Agnonese*

Overview

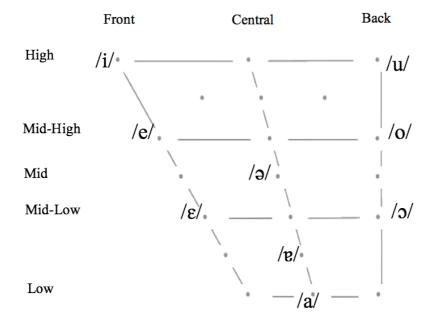Michele Loporcaro, Chiara Zanini, Federica Breimaier

Agnonese is spoken in Agnone, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants in the province of Isernia (Molise). It belongs to the Upper Southern subdivision of Italo-Romance (cf. Loporcaro 2013: 143-153), a branch of the Romance language family. This sketch of Agnonese 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 morphology and morphosyntax of the dialect, in its aspects 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 determiners and object clitic pronouns, individual subvarieties have to be described, that have been inferred through inspection of the dataset and have to be kept in mind when querying the database.
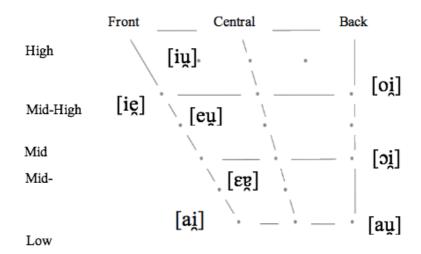
1 Phonology

This section is not a full description of the phonology of the dialect but is merely subservient to §2: it culminates in the transcription prospect, and is meant to give instructions about how to read the data in the database.

VOWELS

DIPHTONGS

Agnonese has a stressed vowel system in which seven monophthongal vowel phonemes – the same as in standard Italian – coexist, and in part alternate, with a series of diphthongs (cf. Ziccardi 1910; Loporcaro et al. 2007), which arose through the changes synthesized in (1):[1]

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[1] The notation [metaphony] in (1) indicates that the relevant PRom vowel changed via metaphony, induced by final -ī and -ŭ on PRom stressed mid vowels and only by final -ī, not by -ŭ, on PRom stressed -A- (Ziccardi 1910: 406-8).

(1) PRom stressed V	Open syllable	Closed syllable
/i/	[vəˈtʃoi̯nə] 'close to'	[ˈviɲːɐ] 'vineyard'
/e/ [metaphony]	[ˈmoi̯lə] 'apple(tree)', [ˈnoi̯rə] 'black.M'	[ˈtʃipːə] 'stump'
/e/	[ˈtʃai̯rɐ] 'wax', [ˈnai̯rɐ] 'black.F.SG' [ˈpɔi̯pə] 'pepper'[2]	[ˈseŋgɐ]'crack'
/ɛ/	[ˈpɔi̯də] 'foot'	[ˈvɛcːɐ] 'old.F.SG'
/ɛ/ [metaphony]	[aˈjːerə] 'yesterday'	[ˈvjecːə] 'old.M'
/a/	[ˈsɛɐ̯nə] 'entire'	[ˈkakːə] 'some'
/a/ in palatal context	[ˈpjetʃə] 'likes', [maˈɲːie̯] 'to eat'	[ˈcɛndɐ] 'plant'
/a/ [metaphony][3]	[sulˈdjetə] 'soldiers'	[ˈɛsənə] 'donkeys'
/ɔ/	[ˈreu̯sɐ] 'rose'	[ˈtɔtːsə] 'piece of bread'
/ɔ/ [metaphony]	[ˈfuo̯kə] 'fire'	[ˈgruo̯sːə] 'big.M'
/o/	[kuˈlau̯rə] 'colour' [səˈɲːeu̯rə] 'Sir, God'[4]	[ˈkortɐ] 'short.F.SG'
/o/ [metaphony]	[ˈliu̯pə] 'wolf'	[ˈcumːə] 'lead'
/u/	[ˈliu̯nɐ] 'moon'	[ˈrudːzə] 'rust'

A few sociolinguistic remarks are in order here. In spite of its small size, the town used to host, at the time of Ziccardi's (1910: 405) description, two subvarieties, the rural one, spoken by farmers who used to live in the outlying parts of the town, and the urban one, spoken by craftsmen living in town (respectively, *dialetto cafone* vs *civile* 'rough vs civilized dialect' in Ziccardi's 1910: 405 terms). A series of traits characterizing the two subdialects are recognizable to this day, even if most inhabitants are today concentrated in town whatever their occupation, since mobility has increased and the percent of people living on farming decreased. Among these traits, the ones perceived as stereotypes contrasting the two subdialects involve stressed vowels, as open-syllable diphthongs are characteristic for the rural dialect, whereas the urban one used to have consistently, also in that context, the same monophthongs as in closed syllables. Nowadays, consistence in this contrast has somewhat lessened, but on the whole one can tell a speaker with an urban background from the fact that as open-syllable diphthongs occur, if at all, only rarely in their speech.

The table in (1) is also useful to familiarize the reader with the phonology of the dialect, whose deviation from Standard Italian can be computed to a large extent by replacing the stressed vowels/diphthongs in the Agnonese outcomes with the PRom monophthongs in the first column. Among the many diphthongs of Agnonese, those occurring in (1) must be ultimately traced back to PRom open-syllable lengthening (cf. Loporcaro 2015: 118-120), and still occur only variably, being realized in prepausal position, whereas in non-utterance-final position they monophthongize, as shown in (2) (the boxes highlight non-diphthongized utterance-internal stressed vowels):

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[2] The two outcomes [ai̯] and [ɔi̯] occur unpredictably.

[3] As apparent from the examples, [je] and [ɛ] are both outcomes of PRom stressed -A- and occur in two different contexts: on the one hand, when metaphony applied (triggered by final -ī, see fn. 1), on the other, when stressed -A- was preceded by a palatal consonant.

[4] The two outcomes [au̯] and [eu̯] occur unpredictably.

