Altamurano*

Overview

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Altamurano is spoken in Altamura, a town of about 70,000 inhabitants 45 km southwest of Bari (in the latter province, Apulia). It belongs to the Upper Southern subdivision of Italo-Romance (cf. Loporcaro 2013: 143-153), a branch of the Romance language family. The present sketch of Altamurano is meant as an aid for consulting the DAI database (http://www.dai.uzh.ch/): it introduces the notational conventions used in transcribing this variety, which lacks a normalized orthography, and then moves on to giving a synthetic overview of the aspects of the grammar of the dialect which are relevant to the description of agreement phenomena. As will become apparent in §2, the marking of morphosyntactic feature values on some agreement targets is presently undergoing change across the speech community, so that, as it comes to adjectives and participles, (the relevant aspects of) individual subvarieties (idiolects) have to be described, that have been inferred through inspection of the dataset and have to be kept in mind when querying the database.[1]

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* Version December 18, 2018.

[1] Loporcaro (1988) provides a comprehensive grammar of Altamurano, which however does not report on the now ongoing changes affecting the gender system (see § 2.4.1), addressed instead in Loporcaro (2018a: 265f.), (2018b: 177-180).

1 Phonology

1.1 Vowels
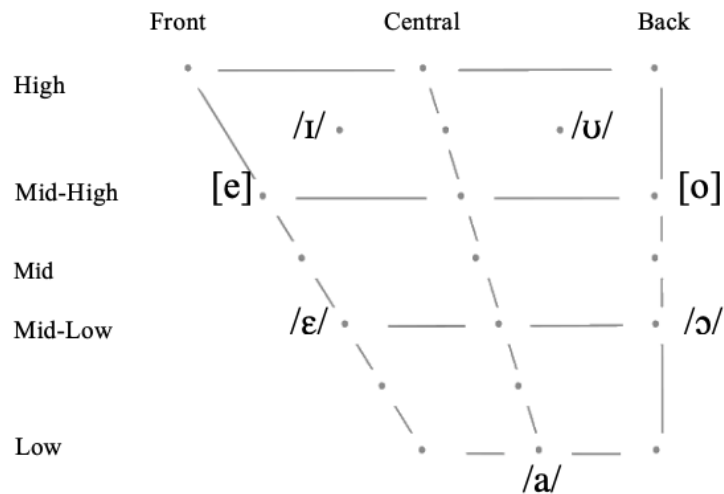
The stressed vowel system of Altamurano is a modification of the common Proto-Romance 7-vowel system (on which see e.g. Loporcaro 2011: 115). The diachronic correspondences leading to the system observable today are as follows:

(1)   Stressed vowel system of Altamurano

a. Latin	iː	i	eː	e	a	o	oː	u	uː
b. PRom	i	e		ɛ	a	ɔ	o		u

c. Altamurano

open syllable	ɪ	ai̯ (> ɛ)		e	ɛ	o	au̯ (> ɔ)		ʊ
	ˈfri̯l 'thread'	ˈnai̯v 'snow'	ˈtai̯l 'cloth'	ˈdei̯ʃ 'ten'	ˈkɛip 'head'	ˈsou̯r 'sister'	ˈsau̯l 'sun'	ˈlau̯t 'mud'	ˈlʊu̯ʃ 'light'

checked syllable	ɪ	ɛ		e	a	o (œ)	ɔ		ʊ (ʏ)
	ˈfrɪt: 'fried'	ˈpɛʃː 'fish'	ˈrɛt:s 'net'	ˈset: 'sette'	ˈjam: 'leg'	ˈnœt: 'night'	ˈsɔrdʒ 'mouse'	ˈɔɲ: '(finger) nail'	ˈfrʏt: 'fruit'

In (1c), one sees the same vowel phonemes as in the above vowel chart. The examples beneath each phoneme, on the other hand, show the realization of the corresponding word in isolation, where a series of allophonic processes applies: open-syllable diphthongization which affects all underlying monophthongs prepausally, and allophonic fronting of /ʊ/ and /o/, which occurs in checked syllables being blocked after labials and velars for /ʊ/ (e.g [ˈkʷʊdː] 'that.M.SG') and only after labials for /o/, e.g [ˈpʷort] 'door'). The examples in (1) do not show instances of metaphony, which, together with the merger of unstressed final vowels, is relevant to the morphosyntax of agreement. Metaphony

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affected all mid vowels, resulting in the following alternations between a metaphonic alternant in words whose final vowel was the PRom outcome of Latin -ī -ŭ (2ii) and a non-metaphonic alternant in words whose final vowel was the PRom outcome of Latin final non-high vowels (2i):

(2)   Metaphony in Altamurano

		i. before -A -E -O		ii. before -Ī -Ŭ	
		open syllable	checked syllable	open syllable	checked syllable
a.	Ŏ	[ˈmou̯r] 'die.3SG'	[ˈmʷort] 'dead.F'	[ˈmwei̯r] 'die.2SG'	[ˈmwert] 'dead.M'
b.	Ĕ	[ˈpei̯t] 'foot'	[aˈpɛrt] 'open.F'	[ˈpɪə̯t] 'feet'	[aˈpɪə̯rt] 'open.M'
c.	Ō/Ŭ	[ˈsau̯l] 'alone.F'	[ˈsɔrd] 'deaf.F'	[ˈsʊu̯l] 'alone.M'	[ˈsʏrd] 'deaf.M'
d.	Ē/Ĭ	[ˈvai̯t] 'see.3SG'	[ˈmɛt:] 'put.3SG'	[ˈvɪi̯t] 'see.2SG'	[ˈmɪt:] 'put.2SG'

Metaphonic alternations have arisen at a stage when unstressed final vowels had not merged yet. This merger produced widespread uninflectedness in the inflectional paradigm, with the only exception of noun, adjective and verb forms with a stressed mid vowel which underwent metaphony, as exemplified in (2). As a consequence, agreement is never signalled affixally in the dialect, the only exception being phrases such as [na ˈbːɛlːa waˈɲːedː] 'a beautiful girl' vs. [nʊ ˈbːɛlːə waˈɲːau̯n] 'a handsome boy', [t͡ʃə ˈbːrɤtːa ˈkau̯s] 'what an ugly thing!' vs. [t͡ʃə ˈbːrɤtːə ˈmʷʊsː] 'what an ugly yap!', where final [-a] occurs in the feminine singular form of a prenominal adjective. This concerns only the feminine singular and just a couple of adjectives, since prenominal adjectives occur much more sparingly than in standard Italian (cf. Andriani 2018 on the nearby dialect of Bari).

1.1.1   Diphthongs

As already apparent from the above, Altamurano diphthongs can be classified into metaphonic and non-metaphonic diphthongs, the former exemplified in (2), the latter in (1). Non-metaphonic diphthongs, in turn, fall into two distinct categories: the two phonemic diphthongs /ai̯/ and /au̯/ and the allophonic diphthongs derived via open-syllable diphthongization in prepausal position, as exemplified in (1c). Note that in those examples, final underlying /ə/ has been deleted: e.g. /ˈkɛpə/ → [ˈkɛi̯p] 'head' (compare the non-prepausal occurrence in [ˈkɛpə də ˈsɪi̯f] 'stupid' (liter. 'head of grease').

