments as in Latin and some modern Romance varieties, such as Occitan, Neapolitan, and Altamurano. Therefore, we have argued that the mechanism of past participle agreement with internal argument is still operative in Barese, but morpholexically limited to a few strong past participles.

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on two Barese periphrastic constructions for the expression of progressive and andative aspectual values, respectively involving the reflexes of the Latin verbs ‘STAND’ and ‘GO’ in conjunction with a lexical verb (henceforth V_1 and V_2). As assumed for perfective auxiliaries (cf. ch.4), aspectual STAND/GO represent the synchronic outcomes of historical processes of grammaticalisation from their original lexical counterparts. Specifically, lexical STAND/GO have been subject to semantic and morpho-syntactic reanalysis (Harris&Campbell 1995:50), in which desemanticisation and functionalisation (and, occasionally, morphological specialisation) of the aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries have taken place to different degrees. In fact, the forms and meanings of Romance STAND/GO-periphrases followed multiple language-specific developments,⁸¹ which have resulted in (more or less) subtle morphological, syntactic and semantic differences across Romance. Our overview of the different formal expressions of progressive and andative aspects in (Ibero- and Italo-)Romance (§1.1-§1.2) reveals a general tendency to adopt hypotactic structures such as [STAND/GO_[+Finite]+V_{2[-Finite]}]. In particular, STAND may express progressive aspect by either combining with a gerund or an infinitive introduced by the non-finite prepositional subordinator *a* (< Latin AD ‘to’; Rohlfs 1969:§710). In contrast, GO may only express andative aspect if combined with an embedded ‘prepositional’ infinitive. Their compositional interpretation requires that the temporal specification of the main and embedded verbs matches, and their subject is co-referential; this suggests that they are monoclausal.⁸²

⁸¹ Romance STAND/GO in conjunction with non-finite V_2 -forms are also used for the expression of other aspectual values (cf. Ledgeway 2011:420). This is especially true for GO, which can combine with:

- i. the [gerund] in Italo- and Ibero-Romance (and formal French) to express a durative/continuative dynamic action, e.g. Italian: *lo vado dicendo da un pezzo* ‘I’ve been saying it for a while’ (Giacalone Ramat 2000:126); Reggino: *ddhu povireddhu va girandu casi casi* ‘that poor man is going around from house to house’ (Ledgeway 2013:212); Galician: *pouco a pouco foron vindo prá cociña* ‘they were slowly coming to(wards) the kitchen’ (Pérez Bouza 1996:73; ≈ Spanish: Yllera 1999).
- ii. the [infinitive] in Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1994) and, originally, in Occitan (Wheeler 1988:270) varieties as a marker of punctual past, e.g. *la [vaig veure] a ella* ‘I [saw] her’ (Catalan: Badia i Margarit 1994:207).

In contrast, the STAND-periphrasis can only express progressive/imperfective aspectual values, regardless of whether STAND is followed by [*a*+infinitive] or a [gerund], with the notable exception of Galician prospective aspect (Pérez Bouza 1996:72).

⁸² See Vincent (1987,2011,2014); Bybee,Perkins&Pagliuca (1994); Harris&Campbell (1995); Ledgeway (1997,2015c,2016c); Roberts&Roussou (2003); Cruschina (2013); Deo (2015); Bertinetto&Squartini (2016); *i.a.*

Significantly, Tense, Mood and Person values are usually conveyed by the inflected STAND/GO; however, southern Italo-Romance varieties (§2) present an additional option whereby the non-finite V_2 may either alternate with, or be consistently replaced by, a finite V_2 form according to TAM and person. Likewise, our survey of STAND/GO-periphrases in Pugliese varieties (§2.1) reveals enormous, yet ‘well-behaved’ micro-variation in relation to the (non-)finiteness of the lexical V_2 and the morpho(-phono)logical behaviour of STAND/GO. The different periphrastic expressions of the aspectual values in question are geographically distributed in a continuum which roughly separates the Apulo-Daunian varieties in the north (§2.1.1), the Apulo-Barese varieties in the centre (§2.1.2-§2.1.5) and the Salentino varieties in the south (§2.1.6). We will be mainly concerned with the non-/finite alternating patterns of the Apulo-Barese speaking area, as they will shed light on the diachronic origin and synchronic behaviour of the Barese ‘hybrid’ periphrastic paradigms with alternating V_2 forms (§3). In particular, we will focus on a series of historical morphophonological changes within the Barese verbal paradigm (§3.2) which acted as triggers for the spread of finite V_2 s where non-finite forms would otherwise be expected. In §3.3 we provide a syntactic analysis of the Barese facts in the spirit of Cinque’s (2006, *i.a.*) recent work on the fine-grained structure of the functional architecture of the clause.

We now introduce the aspectual functions in question, and discuss their expressions and behaviour in Romance (§2) to contextualise the specific behaviour of the Apulo-Barese STAND/GO-periphrases.

1.1. Progressive aspect and its expression in Romance (and beyond)

Progressive aspect is used to describe actions or events in progress with respect to the temporal reference of the utterance, i.e. present ‘I am working’ vs past ‘I was working’. It forms a subcategory of imperfective aspect, which ‘pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation’ (Comrie 1976:16) and includes aspectual values such as continuous, habitual and generic. Deo (2009,2015:9), among others, describes this contrast between the semantic sub- and super-set as based on ‘whether the quantifier domain is a regular partition of the reference interval (in the case of the progressive) or a superinterval of the reference interval (in the case of the imperfective)’. Cross-linguistically, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) observe that, while the imperfective is usually expressed synthetically, the progressive is mainly (but not always) expressed analytically by the following grammatical means:

- i. dedicated morphological particles/markers, e.g. Turkish suffix *-iyor* (Yavaş 1980:66); clitic subjects in Pantelleria (Loporcaro, D'Ancona & Fatini 2010);
- ii. BE (with a locative interpretation/component), e.g. English *I am/was (on) working* (Lehman 2015[1995]:32), Dutch *Ik ben/was aan het werken* (lit. 'I am/was on the to-work'), Piedmontese *a sun lì/daré c a curu* (lit. 'they are there/behind that they run'; Cerruti 2014:289) and Sardinian *so travallande* (lit. '(I) am working'; Jones 1993:83);
- iii. 'postural' verbs⁸³: e.g. Dutch *ik zit te werken* (lit. 'I sit at/to work'; Bertinetto, Herbert & de Groot 2000:518), Italian *sto lavorando* (lit. 'I (stand/)stay working'), or European Portuguese *estou a trabalhar* (lit. 'I (stand/)stay at work');
- iv. TENERE (*a*) 'hold (to)' in Abruzzese and Molisan varieties, e.g. *té ffà a càsa* '(s)he's cleaning the house' (Ledgeway 2016a:§16.4.2.1).

Among the four cross-linguistically available expressions of progressive aspect (with the exception of Romanian, but cf. fn.94), we find that at least one (Italo-)Romance exponent in each of these four groups. Besides the 'rarer' cases in (i)-(iv), we find a major 'geographical' split between group (ii), with Gallo-Romance(/-Italian)⁸⁴ and Sardinian favouring the BE(+locative)-construction, and group (iii), with southern Italo- and Ibero-Romance favouring the STAND-construction, which is our main focus.

Historically, the synthetic paradigms of the present/imperfect have been the basic, unmarked means to encode all imperfective values since early Romance (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:141), until reanalysis and, then, grammaticalisation of 'dedicated' auxiliaries/periphrases took place. In this way, subsets of imperfective values such as continuity/progressivity with dynamic predicates have come to be variously expressed by the analytic infinitival STAND-periphrasis, the most archaic option (§1.1.2), and by the later gerundival STAND-periphrasis (§1.1.1). However, the range of imperfective values encoded by these two analytic constructions and the synthetic forms differs greatly across Italo- and Ibero-Romance⁸⁵ – witness aspectual (in)compatibilities with certain actions/events described by V₂ (i.e. 'lexical' aspect; cf. Vendler 1967). Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:140) observe that this is actually a cross-linguistic

⁸³ See Heine & Kuteva (2002:280-282) for further developments of STAND into the continuous aspectual marker.

⁸⁴ Gallo-Romance, e.g. old French, presented the same morphological option with the postural verb as in Italo- and Ibero-Romance (already fallen into disuse by the 17th century; Bertinetto 2000:576-577).

⁸⁵ See Sornicola (1976), Bertinetto (1990, 1991, 1997, 2000), Maiden (1995:156-157), Cordin (1997), Squartini (1998), Ledgeway (2000, 2016a), Maiden & Robustelli (2000:302-303), Vincent (2014) for details on Italo-Romance; Green (1982), Yllera (1999) and Batlliori & Roca (2012) on Spanish (and the latter on Catalan); Pérez Bouza (1996) for Galician; Parkinson (1988:162), Mendes Mothé (2006) for European and Brazilian Portuguese.

tendency whereby ‘progressive meaning is originally most compatible with activity predicates and only gradually extends to other predicate types’. For this reason, we operate a clear distinction between ‘pure’ progressives and, simplifying somewhat, other imperfective values, above all the continuous reading, (i.e. not only focusing on the moment of utterance).

This cross-linguistically common grammaticalisation scenario in which certain semantic functions are (re-)assigned to ‘new’ formal expressions can be described by means of Deo’s (2015:§4) four-stage cycle in (1):

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| (1) | a. | X_{impf} | zero-PROG | (Deo 2015:17) |
| | b. | $(Y_{prog}) X_{impf}$ | emergent-PROG | |
| | c. | Y_{prog}, X_{impf} | categorical-PROG | |
| | d. | Y_{impf} | generalized-PROG | |

An original expression X_{impf} (1a) encoding all imperfective subvalues is gradually accompanied by an emergent, yet grammaticalised, specialised progressive ‘exponent’ Y_{prog} (1b), which is ‘recruited’ among the language-specific morphosyntactic structures available. The alternation of the original X_{impf} and (Y_{prog}) is only optional at this stage (hence the brackets), as it still constitutes a ‘marked’ strategy (cf. the ‘dual grammar’ stage; cf. Roberts 2007). At stage (1c), both X_{impf} and Y_{prog} encode distinct (though possibly overlapping) aspectual values in certain obligatory contexts. Later X_{impf} starts losing its semantic specification and, finally, Y_{impf} may generalise as the unmarked imperfective marker (1d), replacing the initial form X_{impf} (1a). Deo underlines that these stages may, in turn, contain further sub-stages based on the ‘lexical’ aspect of predicates, which follow smaller, intermediate steps in the cycle. As for (standard) Romance, she concludes that the development of progressive expression has only reached stage (1b), inasmuch as the two exponents may *optionally* be found in complementary distribution – unlike in modern English, where the *categorical* progressive has reached stage (1c). We will see that Deo’s ‘strict’ conclusion for Romance only applies to standard Italian, and not to Ibero-Romance, which can be said to behave more similarly to English, and even less so in many non-standard Romance varieties, where their *categorical* stage presents the most ‘permissive’ encoding of imperfective values.

1.1.1. Gerundival STAND-periphrases

The [STAND+gerund] construction appears to be the most widespread option in Italo- and Ibero-Romance to express progressive aspect:

- (2) a. ma non vedi che **sto guidando**? (Italian)
 but not see.2SG that stand.1SG driving
 ‘can’t you see I’m driving (right now)?’
- b. ^(?)***sto andando** tutti i giorni a parlare alla signora
 stand.1SG going all the days to speak to-the lady
 ‘I am going every day to speak to the lady’ (Italian: Bertinetto 1997:237)
- (3) **sto tenenne** na pascienza[...] (Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2009:434)
 stand.1SG holding a patience
 ‘I’m being so patient! (i.e. showing considerable patience)’
- (4) **istan fakende** su mándicu (Sardinian: Jones 1993:84)
 stand.3PL making the food
 ‘they are preparing the meal’
- (5) **està parlant** per l’ altra línia (Catalan: Wheeler, Yates&Nicolau 1999:363)
 stands talking for the other line
 ‘I can’t put you through to him, as he’s on the other line’
- (6) a. **estoy leyendo** ‘El poema del Cid’ (Spanish: Zagona 2002:38)
 stand.1SG reading the poem of-the Cid
 ‘I’m reading “The poem of the Cid”’
- b. **toy yendo** a la biblioteca (to loh dia) (Carribbean Spanish)
 stand.1SG going to the library every the days
 ‘I’m going to the library (every day)’
- (7) a vaca[...] **está berrando** na corte (Galician: Pérez Bouza 1996:73)
 the cow stands mooing in-the court
 ‘the cow is mooing in the court’
- (8) **estou (te) falando** (/com você)
 stand.1SG to-you speaking with you
 ‘I’m talking to you’ (Brazilian Portuguese: adapted from Mendes Mothé 2006:1554)

Despite the morphosyntactic homogeneity displayed by the Romance periphrases in (2)-(8),⁸⁶ each language (or, rather, each group of languages) allow(s) the gerundival STAND under different lexico-semantic conditions, along the lines of Deo's continuum (1). Recall that the standard Romance present/imperfect indicative alone is the unmarked option to encode a broad range of imperfective values such as simultaneous/progressive, continuous, habitual or generic (cf. Giorgi&Pianesi 1997:ch.4; Bertinetto&Squartini 2016). The gerundival STAND periphrasis functions as the 'aspectually marked' alternative expression of progressive aspect in Italian⁸⁷, as well as continuous aspect in e.g. Spanish (cf. Posner 1999:133ff.; Bertinetto 2000:§3.1). However, the gerundival STAND periphrasis cannot encode the full range of imperfective values, as it usually lacks a generic or habitual reading in these varieties. For instance, (2b) shows the Italian motion verb *andare* to be incompatible with the gerundival STAND (cf. Bertinetto 1997:237), requiring the present indicative *vado* as the only grammatical option. The ungrammaticality of the periphrasis is due to the 'progressive perfect' form with habitual reading imposed by the overt iterative adverbial *tutti i giorni* 'every day'. Its absence would make the habitual interpretation unavailable (ungrammatical in the standard, but allowed in southern varieties), licensing a 'focalised' progressive reading 'I'm going to talk to the lady (i.e. right now)'. However, the present indicative *vado a parlare alla signora* would still remain the least-marked option for the expression of the progressive aspect, yet ambiguous with the habitual one. On the other hand, Ibero-Romance varieties can both encode the 'focalised'/simultaneous progressive reading, e.g. (5)-(6a)-(7)-(8), and the continuous reading, as in the ambiguous Spanish example (6a). Hence, beside the intrinsic 'lexical' aspect of the verb in question (or aspect-sensitive adverbials modifying the interpretation of the whole action/event), the language-specific degrees of grammaticalisation of the periphrasis may block its use in certain varieties.

In his overview of Romance aspectual periphrases, Bertinetto (2000:565-567) argues that the gerundival STAND construction was historically used to express both progressive and continuous aspects in most Italo- and Ibero-Romance varieties. This has been preserved in modern Ibero-Romance and, crucially, central-southern Italo-Romance, but not in standard and northern regional Italian. Hence, the Italian gerundival STAND construction has undergone a further diachronic process of functional/aspectual recategorisation, namely a 'remapping' of aspectual values onto dedicated/available formal expressions, and thereby only retaining the progressive reading. These processes may represent intermediate stages between the *optional* and *categorical*

⁸⁶ Brazilian Portuguese in (8) shows oblique clitic interpolation between the periphrastic elements, which is only possible within the STAND/GO-periphrases of Salentino varieties (cf. Ledgeway 2016c:171).

⁸⁷ See Lepschy&Lepschy (1988[1977]:140); Maiden (1995:156ff.); Cordin (1997:96); Ledgeway (2000:100,2016a:§16.4.2.1); Bertinetto (2000); D'Achille (2003:123).

uses of the gerundival STAND construction in Deo's cycle. Bertinetto (2000:576) offers a possible refinement to these two general diachronic processes, assuming that the progressive exponent, during its process of grammaticalisation, preserves a 'durative/continuous' reading as its basic value alongside a purely progressive. Hence, it follows naturally that Ibero-Romance and southern Italo-Romance varieties preserved (and further extended) this double option, whereas standard Italian later restricted the gerundival STAND construction to express the so-called 'focalised' progressive value.⁸⁸

The incompatibility of (non-progressive) aspectual values and the gerundival STAND periphrasis is not attested in certain Ibero-Romance and Italo-Romance varieties. In fact, the stricter behaviour of standard Romance contrasts with the more permissive behaviour of colloquial (Bertinetto 2000:569-570) and Caribbean Spanish (6b); in these varieties, the iterative adverb 'every day' is allowed to co-occur with the STAND construction and the verb 'go' receives the habitual interpretation, which would be ungrammatical/marginal in standard Italian or Spanish. Other 'permissive' varieties are found in southern Italy⁸⁹, e.g. Neapolitan (3), in which the gerundival STAND periphrasis can be used with stative verbs such as *tené* 'to have' with a continuous reading, like the English counterpart 'I'm being patient', but unlike standard Italian **sto avendo pazienza* 'I'm having patience'.⁹⁰ Ledgeway (2000:286,fn.32) observes that, in Neapolitan, this periphrasis is even ousting the present indicative in its generic interpretation, a value prototypically conveyed with the present in Romance. As a consequence, the formal encoding of aspectual functions by means of the progressive periphrasis limits the use of the present indicative in these varieties. According to Jones, this observation is particularly true for the Sardinian STAND+gerund construction in (4), which 'has a much more clearly [i.e. unambiguous] "progressive" value than the construction with *éssere*' (Jones 1993:84). Nonetheless, both constructions are favoured over the simple present for the expression of progressive, even with stative verbs, similarly to Neapolitan (3). This suggests that these non-standard varieties have indeed reached a stage in which the gerundival STAND periphrasis is used *categorically* (1c); moreover, the periphrasis has further extended its 'basic' progressive/continuous specification to imperfective values such as habitual and generic. However, despite currently being the most widespread Romance means of expression of the

⁸⁸ However, Bertinetto (1997:168,2000:567) suggests that the aspectual values expressed by gerundival STAND are now increasing in contemporary Italian.

⁸⁹ Puglia: Stehl (1988:§5.3.4); Loporcaro (1997b:347-348); northern Calabrese: Trumper (1997:363); Nicotere (VV): Taylor (2015:65); Sicilian: Varvaro (1988:§8.9).

⁹⁰ STAND+'have' is acceptable in standard Italian only when used punctually with the meaning of 'receive, obtain': *sta avendo molto successo* '(s)he's having a lot of success' (Maiden&Robustelli 2000:304).

progressive (as well as durative, habitual and generic), the gerundival STAND periphrasis appears to be a recent innovation (16th-17th centuries) in the (literary) varieties of southern Italy, e.g. Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009:§15.3.1) and Sicilian (Núñez Román 2011; *i.a.*), but also in Florentine (Brianti 2000). In Puglia, this form is only attested in Apulo-Daunian varieties (§.2.1.1) under stronger Neapolitan(/Molisan) influence, and, exceptionally, in a few northern Apulo-Barese varieties (§2.1.2) bordering with Apulo-Daunian. Therefore, gerundival STAND will no longer be central to our discussion, which will focus on the more conservative ‘prepositional’ infinitival STAND.

