Pantìscu[*]

Overview

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Pantìscu is the dialect spoken on the Sicilian island of Pantelleria. Located 95 km off the coast of Sicily, and 67 km from that of Tunisia, Pantelleria has been part of the Arab domain from the 8th to the 13th century. The territory was annexed to the Sicilian reign in 1221 by the Normans. Nevertheless, historical testimonies reveal that the inhabitants have remained Arabic-speaking until the end of the 17th century (Bresc 1986; Brincat 2003). Thus, Pantelleria drew the attention of many scholars as scenario of linguistic contact (Tropea 1975, 1988; Sgroi 1986; Benincà 1992; Sornicola 1997; Brincat 2000; Loporcaro et al. 2010, Loporcaro 2012).

The island consists of the main residential area of Pantelleria (to which the inhabitants often refer as *u paìsi* 'the village') and the peripheral hamlets of Sibà, Bugeber, Kamma, Scàuri, Tràcino, and Rekàle (Fig.1). The dialect spoken in the different areas exhibits some micro-variation on different structural levels (see §1.2, and §2.7.2). To this end, the exact provenance (in terms of hamlets vs. the central town) of the informant is an integral part of the *Metadata*.
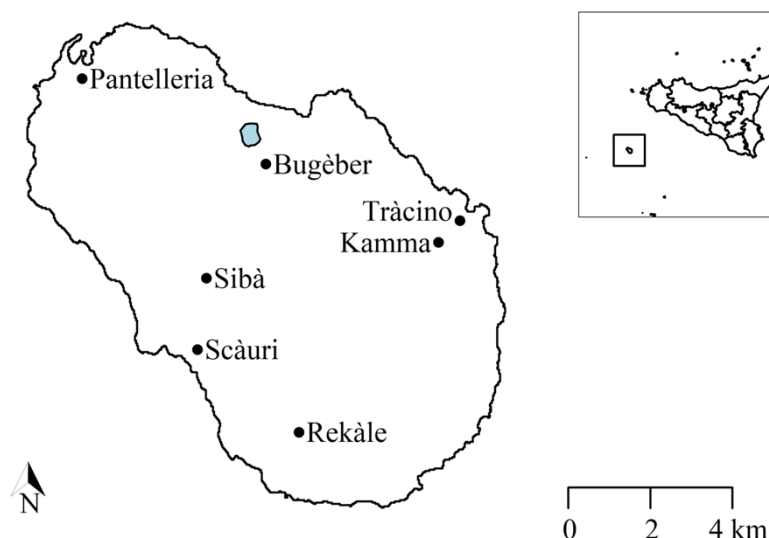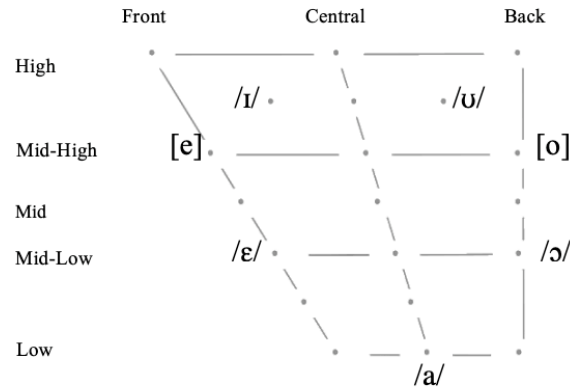

Fig. 1: The Island of Pantelleria.

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1 Phonology

1.1 Vowels

Like all Sicilian dialects, Pantiscu distinguishes five stressed vowels (/ɪ ɛ a ɔ ʊ/), and three unstressed vowels (/ɪ a ʊ/) (see Rohlfs 1966; Tropea 1975). Merger of final vowels affected affixal inflection, disrupting the phonemic contrasts on which the signaling of the M vs F contrast in the plural rested. This resulted in convergent gender marking with neutralization on all agreement targets, as will be shown in §2. Phonetically, unstressed /ɪ/ and stressed /ɛ/ are often pronounced as [e], while unstressed /ʊ/ and stressed /ɔ/ have [o] as an allophone (see Loporcaro et al. 2010: 80). While transcriptions account for this allophonic alternation, one has to keep in mind that the lowering of /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ is due to low-level phonetic processes with no morphological relevance.

As the gloss suggests, the -e in example (1) and (2) is not the inflectional mark for F.PL (unlike it would be, for example, in Italian), but rather an allophonic realisation of the /ɪ/ morpheme of PL, required for agreement with picciuttèddhe, *the homophonous plural of* picciuttèddha *'girl(F)SG' and* picciuttèddhu *'boy(M)SG'.*

(1) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnCa | Answer: 26 | Source: PNT22 |

[NP Ø]	speriamo	chi	[NP i	picciuttèddhe]	stanno	bbòne
1.PL	hope.PRS.1PL	that	DEF.PL	boy(M).PL	stay.PRS.3PL	good.PL

We hope the kids are fine

(2) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnCa | Answer: 27 | Source: PNT22|

[NP Ø]	speriamo	chi	[NP i	picciuttèddhe]	stanno	bbòne
1.PL	hope.PRS.1PL	that	DEF.PL	girl(F).PL	stay.PRS.3PL	good.PL

We hope the girls are fine

1.2   Consonants

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

Pantiscu's consonant inventory differs from the remaining Sicilian dialects in preserving the laryngeal fricative [h] in loanwords from Arabic, which is generally preserved in the rural areas of the island, but replaced by [k] – as in the rest of Sicilian – in the dialect spoken in the city centre and by young generations. Also peculiar to Pantiscu is the occurrence of singleton intervocalic /b/ in placenames such as *Sibà* (a hamlet), which contrast with regular gemination all over the Italian dialects spoken south of Rome. Other peculiarities setting Pantiscu apart from other Sicilian dialects may concern the lexical distribution of consonants across the lexicon: thus, for instance, singleton [(t)ʃ] in the pronominal clitic *ci* (3rd person indirect object, see (Table 8d)) as well as in the homophonous locative adverb ([ʃi ˈva] 's/he goes there') contrasts with Sicilian, where this clitic is always [t:ʃi] (cf. Tropea 1988: xxxvii f.).

