

The dialects of southern Italy

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16.1 Introduction

The dialects of southern Italy represent the numerous local linguistic outcomes of spoken Latin—itsself in contact with many sub-/adstrate languages (Prodocimi 1978; Adams 2003a)—as it evolved, naturally and largely unaffected by formal education south of an isogloss conventionally taken to run approximately from Rome in the west to Ancona in the east (Pellegrini 1977; Cortelazzo 1988; Savoia 1997b). Although not forming a single politico-administrative unit today, the different regions and peoples of this vast area have at various times been united: first under the Kingdom of Sicily, a realm established under eleventh-century Norman rule unifying Sicily with the southern mainland but divided in 1282 between the Aragonese and Angevin dynasties giving rise to the insular and peninsular Kingdoms of the Two Sicilies with capitals in Palermo and Naples, respectively. They were united again in 1443 as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (with capital in Naples) under Alfonso V of Aragon, which then variously passed under French, Spanish, Austrian, and Bourbon rule before being annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1860, becoming part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.

Consequently, southern dialects, often together with those of central Italy (cf. Ch. 15), share a number of phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features (Rohlf 1972:9, 27–31; Ledgeway 2000; Loporcaro 2009:120–39), including:¹

- (1) a. neutralization of /v/ vs /b/ distinction, with fortis variant (-)[bb]-;

¹ Whenever phonetic detail is irrelevant (especially in §§16.3–4), forms will be cited in a broadly Italian-based orthography where: (i) *ch/gh* = [k]/[g] (otherwise *h* = ∅), *c+i/e* = [(t)ʃ], *g+i/e* = [dʒ], *sci* = [(ʃ)], *gli* = [ʎʎ, jʎ], *z* = [ts, dz] (long intervocalically), *-dd-* = [dʒ(z)]; (ii) all orthographically double consonants are realized long; (iii) unless otherwise indicated (by an acute accent whenever vowel quality is irrelevant), stress is paroxytonic. This broadly Italian-based representation reflects the local orthographic practices of the dialects which, in most cases, enjoy long and rich written (literary) traditions, from which many of the present examples are drawn. It should also be noted that in most upper southern Italian dialects unstressed (and especially front) vowels are typically realized as schwa (cf. §16.2.1.2), especially word-finally (e.g., Nap. *càmmara* /-e [ˈkamməɾə] ‘bedroom’-s, *surdato* /-e [surˈdatə] ‘soldier’-s, *vennere* [ˈvennərə] ‘sell.INF’).

- b. vocative formation through truncation of material following tonic vowel: Nap. *Gennà!* ‘Gennaro!’ (cf. §14.3.1.1, §17.3.1);
- c. present or auxiliary periphrasis (rather than synthetic form) for the future: Reg. *avi a turnari a Missina* ‘he has to (=will) return to Messina’ (cf. §46.3.2.1–2);
- d. absence of present subjunctive (save residues in central Salento);
- e. syncretism of manner adverbs with adjective;
- f. restricted use of prenominal adjectives;
- g. distinction between realis/irrealis complementizers: (cf. §§31.3.1, 63.2.1.2);
- h. liberal focus fronting: (cf. §§31.3.4, 34.5.3–4);
- i. prepositional accusative (cf. §56.3.2.4).

Despite considerable structural unity and general mutual intelligibility (Avolio 1995:29f.), southern dialects do not form an entirely homogeneous linguistic group, being standardly divided—following isoglosses that cut across Calabria at Cetraro, Bisignano, and Torre Melissa and across Apulia just south of Taranto, Martina Franca, Ceglie Messapica, and Ostuni—into dialects of the upper south (southern Lazio (south of a line Circeo–Ceprano–Sora), Abruzzo (excluding the upper Aterno Valley and western Marsica), Molise, Campania, Basilicata, northern Apulia, northern Calabria) and those of the extreme south (Salento, central-southern Calabria, Sicily).² These subdivisions (see Map 16.1) broadly coincide with the traditional linguistic areas of Oscan and Greek speech and, in part, the historical realms of the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples. The distinctions between upper southern and extreme southern dialects are often significant, though not invariably coinciding exactly with this binary division (cf. Avolio 1995:chs 4,5; Loporcaro 2009:142–59), including distinct (un)stressed vowel systems, weakening/retention of intervocalic voiceless stops, morphological marking of mass number (cf. §57.4), presence/absence of reflexes of the Latin infinitive ending *-RE*, post- vs prenominal position of possessives, retention of simple past/present perfect distinction vs

² Northern Apulian dialects of the upper south and southern Apulian dialects of Salento are labelled ‘Pugliese’ and ‘Salentino’, respectively.



Map 16.1 Dialects of southern Italy

generalization of simple past, presence/absence of copular distinctions derived from Lat. *ESSE/STARE* ‘be/stand’ and *HABERE/TENERE* ‘have/hold’ (cf. §52.2), and wide/restricted use of the infinitive (cf. §63.3).

What follows limits discussion to a selection of the most salient features (for fuller treatments, see Rohlfs 1966; 1968; 1969a; Loporcaro 1988a; 2009; Holtus et al. 1988; Avolio 1995; Maiden and Parry 1997; Ledgeway 2000; 2009a) emphasizing what unites, rather than differentiates, southern dialects.

16.2 Phonology

16.2.1 Vowels

16.2.1.1 Tonic vowels

The entire gamut of variation in Romance vowel systems (cf. §25.1.1) is found across southern Italy, as illustrated in Table 16.1.

The two principal Romance vowel systems that underlie such variation are the so-called ‘Sardinian’ pentavocalic system (cf. Senesese; see also §17.2.1), in which original Latin quantitative differences were simply neutralized (cf. §17.2.1), and the common Romance heptavocalic system (cf. Neapolitan), in which the late Latin high [-tense] front and back vowels lowered to merge with the high-mid vowels yielding mid-vowel oppositions such as ‘venə/venə ‘vein/(s)he.comes’ (<UENAM/UENIT), ‘oŋnə/’oŋnə ‘finger-nail/each’ (<UNGULAM/OMNES). Whereas the latter system is found across most upper southern Italian dialects (cf. Map 16.2), the former is today limited to the so-called ‘Middle Zone’ of the Lausberg Zone (Lausberg 1939; Martino 1991) straddling southern Basilicata (south of rivers Sauro and Agri) and northern Calabria (north of rivers Crati and Coscile). Previously, the distribution of this ‘Sardinian’ type probably

reached further north, as witnessed by a small ‘Outpost’ (Lausberg 1939:44-6) of dialects spoken east of Potenza along the Basento (cf. Castelmezzanese) which present a hybrid system marrying together the mergers of the common Romance system in the front vowels with the quantitative neutralizations of the ‘Sardinian’ system in the back vowels, of the kind that also historically underlies Romanian (cf. Loporcaro 2011b:113f.). Still within the Lausberg Zone, to the (south)west we find further hybrid systems in the ‘Transitional Zone’ (cf. Verbicarese; Silvestri 2008-9) combining a predominantly ‘Sicilian’ system (see below) typical of the neighbouring ‘Southern Zone’ with some sporadic ‘Sardinian-type’ outcomes in the high-mid vowels typical of the ‘Middle Zone’.

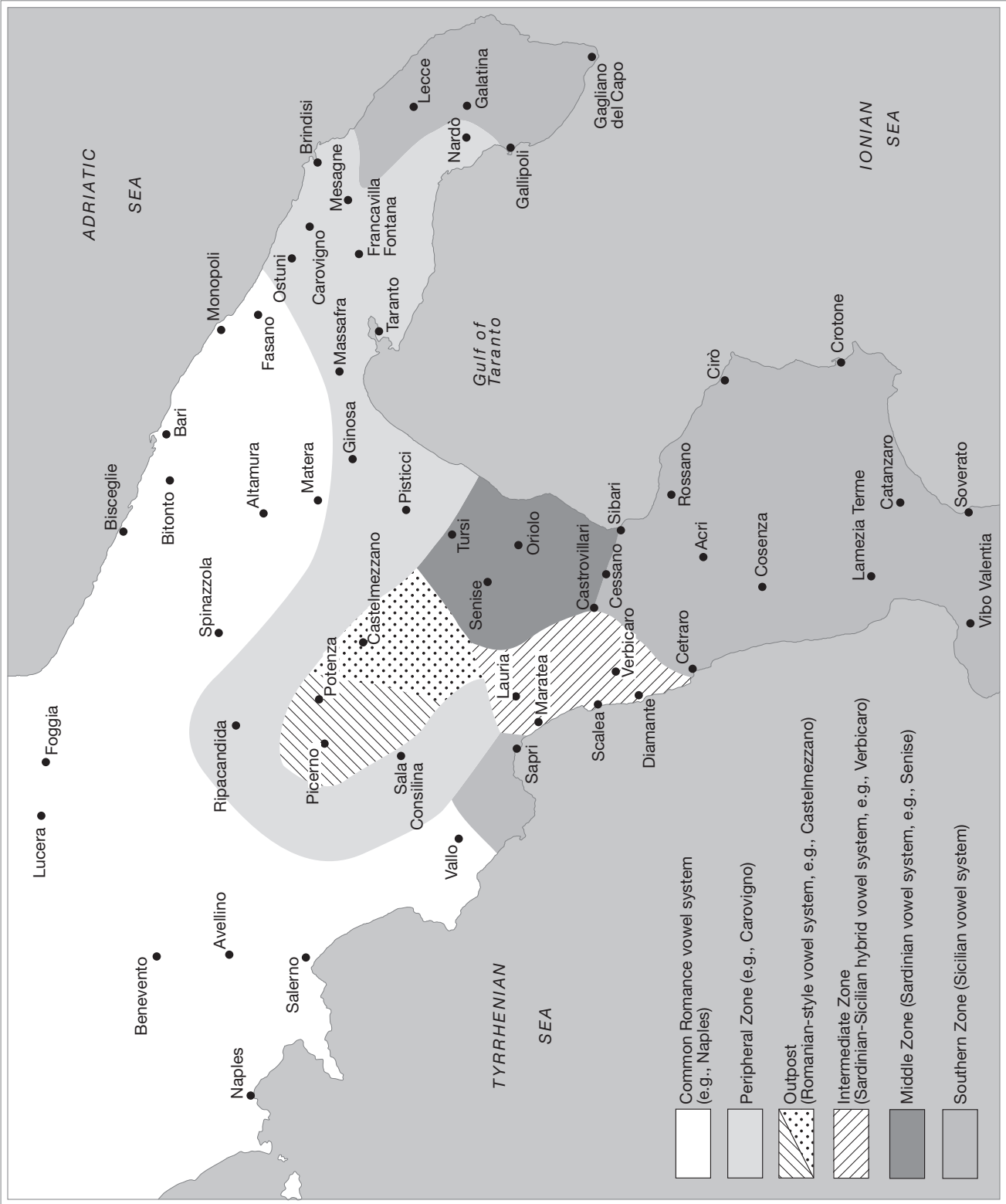
In the so-called ‘Southern Zone’, encompassing the whole of Calabria south of Diamante–Cassano–Sibari, Sicily, and central-southern Salento, we find the ‘Sicilian’ pentavocalic system with neutralization of height distinctions in the high vowels, a distribution which, following Lausberg (1966:§162) and Fanciullo (1984), is now generally assumed to represent a later development of the common Romance system.

The distribution of the ‘Sicilian’ system was undoubtedly more extensive in the past (Barbato 2005), including northern Salento, southern Campania (northern Cilento and Salerno), and large parts of Basilicata. A direct testimony of this historical distribution is still visible today in:

- (i) southern Cilento (Rohlfs 1988:84f.; De Blasi 2006:46f.) where an isolated pocket of dialects northwest of the ‘Transitional Zone’ to the south of Ascea-Vallo, together with the isolated dialect of Sala Consilina further north in the Vallo di Diano (Avolio 1995:60), continue to display a Sicilian system;
- (ii) the so-called ‘peripheral’ pentavocalic system (cf. Carovignese) which represents a further layering on an original ‘Sicilian’ system (Barbato 2002:40-44)

Table 16.1 Tonic vowels in southern Italian dialects

CLat.	FĪLUM ‘thread’	NĪUEM ‘snow’	TĒLAM ‘canvass’	PĒDEM ‘foot’	PĀNEM/CĀNEM ‘bread/dog’	CŌR ‘heart’	SŌLEM ‘sun’	CRŪCEM ‘cross’	LŪNAM ‘moon’
late Lat.	‘filo	‘niʃe	‘tela	‘pede	‘pane/’kane	*‘kore	‘sole	‘kroke	‘lu:na
Sns.	‘filə/’nivə		‘telə/’perə		‘panə/’kanə	‘korə/’solə		‘krutʃə/’lunə	
Cmz.	‘filə		‘nevə/’tela/’perə		‘panə/’kanə	‘korə/’solə		‘krutʃə/’lunə	
Nap.	‘filə		‘nevə/’telə	‘perə	‘panə/’kanə	‘korə	‘solə/’kroʃə	‘lunə	
Sic.		‘filu/’nivi/’tila		‘peri	‘pani/’kani	‘kəri	‘suli/’kru(t)ʃi/’luna		
Vbc.		‘filə/’niva/’tila		‘petra	‘panə/’kanə	‘korə	‘solə/’krutʃə/’lona		
			(UĒNAM>)	‘vena		‘fronta (<FRŌNTEM)			
Cgn.	‘fil ^u		‘nevə/’telə/’petə		‘pani/’kani	‘korə/’solə/’krʊʃə		‘luna	



Map 16.2 Tonic vowel systems in southern Italy

found in Lausberg's 'Peripheral Zone' (cf. also Fanciullo 2014). Significantly, the latter extends precisely from northern Salento into eastern and northern Basilicata, and finally into southeastern Campania, forming a natural transition between the common Romance system to the north, the 'Outpost' of Romanian-style systems to the south, and the 'Sardinian' (Middle Zone) and 'hybrid' (Transitional Zone) systems of the Lausberg Zone to the south and east.

16.2.1.1.1 Metaphony and spontaneous diphthongization

The effects of metaphonic raising or diphthongization of reflexes of the low mid vowels $\text{ɛ}/\text{ø}$ triggered by *-u (though not in eastern Abruzzo and some neighbouring Laziale dialects) and *-i are widespread throughout the coast and interior, respectively, of the upper South (Barbato 2008; cf. §38.3.3), e.g., *¹dente/-i 'tooth/teeth' > Santeliano 'dentə/'dentə vs Cos. 'dent^hɛ/'diənt^hi, *¹kəl(lek)tʊ/-i /-a/-e 'collected.PTCP.MSG/PL / FSG/PL' > Sorano 'kotə/'kətə vs Nap. 'kwovətə/'kɔvətə, whereas metaphony of the high mid vowels produces raising: *¹metti/-e 'put.2SG/3SG' > Bvt. 'mittə/'mettə, *¹rossʊ/-i 'red.MSG/PL' > Cpb. 'ruffə. In the extreme South, by contrast, diphthongization is the norm, reaching on the mainland as far as Vibo Valentia-Stilo in Calabria (Sov. 'piəntsi/'pəntsa 'think.2SG/3SG', 'tʃuəvi/'tʃuəva 'find.2SG/3SG'), as far as Nardò-San Donato-Vernole for ø and Gallipoli for ɛ in Salento (Cln. b'bwenu/-i 'good.MSG/PL' vs b'bəna/-e 'good.FSG/PL', 'pjertu/-i 'open(ed).MSG/PL' vs 'pərtə/-e 'open(ed).FSG/PL'), and in Sicily affects just the central-eastern part of the island (Ruffino 2001:44-6) where it is generally thought to represent a late development.³ More rare, and largely limited to the eastern upper south (Abruzzo, Molise) and western Campania (cf. Sornicola 2006a), is metaphony of /a/ which tends to operate in open syllables (Maiden 1991a; Ledgeway 2009a:54f.): *¹nasʊ/-i > Campese 'nasə/'nisə 'nose/-s', *¹akʊ/-i > MnP. 'ekə 'needle/-s'.

Although metaphonic alternation is reportedly recessive in some upper southern dialects, for instance in many dialects of the Gargano where its distribution is erratic (Carosella 2005:101-4), or in certain sections of society such as younger, middle-class speakers of Neapolitan (Del Puente 1995), it is certainly still morphologically productive in many other areas, witness such neologisms as Arl. 'faksə/

³ Metaphonic raising, however, extends to the southeastern corner of Salento (Grimaldi 2003; Loporcaro 2009:154): Santa Maria di Leuca 'dent^hɛ/'dent^hi 'tooth/teeth'. In Calabria and parts of northern Salento, as well as central Sicily (cf. n.5), metaphony is also exceptionally triggered by -u (<-o): PENSO 'think.1SG', *¹trɔvo 'find.1SG > Sov. 'piəntsu, 'tʃuəvu, *¹məro 'die.1SG' > Cln. 'mweru.