(2)

a. prepausal	b. non-prepausal		etyma
[ˈji lə ˈvai̯də]	[lə ˈvedə ˈjoj:ə]	'I see him'	< VĬD(E)O
[ˈsanə ˈsɐ̯g̊nə]	[ˈsanə ˈsɛg̊nə]	'totally untouched'	< SANUM

In addition to non-metaphonic diphthongs, the dialect also displays metaphonic ones, which represent the outcome of PRom low-mid stressed vowels (as seen in (3a-b)) whenever followed originally by a final high vowel (metaphony by raising also affected higher-mid vowels, as shown in (3c-d)):

(3)   Metaphony in Agnonese

		i. before -A -E -O		ii. before -Ī -Ŭ	
		open syllable	checked syllable	open syllable	checked syllable
a.	Ŏ	[ˈveu̯nə] 'good.F.PL'	[ˈdɔrmə] 'sleep.1SG'	[ˈvuo̯nə] 'good.M'	[ˈduo̯rmə] 'sleep.2SG'
b.	Ĕ	[ˈpɔi̯də] 'foot'	[ˈlɛd:ʒɐ] 'light.F.SG'	[ˈpi̯e̯də] 'feet'	[ˈli̯e̯d:ʒə] 'light.M'
c.	Ō/Ŭ	[ˈveu̯tʃə] 'voice'	[ˈrod:zɐ] 'coarse.F.SG'	[ˈvi̯u̯tʃə] 'voices'	[ˈrud:zə] 'coarse.M'
d.	Ē/Ĭ	[ˈtai̯lɐ] 'cloth'	[ˈverdə] 'green'	[ˈmoi̯lə] 'honey'	[ˈtʃip:ə] 'stump'

A peculiarity of Agnonese, not shared by other dialects of the Upper South area, is represented by the fact that also metaphonic diphthongs tend to occur prepausally and alternate with monophthongs, like the non-metaphonic ones seen in (2a-b) (cf. Loporcaro 2016: 72-74):

(4)   Stress-sensitivity of the metaphonic diphthongs in Agnonese

a. prepausal	b. non-prepausal
[n̠ːa tə ˈsi̯e̯ndə] 'how do you feel?'	[n də ˈsendə ˈvuo̯nə] 'aren't you feeling good?'
[ˈvoːnə ˈvuo̯nə] 'very good'	[ˈvoːnə ˈvuo̯nə]

The unstressed vowel system shows extensive merger. Before stress, only /u a ə/ occur (see the examples above). Unstressed vowels are also reduced, which has an impact on inflectional morphology and on (the visibility of) agreement. In fact, while most of the upper-southern Italo-Romance dialects merged all word-final unstressed vowels into /ə/, Agnonese is spoken in one of the areas where the merger was not generalized and spared final /a/ (often realized as [ɐ]): this is the outcome of PRom -A and contrasts with final -/ə/, the outcome of all non-low vowels. Given the persistence of this binary contrast, affixal inflection (see below) has not been swept away entirely and feminine singular endings stay distinct.[5]

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[5] Ziccardi transcribed the outcomes of PRom final -A as [ə] throughout. Nevertheless, this is not consistent with the actual situation. Realizations indeed oscillate between [ɐ] and [a], contrasting, for all speakers, with final [ə], arisen from the merger of non-low unstressed vowels. Ziccardi (1910: 416) only described persistence of final -[a] in phrases such as *bbèlla citrə* [ˈbːɛl:ɐ ˈtʃitrə] 'pretty girl', *trénda loirə* [ˈtrendɐ ˈloi̯rə] 'thirty liras' (which is a common phenomenon all over the Italian Upper-South, even in dialects in which all final unstressed vowels merged into [ə]) or where the word "is pronounced with emphasis". As specified in the transcription criteria, in the database trascriptions we note the outcomes of PRom -A as <a>.

Consonants

	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 [z]	ʃ			[ɣ]	
Nasal	m	[ɱ]		n			ɲ	[ŋ]	
Lateral				l					
Trill				r					
Approximant							[j]		w

Note that /b/ and /dʒ/, as in all Southern Italian dialects, are always geminated whenever occurring intervocalically and word-initially: **bb**iéllə [ˈbːjelːə] 'beautiful.M', **gg**èndə [ˈdːʒɛndə] 'people'.

Some phonological processes concerning consonants:

- Voicing of unvoiced plosives preceded by nasals or laterals: sè**mb**rə [ˈsɛmbrə] 'always' (st. Italian se**mp**re), calzə [ˈkaldzə] 'sock', sal**gicc**ə [salˈdʒitːʃə] 'sausage';
- Syntactic gemination (Raddoppiamento fonosintattico): patrəmə e (< ET) **zz**əjènəmə 'my dad and my uncle'.

1.1   Transcription criteria

For the purpose of the present database a simplified spelling has been adopted, which neglects phonetic detail, yet can be read non-ambiguously, with the help of the present sketch. Here is a synopsis of the symbol-to-sound correspondences for vowels and consonants (in two distinct tables):

Spelling (Vowels)	IPA	Examples	
		Agnonese	translation
< a >	[a]	*a**ldrə*	'other.F.PL'
	[ɐ] word-finally	*lópər**a*	'wolves'
< ài >	[ai̯]	*v**ài**də*	'see.1SG'
< àu >	[au̯]	*t**àu**ra*	'table'
< é >	[e]	*str**é**tta*	'squeezed.F.SG'
< éu >	[eu̯]	*v**éu**na*	'good.F.SG'
< è >	[ɛ]	*s**è**ndə*	'feel.1SG'
< èa >	[ɛɐ̯]	*gh**èa**pə*	'head'
< ə >	[ə]	*c**ə**nénna*	'little.F.SG'
< i >	[i]	*v**i**vətə*	'drunk.M'
< ìe >	[ie̯]	*sct**ìe**nə*	'stay/are.3PL'
< ié >	[je]	*msct**ié**rə*	'jobs'
< iè >	[jɛ]	*p**iè**ttə*	'dish'
< ìu >	[iu̯]	*maccar**ìu**nə*	'macaroni'

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⟨ ò ⟩	[ɔ]	*mòrta*	'dead.F.SG'
⟨ ó ⟩	[o]	*só*	'are.3PL'
⟨ òi ⟩	[ɔi̯]	*(na) fròica*	'a lot'
⟨ ói ⟩	[oi̯]	*fóinə*	'fine.M'
⟨ u ⟩	[u]	*tuttə*	'all.M/F.PL'
⟨ ùo ⟩	[uo̯]	*vùonə*	'good.M'
⟨ uV́ ⟩	[wV]	*cuóllə*	'neck'