The same opposition between centre and rural areas as observed for /h/ applies for the phonetic realisation of /c/, the diachronic outcome of Lat. (-)PL- and (-)CL-. Rural areas display [tʃ] (Kamma, Tracino [ˈtʃaːvɪ] 'key', [ˈtʃaːnʊ] 'slowly') or [ʃ] (originally in Scauri and Rekale, cf. Tropea 1988: xvii), while the centre of Pantelleria aligns with the most common Sicilian realisation [c] ([ˈcaːvi] 'key', [ˈcaːnʊ] 'slowly').

To be mentioned as unusual for Sicilian dialects, but characteristic for all the micro-varieties spoken on the island, are the palatal pronunciation [ɟ] of /dʒ/ (also in the cluster /rdʒ/) (as in [ˈɟɛntɪ] 'people', [ɟʊˈvaːnːɪ] 'John', [ˈvɪrɟɪnɪ] 'vergin'), and the lack of syntactic gemination after [cˈcʊ] 'more', and in [j]-initial words (e.g. [ˈʈʂɪ ˈjɔrna] 'three days').

1.3   Transcription criteria

1.3.1   Vowels

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
<ì>	/'ɪ/	*fìlu*	'thread'
<é>	['e]	*témpu*	'time'
<è>	/'ɛ/	*tèmpu*	'time'
<a>	/'a/	*latti*	'milk'
<ò>	/'ɔ/	*còri*	'heart'
<ó>	['o]	*córi*	'heart'
<ù>	/'ʊ/	*suli*	'sun'
<i>	/ɪ/	*suli*	'sun'
<e>	[e]	*sule*	'sun'

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
<o>	[o]	*vidèmo*	'we see'
<u>	/u/	*vidèmu*	'we see'
<a>	/a/	*sira*	'evening'
<e>	[ɛ]	*meschìnu*	'poor guy'
<a>	[a]	*casscètta*	'box'
<o>	[ɔ]	*postinu*	'postman'
<i>	[ɪ]	*pittati*	'painted'
<u>	[ʊ]	*purtusu*	'hole'
<Ci'V>	[j]	*piánufòrti*	'piano'
<ji>	[jɪ]	*jìditu*	'finger'
<CuV>	[w]	*Capua*	'Capua'

1.3.2   Consonants

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
<p>	[p]	*purtatu*	'brought'
<b>	[b]	*bbònu*	'good(f.pl)'
<t>	[t]	*tutti*	'everybody'
<d>	[d]	*pedi*	'foot'
<ddh>	[ɖːʐ]	*cipuddha*	'onion'
<chj>	[c]	*chjanu*	'slow'
<cchj>	[c:]	*occhju*	'eye'
<gghj>	[ɟː]	*gghjuvanni*	'Giovanni'
<c>	[k]V$_{[+back]}$	*pecura*	'sheep'
<ch>	[k]V$_{[-back]}$	*chistu*	'this'
<g>	[ɣ]	*gamma*	'leg'
<h>	[h]	*harrubba*	'carob'
<z>	[ts]	*linzòlu*	'bed sheet'
<zz>	[tts]	*zzia*	'aunt'
<zz>	[ddz]	*zzibìbu*	'muscat grape'
<c>	[tʃ]V$_{[-back]}$	*cirasi*	'cherries'
<ci>	[tʃ]V$_{[+back]}$	*ciànci*	'(you) cry'
<c>	[ʃ]V$_{[-back]}$	*cicala*	'cicada'

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
<ci>	[ʃ]V$_{[+back]}$	*caciu*	'kick'
<g>	[g]V$_{[+back]}$	*gula*	'throat'
<gi>	[dʒ]V$_{[+back]}$	*seggia*	'chair'
<m>	[m]	*magghja*	't-shirt'
<m>	[ɱ]	*campana*	'bell'
<n>	[n]	*santu*	'saint'
<n>	[ŋ]	*sangu*	'blood'
<gn>	[ɲː]	*pugnu*	'fist'
<r>	[r]	*muru*	'wall'
<f>	[f]	*fòcu*	'fire'
<v>	[v]	*vòstru*	'your(s)'
<s>	[s]	*castèddhu*	'castle'
<ssc>	[ʃ:]	*casscètta*	'box'
<sci>	[ʃ:]V$_{[+back]}$	*cassciùni*	'chest'
<str>	[ʂʈ]	*nòstru*	'our'
<tr>	[ʈʂ]	*viàtri*	'you (PL)'
<ç>	[ç]	*çuri*	'flower'
<l>	[l]	*scola*	'school'
<j>	[j]	*jardinu*	'garden'

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2   Morphology and syntax of agreement

The dialect of Pantelleria is a Romance language, and it shares with Romance varieties the core part of its grammar of agreement. However, it shows some completely original patterns, as the agreement of subject clitics in progressive periphrases (§2.7.2), or the non-agreement of the auxiliary of pluperfect (§2.7.1).

Nouns (3) and pronouns are, of course, the most common controllers, but Pantiscu admits also some non-prototypical controllers, such as clauses (4), infinitive phrases, and dummy subjects (5) (§2.2.2).

(3)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnMu | Answer: 5.a | Source: PNT24

[NP Chiddha   picciotta]   è   [AP propia   bbeddha]
DEM.DIST.F.SG   girl(F).SG   be.PRS.3SG   really   beautiful.F.SG
That girl is really beautiful.