'fiksə 'fax/-es' (D'Alessandro and van Oostendorp 2014:3f.), rə'sjettə 'reset.2SG (a computer)' (Maturi 2002:186).

Whether the outcomes of metaphony are raising or diphthongization, it is not uncommon for them to be involved in secondary developments. Thus in Barese the metaphonic falling diphthongs [uə]/[iə] currently show oscillation between the original diphthongal output and an innovative reduced monophthongal variant (Valente 1975:15-17).⁴ Conversely, in Bitontino original monophthongal outputs such as *¹kjinə 'full.MSG' (< PLENU(M)) were subject to diphthongization (viz. 'kjɔjnə) as was primary [-i] (cf. *¹fikə > 'fɔjkə 'fig'). Spontaneous diphthongs of this type prove particularly common in Abruzzese, Molisan, and Pugliese, as well as the Bay of Naples and just to the north of Naples, roughly corresponding to the same areas displaying metaphony of /a/. Though details vary considerably from dialect to dialect (Sornicola 2006a; Ledgeway 2009a:50-52; Loporcaro 2009:73-5, 144f.), there is a greater tendency for spontaneous diphthongs to develop in open syllables (cf. Alt. CASA(M) > kɛjs 'house' vs QUANDO > kand 'when'), as in the case of the Manfredoniano mid vowels /e/ > [ei] ('peipə 'pepper', 'mejsə 'month'), /ɛ/ > [ɛi] ('mejlə 'honey'), /ɔ/ > [ɔi] ('rɔutə 'wheel'), /o/ > [ou] ('vouʃə 'voice', 'nouʃə 'walnut'). In dialects around the Bay of Naples, by contrast, the high mid vowels /e/ and /o/ variously produce the falling diphthongs [aj, ei] and [aɪ, oɪ], respectively, in both open syllables (Foriano: 'najvə 'snow', 'naʊʃə 'walnut') and closed (Foriano: 'sajkkə 'dry.F', 'raʊssə 'red.F'), whereas the high vowels /i/ and /u/ diphthongize as [øi, œi] and [eu] in open syllables (Ptl. 'vøjnə 'wine', (*¹pelʊ > 'pilə >) 'pøjlə 'hair', 'leʊnə 'moon', (*¹solʊ > 'sulə >) 'seʊlə 'alone.MSG'), and also in closed syllables in the case of /i/ ((*¹peʃʃi > 'piʃʃə >) 'pøiʃʃə 'fishes'). As with metaphonic diphthongization, the realization and quality of spontaneous diphthongs is often sensitive to phonosyntactic conditioning (Rohlf's 1966:30f.; Loporcaro 2009:145), witness the presence of the diphthong only in prepausal position in Mol. ji lə 'vajdə 'I him= see' vs lə 'vedə 'jojʃə 'him= see I'.

16.2.1.2 Atonic vowels

Southern atonic vowel systems are summarized in Table 16.2.

In all unstressed positions, ESIDs¹ (extreme southern Italian dialects) present just three vowels, merging all front vowels in [i] and back vowels in [u] (generally lowered to [ɪ ʊ] when not word-/phrase-final), e.g., Sic. POSSIBILE(M) >

⁴ In some dialects variation in the nature of the diphthong (falling vs raising, reduction to monophthong) is subject to phonosyntactic conditioning (Loporcaro 2009:122f.; Silvestri 2009): Adranita b'bənu 'miədiku 'good doctor' vs 'mediku b'buənu lit. 'doctor good'.

Table 16.2 Atonic vowels systems in southern Italian dialects

	PRE-TONIC/POST-TONIC (NON-FINAL)						POST-TONIC (FINAL)									
	Ī	Ȫ	Ē	Ĕ	ĀĀ	Ǿ	ō/ū	ū	ī	Ȫ	Ē	Ĕ	Ā/Ā	Ǿ	ō	ū
ESIDs ¹ (Sic., C-SCal., SSal.)			i		a		o			i			a		u	
ESIDs ² (NCal., CSal.)			i		a		o		i	ɛ/e			a		u	
USIDs			ə(i)		a(ə)		u(ə)		ə(u)	ə			a/ə		ə	

pos'sibbili 'possible', *ba'sjare > va'sari 'kiss.INF', CŪNICULU(M) > kō'nijju 'rabbit', with concomitant effects on inflectional morphology: CRUCE(M)/CRUCES 'cross/-es' > 'krufi, CREDIS/CREDI(T) 'believe.2SG/3SG' > 'krēdi. A variation on this system (ESIDs²) is found in and around Cosenza and in central Salento where front mid-vowels do not raise word-finally, e.g., Blm. HODIĒ > 'ɔjɛ 'today' (-[ɛ] > -[a] following a vowel in hiatus in Cosentino, hence 'ɔja), SEPTĒ(M) > 'sett^hɛ 'seven' (cf. Sic. 'ɔji, 'sett^hi). Despite superficial appearances, this system, at least in northern Calabria (cf. also northern Salentino), differs from the core ESIDs¹ system in the back vowels too, inasmuch as reflexes of -ō/-ō must have fallen together with reflexes of -ū [-u] much earlier than elsewhere in the extreme South since, like the latter (cf. Cos. 'kuənt^hu 'story' < CONTŪ(M)), the former also trigger metaphony, e.g., Cos. 'kuənt^hu 'tell.1SG' < CONTŌ, (skriv)-'iənnu '(writ)-ing.GER' < (SCRIB)-ENDŌ; 'suəru 'sister' < SORŌ (R), Ffd. (NCal.) 'uətt^hu 'eight' < OCTŌ (today Cosentino, under Italian influence, has 'ɔtt^hu; but Sic. (Scicli) 'kənt^hu 'tell.1SG', (skriv)-'ennu, 'səru, 'ɔtt^hu). Thus, in the back vowels – phonetically [-u] everywhere in the extreme South – ESIDs¹, at least in those dialects with metaphony, distinguish phonologically between reflexes of -ō/-ō (non-metaphonizing) and -ū (metaphonizing), whereas in ESIDs² such as Cosentino the phonological opposition is neutralized.⁵

Superficially simpler are USIDs (upper southern Italian dialects) where above the Cetraro-Bisignano-Torre Melissa and Taranto-Ostuni lines, especially in final position, all unstressed vowels may potentially neutralize as [ə], although there is a notable areal tendency for (final) [a] to display greater resilience (Rohlf 1966:176; Retaro 2008:121f.; Ledgeway 2009a:71-8; Loporcaro 2009:145-7), witness Verbicarese which reduces all final vowels to schwa with the exception of -A (Silvestri 2008-9): *'pəktu/-i 'chest/-s' > 'piəttə, CANTO > 'kantə 'sing.1SG', *'kane/-i 'dog/-s' > 'kanə, but CASAM > 'kasa 'house'. In Neapolitan, for instance, in pretonic positions front/back mid-vowels

generally reduce to [ə/u], respectively (m['e]na/m[ə]nà 'throw.PRS.3SG/INF', m['o]nna/m[u]nnà 'peel.PRS.3SG/INF') and non-mid vowels oscillate with [ə] (frav[i]cà/frav[ə]cà 'produce.INF', tav[u]lèttà/tav[ə]lèttà 'board (for pasta-making)', terr[a]mòto/terra[ə]mòto 'earthquake'), whereas in non-final posttonic positions all vowels generally merge as [ə], though again with some oscillations in the high and, especially, low vowels: FORFICE(M) > fuórf[ə]ce 'scissors', TABŪLA(M) > tāv[ə]la 'table', sùbb[ə]to/(sùbb[i]to) 'immediately', àv[ə]to (/àv[u]to) 'tall', càmm[ə]ra/càmm[a]ra '(bed)room'. In final position, by contrast, all vowels are realized as schwa, though some fluctuation is possible with -A (variously [-a, ə, ɐ, ə]; Avolio 1995:41f.): bello/-a/-e [b'bellə] 'beautiful.MSG/FSG/PL'.

In other cases it is not uncommon for unstressed vowels and syllables to fall (e.g., Ffd. AXILLAM > sciddà 'wing'), including the pan-southern historical loss of word-initial /i/-before tautosyllabic nasals giving rise to novel onset clusters (Cpb. 'mbronta 'finger-print', Sic. in 'in'+vucca 'mouth' > 'mmucca), and apocope of word-final vowels typically following long consonants (UACCA(M) > Pgl. vacc' 'cow', LINGUA(M) > Isc. lènk 'tongue', SAPIO > Cal. sacci' 'know.1SG'). Rife across all dialects is the tendency to elide unstressed vowels: Cht. m' (< me) a vinute n' (< nu) idee lit. 'me has come an idea'.

16.2.2 Consonants

At a certain level of phonological abstraction, the consonantal inventory of southern Italy can be modelled by way of the representation in Table 16.3.

16.2.2.1 Obstruents

Alongside voice and length, a major distinctive characteristic of the southern consonantal system is fortis/lenis oppositions. In all dialects, in non-postconsonantal positions the historically underlying voicing contrast in the stops (p/b, t/d, k/g) is maintained, at least traditionally, through a fortis/lenis opposition between a stop series /p t k/ and a fricative/sonorant series /v (/β/v); ð (/r/l); ɣ (j)/, often with further weakening > [Ø] and producing frequent counteretymological restorations (Ponticellese *(v)irələ >

⁵ An intermediate case is represented by Mussomelese (S. Cruschina p.c.) which presents the ESID¹ system in the front vowels ('ɔji, 'sett^hi), but the ESID² system in the back vowels ('duarmu 'sleep.1SG' < DORM(I)Ō, (skriv)-'iannu, 'suaru, 'uatt^hu).

Table 16.3 Consonantal phonemes in southern Italian dialects

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR
Stop	p b		t d			c ɟ	k g
Fricative		f v		s	ʃ		
Affricate				ts	tʃ	ddʒ	
Nasal		m			n		ɲ
Lateral				l			ʎ
Approximant						j	
Trill				r			

'gwɪrələ 'widower').⁶ Only in fortis positions, namely postconsonantly (principally lexicalized word-internal sequences) including under RF (cf. §§14.2.5, 40.3.1), do original (long) voiced stops resurface contrasting with the corresponding (long) voiceless stops. Coupled with the fact that in USIDs there is also variable voicing of the original unvoiced stops in postvocalic position (Maturi 2002:82; Ledgeway 2009a:86), though without risk of merger with the original voiced stops now weakened to fricatives/sonorants, it is clear that voicing contrasts only play a minor phonological role in the consonantal system with [b(b)], [d(d)], and [g(g)] reduced to postconsonantal allophones of /v/ (whether < b or v), /ð/, and /ɣ/.⁷ The situation is summarized in Table 16.4.⁸

As the final row of Table 16.4 illustrates, a similar fortis/lenis opposition is found with reflexes of (-)g^h/- and (-)g^h/- which typically produce /j (j)/ (cf. also *bl-: Grm. blund- > Bacoiese 'jōnnə 'blond.M'), with the exception of southeastern Campania, most of northern and eastern Basilicata, northern-central Apulia (as far as southeastern Gargano), and Salento (Rohlf's 1966:§§156, 158, 182, 218, 220, 278-9; Fanciullo 1988:669; Russo and Aprile 2001:14f.) where original /j/ produces /ʃ (ε)/. Unlike the other oppositional pairs, however, in postconsonantal position -/j/- and Sal. -/ʃ/- yield word-internally not the expected -[j]- and -/ʃ/- but -[dʒ]-/-[j]-, -[dʒ]- (USIDs/ESIDs, Sal.: uor[dʒ]o/uor[j]u, er[dʒ]u), whereas USID /ʃ/ alternates according to dialect between -[ʃ]- and -[dʒ]- postconsonantly (cf. Vsd. 'vərʃə, Giuglianese 'vordʒə, Mtn. 'juərʃə 'barley') and between -[ʃʃ]-

-[dʒ]-, and -[j]- under RF (Bar. (a ʃ)ʃi '(to) go.INF', Vallatese v ʃə'nuccə/rə dʒən'γuccə 'the knee/-s').

A partial reversal of the pattern in Table 16.4 is found in Salentino (cf. Table 16.5), where the original voiced stops /b/ and /d, g/ undergo lenition (reduction to /ø/) and fortition (devoicing to /t/, /k/), respectively, in word-initial and intervocalic positions. Thus although there arises a partial neutralization with the voiceless stops – complete word-internally: CRUDUM > cru[t]u 'raw.MSG' vs ROTAM > ro[t]a 'wheel' –, the original contrast is restored in postconsonantal positions, including under RF.

Apart from [f]/[v] (e.g., U/ESID [f]a(ci)/[v]a(ci) 'do/go.3SG', though not when lengthened: [ff]a(ci)/[bb]a(ci)), the limited role of voicing contrasts is highlighted by the fact that none of the remaining segments enters into a phonemic voicing opposition.⁹

16.2.2.2 Sonorants

Neutralization of voicing contrasts and consonantal weakening also involve the nasals (Loporcaro 2009:126-28). From the late Middle Ages the assimilations -nd-/mb- > -nn/-mm- began to spread from central Italy southwards (Varvaro 1979) and today cover the entire South except central-southern Calabria (below Amantea-Scigliano-Crotone), the northeastern corner of Sicily (Varvaro 1979:189f.), and a strip of central-northern Salento (between Brindisi-Otranto on the Adriatic and Gallipoli-Nardò on the Ionian).¹⁰ QUANDO > Mat. quonn 'when', PLUMBUM > chijmm 'lead' (but Lec. quandu, LUMBUM > lumbu 'loin'). More limited in distribution is voicing of postnasal voiceless stops (including across word boundaries) which extends across the upper south as far as northernmost Calabria in the west and Taranto-Ostuni in the east (but, in regional Italian, extends

⁶ See Rohlf's (1966:§§150, 153, 155, 167, 215-17), Fanciullo (1986:70-78; 1988:671-74; 1997:12-16), Loporcaro (1988a:86f.), Andalò and Bafile (1991), De Blasi and Imperatore (2000:52-57), Maturi (2002:82), Ruffino (2001:47-9), De Giovanni (2003:99-101), Ledgeway (2009a:85-8, 91-9), Retaro (2008:125-34). The details of these fortis/lenis oppositions vary enormously across dialects (see Russo and Aprile 2001).

⁷ Both early and recent loans, mainly from Italian, fall outside these patterns (cf. Russo and Aprile 2001:12).

⁸ In many dialects, under the influence of Italian and in accordance with complex sociolinguistic factors, some of these traditional oppositions have undergone various reanalyses with subsequent relexicalizations and phonological restructuring (Russo and Aprile 2001:13).

⁹ The functional load of the palatalized velars [c, ɟ] (< -kj/-g-) is somewhat limited, entering into very few minimal pairs with the velar stops /k, g/: Nap. cacca/cacchio ['kakkə/'kaccə] 'shit/noose'.

¹⁰ Assimilation of *-ld- > -ll- (CAL.)DUM > Mol. ca[l]l]o 'hot', by contrast, is today recessive only reaching as far as the Cassino-Gargano line (De Giovanni 2003:105).

