

Urbinate*

Overview

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Urbinate is the variety spoken in Urbino, a town of 15000 inhabitants in the northern Marche. According to the classification of Italian dialects by Pellegrini (1975), Urbinate is among the southernmost varieties of northern Italo-Romance. However, Urbinate can be considered a variety of a linguistic transitional area: this is the product of its geographical position and the resulting constant exposure to the influence of northern Italo-Romance, Tuscan and central-southern dialects. Furthermore, the influence of Tuscan might have played a great role in attracting Urbinate towards a language system closer to Tuscan first, and (Tuscan-based) standard Italian later; the long-standing presence of the University of Urbino has contributed to reshaping the linguistic profile of the local population too, in a way that is more deeply-rooted in the town centre as compared to the countryside.

The Urbinate data in the DAI have all been collected in the hamlet of Castelvallino (267 inhabitants), 6 km north of the centre of Urbino; as a result of this choice, they can be regarded as highly representative at least for this specific sub-variety of Urbinate.

The present Overview is meant to be an aid for users of the DAI, in that it gives an account of spelling conventions (there is no standard orthography for this variety) and sketches the grammar of this variety, for which a systematic description – before the present project – was lacking. Finally, it focuses on the morphosyntactic phenomena most relevant for agreement, namely adjectival inflection – from the point of view of inflectional morphology as a means to express agreement – and verb agreement (or lack thereof).

1 Phonology

Urbinate displays the so-called ‘common Romance vowel system’ (Loporcaro 2011: 115), characterized by parallel merger of short I with long E and short U with long O.

a. Latin

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|---|---|----|---|----|
| i: | i | e: | e | a | o | o: | u | u: |
| i | e | | ɛ | a | ɔ | o | | u |

b. Romance

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A series of further processes has then reshaped Urbinate: among these, the oldest is probably diphthongization of stressed low-mid vowels in open syllable (*dittongamento spontaneo*),¹ which is already widely attested in the earliest Urbinate documents (Romagnoli, *in preparation* [a]). However, nowadays Urbinate shows many monophthongs where diphthongs would have been expected considering this historical phonological rule.

According to Balducci (1977: 13-4), until the mid-20th century the distribution of mid-high and mid-low vowels was tightly related to the syllable structure and the vowel length, so that one could regularly find high-mid long vowels in originally (i.e. historically underlying) open syllables, and low-mid short vowels in originally closed syllables, e.g. /^hso:n/ ‘(I) am’ vs. /^hsøn/ ‘sleepiness’; /^hde:t/ ‘finger’ vs. /^hdət/ ‘said’ (see also Rohlf’s 1996: 116-7, 142-3; Benincà, Parry & Pescarini 2016: 189). Nowadays, younger speakers show sporadic substitution of these outputs with the standard Italian vowel height.

A more recent phenomenon² is that of /a/-fronting in stressed open syllables³ which, according to Balducci (1977: 9), used to be more pervasive in the past and started retreating before the 1970s. Nonetheless, palatalized outcomes still retain their phonemic function, as demonstrated by the minimal pair [ˈdæn] ‘give.1PL’ vs. [ˈdan] ‘give.3PL’.

As far as unstressed vowels are concerned, the most striking feature of Urbinate is the tendency to vowel deletion, which Urbinate shares with the rest of the western Romance varieties. However, the northern Marche can be considered a transitional territory with the central Italo-Romance type, this latter being characterized by vowel retention. As a result, syncope in Urbinate is not as pervasive as in the nearby Emilian-Romagnol dialects (Loporcaro 2011: 59)⁴: posttonic vowels are generally syncopated (e.g. *péchre* ‘sheep’; *pàrlne* ‘(they) talk’); among pretonic vowels, [o] is frequently raised to [ʊ] or [u] (e.g. *muntagn* ‘mountains’; *durmit* ‘slept’) or gets deleted (e.g. *dacsi* ‘this way’), while the other vowels are more stable (e.g. *bevut* ‘drank’; *finèstre* ‘windows’; but also *bzógn* ‘need’). Independently of the position (pre- or posttonic), the most stable vowel is [a], which is never deleted. All of these processes are merely allophonic and do not affect agreement.

Unstressed vowels in word-final position tend to be deleted more frequently than those in word-internal position; in this case, effects on agreement are clear, as word-final vowel deletion often implies deletion of the whole ending i.e. of the agreement marker. The interaction between phonology and morphology, in this context, produces interesting results: in fact, as I will show in §§ 2.1 and 0), apocope affects the different parts of speech in different ways. Once again, [a] is

¹ In the Middle Ages Urbinate was characterized by Aretino diphthongs, namely a process of diphthongization of stressed mid vowels in open syllable triggered by final *-i* and *-u* (Castellani 1967; Loporcaro 2011: 121-3; Maiden 2016[a]).

² Balducci (1977: 10) suggests that infiltration of this phenomenon in the northern Marche dates to the XVII-XVIII centuries. For a chronology of /a/-fronting processes in Romance see Loporcaro 2011: 138.

³ The process is typically Gallo-Romance, where it probably originated, but spread in northern Italo-Romance, and “occurs most pervasively in Emilia-Romagna” (north to the Marche region) (Loporcaro 2011: 137). It is from the northern Marche that it further spread south, into Umbria and Tuscany, yielding a stressed [æ] (Loporcaro 2011: 137). Today, in Urbino the output of this process ranges from [æ] to [ɛ].