1.1.2. Infinitival STAND periphrases

The direct periphrastic competitor of gerundival STAND is represented by the infinitival STAND-construction, (9)-(11), in which STAND combines with an infinitival complement headed by the non-finite subordinator *a* ‘to’:

(9) tu duorme e Ninno tuo **stacə a penarə** (Neapolitan: Rohlf's 1969:133)
 you sleep.2SG and Ninno your stands to suffer
 ‘you’re sleeping and your Ninno is suffering’

(10) Mario **sta a magna’** (Aquilano: Ursini 2013:111)
 Mario stands to eat
 ‘Mario is eating’

(11) **estou a falar** com você (European Portuguese: Mendes Mothé 2006:1554)
 stand.1SG to talk with you.POLITE
 ‘I’m speaking to you’

In Ibero-Romance varieties, the infinitival STAND-construction is attested in the Gallego-Portuguese speaking area, where it has taken over the expression of the progressive, as well as continuous values at least in standard (and southern) European Portuguese (11)⁹¹. This same construction is found (alternating with gerundival STAND) in a number of central and southern Italo-Romance varieties, such as Neapolitan (9) (Ledgeway 1997,2009), Western Abruzzese (10) (Ursini 2013), Laziale (Bertinetto 2000:561) and Tuscan varieties (Squartini 1998:128).

⁹¹ However, the [STAND+gerund] construction represents the written (more conservative) diamesic option in (prescriptive) European Portuguese (cf. Bertinetto 2000:561), and the first choice in Brazilian Portuguese (§2.1.1), northern European Portuguese and Galician varieties.

Interestingly, Squartini (1998:129-131) argues that, in central Italo-Romance varieties, progressive and continuous aspects have been ‘redistributed’ between the gerundival and the infinitival *STAND* constructions respectively, thereby explaining their complementary distribution.

For our discussion of Apulo-Barese, it is important to stress that early Italo-Romance varieties, e.g. old Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009:§15.3.1;§15.4.3), old Sicilian (Núñez Román 2011:8-11) and old Florentine (Brianti 2000:100-101), made greater use of infinitival *STAND* than their modern counterparts (and, consequently, than standard Italian). The gerundival *STAND* construction only started to increase its frequency from the 16th century onwards, and to different degrees in different varieties. Hence, the two roughly synonymous structures have simultaneously co-existed for centuries, though the infinitival construction grammaticalised earlier, i.e. it was in use before the gerundival had emerged. Bertinetto’s claim for the initial development and presence of both progressive and continuous values is confirmed by earlier Italo-Romance attestations of the infinitival *STAND* construction. It appears that *STAND*, during its grammaticalisation process as an aspectual (semi-)auxiliary, could already be interpreted compositionally with a continuous aspectual value even when its syntax and semantics suggest it should be a full-fledged postural verb. This is exemplified in (12) for 14th-century Neapolitan:

- (12) li altri chi **stavano** da tuorno et all’ erta **a sservire**
 the others who stand.IMPV.3PL from-around and at-the ready to serve
 ‘the others who were standing around ready to serve’ (Ledgeway 2009:651)

STAND appears to behave as a lexical verb (Ledgeway 2009:638), overtly selecting a locative argument, and followed by the purpose clause [*a*+infinitive]. Despite the lack of adjacency between the two verbal elements, the compositional interpretation of *stavano...a servire* can also (ambiguously) be imperfective/continuous, i.e. ‘who were serving (while standing around)’, beside the original literal interpretation ‘were standing around in order to serve’. A similar situation is found in Manzoni’s 19th-century Italian example (and still grammatical in modern Italian) in (13):

- (13) l’ Innominato [...] **stette** **a sentire** con attenzione
 the unnamed stood.3SG to hear with attention
 ‘the Unnamed (stood there and) listened with attention’ (*Manzoni* in Levi 1901:XX,134)

STAND seems to continue with its lexical meaning ‘to stand/remain (somewhere in order to V)’ and allows perfective morphology, which would prove incompatible with a progressive periphrasis (see Squartini 1998:130). However, the static/locative interpretation of STAND and the purposive interpretation of the infinitive yield a complexive continuous interpretation in Italian, similarly to (or perhaps more clearly than in) the old Neapolitan example (12). This suggests that infinitival STAND may receive its full-fledged lexical interpretation, but may also act as a (semi-)auxiliary for the expression of continuous aspect. As for modern Italian, Bertinetto (2000:567) goes as far as to say that the infinitival STAND periphrasis shares more aspectual similarities with the durative/continuous [GO/COME+gerund] (cf. fn.81,(i)) than with gerundival STAND. The latter is dedicated to ‘focalised’ progressive contexts, while the former marks (non-)dynamic durative/continuous contexts. This bears out Deo’s (2015) claim for a cyclic specialisation of progressive expressions; in particular, the progressive expression in Italian is shifting from being *optionally* realised to being *categorically* realised in complementary distribution with the imperfective/continuous expression.

However, in Barese, no such distinction is made, nor marked syntactically; both aspectual values (and other imperfective ones) are now expressed by the (monoclausal) structure [STAND+*a*+V₂], where V₂ can be either an infinitive or an inflected form. Nonetheless, we will capitalise on these crossdialectal diachronic considerations for our analysis of Barese periphrases, and for the reconstruction of their diachronic development (§3).

1.2. Andative aspect and its expression in Romance (and beyond)

Andative aspect has not received as much attention as the progressive/imperfective in the literature. Its semantics are not only aspectual, as it fulfils a spatial(/temporal) deictic function, specifying that ‘a distance is traversed before the action is done’ (Fagerli 1994:35; cf. also Dixon 1977:219; Heine&Kuteva 2002:155-156). Cross-linguistically, andative aspect is mainly expressed via morphological affixes usually deriving from verbs of motion/change of place. Such a spatial concept of ‘traversing a distance’ has been often reinterpreted figuratively as ‘intentional/imminent’ futurity. Cinque (1999:99) associates this with prospective aspect (Comrie 1976:64) as it automatically implies imminence/intentionality by describing ‘a point just prior to the beginning of an event’ (Frawley 1992:322). A well-known example is the English ‘to be going to’ (Heine&Kuteva 2002:161) which grammaticalised into an invariable prospective marker in Jamaican Creole [*a go*+infinitive] (Durreleman-Tame 2008:33-34).⁹² We

⁹² See Heine&Kuteva (2002:156) for similar developments of GO into a ‘change-of-state’ marker in Tamil and Haitian.

observe a similar situation in Romance, where GO-periphrases may encode both andative and prospective(/intentional future) values.

1.2.1. Infinitival GO-periphrases

The infinitival GO-construction primarily describes physical displacement from the subject's deictic centre 'in order to V₂' in Italo-Romance (14a)-(15a)-(16), whereas it has grammaticalised further in Ibero-Romance varieties to describe intention and futurity (17)-(18):

(14) a. **vado a dormire** (Italian)
go.1SG to sleep
'I'm going to sleep'

b. il passo che **vado a leggervi**
the excerpt that go.1SG to read-to-you
'the excerpt I'm going (=will) to read to you'

(15) a. o **jàmm' a chiammà** (Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2000:83)
him go.1PL to call
'we are going to call him'

b. [...]chesto che te **vaco a dì?** (Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2009:454)
this that to-you go.1SG to say.INF
'[you'll certainly be surprised at] what I'm going to tell you?'

(16) **vaju a travagghiari** (Palermitano: Modena 2010:107)
go.1SG to work
'I'm going to work'

(17) **dónde van a estar a las dos?** (Spanish: Zagana 2002:33; ≈ E.Portuguese)
where GO.3PL to be at the two
'where are they going to be at two (o'clock)?'

(18) **vou (*a) compra-lo diario** (Galician: Pérez Bouza 1996:72; ≈ B.Portuguese)
GO.1pl to buy-the newspaper
'I'm going to buy the newspaper'

The Italian (14a), Neapolitan (15a) and Palermitano (16) GO-periphrases primarily express a change of spatial coordinates of the (co-referential) periphrastic subject, but never the Ibero-Romance intentional future (except in a few expressions such as Italian *andare a finire* ‘end up’; Italian: Jansen&Strudsholm 1999:375ff.; Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2009:§11.5.2.4). Nonetheless, the Italo-Romance (14a)-(15a) examples may also be interpreted as a single, more complex event expressing ‘prospective’ aspect, as it is clear in the (14b)-(15b) examples. The imminent beginning of the action/event described by V_2 is underlined, and the motion (sub-)event is only figurative, i.e. prospective (‘to be about to V_2 ’). This might be considered as an intermediate step before the further grammaticalisation of the infinitival GO-construction into intentional future expression, e.g. Ibero-Romance (17)-(18). It is clear that the two interpretative stages of the GO-periphrasis are conceptually linked, hence the semantic shift may be expected; the spatial-final reading ‘I go (in order) to V_2 ’ can be used figuratively as the prospective ‘I’m about to V_2 ’, which may further assume the intentional-future reading ‘I’m going to V_2 ’.⁹³

1.2.2. Paratactic GO-periphrases: pseudo-coordination

The expression of andative aspect in Romance may also exploit another cross-linguistically widespread coordinating structure [GO+&+ V_2] parallel to the hypotactic [GO+*a*+ V_2]. The paratactic construction, already attested in e.g. old Sicilian (Ascoli 1896), involves two fully inflected, finite lexical verbs coordinated via Romance reflexes of the Latin conjunction ET. Consider the northern Calabrese (19), Spanish (20), and Brazilian Portuguese (21) examples:

(19) **vaju e ttruovu** la vecchia zia (Apriglianese (CS): Rohlfs 1969:164)
 go.1SG and find.1SG the old aunt
 ‘I’m going to visit the old aunt’

(20) al día siguiente **voy y le pido** explicaciones (Spanish)
 at-the day following go.1SG and to-him/her request explanations
 ‘on the next day I go ask him/her for explanations’

⁹³ While in old Castilian (Yllera 1980:141; Radatz 2003) and, differently, in old Sicilian (Núñez Román 2011:14-15) both motion and future interpretations of the infinitival GO-construction coexisted, the latter is no longer available in modern Sicilian (Cardinaletti&Giusti 2001,2003; Cruschina 2013). In contrast, both aspectual and temporal uses of Spanish [GO+*a*+infinitive] increased from the 16th century as a ‘popular’ innovation from the spoken language (Beardsley 1921), whereas earlier textual records more often contain ‘asyndetic’ structures where the two verbal forms are juxtaposed, i.e. without coordinating/prepositional connectors. See §2 for discussion on southern Italo-Romance asyndetic structures.

- (21) **you** **e** **he** **falo** que conheço uma técnica (Brazilian Portuguese)
 go.1SG and to-him/her say.1SG that know.1SG a technique
 ‘I go tell him/her that I know a technique’

This construction expresses the contemporaneity of the two actions/events involving actual (intent of) motion (Rohlf's 1969:164): the subject displaces itself in order to achieve the result/accomplish the action described by the lexical V₂. This can be seen in (19), (20) and (21), in which the displacement of the subject ([1sg], in this case) is interpreted separately from the coordinated conjunct – witness also the failure of clitic climbing in (20) and (21). Further evidence of the biclausal interpretation of these paratactic GO-constructions comes from Caribbean Spanish, in which the [GO+&+V₂] configuration is even allowed with non-coreferential subjects, e.g. *vamos (nosotros) y termina (tú) de limpiar!* ‘(let’s) go and (you) finish to clean!’.

However, besides the regular ET-coordination, we shall see that extreme southern Italian dialects, i.e. Salentino, southern Calabrese and Sicilian varieties, have been claimed to display another GO-construction involving coordination, which we discuss in §2.

2. GO/STAND-periphrases in Southern Italy

We observed in §1 that, across Romance, the most widespread (and archaic) syntactic expression of progressive and andative aspects is hypotactic; however, paratactic, i.e. coordinating, structures (§1.2.2) can be found as an alternative to ‘canonical’ hypotaxis.⁹⁴ Likewise, many dialects of southern Italy adopted paratactic structures as a common strategy for the expression of andative and progressive values. Coordinating structures of the type [STAND/GO+&+V_[FINITE]] already surface, albeit minimally, in 5th-/6th-century Latin (allegedly from Montecassino, southern Lazio).⁹⁵ Parallel to the ET-construction, it has been assumed that these dialects may have historically exploited another paratactic structure modelled on the Latin *STO/VADO AC BIBO* (Rohlf's 1969:133-134; Sornicola 1976; Durante 1981; Loporcaro 1997b:348; Ledgeway 2016b:160; 2016a:§16.4.2.1). The linking element allegedly continues a synchronically opaque conjunction *a* from Latin *AC* (<ATQUE = ET) ‘and’ (cf. Rohlf's 1969:166; Torrego 2009:458-461), e.g. Barese/Italian *däci-a-nnóvə/dici-a-nnove* ‘ten-**and**-nine (nineteen)’. Note that the aspectual

⁹⁴ Interestingly, the ET-construction [STAND+&+V_{2[FINITE]}], with the conjunction *și* (< Latin *SIC* ‘so’), can be used to express progressive aspect in colloquial Romanian, e.g. *stă și se uită* ‘(s)he sits looking’ (Zafiu 2013b:64).

⁹⁵ In *Scriptores Rerum Longobardum* (Bethmann&Waitz 1878:382,384,314), [STAND+&+V_{2[FINITE]}] only appears twice as a [2pl] imperative; however, STAND excludes a progressive reading as it retains its lexical meaning, whereas [GO+&+V_{2[FINITE]}] is found once with a clear motion interpretation.

construction as such was never attested in any early texts of these (or other) varieties; nonetheless, we refer to with two inflected verbs as the ‘AC-construction’ for ease of exposition, but will reconsider the status of AC when discussing the Apulo-Barese varieties.

The AC-construction is widespread in the extreme south of Italy and in parts of the upper-south, albeit with a patchy geographic distribution. This may partly be due to the coexistence/competition of multiple language-specific options (i.e. gerundival vs infinitival vs finite lexical V_2) to express the two aspects in question, particularly visible in extreme southern varieties where finite forms are found in typically infinitival contexts. Moreover, in many southern dialects the AC-construction can only be found in specific sets of grammatical persons of the present indicative, whereas it has only rarely spread across all TAM combinations in a few varieties. Many Sicilian and Calabrese varieties did not develop a [STAND+&+V_{[FINITE]] construction for the progressive, which is commonly expressed by the gerundival construction, e.g. Satriano (CZ): *staju fa(ce)ndu* ‘I’m doing’ (cf. §1.1.1 above for Romance, and Ledgeway 2013:§3.4 for Calabrese) or by MODO-clauses (cf. Rohlfs 1969:§786.a; Lombardi 1997; Ledgeway 1998,2005,2006,2007b,2013). We now focus on the behaviour of the andative AC-structure in some southern Italo-Romance varieties, where V_2 can potentially surface inflected for all six grammatical persons of the present; this is exemplified in (i)-(vi) for a selection of Calabrese, Sicilian, Campanian and Lucanian dialects:}

(22)

- i. **vaju a [m:]ànciu** (/*[m:]anciàri) (Crotonese: Rohlfs 1969:106)
 go.1SG AC eat.1SG eat.INF
 ‘I go (to) eat’
- i’. (*vajo/) *ii a pigghiai u pani (Marsalese:Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003:43)
 go.1SG went.1SG AC fetched.1SG the bread
- ii. cu soccu **vai a aggiusti** (/*aggiustari) a machina?
 with what go.2SG AC fix.2SG fix.INF the car
 ‘what do you go and fix the car with?’ (Marsalese: Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003:33)
- iii. idda si **iju a [k:]urcau** (/*[k:]urcari)
 she self went.3SG AC lay-down.3SG lay-down.INF
 ‘she went to bed’ (Sicilian: Pitrè 1985[1875]:IV.2010)

- iv. **jamm' a [t:]ús** (/ʔ[t:]usà) 'e ppecore
 go.1PL AC shear shear.INF the sheep
 'let's go and shear the sheep' (Neapolitan: adapted from Rohlfs 1966:§315)
- v. **scià(t' a) [f:]acità** (/f:]æjə) la spésə!
 go.2PL AC do.2PL do.INF the groceries (Materano)
 'go do the groceries!'
- v'. **iti a [p:]igghiari**(/*pigghiati)u pani (Marsalese: Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003:44)
 go.2PL to fetch.INF fetch.2PL the bread
- vi. i picciotti **vanno a [p:]igghiano** (/p:]igghiari) tutti u pani ne 'sta butia
 the boys go.3PL AC fetch.3PL fetch.INF all the bread in this shop
 'all the boys go get bread in this shop' (Marsalese: Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003:35)

The examples in (22), numbered from (i) to (vi) according to grammatical person, highlight the most salient language-specific constraints on the alternation between infinitival vs inflected V₂: person, tense and mood. We find substantial diatopic variation in the distribution of (non-)finite forms across these domains. For instance, both periphrastic elements can be inflected potentially for all grammatical persons in the present and past tense of the periphrasis in most eastern and southern Sicilian dialects, e.g. (iii) (and Modicano: Manzini&Savoia 2005:I,696) and only in Crotonese in Calabria, e.g. (i) (cf. Rohlfs 1969:167; Ledgeway 1997:267ff.). The same situation is found in Salento, which will be discussed in §2.1.6. In contrast, in central and western Sicilian varieties⁹⁶, the option with the inflected lexical V₂ is unavailable in the [1pl] and [2pl] of the present, witness the ungrammaticality of (v'). This also blocks the presence of finite forms in past contexts (cf. Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.652), where we obligatorily find the infinitive, e.g. (i'). In these varieties, Cruschina (2013) observes that this distribution of inflected forms in the present periphrasis mirrors the pan-Romance morphomic 'N-shaped' pattern developed in synthetic verbal paradigms (Maiden 2005; Maiden 2011:§5.6; cf. also Ledgeway 2016c):

(23) GO:	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	(adapted from Maiden 2011:242)
	V ₂	[+Finite]	[+Finite]	[+Finite]	[-Finite]	[-Finite]	[+Finite]

⁹⁶ E.g. Marsalese: Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003:37,44; Mussomelese: Cruschina 2013:265; see also Sorrisi 2010; Modena 2010.

Other varieties, notably Neapolitan (iv), limit the occurrence of (apparently) finite V_2 -forms in imperatival contexts (except for [2sg], where there is asyndetic coordination of two imperatives). The status of this type of ‘finite’ V_2 s will be discussed in more detail in §3.2.2, since it will be central in our account of the origin of the Barese inflected V_2 s.

Before turning to the Apulo-Barese varieties, some crucial phono-syntactic remarks are in order. We observe the recurrent presence – above and throughout – of *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* (henceforth RF) following the linking *a*-element. This is a synchronic process of consonantal lengthening occurring across word-boundaries, which can be historically explained as an external sandhi consonantal assimilation of the pre-existing Latin consonants (cf. Maiden 1995:72-76; Loporcaro 1997a,2011:§5.1; Ledgeway 2009:46-47). In our specific case it allegedly implies the assimilation of the velar consonant (A)C and the following word-initial consonant within the same phonological word/syntactic constituent, e.g. Latin [ak 'fakjo] ‘and I.do’ > *[af 'fakjo] > *a* [ff]azzu. However, the same RF systematically occurs in similar phono-syntactic contexts, among which prepositional infinitival clauses (§1.1.2-§1.2.1) introduced by reflexes of AD ‘to’: [ad 'fakere] ‘to to-do’ > *[af 'fa(ke)re] > *a* [ff]are. In practice, both instances of *a*, whether historically derived from AC or AD, produce the same ambiguous phonological result under RF (viz. [a(C) C]) in all finite and non-finite periphrastic contexts in the modern dialects (e.g. (i)-(vi) above). RF is also retained in those varieties in which the ambiguous connector was ‘absorbed’ into STAND/GO as in the invariable *st-a/v-a* (§3.1). In contrast, RF is absent whenever the two verbs are coordinated by simple juxtaposition, e.g. imperatives (§3.2.2).