Table 16.4 Fortis/lenis contrasts in the dialects of southern Italy

	USIDS (NAP.)			ESIDS (COS.)		
	LENIS POSITION	FORTIS POSITION		LENIS POSITION	FORTIS POSITION	
	##/V___V	C+/C#___	[+RF]	##/V___V	C+/C#___	[+RF]
P	p~[p p& b̥ b] na [b̥]ippa 'a pipe'	p(p) pi[pp]a 'pipe'	pp tre [pp]ippe '3 pipes'	p na [p]ippa	p(p) pi[pp]a	pp tri [pp]ippe
B/U	v, β, v, Ø na [v]arca 'a boat'	b(b) 'n [b]arca 'in (a) boat'	bb tre [bb]arche '3 boats'	v na [v]arca	b(b) 'n [b]arca	bb tre [bb]arche
T	t~[t t̥ d̥ d] na [d̥]ela 'a canvass'	t(t) ru[tt]o 'broken.MPL'	tt tre [tt]ele '3 canvases'	t na [t]ila	t ru[tt]u	tt tri [tt]ile
D	ð, r, l, Ø nu [r]ente 'a tooth'	d(d) 'n [dd]uje 'in two'	dd tre [dd]iente '3 teeth'	ð, r nu [ð]ente	d(d) 'n [d]ua	dd tri [dd]ienti
C	k~[k k̥ ġ ġ] na [ġ]asa 'a house'	k(k) puor[k]o 'pig'	kk tre [kk]ase '3 houses'	k na [k]asa	k(k) puor[k]u	kk tri [kk]ase
G	ɣ, j, Ø nu [ɣ]allo 'a rooster'	g(g) luon[g]o 'long.MSG'	gg tre [gg]alle '3 roosters'	ɣ, j nu [ɣ]ad̥du	g(g) luongu	gg tri [gg]ad̥di
(-)G ^{E/I} -, (-G/D)Ī-	j, j̥ / ʃ, ɕ o [j]uoko / ECmp. u [ʃ]ueko 'the game' (< IOCUM)	ʃ, dʒ / ʃ, dʒ uor[dʒ]o / ECmp. uer[ʃ/dʒ]o 'barley' (< HORDEUM)	ʃʃ / ʃʃ, dʒ, ʃʃ tre [ʃʃ]uoche / ECmp. tre [ʃʃ/dʒ]ueche	j, j̥ / ʃ u [j]uocu / Lec. lu [ʃ]ecu	ʃ, j / ʃ, dʒ uor[ʃ]u / Lec. er[dʒ]u	ʃʃ / ʃʃ tri [ʃʃ]uochi / Lec. ttre [ʃʃ]echi

Table 16.5 Development of Salentino (Leccese) stops

	LENIS POSITION	FORTIS POSITION	
	##/V___V	C+/C#___	[+RF]
P	p nna [p]ippa 'a pipe'	p(p) pi[pp]a 'pipe'	pp ttre [pp]ippe 'three pipes'
B/U	Ø nna [Ø]arca 'a boat'	b(b) 'n [b]arca, a[bb]ergu 'in (a) boat, hotel'	bb ttre [bb]arche 'three boats'
T	t nna [t]ila 'a canvas'	t(t) ru[tt]o 'broken'	tt ttre [tt]ile 'three canvases'
D	t nnu [t]ente 'a tooth'	d(d) 'n [d]oi, sor[d]u 'in two, deaf'	dd ttre [dd]ienti 'three teeth'
K	k nna [k]asa 'a house'	k(k) var[k]a 'boat'	kk ttre [kk]ase 'three houses'
G	k nnu [k]ad̥du 'a rooster'	g(g) len[g]u 'long'	gg tre [gg]atte 'three cats'

across the extreme south). Coupled with the previous assimilations, in these dialects distinctions in the original bilabials and dentals are maintained (GAMBAM/CAMPUM > ga[mm]a/ca[mb]o ‘leg/field’, QUANDO/QUANTUM > qua[nn]o/qua[nd]o ‘when/how.much’), but not in the velar series (BANCAM/LONGAM > ban[g]a/lon[g]a ‘bank/long.FSG’). Extreme southern dialects, by contrast, regularly aspirate the voiceless stops in postnasal position (Lec. cam[p^h]u, quan[t^h]u, ban[k^h]a), a feature found also under lengthening and following [r, l] (Cos. la[tt^h]e ‘milk’, par[t^h]a ‘leave.3SG’), but regularly show voicing of other voiceless segments postnasally on a par with USIDs: Cos. Fran[dʒ]a ‘France’, PENSARE > pen[z]à (> pen[ts]à) ‘think.INF’.

The palatal /ʎ/ (< -LI-, (-)GL-, -BL-), which is long intervocalically (very rarely found word-initially: GLANDAM > NCal. [ʎʎ]anna ‘acorn’), is generally realized as an approximant in southern Lazio, Campania, Molise, and ABRUZZO (FILIAM > fi[jj]a ‘daughter’, *kU'niglu > cuni[jj]o ‘rabbit’, NEB(U)LAM > ne[jj]a ‘fog’), but in Pugliese and the extreme southern dialects (as well as Procidano and Ischitano) as a stop: SCal./Lec./Sic. fi[jj]a, cuni[jj]u, ni(e)[jj]a. Similarly, alveolar /l/ variously undergoes, in preconsonantal position; (i) rhotacization, especially before velars and labials (SOLCUM > Nap. surco ‘furrow’, Lec. UULPEM > urpe ‘fox’); (ii) velarization, often with subsequent epenthesis of [v] (ALTUM > Nap. auto > àveto ‘tall’); (iii) simple deletion following rhotacization or velarization (ALTERUM > Nap./Cos. ato/atru, *vòlta > Cht./Pal. vote/vùota ‘time, occasion’). When long or following a back vowel, the lateral is frequently velarized in upper southern dialects, but in the Bay of Naples and generally below the Eboli-Lucera-Troia-Foggia line the geminated lateral is subject to a series of weakenings (Avolio 1995:68f.), the various stages of which can be summarized as -[ll]- > -[dd]- > -[dd]- (> -[jj]-) > -[r/-r]-. In most of Basilicata, Apulia, and northern Salento the outcome is -[dd]-, e.g. ILLUM/ILLAM > Mat. ju[dd]/ja[dd] ‘he/she’, Bar. CABALLUM > cava[dd]o ‘horse’, CEREBELLUM > Cln. cirvie[dd]u ‘brain’, whereas in the Bay of Naples there is much (unpredictable) variation between the distribution of the different outcomes, e.g., Prd. ga[ll]ina/ga[dd]ina ‘hen’ vs cepo[dd]a ‘onion’ vs biè[r]o ‘beautiful.MSG’ (Como and Milano 2002; Pianese 2002; Ledgeway 2009a:105f.). More uniform is the situation in dialects of the extreme south where the outcome is a retroflex, typically, according to Loporcaro (2009:151), an affricate (Cos./Lec. ILLUM/-AM > i[ddz]u/-a ‘he/she’), more rarely an obstruent (Conflentese/Amatese i[dd]u/-a). Various retroflex outputs are also found in dialects of the extreme south for reflexes of -(s)TR-/-TTR, as well as for -R- in southern Calabria, Sicily, and Salento where word-initially it is also lengthened: REUERSARE > Sic. [r̥r̥]uvisciari ‘vomit.INF’. Otherwise isolated is the retroflex realization of -(l)l/- in Abruzzese dialects of the Valle d’Orte: PALU(M) > pa[l̥]e ‘pole’, GALLU(M) > ja[l̥]e ‘rooster’.

16.3 Morphology

16.3.1 Nominal group

16.3.1.1 Nouns and adjectives

As illustrated in Table 16.6, nouns may each belong to one of up to five inflectional classes, distinguishing three target genders (masculine, feminine, and alternating masculine-feminine), whereas each adjective belongs to one of the first three.¹¹

In classes 1/2 desinences are historically cumulative, expressing both number (singular/plural) and gender (masculine/feminine) – today generally reduced to schwa in upper southern dialects – continuing the Latin predominantly feminine and masculine first and second declensions in -A(M)/-AS (> *-aj > -e (> ESID¹-i)) and -U(M)/*-i, respectively. Gender, but not number, may also be also marked in class 2 masculine nouns/adjectives by metaphony (cf. puor-/puerc-(M) vs porc-(F)), and class 1 nouns with high-mid vowels (but not adjectives) may (optionally) signal number in some dialects, including old Neapolitan, which developed a rival feminine plural inflection *-i (Maiden 1991a:§§7.6.4.2; §8.4): ONap. corune/corone ‘crowns’ (cf. SG corona; Ledgeway 2009a:61-4). Class 2 nouns/adjectives, as illustrated in Table 16.6, may also mark number through velar/palatal stem oppositions, an alternation typical of a handful of animates (and inanimates with unmarked plurals: Mtn. funge ‘mushroom/-s’, sparge ‘asparagus’, stinge ‘mastic/-s’) (Maiden 2000b; cf. §42.3): Nap. ammico/-ce ‘friend/s’, miécco/-ce ‘doctor/-s’, mònaco/muónace ‘monk/-s’.

In class 3, desinences are syncretic for gender, as well as for number in upper southern dialects and ESIDs¹ (following neutralization and raising of -e/-i and -e, respectively; cf. Sic. (SG/PL) notti, p(i)eri), continuing the Latin (masculine/feminine) third declension in -E(M)/-ES (> *-ej->-i). Here too metaphony is in evidence, but serves to mark plural number, although since eradicated in many (upper) southern dialects in feminine class 3a nouns (cf. ModNap. notte (SG/PL) vs Lec. notte/n(u)etti), thereby reintroducing a gender distinction in the plural of common nouns/adjectives: UIR(I)D- ‘green’: ModNap. verde/vierde (MSG/FSG/FPL/MPL) vs Lec. ’erde/’ierdi (SG/PL). In many dialects class 3a, and to a more limited extent 3b, nouns/adjectives have passed to class 1(2); exemplary in this respect is Verbicarese where all class 3a nouns with original singular -e -[ə] (cf. class 3b CANE(M) > can[ə] ‘dog’) have been integrated into class 1 with final -[a] (Loporcaro and Silvestri 2011:§3.1): NOCTE(M) > nott[ə] ‘night’, LUCE(M) > luci[ə] ‘light’.

¹¹ For residues of the fifth declension in Neapolitan, see Ledgeway (2009a:137-9).

Table 16.6 Nominal inflectional classes

CLASS	USIDS (NAP.)		ESIDS ² (LEC.)		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
1 (F)	<i>porc-a</i> -[ə]	<i>porch-e</i> -[ə]	<i>porc-a</i>	<i>porch-e</i>	'sow/-s'
2 (M)	<i>puorc-o</i> -[ə]	<i>puorc-e</i> -[ə]	<i>puerc-u</i>	<i>puerc-i</i>	'boar/-s'
3a (F)	<i>nott-e</i> -[ə]	<i>nuott-e</i> -[ə] (obs.)	<i>nott-e</i>	<i>n(u)ett-i</i>	'night/-s.F'
3b (M)	<i>per-e</i> -[ə]	<i>pier-e</i> -[ə]	<i>pet-e</i>	<i>piet-i</i>	'foot/feet.M'
4 (F)	<i>man-o</i> -[ə]	<i>man-o</i> -[ə]	<i>man-u</i>	<i>man-u</i>	'hand/-s'
5a (M/F)	<i>uov-o</i> -[ə]	<i>ov-a</i> -[ə]	<i>(u)è-u</i>	<i>ò-e</i>	'egg.M/-s.F'
5b (M/F)	<i>camp-o</i> -[ə]	<i>càmp-ora</i> (obs.)	<i>camp-u</i>	<i>càmp-ure</i>	'field.M/-s.F'

Inflectionally more restricted are classes 4 and 5. The former, limited to a handful of residues of, and additions to, Latin feminine fourth declension nouns are inflectionally invariable nouns continuing $-\ddot{u}(M)/-\ddot{u}(s) > -u/-o$ (cf. §42.5): Prd.,Isc./Cos. *chèpo/capu* 'head(s)', *mèno/manu* 'hand(s)', *ècho/acu* 'needle(s)', Cos. *sùoru* 'sister(s)', *ficu* 'fig(s)'. Since early times, however, this class has been unstable showing in many dialects migrations to class 5b (see below) and class 1 (together with analogical (NURUS > *'nōra>) *nora* 'daughter-in-law' and (SOCRUS > *'sōkra>) *socra* 'mother-in-law'): Nap. *fica, capa, sora, mana*. As for the asymmetrical paradigm of class 5 nouns, these lack a feminine singular and a masculine plural, such that desinences are (historically) distinctive and cumulative unambiguously expressing both gender and number (§42.4), continuing Latin second and third declension neuter inflections in $-U(M)/-A$ and $-U(S)/-OR-A$ (subclasses 5a/b; cf. §42.4.4). Class 5b is today recessive in many areas, including Naples (cf. relics such as *trùono/trònele* 'thunderclap/-s' (< *-ole* < *-ora*), *vico/vécole* 'alley/-s'; Ledgeway 2009a:141f.), dialects north of Vesuvius (*màrmele* 'marble objects'; Retaro 2008:154f.), and Lecce where $-ORA > -ure$ is now restricted to a handful of items where it freely alternates with masculine plurals in $-i$ (\Rightarrow hybrid class 2/5b), e.g., *nitu* 'nest': *niti/niture*, *campu* 'field': *campi/càmpure*, *nnutu* 'knot': *nnuti/nnùture*,¹² not to mention hybrid class 4/5b nouns alternating between $-u/-ure$ plurals: *capu* 'head': *capu/càpure*, *manu* 'hand': *manu/mànure* (cf. also *acu* (M) 'needle': *achi* (M)/*àcure* (F)). Yet, in other areas reflexes of $-ORA$ appear more robust (Rohlf 1968:40f.), continuing to mark not only inanimates (Cld. *puzze/pózzere* 'well/-s', Bar. *stèzze/stòzzere* 'piece/-s'), but also extended to mark animates (Cld.

merite/merétere 'husband/-s', Bar. *mamme/màmmere* 'mum/-s'). In some dialects, classes 5a and 5b may combine, with FPL $-a$ specializing as a marker of collective plurals (Giammarco 1979:129; De Giovanni 2003:109): Cercepicolese/Sepinese 'kasà 'house': 'kasərə/'kasa 'houses/residential district'.

By contrast, class 5a enjoys considerable stability across the South (cf. Rohlf 1968:§§368, 370, 384; Ledgeway 2009a:143-50), e.g., Isc. ($-a > -e$ -[ə]) *scuogghie/scogghie* 'rock/-s', *presutte/-otte* 'ham/-s', *tratture/-ore* 'drawer/-s', so much so that it has been extended as a generic plural marker (in part alongside original $-i$) in southern Calabria and Sicily into class 2 nouns (though sometimes with a collective reading: Sic. *acietri/acietra* 'birds/flock of birds'), including animates (Rohlf 1968:§368; Sornicola 2010): Mistrettese *pilu/-a* 'hair/-s', *juornu/jorna* 'day/-s', *dutturi/-a* 'doctor/-s.M', *scarparu/-a* 'cobbler/-s'. More generally, many class 5a nouns have also integrated non-original neuters with mass meanings giving rise to competing masculine and feminine plurals in $-i$ and $-a$ (cf. Lec. *nnuti/nnùture* above), where the masculine typically conveys count and/or figurative readings (Nap./Lec. *cuófane/panari* 'baskets.M', Prd. *semmiente* '(scattered) seeds.M', Sic. *ligni* 'pieces of wood.M') and the feminine non-count, literal meanings (Nap./Lec. *còfana/panare* 'basketfuls.F', Prd. *semmenta* '(collection of) seeds.F', Sic. *ligna* 'firewood.F'). In some dialects these patterns are recessive today, with both plurals being used interchangeably (Prd. *piette/piatte* 'plates.M/F', Lec. *ùeti/ùete* 'elbows.M/F') or with one of the two falling into disuse (Nap., *lenzuole/lenzola* 'bed.sheets.F/M' (obs.)); not infrequently the feminine is reanalysed as a collective singular (Nap. *a trònola* 'the.FSG thunder.(claps).FSG').

Despite the inflectional classes identified in Table 16.6, there is no straightforward correlation (synchronically) between morphological marking and grammatical gender, witness Cos./Lec. *capu* 'head.F' vs 'leader.M'. Despite a strong correlation between natural and grammatical gender (Snc. *mendone/pècura* 'ram.M/sheep.F'), grammatical gender is lexicalized (cf. Sic. *valuci/vurpi* 'snail.M/fox.F'). In many cases,

¹² Sornicola (2010:553) highlights how in Sicilian the opposition between $-i/-ira$ plurals correlates with pragmatic-prosodic distinctions, only the latter occurring in focal contexts. This is not true, however, of all Sicilian varieties; for instance in Mussomelese (S. Cruschina, p.c.) the distinction between $-i/-ura$ plurals (e.g., *vùascu* 'wood, forest': *vùaschi/vùascura*) is purely diagenational, with the former used among younger speakers and the latter exclusively among speakers from the older generations.

especially in nouns historically in *-e* (SG)/-*i* (PL) (Maiden 2011a:§3.2), the dialects show numerous divergences with respect to other (Italo-)Romance varieties, e.g., pan-southern *pinnulo/-u* ‘pill.M’, *scàtulo/-u* ‘box.M’, *pólece/pùlice* ‘flea.M’, (*g*)*atta* ‘cat.F’. In some cases, gender may oscillate freely, e.g. Nap./Lec. *serpe* ‘snake’, *cucuzzella/-iello* / *cucuzzedda/-ieddu* ‘courgette.M/F’ (but NCal. (M) *cucuzzeddu*), more rarely in accordance with number (e.g., Lec. *fine/-i* ‘end.F/-s.M’, but *fine/-i* ‘aim.M/-s.M’), and in others yields semantic differences: Cmp./Cal. *livello/-u* ‘level.M’ vs *livella* ‘spirit-level.F’ (but Lec. *lieddu* ‘(spirit-)level.M’), Lec. *tàulu/tàula* ‘workbench.M/table.F’ (but Cos. *tàvulu/tàvula* ‘table.M/plank.F’).