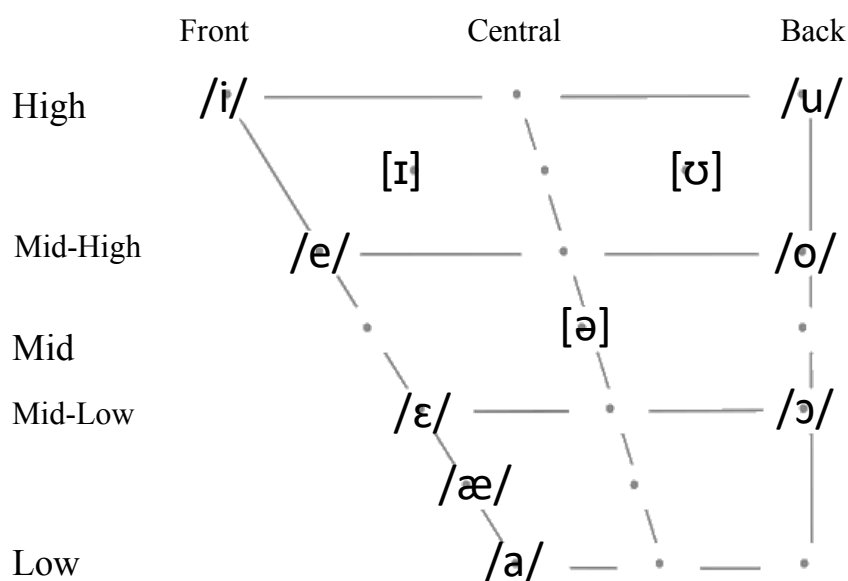
⁴ Yet there are good reasons to believe that it used to be more pervasive in the past: firstly, because that is the situation in the dialects nearby, in which, for historical reasons, the pressure of standard Italian is lower; secondly, and more importantly, because syncope is more pervasive in verb morphology.

always preserved; final *-e* is present – possibly restored – in noun and verb morphology, as well as on the agreement targets.

Urbinate speakers nowadays adopt different strategies to avoid complex consonant clusters and consonants in final position: for example, they insert an epenthetic [ə] in both word-internal and word-final position;⁵ In word-final position, [a] – the only stable vowel – is sometimes used as an epenthetic vowel: obviously this final *-a* should not be confused with the homophonous F.SG. marker.

Due to the complexity of the phonological situation of Urbinate, together with the unavailability of an in-depth study on the topic, the transcription of Urbinate in the DAI is mainly phonetic, and the aforementioned phenomena (/A/-fronting, syncope, mid-vowels rising etc.) are all recorded in the transcriptions. The aim is that of providing a transcription which is as close as possible to the speakers' production, giving the users the possibility to further investigate these aspects.

1.1 Vowels



⁵ When in word-final, sentence-internal position, this [ə] is scarcely audible and for this reason is not transcribed, as shown in the table below with the example of *mèi* ‘better’:

| Spelling | IPA | Example | IPA |
|----------|--------|---------|---------|
| èi | [ˈɛi] | mèi | [ˈmɛi] |
| | [ɛj] | | [mɛj] |
| | [ˈɛjə] | | [ˈmɛjə] |

1.2 Consonants

Phenomena concerning Urbinate consonants have an impact onto the transcription system, yet none of them influence agreement. These phenomena are shared with western Romance, and boil down to consonant weakening, therefore including degemination, deaffrication and voicing of intervocalic sibilants. These phenomena, like those concerning vowels, are less pervasive than in the neighbouring northern Italo-Romance dialects (Loporcaro 2011: 152; Benincà, Parry & Pescarini 187-8), indicating a later penetration.

Degemination affects all consonants in pretonic position (e.g. *stamatina* ‘this morning’; *anafiat* ‘watered’), while posttonic consonants are more resistant (e.g. *bordèlla* ‘girl’; *purètta* ‘poor.F.SG’ etc.). Deaffrication affects both alveolar (Balducci 1977: 20) and postalveolar consonants, yielding [ts dz tʃ dʒ] > [s z ʃ ʒ],⁶ and it can develop as a result of previous degemination (e.g. *òsg* < *oggi* < *HODIE* ‘today’). Cases of restoration of the affricate, along the lines of standard Italian, are not infrequent.

As for lenition, in Urbinate this phenomenon only concerns intervocalic sibilants. Once again, this fact is explainable considering that Urbino is in a transitional area between western and eastern Romance. In sentence-final position, voiced consonants can be devoiced.

Considering the variation in the realization of consonants among the speakers, the transcription is phonetic.

| | bilabial | | labio-dental | | dental | | retroflex | post-alveolar | palatal | | velar | | labio-velar |
|-------------|----------|---|--------------|---|--------|-----|-----------|---------------|---------|---|-------|---|-------------|
| plosive | p | b | | | t | d | | | c | j | k | g | |
| affricate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| fricative | | | f | v | s | [z] | | ʃ | ʒ | | | | |
| nasal | | m | [m̥] | | | n | | | ɲ | | [ŋ] | | |
| lateral | | | | | | l | | | ʎ | | | | |
| trill | | | | | | r | | | | | | | |
| approximant | | | | | | | | | j | | | | w |

1.3 Transcription criteria

The following tables give an account of the transcription criteria adopted in the DAI for Urbinate. For each orthographic symbol, the respective IPA symbol is provided, together with an example of the occurrence of the phoneme in Urbinate.

⁶ No deaffrication in the numeral *cinch* ‘five’.

1.3.1 Vowels

| Spelling | IPA | Examples | | |
|----------|-----|----------------|------------|------------------|
| | | Urb. | IPA | Eng. translation |
| <ə> | [ə] | <i>iə</i> | [i'ə] | 'I' |
| <i> | [i] | <i>burdèi</i> | [bur'dei] | 'boys' |
| <ì> | [i] | <i>malì</i> | [ma'li] | 'there' |
| <e> | [e] | <i>bevùt</i> | [be'vut] | 'drank' |
| <é> | [e] | <i>bén</i> | [ben] | 'well' |
| <è> | [ɛ] | <i>tèmp</i> | [tɛmp] | 'time' |
| | [æ] | <i>fèn</i> | [fæn] | '(we) do' |
| <a> | [a] | <i>piassa</i> | [pjas:a] | 'square' |
| | [a] | <i>èssa</i> | ['essa] | 'to be' |
| <à> | [a] | <i>càpitne</i> | [k'apitne] | '(they) happen' |
| <u> | [u] | <i>burdèi</i> | [bur'dei] | 'boys' |
| | [u] | <i>persun</i> | [per'sun] | 'persons' |
| <ù> | [u] | <i>lagiù</i> | [la'dʒu] | 'down there' |
| <ò> | [ɔ] | <i>pòs</i> | [pɔs] | '(I) can' |
| <ó> | [o] | <i>lór</i> | [lor] | 'they' |
| <ə> | [ə] | <i>iə</i> | [i'ə] | 'I' |

As seen in the examples, stress marks are used diacritically to convey information about vowel height (to disambiguate between high and low mid) and, in addition, are used on non-proparoxytonic words even when such information is not needed.

