Ripano[*]

Overview

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Ripano is spoken in and around the small town of Ripatransone (about 4,300 inhabitants) over a territory of about 75 km^2 between the rivers Aso and Tronto, in the southern Marche (province of Ascoli Piceno). It belongs to the Upper Southern subdivision of Italo-Romance (cf. Loporcaro 2013: 137-142, 145-153; Ledgeway 2016 for a description of the main features of this area). This interesting dialect has been the subject of an increasing amount of descriptive and theoretical work over the last years (e.g. Mengel 1936, Egidi 1965, Parrino 1967, Lüdtke 1976, Harder 1988, Mancini 1993, Ferrari-Bridgers 2010, D'Alessandro 2017, 2020, D'Alessandro and Pescarini 2016, Ledgeway 2012: 299-310, Burroni et al. 2016, Paciaroni and Loporcaro 2018a, 2018b, and Paciaroni 2019, 2020, to appear), but many areas of the linguistic system require further investigation. In terms of data and analysis this overview is meant as an aid for consulting the DAI database. I give a brief introduction of Ripano phonology (§ 1) and of Ripano agreement morphology and syntax (§§ 2-4), and provide some useful advice for querying the DB - these instructions are inserted in italics at the end of the relative section.
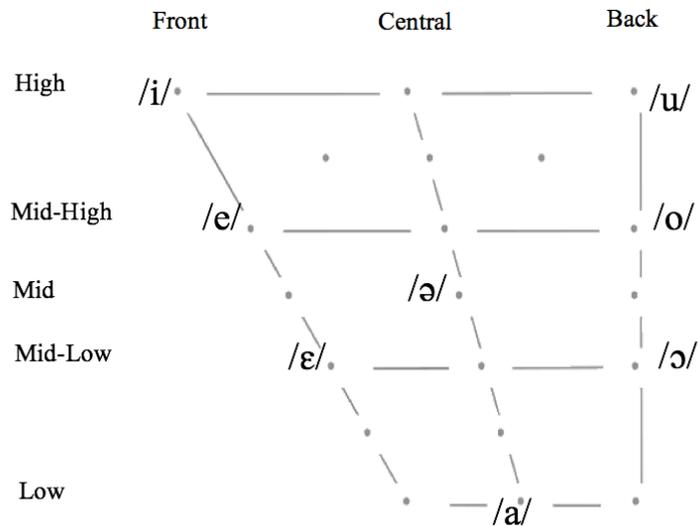
1 Phonology

The Ripano phonological system is described in detail by Harder (1988: 17-108). This section presents the inventory of sounds and provides some information relevant to the morphosyntax of

agreement. It then introduces a synopsis of the notational conventions used in transcribing Ripano, which lacks a normalized orthography.

VOWELS

Ripano has a stressed 7-vowel system (the same as in Proto-Romance (PRom); see Harder (1988: 17-35): /i e ɛ a ɔ o u/. Metaphony raised PRom mid-high vowels and diphthongized mid-low vowels before final high vowels -ī and -ŭ, which were subsequently neutralized to schwa. As seen in (1), metaphony took place in both open and checked syllables (cf. Harder 1988: 90-97).

(1)   Metaphony in Ripano

		i. before -A -E -O		ii. before -ī -ŭ	
		open syllable	checked syllable	open syllable	checked syllable
a.	Ŏ	[ˈbːɔːne] 'good.F.SG'	[ˈmɔrte] 'dead.F.SG'	[ˈbːwoːnu] 'good.M.SG'	[ˈmwortu] 'dead.M.SG'
b.	Ĕ	[ˈpɛ] 'foot'	[ˈvɛcːe] 'old.F.SG'	[ˈpje] 'feet'	[ˈvjecːu] 'old.M.SG'
c.	Ō/Ŭ	[nəˈpoːta] 'nephew'	[ˈsorde] 'deaf.F.SG'	[nəˈpuːti] 'nephews'	[ˈsurdu] 'deaf.M.SG'
d.	Ē/Ĭ	[ˈmeːsa] 'month'	[ˈsekːe] 'dry.F.SG'	[ˈmiːʃi] 'months'	[ˈsikːu] 'dry.M.SG'

In all unstressed positions there is a notable tendency to reduction (cf. Harder 1988: 35-45). In pretonic positions, front/back mid vowels generally neutralize as [ə] ([məˈna] 'throw.INF', [mːəˈlːa] 'dunk.INF'), whereas high and low vowels oscillate between resilience before stressed [ˈa] and (with some oscillation) neutralization otherwise (e.g., [piˈjːa] 'take.INF', [maˈɲːa] 'eat.INF', [fuˈma] 'smoke.INF', but [fəˈni] 'finish.INF', [səˈpe] 'know.INF', [rəˈmo] 'noise'). In non-final posttonic positions all vowels generally merge as [ə]: [ˈkamːəre] 'room', [ˈmanəke] 'sleeve', [ˈtsiŋgəre] 'gypsy', but [pəˈrikulu] 'danger'. In final position, Old Ripano must have reduced all final unstressed vowels to schwa with the exception of PRom -A (2ii) – nearby Ascolano is exactly of this type (cf. Gaspari 1971-1972: 158f.; *AIS* pt. 578). In a second step, final /a/ raised to /e/, while

/ə/ acquired an allophone [a], depending on the prosodic context.[1] In a third step, in some specified syntactic contexts, -/ə/ changed into -/i/ or -/u/ to recreate a gender-number marking also beyond the etymological conditions. This is the situation attested in modern urban Ripano (2iii), where a word can have two sets of inflections. One set of realizations makes more distinctions than the other, hence they are named 'full' and 'reduced'.[2] Summing up, in final position conservative urban Ripano has four contrasting vowel qualities: /i e u ə/ (where /ə/ = [ə]/[a]; see Harder 1988: 17-35).

(2) Development of atonic final vowels in urban Ripano

(i)	PRom		/i	e	o	u	a/
(ii)	old Ripano		/		ə		a/
(iii)	modern Ripano	reduced inflection	/		ə		e/
		full inflection	/i		ə	u	e/

More recently, new instances of final unstressed /a/ (always realized as [a]) were (re)introduced in the feminine singular of determiners, quantifiers and place names (e.g., *la* 'the.F.SG', ˈ*tanda* 'much.F.SG', ˈ*roːma* in DAI), and slowly in the rest of nouns, adjectives and adverbs, thereby competing with inherited -/e/ (<PRom -A).[3] For further data and discussion, see Harder (1988: 134-136, 235-241), Mancini (1993), Ferrari-Bridgers (2010: 116-8), Paciaroni & Loporcaro (2018a: 150-51).

CONSONANTS

The Ripano consonant inventory is shown in Table 3. Columns refer to place of articulation, rows to manner of articulation.

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[1] The importance of prosodic parameters of duration and intensity for the realisation of -/ə/ has been shown in a preliminary acoustic analysis by Wild (2017). During DAI fieldwork we registered a considerable variation partly depending on several sociolinguistic factors, especially age and place of birth: elderly speakers of urban Ripano tend to realize -[ə] utterance-internally and -[a] in prepausal position, and hence in citation forms (see, e.g., Rossi 1999, 2008; Cardarelli 2020), whereas younger urban speakers and speakers of rural varieties tend to generalize -[ə] in every context. Following the speaker's orthographic tradition, Paciaroni & Loporcaro (2018a, 2018b) used -*a* for sake of simplicity. In this sketch I use -/ə/ for the phonological and -[a] for the phonetic transcription.

[2] For the use of 'full' vs. 'reduced' cf. Corbett (2006: 82f., n. 2, 93-96).

[3] Wild (2017) argues for a different acoustic space for [a] realization of -/a/, being lower than -[a] allophone of -/ə/.

(3)

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

Here are some of the most significant features concerning Ripano consonants (widely shared with the rest of central-southern Italy). Processes (a)-(g) are historical changes, (h)-(m) are currently operating in the language.

(4)   a. -ND- > [nː]:   ['venːa] 'sell.INF', ['tunːu] 'round.M.SG', ['monːu] 'world';

b. -MB-, -NV- > [mː]:   ['pjomːa] 'lead', ['mːiːdje] 'envy', [iˈmːɛrnu] 'winter';

c. -LD- > [lː]:   ['kalːa] 'hot, heat';

d. -I̯- (= -DI̯-) > [j]:   [jəˈta] 'help.INF', ['joːvu] 'yolk';

e. -MI̯- > [ɲː]:   [vəˈlːeɲːe] 'grape harvest';

f. (-)B- > (-)[bː]- /##__, V_V/: ['bːjelːu] 'beautiful.M.SG', ['sabːetu] 'Saturday';

g. (-)G^{E,I}- > (-)[dʒ]- /##__, V_V/: ['dʒɛnde] 'people', [reˈdʒiːne] 'queen';

h. voicing of stops after nasals: ['tjembu] 'time', [nˈdanda] 'in the meantime', ['veŋgu] 'rush';

i. intervocalic lenition: ['riːða] 'laugh', [paˈ(ɣ)a] 'pay';

l. syntactic gemination (Raddoppiamento fonosintattico): ['bːabːu e mˈːamːe] 'my dad and my mather'.

m. palatalization of /s/ before /t/: [ʃtamaˈtiːna] 'this morning' (vs. [skərtˈtʃɔːfəlu] 'artichoke', [spenːeˈlːaːte] 'brush')

1.1 Transcription criteria

For the purpose of the DAI a simplified spelling has been adopted, which neglects phonetic detail, in accordance with the orthography in use throughout the Ripano community. Here is a synopsis of the symbol-to-sound correspondences for vowels and consonants.

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
		Ripano	translation
<i>	[ˈi]	*filu*	'thread'
<é>	[ˈe]	*sére*	'evening'
<è>	[ˈɛ]	*mèla*	'honey'
<a>	[ˈa]	*latta*	'milk'
<ò>	[ˈɔ]	*còru*	'heart'
<ó>	[ˈo]	*códe*	'tail'
<u>	[ˈʊ]	*fuma*	'smoke'
<ié>	[ˈje]	*tiémbu*	'time'
<uó>	[ˈwo]	*fuócu*	'fire'
<iu>	[ˈju]	*fiùra*	'flower'
<i>	[i]	*bbibbliotèche*	'library'
<ə>	[ə]	*frəchì*	'child'
	-[ə]	*kə*	'what'
	-[a][4]	*fiùra*	'flower'

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
		Ripano	translation
<p>	[p]	*pərtà*	'carry'
<b>	[b]	*bbòne*	'good.F.SG'
<t>	[t]	*tiémbu*	'time'
<d>	[ð]	*sudà*	'sweat'
<chj>	[c]	*chjare*	'egg white'
<cchj>	[cː]	*uócchju*	'eye'
<c>	$[k]V_{[+back]}$	*case*	'house'
<ch>	$[k]V_{[-back]}$	*frəchì*	'child'
<g>	[g]	*gamme*	'leg'
<z>	[dz]	*zèro*	'zero'
<zz>	[tts]	*zzəcchərəllate*	'hiding'
<c>	$[tʃ]V_{[+front]}$	*cəriéscie*	'cherry'
<ci>	$[tʃ]V_{[-front]}$	*ciànche*	'leg'
<g>	$[dʒ]V_{[+front]}$	*ggèsctu*	'gesture'
<gi>	$[dʒ]V_{[-front]}$	*Gianni*	'Gianni'

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[4] <-a> is the spelling used by Rossi in his dictionary and poems, as well as by other authors of folk literature generally, therefore we decided to use it.

<m>	[m]	*m**èla*	'honey'
	[m]	*ca**m**pana*	'bell'
	[ɱ]	*i**mm**èrnu*	'winter'
<n>	[n]	*n**iru*	'black'
	[ŋ]	*n**candà*	'enchant'
<gn>	[ɲː]	*ca**ggn**à*	'change'
<r>	[r]	*mu**r**u*	'wall'
<f>	[f]	*f**rəchì*	'child'
<v>	[v]	*v**ì*	'wine'
<w>	[w]	*f**u**ócu*	'fire'
<s>	[s]	*s**óla*	'sun'
<ssc>	[ʃː]	*cu**ssc**inu*	'pilow'
<sci>	[ʃː]V[+back]	*sci**uccamà*	'towel'
<sct>	[ʃt]	*sct**amatine*	'this morning'
<l>	[l]	*l**atta*	'milk'
<j>	[ʝ]	*j**ónde*	'addition'
	[j]	*pa**j**e*	'straw'

2. Feature specifications and exponence

2.1 Inflectional and agreement features

Overall, the inflectional system of Ripano can be analysed in terms of six morphosyntactic and morphosemantic features (i.e. inflectional features), listed in Table 5.