Spelling (Cs)	IPA	Examples	
		Agnonese	translation
⟨ b ⟩	[b]	*cam**b**a*	'lives'
⟨ bb ⟩	[bː]	*a**bb**ruèatə*	'watered.M'
⟨ c ⟩	[k]/_V[+back]	***c**avallə*	'horse'
	[tʃ]/_i/e/ə	*cə**ch**èata*	'blind.F.SG'
⟨ cc ⟩	[k(ː)]/_V[+back]	***cc**attèatə*	'bought.M'
	[t(ː)ʃ]/_i/e/ə	***cc**étta*	'hatchet'
⟨ c(c)h ⟩	[k(ː)]/_i/e/ə	***ch**éllə*	'those.F.PL/N.SG'
⟨ c(c)hj ⟩	[c(ː)]	*viè**cchj**ə*	'old.M'
⟨ c(c)i ⟩	[t(ː)ʃ]/_V[+back]	*vra**cci**a*	'arms'
⟨ d ⟩	[d]	*an**d**óica*	'ancient.F.SG'
⟨ f ⟩	[f]	***f**armacisctə*	'chemist'
⟨ g ⟩	[g]/_V[+back]	***g**ónna*	'skirt'
	[dʒ]/_i/e/ə	*n**g**ènnə*	(to) burn'
⟨ g(g)h ⟩	[g(ː)]/_V[-back]	*tièn**gh**ə*	'have.1SG'
⟨ g(g)hj ⟩	[ɟː]	***gghj**ènghə*	'white.M/F.PL'
⟨ g(g)i ⟩	[d(ː)ʒ]/_i/e/ə	*sè**ggi**a*	'chair'
⟨ gli ⟩	[ʎː]	*è**gli**ə*	'garlics'
⟨ gn ⟩	[ɲː]	*sa**gn**ə*	'lasagne'
⟨ j ⟩	[j]	***j**urnə*	'day'
⟨ jj ⟩	[jː]	*ió**jj**ə*	'I'
⟨ l ⟩	[l]	*arracùo**l**də*	'collected.M'
⟨ ll ⟩	[lː]	*və**ll**óita*	'boiling.F.SG'
⟨ m ⟩	[m]	***m**ajja*	'my.F.SG'
⟨ mm ⟩	[mː]	*fé**mm**əna*	'woman'
⟨ n ⟩	[n]	***n**éuua*	'new. F.SG'
	[ŋ]/_k/g	***n**gundratə*	'met.M'
⟨ nn ⟩	[nː]	*a**nn**èndə*	'in front of'
⟨ p ⟩	[p]	***p**èquəra*	'sheep'
⟨ pp ⟩	[pː]	*tró**pp**ə*	'too much'
⟨ qu ⟩	[kw]	***qu**irə*	'that.M.SG'
⟨ r ⟩	[r]	*casè**r**ma*	'barrack'
⟨ rr ⟩	[rː]	*tè**rr**a*	'land'
⟨ s ⟩	[s]	***s**èmbrə*	'always'
	[z]C[voiced]	***s**battə*	'beats'
⟨ sc ⟩	[ʃ]V[+front]	*ca**sc**ə*	'cheese'

	[ʃ]C$_{[-cont]}$	*vis**ct**ə*	'seen.M'
	[sk]V$_{[+back]}$	*s**c**alzə*	'barefoot.M/F.PL'
<sch>	[sk]V$_{[+front]}$	*s**ch**itta*	'only'
<s(s)ci>	[ʃ(ː)]V$_{[+back]}$	*sprə**ssci**àtə*	'salami'
<ss>	[sː]	*é**ss**a*	'she'
<t>	[t]	*ar**t**ə*	'art, craft'
<tt>	[tː]	*sə**tt**əmana*	'week'
<v>	[v]	*tru**v**à*	'(to) find'
<z>	[ts]	*ur**z**ə*	'bear'
	[dz]/n, l_	*n**z**uccarèatə*	'sweetened.M/F.PL'
<zz>	[tːs]	*ma**zz**èata*	'blow'
	[dːz]	*ru**zz**ə*	'coarse.M'

2 Grammar

2.1 Nouns

Nouns in Agnonese inflect according to one of 12 inflectional classes (= IC), which are distinguished via affixal inflection and/or root alternations (the capital letters A ≠ B signal non-phonologically conditioned allomorphy, while A = A indicate lack thereof):[6]

(5) Noun inflectional classes in Agnonese (Loporcaro & Pedrazzoli 2016: 76):

IC	Form		Example		Gloss	Gender	Total
	SING	PLUR	SING	PLUR			
1	A-ə	A-ə	bbaˈuʎʎə	bbaˈuʎʎə	'truck'	811 M	834
			ˈartə	ˈartə	'art'	23 F	
2	A-ə	B-ə	ˈaʎʎə	ˈɛʎʎə	'garlic'	666 M	687
			ˈve̞u̯tʃə	ˈvi̞u̯tʃə	'voice'	21 F	
3	A-a	A-ə	ˈalma	ˈalmə	'soul'	653 F	659
			marˈmiʃta	marˈmiʃtə	'marble worker'	6 M[7]	
4	A-a	B-ə	ˈjɛrva	ˈji̞e̞rvə	'grass'	20 F	32
			ˈpɛ̞g̑pa	ˈpi̞e̞p̑ə	'pope'	12 M	

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[6]   Inflectional subclasses are neglected here (see Loporcaro & Pedrazzoli 2016 for details). The classes have varying numerosity, as shown by the figures in the last two columns in (5), which refer to counts based on a corpus of 2356 nominal lexemes from Meo's (2003) dictionary, whose plural forms have been checked with informants during fieldwork in June 2013. The sum total in the table is 2431 because several nouns can inflect according to more than one IC.

[7]   This happens to be the number of lexemes belonging to IC 3 that occur in our corpus, though it must be considered that the suffix -[iʃta] is productive.

5	A-a	B-əra	ˈkɛɐ̯sa	ˈkasəra	'house, home'	2 F	2
6	A-a	A-a	ˈloi̯va	ˈloi̯va	'olive'	14 F	14
7	A-ə	A-a	ˈmiu̯rə	ˈmiu̯ra	'wall'	10 NAN	10
8	A-ə	B-a	ˈpuǫrə	ˈpɛɐ̯ra	'pair'	34 NAN	34
9	A-ə	A-əra	ˈpjɛttə	ˈpjɛttəra	'dish'[8]	7 NAN	7
10	A-ə	B-əra	ˈfɔʃʃə	ˈfaʃʃəra	'bundle'	133 NAN	133
11	A-ə	B-ˈVrra	bballaˈtiu̯rə	bballaˈtorra	'walkway'	9 NAN	9
12	A-ə	B-ˈV(r)rəra	kakaˈtiu̯rə	kakaˈtorrəra	'latrine'	10 NAN	10

As seen in (5), the number contrast is not signaled in classes 1 and 6, while in classes 2 and 4 it is signaled solely by root alternations. The last but one column gives an idea of the distribution of nouns across genders: M = masculine, F = feminine, NAN = non-autonomous neuter (see (6c)). This column shows that ICs 1-4 host both masculine and feminine nouns, though with significant skewing, while membership in ICs 5-12 predicts gender unambiguously (F for CF 5-6, NAN for CF 7-12): in other words, nouns in such ICs display overt gender.