Gender may, in a limited number of cases, also have semantic functions. In conjunction with cultivated fruits and their trees the masculine normally indicates the tree and the feminine the associated fruit, e.g., Cal./Sal./Sic. *piru/-a* ‘pear tree/pear’ (but cf. Ledgeway 2009a:164-66). Less regular, and subject to dialectal variation, is the correlation between gender and size in lexical pairs where feminine indicates a larger version of the referent of the masculine (Nap./NCal./Lec. *cucchiaro/-u* ‘spoon.M’ vs *cucchiara* ‘big wooden spoon, ladle; trowel.F’, Nap./Lec. *canisto/canisciu* ‘small basket.M’ vs *canesta/caniscia* ‘large basket.F’, Isc. *tiene/tiana* ‘small/big frying.pan.M/F’).

No variety preserves case distinctions (Rohlf 1968:5-7, 8-11). However, some USIDs retain a lexically restricted vestige of the early Romance oblique case (cf. §§30.4.2, 56.2.1.4) indefinite genitive phrases such as ONap. *a pede la porta* ‘at foot (of) the door’, Vbc. *a casa granna u figghio u sinnico* ‘the house big the son the mayor (= the mayor’s son’s big house)’, Cvl. *A Madonna u Castiddu, a Vadda, u Puddinu, u Tuvulu* ‘the Madonna (of) the Castle, (of) the Valley, (of) the Pollino, (of) the Tuff’ (Rohlf 1969a:§630; Battipede 1987a:251; Ledgeway 2009a:125f.; Silvestri 2012; 2014a). With Corsican (§14.3.1.1), Logudorese (§17.3.1), and Romanian dialects of Maramureş (Maiden 2006:52), southern dialects form a vocative by deleting all material following the tonic vowel (D’Alessandro and van Oostendorp 2010): Cht. *Graziè!* (<Graziella).

16.3.1.2 Determiners and quantifiers

Broadly speaking, in the modern dialects the (preconsonantal) definite article (< ILLE ‘that’) – and corresponding accusative object clitics (§16.3.1.3.2) – varies according to whether the lateral is retained (eastern dialects) or lost (western dialects), e.g., Frz. *i/u picciriddu/-i* ‘the.MSG/PL boy.M/-s.M’, *a/i picciriddu/-i* ‘the.FSG/PL girl.F/-s.F’; Scr. *lu/li cristianu/-i* ‘the.MSG/PL man.M/men.M’, *la famija/le famije* ‘the.FSG/PL family.F/-ies.F’, with the lateral surfacing prevocalically (generally long in immediate pretonic position): Frz.

l’annu/-i ‘the year.M/-s.M’, Scr. *l’ura/l’osse* ‘the hour.F/bones.F’.¹³ Although in the plural gender distinctions are often lost through vocalic merger, in many upper southern dialects a distinction persists through the consonantal lengthening (RF) triggered by the original final [-s] of the feminine: Slc. *i* [f]igli ‘the.MPL sons.M’ vs *i* [ff]iglie ‘the.FPL daughters.F’.

Most upper southern dialects (not eastern Abruzzese nor some dialects of the province of Bari) also present an additional ‘mass/neuter’ article (with corresponding homophonous accusative clitic) derived from *il’lok (with analogous formations in the demonstratives: ECCU+ISTOC/*ip’sok/*il’lok), an erstwhile neuter form which initially arose with Latin neuter nouns (e.g., FERRUM ‘iron’) but eventually extended to many masculines with mass interpretations (e.g., PANEM ‘bread’, SANGUINEM ‘blood’). The distinction between reflexes of count ILLU(M) and non-count *il’lok variously surfaces in the quality of the continuant of the lateral (Sanfeliciano *ju cane/lu lardo* ‘the dog/(the) pork.fat’), the absence/presence of initial-consonant lengthening (RF), historically a case of sandhi assimilation of final -k (Bar. *u* [m]are/*u* [mm]iire ‘the sea/(the) wine’), or both (Molfettese *u* [f]iùeco/*rà* [ff]iùeco ‘the fireplace/(the) fire’).¹⁴ In these dialects, ‘mass/neuter’ is a productive category and regularly extended to all substantivized parts of speech, such as adjectives (Nap. *o* [n]uovo/*o* [nn]uovo ‘the new.one/(the) newness’) and infinitives (*o* [ff]ummà ‘(the) smoking’), as well as neologisms (*o* [rr]ap ‘(the) rap-music’). On one view (cf. §§57.3.3-57.4), the ‘neuter’ article makes it possible to identify four controller genders in upper southern dialects, insofar as different nominal classes are contrasted through the different agreement patterns they select with the article: modern Neapolitan class 1/3a/4 nominals select *a~e* [+RF], classes 2/3b *o/e* [-RF], class 5a(b) *o/e* [+RF], and so-called (mass-)neuter nouns *o* [+RF]. The other view (cf. Ledgeway 2009a:150-54; Maiden 2011a:170f.) is to interpret the distinction synchronically in terms of number, recognizing that a subset of some masculine ‘mass’ nouns may be distinguished from other masculine (mass) nouns (Nap. *o* [t]aliano/*o* [t]aliano ‘(the) Italian (language)/the Italian.man’).

The forms of the indefinite article (from UNUM/UNAM ‘one.M/F’), which are limited to the singular (except in collocation with reflexes of ALTEROS/ALTERAS ‘other.MPL/FPL’ + numeral: Ped. *n’autri deci* ‘an other.PL ten’), present much less variation, namely *nu/na* (M/FSG; but MSG *un* in western Sicily), with *n* used prevocalically, e.g., Vbc. *nu jure/na mulengiana/*

¹³ But cf. Ruffino (1997:370; 2001:57) for western Sicilian, and Granatiero (1987:51), Ledgeway (2009a:172f.) for Procidano, Ischitano, and Mattinatese.

¹⁴ Some dialects present a distinct ‘neuter/mass’ form of the indefinite article and numeral for ‘one’: Mtn. *nu* [mm]ele *accussì ddòlece* ‘such a sweet honey’, *cusse e cudde sò unu* [ww]ine ‘this one and that one are one (and the same) wine’.

n'atru/-a 'a.M flower.M/a.F aubergine.F/an.M/F other.M/F', and are formally differentiated from the numeral 'one' which retains the initial vowel (cf. Slc. *nu/unu libro* 'a/one book'). There is no partitive article in the modern dialects (Ledgeway 2009a:189-91), with singular non-count and plural indefinites variously occurring in bare form, with a reflex of CERTUM 'certain', or with a low numeral (typically 'two'): Cos. *s'avia accattatu (certe/dua) sasizze* 'he had bought (some/two) sausages'.

As documented in Ledgeway (2004b; forthcoming c) and in §54.1, southern demonstrative systems are variously organized in terms of a ternary person-based opposition contrasting reflexes of (ECCU+)ISTE, (ECCU+)IPSE, and (ECCU+)ILLE, and more frequently in terms of a binary opposition between speech-participants and third-person variously contrasting reflexes of (ECCU+)ISTE VS (ECCU+)ILLE (e.g., Brindisino) or (ECCU+)IPSE VS (ECCU+)ILLE (e.g., Ceglie). Almost without exception, the modern dialects formally mark the pronominal/adnominal paradigmatic opposition in reflexes of ECCU+ISTE/IPSE – and ECCU+ILLE in southern Calabria and Sicily (cf. SCal./Sic. *ḍḍu* 'that') – through use of ECCU-reinforced and non-reinforced forms, respectively, e.g., Parabitano *stu libbru/ḍḍa cane* 'this.M book/that.F bitch' vs *quistu/quidḍa* 'this. one.M/that.one.F'.

Quantifiers are not morphologically distinguished from adjectives: classes 1/2: (*a*)*nguno*(-u)/-a 'some.M/FSG'; class 3: *quale*/-i (SG/PL) 'which'. Exceptional are reflexes of *tanto 'so much' and *kwanto 'how much', which in many dialects present -a in the (masculine/feminine) plural, most probably an original neuter inflection -A, e.g., Brn. *tanda cani* 'so.many dogs.M' (often also extended to the singular, e.g., Mtn. *quanda pene vue?* 'how.much bread you.want?'); however, *quantu*, together with *pocu* 'little, few', is often invariable in dialects of the extreme south: SCal. *quantu fogghji?* 'how.many.MSG leaves.F?', Sal. *pocu misi* 'few.MSG months.M'. Other forms are uninflected, including *assai(e)* 'much, many', *ogne*/-i 'each', and the ordinal numerals from 'three' upwards.

16.3.1.3 Pronouns

16.3.1.3.1 Tonic forms

All varieties present a series of tonic subject pronouns and separate series of tonic and clitic object pronouns, as well as possessive pronouns/adjectives (cf. Rohlfs 1968:120-30; Lombardi 2007a). In the first and second persons singular, original nominative forms (*i(o)*, *tu(e)*) have generally been preserved (Loporcaro 2008:212): Nap. *tu scasse e i' pavo!* 'You break and I pay!' (but Sal. *mie/tie* (?< ME/TE OR MIHI/TIBI; cf. Loporcaro 2008:209; Sornicola 2014). Consequently, in the tonic paradigm all varieties mark at least a binary case distinction, e.g. Cos. *iu/tu* 'I/you' (subject) vs *a/pi/cu mia/tia*

'to/for/with me/you' (prepositional), and sometimes even a three- or four-way case distinction (Rohlfs 1968:137-40; Loporcaro 2008:218-30). For instance, in Neapolitan there potentially operates a three-way distinction between *i'/tu* 'I/you' (subject), *a/pe me/te* 'to/for me/you' (prepositional), and *co mico/tico* (alongside *me/te*) 'with me/you' (comitative <MECUM/TECUM), whereas Murese (Mennonna 1977:115) marks a four-way distinction between *i'/tu* 'I/you' (subject), *a mi/ti* '(to) me/you' ((in)direct object), *tra mev' e tev'* 'between me and you' (prepositional), and *cu mich'/tich'* 'with me/you' (comitative). Although comitative forms prove relatively common, they have often extended beyond the original comitative context: Nap. *avimma parlà io e ttico* 'I and you must talk', Mat. *a mek* '(to) me'.

The first and second plural tonic forms continue reflexes of NOS/UOS 'we/you' in both subject and oblique functions, e.g., Abr./Mol. *nu/vu*, Sal. *nui/ui*, occasionally reinforced by reflexes of ALTERI 'other.PL' sometimes receiving a marked exclusive reading (Nap. *nuje/vuje ate*) and sometimes an unmarked non-exclusive reading (SCal. *nuàttri/vuàttri*, Sic. *nuà(u)tri/vuà(u)tri*; cf. also pan-southern pejorative *tu n'a(u)t(r)o/u* lit. 'you an other').

The inherited second-person distinction TU (singular) and UOS (plural)—and associated pronominal and verb forms—persists, especially in rural dialects of Abruzzo, Campania, northern Calabria, and Salento where polite singular address is marked, when necessary, through an appropriate title: Teramano *T'aje dett' a' ssigniri'* 'to.you.SG= I.have told, sir'. In most other areas, and increasingly in those where *tu* traditionally constituted the sole form of singular address, the reflex of UOS today represents both the singular and plural form of polite and/or respectful address (NCal. *Vostra acciellenza staviti buoni?* lit. 'Your excellence you.are.PL well?'), whereas TU is used reciprocally among speakers of all ages bound by close ties. The situation in Sicily is quite different (cf. Ledgeway 2015a:106f.) where, traditionally at least, the reciprocal polite form of address among the lower classes, as well as in addressing those of lower social status non-reciprocally (here rivalled by *vui*), is *voss(i)a/vassia/ssa* (< *vos signuria* 'your lordship') employed with a third-singular verb (*vossia mangia troppu lestu* 'you're eating too quickly'), whereas *voscenza* (< *vostra eccellenza* 'your excellence') is reserved for addressing people of higher rank. On the widespread phenomenon of inverse address, where the speaker addresses the interlocutor with the title of his/her own relationship to the addressee (e.g. Abr. *nem plagne, la mamma* lit. 'don't cry, the mum' (said to son), see §55.4.

In the third person, dialects above the Eboli-Lucera line generally employ reflexes of IPSE (Cmp. *isso/-e* 'he/they.M', *essa/-e* 'she/they.F') and those below the line reflexes of ILLE (Mat. *iudd/iadd* 'he,they.M/she,they.F'), though in the plural many dialects now present reflexes of apparently non-

indigenous ILLORUM (cf. Nap. *lloro*, Mat. *lar*, NCal. *l(u)oru*). Unique today is the situation in Salento where many varieties employ reflexes of both IPSE and ILLE, e.g. Scr. *issu/-a*, *iđđu/-a* ‘he/she’ (cf. §44.2.2.2). Also frequent everywhere are proximal (CHISSO) and, especially, distal (CHILLO) demonstratives, though these are not invariably interchangeable with reflexes of IPSE/ILLE. For instance, in embedded contexts the latter may have coreferential or disjoint reference but the former only disjoint reference: Cos. [Cicciu]_i *dicia ca* [iđđu]_{i/j/} [chiru]_{j/}/*_i *um bena* ‘[Cicciu]_i says that [he]_{i/j} is not coming’.

16.3.1.3.2 Clitic forms

The clitic oblique forms show case syncretism between accusative and dative in the first and second persons. In the singular the forms display regular local outcomes of ME and TE, broadly *me/te* in the upper south and *mi/ti* in the extreme south. The formal outcomes of the plural forms show greater variation. For the first person we find reflexes of: (i) ECCE-HIC > *ce/ci* in southern Lazio, Abruzzo, Molise (Cht. *ce spuseme* ‘we marry (one another)’, more rarely *se* ‘self-’ in the same area: *s'allaveme* ‘we wash ourselves’); (ii) HINCE > *nce/nge* in dialects of the upper south above the Eboli-Lucera line (Nap. *nce verimmo* ‘we see each other’); (iii) NOS > *(n)ne/(n)ni/ndi* (cf. Loporcaro 1995; 1998a) generally in dialects of the upper south below the Eboli-Lucera line (Bas. *ne jazzame* ‘we get up’) and in dialects of the extreme south (Brn. *ndi amamu* ‘we love one another’). In the second person we predominantly find forms variously interpreted as reflexes of UOS ‘you.PL’ or IBI ‘there’, e.g., *ve* in the upper south and *vi* in the extreme south (but Sal. *bu* < UOS).

In the third person, all varieties distinguish between accusative and dative (but cf. §16.4.3.3), and between non-reflexive and reflexive (reflexive *se/si*) functions (the latter often continuing ECCE-HIC > (c)ce in Abruzzese and Pugliese: Mtn. *ce ne vanne* ‘self= therefrom= go.3PL’). Accusative clitics generally mark gender and number through the quality of the lateral (if present) and the vowel (but EAbr. *le* [l̥a] ‘him/her/them’), and many upper southern dialects further signal plural number and the ‘mass/neuter’ distinction through RF (Ruotese *lu/la* ‘vekə ‘him/her= I.see’ vs *rə b'bekə* ‘them.M/F= I.see’). The dative (l)li/(l)le/đđi/je, by contrast, does not distinguish number, continuing reflexes of ILLI(s) and, more frequently, forms syncretic with the first-person plural already seen above, namely *ce/(c)ci* (Sic. *ci parrassi* ‘let him speak to him’), *nce/nge* (Bar. *nge piaceva* ‘it pleased (to) him/her/them’), and NOS > *(n)ne/(n)ni/ndi* (SBas. *nne fa fridd* lit. ‘to.him= it.makes cold’).¹⁵ In dialects presenting reflexes of ILLI(s) alongside one of the first-person plural syncretic forms, the latter alone is employed in clitic

¹⁵ The opposite development is found in eastern Abruzzese (Verratti 1998:59).

clusters (Mtn. *li puerte la vesta* but ***li/ce la puerte* ‘to.her=you.take the dress’, ‘to.her=it you.take’).¹⁶

16.3.1.4 Possessives

Excepting the province of Potenza, extreme southern Calabria, and Sicily (Sic. *mè/tò maritu* ‘my/your.SG husband’), modern dialects present a dual series of adjectival and enclitic possessives. The enclitics do not generally mark gender (Sal. *fràtuta/sorda* ‘brother.M=your.SG/sister.F=your.SG’), are limited to singular possessa (Cos. *sùoruta* ‘sister=your.SG’, but Cgn. *serúrete* ‘sisters.your.SG’), and generally restricted to the first two singular persons (Abr. *pátreme* ‘father=my’, *fijjete* ‘son=your.SG’), though third person forms are not infrequent in southern Calabria and Salento (Sal. *sirsa* ‘father=POSS.3SG’), and first and second plural forms also occasionally occur in dialects of the upper south (NCmp. *nònneno* ‘grandad=our’). The adjectival paradigm, by contrast, displays agreement for number and gender (Nap. ‘o/e libbro/-e mio/mieie ‘the.MSG/MPL book.M/-s my.MSG/MPL’, ‘a/e màchina/-e mia/meie ‘the.FSG/FPL car.F/-s my.FSG/FPL’), though generalized, originally neuter, -a is frequent in the plural (Cos. *i frati/sùoru tua* ‘the brothers.M/sisters.F your.PL’). In the third person plural, reflexes of SUUS (Abr. *lu pajese sé* ‘the country their’) are often rivalled by reflexes of the genitive pronoun ILLORUM (Bar. *u paise (de) lore* ‘the country (of) their/them’).