Table 5. Inflectional features and their potential values

Feature	Possible values
Gender	masculine (M), feminine (F), mass neuter (N)[5], non-autonomous neuter (NAN)
Number	singular (SG), plural (PL)
Person	1, 2, 3
Case	subject (SBJ), direct object (DI), indirect object (IO)
Tense/Aspect	present (PRS), imperfect (IMPF), perfect (PRF), future (FUT), compound perfect (COMP. PRF), pluperfect (PPRF), compound future (COMP. FUT)
Mode	indicative (IND), subjunctive (SBJV), conditional (COND), imperative (IMP), participle (PTP), gerund (GER), infinitive (INF)

There are three agreement features: gender, number, and person. The Ripano gender system is an example of a fairly typical Italo-Romance system consisting of four controller genders and three

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[5] The mass neuter value is present in the urban variety, but absent in the rural one.

target genders (under Loporcaro and Paciaroni's 2011 analysis). The number feature has two values: singular and plural. The person feature has three values: first, second and third. Table (6) indicates the features which parts of speech can inflect for in Ripano. Grey cells indicate the differences between Ripano and typical Central-Southern Italo-Romance varieties:

(6)   Morphosyntactic features and values (based on Paciaroni & Loporcaro 2018b: 86)

FEATURE	Det	Adj	Ptp	Pro	(fin) V	Num	Q	(non-fin)V	WH	Adv	Prep	Conj	N
GENDER	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
NUMBER	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
PERSON	–	–	–	√	–	–	√	–	–	–	–	–	–
CASE	–	–	–	(√)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
T/M	–	–	–	√	–	–	√	√	–	–	–	–	–

The range of agreement targets in Ripano is particularly extensive and includes every part of speech (except negation and interjection): determiners, adjective, participle, pronoun, verb, numeral, quantifier, *wh*-words, adverb, preposition, conjunction, and even noun. On the other hand, the range of agreeing lexical items within each part of speech is variable. Within determiners and verbs all items realize agreement, within adjectives almost all items do it. By contrast, within the other parts of speech only some items have agreement potential. (For actual numbers and the distribution of agreeing and non-agreeing lexical items see Paciaroni, to appear).

2.2   Exponents of agreement

In Ripano, the morphological exponence of agreement is the same across all types of target. Agreement can be realized by suffix and/or by stem allomorphy.[6]

Members belonging to almost every part of speech can have two ways of realizing a particular feature specification, depending on different types of condition; cf. Paciaroni (2019) for the typologically interesting extension of full vs. reduced inflection across parts of speech. There are various prerequisites at different levels for full inflection to be possible at all: phonological, morphological, and morphosyntactic prerequisites. At the phonological level we find the specification that targets require a final unstressed vowel to be able to agree. If a target ends in a stressed vowel, it is uninflected.[7] For the morphological level, the IC to which a noun belongs can be a prerequisite for full inflection. For instance, within the nouns whose paradigm consists of two

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[6] The DAI data show a tendency to reduce stem allomorphy in the paradigm. The tables in this overview reflect mainly the most conservative variety and are intended as a reference point.

[7] Moreover, the phonological shape affects the realization of gender, as vowel-initial masculine nouns have overt gender marking in syntactic contexts where consonant-initial ones have covert gender (cf. § 3.1.3, ex (18)).

cells, full inflection occurs in one, both or neither cell depending on the IC (cf. § 3.1.3) Moreover, being masculine is a morphosyntactic prerequisite for overt gender marking.

Tables (7)-(8) illustrate the agreement suffixes for gender and number values in both full (a) and reduced (b) inflection in urban and rural varieties of Ripano.

(7a) Full inflection   (7b) Reduced inflection   urb. Rip.

	SG	PL
N	-ə	
M	[+S.A.] -u	[+met] -i
F	-e	-ə

	SG	PL
N		
M	[+S.A.]	-ə
F	-e	

AlRo (1927), LuCa (1944), ReBr (1949), FiPi (1953), ArCa (1953)

(8a) Full inflection   (8b) Reduced inflection   rur. Rip.

	SG	PL
N	-ə	
M	[+S.A.] -u	[+S.A.] -i
F	-a	-ə

	SG	PL
N		
M	[+S.A.]	-ə
F	-a	

AnIa (1937), PaVe (1961)

Suffixes occur as exponents of agreement on (some members of) every part of speech, except negation and interjection, which do not agree. Stem allomorphy (e.g. metaphony, consonant mutation) occurs as an exponent of agreement on (some members of) all agreeing targets with the exception of articles. Both types of exponence are illustrated in (9) by the two paradigms, full and reduced, of the adjective 'big' (cf. § 3.3, tables (22)-(23), IC I).

(9) Urban Ripano, adjective 'big'

a.   Full inflection   b.   Reduced inflection

	N	M	F		N	M	F
SG	ˈgrɔːs-ə	ˈgrwosː-u	ˈgrɔsː-e	SG	ˈgrɔsː-ə	ˈgrwosː-ə	ˈgrɔsː-e
PL		ˈgrwoʃː-i	ˈgrɔsː-ə	PL		ˈgrwoʃː-ə	ˈgrɔsː-ə

The full inflection (9a) has four different suffixes and a syncretism between two cells (N.SG = F.PL); in the reduced inflection ((8b), (9b)) there is more syncretism (N.SG = F.PL = M.SG/PL) and only two different suffixes are found, -e for the F.SG form, -ə for all other forms. In addition, we find two types of stem allomorphy associated with gender and number, respectively. Metaphonic diphthong [wo] distinguishes masculine from feminine and neuter genders, the palatalizing effect of -i distinguishes the masculine plural stem ˈgrwoʃː- from the other stems.

For every part of speech it is possible to retrieve all instances of full or reduced inflection by selecting the category 'Inflection Subtype > full' or 'Inflection Subtype > reduced'.

To select items with the same inflectional suffixes or with/without stem allomorphy select 'Morphology > IC' or 'Morphology > Stem Alternation', respectively.

3. Morphology

3.1 Nouns[8]

Nouns have inherent gender, and inflect for number. A subset of nouns inflects also for gender in a certain syntactic domain (cf. § 4.4.1).

GENDER: masculine, feminine, (mass) neuter,[9] non-autonomous neuter

NUMBER: singular, plural

3.1.1 Noun inflectional classes

Nouns having 'full' forms fall into six main inflectional classes (= ICs) and several smaller subclasses (= SICs). The six ICs are based on the inflectional suffixes in the singular and the plural, the subclasses are based on stem alternations. Table (10) illustrates the full inflection in the urban variety. The IC suffixes are shown on the left-hand side, where two identical capitals indicate stem identity and two different capitals signal stem allomorphy; gender values correlating with each class are given in the last column:

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[8] §§ 3.1, 3.5.8, 3.5.10 and 4.4.1.2 draw heavily from Paciaroni and Loporcaro (2018a), with minor modifications.

[9] Lexical mass neuter is not found in all varieties spoken in the vast territory of Ripatransone; for instance, it is not part of the grammar of AnIa, ex. (15).

(10) Urban Ripano. Noun ICs, full inflection

IC	ISC	SG	PL	example		gloss	gender
I		A-*e*	A-*ə*	ˈkaːse	ˈkaːsə	'house/-s'	F
II		A-*u*	A-*i*	ˈfijːu	ˈfijːi	'son/-s'	M
III	a.	A-*ə*	A-*i*	ˈpaːʈʂə	ˈpaːʈʂi	'father/-s'	M
	b.	A-*ə*	B-*i*	ˈmeːsə	ˈmiːʃi	'month/-s'	M
	c.	A-*ə*		ˈmɛːlə	----	'honey'	N
IV	a.	A-*u*	A-*ə*	ˈmuːru	ˈmuːrə	'wall/-s'	NAN
	b.	A-*u*	B-*ə*	ˈwoːvu	ˈɔːvə	'egg/-s'	NAN
V[10]		A	B	məraˈto	məraˈtu	'bricklayer/-s'	M
VI		uninflected: -V́ ≠ -ó.SG		ˈka	ˈka	'dog/-s'	M, F, N

Table (11) illustrates the reduced inflection of urban Ripano.

(11) Urban Ripano. Noun ICs, reduced inflection

IC	ISC	SG	PL	example		gloss	gender
I		A-*e*	A-*ə*	ˈkaːse	ˈkaːsə	'house/-s'	F
II	a.	A-*ə*	A-*ə*	ˈfijːə	ˈfijːə	'son/-s'	M
				ˈpaːʈʂə	ˈpaːʈʂə	'father/-s'	M
				ˈmuːrə	ˈmuːrə	'wall/-s'	NAN
	b.	A-*ə*	B-*ə*	ˈmeːsə	ˈmiːʃə	'month/-s'	M
				ˈwoːvə	ˈɔːvə	'egg/-s'	NAN
	c.	A-*ə*		ˈmɛːlə	----	'honey'	N
III		A	B	məraˈto	məraˈtu	'bricklayer/-s'	M
IV		uninflected: -V́ ≠ -ó.SG		ˈka	ˈka	'dog/-s'	M, F, N

In the reduced inflection we distinguish four inflectional classes instead of six, as masculine nouns of full inflectional classes (10II) – like *ˈfijːu/ˈfijːi* 'son(M)/-s' – and (10III) – like *ˈpaːʈʂə/ˈpaːʈʂi* 'father(M)/-s' –, and non-autonomous neuters of class (10IV) – like *ˈmuːru/ˈmuːrə* 'wall(NAN)/-s' – merge into the same class (11II), which has just one form for both numbers, with the same ending -*a* found in the mass neuter singular and the feminine plural.

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[10] In class V the number contrast is not realized affixally but rather through root allomorphy, which must be lexically specified.

In rural Ripano the paradigm shape resembles that seen in urban Ripano. However, the suffixes are different for distribution and form: *-a* instead of *-e* is the suffix of the singular cell in the IC I, in the plural cell the suffix *-ə* alternates with *-e*.

(12)   Rural Ripano. Noun ICs, full inflection

IC	ISC	SG	PL	example		gloss	gender
I		A-*a*	A-*ə/-e*	ˈkaːsa	ˈkaːsə/-e	'house/-s'	F
II	a.	A-*u*	A-*i*	ˈviendu	ˈviendi	'wind/-s'	M
	b.	A-*u*	B-*i*	kaˈvalːu	kaˈvajːi	'horse/-s'	M
III	a.	A-*ə*	A-*i*	ˈdoːtʃə	ˈdoːtʃi	'cake/-s'	M
	b.	A-*ə*		ˈsaŋgwə	----	'blood'	M
IV		A-*u*	A-*ə*	ˈmuːru	ˈmuːrə	'wall/-s'	NAN
V		A	B	məraˈto	məraˈtu	'bricklayer/-s'	M
VI		uninflected: -V́ ≠ -ó.SG		ˈka	ˈka	'dog/-s'	M, F

Table (13) illustrates the reduced inflection of rural Ripano:

(13)   Rural Ripano. Noun ICs, reduced inflection

IC	ISC	SG	PL	example		gloss	gender
I		A-*a*	A-*ə/-e*	ˈkaːsa	ˈkaːsə	'house/-s'	F
II		A-*ə*	A-*ə*	ˈviendə	ˈviendə	'wind/-s'	M
				ˈdoːtʃə	ˈdoːtʃə	'cake/-s'	M
				ˈmuːrə	ˈmuːrə	'wall/-s'	NAN
	c.	A-*ə*		ˈsaŋgwə	----	'blood'	M
III		A	B	məraˈto	məraˈtu	'bricklayer/-s'	M
IV		uninflected: -V́ ≠ -ó.SG		ˈka	ˈka	'dog/-s'	M, F

3.1.2   Gender agreement

For nouns referring to humans (and higher animals), gender is predictable from sex: nouns referring to males belong to masculine, nouns referring to females belong to feminine. For all other nouns gender is assigned based on formal rules (phonological shape or inflectional class) or local semantic generalisations. The Ripano gender system of the urban conservative variety is schematized in (14), where gender agreement is exemplified with definite articles:

(14)   SINGULAR   PLURAL

N	l-ə	ˈpa		Ø	
	DEF-N.SG	bread(N)			
M	l-u	ˈka		l-i	ˈka
	DEF-M.SG	dog(M)		DEF-M.PL	dog(M)
NAN	l-u	ˈvrat:ʃa		l-ə	ˈvrat:ʃa
	DEF-M.SG	arm(NAN)		DEF-F.PL	arm(NAN)
F	l-e/l-a[11]	ˈma		l-ə	ˈma
	DEF-F.SG	hand(F)		DEF-F.PL	hand(F)
		'the bread/dog/arm/hand'			'the dogs/arms/hands'

The article displays a three-way inflectional contrast in the singular (*lə ˈpa* 'the bread' vs *lu ˈka/ˈvrat:ʃa* 'the dog/arm' vs *le/la ˈma* 'the hand'), but just a two-way distinction in the plural (*li ˈka* 'the dogs' vs *lə ˈvrat:ʃa/ˈma* 'the arms/hands'). In fact, neuter nouns like *ˈpa* 'bread', being all [–count], lack a plural form, whereas nouns like *ˈvrat:ʃa* 'arm' trigger a fully syncretic agreement pattern, selecting the same article form as the masculine *ˈka* 'dog' in the singular and as the feminine *ˈma* 'hand' in the plural. This agreement class is identical to the Romanian neuter, which is also a 'non-autonomous' gender value (Corbett 2011: 459f.). In Corbett's term (1991: 150-154) Ripano has the four controller genders, and three target genders.