(4)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 15 | Source: PNT27

[Clause Ora   [NP Ø]   chjovi,]   [NP tu=]   [NP u=]   dicu   [NP jè]
   now   Dummy.3M.SG   rain.PRS.3SG   IO2.SG=   DO3M.SG=   say.PRS.1SG   1SG
It's going to rain, I tell you.

(5)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 47.1 | Source: PNT27

[Ø]   avi   [NP ddu   jorna]   chi   [NP nuddhu]   passa   [PP di   ccà]
Dummy.3M.SG   have.PRS.3SG   two   day(M).PL   that   nobody.M.SG   pass.PRS.3SG   from   here
No one passed from here in the last two days.

As for targets and possible agreement relations, the list includes:

−   *NP agreement* of determiners, some quantifiers (§2.4), and adjectives within the noun phrase;
−   *inflectional agreement* of verbs inflected for person and number;
−   *predicative agreement* of adjectives (§2.5), of manner adverbs (§2.6), and of some of the quantifiers;
−   *anaphoric agreement* of personal pronouns;
−   agreement of *reflexive* pronouns with the subject, and of *relative* pronouns (§2.2.3)

One feature deserves particular attention. As in other Italo-Romance dialects from the extreme south subdivision (or, cross-linguistically, in German or Russian), in Pantiscu gender is constrained by number, as gender distinctions are found only in the singular number. Phonological diachronic processes involving non-stressed vowels caused the full neutralization of gender marking in the plural inflections of determiners, adjectives and all other agreement targets. This emerges clearly by comparison with Standard Italian:

Table 1: Definite article (pre-consonantal) in Pantiscu   Table 2: Class I adjective in Pantiscu

	SG	PL
M	u	i
F	a	i

	SG	PL	
M	bbònu	bbòni	'good'
F	bbòna	bbòni	

Table 3: Definite article (pre-consonantal) in Italian

	SG	PL
M	il	i
F	la	le

Table 4: Class I adjective in Italian

	SG	PL
M	buono	buoni
F	buona	buone

'good'

The following pages give a more detailed overview of the morphology and the syntax of Pantiscu with particular prominence on what is relevant for agreement.

2.1 Nouns

Nouns are distributed in five inflectional classes (Table 5), resulting in two values of overt gender, namely masculine (Table 6) and feminine (Table 7), and two values of number.

Table 5: Nominal inflectional classes

Class	Inflectional marking (SG/PL)		
1	-u / -i	picciòttu / picciòtti	'boy / boys'
2	-a / -i	casa / casi	'house / houses'
3	-i / -i	ciùri / ciùri	'flower / flowers'
4	-u / -a	vrazzu / vrazza	'arm / arms'
5	-u / -u	manu /manu	'hand / hands'

Table 6: Paradigm of a masculine noun

	SG	PL
M	picciòttu	picciòtti

Table 7: Paradigm of a feminine noun

	SG	PL
F	picciòtta	picciòtti

2.1.1 Hybrids

Hybrid nouns are defined as those whose agreement specification varies according to the agreement target (Corbett 2015). A canonical controller is supposed to be consistent with its agreement patterns, nevertheless when the controller is a hybrid noun its targets can take both syntactic and semantic agreement. This is the case, in Pantiscu, for a number of nouns with the morphology typical of masculine nouns, but which can denote both male and female referents (6a-b), and vice versa.

(6)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnCa | Answer: 7 | Source: PNT25

a. [NP U   sìnnico]   [iddhu =   cància]   [NP partito]   pròpriu   ora.
    DEF.M.SG   mayor(M).SG   SBJ3M.SG =   change.PRS.3SG   party(M).SG   right   now

b. [NP U   sìnnico]   [iddha =   cància]   [NP partito]   pròpriu   ora.
    DEF.M.SG   mayor(M).SG   SBJ3F.SG =   change.PRS.3SG   party(M).SG   right   now

The mayor [a woman] is changing her party right now.

This kind of mismatch between the grammatical values of the controller and the target is constrained by the syntactic domain. In fact, in line with the prediction of the agreement hierarchy (Corbett

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1979), the optional semantic agreement never involves targets within the NP (7), but rather predicates or personal pronouns.

(7)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnCa | Answer: 7 | Source: PNT25

[NP *A   sìnnico]   [iddha =   cància]   [NP partito]   pròpriu   ora.
DEF.F.SG   mayor(M).SG   SBJ3F.SG =   change.PRS.3SG   party(M).SG   right   now

The mayor [a woman] is changing her party right now.

2.1.2   Committee-type nouns

Other possible instances of semantic agreement in Pantiscu occur when the controller is a committee noun: a noun denoting a generic group of people, animals or things, that is grammatically singular but can be conceptualised as semantically plural, and thus may select morphosyntactic (singular) agreement (8) or semantic (plural) agreement (9) (see Corbett 2006).

(8)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnMu | Answer: 27 | Source: PNT24

[NP A   bbanda]   [ddha =   sòna]   [PP n   piazza]
DEF.F.SG   band(F).SG   SBJ3F.SG =   play.PRS.3SG   in   square(F).SG

The band is playing in the square

(9)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnMu | Answer: 27 | Source: PNT24

[NP A   bbanda]   [ddhi =   sònanu]   [PP n   piazza]
DEF.F.SG   band(F).SG   SBJ3.PL =   play.PRS.3PL   in   square(F).SG

The band is playing in the square

The prediction of the agreement hierarchy holds true also for this particular kind of hybrid controller, since semantic agreement is never an option in attributive position.