1.3.2 Consonants⁷

| Spelling | IPA | Example | Eng. translation |
|----------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <p> | [p] | <i>piàssa</i> | 'square' |
| | [b] | <i>bichjér</i> | 'glass' |
| | [p]## | <i>ròb</i> | 'things' |
| <t> | [t] | <i>quatre</i> | 'four' |
| <d> | [d] | <i>sòld</i> | 'money' |
| | [t]## | <i>quand</i> | 'when' |
| <chj> | [c] | <i>chjav</i> | 'key' |
| <cchj> | [c:] | <i>parècchj</i> | 'many' |
| <c> | [k]V[+ back] | <i>cuntadin</i> | 'farmer' |
| <c> | [k]C | <i>pécre</i> | 'farmer' |
| | | <i>cle</i> | 'those(F.PL)' |
| | | <i>mancne</i> | '(they) miss' |

⁷ Geminated consonants are signaled via reduplication of the consonant (e.g. <pp> = [p:])

| | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| ⟨ch⟩ | [k]## | <i>cinch</i> | ‘five’ |
| | [k]V[-back] | <i>chi</i> | ‘who’ |
| ⟨g⟩ | [g]V[+ back] | <i>ragass</i> | ‘boys’ |
| ⟨gh⟩ | [g]V | <i>vèghne</i> | ‘(they) see’ |
| | [g]## | <i>vègh</i> | ‘(I) see’ |
| ⟨c⟩ | [tʃ] [-back] | <i>pcini</i> | ‘little’ |
| ⟨c⟩ | [tʃ]## | <i>c’ =</i> | ‘little’ |
| ⟨sc⟩ | [ʃ] | <i>dóisc</i> | ‘sweets’ |
| ⟨sg⟩ | [ʒ] | <i>òsg</i> | ‘today’ |
| ⟨m⟩ | [m] | <i>muntagna</i> | ‘mountain’ |
| | [m]/_{f,v} | <i>sémpr</i> | ‘always’ |
| ⟨n⟩ | [n] | <i>sèntne</i> | ‘(they) hear’ |
| | [ŋ]/_{k,g} | <i>ancóra</i> | ‘still’ |
| | [m]/_{p,b} | <i>n pò</i> | ‘a bit’ |
| ⟨gn⟩ | [ɲ] | <i>muntagna</i> | ‘mountain’ |
| ⟨r⟩ | [r] | <i>opur</i> | ‘or’ |
| ⟨f⟩ | [f] | <i>fiól</i> | ‘son’ |
| ⟨v⟩ | [v] | <i>véda</i> | ‘to see’ |
| ⟨j⟩ | [j]V | <i>ji</i> | CLIO |

2 Grammar

2.1 Nouns

Urbinate nouns are distributed into 4 different inflectional classes (tab. 1), namely 4 “sets of lexemes whose members each select the same set of inflectional realisations” (Aronoff 1994: 64).

| Class | Endings | Example | Gloss | Gender |
|-------|---------|--------------------------------|------------|--------|
| 1 | -a, -ø | <i>la muntagna, le muntagn</i> | ‘mountain’ | F |
| 2 | -a, -e | <i>la fióla, le fióle</i> | ‘daughter’ | F |
| 3 | -ø, -i | <i>el burdèl, i burdèi</i> | ‘boy’ | M |
| 4 | -ø, -ø | <i>la chjav, le chjav</i> | ‘key’ | M |
| | | <i>el bichjér, i bichjér</i> | ‘glass’ | |
| | | <i>el ragas, i ragas</i> | ‘boy’ | |
| | -e, -e | <i>l’òmne, j’òmne</i> | ‘man’ | |
| | -a, -a | <i>el turista, i turista</i> | ‘tourist’ | |

Tab. 1: Noun inflectional classes

As shown in the table, Urbinate nouns inflect via affixal inflection only, while the stem remains unchanged throughout the paradigm. The interaction between this fact and the deletion of word-final vowel other than *-a* causes lack of inflectional endings in a series of nouns, or produces classes of nouns which do not inflect for number at all.

Class 1 contains the majority of Urbinate feminine nouns derived from Latin I declension, as well as feminine nouns originally ending in *-US* (e.g. *la mana*, *le man* ‘the hand, the hands’).⁸ As a result of apocope of *-e*, in this case coinciding with the plural marker, these nouns show the *-a* ending in the singular, and no ending in the plural.