(3)   Diphthongs and triphthongs of Alt. (in bold: metaphonic diphthongs)

syllabic V	ɪ	e	ɛ	a	o	ɔ	ʊ
raising with /w/		**/we/**					
falling with /i̯/	[ɪi̯]	**[ei̯]**	[ɛi̯]	/ai̯/			
falling with /u̯/				/au̯/	[ou̯]	[ɔu̯]	[ʊu̯]
falling with /ə/	**/ɪə/**						
raising with /w/, falling with /i̯/		**[wei̯]**					

Unstressed vowels have reduced and centralized, so as to result in a three-vowel system /a ə ʊ/ before primary word stress: e.g. [kʊˈnɪɟː] 'rabbit' vs. [kaˈnɪɟː] 'bran', [mbəˈtːɛi] 'to infect' vs. [mbaˈtːɛi] 'to arrange'. After stress, all vowels merged into /ə/, a change which constitutes an isogloss characteristic for the Upper South subdivision of Italo-Romance (cf. Loporcaro 2013: 148-151). In paroxytonic words, this final /ə/ is usually deleted prepausally, as seen in the examples in (1)-(2). Word final /ʊ/ and /a/ can resurface under certain syntactic conditions. Non-centralized final /ʊ/ occurs exclusively as a final vowel of a few M.SG determiners within the NP, viz. the demonstratives [ˈkʷʊsː] 'this' and [ˈkʷʊdː] 'that', as well as the adjective [ˈatə] 'other' (a form never occurring prepausally, the prepausal variant being [ˈalt]): [ˈkʷʊsːʊ ˈsteːdəkə] 'this idiot', [ˈkʷʊdːʊ ˈkwɛi̯n] 'that dog', [n ˈaːtʊ ˈpwɪkː] 'a bit more'. Non-centralized final /a/ occurs in the feminine counterparts ([ˈkɛsːa/ˈkɛdːa/n ˈaːta waˈɲːed̯ː] 'this/that/another girl') and, in addition, in all F.SG nouns and adjectives which are not NP-final [na ˈsøːra ˈmai̯] 'a sister of mine', [na ˈbːona ˈkau̯s] 'a good thing'.[2]

1.2   Consonants

(4)   Consonants in Altamurano

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental	Alveolar		Palato-alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Labio-velar
Plosive	p	b				t	d					c	ɟ	k	g	
Affricate						ts	dz	tʃ	dʒ							
Fricative			f	v		s		ʃ								
Nasal		m		[ɱ]			n						ɲ		[ŋ]	
Lateral							l									
Trill							r									
Approximant													j			w

[2] Those cited are the only contexts relevant to agreement: in addition, final [a] extends beyond the contexts in which it is etymologically justified (as those just mentioned) and tends to become a mere juncture linker between two words in a close syntactic link.

Sound changes which differentiate Altamurano (as well as other southern Italian dialects) from Standard Italian are usually notated in the orthography word-internally: among these, e.g. the voicing of postnasal obstruents (e.g. *quanda timbe* 'how much time', compare It. *quanto tempo*) and the progressive assimilation of the clusters /nd/ and /mb/ (e.g. *quanne* 'when', *chjümme* 'lead', compare It. *quando*, *piombo*; cf. Loporcaro 1988: 145f.). Conversely, processes which affect consonants in external sandhi are not reflected in the notation. Thus, the same postnasal voicing seen above, applies also at word boundary but is not notated, in e.g. *nan pozzə* 'I cannot', *nan zecce* 'I don't know', to be read as [nam ˈbwot:s], [nan ˈdzɛt:ʃ] respectively. In fact, voicing applies across the board after nasals, and this notation has the advantage of not obscuring the lexical identity of the words involved. On the other hand, our orthography registers Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico, since this is irregularly triggered by a closed list of words, marked by a rule feature and not sharing any phonological property: e.g. *quanda laminde ca stè ffè* 'what a fuss you are making!' (cp. *tégne da ffè* 'I'm busy').

1.3 Transcription criteria

For the purpose of the present database a simplified spelling has been adopted, which neglects phonetic detail (e.g., non-phonemic diphthongs), yet can be read non-ambiguously, with the help of the present sketch. Here is a synopsis of the symbol-to-sound correspondences:

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
‹a›	[ˈa]	*ja*gnə	'molar tooth'
	[a]	*a*vè	'to have'
‹é›	[ˈe]	n*é*və	'new.M'
‹è›	[ˈɛ]	ch*è*sə	'house'
‹ə›	[ə]	bbèrəfàtt*ə*	'goodlooking.M'
‹i›	[ˈɪ]	f*i*gghjə	'son'
‹ó›	[ˈo]	b*ó*nə	'good.F.PL.'
‹ò›	[ˈɔ]	f*ò*ddə	'haste'
‹ö›	[ˈø]	*ö*mmə	'man'
‹u›	[ʊ]	pr*u*wè	'to try'
‹ù›	[ˈʊ]	cchj*ù*	'more', 'plus'
‹ü›	[ˈʏ]	*ü*rsə	'bear'

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
‹b›	[b]	*jam**b**rə*	'prawn'
‹bb›	[b:]	***bb**uénə*	'good.M'
‹c›	[k]V[+back]	***c**andè*	'to sing'
	[tʃ]V/_i/e/ə	*cərèsə, acidə*	'cherry', 'vinegar'
‹cc›	[k:]V[+back]	***ruccul**è*	'to scream'
	[t:ʃ]V/_i/e/ə	*accidə*	'to kill'
‹ch›	[k]	***ch**èsə, fué**ch**ə*	'house', 'fire'
‹cch›	[k:]	*va**cch**ə*	'cow'
‹(c)chj›	[c(:)]	***chj**óvə*	'it rains'
	[ɟ] postnasal, external sandhi	*nan **chj**óve*	'it does not rain'
‹cci›	[t:ʃ]	*sfama**cci**ònə*	'glutton'
‹d›	[d]	***d**éndə*	'tooth'
‹dd›	[d:]	*ja**dd**ə*	'rooster'
‹f›	[f]	***f**urnə, ca**f**ònə*	'oven', 'bumpkin'
‹g›	[g]V[+back]	*n**g**àpete*	'head'
	[dʒ]V/_i/e/ə	*n**g**əgnè*	'to start'
‹gg›	[g:] V[+back]	***gg**assə*	'gas'
	[d:ʒ] V/_i/e/ə	***gg**è, rə**gg**inə, damma**gg**ə*	'already', 'queen', 'damage'
‹gh›	[g(:)]	*man**gh**ə*	'neither'
‹(g)ghj›	[ɟ(:)]	*fi**gghj**ə*	'son'
‹ggi›	[d:ʒ]	***ggi**üstə*	'right'
‹gli›	[ʎ:]	*bbutti**gli**ə, Pü**gli**ə*	'bottle', 'Apulia' (toponym)
‹gn›	[ɲ:]	*cè**gn**ə*	'band'
‹j›	[j]	***j**addinə*	'hen'
‹l›	[l]	***l**unə, cöppə**l**ə*	'moon', 'flat cap'
‹ll›	[l:]	*bbè**ll**ə*	'handsome'
‹m›	[m]	***m**ènə, sə**m**ènə*	'hand', 'week'
‹mm›	[m:]	*ja**mm**ə*	'leg'
‹n›	[n]	***n**idə, lè**n**ə*	'nest', 'wool'
	[m]C[+ant,–cor]	*na**n** pozzə*	'I cannot'

‹nn›	[n:]	*awannə*	'this year'
‹p›	[p]	*pènə, lupə*	'bread', 'wolf'
	[b] postnasal, external sandhi	*nan pozzə*	'I cannot'
‹pp›	[p̥:]	*mappinə*	'slap'
‹qu›	[kw]	*quannə*	'when'
‹r›	[r]	*rəmàurə*	'noise'
‹rr›	[r:]	*carrə*	'cart'
‹s›	[s]	*sèlə*	'salt'
	$[z]C_{[+voiced]}$	*svənì*	'to faint'
‹sc›	$[sk]V_{[+back]}$	*scàtele*	'box'
	$[\int]V_{/\_i/e/ə}$	*scənücchjə, pèscə*	'knee', 'peace'
‹sck›	[ʃk]	*sckaffə*	'slap'
‹sci›	[ʃ]	*sciummuèndə*	'mare'
‹ss›	[s:]	*jéssə*	'to be'
‹ssc›	[ʃ:]	*pèsscə*	'fish'
‹ssci›	[ʃ:]	*sscianghètə*	'crippled'
‹t›	[t]	*tötrə, nəpàutə*	'torso', 'nephew'
	[d]	*nan tégnə*	'I do not have'
‹tt›	[t:]	*jattə*	'cat'
‹v›	[v]	*varchə, lavè*	'boat', 'to wash'
	[f]	*névə*	'new.M'
‹w›	[w]	*wòcchə, awònnə; pruwè*	'mouth', '(they) have', 'to try'
‹z›	[ts]	*zöcchənə*	'rat'
	[dz] postnasal, external sandhi	*spunzè, nan zèccə*	'to dip', 'I don't know'
‹zz›	[t:s]	*puzze*	'pit, well'
	[d:z]	*zzjènə, zzirə*	'uncle', 'oil bin'