2.1.3   Complex noun phrases

A further case of non-canonical agreement takes place when the controller is a complex noun phrase. In Pantiscu, there are two possible configurations:

a.   NP modified by another NP (e.g. [NP chiddhu ciuri di [NP soru]] 'that flower of sister');
b.   NP modified by a noun used as quantifier, thus tagged as QP (e.g. [QP un munzeddhu di [NP libbra]] 'a pile of books');

In (a) and (b) the controller can either be the first (10a) (11a) or the second (10b) (11b) nominal element of the complex NP.

(10)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 7.a | Source: PNT24

a.   [NP Ddha   camurrìa   di   libbru,]   nn   [NP a =]   legghje   [NP nuddhu]
DEM.DIST.F.SG   bore(F).SG   of   book(M).SG   NEG   DO3F.SG =   read.PRS.3SG   nobody.M.SG

b.   [NP Ddha   camurrìa   di   [NP libbru,]]   nnu   [NP u =]   legghje   [NP nuddhu]
DEM.DIST.F.SG   bore(F).SG   of   book(M).SG   NEG   DO3M.SG =   read.PRS.3SG   nobody.M.SG

No one is reading that awful book

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(11) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 10.b | Source: PNT 24

a. Rrivau   [$_{QP}$ una   catóma   di   cristiani]
    arrive.PRF.3SG   a   big_amount.F.SG   of   person(M).PL

b. Rrivaru   [$_{QP}$ una   catóma   di   [$_{NP}$ gghjènti]]
    arrive.PRF.3PL   a   big_amount.F.SG   of   person(F).PL
    A lot of people arrived.

The DAI data show that when a [+animate] noun is involved, this tends to control semantic agreement (12).

(12) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 5 | Source: PNT24
[$_{NP}$ Ddhu   ciuri   di   picciòtta] è   propriu   [$_{AP}$ bbèddha/ *bbèddhu]
DEM.DIST.M.SG   flower(M).SG   of   girl(F).SG   be.PRS.3SG   really   beautiful.F.SG/.M.SG
That lovely girl is really beautiful.

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

Pantiscu distinguishes a series of stressed and clitic personal pronouns (Table 8).

Stressed pronouns can function both as agreement controllers and targets. Morphologically, the syntactic functions of subject vs object/oblique are distinct only for 1SG and 2SG person, while gender is overtly marked only in 3SG pronouns (Table 8a), (Table 8b).

Table 8: Pantiscu's stressed and clitic personal pronouns

		STRESSED		CLITIC		
		a. SUBJ.	b. OBJ./OBL.	c. DO	d. IO	e. REFL
SG	1	jè(u)	mìa	mi		
	2	tu	tìa	ti		
	3 M	iddhu		(l)u	ci	si
	3 F	iddha		(l)a		
PL	1	n(i)àtri		ni/mi		
	2	viàtri		vi		
	3 M	iddhi		(l)i	ci	si
	3 F					

The non-stressed series includes clitics with direct (Table 8c), indirect (Table 8d) and reflexive (Table 8e) object function, which show case syncretism in the first and second persons. Accusative clitics mark gender only in the 3SG person.

Given the high incidence of syncretism in the paradigm, for queries on gender agreement controlled by [+ animate] personal pronouns, the selection of sex values is recommended.[1]

2.2.1.1 *Progressive clitics*

The dialect of Pantelleria differs from any other southern (Italo-)Romance varieties for the occurrence of subject clitics (in italic and bold in Table 9) as markers of progressive aspect (cf. Loporcaro et al. 2010, Loporcaro 2012).

Table 9: Pantiscu's progressive clitics

SG	1	jè(u)	*jè*	manciu	'I am eating'
	2	tu	*tu*	manci	'you are eating'
	3 M	iddhu	*(i)ddhu*	mancia	'he is eating'
	3 F	iddha	*(i)ddha*		'she is eating'
PL	1	n(i)àtri	*n(i)àtri*	manciamu	'we are eating'
	2	viàtri	*viàtri*	manciàti	'you are eating'
	3 M	iddhi	*(i)ddhi*	màncianu	'they are eating'
	3 F				

These clitics resulted from the grammaticalization of the corresponding strong subject pronouns; they are largely homophonous with them, so they are not prosodically defective and are hence analysed as syntactic clitics (Loporcaro 2012: 756f.) (except for 3rd person, where the reduced forms (i.e. *ddhu, ddha, ddhi*) can be analysed as clitics both syntactically and phonologically).

Contrary to all previously described cases of subject clitics (from a central Romance area stretching from Florence to the Alps to Bordeaux), those of Pantiscu affect the semantics of the clauses contributing to progressive meaning (§2.7.2). They occur exclusively with imperfective tenses, subject to restrictions which are known to affect progressives cross-linguistically, and, as extensively demonstrated (cf. Loporcaro et al. 2010, Loporcaro 2012), they are markers for the progressive aspect (cf. 13 vs 14). This kind of progressive periphrases, and especially the combination of properties shown by Pantiscu progressive clitics, do not seem to be attested in any other language.

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[1] The feature "sex" refers to the biological sex of the human referent. For instance, the selection of Controller > Pronouns: Personal > Sex: feminine permits the retrieval of cases as (a), where the 1st person pronoun does not display overt gender and the F.SG agreement on the target rather depends on the sex of the referent.

(a) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 35.4 | Source: PNT27
   Q: Ti sembro cattiva, io?
   [jè=   [NP ti=]   paru]   [AP tinta]   [NP jè?]
   SBJ1.SG=   IO2.SG=   seem.PRS.1SG   bad.F.SG   1SG
   Am I looking mad?

(13)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 1 | Source: PNT27

[NP Iddhi]	pàrtino	sempre	[PP a-	i	sei]
3.PL	leave.PRS.3PL	always	at	DEF.PL	six

They always leave at six.