16.3.2 Verbal group

The basic morphemic structure of the verb is given in Table 16.7.

Verbs are divisible into two conjugations (henceforth classes 1 and 2) in accordance with the thematic vowel that surfaces in numerous finite and non-finite forms as illustrated in Table 16.8. Except in the infinitive where in some dialects of the upper south the Latin second/third conjugations are still accentually distinguished (e.g., UIDÉRE/UEÑDERE > Nap. *veré/vénneré* ‘see.INF/sell.INF’), all original non-first conjugation verbs have merged into a single class marked by the thematic vowel -e- [e, ə] in the upper south

Table 16.7 Morphemic structure of the verb

ROOT	THEMATIC VOWEL (CONJUGATION MARKER: -A-, -E-/-I-)	INFLECTION (MARKING FOR TAM, PERSON, AND NUMBER)
<i>cant-</i> ‘sing’	-a- (1st conjugation)	-va (PST.IPFV.IND.3SG)

¹⁶ For discussion of stressed enclitics in southern dialects, see §45.3.1.

Table 16.8 Distribution of thematic vowel

	USIDS (NAP.)			ESIDS (SCAL.)			
	ROOT	TV	INFLECTION	ROOT	TV	INFLECTION	
Conjug. 1	<i>cant-</i> ‘sing’	-a-	{ (-re)	<i>cant-</i> ‘sing’	-a-	{ (-ri)	infinitive
	<i>perd-</i> ‘lose’	}	-ie /-tte	<i>perd-</i> ‘lose’	}	-(v)i	1SG.PRT
Conjug. 2	<i>part-</i> ‘leave’			-e-			{ -va
			-sse			-ssi	1SG.IPFV.SBJV/COND

Table 16.9 Southern Italian N-patterns

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	
(a)	Cos.	<i>n[ɛ]sciu</i>	<i>n[iə]sci</i>	<i>n[ɛ]scia</i>	<i>n[i]scimu</i>	<i>n[i]scite</i>	<i>n[ɛ]scianu</i>	‘exit’
(b)	Mrs.	<i>m[ɔ]ro</i>	<i>m[wo]re</i>	<i>m[ɔ]re</i>	<i>m[u]rimo</i>	<i>m[u]rite</i>	<i>m[ɔ]reno</i>	‘die’
(c)	Isc.	<i>furrésche</i>	<i>furrísce</i>	<i>furrésce</i>	<i>furrímme</i>	<i>furríte</i>	<i>furréscene</i>	‘finish’
(d)	Mtn.	<i>vumechèise</i>	<i>vumechíse</i>	<i>vumechèise</i>	<i>vumechéme</i>	<i>vumechéte</i>	<i>vumechèisene</i>	‘vomit’

Table 16.10 (Old) Neapolitan present indicative/subjunctive L-patterns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	
(a)	<i>cano[ʃk]o</i>	<i>canu[ʃʃ]e</i>	<i>cano[ʃʃ]e</i>	<i>canu[ʃʃ]immo</i>	<i>canu[ʃʃ]ite</i>	<i>canó[ʃʃ]eno</i>	‘know’
	<i>cano[ʃk]a</i>	<i>canu[ʃk]e</i>	<i>cano[ʃk]a</i>	<i>canu[ʃk]ammo</i>	<i>canu[ʃk]ate</i>	<i>canó[ʃk]ano</i>	
(b)	<i>puozzo</i>	<i>può</i>	<i>pô</i>	<i>putimmo</i>	<i>putite</i>	<i>ponnu</i>	‘can’
	<i>pozza</i>	<i>puozze</i>	<i>pozza</i>	<i>puzzammo</i>	<i>puzzate</i>	<i>pòzzano</i>	
(c)	<i>scengo</i>	<i>scinne</i>	<i>scenne</i>	<i>scennimmo</i>	<i>scennite</i>	<i>scénneno</i>	‘descend’
	<i>scenga</i>	<i>scinghe</i>	<i>scenga</i>	<i>scengammo</i>	<i>scengate</i>	<i>scéngano</i>	

and -i- in the extreme south:¹⁷ Nap. *ver-e-va/venn-e-va/ven-e-va*, Sic. *vid-i-va/vinn-i-va/vin-i-va* ‘see/sell/come.PST.IPFV.IND.1SG’. Generally, in class 2 the infinitive converges on the original third conjugation proparoxytonic type in dialects of the upper south and northern Calabria (MOUÉRE/UÉNDERE/PARTÍRE > Nap. / Cos. *móvere/vénner/pártere* / *móva/vínna/párta* ‘move.INF/sell.INF/leave.INF’, but cf. Tar. UENÍRE/TRANSÍRE > *venére/trasére* ‘come.INF/enter.INF’), although in some original fourth conjugation infinitives the paroxytonic variant still optionally survives (e.g., Nap. *partí*). In southern Calabrian and Sicilian, by contrast, the infinitive in class 2 oscillates between the original third/fourth pro-/paroxytonic types (*cádiri/cadíri* ‘fall.INF’, *míntere/mintíre* ‘put.INF’, *séntere/sentíre* ‘feel.INF’), whereas in central Calabrian and Salentino it converges on the original fourth conjugation paroxytonic type (UIDÉRE/FRÍGERE/UENÍRE > Ctz. *vidíra/frijíra/veníra*, Scr. *vitíre/friscíre/viníre* ‘see.INF/fry.INF/come.INF’).

¹⁷ In Abruzzese -e- has generalized to class 1 verbs in the present of the first/second persons plural: *candeme/candete* ‘we/you.PL sing’.

16.3.2.1 Verb roots

A number of verbs present two or more root allomorphs: Nap. [jɛk]- (*jesco* ‘exit.PRS.IND.1SG’) vs [jɛʃ]- (*esce(no)* ‘exit.PRS.IND.3SG(PL)’) vs [aʃ]- (*asci/asceva/ascette/ascesse* ‘exit.INF/IPFV.IND.1SG/PRT.1SG/IPFV.SBJV.1’). Much synchronic root allomorphy follows one of two ‘morphomic’ distributions known as the ‘N-pattern’ and ‘L-pattern’ (Maiden 2011b; cf. also §§43.2.3-4) illustrated (here from the present tense) in Tables 16.9 and 16.10.

In Table 16.9(a,b) an apophonic alternation obtains between a root allomorph with a tonic low mid vowel (and its metaphonic variant), viz. *n[ɛ]sci*, *m[ɔ]r-*, in the rhizotonic forms of the paradigm (singular persons and third person plural) and an atonic high vowel root allomorph, viz. *n[i]sci-*, *m[u]r-*, in the arrhizotonic first/second-persons plural and elsewhere. Analogously, in Table 16.9(c,d) the distribution of the erstwhile inchoative infix -sc- in class 1 verbs and the original Greek iterative-intensive infix -iζ- in class 2 verbs follows the N-pattern.

Table 16.10(a) exemplifies a velar-/palatal-final root alternation resulting from historical palatalization of the

root-final velar before front vowels (§39.3.1), such that the distinctive velar-final root allomorph is limited to the first person singular of the present indicative and the whole of the present subjunctive, although in Calabrian and Sicilian the palatal has ousted the velar entirely: Cal./Sic. *canu*[ʃʃ]u. An identical distribution can be observed in Table 16.10(b,c) with alternations between an affricate-/vocalic-final root and a velar/alveolar nasal-final root, respectively. However, with the exception of *puté* ‘can’ Table 16.10(b), the present subjunctive is almost entirely defunct across the south, so that original L-pattern alternants are today limited to the first person singular present indicative.

Despite not displaying isomorphism with any natural morphosyntactic class, there are in these root alternations recurrent distributional patterns which are replicated with considerable force beyond their predicted distributions (see Maiden 1992; 2005; 2010; 2011b:223-63; §§43.2.3-4): N-pattern (illustrated from present tense): Cal./Sic. *dugnu/duni/dúna(nu)* ‘give.PRS.IND.1/2/3SG(3PL)’ vs *damu/dati* ‘go.PRS.IND.1/2PL’ (< DARE/DONARE ‘give/donate, bestow’), Cld. *casche/chiésche/cásche(ne)* ‘fall.PRS.IND.1/2/3SG(3PL)’ vs *chedéme/chedéte* (or *chescame/chescate*) ‘fall.PRS.IND.1/2pl’ (< *kasi‘kare/CADERE; Vincelli 1995:114); L-pattern (illustrated from first person singular present): Prd. *piggo/saggo* ‘take/ascend.1SG’ vs *pigghe/sagghie...* ‘take/ascend.2SG’, Sal. *crisciu/isciu* ‘believe/see.1SG’ vs *criti/iti...* ‘believe/see.2SG’. For example, the extension of the L-pattern through generalization of 1SG *-go* and *-co* is widespread among dialects of the upper south, with the former generalizing above all, though not exclusively, with verbs ending in a consonantal root-final sonorant (Isc. *mango/vengo/sengo/pergo* ‘send/sell/feel/lose.1SG’) and the latter with stems in *-/Ct/-* (Nap. *aspecco/jecco/mecco* ‘wait/throw/put.1SG’). In Barese *-co* has generalized to all verbs, e.g., *pásseco/spèzzeco/pèrdeco/piásceco/pòzzeco/ábrecu/dòrmeco/capísceco* ‘pass/break/lose/please/be.able/open/sleep/understand.1SG’, extending even beyond the present (cf. *mangiábbe(co)/mangiásse(co)* ‘sing.PRT.1SG/SBJV.IPFV.1SG’).

Another important root alternation concerns the preservation of Latin perfective root allomorphs (so-called PYTA roots; see Maiden 2000c; §27.4), whose distribution has become restricted to the preterite (best preserved in dialects of the extreme south) and a number of past participles of verbs predominantly of the second conjugation where it has been reanalysed as a stressed alternant: Sic. *víppi/vivísti/víppi/víppimu/vivístivu/víppiru* ‘drank.1SG/2SG/3SG/1PL/2PL/3PL’, *vípp-ito* ‘drunk.PTCP’. Exceptional is the verb ‘be’, which presents rhizotonic stress throughout the paradigm and hence shows the perfective stem *f-* in all persons: Tar. *fuéwe, fuèste, fu, fuèmmè, fuèsteve, fórene*, Sic. *fuvi, fusti, fu, fummu, fústivu, furu*. There has been notable analogical spread of certain PYTA root shapes (cf. Maiden 2000c): (i) lengthening of root-final consonant: Gse. *vitti/eppi/tinni/*

vinni/mbippi/catti/potti ‘I.saw/had/held/came/drank/fell/could’, Sic. *potti/vitti/catti/vinni/vippi* ‘I.could/saw/fell/came/drank’, Sal. *sippi/potti/ibbi/chiobbe* ‘I.knew/could/had/it.rained’; (ii) generalization of root-final sibilants: Gse. *misi/(d)ezi/ntisi/vozi/parsi* ‘I.put/gave/heard/wanted/seemed’, Sic. *morsi/vorsi/misi/ntisi* ‘I.died/wanted/put/heard’, Sal. *crisi/uesi/muersi/cursi* ‘I.believed/wanted/died/ran’. In the modern dialects, many of these ‘strong’ forms are today rivalled by ‘weak’ forms (cf. Sal. *misi/mentii* ‘I.put’, *misu/mentutu* ‘put.PST.PTCP’), so much so that in most dialects of the upper south (cf. §16.3.2.2) strong perfects have been entirely replaced by innovative weak formations (Tar. *fasci-bbe* ‘I.did’ replacing earlier reflex of *FECI* (< *FACERE*); cf. De Giovanni 2003:113).

16.3.2.2 Inflectional markers for TAM, person, and number

Some representative exponents of inflectional markers for TAM, person, and number are given in Table 16.11. Markers of individual TAM functions cannot be isolated. For example, *-v-* and *-ss-* in *cangiávanu/díssiru* are cumulative exponents of past (tense), imperfect/perfective (aspect), and indicative (mood), and similarly *-rr-* in *potarríanu* simultaneously marks conditional (mood) and future (tense).

Indeed, an examination of the various verb paradigms (cf. Table 16.12) reveals that, when overtly marked, TAM are invariably realized cumulatively.

Table 16.11 TAM, person, and number marking in Nicotere

ROOT	THEMATIC VOWEL	INFLECTION		
		TAM	PERSON	NUMBER
<i>cangi-</i> ‘change’	-á-	-v- (PST.IPFV.IND)	-a- (3)	-nu (PL)
<i>dí-</i> ‘say’	∅	-ss- (PST.PFV.IND)	-i- (3)	-ru (PL)
<i>pot-</i> ‘can’	-a-	-rr- (IPFV.COND)	-ía- (3)	-nu (PL)

Table 16.12 Cumulative exponence of TAM in Catanzarese

PRS.IND	IPFV.IND	PRT (PUNCTUAL PAST PERFECT)	COND
∅	-v-	(i) ∅ (<i>trova-vi</i> ‘I.found’)	-r- (<i>trove-r-a</i> ‘I.would.find’)
<i>trovu</i> ‘I.find’	<i>trova-v-a</i> ‘I.found’	(ii) -s- (<i>par-z-a</i> ‘it.seemed’)	(iii) -CC- (<i>vi-nn-a</i> ‘I.came’)

Table 16.13 Person and number marking in Neapolitan *vénnere* ‘sell’

	PRS.IND	IPFV.IND	PRT	FUT	COND	IPFV.SBJV/COND
1SG	<i>vénn-o</i>	<i>vennév-a</i>	<i>venn-ètte</i>	<i>vennarr-ággio</i>	<i>vennarr-ía</i>	<i>vennéss-e</i>
2SG	<i>vínn-e</i>	<i>vennív-e</i>	<i>venn-íste</i>	<i>vennarr-áie</i>	<i>vennarr-ísse</i>	<i>venníss-e</i>
3SG	<i>vénn-e</i>	<i>vennév-a</i>	<i>vent-ètte</i>	<i>vennarr-á</i>	<i>vennarr-ía</i>	<i>vennéss-e</i>
1PL	<i>venn-ímmo</i>	<i>vennéva-mo</i>	<i>venn-ètte-mo</i>	<i>venarr-ímmo</i>	<i>vennarr-íamo</i>	<i>vennéss-emo</i>
2PL	<i>venn-íte</i>	<i>vennív-e-ve</i>	<i>venn-íste-ve</i>	<i>venarr-íte</i>	<i>vennarr-ísse-ve</i>	<i>venníss-e-ve</i>
3PL	<i>vénn-e-no</i>	<i>vennév-a-no</i>	<i>venn-ètte-no</i>	<i>venarr-á-nno</i>	<i>vennarr-ía-no</i>	<i>vennéss-e-ro</i>

Table 16.14 Distribution of metaphony in present indicative

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	
Mol.	'vevə	'vivə	'vevə	və'vemə	və'vetə	'vevənə	'drink'
Nap.	'mɛttə	'mjɛttə	'mɛttə	mət'timmə	mət'titə	'mɛttənə	'put'
W Abr.	'dormə	'dwormə	'dormə	dur'memə	dur'metə	'dwormənə	'sleep'
Cos.	'liəju	'liəji	'leja	le'jimū	le'jiti	'lejanu	'read'

The representation in Table 16.12 assumes that in certain paradigms there is no overt exponent of TAM, as in the case with the present and (in certain persons of) regular preterites. There are, however, alternative analyses: leaving aside thematic vowels, final -u, for example, in *trovu* could be analysed as a simple marker of person/number with zero TAM morph (viz. *trov-+Ø-+u*) or a cumulative exponent of TAM, person, and number (viz. *trov-u*).

A typical example of person and number marking is shown in Table 16.13.

With the exception of the present and the future (the latter in any case today obsolescent and predominantly restricted to literary registers), the paradigms in Table 16.13 display a widespread transparent pattern of person and number marking whereby the plural forms are productively forged by adjunction of the plural markers -mo/-no(-ro) and -ve (<UOS 'you.PL') to the corresponding singular forms:¹⁸ *vennéva+mo/-no*, *vennív+ve* (cf. formation of old Neapolitan inflected non-finite forms; Loporcaro 1986; Vincent 1996; Ledgeway 2009a:588-90). As observed in §16.3.2.1, outside Calabria and Sicily first-person singular may also be marked by velar-final stems in the present indicative (cf. obsolescent *vengo* alongside *venno* 'I.sell', as well as *fené[ʃk]o* vs *fené[ʃʃ]e* 'finish.1/3sg'), e.g., Prd. *vongo/sengo/spango/vango* 'I.want/feel/extend/go', EBas. *doche/stoche* 'I.give/stand', a root alternation also affecting the now obsolete present subjunctive. The latter today survives only in a few (lexicalized) residues and, above all, in reflexes of *po'tere 'can' (cf. Table 16.10(b)) frequently employed in

curses (e.g., Lec. *Puezzi àire sette anni te duluri!* 'May.PRS.SBJV.2SG you have seven years of sorrow!'), and optionally in central Salentino in the third persons of class 2 verbs (Lec. *ogghiu cu me senta/sente* 'I.want that me= he.hears.SBJV/IND').