2 Grammar

2.1 Nouns

Nouns in Altamurano inflect according to one of 4 inflectional classes (= IC), which feature invariable nouns (IC 1) or nouns whose SG/PL forms are distinguished (ICs 2-4) via affixal inflection and/or root alternations (the capital letters A≠B signal non-phonologically conditioned allomorphy, while A=A indicate lack thereof):[3]

(5)   Noun inflectional classes in Altamurano

IC	Form		Example		Gloss	Gender
	SG	PL	SG	PL		
1	A	A	ʊ skwarˈpɛˑi̯r	ɪ skarˈpɛˑi̯r	'shoemaker'	M (human)
			la ˈpedː	ɪ ˈpedː	'skin'	F
			ʊ ˈkwɛˑi̯n	ɪ ˈkɛˑi̯n	'dog'	NAN
2	A	B	l aˈmɾˑi̯k	l aˈmɾˑi̯ʃ	'friend'	M (human)
			la ˈvaˑu̯ʃ	ɪ ˈvʊˑu̯ʃ	'voice'	F
			ʊ ˈdɛnd	ɪ ˈdɪnd	'tooth'	NAN
3	A	A-(ə)rə	la ˈmamː	ɪ ˈmamːərə	'mum'	F
			ʊ kaˈvadː	ɪ kaˈvadːərə	'horse'	NAN
4	A	B-(ə)rə	ʊ mwaˈrɾˑi̯t	ɪ maˈrɛːtr	'husband'	M (human)
			la ˈkɛˑi̯s	ɪ ˈkaːsərə	'house'	F
			ʊ ˈtɪmb	ɪ ˈtɛmbərə	'time'	NAN
5	A	[…rCə]B	ʊ traˈjɪˑi̯n	ɪ traˈjɛrn	'cart'	NAN

Many nouns belong to IC 1 given the phonetic erosion of final unstressed vowels (see §1) and, consequently, affixal inflection. In IC 2, the singular/plural forms are kept distinct due to root allomorphy, inherited in just one name – [la ˈsoˑu̯r/ɪ səˈrʊˑu̯r] 'the sister, -s', the only noun to have preserved the imparisyllabic pattern from Latin 3rd declension (SOROR, pl. SORORES), which has been copied analogically in [la ˈnoˑu̯r/ɪ nəˈrʊˑu̯r] 'the daughter-in-law/PL' (originally belonging to the 4th declension: NURUS, pl. NURUS) – and created by (different instances of) regular sound change

[3] Inflectional subclasses are neglected here. No estimates of the numerosity of the different ICs can be provided, given the lack of a dictionary providing information about noun inflection, and consequently of quantitative studies.

elsewhere.4 Metaphony (see (2)) is the most frequent cause of such allomorphy, followed at a distance by some changes which affected stem-final consonants, such as velar palatalization: e.g. [ʊ ˈpwerk/ɪ ˈpwertʃ] 'the pig, -s'. Yet other instances of stem-final consonant alternations resulting in allomorphy resulted from assimilation of the originally stem-final consonant and the -(ə)rə ending, still visible in ICs 3-5. Thus, e.g. [kaˈvadː] 'horse', pl. [kaˈvarː] displays synchronically a whole-stem allomorphy, while diachronically it had the same formation as ICs 3-5.5 Finally, IC 2 also includes nouns whose allomorphy arose because of isolated irregularities such as [ʊ ˈfwɪ̯ː/ɪ ˈfi̯il] 'the son/-s'.

Synchronically, the only affixal ending to survive is -(ə)rə, arisen from the reanalysis of Latin neuter nouns such as *tempor-a* 'times'), which – contrary to other dialects (e.g., Agnonese: see the overview of the latter dialect, §2.1) – has lost its association to one gender value (originally the neuter) and now occur with nouns of all genders (see (6)), as seen in the examples provided for classes 3-4 in (5). In IC 3, the plural ending accounts for the plural vs. singular distinction, whereas ICs 4-5 combine root allomorphy and plural affixal inflection. Class 5 is originally identical to IC 4, except that metathesis of the stem-final consonant and the rhotic of the ending has destroyed the transparency of the root + affix (-(ə)rə) consecution, and created a non-concatenative allomorph B which expand, as indicated in (5), to […rCə]B (where C is the stem-final liquid or nasal consonant): e.g. [pəˈsʊ̯ul] 'bollard', pl. [pəˈsɔrl] in (5).

The last column indicates the grammatical gender of the nouns given as examples in the corresponding lines. As is readily apparent, in most ICs, nouns of the three genders occur, viz. M(asculine), F(eminine) and N(on-)A(utonomous) N(euter). The gender system of (conservative) Altamurano is schematized in (6), where gender agreement is illustrated with the agreeing adjective [ˈkʷʊrt]/[ˈkɔrt] 'short' since adjectives are the sole part of speech (together with a subset of irregular participles, see §2.7.2) which, at least in one inflectional class (see (9), §2.4) mark a gender contrast in the plural, while all other agreement targets contrast masculine vs. feminine only in the singular. Based on adjective agreement, nouns divide into three gender classes (controller genders) even if the contrast on targets (i.e. target genders, in Corbett's 1991:151 terms) is maximally binary, as exemplified in (6):

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4 Both [ˈsoˈu̯r] and [ˈnoˈu̯r] inflect also according to other inflectional microclasses which have been originated via regular sound changes, thus displaying also the invariable plurals [ˈsoˈu̯r] and [ˈnoˈu̯r] (IC 1) or the metaphonic plurals [ˈsʊˈu̯r], [ˈnʊˈu̯r]. An account of Altamurano noun inflection, mainly focusing on nouns featuring metaphonic alternations, is given in Calabrese (2016: 119-123).

5 Like many other nouns, this one too can inflect according to different ICs: alongside the plural [kaˈvarː], one also finds the regularized PL [kaˈvadːərə] (IC 3).

(6)

			SINGULAR		PLURAL		
a.	M	ʊ	ˈpreˑvətə	ˈkʷʊrt	ˈprɪˑəvətə	ˈkʷʊrt	'the short priest'
b.	NAN	ʊ	wʊˈratːsə	ˈkʷʊrt	ˈvratːsə	ˈkɔrt	'the short arm'
			kwaˈvadːə		kaˈvarːə		'the short horse'
c.	F	la	waˈɲːedːa	ˈkɔrt	waˈɲːedːə	ˈkɔrt	'the short girl'
			ˈjamːa		ˈjamːə		'the short leg'

While feminine (6c) is a semantically arbitrary gender with a semantic core, as usually in Romance (and Indo-European), the masculine has changed into a purely semantic gender, as it includes only nouns denoting male humans. The NAN accounts for the rest of the nominal lexicon, including the many nouns whose Italian counterparts would be non-human-denoting masculines, such as [ʊ ˈpwei̯t] 'the foot', or 'horse' in (6b).6 The gender contrast in the plural, signalled – as said above – by just a few agreement targets, is presently undergoing restructuring across the speech community. This ongoing change, represented among the speakers whose performance and grammaticality judgements are recorded in the database, is going to be addressed in §2.4.1, after the relevant agreement targets will have been introduced.7

2.2 Pronouns

Stressed personal pronouns are addressed here since they can be both agreement controllers, as nouns, and agreement targets. The table in (7) lists the forms of both stressed and clitic personal pronouns, as described in Loporcaro (1988: 243f.):

6 These two nouns are representative for one of the two sources of Altamurano NAN nouns, viz. masculine nouns denoting non-humans (Lat. PES,-DEM 'foot', CABALLUS 'horse'). The other source is Latin neuters, as exemplified by [ˈvəratːs] < BRACHIUM 'arm' in (6b).