These remarks lead us to question the syntactic status of both constructions and, in particular, the supposed coexistence and interaction of the (AD-)hypotactic and (AC-)paratactic constructions. According to Harris&Campbell’s (1995:290) cross-linguistic evidence, coordinating conjunctions often grammaticalise as subordinators (cf. also Heine&Kuteva 2002:43-44). However, the southern Italo-Romance AC-structures do not seem to fit this typological generalisation because, synchronically, there exists no Romance variety that has retained a productive *a* (< AC) conjunction which could, in turn, have grammaticalised as a subordinator in these varieties with inflected V_2 . Despite its original coordinating function, Ledgeway (2016c:§2) demonstrates that the linking element *a* (< AC) is not a synchronically productive conjunction through some classic pseudo-coordination tests (disjunction, displacement/permutation of constituent order, i.e. interpolation of clitics and negation, and semantic interpretation). Following Ledgeway (1997,2016c; see also Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003, Cruschina 2013), there is no reason to treat *a* (< AC) and *a* (< AD) synchronically as two separate elements. Modern speakers would never interpret *a* as the unproductive conjunction AC, the existence of which they have otherwise no knowledge or evidence of, but only as the

preposition(al subordinator) *a* (< AD). Ledgeway (2016c; cf. also Ledgeway 1997) suggests that this formal homophony between *a*(C) and *a*(D), together with the gradual desemantisation and grammaticalisation of STAND/GO, led speakers to reinterpret [STAND/GO+AC+V_{[+FINITE]]] as the nearly isomorphic and synonymous [STAND/GO+AD+V_{[-FINITE]]], yet retaining (certain) verbal features shared with V₁. Hence, both Vs of the periphrases can be inflected, but the paratactic structure in (a) changes back to the original subordinating structure in (24b), adapted from Ledgeway (2016c:160-161):}}

- (24) a. [ConjP [Spec STAND/GO [Conj' *a* [Comp V<sub>[+Agr]]]]]
 b. [IP STAND/GO [CP *a* [IP V_[+Agr]]]]</sub>

In fact, if Rohlfs was correct in assuming the existence of an AC-constuction, it is reasonable to argue that the conjunction *a* has never directly grammaticalised into a complementiser, but was rather associated by analogy to the non-finite subordinator *a*.

However, the patchy distribution of inflected forms, the lack of diachronic textual evidence (despite the clear differences with the spoken register), and the complete unavailability of a productive conjunction *a* across modern (southern Italo-)Romance, weaken Rohlfs' intuition about a possible AC-construction to explain the presence of inflected V₂s. We will propose a different morpho-syntactic scenario for our analysis of the (northern-)Pugliese situation (cf. §2.1-§3), which excludes the *ad-hoc* assumption of a AC-construction as the source of the inflected forms of V₂.

2.1. The Pugliese situation⁹⁷

The dialects of northern Puglia, spoken in the area between the provinces of Foggia and Bari, and southern Puglia, i.e. the Salento peninsula (Brindisi, Taranto and Lecce), display considerable micro-variation in the grammaticalised outcomes of progressive and andative aspectual periphrases. Early (Rohlfs 1969,1972) and more recent studies (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I; Ledgeway 2013,2016c) have considered these periphrases in Salento and the neighbouring, southern-most Barese speaking area. In particular, these studies have focused on the situation of language contact between Griko and the neighbouring Romance varieties in relation to the widespread 'unpopularity' of the infinitive in this area. As for southern Puglia, these periphrastic constructions have rarely been subject to in-depth studies, hence the scarcity of linguistic data and analyses. Here we attempt to briefly reconstruct – through a comparison of

⁹⁷ Unless otherwise indicated, dialect data were collected during my own fieldwork.

synchronic dialectal variation – the northern Pugliese situation, with particular attention on the Apulo-Barese-speaking area; this will be compared with the better-documented situation of southern Pugliese periphrases, in order to be able place Barese in the appropriate diatopic and, indirectly, diachronic context.

Rich micro-variation characterises the marking of andative and progressive aspect in the entire Puglia region, so much so that the same variation in the expression of these aspects across (Italo-)Romance can be found on a more local scale across the Pugliese peninsula. The terms progressive and andative periphrases have to be understood as the formal devices for the expression of multiple aspectual values, which makes the Pugliese (STAND-)periphrases as semantically permissive as those of Neapolitan (cf. Ledgeway 2000:100ff.) and other southern Italian varieties (cf. §1.1). Hence, the Apulo-Barese STAND-periphrasis does encode progressive, but also durative, habitual and generic aspects (cf. Aprile, Coluccia, Fanciullo & Gualdo 2002:685), whereas the GO-periphrasis expresses andative and prospective aspects, but not futurity as in Ibero-Romance (cf. §1.2.1). This more-permissive aspectual behaviour is attested for southern Pugliese dialects of Salento discussed in Ledgeway (2016c:§3.1; cf. also Loporcaro 1997b:347), where STAND/GO-periphrases encode the whole array of temporal/aspectual values *à la* Spanish.

In the following sections, we will mainly focus on the distribution of the embedded [\pm FINITE] V₂, as well as the status of STAND/GO and the *a*-connector (if present at all). Our Pugliese overview reveals (at least) three distinct behaviours of STAND/GO-periphrases, which roughly correspond to the Foggiano (north), Apulo-Barese (centre) and Salentino (south) speaking areas. Of these three, the Apulo-Barese area offers the richest micro-variation, forcing us to distinguish further among western, central and eastern Pugliese varieties. However, within these groups, more specific geographic coordinates, e.g. ‘natural barriers’, also represent helpful reference points to understand the precise distribution of the Apulo-Barese STAND/GO-periphrases.

2.1.1. The province of Foggia

The behaviour of STAND/GO-periphrases in the northern-most part of Puglia seems to pattern with the behaviours of both Neapolitan and Sicilian (§2-3). On a par with these varieties, the pan-(southern-)Romance gerundival STAND-construction is still widely attested throughout the province of Foggia:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|----------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (25) | a. | sté durmènne | ‘(s)he’s sleeping’ | (Mattinata: Granatiero 1987:79) |
| | b. | stignò decènnò | ‘I’m saying’ | (San Marco in Lamis: Valente 1975:67) |
| | c. | stàchə jucànnə | ‘I’m playing’ | (Foggia) |
| | d. | stóchə facènnə | ‘I’m doing’ | (Cerignola) |

In (25) above we consider two varieties of the Gargano promontory, i.e. Mattinata (Granatiero 1987:79), San Marco in Lamis (Valente 1975:67-68; Pia Massaro, p.c.) and two from the Apulo-Foggiano speaking area (i.e. Foggia and Cerignola, bordering the north-most Apulo-Barese speaking area). Crucially, these varieties show no trace of the [STAND+a+V_{±FINITE}] construction. In contrast, the GO-periphrasis does allow a limited number of inflected forms alternating with infinitival ones, e.g. [GO+a+V_{±FINITE}], only in the present indicative. This finite/non-finite alternation is only found among the Garganic varieties, whereas the Apulo-Foggiano dialects of e.g. Cerignola and Foggia only allow the infinitival V₂. This contrast is shown in Table 5.1⁹⁸:

Table 5.1: *Sammarchese and Cerignolano GO-periphrasis*:

Present	San Marco in Lamis: ‘go to eat’	Cerignola: ‘go to sit (oneself)’
1SG	íjə vaj’a mmàgnə	mə vók’a ’ssətté
2SG	tu v’a mmàgnə	te vé a ’ssətté
3SG	ísse v’a mmàgnə	sə vé a ’ssətté
1PL	nua jàm’a mmagnà	cə sciòm’a ’ssətté
2PL	vua jàt’a mmagnà	və sciòt’a ’ssətté
3PL	lòre vànn’a mmàgnə	sə vànn’a ’ssətté

On the one hand, the Apulo-Foggiano dialect of Cerignola licenses only the infinitive across every possible dimension of variation (i.e. person and tense)⁹⁹. On the other hand, the Garganic Sammarchese only allows inflected V₂-forms in the [singular] and [3pl] persons of the present GO-periphrasis, whereas [1pl] and [2pl] and every other ‘non-present’ context can only licence the infinitive (cf. past: *jèv’a mmagnà*, *jìv’a mmagnà* ‘I was/you were going to eat’). Interestingly, Sammarchese STAND/GO-periphrases patterns identically with Marsalese (Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003; cf. §2), following the same morphomic ‘N-pattern’ of finite V₂-forms. However, the inflected V₂s of the Garganic GO-periphrases constitute an exception, as these varieties form an isolated linguistic pocket with respect to the surrounding areas (cf. Foggia and below) in which gerundival and infinitival STAND/GO-constructions are the main formal devices for the expression of both progressive and andative aspects.¹⁰⁰ This is represented

⁹⁸ Note that [2sg] metaphonetic agreement would be marked where available, e.g. *sə v’a ’ssəttə* ‘(s)he goes to sit’ vs *te v’a ’ssittə* ‘you go to sit’ (Pia Massaro, p.c.)

⁹⁹ However, Cerignolano does employ asyndetic structures in the imperative, e.g. *vé t’assittə!* ‘(go) sit down!’, as found in Neapolitan and many other central and northern Italian dialects (cf. Rohlfs 1969; Ledgeway 1997,2007b).

¹⁰⁰ The behaviour of the STAND/GO-periphrases for the entire province of Foggia cannot be discussed exhaustively here, as it deserves an in-depth investigation which is beyond the scope of the present chapter.

in Table 5.i, in which the presence of inflected V_2 -forms is signalled by a shaded ‘+’, as opposed to infinitives ‘-’ and gerunds ‘g’:

Table 5.i: *Distribution of finite_[+], infinitival_[-] and gerundival_[g] V_2 -forms in Apulo-Daunian*

	AUX	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	PST
Garganic: San Marco in Lamis,	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
Mattinata, San Giovanni Rotondo	GO	+	+	+	-	-	+	
Apulo-Foggiano: Foggia, Cerignola	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The closest area in which inflected V_2 -forms resurface is that of central/southern Apulo-Barese varieties (§2.1.3).

2.1.2. (North)Western Apulo-Barese

The ‘Neapolitan-like’ gerundival STAND-periphrasis of the Foggia area gradually disappears in the neighbouring north-western Apulo-Barese dialects spoken in the province of Barletta-Andria-Trani. These varieties mainly employ the infinitival STAND, as shown in the examples (a-e), which are given in this specific order so as to represent the geographical distribution of the varieties from north to south. However, a partial exception to this can be found in the northernmost Apulo-Barese (‘transitional’) dialects of e.g. Spinazzola and Andria, where the gerundival construction *stàkə mərénnə* ‘I’m dying’ (Andria: Melillo 1994:53) can still be used alongside the infinitival one *stàk’a dduichə* ‘I’m saying’ (Andria; data have been double-checked for all generations of speakers):

(26) a. **stàm’ a ffəstəggé** (Trani: Melillo 1994:30)
 stand.1PL to celebrate.INF
 ‘we’re celebrating’

b. **mmó mmə vak’ a mmètt’ a ppatrùne da nu signàrre**
 now self go.1SG to put.INF at master at a lord
 ‘I’m going into service for a lord’ (Trani: Melillo 1994:29)

(27) **stòk’ a mbré[sic]** (Bisceglie: Melillo 1994:46)
 stand.1SG to die.INF
 ‘I’m dying’

- (28) a. **sə stè a ffà nna risə** (Corato)
 self stands to do.INF a laughter
 ‘(s)he’s having a laugh’
- b. **sciàinə a stà ffórə**
 went.3PL to stay.INF outside
 ‘they went to be in the countryside’
- (29) a. **stók’ a mməri** (Molfetta: Melillo 1994:65)
 stand.1SG to die.INF
 ‘I’m dying’
- a’. **sté a ssəndàjə ccə stoc’ a ddàiscə?**
 stand.2SG/3SG to hear.INF what stand.1SG to say.INF
 ‘are you/is (s)he listening to what I’m saying?’
- b. **vok’ a ssəndàjə ccə stòn’ a ddàiscə**
 go.1SG to hear.INF what stand.3PL to say.INF
 ‘I’m going to listen to what they’re saying’
- (30) a. **sté a ssəndé ciaj tə stogg’ a ddiscə?** (Giovinazzo)
 stand.2SG/3SG to hear.INF what to-you stand.1SG to say.INF
 ‘are you/is (s)he listening to what I’m saying to you?’
- b. **ce vé a ccərché llə chiè, jè mmègghie**
 if go.2SG/3SG to look-for.INF the keys is better
 ‘it’s better if you go/(s)he goes look for the keys’
- (31) **la vé a ttagghjé o a vvənəmé-uə** (Bitonto: Valente 1975:71)
 her go.2SG to cut.INF or to harvest.INF(-him/it?)
 ‘you go cut or harvest it (i.e. the grapes)’

These north(west)ern Apulo-Barese dialects can resort only to the [STAND/GO+a+infinitive] construction to express both progressive and andative aspects, disallowing gerundival or inflected forms of V₂. Note that the [2sg]-[3sg] forms are ambiguous between them, hence

(29a’)-(30a)-(30b)-(31) may both refer to the two grammatical persons, and only the context can disambiguate them. Moreover, there is no morphophonological erosion of STAND/GO, except for the occasional absorption of the connector *a* which, however, also occurs with other functional items, e.g. Molfetta *stòna sèm[b-(*ə/) a dd]àiscə* ‘they keep complaining’ (lit. ‘(they) stand always to say’).

Below in Table 5.ii we incorporate the patterns found in Western Apulo-Barese varieties with those of Apulo-Daunian varieties presented in Table 5.i:

Table 5.ii: *Distribution of finite_[+], infinitival_[-] and gerundival_[g] V₂-forms in W Apulo-Barese*

	AUX	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	PST
Garganic: San Marco in Lamis,	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
Mattinata, San Giovanni Rotondo	GO	+	+	+	–	–	+	
Apulo-Foggiano: Foggia, Cerignola	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NW Apulo-Barese: Spinazzola,	STAND	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g
Andria, Minervino	GO	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
W Apulo-Barese: Trani, Bisceglie, Corato, Molfetta, Giovinazzo, Bitonto	STAND/ GO	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Hence, with the exception of Garganic varieties, the Pugliese situation has so far shown only non-finite V₂-forms in this northern-most area, on a par with the Romance patterns in §1.1-§1.2. This great amount of variation in the formal expression of progressive and andative aspects becomes even greater when we move further southeast.

2.1.3. Central(-western) Apulo-Barese dialects of the Murgia Plateau

It is only in central Apulo-Barese dialects that inflected-V₂ forms appear within the STAND/GO-periphrases, similar to the situation described for Sicilian varieties (§2) and Sammarinese (§2.1.1). In the southwestern part of the central Apulo-Barese dialects, the STAND/GO-periphrases of the Higher Murgia Plateau begin to show a systematic alternation of infinitival vs. inflected V₂-forms according to grammatical person. Previous studies on these varieties¹⁰¹ attest the alternation of inflected vs infinitival forms of V₂ only in the present indicative, according to a

¹⁰¹ Altamura: Loporcaro (1988:301,1997b:347-348); western and central Pugliese dialects: Melillo (1994).

split [singular] vs [plural] persons, e.g. Cassanese (33), or to the morphomic N-pattern, e.g. Altamura (32). Below we exemplify the [1sg] of the STAND-periphrasis in these two varieties:

(32) **ji stok a ffatts** (Altamura: Loporcaro 1997b:348)
 I stand.1SG to do.1SG
 ‘I’m doing’

(33) **stóc’ a mmòrjə de fòme** (Cassano delle Murge: Melillo 1994:269)
 stand.1SG to die.1(/3)SG of hunger
 ‘I’m starving’

However, my own recent fieldwork in these areas has revealed that, across all generations of speakers, the [1sg] of both STAND/GO-periphrases usually displays an infinitival V₂ whenever tested with different types of predicates. Tables 5.2-5.3 show the full paradigms of the STAND/GO-periphrases for Altamura and Cassano, as well as for the contiguous municipalities of Gravina di Puglia and Toritto, which display identical behaviour:

Table 5.2: *STAND-periphrasis in the Higher Murgia plateau*

Present	Gravina: ‘play’	Altamura: ‘play’	Toritto: ‘play’	Cassano: ‘play’
1SG	stóuc’a ssuné	stóc’a ssunèjə	stògg’a sscəqué	stóc’a ssənà(jə)
2SG	sté ssùnə	sté sséne	sté ssciùchə	st’a ssuénə
3SG	sté ssòunə	sté ssónə	sté sscióuchə	st’a ssónə
1PL	stəm’a ssuné	stém’a ssunèjə	stém’a sscəqué	stàm’a ssənà(jə)
2PL	stət’a ssuné	stét’a ssunèjə	stét’a sscəqué	stàt’a ssənà(jə)
3PL	stònn’a ssuné	stònn’a ssunèjə	stònn’a sscəqué	stònn’a ssənà(jə)

Table 5.3: *GO-periphrasis in the Higher Murgia plateau*

Present	Gravina: ‘play’	Altamura: ‘play’	Toritto: ‘play’	Cassano: ‘play’
1SG	vóuchə a ssuné	uòc’a ssunèjə	vógg’a sscəqué	vòc’a ssənà(jə)
2SG	vè ssùnə	vé ssénə	vé ssciùchə	v’a ssuénə
3SG	vè ssòunə	vé ssónə	vé sscióchə	v’a ssónə
1PL	scəm’a ssuné	scém’a ssunèjə	scém’a sscəqué	sciàm’a ssənà(jə)
2PL	scət’a ssuné	scét’a ssunèjə	scét’a sscəqué	sciàt’a ssənà(jə)
3PL	vònn’a ssuné	uònn’a ssunèjə	vònn’a sscəqué	vònn’a ssənà(jə)

The only inflected V_2 -forms are [2sg]-[3sg], while the rest only allows the infinitival V_2 . This same situation is also attested for the varieties of Grumo Appula (Colasuonno 1976) and Poggiorsini (Melillo 1994); the latter defines the north-western border of the ‘inflected V_2 ’ isogloss, given that in Spinazzola, immediately north of Poggiorsini, only the gerundive/infinitival alternation is attested on a par with (north)western Apulo-Barese varieties. Note also that only the [2sg]-[3sg] of STAND/GO are syncretic, which is not the case in the rest of the conjugation. In this respect, Ledgeway (2016b:167) suggests that ‘any attrition in the inflectional paradigms of STAND and GO can be taken to represent a weakening in their defining verbal characteristics and, at the same time, to signal a concomitant change in their category from lexical verb (V) to functional predicate (Aux)’. Such attrition, mainly found in central Apulo-Barese varieties for [2sg]-[3sg] persons of STAND/GO, further increases to the South of this area throughout the periphrastic paradigm, up to the complete loss/absorption of *a* (§2.1.5 onwards). The partial situation of V_2 s in the northern Pugliese STAND/GO-periphrases is represented in Table 5.iii:

Table 5.iii: *Distribution of finite_[+], infinitival_[-] and gerundival_[gl] V_2 forms in C-W Apulo-Barese*

	AUX	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	PST
Garganic: San Marco in Lamis, Mattinata, San Giovanni Rotondo	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	+	+	+	–	–	+	
Apulo-Foggiano: Foggia, Cerignola	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NW Apulo-Barese: Spinazzola, Andria, Minervino	STAND	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g	–/g
	GO	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
W Apulo-Barese: Trani, Bisceglie, Corato, Molfetta, Giovinazzo, Bitonto	STAND/ GO	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
CW Apulo-Barese: Poggiorsini, Gravina, Altamura, Toritto, Grumo Appula, Cassano delle Murge	STAND/ GO	–	+	+	–	–	–	–

Before moving to the next pattern, some remarks on the other patterns attested in Altamurano (Loporcaro 1988), Cassanese (cf. Melillo 1994) and other central Apulo-Barese varieties are in order. If we consider that the area (south)east of Altamura shows the N-pattern of inflected V_2 (§2.1.4), whereas the nearby Gravina in the west only allows [2sg]-[3sg] inflected V_2 , Altamura

can be considered as a ‘transitional area’. Hence, Altamura may have formed part of the southern ‘N-pattern isogloss’ until recent times (cf. Loporcaro 1988), but has been eventually absorbed into the ‘[2sg]-[3sg] isogloss’ found in Gravina and other nearby Apulo-Barese varieties (Table 5.iii), and also in Bari (§3).