Exceptional is the situation found in the Lausberg Zone where the second and third persons singular retain reflexes of -s and -t, respectively, across all paradigms (Martino 1991:68-70): Mrt. *càntasi/càntati* 'sing.2/3sg'. Reflexes (including RF) of 3SG -t, but not -s, occur southwards beyond this area to include most of northern Calabria (Cos. *mi piàcia(di) [(t)t]roppu* 'me= it.pleases much'). In the past, it must have spread further south still judging by the RF effect of all third singular verbs forms today in the central Calabrian province of Catanzaro (cf. Loporcaro 1997a:114-17).

Metaphony, as well as final inflections where they exist, marks person in various persons and paradigms, witness the representative present tense paradigms in Table 16.14. In all dialects the second-person singular displays metaphony triggered by final *-i. In many dialects such as Neapolitan, it is also found in the first/second persons plural (although one cannot exclude morphological mergers here with the original third/fourth conjugations; cf. Ledgeway 2009a:59f.), originally triggered by final -v/-i of -MU(S)/-TI(S), as well as in the third-person plural in some dialects of central Sicily, northern Calabria, Molise, and western Abruzzo which continue final ū(NT) > -ū (>*-ū+-nV). Finally, in dialects such as Cosentino where metaphony is also triggered by final -u (<-ō; §16.2.1.2), the first person singular also shows metaphony.

Metaphony may also surface in the second person singular positive imperative (Ledgeway 2014c): although entirely absent in some dialects, in many it has been morphologized across both conjugations (Mrs. *cien'/curr'/muor'* 'dine/run/

¹⁸ On the grammaticalization of enclitic -tu 'you.sg' in Sicilian, see also Cruschina and Rinollo (2013).

die.IMP.2SG'), whereas in others it is excluded from class 1 (Clv. *remine/viene!* 'remain/come.IMP.2SG' vs *leve/**lieve!* 'remove.IMP.2SG') or just from a subset of these, sometimes fluctuating with non-metaphonic variants (Bvt. *aspette/aspiette!* 'wait.IMP.2SG' vs *raccunte/**raccontel!* 'tell.IMP.2SG'). The second person singular negative imperative, alongside the suppletive use of the infinitive (EAb. *nen tuccà!* 'not touch.INF'), is also frequently expressed by the gerund in Pugliese, Basilicatense, and Calabrian, variously preceded by the infinitival auxiliary 'go': Mat. *nan gj scjonn a fatiè!* 'not go.INF go.GER to work.INF', Savese *no ccritannul!* 'not shout.GER'. Another frequent alternative for the negated singular/plural imperative is *senza ca* 'without that' + finite verb (Grottese *senza ca t'attuppi l'uocchil!* lit. 'without that yourself=you. cover the eyes')

As noted in §16.3.2.1, in many modern dialects of the upper south strong perfects have been systematically replaced by one of two innovative weak formations, namely *-tt-* (cf. **'stetui > stetti* 'I.stood') and *-bb-/-pp-* (HABUI > *ibbi/ippi* 'I.had'), witness such replacements as ONap. *fece* '(s)he.did' by *facette*. The former is found in western Abruzzo, Molise, northern Apulia, Basilicata, and most of Campania where it variously occurs (cf. Table 16.15) in: (i) just the first and third persons singular of class 2 and third person singular of class 1 (Corletano); (ii) first and third persons singular of both conjugations (Popolese); (iii) all persons except second persons singular and plural of class 2 (Neapolitan); (iv) all persons except first and second persons plural of both conjugations (Gallese); (v) all persons of both conjugations (Procidano).

By contrast, the other weak perfect formation in *-bb-/-pp-* is found only in southeastern Basilicatense, southern Pugliese, and northern Salentino (as far as Ostuni), but, unlike the previous formation, is limited to the first person singular of

verbs of both conjugations: Mat. *lassúbb/d'ciúbb/capjsciúbb/m'ttúbb/faciúbb* 'I.left/said/understood/put/did', Bar. *mangiabbe/perdibbe/petibbe/screvebbe/venibbe/sapibbe/velibbe* 'I.late/lost/could/wrote/came/knew/wanted'.

Also relevant is the tendency to replace strong participles with their weak counterparts, a development well advanced in many dialects of the extreme south (e.g. SCal. *scinnutu/mintutu* 'descended/put'), whereas further north and in most dialects of the upper south the strong and weak variants co-exist (cf. NCal. *scisu/scinnutu, misu/mintutu*; Lombardi and Trumper 1998). In the latter dialects, the strong forms regularly display both punctual/dynamic and resultative-stative readings, whereas the weak forms are limited to the former function (Ledgeway 2000:302f.; 2009a:582-5, 633; cf. also §43.3): Cos. *avia spasi/spannutu i panni* 'I had hung.out.MPL/MSG the washing' vs *i panni eranu spasi/**spannuti for'u barcune* 'the washing was hung.out.MPL/MPL on the balcony'.

Less consistent across the south is the formation of the conditional: alongside the pan-southern use of the imperfect indicative with conditional value (Mtn. *vulève nepoche de pene* 'I.wanted (=would like) some bread') and imperfect subjunctive (Cht. *Pecché n'avesse da cambà?* 'Why shouldn't he live?'), we also find, especially in literary registers, a mixed paradigm based on the infinitive with affixed forms of the imperfect of HABERE 'have' in all persons except the second persons which continue the preterite (e.g., CANTARE **'ia/*'iste > canta(r)ria/canta(r)risse* 'I/you.SG.would.sing', with variable lengthening of the vibrant depending on dialect). Dialects of Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Lucania, and northern-central Calabria also employ a conditional form in *-e(r)ra* continuing the Latin pluperfect indicative (Ctz. *accussì accattèramu menu medicini* 'that way we'd buy less medicine').

Table 16.15 Distribution of weak *-tt-* perfect

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	
<i>tuccu</i> 'touch'	-ái	-áste					
<i>durm</i> 'sleep'	-ítte	-íste	-ètte	-èmmè	-ístève	-èrne	Corletano
<i>magn</i> 'eat'							
<i>durm</i> 'sleep'	-jòtte	-íste	-ètte	-èsemè	-èste	-jòrno	Popolese
<i>magn</i>	-áie	-áste	-áie	-áiemò	-ástève	-áienò	Nap.
<i>durm</i> 'sleep'	-ètte	-íste	-ètte	-èttemò	-ístève	-èttero	Nap.
<i>pert</i> 'lose'	-átte	-átte	-átte	-ámme	-áste	-áttene	Gallese
<i>ved</i> 'see'	-iétte	-iétte	-ètte	-èmmè	-èste	-èttene	Gallese
<i>parl</i> 'speak'	-átte	-ítte	-átte	-áttenò	-ítteve	-áttenò	Prd.
<i>muv</i> 'move'	-iétte	-ítte	-ètte	-èttenò	-ítteve	-èttenò	Prd.

16.4 Syntax

16.4.1 Nominal group

The basic structural template of the nominal group is exemplified from Barese in Table 16.16.

Elliptic structures aside, the only obligatory element of the nominal group is the noun (phrase), which may occur as a bare indefinite when the object of a transitive (Scr. *Sta senti ndoru de pitate?* ‘Can you sense (the) smell of potatoes?’) or a preposition (Scr. *scioca a carte* ‘he plays to (= with the cards)’), or the subject of an unaccusative (Scr. *annu rrivare pècure* ‘will arrive sheep (= there’ll be sheep coming)’). Otherwise NPs usually co-occur with at least a determiner, including generic, abstract, and unique referents (Cht. *E pecchè lu cane corre appresse a la gatte?* lit. ‘Why does the dog chase the cat?’), though generally not proper nouns which are intrinsically referential (Mat. *m’ò talafunet Chiarjn* ‘me=has rung Chiarina’). The exception here is Salentino, where, probably under local Greek (*Griko*) influence (Ledgeway 2013b:208-10), personal names take the definite article: Lec. *la Maria sta fface nn’iniezione allu Caitanu* ‘(the) Maria is giving (the) Gaetano an injection’.

Apart from quantifiers and determiners, very little can occur before the NP. Although the template in Table 16.16 shows a prenominal adjectival position, this is highly restricted across all dialects, because adjectives, whether non-contrastive or contrastive (typically pre- and postnominal in Romance; cf. §§30.2.5, 62.1.1), typically occur postnominally: Nap. *nu pueta granne* lit. ‘a poet big (= great/tall)’. In most dialects, only a handful of rudimentary evaluative adjectives expressing polar positive/negative values – and at most only one per phrase – may occur prenominally (Rohlf 1969a:330; Ledgeway 2007b; 2009a:230-45). Andriani (forthcoming:ch.2) observes that in Barese there are only three productive prenominal adjectives, namely *bbelle* and *bbrave* ‘fine, good(-natured)’ (restricted to animates) and *bbrutte* ‘bad’, whose rudimentary evaluative readings may also be licensed in postnominal position alongside a range of various contrastive readings: *bbelle crestiane* ‘good (-natured) person’ (vs *crestiane bbelle/berefatte* lit. ‘person good(-natured)/beautiful (lit. beautiful(ly).made)’), *bbrava figghije* ‘good(-natured) daughter’ (vs *figghija bbrave* ‘daughter good(-natured)/skilful’), *bbrutta zzona* ‘bad

neighbourhood’ (vs *zzona bbrutte* ‘neighbourhood bad/ugly’). Other adjectives found in prenominal position, namely *bbuene* ‘good’, *granne* ‘big’, *pòvere* ‘poor’, *vècchije* ‘old’ and, to an even greater extent *male* ‘bad’, *sande* ‘holy’, *jalde* ‘tall’, *vasce* ‘short’, are today not productive, displaying varying degrees of fossilization (cf. (*bbuene*) *figghije (bbu(e)ne)* (good-hearted) son (good-hearted/simple-minded)’ vs (***bbuene*) *sinneche/falegnàme/scarpapare (bbu(e)ne)* (good-hearted) mayor/carpenter/shoe-maker (good-hearted/skilful)’).

Quite remarkable is the [\pm animate] (e.g., Molese) or [\pm human] (e.g., Altamura) agreement distinction in the masculine postnominal adjective found in a number of Pugliese varieties (Loporcaro 1997d:343; Cox Mildare 2001:57f.), where the canonical masculine and feminine forms respectively mark the [+animate/human] and [-animate/human] readings: Molese *i kə'nɛjə b'buənə/b'bonə* ‘the.MPL rabbits.M good.M/F (= tame/tasty rabbits)’, Alt. *l 'emmə ɲɲuɹ/ɪ 'wefə ɲɲaɹ* ‘the men.M black.M/the.PL oxen.M black.F’.

The preferred postnominal position of nominal modifiers is also evident in possessive adjectives which, with the exception of Potentino, extreme southern Calabrian, and Sicilian dialects (e.g., Ptn. *mi/ta fra* ‘my/your brother’), obligatorily occur today in postnominal position in conjunction with a prenominal determiner (Tar. *u (**mie/tue/sue) cane mie/tue/sue* ‘the (my/your.2SG/his,her) dog my/your.2SG/his,her’). The possessive immediately precedes unfocused postnominal adjectives (Ledgeway 2009a:262f; Andriani forthcoming:ch. 2), e.g., Cos. *a màchina mia vecchia scassata* ‘the car my old broken’, though not in all dialects, witness Vbc. *u cuane nìvere vuestre* ‘the dog black your.PL’ (Silvestri 2014b:3). Alongside the adjectival form, most dialects also display an alternative pseudo-partitive possessive construction (also found with the copula) in which the possessive is preceded by a reflex of DE ‘of’ + definite article (Rohlf 1968:§433; D’Alessandro and Di Sciullo 2009; Ledgeway 2009a:263-65; Silvestri 2014b): Santangiolese (a Cupolo) *a casa r’a sua* ‘the.FSG house.F of the.FSG his.FSG (= his house)’, Cpb. *chisto è ddu mije* ‘this is of.the.M.SG my.MSG (= this is mine)’. Agreement patterns vary notably across dialects: (i) the article and the possessive agree in both number and gender with the head noun: Nap. *l’ammico/-a d’o/a mio/mia* ‘the friend.M/F of the.M/F my.M/FSG’, *l’ammice/-che d’e mieie/e mmeie* ‘the friends.M/F of the.M/FPL my.M/FPL’; (ii) the

Table 16.16 Structure of nominal group

(Q)	(DET)	(Q)	(ADJ)	N	(COMPL)	(POSS)	(ADJ)	(ADJUNCT)
<i>tutte</i>	<i>chidde</i>	<i>tanta</i>	<i>bbelle</i>	<i>mazze</i>	<i>de cime de cole</i>	<i>tù</i>	<i>vierde</i>	<i>ddà</i>
all	those	many	fine.MPL	bunches.M	of tops.F of cauliflower	your.MPL	green.MPL	there

article and possessive agree in number with the head noun, but not in gender: Arl. *la case jè di lu (**la) mé* ‘the.FSG house.F is of the.MSG (the.FSG) my.SG’, *le case jè di li mi* ‘the.FPL houses.F are of the.PL my.PL’; (iii) the article and possessive agree in gender with the head noun, but not necessarily in number: Vbc. *quidda cammisa d’a/d’î vostra/-re* ‘that.FSG shirt.FSG of the.FSG/FPL your.FSG/PL’. Thus, whereas in dialects with patterns (i) and (ii) restrictive vs partitive readings can be contrasted by number oppositions (cf. Nap. *nu cappiello d’o tuio* ‘a.M hat.M of the.MSG your.MSG (=a hat of yours)’ vs *nu cappiello d’e tuoie* ‘a.M hat.M of the.MPL your.MPL (=one of your hats)’), in dialects with pattern (iii) the opposition is neutralized: Vbc. *nu cappieddo d’î tuva* ‘a.M hat.M of the.MPL your.MPL (=a hat of yours/one of your hats)’.

The enclitic possessives introduced in §16.3.1.4 display quite different behaviour, apparently occupying the determiner position, from which they attract singular kinship terms (and also other inalienable possessa such as *casa* ‘home’, *patrone* ‘master’), as witnessed by the fact that they generally prove incompatible with other determiners (Bar. *(**u) mariteme/maritte* ‘(the) husband=my/your.SG’, *(**la) sòrema/-ta* ‘(the) sister=my/your.SG’, *(**la) cass’te* ‘(the) house=your.SG’) and precede all adjectives (Arl. *zéma bbella* ‘aunt=my beautiful’) including emphatic, doubling possessive adjectives (Slc. *páito tujo* ‘father=your.SG your.SG’). More rarely, the enclitic can be found with plural kinship terms (Bar. *nepúdeme* ‘grandchildren=my’), in which case they may also combine with the definite article (Arl. *li fríte-me* ‘the brothers=my’; D’Alessandro and Migliori 2014:6f.).

Demonstratives canonically behave like determiners preceding their associated NP, whether in clitic or reinforced form, the latter variant typically surfacing only in pragmatically marked contexts: Mus. *??chissu/ssu libbru* ‘that book (near you)’ vs *CHISSU LIBBRU m’a dari!* ‘It’s THAT book which you have to give me!’. Noteworthy is the emphatic pattern of demonstrative doubling found in Abruzzese (Finamore 1893:22; Verratti 1998:48f.) where the NP is sandwiched between a clitic demonstrative determiner to its left and a corresponding reinforced adjectival form to its right: Lncianese *stu pajése queste* lit. ‘this= village this’, Ses. *ssi chiene quisse* ‘those= dogs those (near you)’.

In conclusion, in contrast to dialects of northern and central Italy (Renzi 2001), the head noun occupies a very high position to the left within the nominal structure in dialects of southern Italy from where it precedes possessives and all but a very restricted class of adjectives, not to mention many quantifiers (e.g., Isc. *cu frette asseie* ‘with haste (too.)much’), even displacing the (partitive) article (cf. Siracusano *si mangiàu viradura e fummaggiu* ‘he ate (some) vegetables and (some) cheese’, Unn’è (**!)Aitina? ‘Where is (the) Gaetana?’).