Agnonese further has – like most dialects in an area of central-southern Italy stretching from the Roma-Ancona line to central Apulia and central Lucania (see the map in Loporcaro 2018: 156-8) – a fourth gender value, the (mass) neuter. This does not appear in (5) since all nouns assigned to it only have a singular form and thus lack the minimal paradigm structure which would allow one to classify them in terms of the remaining ICs. This fourth gender value, to be addressed in more detail when discussing agreement targets (determiners and direct object clitics, which have a dedicated form for it, contrasting with both masculine and feminine ones), is displayed in the scheme of the gender system in (6):

(6)			SINGULAR		PLURAL				Agnonese
a.	N	lə	sɛɐ̯lə	vuǫnə	Ø				'good salt'
b.	M	ru	dɛndə	vuǫnə	rə	diɛndə	vuǫnə		'the good tooth/teeth'
c.	NAN	ru	ləndzuǫrə	vuǫnə	lə	ləndzeu̯rɐ	veu̯nə		'the good bed sheet/-s'
d.	F	la	reccɐ	veu̯nɐ	lə	reccə	veu̯nə		'the good ear/-s'

In (6), gender agreement is exemplified with the definite article and class one adjectives. It is definite articles which show gender contrasts most richly, at least in the most conservative variety of Agnonese, while all other agreement targets except DO clitics (in the conservative dialect) and demonstratives show some syncretisms, to be addressed in the relevant sections.

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[8]   This class (also exemplified by e.g. [ru ˈfjɛskə] 'bottle (in straw holder)', pl. [lə ˈfjɛskəra]) only occurs in the competence of some of our informants. For many others (a majority), IC 9 does not exist and the relevant nouns inflect according to IC 1 instead: thus [ru ˈʎʎɔmmarə] 'thread ball' has pl. [lə ˈʎʎɔmmarəra] for the former, but [rə ˈʎʎɛmmarə] for the latter.

2.2 Pronouns

Stressed personal pronouns can be both agreement targets and controllers: so, they are addressed here, after nouns, which are prototypical controllers, and before the remaining agreement targets. The table in (7) lists the forms of both stressed and clitic personal pronouns, as described by Ziccardi (1910:427f.) and still observed in our most conservative informants (born up to the early 1960s):

(7)			Stressed		clitic		
			a. Subj.	b. Obj./Obl.	c. DO	d. IO	e. reflexive
SG		1	ˈjojjə/ˈji	ˈme	mə		
		2	ˈtiwə/ˈtu	ˈte	tə		
		3 M	ˈissə		rə		
		3 F	ˈessa		la	jə	sə
		3 N	---		lə		
PL		1	ˈniu̯wə/ˈnu		tʃə		
		2	ˈviu̯wə/ˈvu		və		
		3 M	ˈleu̯rə/ˈlorə		rə	jə	sə
		3 F			lə		

Stressed pronouns – for which a neuter form is missing – are stable across the community, while this is not the case for DO clitics, which are undergoing change, reflected in variation across speakers (and our pool of informants). Even in the conservative dialect. DO clitics signal fewer contrasts than the definite article, since M.SG and M.PL are expressed syncretically through *rə*. The examples in (8) illustrate this conservative usage, featuring in particular the three-way gender contrast in the singular forms and a masculine vs. feminine contrast in the plural (see the prevocalic forms *r* vs. *l* in (8d-e)):[9]

(8)   a.   r-u   waʎʎeu̯nə   nnə rr/*ll = ai̯   viʃt-ə   AsOr
        DEF-M.SG   boy(M)\SG   NEG   DO.3M.SG = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
        'the boy, I have not seen him'

   b.   la   sɛddʒ-ɐ   nnə ll/*rr = ai̯   viʃt-ɐ
        DEF-F.SG   chair(F)-SG   NEG   DO.3F.SG = have.PRS.1SG   seen-F.SG
        'the chair, I have not seen it'

   c.   lə   kɛɐ̯ʃə   nnə   ll/*rr = ai̯   viʃt-ə
        DEF-N   cheese(N)   NEG   DO.3N = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
        'the cheese, I have not seen it'

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[9] After negation, the initial consonant undergoes Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico.

d. r-ə   waʎʎiu̧nə   nnə   rr/*ll = ai̧   viʃt-ə
   DEF-M.PL   boy(M)\PL   NEG   DO.3M.PL = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
   'the boys, I have not seen them'

e. l-ə   sɛddʒ-ə   nnə   ll/*rr = ai̧   viʃt-ə
   DEF-F.PL   chair(F)-PL   NEG   DO.3F.PL = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
   'the chairs, I have not seen them'

In addition to the use for resumption of lexical controllers, the neuter DO clitic *lə* also occurs by default, categorically in the conservative variety, for agreement with non-nominal controllers:

(9) a. la moʎʎə ʃta mmalamɛndə e kkeʃtə/*kkwiʃtə/*kkweʃtə issə nnə llə/*rrə/*lla suppɔrtɐ
         'his wife is sick and he cannot stand this.N/*this.M/*this.F'

     b. (a p)pɛrdə a kkartə nnə llə/*rrə/*lla suppɔrtə
         'losing at cards, I cannot stand it.N/**this.M/**his.F'

2.2.1 Ongoing change in clitic personal pronouns

Younger speakers in our sample, as well as all informants with a non-rural background, are presently at the vanguard of a change which leads to the restructuring of gender marking on DO clitics, resulting in the merger of the M and F plural forms, whose eventual outcome, depending on the informants, is either free variation of *rə* and *lə* or generalization of the latter. On the other hand, a phonetically identical free variation *rə*/*lə* is observed with neuter controller nouns and the other (default) functions of the neuter. This innovatory use is exemplified in (10) (with data from a speaker of the urban variety, born in 1975):