In contrast, although the morphological form of V_2 *ffàtts(ə)* (<*fakjo) in the Altamurano example (32) is clearly [1sg], the same cannot be said for Cassanese *mmòr(j)ə*, which is syncretic with the [3sg] (note that the [1sg] marker *-chə* is ungrammatical in these contexts in any Apulo-Barese variety). However, this is not an isolated case, as we will see for Barese (§3). In fact, (high-frequency) verbs such as *səndì* ‘to hear’, *mangià* ‘to eat’, *dərmì* ‘to sleep’ and *mərì* ‘to die’ will often show an alternative non-oxytonic ‘infinitival’ V_2 -form in all periphrastic contexts. This suggests that Cassanese *mmòr(j)ə* is not actually a [1sg] inflected form, but a ‘secondary’ non-oxytonic infinitival form which is syncretic with the [3sg], and may lead to ambiguity and consequent reinterpretation of one form into another.

2.1.4. Central Apulo-Barese: from the hinterland to the Adriatic coast

Even more prominent than in the varieties presented above is the spread of inflected forms in the northeastern central Apulo-Barese varieties on the Adriatic coast and their neighbouring varieties of the hinterland (South of Bari). The dialects of Rutigliano (Giuseppe Torcolacci p.c.), Conversano (Paolo Lorusso p.c.), Sammichele di Bari, Santeramo in Colle, Mola di Bari (Cox 1982) and Polignano a Mare (the former four in the hinterland and the latter two on the coast) present person restrictions almost identical to those found in the Garganic Sammarinese and Sicilian varieties. These restrictions follow the morphomic N-pattern, and exclude inflected forms in [1pl]-[2pl] of the present paradigm, as well as in every other non-present periphrastic context (e.g. the Molese past with the infinitive [*'staivə a kkan'dəjə*] ‘I was singing’, lit.: ‘(I) stood to sing’); Cox 1982:128).¹⁰² The only exception to these patterns can be found in Rutigliano, the closest to Bari (‘[2sg]-[3sg] isogloss) among these towns. This variety appears to display a ‘transitional’ distribution between the pattern found on the Higher Murgia Plateau (§2.1.3, Tables 5.2-5.3) and that of the central(-eastern) Apulo-Barese varieties just discussed (Table 5.4-5.5). In Rutigliano, the inflected V_2 -forms only surface in the [singular], whereas the infinitival V_2 appears in the remaining [plural] persons of the present indicative, as well as past and irrealis contexts:

¹⁰² The infinitival complement can (less frequently) replace the inflected one at least in the coastal varieties of Mola (Cox 1982:127) and Polignano for all grammatical persons, and in Conversano particularly in the [3pl] (Paolo Lorusso p.c.). This could function as a formal device to distinguish among durative vs. progressive aspect, or simply be instances of lexical readings of STAND/GO plus an adjunct CP; we leave this issue open for further research.

Table 5.4: *STAND-periphrasis in central Apulo-Barese varieties*

Present	Rutigliano: 'play'	Mola di B.: 'lift' (Cox 1982:127)	Conversano: 'play'	Polignano: 'go out'
1SG	stɔŋg a ʃ'ʃɔ:uk	stàuch'a l'ləvə	stéc'a ssónə	stóuchə jèssə
2SG	ste ʃ'ʃu:k	st'a l'live	st'a ssùnə	stè jìssə
3SG	ste ʃ'ʃɔ:uk	st'a l'ləvə	st'a ssónə	stè jèssə
1PL	stəm a ʃə'kwe	stəm'a lə'wəje	stém'a ssənέ	stémə al'assù
2PL	stətə a ʃə'kwe	stət'a llə'wəje	stét'a ssənέ	stétə al'assù
3PL	stənn a ʃə'kwe	stàun'a l'ləvənə	stənn'a ssònənə	stóunə jèssənə

Table 5.5: *GO-periphrasis in central Apulo-Barese varieties*

Present	Rutigliano: 'play'	Mola di B.: 'lift'	Conversano: 'play'	Polignano: 'play'
1SG	vɔŋg a ʃ'ʃɔ:uk	vàuch'a l'ləvə	vóc'a ssónə	vó(u)ch'i ¹⁰³ ssònə
2SG	ve (a) ʃ'ʃu:k	v'a l'live	v'a ssùnə	vè ssùnə
3SG	ve (a) ʃ'ʃɔ:uk	v'a l'ləvə	v'a ssónə	vè ssònə
1PL	ʃəm a ʃə'kwe	scəm'a lə'wəje	scém'a ssənέ	scém' a ssənέ
2PL	ʃət a ʃə'kwe	scət'a llə'wəje	scét'a ssənέ	scét' a ssənέ
3PL	vənn a ʃə'kwe	và(u)n'a l'ləvənə	vənn'a ssònənə	vó(u)n'i ssònənə

Beside the inflected V_{2S} , a shared feature of these varieties is the syncretism between the [2sg]-[3sg] of *STAND/GO* accompanied by the absorption of the (pseudo-)coordinator *a* which, nonetheless, continues to trigger gemination on the following consonant-initial V_2 . Such morphological erosion/attrition – to different degrees for different grammatical persons – becomes increasingly more prominent the further south(east)wards one moves. We now show in Table 5.iv the expansion of inflected V_{2S} in all the varieties discussed so far:

¹⁰³ This may be a reflex of Latin *ET*, considering that, in this area, the conjunction 'and' may be phonetically realised as [i], cf. Putignano ['vɔnə i u 'faʃənə] '(they) go and do it' (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.690).

Table 5.iv: *Distribution of finite_[+], infinitival_[-] and gerundival_[g] V₂-forms in CE Apulo-Barese*

	AUX	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	PST
Garganic: San Marco in Lamis, Mattinata, San Giovanni Rotondo	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	+	+	+	-	-	+	
Apulo-Foggiano: Foggia, Cerignola	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NW Apulo-Barese: Spinazzola, Andria, Minervino	STAND	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
W Apulo-Barese: Trani, Bisceglie, Corato, Molfetta, Giovinazzo, Bitonto	STAND/							
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CW Apulo-Barese: Poggiorsini, Gravina, Altamura, Toritto, Grumo Appula, Cassano delle Murge	STAND/							
	GO	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
CE Apulo-Barese₁: Rutigliano	STAND/							
	GO	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
CE Apulo-Barese₂: Conversano, Sammichele di Bari, Santeramo in Colle, Mola di Bari, Polignano	STAND/							
	GO	+	+	+	-	-	+	-

We now discuss the last area of northern Puglia. This reveals the spread of inflected V₂-forms to most periphrastic contexts, similarly to eastern and southern Sicilian (§2) and Salentino (§2.1.6).

2.1.5. (South)Eastern Apulo-Barese

In the Apulo-Barese speaking area of the southern Murgia, which extends further south to the Valle d'Itria, bordering Northern Salento, the STAND/GO-periphrases display two main tendencies of grammaticalisation which involve all the periphrastic elements. The first tendency is attested in the northern-most part of the relevant area, e.g. Putignano (Tables 5.6-5.7). Recall that the neighbouring dialects of Conversano and Sammichele di Bari, immediately northwest of Putignano, do not allow inflected forms in [1pl]-[2pl] of the present periphrases and in the rest of the periphrastic paradigm (§2.1.3). In contrast, in Putignano, V₂ appears inflected for all grammatical persons of the periphrasis. Moreover, the inflectional impoverishment of STAND/GO, characteristic of [2sg]-[3sg], is here extended to the [1pl]-[2pl] persons (i.e. *stà/fà*), without syncretism with the [2sg]-[3sg] (i.e. *stè/vè*). However, the inflection of STAND/GO in [1sg]

persons is preserved in Putignano, as well as the connector *a*, unlike the neighbouring varieties which may optionally retain *a* in [3pl]. The second tendency is found in the southern part of this area, in the Apulo-Barese varieties of the Valle d'Itria, e.g. Alberobello, Cisternino (BR)¹⁰⁴ and Martina Franca (TA; cf. Imperio (1993:211) for an identical situation in Mottola (TA), southeast of Santeramo (BA; §2.1.4). These varieties also present the inflected V₂ for all grammatical persons throughout the paradigm of the STAND/GO-periphrases. STAND displays fully syncretic forms in [2sg]-[3sg]-[1pl]-[2pl], whereas the [2sg]-[3sg] GO-form *vè* remains distinct from the [1pl]-[2pl] *sci/scə* (cf. Maiden 2011; Ledgeway 2016c:167-169).

Table 5.6: *STAND-periphrasis of Valle d'Itria area*

Present	Putignano: 'do' (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.689)	Alberobello: 'go out'	Cisternino (BR): 'play'	Martina (TA): 'call' (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.690)
1SG	stok a f' fattsə	stò jèssə	stò ssòne	stə c'cɛ:mə
2SG	ste f' fajə	stè jèssə	stè ssùnə	stɛ c'cə:mə
3SG	ste f' fajə	stè jèssə	stè ssònə	stɛ c'cɛ:mə
1PL	sta ffa' jeimə	stè asséimə	stè ssunémə	stɛ cca'mɛ:mə
2PL	sta ffa' feitə	stè asséitə	stè ssunétə	stɛ cca'mɛ:tə
3PL	ston a f' fajənə	stàunə (a) jèssənə	stònə a ssònənə	stənə (a) c'camənə

Table 5.7: *GO-periphrasis of Valle d'Itria area*

Present	Putignano: 'do' (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.689-690)	Alberobello: 'fetch'	Cisternino (BR): 'play'	Martina (TA): 'call' (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.691)
1SG	vok a f' fattsə ¹⁰⁵	vóchə ppìgghiə	vò ssòne	və 'mɑɲdʒə
2SG	vɛ f' fajə	vè ppìgghiə	vè ssùnə	vɛ m' mɑɲdʒə
3SG	vɛ f' fajə	vè ppìgghiə	vè ssònə	vɛ m' mɑɲdʒə
1PL	ʃa ffa' jeimə	sci ppəgghiéimə	sci ssunémə	ʃə mɑɲ' dʒɛmə
2PL	ʃa ffa' feitə	sci ppəgghiéitə	sci ssunétə	ʃə mɑɲ' dʒɛtə
3PL	von a f' fajənə	vàunə a ppìgghianə	vònə a ssònənə	vɔnə (a) 'mɑɲdʒənə

¹⁰⁴ Former province of Bari until 1927 ('Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno n.7,11/01/1927, Art.1', p.95).

¹⁰⁵ Manzini&Savoia (2005:I.689) record the form [u vok a f' fattsu] as [1sg] of the GO-periphrasis. According to my informants, but also expected as the general behaviour of atonic vowels in this area (Valente 1975:16; Loporcaro 1997b:341; cf. also Maiden&Parry 1997:9-10), the final unstressed vowel should be either [ə] or Ø: [f' fatts(ə)].

As exemplified below for the dialects of Putignano and Martina Franca (Tables 5.8-5.9; cf. Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.690-691), the inflected forms of the V₂ surface also in the past of both progressive and andative constructions, unlike in the other northern Pugliese varieties:

Table 5.8: *Past STAND-periphrasis of Valle d'Itria area*

Past	Putignano: 'do'	Martina Franca: 'call'
1SG	sta ffa'ʃevə	stɛ cca'mɛvə
2SG	sta ffa'ʃivə	stɛ cca'məvə
3SG	sta ffa'ʃevə	stɛ cca'mɛvə
1PL	sta ffa'ʃemmə	stɛ cca'mammə
2PL	sta ffa'ʃivəvə	stɛ cca'mavəvə
3PL	sta ffa'ʃevəvə	stɛ cca'mavəvə

Table 5.9: *Past GO-periphrasis of Valle d'Itria area*

Past	Putignano: 'do'	Martina Franca: 'eat'
1SG	ʃa ffa'ʃevə	ʃə mmaɲi'dʒɛ:və
2SG	ʃa ffa'ʃivə	ʃə mmaɲi'dʒø:və
3SG	ʃa ffa'ʃevə	ʃə mmaɲi'dʒɛ:və
1PL	ʃa ffa'ʃemmə	ʃə mmaɲi'dʒammə
2PL	ʃa ffa'ʃivəvə	ʃə mmaɲi'dʒətə
3PL	ʃa ffa'ʃevəvə	ʃə mmaɲi'dʒavəvə

We observe the total loss of inflection of all the STAND/GO forms, and the retention of the phonosyntactic reduplication of the consonant-initial lexical verb signalling the former presence of the *a*. We can now complete the scheme in which we show the spread of inflected V₂s in Pugliese varieties:

Table 5.v: *Distribution of finite_[+], infinitival_[-] and gerundival_[g] V₂-forms in SE Apulo-Barese*

	AUX	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	PST
Garganic: San Marco in Lamis, Mattinata, San Giovanni Rotondo	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	+	+	+	-	-	+	
Apulo-Foggiano: Foggia, Cerignola	STAND	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NW Apulo-Barese: Spinazzola, Andria, Minervino	STAND	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g	-/g
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
W Apulo-Barese: Trani, Bisceglie, Corato, Molfetta, Giovinazzo, Bitonto	STAND/							
	GO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CW Apulo-Barese: Poggiorsini, Gravina, Altamura, Toritto, Grumo Appula, Cassano delle Murge	STAND/							
	GO	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
CE Apulo-Barese₁: Rutigliano	STAND/							
	GO	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
CE Apulo-Barese₂: Conversano, Sammichele di Bari, Santeramo in Colle, Mola di Bari, Polignano	STAND/							
	GO	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
SE Apulo-Barese: Putignano, Alberobello, Cisternino (BR), Fasano (BR), Martina Franca (TA), Mottola (TA). (= Salentino)	STAND/							
	GO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2.1.5.1. Apulo-Barese STAND/GO-periphrases: interim conclusion

To sum up, we observed that the innovative gerundival STAND construction is only found in the varieties of the province of Foggia, and a few neighbouring western Apulo-Barese varieties (immediately south of the Ofanto River; cf. §2.1.1), which all pattern with the ‘Neapolitan’ model (§1.1). Further south the gerundival construction is entirely replaced by [STAND/GO(+a)+V_[±FINITE]], which becomes the only formal expression of progressive and andative aspects in these varieties. The Poggiorsini-Bari isogloss (§2.1.2.-§2.1.3), running northeastwards across the Murgia Plateau as far as the Adriatic coast, separates the northern Apulo-Barese varieties (below the line Spinazzola-Bitonto-Giovinazzo) using only [STAND/GO+a+infinitive] with no inflected forms from the central varieties, where only [2sg]-

[3sg] of the present indicative are inflected. In these varieties, the inflection of STAND/GO is generally preserved (except for the absorption of *a* into STAND/GO replacing final [ə]), but [2sg]-[3sg] persons are always syncretic.

The inflected- V_2 forms gradually expand to other/all grammatical persons, as well as to other TAM environments, the further south(east) one moves. In the central Apulo-Barese dialects located between the Murgia and the Adriatic coast (§2.1.4), the inflected forms gradually spread to the [1sg] (e.g. in Rutigliano) and, then, to the [3pl] (e.g. Mola and Polignano on the coast and Santeramo, Cassano, Sammichele and Conversano in the hinterland). In these varieties, the STAND/GO-component and the linking element *a* present the same characteristics as the central varieties discussed above. This situation is partially similar to that found in Sicilian and Sammarinese, which only allowed inflected forms with the GO-periphrasis.

Finally, moving further to the southeast, southern Apulo-Barese varieties anticipate the behaviour of Salentino varieties inasmuch as inflected V_2 s extend to all grammatical persons, as well as other TAM values, i.e. past (Tables 5.8-5.9) and irrealis, e.g. in the Apulo-Barese dialect of Fasano (BR):

- (34) **scè** **cugghièssə** l' alghə də lu méréə
 go.SBJV picks-up.PST.SBJV the seaweed of the sea
 '(s)he should go pick up seaweed from the sea'

In these varieties, STAND/GO shows 'partial-to-complete' signs of morpho-phonological erosion, typical of auxiliaries, which is often (but not always) accompanied by the absorption/loss of *a*. The complete lack of inflection of STAND/GO, i.e. its morpho-phonological reduction into what seems an invariable free aspectual morpheme (cf. Cruschina 2013:§14.4; Ledgeway 2016c), leaves the lexical V_2 as the only inflected element of these periphrases in all persons and TAM environments.

These patterns of the spreading of inflected V_2 s are represented in Map 5.1 (adapted from Valente 1975)¹⁰⁶ by means of coloured lines/isoglosses, whereas the towns considered are underlined:

¹⁰⁶ Disregard the obsolete labels for *Alta Murgia* 'Higher Murgia' and *Bassa Murgia* 'Lower Murgia', and the typo in *Valle d'Itria* 'D'Itria Valley'.

Map 5.1: *Apulo-Barese isoglosses of inflected-V₂ in the STAND/GO-periphrases*



We can thus model these isoglosses as in (35) into an implicational hierarchy in relation to the expansion of inflected-V₂ forms replacing the (original) infinitive within the Apulo-Barese STAND/GO-periphrases:

(35) ([infinitive]>)[2sg]-[3sg]>[1sg]>[3pl]>[1pl]-[2pl]-[past]-[irrealis]

We take these implicational relations to reflect the gradual progression of the inflected/infinitival alternation. We argue that, wherever there used to be a full periphrastic paradigm of [STAND+a+infinitive] historically, the first two grammatical persons in which inflected V₂-forms surface are, in fact, [2sg]-[3sg] of the present indicative. Thus, only if the given variety allows these two ‘basic’ inflected forms can the infinitive be replaced first in the [1sg], and then in the [3pl] of these periphrases, giving the same N-pattern of inflected V₂-forms identified by Cruschina (2013) for Sicilian GO-periphrases (§2). Then, we find varieties whose V₂-forms occur inflected throughout the entire present paradigm of the aspectual periphrases, and are likely to surface also in past (and irrealis) contexts. The reverse, or variations on this ‘progression’ of inflected forms, are not attested.