16.4.1.1 Pronominals

16.4.1.1.1 Tonic pronouns

All southern dialects are pro-drop. Nonetheless, in Campanian varieties overt third person subject pronouns (< ECCU +ILLE ‘that.one’) are possible in at least two structural contexts. The first concerns exclamative clauses containing a third-person expletive or referential subject (often with strong pejorative overtones), hence typically restricted to main clauses (Sornicola 1996:325f.; Ledgeway 2009a:290-92):¹⁹ Nap. *Chello è face!* ‘It.N is easy!’, Pietramelarese *Ma chillo mò è gruosso!* ‘But now he’s all grown up!’, Sianese *Chillo è femmena!* ‘but HE is a woman!’. There thus emerges a significant structural difference between declarative and exclamative clauses, which in other dialects of southern Italy are distinguished merely by intonation, but which in Campanian are marked by the absence/presence of an overt pronoun (cf. \emptyset /*Chella è pazza!* ‘She’s mad(!)’, \emptyset /*Chello è overo!* ‘It’s true(!)’). The second context involves use of the expletive neuter pronoun *chello* ‘it, that’ (Sornicola 1996:332f.; Ledgeway 2009a:294; 2010a:§4), which surfaces with extraposed clauses (Nap. *chello è face a parlà* ‘it’s easy to talk’), indefinite subjects (Nap. *chello nun se pò asci a sera* ‘it’s not possible to go out in the evening’), and impersonal verbs (Nap. *chello chiove* ‘it’s raining’). As in the previous cases, such examples are frequently accompanied by exclamative intonation, but are also characterized by specific pragmatic-semantic readings not available with the corresponding null expletive. In particular, the expletive only proves felicitous in explicative contexts which contain an implicit or explicit presupposition questioning why a particular event or state of affairs salient in the discourse has come about. For instance, *chello chiove* ‘it is raining’ constitutes an appropriate reply to ‘But why do you need my umbrella?’, but would not be a felicitous description of the weather after glancing out of the window, for which the only grammatical structure is \emptyset *chiove*.

16.4.1.1.2 Clitics

Object clitics present several interesting properties. Unlike most Romance varieties, combinations of first and second-person clitics are well formed, usually interpreted as an accusative+dative sequence (Cht. *me ti si messe a la coccie* ‘me.DAT= you.SG.ACC= are put to the head (= you’ve got into my head)’), although the opposite reading is not excluded (Nap. *me te pozzo cunfidà* ‘me.ACC= you.SG.DAT I.can confide.INF (= I can confide in you)’). As for the indefinite subject *se/si* ‘self-’, it is incompatible with other clitics apart from

¹⁹ Overt expletive subject *iddu* ‘he/it.M’ is also attested, albeit less frequently, in Calabrian and Sicilian in (rhetorical) exclamatives (Ledgeway 2013c:281f.).

partitive/elative (*n(d)e/n(d)i*) and locative (*(n)ce, (n)ci*) clitics (the latter frequently occurring in the order *se/si + (n)ce/(n)ci*). Many dialects also mark a distinction between partitive and elative functions of the INDE clitic: in the former the clitic may occur in isolation (Cht. *ne té tante* ‘of.them= he.has many’), but when employed with elative value it obligatorily co-occurs with a pleonastic reflexive clitic (Cht. **(me) ne esce* ‘from.here= me I.exit’). Also characteristic of southern dialects is the use of the locative clitic (*(n)ci/(n)ce*) to reference predicative complements: Ses. *quille è buone e vvù nen ci sete* ‘they are good and you’re not (it)’.

All dialects employ the antipassive (La Fauci 1984:224), so that in unmarked punctual contexts transitives and intransitives generally occur with a pseudo-reflexive clitic: Mat. *cè t’ha s’nnet?* ‘what yourself.SG= you.have dreamt?’, Mtn. *me sarrije múerte* ‘myself= I.would.be died’, Cln. *mo t’apri na salumeria* ‘now yourself.SG= you.open a delicatessen’, Acese *ni facemu ’na partita e carti* ‘ourselves= we.do a game of cards’. The reflexive construction also often licenses a causative reading, despite the absence of the canonical causative predicate *FACERE* ‘make’ (§61.3.3): Cos. *s’è operata ’i core* ‘self= she.is operated of heart (= she had her heart operated on)’, Nap. *m’aggia tirà nu dente* ‘myself=I.have.to extract.INF a tooth’. By contrast, in many northern Calabrian dialects the genuine (inherent) reflexive clitic is often absent in compound tenses with auxiliary BE in accordance with a tendency widespread in early Romance: Amt. *ppua su’ assettati* ‘then they.are seated (cf. *s’assetta* ‘self=sit.down.INF’), Cos. *ardu è ricùotu u frate* ‘late is returned the brother (cf. *si ricoglia* ‘self=return.INF’).

Clitic doubling is widespread, especially with indirect objects (Ledgeway 2009a:354f.), e.g., Ripeso *mu decette e mme* ‘me=it he.said to me’, Mtn. *a mmè me pejéce* ‘to me me= it.pleases’, and direct objects marked by the prepositional accusative (Ledgeway 2000:ch.2; 2009a:356f.; cf. also §16.4.3.3), e.g., Nap. *mannammillo a stu nammurato tuiol* ‘send=me=him ACC.MRK this.M fiancé your.MSG’, although this in large part coincides with the tendency to dislocate given/topicalized constituents (§16.4.3.5). Another frequent context of clitic doubling is weak relatives where a resumptive clitic identifies the gap left by a silent relative pronoun (§64.4): Ses. *s’è mmorte chelu vecchiarre che le vedévame* ‘that old man died that him= we used to see’.

Clitic placement also shows a number of differences in comparison with other Romance varieties. Perhaps the most striking is the widespread tendency for proclitics to attach to a ‘low’ preverbal adverb rather than the finite verb (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005; Manzini and Savoia 2005, III:537–41), a consequence of the lower position of the verb in these varieties situated more towards the right within the verb phrase (cf. §16.4.3.4): Cos. *ti ammalappena/subbitu/quasi/tantu piacia* ‘you.SG= barely/immediately/almost/so.

much it.pleased’. Equally noteworthy is the exceptional interpolation of object clitics between perfective auxiliary and participle in many eastern Abruzzese varieties, with the clitic attaching enclitically to auxiliary BE (Ses. *sòmele messe la scolle* ‘I.am=me=it.F put.PTCP the.FSG tie.F’), but proclitically to auxiliary HAVE (*se l’a messe* ‘self= it.F= he.has put.PTCP the.FSG tie.F’). In conjunction with the infinitive, clitic placement displays considerable variation according to dialect (e.g., Mdc. *signu venuta ppe ti rape* ‘I.am come for you.SG= open.INF’ vs Ped. *vinni ppi pigghiarimi* ‘he.came for fetch.INF=me’) and choice of introductory preposition (e.g., Nap. *de/a* ‘of/to’ + proclisis/enclisis: *stu gulio ’e me parlà* ‘this desire of me= speak.INF’ vs *pruvaie a farlo* ‘he.tried to do.INF=it’), whereas in other cases there is free variation (Nap. *l’avarrise ditto senza me guardà ’nfaccia* ‘it=you.would.have said without me= look.INF in.face’ vs *num putèvemo stà senza vederce* ‘not we could remain without see.INF=US’).

With restructuring predicates (§31.2.2.3), clitics invariably climb to the (highest) functional predicate (Ledgeway 2000:156f.;170–72), e.g., Mtn. *ce l’amm’a sci ppegghié* ‘there=him= we.have to go.INF fetch.INF’, and in some varieties leave an overt residue by way of a copy of the clitic(s) on the infinitive: Cos. *u prùovu a ru fà* ‘it= I.try to it= do.INF’. Whereas in many Italo-Romance and Occitan varieties climbing also requires auxiliary switch (cf. §14.4.3.1) if the embedded infinitive is unaccusative, this is not the case in those dialects that otherwise display BE with unaccusatives: Mtn. *nge how ulute veni* ‘not.there he.has wanted come.INF’.

16.4.2 Verbal group

16.4.2.1 Tense, aspect, and mood

On the temporal axis, the verb formally distinguishes present (Bvt. *viéneo* ‘they come’) and past, the latter further distinguishing between perfective (present perfect/past punctual: Bvt. *anno venuto/vénenno* ‘they have come /they came’) and imperfective (Bvt. *venéveno* ‘they were coming’). Formerly, all dialects presented an indigenous form of the Romance synthetic future (cf. §46.3.2.2), relics of which survive predominantly in the third persons with epistemic modal value (Loporcaro 1999a). Future time in the modern dialects, by contrast, is marked either by an original deontic periphrasis HAVE (to/of/from) + infinitive (Ctz. *ha de nivicara* ‘it.has of snow.INF (= will snow)’ or the simple present (Ctz. *’e lunedì ncumincia a dieta* ‘the diet starts on Monday’). In the latter case there is no confusion with the present, in that present time (including dynamic events and states, but not usually generic and habitual situations) is predominantly marked by one of three periphrases: (i) reflexes of STARE ‘stand’ + gerund found across the south (Nap. *sto tenenno na pacienza* ‘I.am having a patience (= showing considerable

patience)); (ii) *TENERE* (*a*) ‘hold (to)’ + infinitive in Molise and Abruzzo (Cpb. *té ffà a casa* ‘he holds do._{INF} the house (= he’s cleaning the house)’, Ripeso *té ppjove* ‘it.holds rain._{INF}’); (iii) reflexes of *STARE* ‘stand’ AC ‘and’ + *V_{Finite}* in Pugliese (Tar. *u stonn’a bbédeno* ‘him= they.stand and they.see’), and with fossilized non-inflecting *sta* ‘stand- > PROG.MRK’ + *V_{Finite}* in Salentino (Ledgeway forthcoming a; cf. also §63.4): Matinese *sta ccuntamu cose te famija* ‘stand.PROG.MRK we.discuss things of family’.

A distinction between the past punctual and present perfect in terms of present relevance—Nap. *me prumettette nu pare ‘e chile ‘e fasule e nun me l’ha purtate* ‘me= he.promised a couple of kilos of beans and not me= them= has brought’—is found across the south, with two major exceptions: (i) the province of Cosenza where since the late nineteenth century ‘aoristic drift’ (§58.3.2) has led to generalization of the present perfective as the sole past perfective paradigm (Cos. *m’annu fricatu a màchina* ‘me= they.have stolen the car (= my car was/has been stolen)); (ii) below the Nicastro-Sersale line in southern Calabria, Sicily, and in some dialects of ‘Greek’ Salento where perfective situations, even with present relevance, are generally expressed by the synthetic paradigm (Ctz. *‘mbeccchiasti, Loré* ‘you.aged (= have become old), Loredana’), and the analytic paradigm is limited to marking present results of past actions (Acese *n’haiu vivutu nenti* ‘not I.have drunk nothing (= I’m sober)’; cf. *non vippi nenti* ‘not I.drunk nothing’ (= I didn’t drink/haven’t drunk anything’), experiential aspect (Ctz. *hai mai vistu ‘nu picciulliḍḍu ccu l’occhi asciutti davanti i doluri?* ‘have you ever seen a child with dry eyes in the face of such pain?’), and iterative aspect (Riberse *nni sti misi chi aviti durmutu ccà, sempre ḍḍà aviti durmutu, ‘na vota sula capitau ca durmemu nautri ‘na me stanza di lettù!* ‘in these months which you.have slept (= been sleeping and continue to sleep) here, always there you.have slept (= been sleeping), only once it.happened.PRT that we.slept.PRT in my bedroom’).

The subjunctive is commonly claimed to have been systematically replaced by the indicative (cf. Rohlfs 1968:§559; 1969a:§681; Cordin 1997:89f.), e.g., Sic. *vuliti chi cci vaju iu?* ‘do you want that I.go._{IND}’, yet the situation is much more complex. First, until the latter half of the nineteenth century the subjunctive constituted a robust and productive morphological category (Loporcaro 1999a:70-73; Ledgeway 2009a:501-3). By the modern period, however, the present subjunctive had fallen entirely out of use, except for some lexical residues (cf. *mannaggia/mannaia!* ‘damn it!’ < *male* ‘evil’ + *aggia/aia* ‘have._{3SG.SBJV}’) and the third person of non-first conjugation verbs in some dialects of central Salento (Bertocci and Damonte 2007). Second, in dialects of the extreme south, which make only limited use of the infinitive (cf. §§16.4.3.5, 63.3), the demise of the subjunctive affects not only the present, but also the imperfect, both being

systematically substituted by the present indicative: Ctz. *ti sciali/scialavi ma ‘i guardi* ‘yourself._{2SG}= enjoy._{2SG}/enjoyed._{2SG} that them= you.watch._{IND} (= you enjoy/enjoyed watching them)’. Finally, in dialects of the upper south, by contrast, the imperfect subjunctive has not been entirely eradicated, but continues to be employed, alongside its frequent conditional uses, with original subjunctive value even replacing the now defunct present subjunctive, although it too is often replaced by the imperfect indicative. Specifically, the imperfect subjunctive survives as a highly marked form licensed in just two contexts (Ledgeway 2009a:503-11; 2009b:10f.). The first concerns root and embedded jussive clauses, e.g., Abr. *dijje che cce jesse!* ‘tell._{IMP2SG}=him that there= he.go._{IPFV.SBJV}’, although even here the corresponding indicative forms are not unknown (Nap. *cumannáieno a uno ca turnava* ‘they.ordered to one that he.returned._{IPFV.IND}’). The other bastion of subjunctive usage is volitional contexts, where the indicative is robustly attested whenever the main clause predicate is in the present (Cos. *vuogliu ca parri* ‘I.want that speak._{2SG.PRS.IND}’), alternates freely with the subjunctive when the matrix predicate is in the past (*vulia ca parrave/parrasse* ‘I.wanted that speak._{2SG.PST.IND/SBJV}’), but is excluded whenever the matrix predicate occurs in an irrealis form such as the conditional (*vulesse/vulerra ca parrasse/**parrave* ‘I.would.like that speak._{2SG.PST.SBJV/IND}’) in accordance with a rule of modal attraction between matrix and embedded predicates (Ledgeway 2009a:507). Another important alternative to the subjunctive in subject and adjunct clauses, as well as complement clauses in Sicilian, is the personal infinitive with (typically postverbal) nominative subject whenever overt (Ledgeway 1998; 2000:ch. 4; Mensching 2000; Bentley 2014a; cf. also §63.2.1.1): Mtn. *sò sciute prime de venì tu* ‘I left before of come._{INF} you’, Sic. *partìu senza virillu so pa* ‘he left without see._{INF}=him his father’.

16.4.2.2 Voice

The formal passive construction *BE* + participle with subjectivization of the underlying object and suppression/demotion of the underlying subject is rarely employed, e.g., Mtn. *la porte è stete serrete da jindre* ‘the door is (= has) been closed from inside’. Dialects of the upper south additionally mark a dynamic/punctual vs stative/durative reading of the passive participle through the copular opposition between reflexes of *ESSE* ‘be’ and *STARE* ‘stand’: Nap. *‘a porta era/steva chiusa* ‘the door was (being)/was (remained) closed’. In place of the passive are preferred active structures with clitic left-dislocation (§31.3.4, §34.4.1) of the non-Agent: *la porte, j’hanne serrete da jindre* ‘the door, it=they.have closed from inside’. Also common is the third-person *si/se* ‘self-’ passive with transitives: Cos. *s’ann’i munnà i patate* ‘self= must peel._{INF} the potatoes’. Of particular note here are Molisan

and Abruzzese which employ with passive/indefinite value *l'ome/n'ome* (< HOMO 'man'; Hastings 1994; D'Alessandro and Alexiadou 2006; D'Alessandro 2014), a 'weak' pronoun which precedes lexical verbs (Ses. *l'ome/n'ome dice* 'one says'), but which follows (higher) auxiliaries and modals (e.g., Ses. *l'avè l'ome ditte* 'it=had one said'); revealing are Santeusaniese examples like *j'a n'ome 'vé rrubbiète* 'to.him= has one had robbed (= one had robbed him)', where in the variant double-auxiliary pluperfect formation (a 'has', 'vé 'had') the indefinite pronoun follows the first, but precedes the second auxiliary (Verratti 1998:104f.).

Widespread across all dialects are want-passives (Ledgeway 2000:ch.7) which can be employed with volitional (Deliese *u voliti diciutu in lingua taliana?* 'it.M= you. want said.MSG in language Italian?') or deontic (Casignanese *li rosi vonnu mbiverati* 'the.PL roses.F want watered.PL') value. In the former case passivization of the indirect object may also be exceptionally licensed and is reflected either through the presence of auxiliary BE (Rocellese *illu voli èssiri spiegata a lezionii* 'he wants be.INF explained.FSG the.FSG lesson.F') or through subject-controlled participle agreement (Cos. *idda vo lavata i capiddi* 'she wants washed.FSG the.PL hairs.M').