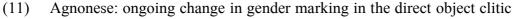(10) a. r-u   tʃitrə   nnə   rr/ll = ai̧   viʃt-ə   EsCa
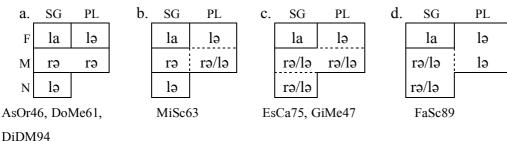   DEF-M.SG   kid(M).SG   NEG   DO.3M.SG = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
          'the kid, I have not seen him'

      b. l-a   waʎʎeu̧n-ɐ   nnə   ll-a/*rr-ə = sɔ   vviʃt-ɐ
          DEF-F.SG   girl(F)-SG   NEG   DO.3F.SG = be.PRS.1SG   seen-F.SG
          'the girl, I have not seen her'

      c. lə/*ru   panə   mə =   lə/rə = maɲɲə
          DEF-N/DEF-M.SG   bread(N)   IO.1SG   DO.3N = eat.PRS.1SG
          'bread, I am eating it'

      d. ʃt-ə   waʎʎiu̧n-ə   nnə   rr-ai̧/ll-ai̧   vviʃt-ə
          DEM-F.PL   boy(M)\PL   NEG   DO.3M.PL/DO.3PL = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
          'these boys, I have not seen them'

      e. ʃt-ə   waʎʎeu̧n-ə   nnə   ll-ai̧/*rr-ai̧   vviʃt-ə
          DEM-F.PL   girl(F)-PL   NEG   DO.3PL/DO.3M.PL = have.PRS.1SG   seen-nonF.SG
          'these girls, I have not seen them'

As the data show, there is an implication between loss of the M vs N contrast in pronominal clitics and articles: in fact, in speakers like EsCa, the contrast is replaced by free variation *lə/rə* in the DO clitic while it is categorically retained in the definite article (on which see see §2.3.1). As seen in (10d-e), the gender contrast is not yet lost in plural DO clitics, where one finds asymmetric free variation only with M.PL controllers, admitting both *rə/lə*, while F.PL controllers still select *lə* categorically. In glossing, this is reflected in the latter being specified as just 3PL (since it is compatible with both masculine and feminine controllers), as opposed to what has become, in this system, the only plural DO clitic form marked for gender, viz. 3M.PL *rə*. This type of system is synthesized in (11c), which is one among the schemas displaying the different systems observed, listed from most conservative (left) to most innovative (right):[10]

(11)   Agnonese: ongoing change in gender marking in the direct object clitic

	a. SG	PL		b. SG	PL		c. SG	PL		d. SG	PL
F	la	lə		la	lə		la	lə		la	lə
M	rə	rə		rə	rə/lə		rə/lə	rə/lə		rə/lə	lə
N	lə			lə			rə/lə			rə/lə	

AsOr46, DoMe61,   MiSc63   EsCa75, GiMe47   FaSc89
DiDM94

The clitic system (11a) corresponds to the conservative (and maximally distinct) option, illustrated in (8). An intermediate option between this and (11c) – schematizing the system of the informant in (10) – is represented by the idiolect of MiSc (born in 1963), who, unlike EsCa, retains the categorical contrast between masculine and neuter in singular DO clitics, while on the other hand admitting *rə/lə* in free variation for M.PL:

(12) a. [_NP Lə   pèanə,]   [_NP ø mə =   [_NP lə =/*rə =]   magnə   MiSc
       DEF.N.SG bread(N).SG   1SG   REFL.1SG DO3N.SG/DO3M.SG eat.PRS.1SG
       'bread, I eat it'

   b. [_NP Ru   uagliéunə,] [_NP ø]   [_NP rə/ *lə =]   vàidə
       DEF.M.SG boy(M).SG   1SG   DO3M.SG/DO3N.SG see.PRS.1SG
        'the boy, I see him'

---

[10] Solid lines divide contrasting cells, while dotted lines signal that the contrast between cells is only variable, depending on which one of the two forms competing for that cell is used. Birth dates (decade and year) are added to the informants' labels, for the reader to be able to appreciate the (partial) apparent-time effect. Note that the two youngest informants in this set, DiDM94 and FaSc89, both represent the rural variety. As far as we can judge, speakers this age who abide by the conservative system are only from this subvariety, although this need not be the case, as FaSc89's system (11d) shows.

c. [NP Rə   uaglìunə,]   [NP ø]   [NP rə/ lə=]   vàidə
   DEF.M.PL boy(M).PL   1SG   DO3M.PL/DO3PL   see.PRS.1SG
   'the boys, I see them'

d. [NP Lə   uagliéunə,]   [NP ø]   [NP lə/*=rə]   vàidə
   DEF.F.PL girl(F).PL   1SG   DO3PL/DO3m.PL   see.PRS.1SG
   'the girls, I see them'

As apparent from the glosses, in MiSc's idiolect (schematized in (11b)), just as in (11c), the clitic *lə* in (12c-d) has become just plural, since it is now compatible with both masculine and feminine controllers, unlike in (11a). Still a further step is observed in a speaker from the following generation, FaSc. As schematized in (12d) and shown by the data in (13), she does not contrast M and N DO clitic forms – a contrast which, again, is retained, though only variably, for the definite article (see (14c) below) – and the same goes for the plural, where she has generalized *lə* as the sole 3PL clitic:

(13) a. [NP Lə   pèanə,]   [NP ø] mə=   [NP lə=/rə=]   magnə   FaSc
         DEF.N.SG bread(N).SG 1SG   REFL.1SG   DO3nonF.SG   eat.PRS.1SG
         'bread, I eat it'

      b. [NP Ru   cundìellə,] [NP ø] [NP lə= / rə=]   tìenghə   [NP jójjə]
         DEF.M.SG knife(M).SG 1SG   DO3nonF.SG   have.PRS.1SG   1SG
          'the knife, I have it'

      c. [NP Rə/Lə   cundìellə,] [NP ø]   [NP rə/ lə=]   tìenghə   [NP jójjə]
         DEF.M.PL/DEF.PL knife(M).PL 1SG   DEF.M.PL/DEF.PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG
         'the knives, I have them'

      d. [NP Lə   uagliéunə,] [NP ø]   [NP lə/*=rə]   vàidə
         DEF.F.PL girl(F).PL   1SG   DO3PL/DO3m.PL   see.PRS.1SG
         'the girls, I see them'

The singular DO *lə/rə* occurs in free variation, with a preference for the former (as apparent from the database): the fact that both forms are deemed grammatical by FaSc has the consequences that they both must be glossed as 'DO3nonF.SG', since they still contrast with F.SG *la*.
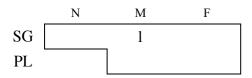
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2.3 Determiners