Class 2 contains only a handful of feminine nouns, as pointed out by Manzini & Savoia (2005: 3.614). Data in the DAI seem to support the hypothesis that this inflectional behaviour is determined by phonological factors, as nouns belonging to this class are mainly those the final consonant of whose root is a lateral *-l-* (e.g. *fióla*, *-e* ‘daughter, -s’, *bordèlla*, *-e* ‘girl, -s’, *méla*, *-e* ‘apple, -s’, *sorèlla*, *-e* ‘sister, -s’, *pastarèlla*, *-e* ‘pastry, -ies’).⁹ Apart from nouns ending in *-le*, class 2 contains nouns ending with a rising diphthong [je] (e.g. *bèstie*, *sédie*, *disgràssie*)¹⁰. The two other nouns in the DAI belonging to this class are *finèstra*, *-e* ‘window’ and *péchra*, *-e* ‘sheep’¹¹, in which the final *-e* is arguably motivated by syllabification of the consonant clusters in word-final position (Repetti 1996; Bafle 2003; Loporcaro 2011: 97-105; Passino 2013). Furthermore, the speaker AnDB also reassigns to this class some feminine nouns from Latin 3rd declension e.g. *tòrra*, *-e* ‘tower’ (but the F.PL *chjav* ‘key’ is assigned to the class of invariables).¹²

Class 3 contains masculine nouns displaying a suffix deriving from Latin *-ELLU(M)*, and whose root ends in *-l-* as a result of final *-o / -i* deletion: in this case too, the final lateral yields a different inflectional pattern, so that in the plural one finds the result of palatalization and consequent loss of the lateral, followed by the typically M.PL marker *-i*.¹³

Finally, class 4 is made up of invariable nouns, both M and F. Within this class, it is possible to distinguish among different subclasses, depending on the diachronic motivations of their invariability and the type of endings they consequently show: a first group contains nouns from Latin class 2 and 3, as well as nouns showing the suffix *-iere*, which do not inflect as a result of deletion of final *-e*, *-o* and *-i*. Neuter nouns from the Latin class 2 are reassigned to this class too (e.g. *el ginòcchj*, *i ginòcchj* ‘the knee’). In the second subclass one finds only masculine nouns in which, as seen above with *péchre*, an epithetic *-e* has been added in both singular and plural for

⁸ It is not necessary to postulate an intermediate stage in which *-o < -US* was dropped, as Romance languages which are not affected by final-vowel deletion phenomena still display similar processes of class reassignment.

⁹ This fact may be connected with the presence of a non-etymological ending *-le* in some agreement targets (demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, past participles: see §§ 0, 0, 2.5, 2.6.2).

¹⁰ Yet the speaker OlSe, who speaks a highly conservative variety of Urbinate, frequently produces an apocopated form [disgr‘as:j], thus providing evidence that the final vowel may have been restored due to pressure from the Tuscan model.

¹¹ The speaker LuBa also admits *péchr* and, when asked about grammaticality of *péchre*, says this latter form “sounds more like dialect”.

¹² For a discussion on the reintroduction – rather than retention – of final *-e* see Romagnoli, in preparation [a].

¹³ Interestingly, this process seems to concern only the words displaying suffix *-ELLU(M)*, and not just any word ending in *-LLU(M)*: compare *burdèi* ‘boys’, *capèi* ‘hats’ vs. *caval* ‘horses’. Other speakers assign *capél* to the class of invariables.

reasons of syllabification;¹⁴ finally, the last subclass is made up of those words displaying a suffix *-ista*: in the singular the ending *-a* is maintained as always for this vowel, and the same ending is extended to the plural (for the use of the stable vowel *-a* see also § 1.3.1).

It should be stressed that final *-i* (etymologically signalling M.PL) always gets deleted in noun morphology.

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Stressed pronouns

The table below contains the forms of Urbinate stressed pronouns. As shown in the table, the only differences between subject and object pronouns is in 1SG and 2SG pronouns.

| | Subject | | Object | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| | M | F | M | F |
| 1SG | ìə, jé, jì, ìo ¹⁵ | | me | |
| 2SG | tu, te | | te | |
| 3SG | lu | lià | lu | lià |
| 1PL | nó, niàtre, nuàtre | | nó, niàtre, nuàtre | |
| 2PL | vó, vojàtre, vatre | | vó, vojàtre, vatre | |
| 3PL | lór | | lór | |

Tab. 2: Stressed pronouns

2.2.2 Clitics

In Urbinate, subject clitics are available for the 3rd person only. Their use is extremely residual, as they are almost exclusively found as proclitics in emphatic contexts (1) and surface occasionally as enclitics in interrogatives (2) (for this latter context see Manzini & Savoia 2005: 1.576; Balducci 1977: 22):

(1) La = magna, [NP sta burdèlla !]

SBJ3F.SG = eat.PRS.3SG DEM.PROX.F.SG girl(F).SG

She eats a lot, this girl!

¹⁴ Some speakers also assign to this class the feminine noun from Latin class 3 *carne* ‘meat’ (*la carne, le carne*), while others assign it to class 2.

¹⁵ The use of *io* might be influenced by standard Italian.

(2) Cum è =1 ?

how be.PRS.3SG = SBJ3M.SG

What did you say? [lit.: How is it?]

As for direct object clitics, 3PL pronouns are realised as [j] when occurring before vowel. The same happens to indirect object clitics. Tab. 3 collects the forms of clitic pronouns in Urbinate.

| | SBJ | DO | IO |
|-------|-----|--------|------|
| 1SG | | me | |
| 2SG | | te | |
| 3M.SG | el | lo, èl | i, j |
| 3F.SG | la | la | |
| 1PL | | ce | |
| 2PL | | ve | |
| 3M.PL | i | i, j | i, j |
| 3F.PL | le | le, j | |

Tab. 3: Clitic pronouns

2.3 Determiners

2.3.1 Definite article

Tab. 4 contains the forms of the definite articles in Urbinate. As I will show in paragraph 0, 2.5 and 2.6.2, the form of the definite F.PL article coincides with one of the possible endings of other agreement targets (adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, participles). The hypothesis further discussed in Romagnoli *in preparation* [a] is that the parallel homophony of the M.PL article with the M.PL ending in the agreement targets might have represented the trigger for the reintroduction of a F.PL marker *-le* on the F.PL agreement targets otherwise showing *-ø* ending.

| | SG | PL ¹⁶ |
|---|----|------------------|
| M | el | i |
| F | la | le |

Tab. 4: Definite articles

¹⁶ The plural definite articles, both M and F, are realised as [j] when occurring before vowel.