Typologically, the [2sg]-[3sg] pair does not form an independent, coherent semantic category (as opposed to what we observed in ch.4 for Barese auxiliaries, where [discourse-participant(s)] are involved), nor does it resemble one of the arbitrary morphomic patterns discussed in Maiden (2005,2011,2016). The Apulo-Barese micro-variation reveals that the N-pattern (§2.1.4) may, in

fact, represent a further development of the simpler pattern found in those varieties with only two basic inflected V₂-forms, i.e. [2sg]-[3sg] of the present indicative. From these two persons, it seems that the gradual expansion of inflected V₂s to other persons in Apulo-Barese seem to combine the two paradigmatic (indicative) ‘exponents’ typical of the morphomic U-pattern, i.e. [1sg]>[3pl], to reach the periphrastic N-pattern also observed for Garganic and Sicilian varieties. However, also the U-pattern seems to arise gradually from an intermediate stage in which [1sg], i.e. the indicative exponent of the L-pattern, surfaces as inflected (but always syncretic with the [3sg]/infinitive) together with the basic [2sg]-[3sg], yielding the presence of inflected V₂s in the [singular]. The ‘morphomic’ expansion of inflected-V₂ forms from the basic pattern can be represented as follows:

(36)

?-pattern > (L-pattern) > U-pattern (= N-pattern) > all
 [2sg]-[3sg] > [1sg] (= [sing.]) > [3pl] > [1pl]-[2pl]-[past]-[irrealis]

On this view, besides the plausible analogical force of ‘paratactic’ ET-constructions (cf. Polignano, §3.1.4), we could dispense with the AC-construction assumed *ad hoc* for Salentino to explain the presence of inflected-V₂ forms in (Apulo-)Barese. In particular, we will identify historical morpho(phono)logical triggers which we interpret to have led inflected-V₂ forms to spread throughout the original infinitival periphrases of Apulo-Barese varieties.

2.1.6. Salentino: the morphologisation of STAND/GO as invariable aspectual markers

The same situation of fully inflected V₂s described for southeastern Apulo-Barese varieties extends to most Salentino varieties, witness Tables 5.10-5.11 for Mesagne (BR) (Manzini&Savoia 2005:I.691-692), Lecce (Ledgeway 2016c:168) and Nardò (LE):

Table 5.10: *Present/past STAND-periphrasis in Salentino varieties*

Present	Mesagne: ‘do’	Lecce: ‘lose’	Nardò: ‘do’
1SG	sta f' fattsu	sta p' perdu	sta f' fattsu
2SG	sta f' faʃi	sta p' perdi	sta f' faʃi
3SG	sta f' faʃi	sta p' perde	sta f' faʃe
1PL	sta ffa' ʃimu	sta pper' dimu	sta ffa' ʃimu
2PL	sta ffa' ʃiti	sta pper' diti	sta ffa' ʃiti
3PL	sta f' fannu	sta p' perdenu	sta f' fannu

Past	Mesagne: ‘do’	Lecce: ‘lose’	Nardò: ‘do’
1SG	sta ffa'ʃia	sta pper'dia	sta ffa'ʃia
2SG	sta fa'ʃivi	sta pper'dia	sta ffa'ʃii
3SG	sta fa'ʃia	sta pper'dia	sta ffa'ʃia
1PL	sta fa'ʃiumu	sta pper'diamu	sta ffa'ʃiamu
2PL	sta fa'ʃiuvu	sta pper'diuvu	sta ffa'ʃii
3PL	sta fa'ʃiunu	sta pper'dianu	sta ffa'ʃianu

Table 5.11: *Present/past GO-periphrasis in Salentino varieties*

Present	Mesagne: ‘do’	Lecce: ‘lose’	Nardò: ‘do’
1SG	va f' fattsu	va p' perdu	va f' fattsu
2SG	va f' fattʃi	va p' perdi	va f' fattʃi
3SG	va f' fattʃi	va p' perde	va f' fattʃe
1PL	sa/ʃa ffa'ʃimu	ʃa pper'dimu	ʃa ffa'ʃimu
2PL	sa/ʃa ffa'ʃiti	ʃa pper'diti	ʃa ffa'ʃiti
3PL	va f' fannu	va p' perdenu	va f' fannu

Past	Mesagne: ‘do’	Lecce: ‘lose’	Nardò: ‘do’
1SG	sa/ʃa fa'ʃia	ʃa pper'dia	ʃa ffa'ʃia
2SG	sa/ʃa fa'ʃivi	ʃa pper'dia	ʃa ffa'ʃii
3SG	sa/ʃa fa'ʃia	ʃa pper'dia	ʃa ffa'ʃia
1PL	sa/ʃa fa'ʃiumu	ʃa pper'diamu	ʃa ffa'ʃiamu
2PL	sa/ʃa fa'ʃiuvu	ʃa pper'diuvu	ʃa ffa'ʃii
3PL	sa/ʃa fa'ʃiunu	ʃa pper'dianu	ʃa ffa'ʃianu

In Salentino dialects, V_2 is the only periphrastic element carrying agreement information, whereas the STAND/GO forms are entirely syncretic, with the usual exception of the [1pl]-[2pl] persons of the present of GO. The lack of inflection and overt connector have been argued by Ledgeway (2016c) to represent a further grammaticalisation process that historically led to the reanalysis of the erstwhile hypotactic structures as monoclausal. However, unlike in any other Romance STAND/GO-periphrasis observed so far, STAND/GO in these varieties can no longer be treated as aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries. They have clearly undergone an ‘extreme’ morpho-phonological erosion, accompanied by the loss/absorption of the *a*-connector; this turned STAND/GO into an invariable aspectual marker, i.e. a free head morpheme (cf. also Cinque

1999:189,fn.22). This validates Cruschina’s (2013:264) prediction that ‘the more a periphrastic construction is grammaticalised, the more it can be claimed to have morphological status’. We now turn to the discussion on the Barese STAND/GO-periphrases.

3. Barese

In comparison to the STAND/GO Romance periphrases observed in §1-§2, Barese lacks the gerundive construction with STAND, but has grammaticalised the same construction with GO¹⁰⁷ to express continuative aspect (cf. fn.81), or even progressive:

- (37) ce v’ acchiàgne mò?
 what GO.2/3sg finding now
 ‘what do you/does he want now(/what are you/is he looking for)?’

Among the several gradients of finite vs non-finite V₂-alternations observed in §1-§2 for Italo-Romance STAND/GO-periphrases, Barese shows a hybrid paradigm in which the (canonical) infinitive and inflected lexical V₂ alternate according to context (cf. also Giovine 2005[1964]:138-141). In this ‘inflected-V₂’ continuum, Barese patterns with the (modern) central Apulo-Barese varieties of the Higher Murgia Plateau (§2.1.3): the inflected-V₂ forms are confined to the [2sg]-[3sg] persons of the present in (38)-(39), (ii)-(iii) respectively, whereas the infinitive surfaces in all other contexts, i.e. (i)-(iv)-(v)-(vi) (examples (38iii)-(38iii)-(39iii’) are taken from Testone&Angiuli 2007):

¹⁰⁷ Note that Rohlf’s (1969:§722) claims the gerundival GO-construction is the main source for the formation of negative imperative typical of Pugliese, Lucanian and northern Calabrese varieties (Rohlf’s 1969:§722). This is preserved in its archaic form in e.g. Alberobello: *nà sci assènne* ‘don’t go out’. However, in Barese a further reanalysis occurred whereby the infinitive *sci* ‘to go’ must first have depalatalised into an intermediate form *sì*, to be then reinterpreted as the verb BE *sì* ‘(you) are’. Later, this could also be inflected for [1pl] *sìmə* and [2pl] *sità*, e.g. *non də (*sci>) sì preoccupànne > və sitä preoccupànne* ‘don’t you/you_[PL] worry’ (cf. also Valente 1975:35; see Giovine (2005[1964]:130-131) and Abbatescianni (1986:61) for a different view). Moreover, the original configuration with *sci* can still be used in Barese to express the [3] and [2pl] persons negated imperative (with the imperfect subjunctive), e.g. *non scèsse cherrènne* ‘may (s/he) not run!’ (Giovine 2005[1964]:131) and *non sciàtə fescènnə* ‘(you_[PL]) do not run!’. However, synchronically, GO is more readily interpreted as a separate motion predicate ‘[do not go (anywhere)] [running]’.

(38) **STAND-periphrasis: present indicative**

- i. jì, ddó, **stògg'** a **mərì** (/*/^lmmórə/*mmòrəchə) də fāmə (Caratù *et al.*: 1986:39)
I here stand.1SG to die.INF dies(.INF) die.1SG of hunger
'I am starving right here'
- ii. **st'** a **ppàrlə** (/*/parlà) o **st'** a **mmùvə** (/*/mmòvə) lə rēcchiə?
stand.2SG to speak.2SG speak.INF or stand.2SG to move.2sg move.INF the ears
'are you trying to say something or it's just your ears moving?'
- iii. u vəcchiariddə **st'** a **jəcchi'** (/*/acchià) u sènnə (Savelli 2007[1925]:104)
the old-man.DIM stands to finds find.INF the sleep
'the old man is falling asleep'
- iii'. u cile **st'** a **ffigghie** (/*/fəgghjà) le primə lusca (Dell'Era 2007[1978-83]:126)
the sky stands to delivers deliver.INF the first lights
'the sky is delivering its first lights'
- iv. A: **stam'** a **vvəni** (/*/vvənìmə)!
stand.1PL to come.INF come.1PL
'we're coming!'
- B: e ffacitə sùbbətə c' a vvù **stàm'** a 'spəttà (/*/aspèttàmə)!
and do.IMP.2PL quick that to you.PL stand.1PL to wait.INF wait.1PL
'make it quick, because it's you we're waiting for!'
- A: uagliò, ca nù **stam'** a **ffadəgà** (/*/ffadəgàmə) ddó!
guy.VOC that we stand.1PL to work.INF work.1PL here
'dude, we're working here!'
- v. ma vu la **stàt'** a **vvədè** (*veditə /*/^lvvédə) la pàrtitə?
but you her stand.2PL to watch.INF watch.2PL watch.INF/3SG the match
'But are you watching the match?'
- vi. me **stònn'** a **sali** (/*/sàlənə) lə caldacinə
to-me stand.3PL to go-up.INF go-up.3PL the hot flushes
'I'm getting hot flushes'

(39) **Present GO-periphrasis: present indicative**

- i. **mə vògg' a 'ccattà** (/ *accàttə/ *accàttəchə) u cappiddə névə
self go.1SG to buy.INF buy.INF/3SG buy.1SG the hat new
'I go buy a new hat'
- ii. **ccə v' a ddùrmə** (/ *ddərmi) sùbbətə, pùtə dòrmə(/^{??} dərmi) de cchiù
if go.2SG to sleep.2SG sleep.INF early can.2SG sleeps sleep.INF of more
'if you go to bed early, you can sleep longer'
- iii. u fèssə ca gràttə na spillə[...] v' a mmòrə (/ *məri) ngaléra
the fool that scratches a pin goes to dies die.INF in-jail
'the fool that steals a pin, dies in jail' (De Fano 1962)
- iii'. u marənàre v' a ssèndə (/ *sendi) ce ndenzióne tène u mare
the sailor goes to hears hear.INF what intention holds the sea
'the sailor goes to hear what the sea is up to' (Dell'Era [1978-83]:126)
- iv. ddo a lle pìscə ngə nə **sciàm' a fərnescə** (*fərnimə/ †fərni)
here at the fishes us therefrom go.1PL to finish.INF(/3SG) finish.1PL finish.INF
'We're going to end up badly like this!' (Solfato 2008:16)
- v. addò la **sità sciùt' a mmèttə** la màghənə?
where her are.2PL gone to put.INF(/3SG) the car
'how far away have you parked the car?'
- vi. **vònn' a ffà** (/ *ffàscənə) lə rizzə (ogne ddi)
go.3PL to do.INF do.3PL the sea-urchins every day
'they (go) fish sea urchins (everyday)'

The predominant V₂-form is the infinitive, found obligatorily in the [1sg] (i), all plural persons (iv)-(v)-(vi), and the entire paradigm of the past, e.g. (40):

- (40) a. **stév' a mmangia** (/ *mmangiävə) (Abbatecianni 1896:12)
stand.IMPF.1(/3)SG to eat.INF eat.IMPF.1(/2/3)SG
'I was eating'

- b. **scìv'** **a ppəzzəcà** (/ *ppəzzəcàvə) (Giovine 2005[1964]:180)
 go. IMPF.2SG to fish.INF fish. IMPF.1(/2/3)SG
 'you (went/used) to go fishing'

However, the morphological shape of the infinitive can prove ambiguous in many respects, sometimes showing full syncretism with the [3sg], or (marginally) alternating with this seemingly [3sg] form (e.g. in (38): (ii); in (39): (iii)-(iii')-(iv)-(v)). These cases, which seem to be confined to specific verbal conjugations, will be discussed in §4.2 as they may have acted as triggers for the spread of the only two inflected-V₂ forms found in the Barese STAND/GO-periphrases. Before exploring the nature of these ambiguities and the syntactic properties of the peripheries in question, we discuss the general status and behaviour of STAND/GO and the connector *a*.

3.1. Morphological remarks on V₁ and the status of *a*

From the examples (38)-(39) in §3, we note that the Barese STAND/GO appear fully inflected, as confirmed by their lexical counterparts in Table 5.12:

Table 5.12: *stà and scì lexical predicates*

Present	<i>stà</i> 'to stand/stay/be'	<i>scì</i> 'to go'
1SG	st-ògghə (/stóchə; arc.)	v-ògghə (/vóchə; arc.)
2SG	st-a ['stɛ/'stæ]	v-a ['vɛ/'væ]
3SG	st-a [('stɛ/)'stæ]	v-a [('vɛ/)'væ]
1PL	st-àmə	sci-àmə
2PL	st-àtə	sci-àtə
3PL	st-ònnə	v-ònnə

Most of the persons of the STAND/GO paradigm preserve intact their distinctive endings in the [1sg], (*stòggh(ə)/vòggh(ə)*), and all plural persons (*stàm(ə)/sciàm(ə)*, *stat(ə)/sciàt(ə)*, *stònn(ə)/vònn(ə)*), even though the connector *a* frequently elides the STAND/GO final [ə]. In contrast, the only grammatical persons showing full syncretism are precisely those in which the inflected-V₂ forms are found, namely [2sg] and [3sg]. Although usually represented orthographically as the homophonous monosyllables *sta/va*,¹⁰⁸ the lexical STAND/GO-components

¹⁰⁸ See Lopez (1952:53); Valente (1975:35) for GO; Abbatescianni (1986:66); Lacadola (1969:51-52); Giovine (2005[1964]:137,141) for both STAND and GO.

can be distinguished in pronunciation, as represented in Table 5.12. Pronunciation of the [3sg] usually favours ['stæ] over ^(?)['stɛ], whereas that of the [2sg] allows both variants. In contrast, the [2sg] and [3sg] STAND/GO-(semi-)auxiliaries are both realised as the invariable ['sta/'va+(C) C] due to the systematic absorption of *a*, which still triggers RF of a following consonant. The complete homophony between the two (semi-)auxiliary-V₁ forms cannot be disregarded among the possible morpho-phonological triggers which led to the ‘intrusion’ of the basic [2sg]-[3sg] V₂-forms into the Apulo-Barese STAND/GO-periphrases via analogy. It seems that Barese STAND/GO-(semi-)auxiliaries are able to mark all T/M-related features except the distinction between the syncretic [2sg] and [3sg], which generate ambiguity. This can also be understood as a process of ‘feature impoverishment’ in these specific persons, which may also have caused person-agreement only to surface on V₂. Consider also that this same invariable STAND/GO-form gradually extends further south across all the possible verbal domains of variation of the periphrases, together with, but not necessarily parallel to, the spread of inflected-V₂ forms. This instance of morpho-phonological erosion is also accompanied by the absorption/loss of the connector *a*. This could somehow reflect the fact that, in auxiliary structures of this type, the connector does not really retain an ‘active’ syntactic function as it does in the lexical STAND/GO-counterparts. In other words, the presence or absence of *a* does not alter the semantic and syntactic behaviour of the STAND/GO-periphrases, as it does not really mark any strong (clausal) boundary; this is not the case with lexical STAND/GO, where *a* is an independent C-head merged in FinP and selecting an infinitival complement (cf. §3.3.1)

3.2. Morphological remarks on Barese infinitive (and inflected) forms

Barese, on a par with most upper southern Italian dialects (cf. Loporcaro 2009:135) and modern Romanian (Pană Dindelegan 2013b:211-212), has lost through acopope the -RE ending of the Latin infinitive (Abbatescianni 1896:35; Lopez 1952:II.50-51; Valente 1975:33; Loporcaro 1997b:346).¹⁰⁹ For this reason, Barese could be thought to have retained the four Latin conjugations in the infinitive based on the canonical distinction of thematic vowels of the non-rhizotonic endings -A(RE)/-E(RE)/-I(RE), plus a third group of rhizotonic -E(RE)-verbs ending in [ə] (cf. Lopez 1953:50; Valente 1975:33; Giovine 2005[1964]:89):

¹⁰⁹ The ending -RE could only resurface under enclisis of clitic pronouns, e.g. *ppə scira-sì-nnə* ‘(in order) to go away (from there)’ (La Sorsa 2014[1928]:II.235), with relative stress-shift onto the first pronoun of the clitic cluster, which is now only found in the imperative of these varieties, e.g. *va-tti-nnə* ‘go away (from here)!’ (cf. Monachesi 1996; Ordóñez&Repetti 2006). However, the presence of -RE in this context has become obsolete in the modern dialect, in which the form *sci-ssə-nə* is favoured.

Table 5.13: *Latin-based development of Barese conjugational classes*

Conjugation	(spoken) Latin	Barese
I	AFFL-ĀRE >	<i>acchià(rə)</i> ‘find’
II	VID-ĒRE >	<i>vədə(rə)</i> ‘see’
III	MITT-ERE >	<i>mèttə(rə)</i> ‘put’
IV	DORM-ĪRE >	<i>dərmi(rə)</i> ‘sleep’

However, on a par with most southern Italian dialects, the conjugational classes of Barese cannot be deduced exclusively on the basis of the ‘short’ infinitival forms. Instead, for the reasons we discuss below, these have to be established on the whole verbal paradigm, more specifically on the thematic vowel characteristic of the entire paradigm of a given verb (cf. Vincent 1988:293ff. for Italian and Ledgeway 2009:361-362 for Neapolitan). Under this view, Barese only presents two conjugational classes (cf. Abbatescianni (1986:64) and, similarly, Lacalendola (1969:21)): the first conjugation, whose theme vowel is in *-a-*, and a broader second conjugation characterised by both *-e-* and *-i-* as thematic vowels, under which we collapse the original second, third and fourth Latin conjugations for their clear morphological affinities not shared with the first conjugation. This is shown below in Table 5.14:

Table 5.14: *Barese conjugations and analogical tendencies of infinitives*

I (-a-)		II (-e- / -i-)		
		(-i-)	(-e-)	
oxytonic	with <i>-sc-</i> :	affix-less:	paroxytonic:	oxytonic:
<i>acchià</i>	<i>fərnèsca (<†ferni)</i>	<i>dərmi</i>	<i>mèttə</i>	<i>sapé</i>
<i>trəmuà</i>		<i>dòrmə</i>		
<i>(trəmuéscə</i> ‘(s)he shakes’)		‘to sleep/(s)he sleeps’		

Assuming that the periphrastic V₂-component was originally infinitival, we will identify sources of syncretism arising between the non-oxytonic short infinitives and present [3sg] forms. This morphological ambiguity may have contributed to the ‘innovation’ of the most ‘basic’ pattern of inflected V₂ attested across Apulo-Barese varieties. Barese inflected forms are the most heavily constrained syntactically: they occur in [+present] and [+realis] T/M-contexts, and exclusively with [3sg] or [2sg] periphrastic subjects (the latter only visible through internal inflection).