Typical of southern dialects is the use of transitive/unergative past participles with middle value (Bentley and Ledgeway 2014; 2015), hence examples such as Cos. *simu arrivati all'aeropuertu ggjà prenotati* 'we arrived at the airport already booked.MPL (= having already booked in)', Sic. *vinniru manciati* 'they came eaten.PL (= having already eaten)' (cf. §8.4.6.5 for Romanian). Similarly, transitive participles are frequently employed in conjunction with privative *senza* 'without' with middle value (Mtn. *(cammise) senza sciaquete* '(shirt) without washed (= unwashed shirt); Granatiero 1987:80), as well as the infinitive (Nap. *café senza mmacena* 'coffee without grind.INF (= unground coffee)'; Ledgeway 2009a:665; cf. Sp. *una camisa sin planchar* 'a shirt without iron.INF (= unironed)').

16.4.3 Clause

16.4.3.1 Sentence organization

The organization of the clause shows a number of overt reflexes of an active-stative syntax (§50.2), distinguishing between Agent transitive/intransitive subjects and Undergoer transitive objects/intransitive subjects. This explains why, in terms of basic word order, transitive/unergative subjects precede the verb (Nap. *Ciccio s'ha véppeta na birra/Ciccio ha víppeto* 'Ciccio self= has drunk.FSG a.F beer.F/Ciccio has drunk.MSG'), whereas unaccusative subjects occupy the canonical postverbal object position (*s'è véppeta 'a birra* 'self= is drunk.FSG the.FSG beer.F', *è sciso Ciccio* 'is descended.MSG

Ciccio').²⁰ As these examples demonstrate, this same distinction underlies the distribution of the perfective auxiliaries and participle agreement (Ch. 49), inasmuch as transitive/unergative subjects align with *avé* 'have' and fail to control participial agreement, while unaccusative subjects license auxiliary *èsse(re)* 'be' and control participial agreement just like transitive objects. However, this conservative correlation between active-stative syntax and auxiliary selection and participle agreement is not so robust across all dialects, including Neapolitan where unaccusatives may also equally select HAVE (Ledgeway 2000:ch.6; 2009a:§15.1) and past participle agreement has considerably weakened (Ledgeway 2009a:827-31; Loporcaro 2010a).

16.4.3.2 Auxiliary selection and participle agreement

Simplifying considerably (though see §49.3), we can recognize at least six other patterns of auxiliary selection across the south. The first concerns person-driven systems common to many dialects of central and southern Italy such as Ariellese (Tuttle 1986; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II:729-45; D'Alessandro 2010:31f.), where with all predicates first/second persons select BE (*so/si fatijate/cascate* lit. 'I.am/you.sg. are worked.sg/fallen.sg') and the third person HAVE (*a fatijate/cascate* '(s)he.has worked.sg/fallen.sg'). Alongside these varieties, we also find dialects such as Altamurano which combines both options into a single system of so-called triple auxiliatio (Loporcaro 2007b), where first/second person subjects invariably align with BE (*sə/sə m:an'dʒeɪt* 'I.am/you.sg. are eaten', albeit in free alternation with HAVE: 'əjə/a man'dʒeɪt), but third person subjects retain the conservative transitive-unaccusative HAVE/BE split (*a man'dʒeɪt/e r:ɔ'mwəsə* soul 'he.has eaten/he.is remained alone'). The third pattern involves a temporal split as exemplified by Procidano (Ledgeway 2009a:624-6), which displays a traditional HAVE-BE transitive-unaccusative split in the present perfect (*ho mangeto/songo juto* 'I.have eaten/I.am gone'), but generalization of BE in all other perfective paradigms (*fovo mangeto/juto* 'I.was eaten/gone'). Next, old Sicilian contrasts such as *li pili ià li eranu caduti* 'the.PL hairs.M already to.him were fallen.PL' vs *si chilla dirrupa avissi caduta* 'if that.F rock.F had.IPFV.SBJV fallen.FSG' highlight a modal split, common to many medieval varieties (Ledgeway 2003a), whereby the traditional transitive-unaccusative split is overridden in irrealis modal contexts with the extension of auxiliary HAVE to all predicates. Another frequent pattern, especially

²⁰ Many unaccusatives and unergatives select for a locative/temporal argument where VS order correlates with an implicit locative/temporal argument anchored to the here and now of the speaker functioning as the subject of predication (Ledgeway 2009a:771-4): Nap. *Ø_{Loc} sta venneno 'o padrone* '[here] is coming the boss'.

in dialects of the extreme south (though not Salentino), is the generalization of HAVE to all verb classes and grammatical persons: Gse. *avia dittu/morutu* ‘she.had said/died’, *Fiorilla si nd’avia calatu* ‘Fiorilla self= therefrom had descended’. Finally, the opposite pattern is found in Bovese (Squillaci forthcoming; Schifano and Silvestri 2014; Schifano et al. 2014) where BE has generalized to all verbs (though restricted to the pluperfect): *eru/eri/era/èramu/èravu/èranu lavuratu/iutu* ‘I.was/you.sg.were/(s)he.was/we.were/you.pl.were/they.were worked.MSG/gone.MSG’.

As for participle agreement (cf. §49.2, and Loporcaro 1998b), here too there is considerable variation. Varieties such as Gioiese and Bovese with generalization of HAVE or BE have lost participle agreement in all configurations, including with clitic direct objects: Gse. *l’avia ferutu* ‘her= he.had injured.MSG’, Bovese *i piatti, ll’eru lavatu* ‘the dishes.M, them=I.was washed.MSG’. At the other extreme we find varieties like Salentino where, irrespective of auxiliary selection, there is generalized agreement not only with unaccusative subjects (Scr. *li tre su già ssuti* ‘the.MPL three are already exited.MPL’), but with all objects, whether full or pronominal (Scr. *aggiu nnutti ddo chili de biscotti* ‘I’ve brought.MPL two kilos.M of biscuits.M’). Other varieties show an intermediate situation where agreement is today restricted to participles showing metaphonic alternation for gender (cf. Mtn. *hou rutte/rotte lu cicene/la pegnete* ‘I. have broken.PTCP.M/F the jar.M/cooking.pot.F’), even in those varieties where final vowels remain otherwise intact. This is clearly visible in varieties that present both strong metaphonic and weak non-metaphonic participle variants for the same verb, where only the former shows agreement (cf. Ffd. *Cicciu s’avie letta/lejutu a littera* ‘Ciccio self= had read.PTCP.FSG/read.PTCP.MSG the.F letter.F’), ultimately highlighting how past participle agreement is sensitive, not only to syntactic configurations, but also to morphological distinctions (Loporcaro 2010a). Finally, we must mention the exceptional behaviour of eastern Abruzzese dialects like Ariellese where participles indiscriminately display metaphonic agreement with any plural argument (D’Alessandro and Roberts 2010), be it subject (*seme magnite/magnate lu biscotte* ‘we.are eaten.PL/SG the.MSG biscuit.M’) or object (*so magnite/magnate li biscutte* ‘I.am eaten.PL/SG the.PL biscuits.M’).

16.4.3.3 Argument marking

While all dialects mark specific animate direct objects with the preposition *a* ‘to’ (cf. §56.3.2.4), they differ as to which classes of NP are affected (Sornicola 1997a; Fiorentino 2003; Guardiano 2010; Ledgeway 2000:ch.2; 2009a:831–42; Maturi 2002:231; Reynolds 2005). At the very least, the prepositional accusative proves obligatory with first and second

person tonic pronouns. This is the case in Ariellese where, as with auxiliary distribution (D’Alessandro 2012), there obtains a person split between prepositionally marked first/second persons and unmarked third person (*so viste a tte/(**a) jisse/(**a) Marije* ‘I.am seen ACC.MRK you.OBL.SG/(ACC.MRK) her/(ACC.MRK) Maria’). Many other varieties, by contrast, are more liberal, extending the prepositional accusative to the third person, especially pronouns, proper names, and kinship terms, in turn, often doubled by a clitic: Mtn. *A cchenèije che vé truwènne?* ‘ACC.MRK who are you looking for?’, *l’ha viste a Mmarije?* ‘her=have you seen ACC.MRK Maria?’. The greatest variation is found with full NPs where the distribution of the prepositional accusative, even with animate and full referential referents, often proves optional: Nap. *avimmo cugliuto (a) ll’avvocato* ‘we welcomed (ACC.MRK) the lawyer’, *se tenesse a n’ato ommo vicino* ‘if only I had ACC.MRK another man’ vs *se m’avesse spusato no brigante* ‘if I had married a bandit’. However, when animate constituents are moved to the left periphery, they always license the prepositional accusative: Cos. *am’i chiamà (a r)u mièdicu* ‘we must call (ACC.MRK) the doctor’ vs *** (a r)u mièdicu ll’am’i chiamà* ‘ACC.MRK the doctor him=we.must call’.

Another significant area of variation concerns various dative-shift type constructions where an underlying dative case-marked RECIPIENT is marked accusative when realized as a clitic (Sornicola 1997b:335–7; Loporcaro 1998b:129f.;174–6; Ledgeway 2000:ch.2; 2009a:844–7; Maturi 2002:177f.). In many dialects accusative-marking of Recipients is restricted to monotransitives, e.g., Alt. *la mæg:erə ndʒə/lv kɔŋ/rɪt* ‘the wife him.DAT/him.ACC= cooks/smiles’, Cos. *cci/u spar/u parru/cucinu/scrivu* ‘him.DAT/him.ACC= I.shoot/speak/cook/write’, and is excluded in ditransitives (cf. Cos. *cci/**u cucinu a pasta* ‘him.DAT/him.ACC I.cook the pasta’). Many dialects of the upper south, however, extend this pattern to ditransitives provided the genuine direct object is not referenced by an accusative clitic. Hence in these varieties accusative-marked Recipients surface with unergatives (Nap. *vuie ’o rispunnete pure?* ‘you.PL him.ACC reply.2PL also?’), ditransitives (Mat. *u veggj sbott do jav a cazian* ‘him.ACC I.want scramble.INF two eggs for breakfast’), and even unaccusatives (Nap. *’o jett’incontro* ‘him.ACC= he.went towards’). The alternation between dative and accusative marking of Recipients is not however free and is subject, at least, to animacy restrictions, e.g., Cos. *a Maria/a ra littera cci rispunnu* ‘to Maria/to the letter.F 3OCL.DAT= I.reply’ vs *a Maria/**a ra littera a rispunnu* ‘to Maria/to the letter.F 3OCL.ACC.FSG= I.reply’.

16.4.3.4 Inflectional core

The position of the verb also shows interesting properties (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005; Ledgeway 2009a:777–81; 2009b; Schifano forthcoming a, b). Above all, in most

dialects the verb sits in a low position within the sentential core from where it follows not only high adverbs (e.g., *forze* ‘maybe’) but also many low pre-VP adverbs (e.g., *ancora* ‘still, yet’, *ggià* ‘already’) which in most Romance varieties follow the verb (§§31.2.2.1-2), thereby producing the clitic-adverb interpolation structures observed in §16.4.1.1.2. This characteristic is brought out most acutely by a comparison of the position of the verb in realis root/embedded clauses and irrealis (subjunctive) clauses (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014; cf. also §31.2.2.2.1): whereas in the former case the verb follows low adverbs such as *ggià* ‘already’ (Lec. *(tici ca) l’Anna ggià u sape* ‘(he says that_{REALIS}) Anna already it=knows’), in the latter case it climbs to the highest available position preceding such adverbs (*speru cu u sape ggià* ‘I hope that_{IRREALIS} it= she.knows already’).

The position of the verb also discriminates in some dialects between different types of negation. For example, in Cosentino postverbal *mancu* is an emphatic negator ‘not even’ (*Cicciu un mi canuscia mancu* ‘Ciccio doesn’t even know me’), whereas preverbal *mancu* licenses a presuppositional reading of the negator (*Cicciu un mi mancu canuscia* ‘but Ciccio doesn’t know me’). Other dialects mark presuppositional negation through different means. Sicilian, for instance, has grammaticalized the negator *neca* from an erstwhile structure *non è ca...* ‘not it.is that...’ (Cruschina 2010b:31; Garzonio and Poletto 2010:78f.; cf. also §51.2.3), e.g., Mus. *neca ci vonsi jiri* ‘but they didn’t want to go there’, whereas Salentino has grammaticalized the minimizer *filu* ‘(not a) thread’ in this function (Ledgeway forthcoming b); Scr. *nu stau filu distratta* ‘but I’m not absent-minded’.

South of Gaeta-Rieti-Teramo (Rohlf 1969a:243-5) manner adverbs are syncretic with adjectives, the adjectival form equally performing adverbial functions (Ledgeway 2011a): Lec. *li cuenti li sacciu fare bueni* ‘the accounts them= I.know do_{INF} good_{MPL}’. As the latter example demonstrates, the adverbial adjective may also show agreement under specific structural conditions. In particular, the adverbial adjective may agree with Undergoers, be these transitive objects (Cos. *miscu bbone i carte* ‘I’ll shuffle the_{PL} cards_F good_{FPL}’) or unaccusative subjects (Acese *Bona accuminciau a jurnata!* ‘good_{FSG} began the_{FSG} day_F’), but not with transitive subjects (Cos. *i frati lavanu bbona/**bbuoni a màchina* ‘the brothers wash good_{FSG/MPL} the_{FSG} car_F’). Generally, unergative subjects behave like transitive subjects (e.g., Nap. *Maria cantaie bbuono/**bbona* ‘Maria sang good_{MSG/FSG}’), but in some dialects they may control agreement under specific structural and semantic conditions. For example, in Mus. *l’abbocati parlaru chiari/chiaru* ‘the lawyers spoke clear_{PL/MSG}’, agreement with the subject results in a subject-oriented activity reading (‘the lawyers were clear in their speech’), whereas the non-agreeing masculine singular form produces an object-oriented accomplishment reading, albeit

of an implicit, null object ‘the speech, talk’ (= ‘the lawyers gave a clear talk’).

16.4.3.5 Left periphery

Turning to the left periphery (see Ledgeway 2010b), we note an overwhelming tendency for all dialects obligatorily to vacate all given/topical constituents from the sentential core dislocating them (with resumptive clitics where available) to the left (or right) periphery (Cruschina 2011b), hence the apparent high incidence of clitic doubling and such structures as Nap. *nc”a mannáimo(.) a’ lèttera a Don Michele* ‘him_{DAT}= it_F= we.sent the_{FSG} letter_F to Don Michele’ ⇒ *a lèttera, a Don Michele, nc”a mannáimo, a Don Michele, a lèttera, nc”a mannáimo, a lèttera nc”a mannáimo(.) a Don Michele*, etc. When predicates are topicalized, these are generally copied from the sentential core and preceded by the topic marker from *DE* ‘of’ (cf. Romanian; §8.4.6.5): Cos. *i bbieddu, è propriu bbieddu* ‘of handsome, he’s really handsome’, *i mangià, u’ mmangia mai* ‘of eat_{INF}, not he.eats never’. Also striking is the frequent use of focus fronting (§§31.3.4, 34.5.2-4), a tendency that becomes stronger and more liberal the further south one moves, including contrastive focus (Mat. *Wè Mari, ca TOND GIAOV’N nan si!* ‘Hey Maria, you’re not so YOUNG yourself!’), informational focus (Nap. *’O pate songh’io!* ‘I’m **the daddy!**’), and mirative fronting (Cos. *Nu càvuciu a ru culu ti dugnu!* ‘I’ll give you **a kick up the arse!**’). Within this category can be included quantified expressions which are also typically fronted: Cht. *Caccose s’a scurdate* ‘he’s forgotten **something**’.

In relation to finite complementizers, we note that, traditionally, all dialects present a dual series formally distinguishing realis (indicative) from irrealis (subjunctive) modality (Ledgeway 2004a; 2005; cf. also §63.2.1.2), namely (*QUIA* >) *ca* ‘realis’ vs (*QUID* >) *che* [ke/kə/ki] (USIDs), ((*QUO*)_{MODO} >) *ma/mu/mi* (southern Calabria, northeastern Sicily), (*QUOD* >) *cu* (Salento), e.g., Guglionese *m’ònnə dattə ka vè* ‘me =they.have said that(ca) he.comes_{IND}’ vs *vujja kə vvi* ‘I.want that(che) you.come_{IND}’. Today in most dialects of the upper south this distinction has been neutralized (Ledgeway 2009b; 2012c; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014), with generalization of either *ca* (Ruvese *m’ònnə dittə/vòllə ka vènə* ‘me= they.have said/I.want that(ca) he.comes_{IND}’) or *che* (Monterodunese *m’ennə rittə/vòllə kə vve* ‘me= they.have said/I.want that(che) he.comes_{IND}’). In dialects of the extreme south, however, where, like Romanian, finite clauses predominantly replace the traditional use of the infinitive (cf. §§8.5.2.5, 63.3), the distinction between the two complementizers is robustly maintained (Calabrese 1993; Ledgeway 1998): Rocellese *pari ca sugnu nta la galleria* ‘it seems that(ca) I’m in the tunnel’ vs *aviti mu partiti* ‘you_{PL}.have that(mu) you_{PL}.leave (= you must leave)’.