7 This instability brought us to adopt the following glossing strategy. Nouns showing alternating agreement are glossed as 'noun(NAN)' only when they occur in the plural and there is evidence of their selecting feminine agreement, whereas in the singular they are glossed as 'noun(M)' (relying on target gender). This was consistently the case in the dialect of the speakers born between 1905-25 described in Loporcaro (1988), so that in such a system the nouns could be uniformly glossed as (NA)N, independently of context, much as one glosses with 'noun(N)' nouns assigned to the (alternating) neuter in Romanian (cf. e.g. Corbett 2012: 82).

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(7)		Stressed		Clitic		
		a. Subj.	b. Obj./Obl.	c. DO	d. IO	e. Reflexive
SG	1	ˈjɪi	ˈmai̯	mə		
	2	ˈtʊu	ˈtai̯	tə		
	3M	ˈjɪd:		(l)ʊ	lə/ndʒə	sə
	3F	ˈjɛd:		la		
PL	1	ˈnʊu		nə		
	2	ˈwʊu		və		
	3	ˈlou̯r		(l)ɪ	lə/ndʒə	sə

Note that Altamurano lacks a dedicated reflexive form of the stressed personal pronoun, which should be *[ˈsai̯] < Lat. SE, as the plain 3rd person forms are used instead: *chèddə pénza sckittə pə jèddə* 'she cares only for herself'. Masculine and plural DO clitics used to have an initial /l/ just like the feminine form: this consonant is categorically retained in the feminine but is variably (and indeed, today most frequently) cancelled in the masculine and plural forms. A similar relationship obtains between the older form of the IO clitic *lə*, and the one today in common use, *ndʒə*.

For queries on gender agreement controlled by [+animate] *1st and 2nd personal pronouns, the user can refer to the parameter Sex: feminine/masculine. The feature "sex" refers to the biological sex of the human referent.*

2.3 Determiners

2.3.1 Definite article

The definite article in Altamurano contrasts masculine vs. feminine gender only in the singular, like all other agreement targets but adjectives/participles. Its preconsonantal forms are displayed in Table 1.

Tab. 1: Definite article

	M	F
SG	(l)ʊ	la
PL	(l)ɪ	

/l/-deletion in the masculine and plural forms follows the same pattern as in DO clitics: /l/-initial forms are nowadays archaic. By contrast, the prevocalic allomorph in all cells reduces to /l/: *l'ömmə* 'the man(M)', pl. *l'emmə*, *l'àmələ* 'the pitcher(F)/-s'.

Before non-coronal initial consonants as well as word-initial clusters whose last consonant is a non-coronal obstruent, the M.SG form triggers /w/-insertion (by morphonological rule) to the right of the

initial consonant (cluster): e.g. *u pwènə* 'DEF.MSG bread', *u ngwápətə* 'the boss' (underlyingly /ˈpɛnə/, /ˈngapətə.

2.3.2 Indefinite article

The indefinite article has only singular forms and contrasts masculine vs. feminine preconsonantally, as shown in Table 2, while the prevocalic form is non-distinct (*n'ömmə* 'a man(M)', *n'àmələ* 'a pitcher(F)':

Tab. 2: Indefinite article

	M	F
SG	nʊ	na

The preconsonantal M.SG form triggers /w/-insertion under the same condition as with the definite article: e.g. *nu cwènə* 'a dog'.

2.3.3 Demonstratives

Altamurano has two demonstrative stems, contrasting in proximity, which is signalled by a different consonantal skeleton: proximal *kVssə* vs. distal *kVddə*. The forms of each degree mark gender/number through root vowel alternations, arisen via metaphony (see (2)) and the emergence of stressed /ʊ/ in the masculine singular (*kwʊssə* < ECCU-(I)STU, *kwʊddə* < ECCU-(I)LLU):

Tab. 3: Proximal demonstratives

	M	F
SG	kwʊssə	kɛssə
PL	kɪssə	

Tab. 4: Distal demonstratives

	M	F
SG	kwʊddə	kɛddə
PL	kɪddə	

Also demonstratives, like definite articles, possessives, personal stressed and clitic pronouns, display convergent gender marking with systematic syncretism in the plural. Prevocalic forms remain distinct, deleting only the final vowel. Adnominally, both singular forms restore the etymological final vowel, which in the M.SG triggers /w/-insertion: *cussu pwènə* 'this bread', *chèdda wagnéddə* 'that girl'. This results in multiple exponence of the values M.SG and F.SG.

As is the case in most Romance languages whose gender system shrank to a binary (target-gender) contrast, Altamurano too preserves a third demonstrative form (in both proximity degrees) used when gender agreement does not occur, e.g. because what is pronominalized is a non-nominal controller

such as a clause. The forms of the demonstrative used for this default function are syncretic with the feminine ones, though they are not identical in terms of feature specification, as shown by the fact that they trigger masculine, not feminine agreement on adjectives, clitic pronouns and other agreement targets (see (8b-c)):

(8)   a. nann   é   ppə   cchèddə
             NEG   be.PRS.3SG for   DEM.DIST.N
             It is not because of that

      b. chèssə   jé   ttüttə/*ttòttə
            DEM.PROX.N be.PRS.3SG all.M/all.F
            This is all

      c. chèssə   nan u=/*la=sò   ccapitə
            DEM.PROX.N NEG 3M.SG=/3F.SG=be.PRS.1SG   understand.PTP
            This, I did not understand

2.3.4 Possessives

Like all ItRom dialects of the Upper South (cf. Rohlfs 1966-69:2.1123-126 and the description of Agnonese in DAI), Altamurano has two series of adnominal possessives, stressed vs. enclitic, the former occurring always postnominally (as well as pronominally):

Tab. 5: Possessives

Possessor person		Possessed gender/number		
		Stressed		Enclitic
		N	F	M=F
1SG	SG	ˈmɪi	ˈmai̯	-mə
	PL			
2SG	SG	ˈtʊu	ˈtai̯/ˈtau̯	-tə
	PL			
3SG	SG	ˈsʊu	ˈsau̯	
	PL			
1PL	SG	ˈnest	ˈnøst	
	PL			
2PL	SG	ˈwest	ˈwost	
	PL			
3PL	SG	ˈlou̯r		

Possessives, as generally throughout Romance, agree in gender and number with the controller noun (denoting the possessed entity) and, in addition, encode – via inherent lexical specification – the