Historically, the pan-Romance conflict between ‘analogical levelling’ and ‘persistence’ of verbal morphology/allomorphy has left Barese with consistent idiosyncrasies across

conjugations. In Barese, the loss of -RE and the centralisation of final vowels naturally gave rise to syncretisms, hence ambiguity across conjugations. For instance, Latin proparoxytone verbs became II-conjugation Barese paroxytones with systematic syncretism between infinitive and [3sg], e.g. *lèscə* [<*'lege(re)] 'to read/(s)he reads', *mèttə* 'to put/(s)he puts', and the irregular *discə* 'to say', whose [3sg] present (and [2sg] too) is also *discə* '(s)he says(/you say)'. However, other purely morphological and phonological mechanisms favoured syncretism across different verb conjugations or, more importantly, within the same verbal paradigms. Other Latin IV-conjugation paroxytonic -i-verbs (cf. Maiden 2011:209-210,250) initially become oxytonic in Barese, e.g. *fərnì* and *dərmì* (highlighted in Table 5.14 in light and dark grey, respectively). However, this class of verbs experienced allomorphy between the original oxytonic 'short' infinitives *fərnì(re)/dərmì(re)* and new paroxytonic infinitival forms *fərnəscə/dərmə*, once again creating the infinitive/[3sg] ambiguity. In this way, these non-oxytonic -i-verbs end up patterning more closely with paroxytonic -e-verbs as shown in the lower grey areas in Table 5.14, and discussed in §3.2.1 and §3.2.2.

In the context of the STAND/GO-periphrases (but also with other auxiliaries), many oxytonic infinitives favour this same tendency to various degrees, i.e. the gradual replacement of arhizotonic forms with rhizotonic ones.¹¹⁰ This has led to the same syncretism between 'new' non-oxytonic infinitives and [3sg] present, e.g. STAND/GO *a mmangià* (lit. 'to to.eat') > STAND/GO *a mmàngə*, where *mmàngə* can either be the new infinitive or [3sg] present indicative (bold-faced in (41)):

(41)	Infinitive	1SG	2SG	3SG/(INF)	1PL	2PL	3PL
I.	mangià 'to eat'	màngəchə	màngə	màngə	mangiàmə	mangiàtə	màngənə
II.	vədè 'to see'	vègghe	vite	védə	vedime	vedite	vèdene
III.	lèscə 'to read'	lèscəchə	liscə	léscə	ləscimə	ləscitə	lèscənə
IV.	səndì 'to hear'	səndəchə	sində	səndə	səndimə	sənditə	səndənə

Moreover, this same [3sg]/new infinitive V₂-form of certain verbal classes can also surface in all periphrastic contexts replacing the oxytonic infinitive. This may explain why, in all Apulo-Barese varieties, periphrastic [1sg] V₂ never bears the [1sg] marker -chə, e.g. *stòggh'/vòggh'a mmèttə(*-chə)*, lit. '(I) stand/go to put', but is always syncretic with the [3sg]/new infinitive. Hence, a series of morphological factors acting in concert will be considered as the basis of the non-/finite-V₂ alternation in Barese.

¹¹⁰ This replacement can be found throughout Italo-Romance in imperative contexts (cf. §3.2.2)

3.2.1. The root augment *-sc-* as a source for non-oxxytonic infinitives

Some oxytonic infinitives of *-i*-verbs were replaced via the lexicalisation of the synchronically semantically-void¹¹¹ augment *-isc-/-esc-* (< Latin *-sc-*) onto the verbal root, as highlighted in Table 5.14 in light grey.¹¹² Maiden (2011) lists this as one of the many means of arbitrary ‘analogical levelling’ of verbal morphology. This augment is particularly prominent in the present and usually follows the N-morphomic distribution, but some Romance varieties may have extended it beyond this morphomic pattern. Indeed, Maiden (2011:fn.44; see also Iannace 1983:69) observes that some southern Italo-Romance varieties also present the augment in the infinitive, which ‘appears due to frequent morphological identity between the infinitive and the third person singular present indicative’. This is indeed the case for Barese, as indicated in (39iv), where the original apocopated infinitive *fàrnì(-rə)* is no longer attested and has been replaced by the root-augmented form *fàrnèsca(-re)* as a new (paroxytonic) infinitive ‘to finish’, yet syncretic with the [3sg] ‘(s)he finishes’, as shown below in (42):

(42)	INF	‘new’ INF	1SG	2SG	3SG/(INF)	1PL	2PL	3PL
	†fàrnì	> fàrnèsca	fàrnèscahə	fàrniscə	fàrnèsca	fàrnimə	fàrnitə	fàrnèscone

Due to the general conjugational invariability it yields (Maiden 2011:212), the *-isc-/-esc-* augment has proven extremely productive in Barese inasmuch as it has also spread to the I conjugation, e.g. *abbattèsca* (cf. *abbattà* ‘to swell (up)’), *trəmuèsca* (cf. *trəmuà* ‘to tremble’), as well as to neologisms, e.g. *təlafonèsca* (cf. *təlafonà* ‘to phone’), cf. Table 5.14. However, the process of replacement of oxytonic infinitives is not homogeneous among all verbs with the augment. On the one hand, verbs of the I conjugation tend to show optional alternation in the present with respect to the presence or absence of the augment, and are inclined to retain the oxytonic infinitive. On the other hand, verbs of the II conjugation in *-i-* completely lost the oxytonic infinitive and reanalysed the ambiguous *-è/-iscə* form of the indicative as the ‘new’ form of infinitive.

Overall, it seems that the popularity of *-è/-iscə* may be due to a certain tendency to introduce clear-cut distinctions among inflectional endings. This is especially true in the singular, where

¹¹¹ However, minimal pairs based on the inchoative contrast are still attested in SIDs, e.g. Barese *dòrmə* ‘to sleep’ vs. *addərmèsca(se)* ‘to fall asleep’

¹¹² See Rohlf (1968:234ff.); Maiden (1995:134-135, 2011:251); cf. also for Molesse: Cox (1992:62-63); for Neapolitan: (Ledgeway 2009:364); for Italian: Vincent (1988:294); among others. Only Lacalendola (1969:21) acknowledges the centrality of verbs ending in *-èsca* (and *-idə/-ivə*) by assigning them their own irregular conjugations (his third and fourth, respectively).

the bare [3sg] *-èscə* form (although syncretic with the ‘new’ form of the infinitive) can be distinguished through metaphony in the 2sg, e.g. *-iscə*, as shown above in (42) for *fərnèscə* (see also Cox 1992:67 on the loss and regain of internal inflection in Molese present-tense verbs thanks to the recent spread of augmented verbal roots allowing this type of metaphonetic raising; cf. Barese imperatives ^(?)*chəndròlliscə* < *chəndròllə* ‘check!’; Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2009:361).

3.2.2. ‘New’ rhizotonic infinitives

The other crucial syncretism highlighted in darker grey in Table 5.14 and shown in §3.2 defines another set of Barese *-i*-verbs, e.g. *səndì* ‘to hear’ (39iii), ^{??}*dərmì* ‘to sleep’ (39ii), *apri* ‘to open’, *assi* ‘to go/take out’. Their ‘new’ infinitival forms do not present the augment but tend to assimilate to those ‘naturally’ rhizotonic/paroxytonic infinitives of the II conjugation, e.g. *mónə* ‘to move/(s)he moves’ (38ii), *mèttə* ‘to put/(s)he puts’ (39v), or *achiùdə* ‘to close/you close/(s)he closes’, where infinitive and [3sg] present (and in non-metaphonetic environments, also [2sg] present) coincide.

However, the replacement of the original arhizotonic/oxytonic infinitives by rhizotonic/paroxytonic ones of this set of *-i*-verbs appears to follow a morphologically-restricted distribution. In fact, the ‘new’ infinitives are available only for some of these verbs outside of STAND/GO (or auxiliary) constructions, implying that they completely replaced the arhizotonic form. For instance, such a process can be seen in the gradual replacement of the now obsolete ^{??}*dərmì* with the new rhizotonic infinitive *dòrmə* ‘to sleep/(s)he sleeps’, whose form can also be nominalised *u ddòrme* ‘the sleeping’ (Giovine 2005[1964]:135). Compare the verbs *mèttə* ‘to put’ (43a) and *dərmì* ‘to sleep’ (43b):

(43)	INF	‘new’ INF	1SG	2SG	3SG/(INF)	1PL	2PL	3PL
a.	mèttə	---	mè(ttə)chə	mìttə	mèttə	məttimə	məttitə	mèttənə
b.	^{??} <i>dərmì</i>	dòrmə	dòrməchə	dùrmə	dòrmə	dərmimə	dərmitə	dòrmənə

This rhizotonic infinitive, always syncretic with the [3sg] present, can replace the oxytonic infinitive across all possible dimensions of variation of the STAND/GO periphrases, e.g. [+past] (44a), but also within other auxiliary structures such as modals (44b) and causatives (44c) (examples (44a) and (44c) from Testone&Angiuli 2007):

(44)	a.	u	scèv’	a	jjègnə	(/??)agni	d’acquə	d’ u	Sərinə
		him	went.IMPF.1SG	to fill.INF/(3SG)	fill.INF	of water	of the	Serino	
		‘I used to go fill up (a recipient) with water from the Serino river’ (Santoro 1966:121)							

- b. **pùtə dòrmə**[...] (cf. example (39ii), §3)
 can.2SG sleep.INF(/3SG)
 ‘you can sleep[...]
- c. **tə fàscənə sèndə**[...] (Panza 2007[1985]:148)
 to-you make.3PL feel.INF(/3SG)
 ‘they make you feel[...]

This process also involved verbs of the first conjugation, e.g. *pəgghià* ‘to take’ or, even more radically (Giovine 2005[1946]:140), *chərquà* ‘to put to bed’, yielding the more frequent rhizotonic infinitives *pìgghiə*, *còrchə*. However, as Giovine (2005[1964]:138) also suggests, this is by no means a full-fledged rule which involves all verbs, but it can certainly be considered a productive mechanism of ‘new’ rhizotonic infinitives in the modern variety, along with the root-augment discussed in §3.2.1.

Rohlf's (1966:§315) notes the wide-spread tendency in Italo-Romance varieties for oxytonic/arhizotonic infinitives to become rhizotonic whenever these are complements to GO and other auxiliaries in the imperative. One of his Neapolitan examples given in §2 is readapted below in (45):

- (45) **jamm' a [t:]ús** (/*[t:]usà /*[t:]usàme) 'e ppecore
 go.1pl. to shear.INF/3SG shear.INF shear.1PL the sheep
 ‘let’s go and shear the sheep’ (Neapolitan: adapted from Rohlf's 1966:§315)

The imperative GO is inflected for [1pl] and should canonically select an infinitival form, i.e. *tusà*, or potentially an inflected V₂ on a par with e.g. Materano *sciàm 'a ffacimə la spésə*, lit. ‘let’s go to let’s do the shopping’. What we observe, instead, is that the Neapolitan V₂ cannot inflect for [1pl], but appears in the rhizotonic variant of the regular oxytonic infinitive *tusà*, viz. *tús(ə)*. Likewise, oxytonic infinitives are never found in the [2sg] imperative, where the V₂ appears inflected. Inflection is either marked metaphonetically (whenever available), e.g. (46)-(47), or not, e.g. (48)-(49), the latter creating ambiguity with the rhizotonic infinitival forms:

- (46) **va-t(t)'** **a sscitt'** a mmàre! (Barese)
 go.IMP.2SG-yourself to throw.IMP.2SG to sea
 'go throw yourself in the sea!'
- (47) **va** **t-assiétte** (Neapolitan: Ledgeway 2007:350)
 go.imp.2sg yourself-seat.IMP.2SG
 'go (and) sit down'
- (48) **va** **pìgghia** u pani! (Marsalese: Cardinaletti&Giusti 2003:48,fn.19)
 go.IMP.2SG fetch.IMP.2SG the bread
 'go (and) fetch the bread!'
- (49) **va** **màngia!** (Mussomelese: Cruschina 2013:280)
 go.IMP.2SG eat.IMP.2SG
 '(go to) eat!'

We also observe that V_2 is no longer introduced by *a* in most cases, with the exception of Barese. This signals two different stages of morphophonological erosion, in which the Barese form can be considered the most 'conservative', inasmuch as it preserves the linking element *a*, hence V_1 and V_2 are not simply juxtaposed, as in the other varieties (47)-(48)-(49). Historically, we assume a common initial stage of infinitival V_2 , in which the original oxytonic infinitive must have been replaced by the rhizotonic infinitive whenever embedded under an auxiliary (GO, in this case). Hence, the ambiguous rhizotonic infinitive led to its reanalysis as a non-finite V_2 -form, which only later could be marked metaphonetically (where possible) and establish itself as an imperative V_2 . This possible scenario is proposed for Neapolitan by Ledgeway (1997:255,2007:§10.4, 2009:§14.1.7,§24.1.5.1), who convincingly argues that these inflected forms represent the outcomes of a(n unusual) transition from hypotaxis (50a)-(50d) whereby the original infinitival construction has been reanalysed into two coordinated imperatives:

3.2.3. On the origin of Barese inflected-V₂ in STAND/GO-periphrases

We must depart from Lopez's (1952:II.51) statement to the effect that the loss of the ending -RE of the Barese infinitive 'bears no consequences'¹¹³, as this erosion brought about the initial conditions that would eventually lead to the gradual (and fragmentary) substitution of some frequent oxytonic/rhizotonic infinitives of *-i*-verbs. In particular, we argue that this change started from the [3sg] present of the STAND/GO periphrases, whose ambiguity with the 'new' infinitive created a favourable environment for the intrusion of few finite forms where non-finite forms are normally found in Romance. A process of analogical assimilation appears to have taken place between the infinitive of *-i*-verbs and those belonging to the rhizotonic *-e*-conjugation, in which the truncated infinitive and the [3sg] were naturally syncretic and, therefore, ambiguous. Under these conditions, these ambiguous rhizotonic infinitives found in STAND/GO periphrases (and auxiliaries, in general) could readily be reinterpreted as the [3sg] present of II-conjugation verbs:

Table 5.15: *The shift from non-finite to finite V₂ in Barese*

	Subordination	New infinitive	3SG	1SG (and beyond)
	STAND-to-V ₂ [INF.]	STAND-to-V ₂ [INF.]	STAND-to-V ₂ [3sg]	STAND[1sg]-to-V ₂ [1sg]
III	st'a mmèttə (-rə)	st'a mmèttə	=	stògg'a mmèttə
IV	*st'a ddòrmì (-rə)	st'a ddòrmə >	st'a ddòrmə >	stògg'a ddòrmə
IV	*st'a ffərnì (-rə)	st'a ffərnèsə >	st'a ffərnèsə >	stògg'a ffərnèsə
I	st'a mmangià (-rə)	st'a mmàngə >	st'a mmàngə >	stògg'a [?] mmàngə
I	st'a jəvətà (-rə)	st'a jəvət(ésc)ə >	st'a jəvət(ésc)ə >	stògg'a *jəvət(ésc)ə

By further analogy, these ambiguous 'new' infinitive/[3sg] present forms indirectly influenced the other conjugations to behave similarly within periphrastic contexts. However, the oxytonic infinitives of *-a*-verbs appear more resistant to replacement of rhizotonic infinitive forms than their II-conjugation counterparts. The occurrence of the new paroxytonic infinitive in these contexts is, in fact, marginal, e.g. *stògg'a* ^{??}**mmàngə**(**chə*), or entirely ruled out, e.g. *stògg'a* ***jəvət(ésc)ə**. Nonetheless, the less-frequent rhizotonic infinitive form of *-a*-verbs must have been brought about by the same mechanism, and then reanalysed as [3sg] to then spread to the [2sg] (only visible if metaphonic alternation is available). Morphological identity between present

¹¹³ Similar considerations about the historical loss of infinitival morphology come from the case of English, for which Roberts (1993:261) and Roberts&Roussou (2003:ch.2) argue for the central role of the loss of infinitival ending *-en* in triggering further syntactic changes.

indicative and infinitival forms must have been decisive for the generalisation of this phenomenon within these two Barese periphrastic expressions.

An important consideration is that there is no Italo-Romance variety presenting only the [3sg] inflected-V₂. Hence, we must assume that, as the ambiguous new infinitive was becoming reinterpreted as [3sg], this mechanism was simultaneously becoming operative in the [2sg] of the STAND/GO periphrases. The spread of the [2sg] inflected-V₂ may have been favoured by the parallel process of replacement of arhizotonic infinitives with rhizotonic ones in the imperative, as observed for Neapolitan (§3.2.2) by Ledgeway (1997 *et seq.*). In Barese, we also find (non-asyndetic) coordination of two positive imperatives, which also allegedly replaced the original infinitival form with a rhizotonic one in the [2sg] imperative V₂ of the GO-construction. The further syncretism between [2sg] present and imperative forms may have accelerated the spread of the (non-/)metaphonetic [2sg] to the GO-, and then to the STAND-periphrasis.

These facts capture the Barese situation, in which the phenomenon of inflected forms of the second periphrastic verb only involves [2sg]/[3sg] of the present, and the [2sg] of the imperative. From this ‘basic’ pattern, however, the expansion of grammatical persons across Apulo-Barese varieties seems to have followed different morphomic patterns (§2.1.5.1; cf. also Maiden 2011) in a ‘cumulative’ fashion, as repeated here in (51):

- (51) **basic pattern** > **(L-pattern)** > **U-pattern (= N-pattern)** > **all**
 [2sg]-[3sg] > [1sg] > [3pl] > [1pl]-[2pl]-[past]-[irrealis]

The implicational hierarchy of finite forms for each grammatical person – including the imperative, i.e. [3sg]/[2sg](>[1sg](>[3pl](>[1pl]/[2pl]))), which only if complete can spread to [+past] and [+irrealis] contexts – can be mapped onto a neat geographic continuum across Apulo-Barese varieties, as shown in Map 5.1. We do not exclude Rohlf’s (1969) suggestion on the origin of the inflected-V₂ from the AC-coordinating structure, but this may more readily explain the Salentino facts, rather than the Apulo-Barese facts. It is, indeed, suspicious that the inflected-V₂ mainly occurs in potentially ambiguous environments, such as those observed for [2sg]-[3sg], and shows so many restrictions, i.e. person, tense and mood (except for imperatives).

The Barese facts discussed suggest that the process of blurring the (hazy) boundaries of (non-)finiteness started from a morphological correspondence/ambiguity within a periphrastic context, which was then able to influence later morphosyntactic choices. In this respect, Lightfoot (2002:12) suggests in a not too dissimilar case that such intuitions are on the right track when he notes that ‘syntax changes as morphological case endings are lost’. Hence, this series of morphophonological changes to the infinitival endings and forms led to a morphological

reanalysis which, in turn, appears to have acted as a trigger for a syntactic change from non-finite- to finite-V₂ forms. Bearing these facts in mind, we may now turn to the behaviour of the STAND/GO elements in the aspectual constructions.

3.3. The syntactic structure of the STAND/GO periphrases

The first important syntactic distinction to be made concerns the lexical vs functional status of STAND/GO. We assume that these aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries have developed, i.e. grammaticalised, from their lexical counterparts (cf. details below, and ch.4 for Barese auxiliaries). The fact that most (Italo-)Romance varieties discussed in this chapter synchronically present both lexical and functional variants of STAND/GO leads us to assume a so-called ‘lexical split’ (Roberts&Roussou 2003:47). This identifies a diachronic stage in which, once ‘recruited’, the grammatical(ised) item could be used alongside the lexical one, which is still synchronically the case in the modern varieties.