    Variation across generations within the speech community at times shows the reassignment of noun lexemes from the mass neuter to the masculine, whereby the former tends to dissolve. While the four-way contrast is categorical for elderly urban speakers (born up to the early 1950s), younger speakers have a double gender assignment (N and M) and tend to prefer masculine forms, such as *lu ˈsalə* 'DEF.M.SG salt', over mass neuter forms, such *lə ˈsalə* 'DEF.N.SG salt'. In some rural varieties, loss of the N and M contrast has gone even further and has in certain places already been completed, as exemplified in (15), recorded from AnIa, born in 1937 in the hamlet of San Rustico.

(15) [NP Lu/*lə   pà]   sə =   cascu
      DEF.M.SG/N.SG bread(M).SG REFL.3 =   fall.PRS.M.SG
      'The bread falls' (AnIa, RIP21_7)

---

[11] For overabundance in the feminine singular cell cf. § 3.5.1.

3.1.3 Overt inherent gender

Ripano has overt inherent gender (that is the marking of gender on the noun itself) that is made possible by the availability of a set of full inflection form. Overt gender is not isomorphic to gender agreement, but it is a partial category, as only some nouns can also have overt gender marking, i.e. they have the same suffixes as the agreement targets of their gender classes.

There are various prerequisites at different levels for overt gender (cf. above, § 2.2). For the morphological level, as seen in tables (10)-(13), nouns belong to several ICs and SICs, and therefore overt marking can be differently extended: e.g., nouns of IC II have overt gender in both cells (e.g., *məˈeʃtru/-i* 'teacher(M)/-s'), nouns of IC III have it only in the plural one (e.g., *prəfəˈsːoːrə/-i* 'professor(M)/-s'), nouns of ICs V and VI have no overt gender at all (e.g., *serˈto/serˈtu* 'tailor(M)/-s', *kuntəˈði* 'farmer(M)/-s').

Syntactic factors determine the use of the two different series of forms on masculine and non-autonomous neuter nouns. The contexts that require full distinctions, with overt expression of gender, are provided in (16).

(16) Overt gender

    a. by bare nouns

        [NP ø]   [ha   fattə]   [Conjoined NPs lambi   e   ttuóni]

        Dummy.3N.SG have.PRS.3   do.PTP.N.SG lightning(M).PL   and thunder(M).PL

        'There was lightning and thunder' (LuCa, RIP11_56)

    b. after the invariable quantifier ˈkakːa 'some'

        [NP Cacch'   uómməni[12]] [é   rmascti]   [PP a jjəcà]   [PP a *ccarte]

        some   man(M).PL be.PRS.3 remain.PTP.M.PL to   play.INF   to   card(F).SG

        'Some men stayed to play cards' (LuCa, RIP11_46)

    c. after the invariable modifier ˈkə 'what'

        Ma   [NP ø]   [si   vvisctə]   [NP kə   uócchi   niri]

        but   2SG   be.PRS.2SG see.PTP.N.SG   what   eye(M).PL black.M.PL

        cià   [NP lle   bèlle   fijje?]

        have.PRS.3   DEM.DIST.F.SG beautiful.F.SG girl(F).SG

---

[12] Younger speakers show a tendency to select the singular form of the noun:

[QP Cacchə   fuócu]

some   fire(M).SG

'Some fires' (NiLu, RIP13_2)

'Did you see the black eyes of that beautiful girl?' (AlRo, RIP11_20)

d. after a complex quantifier

[_{NP} Quissu]   [_{QP} é   fattu]   [_{QP} [_{NP} ne   fréche] [_{PP} də sbajji]]

DEM.DIST.M.SG   be.PRS.3 make.PTP.M.SG INDF.F.SG lot.F.SG of   mistake(M).PL

'This one made many mistakes' (AlRo_11, 72)

e. after adnominal numeral

[_{NP} Dó   sbajji]

two   mistake(M).PL

'Two mistakes' (AlRo_11, 51)

The contexts that require reduced inflection, with covert expression of gender, are provided in (17).

(17) Covert gender

a. in NPs with a determiner

i. [_{NP} Ll'   òma]

DEF.M.SG   man(M).SG

'The man' (AlRo, RIP11_6)

ii. [_{NP} N'   òma]

INDF.M.SG   man(M).SG

'A man' (AlRo, RIP11_5)

iii.   [_{NP} sct'   òma]   [_{NP} ø] nnə [_{NP} lu＝]   suppórta

DEM.PROX.M.SG   man(M).SG 1SG   NEG   3M.SG   tolerate.PRS.3N.SG

'I am not able to abide this man' (AlRo, RIP11_38)

b.   in NPs with modifiers marked by gender/number

i.   bbellu   cavalla

beautiful M).SG horse(M).SG

'beautiful horse'

ii.   [_{NP} Scti   dì]   nasscə   [_{NP} tandi   fiùrə]

DEM.PROX.M.PLG   day(M).PL be_born.PRS.3N.SG   many.M.PL   flower(M).PL

'Many flowers are blossoming these days' (AlRo, RIP22_12.1)

14

Examples in (17a) prove that selection of the full vs. reduced inflection does not depend either on the (in)definiteness value of the determiner or on its form, i.e. whether it shows agreement or not.

In noun phrases consisting of a determiner and a vowel-initial masculine plural noun, the initial sound is relevant for the selection of the inflected form.

(18) Shape condition

    a. preconsonantic allomorph of the determiner + reduced form of the noun

      [_NP Li   fiʝʝa]

      DEF.M.PL   child(M).PL

      'The children' (AlRo, RIP11_12)

    b. prevocalic allomorph of the determiner + full form of the noun

      [_NP Jj'   uómmǝni]

      DEF.M.PL   man(M).PL

      'The men' (AlRo, RIP11_36)

Summing up, within the noun phrase overt gender marking occurs: (i) if the controller precedes the target, and (ii) if the controller is preceded by the potential target, but only if the latter has an invariable non-agreeing form.

3.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish:

PERSON: 1, 2, 3

NUMBER: singular, plural

GENDER: (only in the third person) masculine, feminine, (mass) neuter

CASE: (at first and second stressed persons) subject vs. object/oblique, (in the third person clitic) direct vs. indirect object.

Neither stressed nor clitic personal pronouns occur in syntactic contexts requiring reduced agreement forms. The forms of both stressed and clitic personal pronouns are shown in table (19) – see Harder (1988: 141-146).

(19)			stressed		clitic		
			a. Subj.	b. Obj./Obl.	c. DO	d. IO	e. reflexive
SG		1	ˈia	ˈme	mə		
		2	ˈtu	ˈte	tə		
		3 M	ˈisːu		lu	jə	sə
		3 F	ˈesːe		le/la		
		3 N	ˈesːə		lə		
PL		1	ˈnoi̯a		tʃə		
		2	ˈvoi̯a		və		
		3 M	ˈiʃːi/ / ˈloːrə		li	jə	sə
		3 F	ˈesːə / ˈloːrə		lə		

The feminine singular cell of the direct object clitic in the third person shows overabundance, as the original form *le* is being replaced by the innovative *la* due to the contact with Standard Italian (for the definition of the overabundance, see Thornton 2011). We found the form *le* only in the dialect of a speaker over 90 years old (AlRo, *1927) and the dialect of a speaker over 70 years old (ReBr, *1949) of urban Ripano, but *la* in the dialect of all other speakers (ArCa, *1953, LuCa, *1944, GiCa, *1961, FaCa, *1990, NiLu, *1996).

Enclitics on finite verbs agree in gender and number with the subject, as exemplified in (20), where the 2SG reflexive enclitics on the imperative agree, whereas the enclitics on the rhizotonic infinitive do not (see § 3.5.7):

(20) a. [NP ø]   Sbrìghə   = tu   a   vvəscti   = ttə/*ttu
         2SG   hurry_up.IMPV.2SG = REFL.2M.SG   to   dress.INF = REFL.2SG/REFL.2M.SG
         ch'   [ø]   è   [AdvP ttardə]
         because Dummy.3N.SG   be.PRS.3   late
         'Hurry up to dress [male referent], we are running late!' (ReBr, RIP29_13)

    b. [NP ø]   Sbrìghə   = te   a   vvəscti   = ttə
         2SG   hurry_up.IMPV.2SG = REFL.2F.SG   to   dress.INF = REFL.2SG
         ch'   [ø]   è   [AdvP ttardə]
         because Dummy.3N.SG   be.PRS.3   late
         'Hurry up to dress [female referent], we are running late!' (ReBr, RIP29_14)

The genitive/partitive clitic *nə* and the locative-clitic *cə*, which stand for various types of prepositional phrases, can also show gender/number agreement with the subject, as exemplified in (21).

(21) a. Sə [NP ø] ccià   [NP bbəsuóggnu] də   sciuccamà,   [PP su la

if 2SG have.PRS.2SG need(M).M.SG of   towel(M).PL up   DEF.F.SG

səffitte]   cə =   ni =   sctà   [NP tandi   ø]

attic(F).SG LOC =   PARTTV =   stay.PRS.3   many.M.PL   M.PL

'If you (M.sg) need towels, there are some in the attic' (LuCa, RIP25_17)

b. [NP ø] Va   = cciu   pianu   [PP nghə   ssə   vì,]

2SG go.PRS.2SG = LOC.M.SG slowly.M.SG   with   DEM.PROX.M.SG wine(N).SG

sənnò   [NP ø] tə =   mbriacu

otherwise 2SG   REFL.2SG = get_drunk. PRS.2M.SG

'You have to go easy on this wine, otherwise you will get drunk' [Male referent] (LuCa, RIP24.2_23.3)

For queries on gender agreement controlled by [+animate] personal pronouns, the user can refer to the parameter 'Sex: masculine/feminine', which has been systematically tagged regardless of the realization (overt/non overt) and of the morphological exponence (present on 3rd person pronoun, but not in 1st and 2nd).

3.3 Adjectives

There are three affixal inflectional classes (22I), (22III)-(22IV) plus an uninflecting one (22II) containing adjectives ending in a stressed vowel except -'o; cf. Harder (1988: 132f.). In all affixal classes the actual suffixes for feminine are those used for nouns in the first class, for neuter those used for nouns in the third class; suffixes differ for masculine nouns: in (22I) they are those for nouns in IC II; in (22iII) those for nouns in the class V, in (22IV) those used for nouns in the class VI. Within (22I) we can distinguish two subclasses depending on the absence (a) or presence (b) of stem allomorphy. In (22iii) all adjectives have stem allomorphy, in (22IV) none. Suffixes encode both gender and number information, while stem allomorphy encodes either both gender and number or only gender information. Table (22) illustrates full inflection:

(22)   Urban Ripano. Adjective ICs, full inflection

IC	ISC	GENDER	NUMBER		example		gloss
			SINGULAR	PLURAL			
I	a.	N	A + ə		ˈbːrutːə	—	'ugly'
		M	A + u	A + i	ˈbːrutːu	ˈbːrutːi	
		F	A + e	A + ə	ˈbːrutːe	ˈbːrutːə	
	b.	N	A + ə		ˈbːɛlːə	—	'beautiful'
		M	B + u	C + i	ˈbːjelːu	ˈbːjejːi/ˈbːjelːi	
		F	A + e	A + ə	ˈbːɛlːe	ˈbːɛlːə	
II					ˈbːlu	—	'blue'
			uninflected: -V́		ˈbːlu	ˈbːlu	
					ˈbːlu	ˈbːlu	
III		N	—		—	—	'stupid'[13]
		M	A	B	kutˈːʃo	kutˈːʃu	
		F	A + e	A + ə	kutˈːʃoːne	kutˈːʃoːnə	
IV		N	A + ə		markiˈdːʒaːnə	—	'in/from the
		M	A	A	markiˈdːʒa	markiˈdːʒa	Marches'
		F	A + e	A + ə	markiˈdːʒaːne	markiˈdːʒaːnə	

Table (23) illustrates the reduced paradigm:

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[13] The neuter singular form is missing for semantic reasons.