2.3.2 Indefinite article

| | SG | PL |
|---|---------|---------|
| M | un | di, dij |
| F | na, una | dle |

Tab. 5: Indefinite articles

2.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Urbinate display two degrees of proximity. As far as proximal demonstratives are concerned, it is interesting to notice that the F.PL form displays the same ending *-le* occurring in other agreement targets (adjectives, quantifiers, past participles, distal demonstratives), in free variation with a form ending in *-e*. The same ending *-le* appears in the F.PL of distal demonstratives, in which case it reflects more plausibly (EC)CU ILLU(M), etymologically. All distal demonstratives except the M.PL are realized as [kl] when before vowel.

| | SG | PL |
|---|-----|-------------------------|
| M | ste | sti |
| F | sta | ste, stle ¹⁷ |

Tab. 6: Proximal demonstratives

| | SG | PL |
|---|------|-----|
| M | chèl | chi |
| F | cla | cle |

Tab. 7: Distal demonstratives

Urbinate also admits the use of distal demonstratives as determiners voided of their original deictic value and with a kind-denoting function.

- (3) [NP I cartón] [NP i=] guardne [NP anche chi grand]
 DEF.M.PL cartoon(M).PL DO3M.PL = watch.PRS.3PL also DEM.DIST.M.PL big_one(M).PL

Cartoons, adults watch them too

The fact that *chi grand* (lit. ‘those big’) in example (3) is not an elliptic sentence of the type ‘those who are big’ is testified by the fact that the form of the demonstrative pronouns differs from that of demonstrative adjectives.

¹⁷ LuBa Q28, 15.a; AnDB Q14; OlSe Q12.

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|-----------------|
| M | quést | quésti |
| F | quésta | quéste, quéstle |

Tab. 8: Demonstrative pronouns, proximal

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|--------------------|
| M | quél | quéi ¹⁸ |
| F | quélla | quélle |

Tab. 9: Demonstratives pronouns, distal

2.3.4 Possessives

Urbinate displays two series of possessives: stressed (always postnominal) and unstressed (always proclitic). In singular persons¹⁹ – which is the only person number available to unstressed pronouns – Urbinate is characterised by syncretism of both GENDER and NUMBER; the same applies to 3PL stressed pronouns, which additionally display a form syncretic to 3SG.²⁰

In 3rd person, stressed pronouns can be substituted by a PP (*de lu* ‘of him’, *de lia* ‘of her’, *de lór* ‘of them’).

| Possessor person | | Possessed gender / number | | |
|------------------|-------|---------------------------|----|------------|
| | | STRESSED | | UNSTRESSED |
| | | SG | PL | SG = PL |
| 1SG | M = F | mìa | | mi = |
| 2SG | M = F | tùa | | tu = |
| 3SG | M = F | sùa | | su = |
| 1PL | M | nòstre | | |
| | F | nòstra | | |
| 2PL | M | vòstre | | |
| | F | vòstra | | |
| 3PL | M = F | sùa / lór | | |

Tab. 10: Possessives

¹⁸ Also produced as *qui* due to [e] rising. Speakers also produce the forms *quéli* and *quélii*, but there are good reasons to postulate that these are influenced by standard Italian (cfr. It. *quelli*).

¹⁹ The possessor’s person and number are encoded in the lexical roots, and not marked through agreement.

²⁰ It is possible that the non-syncretic form *lór* be influenced by standard Italian.

2.4 Adjectives

In Urbinate, an adjective usually displays two different types of paradigms. Each paradigm is selected in accordance with the function of the adjective (attributive or predicative) within the sentence.

Among attributive adjectives, a further distinction is then drawn between polysyllabic and monosyllabic adjectives. Polysyllabic adjectives distinguish a maximum of two forms (F.SG. vs. non-F.SG); otherwise, they display only one invariable form throughout the whole paradigm.²¹ Conversely, monosyllabic adjectives – defined as those adjectives which display (at least) a M.SG monosyllabic form –²² make all the relevant distinctions for gender and number.²³ In this case, inflectional endings are always realized phonetically not only for F.SG (-a), but also for M.PL (-i), while F.PL adjectives show a variable behaviour (they can be characterised either by -e or by no ending).²⁴

In the tables below, the one on the left shows the paradigms of Urbinate adjectives, while the table on the right indicates the types of forms highlighting syncretisms within the paradigm. It should be noticed that class 1 collects adjectives coming from both Latin class 1 and 2, so that an adjective like *grand*, -a, -i, -ø ‘big’ or *vèrd*, -a, -i, -ø ‘green’ inflects in the same way as *alt*, -a, -i, -ø ‘tall’ or *gross*, -a, -i, -ø ‘big’.

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|--------|
| M | grand | grandi |
| F | granda | grand |

Tab. 11: Class 1 adjectives (‘big’)

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|----|
| M | A | C |
| F | B | A |

Tab. 12: Class 1 adjectives, types of forms

| | SG | PL |
|---|-------------------|-------|
| M | bèl ²⁵ | bèi |
| F | bèlla | bèlle |

Tab. 13: Class 2 adjectives (‘beautiful’)

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|----|
| M | A | C |
| F | B | D |

Tab. 14: Class 2 adjectives, types of forms

²¹ In diachrony, the different paradigms of these adjectives depend on the Latin class they come from: if they come from Latin class 1, the retention of the etymological ending -a permits a distinction between F.SG. and all the rest. Conversely, if they come from Latin class 2, their historically underlying inflectional endings (-e, -i) underwent deletion (see § 1) and, as a result, these adjectives display no ending.

²² The lack of an ending and the resulting monosyllabicity are due to the diachronic phonetic development which led to deletion of final -o (see § 1). The other form which may be monosyllabic is that of f.pl.

²³ This holds true for an adjective like *grand* ‘big’ too (see the relevant paradigm in tab.11): since the values are orthogonal, the availability of a homophonous form *grand* for both M.SG and F.PL does not represent a case of syncretism.