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person/number of the possessor through distinct stems listed in the leftmost column in Table 5.₈ This also goes for enclitic possessives, which however occur exclusively in the 1SG and 2SG, so that there is no enclitic counterpart for the remaining possessor persons. Thus, 'my/your.SG son' is usually *fígghjəmə/fígghjətə* but may also be expressed as *u fuigghjə mì/tù* 'DEF.M.SG my/your.M.SG son(M)', and the same goes for plural possessives: *fílmə/fíltə* 'my/your sons' or *i filə mai/tau* 'DEF.PL my/your.PL son(M).PL'. No such choice is available for 3SG and all plural possessives: e.g. for *u fuigghjə néstə* 'our.M.SG son(M)'. Enclitic possessives are subject to lexical restrictions, occurring with slightly over a dozen kin terms (e.g. *attànəmə* 'my father', *scírnəmə* 'my son-in-law', *məgghjértə* 'your wife'), plus four more lexemes which, like kin terms, are tightly related to the ego socially: *cummuárəmə/cummuártə* 'my/your witness(F) (at wedding), sponsor(F) (at baptism, confirmation)', *cumbuárəmə/cumbuártə* 'my/your bestman(M), sponsor(M) (at baptism, confirmation)', *patrŭ́nəmə/patrŭ́nətə* 'my/your boss', *cásəmə/castə* 'my/your home'. As in many southern Italian dialects, a lexical gap occurs with 'mother', which combines only with the 2SG, not 1SG enclitic possessive: *mámmətə* 'your mother'. As evident from the examples, NPs with enclitic possessives lack the definite article: e.g. *frátəmə/frattə* 'my/your brother'. The 2SG enclitic shows lexicalized allomorphy with some lexemes. While the (original) underlying form is /tə/, this surfaces as *-də* after some, but not all, nouns whose stem ends in /n/ or /r/: *attàndə* 'your father', *sördə* 'your sister'. This voicing indicates that the intervening schwa has been deleted underlyingly, as was the case word-internally in e.g. *spirdə* 'spirit', *jardiddə* 'cockerel', where syncope fed /t/-voicing. Consequently, the 2SG possessive surfaces as *-də* after non-deleted schwas in e.g. *cuggínətə/*cuggində*, *cummuárətə/*cummardə* 'your witness(F) (at wedding)', *patrŭ́nətə/*patründə* 'your boss'.

2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Altamurano are mostly invariable, given the loss of affixal inflection due to sound change (§1). As a consequence, gender and/or number contrasts may be signalled only in case a root vowel alternation has arisen, owing to the application of metaphony (see (2) above). This allows one to distinguish three inflectional classes:

₈ On the contrast between inherent and contextual morphosyntactic features in possessives see e.g. Thornton (2005: 54). The person specification, being inherent, is not to be confused with agreement even though the person value may be involved in co-reference relations and be linked anaphorically to an antecedent: e.g.

(i)   a.   <1SG>ᵢ sò ppəttètə la máchəna maiᵢ
                'I painted my car'
        b.   <1SG>ᵢ sò ppəttètə la máchəna tauⱼ
                'I painted your car'

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(9) Adjective inflectional classes in Altamurano:

a. IC 1:

	SG	PL
M	bbuénə	
F	bbónə	

'good'

b. IC 2:

	SG	PL
M		ggiúvənə
F	ggiòvənə	

'young'

c. IC 3:

	SG	PL
M	rannə	
F		

'big'

The IC 3 contains invariable adjectives of various origin including most loanwords, such as e.g. *vérə* 'true' < It. *vero*),[9] while IC 2 contains a few adjectives stemming from Latin Class 2, either autochthonous (e.g. *vécchjə* 'old' in all cells but the M.PL *vicchjə*) or (half-)learned, such as *ggiòvənə*. In this class, the masculine plural form is the only one contrasting with those occupying the remaining cells. On the whole, adjectives of both ICs 1-2 differ from all other agreement targets in that they contrast gender in the plural (in addition, also irregular past participles inflect like class 1 adjectives). As already exemplified in (6), this allows the conservative dialect to distinguish three grammatical genders, since the M.PL form is selected only by nouns denoting human males, while all other non-feminine nouns take alternating agreement (M.SG/F.PL). There is just one adjective which displays a more elaborated paradigm combining the contrasts seen in (9a-b), viz. *mənünnə* 'small.M.SG' (*məninnə* M.PL, *mənònnə* F).

While this exhausts the inflectional contrasts to be observed paradigmatically, prenominal F.SG adjectives in addition have a non-reduced final *-ə* when occurring prenominally within the NP, as seen in (10a):

(10)

a. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: MiRu | Answer: 3.4 | Source: ALT11

[NP La   bbèlla   péchərə]
DEF.F.SG   nice.F.SG   sheep(F).SG
The beautiful sheep

b. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: MiRu | Answer: 9 | Source: ALT11

[NP Na   sèrva   bbèllə]
INDF.F.SG   servant(F).SG beautiful
A beautiful servant

Since most adjectives only occur postnominally (cf. Andriani 2018 on Barese), (10b) – with no affixal distinction with respect to the masculine – is by far the majority case.

[9] Other invariable adjectives are e.g. *sène* 'whole', *citte* 'silent', *fine* 'fine, subtle', *brütte* 'ugly', *bbèlle* 'beautiful'.

In all, adjectives marking agreement are not many: there are about 2 dozen simplex Class 1 adjectives,10 to which one can add adjectives derived via productive suffixes such as *nərvusə* 'nervous.M'/*nərvausə* 'nervous.F'. The set of gender-marking adjectives is subject to gradual erosion, as more and more Class 1 lexemes become invariable, either because of internal change or due to interference from Standard Italian. Consider for instance *süzzə/sòzzə* 'dirty' and *gnurə/gnaurə* 'black'. The former one has generally become uninflected because of the generalization of the formerly masculine form *süzzə*, while the latter is increasingly replaced in usage through *nérə* < It. *nero* (uninflected).

These changes pertain to morphology. In addition, also the morphosyntax of adjective agreement is in the process of changing, as described in the next section.

To query metaphonic adjectives, the user can refer either to inflectional class (IC): I, or to the parameter Stem alternation: yes.

2.4.1   Ongoing change in gender agreement and the gender system

As seen in the foregoing sections, Altamurano agreement targets do not exploit fully the possibilities which would be available in principle for contrasting the values of morphosyntactic features gender and number. As for number, virtually all adjectives do not signal the SG/PL contrast, except for a handful, belonging to Class 2, which contrast M.PL and M.SG (the latter identical to the remaining cells). The number contrast, on the other hand, is systematically signalled in the definite articles, demonstratives, stressed and clitic personal pronouns. In between, possessives mark the number contrast in the masculine, not in the feminine. This situation is stable across the speech community.

On the contrary, the marking of the gender contrast has been changing since Loporcaro's (1988) description, which relies on the competence of speakers born between 1905 and the early 1970s.11 The change affects the plural, giving rise to a kaleidoscope of different options, subtly diverging across speakers. During the DAI fieldwork in 2015, we were able to record speakers who stick by the conservative system in (6): e.g. SaLo (born 1939) and MaMo (born 1960). These speakers contrast, in the plural, two forms of Class 1 adjectives: the masculine form, used for agreement with nominals

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10 Here are the most common ones: bbuénə/bbónə 'good', chjinə/ chjàinə 'full', curtə/cörtə 'short', frisckə/frèsckə 'short', gnurə/gnaurə 'black', légnə/lögnə 'long', lürdə/lòrdə 'dirty', névə/nóvə 'new', rittə/rèttə 'straight', rüssə/ròssə 'red', rüzzə/ròzzə 'rough', sürdə/sòrdə 'deaf', süzzə/sòzzə 'dirty', téstə/töstə 'hard', tirnə/térnə 'soft', tünnə/tònnə 'round', wuréssə/verössə 'big'. The following derive from conversion of past participles: accuéltə/acccöltə 'well-behaved', cuéttə/cöttə 'cooked', muértə/mórtə 'dead', rüttə/ròttə 'broken', sséltə/ssöltə 'solved, untied', tértə/törtə 'crooked'.