(14)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 2 | Source: PNT27

[NP Iddhi]	[ddhi =	pàrtino]	ora
3.PL	SBJ3.PL =	leave.PRS.3PL	now

They are leaving just now

While having to be traced back to personal pronouns diachronically, these clitics, just like Northern Italo-Romance subject clitics, are not pronominal expressions synchronically. However, logistic constraints related to the automatic generation of the gloss required us to tag progressive clitics as "pronouns" and use the = symbol for both phonological and syntactic clitics.

All instances of "progressive" can be retrieved by selecting Agreement Query > Target > Progressive, or Token query > PoS/Phrase: Pronoun: personal > Case: Subject > Realisation: Clitic.

2.2.2   Defective pronominal controllers

Pantiscu also displays cases of defective controllers (Corbett 2006:37). One occurs with 'weather verbs'. Here, as in most Italo-Romance varieties, there is never a phonetically realized subject NP and agreement targets show the default forms (15).

(15)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer:18 | Source: PNT27

[Ø]	[ddhu =	gghjòrna]
Dummy.3M.SG	SBJ3M.SG =	dawn.PRS.3SG

It is dawning.

A second instance of agreement with a defective controller happens in existential constructions, where the expected-to-be nominal controller fails to control the inflectional agreement of the verb, which appears always in a default 3SG form (16).

(16)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 47.1 | Source: PNT27

[Ø]	avi	[NP ddu	jorna]	chi	[PP ddi	ccà]	[...]
Dummy.3M.SG	have.PRS.3SG	two	day(M).PL	that	from	here	[...]

No one passed from here in the last two days.

Corbett (2006: 64) uses the term brother-in-law agreement (borrowed from Relational Grammar, see Perlmutter 1983) to address similar cases taking place in English (e.g. *there are cows, there is cows*). However, if in English the brother-in-law agreement is optional, in Pantiscu it is obligatory for existential constructions.

Both cases of defective agreement can be retrieved by selecting "dummy" as controller. To narrow the query to existential constructions, please select Verb: Type: Existential as target.

A last case of defective agreement is represented by impersonal clauses, with an unspecified human subject. In such clauses, in Pantiscu (as in Standard Italian), the verb surfaces in the default form, preceded by the clitic particle *si* (17).

(17) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 42 | Source: PNT27

[Ø]	[ddhu =	si =	mància]	troppo	ccà
IMPRS3M.SG	SBJ3M.SG =	IMPRS	eat.PRS.3SG	too_much.M.SG	here

We are eating too much here.

To query impersonal clauses, select Pronoun: Impersonal as controller.[2]

2.2.3 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns occur in the invariable form *chi*. Still, they do not prevent agreement in gender and number of any relevant agreement target in the relative clause with their antecedent, as illustrated in the example below (18) where the progressive subject clitic *ddha* agrees in the F.SG with *chiddha*.

(18) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 39 | Source: PNT27

è	Maria	[NP chiddha	[Clause chi	[ddha =	passa?]]]
be.PRS.3SG	Maria	DEM.DIST.F.SG	REL	SBJ3F.SG =	pass_by.PRS.3SG

Is Maria the one passing by?

2.3 Determiners

2.3.1 Definite and indefinite article

Singular definite articles are inflected for gender, whereas in the plural the gender distinction is neutralised (Table 10). The prevocalic allomorph does not vary for gender and number (Table 11).[3]

Table 10: Definite article (pre-consonantal)   Table 11: Definite article (pre-vocalic)

	SG	PL
M	u	i
F	a	

	SG	PL
M	l'	
F		

When the definite article is combined with a preposition, the contraction usually results in allomorphic forms due to vowel assimilatory processes (19) (20).

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[2] The null subject is annotated as Pronoun: Impersonal, rather than 'dummy' (cf. (16)), in order to allow the user to retrieve impersonal clauses separately and efficiently. Also, for technical reasons, the *si* clitic likewise comes with the specification "IMPRS" even if it is only a clitic marker of an unspecified human subject construction (cf. Rosen 1982, 1988).

[3] Gender neutralisation in the plural was caused by the merger of final unstressed vowels into *-i* (see §1.1). The relation between the pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic allomorphs is also explained diachronically, since the original lateral consonant was deleted in the former, not in the latter.

(19) [_NP_ Iddhi]   pàrtunu   sempri   [_PP_ e-   e   sei]
       3.PL   leave.PRS.3PL always   at   DEF.PL   six

      They always leave at six.

(20) [_PP_ O-   [_NP_ o   paìse]]   rrivàro   [_NP_ du   turiste]
            at   DEF.M.SG town(M).SG   arrive.PRF.3PL   two tourist(M).PL

      Two tourists arrived at the village

Indefinite articles are inflected for gender and limited to the singular (Table 12).[4] The only instance of indefinite article in plural NPs is in collocation with the indefinite adjective *àutri*.PL followed by a numeral higher than one (21).

Table 12: Indefinite article

	SG
M	un
F	una

(21) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 42 | Source: PNT28
      [_NP_ Iddhi]   pàrtinu   [_NP_ n'   atri   cincu   minute]
       3.PL   leave.PRS.3PL   INDF other.PL   five   minute(M).PL

      They leave in five minutes

2.3.2   Demonstratives

In this dialect, demonstrative (adnominal) adjectives and demonstrative pronouns contrast only two grades of proximity: proximal CHISTU 'this' (Table 13) vs. distal CHIDDHU 'that' (Table 14). The full form of the adnominal demonstrative is very often shortened, while this is never the case for demonstrative pronouns: e.g. *chistu/*stu è u me libbru* 'this is my book'.[5]

Table 13: Proximal demonstratives

	SG	PL
M	(chi)stu	chi(sti)
F	(chi)sta	

Table 14: Distal demonstratives

	SG	PL
M	(chi)ddhu	chi(ddhi)
F	(chi)ddha	

2.3.3   Possessives

As expected for a Romance variety, possessives agree in gender and number with the possessed entity and inherently encode, in the stem, the possessor's person/number.