(23)   Urban Ripano. Adjective ICs, reduced inflection

IC	ISC	GENDER	NUMBER SINGULAR	PLURAL	example		gloss
I	a.	N	A + ə		ˈbːrutːə	—	'ugly'
		M	A + ə	A + ə	ˈbːrutːə	ˈbːrutːə	
		F	A + e	A + ə	ˈbːrutːe	ˈbːrutːə	
	b.	N	A + ə		ˈbːɛlːə	—	'beautiful'
		M	B + ə	C + ə	ˈbːjelːə	ˈbːjejːə/ˈbːjelːə	
		F	A + e	A + ə	ˈbːɛlːe	ˈbːɛlːə	
II			uninflected: -V́		ˈblu ˈblu ˈblu	— ˈblu ˈblu	'blue'
III		N	—		—	—	'stupid'
		M	A	B	kutˈːʃo	kutˈːʃu	
		F	A + e	A + ə	kutˈːʃoːne	kutˈːʃoːnə	
IV		N	A + ə		markiˈdːʒaːnə	—	'in/from the
		M	A	A	markiˈdːʒa	markiˈdːʒa	Marches'
		F	A + e	A + ə	markiˈdːʒaːne	markiˈdːʒaːnə	

ICs II, III and IV remain unchanged. In IC I, all final vowels but F.SG -*e* are replaced by -*ə* – although the number of syntactically distinguished cells is the same.

Although restricted to one single IC, the opposition of two series of forms is very stable and almost maximal within adjectives. This is illustrated by the statistics given in table (24) for a total of 285 adjectives extracted from Rossi's dictionary (2008).

(24)

	N	*%*
I IC	279	***95,5***
Invariable	2	*0,68*
Others	0	*2,37*
Doubts	4	*1,4*
Total	285	*100*

The first IC contains almost all adjectives. Other inflected types and invariable adjectives are extremely marginal. Therefore, the opposition of two series of forms, full and reduced, in the adjective is very stable.

An interesting element resulting from the research conducted with the DAI project is the stability of the distinction -*e*.F.SG vs. -*ə*.nonF.SG.

The selection of the full or reduced paradigm depends on two syntactic factors: the presence vs. absence of a determiner (or of another agreeing target preceding the noun) as well as the order of the adjective with respect to the noun.

(25) Full inflection

    a.   without determiner (or of another agreeing target preceding the noun)

        Scvérdu   cómmə   [NP ne   səétte]

        quick.M.SG   like.N.SG INDF.F.SG lightning(F).SG

        'Quick as a lightning' [Male referent] (LuCa, RIP24.2_31)

    b.   postnominal position

        [PP Dòpə   lu   bbruttə   tiémbə]

        after   DEF.M.SG   bad.nonF.SG   weather(M).SG

        vè   [NP lu   tiémbə   bbiéllu]

        come.PRS.3   DEF.M.SG   weather(M).SG   good.M.SG

        'Good weather will come after bad weather' (LuCa, RIP24.2_21)

    c.   predicative position

        [NP L'   invèrnə]   è   [AP bbiéllu]

        DEF.M.SG   winter(M).SG   be.PRS.3   beautiful.M.SG

        'Winter is beautiful' (GiCa, RIP14_45)

(26) Reduced inflection

    prenominal position, with determiner

    [PP Dòpə   lu   bbruttə   tiémbə]

    after   DEF.M.SG   bad.nonF.SG   weather(M).SG

    vè   [NP lu   tiémbə   bbiéllu]

    come.PRS.3   DEF.M.SG   weather(M).SG   good.M.SG

    'Good weather will come after bad weather' (LuCa, RIP24.2_21)

Once the right syntactic context is specified, the selection of the full or reduced agreement form is almost categorical. Table (27) illustrates the frequency of full and reduced agreement forms in every syntactic context: attributive prenominal without determiner, attributive prenominal with determiner, attributive postnominal, predicative. The very few deviant forms can all be attributed to the same speaker.

20

(27) Adjective. Full and reduced agreement and their ratio

syntactic position		full agr	reduced agr	**ratio**
attributive	prenominal, without determiner	14	0	**–**
	prenominal, with determiner	3	24	**1 : 8**
	postnominal	91	1	**91 : 1**
predicative		128	2	**64 : 1**

Instances of adjectives in various syntactic positions can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement Query > Target properties > [or 'Token Query > PoS/Phrase' >] Adjective > Type: attributive > Position: prenominal / Position: postnominal' or 'Type: predicative'.

3.4 Participles

Participles inflect like IC I adjectives:

(28) Urban Ripano. Participle ICs

a. MAˈNːA 'eat'

	N	M	F
SG	maˈɲː-aːt-ə	maˈɲː-aːt-u	maˈɲː-aːt-e
PL		maˈɲː-aːt-i	maˈɲː-aːt-ə

b. ˈROPːA 'break'

	N	M	F
SG	ˈrotː-ə	ˈrutː-u	ˈrotː-e
PL		ˈrutː-i	ˈrotː-ə

(29) Urban Ripano. Participle ICs, reduced inflection

a. MAˈNːA 'eat'

	N	M	F
SG			maˈɲː-aːt-e
PL		maˈɲː-aːt-ə	

b. ˈROPːA 'break'

	N	M	F
SG	ˈrotː-ə		ˈrotː-e
PL		ˈrutː-ə	ˈrutː-ə

Conditions of different nature determine whether we have full or reduced inflection (cf. § 3.5.6). Among them there are discourse-related conditions such as focus. Cf. D'Alessandro (2017, 2020) for an analysis of agreement in Ripano and neighbouring varieties as information-driven agreement. In (30) we find full agreement of the participle with the subject, which is also the topic.

(30) [NP ø] Jémi,　　　[NP Mariu] [è　　　rrivatu!]
　　　1PL　go.PRS.1M.PL Mario(M)　be.PRS.3 arrive.PTP.M.SG
　　　'Let's go, Mario arrived!' (ReBr, RIP17_9.4)

In (31) the subject is the focus and controls reduced agreement on the participle.

(31) [_{NP} Chi] [è   vvənutə?]   [È   rrivatə]   [_{NP} Mariu]

who   be.PRS.3 come.PTP.N.SG be.PRS.3   come.PTP.N.SG Mario(M)

'Who came? Mario came.' (ReBr, RIP17_9.1)

3.5 Determiners
3.5.1 Definite article
The forms of the definite article in urban Ripano are illustrated in tables (32)-(33); cf. Harder (1988: 117f.). The feminine singular cell shows the same overabundance already observed in the clitic paradigm (cf. Mancini 1993: 131, n. 4). We found only the form *le* in the dialect of a speaker over 90 years old of Ripano (AlRo, *1927); *le* is stable and in free variation with *la* in the dialect of some speakers around 70 years old (ArCa, *1953, ReBr, *1949, FiPi, *1953), but it is recessive in the dialect of other speakers of this age (LuCa, *1944), and definitively replaced by *la* in speakers under 60 years old (GiCa, *1961, FaCa, *1990, NiLu, *1996).

(32)   Urban variety. Definite article (pre-consonantal)

	N	M	F
SG	lə	lu	le/la
PL		li	lə

The prevocalic allomorph *jː* of the masculine plural departs from the form occurring elsewhere (*l*), because of a sound change which affected **li* prevocalically (> **ʎː* > *jː*):

(33)   Urban variety. Definite article (pre-vocalic)

	N	M	F
SG	l		
PL		jː	

In the rural varieties the feminine singular form is always *la*, the feminine plural form is generally *lə* (34a), but in some hamlets it can also be *le* (34b). In each cell the two or three forms separated by a semicolon are selected before initial consonants and vowels, respectively.

(34)   Rural varieties. Definite article

a.	N	M	F		b.	N	M	F
SG	lə; l	lu; l	la; l		SG	lə; l	lu; l	la; l
PL		li; jː	lə; l		PL		li; jː	lə/le; l

PaVe, Sant'Imero   AnIa, San Rustico

3.5.2   Indefinite article

The indefinite article lacks plural forms and has a binary contrast masculine vs. feminine in the singular (cf. Harder 1988: 118f.).

(35)   Urban variety. Indefinite article

	N	M	F
SG	—	nu; n	ne/na; n

(36)   Rural varieties. Indefinite article

	N	M	F
SG	—	nu; n	na; n

3.5.3   Demonstratives

Ripano has three demonstrative stems, contrasting for proximity: (ˈkwi)ʃtu/(ˈkwi)ssu/(ˈkwi)llu 'this (near speaker)/this (near hearer)/that'; cf. Harder (1988: 147-152). Tables (37)-(39) illustrate the paradigm of the demonstratives in the urban variety. A shortened form occurs only prenominally:

(37)   Urban variety. Proximal demonstrative

	N	M	F
SG	(ˈkwe)ʃtə	(ˈkwi)ʃtu	(ˈkwe)ʃte/-a
PL		(ˈkwi)ʃti	(ˈkwe)ʃtə

(38)   Urban variety. Medial demonstrative

	N	M	F
SG	(ˈkwe)sːə	(ˈkwi)sːu	(ˈkwe)sːe/-a
PL		(ˈkwi)sːi	(ˈkwe)sːə

(39) Urban variety. Distal demonstrative

	N	M	F
SG	(ˈkwe)lːə	(ˈkwi)lːu	(ˈkwe)lːe/-a
PL		(ˈkwi)jːi	(ˈkwe)lːə

The long forms selected before consonant-initial words display double exponence (by suffix and by stem allomorphy), and a four-way contrast with syncretism of the N.SG and F.PL cells. The long forms before vowel-initial words display a single allomorphic exponence, and a two-way contrast between masculine vs. neuter and feminine values. The short forms before vowel-initial words display an allomorphic contrast between M.PL, on the one hand, and all other feature combinations, on the other.

In the rural varieties one finds the same suffixes found in the definite article.

3.5.4 Possessives

Possessives encode possessor's number/person lexically, through distinct stems, and agree in gender and number with the possessed entity. Like all dialects of the Upper South (cf. Rohlfs 1966-1969: 2.123-126), Ripano has a dual series of adnominal possessives, stressed vs. clitic, the former occurring postnominally, the latter in enclisis (cf. Harder 1988: 137-140; Rossi 2008: 22-23).

(40) Possessives

Possessor person			Possessed gender/number					
			Stressed			Enclitic		
			N	M	F	N	M	F
1SG	SG		ˈmjɛ				-mu/-mə	-me
	PL							
2SG	SG		ˈtwɔ				-tu/-tə	-te
	PL							
3SG	SG		ˈswɔ					
	PL							
1PL	SG		ˈnɔʃtrə	ˈnwoʃtru	ˈnɔʃtre			
	PL			ˈnwoʃtri	ˈnɔʃtrə			
2PL	SG		ˈvɔʃtrə	ˈvwoʃtru	ˈvɔʃtre			
	PL			ˈvwoʃtri	ˈvɔʃtrə			
3PL	SG		ˈlorə					
	PL							

In the stressed series, in the singular and in the third plural persons the possessive has a unique form, with gender/number neutralization, whereas first and second plural persons display gender and number agreement by suffix and stem allomorphy, inflecting like IC I adjectives.

With kinship terms, the possessive can encliticize. Seven masculine nouns take these forms. Four of them have a homophonous feminine root and select the expected forms -mu/-tu: *'fijəmu/-tu* 'son(M) = my/your.SG', *nə'potəmu/-tu* 'nephew(M) = my/your.SG', *'nonːəmu/-tu* 'grandfather(M) = my/your.SG', *'tsijəmu/-tu* 'oncle(M) = my/your.SG'. The other three have lexically non-ambiguous roots and select the forms *-mə/-tə*: *'fratəmə/-tə* 'brother(M) = my/your.SG', *ma'ritəmə/-tə* 'husband(M) = my/your.SG', *'pardəmə/-tə* 'father(M) = my/your.SG'. The enclitics mark gender (*'fijəmu* 'son(M) = my', *'sɔrme* 'sister(F) = my'), are limited to singular possessa (*'sɔrme*, but *lə sə'rɛlːə mié* 'the.F.PL systers(F) my), and restricted to the first two singular persons (*'pardəmə* 'father(M) = my', *'pardətə* 'father(M) = your.SG', ma *lu 'patrə 'swo* 'the.M.SG father(F) his'). In predicative position and after prepositions the definite article always precedes possessive pronouns: *le 'kaːse ɛ le 'mjé* 'the.F.SG house(F) is the.F.SG my' (Harder 1988: 140).