²⁴ It should be noticed that nouns and adjectives (and agreement targets in general) behave differently as for overt exponence. In fact, in noun inflection (see §2.1) the interaction between phonology (in the form of deletion of final vowels different than -a) and morphology (in the form of availability of inflectional endings) is pretty straightforward: since all vowels but -a got deleted diachronically, the only etymological ending which is retained in noun inflection is that of F.SG. Conversely, in agreement targets, the situation displayed in synchrony does not only depend on the mere application of the aforementioned phonetic process.

²⁵ In the same class also *pinə*, -i, -a, -e, ‘full’.

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|-------|
| M | | pulit |
| F | pulita | |

Tab. 15: Class 3 adjectives ('clean')

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|----|
| M | | A |
| F | B | |

Tab. 16: Class 3 adjectives, types of forms

| | SG | PL |
|---|---------|----|
| M | distant | |
| F | | |

Tab. 17: Class IV adjectives ('far')

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|----|
| M | A | |
| F | | |

Tab. 18: Class IV adjectives, types of forms

The situation described so far for attributive adjectives is based on the dialect of the most conservative speakers. However, it is still possible to find scattered cases of final vowel deletion where one expects a vowel to be realised, as well as cases of final vowel reintroduction where it is not expected – this latter case also being a possible result of the influence of standard Italian. Nonetheless, some important generalizations are still possible, and they are applicable to predicative adjectives too: first, the etymological final *-a* marking F.SG. is – as usual – always retained, and it can be added to F.SG. adjectives from Latin class 2 (e.g. *la bordèlla granda* 'the big girl'); second, M.SG adjectives are always characterised by zero exponence; finally, and as a result of the previous two, in the plural there is more variation than in the singular as for the morphology used to signal agreement: to put it differently, more than one inflected form may be admitted to mark plural (both M.PL and F.PL) – among speakers as well as within the production of one same speaker.

This behaviour of plural adjectives, namely their being subject to a certain degree of variation, is observable in predicative adjectives too. Starting from the conservative variety, this variation is visible in F.PL monosyllabic adjectives, where speakers can select two different forms in free variation:

| | SG | PL |
|---|------|-------------|
| M | alt | alti |
| F | alta | alte, altle |

Tab. 19: Class I predicative adjectives ('tall')

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|------|
| M | A | C |
| F | B | D, E |

Tab. 20: Class I predicative adjectives, types of forms

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|-------|
| M | | pulit |
| F | pulita | |

Tab. 21: Class 2 predicative adjectives ('clean')

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|----|
| M | | A |
| F | B | |

Tab. 22: Class 2 predicative adjectives, types of forms

Moreover, less conservative speakers admit an even higher degree of variation, again confined to the plural cells:

| | SG | PL |
|---|------|------------------|
| M | alt | alt, alti |
| F | alta | alt, alte, altle |

Tab. 23: Class 1 predicative adjectives, innovative ('tall')

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|---------|
| M | A | A, C |
| F | B | A, D, E |

Tab. 24: Class 1 predicative adjectives, innovative, types of forms

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|---------------|
| M | pulit | pulìt, puliti |
| F | pulita | pulìt, pulite |

Tab. 25: Class 2 predicative adjectives, innovative ('clean')

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|------|
| M | A | A, C |
| F | B | A, D |

Tab. 26: Class 2 predicative adjectives, innovative: types of forms

Tables Tab. 19Tab. 26 show that, in predicative adjectives too, the number of syllable of the adjective plays a role in the number and type of forms selectable to mark agreement: in the conservative system, monosyllabic adjectives can select *-i* for M.PL and *-e* or *-le* in F.PL, while polysyllabic only distinguish – like polysyllabic attributive adjectives – between F.SG and non-F.SG; in the less conservative system, similarly, more endings are available to monosyllabic than polysyllabic adjectives.²⁶ Once again, in the analysis of these patterns one cannot exclude the influence of standard Italian – in terms of reintroduction of final *-i* and *-e*,²⁷ yet also the opposite cannot be excluded, namely the deletion of final vowels as the result of generalisation of a previous rule.²⁸

This analysis is also supported by data concerning the variety of Torre S. Tommaso, another hamlet of Urbino, collected by Manzini & Savoia (2005: 3.615). In this variety, F.PL adjectives display the ending *-le* when they have a predicative function, while in other contexts the adjective show *-ø* ending. Similarly, the M.PL ending *-i* always appears on M.PL predicative adjectives, while in attributive adjectives it may or may not be present. The analysis of the data from Manzini & Savoia (2005) seems to suggest that, in Torre S. Tommaso too, a phonetically realised ending is compulsory with (otherwise) monosyllabic adjectives, and optional in other cases.

It is important to stress that inflectional endings in the form of final vowels are not simply absent in every part of speech which ends in a vowel different than *-a*, as a result of the phonetic processes described in § 1. Conversely, the presence of a vocalic inflectional ending depends on the word class: more precisely, it is present – arguably restored, rather than preserved – when it is an

²⁶ In the less conservative variety, this holds true for both predicative and attributive: in fact, these speakers tend to admit all the aforementioned forms in free variation independently from the function of the adjective.

²⁷ An additional factor which might have played a role and that would corroborate the hypothesis of a recent reintroduction is the fact that final *-e* in adjective inflection seems to occur more frequently than final *-i*. This may be linked with the frequency of final *-e* in the Urbinate morphological inventory as compared to *-i*: in fact, while final *-e* occurs regularly as an epithetic vowel in some of the noun IC, *-i* never occurs in noun inflection. As a result, the ending *-i* might be interpreted as particularly non-autochthonous by speakers. Finally, it is possible that the development of the F.PL ending *-e* for adjectives from the Latin class 2 was different from that of *-e* from the Latin I class (Maiden 1996), and that the former represented at some point a model for the reintroduction of *-e* in the latter.

²⁸ For a discussion of the ending *-le* see Romagnoli, in preparation [a] and Romagnoli & Gardani, in preparation.

agreement marker (adjective, quantifier, past participle), while it is absent – because diachronically deleted – when it is a noun (hence a controller).