As in the rest of Sicily and contrary to most remaining southern Italian dialects, possessives do not occur as enclitics. The form required by singular possessors (in all three persons) is invariable for both gender and number; the same occurs for the form for 3PL possessor, whereas 1PL and 2PL preserve the number contrast, as well as the gender contrast, as usual, only in the singular.

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[4] The paradigm is more symmetric, and conservative, than the one found generally in Sicilian, where the masculine is identical but the feminine is never disyllabic and has the form *na* everywhere (cf. Tropea 1988: xxxix).

[5] Here too, Pantiscu is more conservative than the rest of Sicilian, which only displays the shortened forms adnominally, while the disyllabic ones occur exclusively as pronouns (cf. Tropea 1988: xl f.).

Possessives can co-occur with other determiners (e.g. *tutti ddhi me cari amici* 'all those dear friends of mine'); however, when the possessive modifies a nominal head which is a singular kinship noun, the definite article is ungrammatical (e.g. (*u*) *me patri* 'my father').

The possessive adjective is typically placed pre-nominally in Pantiscu. The DAI provides only 15 occurrences of post-nominal possessives out of 120 tokens.

Table 15: Possessives

Possessor person		Possessed gender/number	
		SG	PL
1SG	M	me	
	F		
2SG	M	to	
	F		
3SG	M	so	
	F		
1PL	M	nòstru	nòstri
	F	nòstra	
2PL	M	vòstru	vòstri
	F	vòstra	
3PL	M	so	
	F		

2.4 Quantifiers

In Pantiscu, some quantifiers show agreement while others do not, subject to lexical specification. As in other varieties of southern Italy (see Idone, in preparation [b]), the inflectional paradigms of the quantifiers POCU 'few' and TROPPU 'too much' shrinks to just one form, coinciding with the one that originally was the default M.SG form. Unlike in Italian (22), for example, these quantifiers do not agree in gender and number with the noun they modify both in attributive (23) and predicative (24) context.

(22)　Agreement of quantifiers in Italian
　　　[NP Le　　màcchine]　　sono　　　　troppe　　　*(exemplum fictum)*
　　　DEF.F.PL　car(F).PL　　be.PRS.3PL　too_much.F.PL
　　　There are too many cars.

(23)　Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 17.a | Source: PNT24
　　　[NP Pocu　　　studenti]　　superànnu　　[NP l'　esame]
　　　few.M.SG　　student(M).PL　pass.PRF.3PL　　DEF　exam(M).SG
　　　Few students passed the exam.

(24)　Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 24.2 | Source: PNT29
　　　[NP I　　　　màcchine]　　su　　　ttroppu
　　　DEF.PL　　car(F).PL　　be.PRS.3PL　too_much.M.SG
　　　There are too many cars.

On the contrary, the quantifiers TUTTU 'all' (25) and TANTU 'much' (26) constitute regular targets of agreement, controlled by the noun they quantify and signalling, as usual, the number contrast as well as the gender one, for the singular only.

(25) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 71.1 | Source: PNT27

[NP Ø]	vene	[NP tutti	i	jorna]	a	ttruvàr	[NP =me]
3M.SG	come.PRS.3SG	all.PL	DEF.PL	day(M).PL	to	find.INF	=DO1.SG

He is coming every day to visit me.

(26) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 28 | Source: PNT29

[NP Ø]	[NP i=]	'ncuntrà	[AdvP tanti /*tantu	voti.]
1.SG	DO3.PL=	meet.PRF.1SG	much.PL/much.M.SG	time(F).PL

I met them many times.

The same lack of agreement seen for *pocu* and *troppu* applies to *quantu* 'how much' (27). This interrogative adjective, undoubtedly connected to quantification semantically and historically, must have incurred the same process that led to the neutralization of agreement with the aforementioned quantifiers.

(27) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnCa | Answer: 20 | Source: PNT29

[NP Quantu	chiacchiere!]
how_much.M.SG	chatter(F).PL

So much chit-chat!

For technical reasons due to the retrieval functionality, quantifiers and quantification expressions that do not display agreement have been nevertheless annotated as M.SG default.

2.5   Adjectives

Adjectives in Pantiscu are distributed into two inflectional classes (Table 16) (Table 17).

Table 16: Class 1 adjectives

	SG	PL
M	bònu	bòni
F	bòna	

'good'

Table 17: Class 2 adjectives

	SG	PL
M	virdi	
F		

'green'

Class 1 adjectives display the general neutralization of gender in the plural, while the paradigm of class 2 adjectives reduces to just one invariable form. When attributive, adjectives typically occur postnominally, although BONU 'good', GRANDI 'big', TINTU 'bad' and a few other evaluative qualifiers usually precede the nominal head (Ledgeway 2016).

2.6   Adverbs

Time, direction and location, as well as quantity adverbs are invariable parts of speech (e.g. *ora*

14

'now', *ddhocu* 'there'). As for manner adverbs, Pantiscu has a series of invariable lexicalized forms (e.g. *ffettivamenti* 'actually') and a second much larger set of adverbs which are formally identical with adjectives (often labelled 'adverbial adjectives'), as in most Southern Italian dialects (see Rohlfs 1966-69: 3.243). These adverbs share some of the properties of adjectives, since they can constitute targets of predicative agreement. Their agreement is bound to different conditions pertaining to the argument structure of the clause, as synthesized in (28) and exemplified in (29).