2.3.1 Definite article

The forms of the definite article in conservative Agnonese are displayed in Tables 1-2:

Tab. 1: Definite article (pre-consonantal)

	N	M	F
SG	lə	ru	la
PL		rə	lə

Tab. 2 Definite article (pre-vocalic)

	N	M	F
SG		l	
PL			

Preconsonantal forms are maximally distinct, while prevocalically all contrast merge into *l*.[11] Much as in the case of 3rd person DO clitics seen in §2.2.1, the gender/number marking on the definite articles appears to be undergoing restructuring at present, with a drift towards simplification of contrasts, which proceeds across idiolects at a slower pace than for DO clitics. The relevant data have been already provided in (8), (9), (12)-(13), while illustrating the different DO clitic systems occurring in the individual idiolects of our informants. Parallel to (12), the subsequent steps are observable for the definite article:

(14)   Agnonese: ongoing change in gender marking in the definite article

a.

	SG	PL
F	la	lə
M	ru	rə
N	lə	

AsOr46, DoMe61, MiSc63, GiMe47, DiDM94

b.

	SG	PL
	la	lə
	ru	rə/lə
	lə	

EsCa75

c.

	la	lə
	ru/lə	rə/lə
	lə	

FaSc89

The most conservative system in (14a) corresponds to the one described by Ziccardi (1910: 428), while (14b-c) show simplifications in two steps, with (14b) maintaining all contrasts though allowing for (originally F.PL) *lə* to occur with masculine plural nouns too, so as to become unmarked for gender. Variable loss of the contrast is observed, in the further step (14c), also for singular non-feminine forms of the article, where *lə* becomes an alternative to *ru* with masculine nouns, while neuters remain distinct in that they remain incompatible with the M.SG form *ru*. In a further step,

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[11] Actually, fort the M.SG only, an alternative form *r*, which is the one expected if its preconsonantal counterpart *ru* undergoes prevocalic elision, occurs variably, just if the following noun does not begin with a stressed vowel: e.g. [l/r aďˈdeu̯rə] 'the smell'.

not represented among our informants, younger speakers extend *ru* also to (formerly) neuter nouns, which at this point merge into the masculine. In fact, occurrence of *lə*/*ru* with both nouns such as *kɛɐ̯ʃə* 'cheese' (neuter in (14a)) and nouns such as *pɔi̯də* 'foot' (masculine in (14a)) yields a binary gender contrast M vs F, identical to that of Standard Italian and of several more innovative dialects spoken in the area (see map in Loporcaro 2018: 156f.), to which Agnonese will eventually assimilate as soon as the ongoing change will be completed.

2.3.2   Indefinite article

Unlike most dialects featuring the gender system seen in (6), straddling a large area of central-southern Italy, Agnonese has developed a very rare dedicated neuter form of the indefinite article, which is today observed in its rural variety (Tab. 3a):

Tab. 3: Indefinite article (rural Agnonese)

a.

	N	M	F
SG	nə/nu	nu	na

(prevocalic allomorph: *n* for all gender values)

b.

	N = M		F
SG	nu		na

(prevocalic allomorph: *n* for all gender values)

As seen in Tab. 3b, on the other hand, this innovation (15a-b) is not shared by the urban variety, which abides by the binary contrast inherited from Latin, whereas N *nə* is an innovation developed by analogy on the three-way contrast observed in the definite article. The data in (15a-b) illustrate the neuter form in context:[12]

(15) a. keʃtə   /*kwiʃtə   e   nə/nu   voi̯nə   d atʃoi̯tə
DEM-N.SG/-M.SG   be.PRS.3SG   INDF-N.SG/-nonF.SG wine(N)   sour
'this is sour wine'

   b. keʃtə/*kwiʃtə   e   nə/nu   mɔi̯lə/lattə   enandrandzé
DEM-N.SG/-M.SG   be.PRS.3SG   INDF-N.SG/-nonF.SG honey/milk(N) exceptional
'this is exceptional honey/milk'

   c. nu/*nə   kuo̯nə/kafé/vrɔttʃə
INDF-M/-N.SG dog(M)/coffee(M)/arm(M)
'a dog/a coffee/an arm'

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[12] In glossing Agnonese data in the DAI, 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 plural agreement with these nouns is vacillating between F.PL and M.PL (i.e., between assignment to the non-autonomous neuter and the masculine): a noun occurring in the singular, hence, does not offer in itself conclusive information regarding gender assignment.

The neuter form *nə* occurs variably, since for all speakers who deem it grammatical, the alternative form *nu*, non-distinct from the masculine, is always an option. Free variation is asymmetrical, though, since *nə* is never acceptable with M.SG nouns.

2.3.3   Demonstratives

Agnonese has three demonstrative stems, contrasting for proximity [ˈkwistə] 'this' (near speaker) ≠ [ˈkwissə] 'this/that' (near hearer) ≠ [ˈkwoi̯rə] 'that' (distal). Proximal and medial demonstratives have a shortened form, which occurs only prenominally:

Tab. 4: Proximal demonstratives

	N	M	F
SG	(ˈke)ʃtə	ˈkwiʃtə/ʃtu	(ˈke)ʃta
PL		(ˈki)ʃtə	(ˈke)ʃtə

Tab. 5: Medial demonstratives

	N	M	F
SG	(ˈke)ssə	ˈkwissə/ssu	(ˈke)ssa
PL		(ˈki)ssə	(ˈke)ssə

Tab. 6: Distal demonstratives

	N	M	F
SG	ˈkellə	ˈkwoi̯rə	ˈkella
PL		ˈkoi̯rə	ˈkellə

The M.SG short forms contrast with all other agreement targets in retaining final -*u* which has elsewhere (including in bisyllabic demonstratives) merged into -*ə*. F.PL and N.SG are syncretic. The allomorphs of the long forms selected before vowel-initial nouns/adjectives display a further syncretism, as F.SG becomes identical to F.PL and N.SG: e.g. [ˈkell ˈakkwə/ˈuo̯ʎʎə/ˈaldrə] 'that water(F)/oil(N)//those other.F.PL'. Prevocalic short forms, on the other hand, syncretize all feature values: e.g. [ʃt ˈakkwə/ˈuo̯ʎʎə/ˈuo̯ccə/ˈaldrə/ˈɛldrə] 'this water(F)/oil(N)/eye(M)//these other.F.PL/-M.PL'. The pronominal use of demonstratives had been exemplified above in (15a-b) and (9a), the latter an instance of default use of N [ˈkestə] to resume a non-lexical controller.