3.5.6 Verbs

Verbs in Ripano, as is normal in a Romance variety, are characterized by a large inflectional paradigm consisting of forms encoding gender, number, TAM and (limited to finite forms) person distinctions (see table (6) above). What is unusual for Romance is the realization of gender also on finite verb forms, on gerunds and infinitives (cf. Parrino 1967: 166; Lüdtke 1976; Loporcaro 1986; Loporcaro and Vigolo 2002-03; Harder 1988: 179-236; Ledgeway 2012: 301-302 on verb inflection in Ripano).

Ripano regular verbs can be divided into two major macro-classes: the first one consists of the verbs of the I IC with thematic vowel [a], the second one of the verbs with thematic vowels ['e] (II IC), [e] (III IC), [i] (IV IC) - the IV distinguishes verbs with and without the augment -[ʃː]-. Table (41) illustrates a segment of the verbal system.

(41)   Urban Ripano. Regular verbs, full inflection (segment)

	I MCF	II MCF			
	I CF	II CF	III CF	IV CF	IV + AUGMENT
	'eat'	'please'	'sell'	'sleep'	'finish'
INF	*ma'ɲːa*	*pja'tʃe*	*'venːə/ -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*dər'mi*	*fə'ni*
GER	*ma'ɲːɛnːə/-u/-i/-e/-ə*	*pja'tʃɛnːə / -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*və'nːɛnːə / -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*dər'mɛnːə / -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*fəni'ʃːɛnːə / -u/-i/-e/-ə*
PART. PASS	*ma'ɲːaːtə/-u/-i/-e/-ə*	*pja'tʃuːtə/ -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*və'nːuːtə/ -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*dər'miːtə/ -u/-i/-e/-ə*	*fə'niːtə/ -u/-i/-e/-ə*
3SG.PRES.IND	*'maɲːu/-e/-ə*	*'pjaːtʃu/-e/-ə*	*'venːu/-e/-ə*	*'dɔrmu/-e/-ə*	*fə'niʃːu/-e/-ə*

Finite verbs

Finite verb forms agree in:

PERSON: 1, 2, 3

NUMBER: singular and plural

GENDER: masculine, feminine and (mass) neuter

The table in (42) illustrates the full paradigm of the verb 'to eat', as described in the literature (cf. Harder 1988: 191-197). In our surveys we found it just in a single speaker, born in 1927, who was already an informant for previous researchers.

(42)   Urban Ripano. PRS.IND of *ma'ɲːa* 'eat', full inflection

		M			F			N	
1	SG	'i	'maɲː-	-u	'i	'maɲː-	-e	—	
2		'tu			'tu			—	
3		'isːu			'esːe			'maɲː-	-ə
1	PL	'nui	ma'ɲː-eːm-	-i	nui	ma'ɲː-eːm-	-ə	—	
2		'vui	ma'ɲː-eːt-		vui	ma'ɲː-eːt-		—	
3		'iʃːi	'maɲː-		'esːə	'maɲː-		—	

AlRo (1927)

The most common system of full agreement forms among our informants is the one in (43), with extension of the feminine singular -*e* to the third person plural and neuter.

(43)   Urban Ripano. PRS.IND of *maˈɲːa* 'eat', full inflection

		M			F			N
1	SG	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-	-u	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-	-e	—
2		ˈtu			ˈtu			—
3		ˈisːu			ˈesːe			ˈmaɲː- -e/-ə
1	PL	ˈnui	maˈɲː-eːm-		nui	maˈɲː-eːm-	-ə	—
2		ˈvui	maˈɲː-eːt-	-i	vui	maˈɲː-eːt-		—
3		ˈiʃːi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈesːə	ˈmaɲː-	-ə/-e	—

LuCa (1944), ReBr (1949), ArCa (1953), FiPi (1953)

Among the youngest speakers, even if not very young, the alternation between *-e* and *-ə* has also reached the cell of the F.SG.

(44)   Urban Ripano. PRS.IND of *maˈɲːa* 'eat', full inflection

		M			F			N
1	SG	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-	-u	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-	-e/-ə	—
2		ˈtu			ˈtu			—
3		ˈisːu			ˈesːe			ˈmaɲː- -e/-ə
1	PL	ˈnui	maˈɲː-eːm-		nui	maˈɲː-eːm-	-ə	—
2		ˈvui	maˈɲː-eːt-	-i	vui	maˈɲː-eːt-		—
3		ˈiʃːi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈesːə	ˈmaɲː-	-e/-ə	—

GiCa (1961), FaCa (1990)

In the reduced paradigms, the more conservative speakers maintain a double distinction between F.SG with *-e* and all the other combinations that have free variation of -ə/-e.

(45)   Urban Ripano. PRS.IND of *maˈɲːa* 'eat', reduced inflection

		M			F			N
1	SG	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈi	ˈmaɲː-	-e	—
2		ˈtu			ˈtu			—
3		ˈisːu			ˈesːe			ˈmaɲː- -ə/-e
1	PL	ˈnui	maˈɲː-eːm-	-ə/-e	nui	maˈɲː-eːm-		—
2		ˈvui	maˈɲː-eːt-		vui	maˈɲː-eːt-	-ə/-e	—
3		ˈiʃːi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈesːə	ˈmaɲː-		—

LuCa (1944), ArCa (1953)

The most widespread set of the reduced agreement forms is that of a now achieved neutralization, with free variation between -ə and -e.

(46)   Urban Ripano. PRS.IND of *maˈɲːa* 'eat', reduced inflection

		M			F			N	
1	SG	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈi	ˈmaɲː-			
2		ˈtu			ˈtu				
3		ˈisːu		-ə/-e	ˈesːe		-ə/-e	ˈmaɲː-	-ə/-e
1	PL	ˈnui	maˈɲː-eːm-		nui	maˈɲː-eːm-			
2		ˈvui	maˈɲː-eːt-		vui	maˈɲː-eːt-			
3		ˈiʃːi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈesːə	ˈmaɲː-			

ReBr (1949), FiPi (1953), FaCa (1990)

Also in rural Ripano, although the suffixes are different, in the full inflection the distinction of the three genders remains.

(47)   Rural Ripano. PRS. IND of *maˈɲːa* 'eat', full inflection

		M			F			N	
1	SG	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈi	ˈmaɲː-			
2		ˈtu		-u	ˈtu		-a		
3		ˈisːu			ˈesːa			ˈmaɲː-	-ə
1	PL	ˈnui	maˈɲː-eːm-		nui	maˈɲː-eːm-			
2		ˈvui	maˈɲː-eːt-	-i	vui	maˈɲː-eːt-	-e		
3		ˈiʃːi	ˈmaɲː-		ˈesːə	ˈmaɲː-			

AnIa (1937), PaVe (1961)

In the reduced inflection there is -*ə* everywhere.

(48)   Rural Ripano. PRS. IND of *maˈɲːa* 'eat', reduced inflection   .

		M			F			N	
1	SG	ˈi	ˈmaɲː-		i	ˈmaɲː-			
2		ˈtu			tu				
3		ˈisːu		-ə	éssa		-ə	ˈmaɲː-	-ə
1	PL	ˈnui	maˈɲː-eːm-		nui	maˈɲː-eːm-			
2		ˈvui	maˈɲː-eːt-		vui	maˈɲː-eːt-			
3		ˈiʃːi	ˈmaɲː-		ésse	ˈmaɲː-			

AnIa (1937), PaVe (1961)

The conditions that determine the presence of the full or reduced form are of different nature (cf. Ledgeway 2012; D'Alessandro 2020; Paciaroni 2017, 2019, to appear). Among these, a syntactic condition is the type of construction and, in transitive construction, the realization of the nominal direct object. In (49i) the verb 'to see' takes the full form when the direct object is a noun. If instead, as in (49ii), the direct object is a clitic, it takes reduced agreement.

(49) Syntactic condition

    i. full inflection → in transitive clauses with a lexical DO

      [NP Ø]   védu   [NP nu   mura]

      3M.SG   see.PRS.M.SG   INDF.M.SG   wall(M).SG

      'he sees a wall' (LuCa, RIP74_50)

    ii. reduced inflection → in transitive clauses with a clitic DO

      [NP Mariu]   [NP tə =]   védə

      Mario(M).SG   DO2.SG =   see.PRS.3N.SG

      'Mario sees you' [Male referents] (ReBr, RIP29_54.6)

Another condition is focus, as exemplified with the data in (50). In the unmarked sentence (50i) the subject completely controls the agreement on the verb, which takes the full form. In (50ii.a), instead, the verb has reduced form, as the focus is on the subject, as also indicated by the postverbal position. Reduced agreement occurs also in interrogative (50ii.b) and relative clauses, where the controller of the verb is an interrogative or relative pronoun. The same pattern applies in (50ii.c), where the verb agrees with the indefinite negative pronoun *nə'ʃu* and takes the reduced form *rrizzə*.

(50) Discourse related functions

    i. full inflection

      [NP Ggianni]   ridu

      Gianni(M).SG   laugh.PRS.M.SG

      'Gianni laughs' (ReBr, RIP21_57.3)

    ii. reduced inflection

    a. with subject in focus

    a. Ridə   [NP Ggianni]

      laugh.PRS.3N.SG   Gianni(M).SG

      'Gianni laughs' (ReBr, RIP21_57.3)

    b. with interrogative or relative pronoun

      [NP Chi]   ridə?

      who   laugh.PRS.3N.SG

      'Who laughs?' (ReBr, RIP21_57.2)

c.   with the indefinite negative pronoun *nə'ʃu*

[NP Nisciù] sə =   rrizzə/*-u   [AdvP prèscta]

nobody   REFL.3 =   get_up.PRS.3N.SG/M.SG   early.N.SG

'No one gets up early' (FiPi, RIP22_17.1, 17)

Glosses reflect the restructuring of gender marking on finite verb forms: -e was glossed 'nonM.SG' as it occurs both with feminine controllers and in contexts where the neuter form -ə would be expected.

Forms in -e/-ə realizing reduced agreement have been tagged as 'Default: yes'. To narrow the search to reduced agreement the user can select this category ('Default: yes').

3.5.7 Non-finite verbs

Non-finite verb forms such as gerunds and rhizotonic infinitives[14] agree in:

NUMBER: singular and plural

GENDER: masculine, feminine and (mass) neuter

(51) Urban Rip. GERUND of ma'ɲːa, full inflection   Reduced inflection

	N	M	F
SG	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-ə	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-u	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-e
PL		ma'ɲː-ɛnː-i	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-ə

	N	M	F
SG	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-ə		ma'ɲː-ɛnː-e
PL			

(52) Urban Rip. INFINITIVE of ma'ɲːa, full inflection   Reduced inflection

	N	M	F
SG	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-ə	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-u	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-e
PL		ma'ɲː-ɛnː-i	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-ə

	N	M	F
SG	ma'ɲː-ɛnː-ə		ma'ɲː-ɛnː-e
PL			

Conditions on the selection of the paradigm set are the same as in other verb forms.

Instances of Infinitive Agreement and Gerund Agreement can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement relation/Syntactic domain' > 'Infinitive Agreement' or 'Syntactic domain' > 'Gerund Agreement'. To narrow down the query to a non-finite verb form with a specific gender/number value, e.g., masculine singular, select 'Target properties > Verb > Gender: masculine Number: singular'.

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[14] Truncated infinitives, ending in a stressed vowel, never show agreement.

3.5.8 Relative and interrogative pronouns

As in Standard Italian, in Ripano, the relative pronoun ꞌkə 'which' and the interrogative pronouns ꞌki/ꞌkə 'who/what' are uninflected, whereas ꞌkwal- 'which', ꞌkwand- 'how much/how many' are inflected; see Harder (1988: 160). Unexpectedly, some other *wh*-words, which are usually uninflected in Romance, can inflect according to the paradigm displayed for I IC adjectives: – namely, ꞌkomː- 'how?', ꞌ(n)doːv- 'where', ꞌkwan- 'when', (cf. Harder 1988: 161-163). In the masculine plural cell we find different realizations, illustrated by Harder and confirmed by DAI informants (with some differences with regards to ꞌkomː-): while ꞌ(n)doːv- has the expected masculine plural suffix *-i* (53), with 'how' both the agreeing form ꞌkomː-i and the default form ꞌkomː-ə are used (54); with ꞌkwan- 'when' only the default form ꞌkwanː-ə is used (55).