(28) *Argument structure*   *Agreement pattern*

a.	Transitives with lexical object NP	+ Agr. with DO	see (46a)
b.	Transitives with clitic direct object	+ Agr. with DO clitic	see (46b)
c.	Unaccusatives	+ Agr. with Subj.	see (46c)
d.	Reflexives	+ Agr. with Subj.	see (46d)
e.	Unergatives	± Agr. with Subj.	see (46e-f)

(29)   Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 7 | Source: PNT22

a. [NP Ghiuvànne]   sape   còcire   bbone   [NP l'   ova]
    Giovanni(M)   know.PRS.3SG   cook.INF   good.PL   DEF   egg(M).PL
    Giovanni can cook the eggs well

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 12 | Source: PNT22

b. [NP L'   òva]   [NP Ø]   [NP i=]   sapi   còciri   bbóni
    DEF   egg(M).PL   3M.SG   DO3M.PL=   know.PRS.3SG   cook.INF   good.PL
    The eggs, he can cook them well

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnMu | Answer: 8 | Source: PNT22

c. [NP To   figghja]   crissci   bbona
    POSS.2SG   daughter(F).SG   grow.PRS.3SG   good.F.SG
    Your daughter grows well

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 17 | Source: PNT22

d. [NP Maria]   si=   pitta   tinta
    Maria(F).SG   REFL.3=   paint.PRS.3SG   wrong.F.SG
    Maria puts her make-up badly

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FEGr | Answer: 12.b | Source: PNT22

e. [NP Iddha]   camìna   [AdvP rritta   rritta]
    3F.SG   walk.PRS.3SG   straight.F.SG   straight.F.SG
    She walks straight

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 27 | Source: PNT27

f. [NP Ø]   un   [viàtre=   travagghjàte]   *bboni
    2.PL   NEG   SBJ2.PL=   work.PRS.2PL   good.PL
    You are not working well

However, the DAI data show an incipient change towards lack of agreement of manner adverbs, even in unaccusative constructions (30), which, as a rule, best preserve this agreement pattern in the dialects where it occurs (Idone, in preparation [a]).

(30) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 14 | Source: PNT22

[NP To	figghjia]	crissci	bbònu
POSS.2SG	daughter(F).SG	grow.PRS.3SG	good.M.SG

Your daughter grows well

Invariable adverbs have been attributed to a 3rd inflectional class, regardless their type.
As for adverbial adjective, they follow the classification of adjectives (§2.5). In cases as (29.f) or (30), where the adverbial adjective does not agree with any controller, the annotation includes the tag 'default: yes'. These measures allow the user to run very specific queries.

To retrieve all the instances of predicative agreement involving an adverbial adjective: Agreement query > Agreement relation/Syntactic domain: Predicative agreement > Target: Adverb.

For all instances of non-agreement of adverbial adjective: Token query > PoS/Phrase: Adverb: Default: yes.

To query invariable adverbs: Token query > PoS/Phrase: Adverb: IC: III

2.7 Verbs

As is generally the case in Romance, all verb forms are inflected, and finite verb forms signal agreement. The full paradigm of one regular class 1 verb is given in (Table 18) for illustration:

Table 18: Regular verb inflection: Class 1 (kanˈtaːrɪ 'to sing') (from Loporcaro et al. (to appear))

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
pres_ ind	ˈkantʊ	ˈkantɪ	ˈkanta	kanˈtaːmʊ	kanˈtaːtɪ	ˈkantɪnʊ
imperative		ˈkanta		kanˈtaːmʊ	kanˈtaːtɪ	
imperfect_ind	kanˈtaːva	kanˈtaːvɪ	kanˈtaːva	kanˈtamːʊ	kanˈtavːʊ	kanˈtanːʊ
simple past	kanˈta((v)i)	kanˈtastɪ	kanˈtau̯	kanˈtamːʊ	kanˈtastɪvʊ	kanˈtaːrʊ
imperfect_subj	kanˈtasːɪ			kanˈtasːɪmʊ	kanˈtasːɪvʊ	kanˈtasːɪrʊ
gerund	kanˈtanːʊ					
infinitive	kanˈtaːrɪ					
past participle	kanˈtaːtʊ					

For a full account of verb inflection in Pantiscu, the reader is referred to Tropea (1988: lxxvii-xcv) and Loporcaro et al. (to appear).

The inflection of all finite verb forms signals agreement with the clause subject, as exemplified in all full sentences cited so far. These were generally in the 3SG or PL; for examples of agreement with 1st and 2nd persons see §2.7.2 below. This section will focus on the most noteworthy aspects of agreement signaled by verb inflection in Pantiscu.

2.7.1 Pluperfect

The pluperfect indicative in Pantiscu is calqued on Arabic, a prima facie effect of the prolonged contact of Sicilian with this Semitic language. In fact, it is not a periphrasis formed by an auxiliary and a participle, as in all the other Romance languages (Table 19a), but rather consists of two finite forms (Table 19b): the imperfect of the verb 'to be', which occurs in the 3SG default form for all persons of the paradigm, and the perfect of the lexical verb, which regularly agrees in person and number with the subject (31).

Table 19: Conjugation of the first three persons of the pluperfect (indicative) in Sicilian (Leone 1980:136), Pantiscu and Maltese

a. Sicilian		b. Pantiscu		c. Maltese	
àva	*scrivutu*	*era*	*scrissi*	*kont*	*ktibt*
have.IMPF.1SG	write.PTP.M.SG	be.IMPF.3SG	write.PRF.1SG	be.PFV.1SG	write.PFV.1SG
àutu	*scrivutu*	*era*	*scrivìsti*	*kont*	*ktibt*
have.IMPF.2SG	write.PTP.M.SG	be.IMPF.3SG	write.PRF.2SG	be.PFV.2SG	write.PFV.2SG
àva	*scrivutu*	*era*	*scrissi*	*kien*	*kíteb*
have.IMPF.3SG	write.PTP.M.SG	be.IMPF.3SG	write.PRF.3SG	be.PFV.3SG.M	write.PFV.3SG.M
àva	*scrivutu*	*era*	*scrissi*	*kienet*	*kítbet*
have.IMPF.3SG	write.PTP.M.SG	be.IMPF.3SG	write.PRF.3SG	be.PFV.3SG.F	write. PFV.3SG.F

(31) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 91 | Source: PNT27

[...] [PP a [NP st' ùra,]] [NP Ø] [era vìnnimo]
     at   DEM.PROX.F.SG hour(F).SG 1.PL be.IMPF.3SG come.PRF.1PL

[...] at this time, we would have come.