2.5 Quantifiers

The paradigms of Urbinate quantifiers pattern with those of adjectives.²⁹ All remarks made above for adjectives (availability of forms in free variation; different paradigms according to the different function) are valid for quantifiers too. The following tables display all the possible realisations.

| | SG | PL |
|---|--------|----------------------|
| M | tròp | tròp, tròppi |
| F | tròppa | tròp, tròppe, tròple |

Tab. 27: *Quantifiers*

| | SG | PL |
|---|----|---------|
| M | A | A, C |
| F | B | A, D, E |

Tab. 28: *Quantifiers, types of forms*

2.6 Verbs

| | 1 st conjug. | 2 nd conjug. | 3 rd conjug. | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | truvè | vlé | vènda | durmì | inf. |
| | ‘to find’ | ‘to want’ | ‘to sell’ | ‘to sleep’ | |
| 1SG | tróv | vòi | vènd | dòrme | present ind. |
| 2SG | tróvi | vu | vèndi | dòrmi | |
| 3SG | tróva | vól | vènd | dòrme | |
| 1PL | truvàn | vlén | vendén | durmìn | |
| 2PL | truvàt | vlét | vendét | durmìt | |
| 3PL | tróvne | vòine | vèndne | dòrmne | |

Tab. 29: *Verb inflectional classes*

2.6.1 Auxiliaries

Urbinate has two perfective auxiliaries, *avé* ‘to have’ and *èssa* ‘to be’. Their selection in compound tenses is in accordance with the unaccusative hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978), so that unergative verbs, as well as transitive, select *avé*, while unaccusative verbs select *èssa*.

| | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|
| avé | ò | è | à | avém | avét | àn |

²⁹ For the interaction between quantifiers and adjectives see Romagnoli, in preparation [a]. Users of DAI should also refer to Romagnoli, in preparation [a] for further discussion on the following parts of Urbinate grammar, only sketched in the present Overview: auxiliary selection (here at § 2.6.1); past participle morphology (here at § 2.6.2); verb agreement (here at § 2.7, where only agreement of finite verbs is discussed).

| | | | | | | |
|------|----|----|---|-----|-----|----|
| èssa | sò | si | è | sém | sét | èn |
|------|----|----|---|-----|-----|----|

Tab. 30: Auxiliaries

2.6.2 Past participle

The following tables contain all possible realizations of the two paradigms.

| | SG | PL | | SG | PL |
|---|-------|-------------------|---|----|---------|
| M | còt | còt, còtti | M | A | A, C |
| F | còtta | còt, còtte, còtle | F | B | A, D, E |

Past participles in compound tenses can agree with the subject (see § 2.7), while direct object are agreement controllers only if they are a 3rd person clitic.

2.7 Verb agreement in Urbinate

In Urbinate, the ability of a subject to control agreement on the verb follows certain rules that distinguish it from many other Romance varieties including standard Italian. For these latter, in fact, one can keep things simple and say that the subject is an NP in the sentence that controls agreement on the finite verb, independently of its position, semantic role or definiteness. Thus, finite verb agreement is described straightforwardly once one pinpoints the controller (the subject) and the target (the finite verb).

In Urbinate, the simple cooccurrence, in a sentence, of an NP representing a good candidate for being a subject (for example because it is a subject in neighbourhood varieties) and a verb is not sufficient to make the NP control agreement on the verb: more precisely, it is not sufficient to make finite verb agreement take place with 3rd person pronouns or lexical NPs. This is shown in the examples below: while in (5) and (7) the verb agrees with the subject, in (6) it does not.

(5) fin adès avét parlat [NP vatre,] adès lasciat parlé [PP ma no]
 since now have.PRS.2PL talked 2PL now let.IMP.2PL talk.INF to 1PL

So far, YOU have talked: now, let US talk

(6) d' estatt ariva [NP i prim turista]
 of summer(F).SG arrive.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL first.non-F-sg tourist(M).PL

During the summer the first tourists arrive

(7) [NP manch i porèt] en sc' = van [PP a- [NP l mar]]

NEG DEF.M.PL poor(M).PL NEG LOC= go.PRS.3PL to DEF.M.SG sea(M).SG

Not even poor people go to the beach

The behaviour of Urbinate is not unique, but rather in line with that of northern Italo-Romance varieties (including northern Tuscan and excluding Friulian) and Sardinian – e.g. Lurese, the Sardinian variety present in the DAI. In what follows I shall present data from Urbinate, giving an account of the type of analysis suggested in the DAI. A more in-depth discussion on the topic is in Romagnoli, in preparation [a].

With unmarked word order, two main groups are recognizable: transitive and unergative constructions on the one hand, and unaccusative ones on the other hand. The first group is made up of those sentences in which the subject controls verb agreement (and, in compound tenses, the auxiliary selected is *avé*); the second group comprises sentences in which the NP occurs pretty naturally in postverbal position and does not control verb agreement (and, in compound tenses, it selects *èssa* auxiliary). In this latter case, we assume that what controls agreement is a silent dummy that occupies the position of the subject and that displaces onto the target the default values it is carrying, namely 3M.SG³⁰.

(8) d' estatt [ø] ariva [_{NP} i prim turista]
of summer(F).SG Dummy.3M.SG arrive.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL first.non-F-sg tourist(M).PL

During the summer the first tourists arrive

Following Corbett (2006: 179), a simple way to describe this behaviour is that in Urbinate there are factors influencing the agreement patterns which are not realised directly in agreement, i.e. which are not realised in terms of agreement features. We can therefore appeal to the concept of conditions, namely “regularities stated on subclasses of controllers, targets or domains” (Corbett 2006:182). In the case of Urbinate, as in many other northern Italo-Romance dialects, this condition seems to be precedence, namely the relative position between (possible) controller and target: the postverbal argument of unaccusative verbs (which unmarkedly occurs in postverbal position, in that it originates as an object) does not control agreement, while the external argument of transitive and unergative verbs (for which the unmarked position is the preverbal one), do. In order to analyse the effects of this condition, one can modify word order and assess how this affects the ability for an NP to control agreement. If precedence were the (only) condition playing a role, the prediction is that any internal argument of unaccusatives, when moved to a preverbal position, is promoted to subject and manages to control agreement, and any external argument of transitives and unergatives postponed to the verb do not.