(53) Ndóvi   jéti   [NP ø?]

     where.M.PL   go.PRS.2M.PL   2PL

     'Where are you going?' [Male referents] (LuCa, RIP24.2_37)

(54) Cómmi/-ə   [NP ø]   sctéti?

     how.M.PL/-N.SG   2PL   stay.PRS.2M.PL

     'How are you?' [Male referents] (FiPi, RIP24.2_8)

(55) *quandi   [NP ø]   vənéti?

     when.M.PL   2PL   come.PRS.2M.PL

     'When are you coming?' [Male referents] (FiPi, RIP24.2_6)

To retrieve instances of agreement of WH-words select 'Agreement Query' > 'Target: Pronoun - Type: Interrogative' or 'Token Query' > 'PoS/Phrase: Pronoun: interrogative'.

3.5.9 Numerals

Cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'one thousand' are inflected. Whereas the numeral 'one' (like the homophonous indefinite article) has only full inflection, numerals from 'two' onwards can have two sets of forms (whenever the prerequisites are satisfied; cf. Harder 1988: 164-169; Cardarelli 2010: 98). The higher numerals (e.g. *doꞌmiːla* 'two thousands', *do miꞌljoːni* 'two millions', etc.) have only one invariable form, which does not signal gender/number agreement.

(56)   0-19

	M	F		M	F
0	ˈdzɛːro/-i		10	ˈdjeːtʃi	ˈdjeːtʃə
1	ˈuːnu	ˈuːne/-a	11	ˈunːətʃi	ˈunːətʃə
2	ˈdui̯	ˈdue	12	ˈduðətʃi	ˈduðətʃə
3	ˈtre	ˈtre	13	ˈtreðətʃi	ˈtreðətʃə
4	ˈkwatːri	ˈkwatːrə	14	kwaˈtːɔrdətʃi	kwaˈtːɔrdətʃə
5	ˈtʃiŋgwi	ˈtʃiŋgwə	15	ˈkwinnətʃi	ˈkwinnətʃə
6	ˈsɛi̯	ˈsɛi̯	16	ˈsiðətʃi	ˈsiðətʃə
7	ˈsɛtːi	ˈsɛtːə	17	ditʃəˈsːɛtːi	ditʃəˈsːɛtːə
8	ˈɔtːi	ˈɔtːə	18	diˈtʃɔtːi	diˈtʃɔtːə
9	ˈnɔːvi	ˈnɔːvə	19	ditʃəˈnːɔːvi	ditʃəˈnːɔːvə

(57)   20-1000

	M	F		M	F
20	ˈvindi	ˈvində	70	səˈtːandi	səˈtːandə
30	ˈtrendi	ˈtrendə	80	uˈtːandi	uˈtːandə
40	kwəˈrandi	kwəˈrandə	90	nuˈvandi	nuˈvandə
50	tʃiŋˈgwandi	tʃiŋˈgwandə	100	ˈtʃendi	ˈtʃendə
60	səsˈːandi	səˈsːandə	1000	ˈmilːi	ˈmilːə

The paradigm is selected depending on the syntactic context in which numerals occur. They categorically agree when they are pronominal, as shown by the examples in (58), but preferably not when they are used adnominally (59) – in both examples, (a) illustrates masculine agreement and (b) feminine agreement:

(58) a. [cà']   [NP ø] nə =   [só   visctə]   [NP sètti   ø]   .

     dog(M).PL   1SG   PARTTV =   be.PRS.1.SG   see.PTP.N.SG   seven.M.PL   M.PL

     'I have seen seven of them.M' (LuCa, RIP11_98)

   b. [QP Quanda   cartulina]   [si   spəditu]   [NP ø?]   [NP dója ø.]

     how_many.F.PL   postcard(F).PL   be.PRS.2.SG send.PTP.M.SG   2SG   two.F   3F.PL

     'How many postcards did you.M send? Two' (LuCa, RIP11_74)

(59) a. [È   ppassati]   [NP dó anni]

     be.PRS.3 pass.PTP.M.PL   two   year(M).PL

     'Two years passed' (AlRo, RIP11_40)

   b. [NP ø] [só   spəditu]   [NP dó   cartulina.]

     1SG   be.PRS.1.SG send.PTP.M.SG two   postcard(F).PL

     'I.M sent two postcards' (LuCa, RIP11_73)

We found several instances of numerals with full forms in adnominal position.

All instances of agreement of numerals can be retrieved by selecting in the 'Agreement Query' 'Agreement relation/Syntactic domain > NP Agreement & 'Target properties > Numeral'.

3.5.10 Quantifiers

Other quantifiers may show agreement (cf. Harder 1988: 153-159). When they do, they follow morphologically the inflection of IC I adjectives, but they have a different syntactic behaviour. *ˈtand-* 'much/many' (60) shows full obligatory realization of gender/number marking.

(60) a. [NP Tandi　　　　schərciófəla/*-i][15]

　　　　many.M.PL　　　　artichoke(M).nonF.SG/-M.PL

　　　　'Many artichokes' (AlRo, RIP11_114)

　　b. [NP Tanda　　　　cəriéscia]

　　　　many.F.PL　　　　cherry(F).PL

　　　　'Many cherries' (AlRo, RIP11_94)

The universal quantifier 'all' variably shows either full or reduced marking, though the two options do not vary freely: reduced agreement is preferred with singular controllers (61a), full agreement with plural controllers (61b).

(61)　a.　　[NP Tuttə/-u　　　lu　　　　　　tiémbə.]

　　　　　　all.nonF.SG/-M.PL DEF.M.SG　　　time(M).SG

　　　　　　'All the time' (LuCa, RIP11_160)

　　b.　　[NP Ì'] cə=　　jjévu　　　[NP tutti/-ə　　　li　　　　dì.]

　　　　　1 SG　LOC=　　go.IMPF.M.SG　all.M.PL/ -nonF.SG　　DEF.M.PL　　day(M).PL

　　　　　'I.M went there every day' (LuCa, RIP11_236)

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[15] In elderly speakers, nouns beginning with consonant select reduced inflection, nouns beginning with vowel select full inflection. In younger speakers there is a tendency to select the full inflection in every context.

3.5.12 Adverbs

Adverbs can agree (cf. Paciaroni & Loporcaro 2018a: 159-160; D'Alessandro 2020). The list of agreeing adverbs in DAI is presented in (62).

(62)	Degree adverbs	ˈkwaːʃə 'almost', ˈmedːzə 'partly', ˈpwoːkə 'little', ˈtandə 'much', ˈtropːə 'too', ˈtutːə 'all'
	Manner adverbs	ˈmaːlə 'badly', ˈmɛjːe 'better', nˈtsjeːmə 'together', ˈpjaːnə 'slowly', ˈpɛdːʒːə 'worse'
	Spatial adverbs	(a)ˈnːantsə 'ahead', (a)ˈrːɛtə 'behind', ˈmːɛntsə 'in the middle', ˈsoːprə 'above', ˈsotːə 'below', vəˈtʃiːnə 'near'
	Temporal adverbs	ˈdɔːpə 'after', ˈmajːə 'never', ˈprɛʃtə 'early', ˈpriːmə 'earlier', ˈsɛmbrə 'always'
	Focalizing adverbs	ˈmaŋge 'not even', ˈpuːrə 'even', ˈproːpje 'exactly'

Manner and degree adverbs usually agree, also in younger speaker like FaCa, born in 1990.

(63)	Nicòla	è	[AP tròppu	fuórtu]
	Nicola(M)	be.PRS.3	too.M.SG	strong.M.SG
	'Nicola is too strong' (FaCa, RIP21_31.1)			

The examples (64a-b) show agreement of the temporal adverb 'earlier' with the non-overt personal pronoun, which is the subject of the clause.
.

(64) a.	Nən	pətévi	rvənì	[AdvP primu]	[NP ø?]
	NEG	can.IMPF.2.SG	come.INF	earlier.M.SG	2M.SG
	'Could you not come earlier?' [Male referent]' (LuCa, RIP24.2_18.a)				
b.	Nən	pətévi	rvənì	[AdvP prime]	[NP ø?]
	NEG	can.IMPF.2.SG	come.INF	earlier.F.SG	2F.SG
	'Could you not come earlier?' [Female referent]' (LuCa, RIP24.2_18)				

We also find invariable forms used in variation, as illustrated in (65), where the subject of the clause is masculine plural and both agreeing masculine plural and non-agreeing neuter singular forms on the degree adverbs *tand-* 'much' are accepted.

(65) [_{NP} Li   zìə   mié]   é   [_{AP} ttandi/-ə   puliti]

    DEF.M.PL uncle(M).PL POSS.1SG be.PRS.3   much.M.PL/-N.SG clean.M.PL

    'My uncles are very clean' [Male referents] (LuCa, RIP24.2_54.1)

Adverbs belonging to the other semantic classes listed in (62) preferably take the default form. Sentence adverbs never agree.

All instances of adverbial agreement can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement Query > Target properties > Adverb'. The query can be refined by selecting the specific 'Agreement relation/Syntactic domain' or additional values for the controller and the target.

3.5.13 Prepositions

There are only five agreeing prepositions in DAI – namely, ˈdɔːpə 'after', ˈrɛːtə 'behind', ˈsoːprə 'on', ˈsotːə 'below', ˈvɛrsə 'towards'. They can optionally agree. When they do, they agree with their complements.

(66) [_{NP} Ø]   scappu   [_{PP} vèrsə   lə   ròsə]   e

    3M.SG   flee.PRS.M.SG towards.F.PL DEF.F.PL   rose(F)PL   and

    [_{PP} vvèrsi   li   paggnə   sctési]

    towards.M.PL DEF.M.PL   cloth(M)PL   hung_up.PTP.M.PL

    'He flees towards the roses and the clothes that are hung up' (ReBr, RIP74_38)

Instances of agreeing prepositions can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement Query > Target properties > Preposition' or 'Token Query Phrase/PoS > Target properties > Preposition & the agreeing feature values'.

3.5.14 Conjunctions

Conjunctions can optionally agree. When they do, they agree with an argument in the clause that they introduce (67).

(67) E   infatti   [_NP li   cà,]   cómm-u   [_NP Ø]

and   indeed   DEF.M.PL   dog(M).PL   as_soon_as-M.SG   3M.PL

ttə =   vidə   [_NP quisctu,] jə =   sə =   mettə

DO2.SG =   see.PRS.3N.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG IO3 =   REFL.3 =   start.PRS.3N.SG

a   ccórre   derèta

to   run.INF   behind

'And indeed the dogs, as soon as they saw him, dart after him' (LuCa, RIP74_42)

There are two agreeing prepositions in DAI – namely, ˈdɔːpə 'after that', ˈkomːə 'as soon as'.

Instances of agreeing conjunctions can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement Query > Target properties > Conjunction' or 'Token Query > Phrase/PoS > Target properties > Conjunction & the agreeing feature values'.

4. Syntax

4.1 Canonical controllers: complex noun phrases - Conjoined noun phrases

Conjoined noun phrases consist of (at least) two different syntactic co-heads, which are coordinated with the conjunction *e* 'and'. Agreement with the combined features of the coordinated noun phrases is generally preferred over syntactic agreement with a single conjunct independently of conditions (for instance the word order in the clause, the gender of the conjuncts, and the semantic features of both the conjuncts and of the predicate). When both conjuncts denote animate nouns, feminine plural is selected only if both are feminine – except if one grammatically feminine noun denotes a male animate, not unlike in Agnonese and other Romance languages (cf. Loporcaro 2018: 154-155). Otherwise masculine plural is triggered on viable targets (68a). When the conjuncts are inanimate, the rules are slightly more complex and unstable. In particular, when both co-heads are mass neuter singular, then resolution specifies either masculine plural or neuter singular agreement (68b). I suggest that mass neuter is possible because both entities are classified as non-countable and indistinct, not unlike in the neighbouring variety of Macerata analysed by Paciaroni (2012). Example (68c) shows that, when the conjuncts are countable, neuter agreement on the target is not selected.