11 In Loporcaro (1988: 263, n. 14), actually, adjective agreement is described as stable for speakers born until 1925 and as increasingly liable to vacillation in younger speakers, though the differences across age classes are not pursued in detail there.

headed by a noun denoting male humans (*ggnurə* in (11a)) vs. the feminine form (*ggnaurə* in (11a)), selected by all other nominals:

(11) a. ɪ waɲˈɲʊˑnə ˈɲɲʊˈu̯r   vs.   ɪ waɲˈɲeddə ˈɲɲaˑu̯r   Altamurano 1 (conservative)

the black.M.PL boys   the black.F.PL girls   e.g. SaLo 1939, MaMo 1960

b. ɪ waɲˈɲʊˑnə/waɲˈɲeddə ˈɲɲaˈu̯r   Altamurano 2 (innovative)

the black.PL boys/girls   e.g. ToFa 1947

Other informants, such as ToFa (born 1947), as seen in (11b) use the formerly feminine form – the same they use categorically for F.SG agreement – also with male humans:

(12)   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: ToFa | Answer: 110 | Source: ALT11

[NP I   wagnunə   gnàurə /*ggnurə]

DEF.PL   boy(M).PL   black.PL / black.M.PL

The black boys

Since in the conservative system the adjective is the only agreement target contrasting two forms, extension of just one form to all instances of plural agreements would result in reshaping the gender system, with a change from (13a) (schematizing agreement in the conservative three-gender systems) to (13c)

(13) a.   SG   PL   b.   SG   PL   c.   SG   PL
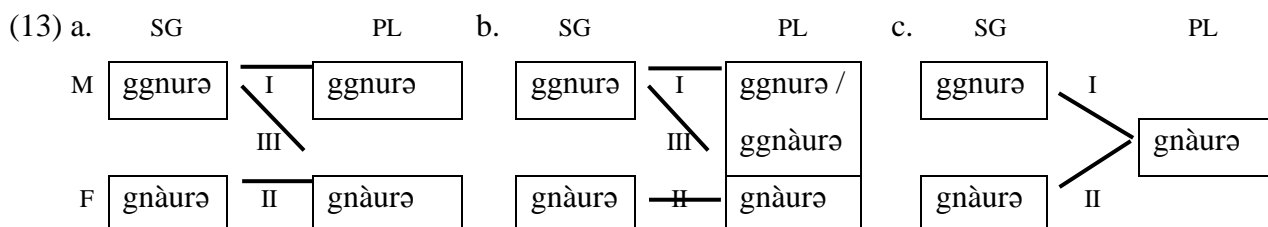
Speakers sharing this innovation diverge as to whether they still use also the originally masculine form with male humans, as does e.g. MiRu (born 1945):

(14)   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: MiRu | Answer: 67.3 | Source: ALT11

[NP Chiddə   wagnunə]   sò   rrüssə /rròssə]

DEM.DIST.PL   boy(M).PL   be.PRS.3PL   red.M.PL / red.PL

These boys are red

Note that free variation is found exclusively with these nominals, while feminine and NAN nouns categorically select F.PL forms as in the conservative dialect:12

(15)   a.   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: MiRu | Answer: 4.1 | Source: ALT11

[NP I   péchərə   gnàurə]

DEF.PL   sheep(F).PL   black.F.PL

The black sheep (pl.)

  b.   [NP I   scənòcchjərə   törtə]

DEF.PL   knee(NAN).PL   crooked.F.PL

The twisted knees

Thus, speakers showing this free variation represent an intermediate stage (13b) on the way towards neutralization. The harbingers of this neutralization are observable also in conservative speakers though. In fact, the contrast in plural agreement shown in (11a) applies regularly to nouns from the patrimonial stock, but has ceased to be productive, as shown by assignment to loanwords such as *spicher* 'speakers', which require *gnàurə* in the plural, on a par with NAN nouns which in the competence of conservative speakers remain distinct from both feminine and masculine nouns:

(16)   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: SaLo | Answer: 103.2 | Source: ALT11

Stònnə   [NP ddó spicher   gnàurə]

stay.PRS.3PL   two   speaker(NAN).SG   black.F.PL

There are two black speakers

To put it differently, it is fair to say that, in its initial stage, the reduction of the system to a binary M vs. F contrast starts as a loss of productivity of the (semantically motivated) masculine, with assignment of newcomers to the NAN. When this option generalizes to all non-feminine nouns from the patrimonial stock, as seen in (13b-c), the structural room for alternation is destroyed by the system becoming convergent and, as a result, the NAN becomes a masculine again, this time a non-semantic gender value of the common Romance type.

Productivity with loanwords had not been tested in Loporcaro (1988), so it is impossible to say whether the contrast between (11a) and (16) has arisen in the intervening decades.

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12 In the DAI, Altamurano nouns belonging to the non-autonomous neuter are glossed as "NAN" in the plural, where they take F.PL agreement, whereas in the singular the gloss is "M". This is due to the fact that the system is instable, as shown in this paragraph, so that the assignment to the NAN is vacillating and reassignment to the masculine is spreading, both in (13b-c) and in the different kind of innovation seen below in (17b) and (18).

We have observed among our informants also another kind of innovation – also leading to change in the gender system (6) – that goes in the opposite direction. This is schematized in (17b) with data from another speaker, FrBa (born 1945):

(17) a. ɪ waɲˈɲʊˑnə ˈɲɲʊˑu̯r   ≠   ɪ ˈkɛˑnə ɲɲaˑu̯r   Altamurano 1 (conservative)
            the black.M.PL boys   the black.F.PL dogs

      b. ɪ waɲˈɲʊˑnə ˈɲɲʊˑu̯r   =   ɪ ˈkɛˑnə ˈɲɲʊˑu̯r   Altamurano 3 (innovative)
            the black.PL boys/horses   the black.M.PL dogs   e.g. FrBa 1945

As seen in (17b), compared with the conservative dialect, this speaker's idiolect is like Standard Italian, in that masculine plural agreement is selected with nouns which are masculine in the singular, even if they denote non-humans. This change is still under way, as FrBa has not yet generalized this agreement, which rather still occurs alongside the option of the conservative dialect (i.e., F.PL agreement). Should the variety she represents be passed on to other speakers and eventually get rid of variation, such a change will simplify the system, since it will destroy the alternating gender and reduce gender agreement to a binary option in a parallel system.[13] In the meantime, however, the variation observed is not uphazard but patterned, as it is sensitive to both [human] and [animate]:[14]

(18)

gender	semantics	PLURAL agreement FrBa	
		MASCULINE	FEMININE
a. Gender I (M) in Altam. 1	male human	4	0
b. Gender III (NAN) in Altam. 1	male animal	7 (2 loans)	3 (no loans)
	inanimate	5 (3 loans)	10 (2 loans)
c. Gender II (F) in Altam. 1		none	all

Both the feminine gender and the masculine of the conservative system (i.e. genders I and II in (13a)) are stable: feminine nouns all take F.PL agreement and nouns denoting male humans all take M.PL agreement. By contrast, as seen in (18b), the third gender (the NAN) has become instable, compared with the conservative dialect, and is changing towards the Standard Italian arrangement at a different pace (though the figures are small), depending on the semantics. In fact, nouns denoting male animals show a stronger tendency than nouns denoting objects to change to M.PL agreement. As an illustration, consider the examples in (19):

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[13] This would result in a (sub)dialect categorically diverging, in this respect, from the one schematized in (13c).
[14] The number of loanwords, given in parenthesis, indicates is a subset as the total figure (so, e.g. for animals, out of 7 occurrences with masculine plural agreement, two concern loans. The data are drawn from the Questionnaires 11 and 21, as well as from the picture story.