2.3.4   Possessives

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

Tab. 7: Possessives

Possessor person			Possessed gender/number					
			Stressed			Enclitic		
			N	M	F	N	M	F
1SG	SG		ˈmojjɐ		ˈmajjɐ	-mə		-ma
	PL		–		ˈmajjə	-mə		
2SG	SG		ˈtojjɐ		ˈtajjɐ	-tə		-ta
	PL		–		ˈtajjə	-tə		
3SG	SG		ˈsojjɐ		ˈsajjɐ			
	PL		–		ˈsajjə			
1PL	SG		ˈnuo̯ʃtrə		ˈnɔʃtrɐ			
	PL		ˈnɔʃtrə					
2PL	SG		ˈvuo̯ʃtrə		ˈvɔʃtrɐ			
	PL		ˈvɔʃtrə					
3PL	SG		ˈleu̯rə					
	PL							

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 (i.e., not through agreement) – possessor's person/number through distinct stems listed in the leftmost column in Table 7.[13] This also goes for enclitic possessives, which occur only in the 1SG and 2SG, so that there is no enclitic counterpart for the remaining possessor persons. Thus, 'my/your.SG father' is usually ˈpatrəmə/ˈpatrətə but may also be expressed as *ru ˈpɔtrə ˈmojjɐ/ˈtojjɐ* 'DEF.M.SG my/your.SG father(M)', no such choice is available elsewhere, e.g. for *ru ˈpɔtrə ˈvuo̯ʃtrə*. Enclitic possessives are subject to lexical restrictions, occurring with some 15 kin terms (e.g. ˈfiʎʎəmə 'my son', ˈjenərmə 'my son-in-law', ˈmoʎʎəta 'your wife', ˈnorətɐ 'your daughter-in-law') including loans from Italian (*kudˈdʒinəmə* 'my cousin(M)'). A lexical gap occurs with 'mother', with combines only with 2SG, not 1SG enclitic possessive: ˈmaməta 'your mother'. As evident from the examples, NPs with enclitic possessives lack the definite article, which however occurs in their plural counterparts: e.g. ˈfratəmə 'my brother' vs *rə ˈfrɛtəmə* 'my brothers' (*rə* 'DEF.M.PL').

Agreement in gender/number with the possessed noun is signalled only by the final vowel in enclitic possessives, where -ɐ marks F.SG while -ə marks all other combinations. In stressed possessives, on the other hand, marking of these inflectional categories is more intricate. Here too, apart from the 3PL which displays an invariable form, the final vowel contrast serves agreement, though here final -ɐ, unlike with all other agreement targets, does not single out F.SG, as it occurs also in all other gender/number combinations except the F.PL, the only cell to host final -ə. Stem vowel alternations, originally caused by metaphony (see (3), §1), co-signal gender/number agreement: thus, the stems

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[13] The person value can be linked anaphorically to an antecedent.

ˈmVjj- (1SG possessor), ˈtVjj- (2SG) etc. have the allomorphs ˈmajj-/ˈtajj-, selected with F possessed nouns, vs. ˈmojj-/ˈtojj-, occurring elsewhere:

(16) a. lə   ˈsaŋgwə   ˈtojja   /   ˈsojja
         DEF.N.SG blood(N)   2SG\nonF   /   3SG\nonF
         'your.SG//his/her blood'

    b. ru   / r-ə   ˈlibbrə ˈtojja   / ˈmojja
         DEF.M.SG DEF.M-PL book(M) 2SG\nonF / 1SG\nonF
         'your.SG/my book/-s'

    c. la   ˈkas-a   ˈtajj-a   /   ˈsajj-a
         DEF.F.SG house(F)-SG   2SG\F-F.SG   / 3SG\F-F.SG
         'your.SG//his/her home'

    d. lə   ˈmenə ˈggrɔss-ə ˈtajj-ə   /   ˈsajj-ə
         DEF.F.PL hand(M) big\F-F.PL 2SG\F-F.PL   /   3SG\F-F.PL
         'your.SG//his/her big hands'

As seen in (16a-b) the neuter, as with adjectives and participles and unlike in articles, demonstratives and DO clitics, the mass neuter has no dedicated exponent but is expressed syncretically with masculine. Being obligatorily postnominal, stressed adjectives most often occur NP-finally. However, when an adjective co-occurs, one may find either order, N A Poss, as in (16d), or N Poss A, as in its counterpart in (17a) and in (17a), with a singular head noun:

(17) a. lə   ˈmenə ˈtajja / ˈsajja   ˈggrɔss-ə
         DEF.F.PL hand(M) 2SG\F / 3SG\F   big\F-F.PL
         'your.SG//his/her big hands'

    b. la   ˈmenə ˈtajja / ˈsajja   ˈggrɔss-a
         DEF.F.SG hand(M) 2SG\F / 3SG\F   big\F-F.SG
         'your.SG//his/her big hand'

Note that in this case the affixal number contrast neutralizes, as it is overridden by a phonological sandhi rule inserting a linking -a at the end of non-phrase-final agreement targets.

2.4   Adjectives

Adjectives in Agnonese inflect according to one of 6 inflectional classes (= IC), which are distinguished via affixal inflection and/or root alternations:

(18)   Adjective inflectional classes in Agnonese:

		F.SG	F. PL	M.SG./N	M.PL	gloss
a.	Class 1	ˈtriʃtə				'sad'
b.	Class 2	dəˈrittɐ	dəˈrittə			'straight'
c.	Class 3	vəˈleṵtʃə			vəˈliṵtʃə	'fast'
d.	Class 4	ˈakrɐ	ˈakrə		ˈɛkrə	'sour'
e.	Class 5	ˈveṵnɐ	ˈveṵnə	ˈvuɔnə		'good'
f.	Class 6	ˈaldrɐ	ˈaldrə	ˈɔldrə	ˈɛldrə	'other'

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Like possessives and unlike definite articles, demonstratives and DO clitics, adjectives never feature a distinct form for the (mass) N, which is always syncretic with the M.SG, so that the maximally differentiated paradigm is the four-form one in (18f). The adjective 'other' in (18f) is the only one contrasting four forms, while all remaining adjectives display some syncretisms. Nevertheless, apart from (18a), adjective inflection signals number and/or gender contrasts. Agreement of class 5 adjectives has been exemplified in (6) above. In this area of grammar, the system is stable across speakers and no change seem to be ongoing, which would affect adjective agreement.