(68) a. Quannə   [ø]   piòvə   [Conjoined NPs lu   cà   e

     when.N.SG   Dummy.3N.SG   rain.PRS.3N.SG   DEF.M.SG   dog(M).SG   and

     la   pècore]   sə =   mbónni   [QP tutti]

     DEF.F.SG   sheep(F).SG   REFL.3 =   get_wet.PRS.3M.PL   all.M.PL

     'When it rains, the dog and the sheep all get wet' (FiPi, RIP23_2)

   b. [Conjoined NPs Lə   vì   e   ll'   òjə]

      DEF.N.SG   wine(N).SG   and   DEF.N.SG   oil(N).SG

      sə =   nnacidisscə/-i

      REFL.3 =   acidify.PRS.3N.SG/-M.PL

      'Wine and oil acidify' (FiPi, RIP23_4)

   c. [Conjoined NPs Il   prosciutto   e   lu   salamə]

      DEF.M.SG   ham(M).SG   and   DEF.M.SG   salami(M).SG

      [s' =   ha   rrancəchiti]

      REFL.3 =   have.PRS.3 become_rancid.PTP.M.PL

      'Ham and salami have become rancid' (FiPi, RIP23_4.1)

(69)		Gender resolution in Ripano	
	a.	if all conjuncts are feminine	→ F.PL
	b.	if one conjunct denote a male animate	→ M.PL
	c.	if both conjuncts are classified as non-countable and indistinct	→ M.PL / N.SG
	d.	elsewhere	→ M.PL

4.2 Non-canonical controllers

When the controller lacks agreement features (e.g., clause and infinitive phrase), the target selects the default agreement form, which are mass neuter, singular, third person respectively. In (70), the clitic pronoun agrees with the clause 'I must eat less' and takes the mass neuter singular form *lə*.

(70) [NP [Clause ø] mə =   dévu   maggnà   [PP də   ménə,]]

   1SG   REFL.1SG = must.PRS.M.SG eat.INF   of   less

   [NP mójə   = ma]   mə =   [NP lə/*lu =]   dicə   [AdvP sèmprə]

   wife(F).SG POSS.1SG   IO1SG =   DO3N.SG/DO3M.SG = say.PRS.3N.SG always

   'I must eat less: my wife keeps telling me' (GiCa, RIP14_58)

The mass neuter clitic *lə* is the same as that selected by neuter controller nouns ((71), contrasting with the masculine and feminine values in (72) and (73)).

(71) [NP Lə   pépə]   [NP lə =]   pijjə   [NP ìə]

    DEF.N.SG pepper(N).SG   DO3N.SG =   take.PRS.3N.SG 1SG

    'I will get the pepper' (PaVe, RIP14_13.2)

(72) [NP sct'   òma]   [NP ø] nnə [NP lu =]   suppòrte

    DEM.PROX.M.SG man(M).SG   1SG   NEG   DO3M.SG =   stand.PRS.nonM.SG

    'I.M cannot stand this man' (LuCa, RIP11_18)

(73) [NP Le   amme,]   [NP ø] [NP le =]   [só   viscte]

    DEF.F.SG   leg(F).SG   1SG   DO3F.SG =   be.PRS.1SG see.PTP.F.SG

    'The leg, I have seen it.F' (AlRo, RIP11_27)

Younger speakers use both masculine and neuter forms in such cases.

(74) [NP ø] nə   [NP llə/lu =]   sapié   [Clause chə [NP ø] rrəviévu   [AdvP òggə]]

    1SG   NEG   DO3.N.SG/M-SG =   know.IMPF.1SG that   2SG   arrive.IMPF.M.SG today

    'I didn't know you would arrive today' (NiLu, RIP14_34.2)

To retrieve the instances of default forms the user can select 'Agreement Query > Target properties > selected PoS > Default' or 'Token Query > Phrase/PoS > selected PoS > default'.

4.3 No possible controllers

When a controller cannot have any surface expression, the target which must agree shows default agreement forms. This is exemplified in (75), where for the periphrasis 'to do snow' there is no possibility of an overt subject (as usual with 'weather verbs' in most Italo-Romance varieties). The verb shows default values third person neuter singular, which are therefore assigned also to the dummy subject.

(75) [_PP_ Nghə   ll'   annə   [_Clause_ ch'   [è   nnatu]

    in   DEF.M.SG   year(M).SG   REL   be.PRS.3   be_born.PTP.M.SG

[_NP_ fìjjə   =mu]]]   [ø]   ficìa   [_NP_ tande   nève]

    son(M).SG   POSS.1SG.M.SG   Dummy.3N.SG   do.IMPF.3N.SG   much.F.SG   snow(F).SG

'In that year when my son was born fell much snow' (AlRo, RIP11_91)

To retrieve instance of agreement with absent controllers, the user has to query 'Dummy' under the 'Controller properties'.

In the Unspecified Human Subject constructions the verb surfaces in the default form preceded by the clitic particle *sə*, as exemplified in (75).

(75) a. [_NP_ ø]   sə=   paghə   {/pae}   [_AdvP_ llà]   {/lòca}

    IMPRS.3M.SG   IMPRS=   pay.PRS.3N.SG   pay.PRS.nonM.SG   there   there

    'You have to pay here' (AlRo, RIP11_70)

  b. [_NP_ Nghə [_NP_ sta   casə]]   [ø]   sə=   maggne   [_AdvP_ bbè]

    in   DEM.PROX.F.SG   house(F).SG   IMPRS.3M.SG   IMPRS=   eat.PRS.nonM.SG   well

    'In this house the food is good' (ArCa, RIP14_9)

To retrieve impersonal clauses, select 'Controller properties [/ PoS/Phrases >] Pronoun > Type: Impersonal'. Actually, the absent controller is annotated as 'Impersonal Pronoun' rather than 'Dummy' in order to retrieve impersonal clauses separately and efficiently.[16]

4.4 Unexpected instances of agreement
4.4.1 Nouns as agreement targets

The literature on Ripano (Parrino 1967: 162; Harder 1988: 243-248; Paciaroni & Loporcaro 2018a: 162-164; D'Alessandro 2020; Loporcaro, to appear; Paciaroni, to appear) reports gender and number agreement on nouns in some restricted constructions which will be presented now. The morphological exponence of agreement on nouns is realised through the same suffixes already seen in (7)-(8), whatever inherent gender they have, whenever the prerequisites are satisfied.

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[16] The clitic *sə,* which is only a clitic marker of an Unspecified Human Subject construction (cf. Rosen 1981 [1988]), comes with the specification IMPRS for technical reasons.

4.4.1.1   Agreement on nouns in support-'have' and 'do' constructions

(77)   [_{NP} Nu   dì]   passə   [_{AdvP} də   lòchə]

     INDF.M.SG   day(M).SG   come_by.PRS.3N.SG   of   there

     [_{NP} nu   ggióvənə   sctraniéru   [_{Clause} chə   cciavié   [_{NP} ffamu]]]

     INDF.M.SG   young.nonF.SG   stranger(M).SG   REL   have.IMPF.3   hunger(F).M.SG

     'One day all of a sudden a young stranger who was hungry came by' (ReBr, RIP74_8)

(78)   [_{NP} Li   viécchiə]   cià   bbisóggni   də   assisctènzə.

     DEF.M.PL   older_people(M).PL   have.PRS.3   need(M)-M.PL   of   assistance(F).SG

     'Older people need assistance' (PaVe, RIP28_70)

All instances of nouns as agreement targets can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement Query > Controller properties > (or Token Query > PoS/Phrase >) Noun > Contextual: yes'. To narrow the query to a specific gender value, number value or inflectional class, select 'Gender contextual', 'Number contextual' and 'IC contextual' and the queried value in each of the three menus.

4.4.1.2   Agreement on nouns in object position with the subject of the clause

Nouns in direct object position can agree with the subject of the clause. This is illustrated by example (79), where *'fred:-* 'cold' agrees with the masculine singular subject *lu frəchì* 'the boy'.

(79) [_{NP} Lu   frəchì]   sèndə   [_{NP} fréddu]

    DEF.M.SG   child(M).SG   feel.PRS.3   cold(N).M.SG

    'The boy feels cold' (PaVe, RIP28_70)

As argued / demonstrated in Paciaroni & Loporcaro (2018a: 162-163), nouns like 'cold' in (79) cannot be analysed as an adjective. They indeed have the syntax of a noun, for instance they can be replaced by a direct object clitic. This is illustrated by the sentences in (80). (A and B stand for different speakers.)

(80)   Cf. Paciaroni & Loporcaro (2018a: 162-163)

    A.   sènd-u   frédd-u

           feel.PRS-M.SG   cold(N)-M.SG

    B.   l-ə/*-u/*-e   sèndə/-e   purə   ì(a)

           DO-N.SG/-M.SG/F.SG   feel.PRS.N.SG   even   1SG.NOM

           A. 'I feel cold' [male referent] – b. 'I feel cold too' [male referent]

If the object noun in such constructions is preceded by a quantifier, gender/number agreement with the clause subject is still signalled with the full agreement form on the modifier, but with the reduced form on the noun, whenever morphologically possible.

(81) a. [NP Lu   frəchì]   sèndu   [NP tandu frèdda]

      DEF.M.SG child(M).SG feel.PRS.M.SG very.M.SG cold(N).M.SG

   b. [NP Lu   frəchì]   sèndu   [NP tanda frèdda]

      DEF.M.SG child(M).SG feel.PRS.M.SG very.N.SG cold(N).SG

   c. [NP Lu   frəchì]   sèndu   [NP tandu *frèddu]

      DEF.M.SG child(M).SG feel.PRS.M.SG very.M.SG cold(N).M.SG

      'The child feels very cold' (GiCa, RIP28_8.b)

If the object noun in such constructions is within an NP containing a determiner, agreement with the subject of the clause does not occur.

(82) [NP Gianni]   sèndu   [NP lu   sctèssə   frédda

    Gianni(M).SG   feel.PRS.M.SG   DEF.M.SG   same.nonF.SG cold(M).SG

    də   ll'   atr'   annə

    of   DEF.M.SG   other   year(M).SG

    'Gianni feels as cold as last year' (GiCa, RIP28_10)

In the plural, agreement is less stable, especially in younger speakers.

(83) [NP Li   frəchì]   sèndi   [NP frédda/*-i]

   DEF.M.PL boy(M).PL   feel.PRS.3M.PL cold(N).SG/-M.PL

   'The children feel cold' (GiCa, RIP28_6)

In DAI, the most conservative speaker of a rural variety, AnIa, *1937, displays gender and number agreement of the direct object with the subject also in transitive constructions such as

(84).

(84) [NP Gianni] s' ha cumbratə [NP la casə]

Gianni(M) REFL.3 have.PRS.3 buy.PTP.N.SG DEF.F.SG house(F).SG

Gianni s' ha cumbratə [NP la casu]

Gianni(M) REFL.3 have.PRS.3 buy.PTP.N.SG DEF.F.SG house(F).M.SG

'Gianni has bought the house' (AnIa, RIP21.1)

Instances of agreeing nouns in these constructions can be retrieved by selecting 'Agreement Query > Agreement relation/Syntactic domain > Predicative Agreement & 'Target properties > Noun'.

4.4.1.3 Agreement on nouns within adjuncts

Agreement on nouns within prepositional adjuncts is considered 'obsolete, rustic' by Harder's (1988: 250-251) and our informant AlRo and has been deemed ungrammatical by eight of ten DAI informants. Only the most conservative speaker, AnIa (*1937), produced spontaneously agreement on nouns in this context.

(85) [NP Ì'] vajj-u [PP a Rrómu]

1SG go.PRS.1M.SG to Rome(F).M.SG

'I am going to Rome' (male referent)

In (83) the feminine place name *Roma* takes the form *Rom-u*, as it agrees in gender (masculine) and number (singular) with the masculine subject of the clause. However, this agreement pattern was not systematically produced by our informant. For instance, it is not shown in (86), where the syntactic domain, the controller properties and the targets properties are the same, but the place name is *Verona* where the speaker has never been.

(86) [NP Ì'] vajju [PP a Vveróna]

1SG go.PRS.1M.SG to Verona(F).SG

'I am going to Verona' (male referent) (AnIa, AnIa20_3)

This suggests that agreement realization depends on the salience of the target for the speaker (cf. Paciaroni, to appear for further supporting data). Agreement in the plural is often not accepted, as demonstrated by the ungrammatical example in (87b), where the masculine plural *Grottammari* agreeing with the subject *nu* 'we' referring to male referents is not accepted.