(19) a. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 61.a | Source: ALT11

[NP Chiddə	cavàddərə]	só	bbuénə
DEM.DIST.PL	horse(M).PL	be.PRS.3PL	tame.M.PL

Those horses are tame

b. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 61.2 | Source: ALT11

[NP Chissə	cunigghjə]	só	[AP prrópətə	bbuénə]
DEM.PROX.PL	rabbit(M).PL	be.PRS.3PL	really	tame.M.PL

These rabbits are really tame

c. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 61.1 | Source: ALT11

[NP Chissə	cunigghjə]	só	[AP prrópətə	bbónə]
DEM.PROX.PL	rabbit(M).PL	be.PRS.3PL	really	tasty.F.PL

These rabbits are really tasty

The word for 'horses' – for which the speaker uses the regularized form *cavàddərə* (IC 3) instead of traditional *cavàrrə* (IC 2) – takes categorically M.PL agreement, as in Italian. In general, names of animals tend to be reassigned to the masculine gender. This also goes for 'rabbit', as long as this is categorized as a living animal (ergo animate. (19b)). However, when 'rabbit' is categorized as (inanimate) food, it still takes F.PL agreement, as in the conservative dialect (17a)). As for nouns denoting inanimate entities, these also show some variation, but F.PL agreement remains the majority option for inanimates from the patrimonial lexicon. Thus, it seems that the category [animacy] – instead of [humanness], as in conservative Altamurano – plays a role here, in a similar way as described for the nearby dialect of Mola di Bari by Cox (1982: 67-70; 78-82) (cf. also Loporcaro 2018a: 267-269).

While FrBa is reshuffling also the conservative stock, reallocating inherited nouns, we checked also productive assignment to loanwords, as indicated by the figures in brackets in (18). Here too, there is a tendency for animal names to be reassigned to the masculine, thus joining human-denoting nouns:

(20) a. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 111 | Source: ALT11

[NP I	cangurə]	só	rrüssə/ʔrròssə
DEF.PL	kangaroo(M).PL	be.PRS.3PL	red.M.PL/ red.F.PL

...	nan	só	ggnurə/*ggnàurə
	NEG	be.PRS.3PL	black.M.PL/black.F.PL

Kangaroos are red, they are not black

(20) b. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 103 | Source: ALT11

[PP Nǝ- [NP lla   discótéca]]   stònnǝ   [NP dó   diggéi   ggnurǝ]

in   DEF.F.SG   club(F).SG   stay.PRS.3PL   two   DJ(M).PL   black.M.PL

There are two black DJs at the club

As for inanimates, while F.PL agreement prevails in the patrimonial lexicon, in neologisms there is a (light) tendency towards M.PL agreement, as exemplified in (21):15

(21) a. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 105 | Source: ALT11

[NP I   compiutǝr   rüttǝ / ròttǝ]

DEF.PL   computer(M/NAN).PL   broken.M.PL/.F.PL

The broken computers

b. Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: FrBa | Answer: 107.1 | Source: ALT11

[NP I   màusǝ   [PP d- [NP i   compiùtǝr]]]   só   ttünnǝ / *ttònnǝ

DEF.PL   mouse(M).PL   of   DEF.PL   computer(M).PL   be.PRS.3PL   round.M.PL/.F.PL

The computer mice are round

These grammaticality judgements by the speaker are not systematic, as there is no reason for 'computer' and 'mouse' to behave differently in this respect. On the whole, they contribute to the picture of a gradual shift as synthesized in (18). A change that, as said at the outset, goes in another direction with respect to the innovations schematized in (13b-c). What they have in common is that they both result in simplification. As for their motivation, the change in (18) can be put on the bill of the contact pressure from standard Italian. On the contrary, the change in (13b-c) brings to the logical endpoint a tendency inscribed in the system, where feminine used to be the default option for plural agreement, prior to change, whereas M.PL agreement had to be positively specified, only for agreement with masculine nouns (all denoting male humans).

Given the complex coexistence of different agreement patterns, the annotation of adjectives is not purely morphological. Number and gender values of adjectives have been attributed considering the distribution within the system of each speaker. Thus, in cases as (22), where the informant still preserves the dedicated agreement pattern for [-human] controllers, the adjective is tagged as F.PL; in (23), since the speaker shows a converging system (as in 13c), the annotation of the adjective does not display any gender value.

15 Other speakers seem to be moving in the same direction, e.g. PaCa: *I combiúte sò rròttǝ / *rrütte* 'The computers are broken.F.PL', *I carburatórǝ sò ttüttǝ gnurǝ* 'The carburetors are all black.F.PL', as opposed *to i diggéi gnure* 'The black.M.PL DJs'.

(22)   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: BaFi | Answer: 63.1 | Source: ALT11

[NP I   chènə   gnàurə]

DEF.PL   dog(NAN).PL   black.F.PL

The black dogs

(23)   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: DoLo | Answer: 63.1 | Source: ALT11

[NP I   chènə   gnàurə]

DEF.PL   dog(M).PL   black.PL

The black dogs

2.5   Adverbs

Time, direction and location, and quantity adverbs are invariable. As for manner specification, Altamurano features, like all Romance languages, invariable manner adverbs such as *(ad)davérə* 'really'. In addition, a second more conspicuous set of manner adverbs is identical with adjectives, as in most Southern Italian dialects (see Rohlfs 1966-69: 3.243). These adjectival adverbs can constitute targets of predicative agreement, as illustrated with the examples in (24), which contain *bbuénə* 'well.M', homophonous with 'good.M':

(24) a.   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: SaLo | Answer: 99.2 | Source: ALT11

[NP [NP Mammə]   e   [NP fràtə   =mə]]   stònnə   bbuénə/*bbónə

mum(F).SG   and   brother(M).SG   POSS.1SG.M.SG   stay.PRS.3PL   good.M.PL/.F.PL

My mother and my brother are doing well

   b.   Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: SaLo | Answer: 99 | Source: ALT11

[NP [NP Mammə]   e   [NP sòrə   =mə]]   stònnə   bbónə/*bbuénə

   mum(F).SG   and   sister(F).SG   POSS.1SG.F.SG   stay.PRS.3PL   good.F.PL

My mother and my sister are doing well

The speaker in (24) still has the conservative gender system (see (11a)), which is reflected in glossing: thus, the forms *bbuénə* and *bbónə* occurring in complementary distribution in (24a-b) in the context of plural agreement, are gender-specified. The masculine form occurs in (24a), where one coinjoined NP is a human-denoting masculine, while the conjoined feminines in (24b) require F.PL *bbónə*.

As already observed for the homophonous adjectives, gender-agreement also with these manner adverbs is undergoing change at present. This is reflected in the example in (25), from a more innovative speaker (MiRu), whose gender system was schematized above in (13b):

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(25) Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: MiRu | Answer: 87 | Source: ALT11

[NP [NP U	cuavaddə]	e	[NP ll'	ömmə]]	nan	zə=
DEF.M.SG	horse(M).SG	and	DEF.M.SG	man(M).SG	NEG	IMPRS=

vədàinə	bbónə/ bbuénə
see.IMPF.3PL	well.PL/ well.M.PL

The horse and the man could not be seen well

Even if one of the conjoints is a human-denoting masculine, not only M.PL *bbuénə* but also (the originally) F.PL *bbónə* are grammatical, the latter being in the process of generalizing to a plain plural form, unmarked for gender, as shown in (13c).

The DAI data show some instances of lack of agreement of manner adverbs, as in (26). Here, given that the speaker is a woman and the sentence has been produced spontaneously, the expected form for the adverb would have been *bónə*.F.SG. This might be due to interference with standard Italian invariable form *bene*.