Hence, the (original) lexical STAND/GO behave like any other unaccusative verb: they head their own VP, display selectional properties (i.e. may (c)overtly select certain XPs), and can occur inflected for every TAM value (which implies in Romance, quite undisputably since Pollock (1989), their ability to project their own I/T for feature-checking). The structural representation of these properties is exemplified below in (52) for lexical STAND/GO, both postural/motion unaccusative verbs, hence with their own (PP-)arguments first merged in the VP-domain:

(52) [IP STAND/GO_[+Agr]] [VP [STAND/GO (PP_{LOC})] [CP *a* [IP PRO [_(v-)VP V_[-FINITE]]]]]

The complementiser *a* introducing the infinitival complement occupies the structurally lowest (cf. Cinque 2006:45;fn.30)) complementiser position (C_{Fin}) in Rizzi’s (1997) split-CP (cf. §2.3.1, ch.1). In this case, the infinitival complement functions as an adjunct and yields the independent interpretation of a final/purpose clause ‘in order to V₂’. Note that the subjects must still be co-referential. These behaviours are traditionally associated with obligatory (subject-)control structures (cf. Perlmutter 1968,1970; Ross 1972) in which the phonetically null anaphoric subject (PRO) of the embedded verb coincides and is co-indexed with the local antecedent subject of the matrix clause (cf. Chomsky 1981; Manzini 1983; Chomsky&Lasnik 1993; Haegeman 1994:285ff.; cf. also Bošković 1997; Hornstein 1999,2001,2003; *i.a.*).

As for the functional counterparts, we follow Cinque’s (2001,2004,2006) recent proposal whereby all modal and aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries are directly merged as functional heads in the I(nflectional) layer of the clause. He assumes that ‘[a]ll and only categories that make up the

extended projection of some other category are closed (i.e., functional) classes' (Cinque 2006:5). Hence, Cinque (2001:47-48,2006:ch.1,§4) treats the aspectual heads under analysis as directly merged in the extended projection (cf. Grimshaw 2005[1991]) of the (v-)VP, where the lexical V₂ is found:

(53) [... [Mod_{Epistemic/Alethic} [TP_{Past/Future} [... [Asp_{Habitual} ('be wont') [... [Mod_{Volition} *volere* ('want') [... [Asp_{Terminative} ('cease') [Asp_{Continuative} ('continue') [... [**Asp_{Durative/Progressive} *stare* 'STAND'** [Asp_{Prospective} ('be about to') [... [Mod_{Obligation/Ability} ('must/can') [Mod_{Permission} ('may') [Asp_{Conative} ('try') [... [Voice_{active/passive} [Causative ('make') [... [Asp_{Inceptive} ('begin') [**Asp_{Andative} *andare* 'GO'** [Asp_{Continuative(II)} ('carry on') [Asp_{Completive} ('finish')] [(v-)VP V₂...

The relative 'height' of the functional heads reflects the semantic import they contribute. Aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries are among the lowest in Cinque's (1999,2003,2006) functional hierarchy (cf. also Ledgeway 2016b:§4), occupying dedicated heads in Asp(ectual)Ps below perfective auxiliaries or other (higher) modal verbs (bold-faced in (53)). These functional predicates typically show 'restructuring' effects, and should not be considered bi-clausal (like their lexical counterparts), but mono-clausal. The subject simply raises from the lexical layer (v-)VP up the clausal spine to the inflectional layer, where the auxiliary is merged.

Cardinaletti&Shlonsky (2004) argue that this type of aspectual verb seems to share properties with both lexical verbs and purely functional auxiliaries,¹¹⁴ forming an intermediate category between the two, which they label 'quasi-functional' (or 'semi-lexical' in Cardinaletti and Giusti's (2001,2003) terms; see also Wurmbrand (2001) *et seq.* for further discussion on semi-auxiliaries). Also Cinque recognises the 'semifunctional character of motion verbs, which, like causatives (see Cinque 2003:fn.18), contribute an argument even if entering a specific slot of the functional hierarchy' (Cinque 2003:ch.1,fn.31, Cinque 2006). In this respect, he discusses the case of the motion verb/semi-auxiliary *venire*, which can still take an overt PP as the 'source argument' of the entire complex predication, e.g. [[*venire+a+infinitive*] PP] (cf. Rizzi 1982), unlike with its lexical GO(/COME)-counterpart. Whenever the PP modifies the entire event, it is interpreted as a locative complement of the entire monoclausal [GO+a+V_[-FINITE]]. In contrast, if an overt (directional) PP complement can occur between V₁ and V₂, we follow Cinque (2006:fn.30) in assuming that GO functions as a lexical verb with its own thematic structure, and the 'prepositional' infinitive V₂ is an adjunct CP-clause, as in (52) above. The functional GO-

¹¹⁴ Similarly, Roberts&Roussou (2003:47) argue that dynamic modals, 'which seem a cross between lexical verbs and modals', are functional items which lack the thematic structure of their lexical counterparts, but do 'participate in the determination of argument structure, and more precisely that of the subject' (Roberts&Roussou 2003:47).

periphrasis may also receive a ‘prospective’ aspectual interpretation, whereby GO lexicalises *Asp_{Prospective}* and is interpreted as a sub-part of the complex event/action described by V₂ (cf. Cruschina (2013) for the Sicilian GO-periphrasis). Hence, the two functional instances of GO may lexicalise *Asp_{Andative}* and *Asp_{Prospective}* respectively. A crucial distinction between these two functional cases and the fully lexical GO is that the latter does not allow clitic climbing whenever GO allows overt internal PP complements, whereas in the former cases the clitic pronoun can only procliticise onto functional GO. This is confirmed by Italian *andare(venire)* in (54), which block clitic climbing whenever they take an internal PP-complement (cf. Cinque 2006:fn.10):

- (54) a. (*li) andiamo alla stazione a ricever-li
 them go.1PL (to-the station) to receive-them
 ‘we go to the station to welcome them’
- b. li andiamo (*alla stazione) a ricevere alla stazione
 them go.1PL (to-the station) to receive to-the station
 ‘we go to welcome them at the station’ (adapted from Fresina 1981:164ff.)

Nonetheless, whenever PPs are not overt, ambiguity may arise between the lexical (directional) reading and the functional (andative/prospective), as noted by Cinque (2006:fn.57), which only the context can disambiguate.

STAND presents an identical situation to that discussed above for GO. Whenever it functions as a lexical verb (‘stay, remain (somewhere)’), it preserves its thematic structure/lexical layer and full inflection. In structural terms, its individual locative interpretation¹¹⁵ implies that it may (c)overtly select a loco-temporal complement to saturate its thematic structure. Whenever an overt PP-complement is selected, clitic climbing cannot occur. Crucially, Apulo-Barese varieties usually convey the lexical meaning of ‘stay, remain (somewhere)’ by adding a pleonastic clitic, e.g. Barese *mə stògghe/stà-ttə ddò n’ald’e ppicchə* ‘I self=stay/stay=you here a little longer’ (cf. Italian motion verb *andar-se-ne*, lit. ‘to go away=self=therefrom’). Hence, the purely lexical variant of STAND, forming a bi-clausal structure with the adjunct CP [*a* [V₂]], constitutes a separate entity from its grammaticalised variant. In contrast, STAND may function as a(n imperfective/progressive (semi-)auxiliary, i.e. a functional head in the extended projection of

¹¹⁵ It can essentially be decomposed as BE+LOC (cf. Cinque 1999:197,fn.41). Note also that an overt spatial adverb lexicalised together with BE as the marker of progressive in those varieties mentioned in §1. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:131ff.) confirm the idea that ‘a progressive involving a stative auxiliary always derives from a construction which originally included an element with locative meaning’ (cf. also Mateu 2002).

the lexical V_2 . This mono-clausal structure consists of a restructuring predicate obligatorily sharing the same subject with the lexical V_2 , which actually suggests that subject-raising should be favoured as a more economical option than control of an empty PRO for this type of structure. In this way, the raising of the lexical/pronominal subject to the inflectional domain for nominative-Case licensing allows person and number features to be interpretable on the aspectual (semi-)auxiliary.

We can now connect the original lexical STAND/GO to their functional counterparts in terms of grammaticalisation (Roberts&Roussou 2003; van Gelderen 2004,2008; Roberts 2007: *i.a.*). Lexical STAND/GO underwent stages of gradual desemanticisation, which mainly coincide with the loss of their original thematic structure and the argument(s) they (c)overtly selected. This can be seen as a diachronic process of ‘structure simplification’ (cf. Roberts&Roussou 2003:198), in which the operation ‘Move (V_1 -to-I)’ of the lexical verb is substituted directly by first-merge of the grammaticalised auxiliary directly in the functional portion of the extended projection of the v -VP (cf. perfective auxiliaries in ch.4), as summarised in the following template (cf. also Battlori&Roca 2012:90 for Spanish and Catalan):

(55) $[_{XP} YP X...[_{tYP}]] > [_{XP} Y=X...[...]]$ (Roberts&Roussou 2003:198)

From a structural point of view, the main idea is that grammaticalisation paths represent different stages of the ‘bottom-up’ lexicalisations of the different syntactic heads along the Cinquean clausal spine. A lexical verbal head would regularly start out merged in V where it projects its own VP and selects its own arguments. Eventually, the process of delexicalisation begins, causing V to lose its lexical properties either partly or entirely (but also gradually through ‘feature reduction’; Jung 2013:64; cf. also van Gelderen 2008) as it becomes a functional element. Hence, the erstwhile lexical V may either be directly first-merged in v as a light verb, or in the I-field as an auxiliary in dedicated T/M/Asp heads (see Roberts&Roussou 2003 for details). Following Ledgeway (1998,2015c; *i.a.*), we consider such a grammaticalisation path to bear direct consequences on the size of the infinitival complement: only (lexical) V-heads are able to select full clausal complements CPs, *i.e.* (52) above, whereas the structurally higher functional heads, *i.e.* v and I, will only be able to select reduced clauses, *i.e.* I/TPs and v -VPs respectively. In our case, we are dealing with two different Asp-heads selecting v -VP-complements¹¹⁶ in the monoclausal structures in (56):

¹¹⁶ See Bolinger (1971), Mateu (2002:77) and Gallego (2010:157ff.) for the intuition that the two non-finite expressions (gerund and preposition+infinitive) can be considered underlyingly equivalent, modulo the (c)overt

- (56) a. [IP [AspProgressive STAND [(v-)VP V₂ ...]]]
 b. [IP [AspAndative GO [(v-)VP V₂ ...]]]

With the above in mind, we can now turn to the (Apulo-)Barese facts.

3.3.1. (Apulo-)Barese: inflected vs infinitival V₂

The background provided in §2.1 and §3.2 describes a possible scenario in which multiple morphological factors have worked in concert to yield the alternation between the ‘original’ infinitival form and the innovative inflected V₂. However, the interpretation of these aspectual periphrases does not change whenever either of the V₂-forms surfaces, meaning that the functional load of the (semi-)auxiliaries STAND/GO remains identical in either case. Hence, we assume the syntactic equivalence of the STAND/GO-structures with either of the two V₂-forms. STAND/GO consists in a functional head base-generated in dedicated aspectual projections of the extended projection of the lexical (v-)VP layer; this hosts the periphrastic V₂ in a reduced (v-)VP-complement clause¹¹⁷, whose subject usually agrees with V₁. Recall Cinque’s (1999,2003,2006) clausal structure (cf. also Ledgeway 2016c:173-174):

- (57) [... [ModEpistemic/Alethic [TP_{Past/Future} [... [AspHabitual (‘be wont’) [... [ModVolition (‘want’) [... [AspTerminative (‘cease’) [AspContinuative (‘continue’) [... [**AspDurative/Progressive STAND** [AspProspective (‘be about to’) [... [ModObligation/Ability (‘must/can’) [ModPermission (‘may’) [AspConative (‘try’) [... [Voice_{active/passive} [Causative (‘make’) [... [AspInceptive (‘begin’) [**AspAndative GO** [AspContinuative(II) (‘carry on’) [AspCompletive (‘finish’) [(v-)VP V₂...

If we consider the two bold-faced Asp(ectual) projections to host the STAND/GO-components, AspProgressive and AspAndative respectively, Cinque’s hierarchy predicts that no higher modal (58), perfective (59) or aspectual (semi-)auxiliary (60) can be embedded under STAND/GO, whereas the lower ones should be allowed, e.g. (61)-(62). These predictions are borne out in Barese, regardless of whether V₂ appears in the infinitive or inflected form:

spell-out of a preposition in their internal structure. However, infinitival complements of aspectual verbs are considered larger in size than gerundive complements (cf. Bolinger 1968).

¹¹⁷ On the type and size of reduced complements of restructured monoclauses, see Cinque (2004:165) for Italian; Cinque (2004:141-142); Ledgeway (2015c:159) for northern Salentino *cu*-less clauses; cf. also Tortora (2014:ch.3,§4.3.1).

- (58) a. **Mod_{Volition} > Asp_{Progressive}/Asp_{Andative}**
 vólə sta/ sci a scəquà
 wants stand.INF go.INF to play.inf
 ‘(s)he wants to be/go play(ing)’
- b. ***Asp_{Progressive}/Asp_{Andative} > Mod_{Volition}**
 (*sta/ va) vólə scəquà
 stands/ goes wants play
- (59) a. **T_{BE/HAVE} > Asp_{Progressive}/Asp_{Andative}**
 sítə stat’/ sciùt’ a mmàngià daffòrə
 are.2PL been gone to eat.INF outside
 ‘you have been/gone eating out’
- b. ***Asp_{Progressive}/Asp_{Andative} > T_{BE/HAVE}**
 *sta/ va avè mmangiàtə daffòrə
 stands/ goes have.INF eaten out
- (60) a. **Mod_{Ability} > Asp_{Andative}**
 cə nnon zə sèndə, non zə pótə sci a mmangià lə còzzə
 if not self feel.3SG not self can.3SG go.INF to eat.INF the mussels
 ‘if (s)he’s feeling poorly, (s)he cannot (go to) eat mussels’
- b. ***Asp_{Progressive} > Asp_{Andative} > Mod_{Ability}**
 *sta/ va ppótə mangià
 stand.3SG/ go3SG can.3SG eat
- c. ***Mod_{Ability} > Asp_{Progressive}**
 #ppótə st(asse) a mmangià (mmàngə)
 can.3SG stand.INF to eat.INF eat.3SG
 ‘(s)he can stay (i.e. remain) to eat’

(61) **Asp_{Progressive}>Causative**
stògg’ a ffà mangià la pəccənənnə
 stand.1SG to make.INF eat.INF the baby-girl
 ‘I’m making the baby-girl eat (i.e. feeding)’

(62) **Asp_{Progressive}> Causative> Asp_{Terminative}**
stàm’ a ffà fərnəscə də mangià (al)la pəccənənnə
 go.1PL to make.INF finish.INF of eat to-the baby-girl
 ‘we are making the baby-girl finish eating’

Note that the further embedding of STAND/GO under other auxiliaries can only yield an infinitival V₂, blocking the presence of any inflected form. Moreover, whenever STAND/GO do not ‘respect’ the hierarchical order, they are interpreted as lexical verbs, e.g. (60c), in which STAND means ‘stay, remain’, followed by an embedded purpose clause [*a*+infinitive], as observed in §3.

Another prediction which follows from the functional hierarchy above concerns the co-occurrence of both STAND/GO in the same monoclausal structure, which can only occur when the higher STAND precedes the lower GO, and not vice-versa:

- (63) a. **Asp_{Progressive}>Asp_{Andative}**
stà vvà a sscəquà ó cəmbə chə lla məghənə
 stand.3SG go.3SG to play.INF to-the field with the car
 ‘(s)he’s going to play at the stadium by car’
- b. ***Asp_{Andative}>Asp_{Progressive}**
***və stà a sscəquà ó cəmbə**
 go.3SG stand.3SG to play.INF to-the field

Given the evidence in (63), we assume that STAND is merged higher than GO, whence the impossibility of the latter to precede the former. As for clitic and negation positioning, the STAND/GO-periphrases with the non-finite V₂ (64a)-(64b) display the same ‘regular’ behaviour as their inflected counterparts (65a)-(65b), i.e. Neg-Cl-STAND/GO-V₂, in which V₂ cannot host clitics, nor can it be independently negated:

- (64) a. nonn u **stòggh'** a (*non u) **vvədè** (*-uə) cchiù
 not him stand.1SG to not him see him more
 'I'm no longer seeing him'
- b. non zə-nə **stònn'** a (*non zə-nə) **ssci** (*-ssə-nə) mo mo
 not self-LOC stand.3PL to not self-LOC go.INF self-LOC now now
 'they're not leaving right now'
- (65) a. nonn u **st'** a (* u) **vvità** (*-uə) cchiù
 not him stand.2SG to him see.2SG him more
 'you're no longer seeing him'
- b. non zə-nə **st'** a (*non zə nə) **vvà** (*-ssə-nə) mo mo
 not self-LOC stand.3SG to not self-LOC go.3SG self-LOC now now
 'he's not leaving right now'

Negation obligatorily precedes clitics and the STAND/GO-elements, and cannot occur anywhere else within the monoclausal structure. As for clitic placement, Barese unsurprisingly patterns with the general tendency of many southern Italian varieties (cf. Monachesi 1996:200ff.; Ledgeway 1998,2000; Cinque 2003:§5.1; Ledgeway&Lombardi 2005; a.o.), in which clitic climbing to the highest position available at the edge of the inflectional domain is obligatory, immediately following NegP (cf. Zanuttini 1997). Hence, the only clitic position available in these periphrases is the highest within the inflectional domain, viz. proclitic to STAND/GO (in declarative contexts). These facts are represented and summarised in (66):

- (66) [IP [NegP **Neg** [T/AspP [Asp° (CI) STAND/GO] [(v-)VP [V° V₂(Comp)]]]]]

This contrasts with the lexical counterparts, in which clitic-climbing from the V₂-clause would not find any escape-hatch, e.g. an empty C_{Fin}-head, in order to raise past the STAND/GO lexical component and procliticise onto it.

As far as subjects are concerned, we assume that these monoclausal structures do not instantiate 'subject control' structures, but rather the regular (overt or covert) raising of the subject from the lexical (v-)VP. This follows from the grammaticalisation of lexical STAND/GO into functional (semi-)auxiliaries, which determined their loss of thematic structure (cf. Pollock 1989 for perfective auxiliaries) and, hence, their inability to project their own IP. We assume that

the subject regularly raises from its base-generated position in the (*v*-)VP – depending on the nature of the lexical *V*₂ and the thematic roles it assigns – to a subject position in the IP-field. Cinque (2006:21) argues that the same also holds for ‘apparently’ control verbs, e.g. *want*, namely that they ‘inherit their subject from the embedded lexical verb’ in restructuring contexts, on a par with perfective auxiliaries (cf. ch.4). Under this scenario, the different operation to derive the internal structure of the STAND/GO periphrases can be represented as follows:

(67) a. [_{VP} [_{Spec-VP} (S_A) [_{v°} (*a*) [_{VP} [_{v°} V₂ (S_O/Comp)]]]]] →

b. [_{I/TP} (S_A)_i/(S_O)_j T/Agr_k [_{AspP} STAND/GO_{[+Agr]_k} [_{VP} (S_A)_i [_{v°} (*a*) [_{VP} [_{v°} V₂ (S_O)_j]]]]]]]

In this way, the agentive or Undergoer subject of the embedded *V*₂ raises to a Case- and feature-checking position in the IP-layer of the clause, where the T head is responsible for the overt agreement established between the subjects and STAND/GO in a Agree configuration. This accounts for all those ‘regular’ cases in which the infinitive, including the ‘new’ ambiguous forms, sits in the VP and does not enter into a relation with an IP-related T/Agr head, whereas the (semi-)auxiliary does show agreement. The only cases in which these operations differ from these ‘regular’ infinitival-*V*₂ cases in Barese are [2sg]-[3sg] indicative, which should be considered as the exception to the ‘non-finite rule’ in the STAND/GO-periphrases. In fact, these *V*₂-forms may only mark person [2sg]/[3sg] of the present indicative, which means that the full array of agreement features is not available.