As the comparison with Maltese shows (Table 19c), the lack of agreement of the verb 'to be' represents an independent innovation of Pantiscu (see Brincat 2003; Loporcaro 2012). Considering the function carried out by *era* in this verb tense, it could be claimed that, rather than with a fully-fledged auxiliary, we are dealing with a non-bound inflectional TAM marker.

Given the structural complexity of this compound tense, the most effective path to retrieve instances of pluperfect in the DAI is: Token query > PoS/Phrase > Compound Tenses > Pluperfect

2.7.2 Progressive periphrases

As anticipated in §2.2.1.1, Pantelleria has an unprecedented strategy for progressive marking: a periphrasis consisting of a subject clitic and a finite verb. The subject clitic agrees in person, number, and gender (for 3SG) with the controller (the clause subject), whereas the finite verb is regularly inflected according to person and number (32) (33).

(32) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 86 | Source: PNT27

[Ie = vegno] [NP je,] un ti = mòvire [NP ø] [PP di ddhòco]
SBJ1.SG = come.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG REFL.2SG = move.INF 2.SG from there

I am coming! Don't move from there

(33) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 42 | Source: PNT27

[NP Niàtre]   [niàtre   manciàmo]   troppo
   1PL   SBJ1.PL=   eat.PRS.1PL   too_much.M.SG

We are eating too much

For a detailed description of the syntactic and semantic properties of these progressive periphrases, the reader is referred to Loporcaro et al. (2010), Loporcaro (2012). This section only focuses on some interesting data that came to light during the fieldwork for the DAI. Some of these may constitute apparent-time evidence for ongoing change. Consider first the interaction between negation and progressive clitics. In fact, we have observed that the speakers from the city centre do not accept as grammatical the subject clitic periphrasis under negation (34a-b), whereas those of the surrounding hamlets do (35a-b).

(34) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: GJRo | Answer: 5| Source: PNT27

a. [NP Jè]   un   [(*jè=)   manciu]   nenti
   1SG   NEG   SBJ1.SG=   eat.PRS.1SG   nothing.M.SG

I'm not eating.

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 28 | Source: PNT27

b. [NP Viàtri]   un   [(*viàtri)   travagghjati]   bbonu
   2PL   NEG   SBJ2.PL   work.PRS.2PL   good.M.SG

You are not working well.

(35) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 4 | Source: PNT27

a. [NP Iè]   un   [je=   màncio]   e   iddha   manco
   1SG   NEG   SBJ1.SG=   eat.PRS.1SG   and   3F.SG   neither

I don't eat and neither does she.

Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnMu | Answer: 13.1 | Source: PNT28

b. [NP Ø]   unn   [je=   còcio]   [NP l'   òva]
   1.SG   NEG   SBJ1.SG=   cook.PRS.1SG   DEF   egg(M).PL

I'm not cooking the eggs.

Recall that the *stari*+ gerund periphrases (e.g. *sta passannu* 'he is passing'), the same which conveys progressive meaning in Romance languages such as Italian, Sardinian or Spanish, is always an option, and must be selected for speakers of the subdialect exemplified with the ungrammatical examples in (34). While the occurrence of progressive clitics under negation had been focused on in Loporcaro et al. (2010: 93) as evidence for syntactic clitichood (even for bisyllabic non-reduced forms), the fact that the negation is compatible with such clitics only in the subdialects outside the main centre had escaped attention in that study.

A further piece of data that had previously gone unnoticed is the tendency to extend this periphrasis to the remaining subdivisions of the imperfective aspect (cf. Bertinetto's 1986 classification and terminology), namely the habitual (36) and continuous (37) – the later one rather

than the former – as well as for actions/events that are about to take place in the imminent future (38).

(36) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 73 | Source: PNT27

[NP Ø]	[ddhu =	niscìa]	sempre	[PP cu	nniàtre]	[…]
3M.SG	SBJ3M.SG =	go_out.IMPF.3SG	always	with	1PL	

He was always going out with us, then he stopped

(37) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 56 | Source: PNT27

[NP Francisca]	[ddha =	mmajàla]	sempri	cchjù	assà
Francesca(F)	SBJ3F.SG =	fatten.PRS.3SG	always	more	a_lot

Francesca is getting more and more weight.

(38) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 82 | Source: PNT27

[NP Iddhi]	[ddhi =	si =	pàrtino]	[PP fra	cincu	minute]
3.PL	SBJ3M.PL =	REFL.3 =	leave.PRS.3PL	in	five	minute(M).PL

They are leaving in five minutes

Finally, the survey revealed the propensity to merge the two available strategies for progressive meaning, the one with subject clitic + finite verb and the one with *stari* + gerund, as in (39).

(39) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: FrFe | Answer: 57 | Source: PNT27

[NP Marco]	[ddhu =	stava	nfuddhènno]	[PP pì	chiddha]
Marco(M)	SBJ3M.SG =	stay.IMPF.3SG	go_crazy.GER	for	DEM.DIST.F.SG

Marco was going crazy for that girl

To retrieve all the instances of progressive periphrases in the DAI:

1) *Token query > PoS/Phrase: Periphrases: Progressive*
2) *Agreement query > Agreement relation/Syntactic domain: Infl Agreement > Target > PoS/Phrase: Progressive*

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