(26) Datapoint: Altamura | Speaker: PaCa | Answer: 99.b | Source: ALT11

[NP ∅]	nan	mə=	sèndə	bbuénə
1.SG	NEG	REFL.1SG=	feel.PRS.1SG	good

I am not feeling well

2.6 Quantifiers

Among quantifiers in Altamurano, *tüttə* 'all' is the only one that can (or, rather, could) show agreement, since in the conservative dialect it used to inflect like Class 1 adjectives (see (9a), §2.4):

(27) a. Tòttə   la   naivə
          all.F   DEF.F.SG   snow(F).SG
          All the snow

      b. Tütt   u   puènə
          all.M   DEF.M.SG   bread(m).SG
          All the bread

      c. Tütt   i   filə
          all.M   DEF.PL   child(M).PL
          All the children

However, the feminine form is falling out of usage (indeed, our database does not include any occurrence), with generalization of the (formerly) masculine form *tüttə*, as discussed at the end of §2.4. All other quantifiers are invariable:

(28) a. Tanda/Picca   càusə

              many/little   thing(F).PL

              Much/little money

     a. Tanda/Picca   pènə

              much/little   bread(M).PL

              Much/little bread

2.7 Verbs

Altamurano finite verb forms agree in person and number with the clause subject, as is generally the case in Romance. Contrary to adjective inflection, endings in the plural remain distinct in spite of the merger of final vowels, as illustrated with the present indicative of the two inflectional classes in (29):

(29)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	INF	gloss
Class 1	*cándə*	*candə*	*candə*	*candèmə*	*candètə*	*càndənə*	*candè*	'to sing'
Class 3	*pàrtə*	*partə*	*partə*	*partimə*	*partitə*	*pàrtənə*	*partì*	'to depart

The plural endings *-mə -tə -nə* mark person in most tenses and moods, except for past tenses, whose 2pl have been reshaped via enclisis of an originally pronominal form *-və*: *candivə/candèstəvə* 'you.PL sang.2PL' (imperfective/perfective), *candèssəvə* 'you.PL sing.PST.SBJV.2PL'.

Syncretisms may occur in the singular too, as shown in the forms in (29) which, in regular verbs, are always homophonous, due to the merger of final unstressed vowels, whenever the root vowel is non-metaphonic. By contrast, the application of metaphony in the Class 1a verb *kanˈdɛɟ* 'to sing' keeps the 2SG distinct from the 1SG. Symmetrically, in Class 2 verbs the 3SG is never distinct from the 1SG, while, again, the 2SG may stay distinct if metaphony applies, as in the paradigm of the two verbs in (30) (Class 2 vs 3 verbs as those shown in (29)-(30) inflect differently only in the infinitive):

(30)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	INF	gloss
Class 1	*mèsckə*	*misckə*	*mèsckə*	*məsckèmə*	*məsckètə*	*mèsckənə*	*məsckè*	'to mix'
Class 2	*còrrə*	*currə*	*còrrə*	*currimə*	*curritə*	*còrrənə*	*còrrə*	'to run'

With nouns denoting (groups of) humans such as *ggèndə* 'people(F).SG', semantic agreement may be observed, by which the verb occurs in the 3PL:

(31) La   ggèndə   pàrlənə   assè

      DEF.F.SG   people(F).SG   speak.PRS.3PL   a lot

      People speak a lot

2.7.1 Auxiliaries

Perfective auxiliary selection in Altamurano shows an intricate person-driven split, described in Loporcaro (2007: 183, 203-205). The two auxiliary verbs are the same as in Standard Italian, i.e. 'to be' and 'to have', whose Altamurano counterparts for the present indicative are listed in (32):

(32)

1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
sò(ndə)	si(ndə)	é	(a)simə	(a)sitə	sò(ndə)
agghjə	a	a	amə	avitə	(aw)ònnə

Unlike in Standard Italian, however, their distribution is sensitive not just to clause type but also to verb person, as schematized in (33) (E = 'to be', H = 'to have'):

(33) 1SG 2SG 3SG 1PL 2PL 3PL

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	
a.	H/E	H/E	E	H/E	H/E	H/E	unaccusatives, direct trans./retr./indir. unerg. reflexives
b.	H/E	H/E	H/E	H/E	H/E	H/E	indirect transitive reflexives
c.	H/E	H/E	H/E	H/E	H/E	H	transitives, unergatives

As seen in (33), clause-type-driven contrasts occur in the 3SG and the 3PL, free variation of the two auxiliaries is observed elsewhere. The contrast in the 3SG is exemplified in (34):

(34) a. jèdd e/*a ggiutə

s/he has gone

b. kedda fèmənə s e/s a lavètə i mènə

that woman has washed her hands

As argued in Loporcaro (2007), this person-driven distribution is not to be generated via syntactic rule and is better analysed as co-signalling person/number agreement, on a par with affixal inflectional morphology.

2.7.2 Past participles

In Altamurano, past participles are mostly not inflected for gender/number, as affixal inflection merged via sound change: *candètə* 'sung' (Class 1), *vəngiutə* 'won' (Class 2), *traditə* 'betrayed' (Class 3). As in the case of Class 1 adjectives, a few past participles contrast two forms (masculine vs. feminine) through root alternations arisen through metaphony.

The syntax of past participle agreement diverges from that of Standard Italian (as well as of all Romance standard languages retaining past participle agreement) in that agreement is (still)

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grammatical with lexical direct objects, though non-agreement has become an option in this context, as seen in (35a):

(35) a. Lucì à rròttə/rrüttə la bbuttigliə

       Lucy have.PRS.3SG broken.F.SG/broken.M.SG DEF.F.SG bottle(F).SG

       Lucy has broken the bottle

   b. Lucì à rrüttə/*rròttə u piattə

       Lucy have.PRS.3SG broken.F.SG/broken.M.SG DEF.M.SG dish(M).SG

       Lucy has broken the dish

In (35b), the feminine form *ròttə* is ungrammatical, since the direct object (*u piattə*) is masculine and requires masculine *rüttə*; in this case, non-agreement entails selection of the same masculine form, by default. In (35a), on the other hand, *ròttə* can be selected since the participle agrees with the (feminine singular) direct object, and masculine *rüttə* is grammatical too (by default), since participle agreement, in this context, is preserved only optionally.

As seen in (35), past participle in perfective periphrastics agree in gender and number, like elsewhere in Romance. Gender agreement is subject to the same conditions (and ongoing change) as described in §§2.1, 2.4, 2.4.1 for adjectives. Thus, speakers of the conservative dialect select feminine plural form wherever the agreement controller is a plural noun assigned to the NAN:

(36) I cardungiédde awònne stète cötte pə ttandə timbə

    DEF.PL cardoon(NAN).PL have.PRS.3PL been cooked.F.PL for much time

    Cardoons were being cooked for a long time

Gender resolution with two conjuncts, one of which is a NAN noun (i.e. the counterpart of an Italian non-human denoting masculine) also works the same way, as seen in (37a):

(37) a. U cangiddə e la pórtə s'= ònnə

     DEF.M.SG gate(M).SG and DEF.F.SG door(F).SG REFL=have.PRS.3PL

     apèrtə/*apiərtə a-ll' andrasattə

     opened.F.PL/opened.M.PL all of a sudden

     The gate and the door burst open all of a sudden

   b. La pórtə e u cangiddə s'= ònnə

     DEF.F.SG door(F).SG and DEF.F.SG gate(M).SG REFL=have.PRS.3PL

     apèrtə/apiərtə a-ll' andrasattə

     opened.F.PL/opened.M.PL all of a sudden

     The door and the gate burst open all of a sudden

However, as seen in (37b), the order of the conjuncts plays a role here, in that when the closer conjoint is a singular NAN noun (taking masculine singular agreement), the predicate can take masculine agreement, which is not an option in (37a).

There are different ways to query participle agreement.
For all instances of participle agreement controlled either by an object NP, an IO, or a Subject select: Agreement relation /Syntactic domain > Part Agreement : Direct Object-Part(Predicate) / Indirect Object-Part(Predicate) / Subject-Part(Predicate).

The query can be refined by selecting additional values for the controller and the target. In particular, the user can select the verb lexical type in order to narrow the research to a specific syntactic configuration.

To query all instances of non-agreement, the user can use the path Token Query > PoS/Phrase > Verb > Mode: Participle; Tense : Past ; Default : yes.

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