(87) a. [_{NP} Ì']   vajju   [_{PP} a   Grottammaru]

      1SG   go.PRS.1M.SG   to   Grottammare(F).M.SG

      'I am going to Grottammare' (male referent) (AnIa, RIP20_7)

    b. [_{NP} Nu]   jémi   [_{PP} a   *Grottammari]

      1PL   go.PRS.1M.PL   to   Grottammare(F).M.PL

      'We are going to Grottammare' (male referent) (AnIa, RIP20_13)

Moreover, AnIa produced agreement on nouns also in nominal adjuncts with temporal meaning. This is examplified in (88a-b), where the feminine noun 'night' (as well as the focalising adverb 'not even') shows gender and number agreement with the subject of the clause, that is masculine singular in (88a) and feminine singular in (88b).

(88) a. nən   dòrm-u   mang-u   l-a   nòtt-u

      NEG   sleep.PRS-M.SG   not_even-M.SG   DEF-F.SG   night(F)-M.SG

      'I can't even sleep at night' (male referent)

    b. nən   dòrm-a   mang-a   l-a   nòtt-a

      NEG   sleep.PRS-F.SG   not_even-F.SG   DEF-F.SG   night(F)-F.SG

      'I can't even sleep at night' (female referent)

To retrieve instances of agreement of the noun in PPs Adjuncts (e.g. 'Rome' in the example 'I'm going to Rome') or in NPs Adjuncts (e.g., of the noun 'night' in the example 'I don't sleep, not even at night'), the user has to query 'Subject-Adjunct' & 'Target: Noun'.

4.4.1.4   Variation / Ongoing change

DAI informants differ in the realization of gender and number agreement on nouns, as summarized in (89). The tendency is towards loss of agreement, but with a different pace according to the construction. Agreement on nouns in support-'do' and 'have' constructions is the best preserved, whereas agreement on predicative nouns is more unstable, and agreement on the direct objet in transitive constructions as well as on nouns within adjuncts has been found just in a single speaker of a rural variety, AnIa, born in 1937.

(89)

Speaker	DIR.OBJ				ADJUNCTS
	Support-'DO'	Support-'HAVE'	V 'feel'	Trans. V	
AlRo (1927)[17]	√	√	√	X	X
AnIa (1937)	√	√	√	√	√
LuCa (1944)	√	√	%√	X	X
ReBr (1949)	√	√	%√	X	X
ArCa (1953)	√	√	%√	X	X
FiPi (1953)	no data	no data	no data	X	X
PaVe (1961)	√	√	%√	X	X
GiCa (1961)	%√	(√)	(√)	X	X
FaCa (1990)	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data
NiLu (1996)	no data	no data	X	no data	no data

√ = realized; %V = in variation; (√) = sporadically realized; X = non realized

4.5 Auxiliary selection

Unlike in Standard Italian, perfective auxiliary selection in Ripano doesn't encode contrasts among clause types. The conservative variety generalized BE in all clause types, tenses, and persons, along a pattern which is frequent in central-southern Italy, cf. Tuttle (1986). This pattern is exemplified in (90) with unaccusative (90a), reflexive (90b) and unergative (90c) constructions.

(90) a.
'so	'ʃi	'ɛ	rːiˈvaːtu/-e/-ə
BE.1SG	BE.2SG	BE.3	arrive.PTP.M.SG/-F.SG/-N.SG
'seːmi/'seːmə	'seːti/'seːtə	'ɛ	rːiˈvaːti/-ə
BE.1PL.M/-F	BE.1PL.M/-F	BE.3	arrive.PTP.M.PL/-F.PL

'I am/you.SG are/(s)he is/we are/you.PL are/they are arrived'

b.
mə = 'so	tə = 'ʃi	s = 'ɛ	rlaˈvaːtu/-e/-ə
REFL = BE.1SG	REFL = BE.2SG	BE.3	wash.PTP.M.SG/-F.SG/-N.SG
tʃə = 'seːmi/'seːmə	tʃə = 'seːti/'seːtə	s = ɛ	rlaˈvaːti/-ə
REFL = BE.1PL.M/-F	REFL = BE.1PL.M/-F	BE.3	wash.PTP.M.PL/-F.PL

'I've/you.SG have/(s)he has/we have/you.PL have/they have washed'

c.
'so	'ʃi	'ɛ	faðiˈɣaːtu/-e/-ə
BE.1SG	BE.2SG	BE.3	work.PTP.M.SG/-F.SG/-N.SG
's-eːm-i/'seːm-ə	's-eːt-i/-ə	'ɛ	faðiˈɣaːti/-ə
BE.1PL.M/-F	BE.1PL.M/-F	BE.3	work.PTP.M.PL/-F.PL

'I have/you.SG have/(s)he has/we have/you.PL have /they have worked'

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[17] The data come from AlRo's dictionary (2008) and his poems (1999, 2001), as well as speaker judgments by AlRo found in Harder (1988).

In contemporary Ripano, free-variation of BE/HAVE is observed in third persons of present perfect periphrasis in all clause types – exemplified in (91) with unergative clause –, whereas BE occurs in all other persons.

(91) a. [NP Chi]   [é   ffatijatə?]
　　　who   be.PRS.3   work.PTP.N.SG

　　　'Who has worked?' (FiPi, RIP21_36)

　　b. [NP Ndondò]   [ha   fatijatə]   [AdvP tròppə]
　　　Antonio(M).SG have.PRS.3 work.PTP.N.SG   too_much.N.SG

　　　'Antonio has worked too much' (FiPi, RIP21_30)

This pattern of person-driven distribution contrasting 3rd vs 1st/2nd persons is readily found in the Eastern Abruzzese area (cf. data from Arielli analysed by D'Alessandro 2017: 3f.; 9-21) and in most varieties of the Upper South more generally. Thus, Ripano data in (91) could be analysed as a sort of contact-induced change. In any case, as argued in Loporcaro (2007), this is not a syntactic phenomenon, but a morphological exponent of person agreement.

4.6 Past participle agreement

As for the syntax of past participle agreement, an exceptional innovation with respect to the common Romance development, which arose in some dialects of the Teramo area, is the occurrence of participial agreement controlled by unergative (92) and transitive subjects (93) – cf. Harder (1988: 230); for further examples and references see Loporcaro (1988: 180-182; 2016: 811-812), D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010: 43), D'Alessandro (2017: 30):

(92) [NP ø] [NP sctu   mésa]   nən [zémə   fatiàti]
　　1PL   DEM.PROX.M.SG month(M).SG   NEG be.PRS.1PL work.PTP.M.PL

　　'We did not have any work this month' (LuCa, RIP11_42)

(93) a. [NP ø] [só   sprəscciatu]   [NP la   jjve.]
　　　　1M.SG be.PRS.1SG   squeeze.PTP.M.SG   DEF.F.SG olive(F).SG

　　　b. [NP ø] [só   *sprəscciate]   [NP la   jjve.]
　　　　1M.SG be.PRS.1SG   squeeze.PTP.F.SG   DEF.F.SG olive(F).SG

　　　　'I squeezed the olive' (male referent)

　　　c. [NP ø]   [só   sprəscciate]   [NP la   jjve.]
　　　　1F.SG   be.PRS.1SG   squeeze.PTP.F.SG   DEF.F.SG olive(F).SG

'I squeezed the olive' (female referent) (LuCa, RIP11_146)

The data in (93) point a recent syntactic change rendering the participial agreement rule more restrictive. Indeed, Harder (1988) reports variable occurrence of direct object agreement in transitive clauses with a lexical direct object, along the same conditions observed in several varieties of central-southern Italy (for further examples and references cf. Loporcaro 2016: 807). However, this agreement has been deemed ungrammatical by our informants (93b), who accept only subject agreement (93a) and (93c) or default agreement (94).

(94) [NP Babbu] [ha   còttə]   [NP la   pascte]

   dad(M).SG   have.PRS.3   cook.PTP.N.SG DEF.F.SG pasta(F).SG

   'Dad cooked the pasta' (ArCa, RIP21_5)

A further difference with respect to the situation described in the literature concerns the agreement option, when the subject and the lexical object have different feature specifications. Ledgeway (2012: 303-05) and D'Alessandro (2017: 25-26) claims that default agreement is the norm in these mismatch cases for the older generation, D'Alessandro (2017: 25) adds that during her fieldwork subject agreement was judged either as ungrammatical or as possible, but very marked, but nevertheless it was sometimes produced (p. 30). However, DAI data reflect a clear preference for subject agreement.

Only third person direct object clitics (95) and relative pronouns (96), but not lexical direct objects, still control agreement.

(95) a. [NP ø] [NP la =]   [só   ggià   spədite,]   [NP la   cartuline.]

   1SG   DO3F.SG =   be.PRS.1SG   already   send.PTP.F.SG DEF.F.SG postcard(F).SG

   'I.M/F already sent it, the postcard' (LuCa, RIP11_81)

   b. [NP [li   pacchi]]   [NP ø]   [NP li =]   [só   ggià   spəditi.]

   DEF.M.PL   parcel(M).PL   1SG   DO3M.PL =   be.PRS.1SG already   send.PTP.M.PL

   'I.M already sent them.M' (LuCa, RIP11_81)

(96) [_{NP} [_{NP} Li   fiurə]   [_{Clause} che [_{NP} Ø]   [sémə   raccòti]]]

    DEF.M.PL flower(M).PL   REL   1PL   be.PRS.1.PL   harvest.PTP.M.PL

    nən   prəfumi   [_{AdvP} pə   nièndə]

    NEG   smell.PRS.3M.PL for   nothing

    'The flowers we harvested do not smell at all' (FiPi, RIP21_76)

All unaccusatives (97) and reflexives (98)-(100) preserve past participle agreement:

(97) [_{NP} ø] [só   itu]   [_{PP} jjó   mmarə.]

    1SG   be.PRS.1SG   go.PTP.M.SG down   see(M).SG

    'I went to the sea' (LuCa, RIP11_103)

(98) [_{NP} Li   cuóppə]   [s' =   ha   rutti]

    DEF.M.PL shingle(M).PL REFL.3 =   have.PRS.3 break.PTP.M.PL

    'The shingles broke' (LuCa, RIP11_1)

(99) a.   [_{NP} Pippì]   s' =   [ha   cucinatu]   [_{PP} da   sólu]

      Beppe(M).SG   REFL.3 =   have.PRS.3   cook.PTP.M.SG by   himself.M.SG

      'Beppe cooked alone for himself' (FiPi, RIP22_26.a)

    b. [_{NP} Marìe]   s' =   [ha   cucinate]   [_{PP} də   sóle]

      Maria(F).SG REFL.3 =   have.PRS.3   cook.PTP.F.SG by   herself.F.SG

      'Maria cooked alone for herself' (FiPi, RIP22_27)

(100) [_{Conjoined NPs} Babbu   e   mmamme]   s' =   [ha   chəmbrati]   [_{NP} le   case]

    dad(M).SG   and   mom(F).SG   REFL.3 =   have.PRS.3 buy.PTP.M.PL DEF.F.SG house(F).SG

    'Dad and Mom have bought the house' (FiPi, RIP23_11)

To retrieve the different instances of participle agreement controlled either by a Subject, a Direct Object or an Indirect Object select 'Agreement query > Agreement relation/Syntactic domain: Participle Agreement > Subject-Part(Predicate) / Direct Object-Part(Predicate) / Indirect Object-Part(Predicate)'.

The query can be refined by selecting additional values for the controller and the target. For instance, to narrow the search to a specific syntactic configuration, select 'Verb > Type: lexical > Lexical subtype: unaccusative/reflexive/unergative/transitive'.

To retrieve all instances of non-agreeing participles, select 'Token Query > PoS/Phrase > Verb > Mode: Participle; Tense: Past; Default: yes'.

Abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, COMP = compound, COND = conditional, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, DO = direct object, F = feminine, FUT = future, GER = gerund, IC = inflectional class, IMP = imperative, IMP = imperative, IMPF = imperfect, IMPRS = impersonal, IND = indicative, INDF = indefinite, INF = infinitive, IO = indirect object, ISC = inflectional sub-class, LOC = locative, N = mass neuter, NAN = non-autonomous neuter, NOM = nominative, nonF = non-feminine, nonM = non-feminine, PARTTV = partitive, PL = plural, PPRF = pluperfect, PRF = perfect, PRom = Proto-Romance, PRS = present, PTP = past participle, REFL = reflexive, S.A. = Stem Allomorphy, SBJ = subject, SBJV = subjunctive, SG = singular, StIt. = Standard Italian.

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