2.5   Adverbs

Time, direction and location, and quantity adverbs are invariable parts of speech.

As for manner adverbs, Agnonese has a series of invariable lexicalized forms (e.g. *malamèndə* 'badly') and a second much larger set of adverbs which are formally 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 two examples in (19):

(19)   a.   [Patrə = mə   e   zzəjènə = mə]   sctìenə   [$_{AdvP}$ própria vùonə]
           father(M).SG = 1SG.M.SG and uncle(M).SG = 1SG.M.SG be.PRS.3PL   really   well.nonF
           'my father and uncle are really fine' (GiLe)

       b.   [Lə   panə   e   lə   cascə]   só   [$_{AP}$ ccuscì bbéunə]
           DEF.N.SG bread(N).SG and DEF.N.SG cheese(N).SG be.PRS.3PL so   good.F.PL
           'bread and cheese so good' (GiLe)

Gender agreement with the two coordinated M.SG controllers in (19a) yields masculine agreement, while the two neuters 'bread and cheese' take feminine plural agreement (at least for this speaker).

2.6   Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Agnonese follow the inflection of Class 2 adjectives (see (18b), §2.4).

(20)   Tutta   la   jèrva
       all.F.SG   DEF.F.SG   grass(F).SG
       'all the grass' (DiDM)

(21)   Lə   lənzéura   s' =   énə   ammufföitə   tuttə
       DEF.F.PL   sheet(NAN).PL REFL.   have.PRS.3PL mold.PTP.NON-F-SG all.NON-F-SG
       'the bed sheets are heavily moulded' (BrCe)

2.7   Verbs

Agnonese 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 two subclasses of Class 1 in (22):

(22)	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	INF	gloss
Class 1a	ˈkandə	ˈki̯endə	ˈkandɐ	kanˈdɛg̯mə	kanˈdɛg̯tə	ˈkandɐnə	kanˈdɛg̯(jə)	'to sing'
1b	alˈlukkə	alˈlukkə	alˈlukkɐ	alləkˈkug̯mə	alləkˈkug̯tə	alˈlukkɐnə	alləkˈkug̯(jə)	'to yell'

Also in the singular, some syncretisms may occur, as shown in the Class 1b verb in (22): this verb has a non-metaphonic stressed vowel, so that no root vowel alternation arose to rescue the contrast between 1-2SG, while the 3SG remained distinct because final -*a* did. By contrast, the application of metaphony in the Class 1a verb *kanˈdɛg̯* '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 in (23):

(23)	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	INF	gloss
Class 2	ˈkorrə	ˈkurrə	ˈkorrə	kurˈrai̯mə	kurˈrai̯tə	ˈkurrənə	ˈkorrə	'to run'

Finite verb form agreement in person and number is controlled by the clause subject. Especially in case the subject NP includes complex determiners, semantic agreement may occur with a noun denoting humans. Such semantic agreement becomes apparent if the noun is plural ((24b-c)), and can be triggered by both preverbal and postverbal subjects.

(24) a. Auuójjə   arriva   [nu   sacchə   də   gèntə]
          today   arrive.PRS.3SG   INDF- M.SG lot.M.SG   of   people(F).SG
          'a lot of people arrive today' (AsOr)

      b. Auuójjə   arrivanə   [nu   sacchə   də   gèntə]
          today   arrive.PRS.3PL   INDF- M.SG lot.M.SG   of   people(F).SG
          'a lot of people arrive today' (AsOr)

      c. [Na   rəgliònna   də   sctudìendə] énə   mənìutə
          INDF- F.SG   army.F.SG   of   boy(M).PL   have.PRS.3PL   arrive.PTP.NON-F-SG
          'an army of students arrived' (FaSc)

As seen in (24a), morphosyntactic agreement is also admissible here. As usually in Italo-Romance, only perfective periphrastics containing a past participle agree in gender, in addition to number (and person, shown on the auxiliary). As is the case throughout Romance, the participle agreement controller is a direct object, including the argument of unaccusatives (see §2.7.2).

2.7.1 Auxiliaries
Perfective auxiliary selection in Agnonese shows an intricate person-driven split, described in

Loporcaro (2014: 64-8).[14] The two auxiliary verbs are the same as in Standard Italian, i.e. 'to be' and 'to have', whose Agnonese counterparts for the present indicative are listed in (25):

(25)

1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
so	ʃi	e	sai̯mə	sai̯tə	so
ajjə	i	a	eːmə	eːtə	eːnə

Unlike in Standard Italian, however, their distribution is sensitive not just to clause type but also to verb person, as schematized in (26) (E = 'to be', H = 'to have'):

(26)

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

As seen in (26), the 3SG is the only person displaying a clause-type-driven contrast, whereas in the whole plural 'to have' is generally selected, in the 2SG 'to be' is selected categorically and in the 1SG the two auxiliaries occur in free variation. The contrast in the 3SG is exemplified in (27):

(27) a. ess e ppartiu̯ta/*a ppartiu̯ta
          's/he has left'
     b. kella ˈfemməna s e kkutʃənieta/s a kkutʃəni̯ętə essa seu̯la
          'that woman cooked for herself'
     c. sɔrma s a missə/*s e mmessa ru kappi̯ə̯llə
          'my sister put her hat on'

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

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[14] Data on Agnonese perfective auxiliation are also provided by Manzini and Savoia (2005: 2.706-708), whose description slightly differs from ours.

2.7.2 Past participles

Past participles inflect in the same way as adjectives in Agnonese, whereby only two of the ICs distinguished for adjectives in (18) (i.e. Classes 2 and 5) occur with participles:

(28) Participle inflection in Agnonese:

		F.SG	F. PL	M.SG./N	M.PL	gloss
a.	Class 1	laˈvɛɐtɐ	laˈvɛɐtə			'straight'
b.	Class 2	ˈmbossɐ	ˈmbossə	ˈmbussə		'drenched'

As in adjectives, neuter is never distinct from masculine, and the richer inflection in (28b) results from metaphony.

As for the syntax of past participle agreement, the main difference with respect to Standard Italian (and all Romance standard languages retaining past participle agreement) is the retention of agreement with lexical direct objects, as seen e.g. in (29):

(29) [$_{NP}$ La sórə   vècchia] s' = [$_{null}$ a méssa/ˈʔmissə [$_{NP}$ la vèscta]
      'the old sister put on her skirt'

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