³⁰ The value of gender is only visible on compound tense, as Urbinate, like the majority of Romance varieties, does not signal gender on finite verbs (for a variety in which this happens see the Ripano data in the DAI).

At first glance, this prediction seems to be confirmed by data: the argument of an unaccusative in preverbal position controls agreement, as shown by the minimal pair below ((9) with verb agreement, (10) without).

(9) par ch' [ø] en [NP i =] bast [NP i sòld]
 seem.PRS.3SG that Dummy.3M.SG NEG IO3 = suffice.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL money(M).PL
It seems like money is never enough for him!

(10) [ø] è che [NP i sòld] en bastne mai
 Dummy.3M.SG be.PRS.3SG that DEF.M.PL money(M).PL NEG be_enough.PRS.3PL never
It's just that money is never enough

However, not all data match the prediction from precedence: neither unaccusatives (11), nor transitives (12)-(13).

(11) En [NP i =] bastne mai, [NP i sòld] [ch' [NP ø] c' = ha]]
 NEG IO3 = suffice.PRS.3PL never DEF.M.PL money(M).PL REL 3M.SG have.PRS.3SG
That money he has, it seems like it is never enough for him

(12) [NP I cartón] [NP i =] guardne [NP anche chi grand]
 DEF.M.PL cartoon(M).PL DO3M.PL = watch.PRS.3PL also those big(M).PL
Cartoons, adults watch them too

(13) [NP i cartón] [ø] [NP i =] guarda [NP anche chi grand]
 DEF.M.PL cartoon(M).PL Dummy.3M.SG DO3M.PL = watch.PRS.3SG too those big(M).PL
Cartoons, adults watch them too

The point is that, if one changes the relative position between verb and subject, not only precedence, but also other conditions which are involved in agreement change their value settings. In fact, with unmarked word order, other properties of the NP are aligned with that about position – among them topicality: with unmarked word order, we find NPs in preverbal position which systematically have the pragmatic role of topic (transitive and unergative constructions), and NPs in postverbal position which function as (non-contrastive) foci (unaccusative constructions). In Romance languages, these positions (pre- and postverbal) are tightly connected with the discourse functions (topic and focus). As a result, an unaccusative subject in preverbal position not only precedes the verb, but is also a topic, or at least *less focus* than that in its natural postverbal position: the two properties are aligned, and cannot be disentangled easily. This explains the different agreement pattern in examples (6) and

(8): in the latter case, the postverbal subject is a right-dislocated topic, as testified by the pause made by the speaker which is absent in the former example.

Similarly, the transitive subject in postverbal position may fail in controlling agreement on the verb: the direct object is topicalised in preverbal position (and then resumed with the clitic DO) and, as a result, not only the subject is not precedent to the verb anymore, but it is not a topic anymore either. It should be stressed that every NP in preverbal position controls agreement, of both transitive and intransitive sentences; and that not every NP in this position can but be a topic and – following Bentley (2013; see also Bentley et al. 2015) – definite, and for this reason it is not easy to assess whether precedence by itself or topicality by itself play a role. On the other hand, not every postverbal argument fails in controlling agreement: this is not always the case with transitives, and it rarely happens with unergatives. Arguably, there is something more at stake in these cases: other properties of the NP which consent or inhibit the promotion to subject, or different thresholds – within the degree of topicality or definiteness – for determining subjecthood.

A thorough account of verb agreement in Urbinate goes beyond the scope of the present overview; here, for a provisional conclusion, it is crucial to state that with unmarked word order, when all the properties of the arguments are aligned, one can easily pinpoint two opposite poles – that of transitive and unergative on the one side, and that of unaccusative on the other side – and easily predict what controls agreement and what does not. In between these two poles there is a “grey zone” in which things get more puzzling, and where effects of topicality and definiteness create a more diverse and less predictable situation. This unpredictability mainly concerns those verbs which strictly require SV order and whose argument is moved to postverbal focus position, while unaccusatives arguments, which tolerate VS order better, are easily promoted to agreement controllers when moved before the verb. This is a clear evidence – if any were needed – that precedence and topicality play a role in agreement.³¹

Further evidence is given by existential constructions. The aim of existential constructions is that of presenting new information through introduction of a new referent into the discourse (Lambrecht 2004; Bentley et al. 2015): as a result, the pivot needs to be hearer-new, i.e. a non-contrastive focus. In Urbinate, pivots of existential constructions do not control agreement (14); however, if the pivot is moved to preverbal position, it always controls agreement:³²

(14) oggiórnə [ø] c' = è [NP tanti ragass [Clause ch' en lavórne]]
 nowadays Dummy.3M.SG LOC = be.PRS.3SG many.M.PL boy(M).PL REL NEG work.PRS.3PL

Nowadays there are many youngsters who do not work

(15) [NP i ragass [Clause ch' en lavórne]] c' = èn, mo [ø]

³¹ This is also evidence for the fact that agentivity *per se* is not a property sufficient to determine the ability to control agreement.

³² For a similar phenomenon in Lurese see the relevant Overview.

DEF.M.PL youngster(M).PL REL NEG work.PRS.3PL LOC = be.PRS.3PL but Dummy.3M.SG
 en è détta ch' [NP Ø] en se = dan da fè
 NEG be.PRS.3SG said.M.SG that 3M.PL NEG REFL.3 = give.PRS.3PL to do.INF

There ARE youngsters who do not work, yet this does not mean that they do not make an effort

In this case, not only is the argument NP preverbal, but also it is not a hearer-new non-contrastive focus anymore (15).

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