The syntactic limitations of inflected-*V*₂ must be understood as a consequence of formal ambiguity between ‘new’ infinitives and [3sg] (and non-metaphonetic [2sg]); however, we cannot disregard the complete morphological syncretism in the [2sg] and [3sg] of STAND/GO. Cinque (2006:21) observes that ‘the unavailability of past tense on the embedded verb would follow from the fact that this is already marked on the restructuring verb or higher up’. This intuition would suggest that whenever person-features can no longer be interpreted on STAND/GO, as in Barese, the *V*₂ may assume this task. Hence, if the ambiguity of *V*₂ led to the ‘intrusion’ of inflected forms in [2sg]-[3sg] present indicative, it may also be due to the impossibility for STAND/GO of showing person agreement (or, at least, to disambiguate between the [2sg] and the [3sg] of the present indicative), thus behaving similarly to the generalised free aspectual head morpheme *sta/va* in Salentino. Ledgeway (2016c) assumes the following structure for Salentino varieties:

(68) [IP TP/AgrP_i [AspP [STAND/GO_[-Agr]] [_v-VP V_{[+Agr]i}]]] (adapted from Ledgeway 2016c:178)

The syntactic representation in (68) shows that the invariant functional head is directly merged in the extended projection of the *v*-VP containing the inflected lexical V₂, whose verbal features are checked in the only agreement head of the restructured mono-clausal construction.

Likewise, [2sg]-[3sg] agreement in the two periphrastic persons in Barese must be spelled out on the only remaining verbal form within the monoclausal structure, which becomes the only inflected form of the periphrasis. This is schematised in (69):

(69) [IP TP/AgrP_i [AspP STA/VA_[-Agr] [_v-VP V_{2[+Agr]i}]]]

The remaining person ([1sg]-[plural]), tense ([past]) and mood ([irrealis]) features are regularly interpreted on STAND/GO, whereas [2sg] and [3sg] need to resort to the structure above in (69) to be a morphologically well-formed clause. Hence, the Barese V₂ in STAND/GO periphrases can only copy this limited set of feature from subjects, but no more than that. We may claim that the gradual spread of V₂-morphological endings in the other Apulo-Barese varieties has occurred in a similar fashion according to Maiden's morphomic patterns observed in §2.1.5.1.

Compare the Barese situation to that of a raising construction with the deontic modal 'have to, need', *bisogna(re)* and *a trebui*, in old Italian (Benincà&Poletto 1997) and Romanian (Dragomirescu 2013:198; Nicolae 2016), respectively. Historically, these V₁s could agree with all types of subjects when they still functioned as lexical predicates. Their grammaticalisation into deontic modals in modern Italian and Romanian has determined the loss of thematic structure and relative arguments, together with the 'impoverishment' of most agreement features. These modals are now used impersonally, retaining (some) tense and mood features, but being defective for most persons except for [3], albeit differently in the two varieties. In fact, Italian allows [3sg]-only agreement, e.g. *bisogna/-va/-sse/bisognerà/bisognerebbe* 'it needs/needed/would need/will need/should need', while in Romanian agreement in the [3pl] is also possible (70c), but only in the imperfect due to the extra [3pl] marking on the auxiliary (Dragomirescu 2013:198). In contrast, V₂ encodes encode person features, but never tense and mood (except in persons [3] of the subjunctive):

(70) a. *trebuie să plec/ pleci/ plece/ plecăm/ plecați*
 must that.SBJV leave.1SG leave.2SG leave.SBJV.3SG/3PL leave.1P leave.2PL
 'I/you/(s)he/they/we/you(pl.) have to leave'

- b. trebuia să plec/ pleci/ plece/ plecăm/ plecați
 must.IMPF that.SBJV leave.1SG leave.2SG leave.SBJV.3(SG) leave.1PL leave.2PL
 ‘I/you/(s)he/we/you(pl.) had to leave’
- c. trebuia-**u** să plece
 must.IMPF-**3PL** that.SBJV go.SBJV.3(PL)
 ‘they had to leave’

In other words, the two periphrastic components can share only one Agreement projection, whose features are ‘distributed’ between V_1 and V_2 : the latter can only mark person, whereas tense and mood features are interpreted on V_1 . Hence, imperfect *trebuiau* in (70c) may have preserved [3pl] agreement to disambiguate the syncretism between [3sg] vs. [3pl] of V_2 , which still arises in the present (70a).

In fact, in this respect, Romanian does not seem to distinguish between control and raising verbs (Nicolae 2016; Ledgeway forthcoming:§4) as English does, as the spell-out of person features (but never tense and mood) is always present on V_2 , whereas this is not the case in English where V_2 will always occur in the infinitive: *vreau să plec* (lit. (I) want that (I) leave’) vs ‘I wanted to (PRO) leave’. In his discussion of the restructuring/monoclausal properties of ‘want’ in Salentino and Serbo-Croatian, which show the typically Balkan double-complementiser system with inflected V_2 where Romance would select an infinitive, Cinque (2006:21) also admits that ‘it is tempting to view agreement here as nothing other than a way to render the stem a well-formed morphological word’. This intuition reduces the differences between the two inflected vs the rest of the infinitival V_2 to a purely morphological requirement for the well-formedness of the monoclausal complex. Hence, we are dealing with a case of morphological, rather than syntactic finiteness (Nikolaeva 2007; cf. also Ledgeway 2007b), which does not take place in the narrow syntax, but only at Phonological Form. This means that, at a purely syntactic level, all the V_2 -forms are underlyingly non-finite, and only PF allows the spell-out of this restricted morphological agreement. Historically, the series of morphological ambiguities and isomorphisms which arose in Barese can be thought of as triggers for a morphosyntactic change to occur in these exceptional STAND/GO-contexts. In this respect, we agree with Keenan (2002), Longobardi (2001:277-278) and Roberts (forthcoming) in claiming that, if the morpho(phono)logical triggers were not present after the loss of -RE, the syntax of Barese aspectual periphrases would have followed the so-called ‘Inertia Principle’ whereby ‘[t]hings stay as they are unless a force [...] acts upon them’ (Keenan 2002:2).

4. Conclusions

In this chapter we discussed the morphosyntactic status of Apulo-Barese progressive and andative periphrases, claiming that morphological ambiguity may have acted as the trigger for a peculiar syntactic change across Romance. In particular, we observed the spread of inflected- V_2 forms in Apulo-Barese varieties to different sets of grammatical person of the present tense; this spread appears to start from persons [2sg]/[3sg] to the other persons of the present according to Maiden's (different) morphomic patterns, to then become generalised in all T/M-contexts (as in Salentino varieties). We argued that this process was fed by morphological ambiguity between (either original or 'new') non-oxxytonic infinitives and [3sg]/(non-metaphonetic [2sg]) of the present. The inflected V_2 would thus become the only syntactic means to mark person-features within the periphrasis. A number of syntactic tests (clitics, negation, order of occurrence of auxiliaries) and cross-linguistic evidence has led us to claim that that these periphrases with obligatory co-referential subjects are monoclausal structures showing the properties of regular auxiliary constructions. The instances of inflected V_2 have been considered as occurring post-syntactically, to yield a morphologically well-formed periphrasis which would otherwise not be able to encode mood, tense, and especially person features.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation we described and provided an account of some salient aspects of the Barese clausal, nominal and verbal domains. This is a much needed and long-overdue contribution to the field of modern Italo-Romance dialectology and, more generally, Romance linguistics and its ‘nearly unlimited’ micro-variation. The Barese data presented were analysed according to the principles of Chomsky’s generative grammar, a modern and insightful theory of Language which allowed us to approach the unexplored field of Barese syntax from a more analytical perspective. The discussion of Barese has systematically been placed in a broader diatopic and diachronic Romance perspective, to highlight the main structural differences and similarities.

In the second chapter, we surveyed the word order of the main clausal constituent, S-V-O, on the basis of the different verb classes, i.e. transitive/unergative vs unaccusatives. We adopted the concept of ‘information structure’ to understand the different marked vs unmarked word orders with the different verb classes. The pan-Romance unmarked SVO word order with transitive verbs is unsurprisingly attested in Barese, but the pragmatically-driven dislocation of these elements operates more freely than in Italian (Rizzi 1997; Belletti 2004). The main difference between Barese and Italian pragmatically marked structures is the ability of the former, but not the latter, to encode informational focus in the higher left periphery (on a par with early Romance) and contrastive focus in the lower left periphery. Moving onto the unmarked order of intransitive predicates, we have observed that certain unergatives and unaccusatives with implicit locative arguments can both license SV and VS, unlike what we would normally expect in Romance. These orders yield two different pragmatico-semantic interpretations in Barese. On the one hand, the inverted VS, commonly found in other Romance varieties, conveys a deictic loco-temporal reading which links the event to the moment of the utterance. On the other hand, the SV word order is only licensed with these predicates whenever the fronted subject-referent is ‘mentally accessible’ by both interlocutors. We measured this by using Lambrecht’s (1994) ‘Topic Acceptability Scale’, which showed that even indefinite referents can also occur in preverbal position provided that they form part of the Common Ground of the speakers.

The third chapter discussed Barese adjectives, possessives and demonstratives. We distinguished between ‘direct’ vs ‘indirect’ modifiers on the basis of their semantic relation with the head noun, and, hence, their syntactic configuration. ‘Indirect modification’ essentially corresponds to a reduced relative clause internal to the DP, whereas ‘direct modification’ enters into a closer semantico-syntactic relation with the noun. The rule in Barese is to place most adjectival modifiers, be they Dm or Im, in postnominal position, with the former closer to the

noun and the latter further away. In prenominal position, only one adjective at most is allowed. The sole exceptions to the postnominal rule consist of eleven Dm-adjectives which denote the speaker's rudimentary evaluations/judgements regarding the referent. Moreover, most of these adjectives show different stages of fossilisation, inasmuch as they can be further modified by other prenominal adjectives, or they can only modify a closed set of referents. The only 'productive' adjectives are actually those expressing 'nice', 'bad' and 'good-hearted' (for humans only), which testifies to the general unavailability of a Barese prenominal position. This behaviour was analysed following Cinque's (2010) comparative analysis of Germanic and Romance adjectives. In Romance, this operation involves the obligatory 'snowball movement' of the functional material modifying the NP, i.e. the NP will carry along its modifiers for each individual NP-movement up the spine, increasing the size of the larger XP containing the NP at every step of the derivation. If we compare Romance (though not early Romance) with Barese, the position of Im-adjectives is identical, i.e. involves obligatory pied-piping of the NP and all its modifiers across the Im-adjectives, which end up stranded in the right-most DP-internal position. In contrast, the main difference between Barese and standard Romance consists in the position of Dm-adjectives inasmuch as the Barese NP is forced to raise past all adjectives except evaluative ones, which can also occur postnominally retaining their Dm-reading. Hence, the (nearly always) obligatory movement of the Barese NP across most direct modifiers can be considered as a 'stricter' parametric choice with respect to the more permissive behaviour of modifiers in standard Romance.

We then moved onto the analysis of Barese possessives, which are also exclusively postnominal. We analysed the behaviour of tonic possessives on a par with adjectives, the only difference being the strict adjacency required between the NP and the possessive. In structural terms, this meant that possessives are merged early in the structure and are picked up by the NP in the earliest stages of the derivation, before the NP-movement across the two adjectival sources. In contrast, the series of enclitic possessives is defective inasmuch as it can only mark [1sg]-[2sg] of the possessor, and only encliticises onto a limited class of kinship terms. We identified these enclitic possessives as defective heads which require the noun to left-adjoin to them to create a well-formed head. This complex head is thus attracted to the D-position for its high definiteness and referentiality, on a par with proper names (cf. Longobardi 1994). This can be thought of as a case of exceptional head-movement in the extended projection of N, as opposed to the 'regular' NP-movement across the nominal modifiers. Further evidence supporting the movement of the complex head to the D position was observed in the ungrammaticality of an overt D or any prenominal modifier. Moreover, this complex head cannot undergo direct AP-modification, but

only indirect modification (i.e. it may receive contrastive interpretation), which supported the idea that it moves as a head, rather than an XP.

Finally, chapter 3 described the behaviour of Barese demonstratives, whose binary system patterns with Italian for its pronominal-only distribution, but not for the deictic content they express. While Italian marks the distinction [\pm speaker(s)], Barese encodes both discourse-participants in the ‘medial’ demonstrative form, or their exclusion by means of the ‘distal’ form. From a comparative perspective, Barese does not show the discontinuous structure article+NP+demonstrative like Spanish or Romanian, but allows the co-presence of article and demonstrative whenever the latter is pronominalised. Hence, we link this pragmatically marked, contrastive option that Barese displays with a position in the left periphery of the DP (Giusti 2015), allegedly where the postnominal Spanish and Romanian demonstratives also raise to.

A crucial fact to be noted from the behaviour of Barese nominal modifiers was the role of discourse-relevant semantics, especially with respect to the speaker, i.e. the deictic centre. This, unlike standard Romance varieties, is encoded more visibly into the syntax of Barese.

Chapter 4 dealt with Barese perfective auxiliary selection and past participle agreement. Among the no-less-than-seven mechanisms of auxiliary selection in Romance, Barese has abandoned the active-stative split in favour of a different one for each perfective environment: person-split in the present perfect indicative, tense-split in the pluperfect indicative, and mood-split in counterfactual contexts. We discussed comparative evidence from other southern Italo-Romance varieties that behave similarly, which shed light on the development of such ‘unstable’ mechanisms of auxiliary selection. We modelled the Barese data as a parameter hierarchy (Roberts 2012; Biberauer&Roberts 2012; *et seq.*) which reflects the hierarchically-ordered complexity (and relative interaction) of the features involved in Barese auxiliary selection. We considered BE the default auxiliary, and have derived the more complex HAVE (BE+P; cf. Kayne 1993) by specifying settings which encode a more complex semantic feature, hence occur in a more marked semantico-syntactic environment. In this way, we have been able to capture the diagenational variation among Barese speakers. As far as past and *irrealis* contexts are concerned, it seemed that older speakers adopt HAVE for the former and BE for the latter. However, younger and middle-aged speakers must have used the morphophonological ambiguity of these past forms to create a further option for the selection of HAVE also in past contexts, resulting in synchronic free alternation. For present-perfect contexts, younger speakers seem to have generalised the [\pm discourse participant(s)] feature to both singular and plural contexts, resulting in the split B-B-H-B-B-H. In fact, the B-B-H pattern was found with other generations with more complex patterns only in the singular (middle-aged) or in the plural (elders).

The same parameter hierarchy was used to place Barese among the different residual agreement patterns of active past participle agreement (cf. Chomsky 2001) found in Romance varieties (Smith 1995; Loporcaro 1998; Ledgeway 2013). Barese displays two forms of past participles, the weak one in *-tə*, which cannot show agreement, and the strong one with metaphonetic agreement. Even though the former may seem to pattern with Spanish or Romanian participles, which never agree, the metaphonetic form does agree with its internal argument, as in Occitan or other southern Italo-Romance varieties. The main characteristic of Barese metaphonetic past participle agreement was that it is morphologically bound to a very small number of strong participles. However, this was sufficient to claim that agreement is operative in Barese, even if limited morphologically.

The final chapter focused on Barese progressive and andative constructions, involving reflexes of Latin STAND/GO and a lexical verb (V_2). The latter is usually a non-finite form across Romance (with the exception of the paratactic GO-periphrases), whereas in Barese it displays a ‘hybrid’ paradigm where [2sg]-[3sg] of the present indicative of these periphrases select inflected forms. Barese is not an isolated case in this respect, as this also variously occurs in other southern Italo-Romance varieties (e.g. Sicilian), to different extents. However, the situation of Pugliese inflected V_2 s in these contexts revealed a certain directionality in the spread of inflected forms. With the exception of Gargano varieties, there are no inflected forms in the northern area of Puglia (Apulo-Foggiano and northern Apulo-Barese). These start appearing below the ‘Poggiorsini-Bari’ line in central Puglia only in [2sg]-[3sg] of the present indicative periphrases, and gradually spread to more persons, tenses and moods towards southeast. Such a minimal amount of inflected forms spread across Puglia present indicative periphrases following Maiden’s (2011) morphomic patterns, i.e. [2sg]-[3sg]>(L-pattern:)[1sg]>(U-pattern:)[3pl]. This resulted in the pan-Romance N-pattern for the distribution of inflected- V_2 forms, which only excludes [1pl]-[2pl] before the full spread of inflected forms to all persons of the present, past and irrealis occurs in (the geographical area of) Salento.

The situation found in central and southern Apulo-Barese varieties led us to argue for an alternative scenario to that proposed by Rohlf’s (1969), who links the inflected- V_2 forms to an original paratactic construction with two inflected verbs coordinated by the conjunction AC ‘and’. We proposed that this construction may readily explain the Salentino paradigm, but cannot account for the partial presence of hybrid paradigms in Apulo-Barese varieties. Rather, we proposed that inflected forms were introduced, at least in the paradigm of Barese progressive and andative periphrases, as an historical consequence of morphophonological ambiguity. This is in line with Longobardi’s (2013) and Roberts’ (forthcoming) idea regarding the ‘inertia’ of syntax, which requires morphological cues as triggers for morphosyntactic change. We argued that the

initial trigger consisted in the loss of infinitival -RE endings in Barese, which made the infinitives of certain conjugations syncretic with [3sg]-[2sg] persons, especially rhizotonic ones and those with the root-augment *-scə*. Allegedly, this also coincided with the grammaticalisation of STAND/GO into aspectual (semi-)auxiliaries, which determined their morpho-phonological erosion and consequent identity of forms. Hence, ambiguous truncated infinitives could be reinterpreted by speakers as inflected forms in these two persons of the indicative periphrases, and could then spread to other grammatical persons following different morphomic patterns. As far as their syntax is concerned, we considered these typically restructuring verbs as part of a monoclausal structure, where the lexical verb sits in the VP and the aspectual (semi-)auxiliary occupies a dedicated functional head in the extended projection of V (Cinque 2006, *i.a.*). We argued that the inability for the STAND/GO-element to express agreement features allows the ‘underlyingly’ infinitive form to be spelt out as an inflected form, meaning that the monoclausal construction only exploits a single Agreement projection.

Although this dissertation has managed to cover a broad number of topics of Barese morphosyntax, it could by no means be exhaustive due to space and time limitations. In fact, this is only the first contribution towards a more complete and systematic understanding of Barese forms and structures, to which further empirical and analytical research should be devoted in the future.

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